

TOPICS IN ASIMJEEG DATOOGA VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

by

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: Topics in Asimjeeg Datooga Verbal Morphosyntax

Asimjeeg Datooga is a Southern Nilotic language spoken by approximately three thousand people in Northern Tanzania, and it is grouped together with other language varieties in the Datooga family or dialect cluster. Although all of the Datooga varieties are known to be related to one another, very little is understood about many of the individual varieties, especially those that have few speakers such as Asimjeeg Datooga and Bianjida Datooga. This dissertation constitutes not only the first detailed description of Asimjeeg Datooga, but also the first detailed description of any single minority Datooga variety.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the grammatical system of Asimjeeg Datooga, and Datooga varieties more generally, is the verbal morphology. Verbs in Asimjeeg Datooga are structurally and semantically complex. The elements that serve as the building blocks of the verbs include not only individual segmental and tonal morphemes but also schematic and word-level structures. The dependent stem structure, a formal component common to many verbal constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga as well as other varieties of Datooga, is described in detail for the first time in this dissertation. Verbs in Asimjeeg Datooga also encode a wide spectrum of functional domains, including tense, aspect, negation, pluractionality, polarity, applicatives, conditionality, directionality, associated motion, subject and object indexation, and non-polar question formation.

The analysis presented in the dissertation is built upon the foundation of an open-access audio-visual dataset that is hosted at the Endangered Languages Archive. The archive includes approximately 140 hours of audio-visual material and also time-aligned annotations and metadata. These documentation materials are the first open-access dataset for any variety of Datooga, the only documentation of all extant communities for any variety of Datooga, the only dataset that is based on the speech of over 50 speakers for any variety of Datooga, and the only dataset that was at least partially collected by members of a Datooga speech community. Each natural speech example in the dissertation is labeled with a unique identifier that can be used to locate the cited recording segment on ELAR.

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In memory of Daniel H. Schreiber,
the light that never fades

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation and significance of the dissertation

This dissertation is a grammatical description of aspects of the Asimjeeg Datooga language of East Africa, and it is based on archived audio-visual recordings collected and curated by the author. It is designed to be useful for readers of various backgrounds, not the least of which is linguists, but also anthropologists, folklorists, and historians. The description contained within the dissertation is rooted in a functional-typological theoretical framework that provides a comparative context for the data and enables readers to quickly and easily understand the specific grammatical patterns of the language via references to more general typological, areal, and genetic linguistic patterns.

Asimjeeg Datooga is spoken by approximately three thousand people in Northern Tanzania, and it is grouped together with other language varieties in the Datooga family or dialect cluster. This dissertation constitutes the first detailed description of any single Datooga variety other than Gisamjanga Datooga. The documentation materials upon which the dissertation is based constitute the first open-access audio-visual data set for any variety of Datooga, the only documentation of all extant communities for any variety of Datooga,

and the first data set that was at least partially collected by members of the speech community.

This dissertation represents a shift in the representation and analysis of variation across and within Datooga speech communities. While much has been written about Datooga varieties in the past few decades, a large percentage of the published data are for only one or two varieties: Gisamjanga Datooga and Barabaiga Datooga. Across all of the Datooga literature published prior to this dissertation, there were fewer than thirty examples of data specifically from Asimjeeg Datooga, appearing in only two publications from the same author (Rottland 1982, 1983).

One of the most intriguing aspects of the grammatical system of Asimjeeg Datooga, and Datooga varieties more generally, is the verbal morphology. Verbs in Asimjeeg Datooga are structurally and semantically complex. The elements that serve as the building blocks of the verbs include not only individual segmental and tonal morphemes but also schematic and word-level structures. The dependent stem structure, a formal component common to many verbal constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga as well as other varieties of Datooga, is described in detail for the first time in this dissertation. Verbs in Asimjeeg Datooga also encode a wide spectrum of functional domains, including tense, aspect, negation, pluractionality, polarity, applicatives, conditionality, directionality, associated motion, subject and object indexation, and non-polar question formation.

The analysis presented in the dissertation is built upon the foundation of an open-access audio-visual dataset that is hosted at the Endangered Languages Archive. The archive includes approximately 140 hours of audio-visual material and also time-aligned annotations and metadata. These documentation materials are the first open-access dataset for any variety of Datooga, the only documentation of all extant communities for any variety of Datooga, the only dataset that is based on the speech of over 50 speakers for any variety of Datooga, and the only dataset that was at least partially collected by members of a Datooga speech community. Each natural speech example in the dissertation is labeled with a unique identifier that can be used to locate the cited recording segment on ELAR.

The remaining sections of this chapter are organized as follows: Section 1.2 provides background information about the Asimjeeg Datooga language, Section 1.3 describes previous linguistics research on Datooga varieties, Section 1.4 reviews the anthropological literature on Datooga groups, Section 1.5 details oral accounts of Datooga history, Section 1.6 describes extant communities of the Asimjeeg Datooga, Section 1.7 describes the endangerment status of Asimjeeg Datooga in each extant community, Section 1.8 provides a theoretical orientation for the dissertation, Section 1.9 provides a typological overview of Asimjeeg Datooga, Section 1.10 describes the data included within the dissertation, and Section 1.11 provides a brief overview of the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Language background

Asimjeeg (Glottocode: tsim1256) is a variety of Datooga (Glottocode: dato1239, ISO: [tcc]), which itself is considered to be a dialect cluster or group of closely related languages (Rottland 1983: 214; Creider & Rottland 1996; Rottland & Creider 1997; Kießling 2007a: 138; Bruckhaus 2015: 73; Mitchell 2015a: 7). Datooga is itself situated within in the Southern Nilotic family and Rottland (1982) groups it together with the moribund language †Omotik in a primary branch of Southern Nilotic called Omotik-Datooga, parallel to the Kalenjin languages of Kenya that form the other primary branch of the family. A simplified family tree of Southern Nilotic is presented in Figure 1.

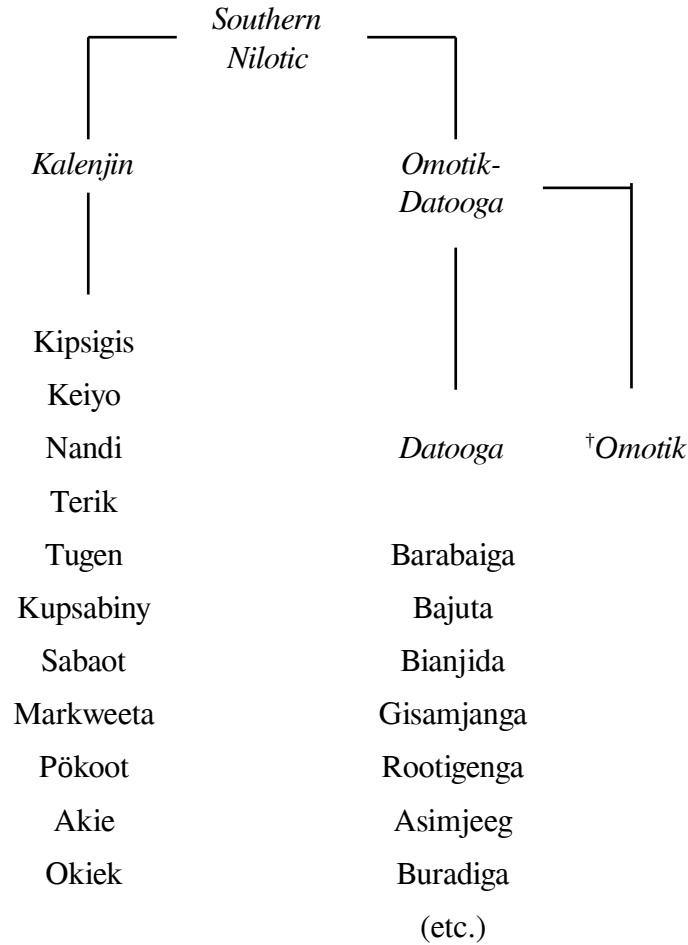


Figure 1: Southern Nilotic family tree (without sub-categorization of Kalenjin)

The number of Asimjeeg Datooga speakers is estimated to be no more than 3,000. As of early 2017, there are four communities of Asimjeeg Datooga speakers, three of which are in the Eyasi Basin, and one of which is far north in the Mara region. These four communities have developed through historical migrations, described in detail in Tomikawa (1979).

1.3 Previous linguistics research

The Nilotic languages have been recognized by linguists as constituting a language group of some kind since as early as the late 19th century (Lepsius 1880: XIV; Hartmann 1876)). By the mid 20th century, the Nilotic language family was established and its internal structure detailed, with Köhler (1948) initially proposing that the family consisted of two primary branches, combining the original Nilotic family with languages that had then been regarded as Nilo-Hamitic (Westermann 1940: 398; Bryan & Tucker 1948; Greenberg 1950). Later Köhler (1950) proposed that the formerly Nilo-Hamitic languages could be further divided into two subgroups, resulting in three primary branches of the Nilotic family: Eastern Nilotic, Western Nilotic, and Southern Nilotic . Although these three branches are generally assumed to be coordinate top-level branches of the family, (Dimmendaal 2008: 41) offers some evidence that Southern Nilotic and Eastern Nilotic may constitute a subgroup, parallel with Western Nilotic as one of two primary branches of the Nilotic family. öüä

Individual languages of the Southern Nilotic family were first reported in the literature in the late 19th century (Thomson 1885; Johnston 1886). The first mention of the Datooga is Last's (1885) *Polyglotta Africana Orientalis*, and next was Baumann (1894). Resemblances between the languages were mentioned in von Höhnel (1890) and (Hobley 1897). Primary debates within the literature on groupings within SN relate to the internal structure of Kalenjin and the position of Omotik. Ehret (1971) posits two primary branches

of Southern Nilotic, Dadog (Datooga) and Kalenjin, with Omotik presumably included within the Kalenjin branch. Heine (1971) from the same year posits two branches, Dadog (Datooga) and Proto-Kalenjin-Omotik, elevating Omotik to a sub-sub-branch parallel to the Kalenjin languages.

The seminal work on Datooga itself is Rottland (1982), an extensive book including grammatical descriptions of languages from both branches of the Southern Nilotic family, reconstructions of some aspects of Proto-Kalenjin, Proto-Omotik-Datooga, and Proto-Southern Nilotic, as well as example data sets. A number of articles and book chapters have since been published on a range of topics, including: consonantal phonology (Hieda 2000a), noun classification and number (Rottland and Creider 1997; Kießling 2000a), Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) harmony (Creider & Rottland 1996), pluractionality (Kießling 1998), verb classes (Kießling 2000b), locational nouns (Bruckhaus 2015), avoidance speech (Mitchell 2015a; Mitchell 2015b), allusive reference (Mitchell 2018), the pragmatics of kinship terminology (Mitchell 2017), and associated (loco)motion (Kießling & Bruckhaus 2017).

Rottland (Rottland 1983: 214) states that, "[b]ased somewhat loosely on the criterion of mutual intelligibility, and without attaching much importance to the distinction, I shall refer here to the...[Datooga] units as dialects." It is worth noting that Rottland's choice to label the Datooga varieties as "dialects" may have had a lasting effect on the way that they are researched and discussed. Most publications on Datooga since Rottland (1982) rely

primarily on data from the closely related Barabaiga and Gisamjanga varieties, whose speakers together form the largest and most accessible community of the Datooga. A common practice in Datooga literature is to specify the variety under discussion in a footnote or endnote, but to refer to it elsewhere simply as "Datooga". As this dissertation should make clear, however, there are significant linguistic differences between the Datooga varieties. In order to avoid promoting the assumption of linguistic homogeneity across the Datooga varieties, this dissertation will consistently use the label "Asimjeeg Datooga," and will not make any claims regarding another Datooga variety aside from what has already been reported in the literature.

A dialect survey conducted by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1997 (Schubert et al. 1997), which includes mutual intelligibility tests and group questionnaires, additionally indicates that there are significant perceived and actual differences between some of the Datooga varieties. This survey data has not been widely disseminated or discussed, and no work since Rottland (1982) has attempted to examine the genetic relationships between the Datooga varieties. Many of the Datooga varieties also continue to remain more or less undescribed, including Rootigenga, Buradiga, Bianjida, and Bajuta. The geographical distribution of Datooga groups at the time of writing differs in many significant ways from that of the late 1970s, stretching from north of the Serengeti to the south near Mbeya and as far east as Bagamoyo on the coast. Many Datooga groups are now isolated from one another and in contact with other language groups that they were not exposed to previously. For these reasons, the question of linguistic variation

across Datooga varieties and communities remains largely unanswered, and this dissertation aims to take the first step in rectifying the situation. The choice to use the label "Asimjeeg Datooga" in this dissertation is also reflective of an intention to both acknowledge the similarities across the Datooga varieties and also highlight their differences.

1.4 Anthropological research

Anthropological research focusing on the Datooga largely began in the middle of the 20th century. Berger (1938) provides a brief ethnographic sketch of the Datooga based on his experiences as part of a German expedition in 1934-36, with a focus on physical attributes, language, and relationships with other neighboring ethnic groups. Wilson (1952, 1953) discusses the origins of the Datooga and their relationship to the Nandi of Kenya, the historical migration of the Datooga from the north, and their contemporary geographic distribution, ethnic sub-groupings, lineage and social organization. Klima (1964; 1970) describes social relationships between men and women, as well as the cattle complex, material culture, and social order among the Barabaiga Datooga. Tomikawa (1966, 1970, 1972, 1979) provides contemporary demographic information as well as detailed oral migration histories. Much recent anthropological work has focused on health, fertility, and the social marginalization of Datooga communities (Blystad 2000, 2004, 2005; Young 2008).

1.5 Oral histories of the Datooga and Asimjeeg

According to oral history collected by the author in all four communities from 2015-2018, the Asimjeeg Datooga originally lived in a single community near a hill called Someega, located in the present-day Grumeti Game Reserve, prior to the arrival of European colonialists. I found no oral histories among the Asimjeeg Dattooga stating that they originally came from a different ethnic group, contrary to reports by Rottland (1982: 28) and Tomikawa (1970: 17), most likely based on Wilson (Wilson 1952: 41). There are also no oral histories of the Asimjeeg Datooga sharing their lineage with any other Datooga group, although some claim that prior to arriving in Someega they were living together with the Nandi. According to Tomikawa (1970: 2), there are place names of Datooga origin in southwestern Kenya near Mt. Elgon, suggesting that the Datooga lived in Kenya prior to migrating south. Tomikawa estimates that the Datooga first entered Tanzania near the turn of the 18th century (ibid. pp. 2-3), and estimates the development of their sub-clans as occurring in the mid 18th-century (ibid. p. 9).

The Asimjeeg Datooga have historically been a marginalized group among the Datooga and have at different times been subservient to other Datooga groups, most notably the Bajuta. The name Asimjeeg comes from the root for 'slave' (*àsìmdzánd* 'Asimjeeg person/slave,' *àsìmdzég* 'Asimjeeg people/slaves'). Members of other Datooga groups have historically avoided intermarriage with the Asimjeeg Datooga. Clan names (e.g. Barabaiga,

Bajuta) are typically used by the Asimjeeg Datooga to refer to other Datooga groups, but also use the term *dàròràdʒé:g* is used to refer to non-Asimjeeg Datooga in general.

According to Tomikawa (1970), this term refers to a specific clan that resided near the town of Karatu.

According to oral traditions, there was reportedly a dispute between the leader of the Asimjeeg, named Ewanda, and the leader of the Bajuta at the time, named Saygilo ("Saigiro" in Tomikawa's publications), when they were living together in Law before the arrival of colonialists. Saygilo is said to have used magic to kill Ewanda and convince many of the Asimjeeg to relocate with him to Dongobesh. Those that went with him continued to follow the Bajuta to various locations east of Lake Eyasi, but eventually some of the Asimjeeg left the Bajuta and settled in Laghangareri (Mang'ola), where the Mang'ola river offered a consistent water supply for irrigation purposes. More Asimjeeg moved to Mang'ola and then by the mid 20th century the first Asimjeeg began arriving in Mital and later in the seventies Dugwamuhosht (Schubert et al. 1997). It is also said that some of the Asimjeeg living in Law today are direct descendants of the Asimjeeg that remained there and did not relocate with Saygilo, while others have since re-migrated north to Law.

1.6 Present-day Asimjeeg Datooga communities

The location of the four Asimjeeg Datooga communities is shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3. The location of each of the four communities is based on GPS data obtained in situ, which is available online via Google Maps (Google 2017).

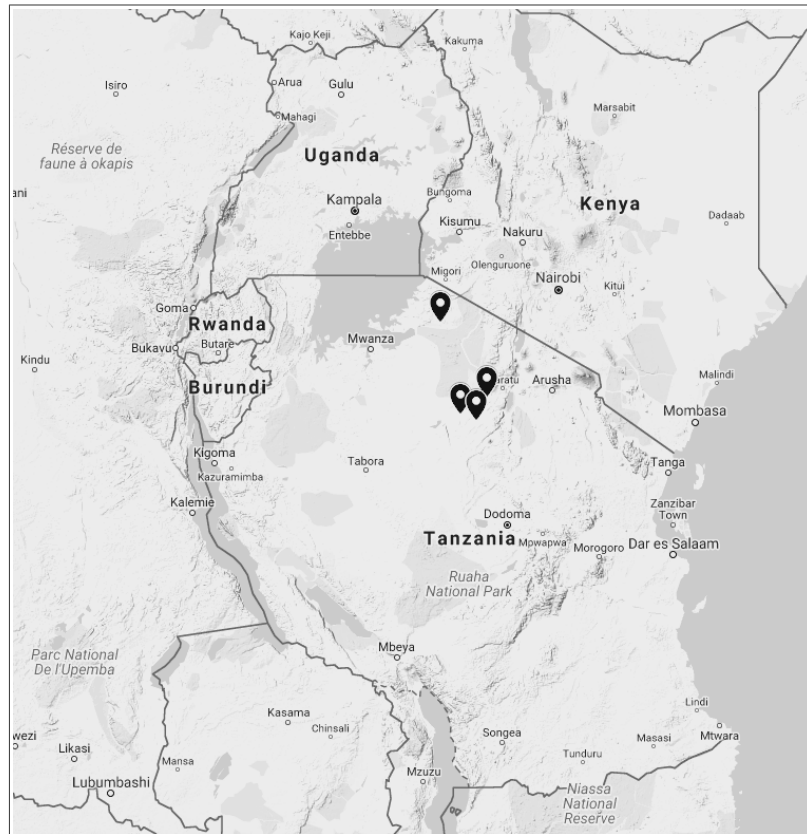


Figure 2: Regional map of the four Asimjeeg Datooga communities, approx. 1:17000000 scale (Google 2017)

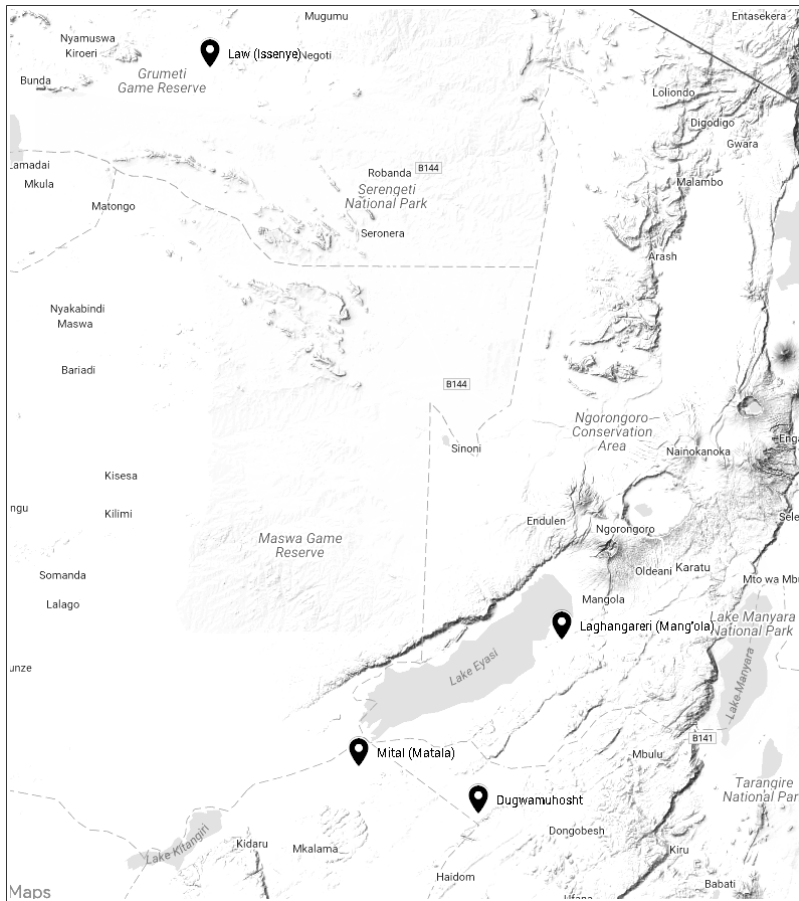


Figure 3: Location of the four Asimjeeg Datooga communities, approx. 1:2200000 scale (Google 2017)

1.6.1 Mang'ola

Mang'ola is a collection of villages located near the southeastern border of Lake Eyasi, south of Mt. Oldeani, in the Arusha region and Karatu district. Most of the villages in Mang'ola are located on the surrounding edges of a central valley that is used primarily for

agriculture. Mang'ola is well known regionally for the production of red onions and the use of irrigation canals. Increasing agricultural activity in the area since the 1990s is reported by locals to have led to a dramatic increase in the population and reduction in wildlife and natural water sources.

Temporary agricultural workers travel to Mang'ola from neighboring areas, especially from the city of Karatu and nearby areas of the Arusha region to the east, as well as from Mital and the Manyara, Singida, and Simiyu regions to the south and west. Wholesale buyers from Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Kenya, and Uganda are also known to visit the area.

Barazani village acts as the central hub of Mang'ola, but Ghorofani also receives a large number of foreign visitors because of the close proximity to camps of non-nilotic Hadza (isolate) speakers and the northern tourist circuit in Lake Manyara, Ngorongoro Conservation Area, and Serengeti National Park.

The main road from Karatu turns south at Ghorofani and then west again, circling around the valley through a few villages, including Dumbechand, and then continues all the way to Mital at the other end of Lake Eyasi (see Figure 4). Plans to pave this road in the next decade have been announced as part of an international project linking inland countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of Congo to ports on the coast. If completed, this project could drastically increase the amount of agricultural

activity and traffic in the area, and accelerate the loss of minority languages, including Asimjeeg Datooga.

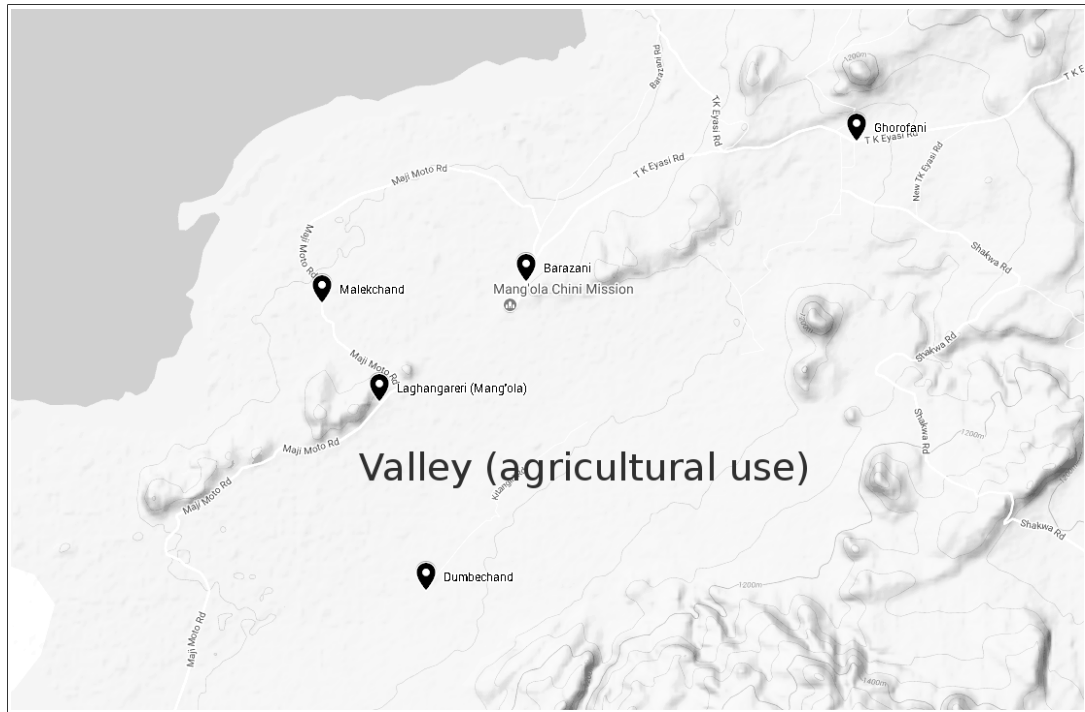


Figure 4: Map of some of the villages of Mang'ola (Google 2017), approx. 1:115000 scale

Services in the area vary. Potable tap water is available in Ghorofani, Barazani, Malekchand, and Laghangareri. As of 2017, electricity has reached Ghorofani, Barazani,

and Malekchand, but not other villages. 3G mobile networks are available in most of the northern villages, including Laghangareri, but the adoption of smart phone technology is still fairly limited. Each village has at least one primary school, and secondary schools are located near Barazani and Ghorofani.

Most of the Asimjeeg Datooga living in Mang'ola reside in Laghangareri, Malekchand, and Dumbechand villages. These three villages form the western border of Mang'ola, after which there are remote areas sparsely populated by other Datooga speakers and the Hadzabe. The total number of Asimjeeg Datooga in these three villages is estimated to be between 400 and 600, most of which occupy the western edge of the Laghangareri hills and Dumbechand.

Other ethnic groups in the area include non-Asimjeeg Datooga, Iraqw, Hadzabe, and some Bantu groups from the west, including Sukuma, Nyiramba, and Isanzu. Swahili is widely spoken throughout the area, and mono-lingual Asimjeeg Datooga speakers are rare. Many Asimjeeg in this area can also speak some Iraqw due to intermarriage and general language contact.

Mang'ola is the most urban and cosmopolitan of the four Asimjeeg Datooga communities, and residential patterns situate homes closely together, separated from agricultural work areas (see Figure 5). According to the 2012 nation census, the population

for Mang'ola ward and neighboring Endamaghay ward was 22,354 (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics 2012), with an average population density of 110.9 residents per km².



Figure 5: Satellite image of Laghangareri, showing dense residential patterns and modern household structures (Google 2017)

Tomikawa (1970: 36) includes a map of Mang'ola and neighboring areas (reproduced as Figure 6). Many of these communities still exist as of 2017, but only those centered

around Gorofani (written "Godofani" in Tomikawa 1970) are actually considered to be part of Mang'ola. Tomikawa additionally comments that Laghangareri (written "Laghangga Ishimijega" in Tomikawa 1970) is known to be the original settlement area of the Asimjeeg in Mang'ola.

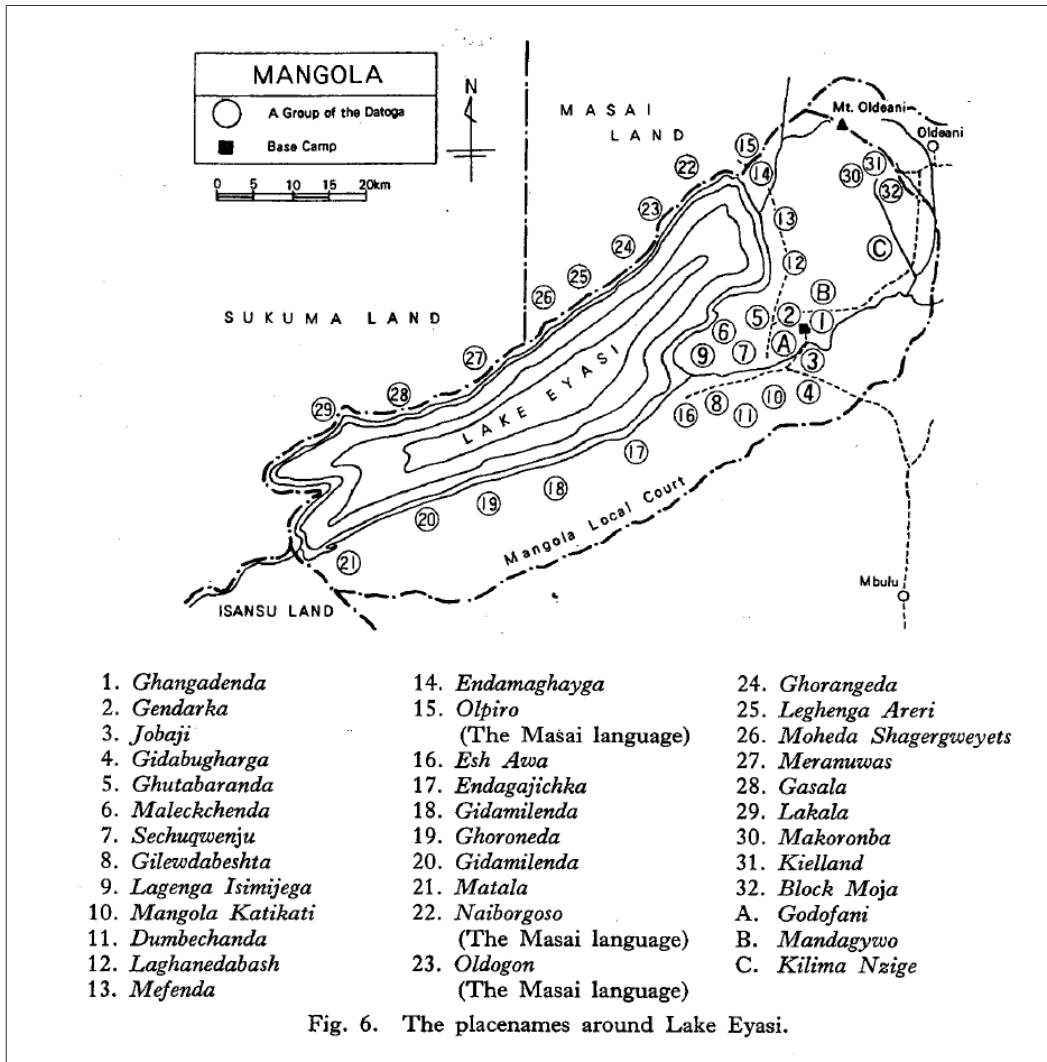


Figure 6: Map of Lake Eyasi communities (Tomikawa 1970)

1.6.2 Mital (Matala)

Mital ("Matala" in Swahili) is located near the southwestern tip of Lake Eyasi, on the other side of a large and sparsely inhabited area from Mang'ola. Central Mital is a dense

residential area, but the surrounding areas are sparsely populated. According to the 2012 national census, the population of the entire Baray ward was 23,554 (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics 2012), with a population density of 20.53 residents per km².

Despite its size, there are very few services available in the area. There is no tap water, little to no cell phone reception (no mobile data services), and no electricity. Many residents living outside of the center of Mital maintain semi-traditional lifestyles and might not visit the village center frequently. See Figure 7 for a satellite image of an area outside of the center of Mital, which shows a dispersed residential pattern typical of the area, with some agricultural fields located in close proximity to residences and some household structures with corrugated metal roofing.



Figure 7: Satellite image of a residential area immediately north of central Mital, showing dispersed residential patterns (Google 2017)

Other ethnic groups in Mital include non-Asimjeeg Datooga, Sukuma, Isanzu, and Nyiramba. Some of the Sukuma men and women in the area adopt Datooga-style clothing, including wearing a black sheet of fabric on the upper torso and metal bangles on the wrists and ankles, indicating at least some level of local prestige associated with the Datooga. Many Asimjeeg Datooga in the area wear completely black shawls, a practice which is not as common in Mang'ola.

The number of Asimjeeg Datooga speakers in Mital is estimated to be no more than 600. Data was collected for this dissertation in Mital over five visits of a few days each in 2016, 2017, and 2018.

1.6.3 Dugwamuhosht

Dugwamuhosht is the most remote Asimjeeg Datooga community and is located in the Eshkesh district of Mbulu Region, separated from Lake Eyasi by a range of hills.

Dugwamuhosht consists of some three dozen or so traditional homesteads and small farm plots. The only other ethnic groups in the area are non-Asimjeeg Datooga and a small number of Hadzabe. The number of Asimjeeg Datooga speakers in Dugwamuhosht is estimated to be no more than 200. According to the 2012 national census, the population of the entire Eshkesh district was 5859 (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics 2012), with a population density of 12.82 residents per km².

Services are minimal in Dugwamuhosht. There is no electricity, no tap water, and minimal cellular reception. There are no primary schools in Dugwamuhosht, but there is one located nearby in the village of Yaeda Chini. In late 2016, the first corrugated metal roof was installed at a home in Dugwamuhosht. See Figure 8 for a satellite image of an area of Dugwamuhosht, showing a dispersed residential pattern and no household structures with metal roofing.



Figure 8: Satellite image of an area in Dugwamuhosht, showing a dispersed residential pattern and no modern household structures (Google 2017)

1.6.4 Law

Law is the generic name used to refer to all of the Asimjeeg Datooga communities in the Mara region, most of which are in Issenye ward of Serengeti district (as of mid 2017).

Tomikawa refers to Law as "Raho" (1970: 16). Law is of great cultural significance to the Asimjeeg Datooga because it is their claimed place of origin, although use of the language has declined significantly in the area. The largest community of Asimjeeg Datooga speakers in Law is the village named Manawa, 10.68 kilometers (6.64 miles) northeast of Issenye village. Manawa has a small developed village center, surrounded by areas of sparsely distributed residences and agricultural fields (see Figure 9 for satellite imagery). Other areas where a handful of Asimjeeg Datooga reside include Iharara and Singis, to the south and southeast of Issenye village, respectively. Issenye village itself is much more densely populated than all of these areas and offers a number of services, including electricity, tap water, 2G mobile data connections, and primary and secondary schools. According to the 2012 national census, the population of Issenye ward was 10,161 (Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics 2012), with a population density of 27.26 km².

Although there is some contact between Law and the three southern communities, it is safe to say that the speech patterns used in Law are considered to be distinct from those of the other communities. The Asimjeeg Datooga of Law are also culturally distinct in other ways: men do not wear the plaid fabric so commonly associated with pastoralists in other regions, and some dance and song traditions indicate significant influence from neighboring Bantu groups, including the Issenye and Kuria. According to Tomikawa (1970: 9), Datooga in the past would travel by foot from southern communities to Law, but this sort of travel is

no longer possible due to the creation of the national parks and recent anti-poaching initiatives that dissuade foot traffic within park boundaries.



Figure 9: A satellite image of the center of Manawa village, north of Issenye, where the largest number of Asimjeeg Datooga live in the area (Google 2017)

Although Law is mentioned extensively by Tomikawa (1966, 1970, 1979) as an area of significant importance to the Datooga, there is little known about the linguistic status of Datooga varieties in the area. Access to the area is additionally made difficult by the significant fees required of all foreign passengers traveling through the bordering parks.

There appear to be more Rootigenga Datooga speakers in this region than Asimjeeg Datooga, but it remains to be explored how much interaction there has been between these two groups.

The number of Asimjeeg Datooga speakers in Law is estimated to be no more than 200, and data for this dissertation was collected in Law during two four-day visits in 2017 and 2018.

1.6.5 Social connections between the four communities

Most Asimjeeg Datooga speakers have social connections to residents in other communities, especially among the three southern communities of the Eyasi Basin. It is common for families to be divided among the three communities, although it might not be common to visit family in other communities frequently.

Travel between Laghangareri and Mital is possible by foot (1.5-2 day trip), bicycle, motorcycle, and occasionally car. There is an unpaved road between Mang'ola and Mital, but it is not very well maintained and during the wet season there is no regular traffic between the two villages. It is common for residents of Mital to travel to Mang'ola for work or for the regional market that is held twice a month. Residents of Mital that require services only available in an urban town are most likely to go to Haydom rather than Karatu via Mang'ola, especially if they are seeking health services.

Travel from Mang'ola to Dugwamuhosht is difficult, as there are no good direct routes for cars, motorcycles, or even bicycles. It is possible to go by foot within one day, although the trip is very long. The only other route from Mang'ola to Dugwamuhosht is to circumnavigate the remote areas by taking *daladala* buses via Karatu, Mbulu, and Haydom, which is quite expensive for the average Tanzanian living in a rural area.

Travel to Dugwamuhosht from Mital is possible by foot or motorcycle, and the trip is significantly shorter than coming from Mang'ola. In general, however, there appears to be more movement between Mang'ola and Mital for economic reasons.

Connections between the southern Eyasi Basin communities and Law in the north are limited. Travel to and from Law is difficult not only due to the long distance but also because all non-Maasai travelers must pay additional fees to pass through the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Serengeti National Park. The only other route is to circumnavigate the parks - a long and equally expensive three-day trip. Occasionally residents will move to or from Law and the Eyasi Basin communities, but it is not a frequent occurrence. On rare occasions, respected leaders of the Law community may be invited to visit the Eyasi Basin communities, e.g. for the funeral of a respected leader.

Most Asimjeeg Datooga speakers maintain contact with their friends and family through the use of mobile phone technology. This is especially useful for the residents of Mang'ola and Mital, where social ties are strong and reception is available. It is common

for Asimjeeg Datooga to have knowledge of residents in one of the other communities even if they have never visited that community.

1.7 Language endangerment and multilingualism

The endangerment status of Asimjeeg Datooga varies from community to community. Speakers are often fluent in Swahili and other local indigenous languages.

In Law, Asimjeeg Datooga is most clearly endangered, due to Swahili and Bantu influence. Traditional cultural events are still practiced, but there is significant exposure to neighboring Bantu ethnic groups. On the EGIDS scale (Lewis & Simons 2010), Asimjeeg Datooga in Law is perhaps at Level 7. This level is described as "Shifting", i.e. when "...the child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children" (Simons & Fennig 2017). Most speakers are bilingual in Asimjeeg Datooga and Swahili, but fluency in other local languages has not been documented, and a thorough analysis of language use by Datooga in the area has yet to be conducted.

In Mang'ola, Asimjeeg Datooga is threatened by the increasing use of Swahili both due to the language policies of local schools and also through contact with Iraqw and other ethnic groups. In the western regions of Laghangareri and Dumbechand villages it is perhaps less endangered than in the central areas of Mang'ola, because these are predominately inhabited by Asimjeeg Datooga speakers. Swahili words are used regularly in daily conversation among speakers and most are bi-lingual in Asimjeeg Datooga and Swahili, and occasionally Iraqw. There is also some influence from non-Asimjeeg Datooga

varieties. Traditional dances and other Asimjeeg Datooga cultural events are increasingly rare. On the EGIDS scale, Asimjeeg Datooga in Mang'ola probably ranges from 6b, "Threatened," to 7, "Shifting".

In Mital, Asimjeeg Datooga appears to be less threatened than in Mang'ola due to the continuation of traditional lifestyles, minimal contact with Iraqw, and limited educational facilities. Contact with non-Asimjeeg Datooga is also common in this area. On the EGIDS scale, Asimjeeg Datooga in Mital probably ranges from 6a, "Vigorous," to 6b, "Threatened". Most speakers are bilingual in Asimjeeg Datooga and Swahili, but fluency in other local languages has not been documented.

In Dugwamuhosht, Asimjeeg Datooga is the least threatened but it is also the most susceptible to influence from non-Asimjeeg Datooga varieties, because the number of non-Datooga in the area is very low and residents are perhaps less mobile than those of other more urbanized communities. It is also one of the smallest Asimjeeg Datooga communities, which may make it more susceptible to local influence. On the EGIDS scale, use of Asimjeeg Datooga in Dugwamuhosht best matches level 6a, "Vigorous," although it is worth noting that even in this remote area Swahili borrowings are present, if not as common in other communities.

There are some varieties of Datooga that have been described in the literature as having gone extinct, including: Daragwajeega, Ghumbiega, and Mangatiga (Tomikawa 1970). Bianjida Datooga, spoken in and around Itigi and north of Mbeya, is currently

spoken only by elders in urbanized areas but is reported to be spoken by youth in rural communities. In many cases it is difficult to determine whether a given clan or caste name may be associated with a distinct speech variety, so the inventory of Datooga varieties spoken today remains unknown.

1.8 Theoretical background

The analysis included in this dissertation is rooted in a functional-typological theoretical orientation which assumes that functional motivations are significant in the determination of linguistic patterns, and that functional categorizations of linguistic patterns reveal insightful commonalities and differences between languages. The primary theoretical framework utilized for morphosyntactic analysis in this dissertation is Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), which assumes that linguistic symbols can be both schematic and abstract. The analysis of particular grammatical constructions is informed by standards of functional linguistic typology (Bickel & Song 2010; Song 2012).

This dissertation has been designed to make the contained analysis intuitive and accessible for readers from a variety of different theoretical backgrounds, but it also provides references to theoretical and typological linguistic literature wherever relevant to aid reader comprehension. Additionally, the categorization of constructions is designed to reflect commonality in form, function, and paradigmaticity.

1.9 Typological overview of Asimjeeg Datooga

A number of typological properties of Asimjeeg Datooga are shared with other described Datooga varieties, including: a residual ATR harmony system, singleton voiced stop phonemes and geminate voiceless stop phonemes, contrastive vowel length and restricted contrastive consonant length, two tonemes (H)igh and (L), tonal case and other grammatical tone constructions, a mixture of agglutinating and fusional morphology, suffixal nominal morphology and both prefixal and suffixal verbal morphology, a complex system of nominal number marking, and extensive verbal morphology, including encoding for tense, aspect, negation, pluractionality, polarity, applicatives, conditionality, directionality, associated motion, subject and object indexation, and non-polar question formation. Asimjeeg Datooga can be said to generally have Head-Dependent constituent order whereby prepositions precede nouns and genitive or possessive modifiers follow nouns, but the position of core arguments in the clause is quite flexible.

Asimjeeg Datooga is also distinct from other described Datooga varieties in a number of ways, including: the lack of word-final shadow vowels, the lack of the [+ATR] vowel /ɛ/ or /æ/, affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ rather than palatal stops /c/ and /j/, widespread vowel epenthesis, a clear distinction between short /i/ and long /i:/ in terms of formant frequencies, the lack of an indefinite nominal construction, a residual anaphoric reference nominal construction, frequent use of SV/AVO word order, distinct nominative and

citation tone melodies, and different distributions for the occurrence of [-ATR] vowels in nominals and the final suffix *-Ci* at the end of verbs.

1.10 Data

The analysis included in this dissertation is based on data that was collected over five field trips to Tanzania from 2014-2018, funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (ELDP, project IGS0229), the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research, and the Global Studies Institute of the University of Oregon. Each trip consisted of the following time periods: one month from August to September 2014, three months from March to June 2015, five months from October 2015 to March 2016, seven months from October 2016 to April 2017, and three months from June to September 2018. The primary field site during all three trips was Laghangareri village in Mang'ola. Additional trips were made to Mital, Dugwamuhosht, and Law, for only a few days at a time. Additional data was collected remotely by consultants trained in audio-visual data collection and elicitation. All of the data included in this dissertation is deposited in the Endangered Language Archive (ELAR) (Griscom 2017). The names of all language consultants have been anonymized to protect their privacy.

The data collected during the ELDP-funded project include over 140 hours of audio and over 20 hours of video from over 60 different speakers living in each of the four contemporary Asimjeeg Datooga communities. A wide variety of speech genres were

recorded, including personal life histories, food preparation, traditional medicine, hunting, historical accounts of conflict, migration histories, respect for elders, cultural changes among the youth, marriage and divorce, household structures and items, musical instruments, fictional tales, songs, riddles, dances, and poems.

All of the natural speech data used in this dissertation can be easily accessed from the Endangered Languages Archive. Each example of natural speech data has a unique reference ID which can be used to find the particular audio segment that has been cited. See APPENDIX D: ELAR BUNDLE NAMES for a list of the bundle names in the ELAR deposit that correspond to the natural speech data cited in the dissertation.

Phonological transcription data follow the International Phonetic Alphabet, with tone and segment length marked using diacritics (i.e. H marked with the acute accent *á*, and L marked with the grave accent *à*, and long segments marked *a:*). Morphological glossing and interlinearization in example data follows the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with some additions. See APPENDIX A: GLOSSES for a list of all glosses used in the dissertation. Verb stems that are cited in prose always appear in the singular imperative form.

1.11 Overview of the dissertation

The structure of the remaining portions of the dissertation are as follows. Chapter 2 provides a description of phonetic, phonological, and morphophonological aspects of

Asimjeeg Datooga that are necessary for understanding verbal morphosyntax. These include the inventory of consonantal and vocalic phonemes, phonotactics, segmental morphophonology, and tone. Chapter 3 describes the basics of Asimjeeg Datooga syntactic structures on the clausal and phrasal levels. Chapter 4 introduces a broad structural overview of verbal morphology, including position class charts and the description of common structural patterns. Chapter 5 describes the categorization of verb stems based on verb class, ATR, transitivity, and lexical aspect. The subsequent chapters cover various functional domains of verbal morphosyntax: argument indexation in Chapter 6, polarity in Chapter 7, tense in Chapter 8, aspect in Chapter 9, the pluractional in Chapter 10, directionality and associated motion in Chapter 11, applicatives in Chapter 12, co-hortative and imperative constructions in Chapter 13, and dependent-clause constructions in Chapter 14.

Following the chapters there are four appendices. APPENDIX A: GLOSSES is a list of all of the glosses used in the dissertation, APPENDIX B: SAMPLE TEXTS is a set of two parsed and glossed natural speech texts, APPENDIX C: LEXICON is a lexicon with approximately 2000 entries, and APPENDIX D: ELAR BUNDLE NAMES is a list of the bundle names used in the ELAR deposit for each of the natural speech files cited in the dissertation.

CHAPTER II
PHONETIC, MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL, AND INTONATIONAL
BACKGROUND

In this chapter an outline of the sound system of Asimjeeg Datooga is presented. The inventory of vocalic and consonantal phonemes is first introduced in Section 2.1, followed by phonotactic patterns and morphophonology in Section 2.2, tone and tonological processes in Section 2.3, intonational patterns of declarative and polar interrogative constructions in Section 2.4, and a comparison with other Datooga varieties in Section 2.5.

Very little has been written about Datooga phonetics and phonology. Hieda (2000) and Creider and Rottland (1996) are perhaps the only publications to specifically address issues in Datooga phonology, and there are no phonetics studies. The information contained within this section thus constitutes the first attempt to describe the phonetics of any Datooga variety. There is also evidence provided below that demonstrates how Asimjeeg Datooga may differ from other Datooga varieties in terms of its sound structures.

2.1 Phoneme inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

This section presents the consonantal inventory of Asimjeeg Datooga, which includes 20 contrastive phonemes. The following sections describe stops (Section 2.1.1.1), fricatives (Section 2.1.1.2), affricates (Section 2.1.1.3), nasals (Section 2.1.1.4), lateral and rhotic (Section 2.1.1.5), and approximants (Section 2.1.1.6).

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Post-alveolar	Velar	Uvular
Stops	/p/ /b/	/t/ /d/			/k/ /g/ /k ^w / /g ^w /	/q/ /q ^w /
Fricatives	/f/	/s/	/ʃ/			
Affricates				/tʃ/ /dʒ/		
Nasals	/m/	/n/	/ɲ/		/ŋ/ /ŋ ^w /	
Lateral		/l/				
Rhotic		/r/				
Approximant			/j/		/w/	

Table 1: Consonantal inventory of Asimjeeg Datooga

2.1.1.1 Stops

Tables 2 through 4 provide minimal and near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the stop phonemes.

Voiceless bilabial stop /p/	Voiced bilabial stop /b/
<i>àpúŋni</i> 'beat grain'	<i>àbúŋni</i> 'return (ITV)'
<i>àpàrá</i> 'widen'	<i>àbár</i> 'hit (2.PL)'
<i>làpìjádʒánd</i> 'piece.of.money'	<i>qàbì:dàné:d</i> 'leader'
<i>sáp</i> 'deceive'	<i>sàbsáb</i> 'caress'

Table 2: Minimal and near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the bilabial stop phonemes

Voiceless alveolar stop /t/	Voiced alveolar stop /d/
<i>àtíŋdà</i> 'raise something (ITV)'	<i>àdíŋdà</i> 'ascend (ITV)'
<i>àtárni</i> 'spread something (VEN)'	<i>àdárni</i> 'spread (VEN)'
<i>àsé:t</i> 'sun, God'	<i>àsé:d</i> 'today'
<i>fàgát</i> 'hunting'	<i>fàgád</i> 'be careful'

Table 3: Minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the alveolar stop phonemes

Voiceless velar stop /k/	Voiced velar stop /g/	Voiceless uvular stop /q/
-	<i>gàw</i> 'go (3.SG)'	<i>qáw</i> 'milk an animal'
-	<i>gàjd</i> 'giraffe'	<i>qáj</i> 'old times'
<i>kèmbùràdʒánd</i> 'wild cat'	<i>gèndàrdʒánd</i> 'baobab tree'	-
<i>àkújèn</i> 'mix s.th.'	<i>àgújèn</i> 'join'	<i>àqúdàn</i> 'swell'
<i>gàlàkálé:d</i> 'butterfly'	<i>àgál</i> 'try, head towards'	<i>àqád</i> 'say goodbye'
<i>àkés</i> 'vomit (v)'	<i>gàdàgè:d</i> 'animal trap'	<i>nàqè:d</i> 'oil/fat'
<i>sàrè.núk^w</i> 'bodies'	<i>dúg^w</i> 'cattle'	-
-	<i>míng^w</i> 'stars'	<i>l:ábàŋq^w</i> 'monkey'
<i>gé:k</i> 'shoes'	<i>bé:g</i> 'water'	<i>lè:qlé:q</i> 'be loose'

Table 4: Minimal and near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the velar and uvular stop phonemes

The phonemic status of stops in Datooga has puzzled researchers for decades (Rottland 1982; Rottland 1983; Hieda 2000a; Mitchell 2015a). Voiceless stops are significantly longer in duration than voiced stops and the former are often the result of the merger of two homorganic voiced stops. These facts lead Hieda (2000: 290) to claim that only one series of phonemic stops is necessary for Bajuta Datooga, because all voiceless stops are the result of gemination. Mitchell (2015a: 43) includes the voiceless stops in a table of consonant phonemes, but marks them in parentheses, indicating in prose that they are not true phonemes.

It is rare for a language to include voiced stops but not voiceless stops in its phoneme inventory (Maddieson 1984: 27), and other Southern Nilotic languages only have voiceless

stops, so Datooga certainly stands out in this regard. The contrast between voiced and voiceless stops is more widely distributed in Asimjeeg Datooga than in some other reported Datooga varieties. Hieda (2000: 286) describes the distribution of voiced and voiceless stops in Bajuta Datooga using the following rules:

1. Oral stops are always pronounced [+ voiced] in word-initial position.
2. Oral stops are pronounced [+ voiced] after nasals, laterals, or trills.
3. Oral stops are pronounced [-voiced] when a fricative or an oral stop precedes or follows them.
4. Oral stops are always pronounced [- voiced] in word-final position.
5. Oral stops are sometimes pronounced [- voiced] and sometimes [+ voiced] at intervocalic position.

In Asimjeeg Datooga, only rules 1, 2, and 5 fully apply. Contra rule 3, oral stops in Asimjeeg Datooga may be voiced or voiceless when preceded or followed by a stop as in (1) and (2), and they may be voiced when followed by a fricative, as in (3).

- (1) *gád-g*
arrow-SS.PL
'arrows'
- (2) *a-dé:pta*
2.SG-translate
'translate!'
- (3) *g-^wà-rúg-sa*
AFF-3-tell-TERM
'She/he/it tells (to someone)'

Occasionally sequences of stops with different place of articulation features can be produced either with or without voicing (without a change in meaning), as in (4). This appears to be restricted to certain morphemes/lexemes, as not all stop sequences follow the same pattern, as seen in (5).

- (4) *húg-d* (~ *húk-t*)
 cow.hump-SS.SG
 'cow hump'
- (5) *g-ò-jíb-d* (**gòjípt*)
 AFF-3-drown-ITV
 'She/he/it/they make someone drown'

Contra rule 4, In Asimjeeg Datooga voiced and voiceless stops both occur in word-final position, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) *àsé:-d*
 today-SS.SG
 'today'
- (7) *àsé:t*
 sun:SS.SS
 'Sun/God/time'

Voiceless stops in Asimjeeg Datooga appear to be closer to meeting the criteria for full phonemic status than those of other varieties of Datooga, although there are numerous cases where voiceless stops are the result of the merger of two homo-organic voiced stops. In (8), for example, the root *bíd* 'enter' appears without any overt suffixing morphology, because the ventive suffix is a zero morph in this context, whereas in (9), *bíd* 'enter' merges

with the itive suffix *-d*, resulting in a voiceless stop /t/. Additionally, in (10) the 1.SG subject indexation prefix *da-* features a voiced stop, but when the persistive prefix *gàd-* precedes it, as in (11), the result is a voiceless stop /t/.

- (8) *q-ḡ-bíd-ø*
 AFF-3-enter-VEN
 'She/he/it/they enter (coming hither)'
- (9) *q-ḡ-bít* (from *q-ḡ-bíd-d*)
 AFF-3-enter:ITV
 'She/he/it/they enter (going thither)'
- (10) *gòl-dà-dá*
 PRIOR-1.SG-see
 'I have already seen (it)'
- (11) *g-átá-dá* (from *g-ád-dá-dá*)
 AFF-PERS:1.SG-see
 'I still see (it)'

The voiceless uvular stop /q/ is distinct from the other voiceless stops in a number of ways. It does not exhibit lengthened periods of closure like the other voiceless stops, does not occur as the result of gemination, and does occur word-initially where other voiceless stops do not. /q/ also participates in a restricted morphophonological alternation with /g/ that is sensitive to ATR vowel harmony. The affirmative prefix *g- ~ q-* exhibits this alternation clearly (see Section 2.2.3).

A similar alternation between /g/ and /q/ can be observed in the patterning of singular and plural adjectives, whereby the singular adjectives pattern as [-ATR] and occur with /q/, as in (12), and plural adjectives pattern as [+ATR] and occur with /g/, as in (13).

- (12) $\dot{a}:=q\grave{a}d_3\acute{a}:m$
COP=dry
'She/he/it is dry'
- (13) $\dot{a}:=g\grave{a}d_3\acute{a}:m-i$
COP=dry-PL
'They are dry'

In summary, there are aspects of the phonotactic and morphophonological distributions of the voiceless stops in Asimjeeg Datooga that call into question their status as full phonemes. Despite this, there are also numerous cases in which they contrast with voiced stops and cannot simply be reduced to the output of some sort of processing of a voiced stop phoneme. In this dissertation, the voiceless stops will be treated as full phonemes, but with the caveat that their phonemic status is not unambiguous and their distributional properties differ in substantial ways from all of the other consonant phonemes.

Phonetically, voiced and voiceless stops are distinct from each other in Asimjeeg Datooga in terms of voice onset time (VOT) and closure. The VOT and closure measurements of 10 tokens of each phoneme in word-medial position are provided in Table 5. Voiceless stops feature longer VOT and closure measurements.

	Stop Phoneme	Average Aspiration (ms)	Aspiration Range (ms)	Average Closure (ms)	Closure Range (ms)
Voiceless	/p/	10	8-13	128	102-165
	/t/	24	11-46	145	115-187
	/k/	42	29-56	135	106-180
	/q/	3	0-16	80	55-121
Voiced	/b/	0	0-0	72	52-91
	/d/	1	0-3	75	49-101
	/g/	6	0-13	56	41-78

Table 5: VOT and closure values for voiceless and voiced stops

The articulatory features of the /q/ phoneme additionally differ from other those of other stop phonemes. Spirantization occasionally results in the phoneme being realized as a voiceless uvular fricative [χ], and the variation between [χ] and [q] appears to be free and unconditioned (see Figure 10 and 11).

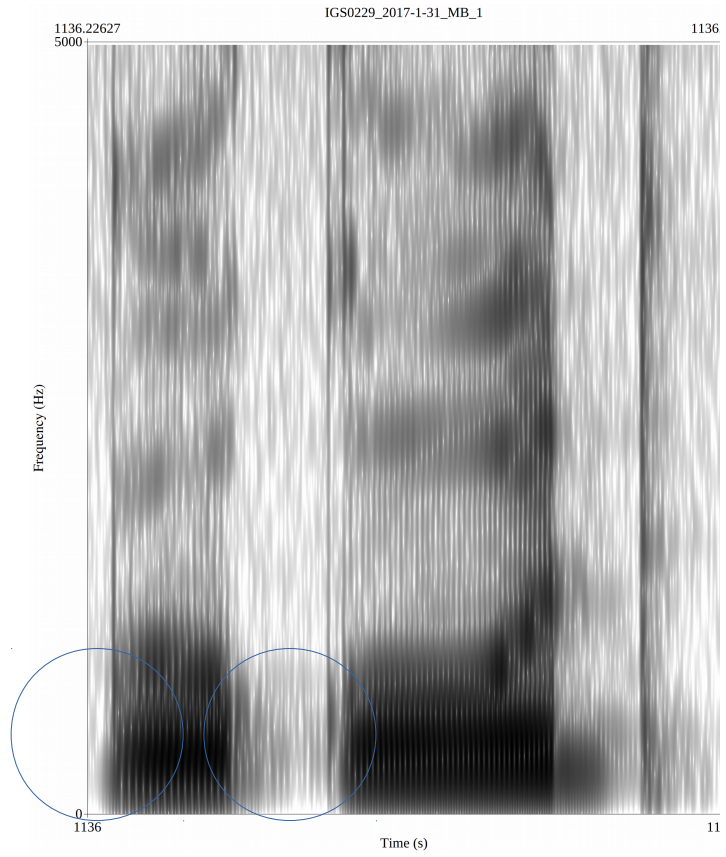


Figure 10: Spectrogram of the word qàqúd 'She/he/it/they breathe(d),' showing stop realizations of /q/ in two positions



Figure 11: Spectrogram of the word gèèqútsì 'We breathe(d),' showing a fricative realization of /q/

2.1.1.2 Fricatives

The fricative series consists of the three voiceless phonemes /f/, /s/, and /ʃ/, which are distinguished only by their place of articulation. Table 6 lists a number of near-minimal triplets that demonstrate contrast between the fricative phonemes.

Voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/	Voiceless alveolar fricative /s/	Voiceless palatal fricative /ʃ/
<i>fádʒ</i> 'run'	<i>sádʒ</i> 'shake something'	<i>ʃá</i> 'buy'
<i>fòdʒánd</i> 'blood'	<i>sòstʃánd</i> 'date tree'	<i>ʃòmànd</i> 'hole'
<i>róft</i> 'rain'	<i>àróst</i> 'smoke'	<i>lìlìft</i> 'sprout'
<i>fúf</i> 'relax'	<i>wúswus</i> 'cheap'	<i>mú:f</i> 'strain'

Table 6: Near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the fricative phonemes

There is evidence of fricatives acting as the source of devoicing in fricative-stop sequences (see e.g. 'rain,' 'smoke,' and 'sprout' in Table 6 above), and there is no context in which fricatives are produced with voicing. Lexical borrowings that have voiced fricatives in the source language (e.g. from Swahili) are produced without voicing in Asimjeeg Datooga.

2.1.1.3 Affricates

The affricate series consists of two phonemes, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/. Table 7 lists a number of minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between these two phonemes.

Voiceless post-alveolar affricate /tʃ/	Voiced post-alveolar affricate /dʒ/
àtʃágdà 'send (ITV)'	àdʒágdà 'throw (PL ITV)'
àtʃáw 'threaten'	àdʒáw 'be afraid (PL)'
látʃ 'divide'	ládʒ 'cut'
gùrwàtʃánd 'dream'	gùrwàdʒánd 'wild pig'

Table 7: Minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the affricate phonemes

As noted above in above in Section 2.1, the corresponding phonemes in other Datooga varieties have been described as palatal stops. In Asimjeeg Datooga, they do indeed resemble stops with regard to their phonotactic distribution and the length contrast associated with voicing. For example, /tʃ/ does not occur word-initially and typically features a longer period of closure and frication than /dʒ/ in the same way that voiceless stops feature longer closure than voiced stops. Both of the affricate phonemes exhibit significantly higher levels of frication than stop phonemes, however. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) note that the distinction between stop and affricate is continuous rather than discrete, which is well represented by the dual nature of the /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ phonemes in Asimjeeg Datooga.

2.1.1.4 Nasals

The nasal series consists of four phonemes, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, and /ŋ/, differentiated by their place of articulation. Nasals occur in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions,

and may undergo place assimilation in some contexts. Table 8 lists near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the nasal phonemes.

Bilabial nasal /m/	Alveolar nasal /n/	Palatal nasal /ɲ/	Velar nasal /ŋ/
<i>más</i> 'agree'	<i>náb</i> 'sew'	<i>ɲás</i> 'find/get'	<i>ŋàɲ</i> 'down, below'
<i>è:mè:d</i> 'group of people'	<i>àné:dà</i> 'which?'	<i>dèɲé:n</i> 'be equal'	<i>bùŋé:d</i> 'grave'
<i>àré:m</i> 'fetch (PL)'	<i>sàré:n</i> 'carry'	<i>ré:ɲ</i> 'jump'	-
<i>mám</i> 'maternal uncle'	<i>gàbán</i> 'always'	<i>máɲ</i> 'gossip'	<i>mánàŋ</i> 'small'

Table 8: Near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between nasal phonemes

2.1.1.5 Lateral and Rhotic

Despite the widespread merger of laterals and rhotics in many Bantu languages of East Africa (Schmied 2006), the two are clearly distinguished in Datooga varieties. The alveolar lateral /l/ is contrasted with the rhotic /r/, which has both trill and tap allophones in free variation. Table 9 lists minimal and near-minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the lateral and rhotic phonemes.

Lateral /l/	Rhotic /r/
<i>làwó:d</i> 'oath'	<i>ràwò:d</i> 'dew'
<i>dàsèlàdʒé:g</i> 'large hawk'	<i>gèrèràdʒé:g</i> 'crocodiles'
<i>àbál</i> 'possess'	<i>àbár</i> 'hit (PL)'

Table 9: Minimal and near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the lateral and rhotic phonemes

2.1.1.6 Approximants

The inventory of approximants consists of a palatal approximant /j/ and labio-velar approximant /w/. These consonants differ from the others in that they do not undergo any gemination processes. Table 10 lists minimal and near-minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the approximant phonemes.

Palatal approximant /j/	Labio-velar approximant /w/
<i>jám</i> 'turn over'	<i>wàtát</i> 'never'
<i>àjìbdà</i> 'drown'	<i>àwìdání</i> 'come from behind (PL)'
<i>qáj</i> 'old times'	<i>qáw</i> 'milk an animal'

Table 10: Minimal and near minimal pairs demonstrating contrast between the approximant phonemes

2.1.2

Vowels

This section presents a summary of the inventory of vowel phonemes in Asimjeeg Datooga. All of the Asimjeeg Datooga vowel phonemes may be formally distinguished from one another through the specification of three properties: height (High, Mid, Low), backness (Front, Center, Back), and tongue root (+ATR, [-ATR]). Table 11 lists all of the vowel phonemes.

	Front	Center	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Mid [+ATR]	/e/		/o/
Mid [-ATR]	(/ɛ:/)		(/ɔ:/)
Low		/a/	

Table 11: Vocalic inventory of Asimjeeg Datooga

Within the morphophonological system there are remnants of a full 10 vowel ATR system (Rottland 1983: 217), but the [-ATR] high vowels and [+ATR] low vowel have been lost. Barabaiga and Gisamjanga Datooga feature a [+ATR] low vowel /ɛ/ or /æ/ that is not present in Asimjeeg Datooga (Rottland 1982; Creider & Rottland 1996).

2.1.2.1 The high front vowel /i/

High front vowel /i/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>hìn.í</i> 'arrive (VEN)'	<i>hèn.í</i> 'grow up'
<i>níb</i> 'time, period'	<i>náb</i> 'sew'
<i>àlíl</i> 'sleep (PL)'	<i>àlúl</i> 'invite s.o. (PL)'
<i>sís</i> 'eight'	<i>sósk</i> 'date trees'
<i>bìlbìlà.n</i> 'be scarce'	<i>àpèlbél</i> 'loosen'
<i>fìrín</i> 'scratch s.th.'	<i>àpàr:ín</i> 'peel s.th.'

