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Grammatical Sketch and Short Vocabulary of the Ogiek Language of Mariashoni

Ilaria Micheli

to Remo, Antonia and Mauro,
my roots and my love

Table of contents

OGIEK-ENGLISH SHORT VOCABULARY

Foreword: the grammar as a journey

MAURO TOSCO

A long time has passed since Ilaria Micheli let me know of her plans concerning an investigation of the Ogiek language and, eventually, the publication of an Ogiek grammar (or a "grammatical sketch," in the author's humble wording). What you, dear reader, hold now in your hands is indeed the fruit of a long, painstaking work, and also a by-product of Ilaria's lifelong involvement in ethnolinguistics and international cooperation. Because – and very much to many fellow linguists' regret – to our author, language description is never an end in itself: in Ilaria Micheli's view, the Ogiek of Mariashoni come first, and their language is really *theirs*, to be seen, understood, and cherished only as a part – a central one – of the Ogiek culture and life, their tradition, their past as well as their future. Because the Ogiek and their language do have a future.

Do I have any reservation about such a holistic view of language? Certainly I do, and serious ones. This is why I appreciate all the more the present work, where, in less than 100 pages, we are led into the fascinating complexity of an undescribed Southern Nilotic language and left marveling at the richness of its morphology.

Maybe, others will hurriedly skim the grammar and move to the next 50 pages: there, Ilaria Micheli's "Short Vocabulary" of Ogiek is much more than

the name implies, and the author's cultural notes offer a precious insight into the material and spiritual world of yet another hunter-gathering people of East Africa.

And still others will probably take this book with them and avidly peruse it in the field, all the time with a foot in academic anthropology or linguistics and another in development cooperation.

I am sure that this is what Ilaria Micheli will appreciate the most.

Let us now follow Ilaria in her journey through the Ogiek language. Let us sail to the previously uncharted lands of just another of the 6,000-something languages of our planet. And let us always remember that diversity is richness.

Acknolewdgements

1.
Introduction

1.1
THE OGIEK LANGUAGE, SPEAKERS AND ECOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Ogiek is a Nilo Saharan, Satellite-Core, Core, Eastern Sudanic, Southern, Nilotic, Southern, Kalenjin language. According to Franz Rottland's classification, based on genetic criteria, the Kalenjin family is composed by 14 languages, which can be divided in 4 different groups:

1. Nandi-Markweta (Nandi, Kipsigis, Keyo, Tugen and Markweta);

2. Elgon (Sapiny, Kony, Bong'om, Pok and Terik);

3. Okiek (Kinare, Sogoo and Akie);

4. Päkot (Päkot only)[1].

Ogiek is spoken in Kenya and Tanzania by a total population of 79,250 speakers[2]. Despite its linguistic affiliation to the Kalenjin family, the Ogiek are

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[1]   Rottland 1982: 19-20.

[2]   Ethnologue https://www.ethnologue.com/language/oki

culturally very different from their neighbors, by whom they were considered *dorobo* (i.e. *servants*), due to their mode of production based on foraging, hunting and beekeeping. In Rottland's words: "Abgesehen von einigen wildbeuterischen Gruppen (okiek), gehören die Südniloten kulturell in den Bereich des ostafrikanischen "cattle complex", der wirtschaftliche und soziale Strukturen vereinigt, und in dem wesentliche gesellschaftliche Wertvorstellung und Funktionen eng mit der Rinderhaltung verbunden sind".[3]

The physical aspect of the average Ogiek people is, indeed, very different from that of the average Nilotes. The former are generally short, while the latter are usually tall. The Ogiek skin tone is quite light, while Nilotes are visibly darker.

This element, together with the presence of a click in the Ogiek word *lan*, *horn*, attested by Distefano in 1990[4] and recorded in Mariashoni as *lànɛ́t* without initial click, could let us think of an ancestral Khoisan ethnic basis for the modern Ogiek[5]. Further interdisciplinary research, crossing linguistic, genetic, archaeological and anthropological data could help to shed light on this point.

Be it as it may, central are the extreme flexibility of the Ogiek identity and their ability to adapt themselves, both linguistically and culturally to their closest neighbours.

This implies, as a consequence, a quite important fragmentation of the language and its variants, above all in terms of lexicon, due to the different borrowings and interferences from the neighbouring communities.

For this reason this grammatical sketch, which is based on data collected uniquely in the region of Mariashoni, could not be considered as truly representative of an Ogiek common language, rather, it must be intended as a tentative description of the only dialectal variant spoken more or less by the 7 clans of the Morisionig sub-family[6].

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[3]   Rottland 1982: 19.

[4]   Distefano, John A. (1990) "Hunters or Hunted? Towards a History of the Okiek of Kenya", in History in Africa 17: 41-57.

[5]   On the debate about the Ogiek identity, see Kratz 1980 and Micheli 2014.

[6]   According to the ethnographical mapping made by Muchemi & Ehrensperger in 2011, the Ogiek of the Eastern Mau escarpment in Kenya can be divided into three main sub-families, each of which composed by a number of different clans. The three sub-families are: 1) Tyepkwerereg; 2) Morisionig and 3) Gypohorng'woneg. The first is composed by 11 clans (Gapseina, Gaplepul, Gaplolbor, Gapshoi, Gaptiepopo, Gipkepoi, Gipsusuo, Gaptirigoi, Gapkaigi, Gaptiepoin, Gipwonyo-Gaptolu), the second by 7 clans (Gipsiron, Gapyegon, Gapkubei, Gipkwonyo-Gaptiren, Gyptiepongoi, Giptieromo, Gipartore) and the third by 5 clans (Gimengich, Gapyemit-Gaptyepken, Gapyemit-Gapsalbala, Gipsirchegoen, Giptopog). Each sub-family and each clan in the sub-family can move in strictly determined ancestral territories in the forest, which implies different kinds of contacts with neighboring peoples and, therefore, different linguistic loans (see Muchemi & Ehrensperger 2011:1).

The following map has been adapted from Muchemi & Ehrensperger 2011:33.
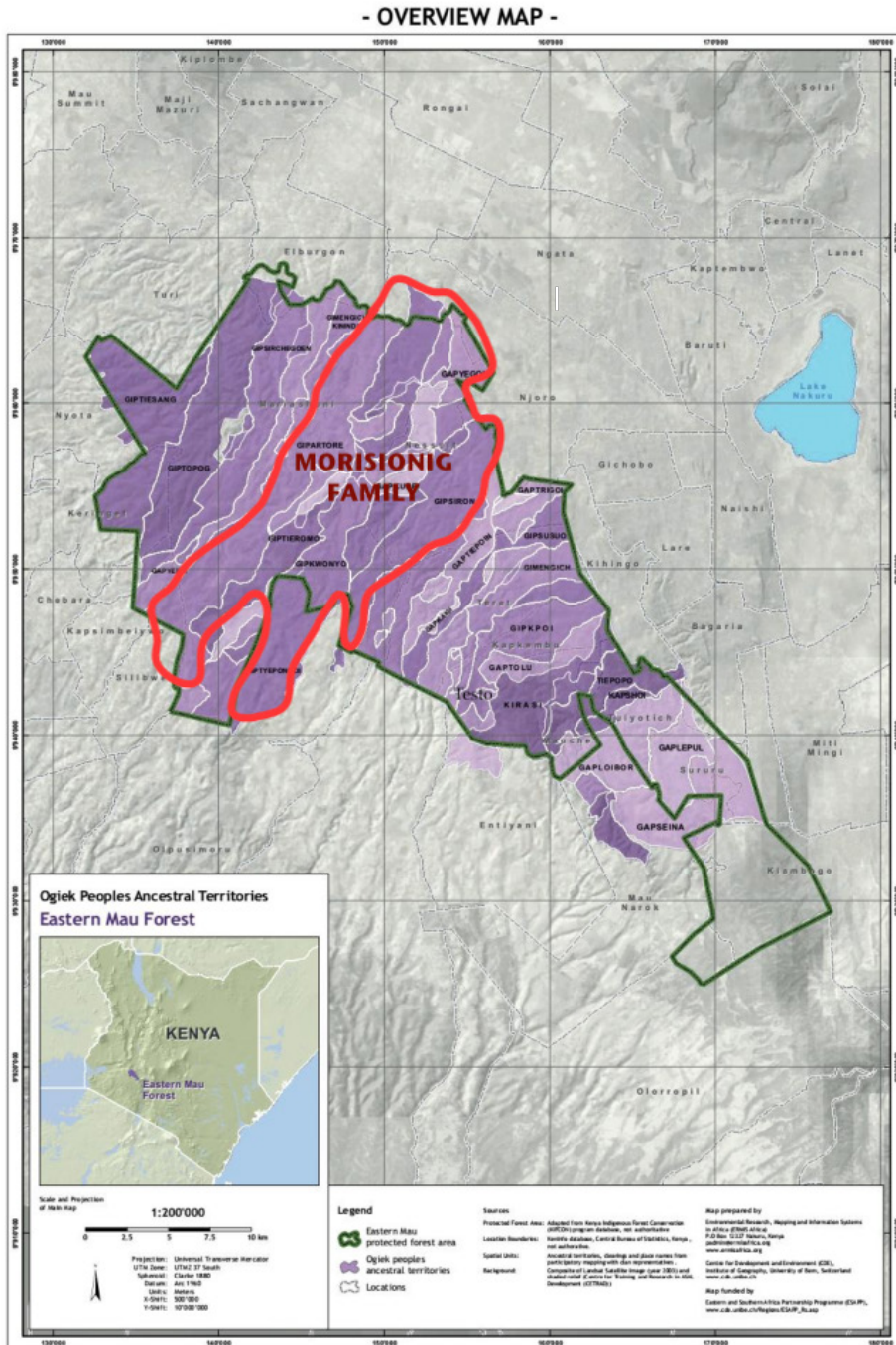
1.2

METHODOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION, STRUCTURE AND AIM
OF THIS GRAMMATICAL SKETCH AND SHORT VOCABULARY

This work is a first, non exhaustive and tentative descriptive grammatical sketch of the dialect of the Ogiek language spoken commonly by the circa 15.000 people belonging to the 7 clans which compose the Morisionig family, and who live in the Eastern Escarpment of the Mau Forest having Mariashoni village as its focal point.

The data have been gathered using the classical grammatical question-naires contained in Bouquiaux-Thomas 1992[7] combined with the methodology suggested by the Dictionary Development program and toolkits proposed by SIL[8].

The Fieldwork activities have been done during four months in January and February 2013 and 2014. Two were the main interlocutors: Catherine Salim and Victor Jeres. Both of them were young (among 20 and 25) and educated. Both had attended the college and could speak and understand English without too many troubles. Catherine lived in Mariashoni, while Victor came from a village called Njoro, located close to Elburgon, about 15 km far from Mariashoni. Between the Ogiek spoken by the two I could not identify any differences and both of them confirmed to me that they did not perceive any false notes in the other's way of speaking.

All the sessions, which were held either in NECOFA's office in Mariashoni or in my house in Elburgon, far from disturbing noises, were recorded with a very simple Olympus DM550 digital voice-recorder.

Besides, at least once a week, the team held also public sessions with the community elders living in different locations[9] of the area (Mariashoni, Ndoswa, Kiptunga, Kaprop, Molem, Njoro), in order to gather genuine pieces of oral history, tales, riddles, which were then transcribed, translated and finally used as a data-base for the linguistic analysis. Many of the examples reported in this work are taken directly form that data base of spontaneous speech[10].

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[7]   9 questionnaires contained in Section 2 Linguistic Approach, Bouquiaux-Thomas 1992: 175-309.

[8]   https://www.sil.org/language-development

[9]   The Ogiek of the Mau Forest usually live in single households at quite a distance from each other.

[10]   I thank here especially Emilie Chepkory Kirui and John Kipkoech Kemoi, who accompanied me, Catherine and Victor to visit the elders of the Mariashoni District.

The structure of this grammatical sketch follow the classical model of descriptive grammars: chapter 2 is dedicated to phonology, chapter 3 to nominal morphology, chapter 4 to verbal morphology and chapter 5 to syntax.

Due to the scarcity of previously available documentation, the fieldwork activity had to start from scratch and, therefore, despite the quantity of data gathered is quite satisfactory for a first approach to the description of the language, it is obviously far from being complete. Aim of this work is thus to offer a first draft of the structure of the language which could be useful as a basis of further research on the same dialect, or as comparative material for those who intend to investigate other Kalenjin, still undescribed languages.

The only two Kalenjin languages which are close to Ogiek for which today we have good grammatical descriptions are Nandi and Akie. We owe the grammar of Nandi to the very detailed work by Chet Creider and Jane Tapsubei Creider published in 1989 in Hamburg by Helmut Buske Verlag with the title "*A Grammar of Nandi*", while *The Akie Language of Tanzania. A Sketch of Discourse Grammar* was edited in 2015 by Christa König, Bernd Heine and Karsten Legère and published in Tokyo by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.

These two volumes represent the principal comparative material used while analyzing my Ogiek data.

Some other comparative, though regrettably very incomplete data on Kipsigis, Pokot and Tugen has been edited by Franciscar Kamuren in *The Kalenjin Language: A Comparative Structure of the Morphosyntactic and Lexical Structure* published in 2011 in Saarbrücken by Dr Müller Verlag.

Due to the scarcity of good materials for the analysis of suprasegmental phenomena and, to the lack of meaningful minimal pairs for a good study of tones, these parts need surely further investigation in order to be considered exhaustively understood. In this grammatical sketch, in fact, the reader will find the regular indication of tones, with really few exceptions, always on single words or short syntagms. On the contrary, no tone has been indicated in the last chapter (syntax) due to the lack of satisfactory materials, given the obvious complexity of modifications of supra-segmental traits in spontaneous speech which could be analyzed only with very high resolution and cleared recordings.

2.
Ogiek phonemes and phonology[11]

2.1
CONSONANTS

Analyzing the first 646 words collected, the phonetic repertoire of consonants in Ogiek (Table 1) resulted actually very similar to that of other Kalenjin languages, to which it is closely related, such as Nandi, as described by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider in 1989[12], Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot, as described by Kamuren in 2011[13] and Akie, as described by König *et al.* in 2015[14].

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[11]   A first tentative discussion of the Ogiek phonetics and phonology has already been published by the author in Micheli, I. (2016) "We are *indigenous* and we want to be literate in our own language". The Ogiek of Mariashoni: a good example of how a literacy project with the best premises can be a failure" in *AION* 2016, vol 76, pp. 77-101. Brill and will thus not be reported here.

[12]   Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 13.

[13]   Kamuren 2011: 17-20.

[14]   König *et al.* 2015: 17-23.

Table 1

	bilabial	labiodental	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar
stop	p		t		c	k
fricative		f v	s	ʃ		
affricate				tʃ		
nasal	m		n		ɲ	ng
lateral			l			
trill			r			
semivowel	w				j	

The basic Kalenjin common scheme provides the following phonemes:

stops: /p/, /t/, /k/

fricative: /s/

nasal: /m/, /n/, /ɲ/

Lateral: /l/

Trill: /r/

Semivowel: /w/, /j/

In addition to this, in Ogiek alone also the fricatives /f/ and /v/ occur, while the fricative /ʃ/ is present in Ogiek and Pokot.

The affricate /tʃ/ appears in Ogiek, Kipsigis and Tugen.

Finally, in Ogiek, Tugen and Pokot the nasal /ng/ is also present.

Akie seems to represent an odd in this framework. According to König *et al.*[15] it has in fact voiced stops as /b/, /d/, /g/, and a distinction between short and long /t/, /c/ and /k/, as well as between short and long /m/, /n/, /l/ /r/ and /j/.

Consonant length seems not to be distinctive in Ogiek, while it is attested in Akie for /t/, /ch/, /k/, /l/, /n/ and /ny/[16]. Nevertheless, three words where the reduplication of the dental stop /t/ was clearly audible and stressed were

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[15] König *et al.* 2015: 17.

[16] *Ibidem.*

recorded in Mariashoni. Even though there are unfortunately no minimal pairs to support this evidence, it seemed that the pronounciation of these words with a long /tt/ was absolutely independent from the speakes.

These words are **ké'ttùbéét**, *umbilicus,* **màttaandá**, *chick* and **túttuìndɔ́**, *heel.*

In one word only, another clearly stressed consonant, the lateral alveolar /ll/ was recorded, but in this specific case it is not sure if the word is a genuine one, a borrowing of unknown origin or part of a secret language. This word is **illegen** and it is the proper name of the Ogiek hunters' age-set 4, which should be composed by men between 100 and 150 years old (*sic!*).

In general, the following rules are respected:

– p and k > b and g in intervocalic position;
– p, t, k after nasals and l;
– p and k > b and g after glides and r;
– p > b before w;
– k > g in final position, probably due to a phenomenon of articulatory inertia, with the exception of few ethnonyms, like *Ogiek*, and of a bunch of function words, like the conjunction *ak* "and, but".

2.2
VOWELS

Also the Ogiek vowel system is completely coherent with that of other Kalenjin languages (Nandi – as described by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 17 –, Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot – as described by Kamuren 2011:14) and with the Kalenjin model *tout court,* as reported in Towett (1979).

Contrary to what happens in Ogiek, Akie and Nandi, other Kalenjin languages like Pokot, Tugen and Kipsigis systems, as described by Kmauren, seem not to have -ATR vowels.

In Ogiek, Pokot, Tugen, Kipsigis and Akie vowel length is also distinctive[17].

The system is resumed in Table 2.

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[17]   Cf Kamuren 2011:17 -20 and König *et al.* 2015: 22.

Table 2

	front		central	back	
high	i	ɪ		u	ʋ
mid	e	ɛ	ɘ	o	ɔ
low			a		

2.3
TONES

For what concerns suprasegmental phonology, Ogiek seems to recognize at least three different tones: H, M, L. Modulated tones appear as a consequence of the contact of two different kind of tones on two distinct syllables.[18]

Unfortunately, however, the data collected on the field did not allow the author to produce an accurate analysis of tones and of the mechanisms governing them in spontaneous speech. When words are in context, in fact, their tone quality seems to vary due to their functions, to the tonal environment where they occur and to the speakers' intentions. However, a detailed analysis of these modifications in context was not among the objectives of this grammatical sketch. Therefore, further research on this issue needs to be done.

2.4
SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

Ogiek basic words[19] are usually made of 1 to 3 syllables. The most common syllabic structure is CV, but an only V or a (C)VC, or even a SvVC structure are also possible, above all in final position.

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[18] In Akie tones are significantly more numerous. According to König *et al.* (2015: 23 ff.) in the language H, L, HF and LF tones occur and are distinguishable as phonemic units. In addition, the authors identified a HR tone only which only occurs in polar questions.

[19] i.e. words without specific suffixed morphemes like demonstratives, pronouns, etc.

e.g.:

ròòtwet	*knife*	CVC + SvVC
tὲὲtá	*cow*	CV + CV
ìtít	*ear*	VC + VC
túrìndét	*hunter*	CV + CVC + CVC
tuj	*black*	CVC
óó	*big*	V

2.5
GRAPHIC CHOICES AND SEGMENTATION RULES
USED IN THIS WORK

Since until now a true Ogiek writing system has not been adopted, for this work the following graphic and segmentation rules have been outlined, hoping that they can be taken as a model for future publications:

Table 3 – Table of graphemes as proposed in Micheli 2016

IPA symbol	grapheme		IPA symbol	grapheme
a	a		k	k
e	e		g	g
ɛ	ɛ		ɣ	g
i	i		ch	ch
ɪ	ɪ		ʤ	j
o	o		f	f
ɔ	ɔ		v	v
u	u		ʃ	sh
ʋ	ʋ		m	m
p	p		n	n
b	b		ɲ	ny
β	b		ng	ng

IPA symbol	grapheme
t	t
d	d
c	ch
ɟ	j

IPA symbol	grapheme
l	l
r	r
w	w
y	y

1) stop consonants are written as voiced (b,d,g) always when the phonological rules do not admit exceptions;

2) vowel length is indicated with the use of two consequent identical vowels: aa, ee, ii, oo, uu, ɛɛ, ɪɪ, ɔɔ, ʊʊ;

3) only H and L tones are indicated, considering the M tone as the neutral one;

4) in this work, tones are indicated on content words only in the vocabulary, where the words are presented in their basic form;

5) in the grammatical sketch, tones are indicated on function words and on conjugated verbs, due to their grammatical meaning only when different from the neutral M tone;

6) compound words made of two content words or of two content words and a functional word are written as a single word;

7) content words are written together with their functional extensions (prefixes, suffixes and clitics);

8) function words stand alone;

9) focus particles and actualizers (v.§ 3.2.1) stand alone. However, a focus particle and an actualizer can be written as an independent single word when they affect one another (ex. nígò, ní + kò)

10) independent, stressed or relative pronouns stand alone;

11) in verbal strings made by two verbs in sequence, the two conjugated verbs stand alone;

12) in verbal strings made by a frozen conjugated form and a conjugated regent verb, the two verbs are written separately (ex. ɔ́tʊ̀n ɔ́mìsie *I vill eat*);

13) in verbal structures where a possible original frozen conjugated form is no longer clearly visible, that form is considered as a simple functional extension and the structure is written as a single word.

