NILO – SAHARAN

Linguistic Analyses and Documentation

Edited by Franz Rottland (Bayreuth) and M. Lionel Bender
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3

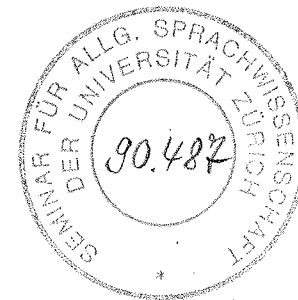# Topics in
Nilo-Saharan Linguistics

Edited by
M. Lionel Bender

HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

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The parallels between Linguistics and Mathematics are many and strong. I recall years ago hearing one of my Professors say something like "the business of Mathematics is proving theorems", i.e. making visible those hidden relationships in the data which are inevitibly implied by their axiomatic and definitional bases. I suppose one could also say that the business of Linguistics is arriving at a theory of Language, i.e. making visible the hidden structure which is implicit in the Platonic formal system which underlies human languages.

But there is a difference: in Mathematics, the inspiration may originally have come from trying to model the physical world, but one can dispense with this and simply play with abstract systems invented at will so long as they do not violate metatheoretical constraints such as consistency (there are severe problems here--recall Gödel's Theorem--but this is not the issue at hand). In Linguistics, we need the Linguistic data on all known natural human languages (present and past) in order to abstract the underlying system, or alternatively, if we know how to do it, we might arrive at the system from any one language, e.g. one's own, a la Chomsky! But we do not know how to do it--at least not yet.

All this leads to a justification for yet another volume of descriptive and comparative studies. These days it seems easier to get into print studies on this or that aspect of syntax or phonology from this or that theoretical point of view than to get out a collection such as this one. The foregoing should not be interpreted to mean that I am opposed to theoretical work: in fact, as I stated, it is the real business of Linguistics. But so much theoretical work is doomed to be ephemeral. Even the most important works of a few years ago by the greatest theoreticians are now often seen as quaint if not downright deadends. The secondary job of language description has its virtues too, one of which is providing essential input to the more exalted theoretical scholarship.

The collection at hand can be considered as a sequel to the volume (Nilo-Saharan Language Studies) I edited in the Michigan State African Studies Center series (1983). It includes papers on a number of much-neglected languages of Africa. The authors range from some of our best-known African linguists to some well-prepared amateurs (relatively speaking) who are in the forefront of bringing some of these obscure languages to our attention.
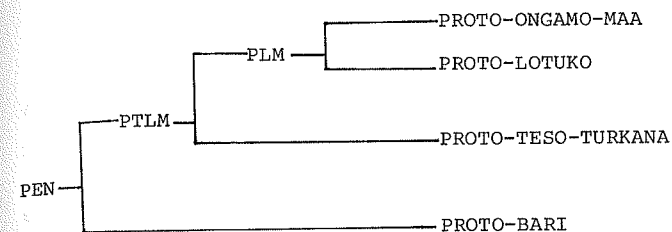
THE HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION OF PROTO-ONGAMO-MAA:

PHONOLOGY AND VOCABULARY

Rainer Vossen and Bernd Heine

1. Introduction

Ongamo-Maa forms one of four subgroups of the eastern branch of the Nilotic language family. Its genetic position was found to be as follows (Vossen 1982:296):


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                              ┌──────PROTO-ONGAMO-MAA
                    ┌──PLM────┤
                    │         └──PROTO-LOTUKO
          ┌──PTLM───┤
          │         └──────────PROTO-TESO-TURKANA
PEN───────┤
          └──────────────────PROTO-BARI
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PEN = Proto-Eastern Nilotic
PTLM = Proto-Teso-Lotuko-Maa
PLM = Proto-Lotuko-Maa

The group consists of only two languages: Ongamo and Maa. The former is a remnant language which is possibly extinct today but was until recently spoken by a small number of elderly people on the eastern slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro (Tanzania) (see Heine & Vossen 1975/76:81ff.). Maa is the language of nearly half a million people better known as Maasai, living in the south of Kenya and in north-central Tanzania. It divides into a number of locally determined varieties (Vossen 1987) of which Sampur (Samburu) and Camus (Njemps) are the most important (in terms of linguistic diversity).[1]

In the present article which aims at a concise comparison and reconstruction of Ongamo-Maa phonology and vocabulary we shall deal with Maa mainly in its reconstructed form, i.e., we shall cite as comparative data common Maa forms taken from a book manuscript that is almost ready for print (Heine & Vossen, in progress).

The bulk of both Ongamo and Maa material stems from our own collections.[2] Supplementary information is drawn from Ehret (1971), Fleming (1965), and Fosbrooke (1954) for Ongamo and from Tucker & Mpaayei (1955) for Maasai.

2. Phonology

2.1 Ongamo

The phonology of Ongamo has already been described briefly by Heine & Vossen (1975/76:83-85) and Vossen (1982:193-196). Suffice it here to reproduce charts of the consonantal and vocalic phoneme inventories.

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Dental	Alv.-Palat.	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p[3]	t			k	
Implosive	b	d		j	g	
Fricative		s	ʃ			h
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
Lateral		l				
Rolled		r	ɽ[4]			
		rr				
Glide	w			y		
	ww			yy		

Vowels:

[+ATR]			[-ATR]	
i		u	ɪ	ʊ
	e	o	ɛ	ɔ
	a		a	

2.2 Proto-Maa

The Maa language is characterized by a relatively simple segmen-
tal phonology. Its tonology, however, appears to be highly complex.
This phoneme inventory of Proto-Maa has been reconstructed by the
present writers as follows (see Heine & Vossen, in progress):

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alv.	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	*p	*t			*c	*k
Implosive	*b		*d		*j	*g
Fricative			*s			
Nasal	*m	*n			*ɲ	*ŋ
Lateral				*l		
Rolled			*r			
			*rr			
Glide	*w				*y	
	*ww				*yy	

This system is shared by all modern dialects. There are,
however, differences in allophonic variation. The pronunciation

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of these consonants is subject to phonological and morphophonologi-
cal rules which are contained in our forthcoming book and should,
therefore, not be anticipated here.

The vocalic system of Proto-Maa consists of ten phonemes which
have to be arranged in two sets:

[+ATR]		[-ATR]	
*i	*u	*ɪ	*ʊ
*e	*o	*ɛ	*ɔ
*a		*a	

2.3 Proto-Ongamo-Maa (POM)

2.3.1 Regular sound correspondences

The reconstruction of POM vocabulary is based on regular corre-
spondences between Ongamo (*On*) and Proto-Maa (*PM*) phonemic consonants
and vowels. For reason of economy we shall give only one attestation
each for initial (I), medial (M), and final (F) position in a lexi-
cal form. More examples can be found in Vossen (1982:224-89). When
talking of I, M, and F positions either roots or stems are referred
to unless otherwise stated.

2.3.1.1 Consonants

*p (< PEN *p)

A voiceless bilabial stop can be reconstructed for all positions on
the basis of *On* β corresponding regularly to *PM* p:

On	β	(I)	na-βʊ̀rl̀ó-ó	'smoke n.'
		(M)	ɔ-háβà	'moon, month'
		(F)	ɔ-ŋɛ́jɛ́β-í	'tongue'
PM	p	(I)	*em-puruo	'smoke n.'
		(M)	*ɔ-lapa	'moon, month'
		(F)	*ɔl-ŋɛjɛp	'tongue'

*b (< PEN *b)

There is a series of mutually corresponding voiced bilabial implo-
sives for which final occurrence is not attested:

On	b	(I)	o-bó	'one'
PM	b		*-bo	
On	b	(M)	na-kɪ̀rɔ́bɪ̀	'cold(ness)'
PM	b		*a-ɪrɔbɪ	'be cold v.'

*t (< PEN *t)

A voiceless dental stop is found in both *On* and *PM* which is derived from a proto-phoneme *t.

On	t	(I)	ɔ-tɔ̀mɛ́	'elephant'
PM	t		*ɔl-tɔmɛ	
On	t	(M)	kútɔ̀	'big'
PM	t		*kɪtʊk	
On	t	(F)	-mát-	'drink v.'
PM	t		*a-mat	

*d (< PEN *d)

There is a voiced alveolar stop in *On* corresponding to a voiced dental implosive in *PM* for which POM *d is set up.