Table 12: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the high front vowel /i/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.2 The high back vowel /u/

High back vowel /u/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>àlúl</i> 'invite (PL)'	<i>àlíl</i> 'sleep (PL)'
<i>bùfáng</i> 'destroyed things'	<i>béft</i> 'elephant'
<i>búr</i> 'be tired'	<i>bár</i> 'hit'
<i>mfàbúk</i> 'tongues'	<i>bàbók</i> 'father's younger brother'
<i>qùjé:g</i> 'tamarind trees'	<i>qòjé:g</i> 'fish (PL)'

Table 13: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the high back vowel /u/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.3 The mid front [+ATR] vowel /e/

Mid front [+ATR] vowel /e/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>hèn.í</i> 'grow up'	<i>hìn.í</i> 'arrive (VEN)'
<i>béft</i> 'elephant'	<i>bùfáŋg</i> 'destroyed things'
<i>hésì</i> 'big (PL)'	<i>hósì</i> 'old (PL)'
<i>béft</i> 'elephant'	<i>báf</i> 'dig'
<i>wé:f</i> 'white'	<i>wé:d</i> 'help s.o.'
<i>àhén.ì</i> 'grow up (PL)'	<i>àhón</i> 'drive s.th. away (PL)'

Table 14: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the close-mid front vowel /e/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.4 The Mid back [+ATR] vowel /o/

Mid back [+ATR] vowel /o/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>sósk</i> 'date trees'	<i>sís</i> 'eight'
<i>hósì</i> 'old (PL)'	<i>hésì</i> 'big (PL)'
<i>mònánd</i> 'well'	<i>mànánd</i> 'waist'
<i>bàbók</i> 'father's younger brother'	<i>m̀fàbúk</i> 'tongues'
<i>bòlból.è:k</i> 'spherical objects'	<i>àpèlbél</i> 'loosen'

Table 15: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the close-mid back vowel /o/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.5 The mid front [-ATR] vowel /ɛ/

Mid front [-ATR] vowel /ɛ/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>àpèlbél</i> 'loosen'	<i>bìlbìlà.n</i> 'be scarce' <i>bòlból.è:k</i> 'spherical objects'
<i>wé:d</i> 'help s.o.'	<i>wé:f</i> 'white'
<i>lé</i> 'drink'	<i>lá</i> 'six'

Table 16: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the open-mid front vowel /ɛ/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.6 The mid back [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/

Mid back [-ATR] vowel /ɔ/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>àhón</i> 'drive s.th. away (PL)'	<i>àhén.ì</i> 'grow up (PL)'
<i>qòjànd</i> 'fish'	<i>qáj</i> 'old times'

Table 17: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the open-mid back vowel /ɔ/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.7 Low center vowel /a/

Low center vowel /a/	Contrast with other vowel phonemes
<i>náb</i> 'sew'	<i>níb</i> 'time, period'
<i>bár</i> 'hit'	<i>búr</i> 'be tired'
<i>báf</i> 'dig'	<i>béft</i> 'elephant'
<i>mànánd</i> 'waist'	<i>mònánd</i> 'well'
<i>lá</i> 'six'	<i>lé</i> 'drink'
<i>qáj</i> 'old times'	<i>qòjánd</i> 'fish'

Table 18: Minimal and near minimal pairs distinguishing the low center vowel /a/ from other vowel phonemes

2.1.2.8 Vowel Length

Vowels additionally may be distinguished in terms of length. (14) through (17) provide minimal pairs demonstrating length contrast for /i/ vs. /i:/ and /a/ vs. /a:/. Mitchell (2015a: 42) posits that the Mid [-ATR] vowels are only ever long in Gisamjanga Datooga.

(14) \emptyset -*báf*
2.SG-dig
'Dig!'

(15) \emptyset -*bá:f*
2.SG-tear
'Tear (it)!'

(16) \emptyset -*síd*
2.SG-hate
'Hate (something)!'

(17) *sí:-d*
person-SS.SG
'(a/the) person'

For the vowels that do have clear length contrasts, the vowel quality is typically somewhat more centralized for short vowels, and the short high front vowel /i/ in particular is significantly more centralized when compared to the long high front vowel /i:/, resulting in a distinction somewhat similar to the English words *bit* and *beat*. The short /i/ also resembles the quality of epenthetic vowels (see Section 2.2.2.1). Figure 12 illustrates the overlap between the F1 and F2 frequencies of short /a/ and long /a:/ and the separation between the formant frequencies of short /i/ and long /i:/. It should be noted that, even despite the examples listed above, vowel length is rarely the sole distinguishing feature that distinguishes lexical items or other constructions, so it can be said to have a relatively low functional load.

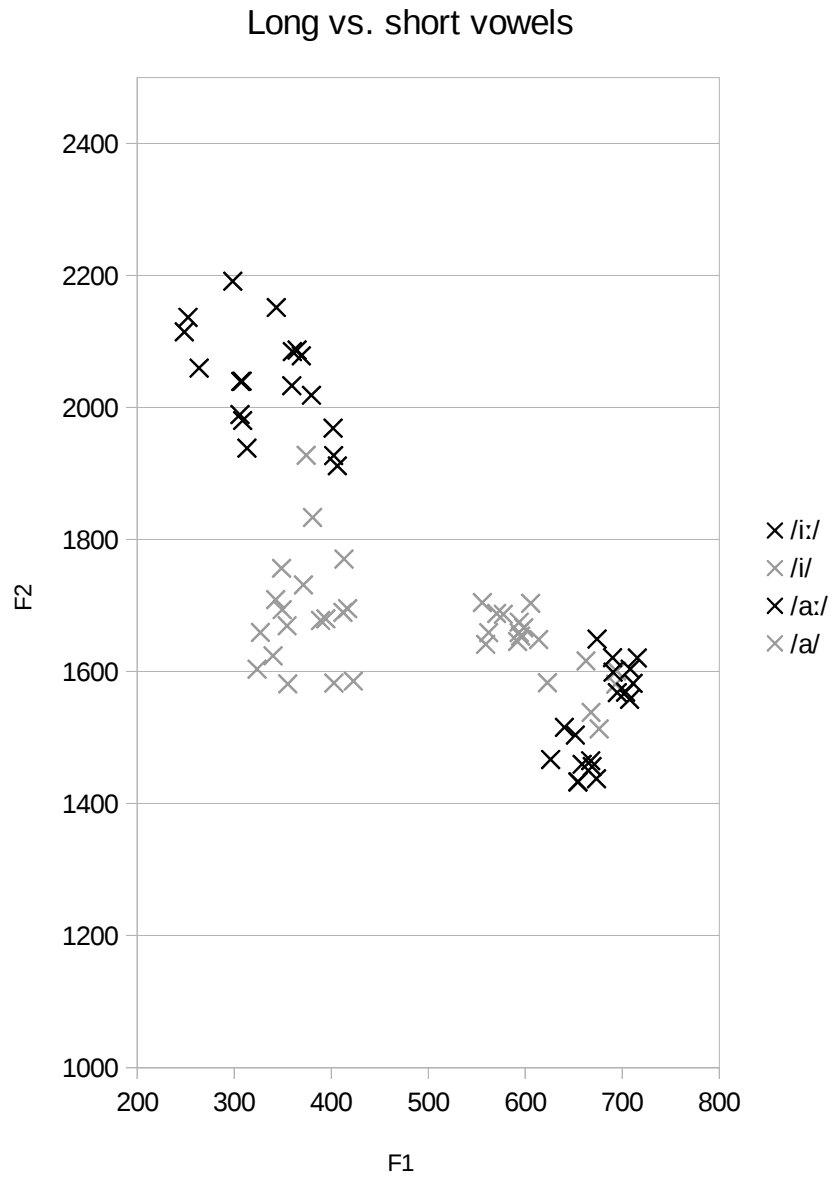


Figure 12: Formant plots of two pairs of long and short vowels

2.2 Phonotactics and segmental morphophonology

2.2.1 Syllable Structure

Asimjeeg Datooga permits a wide variety of syllable structures and there is little evidence of sensitivity to syllable weight in the phonological system. Table 19 lists the common structures contained within the following phonological categories: onset, nucleus, and coda. These structures indicate that the majority of syllables in Asimjeeg Datooga have a vocalic nucleus, which may be short or long, an onset that may consist of a consonant and labio-velar approximant, and a coda that may consist of up to two consonants followed by a labio-velar approximant. Some coda consonant clusters may result in the insertion of epenthetic vowels, while others may not (see Section 2.2.2.1).

Syllable Onset	Syllable Nucleus	Syllable Coda
(C)(G _[labio-velar])	V(:)	(C)(C)(G _[labiovelar])

Table 19: High frequency syllable structures, categorized by syllable onset, nucleus, and coda

Table 20 lists some of the less frequent structures contained within these categories. These structures include syllables with an onset that consists of a geminate stop or a consonant cluster where the second consonant is [+rhotic], a nucleus that consists of a nasal

rather than a vowel, and a coda that consists of a geminate consonant. Table 21 additionally provides examples of each attested syllable type and notes on their distributional restrictions.

Syllable Onset	Syllable Nucleus	Syllable Coda
C:, CC _[+rhotic]	N	C:

Table 20: Low frequency syllable structures, categorized by syllable onset, nucleus, and coda

Table 21: Inventory of syllable templates

Syllable Shape	Examples	Notes
V	<i>àlím</i> 'pick up,' <i>údòm</i> 'hippopotamus'	Word-initial position only
N	<i>m̀bòjd</i> 'goat,' <i>m̀fàràdʒánd</i> 'sugarcane,' <i>̀̀qàqàdʒé:g</i> 'chicken (PL)'	Word-initial position only
V:	<i>à:</i> 'and,' <i>̀̀nánd</i> 'small intestines,'	Word-initial position only
CV	<i>g̀̀nò:d</i> 'mortar,' <i>b̀̀náng</i> 'orphan (PL)'	Unrestricted
(C)V	<i>̀̀ábàŋq^w</i> 'monkey,' <i>̀̀ùftó:d</i> 'spider species'	Unrestricted
VC	<i>àb</i> 'for, to,' <i>ák</i> 'one'	Unrestricted
V:C	<i>ì:t</i> 'ear,' <i>̀̀: d</i> 'head'	Unrestricted
CG _[labio-velar] V	<i>m̀̀bàq^wàdʒé:g</i> 'stork (PL),' <i>g^wàdʒííl</i> 's/he/it gives birth'	Unrestricted
CVG	<i>qáj</i> 'old times,' <i>gàw</i> 's/he/it goes'	Unrestricted
CVC	<i>nìn</i> 'she/he/it,' <i>qùt</i> 'mouth,' <i>bár</i> 'hit'	Unrestricted
CVCG _[labio-velar]	<i>dúg^w</i> 'cow (PL)'	Unrestricted
CG _[labio-velar] VC	<i>àsk^wár</i> 'afternoon'	Unrestricted
CVCC _[stop]	<i>nàft</i> 'voice, thunder,' <i>háŋd</i> 'clothing,' <i>héwg</i> 'bull (PL),' <i>gálg</i> 'house (PL),' <i>búrd</i> 'cooking pot,' <i>gádɡ</i> 'arrow (PL)'	Unrestricted
CG _[labio-velar] VCC _[stop]	<i>g^wàjd</i> 'giraffe,' <i>m̀̀wúfk</i> 'skin (PL),' <i>q^wéŋg</i> 'piece of firewood (PL),' <i>dàq^wáld</i> 'beehive'	Unrestricted
CV:	<i>àbí:dàn</i> 'dwell, stay'	Unrestricted

Table 21 Continued: Inventory of syllable templates

Syllable Shape	Examples	Notes
CV:C	<i>sí:d</i> 'person'	Unrestricted
CG _[labio-velar] V:C	<i>bàsk^wé:g</i> 'ocean (PL),' <i>ùk^wè:d</i> 'field'	Unrestricted
CVCCG	<i>l:ábàŋq^w</i> 'monkey,'	Unrestricted
CV:CCG	<i>mí:ŋg^w</i> 'star (PL)'	Unrestricted
(CVC:)	<i>rám:</i> 'Fetch (many times)!'	Word-final position only, low frequency
(CV:C:)	<i>àŋgí:r:</i> 'Drag (many times)!'	Word-final position only, low frequency

2.2.2 Morphophonological processes

2.2.2.1 Epenthesis

Epenthesis is a regular process in Asimjeeg Datooga, resulting in the insertion of vowels into consonant clusters and also the insertion of /h/ or /j/ between vowels at some morpheme boundaries. In consonant clusters where the second consonant is voiced and the consonants have different place of articulation features, an epenthetic vowel is inserted. See Table 22 for examples of consonant clusters in which vowel epenthesis does and does not occur.

Epenthesis	Phonological structure	Broad phonetic form	Meaning
Yes	<i>/qàŋd/</i>	[qàŋ'd]	'eye'
	<i>/garm/</i>	[gàr'm]	'woman'
	<i>/gádɔ/</i>	[gád'g]	'arrow (PL)'
	<i>/qà:bárdʒ/</i>	[qà.bár'dʒ]	'I hit (something)'
No	<i>/gìft/</i>	[gìft:]	'leg'
	<i>/mùnd/</i>	[mùnd]	'skin'
	<i>/q^wéŋɔ/</i>	[q ^w éŋɔ]	'piece of firewood (PL)'
	<i>/àbàlásk/</i>	[àbàlásk:]	'cockroach (PL)'

Table 22: Vowel epenthesis in consonant clusters

Consonant epenthesis is much more restricted and appears to exhibit free variation between the insertion of /h/ and /j/ at morpheme boundaries. See (18) and (19) for an example of consonant epenthesis, where the boundary between the verb root **dá** 'see' and the perfect suffix **-a** results in the insertion of /h/.

(18) *ø-dá*
2.SG-see
'See (it)!'

(19) *q-ɔ́-dá-hà*
AFF-3-see-FS/PERF
'She/he/it/they has/have seen (it)'

2.2.2.2 Gemination

Geminate consonants are not common in Asimjeeg Datooga, aside from the creation of voiceless stops through gemination (see Section 2.1.1.1 above), but they do occur in a systematic fashion in a residual pluractional imperative construction. This construction does not occur with high frequency and is in the process of being replaced by the pluractional imperative suffix *-aj*. See (20) through (23) for examples of gemination in the pluractional imperative construction. Some lexemes appear to include geminate non-stop consonants at morpheme boundaries, such as *bàl:ánd* 'youth,' which consists of the nominal root *bàl* followed by the primary suffix *-Can* and secondary suffix *-d*.

- (20) *ø-rám*
2.SG-fetch
'Fetch (it)!'
- (21) *ø-rám:*
2.SG-fetch:PLUR
'Fetch (it) many times!'
- (22) *à-ngí.r*
2.SG-drag
'Drag (it)!'
- (23) *à-ngí.r:*
2.SG-drag:PLUR
'Drag (it) many times!'

2.2.2.3 Palatalization

Palatalization of /n/ occurs at morpheme boundaries involving two specific suffixes: the nominal Primary Suffix *-Can* (see Section 3.1.1) and the verbal final suffix *-C(i)* (see Section 4.1.3). See (24) through (26) for examples of the palatalization of /n/ in the context of the Final Suffix *-C(i)*.

(24) \emptyset -*sín*
2.SG-do
'Do (it)!'

(25) *g-à:-síjɪ*
AFF-1.SG-do:FS
'I am doing/did (it)'

(26) *g-è:-síjɪ̀*
AFF-1.PL-do:FS
'We are doing/did (it)'

2.2.3 Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) harmony

In Asimjeeg Datooga there are remnants of an ATR harmony system that originally consisted of ten vowel phonemes (four High vowels, four Mid vowels, and two Low vowels). The system has broken down in a number of ways, resulting not only in a reduction in the inventory of vowel phonemes but also in the application of ATR harmony processes.

Acoustically, there is no distinction between [+ATR] and [-ATR] High vowels or Low vowels. Rottland (1983: 217) reports that even in other varieties of Datooga there are

lexemes that exhibit a merger between the [+ATR] and [-ATR] low vowels. No minimal pairs demonstrating the phonemic contrast between [+ATR] and [-ATR] vowel phonemes have been reported for any variety of Datooga. Mitchell (2015a: 42) proposes that the [-ATR] Mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ might not exhibit a length contrast like the other vowels in Gisamjanga and Barabaiga Datooga, and this appears to be the case for Asimjeeg Datooga, as well. Despite these restrictions, the [-ATR] Mid vowels are tentatively included in the phoneme chart in Table 11 because of their distinct acoustic properties and native speaker judgments regarding their distinction from the [+ATR] Mid vowels.

ATR harmony in Datooga is perhaps best viewed as an abstraction, consisting of a single binary feature [+/-ATR] that is associated with specific morphological constructions and lexemes rather than vowel phonemes. Not all morphological constructions or lexemes are specified for [ATR], but those that do can be easily identified by observing the following patterns:

1. Nominal roots and stems are generally never specified for ATR, but appear in [+ATR] and [-ATR] forms depending on the morphological construction in which they are contained. For example, in citation form, nearly all nominal stems are in [+ATR] form, but with certain possessive suffixes all nominal stems appear in [-ATR] form (Creider & Rottland 1996).

2. Verbal roots are always specified for ATR, with distinctions between [+ATR] and [-ATR] visible in verbal morphology even for roots that feature only the fully merged High or Low vowels. Some verbal morphology overrides the ATR values associated with roots (Rottland 1983: 217)
3. Adjectival roots ARE specified for ATR, but always occur in [+ATR] form in the plural. Other members of closed lexical classes may be specified for ATR.

See (28) to (32) for examples of ATR alternations in nominal stems, whereby they are [+ATR] in unmodified citation form and also with the 1.SG possessive suffix -éɲ, but [-ATR] with the 2.SG possessive suffix -áŋ^w.

- (27) *mòl-é:-d*
 finger-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'finger'
- (28) *mòl-è:-d-éɲ*
 finger-PS.SG-SS.SG-POSS.1.SG
 'my finger'
- (29) *mòl-è:-d-áŋ^w*
 finger-PS.SG-SS.SG-POSS.2.SG
 'your finger'
- (30) *sàs-é:-d*
 body-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'body'
- (31) *sàs-è:-d-éɲ*
 body-PS.SG-SS.SG-POSS.1.SG
 'my body'

- (32) *sàs-è:-d-áŋ^w*
 body-PS.SG-SS.SG-POSS.2.SG
 'your body'

One of the most salient correlates of ATR harmony in Datooga is the patterning of the phonemes /g/ and /k/ with [+ATR] and /q/ with [-ATR]. This is especially productive in verbal morphology, where the affirmative morpheme *g-* ~ *q-* alternates between /g/ and /q/ when combined with [+ATR] and [-ATR] verbal roots, respectively, for 1.SG, 2.PL, and 3rd person subjects. /g/ and /q/ are also restricted root-internally to [+ATR] and [-ATR] roots. Another correlate of ATR harmony is the distribution of [+ATR] and [-ATR] allomorphs in indexation morphology, including 1.PL subject indexation (*e:-* ~ *ɛ:-*), 2.PL subject indexation (*o:-* ~ *ɔ:-*), Class 2 3rd person subject indexation (*o-* ~ *ɔ-*), 2.SG object indexation (*-e:n* ~ *-ɛ:n*), and 2.PL object indexation (*-e:g^w* ~ *-ɛ:g^w*).

See Table 23 for examples of verb roots that contain only High/Low vowels and are categorized by the type of ATR morphology that they occur with¹.

¹ See section 5.2 for discussion of verb classes.

Meaning	Verb Class and ATR	Imperative Singular Form	Affirmative 3 Subject Form
'sleep'	1.A, [+ATR]	<i>líl</i>	<i>g^wàlíl</i>
'relax'	1.B, [+ATR]	<i>fúf</i>	<i>gàfúf</i>
'try'	1.B, [+ATR]	<i>gál</i>	<i>gàgál</i>
'extinguish'	1.A, [-ATR]	<i>nús</i>	<i>q^wànús</i>
'look'	1.A, [-ATR]	<i>dá</i>	<i>q^wàdá</i>
'see'	1.B, [-ATR]	<i>ηúl</i>	<i>qàηúl</i>
'invite, announce'	2, [+ATR]	<i>àlúl</i>	<i>gòlúl</i>
'wear clothing'	2, [+ATR]	<i>àk^wál</i>	<i>gòk^wál</i>
'finish'	2, [-ATR]	<i>àhí:d</i>	<i>qðhí:t</i>

Table 23: Verb roots that contain only High or Low vowels and pattern either as [+ATR] or [-ATR]

2.2.4 Lack of shadow vowels

One feature of Asimjeeg Datooga that distinguishes it from other varieties is the complete loss of the so-called "shadow vowels" at the end of many word forms (Rottland 1983: 218). In Barabaiga and Gisamjanga Datooga these short vowels have been described as undergoing a word-final devoicing process. In Asimjeeg Datooga the vowels have been completely lost, although they do surface as fully voiced vowels at the end of nominal stems in equative constructions, as shown in (33) through (36).

- (33) *màj-d*
calf-SS.SG
'calf'

(34) *nì* *màj-dá*
 PROX.DEM.PRO calf-SS.SG/COP
 'This is a/the calf'

(35) *dé:-d*
 cow-SS.SG
 'cow'

(36) *nì* *dè:-dá*
 PROX.DEM.PRO cow-SS.SG/COP
 'This is a/the cow'

2.3 Tone

This section briefly outlines the tonal system of Asimjeeg Datooga. Tone in Asimjeeg Datooga is a critical component of the grammatical system, and some constructions employ the use of tone as the sole or primary formal coding mechanism (see Griscom, submitted). No thorough analysis of tone in any Datooga variety has ever been completed, although transcriptions of tone are a common feature in the Datooga literature and tone is recognized to play an important role in the grammatical systems of Datooga varieties (Rottland and Creider 1997; Kießling 2007b; Bruckhaus 2015; Mitchell 2015a). Here discussion will be limited to the inventory of tones and productive tonological processes that are relevant for verbal morphophonology.

2.3.1 Underlying tones

In Asimjeeg Datooga there are two underlying tones: low (L) and high (H). Some minimal pairs exist, such as (37) and (38). The tone-bearing unit (TBU) in Asimjeeg Datooga is the syllable, rather than the mora. This means that syllable shape or weight does not impact the tone-bearing properties of a syllable. Nasals can bear tones in word-initial position only, when they are fully syllabic. See (39) and (40) for examples of nasals bearing tone.

(37) *sà:w*
3.PL.PRO
'they'

(38) *ø-sá:w*
2.SG-pierce
'Pierce (it)!'

(39) *m̄fàrà-dʒán-d*
sugarcane-PS.SG-SS.SG
'sugarcane'

(40) *ḥqàq-àdʒé:-g*
chicken-PS.PL-SS.PL
'chickens'

Contour tones, such as falling (F) and rising (R), occur regularly but are not contrastive and do not interact with tonal constructions in any way (c.f. Akinlabi & Liberman 2001: 3). In this way surface contours represent a delayed transition between two different tones (i.e. surface F is the result of a transition between H and L that occurs during the second syllable), or an initial resting state and a tone (i.e. surface R is the result of a transition from

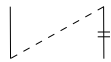
resting state to H tone). F occurs on the second syllable of all HL transitions and the duration of the contour is lengthened when the second syllable features a long vowel. R occurs only at the beginning of intonational phrases when the first syllable bears a H tone. Contours are not marked in the data in this paper, but may be inferred from the patterns stated above.

2.3.2 Rightward H-spreading

Two tonological patterns that have been observed in Asimjeeg Datooga include rightward H-spreading and intonational-phrase-final downstep. H-spreading is a highly productive pattern that is conditioned by word boundaries and floating tone constructions. The three conditions that must be met for the pattern to occur are: 1) a HL sequence that is 2) either distributed across a word boundary or is situated word-initially in conjunction with a floating H construction, and 3) is not word-final. When these conditions are met, the second tone of all HL sequences is H rather than L, as formalized in (41).

(41) *H-spreading*

σ σ



H L

In examples (42) and (43), the H tone of *qáj* 'old times' and the non-word-final position of the initial L tones of *gìsilg* 'sheep' and *màlééd* 'honey' provide the necessary conditions for H-spreading to occur. In (44), however, the single tone of the word *màjd* 'calf' is word-final, which means that the non-word-final condition for H-spreading is not met, despite the fact that the conditions of a HL sequence and distribution across a word boundary are satisfied.

- (42) a. *gìsil-g*
 sheep-SS.PL
 'sheep (plural)'
 b. *qáj* *gìsil-g*
 old.times sheep-SS.PL
 'In the old times, sheep...'
- (43) a. *màl-é:-d*
 honey-PS.SG-SS.SG
 '(a/the) honey'
 b. *qáj* *màl-é:-d*
 old.times honey-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'In the old times, (the) honey...'
- (44) a. *màj-d*
 calf-SG
 '(a/the) calf'
 b. *qáj* *màj-d*
 old.times calf-SG
 'In the old times, (a/the) calf...'

2.3.3 Intonational-phrase-final downdrift

In addition to H-spreading, intonational-phrase-final H tones at the end of HLH sequences occur as downstepped high (!H), except in interrogative constructions. In

example (45) the intonational-phrase-final HLH tones that result from the combination of H spreading with the LLH tone class nominal *hòrgàdʒé:g* ‘chairs’ provide the necessary conditions of intonational-phrase-final downdrift to occur (i.e. H + LLH = H HL!H). One notable feature of Gisamjanga Datooga, a declarative floating low tone at the end of the intonational phrase (Kießling 2007b), is absent in Asimjeeg Datooga.

- (45) *q-à:-bàr-dʒ* *ár* *hòrg-àdʒ!é:-g*
 AFF-1.SG-hit-FS even chair-PS.PL-SS.PL
 'I hit even the chairs'

2.4 Declarative and polar interrogative intonation

This section describes two related utterance-level constructions that are coded through the use of intonation. The declarative construction (Section 2.4.1) features intonational downdrift at the end of the intonational phrase, and the polar interrogative construction (Section 2.4.2) features rising (or non-falling) intonation at the end of the intonational phrase.

2.4.1 Declarative intonation

The declarative construction in Asimjeeg Datooga codes the assertion of the truth value of a proposition. The declarative construction is always specified for either affirmative or negative polarity, and it can be distinguished from the interrogative construction by the presence of intonational-phrase-final downdrift (see Section 2.3.3). See Figure 13 for an

illustration of the pitch tracking of a declarative construction *gè.bárádʒ ɲàɲ* 'They were farming'.

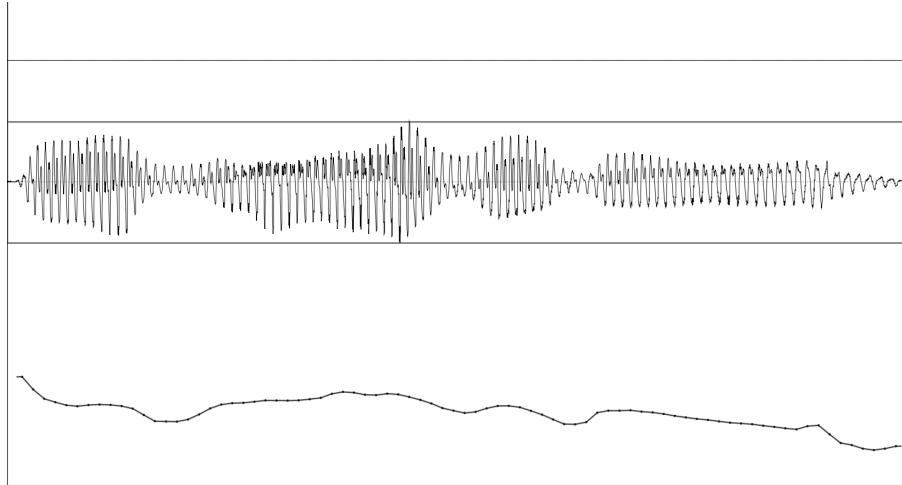


Figure 13: Waveform and pitch tracking of a declarative clause (gè.bárádʒ ɲàɲ 'They were farming,' IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4_073)

2.4.2 Polar interrogative intonation

Polar interrogatives are "used to inquire about the truth or falsity of the proposition they express" (König & Siemund 2007: 291). The primary coding mechanism for the polar interrogative construction is rising (or non-falling) intonation at the end of the intonational phrase. Figure 14 shows the pitch tracking of an example interrogative construction *gè:bárádʒ ɲájɲ* 'They were farming?'. Interrogative constructions that are cited in this dissertation are easily identifiable by the presence of a question mark "?" in the free translation.

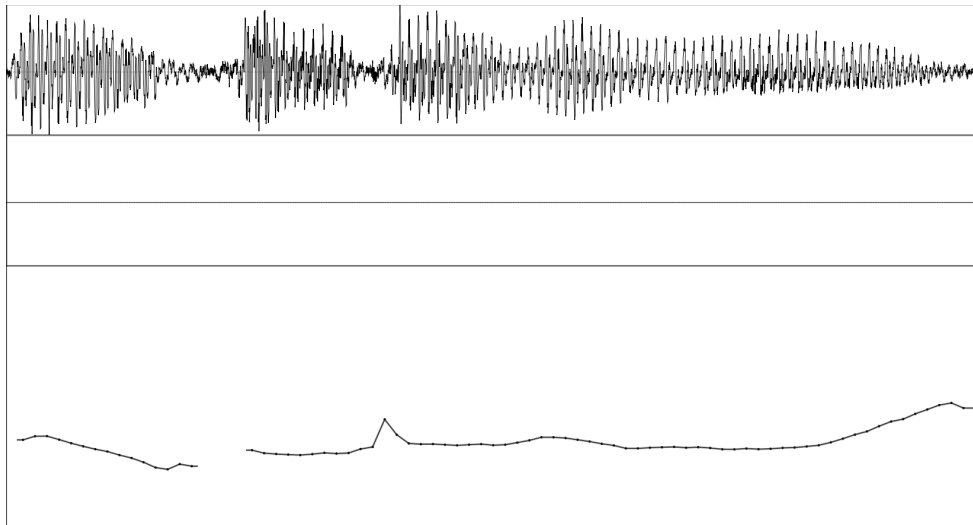


Figure 14: Waveform and pitch tracking of an interrogative clause (*gè:bárádʒ ɲájɲ* 'They were farming?' IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4_073)

Examples (46) and (47) show the interrogative construction with affirmative and negative polarity. In these examples, the truth value of a proposition is questioned, and affirmative and negative polarity are coded by their respective prefixes. In (46), the lexical verb *mas* 'agree' occurs with two instances of the affirmative and persistent aspect. In (47), the verbal copula *nd* occurs with the negative prefix *m-*.

- (46) *g-àd-q-à-más*
 AFF-PERS-AFF-3-agree
 'They still agree?'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04_079)
- (47) *m-è:-nd* *gídábúgéér=ó*
 NEG-1.PL-COP Gidabugeer=DISC
 'Aren't we in Gidabugeer?'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4_083)

Example (48) shows the interrogative construction coding the questioning of an obligation, with the lexical verb *balo:l* 'speak' in a dependent stem construction with 1.SG subject indexation (see Section 4.2).

- (48) *dà-bàló:l*
 1.SG-speak
 'Should I speak?'
 (2017-3-10_#2_01)

2.5 Comparison with other varieties of Datooga

The phoneme inventory of Asimjeeg Datooga closely resembles that of other Datooga varieties, with two notable exceptions: Asimjeeg Datooga features post-alveolar affricates rather than palatal stops, and the [+ATR] low vowel is absent in the vowel inventory. The affricates in Asimjeeg Datooga are distinct from the stops because they feature prolonged periods of frication following closure (see Section 2.1.1.3), but they are similar to stops in terms of the phonotactic patterns they exhibit. As for the “missing” low vowel, in other varieties of Datooga the [-ATR] vowel /a/ alternates with the [+ATR] vowel /ɛ/ or /æ/, but in Asimjeeg Datooga the surface distinction is neutralized (remnants of harmony patterns still exist, as with the high vowels). Some issues in the phonemic analysis remain, such as the length of -ATR vowels /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/ (see Section 2.1.2). See Rottland (1982, 1983) for relationships to the phoneme inventories of other Southern Nilotic languages outside of Datooga.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOSYNTACTIC BACKGROUND

This section offers a brief introduction to the morphosyntax of noun phrases and basic independent clauses in Asimjeeg Datooga, in order to aid understanding of example data throughout the remaining sections of the dissertation. Section 3.1 introduces the morphology of nouns, including primary and secondary suffixes, possessive suffixes, demonstrative enclitics, anaphoric reference forms, and nominal tone classes, as well as the syntax of noun phrases. Section 3.2 covers clause-level syntactic constructions, including intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clause constructions.

3.1 Noun phrase morphosyntax

The grammatical category of noun (or nominal)² in Asimjeeg Datooga includes words that fill the same syntactic slot in a variety of grammatical constructions, such as the nominal head slot in noun phrases, or either the head or dependent slots in the associative construction (see Section 3.1.6). These words also have similar semantic properties (generally referring to time-stable entities or objects) and similar morphological properties.

² The terms *noun* and *nominal* will be used here more or less interchangeably.

The basic structure of nouns in Asimjeeg Datooga is presented in Table 24, with optional morphology contained within parentheses.

Nominal root	Suffixes and enclitics			
root	-(primary suffix)	-(primary suffix)	-(secondary suffix)	-(possessive suffix /=demonstrative enclitic)

Table 24: Nominal morphology in Asimjeeg Datooga

The nominal root is the lexical component of the noun, which carries the core conceptual meaning of the word. Roots may vary in length from a single syllable to multiple syllables. A small number of monosyllabic nominal roots can occur without additional morphology in the anaphoric reference form (see Section 3.1.4), while all others must occur together with some kind of suffixing or encliticizing morphology.

Asimjeeg Datooga nominal morphology can be divided into four categories: primary suffixes, secondary suffixes, possessive suffixes, and demonstrative enclitics. The terms “primary suffix” and “secondary suffix” refer to two different categories of productive nominal suffixes that are common to Southern Nilotic languages (Tucker and Bryan 1962; Tucker and Bryan 1964). The two terms will be used in a manner roughly corresponding to that of Kießling (2000a), whereby the term “secondary suffix” refers to a closed set of

morphemes that code singular or plural grammatical number, and the term “primary suffix” refers to any regularly occurring morphological form that directly follows the nominal root and is not a secondary suffix. Nouns may feature one or two primary suffixes, or none at all. Possessive suffixes always co-occur with a secondary suffix, and demonstrative enclitics either co-occur with, phonologically merge with, or replace the secondary suffix.

Some additional terminology is required to capture the full range of possible nominal structures. The terms "citation form" or "accusative-citation form" are used here to describe the structure that nouns exhibit when elicited or produced in isolation. The tonal pattern of the citation form often contrasts with that of the nominative form (see Section 3.1.5), which is used when the nominal functions as a subject argument in the immediate post-verbal position. Both the citation and the nominative forms feature secondary suffixes within the nominal stem. The term "anaphoric reference form" is used here to describe the structure that nouns exhibit when used to refer to participants that have been mentioned previously in discourse (see Section 3.1.4), and these nouns do not feature secondary suffixes.

3.1.1 Primary and secondary suffixes

As reported for other varieties of Datooga and Southern Nilotic languages (Tucker & Bryan 1962, 1964; Creider & Creider 1989; Creider & Rottland 1997), the inventory of primary suffixes in Asimjeeg Datooga is large and individual primary suffixes often cannot

be reliably associated with any particular meaning or function. Table 25 lists some of the most common primary suffixes in Asimjeeg Datooga. Some primary suffix forms only appear in singular or plural stems, while others appear in both. The primary suffixes of singular stem and plural stem pairs sometimes correlate with one another in such a way that the primary suffix(es) of one stem can be determined by the primary suffix(es) of the other. It is also occasionally possible for two or even three distinct primary suffixes to be deemed acceptable by speakers and used regularly with the same nominal root, especially if the root is borrowed from another language. Kießling (2000a) lists a number of correlations between the distribution of singular and plural primary suffixes in Gisamjanga Datooga, but it may be observed that even for Gisamjanga Datooga there is no one-to-one relationship between any singular or plural primary suffix.

Form	SG/PL	Examples
-(C)an	SG	<i>àbàlàstfánd</i> 'cockroach,' <i>lèkènánd</i> 'lizard species,' <i>mbàràrdzánd</i> 'stem, stalk,' <i>màsàmbàjáand</i> 'bangle'
-i:	SG	<i>ɲàdì:d</i> 'lion,' <i>dʒà:dʒí:d</i> 'grandfather,' <i>gèréri:d</i> 'crocodile'
-i(d)	SG	<i>bìlàngíd</i> 'herding stick,' <i>hàmít</i> 'ugali,' <i>q"àɲit</i> 'brain'
-e:	SG	<i>mòlé:d</i> 'finger,' <i>nàwé:d</i> 'path,' <i>ùrmè:d</i> 'color,'
-o:	SG/PL	<i>bàsò:d</i> 'ocean,' <i>fràjò:d</i> 'jackal,' <i>mùhó:g</i> 'calf (PL),' <i>sàlàhó:g</i> 'twin (PL)'
-(a)C _[+palatal]	SG/PL	<i>fùlàdʒánd</i> 'school,' <i>àsìmdʒé:g</i> 'Asimjeeg (PL)'
-ag	PL	<i>bànàwák</i> 'knife (PL),' <i>mùwák</i> 'african buffalo (PL),' <i>rùqák</i> 'arrow quiver (PL)'
-e:(g)	PL	<i>àbùrwé:g</i> 'flea (PL),' <i>bàné:g</i> 'meat (PL),' <i>àgì:ràdʒé:g</i> 'monitor lizard (PL),' <i>bùrdʒé:k</i> 'cooking pot (PL),' <i>ɲànéék</i> 'lion (PL)'
-(o:)dʒi	PL	<i>àbìjòdʒíg</i> 'hyena (PL),' <i>bàl:òdʒíg</i> 'boy (PL),' <i>sàɲqàjòdʒíg</i> 'earring (PL)'

Table 25: Common primary suffixes in Asimjeeg Datooga

Secondary suffixes occur directly after primary suffixes and code distinctions in grammatical number, with *-d* restricted to singular nominals and *-g* restricted to plural nominals. Kießling (2000a) and Mitchell (Mitchell 2015a) distinguish between *unit reference* and *multiple reference* rather than *singular* and *plural*, because the secondary suffix *-d* is used for some collectives, as in *bùné:d* 'people' in Asimjeeg Datooga. Here these forms will simply be called *singular* and *plural*, with the understanding that they code grammatical number in a similar fashion to other number-sensitive morphology such as possessive and demonstrative enclitics. The ternary opposition between singulative, collective, and plural forms that has been observed in Gisamjanga Datooga (Kießling 2000a: 350) has not been observed in Asimjeeg Datooga.

Some instances of phonological fusion between primary and secondary suffixes do occur. A small number of the primary suffixes appear to include underlying voiced stops in morpheme-final position. These stops match those of the secondary suffixes, resulting in word-final voiceless stops when combined (see Section 2.1.1.1 and 2.2.2.2). The plural primary suffix *-ag* is consistent in this pattern, always resulting in a word-final /k/ when combined with the plural secondary suffix *-g* (e.g. *bànáwák* 'knife (PL),' *mùwák* 'african buffalo (PL),' *rùqák* 'arrow quiver (PL)'). The singular primary suffix *-i(d)* and the plural primary suffix *e:(g)* vary in this regard and when combined with a secondary suffix may result in either a voiced or voiceless stop (e.g. *bilàṅgíd* 'herding stick,' *hàmít* 'ugali,' *àgì:ràdžé:g* 'monitor lizard (PL),' *bùrdžé:k* 'cooking pot (PL)').

3.1.1.1 Terminological variation

It should be noted that the terms *primary suffix* and *secondary suffix* have been used in various ways in the literature on Datooga. Creider and Rottland (1997) organize Gisamjanga and Barabaiga Datooga nominals into categories based on a similar scheme used by Tucker and Bryan (1962, 1964) for Kalenjin languages. Tucker and Bryan divide nominal stem suffixes into three categories: “number suffixes”, “formative suffixes”, and “secondary suffixes”. Number suffixes and formative suffixes always directly follow the nominal root, whereas secondary suffixes follow the number or formative suffix if there is one. Number suffixes were labeled as such due to correlations with grammatical number, whereas formative suffixes were labeled as such due to evidence that they function to derive nouns from other parts of speech. Based on these, Creider and Rottland (1997: 76) posit two basic nominal stem forms: the primary form, which does not include the secondary suffix but does include a number/formative suffix, and the secondary form, which includes both. They note that the primary form is uncommon and restricted to certain specific morphological contexts.

Kießling (2000a: 1) groups the number suffixes and formative suffixes of Creider and Rottland (1997) together as primary suffixes for Gisamjanga Datooga, and so some nominal structures are described as featuring multiple primary suffixes. Kießling does distinguish

between “formative suffixes” and “number suffixes” but does not specify the criteria on which this distinction is made.

Mitchell (2015a: 163) lists a single formative suffix *-an* for Gisamjanga Datooga, which can occur in both singular and plural nominal stems and creates nominal stems using roots from other lexical classes. Mitchell additionally specifies a small set of singulative suffixes (2015a: 47), and argues that more evidence is needed before categorizing the formative and singulative suffixes together as primary suffixes (p.c.).

3.1.2 Possessive suffixes

Possessive nominal suffixes code the possession of the nominal stem referent by a distinct pronominal referent. These suffixes immediately follow the secondary suffix and do not co-occur with demonstrative enclitics. Possessive suffix forms reflect the person and number of the possessor, as well as the grammatical number of the possessed nominal stem (see Table 26 for examples).

Meaning	Citation	Number of Possessor	1st Person Possessor	2nd Person Possessor	3rd Person Possessor
'leg' (SG)	<i>gìft</i>	Singular Possessor	<i>gìft-è:n</i>	<i>gìft-à:ŋ^w</i>	<i>gìft-à:n</i>
		Plural Possessor	<i>gìft-á:n</i>	<i>gìft-á:ŋ^w</i>	<i>gìft nɛ:wà</i>
'legs' (PL)	<i>gè:fàŋg</i>	Singular Possessor	<i>gè:fàŋg-és</i>	<i>gè:fàŋg-ág^w</i>	<i>gè:fàŋg-ástf</i>
		Plural Possessor	<i>gè:fàŋg-á:s</i>	<i>gè:fàŋg-á:g^w</i>	<i>gè:fàŋg nɛ:wà</i>

Table 26: Examples of possessive suffixes

The 3.PL possessive construction appears to utilize an independent phonological word, as *nɛ:wà* does not interact with nominal tonal patterns or affect ATR in the way that other possessives do. See Table 27 for a list of all possessive suffix forms. Nominals marked with the 1.PL, 2.SG/PL, and 3.SG possessive suffixes have [-ATR] vowels, whereas others have [+ATR] vowels (cf. Creider & Rottland 1996).

Possessor	Singular Stem	Plural Stem
1.SG	-eŋ	-és
2.SG	-aŋ ^w	-ág ^w
3.SG	-aŋ	-ástf
1.PL	-á:ŋ	-á:s
2.PL	-á:ŋ ^w	-á:g ^w
3.PL	ɲé:wà	ɲé:wà

Table 27: Nominal possessive morphemes (IGS0229_2016-1-15_YN)

The tonal patterns of singular possessive constructions are determined by the tone class of the nominal stem (see Section 3.1.5 for further discussion of tone classes), whereas plural possessive constructions appear to have fixed tonal patterns. In monosyllabic nominal stems, L tone class nominal stems occur with a HL melody in singular possessive constructions. H tone class nominal stems, however, occur with a LH melody in singular possessive constructions. In plural possessive constructions, both tone classes occur with a LH(L) melody. See Table 28 for examples of the L-tone nominal 'moon' and the H-tone nominal 'cow' exhibiting tonal alternations with singular and plural possessive suffixes, as well as ATR alternations.

	Citation	1.SG Possessive	1.PL Possessive
L-tone nominal	<i>fè:-d</i> '(a/the) moon'	<i>fé:-d-èŋ</i> 'my moon'	<i>fè:-d-á:ŋ</i> 'our moon'
H-tone nominal	<i>dé:-d</i> '(a/the) cow'	<i>dè:-d-éŋ</i> 'my cow'	<i>dè:-d-á:ŋ</i> 'our cow'

Table 28: Examples of tonal alternations for L-tone and H-tone nominals with possessive suffixes, as well as ATR alternations (IGS0229_2016-1-15_YN)

3.1.3 Demonstrative enclitics

Demonstrative enclitics situate nominal referents within spatial and discourse deictic frames. They immediately follow or merge with the secondary suffix and do not co-occur with possessive suffixes. All demonstrative enclitics can also occur independently as demonstrative pronouns. The enclitics can be categorized using three levels of deixis: proximate, distal, and remote. The remote demonstrative enclitic occurs at a low frequency in texts, whereas the proximate and distal forms are common. A list of the proximate, distal, and remote demonstrative enclitic forms is provided in Table 29.

Demonstrative	Singular Root	Plural Root
<i>Proximate</i>	= <i>nì</i>	= <i>s(ù)</i>
<i>Distal</i>	= <i>dí:ɹá</i>	= <i>gí:ká</i>
<i>Remote</i>	= <i>dí:ɹándz</i>	= <i>gí:kándz</i>

Table 29: Demonstrative enclitics

It should also be noted here that in Asimjeeg Datooga there is no "indefinite" suffix as reported by Rottland (1982) for Gisamjanga Datooga. Also, all of the demonstrative enclitic forms exhibit varying degrees of morphophonological merger with the nominal stem, possibly related to speech rate. See Table 30 for examples of the nominals *mòl-é:d* 'finger' and *fé:g* 'moons' with phonologically merged and unmerged proximal and distal demonstrative enclitics.

	Citation	Unmerged Proximate	Merged Proximate	Unmerged Distal	Merged Distal
Singular stem	<i>mòl-é:-d</i> '(a/the) finger'	<i>mòl-é:-d=nì</i> 'this finger'	<i>mòl-é:-n.ì</i> 'this finger'	<i>mòl-é:-</i> <i>d=dítá</i> 'that finger'	<i>mòl-é:-títá</i> 'that finger'
Plural stem	<i>fé:-g</i> 'moons'	<i>fé:-g=sù</i> 'these moons'	<i>fé:-s</i> 'these moons'	<i>fé:-g gíká</i> 'those moons'	<i>fé:-kíká</i> 'those moons'

Table 30: Phonologically merged and unmerged demonstrative enclitics with singular and plural nominal stems. (IGS0229_2016-1-15_YN)

3.1.4 Anaphoric reference forms

Some nominal stems in Asimjeeg Datooga have distinct anaphoric reference forms that are used to refer to participants that have been mentioned previously in discourse. For monosyllabic singular nominal stems, i.e. those without primary suffixes, the anaphoric reference form is the bare nominal root. For singular stems with primary suffixes, the anaphoric reference form may include the same primary suffixes as the citation form, or it may include other primary suffixes that correlate with the primary suffixes of the citation

form according to one or more patterns, each of which is detailed below. Example (49) shows an instance of the singular anaphoric referential form *bùn-á:n* ‘those people (we were talking about)’ (corresponding to the citation form *bùn-é:d* ‘people’), in the context of a discussion about youth of today who no longer have age-set leaders to instruct them.

- (49) *bùn-á:n* *g-ó-bá:l* *gíjè.t*
people-REF AFF-3-protect REFL.PRO.PL
 ‘Those people are protecting themselves.’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#17_086)

For plural nominal stems, the anaphoric reference form is identical to the citation form of the nominal stem, but with *-s* instead of the secondary suffix *-g*. Each of these patterns is discussed in detail in the following subsections.

3.1.4.1 Monosyllabic singular nominal stems

There are four regular patterns that define the relationship between the anaphoric reference form and the citation form of monosyllabic singular nominals. These relationships are best stated in terms of deriving the citation form from the anaphoric reference form:

- (a) /*d*/ is added to the bare nominal root to make the citation form and the vowel is shortened (Table 31),

- (b) /d/ replaces /n/ at the end of the nominal root to make the citation form and the vowel is shortened (Table 32),
- (c) /d/ or -t replaces /ɲ/ at the end of the nominal root to make the citation form and the vowel is shortened (Table 33)
- (d) /t/ replaces /f/ at the end of the nominal root to make the citation form (Table 34).
- (e) The relationship between the citation and anaphoric reference forms follow irregular patterns. (Table 35).

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'giraffe'	<i>gà.j</i>	<i>gàjd</i>
'bulb (of a plant)'	<i>gù.m</i>	<i>gùmd</i>
'skin'	<i>mù.n</i>	<i>mùnd</i>
'eye'	<i>qà.ɲ</i>	<i>qàɲd</i>
'rain'	<i>ró.b</i>	<i>róft</i>
'clan'	<i>dó.f</i>	<i>dóft</i>
'cooking pot'	<i>bú.r</i>	<i>búrd</i>
'goat'	<i>m̀bó.j</i>	<i>m̀bójd</i>

Table 31: Singular monosyllabic nominal stems that exhibit the “/d/ added” citation pattern

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'stomach'	<i>dʒè.n</i>	<i>dʒè.d</i>
'head'	<i>ù.n</i>	<i>ù.d</i>
'bull'	<i>héj.n</i>	<i>héj.d</i>
'girl, daughter'	<i>hú.n</i>	<i>hú.d</i>
'moon/month'	<i>fè.n</i>	<i>fè.d</i>

Table 32: Singular monosyllabic nominal stems that exhibit the /n/ -> /d/ citation pattern

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'year'	<i>g^wà.n</i>	<i>g^wàj.d</i>
'cow'	<i>dá.n</i>	<i>dé.d</i>
'tree'	<i>gè.n</i>	<i>gè.t</i>

Table 33: Singular monosyllabic nominal stems that exhibit the /n, / -> /d/, /t/ citation pattern

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'ear, language'	<i>ì.tʃ</i>	<i>ì.t</i>
'mouth'	<i>qù.tʃ</i>	<i>qù.t</i>
'neck'	<i>qá.tʃ</i>	<i>qá.t</i>
'speed'	<i>bátʃ</i>	<i>bát</i>
'spear'	<i>ηútʃ</i>	<i>ηút</i>

Table 34: Singular monosyllabic nominal stems that exhibit the /tʃ/ -> /t/ citation pattern

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'calf'	<i>mà:w</i>	<i>màjd</i>
'river'	<i>é.ndʒ</i>	<i>é.nd</i>
'person'	<i>sí:s</i>	<i>sí:d</i>
'child'	<i>dʒe:b</i>	<i>dʒaft</i>

Table 35: Singular monosyllabic nominal stems with irregular citation patterns

3.1.4.2 Multisyllabic singular nominal stems

Multisyllabic singular nominal stems display a wide variety of patterns concerning the relationship between anaphoric reference forms and citation forms. Most singular multisyllabic anaphoric reference forms feature an alveolar nasal /n/ or a post-alveolar affricate /dʒ/ in the same position as the secondary suffix of the citation form, and some anaphoric reference forms include primary suffixes different from those of their corresponding citation forms (e.g. *-a:* in the reference form consistently corresponds to *-e:* in the citation form, but not the other way around). See Table 36 for examples of these patterns.

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'honey'	<i>màlá.n</i>	<i>màlé:d</i>
'dog'	<i>gùdá.n</i>	<i>gùdé:d</i>
'God'	<i>àsé.tf</i>	<i>àsé.t</i>
'chest'	<i>dàqát.f</i>	<i>daqát</i>
'smoke'	<i>àró.s</i>	<i>aró:st</i>
'warthog'	<i>bìfándʒ</i>	<i>bìfánd</i>
'hole'	<i>fòmàndʒ</i>	<i>fòmànd</i>
'branch'	<i>dàmàl:ándʒ</i>	<i>dàmàl:ánd</i>
'cattle kraal'	<i>sàjmò.n</i>	<i>sàjmò:d</i>
'club'	<i>gùlùf</i>	<i>gùlùft</i>

Table 36: Multi-syllabic singular nominal stems in anaphoric reference and citation form

3.1.4.3 Plural nominal stems

For plural nominal stems, the most common pattern for anaphoric reference forms is a suffix *-s* in the same position as the secondary suffix *-g* (or *-k*) of the citation form. Unlike singular nominal stems, the plural stems use the same primary suffixes for both reference and citation forms. See Table 37 for examples of this regular pattern. Some plural stems exhibit irregular patterns however, including vowel changes within the root (Table 38).

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
'moon/month (PL)'	<i>fé:s</i>	<i>fé:g</i>
'cow (PL)'	<i>dús</i>	<i>dúg^w</i>
'bull (PL)'	<i>héws</i>	<i>héwg</i>
'skin (PL)'	<i>mwúfs</i>	<i>mwúfk</i>
'(piece of) charcoal (PL)'	<i>qúrs</i>	<i>qúrg</i>
'devil/spirit (PL)'	<i>máns</i>	<i>máng</i>
'elephant (PL)'	<i>bè:fás</i>	<i>bè:fák</i>
'donkey (PL)'	<i>digéns</i>	<i>digéng</i>
'chair (PL)'	<i>hòrgàdʒé:s</i>	<i>hòrgàdʒé:g</i>

Table 37: Plural monosyllabic nominal stems that exhibit the productive /-s/ > /-g/ referential and citation pattern

Meaning	Anaphoric Reference Form	Citation Form
"(piece of) firewood (PL)"	<i>q^wé:s</i>	<i>q^wéng</i>
"people (PL)"	<i>fí:s</i>	<i>fúg</i>

Table 38: Plural monosyllabic nominal stems that exhibit slight variations on the /-s/ and /-g/ referential and citation pattern

3.1.5 Nominal tone classes

Nouns in Asimjeeg Datooga can be divided into various underlying tone classes based on the tonal melody of the citation form, which here is considered to be the nominal root together with any primary and secondary suffixes that occur in the citation form of the noun

(listed in Table 39). Not all classes are equally productive. Notably the L tone class consists of singular nominals only, and the HL tone class is restricted to a small set of animal names. Of the multisyllabic tone classes, those with a single word-final H tone tend to be the most common (i.e. LH, LLH, LLLH, and LLLLH).

The tone classes represent the citation forms and are generally unpredictable based on the segmental form. Like Gisamjanga Datooga, Asimjeeg Datooga features a "marked nominative" alignment (Kießling 2007b), whereby the nominative case forms are formally marked by tone and distinct from the citation forms. Table 39 lists all of the Asimjeeg Datooga nominal tone classes, including their citation and nominative melodies, and Table 40 lists examples of each nominal tone class (see Section 3.2 for discussion of the syntactic conditions for nominative case).

Number of Syllables	Tone Class (Citation)	Nominative
One syllable	L	H
	H	L
Two Syllables	LH	LH
	LL	LH
	HL	HL
	HH	HH
Three Syllables	LLH	LHL
	LHH	LHL / LHH
	LLL	LHL
	LHL	LHL
Four Syllables	LLLH	LHHL
	LLHH	LHHL
	LLHL	LHHL
	HHLH	LHHL
Five Syllables	LLLLH	LHHLL
	LHLLH	LHLLL

Table 39: Nominal tone classes in Asimjeeg Datooga and their underlying nominative forms

Tone Class	Examples
L	<i>fè:d</i> 'month,' <i>gìft</i> 'leg,' <i>qàṅd</i> 'eye,' <i>gàrm</i> 'woman'
H	<i>dé:d</i> 'cow,' <i>qá:t</i> 'neck,' <i>wéng</i> 'head (PL),' <i>gádg</i> 'arrow (PL)'
LH	<i>màlé:d</i> 'honey,' <i>bàdájíd</i> 'back,' <i>bè:fák</i> 'elephant (PL),' <i>ànó:g</i> 'milk (PL)'
LL	<i>sàjmò:d</i> 'cattle kraal,' <i>dìjàjd</i> 'animal,' <i>gè:fàṅg</i> 'leg (PL),' <i>gìsìlg</i> 'sheep (PL)'
HL	<i>díngà</i> 'anteater,' <i>údòm</i> 'hippopotamus,' <i>l:ábàṅq</i> 'monkey,' <i>ṅáwù:d</i> 'cat'
HH	<i>dówáṅg</i> 'bird species'
LLH	<i>àbìjé:d</i> 'hyena,' <i>àbùrwánd</i> 'flea,' <i>hòrgàd3é:g</i> 'chair (PL),' <i>àbàlásk</i> 'cockroach (PL)'
LHH	<i>g"àṅg"álo:d</i> 'millipede,' <i>gèréríd</i> 'crocodile,' <i>dìgáháṅ</i> 'sister,' <i>dìrátgèw</i> 'bat'
LLL	<i>dàgàlè:d</i> 'dewlap,' <i>ìfìbòd</i> 'snake,' <i>d3àwàràr</i> 'pepper'
LHL	<i>dìhìhì</i> 'owl,' <i>ìfábùnd3</i> 'kigger,' <i>ṅ"àníjè:k</i> 'pain (PL)'
LLLH	<i>ṅàd3ò:bàd3ánd</i> 'frog,' <i>bàmbàl:àd3ánd</i> 'waterfall,' <i>àgìràd3é:g</i> 'monitor lizard (PL),' <i>dàràbèdák</i> 'wilderness (PL)'
LLHH	<i>dàwìfádé:d</i> 'molar tooth,' <i>gàlàkálé:d</i> 'butterfly,' <i>màsàmbájánd</i> 'bangle,' <i>bùd3àbùl:é:d</i> 'hoof'
LLHL	<i>bùrd3àjájè:k</i> 'dust (PL),' <i>àbùsk"ájè:k</i> 'thorny branch (PL),' <i>màrèhájè:k</i> 'mucus (PL),' <i>dàqàdúnàdg</i> 'chest (PL)'
HHLH	<i>dówáṅàd3ánd</i> 'bird species,' <i>dówáṅàd3é:g</i> 'bird species (PL)'
LLLLH	<i>dìmàmàndàd3é:g</i> 'lightning (PL),' <i>gàlàkàlàd3é:g</i> 'butterfly (PL)'
LHLLH	<i>dìhìhìjàd3é:g</i> 'owl (PL),' <i>dìrátgèwàd3é:g</i> 'bat (PL)'

Table 40: Examples of each nominal tone class

3.1.6 Structure of the noun phrase

The noun phrase in Asimjeeg Datooga, like the noun, is a category that is defined by its ability to fill certain syntactic slots in various grammatical constructions. Noun phrases can be syntactically complex and can consist of multiple words. The noun phrase minimally consists of a nominal or pronominal head. If the head is a noun, then additional dependents (3.PL possessive pronoun, adjective phrase, quantifier, numeral or another noun) can also co-occur with the noun within the noun-phrase. A basic outline of noun phrase syntax is presented in Figure 15.

Noun Phrase			
<i>Nominal Head</i>	<i>Dependents</i>		
	(Noun)		
	(3.PL POSS PRO)	(Adjective Phrase)	(Quantifier) / (Numeral)

Figure 15: Position class chart of noun phrase syntax

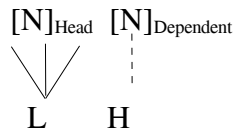
Adjective phrases consist of adjectives and any following adverbial modifiers. The adjective of a dependent adjective phrase agrees in grammatical number with the nominal head of the noun phrase. The singular is unmarked on adjectives, and the plural is marked with the suffix *-i*. There are also occasionally morphophonological interactions between the

adjectival root and the plural suffix. See (50) through (53) for elicited examples of noun phrases with adjective phrase dependents.

- (50) *bèf-t* *núwàs*
 elephant-SS.SG short
 '(a/the) short elephant'
- (51) *bè:f-àk* *núwág-ì*
 elephant-PS.PL:SS.PL short-PL
 'short elephants'
- (52) *mùn-d* *fàbát*
 skin-SS.SG wet.SG
 '(a/the) wet skin'
- (53) *mùf-k* *fàbád-ì*
 skin-SS.PL wet-PL
 'wet skins'

The term *associative construction* is used here to describe a head-dependent relationship between two consecutive nouns within a noun phrase. This construction is used to code possession and relative location through use of relational nouns. The syntactic structure and tonal properties of the associative construction are shown in (54). The nominal head bears L tones on each syllable, regardless of the tone class, and the dependent nominal features citation tone but also receives a floating H tone at the first syllable, conditioning H-spreading (see Section 2.3.2). See (55) for two elicited examples showing the tonal structure of the associative construction, and (56) for examples from natural speech.

(54) *Associative Construction*



L-tone nominal stem *H-tone nominal stem*

(55) a. *màj-d* *dé:-d*
 calf-SS.SG/ASSOC cow-SS.SG
 '(a/the) calf of (a/the) cow'

b. H-tone nominal stem L-tone nominal stem
 dè:-d *máj-d*
 cow-SS.SG/ASSOC calf-SS.SG
 '(a/the) cow of (a/the) calf'

(56) *ì:j-á:-jít* *dʒè:-d* *dúm-d*
 COND-1.SG-arrive stomach-SS.SG/ASSOC dance-SS.SG
 'If I arrive in the dance...' (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #1_08)

(57) *q-à-máɲ* *qù-t*
 AFF-3-relocate mouth-SS.SG/ASSOC
 fàrèdʒ-é:-d-áɲ
 stream-PS.SG-SS.SG-3.SG.POSS/SW
 '...[he] moved near his stream' (IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01_046)

3.2 Morphosyntax of verbal clauses

Constituent order is generally flexible in Asimjeeg Datooga, but not all constituent-order constructions are equally frequent nor do they code the same pragmatic information. Verbal-clause constructions are divided into three categories based on the

number of arguments in the clause: intransitive clauses include a single argument (Section 3.2.1), transitive clauses include two arguments (Section 3.2.2), ditransitive clauses include three arguments (Section 3.2.3). The various constructions that fall into these three categories are differentiated by using *grammatical relations*, which are “equivalence sets of arguments, treated the same by some construction” (Bickel and Song 2010). Additionally, reflexive and reciprocal constructions (Section 3.2.4) feature two grammatical relations that are co-referential. The following terms for argument roles will be used to describe the grammatical relations of clause-level constructions in the following subsections:

- S (single argument of a intransitive clause)
- A (more active participant in a transitive or ditransitive clause)
- P (less active participant in a transitive clause)
- T (participant undergoing movement in a ditransitive clause)
- R (the goal of movement in a ditransitive clause)
- V (verb)

3.2.1 Intransitive clause syntax

Intransitive clauses are those which include only a single argument, and that argument is labeled S. Indexation of the S argument is required on all verbs in all non-conditional

independent clauses (including the impersonal construction, see Section 6.2). The S argument may additionally be coded by a lexical NP or pronoun, and the word order may be either SV or VS, with the S argument appearing in citation case in the former and nominative case in the latter. All three permissible intransitive clause constructions are listed in Table 41. See examples (58) through (60) for elicited examples of each of these constructions with the nominal *bànnàné:d* ‘orphan’ and the verb *sì:bá:dà* ‘move’, as well as (61) and (62) for examples of intransitive clauses from texts. "S" is indicated above the S argument in each example and marked with ".NOM" when the argument occurs with the nominative tonal case. "s-" is used to indicated subject indexation on the verb.

$S_{ACC} s-V$
$s-V S_{NOM}$
$s-V$

Table 41: Permissible intransitive constituent order constructions.

	S	s-V
(58)	<i>bànnà-é:-d</i> orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG '(A/The) orphan moves.'	<i>g-ò-sì:b-á:d</i> AFF-3-move-AM.ITV
	s-V	S.NOM
(59)	<i>g-ò-sì:b-á:d</i> AFF-3-move-AM.ITV '(A/The) orphan moves.'	<i>bánán-è:-d</i> orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG/NOM

is required in non-conditional transitive clause constructions, and P argument indexation is also required for 1st/2nd person P arguments (see Section 6). A list of permissible transitive clause constructions is provided in Table 42.

Examples (63) and (64) show the contrasting tonal patterns of the AVP and PVA clausal constructions using the same nominals, *dé:d* 'cow' and *sí:d* 'person', and the verb *bar* 'hit, kill'. Examples (65) through (67) show AVP, VA, and VP constructions from natural speech data.

Transitive Constituent Order Constructions	Comments
$A_{A-V-P}P$ $A-V-P A_{NOM}$ $A-V-P$	Most common in elicitation, pragmatically neutral.
$P_{A-V-P} A_{NOM}$	Permissible but low frequency, translated into Swahili using the Swahili passive construction.
$A-V-O A_{NOM} P$ $A-V-P P A$	Permissible but low frequency and undetermined pragmatics.

Table 42: Permissible transitive clause constructions.

	A	A-V	P
(63)	<i>dé:-d</i> cow-SS.SG	<i>q-à-bár</i> AFF-3-hit	<i>sí:-d</i> person-SS.SG
	"The cow hits the person."		

	P		A-V		A
(64)	<i>dé:-d</i>		<i>qà-bár</i>		<i>sì:-d</i>
	cow-SS.SG		AFF-3-hit		person-SS.SG/NOM
	“The person hits the cow / the cow is hit by the person.”				

	A		A-V		P
(65)	<i>nìŋ</i>	<i>ŋí:s</i>	<i>g-ó-tfág-d</i>		<i>sí:-d</i>
	3.SG.PRO	often	AFF-3-send-ITV		person-SS.SG
	‘Often he sent someone’				
	(IGS0229_2015-12-29_AM_021)				

			V-P		
(66)	<i>qáj</i>	<i>í:s</i>	<i>í:-bálò:l-sí:n-é:ŋ</i>		
	old.times	often	COND-discuss-TERM-2.SG		
	A.NOM				
	<i>qámá-t-àŋ^w</i>				
	mother-SS.SG-2.SG.PL/NOM				
	‘In the old times, often, if your mother criticized you...’				
	(IGS0229_2017-3-16_#12_26)				

	V				P
(67)	<i>í:-ø-ŋúl-àj</i>		<i>qámn</i>	<i>ŋáf-án:i</i>	
	COND-2.SG-see-PLUR		now	word-PS.SG:PROX.DEM	
	‘Now, if you look at this thing...’				
	(IGS0229_2017-3-16_#12_16)				

3.2.3 Ditransitive clause syntax

Ditransitive clauses are those that include three arguments: A, R, and T. Some verbs take three arguments without any additional morphology, such as *gón* or *táw*, both of which translate to English 'give'. *gón* is used with 1/2 person R arguments and *táw* is used with 3rd person R arguments. A argument indexation is required for non-conditional clauses with both verbs, and any 1st or 2nd person R or T arguments are indexed on the verb (see Section 6.3). *gón* may be followed by the T argument in citation form, and *táw* may be followed by the R argument and the T argument, both in citation form and with restricted word order. The morphosyntax of ditransitive clauses can be summarized as shown in Table 43. See (68) and (69) for elicited examples using the verbs *gón* and *táw*, and (70) for an example of T argument indexation from natural speech.

Ditransitive Constructions	Comments
(A) _A -V- _R (R) (T)	Word order restricted.

Table 43: Ditransitive constructions

	_A -V	R	T
(68)	<i>q-ð-táwdé:-d</i>		<i>màj-d</i>
	AFF-3-give	cow-SG	calf-SG
	'She/he/it is giving the calf to the cow'.		
	(IGS0229_2016-2-17_YM)		

- | | | | |
|------|--|--|--------------|
| | A-V-R | | T |
| (69) | <i>g-à-gón-á.n</i> | | <i>máj-d</i> |
| | AFF-3-give-1.SG.R | | calf-SG |
| | 'S/he is giving me the calf'. (IGS0229_2016-2-17_YM) | | |

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| | | | A-V-T |
| (70) | <i>à:</i> | <i>mútf</i> | <i>g-è:-tàw-à.n</i> |
| | COORD.CONJ | tomorrow | AFF-IMPERS-give-1.SG |
| | 'And then he got me.' | | |
| | (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #4_25) | | |

Some applicative constructions permit three arguments as well (see Chapter 12 for discussion of applicative constructions), and these constructions pattern similarly to the previously mentioned ditransitive constructions. See (71) and (72) for two examples of applicative constructions from texts.