In the explanations and examples of the grammatical sketch, the following symbols and abbreviations are used:

=	clitics
-	affixes
/	element of a compound word
+	new word
S	Subject
O	Object
V	Verb
N	Noun
Adj.	Adjective
Adv.	Adverb

3.
Nominal morphology

Nominal morphology in Kalenjin languages, or at least in Ogiek, Akie and Nandi is characterized by the presence of two cases: Accusative and Nominative. Both cases are evidently marked in independent and clitic pronouns in the three languages. The case markers in nouns seem to lack in Ogiek and Nandi, while they are strongly recurrent in Akie, which, according to König *et al.* (2015: 70), "is a rigid case language, more precisely a marked nominative language (König 2008). A wide range of word classes (nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, possessives, demonstratives, or question words) are inherently marked for case. There are only two cases, namely accusative and nominative".

In the following paragraphs this and other issues will be discussed.

3.1
NOUNS AND THEIR STRUCTURE

In Ogiek, nouns are not classified either according to their gender or to a proper system of nominal classes. A very restricted number of postponed mor-

phemes, which do not seem to be predictable according either to the phonetic structure of the word, or to its semantic content, indicate singular *vs* plural forms[20].

The majority of these morphemes ends with a stop, which is mostly pronounced as voiceless in singular forms and as voiced (and sometimes creepy) in plural forms.

This phenomenon seems to contradict the basic phonological rule which says that voiceless stops, especially *p* and *k* in intervocalic position INSIDE the word, are ALWAYS pronounced as voiced, as it happens for example in Nandi[21].

Here below a couple of examples of this mechanism, extrapolated from pieces of genuine, informal speech, are reported:

(from tale 24 in the author's unpublished recordings)
"kííb ɔgurɔig chugi bɔ keny"
They brought those old clothes…
[V (remote past – 3rd pl = stem) + O (N – plural marker)
+ Adj. (adj.- focus) + focus + Adj.]

(from tale 11) *"ínèmu en **muinget** iskɔ́mèsh, baas!"*
he takes from the beehive and eats. Baas!
[V (3rd sg pronoun = stem) + conj. + N (N – singular marker)
+ V (immediate future ext. – 3rd sg pronoun = stem) + *baas*!]

According to the data collected on the field, it seems that the lexical organization typical of most Kalenjin languages as reported in Tucker and Bryan[22], cannot be applied to the Ogiek of Mariashoni.

According to Tucker and Bryan, in fact, in Kalenjin languages, nouns could roughly be divided in two main groups, which they call A and B. In group A nouns with a secondary suffix -*V(:)t* and -*V(:)k* are to be found, while in group B suffixes have the shapes -*ta* (sg) and -*ka* (pl).

In Ogiek there seem to be very few plural words ending with a vowel (*nègɔ́* "sheep", *chègìtʊpché* "relatives", *kipchumaru* "nails", *kùróóno* "bows", *tyɛ̀byosó* "women", *sàárùrú* "sacrum, tailbones", *sébɛrù* "boggers" and *tʊ̀gá* "cows"). Therfore, if existent, Tucker and Bryan's group B would be quite poor.

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[20] As Creider & Tepsubei-Creider (1989:29) put it: "There is no predictable relationship (except in the case of derived nouns) between singular and plural forms".

[21] Creider&Tepsubei Creider 1989: 13.

[22] cf Tucker and Bryan 1964-65.

In the table below, the most common singular and plural markers are presented with the indication of their possible combinations:

Table 4

Singular	Plural
∅	V + k (*creepy*)
Vowel + ∅	[ɣ] > /g/ (*creepy*) > g, sye + g (*creepy*)
Vowel + t	Vowel + /g/ (*creepy*) > g, sye + g (*creepy*)
Vowel + k	[ɣ] > /g/ (*creepy*) > g, k
gwɔ̀ + t	ye + k (*creepy*)

The combination ∅ / *(ɩ)sye* is very common and it also seems to represent the most used pattern of number marking in Akie (König *et al.* 67-68).

The different combinations singular/plural are free and are not determined by semantics, as it is demonstrated by the examples below:

mùrén	*múrénìg(h)*	Man
chɔ́gʊ̀	*chɔ́gʊ̀syèg(h)*	Granary
pùsit	*pùsíísyég(h)*	Cat
(ɩ)ndàànait	*(ɩ)ndáánáisyég(h)*	Root
tyémʊgʊgwit	*tyémʊgʊ(gʊ)ɩsyég(h)*	Hyena
sígwɔt	*síyèg(h)*	Nettle

In some cases, the vowel of the suffixed marker varies in quality and/or length in the passage from singular to plural, e.g. /éé/ > /o/, /è/ > /è/, /ɔ́/ > /éi/, /yè/ > /ɔ́ɪ/, /ɛ/ > /ɑi/, /ɔ̀/ > /ì/

mòtogéét	*mòtogosyég(h)*	Bag
sɔ́jet	*sɔ́jɛg(h)*	Container for water
sɔ́gɔt	*sɔ́geig(h)*	Leaf
ɔ́guryèt	*ɔ́gurɔ́ɪg(h)*	Cloth
màríndɛt	*màríndaig(h)*	Skirt
wèrɔ́	*wèríg(h)*	Boy

In the passage from singular to plural, also the consonant introducing the last syllable can change or disappear:

ngʊ̀tɔk	*ngɔ̀gíg(h)*[23]	Dog
tyɔ̀ndɔ́	*tyɔ̀níg(h)*	Animal

This mechanism finds maybe an echo in Akie, where, according to König *et al.* 2015: 67 "there are few nouns that distinguish number largely or entirely on the basis of [ATR] vowel quality".

Words indicating emotions or temporary sensations occur usually only in their singular form:

nèregeg	Anger
rùbɛ́t	Hunger
ngérɛgɛ́t	Happiness
myɛ̀ndɔ́	Peace

and the same is true for some uncountable nouns referring to food, liquids and weather phenomena:

mɔíta	Fat
chègó	Milk
rɔ̀ɔ̀bta	Rain

On the contrary, there are some uncountable nouns, especially those referred to herbal remedies or liquids, which do not have a singular form:

sítɔ̀tig(h)	Wild tree
	(used for intestinal worms)
kóntɔ́rɔ́rʊɔ̀g(h)	Ekebergia capensis
	(used for stomach problems and backache)
kóómèg(h)	Honey
kɔ́somég(h)	Wild honey
rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg(h)	Beer

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[23]   This word, for example, on the one hand contradicts the phonological rule according to which every stop becomes voiced in intervocalic position. The dental /t/ in the singular *ngʊ̀tɔk* is always pronounced as unvoiced and, on the other hand, in its plural form it presents a velar, this time correctly, voiced stop /g/.

Never mind these few "rules", exceptions do not lack and the language admits other nouns which do not follow the combinations *sg. – pl.* shown in the table, presenting instead a completely different plural morpheme, which seems capable of modifying even the shape of the stem.

The majority of these exceptions is represented by nouns indicating body parts and traditional tools.

Could this suggest that these exceptions should be considered as the traces of a linguistic *substratum* which today we cannot any more identify?

The question is open to further and more specific investigation.

Here below a list of some of these exceptional cases:

tɔ̀gɔ́ità	*tógóchèg(h)*	Forehead, face
sugwɛ́t	*sugwɔsyég(h)*	Back
mètít	*mètɔ́gwèg(h)*	Head
kààtít	*kɔ̀ɔ̀twíg(h)*	Neck
pùjìtà	*pùjùég(h)*	Shoulder blade
(tàgát)[24]	*tàgátúút*	Chest
ànvɛ́t	*òn(ʋ́)g(h)*	Rope
kùleitɔ	*kù(le)lɔɪg(h)*	Handle of the knife

As described by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989 and by Kamuren 2011, suffix markers similar to the Ogiek ones listed here, and called "secondary" by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider[25] and "relative" by Kamuren[26], are present in Nandi, Tugen, Pokot and Kipsigis.

3.1.1
COMPOUND NOUNS

In Ogiek, in order to build compound nouns, two words, generally two nouns, are juxtaposed and the modifier follows the modified.

pàtáimèsɛ́t	(*pàtái* "back" / *mèsɛ́t* "table")	Top of the table

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[24] According to my informants, the singular *tágát* is very rare and refers to a single *rib*, while the plural, literally *ribs*, indicate rather the *chest,* which is composed by many *ribs*.

[25] Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989:35-37.

[26] Kamuren 2011:21.

When the compound noun is plural, only the second word (the modifier) generally assumes a plural shape, while the first one (the modified) remains singular:

pàtáimèsɔsyég(h)   *pàtái* "back" (sg) / *mèsɔsyég*(h)   "tables" (pl)

However, sometimes, due to its meaning, also the first element varies, as for example in:

kèlyegagmèsét   *kèlyég* "legs" (pl) / *ak* "of" / *mèsét*   "table" (sg.)

3.1.2
NOMINAL DERIVATION

Even though Ogiek and Nandi grammars have quite a lot in common, Ogiek nominal derivation seems to be much lesser productive than its Nandi equivalent.

While Nandi seems to be still active in the production of deverbal (Agent, Patient, Result, Abstract) and de-adjectival nouns[27], Ogiek seems to know only de-adjectival structures.

When the author tried to collect deverbal nouns, no morphosyntactic solution was admitted.

For both the expression of the patient and of the agent, specific relative constructions have necessarily to be used, as it is evident from the following examples.

From the verb *kéé-ijɔisén* "to cook":

the patient, i.e. cooked food is *ɔmdít ne akééjɔ*,
[N + rel. focus + deverbal morph. – 3rd sg. pronoun = V stem]

the agent, the "cook", is *chítɔɪ ne ijóisè* (sg) (pl. *píg(h)chè ijóisè*),
[N + rel. focus + 3rd sg. pronoun = V stem – durative]

De-adjectival abstract nouns are obtained by adding the suffix – *ndɔ* to the adjective, as in the following examples:

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27   Cf Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 53-56.

singwɔɪ (beautiful) – ndɔ > singwɔɪndɔ   Beauty

tìnye koonyeg ché singwɔɪ ɔen

"She has beautiful eyes"

[V (3rd pers. sg = stem) + O (N – pl.) + rel. focus + Adj. (Adj. – sg.) + numeral]

chí tʊgʊl kóómwɔ́ɪ **singwɔɪndɔnyin**

"Everybody speaks of her beauty"

[N + indef. + V (middle past – 3rd pers. pl = stem) + O (N = possessive adj.)]

3.2
ADJECTIVES AND THEIR STRUCTURE

Like nouns, adjectives in Ogiek have a singular and a plural form[28].

The plural is obtained with the addition of a suffix and, sometimes, the modification of the vowels of the stem.

The most common suffix indicating the plural form is – *(V)ch*, even though sometimes also the form *-een*, which is common in Nandi[29] and Akie[30], occurs.

Some examples:

tuj	*tuch*	black
kɔj	*kɔch*	tall
ringaag	*ringɔɔgech*	short
lamum	*lɔmumech*	fat
tɛndɛn	*tɛndɛnech*	thin

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[28]   The same happens in Nandi (Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 61) and Pokot (Kamuren 2011: 23).

[29]   See Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989:62.

[30]   König *et al.* make a very interesting introduction to adjectives discussing their very existence as a distinct class, which probably deserves to be read. Be it as it may, they finally treat this word category according to the classic definition. In this perspective, the suffix *-èn* is one of the most used to mark the plural (2015: 79).

When the adjective represents a simple qualifier in the noun syntagm, or when the predicative sentence is not marked, the qualitative adjective occurs in front position, and the same happens in Akie[31]:

> *ringaag Mary*
> Mary is short

> *ívnè ringaag Mary laakwɛt*
> the short Mary washes the child
> [V (3rd pers. sg = stem) + Adj. (adj.- sg.) + S + O (N – def.)]

When the predicative sentence is strongly assertive or marked, the subject occurs in front position, followed by a focus particle (which will be called *actualizer* – see next §) and the qualitative adjective occupies the last place:

> *pusi ne tuj*   The cat is black
> *muren kóó kɔj*   The man is tall

The same happens also in Akie. König *et al.* see this mechanism as the relativization of a verb-like word[32].

When the sentence has two subjects, which are qualified by the same adjective, the structure is always: subject + actualizer + adjective (plural):

> *John ak Busiene kóó kɔch*   John and Busiene are tall
> *Martha ak Catherine kóó lɔmumech*   Martha and Catherine are fat
> *tinye koonyegh ché singwoen*[33]   she has (two) beautiful eyes

Concerning the actualizer, the forms *ne* (sg) / *ché* (pl), corresponding to relative pronouns[34], seem in Ogiek to be reserved to animals and things, while for people *kóó* is regularly used, no matter if the subject is singular or plural.

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[31] See König *et al.* 2015: 78 ff.

[32] "Like verbs, they are relativised when modifying nous, e.g.: káári cháá kaa-ên" in König *et al.* 2015: 79.

[33] *síngwɔɪ* "beautiful" + *ɔen* "two".

[34] See § 3.6.7

This distinction seems to be anomalous when compared to other Kalenjin languages, where the same actualizer *ne* (Nandi, Kipsigis and Tugen) / *nyo* (Pokot) is used in all cases with singular adjectives, while *che* (Nandi, Kipsigis and Tugen) / *cho* (Pokot) are used with plural adjectives[35].

3.2.1
ACTUALIZERS

In this work we will call *actualizers* those particles, such as:

ne/ché (sg./pl.)	which occur with animals and objects
kóó (sg. and pl.)	which occurs with human beings

when they do not carry out the function of a relative pronoun, representing instead a copula, or a mere stress marker, like, for example in the following sentences:

Jane kóó kaamɛt	Jane is a mother
pusi né, ínè kɔɔ́mìsyé	**That** cat, it is eating

3.3
ADVERBS

As it is reported in Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 67 "most adverbs are morphologically nouns". The following paragraphs present a brief description of their forms and positions[36] in the sentence according to their functions.

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[35]   See Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 62 and Kamuren 2011: 33-35.

[36]   Creider & Tepsubei-Creider do not offer any description of Nandi adverbs' position, while according to König *et al.* (2015: 89 ff.), despite the their basic position is immediately after the verb, they can occur also in other positions according to their role and to the speakers' intentions.

3.3.1
MANNER ADVERBS

As it happens in Nandi[37], manner adverbs can have the same shape of adjectives. In this case they occur in the sentence following the verb and the actualizer *kóó* particle[38]:

ɔ́gɔ̀sɛ kóó singwɔɩ[39]	I feel good
ɔ́gɔ̀sɛ kóó ja	I feel bad

Anyway, when they are true manner adverb, like *certainly* or *maybe*, they are fronted to the verb and are neither introduced nor followed by any actualizers.

maatat ɔ́gwɔ̀ Molo wiiginɔn nyoni	I'll certainly be in Molo next week
nyɔlu ɔ́gwɔ̀ Molo korun	Maybe I'll be in Molo tomorrow

3.3.2
TIME ADVERBS

Time adverbs can be placed immediately before or immediately after the verb to which they refer. Their meaning can be stressed through reduplication. If reduplicated, adverbs always follow the verb. When in the sentence there is also another adverb, for example a manner one, the manner adverb is in front position, before the verb, while the time adverb is placed at the end of the sentence, after verb and subject.

Let us consider some examples.

In the sentence there is only one time adverb:

paani ɔ́gwèndi Michinda	Now I go to Michinda

In the sentence there is a reduplicated time adverb:

kɔ́ɔ́gwɔ́ subuig subuig	I get up very early

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[37] Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 68.

[38] See § 3.2.1

[39] *Sííng'owinta* "well" in Akie (König *et al.* 2015:91).

In the sentence there is also a manner adverb:

nyɔlu ɔ́gwɔ̀ Molo korun   Maybe I'll go to Molo tomorrow

In the table the reader can find the most common time adverbs.

Table 5

once / long time ago	kíngò / éngèny
yesterday	ɔ́mùt
today	ra - (ɪ)ra, also in Akie (König & al. 2015: 90)
early / this morning	súbúig
now	paani
tomorrow	kórun
in the afternoon / evening	lángàt
in the night	kwèèmɔ́sh

Some additional observations are necessary:

- the conceptualization of the adverb "late" in Ogiek seems not to exist. There is in fact no way to translate in Ogiek sentences like "I will be late" or "Sorry, I am late". Only the sentence "I go to sleep late" obtained a translation in Ogiek and was rendered as *kóórúgwe **kwa kɔ́εεch***, which literally means "I go to sleep near morning";

- to convey the idea of a period not too far in the future or in the past (lit.: the day before yesterday, or the day after tomorrow, which do not really mean 48 hours before or after the communicative event, but some moment "close" to it according to the speaker's view), the Ogiek uses the same expression *ɪnɔ pɔɔé*. The day before yesterday is in fact translated as *ɔ́mùt **ɪnɔ pɔɔé*** while the day after tomorrow is *kórun **ɪnɔ pɔɔé***;

- In Ogiek there is no word to indicate noon/midday. There is in fact no special activity bound to that moment of the day;

- While the term **kíngò** is the one commonly used to indicate a period very far in the "true" past and in communicative exchanges referring to something which really happened to the speaker, the word **éngèny** is instead used in the incipit of tales and legends and occurs in formulaic expressions like **éngèny** *kɔ́ɔ́gì mí chítɔ̀ì... / **éngèny** kíɪ́ɪ́ mí chítɔ̀ì* "(once) long time ago there was a person…"

3.3.3
PLACE ADVERBS

Trying to define true place adverbs in Ogiek is a quite difficult task.

Most place adverbs are in fact used also as adverbial prepositions or conjunctions, introducing place complements or subordinated place sentences in hypotaxis.

According to their function, they can change their place in the sentence.

Nevertheless, when their role is that of true adverbs, they occur in first position, before the subject of the sentence.

mí tɛɛta	The cow is here
lóó tɛɛta	The cow is far

When the sentence contains an imperative verb, the verb comes first and the place adverb immediately follows it:

índè ngwɔn eeunig!	Put your hands down!

When in the same sentence there are one place adverb and one time adverb, the place adverb comes last:

ɔ́chɔmej í mí korun ijún[40]	I hope you will be here tomorrow

In the table the reader can find those that could be called the "proper" place adverbs:

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[40] Akie "*iyû*", see König *et al.* 2015: 90.

Table 6

here	mí
there/over there	(i)jún/íjè/ijòn/ mí … (i)jún
near	négit / kwa (?)
far	lóó
behind	lèt
up / on/ above	? / pàrág (kipsigis) / pàtái
down / below	ngwɔ́n(i) / neregtɔt (ɛn)

Some notes:

- the words expressing "near" and "behind", i.e. respectively *négit* and *lèt* are the same as their Nandi equivalents as recorded by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 68;

- *mí* could be considered a simple actualizer, as it is the case in the following examples:
  "*ɛn Mɔrɪsɪɔnɪ mí chitɔi ní(gɔ) ngálà ak sɛgɛmɛg*"
  "In Mariashoni there was a man who spoke with bees"
  "*mí minjɔri mesɛt*"
  "The passion fruit is on the table"

- *mí* appears also in composition with other adverbs, when they are used as prepositional syntagms introducing place complements. In this case, *mí* occurs in front position, followed by the second adverb, while the noun closes the string:
  Mí ngwɔ́nì kwɛnig kitara
  "The wood is under the shelf"
  [Loc. Adv. + Loc. Prep. Adv. + S + Place]

- The form *kwa* for "near" seems to be used only to indicate closeness in time, as in the sentence:
  kóórùgwe kwa kɔ́ɛɛch
  "I go to sleep near morning"

- Place adverbs, when used as prepositional syntagms introducing a place complement, are often accompanied by the preposition ɛn:

  mí kwɛnig neregtɔt ɛn kitara

  "The wood is under the shell"

  négìt tɛɛta ɛn kʋrʋgɛt

  "The cow is near the door"

  mí íjèlóó tɛɛta ɛn turugut

  "The cow is far in the field"

- The two expressions *pàtái*[41] and *pàrág* are used respectively to indicate an elevated position with contact between two elements (e. g. "on the table") or without contact (e.g. "above the firewood")

  mí sɔɔtet pàtái mesɛt

  "The calabash is on the table"

  mí kitara pàrág ɛn kwɛnig

  "The shelf is above the firewood"

  [Loc. focus + S + Loc. Prep. Adv. + Prep. + Place]

- When the adverb *lèt*, "behind", introduces a place complement, the complement is built as a discontinuous structure, as in the example below:

  mí lèt kɔnyun ak sugul

  "My house is behind the school"

  [Loc. focus + Loc. Prep. Adv. + S (N = possessive) + Prep. + Place]

- Another place expression used as a prepositional syntagm is "in front of/ opposite to": *rúbè kéj.* Also in this case, the syntagm is made of a discontinuous structure with the insertion of *ak*:

  rúbè kéj kɔnyun ak sugul

  "My house is in front of / opposite to the school"

  [Loc. Prep. Adv. + Subject (N = possessive) + Prep. + Place]

- There is no genuine Ogiek expression for left and right. People commonly just refer to places located in the one or the other direction, based on their actual location as speakers involved in a communicative action.