On	d	(I)	-dûŋ	'cut v.'
PM	d		*a-dʊŋ	
On	d	(M)	a-ídoŋ-ù	'beat, forge v.'
PM	d		*a-idoŋ	
On	d	(F)	o-mòd-ìèì	'cow dung'
PM	d		*e-mod-ei	

*c (< PEN *kʸ or *tʸ initially, PTLM *c and PEN *tʸ elsewhere)

This proto-phoneme has come into being partly through direct derivation from PEN *kʸ (see Vossen 1982:240f.) and partly as a result of merging. While it originates from *kʸ only in initial position, it may otherwise be traced back to PEN *tʸ or what Vossen (1982: 231f.) provisionally labelled *t_2. The derivation from *kʸ cannot clearly be demonstrated here because of lack of *On* evidence, but it can yet be inferred from the role *PM* plays in the overall PEN reconstruction of *kʸ (Vossen, *loc. cit.*). Origin from PEN *t_2 is well attested for medial and final positions:

On	ʃ	(M)	ɔ-máʃér-ì	'tick'	cf. PEN *-mat$_2$er-
					(Vossen 1982:435)
PM	c		*ɔl-maçer-i		
On	ʃ	(F)	-íβɔ̀ʃ-	'churn v.'	cf. PEN *-(ɪ)pot$_2$-
					(Vossen 1982:346)
PM	c		*a-ɪpɔc	'churn, shake v.'	

Derivation from PEN/PLM *tʸ is shown in

On	ʃ	(I)	na-ʃòní	'skin'	cf. PLM *-tʸoni
					(Vossen 1982:422f.)
PM	c		*ɔl-coni		

*c is retained from PTLM/PLM *c in the example of 'louse':

On	ʃ	(F)	ɔ-háʃ-èní	'louse'	cf. PTLM *-lʸac-
					(Vossen 1982:392)
PM	c		*i-lac-e	'lice'	

*j (< PEN *dʸ)

This proto-phoneme is set up as voiced counterpart to *c on the basis of j corresponding mutually between *On* and *PM*. It is derived from PEN *dʸ via PTLM/PLM *j in non-final and ∅ in final position.

On	j	(I)	na-jóɾéé	'war'
PM	j		*en-jóre	'the going to war'
On	j	(M)	ɔ-ŋéjéβí	'tongue'
PM	j		*ɔl-ŋéjép	
On	j	(F)	-méj-ú	'lick v.'
PM	j		*a-mej	

*k (< PEN *k)

Although the existence of a voiceless velar stop in PEN and its descendants PTLM and PLM was beyond question in the comparative study of Eastern Nilotic, its reconstruction caused problems with regard to initial position (cf. Vossen 1982:241ff.). While k occurred in all languages of the BARI and TESO-TURKANA groups in all positions, it did not so in LOTUKO and ONGAMO-MAA. Stem-initially no less than four series of correspondences were observed and four k's (*k_1–*k_4) were consequently reconstructed for the time being. In reconstructing POM, the number of k's can be reduced to three as *k_1 and *k_4 have merged. Compare the following correspondences for initial *k:

*k_1

On	k	(I)	o-kùɾíón-ì	'ashes'
PM	k		*iŋ-kuruon	

*k_2

On	h	(I)	o-hóítɔ̀	'bone'
PM	∅		*ɔl- oito	

*k_3

On	h	(I)	na-háɾɛ́	'river'
PM	k		*ɛŋ-karɛ	'water'

Preceding high front vowels k is often replaced by ʃ in *On*:

On	ʃ	(I)	na-ʃìrìŋ-óì	'meat, flesh'
PM	k	(I)	*eŋ-kiriŋ-o	

Stem-medially *On* and *PM* both have k, but in final position there is k ~ h alternation in *On*:

On	k	(M)	íkɛɛn-	'count v.'
PM	k		*a-ɪkɛn	
On	k~h	(F)	-nàh-	'suck v.'
PM	k		*a-nak	'suck from breast v.'

*g (< PEN *g)

Unlike *k, its voiced counterpart is so weakly attested that on-
ly two examples, both for initial position, were found:

On	g	(I)	-gó -ò	'hard'
			-góró	'be hard, strong v.'
PM	g		*a-gol	'be angry v.'
			*a-goro	

*kʷ (< PEN *kʷ)

A voiceless labio-velar stʊp is set up on the basis of the fol-
lowing correspondences: On ʃi/ʃɪ : PM kw initially, On and PM ww
medially. There is no final occurrence of *kʷ.

On	ʃɪ	(I)	na-ʃíèŋ	'bird'
PM	kw		*ɛŋ-kweeɲ-i	'small bird sp.'
On	ww	(M)	o-hósówwàn	'buffalo'
PM	ww		*ol- osowwan	

*s (< PTLM *s)

This phoneme is the only fricative which would seem reconstruct-
ible for POM. It is derived from PTLM *s.[5]

On	s	(I)	o-síkɪ̀ɾìà	'donkey'
PM	s		*o-sikiria	
On	s	(M)	o-hósówwàn	'buffalo'
PM	s		*ol- o sowwan	
On	s	(F)	-às-	'do v.'
PM	s		*a-as	

*m (< PEN *m)

There would seem to be little difficulties in the reconstruction
of POM nasals. Both On and PM have a bilabial nasal in all posi-
tions:

On	m	(I)	-mát-	'drink v.'
PM	m		*a-mat	
On	m	(M)	ɔ-tɔ̀mɛ́	'elephant'
PM	m		*ɔl-tɔmɛ	
On	m	(F)	o-tím-í	'monkey'
PM	m		*ol-o-tim	

*n (< PEN *n)

There is a series of mutually corresponding dental nasals for
which a POM phoneme *n is set up. While for PEN three final n's
were to be reconstructed (Vossen 1982:255ff.), two of these (*n₁
and *n₃) coincide in POM and the third (*n₂) has gone to zero.

| On | n | (I) | nánʊ́ | 'I' |
| PM | n | | *nanʊ | |

On	n	(M)	ditto	
PM	n			
On	n	(F)	o-kʊ̀ɾíón-ì	'ashes'
PM	n		*iŋ-kuruon	
On	∅	(F)	-túá	'die v.' cf. PEN *-tuan₂-
				(Vossen 1982:353)
PM	∅		*-tua	'be dead v.'

*ɲ (< PEN *ɲ)

On the basis of ɲ corresponding between On and PM a palatal na-
sal is reconstructed irrespective of position:

On	ɲ	(I)	-ɲ -	'eat v.'
PM	ɲ		*a-ɲa	
On	ɲ	(M)	na-mɔ̀ɲít-ì	'intestines'
PM	ɲ		*ɛ-maɲɪt-a	
On	ɲ	(F)	-áɲ-	'refuse, deny v.'
PM	ɲ		*a-aɲ	

*ŋ (< PEN *ŋ)

Both languages have a velar nasal which can be traced back as
far as PEN in all positions:

On	ŋ	(I)	o-ŋátúɲ	'lion'
PM	ŋ		*ɔl-ŋátùɲ	
On	ŋ	(M)	ɔ-mɛ́nɛ́ŋáɲì	'corpse'
PM	ŋ		*ɔl-mɛnɛŋanɪ	
On	ŋ	(F)	-hɛ́ŋ-	'breathe v.'
PM	ŋ		*a-yɛŋ	

Another series of correspondences which contrasts On ŋ with PM
*ɲ has been observed with respect to final position. Already for
PEN a proto-sound *ŋ₂ had been reconstructed hypothetically for
this correspondence to which we would like to stick for the time
being.

| On | ŋ | (F) | na-dóŋ-éé | 'mountain' |
| PM | ɲ | | *ol-doɲ-o | 'big mountain' |

*l (< PEM *l)

On	l	(I)	-leβ-	'milk v.'
PM	l		*a-lep	
On	∅	(M)	na-hɔ̀ ɔ́ŋ	'sun, hunger'
PM	l		*ɛŋ-kɔlɔŋ	'sun, hunger, famine'
On	∅	(F)	-gó -ò	'hard'
PM	l		*a-gol	'be hard, strong v.'

*ɬ (< PEN *ɬ)

A dental-alveolar lateral fricative *ɬ deriving from PEN is re-
constructed on the basis of On h corresponding to PM *l. This

phoneme, however, is confined to initial position.