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| | A | | A-V-R |
| (71) | <i>qámá-t-àŋ^w</i> | | <i>g-í:-g-^wá-rúŋ-n-ò:ŋ</i> |
| | mother-SS.SG-2.PL.POSS | | AFF-FUT-AFF-3-say-OBL-2.SG |
| | T | | |
| | <i>ŋàf-!án-d</i> | | |
| | word-PS.SG-SS.SG | | |
| | '...your mother will tell you something...' | | |
| | (IGS0229_2017-3-16_#12_09) | | |

	A.V		R		T
(72)	<i>í:s</i>	<i>g-è:-rùg-s</i>		<i>sí:-d</i>	<i>ηáf-án-d</i>
	often	AFF-IMPERS-tell-TERM		person-SS.SG	word-PS.SG-SS.SG
	'Often a person is told something...'				
	(IGS0229_2017-3-16_#12_40)				

3.2.4 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

This section describes two closely related constructions, both of which feature reflexive pronouns and express co-reference of some kind. The reflexive construction (Section 3.2.4.1) "indicates that the agent/experiencer and the patient ... are in fact the same referent" (Faltz 1977: 4). The reciprocal construction (Section 3.2.4.2) codes events in which the Agent of one instantiation of the event is also the Patient of another instantiation of the same event and vice versa (Gaby 2008: 259)

3.2.4.1 Reflexive construction

In Asimjeeg Datooga, reflexive constructions consist of a verb followed by either the singular reflexive pronoun *gɛ:w* or the plural reflexive pronoun *gíjɛ.t ~ gájè.t*. Example (73) shows a singular reflexive construction with the verb root *rùg* 'tell'. Example (74) shows the verb root *fɪn* 'hide s.th.' without a reflexive pronoun, and example (75) shows the same root with the plural reflexive pronoun. Example (76) shows an idiomatic reflexive

construction with the verb root *ba:l* 'desire s.th.' and the plural reflexive pronoun with the meaning 'protect themselves'.

- (73) *g-ì:-φ-rùg-d* *géw*
 AFF-FUT-2.SG-tell-ITV **REFL.PRO.SG**
 'You will introduce yourself...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#7_086)
- (74) *g-è:-wá-j* *e':-fún-á:d* *dé:bù-g*
 AFF-IMPERS-go-FS IMPERS-hide-AM.ITV child-SS.PL
 'They came to hide the children (away in the wilderness)'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5_081)
- (75) *g-é:-fún* *gíjè:t*
 AFF-IMPERS-hide **REFL.PRO.PL**
 'They hide themselves.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20_057)
- (76) *bùn-á:n* *g-ó-bá:l* *gíjè:t*
 people-REF AFF-3-protect **REFL.PRO.PL**
 'Those people are protecting themselves.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#17_086)

When used with intransitive verbs, the reflexive pronouns express the meaning of 'alone,' as in example (77) with the intransitive verb *àftá:dà* 'sit.'

- (77) *g-à:-ft-à:d* *á:* *gè:w*
 AFF-1.SG-sit-AM.ITV COORD.CONJ **REFL.PRO.SG**
 'I live, and on my own.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-3 #11_42)

3.2.4.2 Reciprocal construction

Reciprocal constructions have the same structure as plural reflexive constructions, but the verb also often occurs with the associated-motion itive suffix *-a:d*, which appears to add semantics of concurrent action (see Section 11.2). Examples (78) through (81) show the plural reflexive pronoun with reciprocal semantics in constructions with the associated-motion itive, and example (82) shows the plural reflexive pronoun with reciprocal semantics in a construction that does not include the associated-motion itive.

(78) *bás* *g-è:-wè:d-à:d* *gíjè:t* *àr*
 well/SW AFF-1.PL-help-AM.ITV **REFL.PRO.PL** even
gàdìjòdɜ-í-g *àb* *qùwàrí*
 work-PS.PL-SS.PL PREP home
 'We helped each other for household work.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#2_128)

(79) *g-è:-rɔ:b-à:d* *gájé:t*
 AFF-1.PL-follow-AM.ITV **REFL.PRO.PL**
 'We follow each other.'
 (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #4_36)

(80) *g-è:-ɲúd-á:d-áj* *gíjè:t*
 AFF-1.PL-burn-AM.ITV-PLUR **REFL.PRO.PL**
 'We criticize each other.'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01_032)

(81) *g-è:-fò:l-à:d-áj* *gíjè:t*
 AFF-IMPERS-be.angry.with-AM.ITV-PLUR **REFL.PRO.PL**
ásím-dǔ-é:-g *à:*
 asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL COORD.CONJ
dàròr-àdǔ-é:-g
 non.asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL
 'The Asimjeeg and other Datooga are angry with each other'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01_032)

(82) *g-à-gùr-sí:n* *gájé:t*
 AFF-3-call-TERM **REFL.PRO.PL**
 'They call each other.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_166)

3.3 Grammatical relations and alignment

A full analysis of the grammatical relations in Asimjeeg Datooga is outside the scope of this dissertation, but a brief summary will be provided of some of the patterns presented in this section. If the properties of the arguments of intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses are compared, it becomes clear that S and A argument roles pattern similarly in all clause types with regard to nominative case marking (only immediately after the verb) and indexation in the form of a prefix on the verb. These similarities warrant the use of the grammatical relation "subject" to describe these arguments together. The patterning of P, T, and R arguments is somewhat more complex. Morphologically, a hierarchical system requires the indexation of SAP arguments on the verb if they fulfill P, T, or R argument roles, and all of these arguments occur with accusative-citation case. Syntactically, there do

not appear to be any properties that support a division between P, T, and R argument roles into separate categories of object. For this reason, the term "subject" will be used in remaining portions of the dissertation to refer to A and S arguments of all clause types, and the term "object" be used with reference to P, T, and R arguments. This alignment of grammatical relations follows can be described as nominative-accusative, and the special tonal marking of subjects in immediate post-verbal position is typically described as a "marked nominative" alignment (see Section 3.1.5).

3.4 Morphosyntax of non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal predicate constructions code a proposition of some kind and either include a copular or "linking" verb, or feature no verb at all (Clark 1978; Hengeveld 1992: 26; Dryer 2007). These constructions are often used to express "proper inclusions, equation, attribution, location, existence, and possession" (Payne 1997: 111). In Asimjeeg Datooga, the constructions that express these meanings can be grouped into two broad categories based on their structure: proper inclusion, equative, and attributive constructions (Section 3.4.1), and existential, locative, and possession constructions (Section 3.4.2).

3.4.1 Proper inclusion, equative, and attributive constructions

There is one construction in Asimjeeg Datooga that is used to express proper inclusion, equation, and attribution for 1st person and 2nd person subject arguments. This construction features the copula *wás*, which is inflected in the same manner as other verbs and is followed by either a noun phrase (proper inclusion, equation) or an adjective phrase (attribution). Example (83) shows a 1st person equative construction with the copula *was* followed by a noun phrase (NP), and example (84) shows a 1st person attributive construction with the copula *was* followed by an adjective phrase (ADJP).

	COP		[NP]
(83)	<i>àní:n</i>	<i>q-à:-wàs-tf</i>		<i>bál:-àn-d</i>	<i>máhéng</i>
	1.SG.PRO	AFF-1.SG-COP-FS		son-PS.SG-SS.SG	Mahenga
	'I am the son of Mahenga.'				
	(IGS0229_2016-12-12_#6_04)				

	COP		[ADJP]
(84)	<i>g-è:-wàs-tf</i>	<i>míjá-s</i>		<i>dìjá</i>	
	AFF-1.PL-COP-FS	good-PL		very	
	'We are very beautiful.'				
	(IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #8_27)				

There are two additional constructions used for 3rd person subject arguments. The first of these constructions codes proper inclusion and equation for 3rd person subject arguments and features two NPs, the first of which is the argument and the second of which is a

nominal predicate. If the final constituent of the predicate NP is a noun, then the final "shadow vowel" of the noun is fully realized with a H tone (see Section 2.2.4). The most common shadow vowel is /a/, but the actual vowel that is realized depends on the individual lexical item and cannot be determined solely by segmental features. The copular proclitic *a:=* can optionally be added to the beginning of the predicate nominal in this construction. Example (85) shows a 3rd person proper inclusion construction with a H tone and fully realized shadow vowel on the nominal *àsìmdʒé:g* 'Asimjeeg people' in a polar interrogative construction (see Section 2.4.2). Example (86) shows a 3rd person proper-inclusion construction with the copular proclitic *a:=* and a H tone on the NP-final shadow vowel.

[NP]/COP

- (85) *ròtìgéh-g* *qáj* *àsìm-dʒ-è:-gá*
 rotigenga-SS.PL old.times asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL/COP
 'Were the Rotigenga in the old days Asimjeeg?'
 (IGS0229_2016-2-6_20_164)

COP=[NP]

- (86) *gíl* *à:=qàd-è:-dá*
 thing COP=gourd-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'The thing is a gourd.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#7_36)

The second construction used with 3rd person subject arguments codes attribution and consists of an argument NP followed by a predicative adjective with the *a:=* copular

proclitic. Examples (87) and (88) show 3rd person attributive constructions with the copular proclitic *a:=* followed by an adjective phrase (ADJP). A summary of all three proper inclusion, equative, and attributive constructions is presented in Table 44.

COP=[ADJP]

- (87) *háŋ-d á:=jé:sh*
 shawl-SS.SG COP=white.SG
 'The shawl was white.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_058)

COP=[ADJP]

- (88) *gálg á:=í:jè:n gítfàj*
 house-SS.PL COP=two only
 'The houses were only two.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_008)

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	<i>qà:wàstf</i> [NP]/[ADJP]	<i>gè:wàstf</i> [NP]/[ADJP]
2 nd Person	<i>gùwàs</i> [NP][ADJP]	<i>qò:wàstf</i> [NP]/[ADJP]
3 rd Person	([NP]) (à:=)[NP]-V _H [NP] à:=[ADJP]	

Table 44: Proper inclusion, equative, and attributive constructions

3.4.2 Existential, locative, and possessive constructions

Three constructions are used in Asimjeeg Datooga to express the existence of a referent, the location of a referent, and possession of a referent. The existential construction consists of the copula *nd* followed by a noun phrase (NP), the locative construction consists of the copula *nd* followed by an adverbial phrase (ADVP), and the possessive construction consists of the copula *nd* with the suffix *-aw* followed by a noun phrase. Example (89) shows the copula *nd* with 3rd person subject indexation, coding the existence of the referent represented by the following NP.

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---|-----------------|---------------|-------------------------|
| | COP | [| NP |] | |
| (89) | <i>g-^wá-nd</i> | | <i>dáwíná-s</i> | <i>sù-gúr</i> | <i>sìrb-í:-dá</i> |
| | AFF-3-COP | | pot-REF | IMPERS-call | cooking.pot-PS.SG-SS.SG |
| | 'There are those pots that are called <i>surbiida</i> .' | | | | |
| | (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_111) | | | | |

Example (90) shows the copula *nd* with 3rd person subject indexation, coding the physical location of the Theme specified by the preceding NP at the location specified by the following ADVP.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|-----|---------------------------|---------------------|
| | | COP | [ADVP] | |
| (90) | <i>ásim-dɜ-é:-g</i> | | <i>g-^wá-nd</i> | <i>sòm-é:-g</i> |
| | asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL | | AFF-3-COP | someega-PS.PL-SS.PL |
| | <i>hìdɜì</i> | | | |
| | PROX.LOC.PRO | | | |
| | 'The Asimjeeg were in Someega then.' | | | |
| | (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#10_146) | | | |

Similar to other verbs, the copula *nd* can co-occur with a variety of tense and aspect constructions. Example (91) shows the copula *nd* in a future tense construction. Example (92) shows the copula *nd* co-occurring with the persistive prefix *-ad*, and affirmative polarity, and example (93) shows the copula *nd* co-occurring with the persistive prefix *-ad* and negative polarity.

COP

- (91) *g-ì:-g-^wá-nd* *qámn*
 AFF-FUT-AFF-3-COP now
 'Will there be some now?'
 (IGS0229_2016-2-6_06_08)

COP

- (92) *dú-g^w* *másùdʒ* *g-àd-g-^wá-nd*
 cow-SS.PL Masuja AFF-PERS-AFF-3-COP
 [ADVP]
dàràb-è:-t
 wilderness-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'Masuja's cattle were still in the forest.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9_#2_032)

- | | | | | |
|------|---|---|-------------|------------------|
| | COP | [| NP |] |
| (93) | <i>m-àd-g-^wá-nd</i> | | <i>è:-d</i> | <i>à-ft-á:d</i> |
| | NEG-PERS-AFF-3-COP | | place-SS.SG | 2.SG-sit-AM.ITVE |
| | 'There isn't anywhere to live anymore.' | | | |
| | (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#3_090) | | | |

The copula *nd* can also co-occur with a special verbal suffix *-aw* to code possession of the P argument by the subject argument, as shown in example (94). This suffix is not used for coding accompaniment (i.e. comitative).

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--|---------------------|
| | | COP | | [NP] |
| (94) | <i>sá:w</i> | <i>g-^wá-nd-àw</i> | | <i>mùr-é:-d</i> |
| | 3.PL.PRO | AFF-3-COP-POSS | | respect-PS.SG-SS.SG |
| | 'They had respect.' | | | |
| | (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#10_08) | | | |

In non-future negative constructions that are unmarked for aspect, the copula *nd* typically co-occurs with the oblique applicative suffix (see Section 12.1.2), but it infrequently also occurs without the suffix. Further study is required to determine if there are semantic or pragmatic differences between the two constructions. Example (95) shows the copula *nd* in a negative construction with the oblique applicative suffix, and example (96) shows the copula *nd* in a negative construction without the suffix. A summary of the constructions involving the copula *nd* is presented in Table 45.

COP

- (95) *ɲàf-ò:d máfí:n hídz m-à-nd-án*
 grind-NMLZ machine/SW LOC.DEM.PRO NEG-3-COP-OBL
 [ADVP]
dàràb-è:-t
 wilderness-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'There was no grinding with a machine in the wilderness at that time.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#3_045)

COP

- (96) *qáj à: m-à-nd àŋ^wá-k*
 old.times COORD.CONJ NEG-3-COP clothing-SS.PL
 'In the old times there weren't any clothes...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_052)

Construction	Morphosyntactic Structure
Affirmative Existential	AFF-SUBJ- <i>nd</i> + NP
Negative Existential	NEG-SUBJ- <i>nd(-an)</i> + NP
Locative	POLARITY-SUBJ- <i>nd</i> + ADVP
Possessive	POLARITY-SUBJ- <i>nd-aw</i> + NP

Table 45: Constructions with the copula *nd*

CHAPTER IV

STRUCTURAL OVERVIEW OF VERBAL MORPHOSYNTAX

This chapter provides a brief overview of the formal structure of verbal constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga. The verbal morphology is complex and includes both individual prefixes, suffixes, proclitics and tones, as well as compositional and schematic patterns that often cannot be explained as the simple addition of their respective components. The spectrum of grammatical functions coded by verbal constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga is also wide, encompassing tense, aspect, polarity, associated motion, directionality, argument indexation, and applicatives. It is often easy to determine the grammatical function coded by a given structure, but for some structures the situation is more opaque. Two such structures that have no clear grammatical function or semantic mapping, the *final suffix* and *post-verbal H tone pattern*, are described in this chapter in Sections 4.1.3 and 4.4, respectively.

All verbal constructions can additionally be grouped into two structural categories based on the presence or absence of a verbal stem structure called the *dependent stem*. This structure can occur as an independent phonological word or together with other morphology, and it can function as a verbal complement to other verbs. Constructions that do not include a dependent stem are labeled *simplex verbal constructions*, and those that include the dependent stem are labeled *dependent-stem constructions*.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.1 offers a description of the morphology of simplex verbal constructions, Section 4.2 introduces the dependent stem and covers the various structures in which the dependent-stem occurs, Section 4.3 presents some broad generalizations that can be drawn from the tonal patterns of verbal constructions, and, finally, Section 4.4 provides a description of the post-verbal H tone pattern, a feature common to many verbal constructions. The structural focus of this chapter is designed to give the reader a broad view of the full range of verbal constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga, and then the remaining chapters delve deeper into specific functional domains.

4.1 Simplex verbal morphology

This section outlines the morphology of simplex verbal constructions, which do not include the dependent stem. In Sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 the prefixing and suffixing morphology will be presented in position class charts and a basic outline of each construction will be provided. Within the position class charts, members of the same position class or slot represent a structural paradigm and cannot co-occur. The co-occurrence of members of different position classes may also differ for each construction.

4.1.1 Prefixing morphology

There are three primary prefix slots in simplex verbal constructions. The first of these consists of the conditional $\dot{i}:(j)-$, the second consists of the affirmative $g- \sim q-$, negative $m-$, and temporal $am-$, and the third consists of subject indexation prefixes. The conditional may co-occur with the affirmative or negative prefixes of the second slot, but not the temporal. Subject indexation is required in all constructions, although some forms are zero morphs (see Chapter 6).

(Conditional)	(Affirmative/Negative/Temporal)	Subject Indexation	Verb root
$\dot{i}:(j)-$	$g- \sim q- / m- / am-$	-	-

Table 46: Main verb prefix and proclitic slots, without details of co-occurrence restrictions

(97) shows an example of the conditional prefix $\dot{i}:(j)-$, which occupies the first prefix slot and co-occurs with a special subject indexation paradigm (see Section 6.1). This prefix can co-occur with the affirmative prefix in perfect constructions and the negative prefix. See Section 14.1 for more discussion of conditional constructions.

- (97) $\dot{a}n\acute{i}:n$ $\dot{i}:j-\acute{a}:-r\grave{u}g^w$
 1.SG.PRO COND-1.SG-say
 'If I say...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#7_004, 005)

(98) and (99) show examples of the two allomorphs of the affirmative *g-* ~ *q-*, which is a member of the second prefix slot. In (98), the *g-* allomorph occurs with the verb *fa* ‘buy,’ and in (99) the *q-* allomorph occurs with the verb *ηε:d* ‘wake, begin.’ Variation between the two allomorphs is determined by the ATR value of the verb stem (see Section 5.3.1). See Section 7.1 for more discussion of affirmative constructions.

(98) *áb* *hidʒ* *há* *g-í-fà*
 PREP LOC.DEM.PRO well AFF-2.SG-buy
màrw-é:-g
 alcohol-PS.PL-SS.PL
 ‘At this time, well, you buy alcohol...’
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_206)

(99) *àní.n* *qáj* *q-á:-ηέ:d-è:w* *má:ηòl*
 1.SG.PRO old.times AFF-1.SG-wake-LOC Mang’ola
 ‘In the old times. I began in Mang’ola.’
 (IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01_003)

(100) shows an example of the negative prefix *m-*, which is also a member of the second prefix slot, with the verb root *nal* ‘know.’ See Section 7.2 for more discussion of negative constructions.

(100) *àb* *àsìm-dʒ-é:-g* *dú-g^w* *m-á-nàl*
 PREP asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL cow-SS.PL NEG-3-know
 ‘...for the Asimjeeg, they didn’t know (about) cows’.
 (IGS0229_2015-12-29_AM_017)

(101) and (102) show examples of the temporal prefix *am-*, which is the only member of the second prefix slot that does not co-occur with the conditional. The temporal prefix co-occurs with the same special subject indexation paradigm as the conditional (see Section 6.1).

(101) *àm-á:-bí:g-ù* *q-à:-wùj* *dà-rám*
 TEMP-1.SG-return-VEN AFF-1.SG-come:FS 1.SG-fetch
bè:-g
 water-SS.PL
 'When I return, I go to fetch water.'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_14, 15)

(102) *ám-ípár-s* *gídàb g-ì-sìn-á*
 TEMP-2.SG-ask-TERM reason AFF-2.SG-do-FS
 'When you ask her/him "What have you done?" ...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#21_023)

(103) and (104) show examples of the conditional co-occurring with the affirmative and the negative, respectively. The conditional only co-occurs with the affirmative in perfect constructions, but co-occurs with the negative in all negative conditional constructions. The linear sequence of the morphemes in these examples supports the ordering of the first and second prefix slots.

(103) *sí:-d* *ì:-g-ó-búr* *àb*
 person-SS.SG COND-AFF-3-be.tired PREP
 gàdìj-è:-d-áj
 work-PS.SG-SS.SG-3.SG.POSS
 'If a person is already tired from her/his work...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_021)

- (104) *máná ì:-m-á-búŋ-n qúwàr*
 meaning/SW COND-NEG-3-return-VEN home
 'That is, if they don't return home...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5_212)

4.1.2 Suffixing morphology

There are at least five suffix slots in simplex verbal constructions. The first of these slots includes three applicative suffixes and two directional suffixes: the terminal applicative $-s(V:n) \sim -s(a) \sim s(i)$, the oblique applicative $-an$, the locative applicative $-e:(w) \sim -\varepsilon:(w)$, the itive suffix $-d(a) \sim -d(i)$, and the ventive suffix $-n(i) \sim -u(n)$. The second suffix slot includes the associated-motion suffixes $-a.n \sim -a.n(i)$ and $-a:d(i) \sim a:d(a) \sim a:d$. The third suffix slot consists of the pluractional $-a \sim -aj \sim -ad\mathfrak{z} \sim -C$, the fourth suffix slot contains object indexation, and the last slot includes the final suffix (FS). A position class chart of the suffixing morphology is provided in Table 47. There are no morphological causative or anti-passive constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga, which distinguishes it from other described varieties of Datooga.

Verb root	(Applicative/ Directionality)	(Associated Motion)	(Pluractional)	(Object Indexation)	(Final suffix)
-	-	-a:n ~ -a:n(i) AM.VEN / -a:d(i) ~ a:d(a) ~ a:d AM.ITV	-a ~ -aj ~ -ad ₃ ~ -C	-	-(C _[+palatal])a ~ -Ci ~ -i

Table 47: Verbal suffix slots

The three applicative suffixes vary in terms of the person of the arguments that they add to the verbal construction, as well as the semantic roles mapped to those arguments. For more discussion and examples of the applicatives, see Chapter 12. Example (105) shows the terminal applicative $-s(V:n) \sim -s(a) \sim s(i)$, which increases the valence of the verb by adding a 3rd person argument, usually representing a Benefactee, Goal, or Instrument. The applicative is suffixed to the verb root *rug* 'tell'.

- (105) *ì:s-wá-j* *é:-rùg-s* *sájgiló*
COND-IMPERS-go-FS IMPERS-tell-TERM Saygilo
'If they (are made to) go and tell Saygilo...'
(IGS0229_2015-12-29_AM_023)

Example (106) shows the oblique applicative *-an*, which increases the valence of the verb by adding a 1st or 2nd person argument, usually representing a Time or Location. Here the oblique applicative occurs with the verb root *t/ag* 'send' and introduces an argument with the role of Time.

- (106) *g-^wà-jéf* *àní.n* *g^wátf*
 AFF-3-say 1.SG.PRO that.time
g-ò-tfàg-d-án-à.n *g^wàláj-àn-d*
 AFF-3-send-ITV-**OBL**-1.SG elder-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'He said that me, at that time, the elder sent me'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04_065, 066)

Example (107) shows the locative applicative *-e:(w) ~ -ε:(w)*, which increases the valence of the verb by adding a 3rd person argument, usually representing a Location. The applicative is suffixed to the verb root *səm* 'study'.

- (107) *q-à:-səm-ε:w* *fúl* *èd* *máηò!á*
 AFF-3-study-**LOC**/SW school/SW PREP Mang'ola
 'I studied at the school in Mang'ola'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-29_AM_003)

The ventive and itive directionals code physical movement with reference to a deictic center. See Chapter 11 for more discussion and examples of directionals. (108) shows an example of ventive *-n(i) ~ -u(n)*, which codes movement towards a deictic center. In this example, the verb *súm-ù* 'begin a journey (VEN)' codes movement towards a speaker's home, which functions as a deictic center in the discourse.

- (108) *g-í-súm-ù* *g-ì-núj* *á-hí.n*
 AFF-2.SG-begin.journey-**VEN** AFF-2.SG-come 2.SG-arrive:VEN
quíwàr
 home
 'You start the trip...you come and arrive at home.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#6_64, 65)

Example (109) shows the itive suffix *-d(a) ~ -d(i) ~ -d*, which codes movement away from a deictic center. In this example, the verb *tfág-d* 'send s.o. (ITV)' codes movement away from a the traditional homeland, Someega, which functions as a deictic center in the discourse.

- (109) *nìp* *ní:s* *g-ó-tfág-d* *sí:-d*
 3.SG.PRO often AFF-3-send-ITV person-SS.SG
 'He would often send someone (away)'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-29_AM_021)

The morphological analysis of associated-motion suffixes in this dissertation treats them as fused associated motion and directional morphemes (i.e. the directional semantics of the suffixes are not attributed to independent directional morphemes). For more discussion and examples of associated motion, see Section 11.2.

The verbalizer *-it* combines with an adjectival stem to create a verbal stem. This suffix appears to be a cognate of the suffix that Rottland (1983, 232) describes as the "inceptive". (110) shows an example the verbalizer suffix in Asimjeeg Datooga with the adjectival root *mij* 'good'.

- (110) *g-è:-jì:n* *q-á-mìj-ì:t-í*
 AFF-IMPERS-put AFF-3-good-VRBLZ-FS
 'It was put (that way) so that it is nice...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#6_87)

4.1.3 Final suffix

The final suffix is used only in some verbal constructions under certain person and number conditions, and its grammatical function remains unclear. It may have its origins in coding tense, aspect, or mood. In some contexts its presence constitutes the sole distinguishing factor between 1.PL and impersonal subject indexation. The distribution of the final suffix in Asimjeeg Datooga is slightly different than that reported for other varieties of Datooga (Rottland 1983: 227).

There are four general patterns that final suffix forms fall into. The first final suffix pattern has the form $-C(i)$, and the form of the consonant depends on the preceding consonant of the verbal stem, which is described in Table 48. This form is used with 1/2 PL subject indexation in non-future affirmative and conditional constructions. The second form $-C$ resembles the first in form but without the high vowel, and it is used with 1 SG subject indexation in non-future affirmative and conditional constructions.

Final segment of verbal stem	Form of <i>-Ci</i> final suffix
/f/, /s/, /ʃ/	-tʃ(i)
/b/, /r/, /w/, /j/,	-dʒ(i)
/l/	-l(i) / -dʒ(i)
/m/	-ɹ(i) / -dʒ(i)
/n/ (-> /ɲ/), /d/ (-> /tʃ/), /t/ (-> /tʃ/)	C fused with verb stem + -(i)
/ɲ/, /dʒ/	-(i)
V	-j(i)

Table 48: Morphophonological patterns of the *-C(i)* final suffix

A third final suffix pattern with the form *-i* is used for 1/2 person subject indexation in the non-future negative and non-future negative conditional constructions. The fourth final suffix pattern is $-(C_{[+palatal]})a$, and it occurs with 1/2 person subjects in perfect constructions. All four of these patterns are summarized in Table 49, and examples of each pattern with the verb root *bɛ:f* 'burn' are provided in (111) through (114).

Form	Constructions	Person and Number
<i>-C ~ -j</i>	Non-future affirmative Non-future conditional	1 SG
<i>-C(i) ~ -j(i)</i>	Non-future affirmative Non-future conditional	1 PL 2 PL
<i>-(i)</i>	Non-future negative Non-future negative conditional Non-future affirmative itive	1 SG/PL 2 SG/PL
<i>-(C[palatal])a</i>	Non-future perfect Future perfect Non-future perfect conditional	1 SG/PL 2 SG/PL

Table 49: final suffix patterns

- (111) *q-à:-bé:f-tf*
AFF-1.SG-burn-FS
'I burn (it)' (IGS0229_2017-1-31_MB_2)
- (112) *i:j-ó:-bé:f-tfì*
COND-2.PL-burn-FS
'If you all burn (her/him/it/them)'
'I burn (it)' (IGS0229_2017-1-31_MB_2)
- (113) *m-á:-bé:f-ì*
NEG-1.SG-burn-FS
'I don't burn (it)' (IGS0229_2017-2-3_MB3_01)
- (114) *q-à:-bé:f-tfá*
AFF-1.SG-burn-FS/PERF
'I have burned (it)' (IGS0229_2017-2-3_MB3_01)

The high front vowel in the two final suffix patterns $-C(i) \sim -j(i)$ and $-(i)$ occurs only in intonational-phrase-final position. If a word follows the verb within the same intonational phrase, then the vowel is removed. (115) shows an example of the final suffix with the vowel on the verb root $l\varepsilon$: 'drink' at the end of the intonational phrase.

- (115) $q-\acute{a}:-w\acute{a}l-d\zeta$ $bíd\zeta\acute{o}l-\acute{o}:-d$ $\acute{a}:$
 AFF-1.SG-cook-FS porridge-PS.SG-SS.SG COORD.CONJ
 $g-\acute{e}:-l\acute{e}:-d\zeta\acute{i}$
 AFF-1.PL-drink-FS
 '...then I cooked porridge and then we drank (it).'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_03, 04)

The consonant of the first and second final suffix patterns fuses with the verb stem if the last consonant of the stem is $/n/$, $/d/$, or $/t/$, resulting in a palatalized nasal or post-alveolar affricate. (116) shows an example of the final suffix fused with the verb root $\eta\varepsilon:d$ 'wake, begin,' resulting in $\eta\varepsilon:tf$.

- (116) $g^w\acute{a}tf$ $q-\acute{a}:-\eta\varepsilon:tf$ $s\acute{a}kt\acute{a}jd$
 that.day AFF-1.SG-wake:FS morning
 'That day I woke up in the morning...'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_01)

4.2 Dependent-stem constructions

The dependent stem in Asimjeeg Datooga is a structure that is featured in many verbal constructions. It consists of a verb root together with a special paradigm of subject indexation prefixes (see Chapter 6), and may include any of the suffixes mentioned in Section 4.1.2, except the final suffix. The label *dependent stem* is used to refer to this structure because it is the most common verbal construction featured in dependent clauses. The dependent stem occurs on its own as an independent word in co-hortative and imperative constructions (see Section 13.1), and it can occur together with an independent clause in the subjunctive construction (see Section 14.3). The dependent stem also occurs together with other verbal morphology in auxiliary verb and future constructions. Table 51 lists the verbal constructions that do and do not feature the dependent stem.

Non-dependent-stem constructions	Dependent-stem constructions
<p style="text-align: center;">Non-future tense Perfect tense-aspect</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Co-hortative Imperative Subjunctive Future tense TAM auxiliary constructions</p>

Table 50: Non-dependent-stem constructions and dependent-stem constructions

For 1/2 and impersonal subjects, the dependent stem simply consists of subject indexation and the verb root, but for 3rd person subjects the affirmative prefix is also included in the dependent stem. This can result in multiple affirmative prefixes within the same verbal

construction, or a combination of negative and affirmative prefixes. A position class chart of the dependent stem is provided in Table 51.

(Affirmative)-	Subject indexation-	root	-(suffixes)
----------------	---------------------	------	-------------

Table 51: Position class chart of dependent stem morphology (which may co-occur with other morphology)

The subject indexation paradigm that is used in the dependent stem is distinct from all other paradigms in the three following ways: the 1 SG form is *da-* rather than *a:-*, the 2 SG form is $\emptyset-$ ~ *a-* rather than *i-* ~ *u-*, and the 2 PL form includes *a:-* as an optional variant for Verb Class 1 (see Section 6.1).

Examples (117) and (118) show the dependent stem used in imperative and cohortative constructions (see Section 6.2). Examples (119) and (120) show the same two dependent stem structures being used in the subjunctive construction, which is the general construction used for dependent clauses in Asimjeeg Datooga (see Section 14.3).

(117) *ún*
go:2.SG
'Go!'

(118) *é:-wájèn*
1.PL-go
'Let's go (we should go)'

(119) *g-à:-gás-àj* *ún*
AFF-1.SG-want-PLUR go:2.SG
'I want you to go.'

- (120) *g-à:-gás-àj* *é:-wájèn*
 AFF-1.SG-want-PLUR 1.PL-go
 'I want us to go'

The dependent stem can also co-occur with other prefixing verb morphology, which falls into four different slots: the first contains the conditional *ì:(j)-*, the second includes the affirmative *g-* (but not *q-*) and negative *m-*, the third the consists of the future *i(:)- ~ -id₃(a)*, and the fourth features four tense-aspect auxiliaries, the persistive *ad-*, the affirmative priority *gòl-*, and the negative priority *mànúŋ=*.

(Conditional)	(Affirmative/ Negative)	(Future)	(Auxiliary)	Dependent stem
<i>ì:(j)-</i>	<i>g- / m-</i>	<i>i(d₃)(a)-</i>	<i>ad-</i> persistive <i>gòl-</i> affirmative priority <i>mànúŋ=</i> negative perfect	-

Table 52: Verbal auxiliary structural slots, without details of co-occurrence restrictions

In dependent stem constructions, the conditional never co-occurs with the affirmative but may co-occur with the negative. The persistive *ad-* always co-occurs with either the affirmative or negative. The affirmative priority *gòl-* can occur without the affirmative or negative in non-future constructions, but can co-occur with the affirmative in future constructions. The negative priority *mànúŋ=* occurs without the affirmative or negative in non-future constructions, but can co-occur with either the affirmative or negative in future constructions.

Evidence of a dependent stem structure can be found in the literature on other varieties of Datooga, although the structure itself has never been described. Rottland (1982: 212) lists examples of dependent verbal forms with a dynamic modal auxiliary, such as the one seen in (121) (original transcription maintained), which features two examples of the 1 SG subject indexation form *da-* used in the dependent stem.

- (121) *máydámu dáni:ti*
 'Ich werde nicht füllen können.' ['I will not be able to fill']
 (Rottland 1982: 212)

Mitchell (2015) includes the text seen in (122) from Barabaiga/Gisamjanga Datooga, which also features two examples of the 1 SG subject indexation form *da-*, one used in a future construction and the other used in a dependent clause (original transcription and glossing maintained).

- (122) *g-ày-dá-wa* *dá-gáw-ít-s-chí* *hà?*
 AFF-FUT-1SG-go 1SGV-milk-PLUR-TERM-AP.IS DSC
 "I'll go milk, then?"
 (Mitchell 2015a: 100)

Both Mitchell (2015a) and Kießling (2007a) use the label *subjunctive* to describe instances of the dependent stem in dependent clauses, in the same sense used in this dissertation. See (123) for a Gisamjanga Datooga example from Kießling (2007a) showing the dependent stem used in a dependent clause (original transcription and glossing maintained).

- (123) *ám-í-ràanjú* *gì-hìdú* *dáa-màar-ní*
COND-2sg.SJN-acquire.glory.CP S2sg-come.CP 1sg.SJN-donate-O2sg
'If you kill to acquire heroic glory, then you may come and I'll give you a
hero's present.'
(Kießling 2007a: 127)

4.2.1 Future constructions

Future constructions, including those with or without auxiliaries, always feature the dependent stem. The future prefix may co-occur with the conditional, affirmative, negative, and any auxiliary prefix or proclitic. (124) and (125) show examples of future constructions (see Section 8.2 for more examples and discussion).

- (124) *àsk"ár* *g-ídʒ-é:-fùf*
afternoon AFF-FUT-1.PL-rest
'In the afternoon we will rest'
(IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_18)

- (125) *fìṅád* *ání.n* *g-ì-dá-w* *bár-ò:d*
evening 1.SG.PRO AFF-FUT-1.SG-go hit-NMLZ
'In the evening I will go to farm.'
(IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_07)

4.2.2 Auxiliary verb constructions without subject indexation

Auxiliary Verb Constructions (AVCs) in Asimjeeg Datooga fall into the "split" pattern of Anderson's (2006) typology, which specifies that there is morphological coding on both

the auxiliary and the lexical verb. Within the context of Asimjeeg Datooga, the dependent stem can be considered as the lexical verb, and it features both subject and object indexation, directionality, applicatives, associated motion, and pluractionality. The auxiliaries feature the morphological categories of tense and polarity, and the auxiliaries themselves code aspect.

Anderson also describes what he calls "doubling" patterns, whereby some morphological material is coded on both the auxiliary and the lexical verb. The most common doubling pattern cross-linguistically is the repetition of subject indexation. In Asimjeeg Datooga, however, the affirmative prefix is the only morphological category that occurs twice, and it is only with 3rd person subjects - first before the future or persistentive *-ad*, and again before the 3rd person subject indexation of the dependent stem. (126) shows an example of this doubling with a future construction containing the verb root *gon* 'give'.

- (126) *í:-nd-áw* *lápíj-é:-d-àŋ*^w
COND-COP-POSS money-PS.SG-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS
g-ì:-g-à-gòjí
AFF-FUT-AFF-3-give:FS
'If you have your money, he will give it (to you)'
(IGS0229_2016-12-12_#5_143)

(127) through (129) show examples of the three auxiliaries, the persistent *ad-*, the affirmative priority *gòl-*, and the negative priority *mànúnj=*. Additional discussion and examples for each are provided in sections 9.2, 9.3 and 9.1.2, respectively.

(127) *àsé:s* *g-àd-é:-wás* *mánàŋ*
 1.PL.PRO AFF-PRIOR-1.PL-COP small
 'We were still small'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#3_18)

(128) *gòl-dà-lé:qlé:q* *díjà* *fù-g=sù*
 PRIOR-1.SG-help.PLUR a.lot people-SS.PL=PROX.DEM
 'I've already helped these people a lot...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9 #1_769)

(129) *àsé:s* *g-é:-hèt-ù* *háj*
 1.PL.PRO AFF-1.PL-grow.up-VEN well
ŋàf-é:-s *à:* *m-à-núnj*
 word-PS.PL-PROX.DEM COORD.CONJ NEG-3-let
è:-dà
 1.PL-see
 'When we grew up, these things we didn't see'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13_53)

The negative imperative construction is another dependent stem construction that features an auxiliary, but it is distinct from other AVCs in that the auxiliary cannot co-occur with any morphology coding tense. The construction consists of the independent negative imperative auxiliary *dìgán ~ òngán* followed by a dependent stem structure with a 2 SG/PL

subject. (130) shows an example of this construction, and additional discussion and examples are provided in Section 13.1.

- (130) *dìgán* *gò:-dúl-n* *áland̩-è:-d-èŋ*
 NEG.IMP.AUX 2.PL-finish-VEN property-PS.SG-SS.SG-1.SG.POSS
 'Don't eat my livestock (lit. don't finish my property)!'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9_#2_042)

4.2.3 Dependent-stem constructions with double subject indexation

The dependent stem is also used in a number of multi-verbal constructions, as well, which feature subject indexation on both verbs. Indexation patterns fall into three types: impersonal subject indexation on the non-dependent stem verb (Section 4.2.3.1), same subject indexation required on both verbs (Section 4.2.3.2), and different indexation on each verb (Section 4.2.3.3).

4.2.3.1 Impersonal subject indexation

The epistemic-deontic modal auxiliary *qus* 'should' always co-occurs with impersonal subject indexation and is followed by a dependent stem. (131) shows an example of this construction with the lexical verb *nal* 'know'.

- (131) *híd̩z̩í* *g-è:-qús* *q-^wá-nàl* *àsè:-t*
 PROX.LOC.PRO AFF-IMPERS-should AFF-3-know God-SS.SG
 'At that point, God must know...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#02_154)

4.2.3.2 Same subject indexation

The dynamic modal auxiliary *mus* always co-occurs with subject indexation that matches that of the following dependent stem. (132) and (133) show examples of this construction with the lexical verbs *nal* 'know' and *wè:d* 'help'.

- (132) *à:* *m-à:-mùs* *dà-nál*
COORD.CONJ NEG-1.SG-can 1.SG-know
'I can't know...'
(IGS0229_2017-3-8_#10_044)

- (133) *q-ó-mús* *q-à-wè:d-é:n*
AFF-3-can AFF-3-help-2.SG.O
'...he can help you.'
(IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20_070)

The narrative-ventive construction consists of the movement verb *un* 'come' with subject indexation matching that of a following dependent stem, and it codes an event as having occurred after a previous one, without reference to a physical deictic center. (134) and (135) show examples of the narrative-ventive construction with the lexical verbs *ram* 'fetch' and *laslas* 'hit, do (many times)'.

- (134) *àm-á:-bí:g-ù* *q-à:-wù:n* *dà-rám*
TEMP-1.SG-return-VEN AFF-1.SG-come:FS 1.SG-fetch
bè:-g
water-SS.PL
'When I return, I go (lit. 'come') to fetch water.'
(IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_14, 15)

- (135) *g-à:-dò* *dà-làslás*
 AFF-1.SG-come 1.SG-hit.PLUR
gíbàrùà-dʒ-é:-g *áb* *òfù*
 temporary.work-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL/SW PREP DIST.DEM.PRO
 'I went (lit. 'came') to do temporary work over there...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #3_138)

The narrative-resultative construction consists of one or more lexical verbs followed by the coordinating conjunct *a:* and a dependent stem with subject indexation matching that of the other verbs, and it codes an event as having occurred as the result of previous events. (136) through (138) provide examples of the narrative-resultative construction with movement verbs 'come' and 'go,' as well as the verb *dʒáp* 'prepare'.

- (136) *g-à:-bàlàg-ø* *á:* *d-ón* *má:ηòl*
 AFF-1.SG-relocate-VEN COORD.CONJ 1.SG-come Mang'ola
 'I moved until I came to Mang'ola.'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01_007)

- (137) *g-á:-bálàk-tf* *à:* *d-àw* *mítàl*
 AFF-3-relocate-ITV:FS COORD.CONJ 1.SG-go Matala
 'I moved until I went to Matala.'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01_004)

- (138) *ì:-ø-mútf* *qéd* *q-à:-ηòŋ*
 COND-3-be.morning home AFF-1.SG-hold
páŋgà-dʒ-án-d *dà-w* *d* *à-látf*
 machete-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG/SW 1.SG-go 1.SG-cut
hí:ló-g *à:* *dà-dʒáp* *lúw-án-d*
 sanzu.tree-SS.PL COORD.CONJ 1.SG-prepare fence-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'The next day at home, I take my machete and go cut trees, until I prepare the boma fence.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#5_27, 28)

4.2.3.3 Different subject indexation

Dependent stem constructions that feature different subject indexation on the dependent stem than that of the previous lexical verb can be considered subjunctive constructions (see Section 14.3). Two common constructions that match this structural pattern will be described briefly here. The first is a lexical causative construction that consists of the verb *nuy* 'let' followed by a dependent stem, and the two verbs may feature the same or different subject indexation. (139) through (141) show examples of the lexical causative construction with the verbs *bar* 'hit, farm, kill,' *un* 'come,' and *henni* 'be big'.

(139) *dàbàqáj-g* *é:-núŋ* *q-á-bàr*
maasai-SS.PL IMPERS-let AFF-3-hit
'...(so that) the Maasai were allowed to kill (them)'
(IGS0229_2017-3-16_#4_52)

(140) *g-í-núŋ* *q-á-fk* *bé:-g*
AFF-2.SG-let AFF-3-come water-SS.PL
'...you make the water come...'
(IGS0229_2017-3-2 #3_53)

(141) *g-é:-sín* *à:* *g-é:-núŋ*
AFF-IMPERS-do COORD.CONJ AFF-IMPERS-let
g-^wà-hèd-ú
AFF-3-be.big-VEN
'...They are created and they are made to be big.'
(IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_116)

Verbs of desire, such as *wi:l* 'look for, want' and *gas* 'want', often take verbal complements in the subjunctive (i.e. dependent stem structure), which can feature the same or different subject indexation. (142) and (143) show two examples of such subjunctive constructions with the same and different subject indexation, respectively.

(142) *g-à:-gàs-áj* *dà-pár-d* *gíl*
 AFF-1.SG-want-PLUR 1.SG-ask-ITV thing
 '...I want to ask something'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24_021)

(143) *g-è:-gàs-áj* *rúŋ-ún* *ŋáf-è:-g* *sé.n*
 AFF-1.PL-want-PLUR tell-VEN word-PS.PL-SS.PL all
 'We want you to tell (us) everything...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#12_049)

4.3 Verbal tone

Tone is an integral component of verbal morphology in Asimjeeg Datooga, and also one of the most difficult to describe. Verbal tone has not been described for any other variety of Datooga. Some generalizations regarding tonal patterns across all constructions will be discussed here, and then the tonal structures of individual verbal constructions will be detailed in later chapters. Hyman (2008) writes that tone represents the outer limits of phonological possibilities:

Feature	Description
Syntagmatic mobility	Long distance effects and movement
Highly paradigmatic	Tones often contrast with each other
Ambiguous	Multiple theoretical interpretations are often possible
Abstract	"Underlying" or "input" tones can be very different from "surface" or "output" tones
Arbitrary	Synchronic tonal patterns are not easily explained diachronically

Table 53: General features of tone (Hyman 2008)

Most, if not all, of these features are reflected in the verbal tonology of Asimjeeg Datooga. Some tones are localized and associated with specific affixes (e.g. conditional *ì:-*, see Section 14.1, and affirmative priority auxiliary *gòl*, see Section 9.3) while others are part of word-level melodies (e.g. perfect constructions, see Section 9.1). Some tonal alternations are associated with tonally unspecified segmental morphemes or structural slots within the verb (e.g. sequential tense, see Section 8.3, interrogative intonation, see section 2.4). Some verbal tones only interact with other tones in the same phonological word, while others change depending on the presence or absence of a following word. Some tones occur outside of the verb but depend on categories coded by the verb (e.g. the post-verbal H tone pattern, see Section 4.4).

Example (144) shows a LH verbal tone pattern that occurs at the end of the intonational phrase, whereas (145) through (147) show that the verbal tone changes to LL when not intonational-phrase-final, regardless of the syntactic status of the following word.

- (144) *q-à:-bàr-dʒ*
 AFF-1.SG-hit-FS
 'I hit (her/him/it/them)'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-24_YN_2)
- (145) *q-à:-bàr-dʒ* *ár* *áwè:-tʃán-dʒ*
 AFF-1.SG-hit-FS even day-PS.SG-REF
 'I hit (her/him/it/them) even that day'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-24_YN_2)
- (146) *q-à:-bàr-dʒ* *ánì.ní*
 AFF-1.SG-hit-FS 1.SG.PRO
 'I hit (her/him/it/them)'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-24_YN_2)
- (147) *q-à:-bàr-dʒ* *nín*
 AFF-1.SG-hit-FS 3.SG-PRO
 'I hit her/him'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-24_YN_2)

Tonal patterns can differ for Verb Class 1 and Verb Class 2 (see Chapter 5), two categories of verb stems. (148) and (149) show examples of LLH and LHL verbal tonal melodies with the verbs *bɛ:f* 'burn s.th.' (Verb Class 1) and *hi:t* 'finish s.th. (itive)' (Verb Class 2) in the non-future affirmative perfect construction.

- (148) *g-ì-bè:f-tʃá*
 AFF-2.SG-burn-FS
 'You have burned (her/him/it/them)'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-3_MB3_01)

- (149) *g-ì-hí:-tǎ̀*
 AFF-2.SG-finish:ITV-FS
 'You have finished (her/him/it/them)'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-3_MB3_01)

4.4 Post-verbal H tone pattern

The [V-NP] floating H construction is a tonal construction that modifies the initial tones of NPs following verbs. If the first tone of the NP directly following the verb is L, the [V-NP] floating H construction will make it a H and condition H spreading. The schematic structure and tonal properties of the [V-NP] Floating H Construction can be seen in (150).

- (150) *[V-NP] Floating H Construction*
 [V] [NP]
 ⋮
 H

This means that the second tone of the NP will also be H if it is not word-final. If the [V-NP] floating H construction does not apply, but the final tone of the verb is H and the first tone of the NP is a non-word-final L, then only that first tone of the NP will become a H. These changes result in tonal melodies that are sometimes significantly different from the underlying melodies and may result in the neutralization of case distinctions. A list of

all of the underlying and surface tonal melodies together is provided in Table 54. (151) shows the LLH-tone nominal *bà̀nà̀né:d* ‘orphan’ in a number of elicited examples with each possible surface tonal melody, and (152) shows an example from natural speech with the LLH-tone nominal *à̀sìmdzánd* ‘Asimjeeg person’.

Accusative (Citation)			Nominative		
<i>Underlying form</i>	<i>With [V-NP] Floating H Tone</i>	<i>With H-Spreading Only</i>	<i>Underlying form</i>	<i>With [V-NP] Floating H Tone</i>	<i>With H-Spreading Only</i>
L	H	L	H	H	H
H	H	H	L	H	L
LH	HH	HH	LH	HH	HH
LL	HL	HL	LH	HH	HH
HL	HL	HL	HL	HL	HL
HH	HH	HH	HH	HH	HH
LLH	HHH	HLH	LHL	HHL	HHL
LHHa	HHH	HHH	LHL	HHL	HHL
LHHb	HHH	HHH	LHH	HHH	HHH
LLL	HHL	HLL	LHL	HHL	HHL
LHL	LHL	HHL	LHL	LHL	HHL
LLLH	HHLH	HLLH	LHHL	HHHL	HHHL
LLHH	HHHH	HLHH	LHHL	HHHL	HHHL
LLHL	HHHL	HLHL	LHHL	HHHL	HHHL
HHLH	HHLH	HHLH	LHHL	HHHL	HHHL
LLLLH	HLLLH	HLLLH	LHLLL	HLLL	HLLL
LHLLH	LHLLL	HLLLH	LHLLL	LHLLL	HLLL

Table 54: Underlying accusative and nominative tonal forms, together with the surface forms.

- (151) a. *bànàn-é:-d* *g-ó-sí:b-á:d*
 orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-3-move-AM.ITV
 '(A/The) orphan moves.'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN)
- b. *q-à:-hí:-tʃ* *bánán-é:-d*
 AFF-1.SG-finish-FS orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'I am finishing/finished (a/the) orphan'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN)
- c. *q-ð-hí:t* *bànàn-!é:-d*
 AFF-3-finish orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'S/he/it/they are finishing/finished (a/the) orphan.'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN)
- d. *g-ó-sí:b-á:d* *àr* *bánán-è:-d*
 AFF-3-move-AM.ITV even orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG/NOM
 'Even (a/the) orphan moves.'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN)
- e. *q-ð-hí:d-á:n* *bánán-è:-d*
 AFF-3-finish-1.SG orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG/NOM
 'The orphan finished me/I was finished by the orphan.'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN)
- f. *g-ó-sí:b-á:d* *bánán-è:-d*
 AFF-3-move-AM.ITV orphan-PS.SG-SS.SG/NOM
 '(A/The) orphan moves.'
 (IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN)
- (152) *ì:j-á:-ŋúl-à:d* *ásím-dʒán-d*
 CONJ-1.SG-look-AM.ITV asimjeeg-PS.SG-SS.SG
 '...If I look at an Asimjeeg person'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20_097)

The [V-NP] Floating H Construction is conditioned by a number of linguistic variables, most notably the person and number values of core arguments and the tense, polarity, conditionality, and directionality of the verbal predicate. Table 55 lists all of the conditions for the distribution.

Distributional pattern label	Constructional conditions	Person/number conditions for [V-NP] floating H construction
Pattern 1	Affirmative non-future Conditional non-future	If any core argument is 1st or 2nd person
Pattern 2	Affirmative future Negative future Persistent non-future Subjunctive	If {S, A} argument is 1st person plural
Pattern 3	Negative non-future Affirmative ventive non-future	Unconditional
Pattern 4	Affirmative perfect non-future	If {S, A} argument is 3rd person.
Pattern 5	Affirmative itive non-future	Unconditional for Verb Class 1 If {S, A} argument is 1st or 2nd person for Verb Class 2

Table 55: Linguistic variables that condition the distribution of the [V-NP] Floating H Tone construction.

Table 54 and 55 together demonstrate that the [V-NP] Floating H Construction is conditioned both by the properties of the verb and also – if the NP consists only of a nominal – the tone class of the nominal. While the status of the grammatical roles in the clause is a relevant factor for the distribution of the construction, the construction itself does not appear to have a distinct grammatical function and does not code case. Due to its strong ties to tense, polarity, conditionality, and directionality constructions, one could

argue that the [V-NP] Floating H Construction is best viewed as a formal component or extension of verbal tonology.

CHAPTER V

VERB STEMS

In this section, the notion of the verbal stem is introduced and a non-exhaustive set of morphological stem categorizations is presented. Stems are categorized by morphological complexity (Section 5.1), verb class (Section 5.2), and Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) features (Section 5.3). The tonal patterning of verbs is predictable based on the phonological and morphological structure of the stem, as well as the verb class.

The term "verb stem" is used here to describe a structure that consists of a verb root together with any morphology that it obligatorily co-occurs with. "Simplex stems" consist simply of a single verb root, whereas "complex stems" consist of a verb root in combination with obligatory directional, associated-motion, or pluractional suffixes, or a reduplicated root. Verb stems are easily identified in 2.SG dependent stem forms, so these are the forms used in most of the examples that follow.

Both simplex and complex verb stems can be categorized into two verb classes, Class 1 and Class 2. Synchronically, these classes are merely morphological, although they appear to have historical origins in a causative prefix that can be traced back to Proto-Nilotic ((Dimmendaal 1983; Kießling 2000b). The two verb classes have some stem-internal formal differences, condition allomorphic variation in verbal morphology, and also have distinct transitivity profiles.

Finally, verb stems can additionally be categorized based on a binary ATR feature (+ATR or -ATR). The ATR values of verb stems with mid vowels (i.e. /e/, /o/, /ɛ/, /ɔ/) are indicated by the set of +ATR (/e/, /o/) or -ATR (/ɛ/, /ɔ/) vowels contained within the stem, but stems without mid vowels are only identifiable through the verbal morphology. In general, the verb stem controls the ATR value of verbal morphology, following a root-controlled pattern (Casali 2008).

5.1 Simplex and complex stems

5.1.1 Simplex stems

A majority of verb stems in Asimjeeg Datooga are simplex, i.e. they consist of a verb root only. Nearly all of these simplex stems are monosyllabic and consist of the syllable shape CV(:)C. A small set of irregular Class 1 verb stems are CV(:) or VC, such as *un* 'go,' *lɛ:* 'drink,' *da* 'see'. A selection of Class 1 and Class 2 monosyllabic simplex stems in 2.SG dependent stem form is presented in Table 56. For Class 1 verb stems, the dependent stem form consists merely of the bare stem with a H tone and for Class 2 verb stems it consists of the stem with a prefix *a-* with a LH tonal melody.

Class 1		Class 2	
Meaning	Form	Meaning	Form
'relax'	<i>fíf</i>	'stand'	<i>à-jéɲ</i>
'pull'	<i>gís</i>	'invite, announce'	<i>à-lúl</i>
'shoot, throw'	<i>wúd</i>	'keep, save'	<i>à-tí:w</i>
'be tired'	<i>búr</i>	'pick up'	<i>à-lím</i>
'suck'	<i>rér</i>	'wear clothes'	<i>à-k"ál</i>
'bump, beat, castrate'	<i>gúl</i>	'vomit'	<i>à-kés</i>
'sleep'	<i>líl</i>	'begin'	<i>à-ɲé:d</i>
'look for'	<i>wí:l</i>	'sweat'	<i>à-hó:d</i>
'give birth'	<i>dʒí:l</i>	'finish'	<i>à-hí:d</i>
'smell'	<i>dʒón</i>	'teach'	<i>à-ná:l</i>
'cut'	<i>fí:d</i>	'snatch seize'	<i>à-sé:l</i>
'soak'	<i>fáb</i>	'faint'	<i>à-hí:l</i>
'sharpen'	<i>fíd</i>	'prevent'	<i>à-té:l</i>
'dig'	<i>báf</i>	'diminish'	<i>à-fó:ɲ</i>
'lick'	<i>mé:f</i>	'catch hold'	<i>à-ɲó:ɲ</i>
'scrape'	<i>fór</i>	'be bright'	<i>à-bó:ɲ</i>
'grab s.th.'	<i>sól</i>	'flow, stream'	<i>à-ré:m</i>

Table 56: Monosyllabic simplex stems, in 2.SG dependent stem form

Class 2 stems never occur in natural speech without prefixing morphology, and some stems appear to reflect this fact in the phonological structure of their roots. The small set of Class 2 simplex stems presented in dependent stem form in Table 57 feature stem-initial consonant sequences that would violate general phonotactic patterns without the presence of a vocalic prefix.

Meaning	Form
'Drag s.th.!'	<i>à-ŋgí:r</i>
'Remember s.th.!'	<i>à-fkád</i>
'Belch!'	<i>à-stfɛ:w</i>

Table 57: Class 2 monosyllabic simplex stems with atypical stem-initial consonant sequences, presented here in 2.SG dependent stem form

In addition to monosyllabic simplex stems, there are also disyllabic simplex stems. A list of disyllabic simplex stems is presented in Table 58. All Class 1 disyllabic simplex stems feature a LH melody in the 2.SG dependent stem, and Class 2 stems feature a LLH melody.

Class 1		Class 2	
Meaning	Form	Meaning	Form
'squat'	<i>fùndá:r</i>	'cry, weep'	<i>à-jàwúd</i>
'choke'	<i>dùgúf</i>	'harden'	<i>à-hàṅó:n</i>
'be full'	<i>làṅúd</i>	'straighten, stretch, accompany'	<i>à-tḍ:bíw</i>
'squeeze'	<i>bìrbín</i>	'widen'	<i>à-pàrá</i>
'groan from pain'	<i>dìgín</i>		
'kneel'	<i>dùgún</i>		
'turn'	<i>bùgús</i>		
'converse, discuss'	<i>bàló:l</i>		
'be drunk'	<i>bògíd</i>		
'hasten'	<i>làmádʒ</i>		
'be straight'	<i>dḍ:bíw</i>		
'like, love'	<i>bàríṅ</i>		
'bite'	<i>qàṅád</i>		

Table 58: Disyllabic simplex verb stems, in 2.SG dependent stem form

5.1.2 Complex stems

Complex stems are those that consist of multiple morphemes. In Asimjeeg Datooga, these include stems with reduplicated roots (Section 5.1.2.1) and those with lexicalized directional (Section 5.1.2.2), associated-motion (Section 5.1.2.3), and pluractional suffixes (Section 5.1.2.4).

5.1.2.1 Stems with reduplicated roots

Stems with reduplicated roots consist of a single monosyllabic root that is repeated twice, and they often code pluractional or iterative semantics (e.g. *dabdab* 'touch s.th. multiple times'). A list of verb stems with reduplicated roots is presented in Table 59. Class 1 reduplicated stems always feature a LH tonal melody in the 2.SG dependent stem form, and Class 2 stems feature a LLH melody.

Class 1		Class 2	
Meaning	Form	Meaning	Form
'fan s.th.'	<i>hè:dhé:d</i>	'blink'	<i>à-mìsmís</i>
'smile, smirk'	<i>ɲìmpím</i>	'soften s.th.'	<i>à-pùmbún</i>
'feel around something'	<i>bàrbár</i>	'pant'	<i>à-hàŋháŋ</i>
'make s.th. go around'	<i>mànmán</i>		
'touch s.th. multiple times'	<i>dàbdáb</i>		
'rock s.th. back and forth'	<i>sàbsáb</i>		

Table 59: Verb stems with reduplicated roots, in 2.SG dependent stem form

5.1.2.2 Stems with directional suffixes

Many verb stems in Asimjeeg Datooga obligatorily include the itive or ventive directional suffixes, which code direction of movement or orientation away from or towards a deictic reference (see Chapter 11). These directional suffixes occur immediately after the verb root, and they cannot be removed from the stems in which they occur.

Some of the verb roots in these stems co-occur with the itive and also also the ventive, as seen in Table 60. The distinction between the semantics of these forms is usually related to the direction of movement, or association with 1st/2nd vs. 3rd person objects. Class 1 stems feature a LH tonal melody in the 2.SG dependent stem, whereas Class 2 stems features a LHL melody.

Meaning	Ventive dependent stem form	Itive dependent stem form
'leave'	<i>rìn.í</i>	<i>rítá</i>
'finish'	<i>dùl-ní</i>	<i>dùl-dá</i>
'return'	<i>bùŋ-ní</i>	<i>bùg-dá</i>
'raise s.th.'	<i>àtíŋ-nì</i>	<i>à-tíŋ-dà</i>
'arrive'	<i>hìn.í ~ jìn.í</i>	<i>à-hítà ~ à-jítà</i>
'enter'	<i>à-bín.ì</i>	<i>à-bítà</i>
'make s.th. enter'	<i>à-bún.ì</i>	<i>à-bútà</i>
'show (to s.o.)'	<i>à-jí.m-nì</i>	<i>à-jí.m-dà</i>

Table 60: Pairs of verbal stems with the same verb root and ventive and itive suffixes, in 2.SG dependent stem form.

Other verb roots only occur in stems with either the itive or the ventive suffix, and the semantics of these verbs may or may not involve the direction of movement. Asimjeeg Datooga is also not the only variety of Datooga that has lexicalized directional morphology. Kießling (2007a: 129–136) describes examples of lexicalized directional suffixes for Gisamjanga Datooga, including *mucun* 'to dawn,' *fiŋda* 'become late,' *mikt* 'set (sun),' and possibly *goon* 'give'. A list of verbs in Asimjeeg Datooga that only occur with the itive is provided in Table 61, and a list of verbs that only occur with ventive is provided in Table 62.

Meaning	Form
'limp'	<i>dʒìg-dá</i>
'call'	<i>gùr-dá</i>
'lose s.th.'	<i>wùtá</i>
'drown'	<i>jìb-dá</i>
'make s.o. drown'	<i>à-jìb-dà</i>
'sit'	<i>à-ftá-dà</i>
'be late'	<i>fìŋ-dá</i>
'forgive'	<i>bàj-dá</i>
'be silent'	<i>sì.n-dá</i>
'hang s.th.'	<i>qàstá</i>
'burn s.th.'	<i>q^wàr-dá</i>
'swallow'	<i>nùq-dá</i>
'shake s.th.'	<i>lálá:qdà</i>
'fold s.th.'	<i>à-mál-dà</i>
'breathe'	<i>à-háj-dà</i>
'ask, request'	<i>à-pár-dà</i>

Table 61: Verbal stems with roots that only occur with the itive suffix, in 2.SG dependent stem form

Meaning	Form
'revive'	<i>dùn.í</i>
'revive s.o.'	<i>àtún.í</i>
'grow'	<i>hèn.í</i>
'say, answer'	<i>rùŋ-ní</i>

Table 62: Verbal stems that have roots that only occur with the ventive suffix, in 2.SG dependent stem form

5.1.2.3 Stems with associated motion and directional suffixes

The associated-motion suffixes *a:d ~ -a:d(i) ~ -a:d(a)* and *-a:n ~ -a:n(i)* typically express semantics of a motion co-event and direction of movement (see Section 11.1.4). The exact semantics of the suffixes vary from root to root. Some roots always occur with directional-associated-motion suffixes, and together they form complex stems. Some roots occur both in stems with the itive and those with ventive directional-associated-motion suffixes (Table 63), while others occur only in stems with the itive directional-associated-motion suffix (Table 64). One verb stem with the ventive directional-associated-motion suffix, *wi:da.ni* 'remain behind,' does not have a counterpart with the itive directional-associated-motion suffix (Table 65).

Meaning	Ventive form (IMP.SG)	Itive form (IMP.SG)
'descend'	<i>ràráŋ-à.nì</i>	<i>ràráŋ-à:dà</i>
'move slowly'	<i>à-dzìl-á.nì</i>	<i>à-dzìl-á:dà</i>
'move fast, reach a place'	<i>ŋàŋ-á.nì</i>	<i>ŋàŋ-á:dà</i>

Table 63: Verbal stems with roots that occur with either ALM + VEN or ALM + ITV forms, in 2.SG dependent stem form

Meaning	Form
'crawl'	<i>dùgùŋ-á:dà</i>
'walk' (lit. 'go' + ALM + ITV)	<i>wàj-á:dà</i>
'disappear'	<i>mìn mìn-á:dà</i>
'roll'	<i>ràráq-á:dà</i>

Table 64: Verbal stems with roots that occur only with ALM + ITV, in 2.SG dependent stem form

Meaning	Form
'remain behind'	<i>wì:dá.nì</i>

Table 65: Verbal stems with roots that only occur with ALM + VEN, in 2.SG dependent stem form

5.1.2.4 Stems with the pluractional suffix

The pluractional suffix typically codes an action as occurring multiple times, on a regular basis, or customarily (see Chapter 10). Some verb roots always occur together with

the pluractional suffix in the stem. A list of some of these verbs is provided in Table 66 in dependent stem form (which is marked by pluractional through the gemination of the root-final consonant or *-j*).

Meaning	Form
'want'	<i>gás:</i>
'circumcize'	<i>bán:</i>
'chew'	<i>ɲé:-j</i>

Table 66: Verb stems that include the pluractional suffix, in 2.SG dependent stem form

5.2 Verb classes

All verb stems in Asimjeeg Datooga can be categorized into two morphological classes, Class 1 and Class 2. The members of the two verb classes are distinguished from each other in terms of their internal structure, the morphology they co-occur with, transitivity and/or causation semantics, and the tonal patterns of the constructions in which they occur.

Class 1 verb stems never begin with a voiceless stop, whereas Class 2 stems may begin with any consonant. Class 2 verb stems always occur with some kind of prefixing morphology. Class 1 verb stems, however, do occur without any prefixing morphology in 2.SG dependent stem constructions.