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[41]   the word literally means "back".

3.4

DETERMINATION AND INDEXICALITY

Nouns can be either non determined and occur in their plain form (stem only), or determined and occur in a slightly modified shape.

Determination is obtained through a process of suffixation.

In general terms, it happens in Ogiek, what is the rule in Nandi, as described by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 33-37, i.e. nouns do not usually occur in their simplest form (stem only), but with a distinctive (secondary) suffix (which is, in our terms, the marker of singular / plural already presented in § 3.1).

In Ogiek, the simplest form can be found only in two cases, i.e. when:

1) the noun occurs for the very first time in a discourse – either it will become determined later on, or it is not meant so relevant to need determination;

2) the noun represents the subject/object of a very generic sentence.
   Examples (in bold the nouns in their simplest form):
   "*Kéchεngat ɔt kólé* **laakwagɛ**"
   "They look until they called for another child"[42]
   [V (3rd pl. = stem) + Time + V (middle past – 3rd pl. = stem) + O (N = indef.)]
   "… *kégèsεn laakwanigan* **muren**"[43]
   … a man carried that child
   [V (3rd sg. = stem) + O (N – det.) + S (N – sg.)]

Anyway, as it is true in Nandi[44], Ogiek nouns usually occur with their distinctive (singular or plural) suffix, as in the following sentences (in bold):

"*Sɔrɔʋak kóó*[45] **laakwɛt…**"
"Sororuak was a child…"
[Subj (proper name) + actualizer + S (N – sg)]

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[42] Example taken from my unpublished collection of tales, tale nr 8.

[43] Example taken from my tale nr 24.

[44] Creider& Creider 1989:35.

[45] On the role of focus and of *ko* as a focalizing COP see König *et al.* 2015: 93-95.

"*mí **murenit** (i)jún!*"

"there is an initiated man over there!"

[Loc. focus + Subj (N – distinctive suffix) + Place Adv.]

"*Kiprono kóó **chemoget***"

"Kiprono is the leader"

[S (proper name) + actualizer + S (N- sg.)]

The issue is, nevertheless, not that simple, because, as it can be inferred from the last example above, sometimes the use of a distinctive suffix is not just a matter of determination, but a question of meaning: there is, in fact, a slight difference between the use of *mùrén*, indicating just a man, and the use of the form *mùrénít*, if it is true that the use of this second option brings the speaker to (unconsciously?) stress the fact that *that man* is an *initiated* man!

Another example which would suggest this interpretation are the two forms *pèètút and pèèt.* Both words can be used to indicate the daylight/the hours of natural light in a day, but only *pèètút* is a countable name and can be used with the meaning of "day".

In addition to this, it must be remembered that, as shown in the table and examples in § 3.1 not all nouns have a distinctive suffix and, therefore, in many cases there is no possibility of choice between the two hypothetically distinctive forms in terms of determination.

However, the language seems to provide another morphological option capable to indicate a more or less determined noun. Again, this option over-laps with something slightly different: indexicality and demonstrative adjectives.

As it is reported by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider (1989:40) for Nandi "de-monstrative (…) nominals are formed by suffixation", and the same happens in Ogiek. Creider & Tepsubei-Creider record three singular and three plural morphemes which in Nandi indicate three degrees of distance: proximal, me-dial and distal. According to my data, there is perfect coincidence in Ogiek for what concerns the proximal degree, where the singular suffix is *ni* and the plural is *chu:*

"*Tɛɛta ní*"

This is a cow

S (cow) + sg. demonstrative morpheme

"Tʋga chú"

These are cows

[Subj (cows) + pl. demonstrative morpheme]

When the subject of the sentence is introduced by a focus particle / an actualizer, the demonstrative morphemes occur in first position, as a prefix of the focus particle:

"Nígò Catherine"

This is Catherine

[Demonstrative – actualizer + S (proper N)]

"Chúgò Kemoi ak Catherine"

These are Kemoi and Catherine

[Demonstrative – actualizer + S 1 (proper N) + Conj. + S 2 (proper N)]

Unfortunately I do not have any data on the two other degrees of proximity, which are instead attested in Akie (König *et al.* 2015: 71).

Similar suffixed morphemes, e.g. *-ni* (sg.) / *-chu* (pl.) and *-no* (sg.) / *-chun* (pl.), are described by Kamuren 2011 as demonstrative adjectives (this/these and that/those) in Kipsigis, Pokot and Tugen[46].

Nevertheless, if we consider these morphemes as functional to determination (or should we call it textual indexicality?), we can put them in order on a three-folded scale, as follows:

1. mildly determined noun: *stem – distinctive suffix* (or stem only when there is no distinctive suffix)
2. markedly determined noun: *stem – (distinctive suffix) – ni*
3. vigorously determined noun: *stem – (distinctive suffix) – nigan*

Some examples:

1. Mildly determined nouns (in bold in the sentences) – in these cases, the determination degree indicates only that the two nouns have already been introduced in the discourse in previous sentences, therefore the listener already knows their referents:

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[46]   Kamuren 2011: 43-44.

*"Peetut agɛnge, kógí semberisieg **indasatɛ**nyın, kógí kóíruris en kɛl keetit* **laakwɛt…"**[47]

"One day, its (her/his) mother was doing something in the garden and had made the baby sleep under a tree."

[Time + indef. + V (middle past – 3rd sg = stem) + O (N – pl.) + S (N – mild det. sg. = possessive) + focus – past + V (middle past – 3rd sg = stem) + under + place + O (N – mild det.)]

*"ɔjɛ jà! oh **laakwɛ**nyın! Sogo káámwán, oh, agɛami ra!"*[48]

"Oh bad! Oh my child! And she had said and today she's been eaten!"

[ideophone + adj. + interj. + N (mild det. = possessive 1st sg.)! Conj. + V (near past 2 – 3rd sg = stem) + Interj. + V (past participle – infinitive = stem) + today]

2. Markedly determined nouns (in bold in the sentences) – in this case, besides indicating that the determined noun has already been introduced in the discourse in a previous sentence, the speaker wants to stress that *exactly* that child "got well":

*"… ɔt kóó singwoi **laakwani** nìgí nye."*[49]

"… until that child got well."

[Time + actualizer + Adv. + S (N – marked det.) + focus – actualizer + stress]

*"kóóríri ingogeit isɔ́gwɔ̀i kóólé: "ɔ́gwà, ɔ́gɔ̀swɔn, **laakwani** mìjun!"*[50]

"the grandma cried and went to call: "Come! Listen to me, the child is there!"

[V (middle past – 3rd sg = stem) + S (N – sg) + V (future ext. – 3rd sg = stem) + V (past – 3rd = stem): "V (imperative – 2nd pl = stem) + V (imperative – 2nd pl = stem) = Ind. O + S (N – marked det.) + Loc. Adv.]

3. Vigorously determined nouns (in bold in the sentences) – in this case, the determination degree is aimed at stressing even more specifically the fact

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[47] Example taken from my tale nr 13.
[48] From my tale nr 22.
[49] From my tale nr 24.
[50] From my tale nr 8.

that the speaker is still referring to the very same person, whom had already been introduced many times in the previous sentences; to that very person and not to another one:

"Kɔ́ɔ́gwɔ́ kɔ́ɔ́tɛ́t **indasatanigan**. *Baas!…"*

"She went away, screaming that old lady. Baas!"

[V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + S (N – vigorous det.) + Ideophone]

"kɔ́ɔ́ɪngʋjɛj ngwɔn, kóógás **laakwanigan** *ɛn kóónyú, kóónám nigobɔ* **indasatanigan** *laakwɛt isólàngis keetit."*

"(when) she came back down, she heard that baby, and came to catch the baby of the old lady and take him on the tree."

[V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + Loc. Adv. + V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + O (N – vigorous det.) + V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + focus + S (N – vigorous det.) + O (N – mild det.) + V (future ext. – 3rd sg = stem) = O pron. 3rd sg + Place]

"kóóchákta **laakwanigan**, *kóótébi, kóótébi ɔt os kóógwách laakwani,*[51] *…"*

"that child kept silent, they stayed, they stayed until the child screamed, …"

[V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + S (N – vigorous det.), + V (middle past – 3rd pl. = stem) + V (middle past – 3rd pl. = stem) + Time Prep. + V (middle past – 3rd sg. = stem) + S (N – marked det.)]

"kíígíkurin Mʋlɔɪndɔ, kéégɛ̀sɛn **laakwanigan** *muren"*.[52]

"those they called Mulòindò, a man carried that child".

V (remote past 3 – 3rd pl. = stem) + O (Proper N), + V (3rd sg. = stem) + O (N – vigorous det.) + S (N – sg.)]

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[51] From my tale nr 6.
[52] From my tale nr 24.

3.5
PRONOUNS

3.5.1
SUBJECT PRONOUNS

In the Ogiek language there is a series of six independent subject pronouns, three for the singular persons and three for the plural. No gender distinction is present and the system corresponds perfectly to what Creider & Tepsubei-Creider (1989: 57) call the 'primary' Nandi one.

Table 7

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ánɛ̀	échèg
2nd	ínyè	ɔ́kwèg
3rd	ínɛ̀	íchèg

In addition to this, Ogiek provides also a series of dependent subject pronouns, for the first and second persons, singular and plural, which cannot stand alone and occur in the sentence as proclitic dependent pronouns. Their shapes are:

Table 8

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ɔ́	kí
2nd	í	ɔ́

Like Ogiek, also Akie provides the two possibilities. It has in fact:

1) a complete series of independent pronouns, which corresponds to the Ogiek one, despite the fact that in the 3rd singular and in all the plural forms the initial vowels are different (see König *et al.* 2015: 36-37);

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2) a parallel series of proclitic pronouns. In this case only the vowel constituting the 1st sg person marker is different from the Ogiek one, but, in addition to the forms here listed only for the 1st and 2nd persons, Akie seems to have also a 3rd person clitic pronoun, even though only in the Perfective and Subjunctive tenses (ko/koo – *ibidem* p. 38).

For the third persons singular and plural, independent pronouns are always used.

Also according to Kamuren (2011: 39), in Kalenjin pronouns "are six: I, you (sing), he/she, we, you (pl.) and they. The subjective pronouns are prefixed to the verbal stem in both Kipsigis and Tugen. However, in Pokot they are suffixed to the verb but 'he'[53] and 'they' are prefixed to it (the verb)".

Independent subject pronouns are used in two different cases:

1. most commonly, when in the sentence no verb is present:

ánὲ kɔ́ chip

I am the chief

[S (1st sg pronoun) + actualizer + N]

ínyὲ kɔ́ chìp	you are the chief
ínὲ kɔ́ chìp	he / she is the chief
échὲg kɔ́ chìpisyég	we (M., F., M. + F.) are the chiefs
ɔ́kwὲg kɔ́ chìpisyég	you (M., F., M. + F.) are the chiefs
íchὲg kɔ́ chìpisyég	they (M., F., M. + F.) be the chiefs

2. sometimes, when in the sentence there is a true verb, but the speaker wants to stress the subject. In this case the independent pronouns are recalled in the verb through the concomitant use of the corresponding dependent ones:

ɔ́mùlí	/ *ánὲ ɔ́mùlí*	I am chewing (tobacco)
ímùlí	/ *ínyὲ ímùlí*	You are chewing
ínὲ kɔ́mùlí		He / she is chewing
kímùlí	/ *échὲg kɔ́mùlí*	We are chewing
ɔ́mùlí	/ *ɔ́kwὲg ɔ́mùlí*	You (pl.) are chewing
íchὲg kɔ́mùlí		They are smoking

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[53] As well as 'she' or 'it' I guess.

3.5.2
DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT PRONOUNS

Oblique personal pronouns in the function of direct object can have an independent or a clitic form in Ogiek. Independent oblique pronouns, summed up in the table below, have the same shapes as subject pronouns, as it happens in Nandi[54]. No data on this topic is unfortunately reported concerning Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot in Kamuren 2011:

Table 9

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ánὲ	ɛ́chὲg
2nd	ínyè	ɔ́kwὲg
3rd	ínὲ	íchὲg

Clitic oblique personal pronouns are resumed in the following table:

Table 10

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	-ɔ̀n	-éch
2nd	-ín	-ɔ́g
3rd	-èish	//

Only the third person plural oblique pronoun does not have a specific clitic shape.

In Nandi, on the contrary, there is a clitic form also for the 3rd person plural object pronoun[55]. and, moreover, the tonal structure of the clitic pronouns seems to change according to the mood of the verb.

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[54]   See Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 57.

[55]   Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 98.

In Akie there is no clitic form at all for the 3rd sg. and pl. persons, and the forms of the 1st and 2nd persons clitics correspond perfectly to the Ogiek ones, except for the usual switch in the initial vowels[56] (König *et al.* 2015: 39).

Example:

*káágónérègísɪ***ɔ̀n** *Johnɪ*	John made me angry
*káágónérègís***ín** *Johnɪ*	John made you angry
*káágónérègís***ish** *Johnɪ*	John made her/him angry
*káágónérègís***èch** *Johnɪ*	John made us angry
*káágónérègís***ág** *Johnɪ*	John made you (pl.) angry
káágónérègɪs ***íchèg*** *Johnɪ*	John made them angry

Most interesting is the fact that, given their marked value, independent oblique pronouns can co-occur with clitic pronouns, and, in fact, they usually do, as in the following examples:

*kúr***ɔ̀n** *Liza*
*Kúr***ɔ̀n** ***ánè*** *Liza*
Liza calls me

*kúúr***ín**
*kúúr***ín** ***ínyè***
she calls you

*kúr***èish** *Liza*
kúrè ***ínè*** *Liza*
Liza calls him /her

*kúr***éch** *Liza*
kúrè ***ɛ́chèg***
Liza calls us

*kúr***ɔ́g** *Liza*
*kúr***ɔ̀g** ***ɔ́kwèg*** *Liza*
Liza calls you (pl.)

kúrè ***íchèg*** *Liza*
Liza calls them

---

[56] -ɔ̀ > -a.

Last but not least, the personal pronouns considered until now cannot be used if the referent is an object or an animal. In that case, the referent must be explicit, or the very absence of the object in the sentence implies the presence of a non-explicit pronoun.

Examples:

*jɔ́ɔ́tè Liza **sɔndugu***
Liza opens the box

jɔ́ɔ́tè Liza
Liza opens (it)

*jɔ́ɔ́tè Liza **sɔndugusyeg***
Liza opens the boxes

jɔ́ɔ́tè Liza
Liza opens (them)

Indirect personal object pronouns have the same form of independent direct personal object pronouns in Ogiek. For indirect object there is no evidence of the existence of a series of specific clitic pronouns.

When in the same sentence a direct and an indirect object are present, the Ogiek speaker seems to be free in the choice of their respective positions. While the most common sequence sees the verb preceding the subject, sometimes the indirect object pronoun can be fronted, in order to obtain a particular stress. In this case, the verbal stem is prefixed by an actualizer / focus morpheme *né*.

Anyway, when the syntactic rule of the verb in front position is respected and no fronting of other elements occurs, the positions of subject, direct and indirect objects are not obliged. In fact, sequences like:

V + IndO + S. + O
V. + S + O + IndO
V + IndO + O + S

seem to occur in free variation and the speakers seem not to feel any difference in meaning or in stress according to the order of the elements which follow the verb.

Some examples:

| *ígɔ̀chín motogeet Mary Catherine* | V + O + IndO + S |
| *ígɔ̀chín Catherine Mary motogeet* | V + S + IndO + O |

Catherine gives the bag to Mary

| *ígɔ̀chín Catherine motogeet ínɛ̀*[57] | V + S + O + IndO |

Catherine gives it (the bag) to her

| *ánɛ̀ **nɛ** ígɔ̀chín motogeet Cathe* | IndO + actualizer + V +O + S |

Cathe gives me the bag

| *ínyè **nɛ́**gɔ̀chín Cathe motogeet* | IndO + actualizer-V + S + O |

Cathe gives you (sg) the bag

| *ígɔ̀chín ínɛ̀ motogeet Cathe* | V + IndO + O + S |

Cathe gives him / her the bag

| *ígɔ̀chín Cathe motogeet ɛ́chɛ̀g* | V + S + O + IndO |

Cathe gives us the bag

| *ígɔ̀chín ɔ́kwɛ̀g Cathe motogeet* | V + IndO + S + O |

Cathe gives you (pl.) the bag

| *ígɔ̀chín íchɛg Cathe motogeet* | V + IndO + S + O |

Cathe gives them the bag

| *ínyè **nɛ́**gɔ̀chín Kipbet tɛɛta* | IndO + actualizer-V + S + O |
| *ígɔ̀chín Kipbet tɛɛta ínyè* | V + S + O + IndO |

Kipbet gives the cow to you (sg)

3.5.3
REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

Emphatic reflexive pronouns in Ogiek are formed by adding the suffix *kej* to the independent object pronouns and the same is true in Nandi, as reported

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[57] It is always impossible to substitute an inanimate object with a personal pronoun.

in Credider&Creider (1989:57-58) and in Akie, as attested by König *et al.* (2015: 84).

Equivalents for "me myself", "you yourself" etc. can thus be summed up in the following table:

Table 11

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	ánègɛj	ɛ́chègɛj
2nd	ínyègej	ɔ́kwègɛj
3rd	ínègɛj	íchègɛj

When suffixed to pronouns ending by vowel, the voiceless velar /k/ of the morpheme *kej* becomes voiced /g/, due to its intervocalic position. In a -ATR context, the +ATR vowel /e/ of the morpheme *kej* also sometimes tends to adapt itself to the context, being pronounced as /ɛ/.

kɔ́ɔ́jɔ́jɪ ánègɛj	I did it myself
kɔ́ijɔ́je ínyègɛj	You (sg.) did it yourself
kɔ́ɔ́jɔ́jè ínègɛj	He / she did it him- /herself
kɔ́ɔ́gíjɔ́jè ɛ́chègɛj	We did it ourselves
kɔ́ɔ́jɔ́jè ɔ́kwègɛj	You (pl.) did it yourselves
kɔ́ɔ́jɔ́jè íchègɛj	They did it themselves

However, reflexive pronouns are not always emphatic. For example they cannot be emphatic when the verb itself is reflexive in meaning.

In this case, the morpheme *kej* is suffixed directly to the verb stem and there is no need to add any other pronouns.

The transitive rendering of the verb "to wash" is *kéun* and if I want to say that *I wash my hands*, the correct translation is *ɔ̀ùn eunigchu* (V – present 1st sg + O: hands – prossessive suffix 1st pl.).

On the contrary, when the action of washing is reflexive, the reflexive morpheme *kej* is suffixed to the verb:

ɔ́ùnegɛj	I wash myself
íùnegɛj	you wash yourself
ívnègɛj	he/she washes him-herself
kéúnègɛj	we wash ourselves
ɔ́ʋnègɛj	you wash yourselves
ívnègɛj	they wash themselves

The same morpheme *kej* is used when the reflexive pronouns indicate reciprocity, as for example in verbs like "to kiss". While the transitive form of the verb "to kiss" is *kéchàm,* as in:

> *kááchám kaamɛt laakwɛt*
> "the mother kisses the child"

in order to obtain the reciprocal meaning of "to kiss each other" it is necessary to add the suffix -*kej* to the verb.

Reciprocal constructions seem to have another peculiarity, in that they are usually characterized by the fronting of the subject, above all when the subject is plural and made of two elements, like in the following example:

> *John ak Emilie kóóchɔ́mègɛj*
> John and Emilie have kissed each other

Moreover, reciprocal construction can be stressed by the addition of the independent pronoun after the verb (+ *kej*) structure, like in:

> *Kiprono ak Kipbet kóóbírɪgɛj íchègɛj*
> Kiprono and Kipbet hit each other

> *Ogiegi ak Tugenik kóóbírɪgɛj íchègɛj*
> The Ogiek and the Tugen fight each other

Unfortunately, no data on reflexive and reciprocal pronouns is reported in Kamuren 2011 about Tugen, Kipsigis and Pokot.