On	h	(I)	ɔ-háβà	'moon, month'
PM	l		*ɔ-lapa	

*r (< PEN *r)

There is a series of regularly corresponding dental or alveolar rolled consonants which is believed to be derived from a proto-phoneme *r. In *On* r and ɽ seem to be alternating reflexes of this proto-phoneme.

On	r~ɽ	(I)	-ɽɪβ-	'sew v.'
PM	r		*a-rɪp	
On	r~ɽ	(M)	o-kùɽíón-ì	'ashes'
PM	r		*iŋ-kuɽuon	
On	r	(F)	-mér-ɛ̀	'be drunk v.'
PM	r		*a-mɛr-a	

*rr (< PEN *rr)

A rolled geminate *rr is reconstructed for all positions on the basis of *On* r or rr and *PM* rr or r correspondences:

On	r(r)	(I)		cf. Vossen 1982:270
PM	r(r)			
On	r(r)	(M)	a-dórróβ-ú	'be short v.'
PM	r(r)		*-dɔrrɔp	'short'
On	r(r)	(F)	-hɔ̀rr-	'divide v.'
PM	r(r)		*a- ɔr	

*w (< PEN *w)

A bilabial glide was reconstructed already for PEN (Vossen 1982: 271f.). Although its existence in POM cannot be demonstrated here due to lack of *On* evidence, it must have been part of the POM inventory for two reasons. First, it occurs in *PM*; and second, it would seem unlikely that POM disposed of *ww but not of *w (see below).

*ww (< PEN *gw)

The occurrence of bilabial geminated glides corresponding mutually between the two languages would lead one to set up a POM *ww phoneme which originated from PEN *gw via PTLM/PLM *ww. Only medial and final positions are attested.

On	ww	(M)	na-hɔ̀-wwàrú	'hyena'
PM	ww		*ol- o -wwaru	'predacious animal'
On	ww	(F)	na-taww-o	'female calf, heifer'
PM	ww		*en-taww-o	

*y (< PEN *y)

There appears to have been a palatal glide in POM deriving from

PEN. At the stage of PTLM already this phoneme disappeared word-internally, whilst final position has never been attested so far. The correspondence underlying *y is *On* h : *PM* y.

On	h	(I)	-héŋ-	'breathe v.'
PM	y		*a-yéŋ	

*yy (< PTLM *yy)

In non-final positions a geminated variant *yy of the palatal glide is reconstructed on the basis of a regular correspondence of *On* y(y) to *PM* *yy.

On	y(y)	(I)	- y ɛŋ-	'flay, slaughter v.'
PM	y		*a-yyeŋ	
On	y(y)	(M)	-toyyóó	'be dry v.'
PM	y		*-toyyo	

The PEN consonantal phoneme inventory reconstructed by Vossen (1982) furthermore contained *rdʸ and *tt. While Dimmendaal (1984:70) was able to show that the latter was probably a dental (*ʈ) rather than alveolar geminated stop which would seem to have merged with *t in POM, the former apparently went to a simple sequence of r+i.

2.3.1.2 Vowels

In view of the identical systems of *On* and *PM* on the one hand and PEN, as reconstructed by Vossen (1982:299), on the other, there seems to be no reason to assume that the vocalic inventory of POM was any different from the others. Therefore, two sets of five vowels each, differing from each other in the feature [ATR], are reconstructed. The series of correspondences underlying this reconstruction read as follows.

*i (< PEN *i)

On	i	(I)	ìyyé	'you (sg.)'
PM	i		*iyye	
On	i	(M)	a-βírr	'be fat v.'
PM	i		*a-pir	
On	i	(F)	na-hɔ̀βí	'barren woman'
PM	i		*ɛŋ-kolupi	

*ɪ (< PEN *ɪ)

On	ɪ	(I/F)	na-k-ìrɔ̀bì	'cold(ness)'
PM	ɪ		*a- ɪrɔbɪ	'be cold v.'
On	ɪ	(M)	ɔ-kínà	'breast(s) of woman'
PM	ɪ		*ol-kɪna	'breast'

*e (< PEN *e)

On	e	(M)	-leβ-	'milk v.'

PM	e	*a-lep		
On	e	(F) na-ʃíe	'head'	
PM	e	*eŋ-kwe		

*ɛ (< PEN *ɛ)

On	ɛ	(M) -héŋ-	'breathe v.'	
PM	ɛ	*a-yéŋ		
On	ɛ	(F) na-kà-lɛ́	'milk n.'	
PM	ɛ	*kʊ-lɛ		

*a (< PEN *a)

On	a	(I) -áɲ-	'refuse, deny v.'	
PM	a	*a-aɲ		
On	a	(M) míŋánì	'blunt'	
PM	a	*mɪŋanɪ		
On	a	(F) tǎáná	'be near v.'	
PM	a	*a-tǎàná		

*ɔ (< PEN *ɔ)

On	ɔ	(M) -íβɔ̀ʃ-	'churn v.'	
PM	ɔ	*a-ɪpɔc	'churn, shake v.'	
On	ɔ	(F) -íʃɔ́	'give v.'	
PM	ɔ	a-ɪcɔ		

*o (< PEN *o)

On	o	(M) a-ídoŋ-ù	'beat, forge v.'	
PM	o	*a-idoŋ		
On	o	(F) o-bó	'one'	
PM	o	*-bo		

*ʊ (< PEN *ʊ)

On	ʊ	(M) ɔ-tùŋánì	'person'	
PM	ʊ	*ɔl-tuŋanɪ		
On	ʊ	(F) nánʊ́	'I'	
PM	ʊ	*nánʊ́		

*u (< PEN *u)

On	u	(I) ùní	'three'	
PM	u	*uni		
On	u	(M) o-kùɾíón-ì	'ashes'	
PM	u	*iŋ-kuruon		
On	u	(F) a- dóɾú	'be long v.'	
PM	u	*a-adoru		

2.3.2 The phoneme inventory

2.3.2.1 Consonants

To sum up, the system of POM consonantal phonemes can be

described as follows. There were nine stops, one fricative, four nasals, four liquids, and four glides occurring at five points of articulation: bilabial, dentalveolar, palatal, velar and labiovelar.

	Bilabial	Dentalveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labiovelar
Plosive	*p	*t	*c	*k	*kʷ
	*b	*d	*j	*g	
Fricative		*s			
Nasal	*m	*n	*ɲ	*ŋ	
Lateral		*l			
Lat.Fric.		*ɬ			
Rolled		*r			
		*rr			
Glide	*w		*y		
	*ww		*yy		

The history of development of POM consonant phonemes from PEN via PTLM and PLM as intermediate proto-stages is reconstructed thus:
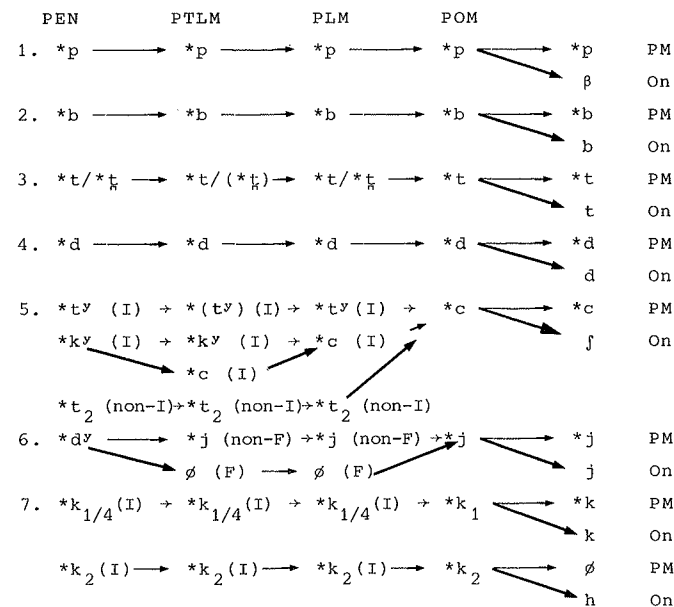
PEN	PTLM	PLM	POM			
*k₃ (I) ⟶	*k₃ (I) ⟶	*k₃ (I) ⟶	*k₃	*k	PM	
				h	On	
*k(non-I) →	*k(non-I) →	*k(non-I) →	*k	*k	PM	
				h	On	
8. *g ⟶	*g ⟶	*g ⟶	*g	*g	PM	
				ɠ	On	
9. *kʷ ⟶	*kʷ ⟶	*kʷ ⟶	*kʷ	*kʷ	PM	(I)
				*ww		(M)
				ʃi	On	(I)
				ww		(M)
10.	*s ⟶	*s ⟶	*s	*s	PM	
				s	On	
11. *m ⟶	*m ⟶	*m ⟶	*m	*m	PM	
				m	On	
12. *n ⟶	*n ⟶	*n ⟶	*n	*n	PM	
				n	On	
13. *ɲ ⟶	*ɲ ⟶	*ɲ ⟶	*ɲ	*ɲ	PM	
				ɲ	On	
14. *ŋ ⟶	*ŋ ⟶	*ŋ ⟶	*ŋ	*ŋ	PM	
				ŋ	On	
*ŋ₂ ⟶	*ŋ₂ ⟶	*ŋ₂ ⟶	*ŋ₂	*ɲ	PM	
				ŋ	On	
15. *l ⟶	*l ⟶	*l ⟶	*l	*l	PM	
				l	On	(I)
				∅		(non-I)
16. *ɬ ⟶	*ɬ ⟶	*ɬ ⟶	*ɬ	*l	PM	
				h	On	
17. *r ⟶	*r ⟶	*r ⟶	*r	*r	PM	
				r~ɾ	On	
18. *rr ⟶	*rr ⟶	*rr ⟶	*rr	*r(r)	PM	
				rr	On	
19. *w ⟶	*w ⟶	*w ⟶	*w	*w	PM	
				(w)	On	
20. *gʷ ⟶	*ww ⟶	*ww ⟶	*ww	*ww	PM	
				ww	On	