The two verb classes occur with different sets of subject indexation prefixes for some constructions. For non-future and perfect constructions with 3rd person subject indexation, Class 1 stems take the prefix *(w)a-*, while Class 2 stems take the prefix *o- ~ ɔ-*. For dependent stem constructions with 2.SG subject indexation, Class 1 stems are unmarked but Class 2 stems take the prefix *a-*. For dependent stem constructions with 2.PL subject indexation, Class 1 stems optionally take either the prefix *a-* or the prefix *o- ~ ɔ-*, and Class 2 stems take only the prefix *o- ~ ɔ-*. A summary of all the structure features of the two classes mentioned so far is provided in Table 67.

Type	Feature	Class 1	Class 2
Stem-internal	Initial consonant of verb stem	No voiceless stops	Any consonant
Verbal morphology	3rd person non-future subject indexation	<i>(w)a-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>
	Dependent stem 2 SG subject indexation	\emptyset	<i>a-</i>
	Dependent stem 2 PL subject indexation	<i>a- ~ o- ~ ɔ-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>

Table 67: Features that differ for Class 1 and Class 2 verbs

Examples (153) and (154) show two dependent stem constructions with Class 1 and Class 2 stems from natural speech. In (153) the future construction containing the Class 1

verb stem *ɲul* 'look' does not include a subject indexation prefix. In (154) the future construction containing the Class 2 verb *kʷal* 'wear' includes the subject indexation prefix *a-*.

- (153) *g-í:-φ-ɲúl* *í:-φ-nd-áw*
 AFF-FUT-2.SG-look COND-2.SG-COP-POSS
déb-ádʒ-àn-d *màl-é:-d-á*
 sack-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG/SW honey-PS.SG-SS.SG-COP
 '...you will look to see if you have a container of honey.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_203)

- (154) *ák* *áqʷáj-g* *g-ìdʒ-à-kʷàl-dájdá*
 DISC skin-SS.PL AFF-FUT-2.SG-wear-MAN
 'So how would you wear the skins?'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4_134)

Although both Class 1 and Class 2 verb stems can be transitive and intransitive, there are a number of Class 1-Class 2 pairs for which the Class 1 stem is intransitive and the Class 2 stem is transitive. If the Class 1 stem in an intransitive-transitive pair begins with a voiced stop, then the Class 2 stem usually begins with a voiceless stop, such as in *dððb́w* 'be straight' and *atððb́w* 'straighten s.th.'. Other intransitive-transitive pairs appear to simply be the same root functioning as a member of both classes, as in *jìbdá* 'drown' and *àjìbdà* 'make s.th. drown'. A list of examples of intransitive-transitive pairs of Class 1 and Class 2 verb stems is provided in Table 68.

Class 1	Class 2
<i>dò:bíw</i> 'be straight'	<i>à-tò:bíw</i> 'straighten s.th.'
<i>dìŋ-dá</i> 'ascend (ITV)'	<i>à-tíŋ-dà</i> 'raise s.th. (ITV)'
<i>jìb-dá</i> 'drown'	<i>à-jìb-dà</i> 'make s.th. drown'
<i>dàr-dá</i> 'spread out (ITV)'	<i>à-tár-dà</i> 'spread s.th. out (ITV)'
<i>dùn.í</i> 'revive'	<i>à-tún.ì</i> 'revive s.th.'
<i>búr</i> 'be tired'	<i>àpúr</i> 'make s.th. tired'

Table 68: Intransitive and transitive pairs in Class 1 and Class 2, in 2.SG dependent stem form

Perfect constructions always feature Class 2 subject indexation, regardless of the class of the verb stem. Examples (155) and (156) demonstrate this using natural speech data. In (155) the verb stem *bur* 'be tired' occurs in a non-future (non-perfect) construction with Class 1 subject indexation for a 3rd person subject. In (156), however, the same verb stem occurs in a perfect construction with Class 2 subject indexation.

- (155) *g-á-búr* *fúqár-é:-d-èŋ* *àb*
 AFF-3-be.tired mind-PS.SG-SS.SG-1.SG.POSS PREP
hìd̩
 PROX.LOC.PRO
 'Now my mind is tired'
 (2017-3-10_#2_13)

- (156) *sí:-d* *í::* *g-ó-búr* *àb*
 person-SS.SG COND.COP AFF-3-be.tired/PERF PREP
gádìj-è:-d-àŋ
 work-PS.SG-SS.SG-3.SG.POSS
 'If a person is like...they are already tired from their work...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_021)

The tonal melodies of verbal constructions with Class 1 and Class 2 verb stems often differ, with Class 2 stem constructions often occurring with a word-initial L tone (typically on the subject indexation or the future prefix), where Class 1 stem constructions have a H tone. A selection of word-level tonal melodies that exemplify these differences between the two verb classes is presented in Table 69.

	Class 1 Monosyllabic Stem	Class 2 Monosyllabic Stem
Affirmative non-future (1.PL)	LH(L)	LH(L)
Negative non-future (1.SG)	HHH	LHL
Affirmative future (1.SG)	HHH	LHH
Affirmative non-future perfect (1.SG)	LL(H)	LH(L)
Dependent stem (2.SG)	H	LH

Table 69: A selection of tonal patterns for monosyllabic Class 1 and Class 2 verb stems

Kießling (2000) provides an extensive overview of verb classes in Gisamjanga Datooga, and Rottland (1983) includes a brief discussion of verb classes in Datooga in general. Some of the patterns reported by (Kießling 2000b) for Gisamjanga Datooga do not apply for Asimjeeg Datooga, such as the Class 2 lengthening of 2.SG subject indexation in

non-future constructions, 1.SG subject indexation in dependent stem constructions, and 3rd person subject indexation in negative non-future constructions, and the blocking of labial assimilation in 2.SG subject indexation.

Verb classes similar to those found in Datooga varieties have also been reported for other Southern Nilotic and Eastern Nilotic languages (Tucker & Bryan 1966: 450; Rottland 1982: 244). Dimmendaal (1983) posits that Class 2 in all of these languages constitutes the remnants of a causative prefix that can be traced back to Proto-Nilotic. This is reflected in the grammar of Asimjeeg Datooga by the asymmetries in the transitivity of Class 1 and Class 2 verb stems, the voicing contrasts in stem-initial stops, and the greater number of Class 1 stems in general.

5.3 ATR

All verb stems in Asimjeeg Datooga can additionally be categorized based on an underlying ATR value. Although there is not a phonemic contrast between +ATR and -ATR in the high vowels or low vowel (see Section 2.1.2), roots with only these vowels can still be categorized as +ATR or -ATR based on morphophonemic patterns of the verbal morphology that they co-occur with. Three morphological paradigms reflect the underlying ATR value of the verb root: the affirmative prefix closest to the root (Section 5.3.1), subject indexation (Section 6.1), and object indexation (Section 6.3). A list of some +ATR and -ATR verb roots is provided in Table 70. See Section 2.2.3 for more discussion of ATR.

	+ATR	-ATR
Class 1	<i>fíf</i> 'relax' <i>gís</i> 'pull' <i>gód</i> 'touch, pass (by something)' <i>gál</i> 'try' <i>rér</i> 'suck'	<i>ηé:d</i> 'wake, begin' <i>háb</i> 'recover' <i>síd</i> 'hate' <i>nús</i> 'extinguish, kill' <i>fór</i> 'scrape'
Class 2	<i>à-jén</i> 'stand' <i>à-lúl</i> 'invite' <i>à-tí.w</i> 'protect' <i>à-k^wál</i> 'wear clothing' <i>à-kés</i> 'vomit' <i>à-jàwúd</i> 'cry'	<i>à-sé:l</i> 'seize' <i>à-hó:d</i> 'sweat' <i>à-hí:d</i> 'finish' <i>à-ná:l</i> 'teach' <i>à-bútà</i> 'insert or drop something (itive)'

Table 70: A sample of verb roots categorized by ATR and verb class, in 2.SG dependent stem form

5.3.1 Affirmative prefix

In affirmative non-future constructions and perfect constructions, the affirmative prefix alternates for 1.SG, 2.PL, and 3rd person subject indexation. In constructions that include the dependent stem, however, the affirmative prefix is only present in verbs with 3rd person subject indexation, so the alternation is not visible for 1.SG and 2.PL. These patterns are summarized in Table 71. The default form of the affirmative prefix in all other contexts is *g-*.

	Affirmative non-future construction	Perfect constructions	Constructions including the dependent stem
1.SG	<i>g- ~ q-</i>	<i>g- ~ q-</i>	<i>g-</i>
2.PL	<i>g- ~ q-</i>	<i>g- ~ q-</i>	<i>g-</i>
3	<i>g- ~ q-</i>	<i>g- ~ q-</i>	<i>g- ~ q-</i>

Table 71: Alternations of the affirmative prefix closest to the verb root, based on the ATR value of the verb root, the person and number of the subject indexation, and the verbal construction

Examples (157) through (165) illustrate the contexts in which the affirmative prefix of verbs with 1 SG, 2 PL, and 3 subject indexation alternates between the allomorph *g-* (+ATR) and *q-* (-ATR), depending on the ATR value of the verb root.

Affirmative non-future

- (157) *q-à:-bé:f-tf*
 AFF-1.SG-burn-FS
 'I burn(ed) (s.th.)'
- (158) *q-à:-bé:f-tfì*
 AFF-2.PL-burn-FS
 'You all burn(ed) (s.th.)'
- (159) *q-à-bé:f*
 AFF-3-burn
 'She/he/it/they burn(ed) (s.th.)'

Affirmative perfect non-future

- (160) *q-à:-bè:f-tf-á*
 AFF-3-burn-FS-PERF
 'I have burned (s.th.)'

- (161) *q-ð:-bè:f-tf-á*
AFF-2.PL-burn-FS-PERF
'You all have burned (s.th.)'
- (162) *q-ð-bè:f-à*
AFF-3-burn-PERF
'She/he/it/they burned (s.th.)'

Dependent stem constructions (affirmative future)

- (163) *g-í-dá-bé:f*
AFF-FUT-1.SG-burn
'I will burn (s.th.)'
- (164) *g-ìdʒ-ð:-bé:f*
AFF-FUT-2.PL-burn
'You all will burn (s.th.)'
- (165) *g-í:-q-á-bé:f*
AFF-FUT-AFF-3-burn
'She/he/it/they will burn (s.th.)'

CHAPTER VI

ARGUMENT INDEXATION

This chapter describes the indexation of subject and object arguments on the verb. Both types of indexation are obligatory regardless of the presence of co-referential pronouns or noun phrases and include allomorphs that may vary depending on the ATR value of the verb stem, verb class, conditionality, polarity, tense, and aspect. Subject indexation morphology directly precedes the verb root, whereas object indexation occurs after most verbal suffixing morphology (see Section 4.1 for further discussion).

6.1 Subject indexation

The term "subject" as used here refers to the set of grammatical roles {S, A}, which includes the sole argument of intransitive clauses (S), and the argument referring to the most active participant of transitive clauses (A). The term "impersonal subject" refers to verbal morphology that indexes an unspecified, non-referential, or unidentifiable subject argument (see Section 6.2), whereas a "personal subject" refers to a specified, referential, or identifiable argument (including all speech-act participants).

Subject indexation is the primary coding mechanism by which the person and number of the subject is expressed on the verb, but it is not the only mechanism. The final suffix (see Section 4.1.3), the affirmative prefix in 3rd person (see Sections 4.2 and 7.1), and verb tone are also used together with subject indexation to create different morphological patterns for 1 SG/PL, 2 SG/PL, and 3rd person arguments.

Subject indexation in Asimjeeg Datooga is obligatory for all verbal constructions and directly precedes the verb root. Subject indexation paradigms vary depending on the verbal construction. In total, there are four subject indexation paradigms, each of which is associated with one or more verbal constructions: (1) the non-future paradigm, (2) the affirmative perfect paradigm, (3) the dependent stem paradigm, and (4) the conditional-relative paradigm. The non-future paradigm is used in affirmative and negative non-future constructions, and the perfect paradigm is used in non-future, future, and conditional perfect constructions. The dependent stem paradigm occurs in all dependent stem constructions (see Section 4.2). The conditional-relative paradigm is used in non-future conditional and relative clause constructions. See Table 72 for the personal and impersonal subject indexation forms in each paradigm.

Indexation Paradigm	Verb class	1 SG	1 PL	2 SG	2 PL	3	Impersonal
Non-future	Class 1	<i>a:-</i>	<i>e:- ~ ε:-</i>	<i>i- ~ u-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>	<i>(w)a-</i>	<i>e:- ~ ε:-</i>
	Class 2					<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>	
Affirmative perfect	All	<i>a-</i>	<i>e:- ~ ε:-</i>	<i>i- ~ u-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>	<i>e:- ~ ε:-</i>
Dependent stem	Class 1	<i>da-</i>	<i>e:- ~ ε:-</i>	\emptyset -	<i>a- / o- ~ ɔ-</i>	<i>(w)a-</i>	<i>e:- ~ ε:-</i>
	Class 2			<i>a-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>	
Conditional -Temporal	Class 1	<i>a-</i>	<i>sí-</i>	\emptyset -	<i>o-</i>	\emptyset -	<i>sí-</i>
	Class 2					<i>o-</i>	

Table 72: The four subject indexation paradigms

The conditional-temporal subject indexation paradigm for Class 1 verb stems features different tonal melodies for 2.SG and 3rd person subjects: 2.SG has a H tone on the subject indexation prefix (and L tone on the root, if monosyllabic), and 3rd person has a L tone on the subject indexation prefix (and a H tone on the root, if monosyllabic). Examples (166) and (167) demonstrate this tonal distinction between 2.SG and 3 in elicited conditional constructions with the verb root *da* ‘see.’

(166) *íí-φ-dà*
COND-2.SG-see
'If you see (it)'

(167) *ìì-φ-dá*
COND-3-see
'If she/he/it/they see (it)'

The phonological form of 3rd person indexation (*w*)*a*- for Class 1 verb stems in the non-future and dependent stem paradigms is determined by the first consonant of the verb root and, if the first consonant is the glottal fricative /h/, also the frontedness of the first vowel of the root. The prefix has the form *wa*- before roots that begin with {/f/, /l/, /d/, /j/, /dʒ/, /s/, /r/, /ɲ/, /hV_[+front]/}, and the prefix has the form *a*- before roots that begin with {/q/, /w/, /b/, /g/, /m/, /f/, /ŋ/, /hV_[-front]/}. A non-exhaustive list of example verb stems that occur with the two forms of the (*w*)*a*- prefix is presented in Table 73.

3rd person subject indexation form	Initial consonant of verb root	Example verb stems
wa-	/ʃ/	<i>fí:d</i> 'cut,' <i>fáb</i> 'soak,' <i>fìṅdá</i> 'be late'
	/n/	<i>nùṅ^wá:dà</i> 'abandon,' <i>núqdá</i> 'swallow,' <i>nál</i> 'know s.th.,' <i>nè:kí:d</i> 'get close to s.th.'
	/l/	<i>líl</i> 'sleep,' <i>làbáj</i> 'swim,' <i>lé</i> 'drink,' <i>lás</i> 'hit, slap'
	/d/	<i>dùṅ^wɪn</i> 'kneel,' <i>dá</i> 'see,' <i>dás</i> 'kick,' <i>dùgúf</i> 'choke'
	/j/	<i>jín</i> 'hear,' <i>jí:n</i> 'put,' <i>jám</i> 'turn over, change' (<i>j</i>)èfí:n 'tell'
	/dʒ/	<i>dʒón</i> 'smell,' <i>dʒìgdá</i> 'limp,' <i>dʒám</i> 'dry,' <i>dʒí:l</i> 'give birth,' <i>dʒáw</i> 'be afraid'
	/s/	<i>sàwán</i> 'give pain,' <i>sám</i> 'taste,' <i>sàmsín</i> 'be kind,' <i>síd</i> 'hate,' <i>sín</i> 'make, do,' <i>sá:w</i> 'continue'
	/r/	<i>rér</i> 'suck,' <i>ritá</i> 'flee,' <i>rép</i> 'jump,' <i>rùṅní</i> 'say,' <i>ràgsínd</i> 'hope,' <i>rád</i> 'close'
	/ɲ/	<i>ɲìmpím</i> 'smile,' <i>ɲè:ɲé:</i> 'chew,' <i>ɲás</i> 'get,' <i>ɲàɲár</i> 'be destroyed'
	/h/ (hV _[+front])	<i>hèn:í</i> 'grow up,' <i>híjù gèw</i> 'bend down,' <i>hèwájɲ</i> 'forbid,' <i>hé:d</i> 'wake s.th.,' <i>hé:f</i> 'smear'
a-	/q/	<i>qúd</i> 'breathe, blow,' <i>q^wál</i> 'choose'
	/w/	<i>wáf</i> 'cough,' <i>wúd</i> 'throw, shoot,' <i>wí:l</i> 'look for'
	/b/	<i>búr</i> 'be tired,' <i>bún</i> 'bury,' <i>bír:</i> 'squeeze,' <i>bán:</i> 'circumcise,' <i>báf</i> 'dig'
	/g/	<i>gód</i> 'tap, touch,' <i>gál</i> 'try,' <i>gùrdá</i> 'call,' <i>gís</i> 'pull'
	/m/	<i>màṅfén</i> 'whisper,' <i>mé:w</i> 'die,' <i>más</i> 'agree'
	/f/	<i>fúf</i> 'rest,' <i>fádʒ</i> 'run,' <i>fr</i> 'scrape'
	/ŋ/	<i>ŋúl</i> 'look at,' <i>ŋé:d</i> 'wake,' <i>ŋð:wí:d</i> 'be blind'
	/h/ (hV _[-front])	<i>hòsán</i> 'be happy,' <i>háb</i> 'recover,' <i>hón</i> 'drive out'

Table 73: Class 1 verb stems that co-occur with the two different forms of the 3rd person subject indexation in the non-future and dependent stem paradigms.

Example (170) demonstrates the control of co-reference across multiple clauses including impersonal subject and personal subject indexation, whereby the object of the first verb with impersonal indexation is co-referential with the subject of the following verb with personal subject indexation.

- (170) *ák g-é:-bár à: q-à-mè:w*
 DISC AFF-IMPERS-hit COORD.CONJ AFF-3-die
bál:-àn-d mtámí:-d
 boy-PS.SG-SS.SG leader-SS.SG/SW
 'Now, the son of the leader was beaten until he died'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#12_31)

Other constructions are more easily understood as coding actions that are done regularly or commonly, often by human referents, as in example (171).

- (171) *qáj g-é:-rám-í:-d qàdà:d-g*
 old.times AFF-IMPERS-fetch-PLUR-ITV gourd-SS.PL
 'In the old days, people fetched (water) with gourds.'/ 'In the old days, gourds were used to fetch (water).'
- (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_109)

Impersonal subject indexation can also co-occur in the same clause with a lexical subject NP that refers to multiple human referents (i.e. “people”), as in (172).

- (172) *g-è:-jàg-ádʒ bún-é:-d àr hàng"á-s*
 AFF-IMPERS-eat-PLUR people-PS.SG-SS.SG even clothing-PL.REF
 'Often people ate even these clothes...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#03_085)

Impersonal subject indexation can co-occur with intransitive verb stems if the grammatical object is 3rd person (i.e. there is no overtly coded object indexation). In these constructions, impersonal subject indexation codes the action as being performed by the grammatical object but caused by the impersonal subject, as in example (173). The impersonal subject may be interpreted as an unspecified human referent or as a non-referential situational context.

- (173) *g-è:-fk* *è:-bàlól* *àr* *qáj*
 AFF-**IMPERS**-come **IMPERS**-discuss even old.times
 'They came to speak [the language] even in the old days...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#03_040)

The form of impersonal subject indexation *e:- ~ ε:-* resembles that of 1.PL subject indexation *e:- ~ ε:-*. There are other differences in the verbal morphology of 1.PL and impersonal subject constructions, however, which help to distinguish the two. Verbal constructions with impersonal subjects do not include a final suffix (FS), and the tonal patterns of verbal constructions with impersonal subjects and 1.PL subjects are often distinctive, as shown in the elicited data in examples (174) through (177).

- (174) *g-è:-síjù*
 AFF-**1.PL**-do:FS
 'We do (it)'
 (175) *g-è:-sín*
 AFF-**IMPERS**-do
 'She/he/it is done'

- (176) *é:-sìn*
1.PL-do
 'Let's do (it)'
 (177) *è:-sín*
IMPERS-do
 'She/he/it/they should be done'

Impersonal subject constructions have been reported for a number of other Southern Nilotic languages. Examples (178) and (179) show what appears to be a cognate impersonal subject construction in Nandi, a Kalenjin language of Kenya.

- (178) *kí-gú.r-ín*
 'You are called'
 (Nandi, Tucker and Bryan 1966: 472)

- (179) *kí-gu.rén-én kiriswa*
 'You are called Kiriswa'
 (Nandi, Tucker and Bryan 1966: 472)

In the literature on Gisamjanga and Barabaiga Datooga, impersonal subject indexation is sometimes labeled 1.PL or 3.PL. Impersonal constructions in these varieties appear to have the same function as those in Asimjeeg Datooga. Example (180) shows an impersonal construction from Gisamjanga/Barabaiga Datooga labeled as 1.PL subject indexation, and example (181) shows impersonal constructions in Gisamjanga Datooga glossed as 3.PL (original transcriptions and glossing maintained).

- (180) *éa* (.) *g-éeyéeshá* *á-wíil-à* *gêata*
 yes AFF-**1PL**-say.IS IMP.PL-lie.down-IMP.PL REFL
 'yes, they were told to lie down'
 (Gisamjanga Datooga, Mitchell 2015: 238)

- (181) *í-mùṅàw* *gàj-ée-ṅòṅ-âa-d-a,* *gáa* *sì-ràdù*
 TEMP-flee FUT-3PL-catch-ALM-CF-FS AN.PLPF.3PL-arrest:CP
màj-ée-bàr *gàj-ée-rábàd-âa-d-a,* *ákèeyáadú*
 NEG:FUT-3PL-kill FUT-3PL-capture-ALM-CF-IS SEQ-3PL-take:CP
qòh
 home
 'When they₁ run away, they₂ will catch them₁ on the run; those who are arrested will not be killed, they₂ will take them₁ as captives on the run and bring them₁ home (as war booty).'
- (Kiessling & Bruckhaus 2017: 8)

Both of these analyses as personal subject indexation are problematic in that impersonal constructions are often used in contexts in which the subject cannot be interpreted as constituting a 1.PL or 3.PL argument. Additionally, although the structural similarities between the impersonal subject indexation prefix and the 1.PL subject indexation prefix support the claim that the two are historically related, the synchronic analysis of a single 1.PL construction in Asimjeeg Datooga is problematic because of distinct tonal patterns for the 1.PL and impersonal constructions. For this reason, the two are treated here as separate constructions.

6.3 Object indexation

The term "object" as used here refers to P arguments, which refer to the least active participant of transitive clauses, R arguments, which refer to the goal or recipient in ditransitive clauses, and T arguments, which refer to the them in ditransitive clauses. Object

indexation in Asimjeeg Datooga is restricted to 1st person and 2nd person arguments and is obligatory whenever a 1st person or 2nd person argument functions as a P, R, or T argument, regardless of the presence or absence of a co-referential lexical NP. 3rd person object indexation is not overtly coded, and a verb without object indexation or a lexical NP object may be interpreted as either having an inferable object that is 3 SG/PL or not having an object at all. All of the object indexation suffixes in Asimjeeg Datooga are listed in Table 74. See (182) through (186) for examples of object indexation from natural speech data.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-à.n	-é:s
2nd	-è:n ~ -è:n / -o:n ~ ɔ:n	-é:g ^w ~ -é:g ^w / -o:g ^w ~ -ɔ:g ^w
3rd	-∅	

Table 74: Object indexation suffixes

- (182) *g-ì-dà-lùl-è:n* *g-ì-más*
 AFF-FUT-1.SG-invite-2.SG AFF-2.SG-agree
 'I will invite you, will you accept?'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5_12)
- (183) *g-ì-té:l-à.n g-à-wùrdz-í*
 AFF-2.SG-avoid-1.SG AFF-3-resemble-FS
 '...you are avoiding me, what's going on?'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9 #2_011)
- (184) *q-à-bárin-à.n* *ár* *háw-è:-g*
 AFF-3-love-1.SG even girl-PS.PL-SS.PL
 '...even the girls loved me'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12 #4_09)

- (185) *q^w-à-hé:d-è:n* *qámát-àŋ^w*
 AFF-3-wake-2.SG mother-2.SG.POSS
 'Your mother wakes you.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#11_23)

The allomorphs of the 2 SG/PL object indexation suffixes include +ATR (/e/, /o/) and -ATR (/ɛ/, /ɔ/) mid vowels and pattern according to the ATR value of the verb stem. The 1.PL object indexation suffix -é:s includes a -ATR mid vowel and is unaffected by the ATR value of the verb stem. Table 75 provides elicited examples demonstrating the patterning of 2 SG/PL object indexation allomorphy and 1.PL object indexation.

ATR value of verb stem	2.SG Object	2.PL Object	1.PL Object
+ATR	<i>g-è:-ŋgí:r-è:ŋ</i> 'You are dragged'	<i>g-è:-ŋgí:r-é:g^w</i> 'You all are dragged'	<i>g-è:-ŋgí:r-é:s</i> 'We are dragged'
-ATR	<i>g-è:-hí:d-è:ŋ</i> 'You are finished'	<i>g-è:-hí:d-é:g^w</i> 'You all are finished'	<i>g-è:-hí:d-é:s</i> 'We are finished'

Table 75: Object indexation patterns for 2 SG/PL and 1.PL with +ATR and -ATR verb stems.

In natural speech texts, speakers of Asimjeeg Datooga occasionally use alternate 2nd person indexation suffixes -o:n ~ ɔ:n and -o:g^w ~ -ɔ:g^w, as in (186). This suffix has not been

reported for other varieties of Datooga and it remains to be determined what factors condition the variation between this suffix and the *-è:n ~ -è:n* suffix.

- (186) *sí:-d* *í:-rúŋ-n-ò.ŋ* *ŋàf-án-d*
person-SS.SG COND-tell-VEN-**2.SG** word-PS.SG-SS.SG
qàmá-t-áŋ
mother-SS.SG-3.SG.POSS
'...if a person is told (something) by their mother...'
(IGS0229_2017-3-10_#11_16)

CHAPTER VII

POLARITY

Polarity encompasses the contrast between the assertion that a proposition is true (affirmative) and the assertion that a proposition is false (negative). The two polarity values operate in Asimjeeg Datooga within a relation of "contradiction", whereby one must be true and the other false (Israel 2004). The coding of polarity in Asimjeeg Datooga typically corresponds with the distribution of two constructions: the affirmative polarity prefix (Section 7.1), and the negative polarity prefix (Section 7.2).

Although these two prefix constructions represent two opposing polarity values, their actual distribution within the grammatical system is complicated by the integration of auxiliary verbs (see Section 4.2.2), the lexicalization of polarity constructions within some auxiliary constructions (see Sections 9.1.2 and 9.3), and zero-marked affirmative constructions (see Section 14.1). The result is that the two prefix constructions often operate paradigmatically (i.e. are mutually exclusive and independent of other morphology), but also sometimes co-occur and sometimes are fused together with other morphology.

7.1 Affirmative polarity

The affirmation of a proposition is typically coded by the affirmative prefix, which has two allomorphs *g-* ~ *q-* that co-occur with +ATR and -ATR stems, respectively, for verbal constructions with 1.SG, 2.PL, and 3rd person subject indexation. Verbal constructions with 2.SG, 1.PL, or impersonal subject indexation always occur with the +ATR allomorph of the affirmative prefix, even if the verb stem is -ATR. See Table 76 for examples showing the distribution of the +ATR and -ATR allomorphs of the affirmative prefix in declarative clauses with the +ATR verb *rér* 'suck' and the -ATR verb *rám* 'fetch'.

Meaning	Declarative 1.SG	Declarative 2.SG	Declarative 3	Declarative 1.PL	Declarative 2.PL
'suck' (+ATR)	<i>gà:rérdʒ</i>	<i>gìrér</i>	<i>g^wàrér</i>	<i>gè:rérdʒì</i>	<i>gòrérdʒì</i>
'fetch' (-ATR)	<i>qà:rámɔʒ</i>	<i>gìrám</i>	<i>q^wàrám</i>	<i>gè:rámɔʒì</i>	<i>qò:rámɔʒì</i>

Table 76: Patterning of the +ATR and -ATR allomorphs of the affirmative prefix in constructions with different subject indexation.

Verb stems with the pluractional suffix always co-occur with the +ATR allomorph of the affirmative prefix. Example (187) shows the verb phrase *bár ñàɲ* 'farm' with the -ATR allomorph of the affirmative prefix, and example (188) shows the same verb phrase with the pluractional suffix and the +ATR allomorph of the affirmative prefix.

- (187) *q-à-bár* *ηàŋ* *bùn-é:d*
 AFF-3-hit earth people-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'People farmed'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #2_007)
- (188) *à: g-à-bár-ádʒ* *ηàŋ* *bùn-è:-d*
 CONJ AFF-3-hit-PLUR earth people-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'And people often farmed...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #2_007)

In the conditional and imperative constructions, affirmative polarity is not overtly coded by the affirmative prefix but rather is contrasted with negative polarity by the presence or absence of the negative prefix *m-*. Perfect aspect constructions, however, including those with the conditional, always occur with the affirmative prefix (see Section 14.1).

In some dependent stem constructions with 3rd person subject indexation and future perfect constructions, the affirmative prefix occurs twice. The first occurrence of the affirmative prefix is always the +ATR allomorph, whereas the second is sensitive to the ATR value of the verb stem. Example (189) shows the verb phrase *bár ηàŋ* 'farm' again, now with two affirmative prefixes: the first is the +ATR allomorph of the affirmative preceding the future prefix, and the second is the -ATR allomorph of the affirmative preceding subject indexation and the -ATR verb stem. Example (190) shows the same verb phrase in a future perfect construction, again with two affirmative prefixes, but in

7.2 Negative polarity

Negative polarity is coded by the negative prefix *m-* in all constructions except the imperative, in which negative polarity is coded by a negative auxiliary with two variants *dìgán* and *m̀gán*. In all non-conditional constructions, the negative prefix occupies the same first slot of the verb as the affirmative prefix, as in example (192) with the verb root *bít* 'enter (ITV)'. In conditional constructions, the negative prefix directly follows the conditional prefix, as in example (193) with the verbal copula *nd*.

- (192) *m-ì:-q-ḡ-bít* *úkʷɛ:-d-àŋʷ*
 NEG-FUT-AFF-3-enter:ITV field-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS
 'Won't it enter your field?'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#3_098)

- (193) *qùwàr ì:-m-ád-g-ʷá-nd* *sí:-d* *háw*
 home COND-NEG-PERS-AFF-3-COP person-SS.SG big.SG
à: m-à-nd-án *gì=ɬfá q-ḡ-éndélèdʒ*
 CONJ NEG-3-COP-OBL thing-POSS.V AFF-3-continue/SW
 'If there are no older people at home, then nothing will continue.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#10_127)

CHAPTER VIII

TENSE

Tense can be considered the grammaticalized expression of the location of an event in time, or "the representation of the time that *contains* [an] event" (Hewson 2012: 511). Tense is deictic in that it relates events to a temporal reference point, usually the time of the speech act (Comrie 1985, 14). Tense is closely related to other traditional categories such as aspect and modality, and may be considered a component of the "situation perspective" (Jendraschek 2014), or the range of different perspectives on an event, including whether or not it is real or unreal, as coded through verbal grammar. The coding of events that have either not occurred yet at the time of speech or had not occurred yet at some reference time can therefore be described both in terms of the representation of time and the representation of the real and unreal (de Haan 2005). Without putting too much emphasis on one descriptive perspective over the other, relevant constructions will largely be framed here as temporal phenomena.

In Asimjeeg Datooga, there are three paradigmatic constructions that correspond to the notions of non-future tense (Section 8.1), future tense (Section 8.2), and sequential tense (Section 8.3). Similar tense constructions have been described for other Datooga varieties. Mitchell (2015: 46) describes a binary tense system for Gisamjanga/Barabaiga

Datooga, stating that "a verb without a future or perfect tense marker can be interpreted as present or past, depending on the context of the sentence." Other scholars have used the terms "present (imperfect)" and "future" (Rottland 1983: 226), and "present/aorist" and "future" (Kießling 2007a: 7) to describe Datooga tense constructions.

8.1 Non-future tense

Non-future tense in Asimjeeg Datooga codes events that either are occurring during the time of speech, generally occur at the time of speech, or occurred prior to the time of speech. Non-future tense is segmentally unmarked in all verbal constructions, and tone is used to distinguish between sequential and non-sequential tense (see section 8.3).

When disambiguation between the coding of events prior to and during speech time is required, then time adverbials such as *qámn* 'now,' *hét* 'yesterday,' or *qáj* 'old times' are used to orient the listener accordingly. The following three examples with affirmative polarity each demonstrate one of the three senses of non-future tense: during time of speech, generally occurring, and prior to time of speech. Example (194) shows the verb *da* 'see' with non-future tense coding an event that is occurring at the time of speech, example (195) shows the verb *ag* 'eat' with non-future tense coding an event that generally occurs during the time of speech, and example (196) shows the copula *nd* with non-future tense coding a state that held true in the past.

- (194) *qámn q-à:-dà-j* *qár-é:-d-àŋ^w*
 now AFF-1.SG-see-FS house-PS.SG-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS
 'Now I see your house...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#5_006)
- (195) *qámn g-é:-jàg-àdʒ* *bò:-g* *jì:s* *sí-jàd-àj*
 now AFF-1.PL-eat-PLUR crop-SS.PL often IMPERS-grind-PLUR
máfi:n
 machine/SW
 'Now we eat food that is often ground by a machine...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#5_058)
- (196) *qáj* *ásim-dʒ-é:-g* *g-è:-nd*
 old.times asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL AFF-1.PL-COP
sómé:g
 Someega
 'In the old days, the Asimjeeg, we were in Someega.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#8_06)

Non-future tense constructions with negative polarity can also be used to express the same temporal contexts. Example (197) shows the copula *nd* with negative polarity and non-future tense coding a state that generally holds true at the time of speech, and example (198) shows the same copula with negative polarity and non-future tense coding a state prior to the time of speech.

- (197) *àr qámn m-à-nd* *gìl* *q-ó-dó:bìw*
 even now NEG-3-COP thing.SG AFF-3-be.straight/PERF
 'Even now there is nothing good.'
 (2017-3-16_#2_55)

indexation, see Section 4.2 above). Only the first of these four slots is optional. A presentation of this schematic structure is provided in Table 77.

(Slot 1)	Slot 2	Slot 3	Slot 4
Conditional <i>i</i> :-	Affirmative <i>g</i> - Negative <i>m</i> -	Future- <i>i</i> (:)- ~ <i>(i)d</i> ₃ (<i>a</i>)-	Dependent stem

Table 77: Schematic morphological structure of future tense constructions

The distribution of the various allomorphs of the future tense prefix *i*- ~ *(i)d*₃(*a*)- depends on the morphological context in which the prefix occurs. The morphological categories that the distribution is sensitive to include the person and number of the following subject indexation, verb class (for 2.SG subject indexation), co-occurrence with perfect constructions, and co-occurrence with the conditional prefix. These conditions are summarized in Table 78.

Future tense prefix form	Morphological conditions
<i>i-</i>	1.SG subject indexation
<i>i:-</i>	2.SG subject indexation + Class 1 verbs 3 rd person subject indexation
<i>idɜ-</i>	2.SG subject indexation + Class 2 verbs 1.PL subject indexation 2.PL subject indexation Impersonal subject indexation
<i>idɜa-</i>	Affirmative perfect Negative perfect
<i>dɜa-</i>	Conditional prefix <i>ì:-</i>

Table 78: Morphological conditions of the various allomorphs of the future tense prefix

Each of the allomorphs of the future prefix will be demonstrated in the following examples. For non-conditional, non-perfect constructions with 1.SG subject indexation, the form is *i-*, as shown in example (200) with the verb *un* 'go'.

- (200) *fìṅád* *ání.n* *g-ì-dá-w* *bár-ò:d*
 evening 1.SG.PRO AFF-FUT-1.SG-go hit-NMLZ
 'In the evening I will go to farm³.'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_07)

³ The verb *bar* 'hit' sometimes takes on the meaning of the verb phrase *bar ṅaṅ* 'farm (lit. hit earth)' even without the word *ṅaṅ* 'earth', as is the case here.

For non-conditional, non-perfect constructions with 2.SG and a Class 1 verb stem or 3rd person subject indexation, the form of the future tense prefix is *i:-*, as shown in example (201) with the verb *dʒi:l* ‘give birth’ and example (202) with the verb *rug* ‘tell’.

(201) *dʒàf-t-áŋ^w* *g-í:-φ-dʒi:l*
 child-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS AFF-FUT-2.SG-give.birth
 ‘You will give birth to your child.’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24_181)

(202) *g-ì:-g-^wá-rúg-s* *sí:-d* *qàmà-t*
 AFF-FUT-AFF-3-tell-TERM person-SS.SG mother-SS.SG
ŋàf-án-d
 word-PS.SG-SS.SG
 ‘A mother will tell someone something...’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13_73)

In non-conditional, non-perfect constructions with 2.SG subject indexation with a Class 2 verb stem, 2.PL subject indexation, 1.PL indexation, or impersonal subject indexation, the form of the future tense prefix is *idʒ-*. This is shown in example (203) with the Class 2 verb *àpárdà* ‘ask (about something)’ with 2.SG subject indexation, example (204) with the verb *da* ‘see’ and 2.PL subject indexation, example (205) with the verb *fuf* ‘rest’ and 1.PL subject indexation, and example (206) with the verb *hɔn* ‘drive off’ with impersonal subject indexation.

(203) *à:* *g-idʒ-á-pár-d* *ár* *làpí*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-FUT-2.SG-ask-ITV even money
 ‘And you will ask even about money...’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5_124)

- (204) *g-ídʒ-ò-dá* *ɲàf-è:-g* *míjàs*
 AFF-FUT-2.PL-see word-PS.PL-SS.PL good.PL
 '...you (all) will see good things.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20_183)
- (205) *àskʷár* *g-ídʒ-é:-fùf*
 afternoon AFF-FUT-1.PL-rest
 'In the afternoon we will rest'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_18)
- (206) *ì:-w* *dʒè:-d* *qáré.máŋ-g*
 COND-go stomach-SS.SG boy-SS.PL
g-ídʒ-è:-hòn-é:ɲ
 AFF-FUT-IMPERS-drive.off-2.SG
 'If you go inside among the boys you will be driven off.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#7_036)

In perfect constructions, the form of the future tense prefix is *idʒa-*, as shown in example (207) with the verb *bur* 'be tired' with 3rd person subject indexation.

- (207) *g-ídʒá-g-ò-bùr* *à=pár-ó:d*
 AFF-FUT-AFF-3-be.tired/PERF PREP=hit-NMLZ
 'They will be tired of farming'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13_36)

Finally, in conditional constructions, the form of the future prefix is *dʒa-*, regardless of the subject indexation. This is shown in example (208) with the verb *nas* 'get' with 2.SG subject indexation.

- (208) *làpí ì:-dʒá-φ-nás m-é:-qús*
 money COND-FUT-2.SG-get NEG-IMPERS-be.necessary
q-^wá-fàj-d dé:-d sì:-d háw
 AFF-3-buy-ITV cow-SS.SG person-SS.SG big.SG
 'If you were to get money, isn't it necessary for a big person to sell a cow?'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5_042)

Future tense constructions are compatible with negative polarity both in declarative and interrogative utterance types. Example (209) shows the future tense with the verb *nùní* 'come' and negative polarity in a declarative utterance. Example (210) shows the future tense with the verb *k^wal* 'wear' and affirmative polarity in an interrogative utterance, and example (211) shows future tense with the modal verb *mus* 'can' and negative polarity in an interrogative utterance.

- (209) *m-ì:-q-à-fk g-í:-g-^wá-jéf á:*
 NEG-FUT-AFF-3-come AFF-FUT-AFF-3-say COORD.CONJ
núŋ^w-á:d g-á-ηùtf-éw hóf
 let-AM.ITV AFF-3-fight-LOC DIST.LOC.PRO
 'They won't come, they will say 'Let them fight over there.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#21_159)

- (210) *qáj ηίη g-ìdʒ-à-k^wál ñgàli*
 old.times 2.SG.PRO AFF-FUT-2.SG-wear what
 'What would you wear in the old days?'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4_138)

- (211) a. *à: g-àd-à-mús ηàf-é.n àηí.ηì (...)*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-PERS-2.SG-can grind-OBL 2.SG.PRO
 'And are you still able to grind (by hand)?'
 b. *m-ì-dà-mús áb nà*
 NEG-FUT-1.SG-can PREP what
 'Why wouldn't I be able to?'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#3_046)

8.3 Sequential tense

Sequential tense in Asimjeeg Datooga codes an event as having occurred prior to the time of speech and after the completion of another event that is either accessible from the discourse context or is coded in a previous clause. Sequential tense is formally marked by tone only, it is restricted to non-future tense and affirmative polarity, and it does not co-occur with any other aspect constructions.

The most common tonal pattern of the sequential construction is a H tone attached to the subject indexation prefix. If the verb stem is simplex and monosyllabic, then the H tone is often followed by a L tone on the verb root, as shown in Table 79.

Tense	Tone of subject indexation	Tone of verb root
Non-future	L	H (/L)
Sequential	H	L

Table 79: Tonal patterns for sequential and non-future tense in verbal constructions with simplex monosyllabic verb stems

In example (212), the first verb *àjítà ~ àhítà* ‘arrive.ITV’ features the regular non-sequential LL tonal pattern of a non-intonational-phrase-final verbal construction with 1.SG subject indexation. The second verb *dʒi:l* ‘give birth’ in the same example occurs with the HL sequential tonal pattern, indicating that the consecutive event occurred after the completion of the previously referred event. Example (213) shows the same sequential

tonal pattern with the verb *nar* ‘court s.o.’, 3rd person subject indexation, and 1.SG object indexation.

(212) *q-à:-jì-t* *à:* ***g-á:-dʒì:l:***
 AFF-1.SG-arrive-ITV COORD.CONJ AFF-1.SG-give.birth.FS/SEQ
 ‘I arrived and then gave birth.’
 (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #3_16)

(213) *q-ð-n* *màng à:* ***g-ó-ɣàr-à:n***
 AFF-3-come Mangi COORD.CONJ AFF-3-court-1.SG/SEQ
 ‘Mangi came and then he courted me.’
 (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #4_24)

The sequential tense construction can also be used in clauses that do not share the same subject indexation as the previous clause. Example (214) shows non-future tense with 1.PL subject indexation followed by sequential tense with the verb *da* ‘see’ and 1.SG subject indexation.

(214) *g-è:-mùk-í:-s* ***q-á:-dà-j***
 AFF-1.PL-continue-PLUR-TERM AFF-1.SG-see-FD/SEQ
májf *gàb* *fí:d*
 life/SW POSS.COP problem/SW
 ‘We continued and then I saw (this) life is problematic...’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#3_011)

Constructions similar to the sequential construction of Asimjeeg Datooga have also been reported for other varieties of Datooga (Rottland 1982: 176; Kießling 2007a; Kießling, Mous & Nurse 2008; Mitchell 2015a; Kießling & Bruckhaus 2017) . Example (215) shows an instance of the sequential prefix *ak-* in Gisamjanga Datooga. It is quite

possible that the tonal alternation of the sequential construction in Asimjeeg Datooga has its diachronic origins in a cognate of the sequential prefix in Gisamjanga Datooga, and further study will hopefully enhance our understanding of their relationship to one another, as well as other similar constructions in non-Nilotic languages of northern Tanzania.

- (215) *ák^h-nìŋ^w-àa-d-í*
SEQ.2SG-allow-ALM-CP-IS
'So you may let them go away!
(Kießling & Bruckhaus 2017: 7)

CHAPTER IX

ASPECT

Aspect can be thought of as 'the representation of the time *contained in* [an] event,' or a way of viewing the internal temporal structure of a situation (Comrie 1976: 3; Hewson 2012: 511; Holt 1943). Under Jendraschek's (2014) situation perspective framework, verbal aspect represents the closest perspective on an event because of its focus on the internal structure of the event. In Asimjeeg Datooga, there is a paradigmatic set of aspect constructions: affirmative perfect aspect (see Section 9.1.1), negative perfect aspect (see Section 9.1.2), persistive aspect (see Section 9.2), and priority aspect (see Section 9.3). All of the aspect constructions can co-occur with either the non-future or future tense constructions. The paradigmatic aspect constructions cannot co-occur with each other, but the pluractional aspect construction can co-occur with the persistive.

9.1 Perfect

Perfect aspect "relates some state to a preceding situation" (Comrie 1976: 52), and in Asimjeeg Datooga there are two distinct perfect constructions for affirmative and negative polarity. The affirmative perfect construction corresponds to what Comrie (1976, 56) calls the "perfect of result," i.e. the expression that the present state is "the result of some past

situation," and the negative perfect construction corresponds both to what Comrie calls the perfect of result and the "perfect of persistent situation," i.e. the expression that "a situation started in the past but continues (persists) into the present" (Comrie 1976: 60). The affirmative perfect construction includes a special subject indexation paradigm, a final suffix pattern, and a tonal pattern. The negative perfect construction consists of a negative auxiliary *mànúŋ* that most likely has its origins in the verb *nuŋ* 'let,' followed by a dependent stem structure with the lexical verb. The affirmative and negative perfect constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga thus consist of quite distinct structures despite their similar semantics.

9.1.1 Affirmative perfect aspect

The formal aspects of the affirmative perfect construction in Asimjeeg Datooga are distinct from those reported for Barabaiga Datooga and Gisamjanga Datooga (Rottland 1982: 277). The affirmative perfect in Asimjeeg Datooga is a word-level construction that features a special subject indexation pattern that formally resembles Class 2 subject indexation of non-perfect constructions, as well as verb-class-specific tonal patterns, and the final suffix $-(C_{[+Palatal]})a$. The palatal consonant in the suffix occurs only with 1st or 2nd person subject indexation, and the vowel is deleted if the construction is not intonational-phrase-final. A schematic structure of the affirmative perfect construction is provided in Figure 16.

See Section 6.1 for more information about the affirmative perfect subject indexation paradigm.

Affirmative <i>g-</i>	Subject indexation	Verb stem	Final Suffix -(C _[+Palatal])a
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Figure 16: Schematic morphological structure of affirmative perfect constructions

The affirmative perfect construction is compatible with both non-future and future tenses. Example (216) shows the affirmative perfect in a non-future tense construction with the Class 1 verb *laṅud* 'be full,' and example (217) shows the affirmative perfect in a future tense construction with the Class 1 verb *bur* 'be tired'.

- (216) *dú-g^w* *qó-fk-à.n* *á:*
 cow-SS.PL AFF-3-come-AM.VEN COORD.CONJ
g-ò-làṅút-à
 AFF-3-be.full-FS/**PERF**
 'The cows came and they had already gotten full.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9 #1_411)

- (217) *g-ìḍḅ-á-g-ò-bùr* *à=pár-ó:d*
 AFF-FUT-AFF-3-be.tired/**PERF** PREP=hit-NMLZ
 'They will be tired of farming'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13_36)

9.1.2 Negative perfect aspect

The negative perfect construction consists of the negative auxiliary *mànúŋ* followed by the lexical verb in a dependent stem structure (see Section 4.2). The negative perfect auxiliary can also occur as an independent word, with a meaning roughly comparable to 'not yet' in English (or *bado* in Swahili). The negative auxiliary is fully grammaticalized and always features Class 1 3rd person subject indexation (*a-*) regardless of the subject indexation or Verb Class of the following lexical verb. The syntactic structure of negative perfect constructions is presented in Figure 17.

Negative perfect auxiliary <i>mànúŋ</i>	Dependent stem -
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Figure 17: Schematic syntactic structure of negative perfect constructions

The negative perfect is compatible with both future and non-future tenses, and also the conditional prefix. Example (218) shows the negative perfect construction with non-future tense and the verb *jijn* 'hear', example (219) shows the negative perfect construction with future tense and the verb *da* 'see', and example (220) shows the negative perfect in a non-future conditional construction with the verb *lil* 'sleep.'

- (218) *m-à-núŋ* *dá-jŋ* *ásìm-dʒ-àn-d*
 NEG-3-let 1.SG-hear asimjeeg-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG
sí-bár-s *dʒérk^w-è:-d*
 IMPERS-hit-TERM field-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'I've never heard of an Asimjeeg person being beaten in the field.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#21_193)
- (219) *g-ìdʒá-m-à-núŋ* *q-^wá-dá*
 AFF-FUT-NEG-3-let AFF-3-see
 'He/she/it/they will not have seen (it)'
- (220) *ì:-m-á-núŋ* *g-^wá-lìl* *qàn* *á:*
 COND-NEG-3-let AFF-3-sleep father COORD.CONJ
qámà-t *m-à-nd-án* *rít-ájd*
 mother-SS.SG NEG-3-COP-OBL leave:ITV-MAN
 'If the father and mother haven't gone to sleep, there is no leaving (like that)'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24_082)

Example (221) shows the negative perfect auxiliary *mànúŋ* used without a lexical verb in an interrogative utterance.

- (221) *gòl-wú* *qàrèmàn-é:-d* *qàn* *m-á-núŋ*
 PRIOR-2.SG:COP boy-PS.SG-SS.SG or NEG-3-let
 'You were already a young boy, or not yet?'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4_037)

9.2 Persistentive *ad=*

The persistentive aspect auxiliary *ad=* codes the continued persistence of an event or state. It is roughly comparable to the English translation 'still' with affirmative polarity,

and 'not anymore' with negative polarity. It is compatible with both non-future and future tense. The persistive aspect auxiliary occurs after the polarity prefix (affirmative or negative) and is followed by the dependent stem structure (see Section 4.2), which includes a dummy affirmative prefix in constructions with 3rd person subject indexation, regardless of the polarity of any preceding prefixes. If co-occurring with future tense, then the persistive is preceded by an additional initial polarity prefix and the future tense prefix, as shown in Figure 18. Verbal constructions with future tense and persistive aspect thus have either two polarity prefixes (for 1st/2nd person subject indexation) or three polarity prefixes (for 3rd person subject indexation). The initial polarity prefix is the only one that ever contributes to the polarity semantics of the construction, and the only one that can be either affirmative or negative, rather than a "dummy" affirmative prefix.

(Affirmative/ Negative <i>g-/m-</i>	(Future) <i>i:-</i>	Affirmative/ Negative <i>g-/m-</i>	Persistive aspect auxiliary <i>ad=</i>	Dependent stem -
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Figure 18: Schematic morphological structure of the persistive aspect construction

Example (222) shows the persistive auxiliary with non-future tense with the verb *àηó:n* 'hold, grasp,' example (223) shows the persistive phonologically merged with the 1.SG subject indexation in a construction with non-future tense and the equative-

attributive copular verb *was*, and example (224) shows the persistive in a future construction with the verb *bugda* 'return (ITV)'.
 construction with the verb *bugda* 'return (ITV)'.
 construction with the verb *bugda* 'return (ITV)'.

(222) *àb=òf* *bùn-é:-d* *g-àd=q-ó-ηó:n*
 PREP=DIST.LOC.PRO people-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-**PERS**=AFF-3-grasp
gí-d *quíwàr*
 thing.SG home
 'There people still understand the home language'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#9_11)

(223) *à:* *g-átá-wás* *mànàṅ*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-**PERS:1.SG**-COP small
 'I'm still small'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24_026)

(224) *g-à-wùrdz* *qámn* *hòf*
 AFF-3-resemble now DIST.LOC.PRO
g-ì:-g-ád=è:-búg-d
 AFF-FUT-AFF-**PERS**=1.PL-return-ITV
 'It's like now we will be returning there...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#3_102)

The persistive auxiliary is also compatible with negative polarity in future and non-future tense constructions. Example (225) shows the persistive in a non-future construction with negative polarity and the existential-locative copula *nd*, and example (226) shows the persistive in a future construction with negative polarity and the verb *nal* 'know'.

- (225) *ràgdàw-àdɔ-é:-g* *hóf* *m-ád=g-ʷá-nd*
 west-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL DIST.LOC.PRO NEG-**PERS**-AFF-3-COP
dùm-d *ásìm-dɔ-é:-g* *g-ó-dúl-à.n*
 dance-PS.SG asimjeeg-PS.PL-PS.PL-SS.PL AFF-3-finish-AM.VEN
 'In the western areas there aren't any Asimjeeg dances anymore, they've
 finished.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#2_55)
- (226) *à:* *m-i`-g-ád=q-ʷá-nál* *àr* *hèd*
 COORD.CONJ NEG-FUT-AFF-**PERS**=AFF-3-know even place
dɔá *g-á-wáj*
 POSS.V AFF-3-go
 'And they won't even know a place to go to anymore...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24_046)

The persistive auxiliary also occurs in copular constructions that do not feature an inflected verb. Example (227) shows the persistive in a copular construction attaching to the pronoun *ditandɔ* 'that one' in an equative construction, and example (228) shows the persistive in an attributive construction attaching to the irregular 3rd person equative-attributive copula *a:*. See Section 3.4 for more discussion of non-verbal predicate constructions.

- (227) *nàw-é:-d* *g-ád=dít-àndɔí*
 path-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-**PERS**=DIST.DEM.PRO-REF/COP
 'The path is still that same one...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_156)
- (228) *g-ád=à:=míj*
 AFF-**PERS**=COP=good.SG
 'It's still good'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20_042)

- (230) *g-idʒá-gòl=q-ð-hí:t*
AFF-FUT-**PRIOR**=AFF-3-finish
'She/he/it/they will have already finished (it)'

CHAPTER X

PLURACTIONAL

Pluractionality expresses the plurality or multiplicity of a state or event expressed by a verb (Newman 1990; Kießling 1998), including habitual events that occur on a regular basis and events that are repeated multiples within a short temporal window. The term “pluractional” also corresponds with the terms “iterative” and “frequentative”, but also specifies the locus of coding as within the verb (Mattiola 2017; Hofherr & Laca 2012). In Asimjeeg Datooga, pluractionality is coded through a suffixing verbal construction that occurs before, between, or after other verbal suffixes depending on the morphological context. The pluractional suffix also displays a wide variety of allomorphic variation that is conditioned not only by the phonological environment of the suffix but also other co-occurring constructions. All pluractional constructions feature +ATR vowels and the +ATR affirmative prefix *g-*, regardless of the ATR value of the verb stem. A non-exhaustive set of these allomorphs is discussed here. Table 80 lists some of the allomorphs of the pluractional suffix and also the constructions in which they occur.

Pluractional suffix forms	Corresponding constructions
-a	Dependent Stem (1.PL SBJ) Non-future Negative
-aj	Non-future AFF (1/2 SBJ) Conditional AFF (1/2 SBJ) Perfect AFF
-adʒ	Non-future AFF (3 SBJ) Conditional AFF (3 SBJ) Dependent Stem AFF (1.SG/3 SBJ)
-C	Dependent Stem (2 SBJ, simplex stems)
-i:	Terminal itive
-u	Ventive

Table 80: The various forms of the pluractional suffix

Allomorphs similar to those listed in Table 80 are reported by Kießling (1998) for Gisamjanga Datooga and (as "habitual") for Datooga varieties more generally (Rottland 1982, 1983). The *-u* allomorph of the pluractional suffix can also be thought of as the lengthening of the /u/ vowel in the ventive suffix *-un*. Kießling (1998: 8) posits that all of the allomorphs of the pluractional suffix in Gisamjanga Datooga may have resulted from the phonological erosion of the long form *-ayeen* (*-aje:n*), an allomorph which is not present in Asimjeeg Datooga.

In Asimjeeg Datooga, the pluractional is compatible with both non-future and future tenses, and affirmative and negative polarity. Example (231) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with affirmative polarity and the verb *kʷal* 'wear,' example (232)

shows the pluractional in a future construction with affirmative polarity and the verb *gas:* 'want, need,' and example (233) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with negative polarity with the verb *hɛ:d* 'wake s.th.'

(231) *g-é:-kʷəl-àj* *háŋʷá-k* *é:fíj-ì*
 AFF-1.PL-wear-**PLUR** shawl-SS.PL white-PL
 'We would wear white shawls.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5_048)

(232) *g-ìdʒ-é:-gàs-àdʒ*
 AFF-FUT-IMPERS-want-**PLUR**
 '...it will be needed.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15 #01_091)

(233) *qámn à:* *m-ád=è:-hè:d-ádʒ*
 now COORD.CONJ NEG-PERS=IMPERS-wake-**PLUR**
dè:bú-g
 children-SS.PL
 'Now the children often are not woken up.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10 #11_25)

As previously mentioned, the form of the pluractional suffix depends on the phonological and constructional context in which the suffix occurs. In non-future non-perfect constructions with affirmative polarity and 1st person, 2nd person, or impersonal subject indexation, in all non-future perfect constructions, and in constructions with either the associated-motion itive or associated-motion ventive, the pluractional suffix takes the form *-aj*. Example (234) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with impersonal subject indexation and the associated-motion itive with the verb *wi:l*

'look for,' and example (235) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with 3rd person subject indexation and the associated-motion ventive with the verb *si:b* 'move'.

(234) *á:* *g-é:-wì:l-à:d-áj*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-IMPERS-look.for-AM.ITV-**PLUR**
 'And then you will be sought after...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-16_#8_68)

(235) *g-ò-sí:b-á:n-áj*
 AFF-3-move-AM.VEN-**PLUR**
 'It's moving and moving hither...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9_#2_066)

In non-future non-associated-motion constructions with affirmative polarity and 3rd person subject indexation, and in dependent stem constructions with 1.SG or 3rd person subject indexation, the pluractional takes the form *-adz*. Example (236) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with 3rd person subject indexation and the verb *bar* 'hit'.

(236) *fí:s* *í:-ø-fúf* *qà:n g-à-bár-ádʒ*
 people.PL:PROX.DEM COND-3-relaxOR AFF-3-hit-**PLUR**
qùrdʒáf-tá
 bao.game-SS.SG
 'If these people relax, they often like to play (the) bao (game)'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_018)

In non-future constructions with negative polarity, and in dependent stem constructions with 1.PL subject indexation, the pluractional suffix takes the form *-a*. Example (237)

shows the pluractional suffix in a non-future construction with negative polarity and 1.PL subject indexation with the verb *sin* 'do'.

- (237) *àb àsé:s m-é:-sín-à ì:t =nì*
 PREP 1.PL.PRO NEG-1.PL-do-**PLUR** ear-SS.SG=PROX.DEM
 'For us, we don't do this'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_253)

In constructions with the terminal suffix (see Section 12.1.1) or the non-associated-motion itive *-d*, the pluractional precedes these other suffixes and takes the form *-i:*. Example (238) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with the terminal suffix and the verb *sàrmán* 'dance,' and example (239) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with the itive suffix, also with the verb *sàrmán* 'dance'.

- (238) *è:-d qáj sàrmàn-í:-s ásim-d₃-è:-g*
 place-SS.SG old.times dance-**PLUR**-TERM asimjeeg-PS.PL-SS.PL
 'The place where in the old days the Asimjeeg danced'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13_10)
- (239) *àw-è:-d há g-é:-sàrmàn-í:-d áη^wá-k*
 night-PS.SG-SS.SG well AFF-IMPERS-dance-**PLUR**-ITV shawl-SS.PL
m-è:-sàrmàn-í:-d àq^wáj-g
 NEG-IMPERS-dance-**PLUR**-ITV animal.skin-SS.PL
 'At night they would dance with shawls, they wouldn't dance with animal skins'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-16_#10_035)

In imperative constructions with simplex verb stems, the pluractional is coded by the gemination of the stem-final consonant or *-j* if the last segment of the verb stem is a vowel. Table 81 shows the imperative forms of three pluractional verb stems.

Meaning	Form
'want, need'	<i>gás:</i>
'chew'	<i>ɲé:j</i>
circumcize	<i>ban:</i>

Table 81: Imperative singular pluractional forms

In constructions with the ventive *-(u)n(i)*, the pluractional suffix takes the form of *-u* and precedes the ventive suffix. Example (240) shows the pluractional in a non-future construction with the verb *àbín.ì* 'enter (VEN)', in the context of the description of an initiation rite that is practiced on a regular basis.

- (240) *g-ò-bì:d-ú.n* *dʒè:d* *dùmd* *há*
 AFF-3-enter-**PLUR:VEN** stomach-SS.SG dance-SS.SG well
qárè:mán-g
 youth-SS.PL
 'They enter into the dance of the youth.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13_45)

CHAPTER XI

DIRECTIONALITY AND ASSOCIATED MOTION

Directionals are verbal constructions that code orientation towards or away from a deictic or "viewer-centered" reference point (Levinson 2003: 30). This morphological coding of spatial orientation is a common feature of Nilotic languages, and directionals in these languages have also been shown to be involved in the coding of other domains like associated motion, tense, and aspect (Mietzner and Claudi 2012). The semantic extension of the conceptual domain of space is also common across languages more generally (Lakoff & Johnson 2003).

In Asimjeeg Datooga, there are two directional suffixes: the ventive (VEN) suffix $-u(n) \sim -^w \sim -n(i) \sim -\emptyset$, which codes orientation towards a deictic reference point or adds an argument to the argument structure of the verb, and the itive (ITV) suffix $-d(a) \sim -d(i) \sim -d$, which codes orientation away from a deictic reference point or adds an argument to the argument structure of the verb. Associated motion, also called associated locomotion and or ambulative, codes a motion co-event as the background to another event (Koch 1984; Zwarts 2004; Kießling & Bruckhaus 2017). In Asimjeeg Datooga, associated motion is coded together with directionality and there are two associated-motion suffixes: the associated-motion ventive (AM.VEN) suffix $-a:n(i) \sim -a:n$ and the associated-motion itive (AM.ITV) suffix $-a:d(a) \sim -a:d(i) \sim -a:d$.

The distribution of the allomorphs of the directional and associated-motion directional suffixes is dependent on the verb class of the stem and the person of the subject indexation. A chart displaying all of the different forms of these permutations is provided in Table 82. For all directional and associated-motion directional suffixes that feature a suffix-final vowel, that vowel only occurs in intonational-phrase-final position and is enclosed within parentheses in all citation forms.

Directional suffix	Dependent-stem constructions	Non-dependent-stem constructions			
		Verb Class 1 (1/2 Subject)	Verb Class 1 (3 Subject)	Verb Class 2 (1/2 Subject)	Verb Class 2 (3 Subject)
VEN	<i>-n(i)</i>	<i>-u ~ -^w</i>	<i>-ϕ</i>	<i>u ~ -^w</i>	<i>-ϕ</i>
ITV	<i>-d(a)</i>	<i>-d(i)</i>	<i>-d(a)</i>	<i>-d(i)</i>	<i>-d</i>
AM.VEN	<i>-a.n(i)</i>	<i>-a.n(i)</i>	<i>-a.n</i>	<i>-a.n(i)</i>	<i>-a.n</i>
AM.ITV	<i>-a:d(a)</i>	<i>-a:d(i)</i>	<i>-a:d</i>	<i>-a:d(i)</i>	<i>-a:d</i>

Table 82: Allomorphs of directional and associated-motion directional suffixes

11.1 Non-associated motion directionals

11.1.1 Ventive

The ventive suffix $-u \sim -^w \sim -n(i) \sim -\phi$, which codes orientation towards a deictic reference point or adds an argument, has four allomorphs that are distributed across person and verb class conditions. The allomorph $-n(i)$ is restricted to dependent-stem constructions, as shown in example (241) with the verb *rùḡní* ‘tell’ in an imperative construction.

- (241) ϕ -*rùḡ-ní*
2.SG-tell-**VEN**
‘Tell (me).’
(IGS0229_2017-3-3 #7_238)

The allomorphs $-u$ and $-^w$ are restricted to non-dependent-stem constructions with 1st or 2nd person subject indexation. The $-^w$ allomorph co-occurs with non-intonational-phrase final verb stems that end in a velar or uvular consonant, and the $-u$ allomorph co-occurs with all other non-dependent-stem constructions. Example (242) shows the $-^w$ allomorph with the verb root *rag* ‘move west’ and the $-u$ allomorph with the verb root *do:g* ‘move east.’

- (242) g -^w*á-rág*-^w *ásé:s* g -*é*-*dò:g*-**ù**
AFF-3-move.west-**VEN** 1.PL.PRO AFF-1.PL-move.east-**VEN**
‘They came to the west, and we came to the east.’
(2017-3-16_#2_28)

The $-\emptyset$ allomorph is restricted to non-imperative constructions with 3rd person subject indexation, regardless of the verb class. Example (243) shows the $-\emptyset$ allomorph with the verb root *rid* ‘leave’, describing water coming from a spring. Example (244) shows the same verb root with the ITV suffix for comparison.

(243) *g-^wá-rid- \emptyset* *mòn-:é-s*
 AFF-3-leave-**VEN** hole-PS.PL-REF
 ‘It came from these holes.’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-16_#5_028)

(244) *ní:s* *g-^wá-rít* *dʒàf-t-áŋ^w* *g-ó*
 often AFF-3-leave:ITV child-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS AFF-come.3
g-^wá-dúb-á:d-áj *be:::g*
 AFF-3-follow-AM.ITV-PLUR water-SS.PL
 ‘Often your child will leave to go look for water.’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-2 #1_110)

11.1.2 Itive

The itive suffix $-d(a) \sim -d(i) \sim -d$, which codes orientation away from a deictic reference point or adds a core argument, has three allomorphs. The $-d(a)$ allomorph is used in dependent stem constructions constructions, as in the imperative construction in example (245), and constructions with 3rd person subject indexation and a Class 1 verb stem, as shown in example (246) with the verb root *bug* ‘return’.

(245) *à-háj-dà*
 2.SG-breathe-ITV
 'Breathe!'
 (IGS0229_2016-1-13_GG2_#1)

(246) *g-à-fúf* *à:* *g-à-múf* *á:*
 AFF-3-relax COORD.CONJ AFF-3-sun.rise COORD.CONJ
g-á-búg-dà
 AFF-3-return-ITV
 'She relaxes and the next day returns (there).'