3.5.4

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS, ADVERBS AND ADJECTIVES

In Ogiek it is very difficult to state if there are true indefinite pronouns or not.

What in English we call indefinite pronouns and adverbs (some, any, none, all, a few, many, someone, anyone, everyone, something, everything, nothing, sometimes, wherever, whatever, etc.) occur in Ogiek as noun strings made up of a noun, like *chítɔ̀* "person", *pííg* (people), *kééj* (thing), *sààit* (time < Kiswahili), *pèètút* (day), *ɔ̀ldɔ́* (place) accompanied, when needed, by an adjective / adverb + adjective, indicating a quantity, like *tɔ́gʊ̀l* (all, every)[58], *ágè tɔ́gʊ̀l* (any, lit. "again all"). Moreover, no equivalent string for indefinite pronouns and adverbs like nobody, none, nothing, nowhere, never etc. seems to exist. In order to convey a negative meaning to an indefinite structure, a negative form of the verb is used.

In the table indefinite adjectives are listed:

Table 12

a few/some	a lot/many/much	any	all / every
ablak (?) / túútìgín	chéchàn	ágè (tɔ́gʊ̀l)	tɔ́gʊ̀l

- the two words for "some", *ablak* and *túútìgín* occur in different contexts, at least as far as the examples collected demonstrate. *Ablak* seems to be used only when there is the need to qualify a quantity of people, while *túútìgín* can stay with animals and objects;

- the expression used for "any" is a string in which the adjective *tɔ́gʊ̀l* "all, every" is preceded by the word *ágè*, which, if taken alone, seems to have no meaning. In Akie the word *akɛ̂* is also a quantifier and means *some, another* (Konig *et al.* 2015: 75);

- the adjective *chéchàn* can occur with singular as well as with plural nouns.

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[58] "tùkùl" in Akie (König *et al.* 2015: 75)

In the example below, the strings considered equivalent to indefinite pronouns and adverbs are marked in bold:

a) pronouns (?)

*kɔ́ɔ́gúrìn **chɪtɔ***	Someone called you
*kóómí **piig tɔ́gʋ̀l** ɔ́mùt*	Everyone was there yesterday
kóómángɔmí [59] ***chɪtɔɪ** ɔ́mùt*	No one was there yesterday
***chí(tɔ̀)** tɔ́gʋ̀l kɔ́ɔ́záɪ kaásìnyin*	Each one has to do his own work
*mɔ̀mí **kééj** nè níɪjún*	There is nothing over there
***kééj ágè tɔ́gʋ̀l** né íjɔ̀jé kó singwɔi* [60]	Whatever you do is good
*ɔ́gwèndi ɔ́lè **kééj***	I'm going to buy something
*kɔ́ɔ́búnjì **kééj** kaamɛtngu*	I brought something for your mum
*kóóbá **pííg tɔ́gʋ̀l** Nakuru*	Everybody went to Nakuru

b) adverbs (?)

*nyónì **pèètút ágè tɔ́gʋ̀l** né* [61] *ímɔ̀che*	Come whenever you want
*mí ségèmɛk **ɔ̀ldɔ́ ágè tɔ́gʋ̀l***	Bees are everywhere
*ítèbɔten **ɔ̀ldɔ́ ágè tɔ́gʋ̀l** ne ímɔ̀ché* [62]	Sit down anywhere you want
*màànyúr motogeetngu ɛn **ɔ̀ldɔ́ ágè tɔ́gʋ̀l***	I could find your bag nowhere

c) adjectives

*ɔ́chɔ̀mi **ɔ̀ldɔ́ ágè tɔ́gʋ̀l** nígò ɔ́gwèndi*	I like each place I visit
píàn chai* [63]	Give me some chai!
*ɔ́tìn koomeg **chéchàn***	I have a lot of honey
mɔ̀ɔ́tìn sugaru [64]	I have no sugar

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[59]   Negative actualizer structure.

[60]   After the indefinite "pronoun", a relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun *né* is used – see § 3.6.7 for relative pronouns.

[61]   Relative pronoun, referring to the indefinite time expression, and introducing a relative clause.

[62]   Negative verbal form.

[63]   No indefinite is present.

[64]   Negative verbal form.

ítìn chego? [65]	Do you have some milk?
mɔ́ɔ́tìn peeg chɛ́ angit	I don't have any water left
*kóógítuje werig **ablag** ɛn timdɔ*	We met some boys in the forest
*tínyì neegɔ **chéchàn** Kemoi*	Kemoi has many sheep
*tínyì neegɔ **túútìgín** Catherine*	Catherine has some / few sheep
mɔ̀tínyì neegɔ Maria [66]	Maria has no sheep
*nyónì **saait ágè tɔ́gòl***	Come at any time

Unfortunately no data on indefinite pronouns and adverbs in Nandi, Tugen, Kipsigis or Pokot are reported either in Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989 or in Kamuren 2011.

3.5.5

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS, ADVERBS AND ADJECTIVES

Interrogative pronouns are summed up in the table below:

Table 13

who?	whom? to whom?	what?	which?
ngɔ́?	ngɔ́?	nɛ̀?	áinù?

- the same form *ngɔ́* is used as subject and direct and indirect object interrogative pronoun;

- interrogative pronouns always occur in front position in the sentence;

- when *áinù*, "which" is an adjective, it does not occur in front position, but in second position, following the word to which it refers, while the verb comes always afterwards;

- *ngɔ́* and *nɛ̀* have quasi perfect equivalents in Nandi and Akie, where their forms become respectively *ngà* and *nɛ̀* (Nandi) and *ng'àà* (A) / ng'áá (N)

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[65] No indefinite is present.

[66] Negative verbal form.

and *nèè̀* (A) / *nèè̀* (N) (Akie), while for *áinù* the corresponding Nandi and Akie words are respectively *inkoro/inkorco* [67] and *ko án* [68];

- *nè* has also a perfect equivalent in Akie, where it occurs with a long vowel as *nèè̀* [69]

Some examples:

ngɔ? ngɔ́ nemí ɪjɔ́n?	Who? Who's there?
ngɔ́ nigòígèr ɔ́mùt?	Whom did you see yesterday?
ngɔ́ nígèr páánì?	Whom do you see (now)?
nɛ́? nɛ́ nɛ́íjɔ̀jé?	What? What are you doing?

The question "What's your name?", in Ogiek can be translated as *káinèngu kó ngɔ́?*, lit: "name-your + actualizer + who". In this case, *ngɔ́* loses its status as a pronoun and becomes something similar to an adjective, and, indeed, it takes the position of an adjective in the sentence.

Like interrogative pronouns, interrogative adverbs represent another list of words which occur in front position in the sentence. In this case, they are usually followed by an actualizer and only after that, comes the verb.

Ogiek interrogative adverbs are:

Table 14

When?	Where?	Why?	How?
ɔ́jù?	ánɔ̀?	ɔ́mù nɛ́?	nɛ́?

- The form *nɛ́?* for "how?" is the same used for "what?";
- the conjunction introducing the answer to *ɔ́mù nɛ́?* "why?", is *ɔ́mù* "because", and occurs in the sentence in front position, before the verb;

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[67]   Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989:142.

[68]   König *et al.* 2015: 97.

[69]   *Ibidem*

- the forms *ánɔ̀* and *ɔ́mù nɛ́* have quasi perfect equivalents in Nandi (*áno* and *ámu nê*), while *ɔ́jìù* becomes *au* (Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 142);
- the Akie equivalents for *ɔ́jìù, ánɔ̀, ɔ́mù nɛ́* and *nɛ́* are respectively *áyyò, ànò / ntán(ó), yúú* and *ànò* (König *et al.* 2015: 97).

Some examples:

ɔ́jìù? ɔ́jìù né ínyòne?	When? When will you come?
ánɔ̀? ánɔ̀ ne ígwèndi?	Where? Where are you going?
ánɔ̀ ne íjɔ́bù?	Where do you come from (now / origin)?
ɔ́mù nɛ́? ɔ́mù nɛ́ sírɔ̀ryé?	Why? Why are you laughing?
ɔ́mù káágás tɔnguch nèsíngwòi	Because I heard a good tale
ɔ́mù nɛ́ sigorertaat Kemoi ɛn jɛ́ɛ́là [70]	For what reason is Kemoi in jail?
nɛ́? nɛ́ né íjɔ̀je muinget?	How? How do you build a beehive?
ɔ́rɛt áinù ne ɔ́gwèndi Njoro? [71]	Which way is Njoro?

When "how" occurs as an adjective, in interrogative syntagms like "how much?", "how long?", "how many times?", it is translatable in Ogiek with the word "*átá*".

In this case, the first position is occupied by the noun to which *átá* refers and the phrase is then followed by an actualizer (always referred to the noun which stands in front position) or, sometimes, directly by the verb, as it is evident from the following examples:

tʊʊga átá ché ítìnyé?	How many cows do you have?
saisyeg átá sígèit Mɔrisiɔnig?	How long does it take to Mariashoni?
saisyeg átá? (or also *saisieg chéchàn*?)	How many times?
ítìnyè kɛnyisyeg átá / kɛnyisyeg átá kéítìny? [72]	How old are you?

Unfortunately, also on this topic there are no data either by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989 concerning Nandi, nor by Kamuren 2011 concerning Tugen, Kipsigis and Pokot.

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[70] < English *jail* through kiswahili

[71] Lit.: "path + which + sctualizer + he goes + Njoro"

[72] Lit: "you have + years + how many? / years + how many + you have?"

3.5.6

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS/ADJECTIVES

As it happens in Nandi, Tugen, Kipsigis and Pokot, possessive adjectives in Ogiek are represented by specific morphemes suffixed to the noun representing the possessed.

Therefore, the Ogiek language has two series of six morphemes: one to be used when the possessed is singular, and the other to be used when the possessed are plural.

Things can be easily summed up in the table below:

Table 15

	Possessed singular	Possessed plural
my	nyún	chóg
your	ngùn	kúg
her / his	nyìn	chíg
our	nyɔ̀n	chɔ́g
your	ngwɔ̀n	kwɔ́g
their	nèɡwɔ̀n	chúkwàg

- The Ogiek forms presented in the table are perfectly coincident with the Nandi ones reported by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider (1989: 40). The vowel /ɔ/ in Ogiek becomes regularly /a/, while a final /g/ is realized as /k/ in Nandi. The same is true for the correspondences with the Akie forms reported in König *et al.* 2015[73], and in the Kipsigis and Tugen forms described by Kamuren 2011[74], while Pokot forms differ more evidently;

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[73] König *et al.* 2015: 83. The forms which differ the most from the Ogiek ones here proposed are those of the third persons, which, in Akie are respectively *nyiwaan* and *chiwaach*, where the velar stops /g/ *and* /k/ preceding the glide /w/ simply disappear.

[74] Kamuren 2011: 41-43. Probably due to an accidental carelessness, here Kamuren defines possessive *pronouns*, what are instead possessive *adjectives.*

- in order to facilitate the construction of the word, the nouns to which these morphemes are suffixed occur as pure stems, without singular/plural or other determinative markers;

- there is no gender distinction.

Examples:

sɔndugunyun kɔɔmí pataimesɛt	My box is on the table
sɔndugusyechog kɔɔmí pataimesɛt	My boxes are on the table
mí tɛɛtangùn ijún	Your cow is there
mí tʋʋgug ijún	Your cows are there
mí pugunyìn pataimesɛt	Her book is on the table
mí pugusyekchíg pataimesɛt	Her books are on the table
mí ngʋktɔnyìn ijún	His dog is there
mí ngɔgichíg ijún	His dogs are there
mí kɔnyɔ̀n ijɔ́n	Our house is here
mí kɔrigchɔ́g ijɔ́n	Our houses are here
mí tɛɛngwɔ̀n ijún	Your cow is there
mí tʋʋkwɔ́g ijún	Your cows are there
mí kɔnɛ̀gwɔ̀n ijún	Their house is there
mí kɔrigchúgwàg ijún	Their houses are there

Possessive pronouns in Ogiek are built by suffixing possessive adjectives to relative pronouns[75]. The same mechanism is applied in Nandi[76]. No data on this point is reported in Kamuren 2011 concerning Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot.

In Akie something similar occurs, even though in this case possessive adjectives are not suffixed to relative pronouns but rather to what König *et al.* (2015: 83-84) indicate as a "genitive" particle, e.g. *ɩnka*, pl. *ɩka*.

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[75] See § 3.6.7 for relative pronouns.

[76] Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 59-60.

In the table, the two complete series (singular / plural) of Ogiek possessive pronouns are presented:

Table 16

	Possessed singular	Possessed plural
my	nényún	chéchók
your	néngùn	chégúk
her / his	nényìn	chéchík
our	nényɔ̀n	chéchɔ́k
your	néngwɔ̀n	chékwɔ́k
their	nénègwɔ̀n	chéchúkwàk

Examples:

nènyún sɔndugu ní	The box is mine
sɔndugusyeg chú kó chéchóg	The boxes are mine
nèngún tɛɛta ní	The cow is yours
chègúg tʋʋchúg	the cows are yours
pugut kɔ́ nényìn	The book is hers
chèchíg pugusyeg chú	The books are hers
nényìn ngʋtɔk	The dog is his
chèchíg ngɔgig chú	The dogs are his
nènyɔ̀n kɔ	The house is ours
chèchɔ́g kɔrig chú	The houses are ours
nèngwɔ̀n tɛɛta ní	The cow is yours (pl.)
chèkwɔ́g tʋʋchug	The cows are yours
nègwɔ̀n kɔ ní	The house is theirs
kɔrigchú kɔ́ɔ́ chèchúgwàg	The houses are theirs

Sometimes, possessive pronouns are used instead of adjectives in order to obtain an emphatic structure, as in:

mí tʋʋga chègúg ijún   Your cows are there (emphatic construction)

The same happens also in Nandi, as reported by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 59-60.

3.5.7
RELATIVE PRONOUNS

Ogiek relative pronouns are basically the same as the Nandi ones, as described by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider (1989: 58) and have two forms, one for the singular and one for the plural, as represented in the following table:

Table 17

Singular	Plural
ne	che

Relative pronouns are necessary when they introduce relative clauses in which the relative pronoun represents a direct / indirect object as in the following example:

*kóónyúru ngɔbian **ne** kóókáiamɛrɪ*

I found the hat that I lost

[V (middle past – 1st pers. sg. = stem) + O (N – marked det.) + Rel. Pron. sg + V (middle past 2 -1st pers. sg. =stem)]

*Kemoi kó chɪtɔɪ **ne** ɔ́chɔ̀mɪ*

Kemoi is the man whom I love

[S (proper N) + actualizer + S ad-position (N) + Rel. Pron. sg. + V (1st pers. sg. = stem – durative ext.)]

*ketiit ni **ne** ɔ́gɔ̀gɔɪ*

This is the chair which I prefer.

[S (N – sg.) + actualizer + Rel. Pron. sg. + V (1st pers. sg. = stem – durative ext.)]

However, when the relative pronoun represents the subject of the relative clause, it can occur if the speakers wants to be very precise, but it can easily be omitted when there is no risk of misunderstanding.

Examples:

*kɔ́ɔ́gɔ́s Catherine araka ískosorchi kóónyúr pikipiki (**ne**) nyòne Michinda*

Catherine woke up and then hurried up to get the pikipiki to Michinda

[V (middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S (proper N) + time adv. + V (future ext. – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + V (middle past – 1st pers. sg. = stem) + O + Rel. Pron. sg. + V (3rd sg. = stem) + Place]

ɔ́chènge chíchɔ̀n kɔ́ɔ́bár John

I'm looking for the man who killed John

[V (1st pers. sg. = stem – durative ext.) + O (N – det.) focus + V (past 2 – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + O (proper N)]

As it has been shown in the previous paragraph, relative pronouns are pivotal for the construction of possessive pronouns.

In addition to this, relative pronouns are also fundamental both in the construction of de-verbal noun strings indicating an agent, i.e. "the cook" from the verb "to cook", as in:

*chítɔ̀ɪ **ne** ijóisè*   cook [S + Rel. Pron. sg. + V (3rd pers. sg. = stem)]
*pyég **che** ijóisè*   cooks [S + Rel. Pron. sg. + V (3rd pers. pl. = stem)]

and in those structures used to convey what in English would be expressed through a passive verb form, as in:

kwɛnigchɔn ko íchèg che pélèj

The wood is burnt by them

[O (N – pl. – det.) + actualizer + S (independent Pers. Pron. 3rd pl.) + Rel. Pron. pl. + V (stem)]

Last but not least, relative pronouns are also crucial for the construction of ordinal numbers, as it will be shown in the following paragraphs.

3.6
NUMBERS

Despite their form, perfectly coincident with Nandi, Ogiek numbers are probably to be considered adjectives instead of nouns[77]. Ogiek numbers occur always in their plain form and seem not to accept any suffixes, what would be very strange if they were morphologically nouns.

3.6.1
CARDINAL NUMBERS

True Ogiek cardinal numbers seem to reach only 19.

According to my interlocutors, in fact, starting from 20, Ogiek tend to refuse to count or they switch to use kiswahili words.

On the contrary, both Creider & Tepsubei-Creider and König *et al.* (2015: 73-74) demonstrate that in Nandi and in Akie there is a productive way to build numbers up to 100.

Moreover, while my Ogiek informants attested only one word, *tàmán,* to indicate the first tens, Creider & Tepsubei-Creider's Nandi interlocutors provided true Nandi words for the first five tens and from the sixth to the ninth tens, they added the possibility to build strings based on the structure *tamanwakik* + six / seven /… (Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 65)

Here below there is a list of all the Ogiek cardinal numbers the author could record in Mariashoni:

1   *ágèènge* [78]

2   *ɔ́èn* [79]

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[77]   Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 64 say that "Numbers (in Nandi) are morphologically nouns. They occur normally in primary form, but secondary forms exists".

[78]   In Nandi, according to the current phonological rules, g > k, and the vowels are -ATR, i.e. *akéenke*

[79]   In Nandi *áêêng*

3   *sómòg*

4   *ángwán*

5   *mùùt*

6   *lɔ́*[80]

7   *tísàp*

8   *sísíít*

9   *sɔ́gɔ̀l*

10   *tàmán*

11   *tàmán ágèèngɛ*

12   *tàmán ak ɔ́èn*

13   *tàmán ak sómòg*

14   *tàmán ak ángwán*

15   *tàmán ak mùùt*

16   *tàmán ak lɔ́*

17   *tàmán ak tísàp*

18   *tàmán ak sísíít*

19   *tàmán ak sɔ́gɔ̀l*

3.6.2

ORDINAL NUMBERS

The first two positions, i.e. the first two ordinal numbers are in Ogiek *nètaj*[81] (rel. pron. sg + *front*) and *nèrubej* (rel. pron. sg + ?).

From the third onwards, other ordinal numbers are built with a relative construction similar to the one recorded by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider for Nandi[82], i.e:

---

[80]   In Nandi, regularly ɔ > a, i.e. là

[81]   The same word is used in Nandi (see Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 66).

[82]   Creider & Creeider 1989: 66; ne pa áêêng "second".

nèbɔ́ (rel. pron. sg – focus) + number

as in:

nèbɔ́ sómòk	third
nèbɔ́ ángwán	fourth
nèbɔ́ mùùt	fifth
…	

In Akie a similar construction has been reported in König *et al.* 2015: 74. In this case instead of the relative pronoun + focus particle, the number is always preceded by the genitive marker *taa.* The first, the second, the third are thus, in Akie, *táátáita, tááayen* and *táásomok.*

4.
Verbal morphology

4.1
THE VERB AND ITS FORMS

Ogiek verbs present a quite complex morphology. Verbal inflection indicates a) subject, b) object, c) negation, d) tense and, e) aspect through mechanisms of either prefixation or suffixation. The same is certainly true for Nandi[83] and Akie[84], whose forms are very similar to the Ogiek ones. Even though the analysis of verbal morphosyntax offered by Kamuren[85] for Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot is not really detailed, it seems that also these languages work in the same way.

In addition to the above mentioned categories, according to Creider & Tepsubei-Creider and to König *et al.*, Nandi and Akie make also a modal distinction between indicative and subjunctive forms.

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[83]   Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 75 ff.

[84]   König *et al.* 2015: 28 ff.

[85]   Kamuren 2011: 36-39.

Unfortunately, no meaningful data on this point were collected during the fieldwork in Mariashoni. Further investigation in this direction would thus be welcome.

Nevertheless, it seems instead that the Ogiek categories of tense and aspect provide more alternatives that their Nandi equivalents, while subject, object and negation seem to correspond quite perfectly.

The passive voice is not present and, as far as auxiliaries are concerned, a detailed analysis is reported in the next paragraph.

Concerning a) subject and b) object pronouns, they have already been illustrated in §§ 3.6.1 and 3.6.2.