PEN	PTLM	PLM	POM			
21. *y ⟶	*y ⟶	*y ⟶	*y	*y	PM	(I)
	∅ (M) ⟶	∅ (M)		∅		(M)
				h	On	(I)
				∅		(M)
22.	*yy ⟶	*yy ⟶	*yy	*yy	PM	
				y(y)	On	

2.3.2.2 Vowels

The vocalic phonemes of POM can be summarized as follows:

[+ATR]   *i, *e, *a, *o, *u ,

[-ATR]   *ɪ, *ɛ, *a, *ɔ, *ʊ .

2.3.3 Consonant and vowel sequences

Only three cases of consonant clustering occur in our lexical reconstructions, whereas vowel sequences are quite frequent both within lexical roots and across morpheme boundaries. The following have been observed:

Consonants: ŋw , rn , rt ;

Vowels: ie , ia ,

          ɪɔ ,

          ɛɛ ,

          ai , aɪ , aɛ , aa , aʊ , au ,

          ɔɔ ,

          oi , oo ,

          uei , ua , uo .

3. Lexical reconstructions

The very limited data on Ongamo limit the number of possible POM lexical reconstructions from the first. The following list contains slightly more than 150 reconstructions and may be called exhaustive in the sense of relatively safe reconstructibility. The meanings assigned to the reconstructions are often semantic approximations.

The list is arranged in alphabetical order of English meanings. A POM-English index is appended.

'abuse v.'   see   'insult v.'

'all'   POM *pɔɔkɪ

     On   βɔ̀ɔ̀kɪ́
     PM   *pɔɔkɪ

'angry, be - v.'   POM *-goro (class I)

      On   -góró
      PM *a-goro

'animal, wild big -'   POM *-caɲito (sg.)

      On   ʃàɲìtó
      PM *ol-caɲito

'arm/hand'   POM *-k_3aɪna , pl. *-k_3aɪk

      On na-h ɛ́ ná , pl. na-h ɛ k
      PM *ɛŋ-kaɪna , pl. *ɪŋ-kaɪk

'armpit'   POM *-$k_1$udikudi

      On na-kúdíkúdì
      PM *eŋ-kitikiti

          Notes: (1) PM devoicing of C_2.
                 (2) Vowel assimilation in PM. See 'big' for
                     another example.

          PEN/PLM *-kʊdɪ- (Vossen 1982:327). Dimmendaal
          (1984:71f) would here probably reconstruct *-kʊɗɪ-.

'arrow'   POM *-baɛ , pl. *-baa

      On ɔ-bàɛ̀-ní , pl. ɔ-báá
      PM *ɔl-baɛ   , pl. *ɪl-baa 'big arrow, wound'

'ashes'   POM *-$k_1$uruon (pl.)

      On o-kùɾíón-ì
      PM *iŋ-kuruon

          PEN /PTLM *-$k_1$uruo-(n) (Vossen 1982:328)

'axe'   POM *-tolu

      On na-tóú
      PM *en-tolu

          PEN/PLM *-tolu- (Vossen 1982:328f.)

'beast, wild -'   POM *-k_2o-wwaru (sg.)

      On na-hò-wwàrú 'hyena'
      PM *ol- o -wwaru 'predacious animal'

          PEN *-k_3o-gwor- , PLM *-k_3o-uwar- 'leopard'
          (Vossen 1982:389)

'beat/forge v.'   POM *-idoŋ- (cl. II)

      On a-ídoŋ-ù
      PM *a-idoŋ

          PEN/PTLM/PLM *-doŋ- (Vossen 1982:330f.)

'bed' see 'sleeping-place'

'bee'   POM *-ko-toroi , pl. *-ko-torok

      On o-toɾoi , pl. o- tóɾò 'bee, honey'
      PM *ol-otoroi, pl. *ɪl-otoro-k 'honey bee'

          Note: For another example of *On* loss of final k,
          see 'big'. PEN *-k_3o-$t_1$or- (Vossen 1982:331)

'big'   POM *k_1ʊtɔk (sg.)

      On kútɔ̀
      PM *kɪtʊk

          Note: For loss of *On* final k, see also 'bee (pl.)'

          PLM *-k_1ɪtt-ɔk (Vossen 1982:333). *-$k_1$ut-ɔk would,
          however, be more likely (cf. 'armpit' for vowel
          correspondence *On* u : *PM* i; *ṭ for *tt, following
          Dimmendaal (1984:70).

'bird'   POM *-kwɛɲ-

      On na-ʃíɛ̀ŋ , na-ʃɛ̀ŋ-á
      PM *ɛŋ-kweeɲ-i   'small bird sp.'

          PEN/PTLM/PLM *-kuɛɲ- (Vossen 1982:333f.)

'bite v.'   POM *-ɔɲ (cl.I)

      On tá-áɲ-ɛ́kà
      PM *a-ɔɲ

          Note: *On* a for *PM* ɔ may be due to progressive as-
          similation to the past tense prefix tá-.

          PTLM/PLM *-k_2ɔɲ- (Vossen 1982:334f.)

'black, become - v.'   POM *-roku , *-rɔku (cl. I)

      On   -ɾókú 'be black v.'
      PM *a-roku

'blunt'   POM *mɪŋanɪ

      On   míŋánì
      PM *mɪŋanɪ

'bone' POM $*-k_2$oito , pl. $*-k_2$oik

On o-hóítò , pl. o-hóík
PM *ol- oito , pl. *il- oik

PEN $*-k_3$oyV-t_1- , PTLM $*-k_3$oi-t_1(o) , PLM $*-k_3$oi-t_1o (Vossen 1982:336f.)

'breast(s) of woman' POM $*-k_1$ɪna , pl. $*-k_1$ɪ

On ɔ-kínà , pl. ɔ-kíí
PM *ol-kɪna , pl. *il-kɪ 'breast'

PEN/PTLM/PLM $*-k_1$ɪn$_2$- (Vossen 1982:338f.)

'breathe v.' POM *-yɛŋ

On -hɛ́ŋ-
PM *a-yɛŋ

PTLM *-yɛŋ- (Vossen 1982:339)

'buffalo' POM $*-k_2$o-sokwan (sg.)

On o-hó-sówwàn
PM *ol- o-sowwan

PTLM/PLM $*-k_3$o-soku-an (Vossen 1982:341)

'bull/ox' POM *-mɔŋ-i (pl.)