(IGS0229_2016-12-12_#5_126)

The *-d(i)* allomorph of the itive suffix is used in non-dependent-stem constructions with 1st or 2nd person subject indexation, as shown in example (247) with the verb root *gàl* 'try, head towards somewhere'.

(247) *qámn* *àní.n* *q-á:-dà-j* *è:d* *sì-gál-dì*
 now 1.SG.PRO AFF-1.SG-see-FS place-SS.SG 1.PL-try-ITV
 'Now I see the direction we are heading.'

(IGS0229_2017-3-8_#9_03)

The *-d* allomorph of the itive suffix is used in non-dependent-stem constructions with 3rd person subject indexation and a Class 2 verb stem, as shown in example (248) with the verb root *ji:m* 'show'.

(248) *múf* *à:* *q-^wá-jít* *à:*
 tomorrow COORD.CONJ AFF-4-arrive:ITV COORD.CONJ
q-ó-jí:m-d
 AFF-3-show-ITV
 'The next day they arrived and showed him.'

(IGS0229_2017-3-8_#1_061)

11.1.3 Verb-stems with obligatory directionals

Some verb stems in Asimjeeg Datooga obligatorily feature a directional suffix (see Section 5.1.2.2 for more discussion of complex verb stems). Some verb roots in these stems can co-occur with either the ventive or itive suffix. These verbal constructions most often involve motion semantics of some kind (e.g. *bùgdá* 'return (ITV)', *bùḡní* 'return (VEN)', *ritá* 'leave (ITV)', *rìn.í* 'leave (VEN)'). Other stems feature roots that only co-occur with either the itive or only the ventive (but not the other), and these constructions may or may not involve motion semantics (e.g. *nùqdá* 'swallow', *hen.i* 'grow', *àtún.ì* 'revive s.th.'). Examples (249) and (250) show the ventive-itive verb stem pair *bùḡní* 'return.VEN' and *bùgdá* 'return.ITV,' and example (251) shows the itive-only verb stem *nùqdá* 'swallow'.

(249) *á:* *ϕ-núḡ* *ϕ-bùḡ-n* *mútú:*
 COORD.CONJ 2.SG-come 2.SG-**return-VEN** tomorrow
 'And you come to return tomorrow.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#13_62)

(250) *à:* *g-ó-bùg-d* *džérúk^w-è:-d*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-**return-ITV** field-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'And you return to the field.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#12_35)

(251) *m-à-núḡ* *q-^wá-nùq-d* *gídòḡg-àdž-àn-d*
 NEG-3-let AFF-3-**swallow-ITV** pill-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG/SW
 'She/he hasn't swallowed the pill yet.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#05_188)

11.1.4 Applicative uses of directionals and interaction with person

Directional suffixes can also co-occur with verb roots that can otherwise occur without a directional suffix. With roots of this type, the directional suffix usually either modifies the semantics of the verb and/or increases the valence of the verb and by adding an object argument. Example (252) shows the verb root *fa* 'exchange s.th. for money' without a directional and the meaning 'buy', example (253) shows the same verb root *fa* with the itive directional suffix and the modified semantic reading of 'sell', and example (254) shows the verb *fa* with a ventive directional suffix and the modified semantic reading and increased valence 'buy/sell for me/you'.

- (252) *g-i-dà-fà* *dé:-d* *á:*
 AFF-FUT-1.SG-buy cow-SS.SG COORD.CONJ
q-à:-fà-j *mbój-d á:* *q-à:-fà-j*
 AFF-1.SG-buy-FS goat-SS.SG COORD.CONJ AFF-1.SG-buy-FS
ñqàq-ó:-d
 chicken-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'I will buy a cow, then I'll buy a goat, then I'll buy a chicken.'
 (IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_02_10)

- (253) *q-à:-fà-d* *dájé:g* *í:jèŋ*
 AFF-1.SG-buy-ITV goat-PS.PL-SS.PL two
 'I sold two baby goats.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #3_134)

- (254) *g-é:-fà-n-à.n* *hán-d*
 AFF-IMPERS-buy-VEN-1.SG shawl-SS.SG
 'I was bought a shawl.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#3_141)

The itive suffix can also increase the valence by adding a 3rd person Instrument argument, as seen in example (255) with the verb *bar* 'hit, farm'.

- (255) *m-à-nd-án* *gísír-dʒ-àn-d*
 NEG-3-COP-OBL hoe.PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG
m-é:-bár-dà
 NEG-IMPERS-hit-ITV
 'There weren't any hoes, they weren't used to farm.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#1_07)

11.2 Associated-motion directionals

Associated-motion suffixes express a motion co-event in the background of the primary event expressed by the verb. The motion co-event may occur at the same time as the primary event or it may happen at a different time, and the motion co-event may involve either the subject or object argument. The associated-motion ventive suffix *-a.n ~ -a.n(i)* codes a motion co-event and orientation towards a deictic center, and the associated-motion itive suffix *-a.d ~ -a.d(i) ~ -a.d(a)* codes a motion co-event and orientation away from a deictic center.

11.2.1 Obligatory associated motion

Some verb roots in Asimjeeg Datooga always co-occur with an associated-motion directional suffix (see Section 5.1.2.2 for further discussion of complex verb stems).

Example (256) shows the verb root *dʒil* ‘move slowly’ which always co-occurs with either the ventive or itive associated-motion suffix.

- (256) à: *g-ó-dʒíl-á:d* *lúg^w-é:-g*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-3-move.slowly-AM.ITV warrior-PS.PL-SS.PL
 'And the warrior group went slowly away.'
 (IGS0229_2016-2-6_20_205)

11.2.2 Non-obligatory associated motion

Associated-motion directional suffixes also co-occur with verb roots that can otherwise occur without an associated-motion directional suffix. For non-motion verbs, the associated-motion directionals usually add motion semantics, either involving the subject or object argument, depending on the semantics of the verb stem. They can also add semantics of pluractionality (often indicating multiple actions performed as the motion co-event occurs). Example (257) shows the verb root *sin* 'do' with the associated-motion itive suffix coding motion of the subject and possible pluractionality as she or he prepares a channel through which water will later pass through (with the verb 'come' functioning as an inchoative). Example (258) shows the verb *ɲul* 'look' with the associated-motion ventive expressing motion of the object towards the subject as the subject ("Ewanda") looks at him.

(257) *g-ì-φ-nùŋ* *φ-sìn-á:d* *é:-d* *dʒá*
 AFF-FUT-2.SG-come 2.SG-do-AM.ITV place-SS.SG POSS.V
q-^wá-lá:p *bé::-g*
 AFF-3-pass water-SS.PL
 'You come to prepare a place to pass water through...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-2 #1_128)

(258) *q-á-ŋúl-á:n* *é:wànd* *g-^wà-jéf*
 AFF-3-look-AM.VEN Ewanda AFF-3-say
á:=wó
 COORD.CONJ=DISC
 'Ewanda looked at him (as he approached) and said "Well, man..."
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#1_216)

The choice between expressing motion of the subject argument or motion of the object argument appears to be lexically specified, as verbs behave consistently in this regard. The deictic reference point is not lexically determined, however, and can be manipulated by the speaker. In example (259), a scene is described in which a group of people are approaching a large snake, shooting arrows at it as they come closer. The speaker has chosen the location of the snake as the deictic reference point. In the first clause, the associated-motion ventive suffix expresses movement of the impersonal subject argument (the people) towards the deictic reference point with the verb stem *wùdá:n* 'shoot at while approaching'. The second associated-motion construction expresses movement of the object argument (the people) towards the deictic reference point with the verb stem *nùqdá:n* 'swallow s.th. (as it approaches).'

- (259) *g-è:-wùd-à.n* *à:* *g-á-bárdʒ*
 AFF-IMPERS-shoot-AM.VEN COORD.CONJ AFF-3-continue
q-^wà-nùq-d-á.n *bún-é:-d*
 AFF-3-swallow-ITV-AM.VEN people-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'They_i attacked him_j (as they_i came) and he_j continued to swallow people_i (as they_i came).'
- (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#1_134)

In imperative constructions, the deictic reference point is typically the location of the interlocutor. Example (260) shows the associated-motion ventive suffix used in an imperative construction with the verb root *ɲúl* 'see s.th.' and coding movement towards the addressee rather than the speaker.

- (260) *g-^wà-jéf* *ò:-ɲùl-à.n* *há* *gàtf-é:-d*
 AFF-3-say 2.PL-see-AM.VEN well arrow-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'He said, watch the arrow (coming towards you all)'
- (IGS0229_2017-3-9_#1_158)

Some verb roots have unique lexical semantics when co-occurring with an associated-motion directional suffix. When the verb root *un ~ w(a)* 'go' is combined with the associated-motion itive, for example, it has the meaning 'walk', as shown in example (261).

- (261) *g-é:-wáj-à:d-á* *g-ídʒ-é:-hít* *dùg^w* *mùhósht*
 AFF-1.PL-go-AM.ITV-FS AFF-FUT-1.PL-arrive.ITV Dugwamuhosht
 'We walked until we reached Dugwamuhosht'
- (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #6_24)

They root *nag* has the meaning ‘meet, encounter’ when co-occurring with the non-associated-motion itive (*nàgdá*) but has the meaning ‘obtainable, encounterable’ with the associated-motion ventive (*nàgdá.nì*), as shown in examples (262) and (263), respectively.

(262) *qáj* *g-á:-nág-dī* *ηàf-án-dʒ*
 old.times AFF-1.SG-meet-ITV word-PS.SG-REF.SG
 ‘In the old days I encountered this thing...’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04_018)

(263) *à:* *qámn* *q-ǝ-n* *g-^wà-nàg-á.n*
 COORD.CONJ now AFF-3-come AFF-3-meet-AM.VEN
nàdé:ǵá
 tribe-PS.PL-SS.PL
 ‘And now it came to be that other tribes are around...’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#11_20)

Verb stems with associated-motion directional suffixes can also co-occur with applicative suffixes (see Chapter 12), unlike the non-associated-motion directional suffixes. Example (264) shows a particularly complex verb stem with root reduplication, the associated-motion itive suffix, the oblique terminal suffix, object indexation, and the pluractional suffix.

(264) *g-è:-nàl-nál-à:d-àn-é:s-àj*
 AFF-IMPERS-teach-teach-AM.ITV-OBL-1.PL-PLUR
sí-nàg-d-í.n
 1.PL-meet-ITV-TERM
 ‘We were taught (again and again) when we met (them)’
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#25_64)

11.2.3 Associated-motion ventive allomorphs

The distribution of the two allomorphs of the associated-motion ventive suffix *-a.n* ~ *-a.n(i)* is conditioned by the person of the subject indexation of the verb and the presence or absence of the dependent stem structure. The *-a.n* allomorph is used in 3rd person dependent-stem constructions, and the *-a.n(i)* allomorph is used in all other contexts. Example (265) shows the *-a.n* allomorph lexicalized in the verb stem *nàgá.nì* 'become available,' and example (266) shows the *-a.ni* allomorph with the verb stem *dùlá.nì* 'finish and come'.

(265) *à:* *q-à-n* *g-^wa-nàg-á.n*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-3-come AFF-3-meet-**AM.VEN**
 '...and it came to be available.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#10_013)

(266) *g-é:-jéf* *ò:-dùl-á.ní* *fìṅá-d*
 AFF-1.PL-say 2.PL-finish-**AM.VEN** night-SS.SG
 'They were told "You all, come at night." '
 (IGS0229_2016-2-6_20_199)

11.2.4 Associated-motion itive allomorphs

The distribution of the three allomorphs of the associated-motion itive suffix *-a.d* ~ *-a.d(i)* ~ *-a.d(a)* is also conditioned by the person of the subject indexation of the verb

and the presence or absence of the dependent stem structure. The *-a:d* allomorph is used in non-dependent-stem constructions with 3rd person subject indexation, as shown in example (267) with the verb stem *dàsá:dà* 'kick or stamp feet while moving away'.

- (267) *q-^wà-dàs-à:d* *ηάη*
 AFF-3-kick-**AM.ITV** earth
 'She/he stamps their feet as they move away.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-16_#12_40)

The *-a:d(a)* allomorph of the associated-motion itive suffix is used in all dependent-stem constructions, as shown in example (268) with an imperative construction and the verb stem *àftá:dà* 'sit'.

- (268) *ò:-ft-á:dá*
 2.PL-sit-**AM.ITV**
 'Sit!'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-9 #1_365)

The *-a:d(i)* allomorph of the associated-motion itive suffix is used in non-dependent stem constructions with 1st or 2nd person subject indexation, as shown in example (269) with the verb stem *àftá:dà* 'sit'.

- (269) *g-è:-gòη* *hòrg-é:-d* *à:*
 AFF-IMPERS-give:FS chair-PS.SG-SS.SG COORD.CONJ
g-i-ft-à:dí
 AFF-2.SG-sit-**AM.ITV**
 'You are given a chair and you sit.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_254)

(272) *q-^wà-nùq-d-á.n* *bún-é:-d*
AFF-3-swallow-ITV-AM.VEN people-PS.SG-SS.SG
'He swallowed people (as they came).'

(IGS0229_2017-3-8_#1_134)

(273) *sú* *m-à-nd* *fùg* *bálán-n-á:d*
PROX.DEM.PRO.PL NEG-3-COP people-SS.PL return-VEN-AM.ITV
'Weren't these people returning?'

(IGS0229_2017-3-3_#7_174)

CHAPTER XII

APPLICATIVES

Applicative suffixes can be said to add a "thematically peripheral argument or adjunct as a core-object argument" and in some cases can add a core argument that would otherwise need to be formally marked by an adposition (Stapleton 1903: 211; Peterson 2006: 1). This chapter focuses on three paradigmatically contrastive applicative suffixes in Asimjeeg Datooga, which are labeled "terminal", "oblique", and "locative". Each suffix codes a range of different meanings rather than a single meaning, and the label for each suffix should be understood to reflect terminological convenience more than the accurate representation of a heterogeneous set of semantic readings. The labels "terminal" and "oblique" are also used by Kießling (2007a) to describe cognate constructions in Gisamjanga Datooga. The locative applicative construction has not been described for any other variety of Datooga. A summary of the three applicative constructions is presented in Table 83.

Form	Label	Comments
<i>-s(V:n) ~ -s(a) ~ s(i) ~ i:n</i>	Terminal	3rd person applicative objects with roles of Goal, Location, and Benefactee
<i>-an</i>	Oblique	Applicative objects of any person, with roles of Time and possibly others
<i>-e:(w) ~ -ε:(w)</i>	Locative	3 rd person applicative objects, with roles of Location, Manner, and Accompaniment

Table 83: Applicative constructions

In some constructions, directional suffixes are also used to add core arguments (see Section 11.1.4). The semantic contributions and morphosyntactic effects of directional and applicative suffixes may vary depending on the verb root or other verbal constructions. Unlike the patterns described for Gisamjanga Datooga (Kießling 2007a: 136), the Asimjeeg Datooga data do not support an analysis of consistent semantics or argument structure for directional and applicative suffixes across all verbal constructions. For example, (274) shows the ventive suffix used with the verb root *rug* 'tell' to code a speech-act-participant R argument in a similar manner to that described in Kießling (2007). In (275), however, the terminal applicative suffix is used with the verb root *gur* 'call' to code a speech-act-participant R argument, which does not align with the patterns described in Kießling (Kießling 2007a), whereby all speech-act-participant R arguments are coded with the ventive suffix.

(274) *àní.n* *g-à:-gàs-àj* *dà-rùg-n-ó:g*
 1.SG.PRO AFF-1.SG-want-PLUR 1.SG-tell-**VEN**-2.PL
gìdàb m-ád-g^w-á-nd
 COMP NEG-PERS-AFF-3-COP
 'I want to tell you all that there isn't anything anymore...'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#21_262)

(275) *g-à-gùr-sí.n-á.n* *sì:d* *qàh-áp*
 AFF-3-call-**TERM**-1.SG person-SS.SG home-1.SG.POSS
à: *g-à:-nùg-djí*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-1.SG-refuse-FS
 '...and a person from home called me and I refused.'

12.1.1 Terminal

The terminal applicative is the most frequent of the three applicative constructions, and it typically introduces a "goal as an endpoint of the event or action" (Kießling 2007a: 132). These arguments include those that can be generalized as Goals, such as addressees of speech acts, singular or plural locative endpoints, and metaphorical endpoints, as well as Benefactee and occasionally Location roles. The terminal applicative can co-occur with an associated-motion directional suffix, but not a directional suffix alone.

Example (276) shows the verb root *tʃag* 'send' without the terminal applicative and no Goal argument, and example (277) shows the same verb root *tʃag* 'send' with the terminal applicative coding a Goal argument (the village of Mang'ola). Example (278) shows the

verb root *dar* 'spread' with the terminal applicative introducing a plural Goal argument represented by the associated construction *dʒé:d nádé:g* 'among the tribes (lit. the stomach of the tribes)'. Example (279) shows the terminal applicative introducing a metaphorical Goal in the form of the nominalized verb *bàr-ó:d* 'farming'.

- (276) *àní:n* *g-ò-tfág-n-à.n* *gífín*
 1.SG.PRO AFF-3-send-VEN-1.SG Gishina
 'Gishna sent me.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04_041)
- (277) *ø-wún* *má.ηòl* *g-ì-dà-tfàg-sí.n-e:n*
 2.SG-come Mang'ola AFF-FUT-1.SG-send-**TERM**-2.SG
 'Come, I'm sending you to Mang'ola'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04_031)
- (278) *q-^wà-dàr-d* *há* *bún-é:-d* *g-à-wáj* (.)
 AFF-3-spread-ITV well people-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-3-go
g-^wà-dàr-s *dʒé:-d* *nád-é:-g*
 AFF-3-spread-**TERM** stomach-SS.SG tribe-PS.PL-SS.PL
 'People spread out, they went and spread into other tribes.'
 (IGS0229_2016-2-6_20_034)
- (279) *q-^wà-ròbàn* *há* *g-é:-búg-s* *bàr-ó:d=dítá*
 AFF-3-rain well AFF-1.PL-return-**TERM** hit-NMLZ=DIST.DEM.SG
 'It rained and we returned to that farming.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-13_#2_41)

Example (280) shows the verb *bar* 'hit' without the terminal applicative, and example (281) shows the same verb root with the terminal applicative introducing a Location

argument ('in the field'). Example shows the verb root *dʒi:l* 'give birth' without the terminal applicative, and (283) shows the same verb root with the terminal applicative introducing a Location argument ('Ndurmooda').

- (280) *q-à:-dà-j* *sí:-d* *sí-bàr*
 AFF-1.SG-see-FS person-SS.SG IMPERS-hit
 'I saw a person get beaten (killed)'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#18_32)
- (281) *mànúŋ dá-jǐn* *àsìm-dʒ-àn-d*
 NEG-3-let 1.SG-hear asimjeeg-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG
sí-bár-s *dʒérk^w-è:-d*
 IMPERS-hit-TERM field-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'I've never heard of an Asimjeeg person being beaten in the field.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#21_193)
- (282) *g-^wà-dʒí:l* *dé:búg* *íjèŋ*
 AFF-3-give.birth child-SS.PL two
 'She gave birth to two children.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#6_26)
- (283) *àní.n* *g-é:-dʒí:l-sí.n-à.n* *ndúrmò:d*
 1.SG.PRO AFF-IMPERS-give.birth-TERM-1.SG Ndurmooda
 'I was born in Ndurmooda'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #3_008)

Example (284) shows the terminal applicative used to introduce the nominal *bùnéd* 'people' as the addressee of a speech act, and example (285) shows the terminal applicative used to introduce a Benefactee argument.

- (284) *há i.dú::(.) g-à-gùr-s bìn-é:-d áb*
 well later AFF-3-call-**TERM** people-PS.SG-SS.SG PREP
màd̩-ò:-d
magic-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'Later he called people by using magic...'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#2_037)
- (285) *g-à:-ràm-s mùh-ó:-g áb qùwàrí*
 AFF-1.SG-fetch-**TERM** calf-PS.PL-SS.PL PREP home
 'I fetched (water) for the calves at home.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#16_41)

12.1.2 Oblique

The oblique applicative *-an* is the least frequent of the three applicative constructions and also the most semantically opaque. It introduces arguments with the role of Time, and possibly other roles, and it is also lexicalized in negative copular constructions (see Section 3.4.2). The oblique applicative can co-occur with directional suffixes (either itive or ventive). Example (286) shows the verb root *hi:t* 'arrive' without the oblique applicative, and example (287) shows the same verb root with the oblique applicative introducing an

argument with the role of Time⁴. Example (288) similarly shows the verb root *tʃag* 'send' with the itive suffix indicating direction of motion and the oblique applicative introducing an argument with the role of Time (*g^watf* 'that time').

(286) *g-é:-bàlàg-dʒì* (.) *à:* *é:-hít* *má:ηòl*
 AFF-1.PL-moved-FS COORD.CONJ 1.PL-arrive Mang'ola
 'Then we moved...and we arrived in Mang'ola.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-10_#1_09, 10)

(287) *m-è:-hì:t-àn* *hídʒ* *g-é:-bì:g-ù*
 NEG-1.PL-arrive-OBL PROX.LOC.PRO AFF-1.PL-return-VEN
 'We didn't arrive (anywhere) at this time, and we returned'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#07_31)

(288) *g-^wà-jéf* *àní.n* *g^wátf*
 AFF-3-say 1.SG.PRO that.time
g-ò-tʃàg-d-án-à.n *g^wàláp-àn-d*
 AFF-3-send-ITV-**OBL**-1.SG elder-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'He said that me, at that time, the elder sent me'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04_065, 066)

12.1.3 Locative

The locative applicative suffix *-e:(w) ~ -ε:(w)* introduces Location arguments, Instrument arguments, and animate and inanimate Accompaniment arguments. The vowel

⁴ The proximate locative pronoun *hídʒ* often also takes on the meaning of 'at that/this time'

contained within the suffix is sensitive to the ATR value of the verb stem. Example (289) shows the verb root *bi:d* 'live' with the locative applicative suffix introducing an argument with the role of Location, and example (290) shows the verb root *sin* 'do' with the locative applicative suffix introducing an argument with the role of Manner. Example (291) shows the verb *jad* 'send' used with the locative applicative suffix introducing an argument with the role of inanimate Accompaniment (in the context of sending donkeys with bags full of personal belongings), and example (292) shows the verb *lil* 'sleep' with the locative applicative suffix introducing an argument with the role of animate Accompaniment.

- (289) *g-ò-bí:d-é:w* *má:ηòl*
 AFF-3-live-**LOC** Mang'ola
 'They lived in Mang'ola'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#18_12)
- (290) *g-é:-sín-é:* *fúqár-è:-d*
 AFF-IMPERS-do-**LOC** cunning-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'It was created with skill/cunning.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#01_219)
- (291) *∅-jád-é:w* *múfódà-k* *múf-k*
 2.SG-send-**LOC** bag-SS.PL/ASSOC skin-SS.PL
 '(You) send them with animal skin bags.'
 (2017-3-16_#2_38)
- (292) *g-^wá-líl-é:w* *ásìmdʒ-é:-g*
 AFF-3-sleep-**LOC** asimjeeg-PS.PL-SS.PL
 'They sleep with the Asimjeeg.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#1_037)

CHAPTER XIII

CO-HORTATIVE AND IMPERATIVE

This chapter describes two utterance-type constructions that are closely related both in terms of structure and function. Both constructions feature a verb in the dependent stem form (see Section 4.2) in a syntactically independent clause. Semantically, both constructions can be said to express the assertion of the addressee's obligation to make a truth value hold for the prejacent proposition coded by the same clause. The imperative construction (Section 13.1) only co-occurs with 2nd person subject indexation and is used to issue commands, and the co-hortative (Section 13.2) only co-occurs with 1.PL subject indexation and is used to suggest some action to be taken by the addressee together with the speaker.

13.1 Imperative construction

As detailed in Section 6.1, the subject indexation paradigm for imperative constructions (and all other dependent stem constructions) is conditioned by the verb class of the verb stem, the ATR value of the verb stem, and the number of the subject argument. For 2.SG subject arguments, subject indexation is a zero morph for Class 1 verbs and *a-* for Class 2 verbs. For 2.PL subject arguments, subject indexation for Class 1 verbs has two

variants: the *a-* variant which has a single allomorph, and the *o- ~ ɔ-* variant which has two allomorphs that co-occur with +ATR and -ATR verb stems, respectively. For 2.PL subject arguments with Class 2 verbs, only the *o- ~ ɔ-* allomorphs are possible. All of the subject indexation forms for imperative constructions are summarized in Table 84.

	2.SG	2.PL
Verb Class 1	\emptyset -	<i>a- / o- ~ ɔ-</i>
Verb Class 2	<i>a-</i>	<i>o- ~ ɔ-</i>

Table 84: Subject indexation for imperative constructions

Example (293) shows the imperative construction with zero-marked 2.SG subject indexation on the reduplicated Class 1 verb root *gulgul* 'beat (repeatedly)'. Example (294) shows the imperative construction with 2.PL subject indexation and the Class 1 verb root *gon* 'give'.

(293) *àŋiŋ* \emptyset -*gùlgùl* *ár* *bàdà-tf-án-d*
 2.SG.PRO 2.SG-beat.PLUR even bark-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'Just beat the bark!
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#05_056)

(294) *g-èj* *à-gón* *lák-àdɜ-é:g* *áŋ^wàn*
 AFF-be.said 2.PL-give hundred.thousand-PS.SG-SS.SG/SW four
 'He said, "You all, give (me) four hundred thousand (shillings)!"
 (IGS0229_2017-3-1 #3_105)

13.2 Co-hortative construction

Subject indexation for the co-hortative construction consists of the two allomorphs *e:-* ~ *ɛ:-* which are conditioned by the ATR value of the verb stem. Example (295) shows the co-hortative construction with +ATR 1.PL subject indexation and the verb root *dʒɛn* 'slaughter', and example (296) shows the co-hortative construction with -ATR 1.PL subject indexation and the verb root *bar* 'hit, kill, farm'.

(295) *è:-dʒɛn* *dʒɛ:-d* *áb* *díjàn*
1.PL-slaughter stomach PREP animal:REF
'Let's slaughter the stomach of this animal.'
(IGS0229_2017-3-8_#16_151)

(296) *é:-bàr* *qùrdʒáf-t* *gítfàj*
1.PL-hit bao-SS.SG only
'Let's just play the bao game!'
(IGS0229_2017-3-9_#2_017)

CHAPTER XIV

DEPENDENT-CLAUSE CONSTRUCTIONS

This chapter describes three different dependent-clause constructions in Asimjeeg Datooga. The first two of these constructions, the conditional construction (Section 14.1) and the temporal construction (Section 14.2), are similar structurally and functionally. They both feature prefixes in the same morphological slot, a special subject indexation paradigm, and a syntactic structure that places the dependent clause before the independent clause.

The third construction, the subjunctive (Section 14.3), is quite distinct from the other two both formally and semantically, and it constitutes the most common and general dependent clause construction. Morphologically, the verb occurs in the dependent stem structure (see Section 4.2), and syntactically the dependent clause is preceded by an independent clause.

14.1 Conditional construction

The conditional construction in Asimjeeg Datooga codes the assertion of the possibility of a condition for a proposition, and it is used exclusively in dependent clauses. The clause coding the condition (protasis) occurs with the conditional prefix, and

the clause coding the consequence (apodosis) occurs without it. The conditional construction has two primary coding mechanisms: the conditional prefix -ì:(j), and a special subject indexation pattern that is specific to the conditional and temporal constructions (see Section 6.1). Example (297) shows the conditional prefix *i:-* co-occurring with conditional subject indexation, here represented by the 1.PL subject indexation prefix *si-*.

- (297) *ì:-sì-fká:n* *à:* *g-é:-má:n* *hìdží*
 COND-1.PL-come CONJ AFF-1.PL-reside PROX.LOC.PRO
 'When we came, (then) we lived here.'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-3 #9_054)

The conditional prefix takes the form *ì:-* when preceding consonants, as in example (298) with the verb *mɛ:w* 'die', and it takes the form *-ì:j* when preceding vowels, as in example (299).

- (298) *ì:-ø-mè:w* *dé:-d* (.) *g-è:-fì:t*
 COND-3-die cow-SS.SG AFF-IMPERS-cut
mùn-d *à:* *g-é:-sìn* *gé:-ká*
 skin-SS.SG CONJ AFF-IMPERS-do shoe-SS.PL
 'If a cow dies...the skin is cut and shoes are made.'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_134, 135)

- (299) *g-èj* *džáf-t* *ì:j-à-sòm* *fúl*
 AFF-it.is.said child-SS.SG COND-3-study/SW school/SW
džáf-t *g-ì:-q-à-qù:d-á:d*
 child-SS.SG AFF-FUT-AFF-3-wander-AM.ITV
 'They say that if a child studies at school then they will wander (away).'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20_027)

The conditional construction is always specified for polarity, but affirmative polarity is only overtly coded in perfect tense-aspect constructions, as in example (300) with the verb root *ge:f* 'marry'. In all conditional constructions, negative polarity is coded by the negative prefix *m-*, as in example (301) with the verb root *mɛ:w* 'die'. The conditional construction is compatible with all tense-aspect constructions except the sequential (see Section 8.3).

- (300) *ì:g-ò-gé:f-á* *g-à-hò:n-í:-d*
COND-AFF-3-marry-FS/PERF AFF-3-instruct-PLUR-ITV
gàrm-ò:-d
wife-PS.SG-SS.SG
'If (he) has already married, then he is taught by his wife...'
(IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24_074, 075)
- (301) *ì:-m-á-mè:w* *g-ì-dá* *g-^wà-sáwán*
COND-NEG-3-die AFF-2.SG-see AFF-3-be.hurt
'If he hasn't died, you see that he's hurt.'
(IGS0229_2017-3-16_#8_06)

14.2 Temporal construction

The temporal construction resembles the conditional construction both in its structure and meaning, but with some key differences. It includes a prefix *am-* that is located in the same morphological slot as the conditional prefix and co-occurs with the same subject indexation paradigm as the conditional prefix, but the temporal prefix cannot co-occur with either of the polarity prefixes, future tense, or any of the aspect constructions. The temporal

prefix expresses a condition for an event or state to occur, but the condition is one which is either known to have taken place or one for which the speaker has a high degree of certainty that it will occur or does occur on a regular basis. The clause coding the condition (protasis), occurs with the temporal prefix, and the clause coding the consequence (apodosis) occurs without it. Example (302) shows the temporal prefix with the verb root *dul* 'finish,' describing a condition and subsequent event that the speaker knows to have occurred in the past. Example (303) shows the temporal prefix with the root *jid* 'arrive,' describing a condition and subsequent event that the speaker knows to occur on a regular basis (as part of marriage customs).

- (302) *àm-sì-dúl-ø* *g^wàn-é:-k* *mùt*
TEMP-1.PL-finish-VEN year-PS.PL-SS.PL five
g-è:-wà-j *qùrús*
 AFF-1.PL-go-FS Qurus
 'After we finished five years, we went to Qurus.'
 (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #4_08, 09)

- (303) *àm-sì-jíd-ø* (.) *g-ìdʒ-é:-hí.m* *dú-g^w*
TEMP-IMPERS-arrive-VEN AFF-FUT-IMPERS-show cow-SS.PL
 'When they arrive, they are shown the cattle.'
 (IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #1_23, 24)

The temporal prefix is used in some common collocations or idiomatic phrases, such as *àmwá q^wájít* 'and then (lit. when it arrives)'. Example (304) shows this idiomatic phrase used in the description of a method for crafting traditional clothing.

- (304) *g-é:-náp* *mú:n-d* *àm-wá* *q-^wá-jít*
 AFF-IMPERS-sew skin-SS.SG **TEMP**-go AFF-3-arrive:ITV
q-^wà-hé:f *àdʒí.nó:-tf-án-d*
 AFF-3-apply.oil woman-PS.SG-PS.SG-SS.PL
 'The skin is sewn, and then the woman applies oil'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-15_#02_128, 129)

Examples of cognate temporal constructions in other varieties of Datooga are available in some of the literature, although the constructions have never been explicitly described.

Example (305) from (Kießling 2007a) shows two instances of the temporal prefix in Gisamjanga Datooga (original transcription and glossing maintained).

- (305) *àmá-wiild-á* *gwà-jòn* *fáaróodá* *ηàdiidq,*
 TEMP-walk.CF-IS S3-smell odour.AG lion
àmá-wiilú *gwà-jòn* *fáaróodá* *ηàdiidq.*
 TEMP.walk.CP S3-smell odour.AG lion
 'When they turned to escape northwards, they perceived the lion's smell, and when they turned to escape southwards, they perceived its smell all the same.'
 (Kießling 2007a: 129)

14.3 Subjunctive construction

The subjunctive construction codes the assertion of the possibility of a proposition, and it is more generally the default construction of all non-conditional dependent clauses. The structural properties of the subjunctive construction resemble those of the co-hortative and imperative constructions in that they both consist of a dependent stem, but verbal constructions in the subjunctive construction are syntactically dependent on a preceding

independent clause or verbal auxiliary while those in the co-hortative and imperative constructions are syntactically independent, and the subjunctive is not restricted to any subject indexation values while the co-hortative and imperative constructions are restricted to 1.PL and 2nd person subject indexation.

The subject indexed on a verb in the subjunctive construction may match the subject indexed on the independent-clause verb. Example (306) shows this with the verb *bugda* 'return.ITV' in an utterance-initial independent clause and *qurqur* 'court someone' in a following subjunctive construction, both with 2.SG subject indexation.

- (306) *g-ù-bùg-d* *ø-qùrqúr* *gúfà*
 AFF-2.SG-return-ITV 2.SG-court.someone again
 'You return and court (someone) again'
 (IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1_153)

The subject indexed on a verb in the subjunctive construction may also match that of a preceding verbal auxiliary, as in example (307) with the dynamic auxiliary 'can' and the lexical verb 'pray,' both with 2.PL subject indexation.

- (307) *g-ìd₃-ò-mús* *ò-móf*
 AFF-FUT-2.PL-be.able 2.PL-pray
 'You all will be able to pray'
 (IGS0229_2017-3-8_#3_118)

The subject indexed on a verb in the subjunctive construction may also be distinct from that of the preceding verb, as in example (308) with the verb *gas*: 'want' featuring

1.PL subject indexation and and *ruŋni* 'tell' featuring zero-marked 2.SG subject indexation. For additional examples of subjunctive constructions, see sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

- (308) *g-è:-gàs-àj* *∅-rúnj-ún* *ŋáf-è:-g* *sé:n*
AFF-1.PL-want-PLUR 2.SG-tell-VEN word-PS.PL-SS.PL all
'We want you to tell (us) everything...'
(IGS0229_2017-3-8_#12_049)

CHAPTER XV

CONCLUSION

One of the primary goals of this dissertation is to provide a detailed description of an individual language for the purpose of advancing scientific knowledge of the general properties of human language. The functional-typological theoretical framework in which the description is framed enables researchers trained in linguistics to easily compare the grammatical patterns of Asimjeeg Datooga with those of other languages, and the open-access archive data upon which this description is based allows readers to easily confirm (or disprove) the proposed analysis.

A second and more specific goal served by this dissertation is to broaden the scope of research on the speech of Datooga communities to include the description of language variation across and within different communities. Although it remains unclear whether the Datooga varieties are best analyzed as distinct languages or dialects of a single language, it is undeniable that variation exists in the speech of Datooga groups, and it is the responsibility of linguists engaging in the description of Datooga varieties to accurately represent this fact. In support of this second goal, a number of linguistic features that distinguish Asimjeeg Datooga from other varieties of Datooga are noted throughout the

dissertation. For convenience, some of these differences are categorized and summarized in Section 15.1.

15.1 Distinct linguistic features of Asimjeeg Datooga

Some of the differences between Asimjeeg Datooga and other Datooga varieties constitute features that have been reported for other varieties of Datooga but are not represented in the Asimjeeg Datooga data, while other differences constitute features that are not reported for other varieties of Datooga but are represented in the Asimjeeg Datooga data. Additionally, the differences may constitute differences in meaning, form, or distribution. In the following subsections, some of the differences between Asimjeeg Datooga and other varieties of Datooga are organized into three subdomains: phonetics and phonology (Section 15.1.1), morphology (Section 15.1.2), and syntax (Section 15.1.3).

15.1.1 Phonetics and phonology

Concerning the consonant inventory of Asimjeeg Datooga, there are at least three differences that set it apart from other reported varieties of Datooga. First, Asimjeeg Datooga features the post-alveolar affricates /dʒ/ and /tʃ/ rather than the palatal stops /c/ and /j/, as described in Section 2.1.1.3. This analysis is primarily based on a consistent

presence of frication following the period of closure, which is not a feature of the stops. As no phonetic study has been produced for any Datooga variety, it remains to be seen whether or not this is a feature shared by varieties other than Asimjeeg Datooga.

A second distinction between the phonemic inventory of Asimjeeg Datooga and those reported for other varieties of Datooga is the presence of a set of labialized velar and uvular consonants [k^w, g^w, q^w, ŋ^w]. In the descriptions of other varieties of Datooga, these sounds have been described as sequences rather than as single units, but in Asimjeeg Datooga the co-occurrence of labialization with only a limited set of consonants together with a wide distribution across different phonological environments including word-final position warrants a phonemic analysis.

Finally, an additional difference between Asimjeeg Datooga and other reported varieties of Datooga that relates to the consonant inventory is the distribution of voiced and voiceless stops. Hieda (2000) describes the distribution of voiced and voiceless stops in Bajuta Datooga (see Section 2.1.1.1), and the distribution of voiced stops in Asimjeeg Datooga is distinct from those reported for Bajuta Datooga in that that voiced stops can occur in word-final position and also in consonant clusters.

Regarding the vowel inventory, there are at least three differences between Asimjeeg Datooga and other reported varieties of Datooga. First, unlike in other varieties of Datooga, there is a single low vowel /a/ rather than distinct +ATR and -ATR vowels (see Section 2.1.2). This single vowel occurs in both +ATR and -ATR contexts. A second

difference is that the short high front vowel /i/ has remarkably distinct first and second formant frequencies compared to the long high front vowel /i:/ (see Section 2.1.2.8). No significant differences between the short and long high front vowels of other Datooga varieties have been reported.

One difference between Asimjeeg Datooga and other varieties of Datooga within the domain of phonotactics is the lack of word-final "shadow vowels" (see Section 2.2.4). Shadow vowels are a distinctive feature of some other varieties of Datooga such as Gisamjanga and Barabaiga Datooga (Kießling 2007a). In Asimjeeg Datooga, these vowels are deleted in the contexts in which they would otherwise be shadow vowels according to the distribution of other Datooga varieties, but they are fully realized in the contexts in which they are also fully realized in other varieties of Datooga (e.g. in non-verbal predicate constructions).

Finally, there are a number of differences between the tonal system of Asimjeeg Datooga and those of other varieties of Datooga. There has yet to be a thorough analysis of the tonal system of any variety of Datooga, but the nominal tone class patterns described by e.g. Kießling (2007) for Gisamjanga Datooga are distinct from those described in this dissertation and Griscom (submitted), and the number of posited tones and the patterning of tonal case are also different.

15.1.2 Morphology

Within the domain of morphology there are many differences between Asimjeeg Datooga and other reported varieties of Datooga. Beginning with nominal morphology, the patterning of -ATR vowels within nouns is slightly different in Asimjeeg Datooga compared to other varieties of Datooga (see Section 2.2.3). In Asimjeeg Datooga, nouns occur with -ATR vowels when co-occurring with 2nd person possessive suffixes, 1.PL possessive suffixes, and 3.SG possessive suffixes. In other varieties of Datooga it has been reported that nouns occur with -ATR vowels when co-occurring with 2nd person and 3rd person possessive suffixes (Rottland & Creider 1996).

Rottland (1982) describes an indefinite nominal construction based on data from Rotigenga Datooga that consists of the suffix *-i*. This construction is described elsewhere as conditioning -ATR vowels within the noun (Rottland & Creider 1996). The indefinite construction has not been reported for any other variety and is not represented in the Asimjeeg Datooga data.

Finally, Asimjeeg Datooga features a nominal anaphoric reference construction that has not been reported for any other variety of Datooga (see Section 3.1.4). This construction is used when the noun refers to an entity mentioned previously in discourse.

Within verbal morphology there are a number of differences between Asimjeeg Datooga and other Datooga varieties. For example, Kießling (Kießling 2007a: 124) reports two verbal constructions for Gisamjanga Datooga that are not represented in the

Asimjeeg Datooga data: the causative *-j* and the antipassive *-j*. An unrelated lexical causative construction is represented in the Asimjeeg Datooga data (see Section 4.2.2), and no cognate of this lexical causative construction has been reported for another variety of Datooga.

The formal properties of the sequential construction in Asimjeeg Datooga are distinct from those of sequential constructions reported for other varieties, although the constructions appear to be related. In Asimjeeg Datooga, the sequential construction is coded through the use of tone, whereas in Gisamjanga Datooga it is reported to be a segmental prefix *ak-*.

The affirmative perfect construction and the negative perfect construction of Asimjeeg Datooga are distinct from perfect constructions reported for other varieties of Datooga. The affirmative construction in Asimjeeg Datooga is a word-level construction that includes a unique subject indexation paradigm and final suffix, as well as unique tonal melodies (see Section 9.1.1), whereas in other varieties of Datooga the affirmative perfect is described as consisting of a prefix *ni-* (Rottland 1983: 226). The negative perfect construction in Asimjeeg Datooga is an auxiliary verb construction with the grammaticalized verb *nuŋ* 'let' (see Section 9.1.2), whereas the negative perfect is described for other varieties as consisting of a simplex verbal construction with the negative prefix *m-* (Rottland 1983: 237).

Directionals and associated motion constructions have been reported for other varieties of Datooga, but the co-occurrence of a direction suffix together with an

associated motion suffix within the same construction has only been reported for Asimjeeg Datooga (see Section 11.3).

Finally, the locative applicative *-e:w ~ -ε:w* has not been reported for any other variety of Datooga (see Section 12.1.3), and the co-occurrence of the terminal applicative with speech-act-participant R arguments has not been reported for any other variety of Datooga (see Chapter 12).

15.1.3 Syntax

Within the domain of syntax, there are at least three differences between Asimjeeg Datooga and other varieties of Datooga that are described in this dissertation. First, Datooga varieties in general have been described as predominately verb-initial (Kießling, Mous & Nurse 2008: 220), whereas Asimjeeg Datooga has flexible word order, possibly with a preference for AVO/SV word order.

The distribution of nominative case patterns in Asimjeeg Datooga is slightly different from that reported for Gisamjanga Datooga. In Asimjeeg Datooga nominative case is restricted to the immediate post-verbal position (see Section 3.2.2), whereas in Gisamjanga Datooga it occurs in all post-verbal positions (Kießling 2007a: 158).

Finally, the post-verbal H-tone pattern has not been reported for any other variety of Datooga, and therefore may represent a distinct feature of Asimjeeg Datooga that is not present in the other varieties (see Section 4.4).

15.2 Possibilities for future research

Outside of Asimjeeg Datooga, there are a number of areas within Datooga linguistics that could benefit from the attention of future research. Other minority Datooga varieties such as Bianjida Datooga and Buradiga Datooga continue to remain largely undescribed, the present-day distribution of Datooga speakers is not well understood, there is no update on the comparative analysis of Datooga varieties since Rottland (1982), and little has been published on regional variation even among the majority varieties of Gisamjanga and Barabaiga Datooga.

Furthermore, although this dissertation builds towards a comprehensive account specifically of Asimjeeg Datooga, the linguistic description contained within does not address all aspects of the Asimjeeg Datooga language, nor does it necessarily exhaustively account for the aspects that it does address. Continued research on this particular variety will certainly reveal additional insights about Datooga speech communities and their relationships with other speech groups in the region. The open access archive deposit of Asimjeeg Datooga data on the Endangered Languages Archive

serves as a foundation and useful resource for any linguists interested in following this line of research.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSES

1	first person	NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
2	second person	NOM	nominative
3	third person	OBL	oblique applicative
ACC	accusative	PARTCL	particle
AFF	affirmative	PL	plural
AM	associated motion	PLUR	pluractional
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
C	consonant	PERF	perfect
COND	conditional	PERS	persistent
COP	copula	PRIOR	priority aspect ('already')
DEM	demonstrative	PRO	pronoun
DET	determiner	PROX	proximal/proximate
DISC	discourse particle	PS	Primary suffix
DIST	distal	REF	anaphoric reference
FUT	future	REFL	reflexive
IMP	imperative	SBJ	subject
IMPERS	impersonal	SBJV	subjunctive
ITV	itive	SG	singular
LOC	locative	SEQ	sequential tense
MAN	manner	SS	Secondary suffix
N	nasal consonant	TEMP	temporal
N	noun	TERM	terminal applicative
NEG	negation, negative	V	verb (e.g. POSS.V)
		V	vowel
		VEN	ventive

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE TEXTS

TEXT 1

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_01

g^wátf *q-à:-ηê:tf* *sàktàj-d*
 that.time AFF-1.SG-wake.FS morning-SS.SG

'I woke this morning'

00:00:37.446-00:00:40.017

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_02

à: *g-áw sókónì* *g-á:-dó* *dá-fà*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-go market.SW AFF-1.SG-come 1.SG-buy

nàŋ-í:-d

vegetable-PS.SG-SS.SG

'Then I went to the store to buy vegetables'

00:00:40.017-00:00:44.613

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_03

à: *sùk^wàr* *àm-á:-jíd-ù* *q-á:-wá:l-dʒ*
 COORD.CONJ sugar/SW TEMP-1.SG-arrive-VEN AFF-1.SG-cook-FS

'and sugar, when I returned I cooked'

00:00:44.613-00:00:47.652

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_04

bídʒól-ò:-d *à:* *g-é:-lé:-dʒì*
 porridge-PS.SG-SS.SG COORD.CONJ AFF-1.PL-drink-FS

'porridge and then ate'

00:00:47.652-00:00:50.820

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_05

àsk^wár

afternoon

'In the afternoon'

00:00:50.820-00:00:52.871

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_06

g-í-dá:-wá:l

hám-ì-t

à:

g-é:-já-dzì

AFF-FUT-1.SG-cook ugali-PS.SG-SS.SG

COORD.CONJ

AFF-1.PL-eat-FS

'I will cook and then we will eat.'

00:00:52.871-00:00:56.062

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_07

fìjád-d

ání:n

g-ì-dáw

bár-ò:d

afternoon-PS.SG

1.SG.PRO

AFF-FUT-1.SG:go

farm NMLZ

'In the afternoon I will go to farm. Shing'ad is afternoon.'

00:00:56.062-00:00:58.659

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_08

dó

dá-bár

gákán-í-d

ùk^w-é:-d-èɲ

come:1.SG

1.SG-farm

hoe-PS.SG-SS.SG

field-PS.SG-SS.SG-1.SG.POSS

'To go to cultivate my field.'

00:00:58.659-00:01:01.905

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_09

àm-á:-bí:g-ù

TEMP-1.SG-return-VEN

'When I return.'

00:01:01.905-00:01:04.060

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_10

g-idz-é:-wòstf-é:n

à:

g-é:-jágìstf-ì

AFF-FUT-1.PL-cook

COORD.CONJ

AFF-1.PL-eat-FS

'We will cook and then we will eat'

00:01:04.060-00:01:07.592

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_11

àm-ì-jít *g-é:-wà-j* *é:-lil*
TEMP-2.SG-arrive:ITV AFF-1.PL-go-FS 1.PL-sleep
'Then we go to sleep'
00:01:07.592-00:01:10.439

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_12

mútf *sáktàj-d*
tomorrow morning-SS.SG
'Tomorrow morning'
00:01:10.439-00:01:13.192

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_13

g-ì-dá-ηέ.t *à:* *g-áw* *q^wèη-g*
AFF-FUT-1.SG-wake COORD.CONJ AFF-go firewood-SS.PL
'I will wake up and go (to cut) firewood'
00:01:13.192-00:01:16.230

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_14

àm-á:-bí:g-ù
TEMP-1.SG-return-VEN
'When I return'
00:01:16.230-00:01:18.307

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_15

q-à:-wùŋ *dà-rám* *bè:-g*
AFF-1.SG-come.FS 1.SG-fetch water-SS.PL
'I go to fetch water.'
00:01:18.307-00:01:20.670

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_16

à: *g-é:-wóstf*
COORD.CONJ AFF-1.PL-cook
'Then we cook'
00:01:20.670-00:01:22.566

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_17

g-é:-jágìstf-í

AFF-1.PL-eat-FS

'we eat'

00:01:22.566-00:01:24.566

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_18

àsk^wár g-ídǔ-é:-fúf

afternoon AFF-FUT-1.PL-relax

'We will relax in the afternoon'

00:01:24.566-00:01:27.708

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_19

à: múg-d hà q-à-ηé:t gádí-ó:dǔí-g
COORD.CONJ sun.set-ITV well AFF-3-begin work-PS.PL-SS.PL

gáhàr

home.SG

'When the sun sets, the housework will begin.'

00:01:27.708-00:01:31.447

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_20

ì:-q-ǝ-jíd àgìstf-ó:d

COND-AFF-3-arrive eat-NMLZ

'when we finishing eating'

00:01:31.447-00:01:34.205

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_21

g-è:-wà rùwáη-g g-è:-lìl-dǔì

AFF-1.PL-go place.to.sleep-SS.PL AFF-1.PL-sleep-FS

'we go to sleep.'

00:01:34.205-00:01:37.321

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_22

g-á-gásgág^w às-é:-t rùwáη-g è:-lìl

AFF-3-grant God-PS.SG-SS.SG place.to.sleep-SS.PL 1.PL-sleep

'We pray that God gives us rest (usingizi) so that we sleep.'

00:01:37.321-00:01:40.775

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_23

ì-g-ó-mútʃ-à

FUT-AFF-3-tomorrow-PERF

'When the sun rises'

00:01:40.775-00:01:42.723

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_24

gí:gáb bárb-án-d dʒá q-à-ɲúl gùʃá g-^wá-sìn
each person-PS.SG-SS.SG POSS.V AFF-3-see again AFF-3-do

'Each person will see the things that they will do.'

00:01:42.723-00:01:47.449

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_25

g-^wá-nd bá:-t èn-d
AFF-3-COP trip-SS.SG river-SS.SG

'There is going to the river.'

00:01:47.449-00:01:50.591

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_26

g-^wá-nd bá:-t ɲáɲ-ì:-d
AFF-3-COP trip-SS.SG vegetable-PS.SG-SS.SG

'There is going to cut vegetables'

00:01:50.591-00:01:52.643

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_27

g-^wá-nd bá:-t q^wèŋ-g
AFF-3-COP trip-SS.SG firewood-SS.PL

'There is going to fetch firewood'

00:01:52.643-00:01:54.954

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_28

g-^wá-nd bá:-t ɲáf-ò:d
AFF-3-COP trip-SS.SG grind-NMLZ

'There is going to hull/grind flour.'

00:01:54.954-00:01:57.269

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_29

sù *sé.nín* *g-ídʒ-é:-sìn*
PROX.DEM.PL.PRO all AFF-FUT-1.PL-do
'All of this work we will do.'
00:01:57.269-00:01:59.840

IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01_30

às-é:-d *m-í:-q-^wà-fìŋ*
today-PS.SG-SS.SG NEG-FUT-AFF-3-delay
'Today we can't avoid doing this work.'
00:01:59.840-00:02:02.125

TEXT 2

IGS02292017-3-16#12_01
Speaker 1: *àní.n* *q-à:-wàs-tf* *q-ó-fìŋ*
1.SG.PRO AFF-1.SG-COP-FS AFF-3-delay
'Me, I'm called Qoshinya'
00:00:01.340-00:00:03.063

IGS02292017-3-16#12_02
Speaker 1: *gàbà* *gìnájé:d*
PREP.POSSD Ginayeeda
'Of Ginaye'
00:00:03.851-00:00:05.319

IGS02292017-3-16#12_03
Speaker 1: *gáb* *àgè:d-é:-g*
PREP.POSSD hadzabe-PS.PL-SS.PL
'Of the Hadzabe'
00:00:05.851-00:00:07.000

IGS02292017-3-16#12_04
 Speaker 1: *ák ájí:ñí: màrà*
 and.so 2.SG.PRO mother/SW
 'And you, mama'
 00:00:08.829-00:00:10.127

IGS02292017-3-16#12_05
 Speaker 2: *àní.n q-à:-wàs-tf mártá è:-d qámàr*
 1.SG.PRO AFF-1.SG-COP-FS Martha place-SS.SG Qamar
 'Me, I'm Martha Qamara'
 00:00:10.531-00:00:12.531

IGS02292017-3-16#12_06
 Speaker 2: *qámàr gàb gídwi:d bá: qàhó:g*
 Qamar POSSD.COP Gidawida POSS Qahooga
 'Qamara is of Gidawida, of the Qahoga clan'
 00:00:12.659-00:00:14.595

IGS02292017-3-16#12_07
 Speaker 1: *qáj ágó:g ì:j-ó:-hét-ù*
 old.times 2.PL.PRO COND-2.PL-grow.up-VEN
gó:-nd-áw múr-é:-d qáj
 AFF-2.PL-COP-POSS respect-PS.SG-SS.SG or
m-ó:-nd-áw-á:-ní
 NEG-2.PL-COP-POSS-AM.VEN
 'So you all, did you used to have respect in the past, or you didn't have
 it?'
 00:00:17.419-00:00:21.497

IGS02292017-3-16#12_08

Speaker 2: *í: àsé:s múr-é:-d g-è:-nd-àw*
oh 1.PL.PRO respect-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-1.PL-COP-POSS
dìjá
a.lot
'Oh! We had a lot of respect'
00:00:22.072-00:00:24.043

IGS02292017-3-16#12_09

Speaker 2: *àb gídàb qámá-t-àŋ^w g-í:-g-^wá-rúŋn-ò:ŋ*
PREP reason mother-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS AFF-FUT-AFF-3-tell-2.SG.O
ŋàf-án-d á: hánàn
word-PS.SG-SS.SG COORD.CONJ well
g-í:-g-^wá-rúŋn-ò:ŋ á:
AFF-FUT-AFF-3-tell-2.SG.O COORD.CONJ
m-ì-jèf á: g-ì-sí.n-dì
NEG-2.SG-tell COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-be.silent-ITV-FS
'Because your mother will tell you something bad and you won't answer,
you will be silent'
00:00:24.870-00:00:30.142

IGS02292017-3-16#12_10

Speaker 2: *g-ì-sí.n-d ár í:-wón à:*
AFF-2.SG-be.silent-ITV even COND-come COORD.CONJ
q-á-bár-è:ŋ hánán g-ì-sí.n-dì
AFF-3-hit-2.SG.O well AFF-2.SG-be.silent-ITV
'You are silent even if she comes to hit you, you are still silent'
00:00:31.078-00:00:33.991

IGS02292017-3-16#12_11

Speaker 2: *gà qámn dzáf-t í:s g-í-jèf*
PREP.POSSD.PL now child-SS.SG often AFF-2.SG-tell
dzáf-t dzé:rà à:
child-SS.SG oh.goodness COORD.CONJ
q-á-ńúl-àn-è:n qàŋ-d háw díjá
AFF-3-see-OBL-2.SG.O eye-SS.SG big a.lot
'Children these days if you tell a child something they look at you with
bad eyes'
00:00:34.755-00:00:38.393

IGS02292017-3-16#12_12

Speaker 2: *dzáf-t mánàŋ há: m-á-núŋ àr g"àŋ-é:-k*
child-SS.SG small well NEG-3-let even year-PS.PL-SS.PL
mánúŋ g-á-gàn
not.yet AFF-3-take
'A small child, of very few years'
00:00:38.648-00:00:42.850

IGS02292017-3-16#12_13

Speaker 2: *há qámn àŋí.ŋ qámn g-í-hè:dó:-dz-à*
well now 2.SG.PRO now AFF-2.SG-be.big-FS-PERF
'You, now you have grown'
00:00:43.233-00:00:46.297

IGS02292017-3-16#12_14

Speaker 1: *à: è:d g-á:-rúŋŋ-ò:n*
COORD.CONJ place-SS.SG AFF-1.SG-tell-2.SG.O
ŋàf-án-d g-í-ńárè::s-í à:
word-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-2.SG-be.angry-FS COORD.CONJ
wí:l lás-à:n mádàq
look.for hit-1.SG freely
'I'd tell you something, but you'd get mad until you want to hit me'
00:00:46.531-00:00:50.634

IGS02292017-3-16#12_15
 Speaker 2: à: q-á:-wás-tf qámá-t-àŋ^w
 COORD.CONJ AFF-1.SG-COP-FS mother-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS
 'When I was your mother'
 00:00:50.655-00:00:51.979

IGS02292017-3-16#12_16
 Speaker 2: í:-ŋúl-àj qámn ŋàf-án=ní àbé:d
 COND-see-PLUR now word-PS.SG=PROX.DEM that.time
 í:s g-ó:-sìŋ à: g-ó-jè:ŋ
 often AFF-2.PL-do:FS COORD.CONJ AFF-2.PL-think
 g-ó-jè:ŋ g-è:-sìŋ ŋàf-àn-d mí:j
 AFF-2.PL-think AFF-1.PL-do:FS word-PS.SG-SS.SG good
 'If you look at this thing, often you think you have done something good'
 00:00:52.128-00:00:56.299

IGS02292017-3-16#12_17
 Speaker 1: m-è:-sìn ŋàf-án-d mí:j
 NEG-1.PL-do word-PS.SG-SS.SG good
 'You don't do well'

Speaker 2: ák ŋàf-án-d
 and.so word-PS.SG-SS.SG
 ì:j-á:-rúŋn-ò:ŋ à: g-í-nàl
 COND-1.SG-tell-2.SG.O COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-know
 dàb q-à:-wàs-tf háw g-à:-nd
 reason AFF-1.SG-COP-FS big AFF-1.SG-COP
 mád-è:-d-àŋú
 front-PS.SG-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS
 'This thing, if I do it and you know, me I'm an elder and I am in front of
 you, I'm ahead of you in years'
 00:00:56.745-00:01:01.980

- IGS02292017-3-16#12_18
 Speaker 2: *ńdí m-í-sì.n-d-à.ní*
 yes/SW NEG-2.SG-be.silent-ITV-AM.VEN
 'Yes, why wouldn't you be silent?'
 00:01:02.001-00:01:03.383
- IGS02292017-3-16#12_19
 Speaker 2: *áw sí-mán-à.n bà:-t gídàb àní.n*
 or/SW IMPERS-leave-1.SG trip-SS.SG reason 1.SG.PRO
 'Or your answer is to leave, that me'
 00:01:03.617-00:01:06.119
- IGS02292017-3-16#12_20
 Speaker 2: *à-páng-án áb ú:-d-àŋ^w gídàb*
 2.SG-plan-OBL/SW PREP head-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS reason
àní.n g-í-dà-w
 1.SG.PRO AFF-FUT-1.SG-go
 'You plan in your head that you want me to leave'
 00:01:06.140-00:01:08.493
- IGS02292017-3-16#12_21
 Speaker 2: *à: g-ì-ŋé:d à-màn-á.n*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-begin 2.SG-leave-1.SG
 'And you start to leave me'
 00:01:09.068-00:01:10.280
- IGS02292017-3-16#12_22
 Speaker 2: *àb gídàb g-í:-g-ád-dà-làs-é:n*
 PREP reason AFF-FUT-AFF-PERS-1.SG-hit-2.SG.O
 'Because you will make me hit you'
 00:01:10.301-00:01:11.907

IGS02292017-3-16#12_23
 Speaker 2: *gà qámn dzàf-t*
 POSSD.PRO.PL now child-SS.SG
í:-làs g-á-gál hídzì
 COND-hit AFF-3-head.towards PROX.LOC.PRO
 'Children these days, if you hit them they come here'
 00:01:12.631-00:01:14.737

IGS02292017-3-16#12_24
 Speaker 2: *í:-ηúl-àj ní ηáf-àn-dá*
 COND-see-PLUR PROX.DEM.PRO word-PS.SG-SS.SG/COP
 'If you look at it, it is a problem'
 00:01:14.992-00:01:16.545

IGS02292017-3-16#12_25
 Speaker 1: *mì:sáwá ηáf-án-d*
 NEG.COP word-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'It's not a (good) thing '

Speaker 2: *gá mùr-è:-dá*
 POSSD.PRO.PL respect-PS.PL-SS.SG/COP
 'Is it respectful?'
 00:01:17.482-00:01:20.240

IGS02292017-3-16#12_26

Speaker 1: *ʔaʔa mi:sáwá múr-é:-d*
no NEG.COP respect-PS.SG-SS.SG
'It's not respect'

Speaker 2: *mùr-é:-d ásé:s*
respect-PS.SG-SS.SG 1.PL.PRO

qáj í:s í:-báló:l-sì:n-è:n
old.times often COND-discuss-TERM-2.SG.O

qámá-t-àŋ^w g-ì-sí:n-dì
mother-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS AFF-2.SG-be.silent-ITV

'Our respect in the old days is that if your mother criticizes you, you are quiet'

00:01:20.803-00:01:25.249

IGS02292017-3-16#12_27

Speaker 2: *g-ì-sí:n-d ŋúl àr ñàŋ m-ì-ŋúl*
AFF-2.SG-be.silent-ITV see even earth NEG-2.SG-see
'You are quiet and look down, you don't look at her'

00:01:25.760-00:01:27.718

IGS02292017-3-16#12_28

Speaker 2: *áw q-ó-n à: q-á-bár-è:n*
or.SW AFF-3-come COORD.CONJ AFF-3-hit-2.SG
'Or they should come and then she hits you'

00:01:28.356-00:01:29.899

IGS02292017-3-16#12_29

Speaker 2: *g-à-mùk-sí.n-é:n* *á:*
AFF-3-continue-TERM-2.SG COORD.CONJ
m-í-ηùl *àr* *ηùl-ó:d* *á:*
NEG-2.SG-see even see-NMLZ COORD.CONJ
í:-ηè:d *à:* *g-í-jàm*
COND-begin COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-turn.around
g-é:w *à:* *g-ì-sí.n-d*
REFL.PRO.SG COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-be.silent-ITV
gítfàj
again
'She hits you and even if you look, you won't look at her, you get up
and turn around and are just quiet'
00:01:29.920-00:01:34.933

IGS02292017-3-16#12_30

Speaker 2: *ηí.η* *qámn* *g-ì-nd* *qè* *sí:-d*
2.SG.PRO now AFF-2.SG-COP at person-SS.SG
ηí.ηí
2.SG.PRO
'You now, you are with people'
00:01:36.167-00:01:37.745

IGS02292017-3-16#12_31

Speaker 2: *à:* *q^wàdé:p* *g-^wà-jèf-n-ò:n* *ár*
COORD.CONJ maybe AFF-3-tell-VEN-2.SG.O even
qàmà-t *qè* *sí:-d* *í:já* *nà* *ní*
mother-SS.SG at person-SS.SG mother what PROX.DEM.PRO
g-á-wúrdz *g-á-wúrdz* *g-á-wúrdz*
AFF-3-resemble AFF-3-resemble AFF-3-resemble
dà:dín *à:* *dà:dín*
thing COORD.CONJ thing
'The mother of a person...' 'Mother, it's like this and this and this, and there
is this and that.'
00:01:37.894-00:01:42.348

IGS02292017-3-16#12_32
 Speaker 2: *g-i-jèf* *qé*
 AFF-2.SG-tell oh!
 "You will tell them "No!"
 00:01:42.624-00:01:43.603

IGS02292017-3-16#12_33
 Speaker 2: *qàmà-t* *ásimdɜ-é:-g* *há* *í:s* *qàɲ*
 mother-SS.SG asimjeeg-PS.PL-SS.PL well often or
g-^wà-rúŋ-n-á.n.à
 AFF-3-tell-VEN-1.SG:what
 'This Asimjeeg mama will tell me what'
 00:01:43.731-00:01:45.924

IGS02292017-3-16#12_34
 Speaker 2: *g-í-ŋé:d* *à:* *g-í-làdɜ* *mó:l*
 AFF-2.SG-begin COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-cut finger
à: *g-ú-wí*
 COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-go
 'You start to deceive her and leave'
 00:01:46.446-00:01:48.106

IGS02292017-3-16#12_35
 Speaker 2: *ní* *mùr-è:-dá*
 PROX.DEM.PRO respect-PS.PL-SS.SG/COP
 'This is respect?'
 00:01:48.255-00:01:49.340

IGS02292017-3-16#12_36
 Speaker 1: *mì:sáwá mür-é:-d*
 NEG.COP respect-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'It's not respect.'