4.2
AUXILIARIES?

In Ogiek what we call an auxiliary verb does not really exist, in that no verb like "to be" or "to have" is used as a pivot on which to build inflectional variations in terms of aspect, tense or mood, which are instead conveyed through a mechanism of prefixation of dedicated, specific morphemes.

The data collected thanks to a due investigation of the role, usage and position of determined verbs, such as "to be", "to become" or "to have" seem, however, to offer interesting hints for comparative reflections.

4.2.1
TO BE, TO EXIST, TO BECOME

In Ogiek, as in many other African languages, a true auxiliary verb corresponding to the English "to be" does not exist and all its functions are rendered in different ways – e.g. the prefixation or suffixation of focus particles, the use of other, more specific verbs, as "to exist" or "to become" etc.

The presentative function is fulfilled by a simple postposition of the demonstrative adjectives *-ni* (singular) and *chu* (plural)[86] to the subject, as in:

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[86]   In Akie this copulative function indicating *location* or *existence* is performed by the particle *ńtè (íntè)* – König *et al.* 2015: 31.

tèètá ni	This is a cow
tʋ̀ʋ̀gá chu	These are cows
Busiene ni	This is Busiene

The copulative function is carried out by the introduction of the morpheme *ko* (or *go* when in intervocalic position) between the subject and its apposition or attribute[87].

Kemoi kóó chip	Kemoi is the chief

The same morpheme is used as an auxiliary also when followed by an indirect complement:

pííg chu kóó ap Mɔrısıɔnig	These people are from Mariashoni

Kóó is used as the equivalent of a copula also when the subject is an independent pronoun.

ánè kóó chip	I am the chief
ínyè kóó chip	you are the chief
ínè kóó chip	he / she is the chief
ɛ́chèg kóó chibisyeg [88]	we are the chiefs
ɔ́kwèg kóó chibisyeg	you (pl.) are the chiefs
íchèg kóó chibisyeg	they are the chiefs

When the sentence refers to the past, the morpheme *kóó* is prefixed to the correct past marker morpheme[89]:

ànɛ́ kógì [90] *tagitari*	I was a doctor
ìnyé kógì t.	You were a d.
ìnɛ́ kógì t.	He / she was a d.

---

[87]   The same morpheme is interpreted by Creider & Creider (1989: 125) as a marker, which occurs when a single topic NP is fronted. König *et al.* (2015: 32) speak of a copula to be used with a *classification* or *identification* purpose.

[88]   p > b in intervocalic position.

[89]   See § 4.3.2 for a discussion of past markers.

[90]   In the construction kóó + kii > kogi, k > g in intervocalic position and the long vowel is shortened.

èchég kógì tagitarisyeg	we were doctors
ɔ̀kwég kógì t.	you were d.
ìchég kógì t.	They were d.
kíngò éngèny kógì mí chɪtɔɪ...	Once upon a time there was a man

When in this kind of sentences the subject pronoun has a weak (clitic) form, the morpheme *kóó* does not occur:

ɔ́rɔb Chírìs	[1st pers. sg. pron. – N + proper N]
ɔ́laakwɛt ak Chírìs	[1st pers. sg. pron. – N – sg + Prep. + proper N]
I am one of the Chiris	

The morpheme *kóó* (*k* > *g* in intervocalic position) occurs also as a suffix of demonstrative adjectives in presentative sentences. In this case it has a L instead of a H tone. See for example:

nígò Catherine	This is Catherine
chúgò Kemoi ak Catherine	These are Kemoi and Catherine

When the verb "to be" introduces a place complement, the morpheme *kóó* does not occur, while the sentence is introduced by the adverbial focus particle *mí* and the sentence structure is Focus + Subject + Place Complement, as in:

mí minjɔri mesɛt	The wild passion fruit is on the table

A verb that in Ogiek is sometimes used as an auxiliary where in English the verb "to be" would be used, is "to become". In Ogiek "to become" is translatable with the verb *kéêìp*[91]:

káìp Busiene chip	Busiene became the chief (this morning)
kóìp Busiene chip kɛnyit ni	Busiene became the chief this year
kîìp Busiene chip kɛnyit ni kɔ́ɔ́nyɛ́	Busiene became the chief last year

---

[91]   In Nandi the verb *ip*, which Creider & Tepsubei-Creider translate with "to bring" has the function of indicating future (Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 112). In Akie another structure is used, made with the copular verb *yekuu/ye* (cf König *et al.* 2015: 32-33).

The same verb *kéìp* is used, in a frozen form (kó + tùn[92]+ ko + ip + ù[93]) in order to convey the idea of a desirable, still far, future:

ànɛ́ kótùn kóibù[94] *tagitari*	I'll be a doctor
ìchɛ́g kótùn kóibù tagitarisyeg	they will be doctors

4.2.2
TO HAVE

In Ogiek, the verb *ké-tìn* corresponds to the English meaning "to possess" of the auxiliary verb "to have". *Ké-tìn* is used both when the "possessed" is an object and a person.

tín Kemoi kɔ	Kemoi has a house
ɔ́tìn werɔ negitupche	I have a brother
ítìn tyebtɔ negitupche [95]	You have a sister

The verb *kétìn* is also used to convey the idea of "suffering from" a certain disease:

tín myanda Liza / tín Liza myanda	Liza has a disease
tín Liza myanda nɛ́já / tín mynda nɛ́já	Liza has a serious disease

---

[92]   The meaning of this morpheme, which must be a verb, is not transparent even to the Ogiek speakers interviewed.

[93]   In Nandi, the suffix -u alone indicates a ventive aspect (Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989: 86).

[94]   p > b in intervocalic position.

[95]   In Ogiek there are no specific words for brother and sister. The word *négìtúpchè*, pl. *chégìtúpchè* refers to every person with whom one has blood relationships needs to specify if the person is a male or a female he/she must specify it, adding respectively *wero* (boy) or *tyebtɔ* (girl).

4.3
ASPECT AND TENSE

Kalenjin verbal morphology in general, despite the complexity of its system, seems to be quite regular[96].

Tense distinctions are made in Ogiek between present and past actions.

Past tense has three different degrees, which Creider & Creider, referring to Nandi, called respectively hodiernal, hesternal and distant.

These three degrees are marked by three different prefixes, also common to Nandi and Akie (*ká-*, *kó-* and *kí-*)[97]. The same distinction is present, generally, in any other Kalenjin languages, as supposed by Kamuren (2011:38), who, anyway, does not provide a detailed set of examples on this point.

Both present and past tenses can either be simple or continuous. In order to obtain a continuous form, speakers add a specific suffix (*-i/-ı* or *-e/-ɛ* if the verb stem ends by *-i*) to the verbal stem. The same seems to happen in Nandi (Creider & Creider 1989: 76) and in Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot (Kamuren 2011: 36). In Akie, on the contrary, even though the same distinction between perfective and imperfective is present, imperfective is not signaled by a suffix, but rather by a prefix. This prefix has the form *ar-* (König *et al.* 2015: 42-43).

In Nandi, according to Creider & Creider 1989: 76, "4) a suffix -e/-ey signals the imperfective aspect and causes a vowel quality shift from [-ATR] to [+ATR]". In Ogiek, on the contrary, the reverse seems to be true and, in fact, the vowel quality of the suffix seems to adapt itself to the vowel quality of the stem. Further investigation in this direction would be very welcome.

Besides these principal differentiations, the Ogiek system provides also many other aspectual markers, which can be simple prefixes or, in some cases, be represented by more complex prefix-like string structures.

In the following paragraphs all these structures will be described.

4.3.1
SIMPLE PRESENT AND PRESENT CONTINUOUS

In Ogiek, as it has been shown in § 3.6.1 personal pronouns can occur either in a primary, independent form, or in a secondary, short and prefixed

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[96] Of the same opinion are Creider & Creider 1989: 75.

[97] See Creider & Creider 1989:77-78 and König *et al.* 2015: 44-46.

form, except for the third person singular and plural pronouns, for which no secondary form is provided.

For sure, however, in Ogiek no verb can be used without a subject pronoun and, concerning the third person (singular or plural), only the pronominal primary form is admitted in accurate settings, in order to avoid misunderstandings.

Nevertheless, in informal exchanges, speakers most of the times fail to add the right pronoun in third persons' verb forms and the disambiguation of the true meaning of the sentence is left to the listener, who can only entrust other extra-textual, context specific elements in order to properly decode the message.

As an example, here below the full set of inflections in the present for the verb *kémùl* "to chew (tobacco)/to smoke" is reported.

SIMPLE PRESENT:

ɔ́mùl / ánè ɔ́mùl	I chew (tobacco)
ímùl / ínyè ímùl	You chew
mùl / ínè kɔ́mùl	He / she chews
kéémùlí / ɛ́chèg kéémùl	We chew
ɔ́mùl / ɔ́kwèg ɔ́mùl	You chew
íchèg kɔ́mùl	They chew

PRESENT CONTINUOUS (the continuous form is obtained by adding the suffix *-i/-ɪ* or *-e/-ɛ* to the verb stem):

ɔ́mùlí / ánè ɔ́mùlí	I am chewing (tobacco)
ímùlí / ínyè ímùlí	You are chewing
mùlí / ínè kɔ́mùlí	He / she is chewing
kéémùlí / ɛ́chèg kéémùlí	We are chewing
ɔ́mùlí / ɔ́kwèg ɔ́mùlí	You (pl.) are chewing
íchèg kɔ́mùlí	They are smoking

In Ogiek there seems to be no other possibility in the expression of the present, while in Nandi, according to Creider & Creider (1989: 75 and foll.) both simple present and present continuous can be further differentiated using two

different tonal schemes in a simple (non-perfect) vs a perfect aspect, which indicate respectively a simultaneous and a non-simultaneous action[98].

When a verb stem has an initial vowel such as *a-*, *i-*, and *u-*, their encounter with the subject pronouns in the verb conjugation can make the vowels change their qualities, as in the following examples:

1 – verb stems with initial a-

a) Initial a-, when the verb is inflected, becomes regularly ɔ-;

b) the contact of this -ɔ with the third person marker *kɔ́-* results in a long vowel -ɔ́ɔ́-:

"to eat" *kéàm*:

ɔ́mìsyé [99] / *ánɛ̀ ɔ́mìsyé*	I eat
ɨ́ɔ́mìsyé / ínyè ɨ́ɔ́mìsyé	you (sg) eat
ɔ́mìsyé / ínɛ̀ kɔ́ɔ́mìsyé	he/she eats
kééɔ́mìsyé / ɛ́chɛ̀g kééɔ́mìsyé	we eat
ɔ́amìsyéi / ɔ́kwɛ̀g ɔ́amìsyé	you (pl.) eat
íchɛ̀g kɔ́ɔ́mìsyé	they eat

2 – verb stems with initial *i-*

a) The second and third person singular converge in the same form when not accompanied by an independent pronoun[100]:

"to become" *kéìp*:

ɔ́íbù / ánɛ̀ ɔ́íbù	I become
íbù / ínyè íbù	you (sg) become
íbú / ínɛ̀ kɔ́íbú	he/she becomes
kéíbù / ɛ́chɛ̀g kéíbù	we become
ɔ́íbù / ɔ́kwɛ̀g ɔ́íbù	you (pl) become
íchɛ̀g kɔ́íbù	they become

---

[98]   Unfortunately there is no good description of Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot with respect to this point. However, nothing similar is mentioned in Kamuren 2011.

[99]   The suffix morpheme *-syé* has to be added when the verb is conjugated. According to Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989:92 *-is* and *-sa* are detransitivizer morphemes used also in Nandi and they must be applied when a transitive verb, such as *kééàm* "to eat" appears without a true object.

[100]   A very similar behaviour of verbs which begin with vowel *i* (or *ɪ*) is attested in Akie, as described by König *et al.* 2015: 31-32. In Akie *i-verbs* are opposed to what König *et al.* call *basic verbs* (all those which begin with a consonant or with a vowel different from *ɪ*).

3 – verb stems with initial *u-*

a) the vowel *u*, in a -ATR vocalic context, loses its +ATR quality and becomes -ATR.

"to wash" *kéùn*:

ɔ́ùn / ánὲ ɔ́ùn	I wash
íùn / ínyὲ íùn	you (sg) wash
íʊ̀n / ínὲ kɔ́íʊ̀n	he/she washes
kéùn / ɛ́chὲg kéùn	we wash
ɔ́ʊ̀n / ɔ́kwὲg ɔ́ʊ̀n	you (pl) wash
íchὲg kɔ́íʊ̀n	they wash

4.3.1.1 *Irregular verbs: "to come" and "to go"*

In Ogiek the two most common verbs of motion "to come" and "to go" have a very peculiar conjugation. Both verbs have, in fact, two different stems, one for the singular and the other for the plural persons.

For the verb "to come" *-nyon/-nyun* is the stem for the singular, while *-pwɔn* is that for the plural.

The verb "to go" has instead the stem *-gwɔn* for the singular and *-pen* for the plural.

In addition to this, exclusively for what concerns the verb "to go", the perfective form seems to be possible only when conjugated in the singular persons, while in the imperfective all persons singular and plural can be conjugated.

Concerning the imperfective markers, the verb "to come" applies the common rule, adding a simple *-i/-e* suffix, while the verb "to go" uses a different suffix, i.e. *-di* [101]. When conjugated in the imperfective, the vowel *-ɔ* of the stem *-gwɔ* for the singular persons turns into *-e,* and the stem becomes *-gwen.*

In the table below all the forms of the two verbs are reported.

To come:

ɔ́nyɔ̀n / ɔ́nyɔ̀ni	I come / I am coming
ínyɔ̀n / ínyɔ̀ne	you come
(í)nyɔ́n / (í)nyɔ́n	he/she comes
kípwɔ́n / kípwɔ́n	we come
opwɔ́n / opwɔ́ne	you come
pwɔ́n / pwɔ́ne	they come

---

[101] -/d/- is probably a simple glide which facilitates the passage -/n/-/d/-/i/.

To go:

ɔ́gwɔ̀ / ɔ́gwɛ̀ndi	I go
ígwɔ̀ / ígwɛ̀ndi	you go
gwɔ́ / gwéndi	he/she goes
kíbéndì [102]	we go
ɔ́béndì	you go
péndì	they go

Despite the behaviour of these two verbs seems quite strange, something very similar happens in Nandi, as very clearly described in Creider & Creider 1989: 112-113[103].

4.3.2
EXPRESSING THE PAST

Ogiek reserves to the expression of past actions a very complex morphology.

As it is common in other Kalenjin languages (§ 4.3), past tense presents three different degrees, which Creider & Creider call hodiernal, hesternal and distant and which I prefer to call here *near past, middle past* and *remote past* following the classification proposed by König *et al.* 2015: 45.

These three degrees are marked by three different prefixes: *ká-, kó-* and *kí-*[104].

The three prefixes are simply applied to the basic forms of the simple present.

At the same time, all three past tenses can either be simple or continuous. The marker of the continuous form is the same as the one used in the present, and it is represented by the suffix *-i (-ɪ)/-e (-ɛ)*.

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[102] p > b in intervocalic position.

[103] "*Ke:-pwa* 'to come' and *ke:-pa* 'to go' have different singular and plural stems (note, however, that the infinitive is based on the plural stem only)" – Creider & Creider 1989:112. The table presented by the authors provide the two stems *-nyò:/-nyo* (sg) and *-pwâ:/-pwa* (pl) for the verb "to come" and the two stems *-we/-wa* (sg) and *-pwá:n/-pwà:n* (and *-pénti*) (pl.) for the verb "to go".

[104] See also Creider & Creider 1989:77-78.

ká- near past (simple and continuous forms)
Ogiek speakers use this form when they refer to something that has happened a few hours before the communicative event.

To chew tobacco *kémul*:

káámùl / káámùli [105]	I've chewn (tobacco)
káimùl / káimùli	you've chewn
kágɔmùl / kágɔ́mùli [106]	he /she has chewn
kágemùl / kágémùli	we've chewn
káámùl / kámùli	you've chewn (pl.)
kágɔmùl / kágɔ́mùli	they've chewn

When the independent pronouns are used, most commonly between the pronoun and the verb, the actualizer morpheme *kó* is introduced as follows:

anɛ kɔ kámùl(i)
inye kɔ káimùl(i)
ɲɛ kɔ kagɔ́mùl(i)
ɛchɛg kɔ kagémùl(i)
ɔkwɛg kɔ kámùl(i)
ıchɛg (kɔ) kagɔ́mùl(i)

kó- middle past (simple and continuous forms)
Ogiek speakers use this form when they refer to something that has happened some days/a couple of weeks before the communicative event.

kóámùl [107] */ kóámùli*	I have chewn / have been chewing
kóimùl / kóimùli	you have chewn / have been chewing
kógɔ́mùl [108] */ kógɔ́mùli*	he/she has chewn / has been chewing
kógémùl / kógémùli	we have chewn / have been chewing
kómùl / kómùli	you have chewn / have been chewing
kógɔ́mùl / kógɔ́mùli	they have chewn / have been chewing

---

[105] a + ɔ > a/aa.

[106] k > g in intervocalic position.

[107] ò + ɔ́ > òá.

[108] k > g in intervocalic position.

kí- remote past (simple and continuous forms)

Ogiek speakers use this form when they refer to something that happened some months/years before the communicative event.

kíɔmùl [109] / *kíɔmùli*	I had chewn / had been chewing
kíímùl / *kíímùli*	you had chewn / had been chewing
kígɔ́mùl [110] / *kígɔ́mùli*	he/she had chewn / had been chewing
kígémùl / *kígémùli*	we had chewn / had been chewing
kíɔmùl / *kíɔmùli*	you had chewn / had been chewing
kígɔ́mùl / *kígɔ́mùli*	they had chewn / had been chewing

4.3.3
EXPRESSING THE FUTURE

In Ogiek, future and present are commonly conveyed by the same morphological structures and only the context can disambiguate which of the two is the case in a communicative event.

Nevertheless, the language provides also a syntagmatic structure for the indication of something the reader has planned to do for sure in the future. The syntagm is the following:

ɔ́ + *tùn* [111] + subject (dependent pronoun) + V present

or

subject (independent pronoun) + *kɔ́* + *tùn* + subject (dependent pronoun) + V present

ɔ́tùn ɔ́mùlí / ánè kótùn ɔ́mùlí	I will chew (in the future)
ɔ́tùn ímùlí / ínyè kótùn ímùlí	you will chew
ɔ́tùn kɔ́mùlí / ínè kótùn kɔ́mùlí	he/she will chew
ɔ́tùn kémùlí / ɛ́chɛ̀g kótùn kémùlí	we will chew
ɔ́tùn ɔ́mùlí / ɔ́kwɛ̀g kótùn ɔ́mùlí	you will chew
ɔ́tùn kɔmùlí / íchɛ̀g kótùn kɔmùlí	they will smoke

---

[109] ò + ɔ́ > òá.

[110] k > g in intervocalic position.

[111] Frozen verb? According to my informants the word *tun* has no specific meaning.

Nothing similar to this structure is reported either by Creider & Creider or by Kamuren.

In Akie "the future tense is formed with the prefix *mach-…*" (König *et al.* 2015: 46-47).

4.3.4
OTHER VERBAL STRUCTURES / ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS

1 – *(i)syé Detransitivizer* [112] *suffix*

This suffix is always applied to a transitive verb, when the verb is not accompanied by a proper object.

Ex. *kéàm*

ɔ́mì kóómèg	I am eating honey
ɔ́mìsyé	I am eating

In the first sentence the focus is on the object (what I am eating), while in the second example the focus is on the action (what I am doing).

2 – *tV(a/o/ɔ)r Modal prefix*

This prefix has a mitigating effect on the verb to which it is attached.
When the verb tense/aspect is a present or past continuous, its meaning is that of "still", while when the verb tense/aspect is past perfect (close, recent and far), its meaning is that of "just" or "almost", depending on the context.
When the verb/tense is past, the morpheme *-tV(a/o/ɔ)(r)-* is infixed between the past marker and the verb stem.
See the examples below.

Present continuous:

tàámìsyéi [113]	I am **still** eating
tàíɔ́mìsyéi	you're **still** e.
tàgɔ́mìsyéi [114]	he/she's **still** e.
tàgéɔ́mìsyéi	we're **still** e.

---

[112] For a similar structure in Nandi, see Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989:92.

[113] a + ɔ́ > àá or ɔ̀ɔ́.

[114] k > g in intervocalic position.

ɔ́kwèg kó tɔ̀ɔ́mìsyéi [115]	you're **still** e.
íchèg kó tàgɔ́mìsyéi	they're **still** e.