On o-mɔ́ŋ-í (pl.) 'steer'
PM *ɔl-mɔŋ-ɔ , pl. *il-mɔŋ-i 'ox; rest of milk; water in a gourd after drinking'

Note: On ɲ so far unexplained.
PTLM/PLM *-mɔŋ-ɔ (Vossen 1982:342)

'burn/roast v.' POM *-pej- (cl. I)

On -βèj- 'burn v.'
PM *a-pej

'calf, female -/heifer' POM *-tawwo , pl. *-tawwa

PM *en-tawwo , pl. *ɪn-tawwa
On na-táwwó , pl. na-tàwwá

PEN *-tagw- , PLM *-tauw- (Vossen 1982:343f.)

'chase v.' POM *-mɪr- (cl. I)

On -mír-
PM *a-mɪr 'chase; sell v.'

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'catch/seize v.' POM *-ɪbuŋ (cl. II)

On ìbúŋ-à
Sa a-ɪbuŋ (Sa = Sampur)

'caterpillar' see 'worm'

'churn v.' POM *-ɪpɔc (cl. II)

On -íβɔ̀ʃ-
PM *a-ɪpɔc 'churn, shake v.'

PLM *-(ɪ)pot$_2$ (Vossen 1982:346)

'cold, be - v.' POM *-ɪrɔbɪ (cl. II)

On na-k-ìrɔ́bì 'cold(ness)'
PM *a-ɪrɔbi

PLM *-(ɪ)rɔbɪ (Vossen 1982:347)

'corpse' POM *-mɛnɛŋanɪ (sg.)

On ɔ-mɛ́nɛ́ŋánì
PM *ɔl-mɛnɛŋanɪ

PLM *-mɛnɛŋa- 'ghost/spirit' (Vossen 1982:373)

'count v.' POM *-ɪkɛn (cl. II)

On íkɛɛn
PM *a-ɪk ɛ n

Note: Vowel length in On cannot be explained yet.
PEN/PLM $*-k_4$ɛn- (Vossen 1982:347f.)

'cow' POM $*-k_1$ɪ-tɛŋ

On ɔ-kì-tɛ́ŋ 'steer'
PM *ɛŋ-kɪ-tɛŋ

PEN/PTLM/PLM $*-k_1$ɪ-t_1ɛŋ (Vossen 1982:348f.)

'cow dung' POM *-mod-

On o-mòd-ìéì
PM *e-mod- ei

PLM *-mod- (Vossen 1982:350)

'crocodile' POM $*-k_1$i-ɲaŋ-

On o-kì-ɲáŋ-ú
PM *ol-ki-ɲaŋ

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PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k₁i-ɲaŋ- (Vossen 1982:351)

'cry v.'   POM *-ɪcɪr (cl. II)

   On   -ìʃìr-á
   PM   *a-ɪcɪr

'cut v.'   POM *-duŋ (cl. I)

   On   -duŋ
   PM   *a-duŋ

   PEN/PTLM *-duŋ- (Vossen 1982:352)

'day'   POM *-par-

   On   o-βár-í (sg.)
   NM   m-par   (sg.)   (NM = North Maa)

'dead, be - v.'   POM *-tua

   On   -túá   'die v.'
   PM   *-tua

   PEN/PTLM/PLM *-tuan₂- (Vossen 1982:353)

'deny v.' see 'refuse v.'

'divide v.'   POM *-k₂ɔrr- (cl. I)

   On   -hɔ̀rr
   PM   *a- ɔr

'do v.'   POM *-as- (cl. I)

   On   -às-
   PM   *a-as

'donkey'   POM *-sikiria (sg.)

   On   o-síkìrìà
   PM   *o-sikiria

'drink v.'   POM *-mat- (cl. I)

   On   -mát-
   PM   *a-mat

   PTLM/PLM *-mat- (Vossen 1982:356)

'drunk, be - v.'   POM *-mɛr- (cl. I)

   On   -mɛ́r-ɛ̀
   PM   *a-mɛr-a

PEN *-mɛr-, PTLM *-mɛr-a (Vossen 1982:357)

'dry, be - v.'   POM *-toyyo (cl. I)

   On   -tòyyóó
   PM   *-toyyo

   PLM *-toi- (Vossen 1982:357f.)

'ear'   POM *-kɪɔɔk (sg.)

   On   na-ʃɔɔ
   Ma   ɛŋ-kɪɔɔk   (Ma = Maasai)

   Note: Loss of On final k is well attested.

'earth' see 'soil'

'eat v. (1)'   POM *-ɲa (cl. I)

   On   -ɲ -
   PM   *a-ɲa

   PEN/PTLM *-ɲa(m)- (Vossen 1982:358f.)

'eat v. (2)'   POM *-am (cl. I)

   On   -am-
   Ma   a-ám   (Ma = Maasai)

'elephant'   POM *-tɔmɛ (sg.)

   On   ɔ-tɔ̀mɛ́
   PM   *ɔl-tɔmɛ

   PEN/PTLM/PLM *-tɔm-ɛ (Vossen 1982:359f.)

'enemy'   POM *-maŋati (pl.)

   On   o-màŋàtí
   PM   *il-maŋati

'ewe, virgin - '   POM *-supen-

   On   na-suβen-i 'young female sheep'
   PM   e-supen

'eye'   POM *-k₃ɔŋu , pl. *-k₃ɔɲɛk

   On   na-hɔ̀ŋú , pl. na-hɔ̀ɲɛ́ɛ́
   PM   *ɛŋ-kɔŋu , pl. *ɪŋ-kɔɲɛk

   Note: For loss of On final k, cf. also 'bee' and
      'big'.
   PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k₃ɔŋ-/*-k₃ɔɲ- (Vossen 1982:361f.)

'fall ill v.'   POM *-muei (cl. I)

    On   -múéí   'be ill v.'
    PM   *a-muei

'fat, be - v.'   POM *-pir (cl. I)

    On   a-βírr
    PM   *a-pir

        PEN/PLM *-pirr- (Vossen 1982:363). This reconstruc-
        tion with final *rr is probably to be corrected in
        favour of *-pir on the basis of new Maasai evi-
        dence. *On* rr may be hearing error.

'father'   POM *papa

    On   βàβà
    PM   *papa

'feather'   POM *-$k_3$opir-

    On   o-hòβír
    PM *εŋ-kópír-ó

        PEN/PTLM/PLM *-$k_3$opir- (Vossen 1982:364)

'fight'   POM *-ara   cf. 'kill v.'

    On   a-ara-te   'fight v.'
    PM *εn-ara   'short fight between two people'

        PTLM *-ar-a (sg.) (Vossen 1982:365)

'fill/full, be - v.'   POM *-ɪpʊt- (cl. II)

    On   -βút-   'be full v.'
    PM *a-ɪpʊt- 'fill v.'

        PLM *-pʊt- (Vossen 1982:373)

'finger'   POM *-kimojin-

    On   o-ʃìmòjín-ò (sg.)
    PM *ol-kimojin-oo (sg.)

'fire'   POM *-k_1ɪ-ma

    On na-kí-má
    PM *εŋ-kɪ-ma

        PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k_1ɪ-ma- (Vossen 1982:366)

'fish n.'   POM *-siŋkirr-

    On o-síŋkìr-í
    PM *-siŋkirr

'five'   POM *-miet-

    On   míet-ì
    PM *i-miet

        PLM *-miet- (Vossen 1982:367)

'flay/slaughter v.'   POM *-yyeŋ

    On   -yεŋ-
    PM *a-yyeŋ

        PTLM *-yyeŋ- (Vossen 1982:367)

'flesh' see 'meat'

'foot/leg'   POM *-k_1εjʊ , pl. *-k_1εjεk

    On na-kèjú , pl. na-kèjέ
    PM *εŋ-kεjʊ , pl. *ɪn-kεjεk

        Note: Loss of *On* final k is well attested (cf.
           'bee', 'big', 'eye').
        PTLM *-k_1εj-ʊ (Vossen 1982:370)

'forbid v.'   POM *-mit- (cl. I)

    On -mít-
    PM *a-mit

'forge v.' see 'beat v.'

'four'   POM *-k_2o-ŋwan

    On o-hó-ŋwàn
    PM   *o-ŋwan

        PEN/PTLM/PLM *-ŋuan (Vossen 1982:371f.)

'full, be - v.' see 'fill v.'