Speaker 2: *há í:s í:j-ó-nd qé*
 well often COND-3-COPat
sí:-d sí:-d g-^wá-sìn mür-é:-d
 person-SS.SG person-SS.SG AFF-3-do respect-PS.SG-SS.SG
 'Well, if a person is with people, they should be respectful'
 00:01:49.744-00:01:53.058

IGS02292017-3-16#12_37
 Speaker 2: *qàmà-t qé sí:-d í:-rún-n-ò:n*
 mother-SS.SG at person-SS.SG COND-tell-VEN-2.SG.O
ηàf-án-d g-í-pàspás-à:d gé:w
 word-PS.SG-SS.SG AFF-2.SG-crouch-AM.ITV REFL.PRO.SG
à: g-ú-wí
 COORD.CONJ AFF-2.SG-go
 'A mother of people, if she tells you something, you lower yourself and leave'
 00:01:53.228-00:01:56.675

IGS02292017-3-16#12_38
 Speaker 2: *àsé:s gí-d qáj sù-wùrdz-è:w-í*
 1.PL.PRO thing-SS.SG old.times 1.PL-resemble-LOC-FS
 'This is how we were'
 00:01:56.845-00:01:58.739

IGS02292017-3-16#12_39
 Speaker 2: *àgó:g qámn à: m-à-nd-án*
 2.PL.PRO now COORD.CONJ NEG-3-COP-OBL
 'With you all now there isn't anything'
 00:01:58.973-00:02:00.483

IGS02292017-3-16#12_40

Speaker 2: *í:s g-è:-rùg-s sí:-d ηáf-án-d*
often AFF-IMPERS-tell-TERM person-SS.SG word-PS.SG-SS.SG
à: í q-^wà-dàs-à:-d ηáj
COORD.CONJ oh AFF-3-kick-AM.ITV earth
g-í-jén q-á-ηát pórásáj-àn-d
AFF-2.SG-think AFF-3-pass:ITV police-PS.SG-SS.SG/SW
áb mád-è:-d-àη^w
PREP front-PS.SG-SS.SG-2.SG.POSS
'Often a person is told something and then they pass like parade, you will think a soldier is passing in front of you'
00:02:01.483-00:02:06.358

IGS02292017-3-16#12_41

Speaker 2: *à: g-^wà-dzáw qámá-t qè sí:-d*
COORD.CONJ AFF-3-fear mother-SS.SG at person-SS.SG
gìdàb í:
reason oh
'Until a mother of people will be afraid that...oh!'
00:02:07.550-00:02:09.507

IGS02292017-3-16#12_42

Speaker 2: *ák ání:n dzé:b g-í-q-ò-té:l ηáhà*
and.so 1.SG.PRO child.REF AFF-FUT-AFF-3-avoid who
'And me...who can this child avoid?'
00:02:09.614-00:02:11.528

IGS02292017-3-16#12_43

Speaker 2: *à: ì:j-à:-té:l-dz q-à-ηùl-àn-a:n*
COORD.CONJ COND-1.SG-avoid-FS AFF-3-see-OBL-1.SG
qàη-d-éη ná qàη
eye-SS.SG-1.SG.POSS what or
'And if I avoid them, they will look at me in my eye, or...'
00:02:11.805-00:02:15.635

APPENDIX C: LEXICON

/a/

- à:** *CONJ* . English: and/with [Swahili: *na, halafu*]
á:d ì:t *V Class I* . English: announce [Swahili: *toa taarifa, tangaza*]
à:ɲáw *V Class II, -ATR* . English: insult (v) [Swahili: *tukana*]
à:sáhà *PARTCL* . English: ok [Swahili: *haya, sawa*]
àb *PREP* . English: to, for [Swahili: *kwa*]
àb àwòdʒís / àb àwòsídʒ *ADV.PHRASE* . English: the past [Swahili: *siku zilizopita*]
àb gídàb *CONJ.PHRASE* . English: because [Swahili: *kwa sababu*]
àb hídʒ(i) *ADV.PHRASE* . English: now, at that time [Swahili: *kwa sasa, sasa, hapo*]
àb hùmà *ADV.PHRASE* . English: truly [Swahili: *kwa kweli*]
àb nàhá / àb nà *QUEST.PHRASE* . English: why [Swahili: *kwa nini*]
àb úrd *ADV* . English: forcefully [Swahili: *kwa nguvu*]
àbál *V Class II, +ATR* . English: possess s.th., want s.th. [Swahili: *miliki, taka*]
àbál gé:w *V Class II, +ATR* . English: lead or manage oneself [Swahili: *jitawala*]
àbàlásk *N PL* . English: cockroaches [Swahili: *mende*]
àbàlàstfánd *N SG* . English: cockroach [Swahili: *mende*]
àbé:l *V* . English: be crazy [Swahili: *kuwa kicha*]
àbé:dà *V Class II, -ATR, ITV* . English: fall [Swahili: *anguka*]
àbí:dàn *V Class II, +ATR* . English: dwell/stay [Swahili: *kaa*]
àbí:dàn ù:d bé:g *V Class II, +ATR* . English: float [Swahili: *elea*]
àbìjé:d *N SG* . English: hyena [Swahili: *fisi*]
àbìjòdʒíg *N PL* . English: hyenas [Swahili: *fisi*]
àbín:ì *V Class II, +ATR, VEN* . English: enter (here) [Swahili: *ingia (na uje)*]
àbítà *V Class II, -ATR* . English: enter [Swahili: *ingia (na uende)*]
àbú:s *V Class II, +ATR* . English: sweep [Swahili: *fagia*]
àbú:s úk^wè:d *V Class II, +ATR* . English: collect leaves of the field [Swahili: *fagia shamba*]
àbùrwánd *N SG* . English: flea [Swahili: *kiroboto*]
àbùrwé:g *N PL* . English: fleas [Swahili: *viroboto*]
àbùsk^wánd *N SG* . English: branch with thorns used close off an entrance the boma (in place of a door) [Swahili: *sanzu ya mlango wa boma*]
àbùsk^wápèk *N PL* . English: branches with thorns used close off an entrance the boma (in place of a door) [Swahili: *sanzu za mlango wa boma*]
àbút dʒé:d *V.PHRASE Class II, +ATR* . English: dip [Swahili: *zamisha*]
àdàrámfè:n *V Class II, +ATR* . English: succeed [Swahili: *shinda*]
àdárnì *V Class II, +ATR, VEN* . English: spread (here) [Swahili: *sambaa (na uje)*]
àdéptà *V Class II, -ATR* . English: translate [Swahili: *tafsiri*]
àdʒì:lá:dà *V Class II, +ATR, AM, ITV* .

English: go slowly (there) [Swahili: *fanya taratibu (na uende)*]

àdʒì:lá:nì *V Class II, +ATR*. English: go slowly (here) [Swahili: *fanya taratibu (na uje)*]

àdʒì:lé:sì:n *V Class II, +ATR*. English: go slowly [Swahili: *fanya taratibu*]

àdʒìnòdíng *N PL*. English: elder (female) [Swahili: *mzee wa kike*]

àdʒìnòtʃánd *N SG*. English: elder (female) [Swahili: *mzee wa kike*]

àdʒú *QUEST*. English: when [Swahili: *lini*]

àfká:d *V Class II, +ATR*. English: remember [Swahili: *kumbuka*]

àftá:dà *V Class II, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: sit [Swahili: *kaa*]

ág / jág *V Class I, -ATR*. English: eat [Swahili: *kula*]

ág rárg *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: laugh [Swahili: *cheka*]

àgèdé:g *N PL*. English: Hadzabe people [Swahili: *Watindiga*]

àgì:ràdʒé:g *N PL*. English: monitor lizards [Swahili: *kenge*]

àgì:réd *N SG*. English: monitor lizard [Swahili: *kenge*]

àgístʃè:n *V Class II, +ATR*. English: eat [Swahili: *kula*]

àgìt úùd *N SG*. English: headache [Swahili: *kuumwa na kichwa*]

àgìt wéng *N PL*. English: headaches [Swahili: *kuumwa na kichwa*]

àgó:gà / àg'é:gà *PRO*. English: you.PL [Swahili: *ninyi*]

àgújèn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: join [Swahili: *jiunga*]

àgʷàdʒá:nd *N SG*. English: corn [Swahili: *mahindi*]

àgʷàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: corn [Swahili: *mahindi*]

àgʷàdʒé:w *N SG*. English: father in law [Swahili: *baba mke*]

àhá:qʷàn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: domesticate, herd livestock [Swahili: *fuga, chungu*]

àhá:b géjód *V Class II, +ATR*. English: heal, cure [Swahili: *ponya ugonjwa*]

àhád gáwínd *V Class II, +ATR*. English: lengthen [Swahili: *ongeza urefu*]

àhájda *V Class II, +ATR, ITV*. English: breathe [Swahili: *hema / vuta pumzi*]

àhàṅháj *V Class II, +ATR*. English: pant [Swahili: *tweta*]

àhàṅó:j *V Class II, +ATR*. English: harden [Swahili: *fanya ngumu*]

àhàré:r *V Class II, +ATR*. English: angry speech directed at an animal [Swahili: *kumbandishia mori mnyama yeyote*]

àhél:è:n *V Class II, +ATR*. English: divide [Swahili: *tenganisha*]

àhí:d *V Class II, -ATR*. English: finish [Swahili: *maliza*]

àhí:l *V Class II, -ATR*. English: faint [Swahili: *zimia*]

àhítà *V Class II, -ATR*. English: arrive [Swahili: *fika (na uende)*]

àhó:d *V Class II, -ATR*. English: sweat [Swahili: *tokwa jasho*]

àhóqda *V Class II, -ATR, ITV*. English: tell, recount (story) [Swahili: *simulia hadithi*]

àjàwúd *V Class II, +ATR*. English: cry, weep [Swahili: *lia*]

àjéj *V Class II, +ATR*. English: stand [Swahili: *simama*]

àjí:dà (àhí:dà) *V Class II, -ATR*. English: pour [Swahili: *mimina*]

àjí:mdà <i>V Class II, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: indicate, point (as with the finger) [Swahili: <i>onyesha</i>]	[Swahili: <i>okota</i>]
àjí:mmì <i>V Class II, -ATR, VEN</i> . English: indicate, point (as with the finger) [Swahili: <i>onyesha</i>]	àl:á:dɔ <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: borrow [Swahili: <i>kopa</i>]
àjìbdà <i>V Class II, +ATR, ITV</i> . English: make s.th. drown [Swahili: <i>zamisha</i>]	àl:àlá:dɔ <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: boil s.th. [Swahili: <i>chemsha</i>]
àk qámm <i>ADV.PHRASE</i> . English: now, so? [Swahili: <i>sasa, kwa hiyo</i>]	àl:áqdà <i>V Class II, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: lend [Swahili: <i>kopesha</i>]
àkàlélé / ák / (àqàlélé) <i>NUM</i> . English: one [Swahili: <i>moja</i>]	àl:é:l <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: winnow [Swahili: <i>pembua, pepeta</i>]
àkàtjé:wàn <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: greet [Swahili: <i>salimia</i>]	àlúl <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: invite, announce [Swahili: <i>alika, tangaza</i>]
àkés <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: vomit [Swahili: <i>tapika</i>]	àmáldà <i>V Class II, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: fold [Swahili: <i>funua</i>]
àkújèn <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: mix [Swahili: <i>changanya</i>]	àmàrì:jíd <i>N SG</i> . English: a shawl used to carry a child [Swahili: <i>shuka la kumbebea mtoto</i>]
àkúl <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: make noise, sound the alarm [Swahili: <i>piga yowe, piga kelele</i>]	àmèṅ^wméṅ^wàn <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: polish [Swahili: <i>ng'arisha</i>]
àkúl: <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: make noise [Swahili: <i>piga yowe, piga kelele</i>]	àmìsmís <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: blink [Swahili: <i>kupepesa</i>]
àk^wál <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: wear clothes [Swahili: <i>vaa</i>]	àmìsmís qá:jùṅg <i>V.PHRASE Class II, +ATR</i> . English: blink [Swahili: <i>pepesa macho</i>]
àlàjís:d <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: listen [Swahili: <i>sikiza / sikiliza</i>]	àmùqúf <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: store up, gather [Swahili: <i>rundika, kusanya</i>]
àlàndzè:d <i>N SG</i> . English: property, thing [Swahili: <i>mali, kitu</i>]	àn bábók <i>N PL</i> . English: father's younger brother [Swahili: <i>baba mdogo</i>]
àlàndzòdžíg <i>N PL</i> . English: properties, things [Swahili: <i>mali, vitu</i>]	àn qámòb <i>N PL</i> . English: paternal aunts [Swahili: <i>shangazi</i>]
àlàq^wènánd <i>N SG</i> . English: thorn [Swahili: <i>mwiba</i>]	àn qònd mánàṅ <i>N PL</i> . English: father's younger brothers [Swahili: <i>baba mdogo</i>]
àlàq^wéng <i>N PL</i> . English: thorns [Swahili: <i>mūba</i>]	àná:jén gé:w <i>V.PHRASE Class II, -ATR</i> . English: mumble [Swahili: <i>babaika</i>]
àlátjè:n <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: divide [Swahili: <i>tenganisha</i>]	àná:l <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: teach [Swahili: <i>fundisha / funza</i>]
àlím <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: pick up	àná:mán gé:w <i>V.PHRASE Class II, -ATR</i> . English: avoid [Swahili: <i>-epuka</i>]
	ándámànd <i>PHRASE</i> . English: what time? [Swahili: <i>kipindi gani?</i>]

àné:dà <i>QUEST</i> . English: which [Swahili: <i>gani, ipi</i>]	[Swahili: <i>panua</i>]
àní:nì <i>PRO</i> . English: Me, I [Swahili: <i>mimi</i>]	àpàrá qùt <i>V.PHRASE Class II, -ATR</i> . English: yawn [Swahili: <i>piga miayo</i>]
àn:á:l gè:w <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: learn [Swahili: <i>jifunza</i>]	àpàrdà <i>V Class II, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: ask, request [Swahili: <i>uliza</i>]
àn:àwésìn <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: tun around [Swahili: <i>zungusha</i>]	àpàrgí:d <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: flatten [Swahili: <i>fanya bapa</i>]
àn:í <i>V Class II, +ATR, VEN</i> . English: bring [Swahili: <i>leta</i>]	àpàrój <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: peel, shell [Swahili: <i>menya (mahindi, get), bangua</i>]
àn:wás <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: shorten [Swahili: <i>fupisha</i>]	àpé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: anus [Swahili: <i>mkundu</i>]
àno:g <i>N PL</i> . English: milk [Swahili: <i>maziwa</i>]	àpé:g <i>N SG</i> . English: buttocks [Swahili: <i>tako</i>]
ànò:g lá:làtʃ <i>N PL</i> . English: boiled milk (hot) [Swahili: <i>mikundu</i>]	àpéng <i>N PL</i> . English: anuses [Swahili: <i>mikundu</i>]
[Swahili: <i>mazima yameyochemka (moto)</i>]	àpèlbél <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: loosen [Swahili: <i>fundua, legeza</i>]
ànò:g síwól <i>N PL</i> . English: boiled milk (cold) [Swahili: <i>maziwa yaliyochemshwa (baridi)</i>]	àpòdʒíg <i>N PL</i> . English: buttocks [Swahili: <i>matako</i>]
[Swahili: <i>maziwa yaliyochemshwa (baridi)</i>]	àpùmbún <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: soften [Swahili: <i>fanya nyororo</i>]
ànù <i>QUEST</i> . English: where [Swahili: <i>wapi</i>]	àpúŋnì <i>V Class II, +ATR, VEN</i> . English: beat grain [Swahili: <i>pukuchua</i>]
àpá:ʃ sáré:d <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: snore [Swahili: <i>koroma</i>]	àpúʃ áq*ájd <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: spoil food [Swahili: <i>ozesha chakula</i>]
àpí:d <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: fill [Swahili: <i>jaza</i>]	àqád <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: say goodbye, take leave of [Swahili: <i>aga</i>]
àŋé:d <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: begin [Swahili: <i>anza</i>]	àqàdʒám <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: dry clothes, spread out [Swahili: <i>kausha</i>]
àŋgí:r <i>V Class II, +ATR</i> . English: drag [Swahili: <i>buruta, kokota</i>]	àqájdà <i>V Class II, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: step [Swahili: <i>Piga hatua</i>]
àŋí:nì <i>PRO</i> . English: you.SG [Swahili: <i>wewe</i>]	àqàlé:là:dʒé:g <i>ADJ</i> . English: a few here and there [Swahili: <i>mojamoja</i>]
àŋó:l <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: stir [Swahili: <i>koroga</i>]	àqàʃè:d <i>N SG</i> . English: A large snake that is said to have eaten many Asimjeeg when they were in Someega [Swahili: <i>nyoka mkubwa aliyemaliza Waasimjeega wengi zamani</i>]
àŋó:j <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: catch, hold [Swahili: <i>shika</i>]	àqáwán é:nd <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: cross a river [Swahili: <i>vuka mto</i>]
àŋúnd ŋúʃé:g <i>V.PHRASE Class II, -ATR</i> . English: spit close by [Swahili: <i>tema mate</i>]	àqó:d <i>N SG</i> . English: animal skin [Swahili: <i>nyama</i>]
àŋùŋgúj <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: grumble, complain [Swahili: <i>-nuna / -lalamika</i>]	
àŋ*àn <i>NUM</i> . English: four [Swahili: <i>nne</i>]	
àpàrá <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: widen	

ngozi ya mnyama]

àq^wá:n *V Class II, -ATR*. English: make s.th. turn [Swahili: *pindisha*]

àq^wàdìng ásk^wár *N PL*. English: lunches [Swahili: *chakula cha mchana*]

àq^wàdìng gógàsà *N PL*. English: spoiled food [Swahili: *chakula kinachovunda*]

àq^wàdìng jíjá:dídǵ *N PL*. English: dinners [Swahili: *chakula cha jioni*]

àq^wájǵ *N SG*. English: food [Swahili: *chakula*]

àq^wájǵ ásk^wár *N SG*. English: lunch [Swahili: *chakula cha mchana*]

àq^wájǵ gógàsà *N SG*. English: spoiled food [Swahili: *chakula kinachovunda*]

àq^wájǵ jíjá:d *N SG*. English: dinner [Swahili: *chakula cha jioni*]

àq^wájǵ *N PL*. English: animal skins [Swahili: *ngozi ya mnyama*]

àrá ì:t *V Class II, -ATR*. English: spy [Swahili: *peleleza*]

àráǵ *V*. English: increase [Swahili: *zidi*]

àràrá:ǵdà *V Class II, -ATR, AM, ITV*. English: lower (there) [Swahili: *shusha (na uende), teremsha*]

àràráǵnì *V Class II, +ATR, VEN*. English: lower (here) [Swahili: *shusha (na uje)*]

àràrdǵó:d *N SG*. English: A large snake that is said to have eaten many Asimjeeg when they were in Someega [Swahili: *nyoka mkubwa aliyemaliza Waasimjeega wengi zamani*]

àrdám *NUM*. English: forty [Swahili: *arobaini*]

àrdám à: dámàn *NUM*. English: fifty [Swahili: *hamsini*]

àré:d *V Class II, -ATR*. English: take with force [Swahili: *nyang'anya*]

àré:d bú:dé:g *V Class II, -ATR*. English: braid hair [Swahili: *suka nywele*]

àré:m *V Class II, -ATR*. English: leak [Swahili: *vuja*]

àrí:ǵdà *V*. English: release [Swahili: *toa*]

àró:r è:d íbúǵdàwí *V Class II, +ATR*. English: mark out a plot of land [Swahili: *weka alama (za mpaka)*]

àrópèn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: meet [Swahili: *kutana*]

àróst *N SG*. English: smoke [Swahili: *moshi*]

àróstǵék *N PL*. English: smoke [Swahili: *moshi*]

àrwát *V Class II, +ATR*. English: prophesize (dream) [Swahili: *tabiri (ndoto)*]

àrwátǵ *V Class II, +ATR*. English: hold a meeting [Swahili: *fanya kikao*]

àsàngǵalé:l *V Class II, -ATR*. English: swing [Swahili: *bembea, tundika*]

àsárd bé:g *V Class II, -ATR*. English: spit water [Swahili: *rusha maji*]

àsárd ǵúǵé:g *V Class II, -ATR*. English: spit far away [Swahili: *tema mate kwa kusukuma*]

àsé:d *N SG*. English: today [Swahili: *leo*]

àsé:t *N SG*. English: God, sun, time [Swahili: *mungu, jua, muda*]

àsè:t bá:là *ADV.PHRASE*. English: noon [Swahili: *saa sita mchana*]

àsè:t bárbàr *ADV.PHRASE*. English: noon [Swahili: *saa sita mchana*]

àsètǵánd *N SG*. English: sun [Swahili: *jua*]

àsé:l *V Class II, -ATR*. English: snatch, seize [Swahili: *nyakua*]

àsésè / àsésà *PRO*. English: we/us [Swahili: *sisi*]

àsìmdǵánd *N SG*. English: slave [Swahili: *mtumwa*]

àsìmdǵándùmé:d *N SG*. English: Asimjeeg

culture [Swahili: *Uasimjeega*]
àsìmdzég *N PL*. English: slaves [Swahili: *watumwa*]
àsk^wár *N SG*. English: afternoon [Swahili: *mchana*]
àsk^wàrdzòdzíg *N PL*. English: afternoons [Swahili: *mchana*]
àstfjéw *V Class II, -ATR*. English: belch [Swahili: *cheua*]
àfá:làn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: be finished [Swahili: *isha*]
àfàŋfáŋ *V Class II, -ATR*. English: boil s.th. [Swahili: *pasha*]
àfèdávàn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: lead, guide [Swahili: *-ongoza*]
àfj:p *V Class II, -ATR*. English: diminish [Swahili: *punguza*]
àtárdà *V Class II, -ATR, ITV*. English: spread tr (there) [Swahili: *sambaza (na uende)*]
àtáré:sánì:d *V Class II, -ATR*. English: make smooth [Swahili: *lainisha*]
àtárni *V Class II, -ATR, VEN*. English: spread tr (here) [Swahili: *sambaza (na uje)*]
àtáw *V Class II, -ATR*. English: give [Swahili: *kupa (mpe)*]
àtélni *V Class II, +ATR, VEN*. English: return s.th., avoid s.th. [Swahili: *rudisha*]
àtémfjè:n *V Class II, +ATR*. English: think [Swahili: *fikiri / -waza*]
àté:l *V Class II, -ATR*. English: prevent [Swahili: *zuia*]
àtgùft *V Class II, +ATR*. English: choke [Swahili: *palia*]
àtí:w *V Class II, +ATR*. English: keep/save [Swahili: *hifadhi*]
àtín *V Class II, +ATR*. English: open [Swahili: *fungua*]
àtiná:dà *V Class II, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: escape [Swahili: *ponyoka (na uende)*]
àtiná:nì *V Class II, +ATR, AM, VEN*. English: escape [Swahili: *ponyoka (na uje)*]
àtíŋdà *V Class II, +ATR, ITV*. English: raise, lift (there) [Swahili: *nyanyua, pandisha (na uende)*]
àtíŋnì *V Class II, +ATR, VEN*. English: raise, lift (here) [Swahili: *pandisha (na uje)*]
àtíŋsìn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: load a package [Swahili: *pakiza*]
àtírjá:n *V Class II, +ATR*. English: sneeze [Swahili: *piga chafya*]
àtís *V Class II, +ATR*. English: leave s.o. [Swahili: *mwacha mtu*]
àtò:bíw *V Class II, -ATR*. English: straighten, stretch, accompany [Swahili: *nyoosha, sindikiza*]
àtós *V Class II, -ATR*. English: put s.th. on the head carry [Swahili: *twika*]
àtòndór *V Class II, -ATR*. English: peel, shell [Swahili: *menya (ndizi, maharage, kiasi), bangua*]
àtjágdà *V Class II, +ATR, ITV*. English: send [Swahili: *tuma*]
àtjáv *V Class II, +ATR*. English: threaten [Swahili: *tisha*]
àtjón bàst *V Class II, +ATR*. English: get a burn [Swahili: *choma moto*]
àtj:p *V Class II, -ATR*. English: look at, check out [Swahili: *angalia*]
àtún:i *V Class II, +ATR, VEN*. English: revive [Swahili: *fufua*]
àwè:d *N SG*. English: night [Swahili: *usiku*]
àwé:g *N PL*. English: good health, goodness [Swahili: *uzima*]
àwè:fj:d *V Class II, +ATR*. English: polish [Swahili: *ng'arisha*]

àwè:tfánd *N SG*. English: day [Swahili: *siku*] *ganda la mti*
àwén'g *N PL*. English: nights [Swahili: *usiku*] **bàdàw** *PREP SG*. English: back (of) [Swahili:
àwí:dà *V Class II, +ATR, ITV*. English: *nyuma*
unwrap [Swahili: *kunjua*] **bàdàwúk** *N PL*. English: backs [Swahili:
àwò:dʒíg *N PL*. English: days [Swahili: *siku*] *migongo*
àwó:l ~ àwá:l *V Class II, -ATR*. English: cook **bàdé:d** *N SG*. English: goodness, humanity
[Swahili: *pika*] [Swahili: *utu*]
àwú:n *V Class II, +ATR*. English: wash **bàdílik** *V*. English: change [Swahili:
clothes [Swahili: *fua*] *badilika*
àwú:fèn *V Class II, +ATR*. English: wash, **bàjdá** *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: be kind
bathe [Swahili: *oga*] [Swahili: *hurumia*]

/b/

bà: *V.COP*. English: to be of s.th. [Swahili:
kuwa ya]
bá:s *ADV*. English: well, ok then [Swahili:
basi]
bá:f *V Class I, -ATR*. English: tear [Swahili:
pasua]
bà:fán *V Class I, -ATR*. English: burst
[Swahili: *pasuka*]
bá:t *N SG*. English: speed, trip [Swahili:
mwendo, safari]
bàbók *N SG*. English: father's younger
brother [Swahili: *baba mdogo*]
bád máng *V Class I, +ATR*. English: bow
[Swahili: *sujudu*]
bàdàdg búruṅg *N PL*. English: eggshells
[Swahili: *maganda ya yai*]
bàdàdg gé:díg *N PL*. English: bark [Swahili:
ganda la mti]
bàdáj *N SG*. English: back [Swahili:
mgongo]
bàdàtfánd búrpánd *N SG*. English: eggshell
[Swahili: *ganda la yai*]
bàdàtfánd gé:t *N SG*. English: bark [Swahili:
bàlág *V Class I, +ATR*. English: move away
[Swahili: *hama (na uende)*]
bàláṅd *N SG*. English: salt [Swahili: *chumvi*]
bálang^w *N PL*. English: deserts, salt [Swahili:
jangwa, chumvi]
bàláṅnì *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English:
move away [Swahili: *hama (na uje)*]
bà:ánd *N SG*. English: boy, youth [Swahili:
mvulana, kijana]
bà:òdʒíg *N PL*. English: boys, youth
[Swahili: *wavulana, vijana*]
bàló:l *V Class I, +ATR*. English: chat
[Swahili: *zungumza*]
bàló:ld *N SG*. English: speech [Swahili:
maongezi]
bàmbàl:àdʒánd *N SG*. English: waterfall
[Swahili: *poromoko*]
bàmbàl:àdʒé:g *N PL*. English: waterfalls
[Swahili: *poromoko*]
bàmùk *N PL*. English: brother in law (spoken
by men only) [Swahili: *shemeji*]
bànàjd *N SG*. English: knife [Swahili: *kisu*]
bànánd *N SG*. English: Member of the
Banandi group that the Asimjeeg was
traveling with while migrating, presumably a

- Datooga group. [Swahili: *Banandi*]
- bàrànéd** *N SG*. English: orphan [Swahili: *yatima*]
- bàràńg** *N PL*. English: orphans [Swahili: *yatima*]
- bàràwák** *N PL*. English: knives [Swahili: *visu*]
- bán:** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: circumsize [Swahili: *tahiri*]
- bàpé:g** *N PL*. English: meats [Swahili: *nyama*]
- bár** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: hit, farm [Swahili: *chapa, lima, piga*]
- bár gájòd** *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: swim [Swahili: *ogelea*]
- bár láqáng** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: devine [Swahili: *piga bao*]
- bàràk** *ADJ* *bàràgì*. English: flat [Swahili: *bapa*]
- bàrànd** *N SG*. English: trip [Swahili: *safari*]
- bàràpé:k** *N PL*. English: trips [Swahili: *safari*]
- bàrbàjánd** *N SG*. English: a Barabaiga person [Swahili: *Mbarabaiga*]
- bàrbàj:g** *N PL*. English: Barabaiga people [Swahili: *Wabarabaiga*]
- bàrbánd** *N SG*. English: person [Swahili: *mtu*]
- bàrbár** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: rub, pierce holes into [Swahili: *chua, sugua, pekecha*]
- bàrbàránd** *N SG*. English: poverty [Swahili: *umaskini*]
- bàrdzà:díng** *N PL*. English: quarrels [Swahili: *ugomvi wa kupigana*]
- bàrdzé:d** *N SG*. English: quarrel [Swahili: *ugomvi wa kupigana*]
- bàrdzèén** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: fight [Swahili: *pigana*]
- bàrè:rí** *N SG*. English: clan name of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: *jina la ukoo wa Waasimjeega*]
- bàrgét** *N SG*. English: Name of a river near Someega, and also the name of a historical leader of the Asimjeeg. [Swahili: *Barget*]
- bàríp** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: love [Swahili: *penda*]
- bàríp gíjè:t** *V*. English: love each other [Swahili: *pendana*]
- bàró:d** *N SG*. English: farming [Swahili: *kilimo*]
- bàró:g** *N PL*. English: bark [Swahili: *maganda*]
- bàrsi:n** *V Class I*. English: weed [Swahili: *palilia*]
- bàrsi:n fájé:d** *V Class I*. English: haggle [Swahili: *piga bei*]
- bàrùwàdzánd** *N SG*. English: permission [Swahili: *kibali*]
- bàsá:t** *ADJ* *bàsáádì*. English: be thin [Swahili: *embamba*]
- bàsábás** *V Class I*. English: be shy [Swahili: *ona aibu*]
- bàsàsé:g** *N PL*. English: shyness [Swahili: *aibu*]
- bàskè:l** *N SG*. English: bicycle [Swahili: *baiskeli*]
- bàskè:ràdzánd** *N SG*. English: bicycle [Swahili: *baiskeli*]
- bàskùmàdzánd** *N SG*. English: Sukuma person [Swahili: *Msukuma*]
- bàskùmàdzé:g** *N PL*. English: Sukuma people [Swahili: *Wasukuma*]
- bàsk^wé:g** *N PL*. English: oceans [Swahili: *bahari*]
- bàsò:d** *N SG*. English: lake [Swahili: *ziwa*]
- bàst** *N SG*. English: fire, cattle brand

[Swahili: *moto, chapa*]
bàstfè:k *N PL*. English: fires, cattle brands [Swahili: *mioto, chapa*]
báf *V Class I, -ATR*. English: dig [Swahili: *chimba*]
bàfò:d sírótf *N SG*. English: bedroom [Swahili: *chumba cha kulala*]
bàfód *N SG*. English: room [Swahili: *chumba*]
bàfón'g *N PL*. English: rooms [Swahili: *vyumba*]
bàfòn'g sírótf *N PL*. English: bedrooms [Swahili: *vyumba vya kulala*]
bàtáwí:n gé:w *V Class I, -ATR*. English: lean [Swahili: *egemea*]
bátís *N*. English: baptism [Swahili: *batizo*]
bàtféng *N PL*. English: speeds [Swahili: *mwendo*]
bè:g *N PL*. English: water [Swahili: *maji*]
bè:fák *N PL*. English: elephants [Swahili: *tembo*]
bèjàdzánd *N SG*. English: wood [Swahili: *mti / ubao*]
bèjàdžé:g *N PL*. English: wood [Swahili: *miti / bao*]
bèjònèd róqd *N SG*. English: hunting stick (used for balance and for starting fires and for carrying quivers) [Swahili: *fimbo ya podo (mbogosho)*]
bèjòng róqák *N PL*. English: hunting sticks (used for balance and for starting fires and for carrying quivers) [Swahili: *fimbo za podo (mibogosho)*]
béft *N SG*. English: elephant [Swahili: *tembo*]
bé:f *V Class I, -ATR*. English: cook (corn/meat) [Swahili: *choma*]
bí:d *V Class I, +ATR*. English: live [Swahili: *ishi*]

bíd *V Class I*. English: pick or harvest fruit [Swahili: *vuna, chuma matunda*]
bìjàndží:d *N SG*. English: Member of the Biyanjida group [Swahili: *Biyanjida*]
bíjār *ADV*. English: west [Swahili: *magharibi*]
bíjé:d *N SG*. English: meat [Swahili: *nyama*]
bìjò:né:d *N SG*. English: stick [Swahili: *fimbo*]
bìjòng *N PL*. English: medicine man stick [Swahili: *fimbo za kiganga*]
bìkbík *N SG*. English: motorcycle [Swahili: *pikipiki*]
bìkbìkàdžé:g *N PL*. English: motorcycles [Swahili: *pikipiki*]
bìlá:st *N SG*. English: plastic bucket [Swahili: *ndoo*]
bìlàngíd *N SG*. English: walking stick [Swahili: *fimbo / mkongojo*]
bìlàstàdžé:g *N PL*. English: plastic buckets [Swahili: *ndoo*]
bìlbíla:n *V Class I*. English: be scarce [Swahili: *adimika*]
bìrbín *V Class I, +ATR*. English: squeeze [Swahili: *bana*]
bìrdžàjánd *N SG*. English: dust [Swahili: *vumbi*]
bìrdžàjànèk *N PL*. English: dust [Swahili: *vumbi*]
bìrgíd *N PL*. English: pus [Swahili: *usaha*]
bìrgìtšánd *N SG*. English: pus [Swahili: *usaha*]
bírr *V Class I, +ATR*. English: squeeze [Swahili: *kanda*]
bìsìrdžánd *N SG*. English: bedbug [Swahili: *kunguni*]
bìsìrí:d *N PL*. English: bedbugs [Swahili: *kunguni*]

- bìtǎnd** *N SG*. English: warthog [Swahili: *ngiri*]
- bìtǎk** *N PL*. English: warthogs [Swahili: *ngiri*]
- bóg** *N PL*. English: crops [Swahili: *mazao ya nafaka*]
- bógíd** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: be drunk [Swahili: *lewa*]
- bòlbòl:ánd** *N SG*. English: circle [Swahili: *nviringo*]
- bòlból:è:k** *N PL*. English: circles [Swahili: *nviringo*]
- bòmbàdǎnd** *N SG*. English: water tap [Swahili: *bomba*]
- bórbóré:t** *N SG*. English: a type of tree that bears edible fruit [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
- bòrdǎnd** *N SG*. English: yellow thing [Swahili: (*kitu*) *njano*]
- bòré:g** *N PL*. English: yellow things [Swahili: (*vitu*) *njano*]
- bòwánd** *N SG*. English: crops [Swahili: *mazao ya nafaka*]
- bò:dán** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: shiver, tremble [Swahili: *tetemeka / tapatapa*]
- bú:sà** *N SG*. English: corn alcohol [Swahili: *pombe ya mahindi*]
- bùdàjd** *N SG*. English: joke [Swahili: *utani*]
- bùdánd** *N SG*. English: Hair [Swahili: *nywele*]
- bùdé:g** *N PL*. English: hairs [Swahili: *nywele*]
- bùdúlg** *N PL*. English: fingernails [Swahili: *makucha*]
- bùdùl:ánd** *N SG*. English: fingernail [Swahili: *ukucha*]
- bùdǎbúlg** *N PL*. English: hooves [Swahili: *kwato*]
- bùdǎbúl:éd** *N SG*. English: hoof [Swahili: *kwato*]
- bùgdá** *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: return [Swahili: *rudi (na uende)*]
- bùgèmb** *N SG*. English: millet [Swahili: *wele*]
- bùgèmb** *N SG*. English: a type of food that was eaten before agriculture became common [Swahili: *aina ya chakula cha zamani*]
- bùgèmbàdǎzé:g** *N PL*. English: millet [Swahili: *mawele*]
- bùgò:d** *N SG*. English: small grove [Swahili: *kichaka*]
- bùgò:d áláq^wéng** *N SG*. English: grove of thorny bushes [Swahili: *kichaka cha miiba*]
- bùgòn'ǎk** *N PL*. English: small groves [Swahili: *vichaka*]
- bùgús** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: turn [Swahili: *pindua*]
- bùgúst** *PREP*. English: between [Swahili: *kati*]
- bùhúgdà** *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: push [Swahili: *sukuma*]
- bùkgùshí:d** *N SG*. English: finger millet [Swahili: *ulezi*]
- bùlè:d** *N SG*. English: hoof [Swahili: *kwato*]
- bùlè:d dígè:d** *PHRASE*. English: phrase used to indicate that a group of people are close together, lit 'the hoof of a donkey' [Swahili: *kwato la punda*]
- búbùn** *ADJ búmbúni*. English: soft [Swahili: *nyororo*]
- búbúni:t** *V*. English: be soft [Swahili: *kuwa laini*]
- bùnè:d** *N PL*. English: people [Swahili: *watu*]
- búp** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: bury [Swahili: *zika*]
- bùǎ:díng** *N PL*. English: funeral holes [Swahili: *kaburi*]
- bùǎ:d** *N SG*. English: funeral hole [Swahili: *kaburi*]

bùṅní <i>V Class I, +ATR, VEN</i> . English: return [Swahili: <i>rudī (na uje)</i>]	dá <i>V Class I, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: see [Swahili: <i>ona</i>]
bùqàl <i>NUM</i> . English: hundred [Swahili: <i>mia</i>]	dà <i>PRO</i> . English: (thing) of [Swahili: (<i>kitu</i>) <i>cha</i>]
bùqál á: ág / bùqàl:àdžánd á: àg <i>NUM</i> . English: one hundred and one [Swahili: <i>mia moja na moja</i>]	dà džé:d àkàlé:lè: <i>PHRASE</i> . English: of one stomach, of the same mother [Swahili: <i>wa tumbo moja</i>]
bùqàl:àdžé:g íjèṅ <i>NUM</i> . English: two hundred [Swahili: <i>mia mbili</i>]	dà:bát <i>ADV</i> . English: three days from now [Swahili: <i>tondogoo</i>]
búr <i>V Class I, +ATR</i> . English: be tired [Swahili: <i>choka</i>]	dà:bátétítá <i>ADV</i> . English: four days from now [Swahili: <i>siku baada ya tondogoo</i>]
bùrà:díg <i>N PL</i> . English: Buradiga people [Swahili: <i>Waburadiga</i>]	dá:nqó:džè: <i>N PL</i> . English: riddles [Swahili: <i>vitendawili</i>]
bùrà:díng <i>N PL</i> . English: tiredness [Swahili: <i>uchovu</i>]	dàb <i>PREP</i> . English: of, followed by a numeral to express an ordinal number [Swahili: <i>ya, wa</i>]
bùrá:t <i>N SG</i> . English: pregnant woman [Swahili: <i>mjamzito</i>]	dàbàgdžánd <i>N SG</i> . English: tear [Swahili: <i>chozi / machozi</i>]
bùrà:tján <i>N SG</i> . English: Buradiga person [Swahili: <i>Mburadiga</i>]	dàbák <i>N PL</i> . English: tears [Swahili: <i>machozi</i>]
bùránd <i>N SG</i> . English: tiredness [Swahili: <i>uchovu</i>]	dàbàn'g <i>N PL</i> . English: feathers [Swahili: <i>nyoya</i>]
búrd <i>N SG</i> . English: cooking pot [Swahili: <i>chungu</i>]	dàbàn'g gádg <i>N PL</i> . English: quivers [Swahili: <i>podo (manyoya ya mshale)</i>]
bùrdžé:k <i>N PL</i> . English: cooking pots [Swahili: <i>chungu</i>]	dàbàn'g gátjé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: quiver [Swahili: <i>podo (manyoya ya mshale)</i>]
bùrgàdéd <i>N SG</i> . English: valley [Swahili: <i>bonde</i>]	dàbàn'pánd <i>N SG</i> . English: feather [Swahili: <i>nyoya</i>]
bùrgúdg <i>N PL</i> . English: valleys [Swahili: <i>mabonde</i>]	dàbàqé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: Maasai [Swahili: <i>Wamasai</i>]
bùrṅpánd <i>N SG</i> . English: egg [Swahili: <i>yai</i>]	dàbàrdžánd <i>N SG</i> . English: small hawk [Swahili: <i>mwewe</i>]
bùrúṅ <i>N PL</i> . English: eggs [Swahili: <i>mayai</i>]	dàbàrdžò:džíg <i>N PL</i> . English: small hawks [Swahili: <i>mwewe</i>]
bùfáṅg <i>N PL</i> . English: things that have give off a bad smell [Swahili: <i>muozo</i>]	dàbàs džò:džíg <i>N PL</i> . English: pools [Swahili: <i>dimbwi</i>]
bùfó:d <i>N SG</i> . English: something that has been destroyed and gives off a bad smell [Swahili: <i>muozo</i>]	dàbàstfánd <i>N SG</i> . English: pool [Swahili: <i>dimbwi</i>]

/d/

dimbwi

dàbdáb *V Class I*. English: feel, touch
[Swahili: *papasa*]

dàdí *N SG*. English: corn alcohol [Swahili:
pombe ya mahindi]

dàftàràdžé:g *N PL*. English: notebooks
[Swahili: *madaftari*]

dàg qójànd *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: fish
[Swahili: *vua samaki*]

dàgáj *N*. English: sardine [Swahili: *dagaa*]

dàgáléd *N SG*. English: dewlap [Swahili:
chembwewe]

dàgàló:g *N PL*. English: a type of food made
from animal skins [Swahili: *aina ya chakula*]

dàgàlòdžig *N PL*. English: dewlaps [Swahili:
chembwewe]

dàgdàgàrànd ásétjànd *N SG*. English:
sunrise [Swahili: *mawio*]

dàgùg múpási *N PL*. English: bad things,
dangerous things [Swahili: *vitu kibaya, vitu
hatari*]

dàjé:g *N PL*. English: children [Swahili:
wana, watoto]

dàjé:g *N PL*. English: threads [Swahili:
kamba ndogo]

dàjè:g gísìlg *N PL*. English: lambs [Swahili:
wanakondoo]

dàjè:g gùlbè:d *N PL*. English: cotton fruits
[Swahili: *matunda la pamba*]

dàjè:g nó:g *N PL*. English: kids, young goats
[Swahili: *wanambuzi*]

dàjénd *N SG*. English: child [Swahili:
mwana, mtoto]

dàjènd gísìl:ánd *N SG*. English: lamb
[Swahili: *mwanakondoo*]

dàjènd gùlbè:d *N SG*. English: cotton fruit
[Swahili: *tunda la pamba*]

dàjènd mbójd *N SG*. English: kid, young

goat [Swahili: *mwanambuzi*]

dàmálg *N PL*. English: branches [Swahili:
matawi]

dàmàl:ánd *N SG*. English: branch [Swahili:
tawi]

dàmàn *NUM*. English: ten [Swahili: *kumi*]

dàmàn áj^wàn *NUM*. English: fourteen
[Swahili: *kumi na nne*]

dàmàn íjèj *NUM*. English: twelve [Swahili:
kumi na mbili]

dàmàn ís:pò *NUM*. English: seventeen
[Swahili: *kumi na saba*]

dàmàn lá *NUM*. English: sixteen [Swahili:
kumi na sita]

dàmàn mút *NUM*. English: fifteen [Swahili:
kumi na tano]

dàmàn sámòg^w *NUM*. English: thirteen
[Swahili: *kumi na tatu*]

dàmàn síis *NUM*. English: eighteen [Swahili:
kumi na nane]

dàmàn fágàf *NUM*. English: nineteen
[Swahili: *kumi na tisa*]

dàmànág *NUM*. English: eleven [Swahili:
kumi na moja]

dàm:ánd *N SG*. English: season, time
[Swahili: *msimu, wakati*]

dàm:ànpé:k *N PL*. English: seasons, times
[Swahili: *misimu, wakati*]

dàmŋánd *N SG*. English: guinea fowl
[Swahili: *kanga*]

dàmŋé:g *N PL*. English: guinea fowls
[Swahili: *kanga*]

dàmùjánd *N SG*. English: Beard [Swahili:
ndevu]

dàmúk *N PL*. English: beards [Swahili:
ndevu]

dàn:àdé:d *N SG*. English: ulcer [Swahili:
donda]

- dàn:àdídg** *N PL*. English: ulcers [Swahili: *donda*]
- dànéwà** *PRO*. English: 3 PL possessive pronoun, SG stem
- dàṅàtǎánd** *N SG*. English: thing [Swahili: *kitu*]
- dàqàdùnát** *N PL*. English: chests [Swahili: *vifua*]
- dàqàqàmàdǎé:g** *N PL*. English: traditional hoes made from a branches [Swahili: *majembe ya tawi*]
- dàqàqàmó:d** *N SG*. English: a traditional hoe made from a branch [Swahili: *jembe la tawi*]
- dàqát** *N SG*. English: Chest [Swahili: *kifua*]
- dàqàwàdíng** *N PL*. English: living rooms [Swahili: *sebule*]
- dàqàwéd** *N SG*. English: living room [Swahili: *sebule*]
- dàqàqé:d** *N SG*. English: a type of bead [Swahili: *aina ya ushanga*]
- dàq^wáld** *N SG*. English: beehive [Swahili: *mzinga wa nyuki*]
- dàq^wálg** *N PL*. English: beehives [Swahili: *mizinga wa nyuki*]
- dàràbèdák** *N PL*. English: the bush, parks, forests [Swahili: *pori, misitu*]
- dàràbét** *N SG*. English: the bush, park, forest [Swahili: *pori, msitu*]
- dàràdǎé:g** *N PL*. English: ashes [Swahili: *majivu*]
- dàrág^wàdǎé:g** *N PL*. English: homes [Swahili: *makazi*]
- dàràg^wàdǎé:g** *N PL*. English: Daragwajeega people [Swahili: *Wadaragwajeega*]
- dàráng** *N PL*. English: flour [Swahili: *unga*]
- dàráqàmùndánd** *N SG*. English: a species of tree used to make spears [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
- dàráfni** *V Class I, -ATR, VEN*. English: slide [Swahili: *teleza (na uje)*]
- dàráftà** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: slide [Swahili: *teleza (na uende)*]
- dàrdá** *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: spread (ITV) [Swahili: *sambaa (na uende)*]
- dàrdá:dà** *V Class I, -ATR, AM, ITV*. English: spread again and again (ITV) [Swahili: *sambaasambaa (na uende)*]
- dàrdá:nì** *V Class I, -ATR, AM, VEN*. English: spread again and again (VEN) [Swahili: *sambaasambaa (na uje)*]
- dàré:d** *N SG*. English: ashes [Swahili: *majivu*]
- dàrésnát** *N SG*. English: something smooth [Swahili: *(kitu) laini*]
- dàrésnàtǎéng** *N PL*. English: smooth things [Swahili: *(vitu) laini*]
- dàrpánd** *N SG*. English: dirt [Swahili: *chafu*]
- dàró:rd** *N SG*. English: earth, ground [Swahili: *ardhi*]
- dàrójd** *N SG*. English: metal rings worn on the neck by women [Swahili: *waya / pambo la shingoni (kwa wanawake)*]
- dàrójék** *N PL*. English: metal rings worn on the neck by women [Swahili: *waya / pambo la shingoni (kwa wanawake)*]
- dàròràdǎánd** *N SG*. English: This term is often used to refer to non-Asimjeeg Datooga, but has also been reported to be the name of an actual Datooga sub-group located near Karatu. [Swahili: *Mang'ati, Datooga, Darorajeega person*]
- dàròràdǎé:g** *N PL*. English: This term is often used to refer to non-Asimjeeg Datooga, but has also been reported to be the name of an actual Datooga sub-group located near Karatu. [Swahili: *Mang'ati, Datooga, Darorajeega person*]

dàrùmjàdʒánd *N SG*. English: leader, medicine man [Swahili: *mtemi, kiongozi, mganga*]
dàrwè:díg *N PL*. English: gazelles [Swahili: *swala*]
dàrwé:t *N SG*. English: gazelle [Swahili: *swala*]
dàs *V Class I, -ATR*. English: kick [Swahili: *kupiga teke*]
dàsél *N SG*. English: big hawk [Swahili: *mwewe*]
dàsèlàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: big hawks [Swahili: *mwewe*]
dàstfò:dʒíg *N PL*. English: areas [Swahili: *maeneo*]
dàtá:j *PRO*. English: 1 PL possessive pronoun, SG stem
dàtá:ŋ^w *PRO*. English: 2 PL possessive pronoun, SG stem
dàtáj *PRO*. English: 3 SG possessive pronoun, SG stem
dàtáj^w *PRO*. English: 2 SG possessive pronoun, SG stem
dàtás *V Class I*. English: stamp the feet [Swahili: *kanyaga*]
dàtép *PRO*. English: 1 SG possessive pronoun, SG stem
dàtó:g *N PL*. English: Datooga people [Swahili: *Wamang'ati, Wadatoga*]
dàtòpánd *N SG*. English: Datooga person [Swahili: *Mmang'ati, Mdatoga*]
dàwí:d *N SG*. English: community, extended family [Swahili: *jamii*]
dáwì:f *ADJ dáwì:rì*. English: blunt [Swahili: *butu*]
dàwí:túmé:d *N SG*. English: suffering [Swahili: *mahangaiko*]
dàwín'g *N PL*. English: community, extended family [Swahili: *jamii*]
dàwìfádé:d *N SG*. English: Molar tooth [Swahili: *gego*]
dàwìfíjfk *N PL*. English: molar teeth [Swahili: *magego*]
dàwúd *N SG*. English: cooking pot [Swahili: *chungu*]
dàwùd ánáqé:d *N SG*. English: metal pot [Swahili: *sufuria*]
dàwùnátk *N PL*. English: cooking pots [Swahili: *chungu*]
dàwùnàtk ánáqèéd *N PL*. English: metal pots [Swahili: *sufuria*]
dè:búg *N PL*. English: children [Swahili: *watoto*]
dè:d *N SG*. English: cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe*]
dè:d árè:r *N SG*. English: red cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe mwekundu*]
dè:d é:f / dè:d wé:f *N SG*. English: white cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe mweupe*]
dè:d hós *N SG*. English: old cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe mzee*]
dè:d múr *N SG*. English: brown cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe mpauko*]
dè:d qúlqúl *N SG*. English: cow with spots [Swahili: *ng'ombe mwenye rangi ya madoti*]
dè:d ré:r *N SG*. English: a cow that is still drinking milk [Swahili: *ng'ombe anayenyonya ziwa*]
dé:s *V*. English: build, complete [Swahili: *jenga, timiza*]
dè:tú / dè:d dú *N SG*. English: black cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe mweusi*]
dèbàdʒánd *N SG*. English: tank or container [Swahili: *debe*]
dèpé:n *V Class I*. English: be the same [Swahili: *kuwa sawa*]
dèròné:d *N SG*. English: well, waterhole

[Swahili: *kisima*]
dèqétk *N PL*. English: bamboo [Swahili: *tete*]
dèqètjánd *N SG*. English: bamboo [Swahili: *tete*]
dì:lé:g *N PL*. English: a type of bead made from part of the top of a tree [Swahili: *aina ya ushanga*]
dìbàjò:kt *N SG*. English: a type of tree that was traditionally cooked and eaten [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
dìbánpè:g *N SG*. English: spider [Swahili: *buibui*]
dìbànpègàdžé:g *N PL*. English: spiders [Swahili: *buibui*]
dígáháp *N SG*. English: sister [Swahili: *dada*]
dígán *ADV*. English: never [Swahili: *kamwe*]
dìgdám / diktám *NUM*. English: twenty [Swahili: *ishirini*]
dìgdám à: dàmàn *NUM*. English: thirty [Swahili: *thelathini*]
dìgè:d *N SG*. English: donkey [Swahili: *punda*]
dìgén'g *N PL*. English: donkeys [Swahili: *punda*]
dìgìjód *N SG*. English: date tree [Swahili: *mtende*]
dìgín *V Class I, +ATR*. English: groan from pain [Swahili: *koroma kwa maumivu*]
dìgìná:nè:k *N PL*. English: groans from pain [Swahili: *koroma kwa maumivu*]
dìgìnánd *N SG*. English: groans from pain [Swahili: *koroma kwa maumivu*]
dìhìhì *N SG*. English: owl [Swahili: *bundi*]
dìhìhìjàdžé:g *N PL*. English: owls [Swahili: *bundi*]
dìjá *DET*. English: very [Swahili: *sana*]
dìjá:dà *V Class I, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: ascend (ITV) [Swahili: *panda (na uende)*]
dìjá:nì *V Class I, +ATR, AM, VEN*. English: ascend (VEN) [Swahili: *panda (na uje)*]
dìjá:ng *N PL*. English: animals [Swahili: *wanyama*]
dìjàdàjd *PREP*. English: above [Swahili: *juu ya*]
dìjàjd *N SG*. English: animal [Swahili: *mnyama*]
dìjí:dà *V*. English: protect, keep [Swahili: *hifadhi*]
díl *V Class I*. English: be defeated [Swahili: *shindwa*]
dìmàmàndàdžé:g *N PL*. English: lightning [Swahili: *umeme*]
dìmàmándé:d *N SG*. English: lightning [Swahili: *umeme*]
dìmàràdžánd *N SG*. English: spitting cobra [Swahili: *swira*]
dìmàràdžé:g *N PL*. English: spitting cobras [Swahili: *swira*]
dìndá *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: ascend (there) [Swahili: *panda (na uende)*]
dìndá:dà *V Class I, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: ascend (ITV) [Swahili: *pandapanda (na uende)*]
dìngà *N SG*. English: anteater [Swahili: *mhanga*]
dìqàmìftjánd *N SG*. English: a traditional hoe made from a branch [Swahili: *jembe la tawi*]
dìqánd *N SG*. English: boundary [Swahili: *mpaka*]
dìqàràjàdžé:g *N PL*. English: chameleons [Swahili: *vinyonga*]
dìqàràjé:g *N SG*. English: chameleon [Swahili: *kinyonga*]
dìránádžé:g *N PL*. English: supporting

- columns [Swahili: *nguzo*]
dirané:d *N SG*. English: supporting column [Swahili: *nguzo*]
dirátgégw *N SG*. English: bat [Swahili: *popo*]
dirátgèwàdžé:g *N PL*. English: bats [Swahili: *mapopo*]
dò:ńó:d *N SG*. English: mosquito [Swahili: *mbu*]
dòbìwd *N SG*. English: honest (person) [Swahili: *mwaminifu*]
dòbìwnátjèng *N PL*. English: honest (people) [Swahili: *waaminifu*]
dòfíng *N PL*. English: gates of boma, or clans [Swahili: *milango ya boma / ukoo*]
dóft *N SG*. English: gate or door of boma, or clan [Swahili: *mlango wa boma / ukoo*]
dówánàdžé:g *N PL*. English: bird species [Swahili: *korongo*]
dówáng *N SG*. English: bird species [Swahili: *korongo*]
dò:bíw *V Class I, -ATR*. English: be straight [Swahili: *nyooka*]
dú *ADJ dúwási*. English: black [Swahili: *nyeusi*]
dúb *V*. English: follow s.th., occur after s.th. [Swahili: *fuata*]
dùbádà *V Class I, ITV*. English: follow (ITV) [Swahili: *fuata (na uende)*]
dùbání *V Class I, VEN*. English: follow (VEN) [Swahili: *fuata (na uje)*]
dùftjà:díng *N PL*. English: relatives / relatedness / relation [Swahili: *undugu*]
dùftjé:d *N SG*. English: relatives / relatedness / relation [Swahili: *undugu*]
dùgdá *V Class I, ITV*. English: cover [Swahili: *funika, ziba*]
dùgówójd *N SG*. English: A certain disease that afflicted the Asimjeeg when they were living in Someega, and Ewanda is said to have foretold its appearance [Swahili: *aina ya ugonjwa*]
dúgúmèld *N SG*. English: tortoise [Swahili: *kobe*]
dúgúmèldàdžé:g *N PL*. English: tortoises [Swahili: *kobe*]
dùgúj *V Class I, +ATR*. English: kneel [Swahili: *piga magoti*]
dúgújà:dà *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: crawl [Swahili: *tambaa*]
dúg^w *N PL*. English: cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe*]
dùg^w árè:rì *N PL*. English: red cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe wekundu*]
dùg^w dúwàsì *N PL*. English: black cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe weusi*]
dùg^w hósì *N PL*. English: old cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe wazee*]
dùg^w mùhóft *N SG*. English: Name of a rural Asimjeeg community near Yaeda Chini [Swahili: *Dugwamuhosht*]
dùg^w mùrdžéwì *N PL*. English: brown cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe wapauko*]
dùg^w qùlódž *N PL*. English: cows with spots [Swahili: *ng'ombe wenye rangi ya madoti*]
dùg^w ré:r *N PL*. English: cows that still drink milk [Swahili: *ng'ombe wanaonyonya maziwa*]
dùg^w wé:fífi / dùg^w é:fífi *N PL*. English: white cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe weupe*]
dùk^w ànàdžé:g *N PL*. English: stores [Swahili: *maduka*]
dùlánò:d *N SG*. English: end [Swahili: *mwisho*]
dùldá *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: finish for s.o. [Swahili: *malizia (na uende)*]
dùlní *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: finish (VEN) [Swahili: *maliza (na uje)*]

dùmàdʒánd *N SG*. English: can [Swahili: *dumu*]
dùmbàt *N SG*. English: tobacco [Swahili: *tumbako*]
dùmbàtādʒé:g *N PL*. English: tobacco [Swahili: *tumbako*]
dúmd *N SG*. English: ngoma [Swahili: *ngoma*]
dùmd lóqúmàdʒé:g *N SG*. English: circumcision or worship celebration [Swahili: *ngoma ya matambiko au jando*]
dùmd jángí:d *N SG*. English: wedding dance [Swahili: *ngoma ya harusí*]
dùmd qádówé:d *N SG*. English: ancestral celebration [Swahili: *ngoma ya ibada*]
dùmdʒéng / dùmɲéng *N PL*. English: ngoma, dance, song [Swahili: *ngoma*]
dùmdʒèng lóqúmàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: circumcision or worship celebrations [Swahili: *ngoma za matambiko au jando*]
dùmdʒèng jángádʒé:g / dùmdʒèng jángí:d *N PL*. English: wedding dances [Swahili: *ngoma za harusí*]
dùmdʒèng qádówàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: ancestral celebrations [Swahili: *ngoma za ibada*]
dùn:í *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: revive yourself [Swahili: *fufuka*]
dùṅód *N SG*. English: mucus [Swahili: *kamasi*]
dùṅók *N PL*. English: mucus [Swahili: *kamasi*]
dùṅòb'é:f *N SG*. English: Place name [Swahili: *Dongobesh*]
dùṅʷénd *N SG*. English: a small animal skin that was traditionally worn worn [Swahili: *ngozi ndogo ya kuvaliwa*]
dùṅʷèndàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: small animal

skins that were traditionally worn [Swahili: *ngozi ndogo za kuvaliwa*]
dùqđùqjánd *N SG*. English: fool [Swahili: *mjinga*]
dùqùwàdʒánd *N SG*. English: crow [Swahili: *kunguru*]
dùqùwàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: crows [Swahili: *kunguru*]
dúrman *ADJ dúrmani*. English: heavy [Swahili: *nzito*]
dúrmanà:tʃéng *N PL*. English: weights [Swahili: *uzito*]
dúrmanát *N SG*. English: weight [Swahili: *uzito*]
dúrmaní:d *V*. English: be pregnant [Swahili: *kuwa mjamzito*]
dúrmanì:t *N SG*. English: pregnancy [Swahili: *mimba*]
dùrùjd *N SG*. English: group of birds [Swahili: *kundi la ndege*]
dùwà:díng *N PL*. English: firstborns [Swahili: *vifungua mimba (watoto wa kwanza)*]
dùwà:tʃé:d *N SG*. English: firstborn [Swahili: *kifungua mimba (mtoto wa kwanza)*]
dùwàʃánd *N SG*. English: duck [Swahili: *bata*]
dùwàʃèék *N PL*. English: ducks [Swahili: *bata*]

/dʒ/

dʒá:dʒí *N SG*. English: grandfather [Swahili: *babu*]
dʒà:dʒí / dʒà:dʒí:d *N SG*. English: grandfather [Swahili: *babu / nyanya*]
dʒá:m *V Class I, -ATR*. English: dry out

[Swahili: *kauka*]
dʒà:mé:d *N SG*. English: wind [Swahili: *upepo*]
dʒá:qàd *ADV*. English: tomorrow [Swahili: *kesho*]
dʒà:qàd qùt mùtʃó:d *PHRASE*. English: phrase meaning ‘tomorrow morning’ [Swahili: *kesho asubuhi*]
dʒàbàgánd *N SG*. English: testicle [Swahili: *pumbu*]
dʒàbàgèng *N PL*. English: testicles [Swahili: *pumbu*]
dʒád *V Class I, -ATR*. English: open [Swahili: *fungua*]
dʒàdán *V Class I, -ATR*. English: be open [Swahili: *funguka*]
dʒàdʒíjè:k / dʒàdʒìngʷák *N PL*. English: grandfathers [Swahili: *babu / nyanya*]
dʒáft *N SG*. English: child [Swahili: *mtoto*]
dʒáft dárwájánd *N SG*. English: a child born out of wedlock [Swahili: *mtoto wa nje*]
dʒáft qásqását *N.PHRASE SG*. English: young child [Swahili: *mtoto mdogo*]
dʒáftʃàndùmè:d *N SG*. English: childhood [Swahili: *utoto*]
dʒàgdá *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: throw [Swahili: *tupa*]
dʒàgìstʃòtʃánd *N SG*. English: shepherd [Swahili: *mchungaji*]
dʒàgʷád *V Class I*. English: steal [Swahili: *iba*]
dʒàlàdíng *N PL*. English: conflicts [Swahili: *ugomvi*]
dʒálí:d *N SG*. English: conflict [Swahili: *ugomvi*]
dʒàló:d *N SG*. English: hunger [Swahili: *njaa*]
dʒàlòngʷák *N PL*. English: hunger [Swahili: *njaa*]
dʒám *V*. English: grow [Swahili: *kua*]
dʒàmè:d *N SG*. English: coldness [Swahili: *baridi*]
dʒàmnó:d *N SG*. English: upbringing [Swahili: *malezi*]
dʒáp *V*. English: build [Swahili: *jenga*]
dʒáw *V Class I, +ATR*. English: be afraid [Swahili: *ogopa*]
dʒàwánd *N SG*. English: fear [Swahili: *uoga, woga*]
dʒàwàràr *N SG*. English: pepper [Swahili: *pilipili*]
dʒè:d *N SG*. English: stomach, inside [Swahili: *tumbo, ndani*]
dʒè:síng *N PL*. English: stomachs [Swahili: *tumbo*]
dʒèrkʷè:d *N SG*. English: field [Swahili: *shamba*]
dʒèrùmàndʒánd *N SG*. English: German person [Swahili: *mjerumani*]
dʒé:ɲ *V Class I, -ATR*. English: skin an animal [Swahili: *chuna*]
dʒí:l *V Class I, +ATR*. English: give birth [Swahili: *zaa*]
dʒì:ló:d *N SG*. English: birth [Swahili: *uzazi*]
dʒì:rúgʷ / dʒì:rùgʷák *N PL*. English: male (of any animal) [Swahili: *dume*]
dʒìgákt *N SG*. English: magical power [Swahili: *uwezo wa kichawi*]
dʒìgdá *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: limp [Swahili: *chechemea*]
dʒìgdá:dà *V Class I, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: limp (ITV) [Swahili: *chechemea (na uende)*]
dʒìgdá:nì *V Class I, +ATR, AM, VEN*. English: limp (VEN) [Swahili: *chechemea (na uje)*]

dʒìrúgd *N SG*. English: male (of any animal) [Swahili: *makundi ya watu*]
 [Swahili: *dume*]
dʒìrùgd héjd *N SG*. English: an old male cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe dume*]
dʒìrùgd ñg'qáqód *N SG*. English: rooster [Swahili: *jogoo*]
dʒìrùg^w héwg *N PL*. English: old male cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe dume*]
dʒìrùg^w ñg'qáqàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: roosters [Swahili: *jogoo*]
dʒò:màdʒé:g *N PL*. English: axes [Swahili: *shoka*]
dʒò:mó:d *N SG*. English: axe [Swahili: *shoka*]
dʒó:r *V*. English: be tired [Swahili: *choka*]
dʒón *V Class I, +ATR*. English: smell [Swahili: *nusa*]
dʒòsè:g búrpánd *N SG*. English: egg yolk [Swahili: *kiini cha yai*]
dʒòsè:g búrúng *N PL*. English: egg yolks [Swahili: *viini cha yai*]
dʒó:r *V*. English: be defeated [Swahili: *wezwa*]
dʒùbáŋg *N PL*. English: soup [Swahili: *mchuzi*]
dʒùbùqájd *N SG*. English: a plant that was traditionally eaten [Swahili: *aina ya mgoba iliyokuwa chakula cha asili*]

/e/

é:jàsì:jé:n wéŋg *PHRASE*. English: phrase used to mean 'let's get along,' lit. 'let's make heads meet' [Swahili: *tukutanishe vichwa*]
è:mè:d *N SG*. English: group of people [Swahili: *kundi la watu*]
è:mò:dʒíg *N PL*. English: groups of people

é:nd *N SG*. English: river [Swahili: *mto*]
èd *PREP*. English: of, place of, place [Swahili: *kwa, mahali*]
èlí:mé:d *N SG*. English: education [Swahili: *elimu*]
ènd qàdʒám *N SG*. English: dry riverbed [Swahili: *mto uliokauka*]
èŋ^wák / én'g *N PL*. English: rivers [Swahili: *mito*]
èŋ^wák gàdʒámì / èn'g gàdʒámì *N PL*. English: dry riverbeds [Swahili: *mito iliyokauka*]
èfí:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: tell [Swahili: *ambia*]
èwànd *N SG*. English: Name of historical leader of the Asimjeeg when they were residing in Someega, killed by Saygilo. [Swahili: *Ewanda*]

/f/

fádʒ *V Class I, -ATR (SG)/+ATR (PL)*. English: run [Swahili: *kimbia*]
fàgdá *V Class I, ITV*. English: undress (ITV) [Swahili: *vua (na iende)*]
fàgìjádʒé:g *N PL*. English: brushes [Swahili: *fagio*]
fàgní *V Class I, VEN*. English: undress (VEN) [Swahili: *vua (na ije)*]
fàjg^wé:g *N PL*. English: arrow bodies [Swahili: *mikumbo wa mshale*]
fàjò:d *N SG*. English: body of an arrow [Swahili: *mkumbo wa mshale*]
fàré:dʒ *N SG*. English: stream [Swahili: *mfereji*]
fàrè:dʒàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: streams