Past perfect (middle past):

kótɔ́r(ɪ)ɔ́mìsyé [116]	I **just/almost** finished to eat
kóítɔ́rìɔ́mìsyé	you **just/almost** finished to eat
ínè kó kótɔ́rkɔ́ɔ́mìsyé	he/he **just/almost** finished to eat
échèg kó kótɔ́rìgéɔ́mìsyé	we have **just/almost** finished to eat
ɔ́kwèg kó kótɔ́rrìɔ́mìsyé	you **just/almost** finished to eat
íchèg kó kótɔ́rkɔ́ɔ́mìsyé	they **just/almost** finished to eat

Past perfect continuous (remote past):

kítɔ̀ɔ́gwèndi	I had been **still** going
kítaɡ́gwèndi	you had been **still** going
kítagwèndi	he/she had been **still** going
kítagébèndi	we had been **still** going
kítɔ̀ɔ́bèndi	you had been **still** going
kítapèndi	they had been **still** going

3 – Ingressive

In Ogiek, the ingressive aspect is conveyed using a verb string structure, built on the basis of the verb "to go".

The string is obtained as follows:

to go (simple present perfect, conjugated according to the subject) + V2 conjugated according to the subject

Examples:

ɔ́gwɔ̀ ɔ́mìsyé	I'm going to eat
péndì kɔ́mùlí	they are going to chew tobacco
kíbèndi kéùnegɛj	we are going to wash ourselves

For this aspect, nothing is reported in Creider & Creider for the Nandi language.

---

[115] When an independent pronoun is used, the actualizer morpheme *kó* is inserted between the pronoun and the verb.

[116] *-r-* or *-ri-/-rɪ-* are added as glides in order to facilitate the ligature *-ta-* + *verbal stem.*

However, the authors provide for Nandi a list of other suffixes appointed to convey aspectual distinctions (ventive, itive, ambulative, dative, stative, causative, associative and inceptive)[117] for which I could not find a parallel in Ogiek.

In Akie ten different extensions have been distinguished: ambulative, andative, antipassive, applicative, associative, causative, dative, passive, stative and ventive[118].

Maybe, further research on this point could be productive.

4 – Causative suffix *-isi* (?)[119]

For this structure one example only could be found and it is not clear if it is still productive. In Ogiek, in fact, as it will be detailed in the next §, a productive way to build causatives needs the introduction of a verbal string. Therefore, further investigation on this point would be welcome. Be it as it may, the existence of the two forms:

kéchuchun	to suck
kéchuchunisi	to breastfeed, to let the baby suck

is undoubtedly noticeable.

5 – Durative suffix *-at*

Also in this case, it is unlikely that the structure is still productive. Only two examples were collected and both of them concern qualitative verbs expressing emotions. The addition of suffix *-at* changes the meaning of the verb, in that it expresses a durable condition, while the verb without this suffix expresses a condition limited to a single, specific moment about which the speaker is thinking.
Examples:

ɔ̀nèrɛch	I am happy (now)
ɔ̀nèrɛgat	I am happy (always, it is my mood)
ɔ̀nèreche	I am sad (now)
ɔ̀nèregat	I am sad (always), depressed.

---

[117] Creider & Creider 1989, pp.86-95.

[118] König *et al.* 2015: 51-59.

[119] Akie causative verbs were realized with the prefixation of morpheme *i-*. The structure is no longer productive; see König *et al.* 2015: 55

4.3.5
UNUSUAL VERBAL STRUCTURES AND STRINGS OF VERBS

1. Causative

Contrary to what happens in Nandi and Akie, where causatives are usually morphologically built through the introduction of the prefix *í-*, and only in some cases they need to be built starting from the verb *kiikaaci* "to give to"[120], apart from the probably frozen example given in 4.3.4 above, Ogiek always needs a complex composition based on the string:

kéjòje (conjugated – "to make") + conjugated regent verb

Of course, according to the context, the subjects of the two verbs usually differ.

Examples:

| *ɔ́jɔ̀je ímùlí* | I make you chew |
| *íjɔ̀je ɔ́làbat* | You make me run away |

2. Egressive?

This structure is quite hard for me to understand and explain, even though it seems certain that it is used to express an egressive aspect.

An unruly or messy morpheme occurs between the two regular *tɔ́-* and *-tár-*, and it seems to be, at least to me, quite unpredictable in its form. However, it seems to recall the shape of a simple proclitic dependent pronoun which changes according to the person. If this is true, then *tar* was probably a verb whose meaning should be something like "to finish", which is now frozen in a no longer transparent form.

Be it as it may, the structure could thus roughly be described as the unregular realization of a probably underlying rule:

tɔ́ + clitic subject marker (?*) + *tár* + clitic subject marker + verb

tɔ́tárɔ́mìsyeí	I have just finished to eat
tɔ́tárɔ́mìsyeí	you have just finished to eat
túkɔ́tárkɔ́mìsyeí	she/he has just finished to eat

120 See Creider & Creider 1989: 93.

tɔ́gɛtárkiámìsyeí	we have just finished to eat
tɔ́táriɔ́mìsyeí	you have just finished to eat
túkɔ́tárkɔ́mìsyeí	they have just finished to eat

4.4
THE NEGATIVE FORM

The negative markers in Ogiek are represented by the prefixes *mɔ́-,* in present and present continuous sentences, and *ma-,* in past and past continuous sentences[121]. The negative marker always precedes the subject marker, but follows both tense and aspect prefixes, when they occur.

Examples:

mɔ́ɔ́tìn mòtogéét	I don't have the bag
mɔ́ɔ́bɔ̀tɛ̀ kwénìg	I don't chop the wood
mɔ́kíbèndi	we don't go
tɔ́mábàt kwénìg	I haven't chopped the wood yet
kátɔ́mábàt kwénìg	I still haven't chopped the wood
kɔ̀tɔ́mábàt kwénìg	I still haven't chopped the wood (some days ago)
kítɔ́máàt kwénìg	I still haven't chopped the wood (some months / years ago)

When the verb tense is *near past perfective*, marked by the prefix *ká-* in positive sentences, the negative form does not accumulate the two markers; only the negative marker occurs and the time reference is to be understood according to the context of enunciation. Anyway, the vowel of the negative marker in this case is always *a.*

Examples:

| *mɔ́gwèndi* | I don't go |
| *mágwè* | I didn't go |

---

[121] In Akie the negative verb forms are also expressed commonly with the particle *mà*, even though the language knows other two negative forms, used in special cases, see König *et al.* 2015: 63-65.

Something very similar happens in Nandi, as reported in Creider & Creider 1989:103.

When the action is expressed through a complex verbal structure and the main verb is introduced by modal or auxiliary verbs, the negative marker *mɔ́-* / *má-* occurs only in the first verb of the string.

Examples:

mɔ́mɔ́chè ɔ́gwè	I don't want to go
mɔ́chɔ́mì ɔ́tyènye	I don't like to sing
mɔ́tùn ɔ́mìsyeí	I will not eat

The same morpheme *mɔ́* is also used as a negative actualizer in negative sentences which do not have a verb.

Example:

mɔ́ kɔ́nyɔ̀ɩndet [122]	I'm not a healer

4.5
THE INTERROGATIVE FORM

In accurate speech, the interrogative form is signaled in Ogiek by the prefix *ma-*, which follows the negative prefix *mɔ́-* when it is present:

maíomisye?	do you eat?
mɔ́makɔ́mèis kóómèg?	doesn't she eat honey?

Anyway, most of the times, in informal communication, no specific morpheme is present:

ímul?	do you smoke?
mɔ́ímul?	don't you smoke?

Especially, this is true when the verbal structure is already complex, as for example, when other aspectual morphemes are there:

Totkɔ́ɔ́mèis kóómèg?	does she eat honey? (can she? Is she able to…?)

---
[122] < *kénya* "to heal".

4.6
THE IMPERATIVE AND NEGATIVE-IMPERATIVE FORM

In Ogiek the imperative form can occur in the second person singular and in the first and second persons plural.

In the second person singular the imperative corresponds to the verb stem alone.

In the first person plural, an actualizing morpheme *ɔ́n* stands before the infinitive marker *kè-* (this time with a low tone) followed by the verb stem. The second person plural is made of the *ɔ́-* subject marker followed by the verb stem.

Examples:

mùl!	smoke!
ɔ́nkèmúl!	let's smoke!
ɔ́mùl!	smoke (you pl.)!
kát!	greet!
ɔ́nkègát!	let's greet!
ɔ́gàt!	greet (you pl.)!

In Ogiek the second persons singular and plural are composed exactly in the same way in which they are composed in Nandi as reported by Creider & Creider (1989: 108). The two scholars, however, did not report any form for the first person plural, for which they presented an exhortative only. Viceversa, according to my data no exhortative form seems to be present in Ogiek.

In Akie, instead, things seem to differ significantly, in that the regular pattern for the construction of imperatives provides the use of an imperative suffix (*-en, -ɛn* or *-n*) to a perfective form (see König *et al.* 2015: 65-66).

In Ogiek, imperative negative is built by adding the prefixes *ɔ́-* (actualizer) + *mɔ́-* (negative) to the second person present or plural:

ɔ́mɔ́imul!	don't smoke! (sing)
ɔ́mɔ́kèmùl!	don't smoke! (plural)

4.7
PRESENT AND PAST PARTICIPLE

Contrary to the forms we have seen so far, Ogiek and Nandi do not build participial forms with the same morphemes.

Creider & Creider, in fact, report only one form in Nandi, which is specific for the past participle: verb + suffix -*át* or -*aatín*[123].

In Ogiek there is evidence of both, present and past participle.

Present participle seems to consist of:

prefix *i*- + verb stem HT + suffix -*isè*

Past participle seems to be made of:

prefix a- + verb (infinitive)

There is no formal differentiation between singular and plural.

The two participles can be used respectively as deverbal nouns (the present participle) and as deverbal adjectives (the past participle) and can be found in strings like the following, from the verb *kéjo(j)* "to cook":

ɔmdít ne agééjɔ̀ (lit.: food that is cooked)   cooked food

chítɔ̀ɪ ne ijóysè (lit.: person who's cooking)   cook

píͅg chè ijóysè (lit.: people who are cooking)   cooks

4.8
EXPRESSING A PASSIVE FORM

In Ogiek, as it is very common in African languages, there is no true passive construction[124].

However, the object can be stressed and become the logical subject of the sentence. This effect is obtained with a clever use of fronting and independent pronouns.

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[123] Creider & Tepsubei Creider 1989: 108-109.

[124] This is true, of course for all other described Kalenjin languages like Nandi, Akie, Kipsigis, Tugen, Pokot, but also for other languages belonging to other linguistic phyla and families, like Kulango (Gur), or Bawlé (Tano-Kwa).

Before considering the examples below, remember that the Ogiek normal sentence structure is VSO.

Examples:

ngɔbɪanigan nigo ɔ́lè	this hat is bought by me
ílɔ̀che jagɛtit	you wear a jacket
ínyè ne ílɔ̀che jagɛtit nɔ̀	that jacket is worn by you
kááígàt John	she greets John
kááígàt John ínὲ	John is greeted by her
kíísómoni Ogiek	we learn Ogiek
Ogiek kó ɛ́chὲg chégésɔ̀moni	Ogiek is learned by us
Pélèj kéétìt	they burn the wood
Kétìt chɔn kó íchὲg chépèlèj t	he wood is burn by them

On the contrary, Akie has a quite different behaviour, presenting a true passive-like construction "formed by using the verb with the frozen […] first person plural proclitic" (König *et al.* 2015: 56-58).

4.9
MODAL VERBS

Ogiek has two true modal verbs only: *kéchàm*, "to like" and *kémùch* "can". The sense of the modal "can", can be conveyed also by the use of the prefix *tot*(V)- in front of the conjugated verb, as it will be shown in §4.10.3.

4.9.1
TO MUST / TO HAVE TO

In Ogiek the verb "to must" / "to have to" has no true parallel. In order to express an obligation without switching to Kiswahili, the Ogiek just add the adverb *kɔ́màlyan* "anyway", after the verb expressing the action they aim to consider unavoidable. The verb occurs always in the imperfective form.

Examples:

ɔ́gwèndi kɔ́màlyan	I must go (I go anyway)
kíbèndì kɔ́màlyan	we must go (we go anyway)

4.9.2
TO LIKE / TO WANT

In Ogiek the verb "to like" is *kécham*, which also means "to love". When used as a modal verb, it always occurs in its imperfective form (i.e. with suffix -i). When a verbal structure is composed by a modal + a regent verb, both of them are inflected according to tense, and subject, and the regent follows the modal.

See for example the inflection in the present (imperfective) of the string "to like to sing":

ɔ́chɔ̀mi ɔ́tyènye	I like singing
íchɔ̀mi ítyènye	you like singing
chɔ́mì kɔ́tyényè	he/she likes singing
kíchɔ̀mì kétyènye	we like singing
ɔ́chɔ̀mʊ ɔ́tyènye	you like singing
chɔ́mì kótyènye	they like singing

When the string is negative, only the modal verb occurs with the negative prefix *mɔ́-*

Example:

mɔ́chomi ɔ́tyènye	I don't like singing

4.9.3
TO BE ABLE / CAN

In Ogiek there is a very clear-cut distinction between the idea of "possibility" and "ability" which can be conveyed by the verbs "can" and "to be able to".

The expression of an actual physical ability, like "I am able to run", requires in Ogiek the use of a morphological structure, i.e.:

prefix *tòt-* + conjugated regent verb

Example:

tòtálàbàt	I can run
tòtílàbàt	you can run
tòtkɔ́làbàt	he/she can run
tòtkélɔ̀bɔ̀tɪ	we can run
tòtɔ́lɔ̀bɔ̀tɪ	you can run
tòtkɔ́lɔ̀bɔ̀tɪ	they can run

The expression of a true possibility to do something in a given moment, like "I can sleep (now)" is conveyed by the use of the verb *kémùch* "can", conjugated in a verbal string, where it precedes the regent verb.

The use of the verb *kémùch* can also be associated to a sense of desire, to the expression of something which not only is possible in that very moment, but also welcome.

ɔ́mɔ̀chɪ [125] *ɔ́rù*	I can/want to sleep (now)
ímɔ̀che írù	you can/want to sleep (now)
mɔ́chè kɔ́rù	he/she can/wants to sleep (now)
kímɔ̀chè kérù(j)	we can/want to sleep (now)
ɔ́mɔ̀chè ɔ́rù	you can/want to sleep (now)
mɔ́chè kórù(j)	they can/want to sleep (now)

---

[125] The vowel *ù* seems sometimes to switch freely to *ɔ* when the verb occurs in its imperfective form. The speakers interviewed on this point used both forms/vowels without feeling any difference in meaning and/or occurrence between them.

5.
Syntax

In this section tones will not be regularly indicated. In many examples they will lack partially or totally. A sound study of their behavior in formal and informal settings, together with a due high quality resolution recordings of spontaneous speech has, in fact, still not been possible.

5.1
SIMPLE SENTENCE

In Ogiek the elements of the simple sentence usually follow the order VSO[126], even though processes of fronting and change of position in the order between subject and object are very common according to the speaker's intention, with the aim to stress the one or the other element.

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[126] The same is true in Akie (König *et al.* 2015: 27)

Moreover, the language is rich in nominal sentences, due to the fact that the verb "to be" in its auxiliary function does not exist and is "replaced" by actualizer/focalizer morphemes, as we have seen in the previous chapters.

In the following pages the author will try to propose a description, as accurate as possible, of at least some aspects of the Ogiek syntax.

5.1.1
ELLIPTICAL AND NOMINAL SENTENCES

In non stressed nominal sentences, the order of elements is:

nominal predicate / adjective + subject

as in:

ringaag Mary   Mary is short

However, when the speaker wants to stress the subject of a nominal sentence, the subject is fronted, a focus morpheme is added and the order of elements becomes:

subject + focalizer + nominal predicate/adjective

as in:

Mary koo(gi) ringaag   Mary (right she) is short
"Sɔrɔrʋak koo laakwɛt…"[127]   "Sororuak was a child…"

When the subject is represented by a first or a second person pronoun, the plain structure of the nominal sentence is:

actualizer + nominal predicate/adjective + subject pronoun

as in:

koo(gi) chip anɛ   I am the chief

---

[127] Example taken from my unpublished collection of tales, tale nr 8.

Nevertheless, the fronting of the subject is in this case much more frequent than the plain structure, and the order of the elements is, consequently, almost always:

subject pronoun + focalizer + nominal predicate/adjective

as in:

anɛ koo chip	I am the chief
okwɛg koo tagitarisyeg	You are doctors

Although the plain structures here presented are quasi perfectly superposable to those described by Creider & Tepsubei Creider (1989: 121-122) for the Nandi language, the authors do not report any marked alternative and/or fronting mechanism.

5.1.2
NOMINAL SYNTAGM

In Ogiek, the rule of composition of nominal syntagms is not fixed and the order of elements varies according to the form of the elements themselves and to the degree of markedness a specific element has in the speaker's mind and intention.

For example, when the nominal syntagm is composed by a qualitative adjective and a regent noun, the structure is the same as that of the nominal sentences described in the previous § 3.2.

qualitative adjective + noun
ringaag Mary

As it has been discussed in § 3.6.6 when a noun occurs together with a possessive adjective, the adjective can be suffixed to the noun, if the speaker does not intend to stress it, while, if stressed, the adjective must precede the noun, which is then followed by an actualizer:

noun = possessive suffix	
*sɔndugu**nyun** kɔ́ɔ́mí pataimesɛt*	my box is on the table
*sɔndugusye**chog** kɔ́ɔ́mí pataimesɛt*	my boxes are on the table

or

Actualizer + noun = possessive + focalizer

mí tɛɛtangùn ijún   your cow is there
mí tʋʋgʋgùn ijún   your cows are there

Demonstrative and indefinite adjectives always follow the noun to which they are related.

5.1.2.1 *Position of direct and indirect objects in the sentence*

Like in most other Kalenjin languages, the simple sentence structure in Ogiek, is:

VSO
lè Catherine koomeg   Catherine buys honey

When the subject is represented by a personal pronoun, it usually occurs as a clitic and is, therefore, prefixed to the verb:

ɔ́lè ngɔbyɛt / ɔ́lè ngɔbyanan / ɔ́lè ngɔbyani   I buy a hat / that hat / this hat

When in the sentence both a direct and an indirect object occur, the direct object usually comes first, as in:

ígɔ̀chɪn sɔɔtɔnɪ Maria   give this calabash to Maria!

5.1.2.2 *Time and place complements*

Origin, both in terms of time (English "since") and in terms of place (English "from") is introduced in Ogiek by the word *kóngètèj*:

íjèjù Ngugi kɔ́ngɛtɛj Italy   Ngugi is coming back from Italy
kɔ́ɔ́jɔ́jisye kɔ́ngɛtɛj subuig   I'm working since this morning

Dynamic place complements indicating a movement towards a destination are not preceded by any specific prepositions or particles:

Kɛ́ɛ́bè Nakuru   we go to Nakuru

A location is usually introduced by the particle *mí*:

ɔ́ mí Mɔrisiɔnig   I am in Mariashoni

A place between two elements, let us say A and B is pointed out through the form *kweenet ak* A *ak* B:

ítèben kweenet ak anɛ ak Funzi!   Sit here between me and Funzi!

while a position *among* different elements is just introduced by the particle *ak*:

ítèbote Ngugi ak lʋʋgʋg ɛn íjɔ̀n   Ngugi will sit among the children there

Concerning time, the preposition *ɔt* corresponds to the English "until, up to":

*"… ɔt kó singwoi **laakwani** nigi nye"* [128]   "… until that child got well"

Albeit time and place complements usually occur after the nuclear elements of the sentence, when both time and place complements are present, the time extension tends to be fronted.

kɔ́ngètèj kastɔp sómók akaj kastɔp mùùt ɔ́ mí Molo
                                 Since Wednesday to Friday I'll be in Molo
ra ɔ́ mí Morisioni   today I am in Mariashoni
kɔrun ɔ́ mí Molo   tomorrow I'll be in Molo

5.1.2.3 *Some other complements*

The following list of other possible extensions and complements is far from being exhaustive.

However, I hope it could be useful as a starting point for further investigations.

1. *Accompaniment/togetherness: ak*
   ɔ́tèbye ak Catherine   I stay with Catherine
   íɲè ak John ɔ́bèndi ak Mark   you and John go with Mark

---

[128] Lit.: until + actualizer + goodness + child-that + actualizer / focus.