'give v.'   POM *-ɪcɔ- (cl. II)

    On -íʃɔ́
    PM *a-ɪcɔ

'goat, (she-)'   POM *-k_1i-ne , pl. *-k_1i-neji

    On na-ʃí-né , pl. na-ʃì-néjí
    PM *εŋ-ki-ne , pl. *in-ki-neji

PEN *-k_1i-ned^y , PTLM/PLM *-k_1i-ne (Vossen 1982: 374f.)

'God/rain' POM *-k_3aɪ , *-$k_3$ai (sg.)

On   na-háí 'rain'
PM *ɛŋ-kaɪ

PLM *-$k_3$ai , *-k_3aɪ 'rain' (Vossen 1982:409f.)

'grass/leaf/plant' POM *-$k_1$ujit- , *-$k_1$ujɪt-

On   na-kújèt-ì 'leaf, plant'
PM *ɛŋ-kujɪt-a 'grass'

Note: We have no explanation yet for the vocalic correspondence On e : PM ɪ.

'guest' see 'stranger'

'hand' see 'arm'

'hard/strong, be - v.' POM *-gol- (cl. I)

On   -gó -ó   'hard'
PM *a-gol

PEN/PLM *-gol- (Vossen 1982:378)

'head' POM *-kwe (sg.)

On   na-ʃíé
PM *eŋ-kwe

PEN/PLM *-kue-/*-kue-t_2i(k) (Vossen 1982:379)

'hear v.' POM *-niŋ- (cl. I)

On   -níŋ-ò
PM *a-niŋ

PEN/PLM *-n_1iŋ- (Vossen 1982:379f.)

'heart' POM *-tau , pl. *-tauja

On   ɔ-táú , pl. ɔ-táújá
PM *ɔl-tau , pl. *ɪl-tauja

PEN *-tau(d^y)- , PTLM/PLM *-tauj- (Vossen 1982: 380f.)

'heavy, be - v.' POM *-iroci (cl. II)

On   k-ìróʃì   'heavy'
PM *a-iroci

PLM *-(i)rot$_2$i (Vossen 1982:381)

'heifer' see 'calf, female -'

'hippopotamus' POM *-makau-

On   o-màkáú-í (sg.)
PM *ɔl-makau (sg.)

'horn' POM *-mowwo (sg.)

On   na-mówwó
PM *e-mowwo

'house' POM *-$k_3$aji (sg.)

On   na-hàjí
PM *ɛŋ-kaji

PEN *-$k_3$ad^{y}i , PTLM/PLM *-$k_3$aji (Vossen 1982:383)

'hunger' see 'sun'

'husband' see 'man'

'I' POM *nanʋ

On   nánú
PM *nanʋ

PEN/PLM *$n_2$an$_3$- (Vossen 1982:384)

'insult/abuse v.' POM *-mor- (cl. I)

On   -mòr-
PM *a-mor(r)

'intestines' POM *-mɔɲɪt-

On   na-mɔɲít-ì
PM *ɛ-maɲɪt-a

PEN/PLM *-mɔɲɪt- (Vossen 1982:385)

'kill v.' POM *-ar- (cl. I)   cf. 'fight'

On   -ár-
PM *a-ar

PTLM *-ar- (Vossen 1982:386)

'knee' POM *-k_1ʋŋ-

On   ɔ-kúŋ
PM *ɛŋ-kʋŋ-ʋ

PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k$_4$uŋ- (Vossen 1982:386f.)

'laugh v.'   POM *-kwɛn- (cl. I)

   On -ʃíéɲ-à
   PM *a-kwɛn-ɪ

     Note: *On* ɲ : *PM* *n correspondence cannot be ex-
        plained here. The reconstructibility is
        still strongly justified because of the ʃi :
        *kw correspondence.

'leaf' see 'grass'

'leg' see 'foot'

'lick v.'   POM *-mej- (cl. I)

   On -méj-ú
   Ma a-méj *(Ma = Maasai)*

'lift v.'   POM *-dʊmʊ (cl. I)

   On -dʊ̀mú
   Ma a-dʊ̀mú *(Ma = Maasai)*

'light, be - (in weight) v.' POM *-nɛnɛŋ (cl. I)

   On -nɛ̀nɛ́ŋ
   PM *a-nɛnɛŋ

'like v.'   POM *-cam (cl. I)

   On -ʃám-à
   PM *a-cam

'lion'   POM *-ŋatuɲ , pl. *-ŋatuɲo

   On o-ŋátúɲ , pl. o-ŋàtúɲó
   PM *ol-ŋatuɲ , pl. *il-ŋatuɲo

     PTLM/PLM *-ŋat$_1$uɲ- (Vossen 1982:389f.)

'liver'   POM *-mauɲ-

   On na-máúɲ-á
   PM *e-m o ɲ-uaa

     PEN/PTLM/PLM *-mauɲ- (Vossen 1982:390f.)

'locust'   POM *-maati (sg.)

   On ɔ-máàtì
   PM *ol-maati

PEN *-mayat- , PTLM *-maat- (Vossen 1982:391)

'long, become - v.' POM *-(a)doru (cl. I)

   On a- dóɣú 'be long v.'
   PM *a-adoru

'louse'   POM *-ɬac-

   On ɔ-háʃ-èní
   PM *i-lac-e 'lice'

     PTLM *-lʸac- (Vossen 1982:392)

'man/husband'   POM *-lɛɛ (sg.)

   On ɔ-lɛ́ɛ̀
   PM *ɔ-lɛɛ

'many/much'   POM *-k$_1$umok

   On kúmɔ̀
   PM *-kumok

     Note: Loss of *On* final k is well attested.

'meat/flesh'   POM *-ki-riŋ-

   On na-ʃì-rìŋ-óì
   PM *eŋ-ki-riŋ-o

     PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k$_1$i-riŋ- (Vossen 1982:393)

'medicine'   POM *-cani

   On ɔ-ʃàníí
   PM *ol-cani 'tree, wood, medicine'

'milk n.'   POM *-lɛ

   On na-kà-lɛ́
   PM *kʊ-lɛ

     PEN/PTLM/PLM *-lɛ- (Vossen 1982:393f.)

'milk v.'   POM *-lep- (cl. I)

   On -leβ-
   PM *a-lep

     PTLM/PLM *-lep- (Vossen 1982:394f.)

'monkey'   POM *-ko-tim-

    On   tím-í
    PM *ol-o-tim   'baboon'

       Note: Reconstruction of *ko- prefix on the basis
            of analogy in 'bee'.

'month' see 'moon'

'moon/month'   POM *-ɬapa (sg.)

    On   ɔ-hábà
    PM *ɔ-lapa

       PEN *-lʸapatʸ- , PTLM/PLM *-lʸapa- (Vossen 1982:
       395f.)

'mountain'   POM *-doŋ$_2$-

    On na-dóŋ-éé
    PM *ol-doɲ-o   'big mountain'

       PLM *-doŋ$_2$- (Vossen 1982:397f.)

'much' see 'many'

'name'   POM *-k$_3$arna

    On na-hárná (pl.)
    PM *εŋ-karna

       PEN *-k$_3$a-rɪn- (Vossen 1982:399)

'near, be - v.'   POM *-taana (cl. I)

    On   tàáná
    PM *a-taana

'night'   POM *-k(ε)warie (sg.)

    On ʃ àríé 'at night'
    PM *εŋ-kεwarie

       PEN *-kε-wardʸ-e , *-kuardʸ-e ; PTLM/PLM *-kuari-e
       (Vossen 1982:401)

'nose'   POM *-kume , pl. *-kumecin

    On o-kùmíé , pl. o-kùmlèʃín
    PM *eŋ-kum e , pl. *iŋ-kumecin

       Note: vowel sequence ie for unknown reasons.
       PEN *-ku-me/*-ku-me-t$_2$ik; PTLM/PLM *-ku-me (Vossen
       1982:402)

'one'   POM *-bo

    On   o-bó
    PM * -bo

       PLM *-bo (Vossen 1982:403)

'ox' see 'bull'

'permit v.'   POM *-iruk- (cl. II)

    On   -írúk-ól
    PM *a-iruk   'respond to a call'

'plant' see 'grass'

'person'   POM *-tuŋanɪ (sg.)

    On ɔ-tùŋánì
    PM *ɔl-tuŋanɪ

       PTLM/PLM *-tuŋan- (Vossen 1982:406)

'pierce/spear v.'   POM *-rem- (cl. I)

    On   -rem-
    PM *a-rem

       PEN *-rem- (Vossen 1982:406)

'pot, clay-'   POM *-moti (sg.)