[Swahili: *mifereji*]

fijè:g dúg^w *N PL*. English: cow dung

[Swahili: *mavi ya ng'ombe*]

fíríp *V Class I, -ATR*. English: scratch

[Swahili: *chakura, kwaruza*]

fó:l *V*. English: be angry [Swahili: *dharau*]

fór *V Class I, -ATR*. English: scrape, carve

[Swahili: *kwangua, chonga*]

fràjg^wé:g *N PL*. English: jackals [Swahili: *bweha*]

fràjò:d *N SG*. English: jackal [Swahili: *bweha*]

frìpàdé:d *N SG*. English: bruise [Swahili: *chubuko*]

frìpíd *N PL*. English: bruises [Swahili: *chubuko*]

frò:d gátjé:d *N SG*. English: arrow poison [Swahili: *sumu ya mshale*]

frò:d ítjfbò:d *N SG*. English: snake poison [Swahili: *sumu ya nyoka*]

fúf *V Class I, +ATR*. English: rest [Swahili: *pumzika*]

fùfánd *N SG*. English: rest [Swahili: *pumziko*]

fùfàpé:k *N PL*. English: rest [Swahili: *pumziko*]

fúg *N PL*. English: people [Swahili: *watu*]

fùg gáhé:s *N PL*. English: older people [Swahili: *watu wakubwa*]

fùg lé:jjátj *N PL*. English: drunks, alcoholics [Swahili: *walevi*]

fùg ñúft *N PL*. English: medicine men, witches [Swahili: *waganga*]

fújé:g *N PL*. English: dung [Swahili: *mavi*]

fùndá:r *V Class I, +ATR*. English: squat [Swahili: *chuchumaa*]

fúñ *V Class I, -ATR*. English: hide s.th. [Swahili: *ficha*]

fúñ gè:w *V*. English: hide oneself [Swahili: *ijficha*]

fùqàré:d *N SG*. English: skill, cunning, mind [Swahili: *akili*]

fúr *V Class I, +ATR*. English: protect [Swahili: *linda*]

fùrdzè:d *N SG*. English: conflict [Swahili: *ugomvi*]

fùrg^wè:g ítjífké:g *N PL*. English: snake poisons [Swahili: *sumu za nyoka*]

fùrqàpánd *N SG*. English: a type of tree whose fruits were traditionally used as medicine [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]

fùrwè:g gád *N PL*. English: arrow poisons [Swahili: *sumu za mshale*]

fùwád *N SG*. English: Placename for the Ngorongoro conservation area, that the Asimjeeg supposedly inhabited briefly before settling in Someega [Swahili: *Ngorongoro*]

fùwànd quwáñd *N SG*. English: bow string [Swahili: *kamba ya upinde*]

fùwè:g quwáñg *N PL*. English: bow strings [Swahili: *kamba za upinde*]

/g/, /g^w/

gà *PRO*. English: (things) of [Swahili: (*vitu*) *vya*]

gàbán *ADV*. English: always [Swahili: *daima*]

gàbís *ADV*. English: totally [Swahili: *kabisa*]

gàdàgèd *N SG*. English: trap an animal [Swahili: *mtego wa wanyama*]

gàdàgò:djíg *N PL*. English: animal traps [Swahili: *mitego ya wanyama*]

gàdàrómd *N SG*. English: community, extended family [Swahili: *jamii*]

gàdàrómpèk *N PL*. English: community, extended family [Swahili: *jamii*]
gàdémng *N PL*. English: women [Swahili: *wanawake*]
gádng *N PL*. English: arrows [Swahili: *mishale*]
gàdijéd *N SG*. English: work [Swahili: *kazi*]
gàdijòdʒíg *N PL*. English: work [Swahili: *kazi*]
gàdʒáló:d *N SG*. English: girl [Swahili: *msichana*]
gàdʒáló:díg *N PL*. English: girls [Swahili: *wasichana*]
gàfkàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: bones [Swahili: *mifupa*]
gàfkàdʒé:g bádáwúk *N PL*. English: upper spines [Swahili: *uti wa mgongo*]
gàfkàdʒé:g sén *N PL*. English: skeleton, all of the bones [Swahili: *mifupa yote*]
gàfkàdʒé:g wéng *N PL*. English: skulls [Swahili: *fuvu*]
gàfké:d *N SG*. English: bone [Swahili: *mfupa*]
gàfkè:d bádáj *N SG*. English: upper spine [Swahili: *uti wa mgongo*]
gàfkè:d úúd *N SG*. English: skull [Swahili: *fuvu*]
gàftàlájé:g *N PL*. English: pairs of shorts [Swahili: *kaptula*]
gàhájd *N SG*. English: dry season [Swahili: *kiangazi*]
gàhájè:k *N PL*. English: dry season [Swahili: *kiangazi*]
gàhàr *N SG*. English: home [Swahili: *nyumba*]
gàjd *N SG*. English: giraffe [Swahili: *twiga*]
gàjè:wàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: areas to the east [Swahili: *maeneo ya mashariki*]
gàjéw *ADV*. English: east [Swahili: *mashariki*]
gàjwák *N PL*. English: giraffes [Swahili: *twiga*]
gàká:g^w *PRO*. English: 2 PL possessive pronoun, PL stem
gàká:s *PRO*. English: 1 PL possessive pronoun, PL stem
gàkág^w *PRO*. English: 2 SG possessive pronoun, PL stem
gàkàpánd *N SG*. English: a species of tree [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
gàkástʃ *PRO*. English: 3 SG possessive pronoun, PL stem
gàkés *PRO*. English: 1 SG possessive pronoun, PL stem
gál *V Class I, +ATR*. English: try, head towards [Swahili: *jaribu, elekea*]
gàlàkàlàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: butterflies [Swahili: *vipepeo*]
gàlàkáléd *N SG*. English: butterfly [Swahili: *kipepeo*]
gàlàpà *ADV*. English: another day, another time [Swahili: *siku nyingine, wakati mwingine*]
gàlápánd *N SG*. English: time period [Swahili: *kipindi*]
gàlàpé:k *N PL*. English: time periods [Swahili: *vipindi*]
gàlè:d *N SG*. English: stomach [Swahili: *tumbo*]
gàlé:g *N PL*. English: stomachs [Swahili: *tumbo*]
gálg *N PL*. English: homes [Swahili: *nyumba*]
gàlg dúg^w *N PL*. English: cattle huts [Swahili: *mabanda ya ng'ombe*]
gàlg gíwósàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: kitchens [Swahili: *vyumba vya jiko*]

gàlg múhóg *N PL*. English: calf huts [Swahili: *mabanda ya ndama*]
gàlg fóri:d *N PL*. English: nests [Swahili: *viota*]
gàmàmbúr *N SG*. English: a type of tree used to treat coughs [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
gàmbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: shields [Swahili: *ngao*]
gàmbò:d *N SG*. English: shield [Swahili: *ngao*]
gàmèf *N PL*. English: worms [Swahili: *minyoo*]
gàn málé:d *V Class I, +ATR*. English: take honey [Swahili: *chukua asali*]
gànàkó:d *N SG*. English: calabash dipper [Swahili: *kipeo*]
gànàk^wàdžé:g *N PL*. English: calabash dippers [Swahili: *vipeo*]
gànèngànéng^w *N PL*. English: a type of tree used for head pains [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
gànèf *N SG*. English: bush baby [Swahili: *komba*]
gànèfàdžé:g *N PL*. English: bush babies [Swahili: *komba*]
gání:s(a) *N SG/PL*. English: church [Swahili: *kanisa*]
gàn:í *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: take [Swahili: *chukua*]
gàpám *N SG*. English: stopper [Swahili: *mfuniko wa kibuyu*]
gàpám róq *N SG*. English: top/cap for arrow bag [Swahili: *mfuniko wa mbogosho*]
gàpámíg *N PL*. English: stoppers [Swahili: *mifuniko wa kibuyu*]
gàpàmpèk róqák *N PL*. English: tops/caps for arrow bag [Swahili: *mifuniko wa mbogosho*]
gàpàmò:d *N SG*. English: Jaw [Swahili: *utaya*]
gàpàmúdg *N PL*. English: jaws [Swahili: *utaya*]
gàpéwà *PRO*. English: 3 PL possessive pronoun, PL stem
gàptùlàdžánd *N SG*. English: a pair of shorts [Swahili: *kaptula*]
gàrá:dí *ADJ PL*. English: hot [Swahili: *ya moto*]
gàràngàré:t *N SG*. English: the bush [Swahili: *pori*]
gàrát *N SG*. English: the town of Karatu [Swahili: *Karatu*]
gàrbábù *ADJ PL*. English: cold [Swahili: *baridi*]
gàrbàp *ADJ SG*. English: cold [Swahili: *baridi*]
gàrbí:dà *V*. English: cool down [Swahili: *poa*]
gàré:t *N SG*. English: tsetse fly [Swahili: *mbungo*]
gàrm *N SG*. English: woman [Swahili: *mwanamke*]
gàró:ng *N PL*. English: Name of one of the three original Asimjeeg sub-groups. [Swahili: *Wagarongo*]
gàrtás *N SG*. English: piece of paper [Swahili: *karatasi*]
gás *V Class I, +ATR*. English: need, want [Swahili: *hitaji, taka*]
gàsí:s *N PL*. English: potatoes [Swahili: *viazi*]
gàsìsàdžánd *N SG*. English: potato [Swahili: *kiazi*]
gàtínd *N SG*. English: arm [Swahili: *mkono*]
gàtínd ñút *ADV.PHRASE*. English: right [Swahili: *kulia*]
gàtínd qádàm *ADV.PHRASE*. English: left [Swahili: *kushoto*]

gàtíng *N PL*. English: arms [Swahili: *mikono*] *matibabu*

gàtjé:d *N SG*. English: arrow [Swahili: *mshale*]

gáw *ADJ* *gáwì*. English: long, tall [Swahili: *ndefu*]

gàwìnd qáñd *N.PHRASE* *gàwìjèng qáájàng*. [Swahili: *magonjwa*]
English: desire [Swahili: *tamaa*]

gàwúrdzì:n *PHRASE* . English: how is it, how are things [Swahili: *vipi, inakuwaje*]

gè:bò:d *N SG*. English: vein [Swahili: *mshipa wa damu*]

gè:díg *N PL*. English: trees [Swahili: *miti*]

gè:fké:g *N PL*. English: veins [Swahili: *mshipa wa damu*]

gè:jó:d *N SG*. English: sickness [Swahili: *ugonjwa*]

gè:k *N PL*. English: shoes [Swahili: *viatu*]

gè:sàrè:n bást *PHRASE* . English: phrase used to indicate the lack of a clear direction for a group, lit. ‘we are carrying fire’ [Swahili: *tumebeba moto, hatuna mwelekeo*]

gè:sù:d *N SG*. English: alcohol [Swahili: *pombe*]

gè:fàng *N PL*. English: legs [Swahili: *miguu*]

gè:t *N SG*. English: tree [Swahili: *mti*]

gè:t hárè:r *N SG*. English: a species of tree used for traditional medicine [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]

gè:t ñáft *N SG*. English: comb [Swahili: *chanuo*]

gè:wé:d *N SG*. English: shoe [Swahili: *kiatu*]

gèdàñòdíng *N PL*. English: blacksmiths [Swahili: *wahunzi (kabila la wahunzi)*]

gèdàñòt fánd *N SG*. English: blacksmith [Swahili: *mhunzi (kabila la wahunzi)*]

gèdìg ñáftájèk *N PL*. English: combs [Swahili: *chanuo*]

gègàlì:d *N SG*. English: treatment [Swahili: *gèjò:jànd* *N SG*. English: a species of tree with small thorns [Swahili: *aina ya mti yenye miiba midogo midogo*]

gèjónjw^wàk *N PL*. English: sicknesses

gèk mú:fk *N PL*. English: cowhide sandals [Swahili: *malapa za ngozi ya ng’ombe*]

gèndàrdzánd *N SG*. English: baobab tree [Swahili: *mbuyu*]

gèndárg *N PL*. English: baobab trees [Swahili: *mibuyu*]

gèrèràdžé:g *N PL*. English: crocodiles [Swahili: *mamba*]

gèrèrí:d *N SG*. English: crocodile [Swahili: *mamba*]

gèsk^wé:g *N PL*. English: alcohol [Swahili: *pombe*]

gèfàdé:d *N SG*. English: tooth [Swahili: *jino*]

gèfádng *N PL*. English: teeth [Swahili: *meno*]

gèwèd múnd *N SG*. English: cowhide sandal [Swahili: *malapa ya ngozi ya ng’ombe*]

gè:ró:n *N SG*. English: traditional dance [Swahili: *aina ya ngoma ya asili*]

gè:bìnd *N SG*. English: life [Swahili: *maisha*]

gè:dì:ñjánd *N SG*. English: fault [Swahili: *hatia/kosa*]

gè:dì:jàpè:k *N PL*. English: faults [Swahili: *hatia/makosa*]

gè:džè:d *N SG*. English: mountain [Swahili: *mlima*]

gè:džé:g *N PL*. English: mountains [Swahili: *milima*]

gè:džìwé:d *N SG*. English: village center [Swahili: *kijiweni*]

gè:kó:d *N SG*. English: calabash dipper [Swahili: *kipeo*]

gè:k^wàdžé:g *N PL*. English: calabash dippers

- [Swahili: *vipeo*]
gì:làbájè:k *N PL*. English: animal tracks
 [Swahili: *nyayo*]
gì:làbìd *N SG*. English: animal tracks
 [Swahili: *nyayo*]
gì:lèwd *N SG*. English: grassland [Swahili: *mbuga*]
gì:lèwdzè:k *N PL*. English: grasslands
 [Swahili: *mbuga*]
gì:lùld *N SG*. English: announcement
 [Swahili: *tangazo*]
gì:nyè:tféng *N PL*. English: beginnings
 [Swahili: *mianzo*]
gì:nyèt *N SG*. English: beginning [Swahili: *mwanzo*]
gì:ràrnòd ásétjànd *N SG*. English: sunrise
 [Swahili: *mawio*]
gì:fà:l *N SG*. English: end [Swahili: *mwisho*]
gìbàrú *ADV*. English: to do part time work
 [Swahili: *kibarua*]
gìbést *N SG*. English: thigh [Swahili: *paja*]
gìbèsúk *N PL*. English: thighs [Swahili: *paja*]
gìd *N SG*. English: thing [Swahili: *kitu*]
gìd mádè:d *PHRASE*. English: the first thing
 [Swahili: *kitu cha kwanza*]
gìd mújì *N SG*. English: bad thing, dangerous thing [Swahili: *kitu kibaya, kitu hatari*]
gìdàb *CONJ*. English: reason, that [Swahili: *sababu, kwamba*]
gìdág^w *N SG*. English: what caused s.th.
 [Swahili: *kinachosababisha*]
gìdbùgé:r *N SG*. English: area called Gidabugeer, near Yaeda Chini [Swahili: *eneo la Gidabugeer, karibu na Yaeda Chini*]
gìdg^wándà:n *N SG*. English: development, globalization [Swahili: *maendeleo, utandawazi*]
- gìdmáws** *n SG*. English: Name of a historical leader of the Asimjeeg, father of Barget
 [Swahili: *Gidamawsa*]
gìdŋ^wánd *N SG*. English: bile [Swahili: *nyongo*]
gìdó:n *N SG*. English: what is coming
 [Swahili: *kinachokuja*]
gìdží:dž *N SG*. English: village [Swahili: *kijiji*]
gìdžòsàdžé:g *N PL*. English: cowards
 [Swahili: *wasiohodari*]
gìg^wàné:d *N SG*. English: compromise
 [Swahili: *upatanisho*]
gìhàjdájd *N SG*. English: breath [Swahili: *pumzi*]
gìhàjdájè:k *N PL*. English: breaths [Swahili: *pumzi*]
gìhòjéd *N SG*. English: quarrel (vocal)
 [Swahili: *ugomvi wa sauti*]
gìjìné:d *N SG*. English: compromise
 [Swahili: *suluhu*]
gìk^wèndàndèèd *N SG*. English: thunderstorm
 [Swahili: *ngurumo ya mvua*]
gìlàg^wé:ndžè:d *N SG*. English: game of herding sticks [Swahili: *mchezo wa fimbo*]
gìlèpánd *N SG*. English: bead [Swahili: *shanga*]
gìlèpànd mánánd *N SG*. English: beads worn on the waist [Swahili: *ushanga wa kiuno*]
gìlèng *N PL*. English: beads [Swahili: *shanga*]
gìlèng mánánd *N PL*. English: beads worn on the waist [Swahili: *ushanga wa kiuno*]
gìlèwdžánd *N SG*. English: clay dirt
 [Swahili: *udongo wa mbugani*]
gìlèwdžé:k *N PL*. English: clay dirt [Swahili: *udongo wa mbugani*]

gìmòrmòr <i>N SG</i> . English: sickle [Swahili: <i>mundu</i>]	[Swahili: <i>kazia</i>]
gìmòrmòràdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: sickles [Swahili: <i>mundu</i>]	gìròjéd <i>N SG</i> . English: shadow, shade [Swahili: <i>kivuli</i>]
gìnàná:n <i>N SG</i> . English: Historical leader of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: <i>Ginanana</i>]	gìróng <i>N PL</i> . English: shadows, shade [Swahili: <i>vivuli</i>]
gìndàdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: food storage containers [Swahili: <i>ghala</i>]	gís <i>V Class I, +ATR</i> . English: pull [Swahili: <i>vuta</i>]
gìndàjé:d <i>ADV</i> . English: together [Swahili: <i>pamoja</i>]	gís gíhàjdájd <i>V.PHRASE Class I, +ATR</i> . English: breathe [Swahili: <i>vuta pumzi</i>]
gìndí:d <i>N SG</i> . English: food storage container [Swahili: <i>ghala</i>]	gìsámbéj <i>N SG</i> . English: a type of root that was traditionally eaten [Swahili: <i>aina ya mzizi</i>]
gìné:d <i>N SG</i> . English: lie [Swahili: <i>uongo</i>]	gìsámđžánd <i>N SG</i> . English: Gisamjanga person [Swahili: <i>Mgisamjanga</i>]
gíj <i>V Class I, +ATR</i> . English: be broken [Swahili: <i>vunjika</i>]	gìsànàdžánd <i>N SG</i> . English: a type of bangle [Swahili: <i>aina ya bangili</i>]
gìjàwánd <i>N SG</i> . English: insult [Swahili: <i>tukano / tusi</i>]	gìsgìsàdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: whisks [Swahili: <i>vipekecho</i>]
gìj^wák <i>N PL</i> . English: insults [Swahili: <i>tukano / tusi</i>]	gìsíl <i>N PL</i> . English: sheep [Swahili: <i>kondoo</i>]
gìpì:sàdžánd <i>N SG</i> . English: part [Swahili: <i>kipande</i>]	gìsíl:ánd <i>N SG</i> . English: sheep [Swahili: <i>kondoo</i>]
gìràmbó:d <i>N SG</i> . English: chewing tobacco [Swahili: <i>ugoro</i>]	gìsirdžá:nd <i>N SG</i> . English: hoe [Swahili: <i>jembe</i>]
gìrdžá:nd <i>N SG</i> . English: intestinal worm [Swahili: <i>mnyoo</i>]	gìsìrén'g <i>N PL</i> . English: hoes [Swahili: <i>jembe</i>]
gìrdžènd jé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: new moon [Swahili: <i>mwezi mwandamo / mpevu</i>]	gìstjéwd <i>N PL</i> . English: neighbors [Swahili: <i>majirani</i>]
gìrèdžàdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: porcupines [Swahili: <i>nungunungu</i>]	gìstjèwòtjánd <i>N SG</i> . English: neighbor [Swahili: <i>jirani</i>]
gìrèdžé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: porcupine [Swahili: <i>nungunungu</i>]	gìsùngsúng <i>N SG</i> . English: The Sungusungu justice organizations [Swahili: <i>Sungusungu</i>]
gìrg^wagé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: youth meeting [Swahili: <i>kikao cha vijana</i>]	gìjád <i>N PL</i> . English: stoves [Swahili: <i>jiko</i>]
gìrg^wágúdíg <i>N PL</i> . English: youth meetings [Swahili: <i>vikao vya vijana</i>]	gìjàjánd <i>N SG</i> . English: rib [Swahili: <i>ubavu</i>]
gìrírg <i>N PL</i> . English: intestinal worms [Swahili: <i>minyoo</i>]	gìjàjé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: ribs [Swahili: <i>bavu</i>]
gìrìsì:n <i>V Class I, +ATR</i> . English: tighten	gìjì:dàdžé:gà <i>N PL</i> . English: skirts [Swahili: <i>sketi</i>]
	gìjfadé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: cooking stone [Swahili: <i>figa</i>]

gìffádǵ *N PL*. English: cooking stones [Swahili: *mafiga*]
gìft *N SG*. English: leg [Swahili: *mguu*]
gìtàbàdǵánd *N SG*. English: book [Swahili: *kitabu*]
gìtàbàdǵé:g *N PL*. English: books [Swahili: *vitabu*]
gìtáři:ng^w *N SG*. English: thumb piano [Swahili: *malimba*]
gìtáři:ng^wádǵé:g *N PL*. English: thumb pianos [Swahili: *malimba*]
gìtǵrǵánd *N SG*. English: sneeze [Swahili: *chafya*]
gìtǵrǵápèk *N PL*. English: sneezes [Swahili: *chafya*]
gìtǵ à gìtǵà *ADV*. English: often [Swahili: *mara nyingi*]
gìtǵà *ADV*. English: again [Swahili: *tena*]
gìtǵí *N SG*. English: room [Swahili: *chumba*]
gìtǵíjádǵég *N PL*. English: rooms [Swahili: *vyumba*]
gìtǵíjádǵèg sírótǵ *N PL*. English: bedrooms [Swahili: *vyumba vya kulala*]
gìtǵíjèd sírótǵ *N SG*. English: bedroom [Swahili: *chumba cha kulala*]
gód *V Class I, +ATR*. English: touch, pass by (ITV) [Swahili: *gusa, pitia (na uende)*]
gòdá:dà *V Class I, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: touch, pass by again and again (ITV) [Swahili: *pitapita (na uenda)*]
gójǵój *ADV*. English: bad, not well [Swahili: *vibaya*]
gòkájǵd *N SG*. English: grandmother [Swahili: *bibi*]
gòkájé:k *N PL*. English: grandmothers [Swahili: *bibi*]
gòlàdǵé:g *N PL*. English: doves [Swahili: *njiwa*]
gòló:d *N SG*. English: dove [Swahili: *njiwa*]
gón *V Class I, +ATR*. English: give [Swahili: *kupa*]
gòn:í *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: pass by (VEN) [Swahili: *pitia (na uje)*]
gòrògè:d *N SG*. English: coldness [Swahili: *baridi*]
gòwájǵd *N SG*. English: liver [Swahili: *ini*]
gòwájé:k *N PL*. English: livers [Swahili: *ini*]
gúd *V*. English: prepare an animal skin by scraping it [Swahili: *kuna*]
gùdàdǵé:g *N PL*. English: dogs [Swahili: *mbwa*]
gùdé:d *N SG*. English: dog [Swahili: *mbwa*]
gùdǵútà *V Class I, +ATR*. English: push, continue [Swahili: *sukuma*]
gùdì:ríg *N PL*. English: thieves [Swahili: *wezi*]
gùdùràdǵé:g *N PL*. English: jugs [Swahili: *magudulia*]
gùdùrdǵánd *N SG*. English: thief [Swahili: *mwizi / mwivi*]
gùdǵák *N PL*. English: horns [Swahili: *mapembe*]
gùdǵàwé:d *N SG*. English: horns [Swahili: *pembe*]
gùdǵòndǵòndǵg^wé:g *N PL*. English: hares/rabbits [Swahili: *sungura*]
gùdǵòndǵóòd *N SG*. English: hare/rabbit [Swahili: *sungura*]
gùhó:r *N SG*. English: urine [Swahili: *mkojo*]
gúl *V Class I, +ATR*. English: bump, beat, castrate [Swahili: *gonga, ponda, hasi*]
gùlán *V Class I, +ATR*. English: hit two things together [Swahili: *gonganisha*]
gùlàné:d *N SG*. English: neutered male cow [Swahili: *mnyama dume aliyehasiwa*]
gùláng *N PL*. English: neutered animals

[Swahili: *wanyama dume aliyehasiwa*]
gùlbè:d *N SG*. English: thread, cotton
[Swahili: *uzi / nyuzi / pamba*]
gùlbéng *N PL*. English: threads, cotton
[Swahili: *uzi / nyuzi / pamba*]
gùlgúl *V*. English: hit multiple times
[Swahili: *gongagonga, pondaponda*]
gùlùfkák *N PL*. English: clubs [Swahili:
rungu]
gùlùft *N SG*. English: club [Swahili: *rungu*]
gùmbè:d *N SG*. English: gizzard [Swahili:
firigisi]
gùmbén'g *N PL*. English: gizzards [Swahili:
firigisi]
gùmd *N SG*. English: bulb [Swahili: *shina*]
gùmd gé:t *PHRASE*. English: under a tree,
lit. 'the bulb or root of a tree' [Swahili: *chini*
ya mti]
gùmè:d *N SG*. English: carcass [Swahili:
mzoga]
gùmén'g *N PL*. English: carcasses [Swahili:
mizoga]
gùmfák *N PL*. English: bulbs [Swahili:
shina]
gùndà:ró:d *N SG*. English: dust storm
[Swahili: *vumbi na upepo kali*]
gùnùnè:gá *N PL*. English: Name of one of
the three original Asimjeeg sub-groups.
[Swahili: *Wagununega*]
gùpàwpàw *N SG*. English: mole [Swahili:
karunguyeye]
gùpàwpàwàdžé:g *N PL*. English: moles
[Swahili: *karunguyeye*]
gùpg^wé:g *N PL*. English: mortars [Swahili:
viuri / vinu]
gùpò:d *N SG*. English: mortar [Swahili: *kiuri*
/ kinu]
gùràjànd *N SG*. English: bell [Swahili:
kengele]
gùràjè:k *N PL*. English: bells [Swahili:
kengele]
gùrdá *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: call
(someone) [Swahili: *ita*]
gùròràdžé:g *N PL*. English: hearts [Swahili:
mioyo]
gùròró:d *N SG*. English: heart [Swahili:
moyo]
gùrúdg *N PL*. English: ropes [Swahili:
kamba za nyuzi]
gùrùtjánd *N SG*. English: rope [Swahili:
kamba ya nyuzi]
gùrwádg *N PL*. English: dreams [Swahili:
ndoto]
gùrwàdžánd *N SG*. English: wild pig
[Swahili: *nguruwe pori*]
gùrwàdžé:g *N PL*. English: wild pigs
[Swahili: *nguruwe pori*]
gùrwàtjánd *N SG*. English: dream [Swahili:
ndoto]
gùsát *N SG*. English: vagina [Swahili: *uke*]
gùsàtjéng *N PL*. English: vaginas [Swahili:
uke]
gùsí:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: sprinkle
[Swahili: *nyunyiza*]
g^wà:rúg^w *N PL*. English: elders [Swahili:
wazee]
g^wà:rùg^w sí:k^wàdž *N PL*. English: fathers in
law [Swahili: *baba mkwe*]
g^wàdé:n *ADV*. English: just, only [Swahili:
tu]
g^wàjámùdž *ADV*. English: various [Swahili:
Tofautitofauti / mbalimbali]
g^wàjd *N SG*. English: year [Swahili: *mwaka*]
g^wàjd éf *N SG*. English: new year [Swahili:
mwaka mpya / mwaka mweupe]
g^wàjd múqùf *PHRASE*. English: for the

entire year [Swahili: *mwaka mzima*]
g^wàlàdíng *N PL*. English: caves [Swahili: *mapango*]
g^wàlàpánd *N SG*. English: elder (male) [Swahili: *mzee wa kiume / mume*]
g^wàlàjé:k *N PL*. English: elders (male) [Swahili: *wazee wa kiume / waume*]
g^wàlè:d *N SG*. English: cave [Swahili: *pango*]
g^wàpé:k *N PL*. English: years [Swahili: *miaka*]
g^wàpèk éjǐfǐ *N PL*. English: new years [Swahili: *miaka mipya / miaka meupe*]
g^wàng^wáládžé:g *N PL*. English: millipedes [Swahili: *jongoo*]
g^wàng^wáló:d *N SG*. English: millipede [Swahili: *jongoo*]
g^wàrg^w *N SG*. English: elder [Swahili: *mzee*]
g^wàrg^wè:d sí:k^wàdž *N SG*. English: father in law [Swahili: *baba mkwe*]
g^wàrsí:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: congratulate [Swahili: *pongeza, sifu*]
g^wàsí:nà *V.PHRASE*. English: it's like this [Swahili: *ndiyo hivyo*]
g^wátj *ADV*. English: that time [Swahili: *saa zile, wakati ule*]
g^wátj gídábàl *PHRASE*. English: it would be best [Swahili: *ingekuwa bora*]
g^wè:ràdžé:g *N PL*. English: baobab shells [Swahili: *vipeo*]
g^wè:rí:d *N SG*. English: baobab shell [Swahili: *kipeo*]

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há *PARTCL*. English: well, well then, then [Swahili: *basi*]
hà:bàdé:d *N SG*. English: scar [Swahili:

kovu]
hà:bídž *N PL*. English: scars [Swahili: *kovu*]
hà:dís *N SG*. English: story [Swahili: *hadithi*]
háb *V Class I, -ATR*. English: get well [Swahili: *pona*]
hábí / hápí *V.PHRASE*. English: come [Swahili: *ebu*]
hád *V*. English: increase s.th. [Swahili: *ongeza*]
hàdíng *N PL*. English: men [Swahili: *wanaume*]
háló:t *N SG*. English: danger [Swahili: *hatari*]
hàlòhé:d *N SG*. English: appeal [Swahili: *uzuri*]
hàlúld *N SG*. English: Shoulder [Swahili: *bega*]
hàlùlék *N PL*. English: shoulders [Swahili: *mabega*]
hàmàdíng *N PL*. English: hunting blinds [Swahili: *sehemu za kusubiria wanyama*]
hámábá *ADV*. English: hey, well [Swahili: *hebu*]
hàmèd *N SG*. English: hunting blind [Swahili: *sehemu ya kusubiria wanyama*]
hàmít / àmít *N SG*. English: ugali [Swahili: *ugali*]
hàmíjòdžíg / àmíjòdžíg *N PL*. English: ugali [Swahili: *ugali*]
hápà *ADJ*. English: sweet [Swahili: *tamu*]
hànd *N SG*. English: clothes [Swahili: *nguo*]
hànd gáv géjáng *N SG*. English: pants [Swahili: *suruali*]
hàné:d *N SG*. English: livestock herding [Swahili: *uchungaji*]
hánòj *ADJ* *hánòjì*. English: hard [Swahili: *-gumu*]
hàn^wák *N PL*. English: clothes [Swahili: *nguo*]

- hàŋ^wàk gáw géfáng** *N PL*. English: pants [Swahili: *suruali*]
- hàq^wán'g** *N PL*. English: female animals that haven't given birth [Swahili: *jike ambaye hajazaa*]
- hàq^wánd** *N SG*. English: female cow [Swahili: *jike ambaye hajazaa*]
- hàq^wé:d** *N SG*. English: leadership [Swahili: *uongozi*]
- hàràdžé:g** *N PL*. English: leftovers [Swahili: *viporo*]
- hàrán** *N SG*. English: inheretiance [Swahili: *urithi*]
- hàràné:g** *N PL*. English: inheretiance [Swahili: *urithi*]
- hàré:r** *ADJ* *háréérì*. English: red [Swahili: *nyekundu*]
- hàrúd** *N SG*. English: leftovers [Swahili: *kiporo*]
- hàsàs** *ADJ* *hásási*. English: light (not heavy) [Swahili: *nyepesi*]
- hàsàsánd** *N SG*. English: lightness [Swahili: *uwepesi*]
- hàsàsápèk** *N PL*. English: lightness [Swahili: *uwepesi*]
- hàw** *ADJ* *hésì*. English: big [Swahili: *kubwa*]
- hàwànd dúg^w** *N SG*. English: herd of cattle [Swahili: *kundi la ng'ombe*]
- hàwànpèk dúg^w** *N PL*. English: herds of cattle [Swahili: *makundi ya ng'ombe*]
- hàwé:g** *N PL*. English: girls [Swahili: *wasichana*]
- hàwúnd** *N SG*. English: size [Swahili: *ukubwa*]
- hàwùnpánd** *N SG*. English: root [Swahili: *mzizi*]
- hàwúŋg** *N PL*. English: roots [Swahili: *mizizi*]
- hé:lg** *N PL*. English: rituals, dung applied to the stomach during birth [Swahili: *matambiko, mavi yanayoweka tumboni wakati wa kuzaa*]
- hèdó:d** *N SG*. English: light [Swahili: *nuru*]
- hèdò:d ásé:tjànd** *N.PHRASE*. English: sunshine [Swahili: *nuru kutoka jua*]
- hèdò:d míng^w** *N.PHRASE*. English: starlight [Swahili: *nuru kutoka nyota*]
- hèdò:d féd** *N.PHRASE*. English: moonshine [Swahili: *nuru ya mwezì*]
- héjd** *N SG*. English: bull [Swahili: *ng'ombe dume*]
- hèkàdžánd** *N SG*. English: acre [Swahili: *eka, ekari*]
- hèlèd nàwéd** *N.PHRASE* *hèlèd ná\wádíng*. English: fork in path [Swahili: *njia panda*]
- hèl'é:n** *V Class I*. English: be different [Swahili: *kuwa tofauti*]
- hèn:í** *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: grow up [Swahili: *kua*]
- hènó:d** *N SG*. English: adulthood, growth [Swahili: *uzima, ukuaji*]
- hét** *ADV*. English: yesterday [Swahili: *jana*]
- héwg** *N PL*. English: bulls [Swahili: *ng'ombe dume*]
- hé:d** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: wake s.o. up [Swahili: *amsha, waka*]
- hè:dhé:d** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: fan s.th. [Swahili: *pepea*]
- hé:f** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: apply ointment [Swahili: *paka*]
- hè:wán** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: deny [Swahili: *kana*]
- hèwéwì:n** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: forbid [Swahili: *kataza*]
- hìdž àg** *PHRASE*. English: one place, that one place [Swahili: *sehemu moja, huko moja*]

hìdʒì *ADV* . English: here [Swahili: *hapa*]
hìndájɔ̄ gè:w *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: imitate [Swahili: *iga*]
hìn:í *V Class I, -ATR, VEN*. English: arrive [Swahili: *fika (na uje)*]
híjí gè:w *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: bend down, stoop [Swahili: *inama*]
hìṅàdájɔ̄ *PREP* . English: down [Swahili: *chini*]
hìṅàdàjɔ̄ *PREP* . English: below [Swahili: *chini ya*]
hìṅàdájɔ̄ *PREP* . English: below [Swahili: *chini ya*]
hìqdé:g *N PL*. English: hiccups [Swahili: *kwikwi*]
hìrdʒén *V Class I, +ATR*. English: break s.th. [Swahili: *vunja*]
hò:sínd *N SG*. English: old age [Swahili: *uzee*]
hòmínd *N SG*. English: grazing cattle [Swahili: *malishoni*]
hóndájɔ̄ *N SG*. English: division into age groups [Swahili: *tengwa*]
hòṅgàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: chairs [Swahili: *viti*]
hòṅgé:d *N SG*. English: chair [Swahili: *kiti*]
hós *ADJ hósì*. English: old [Swahili: *kilichozeeka*]
hòsán *V Class I, +ATR*. English: (be) happy, (be) joyful [Swahili: *furahi*]
hòsìn húdíg *V.PHRASE Class I, +ATR*. English: harvest honey [Swahili: *rina asali*]
hòfàné:d *N SG*. English: worker [Swahili: *mfanyakazi*]
hòfòtʃánd *N SG*. English: worker [Swahili: *mfanyakazi*]
hòfú *ADV* . English: there [Swahili: *kule*]
hòwá *ADV* . English: there [Swahili: *kule*]
hò:té:l *N SG/PL*. English: restaurant [Swahili: *hoteli*]
hón *V Class I, -ATR*. English: drive away [Swahili: *fukuza*]
hòndá *V* . English: go to be instructed in the ways of adulthood [Swahili: *kwenda uynagoni*]
hòndàjɔ̄ *N SG*. English: instruction for youth [Swahili: *unyago*]
húd *N SG*. English: girl [Swahili: *msichana*]
hùd dúrmaní:t *N SG*. English: pregnant girl [Swahili: *binti aliyepata mimba*]
hùdíg *N PL*. English: bees [Swahili: *nyuki*]
hùdtʃánd *N SG*. English: bee [Swahili: *nyuki*]
hùdùmè:d *N SG*. English: girlhood [Swahili: *usichana*]
hùdʒ *N SG*. English: porridge [Swahili: *uji*]
hùgák *N PL*. English: cow humps [Swahili: *nundu*]
húgd / húkt *N SG*. English: cow hump [Swahili: *nundu*]
hùlánd *N SG*. English: home of boys, building to welcome guests, meeting [Swahili: *nyumba ya vijana, nyumba ya kuwapokea wageni, kikao*]
hùlàpé:k *N PL*. English: homes of boys, buildings to welcome guests, meetings [Swahili: *nyumba za vijana, nyumba za kuwapokea wageni, vikao*]
hùmá *ADV* . English: true [Swahili: *kweli*]
hùmánd *N SG*. English: truth [Swahili: *ukweli*]
hùrmé:d *N SG*. English: look, expression [Swahili: *sura*]
hùsùsánd *N SG*. English: cheap price [Swahili: *bei rahisi*]

hùsùséḡ *N PL*. English: cheap prices
[Swahili: *bei rahisi*]

/i/

ì:díg *N PL*. English: ears, languages, news
[Swahili: *masikio, lugha, habari*]

ì:dú *ADV*. English: later [Swahili: *baadaye*]

ì:dzá *ADV*. English: if/like [Swahili: *kama*]

ì:jít *ADV*. English: ok, well... [Swahili: *basi (ikiwa tayari)*]

ì:mútj *ADV*. English: later [Swahili: *baadaye*]

ì:nánd *N SG*. English: small intestines?
[Swahili: *utumbo*]

ì:né:g *N PL*. English: small intestines
[Swahili: *utumbo*]

í:t *N SG*. English: ear, language, news
[Swahili: *sikio, lugha, habari*]

ì:t gíswàhí:l *N SG*. English: Swahili language
[Swahili: *lugha ya Kiswahili*]

ìdʒg^wè:g gísìlg *N PL*. English: young female
sheep [Swahili: *watoto wa kondoo ambao ni
jike*]

ìdʒg^wè:g nó:g *N PL*. English: female goats
[Swahili: *mbuzi jike*]

ìdʒò:d gísíl:ánd *N SG*. English: young
female sheep [Swahili: *mtoto wa kondoo
ambaye ni jike*]

ìdʒò:d mbójd *N SG*. English: female goat
[Swahili: *mbuzi jike*]

íjèj *NUM*. English: two [Swahili: *mbili*]

índú:wár *ADV*. English: yesterday [Swahili: *jana*]

ìrú *ADV*. English: later [Swahili: *baadaye*]

ìs:ádʒáḡḡ *N SG*. English: snake species
[Swahili: *aina ya nyoka*]

ìs:ádʒáḡḡàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: snake
species [Swahili: *aina ya nyoka*]

ís:pò *NUM*. English: seven [Swahili: *saba*]

ìtʃábùndʒ *N SG*. English: kigger [Swahili: *funza ya nguruwe*]

ìtʃíbód *N SG*. English: snake [Swahili: *nyoka*]

ìtʃífké:g *N PL*. English: snakes [Swahili: *nyoka*]

/j/

já:d *V*. English: send s.th. [Swahili: *peleka*]

jám *V Class I, -ATR*. English: turn over,
change, barter [Swahili: *pindua, badilisha,
badili*]

jí:n *V Class I, -ATR*. English: put, place
[Swahili: *weka*]

jí:p *V Class I, -ATR*. English: hear [Swahili: *sikia*]

jíb dá *V Class I, +ATR, ITV*. English: drown
[Swahili: *zama*]

jístá *V Class I, -ATR*. English: sow (seeds)
[Swahili: *panda (mbegu)*]

jùdàdʒá:nd *N SG*. English: tree with thorns
[Swahili: *mti wa “ngoja kidogo”*]

jùdàʒé:g *N PL*. English: trees with thorns
[Swahili: *miti ya “ngoja kidogo”*]

/k/, /k^w/

kábúré:d *ADV*. English: instead of [Swahili: *badala ya*]

kàlàràdʒé:g *N PL*. English: pencils, pens
[Swahili: *kalamu*]

kèmbàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: kilograms
[Swahili: *kilo*]

kèmbùràdžánd *N SG*. English: wild cat [Swahili: *paka mwitu / paka shume*]
kèmbùràdžé:g *N PL*. English: wild cats [Swahili: *paka mwitu / paka shume*]
kórófàn gíjè:t *V*. English: be mad at each other [Swahili: *korofishana*]
kú:d *V*. English: break [Swahili: *vunjika*]
kùmùkùmùbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: memories [Swahili: *kumbukumbu*]
k^wàjàhí *N SG/PL*. English: choir [Swahili: *kwaya*]

/I/

lá *NUM*. English: six [Swahili: *sita*]
lá:b *V*. English: wear shoes [Swahili: *vaa viatu*]
là:bán bádàw *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: betray [Swahili: *mpite kwa nyuma / mzunguke*]
lá:l *V Class I*. English: unload [Swahili: *pakua*]
lá:w *N SG*. English: Placename for the area where the Asimjeeg reside in the Mara region [Swahili: *Musoma, Mara*]
làbàdájùd *N SG*. English: cowhide sandal [Swahili: *malapa ya ngozi ya ng'ombe*]
làbàdàjék *N PL*. English: cowhide sandals [Swahili: *malapa za ngozi ya ng'ombe*]
làbáj *V Class I, +ATR*. English: swim [Swahili: *ogelea*]
làdám *NUM*. English: sixty [Swahili: *sitini*]
làdám à: dá:màn *NUM*. English: seventy [Swahili: *sabini*]
ládž *V Class I, -ATR*. English: cut [Swahili: *kata*]
ládž mó:l *V*. English: deceive s.o. [Swahili:

fyolea]
ládž jé:g úk^wè:d *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: clear the field [Swahili: *fyeka shamba*]
làdž qát *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: slaughter [Swahili: *chinja shingo*]
ládž qùt *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: click mouth [Swahili: *sunya*]
làfó:d *N SG*. English: uncircumcized boy [Swahili: *mvulana asiyetahiriwa*]
làfóníg *N PL*. English: uncircumcized boys [Swahili: *wavulana wasiotahiriwa*]
làgánì *V Class I, VEN*. English: remain [Swahili: *baki*]
làg^wénd *N SG*. English: male sheep [Swahili: *kondoo dume*]
làg^wéndíg *N PL*. English: male sheep [Swahili: *kondoo dume*]
làkàdžé:g *N PL*. English: hundred thousands [Swahili: *laki*]
làládž *V Class I*. English: boil [Swahili: *chemka*]
làlànó:d *N SG*. English: eternity [Swahili: *milele*]
làlálqđà *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: shake something with power, e.g. shake the dirt out of a cloth [Swahili: *kung'uta*]
làmádž *V Class I, -ATR*. English: hasten [Swahili: *harakisha*]
làmádžá:d *ADV*. English: quickly [Swahili: *kwa haraka*]
làmní *V VEN*. English: pass (VEN) [Swahili: *pita (kwa kuja)*]
làní:d *N SG*. English: fog [Swahili: *ukungu*]
làgní *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: leave s.th. [Swahili: *bakiza*]
làgnúd *V Class I, +ATR*. English: be sated [Swahili: *shiba*]

làpí: *N PL*. English: money [Swahili: *pesa*]
làpìjàdʒánd *N SG*. English: money [Swahili: *pesa*]
làpìjé:d *N SG*. English: money [Swahili: *pesa*]
làqà:nè:d ñáldájd *N SG*. English: grinding stone [Swahili: *kimango / jiwe la kusagia*]
làqà:nè:d ñáfó:d *N SG*. English: grinding stone [Swahili: *kimango / jiwe la kusagia*]
làqànèd háw *N SG*. English: big rock [Swahili: *jiwe kubwa*]
làqàng hési *N PL*. English: big rocks [Swahili: *mawe kubwa*]
làqàng ñáldájd *N PL*. English: grinding stones [Swahili: *vimango / mawe ya kusagia*]
làqàng ñáfó:d *N PL*. English: grinding stones [Swahili: *vimango / mawe ya kusagia*]
lás bánàk *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: clap (hands) [Swahili: *piga makofi*]
lás dúmd *V Class I, -ATR*. English: sing [Swahili: *imba*]
lás mádájd *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: slap [Swahili: *zaba kofi*]
làsàdè:d *N SG*. English: injury [Swahili: *jeraha*]
làsó:d *N SG*. English: hitting, narration [Swahili: *mapigo, usimuliizi*]
làstá *V Class I, -ATR*. English: drop [Swahili: *angusha*]
látj *V Class I, +ATR*. English: divide [Swahili: *gawanya, gawa*]
làwò:d *N SG*. English: oath [Swahili: *kiapo*]
làwòṅʷák *N PL*. English: oaths [Swahili: *viapo*]
lèkén'g *N PL*. English: lizards (species) [Swahili: *mjusi (aina ya)*]
lèkèjánd *N SG*. English: lizard (species) [Swahili: *mjusi (aina ya)*]
lèmlémàn *V Class I*. English: be loose [Swahili: *legea*]
lé *V Class I, -ATR*. English: drink [Swahili: *kunywa*]
lèhádà *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: wander [Swahili: *zurura*]
lèqléq *V Class I, -ATR*. English: be loose, treat s.o. [Swahili: *legea, tibu*]
li:dàjánd *N SG*. English: a kind of tree that was used for treating stomach problems [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
li:dàjánd *N SG*. English: medicine for stomach pains [Swahili: *dawa ya tumbo*]
li:dájg *N PL*. English: a kind of tree that was used for treating stomach problems [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
lil *V Class I, +ATR*. English: sleep [Swahili: *lala*]
lilà:n ñájn *V.PHRASE Class I, +ATR*. English: lie down [Swahili: *lala chini*]
lilift *N SG*. English: shoot [Swahili: *chipukizi*]
l:ábàṅqʷ *N SG*. English: monkey [Swahili: *tumbili*]
l:ábàṅqʷàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: monkeys [Swahili: *tumbili*]
l:àqʷàdʒánd *N SG*. English: an area in the grassland [Swahili: *sehemu ya mbuga*]
l:àqʷàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: areas in the grassland [Swahili: *sehemu ya mbuga*]
l:ùftàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: spiders [Swahili: *mwenda mbio*]
l:ùftó:d *N SG*. English: spider [Swahili: *mwenda mbio*]
lò:sí:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: weed by hand [Swahili: *ng'olea*]
lòqùmàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: circumcision [Swahili: *jandoni*]
lòtá *V Class I, -ATR*. English: strip off bark

[Swahili: *bandua*]

lúgò:d *N SG*. English: army [Swahili: *jeshi*]

lùgòd ñútjé:d *N SG*. English: boys of war
[Swahili: *vijana wa vita*]

lùg^wè:g ñútjé:d *N PL*. English: boys of war
[Swahili: *vijana wa vita*]

lùqùdá:dà *V*. English: fade away [Swahili:
fifia]

lùqùmàdžè:g béfák *N PL*. English: elephant
trunks [Swahili: *mikono wa tembo*]

lùqùmèd béft *N SG*. English: elephant trunk
[Swahili: *mkono wa tembo*]

lùwánd *N SG*. English: fence [Swahili: *uzio*
wa miiba]

lùwàjék *N PL*. English: fences [Swahili: *uzio*
wa miiba]

/m/

má:dá:q *ADV*. English: freely, unconstrained
[Swahili: *bure*]

mà:rínd *N SG*. English: bald spot [Swahili:
kipara]

mà:rípè:k *N PL*. English: bald spots
[Swahili: *vipara*]

mà:wà:g *N PL*. English: crops [Swahili:
mazao]

màbá *ADV*. English: never [Swahili: *kamwe*]

màbàrdž gíl *PHRASE*. English: they don't
have any problems [Swahili: *hawana shida*]

màdàlàdžé:g *N PL*. English: huts [Swahili:
vibanda]

màdàló:d *N SG*. English: hut [Swahili:
kibanda]

màdàják *N PL*. English: cheeks [Swahili:
mashavu ya uso]

màdàják qójèég *N PL*. English: gills

[Swahili: *mashavu ya samaki*]

màdájnd *N SG*. English: cheek [Swahili:
shavu la uso]

màdàjnd qójánd *N SG*. English: gill [Swahili:
shavu la samaki]

màdè:d *PREP*. English: in front [Swahili:
mbele]

màdž^wánd *V.PHRASE*. English: there isn't
any more [Swahili: *hakuna tena*]

màdž^wé:d *N SG*. English: side, on the side
[Swahili: *upande*]

màdójnd *N SG*. English: vulture [Swahili: *tai*]

màdòják *N PL*. English: vultures [Swahili:
tai]

màdžé:k *ADJ SG*. English: healthy [Swahili:
-zima]

màdžègdžéwì *ADJ PL*. English: healthy
[Swahili: *-zima*]

màdžg^wé:g *N PL*. English: medicines
[Swahili: *madawa*]

màèndèlé:wé:d *N SG*. English: development
[Swahili: *maendeleo*]

màgàrdžánd *N SG*. English: earring
[Swahili: *heleni za mviringo*]

màgárg *N PL*. English: earrings [Swahili:
heleni za mviringo]

màgèmbòdžíg *N PL*. English: hoes [Swahili:
majembe]

màhàjd *N SG*. English: courageousness
[Swahili: *ujasiri*]

màhèmbé:g *n PL*. English: type of crop
[Swahili: *aina ya mazao*]

màjd *N SG*. English: young cow [Swahili:
ndama]

màjd ñáf *N SG*. English: Name of a place
that Saygilo led the Asimjeeg to during their
initial migration [Swahili: *Maydng'ash*]

màjd ré:r *N SG*. English: Milking calf

- [Swahili: *ndama wanaonyonya*]
màjd sífúqú *N SG*. English: a weaned cow
[Swahili: *ndama anayeachishwa ziwa*]
màjòkàdžánd *N SG*. English: pit of the stomach [Swahili: *chembe cha moyo*]
màjsí:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: dry out (uninitiated) [Swahili: *anika*]
màjfè:d *N SG*. English: life [Swahili: *maisha*]
màlàmbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: canoes [Swahili: *mitumbwi*]
màlàmbó:d *N SG*. English: canoe [Swahili: *mtumbwi*]
màlàsidg *N PL*. English: honey [Swahili: *asali*]
màlé:d *N SG*. English: honey [Swahili: *asali*]
màlè:kʷàdžé:g *N PL*. English: trees used for toothbrushes [Swahili: *miti ya miswaki*]
màlò:nd *N SG*. English: worm [Swahili: *mnyoo*]
màlòngàdžé:g *N PL*. English: bricks [Swahili: *matofali*]
màlòngó:d *N SG*. English: brick [Swahili: *tofali*]
màlòngqàdžánd *N SG*. English: spirit of deceased [Swahili: *mzimu*]
màlòngqàdžé:g *N PL*. English: spirits of the deceased [Swahili: *mizimu*]
mám *N SG*. English: maternal uncle [Swahili: *mjomba*]
màmájè:k *N PL*. English: maternal uncles [Swahili: *mjomba*]
màmbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: eels [Swahili: *kamongo (samaki)*]
màmbé:d *N SG*. English: lungfish [Swahili: *makamongo*]
màmbéd *N SG*. English: eel [Swahili: *kamongo (samaki)*]
mànà:r *N SG*. English: herb [Swahili: *mti shamba*]
mànánd *N SG*. English: Waist [Swahili: *kiuno*]
mànànúk *N PL*. English: waists [Swahili: *viuno*]
mànàñ *ADJ* *mànàñgì*. English: small [Swahili: *ndogo*]
mànàñí:t *V*. English: be small [Swahili: *kuwa ndogo*]
mànàñòdíg *N PL*. English: rich people [Swahili: *watu tajiri*]
mànàñòtjánd *N SG*. English: rich person [Swahili: *mtu tajiri*]
mànàràdžé:g *N PL*. English: worms [Swahili: *minyoo*]
mànàw *N SG*. English: Placename for village where the Asimjeeg reside, near Issenye in the Mara region [Swahili: *Manawa*]
màndán *V.PHRASE*. English: no, there is none [Swahili: *hakuna, hapana*]
màndàwòdžíg *N PL*. English: male donkeys [Swahili: *punda dume*]
màndí:d *N SG*. English: male donkey [Swahili: *punda dume*]
mànmán *V Class I*. English: steer, turn around, twist, churn [Swahili: *endesha, zungusha, sukasuka*]
mànmán *N SG*. English: stomach ache [Swahili: *msokoto*]
mànmáné:g *N PL*. English: stomach aches [Swahili: *misokoto*]
máñ *V Class I*. English: gossip [Swahili: *sengenya*]
màpàré:g *N SG*. English: clan name of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: *jina la ukoo wa Kiasimjeeg*]
màpé:g *N PL*. English: history [Swahili: *historia*]

mànéj *N PL*. English: ankle bracelets [Swahili: *udodi (bangili za mguu)*]
mànépàdžánd *N SG*. English: ankle bracelet of jewelry [Swahili: *udodi (bangili za mguu)*]
màníd *N SG*. English: kidney [Swahili: *figo*]
mànípák *N PL*. English: kidneys [Swahili: *figo*]
mànístfó:d *N SG*. English: immigration [Swahili: *uhamiaji*]
mànjá:d *N SG*. English: Sibiti river, near Matala [Swahili: *mto wa Sibiti*]
mànjè:d *N SG*. English: wing, front legs [Swahili: *bawa, miguu ya mbele*]
mànjé:g *N PL*. English: wings, front legs [Swahili: *bawa, miguu ya mbele*]
máng *N PL*. English: spirits [Swahili: *mizimu*]
màngùrdžánd *N SG*. English: guinea corn [Swahili: *mtama*]
màngùrè *N PL*. English: guinea corn [Swahili: *mtama*]
mànjít *N SG*. English: place [Swahili: *mahali*]
màngpánd *N SG*. English: spirit [Swahili: *mzimu*]
màngpàndénd *N SG*. English: devil [Swahili: *shetani*]
mànjòl *N SG*. English: Name of a set of villages in Karatu district where many Asimjeeg migrated to [Swahili: *Mang'ola*]
mànjén *V Class I, +ATR*. English: whisper [Swahili: *nong'ona*]
màpári:d *N SG*. English: ditch [Swahili: *mfareji iliyechimbwa*]
màpàròdžíg *N PL*. English: ditches [Swahili: *mifereji iliyechimbwa*]
màqádà *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: follow (take something) [Swahili: *fuata*]
már *ADJ* *màrdžéw*. English: bald [Swahili: *ana kiparo*]
màràrdžànd níngàjd *N SG*. English: a type of jewelry [Swahili: *aina ya rembo*]
màré:bàdžé:g *N PL*. English: type of crop [Swahili: *aina ya mazao*]
màrèhánd *N SG*. English: Coughed-up mucus [Swahili: *kikohozi*]
màrèhápè:k *N PL*. English: coughed-up mucus [Swahili: *vikohozi*]
màrè:w *N SG*. English: clan name of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: *jina la ukoo wa Waasimjeega*]
márg^wádžàndùmè:d *N SG*. English: the state of being a young mother [Swahili: *hali ya kuwa mama mdogo*]
màrì:dák *N PL*. English: leopards [Swahili: *chui*]
màrì:ndàdžé:g *N PL*. English: skirts [Swahili: *sketi*]
màrmár *V Class I*. English: caress [Swahili: *bembeleza*]
màrwé:g *N PL*. English: alcohol [Swahili: *pombe / kileo*]
más *V Class I, -ATR*. English: agree [Swahili: *kubali*]
màs rámásànd *V Class I, -ATR*. English: admit (a wrong) [Swahili: *kubali kosa*]
màsàmbàjànd *N SG*. English: bangle [Swahili: *bangili*]
màsàmbàjg *N PL*. English: bangles [Swahili: *bangili*]
màsàngàrè:t *N SG*. English: circumcision [Swahili: *jandoni*]
màsàngàrè:tjànd *N SG*. English: a boy who has been circumcised [Swahili: *mvulana ambaye ameenda jandoni*]
màsìnj^wánd *N SG*. English: widow [Swahili: *mwanamke mjane*]

màsìṅṅ^wég *N PL*. English: widows [Swahili: *wanawake wajane*]
màfàrtàdžé:g *N PL*. English: requirements [Swahili: *masharti*]
màfi:mbàdžánd *N SG*. English: a woman without a husband [Swahili: *mwanamke bila mume*]
màfi:n *N SG*. English: machine [Swahili: *mashine*]
màfi:nàdžé:g *N PL*. English: machines [Swahili: *mashine*]
màté:ndèrà:džé:g *N PL*. English: a type of root or bulb [Swahili: *aina ya mimea*]
màté:s *N*. English: suffering [Swahili: *mateso*]
màtṅgò:d *N SG*. English: ladle [Swahili: *mwiko*]
màtṅgòd málámbó:d *N SG*. English: paddle [Swahili: *kasia*]
màtṅg^wàdžé:g *N PL*. English: ladles [Swahili: *miiko*]
màtṅg^wàdžè:g málámbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: paddles [Swahili: *kasia*]
màwé:nd *N SG*. English: a traditional dance [Swahili: *aina ya ngoma*]
màwìjánd *N SG*. English: muscle [Swahili: *msuli*]
màwìjk *N PL*. English: muscles [Swahili: *misuli*]
m̀bàq^wàdžánd *N SG*. English: stork [Swahili: *jahazi*]
m̀bàq^wàdžé:g *N PL*. English: storks [Swahili: *jahazi*]
m̀bàràrdžánd *N SG*. English: stem, stalk [Swahili: *bua*]
m̀bàràrì:d *N PL*. English: stems, stalks [Swahili: *bua*]
m̀bèjàdžé:g *N PL*. English: seeds [Swahili: *mbegu*]
m̀bèjó:d *N SG*. English: seed [Swahili: *mbegu*]
m̀bó:rú *N SG*. English: the town of Mbulu [Swahili: *Mbulu*]
m̀bójd *N SG*. English: goat [Swahili: *mbuzi*]
m̀dàmò:d *N SG*. English: circumcision [Swahili: *toharani*]
m̀džàmàdžé:g *N PL*. English: messages, donations [Swahili: *ujumbe, michango*]
m̀ewé:d *N SG*. English: death [Swahili: *kifo*]
m̀é:f *V Class I, -ATR*. English: lick [Swahili: *lamba*]
m̀é:w *V Class I, -ATR*. English: die [Swahili: *kufa*]
m̀è:wádà *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: fade [Swahili: *fifia*]
m̀í:jì *ADJ m̀íjàs*. English: good [Swahili: *nzuri, safi*]
m̀ì:nádàjì:n *V Class I*. English: order (someone do something) [Swahili: *amrisha, ongoza, simamia*]
m̀ì:ndá *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: climb a tree or crop [Swahili: *panda miche*]
m̀ìdžìkróng *N PL*. English: grandchildren [Swahili: *wajukuu*]
m̀ìjè:d *N SG*. English: death [Swahili: *kifo*]
m̀ìjìnd *N SG*. English: beauty, goodness [Swahili: *uzuri*]
m̀ìjìnd gúróród *N.PHRASE m̀ìjàsì:nèng gúróràdžéég*. English: generous person [Swahili: *karimu, moyo safi*]
m̀ìnd gátìnd *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: wave the hands [Swahili: *punga mkono*]
m̀ìndájì:n gád *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: wave (hand as a greeting) [Swahili: *punga mkono*]

mìnmìná:dà *V Class I, -ATR, AM, ITV.* English: disappear [Swahili: *tokomea*]
mìnǰán *V Class I, -ATR.* English: be sick [Swahili: *umwa / ugua*]
mìjínǰ *N SG.* English: deafness [Swahili: *ukiziwi*]
míng^w *N PL.* English: stars [Swahili: *nyota*]
mìǰmíǰ^wàn *V Class I, +ATR.* English: shine [Swahili: *ng'aa*]
mìǰ^wánd *N SG.* English: star [Swahili: *nyota*]
mìsì:g^wé:d *N SG.* English: luggage [Swahili: *mzigo*]
míǰǰá *N PL.* English: a type of root that was traditionally eaten [Swahili: *aina ya mzizi*]
míǰk *N PL.* English: a traditional food of the past [Swahili: *aina ya chakula cha zamani*]
mítàl *N SG.* English: the town of Matala [Swahili: *Matala*]
mìtàmí:d *N SG.* English: leader [Swahili: *mtemi*]
mìtàmò:dǰíǰ *N PL.* English: leaders [Swahili: *mitemi*]
mìlǰqǰà *V Class I, ITV.* English: suffer [Swahili: *vumilia*]
mìlò:d / mùlò:d *N SG.* English: log [Swahili: *gogo*]
mò:sì:d *N SG.* English: pestle [Swahili: *mchi / mtwangio*]
mò:sín'g *N PL.* English: pestles [Swahili: *michi / mitwangio*]
mòhé:d *N SG.* English: the bush [Swahili: *pori*]
mòlé:d *N SG.* English: finger [Swahili: *kidole*]
mònánd *N SG.* English: hole [Swahili: *shimo*]
mònánd *N SG.* English: well, waterhole [Swahili: *kisima*]
mònég *N PL.* English: wells, waterholes [Swahili: *visima*]
mòǰqǰàǰzé:g *N PL.* English: rows [Swahili: *mistari*]
mòǰqǰàǰzé:g *N PL.* English: boundaries [Swahili: *mipaka*]
mòǰqó:d *N SG.* English: boundary [Swahili: *mpaka*]
mòrǰǰ *N PL.* English: fingers [Swahili: *vidole*]
mòrǰé:n *V Class I.* English: pray (for someone) [Swahili: *ombea*]
mòǰft *N SG.* English: request [Swahili: *ombi*]
mòǰftǰǰd *N SG.* English: oath, curse [Swahili: *laana*]
mòǰftǰǰjè:k *N PL.* English: oaths, curses [Swahili: *laana*]
mòǰǰ *V Class I, -ATR.* English: pray [Swahili: *omba*]
mòǰǰ ásé:t *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR.* English: pray [Swahili: *omba Mungu*]
mòǰft g^wé:w *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR.* English: swear [Swahili: *apa, jilaani*]
mòpákáǰzé:g *N PL.* English: borders [Swahili: *mipaka*]
mòsìmǰjè:d *N SG.* English: desire to do something [Swahili: *hamu*]
mòsùǰǰgàǰǰánd *N SG.* English: A person of European origin [Swahili: *mzungu*]
mòsùǰǰgàǰǰzé:g *N PL.* English: people of European origin [Swahili: *wazungu*]
mòǰǰáǰbd *N SG.* English: tongue [Swahili: *ulimi*]
mòǰǰáǰbúk *N PL.* English: tongues [Swahili: *ulimi*]
mòǰǰàǰǰǰánd *N SG.* English: sugarcane [Swahili: *mgagi*]
mòǰǰàǰǰǰzé:g *N PL.* English: sugarcanes [Swahili: *migagi*]
mù:qó:d *N SG.* English: strength [Swahili: *nguvu*]

- mú:f** *V Class I*. English: strain [Swahili: *chuja*]
- mù:t** *NUM*. English: five [Swahili: *tano*]
- mú:tf** *ADV*. English: well [Swahili: *vizuri*]
- mùdàmó:d** *N SG*. English: circumcision [Swahili: *jandoni*]
- mùdží:n** *ADV*. English: in the city [Swahili: *mjini*]
- mùdžìnàdžé:g** *N PL*. English: cities [Swahili: *miji*]
- mùgdàjd ásétfànd** *N.PHRASE*. English: sunset [Swahili: *machweo*]
- mùgùndánd** *N SG*. English: heap [Swahili: *rundo*]
- mùgùndápè:k** *N PL*. English: heaps [Swahili: *rundo*]
- mùgùré:g** *N PL*. English: meal made of corn and beans [Swahili: *makande*]
- mùhó:g** *N PL*. English: young cows [Swahili: *ndama*]
- mùhò:gúk** *N SG*. English: gullet [Swahili: *koromeo*]
- mùhòg ré:r** *N PL*. English: milking calve [Swahili: *ndama wanaonyonya*]
- mùhòg sífúqú** *N PL*. English: weaned cows [Swahili: *ndama wanaoachishwa ziwa*]
- mùhóg^w** *N PL*. English: cassava [Swahili: *muhogo*]
- mùhòg^wàdžánd** *N SG*. English: cassava [Swahili: *muhogo*]
- mùlbàdáv** *N SG*. English: a traditional dance [Swahili: *aina ya ngoma*]
- mùlmùlàné:d** *N SG*. English: metal bracelet for women [Swahili: *bangili ya chuma (kwa akina mama)*]
- mùlmùláng** *N PL*. English: metal bracelets for women [Swahili: *bangili za chuma (kwa akina mama)*]
- mùlsí:n** *V Class I*. English: evade [Swahili: *kwepa*]
- mùlwé:g** *N PL*. English: logs [Swahili: *magogo*]
- mùná:t** *N SG*. English: market [Swahili: *mnada*]
- mùnd** *N SG*. English: skin [Swahili: *ngozi*]
- mùnd ñàjí:d** *N SG*. English: things of the world [Swahili: *vitu vya dunia*]
- mùndè:sàdžánd** *N SG*. English: gun [Swahili: *bunduki*]
- mùndžálg** *N PL*. English: crusts [Swahili: *ukoko*]
- mùndžál:ánd** *N SG*. English: crust [Swahili: *ukoko*]
- mùnpási:t** *V*. English: be bad [Swahili: *kuwa mbaya*]
- mùjì** *ADJ* *mùnpási*. English: bad [Swahili: *mbaya*]
- múŋ** *V*. English: wait [Swahili: *subiri*]
- mùñé:d** *PREP*. English: up, sky [Swahili: *anga, mbingu*]
- mùqud** *V Class I*. English: wrap up [Swahili: *kunja*]
- mùqudàno:d** *N SG*. English: end [Swahili: *mwisho*]
- múr** *ADJ* *mùrdžéw*. English: brown [Swahili: *mpauko*]
- mùrà mú:d** *N SG*. English: sister in law (spoken by women only [Swahili: *shemeji*])
- mùrà mùñgé:g** *N PL*. English: sisters in law (spoken by women only) [Swahili: *shemeji*]
- mùràné:d** *N SG*. English: crafty person [Swahili: *mtundu*]
- mùráró:d** *ADV*. English: near [Swahili: *karibu*]
- mùrdžáñé:d** *N SG*. English: mouse/rat [Swahili: *panya*]

mùrdzǎng *N PL*. English: mice/rats [Swahili: *panya*]
mùré:d *N SG*. English: respect [Swahili: *heshima*]
mùrùmbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: medicine men, witches [Swahili: *waganga*]
mùsàné:d *N SG*. English: darkness [Swahili: *giza*]
mùsàndžíg *N PL*. English: darkness [Swahili: *giza*]
mùsàrdžánd *N SG*. English: rag [Swahili: *tambara*]
mùsàróng *N PL*. English: rags [Swahili: *tambara*]
mùsàsó:d *N SG*. English: camp [Swahili: *kambi*]
mùsùndžú:d *N SG*. English: trash [Swahili: *takataka*]
mùfò:t *N SG*. English: bag [Swahili: *mfuko*]
mùfòdák *N PL*. English: bags [Swahili: *mifuko*]
mùtkàdžánd *N SG*. English: car [Swahili: *gari*]
mùtk^wàdžé:g *N PL*. English: cars [Swahili: *magari*]
mùtjálàdžé:g *N PL*. English: uncooked rice [Swahili: *mchele*]
mùtjò:d *ADV*. English: dawn [Swahili: *pambazuko / alfajiri*]
mùtjù *ADV*. English: tomorrow [Swahili: *kesho*]
mùtjùnò:d *ADV*. English: dawn [Swahili: *pambazuko / alfajiri*]
mùwà:l *ADV*. English: outside [Swahili: *nje*]
mùwàdíng *N PL*. English: rainy season [Swahili: *masika*]
mùwák *N PL*. English: african buffaloes [Swahili: *mbogo*]

mùwàst *N SG*. English: african buffalo [Swahili: *mbogo*]
mùwé:d *N SG*. English: rainy season [Swahili: *masika*]
mùwògúk *N PL*. English: throats [Swahili: *koo*]
mùwóft *N SG*. English: thirst [Swahili: *kiu*]
mùwóqt *N SG*. English: Throat [Swahili: *koo*]
mwì:jé:d *N SG*. English: end [Swahili: *mwisho*]
mwùjind *ADV*. English: poorly [Swahili: *ubaya / vibaya*]
mwújk *N PL*. English: skins [Swahili: *ngozi*]

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nà(há) *QUEST*. English: what [Swahili: *nini*]
ná:d *N SG*. English: market [Swahili: *mnada, soko*]
nà:dàdžé:g *N PL*. English: markets [Swahili: *mnada, masoko*]
náb *V Class I*. English: sew, weave [Swahili: *shona, fuma*]
náb bú:dé:g *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: braid hair [Swahili: *suka nywele*]
nàbìt *N SG*. English: sewing pattern or style [Swahili: *ushonaji*]
nàbìtjéng *N PL*. English: sewing patterns or styles [Swahili: *ushonaji*]
nàbó:d *N SG*. English: sewing [Swahili: *mishono*]
nàdé:g *N PL*. English: tribes, Swahili people [Swahili: *makabila, Waswahili*]
nàgèsig *N PL*. English: fish species [Swahili: *kambare*]
nàgèst *N SG*. English: fish species [Swahili: *kambare*]

nàjè:ǵí:d *N PL*. English: Iraqw people [Swahili: *Wambulu*]
nàjè:ktǵánd *N SG*. English: Iraqw person [Swahili: *Mbulu (mtu)*]
nál *V Class I, -ATR*. English: know (something or someone) [Swahili: *fahamu*]
nàmìǵ"é:g *N PL*. English: dikdiks [Swahili: *digidigi*]
nàmìjò:d *N SG*. English: dikdik [Swahili: *digidigi*]
nànàtǵàdǵé:g *N PL*. English: bridges [Swahili: *madaraja*]
nànàtǵé:d *N SG*. English: bridge [Swahili: *daraja*]
nàqájǵ *N PL*. English: oils [Swahili: *mafuta*]
nàqájǵ dúǵ^w *N PL*. English: cow fat [Swahili: *mafuta ya ng'ombe*]
nàqè:d *N SG*. English: oil [Swahili: *mafuta*]
nàqèd dé:d *N SG*. English: cow fat [Swahili: *mafuta ya ng'ombe*]
nàtǵánd *N SG*. English: member of another tribe, a Swahili person [Swahili: *mkabila, Mswahili*]
náw *V Class I, -ATR*. English: fold, coil rope [Swahili: *kunja, pindanisha kamba*]
nàwàdájǵd *PREP*. English: behind [Swahili: *nyuma ya*]
nàwàdǵǵ *N PL*. English: paths [Swahili: *njia*]
nàwàdǵǵ dúǵ^w *N PL*. English: cattle lanes [Swahili: *njia za kupitishia ng'ombe*]
nàwàǵák *N PL*. English: spleens [Swahili: *bandama*]
nàwáǵd *N SG*. English: spleen [Swahili: *bandama*]
nàwé:d *N SG*. English: path [Swahili: *njia*]
nàwè:d dúǵ^w *N SG*. English: cattle lane [Swahili: *njia ya kupitishia ng'ombe*]
nàwésì:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: go around [Swahili: *zunguka*]
nd *V.COP*. English: to be, or to be located somewhere [Swahili: *kuna, kuwa*]
ndàbí:d *N SG*. English: grazing land used by someone [Swahili: *ranchi, sehemu ya mtu*]
ndàbò:jǵ *N PL*. English: grazing lands used by someone [Swahili: *ranchi, sehemu za mtu*]
ndák *ADV*. English: why [Swahili: *mbona*]
ndárètídá *ADV*. English: day before yesterday [Swahili: *juzi*]
ndárétídétítá *ADV*. English: three days ago [Swahili: *siku kabla ya juzi*]
ndìrmó:d *N SG*. English: placename [Swahili: *jina la mahali*]
ndùfkàdǵé:g *N PL*. English: bushbucks [Swahili: *pongo*]
ndùfkè:d *N SG*. English: bushbuck' [Swahili: *pongo*]
nè:kí:d *V Class I, +ATR*. English: approach [Swahili: *karibia*]
nèkì *ADJ*. English: near [Swahili: *karibu*]
ngás *N SG*. English: shelf [Swahili: *kichanja*]
níb *N SG*. English: time, period [Swahili: *mara*]
nìb ákálélè *N.PHRASE*. English: once [Swahili: *mara moja*]
nìj *PRO*. English: him/her/it [Swahili: *yeye*]
nó:g *N PL*. English: goats [Swahili: *mbuzi*]
ngùrùdǵánd *N SG*. English: a species of tree [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
ngértídá *ADV*. English: day after tomorrow [Swahili: *kesho kutwa*]
nú:s *V Class I, -ATR*. English: extinguish, kill [Swahili: *zima, ua*]
nú:t *ADJ SG*. English: other [Swahili: *-ingine*]
ngùsì:n qáǵd *V.PHRASE Class I, +ATR*.