2. *Belonging/destination/opinion: ɛn / bo / ∅*

The introductory *ɛn* preposition is used when the "owner" is expressed through a pronoun. In this case, the complement is always fronted, as in:

ɛn anɛ kó singwɔj   for me it's good

ɛn anɛ chechʊg kó chán [129] *chù*   for me it's too much

On the contrary, when the "owner" is represented by a noun, it is introduced by the particle *bo* and it can both precede or follow the subject of the sentence:

koomeg chù kóó bo Busiene   this honey is for Busiene

che bo Maria kójɔmej chù   for Maria it's enough

Sometimes no specific particle/preposition accompanies this kind of extension, as in:

mɔjɔmej Kiprono chu   For Kiprono it isn't enough

3. *Source: ∅ possibility*

Due probably to the lack of a passive voice, in Ogiek it is impossible to find sentences in which the "recipient" of the action is the subject of the sentence (for example: *I had this honey – from someone*).

Every sentence, in which a verb is present, must have an overt subject, as in:

kɔ́ɔ́gɔ́non *chɪtɔ̀ɪ né koomeg chù* [130]   Someone gave me this honey

5.1.3
COMPARATIVE FORMS

In Ogiek, comparative structures, both expressing majority or minority, are built starting from the word *kosir*, which I see as a frozen form of the verb *ké-sir* "to pass". The same structure is used in Nandi, as reported in Creider & Tepsubei-Creider 1989:150, where, however, the two scholars interpret the form *kosir* as the normal subjunctive mood of the verb *ké-sir*. Unfortunately,

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[129] Lit.: too much.

[130] time actualizer (past 1) – to give – 1st person IndObj pronoun + Subject (person) + demonstrative + Object + demonstrative adj.

as reported in §4.1 no data collected for this work revealed the existence of a subjunctive mood in Ogiek.

Be it as it may, *kosir* works as the introductory element of the second term of the comparison, which always occurs at the end of the sentence.

More:

kóórúgwe Maria kwa kɔ́ɔ́ɛch **kosir** *anɛ* [131]   Maria goes to sleep later than me

tínye Maria ingobut **kosir** *anɛ* [132]   Maria is stronger than me

Less:

ɔ́tìny ingobut **ne seriben kosir** *ɪnɛ* [133]   I am less strong than her

When the comparison refers to two terms which are presented as equal/at the same level, the second term is introduced by the word **koju** and also in this case it always occurs at the end of the sentence, as in:

ɔ́tìny ingobut **koju** *ɪnɛ* [134]   I am as strong as her

Unfortunately I could not gather useful data for the expression of the superlative form.

5.2
COMPLEX SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

Complex structures are all those sentences which have either more than one independent clause bound to each other through parataxis, or at least one independent main clause and one or more dependent clauses which are connected to the regent one through hypotaxis.

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[131] V (sleeps) + S (Maria) + time adverb (*kwa kɔ́ɔ́ɛch*) + **kosir** + 2nd term of the comparison (1st sg. DO pronoun).

[132] V (has) + S (Maria) + DO (strength) + **kosir** + 2nd term of the comparison (1st sg. DO pronoun).

[133] SPron.-V (I have) + DO (strength) + qualifier (less – *ne seriben*) + **kosir** + 2nd term of the comparison (3rd sg. DO pronoun).

[134] SPron.-V (I have) + DO (strength) + **koju** + 2nd term of the comparison (3rd sg. DO pronoun).

In the following paragraphs some complex syntactic structures will be presented, but this description is far from being exhaustive.

Above all, genuine conversations should be recorded and analyzed in order to understand also all the expressive nuances that the speakers convey through the use of specific syntactic modifications (fronting, ellipsis, repetition and the like).

5.2.1
COORDINATION

5.2.1.1 *Co-ordinate and adversative sentences*

Co-ordinate sentences, are those independent clauses which are juxtaposed to one another either through a comma or through a specific co-ordinative or adversative conjunction (and, but, or…).

In Ogiek these conjunctions are:

Table 18

and	but	or	either – or	neither – nor
ak	∅/ak	ɔnɔ / ɔnɔ kó	∅ - kó ɔnɔ	koht - ɔnɔ kó koht

In Akie, only the alternative connector "or" seems to correspond to the Ogiek form here proposed, with the usual phonological adjustment ɔ > a[135].

Despite in Ogiek the verb must always occur with its subject, when the subject of the second clause in a coordinate structure is the same as that of the first one, there seems to be no need to repeat the subject in the second clause, as in:

Tyɛmɔsını, kóó isko sabul, tin manyɔɛg chechen, chechen, chechen

[S (proper N) + actualizer + stress + Adj. + COMMA > AND + V (3rd pers. sg. stem) + O (N – pl.) + qualifier + qualifier + qualifier]

the Tyemosit, it is big, and with long hair, it has long, long, long hairs[136]

---

[135] See König *et al.* 2015: 100.

[136] From my unpublished collection of tales, Tale 2 *Description of a Tyemosit.*

anget ane ák àlàbat ɔ́gwè [137]

[V (1st pers. sg. = stem) + 1st person Independent Pronoun + Conj. +
V (1st pers. sg. = stem) + V (1st pers. sg. = stem)]

I stand up and I ran away[138]

In Ogiek, adversative co-ordinated clauses are most frequently introduced by
a simple comma. Rarely the basic co-ordinative *ak* occurs with adversative
meaning:

ígère íbɔ̀rɪ chitɔ, kɔ́ɔ́ paanan kɔ́ɔ́ tyɔndɔ

[V (2nd pers. sg. = stem – durative) + V (2nd pers. sg. = stem – dura-
tive) + O (N) + COMMA >BUT + actualizer + Time Adv. + actualizer
+ S (N – sg.)]

when you see you think it's a person, but now it is an animal[139]

ɔ́bɔ̀rɪ ɔ́rìk ak àchàbaite ɔ́rɔ̀rɔgu…

[V (1st pers. sg. = stem – durative) + V (1st pers. sg. = stem) + adversa-
tive conjunction + V (1st pers. sg. = stem) + V (1st pers. sg. = stem)]

I tried to come down, but I slipped and fell…[140]

The alternative conjunction (or) in Ogiek is *ɔnɔ*. Usually the clause introduced
by *ɔnɔ* is elliptical of the verb:

ígɔ̀ɪgɔɪ koomeg ɔnɔ sugaru?

[V (2nd pers. sg = stem) + O (N – pl) + altern. Conj. + O (N – sg)]

Do you prefer honey or sugar?

ímɔ̀che chapati ɔnɔ kɔ́ mandazi

[V (2nd pers. sg. = stem) + O (N) + alternative Conj. + actualizer + O2 (N)]

Do you want chapati or mandazi?

---

[137] Lit.: "I ran, I went".

[138] From my unpublished collection of tales, Tale 3 *Puunigh, the enemies.*

[139] From my unpublished collection of tales, Tale 10 *Kaamet, tyendo nyoni ak Tyɛmɔsɪt
– The mother, her song and the Tyemosit.*

[140] From my unpublished collection of tales. Tale 11 *Koomegh! – Honey.*

mara kɛ́ɛ́bɛ̀ Molo ɔnɔ kó Nakuru

[Adv. + V (1st pers. pl. = stem) + Place + altern Conj. + actualizer + Place]

We can go either to Molo or to Nakuru

The negative adversative structure implies the introduction of the particle *ko(ht)*, both in the first, and in the second clause, as in:

mɔ̀mɔ́che ɔ́gwɔ kɔ ak Emilie ɔnɔ kóó kɔ́ ak Agnes

[V1 (negative ext. – 1st pers. sg. = stem) + V2 (1st pers. sg. = stem) + Place + Prep. + Emilie + alternative Conj. *ɔnɔ* + actualizer + Place + *ak* + Agnes]

I want to go neither to Emilie, nor to Agnes

5.2.2
SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

5.2.2.1 *Indirect Speech*

In Ogiek indirect speech is not signaled by any specific conjunction. The reported speech occurs, therefore, in the shape of an objective clause (see next § for more examples about this kind of subordinated clauses).

Examples:

kɔ́ɔ́lé Busiene ínyòne

[V1 (middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S1 (proper N) + V2 (2nd pers. sg. 0 stem)]

Busiene says that you are coming

kɔ́ɔ́lé Busiene ɔ́tùn ínyòne (pétut agɛ)

[V1 (middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S1 (proper N) + V2 (frozen future structure + 2nd pers. sg. = stem) + (time ext.)]

Busiene says that you will come (one day)

kɔ́ɔ́lé Busiene nyɔ́lù ínyòne

[V1 (middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S1 (proper N) + Modal V2 (2nd pers. sg. = stem) + Regent V2 (2nd pers. sg. 0 stem)]

Busiene said that you should come

kɔ́ɔ́lé Busiene mànguⱶɔ ínyɔ̀ne

V1 (middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S1 (proper N) + Modal V2 (negative ext. – 2nd pers. sg. = stem) + V2 (2nd pers. sg. = stem)

Busiene said that you wouldn't come

kɔ́ɔ́lé Busiene màínyùn

[V1 (middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S1 (proper N) + V2 (negative ext. – 2nd pers. sg. = stem)]

Busiene said that you didn't come

5.2.2.2 *Subjective and Objective clauses*

Objective clauses represent the direct object of the verb of the main regent clause. Therefore, since the Ogiek word order in the sentence is VSO, the position of an Objective clause in hypotaxis is immediately after the subject of the main clause, as in the following examples:

Mɔ̀ngen ɔtkó bwɔnı

[V1 [negative ext. – 1st pers. sg. = stem) + IF + V2 (2nd pers. sg. = stem)]

I don't know if they will come

màànásh Kibet kole kóómí tyebyosanan íjɔ̀n

[V1 (negative ext. – near past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S (proper N) + Conj. + actualizer – place focus + S2 (N – det.) + Place adv.]

Kibet didn't know that the lady was there

Màànásh Mary kole kótarkóómí Kiprono íjɔ̀n

[V1 (negative ext. – near past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S (proper N) + Conj. + V2 (middle past durative – middle past – 3rd pers. sg. = stem) + S2 (proper N) + Place Adv.]

Mary didn't know if Kiprono was still there

íngèn peetut ne jeju Kibet?

[V1 (2nd pers. sg. = stem) + O (N) + relative clause (objective function; Rel. pron. + V (3rd. pers. sg. = stem) + S)]

Do you know when Kibet will be back?

5.2.2.3 Relative clauses

As discussed in § 3.6.7, Ogiek has two relative markers, **ne** (singular) and **che** (plural), which are similar in shape and use to those used in Nandi and Akie, as described respectively by Creider & Tepsubei-Creider (1989: 133 ff) and by König *et al.* (2015: 102 ff.):

*íngèn peetut **ne** jeju Kibet?*	do you know when Kibet will be back?
*ɔ́misye ɔmdɪt **ne** akéɛ́jɔ̀*[141]	I eat cooked food
*kéɛ́j ágù tɔ́gʊ̀l **ne** íjɔ̀jé kóó singwɔi*[142]	whatever you do is good
*ɔrɛt áinù **ne** ɔ́gwèndi Njoro?*[143]	which way is Njoro?
*kóónyúru ngɔbyan **ne** kóókáyamɛrɪ*[144]	I found the hat that I lost
*Kwɛnigchɔn kóó íchɛ̀g **che** pélèj*[145]	the wood is burnt by them

5.2.2.4 If-clauses

In plain communicative settings, the usual order of elements provides the if-subordinate clause in first position followed by the main-regent clause.

The subordinate clause is in most cases introduced by the conjunction *ɔtkó*, which is always present when the subordinated clause contains verbs in the past or future. When the verb of the subordinate clause is in the present, *ɔtkó* is usually replaced with *ne*.

Examples:

ne robɔn kóómɔnyòne	if it rains, I don't come
ɔtkó róbɔ̀n kóómɔnyòne	if it will rain, I won't come
ɔtkó kóróbɔn kóómɔnyòne	if it rained, I didn't come
ɔtkó kóróbɔn kóómɔnyòne	if it would have rained, I wouldn't have come

---

[141] Lit.: I eat + food + *relative marker* + cooked.

[142] Lit.: Thing that all + *relative marker* + you do + focalizer + good.

[143] Lit.: path + which (adj.) + *relative marker* + it goes + Njoro.

[144] Lit.: I found + that hat + *relative marker* + focalizer-I lost.

[145] Lit.: Wood (pl.) + det. adj. + focalizer + They + *relative marker* (pl.) + burn.

The form *ɔtkó* recalls both the *nko 'if'* , the concessive conjunction *nkórò,* as well as one of the main markers of conditional protasis *nkó*, reported in König *et al.* 2015: 105 ,107 and 108.

5.2.2.5 *Other subordinate clauses*

Contrary to the stability of objective clauses, which always occur in the same position (after V and S of the main, regent clause) due to the fact that they have the function of true direct objects of the verb of the main clause, other subordinate sentences can occur in different positions, before or after the main clause, according to the speakers' aims and objectives – which are the part of the discourse he/she wants to stress?, which data are new? which mechanisms can be used to convey a specific nuance?

In some cases, the type of subordination is signaled by a specific conjunction, as for example time subordination, while in other cases no conjunction is present and the speakers must be able to disambiguate the kind of relation existing between the subordinated and the main clauses just according to extra-textual, context specific elements.

Listed below the reader will find some examples of different subordinated clauses.

Time Subordination

Time subordination revolves around three key possibilities, i.e. it can refer to something happened *before, after* or *contemporarily* to the facts described in the main clause.

In the table, the Ogiek corresponding conjunction/expression of time subordination are summarized:

Table 19

before	after	then	while
kotom	kóinon (?)	Verb inflection - prefix is(ko)-	kóín

Some examples:

kotom *ígwè san, ígèr e-mail*
Before going out, check the e-mail

kóinon *kɔlɔlji John, kóónyú kóómwɔ́gwɔn kíí niga káájájag*

After having talked to John, come to tell me what has happened

*kɔ́ɔ́gɔ́s Catherine araka **ís(k)o**sorchi, kóónyúr pikipiki ne nyòne Michinda*

Catherine woke up and then hurried up to catch the pikipiki to Michinda

kóín *kebèndi, kóónyú Kipbet kɔ́ɔ́gátɛch*

While we were working, Kipbet came to visit us.

These *ko**- forms recall again the forms of the temporal conjunctions presented by König *et al.* (2015: 109-110): *ko* "when", *kolé, alé kolé, olé, kèlé* "when" and *kótò* "until".

Other types of subordination:

*Disjunctive – Rather than – **ni koht***
***ni koht** ɔ́gwèndi laakwɛt sugul, kóógwó tımdɔ*
Rather than going to school the child went in the forest

*Concessive – Even though / Despite **átándɔ***
***átándɔ** korubɔn, ɔ́nyùni*
Even though it rains, we come

*Modal: ∅ **conjunction:***
kááingɛ́t kaamɛt laakwɛt kóónyú kɔ́ɔ́íje chai
The mother woke up the child, calling him for breakfast
Lit. the mother woke up the child, she came, she called tea

*Conclusive – Therefore: **nɔn:*** [146]
*singwɔı Catherine, **nɔn** nigòònyùr kaasi*
Catherine is good, therefore she got the job

---

[146] It could be tentatively inferred that this morpheme **nɔn** has a consequential meaning and it is at the basis of the time conjunction meaning *after*, i.e. ***kóinon***, which could be a composition of ***kóín*** "while" + **nɔn** "therefore".

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Ogiek-English Short Vocabulary

This Vocabulary is based on an ethnolinguistic study made between Januray and February 2013 and January and February 2014. For the first year, the study was funded by Manitese, an Italian NGO, together with Ethnorêma and the Province of Bolzano (Italy), while for the second year it was carried on in the framework of the multidisciplinary FIRB 2012, ATRA project (http://africantransitions2017.blogspot.it/) funded by the Italian Ministry of Universities and Research.

The corpus is made of 646 entries. Only 18 of them are borrowings from Kiswahili. English borrowings, probably most of which via Kiswahili, are just 7, and there are ca ten words, whose origins are at the moment unknown.

In the list, nouns are presented in their singular and / or plural forms. Verbs are presented in their infinitive form and adjectives in their plain form.

Entries are listed in the following order: a, b, ch, e/ɛ/ə, f, i/ɪ, j, k, l, m, n, ng, ny, o/ɔ, p, r, s, t, u/ʊ, w, y. Traits like ±ATR and vowel length are not considered as meaningful for this order, therefore sequences like:

chélὺmbʋt (no plural)

wild plant used in traditional medicine for chest problems

chémurmuriét (no plural)

? tree whose leaves are used to envelop the meat in the forest

or,

kanàmgé (no singular) *contractions (pregnancy)*

kááɲig twaagɛg (no singular) *type of intestinal worms* ➡ **kúútig**

are the rule.

The symbol ◆ introduces examples of the use of the word in context. The sentences are first translated according to their meaning while, in parentheses, the reader will find the original Okiek word order.

The symbol ➡ refers to other words relating in some ways to the one which is being commented.

The composition of compound words is explained in the entry.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the grammatical category of the word:

– n. noun
– adj. adjective
– adv. adverb
– numeral numeral
– indef. indefinite adverb or adjective
– pron. pronoun
– q.w. question word
– conj. conjunction
– verb verb

As the reader will see, it was impossible to find an equivalent in scientific taxonomy for most Ogiek names of wild trees and plants, especially those used in traditional medicine or for their honey. This is due to the fact that until now no ethnobotanical study in the region of Mariashoni has been made and that many of the original species are unfortunately extinct in the region.

When possible, also the origins of a borrowed word are indicated at the beginning of the entry, with the < symbol. When these origins are unknown or unsure, it is indicated by a question mark.

Part I.
Ogiek-English Short Vocabulary

A, a

àbejɛt (n.; pl. **ɔ̀byʊg**) *leopard*

ablak (indef.) *some; this word is mostly used to quantify people* ➡ **túútìgín**

ágè (**tɔ́gʊ̀l**) (indef.) *any*

ágèèngɛ (numeral) *one*

aíbu (adj.) *ashamed* ◆ **ɔ́gɔsɛ aíbu** *I feel ashamed, not at ease*

áinù? (q.w.) *which? which one?*

akílɛ (n.; no plural) *traditional soap*

ánè (pron.) *I, me*

ángwán (numeral) *four*

ánɔ̀ (q.w.) *where?*

ànuét (n.; pl. **ònʊ́g**) *rope, string made of buffalo leather used by the Okiek (especially women) to carry any kind of weights on their shoulders. The leather string can be wider or narrower according to the object which have to be carried. In the case of a log-hive, usually carried by men, the string is about 8 to 10 cm wide and some 2 m long. The Okiek make the string pass on their forehead, then along their neck and shoulders and finally under the stuff they have to carry, so that all the muscles of their back can share the weight and balance it* ◆ **ànuét ak mùɪngɔ́n** *rope for carrying the log hive*

aragwɛt (n.; no plural) *moon*

àrtét (n.; pl. **nègɔ́**) *sheep*

àsaég (n.; no singular) *wax ?* ➡ **tèmenyét**

Asista (n.; no plural) *1. sun* ◆ kóìlu Asista *the sun shines (sunshine)* ◆ kóchɔ̀r Asista *the sun rises (sunrise)* ◆ kɔ́rɔ̀rɔk Asista *the sun sets (sunset); 2. God*

àsté (frozen expression) *Go (there)! Expression used to indicate the place where people go defecate or urinate. It is also used as an insult.*

B, b

bérbér (adj.) *stupid* ◆ chítɔi ni bérbér *that person is stupid* *person is stupid (litt.: that person has stupidity)*

bérbérnatɛt (n.; no plural) *stupidity* ◆ tínye bérbérnatɛt chítɔi ni *that*

bɔngileit (n.; pl. **bɔngileisyeg**) *a type of traditional bracelet* ➡ **tààét**

Ch

chai (n.; no plural) < Kiswahili chai; *tea*

chaktaɛt (n.; no plural) *silence*

chàmát (adj.) *lovely* ◆ chámat chítɔ̀i *lovely person*

chàmét (n.; no plural) *love, desire*

chànga (n.; no plural) *alcoholic beverage made with millet flour*

chàngwɛrètyɛt (n.; pl. **chàngwɛrètig**) *guinea fowl*

cháátìt (n.; pl. **chɔ́ɔ́tìg**) *thigh*

chéb'ndɔ̀rwɛt (n.; no plural) *wild plant used in traditional medicine as a tonic for children*

chéchàn (indef.) *a lot, many*

chégìtupché (n.; no singular) *relatives; general word, family* ➡ **negìtupché, káinwàn**

chèègó (n.; no plural) *milk*

chélòmbʊt (n.; no plural) *wild plant used in traditional medicine for chest problems*

chèmoget (n.; no plural) *traditional chief*

chémurmuriét (n.; no plural) *? tree whose leaves are used to envelop the meat in the forest*

chépkɔ̀lɔgolyo (n.; no plural) *wild plant used in traditional medicine for malaria*

chéptìgige (n.; pl.?) *black bee* (scientific name?). *These bees are said not to be aggressive. Their honey seems to be appreciated in traditional medicine*

chìp (n.; pl. **chìbisieg**) < English chief; *chief*

chítɔ̀i (n.; pl. **pííg**) *person, people*

chɔ́gʊ̀ (n.; pl. **chɔ́gʊ̀syɛg**) *granary*

chɔ̀gʊ (n.; pl. **chɔ̀gɔsyɛg**) *cock*

chɔmyet (n.; no plural) *peace* ◆ ɔ́tèbi ak chɔmyet *I am/stay in peace* ➡ **myèndɔ́**

chùmátàtó (n.; no plural) < Kiswahili Jumatatu; *Monday*

chumbig (n.; no singular) < Kiswahili chumvi; *salt, the modern one* ➡ **imágatit**

chùmɔ́mbìlí (n.; no plural) < Kiswahili Jumapili; *Sunday*

chùmɔ́mʊ̀s (n.; no plural) < Kiswahilli Jumamosi; *Saturday*

Ɇ, e / Ɛ, ɛ / ə

échèg (pron.) *we, us*

e'e (n.; no plural) *mother, appellative* ➡ **káámèt, mááma**

è'è (interj.) *yes*

é'éig (interj.) *no*

èèút (n.; pl. **èèúnég**) *arm, hand*

(ə)ldèmít (n.; pl. **(ə)ldèmisyég**) < Maa? *calf muscle*

élmonyoít (n.; no plural?) < Maa? *beard and mustache*

əmenaisyeg (n.; sing.?) *piercings made in the upper part of the ear for beauty purposes*