    On na-mòtí   'big pot'
    PM *ol-moti   'clay-pot, waterhole in rock'

       PTLM/PLM *-mot$_1$i- 'pot' (Vossen 1982:407f.)

'pull (here) v.'   POM *-yyetu

    On   -yyètû
    PM *a-yyetu

'put (into) v.'   POM *-pɪk , *-pik (cl. I)

    On   -βìk-   'put into v.'
    PM *a-pik   'put v.'

'rain' see 'God'

'rat'   POM *-deroni , pl. *-dero

    On o-dòrònì , pl. o-dòrò
    PM *en-deroni , pl. *in-dero

       Note: In *On* probably regressive vowel assimilation.

'refuse/deny v.'   POM *-aɲ- (cl. I)

    On   -áɲ-
    PM   *a-aɲ

'ripen v.'   POM *-k_3u , *-k_3o (cl. I)
                              cf. Teso a-xono

    On   -hô
    PM *a-ku

'river/(water)'   POM *-$k_3$arɛ , pl. *-$k_3$ariak

    On na-háɾέ , pl. na-háɾíá   'river'
    PM *ɛŋ-karɛ , pl. *ɪŋ-kariak   'water'

         Note: For loss of On final k, see 'bee', 'big',
         'eye' & others.
         PEN/PTLM/PLM *-$k_3$ar-ɛ/*-$k_3$ar-ɪa(k) (Vossen 1982: 414)

'rope'   POM *-$k_3$opito (sg.)

    On na-hoβitó
    PM *eŋ-kopito   'bark of certain plants, used as rope or for chewing'

         PLM *-$k_3$opit- (Vossen 1982:415)

'run v.'   POM *-kwɛt- (cl. I)

    On   -ʃὲt-
    PM *a-kwɛt

'saliva'   POM *-$k_3$amʊlak (pl.)

    On na-hàmú á
    PM *ɛŋ-kamʊlak (pl.)

         Note: Loss of word-final k in On can be shown regularly (see, for example, 'bee', 'eye', & others).
         PEN/PTLM/PLM *-$k_3$amʊl-ak (Vossen 1982:415f.)

'sandal/shoe'   POM *-ka-mʊkɛ (sg.)

    On na- mʊkὲ-nî
    PM *ɛn-a-mʊkɛ

         PEN/PTLM *-k_2a-mʊk- ; PLM *-k_2a-mʊk- /*-k_2a-mʊk-a (Vossen 1982:417)

'seive v.' see 'catch v.'

'sew v.'   POM *-rɪp- (cl. I)

    On   -ɾɪβ-
    PM *a-rɪp

         PEN/PLM *-rɪp- (Vossen 1982:419)

'sharp, be - v.'   POM *-pɪ (cl. I)

    On   -βí
    PM *a-pɪ

         PEN *-pɪ(tʸ) , PLM *-pɪ (Vossen 1982:420)

'shoe' see 'sandal'

'short'   POM *-dɔrrɔp

    On a-dɔrrɔ́β-ú 'be short v.'
    PM *-dɔrrɔp (sg.)

'shoulder'   POM *-sipi

    On o-sîβì (sg.)
    Sa sípì (pl.) (Sa = Sampur)

'shut v.'   POM *-iken (cl. II)

    On   ìkén-ù
    PM *a-iken

'skin'   POM *-coni , pl. *-conito

    On na-ʃòní , pl. na-ʃònító
    PM *ol-coni , pl. *il-conito

         PLM *-tʸoni (Vossen 1982:422f.)

'slaughter v.' see 'flay v.'

'sleeping-place/bed'   POM *-rruat-

    On na- rúàt-ù
    PM *e-rruat (sg.)

'small'   POM *k_1ɪtɪ

    On kìtí
    PM *kɪtɪ (sg.)

'small/tiny'   POM *k_1iɲi

    On kìɲí   'small'
    PM *kiɲi (sg.)

'smoke'   POM *-puruo-

    On na-βʊ̀ɾí̀ó-ó
    PM *em-puruo

       PEN/PTLM/ṔLM *-puruo- (Vossen 1982:424f.)

'sneeze v.'   POM *-sɪŋ- (cl. I)

    On   -sɪ́ŋ-
    PM *a-sɪŋ

'soil/earth'   POM *-k$_1$u-lup-

    On na-kù- β-óó
    PM *eŋ-ku-lup-oni

       PTLM *-(ku-)lup- (Vossen 1982:426f.)

'spear v.' see 'pierce v.'

'spear n.'   POM *-pɛrɛ (sg.)

    On na-βɛ́rɛ̀
    PM *ɛm-pɛrɛ

       PLM *-pɛr-ɛ/(*-pɛr-ɪa) (Vossen 1982:427f.)

'star'   POM *-k$_2$akɪr-

    On ɔ-hàkɛ̀ɾ-áí̀ (sg.)
    PM *ɔl- akɪr-a (sg.)

'stink v.'   POM *-ŋu , *-ŋʊ (cl. I)

    On   -ŋʊ́ʊ́
    PM *a-ŋu

'stranger/guest'   POM *-lɔmɔn-

    On ɔ-lɔ̀mɔ́n (sg.) 'guest'
    PM *ɪ-lɔmɔn (pl.)

'strong, be - v.' see 'hard, be - v.'

'suck v.'   POM *-nak- (cl. I)

    On   -nah-
    PM *a-nak   'suck from breast v.'

       PTLM/PLM *-n$_{(2)}$ak- (Vossen 1982:429)

'sun/hunger'   POM *-k$_3$ɔlɔŋ

    On na-hɔ̀ ɔ́ŋ   'sun, hunger'
    PM *ɛŋ-kɔlɔŋ   'sun, hunger, famine'

       PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k$_3$ɔlɔŋ- (Vossen 1982:430)

'ten'   POM *tomon, *tɔmɔn

    On tɔ̀mɔ̀n
    PM *tomon

       PTLM/PLM *-tomon , *-tɔmɔn (Vossen 1982:432)

'thing'   POM *-toki (sg.)

    On na-tóʃì
    PM *en-toki

'thirst'   POM *-k$_1$ʊrɛ

    On na-kʊ́ɾɛ́
    PM *ɛŋ-kʊrɛ

       PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k$_1$ʊrɛ 'thirst (and hunger)' (Vossen 1982:432f.)

'three'   POM *-uni (f) , *o-kuni (m)

    On ùní (f) , o-kúnì (m)
    PM *uni (f) , *o-kuni (m)

       PTLM/PLM *-uni- (f) , *-kuni- (m)(Vossen 1982:434f)

'tick'   POM *-maceri (sg.)

    On ɔ-maʃer-i
    PM *ol-macer-i

       PEN/PLM *-mat$_2$er-/*-mat$_2$ɛr- (?) (Vossen 1982:435)

'tie v.'   POM *-yɛn- (cl. I)

    On   -hɛn-
    PM *a-yɛn

       PTLM *-yɛn- (Vossen 1982:435)

'tiny' see 'small'

'tongue'   POM *-ŋɛjɛp- , pl. *-ŋɛjɛpa

    On ɔ-ŋɛ́jɛ́β-í , pl.   ɔ-ŋɛ́jɛ́βá
    PM *ol-ŋɛjɛp , pl. *ɪl-ŋɛjɛpa

       PEN *-ŋa-dʸɛp-/*-ŋa-dʸɛp-a ; PTLM/PLM *-ŋa-jɛp- (Vossen 1982:436f.)

'tooth'   POM *-k$_2$ala$\textsci$, pl. *-k$_2$ala

    On   ɔ-há à̀ì , pl. ɔ-há à̀
    PM *ɔl- ala$\textsci$, pl. *$\textsci$l- ala

        PEN/PTLM *-k$_3$ela- , PLM *-k$_3$ala- (Vossen 1982: 437f.)

'two'   POM *are

    On   à̀ɽɛ
    PM *are

        PEN *-rɛ-(k) , PTLM/PLM *-arɛ-(k) (Vossen 1982: 439)

'unripe, be - v.'   POM *-jɔn (cl. I)

    On   -jɔ́n
    PM *a-jɔn

'war'   POM *-jore (sg.)