English: wink [Swahili: *kukonyeza*]
nùndàrùnd *N SG*. English: a species of tree used for traditional medicine [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
nùñjí *V Class I, -ATR*. English: come [Swahili: *kuja*]
núnj góftá:d *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: be seated [Swahili: *kalisha*]
núnj g^wàròsí:nèj *V.PHRASE Class I, +ATR*. English: forget [Swahili: *sahau*]
núnj^wá:dà *V Class I, -ATR, AM, ITV*. English: stop [Swahili: *acha*]
nùqdá *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: swallow [Swahili: *meza*]
núrdz *ADJ SG*. English: other [Swahili: *-ingine*]
núwàs *ADJ níwági*. English: short [Swahili: *fupi*]

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já:s *ADV*. English: often [Swahili: *huwa*]
jàbùdžíg *N PL*. English: female (of any animal) [Swahili: *jike ambao wamezaa*]
jàbùdžíg dúg^w *N PL*. English: old female cows [Swahili: *ng'ombe jike ambao wamezaa*]
jàbùdžíg gísìlg *N PL*. English: female sheep [Swahili: *kondoo jike ambao wamezaa*]
jàbùld *N SG*. English: female (of any animal) [Swahili: *jike ambaye amezaa*]
jàbùld dé:d *N SG*. English: an old female cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe jike ambaye amezaa*]
jàbùld gísìl:ánd *N SG*. English: female sheep [Swahili: *kondoo jike ambaye amezaa*]
jàfàdžánd *N SG*. English: fishing net [Swahili: *nyavu*]
jàfàdžé:g *N PL*. English: fishing nets

[Swahili: *nyavu*]
jàgdá *V Class I, +ATR*. English: meet, encounter, experience [Swahili: *kuta*]
jàgdó:d *N SG*. English: louse [Swahili: *chawa*]
jàgíràngí *N PL*. English: Name of one of the three original Asimjeeg sub-groups. [Swahili: *Wanyagirangi*]
jàgjàgdá:dà *V Class I, +ATR*. English: meet, encounter, experience multiple times [Swahili: *kutakuta*]
jàlájjd *N SG*. English: impotent man [Swahili: *mwanaume tasa*]
jàlájjè:k *N PL*. English: impotent men [Swahili: *wanaume tasa*]
jàmàstfèw *N SG*. English: clan name of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: *jina la ukoo wa Waasimjeega*]
jàmbó:d *N SG*. English: name of Asimjeeg village near Issenye [Swahili: *jina la kijiji karibu na Issenye*]
jàmídg *N PL*. English: cattle brands [Swahili: *chapa*]
jàmìt *N SG*. English: cattle brand [Swahili: *chapa*]
jàjàrà:n *V Class I, -ATR*. English: destroyed [Swahili: *haribika*]
jàngàdžé:g *N PL*. English: weddings [Swahili: *harusi*]
jàngí:d *N SG*. English: wedding [Swahili: *harusi*]
jàngò:džíg *N PL*. English: weddings [Swahili: *harusi*]
jàrdžé:n *V Class I, -ATR*. English: destroy [Swahili: *haribu*]
jàrgánd *N PL*. English: parrots, lovebirds [Swahili: *kasuku*]
jàré:s *V Class I, -ATR*. English: be angry

[Swahili: *kasirika*]

ḡás *V Class I, -ATR*. English: find [Swahili: *pata*]

ḡàḡéḡḡ *N PL*. English: voices, thunder [Swahili: *sauti, ngurumo*]

ḡàḡt *N SG*. English: voice, thunder [Swahili: *sauti, ngurumo*]

ḡàḡtó:d *N SG*. English: grass [Swahili: *nyasi*]

ḡàḡwár *N SG*. English: Lake Nyatwara [Swahili: *Ziwa Nyatwara*]

ḡàḡwàḡzáḡnd *N SG*. English: cat [Swahili: *paka*]

ḡàḡwàḡḡé:g *N PL*. English: cats [Swahili: *paka*]

ḡáwì:f *ADJ ḡáwìrì*. English: blue, green [Swahili: *buluu, kijani*]

ḡàḡḡétḡfánd *N SG*. English: a type of tree used to get rid of worms [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]

ḡé: *V Class I, +ATR*. English: chew [Swahili: *tafuna*]

ḡé:g *N PL*. English: grasses [Swahili: *nyasi*]

ḡè:ḡè:tḡfánd *N SG*. English: a species of tree [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]

ḡèḡé *V Class I, -ATR*. English: chew [Swahili: *tafuna*]

ḡí:d *V Class I*. English: be full [Swahili: *jaa*]

ḡìḡḡím *V Class I, +ATR*. English: smile [Swahili: *tabasamu*]

ḡó:k *N PL*. English: lice [Swahili: *chawa*]

/ḡ/, /ḡʷ/

ḡà(há) *QUEST*. English: who? [Swahili: *nani?*]

ḡá:l *V Class I*. English: grind [Swahili: *saga*]

ḡád ḡàḡd *PHRASE*. English: be educated

[Swahili: *elimika*]

ḡàḡá:d *ADJ SG*. English: proud (singular) [Swahili: *kuwa na kiburi*]

ḡàḡá:dì *ADJ PL*. English: proud [Swahili: *kuwa na kiburi*]

ḡàḡdì:d *N SG*. English: lion [Swahili: *simba*]

ḡàḡḡò:bàḡḡá:nd *N SG*. English: frog/toad [Swahili: *chura*]

ḡàḡḡò:bàḡḡé:g *N PL*. English: frogs/toads [Swahili: *chura*]

ḡáj *ADJ*. English: few [Swahili: *chache*]

ḡál *V Class I*. English: succeed, dig a small hole [Swahili: *shinda, fukua*]

ḡàḡà:ḡán *ADV*. English: sometimes [Swahili: *mara kwa mara*]

ḡàḡàḡánà *ADV*. English: occasionally [Swahili: *mara kwa mara*]

ḡàḡì:p *ADJ ḡàḡíḡbì*. English: sharp [Swahili: *ncha kali*]

ḡàḡìḡ *N SG*. English: pneumonia [Swahili: *kichomì*]

ḡàḡìḡpàḡḡé:g *N PL*. English: pneumonia [Swahili: *kichomì*]

ḡàḡ *N*. English: earth, down [Swahili: *ardhi, chini*]

ḡàḡé:k *N PL*. English: lions [Swahili: *simba*]

ḡàḡí:d *N SG*. English: country [Swahili: *nchi*]

ḡàḡòḡḡíg *N PL*. English: countries [Swahili: *nchi*]

ḡàḡá:dà *V Class I, -ATR, AM, ITV*. English: hurry (there) [Swahili: *haraka, wahi (na uende)*]

ḡàḡá:nì *V Class I, -ATR, AM, VEN*. English: hurry (here) [Swahili: *haraka, wahi (na uje)*]

ḡàḡáḡk *N PL*. English: grasshoppers [Swahili: *panzi*]

ḡàḡàḡtḡfánd *N SG*. English: grasshopper [Swahili: *panzi*]

ḡàráḡ *N PL*. English: peanuts [Swahili: *karanga*]
ḡáf *V*. English: grind [Swahili: *saga*]
ḡàfánd *N SG*. English: word, thing [Swahili: *nenó*]
ḡàfé:g *N PL*. English: words, things [Swahili: *maneno*]
ḡàtá *V Class I, -ATR*. English: pass without meeting (ITV) [Swahili: *pita*]
ḡàtó:d *N SG*. English: pride [Swahili: *kiburí*]
ḡàtʃé:n *V Class I*. English: cut [Swahili: *kata*]
ḡàwíʃé:d *N SG*. English: throat swells [Swahili: *matezi shingoni*]
ḡàwúʃk *N PL*. English: throat swells [Swahili: *matezi shingoni*]
ḡèdé:d *N SG*. English: man [Swahili: *mwanaume*]
ḡé:d *V Class I, -ATR*. English: wake up (intr) [Swahili: *amka*]
ḡé:d ájéḡ *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: stand [Swahili: *simama*]
ḡgàràrò:d *N SG*. English: hat [Swahili: *kofia*]
ḡgàràróḡ *N PL*. English: hats [Swahili: *kofia*]
ḡgàtádʒé:g *N PL*. English: head pads for carrying things [Swahili: *ngata*]
ḡgàté:d *N SG*. English: head pad for carrying things [Swahili: *ngata*]
ḡḡḡín *V Class I*. English: carve [Swahili: *kata kidogo*]
ḡḡḡómb *N SG*. English: placename [Swahili: *Ng'onyomba*]
ḡḡ *V Class I, +ATR*. English: write/draw [Swahili: *andika*]
ḡḡʃó:d *N SG*. English: education, schooling, writing [Swahili: *elimu, shule, maandiko*]
ḡḡ:wí:d *V Class I, -ATR*. English: (be) blind [Swahili: *pofuka*]
ḡḡàḡàdʒé:g *N PL*. English: chickens [Swahili: *kuku*]
ḡḡàḡó:d *N SG*. English: chicken [Swahili: *kuku*]
ḡḡúd *V Class I*. English: burn, kill [Swahili: *choma*]
ḡḡùdàḡḡánd *N SG*. English: roof boards [Swahili: *miti ya paa*]
ḡḡùdàḡḡ *N PL*. English: roof boards [Swahili: *miti ya paa*]
ḡḡùdḡḡák *N PL*. English: lances [Swahili: *mikukí*]
ḡḡùḡḡòtʃánd *N SG*. English: medicine man [Swahili: *mganga*]
ḡḡùjé:g *N PL*. English: lies (falsehood) [Swahili: *uongo*]
ḡḡúl *V Class I, -ATR*. English: see, think [Swahili: *ona, angalia, fikirí*]
ḡḡúʃ *V*. English: to imbue s.th. with magic [Swahili: *tambikia*]
ḡḡúʃ *V*. English: identify [Swahili: *tambua*]
ḡḡúʃánd *N SG*. English: saliva [Swahili: *mate*]
ḡḡúʃé:g *N PL*. English: saliva [Swahili: *mate*]
ḡḡúʃtájḡ *N SG*. English: recognition, identification [Swahili: *utambuzi*]
ḡḡút *N SG*. English: lance [Swahili: *mkukí*]
ḡḡútʃ *V*. English: make war [Swahili: *fanya vita*]
ḡḡútʃàdḡḡ *N PL*. English: war [Swahili: *vita*]
ḡḡútʃé:d *N SG*. English: war [Swahili: *vita*]
ḡḡ^wá:d *N SG*. English: a species of tree used for traditional medicine [Swahili: *aina ya mtu*]
ḡḡ^wàdʒàné:d *N SG*. English: beaded headdress [Swahili: *kofia ya shanga*]
ḡḡ^wàdʒàḡḡ *N PL*. English: beaded headdresses [Swahili: *kofia za shanga*]
ḡḡ^wànd *N SG*. English: gallbladder [Swahili: *...*]

nyongo]

ŋ^wánínd *N SG*. English: cooking pot
[Swahili: *chungu / kikali / ukali*]

ŋ^wánínpè:k *N PL*. English: cooking pots
[Swahili: *chungu / kikali / ukali*]

ŋ^wátj *N SG*. English: a type of tree used to
treat headaches [Swahili: *aina ya mtĩ*]

ŋ^wén *ADJ SG*. English: lightweight [Swahili:
-epesi]

/o/

òbùràdžé:g *N PL*. English: rhinoceruses
[Swahili: *vifarũ*]

òbùrdžé:d *N SG*. English: rhinocerus
[Swahili: *kifarũ*]

òpàft *N SG*. English: python [Swahili:
sawaka]

òpàftàdžé:g *N PL*. English: pythons
[Swahili: *sawaka*]

òrdžánd *N SG*. English: brother, person
[Swahili: *kaka, bwana, jamaa*]

òrdžè:d gáháj *N SG*. English: brother
[Swahili: *kaka*]

òrdžó:g *N PL*. English: brothers, people
[Swahili: *kaka, bwana, jamani*]

òrdžò:g gáháj *N PL*. English: brothers
[Swahili: *kaka*]

/p/

pàngàdžánd *N SG*. English: machete
[Swahili: *panga*]

pàspàsá:dà gé:w *V*. English: lower oneself
[Swahili: *jishusha*]

pìjpíf *V*. English: advise s.o., raise s.o. or
s.th. [Swahili: *shauri, lea, kuza*]

pìtjé:d *N SG*. English: picture [Swahili:
picha]

púngù *V*. English: decrease [Swahili:
pungua]

púr *V*. English: make s.th. tired [Swahili:
chosha]

/q/, /q^w/

qà:bònd *N*. English: light , flower [Swahili:
nuru, ua]

qà:bònpánd *N*. English: light [Swahili:
nuru]

qá:j *V Class I, -ATR*. English: punish
[Swahili: *adhibu*]

qà:pìng *N PL*. English: eyes [Swahili:
macho]

qà:pìng éng / qà:pìng éng^wák *N PL*.
English: springx [Swahili: *chemichemi*]

qà:sì:d *N SG*. English: bundle of firewood.
[Swahili: *kuni zilizochumwa na hifadhiwa
nyumbani*]

qàbàráng *N PL*. English: stretchers, used to
carry an old or sick person [Swahili:
machela]

qàbì:dàné:d *N SG*. English: leader [Swahili:
mtemi]

qàbì:dáng *N PL*. English: leaders [Swahili:
mitemi]

qàdádng *N PL*. English: small calabashes
[Swahili: *vibuyu vidogo*]

qàdàdng gésk^wég *N PL*. English: big
calabashes for honey [Swahili: *vibuyu
vikubwa vya asali*]

qàdé:d *N SG*. English: small calabash
[Swahili: *kibuyu kidogo*]

qàdè:d gésùd *N SG*. English: big calabash for

honey [Swahili: *kibuyu kikubwa cha asali*] [Swahili: *shangazi*]
qàdò:wé:d *N SG*. English: worship [Swahili: *ibada*]
qàdqák *N PL*. English: necks [Swahili: *shingo*]
qàdzá:m *ADJ* *gàdzáámì*. English: dry [Swahili: *kavu*]
qàdzàmnát *N SG*. English: dryness [Swahili: *ukavu*]
qàdzqàdzè:g gíft *N SG*. English: ankle [Swahili: *fundo la mguu*]
qàdzqàdzg gé:fàng *N PL*. English: ankles [Swahili: *mafundo ya mguu*]
qàhó:g *SG N*. English: clan name of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: *jina la ukoo wa Kiasimjeeg*]
qàhódg *N PL*. English: sweat [Swahili: *jasho*]
qàhòtjánd *N SG*. English: sweat [Swahili: *jasho*]
qàhó:d *N SG*. English: blessing, power [Swahili: *baraka, uwezo*]
qáj *ADV*. English: olden times [Swahili: *zamani*]
qàlò:d *N SG*. English: rope [Swahili: *kamba, korongo*]
qàlón'g *N PL*. English: ropes [Swahili: *kamba, korongo*]
qàmádg *N PL*. English: mothers [Swahili: *mama*]
qàmàdg sí:k`àdz *N PL*. English: mothers in law [Swahili: *mama mkwe*]
qàmàrd *N SG*. English: wall [Swahili: *ukuta*]
qàmárg *N PL*. English: walls [Swahili: *kuta*]
qàmàt *N SG*. English: mother [Swahili: *mama*]
qàmàt sí:k`àdz *N SG*. English: mother in law [Swahili: *mama mkwe*]
qámòb *N SG*. English: paternal aunt [Swahili: *shangazi*]
qámn *ADV*. English: now [Swahili: *sasa*]
qàmùñák *N PL*. English: faces [Swahili: *uso*]
qàmúñd *N SG*. English: face [Swahili: *uso*]
qàndàdzánd *N SG*. English: baboon [Swahili: *nyani*]
qàndàdzé:g *N PL*. English: baboons [Swahili: *nyani*]
qáp *PARTCL*. English: or [Swahili: *au*]
qàpá:d *V Class I, -ATR*. English: bite [Swahili: *uma*]
qàñárdzód *N SG*. English: the teat of an animal [Swahili: *titi ya mnyama*]
qàñàrdzò:d *N SG*. English: udder [Swahili: *chuchu*]
qàñàrdzóng *N PL*. English: udders [Swahili: *chuchu*]
qàñd *N SG*. English: eye [Swahili: *jicho*]
qàñd é:nd *N SG*. English: spring [Swahili: *chemichemi*]
qàñd háw *PHRASE*. English: phrase meaning to look at someone with anger, lit. 'big eye' [Swahili: *jicho mbaya*]
qàpófjk *N PL*. English: navelx [Swahili: *vitovu*]
qàpóft *N SG*. English: navel [Swahili: *kitovu*]
qàqútk *N PL*. English: caterpillarx [Swahili: *funza / viwavi*]
qàqùtfé:d *N SG*. English: caterpillar [Swahili: *funza / kiwavi*]
qàrbáfé:d *N SG*. English: lizard (species) [Swahili: *mjusi (aina ya)*]
qàrbáfk *N PL*. English: lizardx (species) [Swahili: *mjusi (aina ya)*]
qàrè:d dúg^w *N SG*. English: cattle hut [Swahili: *banda la ng'ombe*]
qàrè:d gíwóstjód *N SG*. English: kitchen [Swahili: *chumba cha jiko*]

qàrè:d múhóg *N SG*. English: calf hut [Swahili: *banda la ndama*]
qàrè:d fórdzánd *N SG*. English: nest [Swahili: *kiota*]
qáremánádùmè:d *N SG*. English: youth [Swahili: *ujana*]
qàrìnpánd *N SG*. English: iron [Swahili: *chuma*]
qàríng *N PL*. English: instruments, implements [Swahili: *vyombo*]
qàríng *N PL*. English: iron [Swahili: *chuma*]
qàrnpánd *N SG*. English: instrument, implement [Swahili: *chombo*]
qàrò:d gájjéw *ADV*. English: dawn [Swahili: *pambazuko / alfajiri*]
qàsì:d *N SG*. English: storage, container [Swahili: *akiba*]
qàsìng^wák *N PL*. English: bundles of firewood [Swahili: *kuni zilizochumwa na hifadhiwa nyumbani*]
qàstá *V Class I, -ATR*. English: swing [Swahili: *bembea, tundika*]
qàfàpíng *N PL*. English: flies [Swahili: *inzi*]
qàfàháné:d *N SG*. English: fly [Swahili: *inzi*]
qát *N SG*. English: Neck [Swahili: *shingo*]
qàt^fò:džíg *N PL*. English: branches [Swahili: *matawi*]
qáw *V Class I, -ATR*. English: milk cows [Swahili: *kamua*]
qàwùnpánd *N SG*. English: names [Swahili: *jina*]
qàwúng *N PL*. English: names [Swahili: *majina*]
qé:n *V*. English: marry (for a man) [Swahili: *oa*]
qìríd *V Class I, -ATR*. English: tighten [Swahili: *kaza*]
qón'g *N PL*. English: fathers [Swahili: *baba*]
qòjánd *N SG*. English: fish [Swahili: *samaki*]
qòjé:g *N PL*. English: fish [Swahili: *samaki*]
qònd *N SG*. English: father [Swahili: *baba*]
qònd mánàṅ *N SG*. English: father's younger brother [Swahili: *baba mdogo*]
qós qósó *ADV*. English: recently [Swahili: *juzi juzi*]
qú:d *V Class I, -ATR*. English: blow (with mouth) [Swahili: *puliza*]
qù:rdzá:ft *N SG*. English: Game played with stones and a carved piece of wood [Swahili: *bao*]
qùdán *V Class I, -ATR*. English: swell [Swahili: *vimba*]
qùdó:d *N SG*. English: swelling [Swahili: *uvimbe*]
qùdzé:hé:d *N SG*. English: mixture [Swahili: *miozo*]
qùjá:nd *N SG*. English: tamarind tree [Swahili: *mkwaju*]
qùjé:g *N PL*. English: tamarind trees [Swahili: *mikwaju*]
qùlájnd *N SG*. English: penis [Swahili: *uume*]
qùlàwák *N PL*. English: penises [Swahili: *uume*]
qùlqùlàdzé:g *N PL*. English: stoppers [Swahili: *mifuniko wa kibuyu*]
qùlqùlí:d *N SG*. English: stopper [Swahili: *mfuniko wa kibuyu*]
qùnò:džíg *N PL*. English: a kind of jewelry worn on the fingers [Swahili: *rembo au bangili za vidole*]
qùqàdzé:g *N PL*. English: dangerous things, insects [Swahili: *wadudu*]
qúqù:d *N SG*. English: dangerous thing [Swahili: *mdudu*]
qùqúr *V*. English: ask for s.o.'s hand in marriage [Swahili: *chumbia*]

qùràqúrg <i>N PL</i> . English: knees [Swahili: <i>magoti</i>]	[Swahili: <i>mdomo wa ndege</i>]
qùràq^wájǵ <i>N SG</i> . English: knee [Swahili: <i>goti</i>]	qùwájǵ <i>N SG</i> . English: bow [Swahili: <i>upinde</i>]
qùrdzánd <i>N SG</i> . English: charcoal [Swahili: <i>mkaa (bila moto)</i>]	qùwàǵd róft <i>N SG</i> . English: rainbow [Swahili: <i>upinde wa mvua</i>]
qùrdzàǵǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: bao games [Swahili: <i>bao</i>]	qùwájǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: bows [Swahili: <i>pinde</i>]
qùrdzèft <i>N SG</i> . English: bao game [Swahili: <i>bao</i>]	qùwàr <i>N SG</i> . English: home, compound [Swahili: <i>nyumbani</i>]
qúrg <i>N PL</i> . English: charcoal [Swahili: <i>mikaa (bila moto)</i>]	q^wàdéftǵ / q^wàdé:p <i>ADV</i> . English: maybe [Swahili: <i>labda</i>]
qùrqúr <i>V</i> . English: dig [Swahili: <i>chimba</i>]	q^wál <i>V Class I, -ATR</i> . English: choose (tr), pick (tr) [Swahili: <i>chagua</i>]
qùrús <i>N SG</i> . English: Name of a ward in Karatu district where the Asimjeeg migrated to before arriving in Mang'ola [Swahili: <i>Qurus</i>]	q^wán <i>V Class I, -ATR</i> . English: turn [Swahili: <i>pinda</i>]
qús <i>V</i> . English: be necessary [Swahili: <i>hitaji, bidi</i>]	q^wàpít <i>N SG</i> . English: brain [Swahili: <i>ubongo</i>]
qùsǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: mouths [Swahili: <i>vinywa/midomo</i>]	q^wàpítǵǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: brains [Swahili: <i>bongo</i>]
qùsǵ éǵg / qùsǵ éǵǵ^wák <i>N PL</i> . English: river banks [Swahili: <i>makando ya mto</i>]	q^wár bàst <i>V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR</i> . English: light a fire [Swahili: <i>washa moto</i>]
qùsǵ gádǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: arrowheads [Swahili: <i>chembe</i>]	q^wár gè:w <i>V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR</i> . English: boast, brag [Swahili: <i>gamba / jisifu</i>]
qùsǵ gálǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: doors [Swahili: <i>milango</i>]	q^wàràǵd <i>N SG</i> . English: male goat [Swahili: <i>beberu</i>]
qùsǵ fóri:d <i>N PL</i> . English: beaks/bills [Swahili: <i>midomo ya ndege</i>]	q^wàràwák <i>N PL</i> . English: male goats [Swahili: <i>beberu</i>]
qùt <i>N SG</i> . English: mouth [Swahili: <i>kinywa/mdomo</i>]	q^wàrdá <i>V Class I, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: pierce [Swahili: <i>choma</i>]
qùt é:nd <i>N SG</i> . English: river bank [Swahili: <i>kando ya mto</i>]	q^wàsǵnd <i>PHRASE</i> . English: greeting phrase [Swahili: <i>msamiati wa kumsalimia mtu</i>]
qùt gáhàr <i>N SG</i> . English: door [Swahili: <i>mlango</i>]	q^wèndó:d <i>N SG</i> . English: firewood [Swahili: <i>kuni</i>]
qùt gátǵéd <i>N SG</i> . English: arrowhead [Swahili: <i>chembe</i>]	q^wéǵǵ <i>N PL</i> . English: firewood [Swahili: <i>kuni</i>]
qùt fórdzánd <i>N SG</i> . English: beak/bill	

/r/

ràbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: sneakers [Swahili: *raba*]
ràbàqàdžé:g *N PL*. English: acacia trees [Swahili: *migunga*]
ràbást *N PL*. English: guests / strangers [Swahili: *wageni*]
ràbàstfánd *N SG*. English: Guest / stranger [Swahili: *mgeni*]
rád *V Class I, -ATR*. English: close [Swahili: *funga*]
ràdó:d *N SG*. English: knot [Swahili: *fundo*]
ràdón'g *N PL*. English: knots [Swahili: *mafundo*]
ràgdáw *ADV* *ràgdàwàdžéég*. English: west [Swahili: *magharibi*]
ràjánd *N SG*. English: bracelet [Swahili: *bangili nyeupe*]
ràjéng *N PL*. English: bracelets [Swahili: *bangili nyeupe*]
rám *V Class I, -ATR*. English: Fetch / take with a scooping motion [Swahili: *chota*]
ràmás *V Class I*. English: fault v. [Swahili: *kosea*]
ràmásànd *N SG*. English: fault [Swahili: *kosa*]
ràmàsídg *N PL*. English: faults [Swahili: *makosa*]
ràṅdá *V Class I*. English: praise someone, or sing for them [Swahili: *sifu, imbia*]
ràṅqúsà:dà *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: stumble [Swahili: *kwaa*]
ràq^wádg *N PL*. English: garbage dumps [Swahili: *jalala / mashimo ya taka*]
ràq^wát *N SG*. English: garbage dump [Swahili: *jalala / shimo la taka*]
rár *V Class I*. English: hope [Swahili: *tumaini*]
ràrájg *N PL*. English: charcoal (lit) [Swahili: *mikaa yenye moto*]
ràrànpánd *N SG*. English: charcoal (lit) [Swahili: *mkaa lenye moto*]
ràràṅà:dà *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: descend there [Swahili: *shuka (na uende)*]
ràràṅà:nì *V Class I, -ATR, VEN*. English: descend here [Swahili: *shuka (na uje)*]
ràràqá:dà *V Class I, -ATR, AM, ITV*. English: roll s.th. [Swahili: *virigika*]
ràwò:d *N*. English: dew [Swahili: *umande*]
ré:r *V Class I, +ATR*. English: suck [Swahili: *nyonya*]
rèṅgán *V Class I, +ATR*. English: deceive [Swahili: *danganya*]
rè:mà:ná:dà *V Class I, -ATR*. English: wander [Swahili: *zurura*]
ré:ṅ *V Class I, -ATR*. English: jump [Swahili: *ruka*]
rè:ṅré:ṅ *V Class I, -ATR*. English: jump many times [Swahili: *rukaruka*]
réq^w *V Class I, -ATR*. English: cut hair [Swahili: *nyoa*]
rìn:í *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: leave (VEN) [Swahili: *toka (na uje)*]
rìṅé:d *N SG*. English: sin [Swahili: *dhambi*]
rís *V*. English: follow s.o. [Swahili: *furata*]
rìfá:t *ADJ* *rìfáádì*. English: fat [Swahili: *nene*]
rìtá *V Class I, +ATR*. English: leave (ITV) [Swahili: *toka (na uende)*]
rìtá:dà *V Class I, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: leave (ITV) [Swahili: *tokatoka (na uende)*]
rò:bàpánd *N SG*. English: tree species [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
ròbàdé:d *N SG*. English: joint [Swahili: *kiungo*]
ròbúdg *N PL*. English: joints [Swahili: *viungo*]

- róft** *N SG*. English: rain [Swahili: *mvua*] [Swahili: *metimani*]
- róftjéng** *N PL*. English: rain [Swahili: *mvua*]
- ròsí:n** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: be lost [Swahili: *potea*]
- ròsqpháng** *N SG*. English: clan name of the Asimjeeg [Swahili: *jina la ukoo wa Waasimjeega*]
- ròtígéng** *N PL*. English: Rotigenga people [Swahili: *Warotigenga*]
- ró:d** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: be lost [Swahili: *potea*]
- rób** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: join [Swahili: *unganisha*]
- rób** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: follow s.o. [Swahili: *fuata*]
- rùgd ñ^wijé:g** *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: lie [Swahili: *sema uongo*]
- rùgdá gè:w** *V*. English: identify oneself [Swahili: *jitambulisha*]
- rùgsí:n** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: explain [Swahili: *eleza*]
- rúm** *V*. English: help [Swahili: *saidia*]
- rùñní** *V Class I, +ATR, VEN*. English: say, answer, accuse [Swahili: *sema, jibu, shitaki*]
- rùqák** *N PL*. English: arrow holders [Swahili: *mibogosho*]
- rùqd** *N SG*. English: arrow holder [Swahili: *mbogosho*]
- rùwáng** *N PL*. English: sleepiness [Swahili: *usingizi*]
- /s/
- sá:d3** *V Class I*. English: stalk [Swahili: *nyemelea*]
- sá:tájnd** *N SG*. English: when a person is isolated because they are deemed unclean [Swahili: *metimani*]
- sá:w** *V Class I, +ATR*. English: continue [Swahili: *endelea*]
- sà:w** *PRO*. English: them [Swahili: *wao*]
- sà:wír** *V Class I*. English: whistle [Swahili: *piga mluzi*]
- sàbádáng** *N PL*. English: small threads of a woman's skirt [Swahili: *kamba ndogo za sketi*]
- sàbàpt** *N SG*. English: small thread of a woman's skirt [Swahili: *kamba ndogo ya sketi*]
- sàbí:d** *N SG*. English: a species of tree [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
- sàbsáb** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: caress [Swahili: *bembeleza*]
- sád3** *V Class I, -ATR*. English: shake, turn something [Swahili: *tikisa kibuyu cha maziwa, pindisha*]
- sàd3g^wàd3é:g** *N PL*. English: women's arm jewelry [Swahili: *rembo ya mikononi ya wanawake*]
- sàfà:r** *N SG*. English: trip, journey [Swahili: *safari*]
- sàfàd3ánd** *N SG*. English: plot [Swahili: *safu*]
- sàfàd3é:g** *N PL*. English: plots [Swahili: *safu*]
- sàfùrìàd3ánd** *N SG*. English: metal pot [Swahili: *sufuria*]
- sàfùrìàd3é:g** *N PL*. English: metal pots [Swahili: *sufuria*]
- ság** *V*. English: spit [Swahili: *tema mate*]
- sàgàlám** *NUM* *sàgàlámòd3íg*. English: thousand [Swahili: *elfu*]
- sàgàrjánd** *N SG*. English: termite [Swahili: *mchwa*]
- sàgàrjé:g** *N PL*. English: termites [Swahili: *mchwa*]

mchwa
sàgdájd *N SG*. English: morning [Swahili: *asubuhi*]
sàgdàjé:k *N PL*. English: mornings [Swahili: *asubuhi*]
sàgòné:d *N SG*. English: a type of tree whose roots were traditionally eaten [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
sàjda *V*. English: have diarrhea [Swahili: *harisha*]
sàjgìló *N SG*. English: Name of a non-Asimjeeg Datooga leader that is said to have taken many Asimjeeg from Someega to migrate south. He fought and defeated the Asimjeeg leader, Ewanda. [Swahili: *Saygilo*]
sàjg^wé:d *N SG*. English: age set [Swahili: *rika*]
sàjg^wódzíg *N PL*. English: age sets [Swahili: *rika*]
sàjk^wàdzé:g *N PL*. English: a type of jewelry worn on the arms [Swahili: *rembo ya mikononi*]
sàjmò:d *N SG*. English: cattle krall, or fence for homestead [Swahili: *boma*]
sàjmò:d dúg^w *N SG*. English: corral [Swahili: *boma ya ng'ombe*]
sàjmón'g *N PL*. English: cattle kralls, or fences for homestead [Swahili: *boma*]
sàjmòn'g dúg^w *N PL*. English: corrals [Swahili: *boma za ng'ombe*]
sàjó:d *N SG*. English: greeting [Swahili: *salamu*]
sàlàhó:g *N PL*. English: twins [Swahili: *mpacha*]
sàlàjg^wánd *N SG*. English: twin [Swahili: *pacha*]
sàlàmadzánd *N SG*. English: facial incision [Swahili: *nembo / chanjo*]
sàlàmadzé:g *N PL*. English: facial incisions [Swahili: *nembo / chanjo*]
sàlànpánd *N SG*. English: verse [Swahili: *beti*]
sàláng *N PL*. English: verses [Swahili: *mabeti*]
sàlàwdzánd *N SG*. English: twin [Swahili: *pacha*]
sám *V Class I, -ATR*. English: taste [Swahili: *onja*]
sám qùt *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: kiss [Swahili: *busu*]
sàmni *V Class I, VEN*. English: taste [Swahili: *onja*]
sàmòg^w *NUM*. English: three [Swahili: *tatu*]
sàmsí:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: be kind [Swahili: *hurumia*]
sànàgè:d *N SG*. English: sewing needle [Swahili: *shasira / sindano*]
sànàgèng *N PL*. English: sewing needles [Swahili: *shasira / sindano*]
sànàjì:d *V*. English: be many [Swahili: *kuwa nyingi*]
sànqájánd *N SG*. English: earring [Swahili: *heleni za springi*]
sànqàjòdzíg *N PL*. English: earrings [Swahili: *heleni za springi*]
sáp *V Class I*. English: deceive [Swahili: *danganya*]
sàqàqúrdzánd *N SG*. English: ant [Swahili: *sisimizi*]
sàqàqúrg *N PL*. English: ants [Swahili: *sisimizi*]
sàqàrà múnd *N SG*. English: a species of tree [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
sàqd bé:g *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: spit water [Swahili: *rusha maji*]
sàq^wàdzánd *N SG*. English: clitoris [Swahili:

kinembe]

sàq^wàdʒòdʒíg *N PL*. English: clitorises [Swahili: *vinembe*]

sàq^waré:d *N SG*. English: relocating due to lack of food [Swahili: *hali ya kuhemea*]

sàrà:n *ADV*. English: that is [Swahili: *kwani, yaani*]

sàré:d *N SG*. English: nose [Swahili: *pua*]

sàrénd *N SG*. English: luggage/package [Swahili: *mzigo*]

sàrènúk^w *N PL*. English: noses [Swahili: *pua*]

sàrèjé:k *N PL*. English: luggage/packages [Swahili: *mizigo*]

sàré:n *V Class I, -ATR*. English: carry [Swahili: *beba*]

sàrmán dúmd *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: dance [Swahili: *cheza ngoma*]

sàsádʒ *V Class I*. English: rinse [Swahili: *suza*]

sàsànúk *N PL*. English: bodies [Swahili: *miili*]

sàsé:d *N SG*. English: body [Swahili: *mwili*]

sàs^kwánd *N SG*. English: sandy dirt [Swahili: *udongo wa mchanga*]

sàs^kwápè:k *N PL*. English: sandy dirt [Swahili: *udongo wa mchanga*]

sáw *V Class I, -ATR*. English: pierce [Swahili: *toboa*]

sáw ì:t *V.PHRASE Class I, -ATR*. English: pierce ears [Swahili: *toboa sikio*]

sàwà:tʃé:d *N SG*. English: noise [Swahili: *kelele*]

sàwàdé:d *N SG*. English: hole [Swahili: *shimo, tundu*]

sàwán *V Class I, +ATR*. English: hurt [Swahili: *umia*]

sàwán gè:w *V.PHRASE Class I, +ATR*. English: hurt oneself [Swahili: *jiimize*]

sàwànàdé:d *N SG*. English: pain [Swahili: *maumivu*]

sàwànàdídg *N PL*. English: pains [Swahili: *maumivu*]

sàwáng *N PL*. English: payments, bribes [Swahili: *malipo, hongo*]

sàwàtʃánd *N SG*. English: type of tree [Swahili: *mduguyu*]

sàwd *N SG*. English: payment, bribe [Swahili: *malipo, hongo*]

sàwirdʒánd *N SG*. English: whistle [Swahili: *mluzi*]

sàwírg *N PL*. English: whistles [Swahili: *mluzi*]

sè:hè:màdʒánd *N SG*. English: area, part [Swahili: *sehemu*]

sé:jù ~ sáíjù *PHRASE*. English: greeting phrase [Swahili: *msamiati wa kumsalimia mtu*]

sé:ng *N PL*. English: vegetables [Swahili: *mboga*]

sédám *NUM*. English: eighty [Swahili: *themanini*]

sédám à: dámàn *NUM*. English: ninety [Swahili: *tisini*]

sèriká:l *N SG*. English: government [Swahili: *serikali*]

sé:n *DET*. English: all [Swahili: *yote, wote*]

sèndsénd *DET*. English: all [Swahili: *yote, wote*]

sì:bìj^wàdʒánd *N SG*. English: pin [Swahili: *pini*]

sí:d *N SG*. English: person [Swahili: *mtu*]

sì:d bárbàr *N.PHRASE fùg bárbàrì*. English: poor person [Swahili: *mtu maskini*]

sì:d bàsát *N.PHRASE fùg bàsádì*. English: thin person [Swahili: *mtu mwembamba*]

sì:d bùfát *N.PHRASE fùg bùfádì*. English:

lazy person [Swahili: *mvivu*]

sì:d hájón ú:d *N.PHRASE* fùg *hájón wèng*. [Swahili: *jipu*]
English: stubborn person [Swahili: *kaidi*]

sì:d mí:j *N.PHRASE* fùg *míjní*. English: deaf person [Swahili: *mtu kiziwi*]

sì:d mlákí:d *N.PHRASE* fùg *mlákííd*.
English: patient person [Swahili: *mvumilivu*]

sì:d nàwé:d *N.PHRASE* fùg *nàwééd*. English: traveler [Swahili: *msafiri*]

sì:d njé:n *N.PHRASE* fùg *njéni*. English: wise [Swahili: *mtu mwenye hekima*]

sì:d qálò:d *N.PHRASE* fùg *qálón'g* . English: prisoner [Swahili: *mfungwa*]

sì:d ríjè:d *N.PHRASE* fùg *ríjéég*. English: evil person [Swahili: *mtu mwovu*]

sì:lè:d *N SG*. English: debt [Swahili: *deni*]

sì:lén'g *N PL*. English: debts [Swahili: *deni*]

sí:m *N* . English: phone [Swahili: *simu*]

sí:m *V* . English: begin a journey (going away) [Swahili: *anza safari (kwa kwenda)*]

sì:ndá *V Class I, -ATR, ITV*. English: be silent [Swahili: *nyamaza*]

sì:wè:lwák *N PL*. English: gazelles [Swahili: *swala*]

sìbàdíng *N PL*. English: daughters in law [Swahili: *bibiharusi*]

sìbádùmè:d *N SG*. English: puberty [Swahili: *mwali*]

sìbdár *N SG*. English: hospital [Swahili: *hospitali*]

sìbdàràdžé:g *N PL*. English: hospitals [Swahili: *hospitali*]

sìbé:d *N SG*. English: daughter in law [Swahili: *bibiharusi*]

sìbìndír *N SG*. English: a type of tree used to treat diarrhea [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]

sìbìndírg *N PL*. English: a type of tree used to treat diarrhea [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]

sìbìrbìràdžé:g *N PL*. English: abscesses

sìbìrbíró:d *N SG*. English: abscess [Swahili: *jipu*]

sìd *V Class I, -ATR*. English: hate [Swahili: *chukia*]

sìgé:d *N SG*. English: dirt [Swahili: *udongo*]

sìlé:d *N SG*. English: compensation [Swahili: *kisasi*]

sín *V Class I, +ATR*. English: do, create [Swahili: *fanya, unda*]

sìngí:g *N PL*. English: zebras [Swahili: *punda mlia*]

sìngìjé:d *N SG*. English: zebra [Swahili: *punda mlia*]

sìnò:d *N SG*. English: preparation [Swahili: *utengenezaji*]

sìrbàràdžánd *N SG*. English: pair of pants [Swahili: *suruali*]

sìrbàràdžé:g *N PL*. English: pairs of pants [Swahili: *suruali*]

sís *V* . English: do something for s.o. or s.th., or at a place [Swahili: *fanyia*]

sìs *NUM* . English: eight [Swahili: *nane*]

sìsín *V Class I*. English: mend, repair [Swahili: *rekebishia*]

sìsìnd *N SG*. English: bed [Swahili: *kitanda*]

sìsìnpé:k *N PL*. English: beds [Swahili: *vitanda*]

sò:dàn *N SG*. English: Sudan, where some Asimjeeg elders claim the tribe originated from [Swahili: *Sudan*]

sò:nò:d *N SG*. English: spayed female cow [Swahili: *ng'ombe jike tasa*]

sòksàdžé:g *N PL*. English: socks [Swahili: *soksi*]

sòmé:g *N SG*. English: Placename for the traditional homeland of the Asimjeeg, located

at a hill just outside the northern border of (porini)
the Serengeti National Park, near the town of Issenye. [Swahili: Someega]

sòṅṅ^wé:g *N PL*. English: spayed female cows [Swahili: ng'ombe jike tasa]

sósk *N PL*. English: date trees [Swahili: mitende]

sòstfánd *N SG*. English: date tree [Swahili: mtende]

só:l *V Class I, -ATR*. English: grab s.th. [Swahili: okota]

sóm *V*. English: read, study [Swahili: soma]

sú:k *ADJ PL*. English: others [Swahili: -ingine]

sùgòdíg *N PL*. English: kings, chiefs [Swahili: viongozi]

sùgòtfánd *N SG*. English: king, chief [Swahili: kiongozi]

súlg *N PL*. English: jewelry [Swahili: rembo]

súm *V*. English: begin a journey (coming towards) [Swahili: anza safari (kwa kuja)]

sùṅgúk *V*. English: go around [Swahili: zunguka]

sùqújdà *N SG*. English: gossip [Swahili: umbea]

sùrbí:d *N SG*. English: a type of pot with a small opening used to fetch water [Swahili: aina ya chungu]

sùrbì:d *N SG*. English: pot for water [Swahili: mtungí]

sùrbí:ṅg *N PL*. English: pots for water [Swahili: mitungí]

súrdɔ *ADJ PL*. English: others [Swahili: -ingine]

sùrùbàt *N SG*. English: animal home in the bush [Swahili: nyumba ya mnyama (porini)]

sùrùbàtféng *N PL*. English: animal homes in the bush [Swahili: nyumba za mnyama]

sùrùmbàdɔé:g *N PL*. English: navels [Swahili: vitovu]

sùrùmbùd *N SG*. English: Navel [Swahili: kitovu]

sùtìàdɔé:g *N PL*. English: suits [Swahili: suti]

/ʃ/

ǰá *V Class I*. English: buy [Swahili: nunua]

ǰà:gá:t *N SG*. English: hunting [Swahili: uwindaji]

ǰáb *V Class I, -ATR*. English: soak [Swahili: lowesha]

ǰábát *ADJ ǰábádi*. English: wet [Swahili: bichi, -lowa]

ǰàbòqédíg *N PL*. English: a type of tree whose roots were traditionally eaten [Swahili: aina ya mti]

ǰàbòtfánd *N SG*. English: a type of tree whose roots were traditionally eaten [Swahili: aina ya mti]

ǰàgád *V Class I*. English: be Careful [Swahili: kuwa makini]

ǰàgád gé:w *V*. English: defend oneself [Swahili: jilinda]

ǰàgàǰ *NUM*. English: nine [Swahili: tisa]

ǰàgàǰòdíg *N PL*. English: hunters [Swahili: wawindaji]

ǰàgàǰòtfánd *N SG*. English: hunter [Swahili: mwindaji]

ǰàgèr^wé:g *N PL*. English: ostriches [Swahili: mibuni]

ǰàgèrò:d *N SG*. English: ostrich [Swahili: mbuni]

ǰági *ADJ*. English: far (away) [Swahili: mbali]

fàgìd *N SG*. English: a traditional food of the past [Swahili: *aina ya chakula cha zamani*]
fàjdá *V Class I, ITV*. English: sell [Swahili: *uza*]
fàjé:d *N SG*. English: price [Swahili: *bei*]
fàjén'g *N PL*. English: prices [Swahili: *bei*]
fàmòqó:d *N SG*. English: cloud [Swahili: *wingu*]
fàmòqódg *N PL*. English: clouds [Swahili: *mawingu*]
fàndál *N SG*. English: a traditional dance [Swahili: *aina ya ngoma*]
fàndàlàdžé:g *N PL*. English: traditional dances [Swahili: *aina ya ngoma ya asili*]
fàndalé:d *N SG*. English: a traditional dance [Swahili: *aina ya ngoma*]
fàŋ *V Class I*. English: argue [Swahili: *bishana*]
fàŋé:g *N PL*. English: boiled milk [Swahili: *maziwa yaliyochemshwa*]
fàŋé:g nó:bé:g *N PL*. English: goat milk [Swahili: *maziwa ya mbuzi*]
fàŋfàŋi:d *V Class I*. English: be warm [Swahili: *kuwa vuguvugu*]
fàŋ^wàdžé:g *N PL*. English: mud [Swahili: *matope*]
fàŋ^wé:d *N SG*. English: mud [Swahili: *tope*]
fàqè:d *N SG*. English: fever [Swahili: *homa*]
fàqén'g *N PL*. English: fevers [Swahili: *homa*]
fàq^wàpánd *N SG*. English: human fat [Swahili: *mafuta ya wanyama*]
fàq^wáng *N PL*. English: human fat [Swahili: *mafuta ya wanyama*]
fàq^wé:d *N SG*. English: help [Swahili: *msaada*]
fàràjdžánd *N SG*. English: a species of bird, sombre greenbul [Swahili: *kuruwiji*]
fàràjhí:d *N SG*. English: a species of bird, sombre greenbul [Swahili: *kuruwiji*]
fàrò:d *N SG*. English: smell [Swahili: *harufu*]
fàfó:d *N SG*. English: gazelle [Swahili: *swala*]
fàfó:ng *N PL*. English: gazelles [Swahili: *swala*]
fàtádžánd *N SG*. English: shirt [Swahili: *shati*]
fàwò:t *N SG*. English: snake (species) [Swahili: *chatu*]
fàwòtádžé:g *N PL*. English: snakes (species) [Swahili: *chatu*]
fé:d *V*. English: be first [Swahili: *tangulia*]
fè:d *N SG*. English: moon, month [Swahili: *mwezi*]
fè:d mánáj *N SG*. English: new moon [Swahili: *mwezi mwandamo / mpevu*]
fé:g *N PL*. English: moons, months [Swahili: *miezi*]
fèrè *N SG*. English: hoe [Swahili: *jembe*]
fí:d *V Class I, -ATR*. English: cut, strip something off [Swahili: *kata kwa kutumia wembe*]
fí:d *N*. English: problem [Swahili: *shida*]
fí:p *V Class I*. English: postpone, delay [Swahili: *ahirisha*]
fí:r *V Class I*. English: chip or strip (with a razor), multiple times [Swahili: *chanja (kwa wembe)*]
fí:t *V*. English: prepare [Swahili: *tengeneza*]
fíbáng *N PL*. English: sisal plants [Swahili: *mikonge*]
fíbò:né:d *N SG*. English: a species of tree used for traditional medicine [Swahili: *aina ya mti*]
fíd *V Class I, -ATR*. English: sharpen [Swahili: *noa*]

fīdg^wánd <i>N SG</i> . English: lung [Swahili: <i>pafu</i>] [Swahili: <i>mavi, samadi</i>]	
fīdg^wé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: lungs [Swahili: <i>mapafu</i>]	fūrúrúd <i>N SG</i> . English: cattle dung fertilizer [Swahili: <i>samadi</i>]
fīdò:d qá:pìng <i>N PL</i> . English: jealousy [Swahili: <i>wivu</i>]	/t/
fīdò:d qáṅd <i>N SG</i> . English: jealousy [Swahili: <i>wivu</i>]	
fīmḡàdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: arrows (like a knife) [Swahili: <i>mipodo (mishale kama visu)</i>]	té:g <i>V</i> . English: put on one's head [Swahili: <i>weka kichwani</i>]
fīmḡùd <i>N SG</i> . English: arrow (like a knife) [Swahili: <i>mpodo (mshale kama kisu)</i>]	tém <i>V Class II</i> . English: lead people [Swahili: <i>ongoza, kuwa mtemi</i>]
fīp <i>V Class I</i> . English: remove [Swahili: <i>futa</i>]	tó:f <i>V Class II, -ATR</i> . English: be sufficient [Swahili: <i>tosha</i>]
fīp dúṅó:d <i>V.PHRASE Class I</i> . English: blow nose [Swahili: <i>futa kamasi</i>]	/u/
fīṅád <i>N SG</i> . English: evening [Swahili: <i>jioni</i>]	
fīṅádídḡ <i>N PL</i> . English: evenings [Swahili: <i>jioni</i>]	ù:d <i>N SG</i> . English: head, top of [Swahili: <i>kichwa, juu ya</i>]
fīṅdá <i>V Class I, -ATR, ITV</i> . English: be late [Swahili: <i>chelewa</i>]	ù:d gáhàr <i>N SG</i> . English: roof [Swahili: <i>pa</i>]
fīrkàràdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: guards [Swahili: <i>maaskari</i>]	ù:d gídžèd <i>N SG</i> . English: summit [Swahili: <i>kilele</i>]
fīfīdé:d <i>N SG</i> . English: toothbrush [Swahili: <i>mswaki</i>]	údòm <i>N SG</i> . English: hippopotamus [Swahili: <i>kiboko</i>]
fīfīdḡ <i>N PL</i> . English: toothbrushes [Swahili: <i>miswaki</i>]	údòmàdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: hippopotamuses [Swahili: <i>viboko</i>]
fòmànd <i>N SG</i> . English: hole, pit [Swahili: <i>shimo</i>]	ùk^wè:d <i>N SG</i> . English: field [Swahili: <i>shamba / mgunda</i>]
fòmáṅḡ <i>N PL</i> . English: holes, pits [Swahili: <i>mashimo</i>]	ùk^wéṅḡ <i>N PL</i> . English: fields [Swahili: <i>shamba / migunda</i>]
fùbó:ṅḡ <i>N PL</i> . English: a type of tree [Swahili: <i>mipome</i>]	ùmè:d <i>N SG</i> . English: the condition of being s.th. [Swahili: <i>hali ya kuwa kitu fulani</i>]
fùkúr <i>V Class I, +ATR</i> . English: thank [Swahili: <i>shukuru</i>]	ún <i>V Class I, +ATR</i> . English: go [Swahili: <i>kwenda</i>]
fúl <i>N SG</i> . English: school [Swahili: <i>shule</i>]	ùrmè:d <i>N SG</i> . English: color [Swahili: <i>rangi</i>]
fùmḡàdžé:g <i>N PL</i> . English: tails [Swahili: <i>mikia</i>]	ùrmén'g <i>N PL</i> . English: colors [Swahili: <i>rangi</i>]
fùmḡánd <i>N SG</i> . English: tail [Swahili: <i>mkia</i>]	ùrmò:džíg <i>N PL</i> . English: colors [Swahili: <i>rangi</i>]
fúrúrú:d <i>N SG</i> . English: dung, fertilizer	

/w/

wá:s *V Class II, -ATR*. English: steal [Swahili: *swaga*]

wá:f *V Class I, -ATR*. English: cough [Swahili: *kohoa*]

wàdánd *N SG*. English: game [Swahili: *mchezo*]

wàgák *N PL*. English: cloths [Swahili: *vitambaa*]

wàgí:d *N SG*. English: when a person is isolated because they are deemed unclean [Swahili: *metimani*]

wàjá:dà *V Class I, +ATR, AM, ITV*. English: walk [Swahili: *tembea*]

wàjé:d *N SG*. English: walking [Swahili: *matembezi*]

wál *PHRASE*. English: fear s.th. [Swahili: *ogopa*]

wàldá *V*. English: pay [Swahili: *lipa*]

wás *V.COP*. English: to be [Swahili: *kuwa*]

wást *N SG*. English: cloth [Swahili: *kitambaa*]

wàtát *ADV*. English: never [Swahili: *kamwe*]

wé:f *ADJ wééfífi*. English: white [Swahili: *nyeupe*]

wèlwél *V*. English: walk around [Swahili: *tembeatembea*]

wéng *N PL*. English: heads [Swahili: *vichwa*]

wèng gálg *N PL*. English: roofs [Swahili: *paa*]

wèng gídžé:g *N PL*. English: summits [Swahili: *vilele*]

wé:d *V Class I, -ATR*. English: help [Swahili: *saidia*]

wèmbàdžánd *N SG*. English: razor [Swahili:

wembe]

wèmbàdžé:g *N PL*. English: razors [Swahili: *wembe*]

wí:l *V Class I, +ATR*. English: look for [Swahili: *tafuta*]

wìdánì *V Class I, VEN*. English: come from behind [Swahili: *njoo kwa nyuma*]

wúd *V Class I, +ATR*. English: shoot [Swahili: *lenga*]

wún báránd *V.PHRASE Class I*. English: travel [Swahili: *safiri*]

wùrdžé:n *V Class I, +ATR*. English: be the same, resemble [Swahili: *sawa, fanana na*]

wús gè:w *V*. English: be alone [Swahili: *kuwa peke*]

wùsídg *N PL*. English: knots [Swahili: *mafundo*]

wùsó:d *N SG*. English: knot [Swahili: *fundo*]

wúsùs *ADJ*. English: cheap [Swahili: *rahisi*]

wùtá *V Class I, +ATR*. English: lose s.th. [Swahili: *poteza*]

APPENDIX D

ELAR BUNDLE NAMES

Filename	Type	ELAR Bundle
IGS0229_2015-12-21_GG_01	Natural speech	Tribal history 3
IGS0229_2015-12-29_AM	Natural speech	Tribal history 5
IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_01	Natural speech	Daily schedule
IGS0229_2015-12-8_MM_02	Natural speech	Daily schedule
IGS0229_2016-1-13_GG2_#1	Elicited	Dictionary words 3
IGS0229_2016-1-15_YN	Elicited	Demonstrative and possessive suffixes 2
IGS0229_2016-12-12_#1	Natural speech	Migration and marriage
IGS0229_2016-12-12_#2	Natural speech	
IGS0229_2016-12-12_#5	Natural speech	Moving to Dugwamuhosht
IGS0229_2016-12-12_#6	Natural speech	Circumcision and death of a child
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#1	Natural speech	Life history 2
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#2	Natural speech	Life history 3
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#3	Natural speech	Life history 4
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#4	Natural speech	Traditional life in Dugwamuhosht
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#5	Natural speech	
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#6	Natural speech	Traditional life in Dugwamuhosht 2
IGS0229_2016-12-13_#7	Natural speech	Traditional life in

		Dugwamuhosht 3
IGS0229_2016-2-17_YM	Elicited	Tonal case 1
IGS0229_2016-2-6_06	Natural speech	Explanation of grinding stone and curdling gourd
IGS0229_2016-2-6_20	Natural speech	Conversation about elder's childhood
IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #1	Natural speech	Traditional Dances and Marriage
IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #3	Natural speech	Cultural changes 4
IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #4	Natural speech	Life history of father
IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #6	Natural speech	Story about a trip to Matala
IGS0229_2017-1-25_MM #8	Natural speech	Preparing animal skins
IGS0229_2017-1-31_MB	Elicited	Verb paradigms 16
IGS0229_2017-2-20_YN	Elicited	Tonal case 13
IGS0229_2017-2-24_YN_2	Elicited	Tonal case 18
IGS0229_2017-2-3_MB3	Elicited	Tonal case 19
IGS0229_2017-3-1 #2	Natural speech	Life history 6
IGS0229_2017-3-1 #3	Natural speech	Life history and story about park rangers
IGS0229_2017-3-1 #5	Natural speech	Changes in Mang'ola
IGS0229_2017-3-10_#11	Natural speech	Cultural change 6
IGS0229_2017-3-10_#12	Natural speech	Farming and cooking
IGS0229_2017-3-10_#13	Natural speech	Cultural change 7
IGS0229_2017-3-10_#3	Natural speech	Life history and respect for elders
IGS0229_2017-3-10_#5	Natural speech	Personal struggles and respect for elders

IGS0229_2017-3-10_#7	Natural speech	Cultural change 5
IGS0229_2017-3-10_#8	Natural speech	Tribal history 7
IGS0229_2017-3-14_#18	Natural speech	Tribal history and tribal relations
IGS0229_2017-3-14_#20	Natural speech	Challenges facing the Asimjeeg Datooga
IGS0229_2017-3-14_#21	Natural speech	Challenges facing the Asimjeeg Datooga 2
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#01	Natural speech	Cultural change 9
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#02	Natural speech	Explanation of prayers 2
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#03	Natural speech	Tribal history 8
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#04	Natural speech	Respect for elders 4
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#05	Natural speech	Modern illnesses
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#10	Natural speech	Cultural change 10
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#11	Natural speech	Life history and traditional medicine
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#12	Natural speech	Story of fire at Lake Eyasi
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#13	Natural speech	Childhood 2
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#16	Natural speech	Story of marriage
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#17	Natural speech	Changes in marriage traditions
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#24	Natural speech	Youth perspectives on cultural change
IGS0229_2017-3-15_#25	Natural speech	Youth perspectives on traditional dances
IGS0229_2017-3-16_#10	Natural speech	Cultural change 8
IGS0229_2017-3-16_#12	Natural speech	Respect for elders 6
IGS0229_2017-3-16_#4	Natural speech	Separation of the Asimjeeg and other Datooga
IGS0229_2017-3-16_#5	Natural speech	Settling of Matala
IGS0229_2017-3-16_#8	Natural speech	Fighting among men

IGS0229_2017-3-2 #1	Natural speech	Life history and cultural changes 2
IGS0229_2017-3-2 #3	Natural speech	Wildlife and water in Mang'ola
IGS0229_2017-3-3 #11	Natural speech	Life history and personal struggles
IGS0229_2017-3-3 #7	Natural speech	Explanation of thumb piano and changes in Mang'ola
IGS0229_2017-3-3 #9	Natural speech	Life history and history of Mang'ola
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#10	Natural speech	History of Law area
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#12	Natural speech	Life history and traditional dances
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#14	Natural speech	Life history 8
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#16	Natural speech	History of Law area 2
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#2	Natural speech	Elders of Law
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#3	Natural speech	Life history 7
IGS0229_2017-3-8_#9	Natural speech	Language vitality and cultural loss in Law
IGS0229_2017-3-9 #1	Natural speech	Folk tale about twins
IGS0229_2017-3-9_#2	Natural speech	Folk tale about bao game

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