    On na-jóɽéé
    PM *en-jore   'the going to war'

        PTLM *-jor-e 'raid' (Vossen 1982:409)

'(water)' see 'river'

'we'   POM *iyyook

    On ì̀yyóó
    PM *iyyook

        Note: Loss of *On* final k is well attested.

'wife/woman'   POM *-ŋor-

    On na-ŋóɽ-í̀tè̀ì (sg.)
    PM *e-ŋor-oyyoni (sg.) [pejorative meaning]

        PLM *-ŋor- (Vossen 1982:443)

'wing'   POM *-kai-puk-

    On   o-   βúk-ótì̂ (sg.)
    PM *eŋ-kai-puk-oi   (sg.)

        PEN *-k$_3$ai-puk- (Vossen 1982:443f.)

'woman' see 'wife'

'woman, barren -'   POM *-k$_3$o-lupi

    On na-hò̀ βí
    PM *ɛŋ-kolupi

        PTLM/PLM *-k$_2$o-lup-i (Vossen 1982:330)

'worm/caterpillar'   POM *-k$_1$urto (sg.)

    On   o-kúrtó
    PM *ol-kurto

        PEN/PTLM/PLM *-k$_4$ur-ut- (Vossen 1982:444f.)

'year'   POM *-k$_2$ari (sg.)

    On   ɔ-háɽì
    PM *ol- ari

        PTLM *-k$_3$ar- (Vossen 1982:445f.)

'you (sg.)'   POM *iyye

    On ì̀yyé
    PM *iyye

        PLM *iyye (Vossen 1982:446)

'you (pl.)'   POM *-ta$\textsci$

    On   ɛ-tá́ì
    PM *$\textsci$n-ta$\textsci$

        PLM *-ta$\textsci$ (Vossen 1982:446)

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*-dɔrrɔp	short
*-dumʊ	lift v.
*-dʊŋ	cut v.
*-gol-	be hard/strong v.
*-goro	be angry v.
*-ɪbʊŋ	catch/seize v.
*-ɪcɪr	cry v.
*-ɪcɔ-	give v.
*-idoŋ-	beat/forge v.
*-ikɛn	shut v.
*-ɪkɛn	count v.
*-ɪpɔc	churn v.
*-ɪpʊt-	fill/be full v.
*-ɪrɔbɪ	be cold v.
*-iroci	be heavy v.
*-iruk-	permit v.
*iyye	you (sg.)
*iyyook	we
*-jɔn	be unripe v.
*-jore	war
*-kai-puk-	wing
*-ka-mʊkɛ	sandal/shoe
*-k(ɛ)warie	night
*-kimojin-	finger
*-kɪɔɔk	ear
*-ki-riŋ-	meat/flesh
*-ko-tim	monkey
*-ko-toroi , pl. *-ko-torok	bee
*-kume , pl. *-kumecin	nose
*-k_1ɛjʊ, pl. *-k_1ɛjɛk	foot/leg
*-k_1ɪ-ma	fire
*-k_1ɪna , pl. *-k_1ɪ	breast(s) of woman
*-k_1i-ne, pl. *-k_1i-neji	(she-)goat
*-k_1iɲaŋ-	crocodile
*-k_1iɲi	small/tiny
*-k_1ɪ-tɛŋ	cow
*-k_1ɪtɪ	small
*-$k_1$udikudi	armpit
*-$k_1$ujit-, *-k_1ʊjɪt-	grass/leaf/plant
*-k_1u-lup-	soil/earth
*-$k_1$umok	many/much
*-k_1ʊŋ-	knee
*-k_1ʊrɛ	thirst
*-$k_1$uruon	ashes
*-$k_1$urto	worm/caterpillar
*-k_1ʊtɔk	big
*-$k_2$akɪr-	star
*-$k_2$alaɪ , pl. *-$k_2$ala	tooth
*-$k_2$ari	year
*-$k_2$oito , pl. *-$k_2$oik	bone
*-k_2o-ŋwan	four
*-k_2ɔrr-	divide v.

*-k_2o-sokwan	buffalo
*-k_2o-wwaru	wild beast
*-k_3aɪ , *-$k_3$ai	God/rain
*-k_3aɪna , pl. *-k_3aɪk	arm/hand
*-$k_3$aji	house
*-$k_3$amʊlak	saliva
*-$k_3$arɛ, pl. *-$k_3$ariak	river/(water)
*-$k_3$arna	name
*-k_3ɔlɔŋ	sun/hunger
*-k_3o-lupi	barren woman
*-k_3ɔɲʊ , pl. *-k_3ɔɲɛk	eye
*-$k_3$opir-	feather
*-$k_3$opito	rope
*-k_3u , *-k_3o	ripen v.
*-kwe	head
*-kwɛn-	laugh v.
*-kwɛɲ-	bird
*-kwɛt-	run v.
*-lɛ	milk n.
*-lɛɛ	man/husband
*-lep-	milk v.
*-lɔmɔn-	stranger/guest
*-ɬac-	louse
*-ɬapa	moon/month
*-maati	locust
*-maceri	tick
*-makau-	hippopotamus
*-maŋati	enemy
*-mat-	drink v.
*-maʊɲ-	liver
*-mej-	lick v.
*-mɛnɛŋanɪ	corpse
*-mɛr-	be drunk v.
*-miet-	five
*mɪŋanɪ	blunt
*-mɪr-	chase v.
*-mit-	forbid v.
*-mod-	cowdung
*-mɔɲɪt-	intestines
*-mɔŋ-i	bull/ox
*-mor-	insult/abuse v.
*-moti	clay-pot
*-mowwo	horn
*-muei	fall ill v.
*-nak-	suck v.
*nanʊ	I
*-nɛnɛŋ	be light (in weight) v.
*-niŋ-	hear v.
*-ɲa	eat v.
*-ŋatuɲ , pl. *-ŋatuɲo	lion
*-ŋɛjɛp-, pl. *-ŋɛjɛpa	tongue

*-ŋor-	wife/woman
*-ŋu , *-ŋʊ	stink v.
*-ɔɲ	bite v.
*papa	father
*-par-	day
*-pej-	burn/roast v.
*-pɛrɛ	spear n.
*-pɪ	be sharp v.
*-pɪk , *-pik	put (into) v.
*-pir	be fat v.
*pɔɔkɪ	all
*-puruo-	smoke
*-rem-	pierce/spear v.
*-rɪp-	sew v.
*-roku , *-rɔkʊ	become black v.
*-rruat-	sleeping-place/bed
*-sikiria	donkey
*-sɪŋ-	sneeze v.
*-siŋkirr-	fish n.
*-sipi	shoulder
*-supen-	virgin ewe
*-taana	be near v.
*-taɪ	you (pl.)
*-taʊ , pl. *-taʊja	heart
*-tawwo , pl. *-tawwa	female calf/heifer
*-toki	thing
*-tɔmɛ	elephant
*tomon , *tɔmɔn	ten
*-toyyo	be dry v.
*-tua	be dead v.
*-tuŋanɪ	person
*-uni (f), *o-kuni (m)	three
*-yɛn-	tie v.
*-yɛŋ	breathe v.
*-yyeŋ	flay/slaughter v.
*-yyetu	pull (here) v.

NOTES

1. A preliminary survey of Maa dialects has just been published by Vossen (1987).

2. For specifications of informants and periods and conditions of field work, see the works of Heine and Vossen quoted in the bibliography.

3. β was previously treated as a phoneme in its own right, but must rather be considered an allophone of /p/ as it occurs only in intervocalic position where /p/ has never been observed.

4. The phonological status of ɽ is not entirely clear. Our informant used ɽ in some words, r in others. The evidence does not allow us to speak of allophony nor does it contain minimal pairs in which ɽ and r form a contrast.

5. Dimmendaal (1984:73f.) argues that *s be reconstructible even for PEN. While his WNil r : ENil/SNil s correspondence in some individual languages may justify a *s reconstruction for Proto-Nilotic, it cannot be established for PEN so long as there are not even two Eastern Nilotic languages of different branches testifying to such a reconstruction.

REFERENCES

Dimmendaal 1984; Ehret 1971; Fleming 1965; Fosbrooke 1954; Heine 1980; Heine and Vossen 1975/76, 1983, in progress; Tucker and Mpaayei 1955; Vossen 1982, 1987.

OTHER SOURCES not referred to directly in text:

Heine 1980, Heine and Vossen 1983.