(ɛ)sisɔ̀ɔ̀nét (n.; pl. **(ɛ)sisɔ̀ɔ̀nɔíg**) *tree whose hard wood is used to make loghives* ➡ **mùingét**

éngèny (adv.) *once upon a time. This word represents the incipit of tales, legends and myths* ➡ **kíngò**

ɔ́ngulupchɔ́ (n.; pl. **ɔ́ngulubít**) *phlegm, catarrh, when singular, the word means snot*

əsìmínjaìt (n.; pl. **əsìmínjaìsyeg**) *mongoose*

F, f

fàbarárig (n.; no singular) *vegetal fibre, intertwined with the softer* ➡ **sèlɛkwét** *in the making of the small*

container for the honey reserved to children ➡ **pòòleɪtɔ́**

I, i / I, ı

íbenda (n.; no plural) *age set*

íchèg (pron.) *they, them*

íjèèt (n.; no plural) *smoke*

íjùn (adv.) *there*

íldàgait (n.; pl. **íldàgaisyeg**) *dread (hair)*

ílɛt (n.; no plural) *mythical bird of the lightning, which lives underground, in a hole in the forest, and comes out when it rains, causing lightning and destroying trees. The* **ílɛt** *can sometimes kill people, but its victims are always guilty of something wrong* ➡ **kɔ̀lyɛlɔt**

illegen (n.; no plural) < unknown origin / Maa / secret language?

age-set 100+; according to the elders, Ogiek hunters were once divided into 8 different age-sets, 4 of which would correspond to people aged 100-300 years (sic!). Trying to recall to the elders' mind the boundaries between the different age-sets, the names of the classes and the characteristics of those belonging to them was very hard. In fact, many of the proper names suggested seem structurally not Ogiek at all. A sound anthropological research on this would be more than welcome. ➡ **ingenjere, ɔlbɛlɛs, oldiyegi, olderito, olmerotorot, rambau, sogwe**

imágatit (n.; no plural) *traditional soda salt* ➡ **chumbig**

imbya (adj.) < Kiswahili -pya; *new, said referring to a dress or an object used for the first time*

ìmondɔit (n.; no plural) *placenta*

(ɪ)ndàànait (n.; pl. **(ɪ)ndàànaisyeg**) *root, generic term, used for both edible and non edible roots*

(i)ndàrét (n.; pl. **(ì)ndɔ̀rʊ́g**) *snake, general word*

indàsat (n.; pl. **ndɔ̀sɔtutig**) *old woman, used for a woman who is in her menopause* ➡ **tyèbyòsá**

ìnderit (n.; pl. **ìnderisyeg**) *hyrax*

ínè (pron.) *he/she/it; him/her/it*

ínet (n.; pl. ínɔ̀ìg) *nylon wire*

ingànu (n.; no plural) < Kiswahili ngano; *wheat*

(i)ngwàje (n.; pl.?) < Kikuyu? *sweet potato* ➡ **pyásyɛt**

ingenjere (n.; no plural) < unknown origin / Maa / secret language? *age-set 90+* ➡ **illegen**

(i)ngìnet (n.; pl. **(i)ngìnasyeg**) *goat*

ingobut (n.; no plural) *strength*

íngɔ̀lɔgit (n.; no plural) *wild plant of the* rhamnus *species used in traditional medicine as a tonic*

(ɪ)ngùluma (n.; no plural) *wild berries, general word*

ingwɔt (n.; pl. **ingweg**) *green vegetables grown in gardens*

ínyè (pron.) *you (sg), both subject and object*

isɔ̀jot (n.; pl. **isɔ̀ig**) *wild herb used for cooking (?)*

isonet (n.; no plural) *wind* ◆ ra kòmí isonet *today it is windy (litt.: "today there is wind")*

ísugít (n.; pl. **ísuguisyég**) *lance, spear*

ìsyát (n.; pl. **ìsɛ́g**) *1. larva, 2. the plural form* **ìsɛ́g** *has also the meaning of*

brood ◆ ìsyát kɛ́ɔmɪ *a larva is eaten (litt.: larva they eat)*

ìsyét (n.; no plural) *kneecap*

ìtít (n.; pl. **ìtíg**) *ear*

J, j

já (adj.) *bad*

jágɛtit (n.; pl. **jágɛtisyeg**) < English jacket; *vest, jacket* ◆ jágɛtit ne nyìgis *heavy jacket* ◆ jágɛtit ne tɛ́ldɛl *light jacket*

jèragànɛt (n.; pl.?) *type of antelope, deer, unfortunately impossible to identify* ➡ **pɔ̀ɪnét**

jɔ́s (adj.) *old, referring to things* ◆ jɔ́s ɔ̀gurioni *the cloth is old*

K, k

kàgwalda (n.; no plural) *umbilical cord* ◆ kétìl kàgwalda *to cut and tie the umbilical cord*

káinwàn (n.; pl. **kɔ́ngwɔ̀n**) *family* ➡ **chégìtupché**

kàliangát (n.; pl. **kàliangíg**) *insect, generic term. This word is never used to refer to bees, which, in the Ogiek's mind do not belong to the same taxonomical category as other flies. This conceptual distinction demonstrates* *the completely different status of bees in the Okiek system of thought.*

kalukchaat (n.; pl. **kalugɛɛnig**) *tree (?) whose wood is used to make the handle of the small axe for shaping the inside of the log-hive* ➡ **kìsienjɔ́it**

kààmbét (n.; pl. **kwèjɔ́t)** *shoelace*

káámèt (n.; no plural) *mother, descriptive* ➡ **e'e**

káámèt ak sègɛmég (n.; no plural) *queen bee, litt.: "mother of bees"* ✦ làmúm káámèt ak sègɛmég ɛn tɔ́gʊ̀l *the queenbee is the biggest one (litt.: "big mother of bees then everyone")* ➡ **sègɛmyát**

káámètnyun nè siriben (n.; no plural) *mother in law, (litt.: "my little mother")*

kanàmgé (n.; no singular) *contractions (pregnancy)*

káányig twaagɛg (n.; no singular) *type of intestinal worms* ➡ **kúútig**

kapinyɛt (n.; no plural) *uterus*

karabwɛt (n.; no plural) *very small wild bush, whose parts are used in traditional medicine for malaria. Its flowers produce a very sweet and white honey*

kàrastàkpɔ (n.; no plural) *wall, ceiling of the hut* ➡ **kɔ́**

kárat (pl.?) < English carrot; *carrot*

kààryát (n.; pl. **kààrig**) *1. pearl, bead; 2. by extension necklace* ✦ kààryát ak kààtít *litt.: bead for the neck* ✦ kààryát ak mètít *bead for the head. These decorations were used only by Ogiek women, while necklaces were commonly used also by men*

kàstɔ́p (n.; no plural?) *day of the week. Traditionally Ogiek did not* have specific names for any single day of the week. Therefore, they detailed their weekly calendar, simply indicating the number of the day they meant inside the week, as for example ✦ kàstɔ́p ɔ́èn *(litt.: "day two")* Tuesday; ✦ kàstɔ́p sómók *(litt.: "day three")* Wednesday…

kàatít (n.; pl. **kòòtóg**) *neck, back part of the neck*

kàutánig ➡ **sègeíg**

kéam (verb) *to eat*

kéba (verb) *to walk, to go*

kébaj (verb) *to feed (someone who is sick)*

kébàl (verb) *to hollow out (a trunk for making a log-hive)*

kébar (verb) *to kill*

kébàrbar (verb) *to shape*

kébàt (verb) *to split (the trunk in two parts)*

kébèèbér (n.; pl. **kébèèbéruèg**) *wooden shell, half of a log-hive* ➡ **mùingét**

kébɛl (verb) *1. to roast* ✦ ɔ́bɛl(ɛ) *I'm roasting (something)*

kéébét (n.; pl. **kéébɔ́syèg**) *"hole" of the collarbone* ➡ **màrlìngɔ́tyèt**

kébirigej (verb) *to hit, to fight each other*

kébɔr (verb) *to show*

kébɔ̀tɔ́t (verb) *to shape (the interior of the two wooden shells of the log-hive)*

kébus (verb) *to decay*

kébwat (verb) *to think*

kécham (verb) *to want, to desire, to love, to hope, to kiss* ◆ ɔ́chɔ̀mej mí koorun ijùn *I hope to be here tomorrow*

kéchèn (verb) *to secrete (honey)* ◆ chéngìsh sὲgɛmég kóómὲg *bees secrete honey (litt.: "they + secrete bees honey")*

kéchɔ̀k (verb) *1. to roughly shape (the external part of the wooden shells of the hive* ➡ **kébèèbér***) 2. to skin vegetables*

kéchɔr (verb) *to rise*

kéchuchun (verb) *to suck*

kéchuchunisi (verb) *to breastfeed, litt.: to let suck* ➡ **kéchuchun**

kéchumdan (verb) *to walk quickly*

kéchùt (verb) *to lift (the log-hive on the tree). Lifting the log-hive on a tree needs at least the collaboration of two people. The first climbs on the tree, passing one or two long* **ànuét** *on a high branch of the tree and letting the other extremity or extremities fall to the ground, where the other boy fixes it or them around the log. Then the hive is lifted gently with a kind of rough, extemporary pulley*

kéchùtkó (n.; no plural) *delivery*

kégàk (verb) *to incise (the measure and shape of the opening* ➡ **póónèt** *on one of the two wooden shells of the hive* ➡ **kébèèbér***)*

kégas (verb) *to listen, to hear*

kégas (verb) *to greet*

kégel (verb) *to fry*

kéger (verb) *to watch, to check*

kégɔnɔr (verb) *to store something in the* ➡ **kítará**

kégɔs (verb) *to wake up*

kéil (verb) *to anoint, to apply body lotions* ◆ ɔ́ìlɛgɛj mɔ́ita *I am applying oil on myself*

kéilu (verb) *to shine*

kéje (verb) *to drink*

kéjὲɪn (verb) *to slaughter*

kéjende (verb) *to skin animals*

kéjɔi(sye) (verb) *to cook*

kéjɔsit (verb) *to become old / old fashioned, referred to things*

kéjuch (verb) *to make one's hair* ◆ ɔ́jùchi ni láákwètnyu mètít *I am making my child's hair*

kélach (verb) *1. to wear; 2. to dress someone else*

kèldét ak kòògó (n.; no plural; litt.: *"grandpa's foot"*) *very old honey, honey stored in the hive for 1 year or longer* ➡ **kóómèg**

kèldét / kèldɔ́ (n.; pl. **kèlyég**) *foot, leg*

kèldagmèsét (n.; pl. **kèlieg(ag)-mèsét**) *leg of the table, compound word* kèldɔ́ *(leg)* + ak *(of)* + mèsét *(table)* ➡ **mèsét**

kèldɔ́ (ak ɔınɛt / ak ra / ak ɔmʊt / ak negip ɔın) (n.; no plural) *footmark (very fesh / of today / of yesterday / old)*

kèèldét (n.; pl. **kèèlég**) *tooth* ◆ kèèlég ché lélach *clean teeth* ◆ kèèlég ché sɔlɔ̀tig *dirty teeth* ◆ kèèlég ché bùsiɔti *decayed teeth*

kéle (verb) *to buy*

kélyeg (n.; no singular) *wild vegetables used for cooking (?)*

kééliɔt (n.; pl. **kééleg**) *general name for "tree", commonly used also to refer to the trees from which poison is obtained* ➡ **ngwònét**

kélogoi (verb) *to swallow*

kélɔs (verb) *to praise*

kélɔsʊgɛt ak… (verb) *to be proud of…* ◆ ɔ́lɔ̀sʊgɛt ak láákwɛtnyun *I am proud of my baby*

kémbɛl (verb) *to lick*

kémì (verb) t*o join*

kémù (verb) *to harvest (honey)* ◆ kìɔmú kóómèg / sègɛmég *I have harvested honey (litt.: "I + have harvested honey"). Harvesting is a male activity. No fertile woman in the Okiek tradition could either approach the hive or touch honey. A young woman could manage honey only once it had been brought home by the elders*

kémʊej (verb) *to be shy, fearful* ◆ ɔ́mʊ̀ɛj ngògig *I fear dogs*

kémul (verb) *to chew tobacco* ➡ **kényig**

kémuny (verb) *to rest* ◆ eimúny! *Rest!* ◆ kàmuny *I've rested*

kèmurmur (verb) *to chop, to mince*

kémutir (verb) *to circumcise; the same verb is used for male circumcision and female excision*

kémwɔg (verb) *to sting* ◆ kòòm-wɔgón sègɛmyát *a bee stung me (litt.: "it + stung + me bee")* ◆ kòòm-wɔ́géch sègɛmɛ́g *bees sting a lot (litt.: "sting + them bees")*

kémwɔ̀gtɔ (verb) *to free/throw the arrow*

kéndus (verb) *to miss the target (arrow)*

kéénèjuég ➡ **pòògchɔ́t**

kénerech (verb) *to be sad / angry* ◆ ɔ́nèreche *I am sad / angry (right now)* ◆ ɔ́nèregat *I am (always) sad / angry*

kénɛt (verb) *to advise, to teach*

kéngali (verb) *to grind flour*

kéngɛrɛch (verb) to be happy ◆ ɔ́ngɛ̀rɛgat *I am (always) happy - permanent condition* ◆ ɔ́ngɛ̀rɛch *I am happy in this moment - temporary condition* ➡ **ngérɛget**

kéngɔrl (verb) *to mix* ◆ ɔ́ngɔ̀rlɔ *I am mixing…* ◆ kángorl *I've mixed*

kéngwɛrɛr (verb) *to point a prey*

kéngus (verb) *to remove (a tooth). In ancient times the Ogiek women used to remove a tooth from their lower arcade as it was seen as a sign of beauty*

kénobis (verb) *to knit, to weave* ◆ chítɔi nè nobisie *tailor (litt.: person who weaves / knits)*

kénya (verb) *to heal - traditional medicine*

kényarij … angɛ (verb) *to make oneself beautiful, to prepare oneself for special occasions*

kényɛt (verb) *to wake someone* ◆ sààit ne nyèti piig *the clock that wakes people*

kényej (verb) *to chew, the verb is used only referring to food* ➡ **kémul**

kényi (verb) *to load the bow*

kényiny (verb) *to taste sweet / good. This verb cannot be used by extension in any synesthesia* ◆ ɔ́nyinyɩj rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg *the bier is sweet / good*

kènyít (n.; pl. **kènyisyég**) *year*

képchɛg (verb) *1. to share; 2. to serve food. In ancient times food was served on the* ➡ **kìsyét** *or on large leaves. Ogiek people didn't eat from the common plate, but each of them received his own portion on his own leaf. Still today the rule is the same. The Ogiek only eat from a common plate when they are at restaurants, where there is no way to be served singularly. In any case men and women are not allowed to eat from the same plate in the same moment. Serving the meal was one of the mother's tasks.*

The mother started serving the elders first, than adult men, then young men. The last to be served where women and children, who ate inside the women's hut. All adult men ate together in the men's hut. Foreigners joined the family members according to their gender (men with men and women with women). Still today in modern houses, usually men eat in the dining room, while women and children eat in the kitchen near the fireplace. The Ogiek used to eat two times a day: very early in the morning and late in the evening.

kérch (verb) *to shape a noose knot*

kéreg (verb) *to undress*

kèrègút (n.; pl. **kèrègusyég**) *cooking pot made of argilla the Ogiek loaned from neighboring farmer communities (the Ogiek used originally to eat raw food only)*

kèringet (n.; pl.?) *hole, cave*

kéroban (verb) *to rain* ◆ roban *it rains* ◆ ra kóròbani *today it is raining*

kérɔrɔk (verb) *to set down (of the sun)* ◆ kɔ́rɔ̀rɔk Asista *the sun sets*

kéruj (verb) *to lay down / sleep*

kèrʋbéét (n.; no plural) *closing of the* ➡ **póónèt** *(2.). The* **kèrʋbéét** *is generally a kind of puff, which can be made with any types of vegetal fibre.*

kéryech (verb) *to brew* ◆ ɔ́ tun ɔ́ryechə rɔ̀ɔtíg *I am going to brew beer, I will brew beer*

kérwach (verb) *to shave*

késa (verb) *to pray*

késanuan (verb) *to comb*

késir (verb) *to pass*

késırıgɔnı (verb) *to hang (the meat) above the fireplace to let it get smoked* ◆ kásırıgɔnı pàànyég *I've hung the meat to let it get smoked*

késirir (verb) *to be lonely*

késit (verb) *to brush* ◆ ɔ́sìtə kèèlég *I brush (my) teeth*

késɔman (verb) *to learn* ◆ sɔmanat láákwanan *a good pupil*

késɔ̀ngɔɔ (verb) *to hang (the hive on the tree)*

késus (verb) *to bite, used both referring to animals and people*

késyɛn (verb) *to stimulate a newborn baby to breathe*

kétàny (verb) *to forge, to press*

kétɛb (verb) *to ask*

kétebɔte(n) (verb) *to sit down* ◆ íttebɔten! *Sit down!*

kétilil (verb) *to clean* ◆ ɔ́tɪ̀lili kɔ́ *I am cleaning the hut* ◆ ɔ́tɪ̀ligej *I clean/prepare myself*

kètiit (n.; pl. **kètiisyeg**) *1. chair; 2. furniture. The word's first meaning is "chair", by extension it is used as a general term for any pieces of furniture*

kétɔn (verb) *to faint*

ké'ttùbéét (n.; pl. **ké'ttùbái**) *umbilicus*

kétùch (verb) *to cover a newborn baby, a baby*

kétungduman (verb) *to bleed, referring to a pregnant woman*

kétyɛch (verb) *to get the target*

kétyeni (verb) *to sing*

kétyɔny (verb) *to mash. The same verb can be used to indicate the action of mashing or crushing the meat for children after having warmed it on the fire or even the mashing of soft vegetables like boiled potatoes.*

két(t)ùbéét (n.; no plural) *placenta*

kéun (verb) *to wash*

kíbàrnyát (n.; no plural) *Buddleja polystachia. Parts of this tree were used in traditional medicine as appetizers, for cleaning the stomach and against constipation*

kíbèléchòg (n.; no singular) *face scarification*

kíbɪndɔ̀ (n.; no plural) *short knife used only by men when hunting in the bush. It could serve for many purposes: making the points to arrows, slaughtering preys etc.* ➡ **róótwèt**

Kɪbɪrɪgeɪg (n.; no singular) *name of the legendary Ogiek blacksmith clan made slave by the Maasai in 1500 according to oral tradition* ➡ **Kipchɔɪg**

kɪbɔɪtèènɪg (n.; no singular) *worker bee* ◆ kɪbɔɪtèènɪg ché íbò kóómèg *the workers produce honey (litt.: "workers these they+produce honey")* ➡ **sègɛmyát**

kíbùngwét (n.; pl. **kíbùngwóg**) *button*

kímàját / kíbɔ̀gityɔ́t (n.; pl. **kímàɛníg / kíbɔ̀giteníg**) *frequent drinker. The two words seem to be equivalent. Neither of them refers to a true drunkard* ➡ **pù̀gít**

kímyɛt (n.; pl. **kímɔig**) *mill,* < *Kipsigis* imiɛt

kíínèt (n.; pl. **kíínàig**) *breast*

kíngò (adv.) *long time ago…* ➡ **éngèny**

Kipchɔɪg (n.; no singular) *name of the external clan who, according to the*

legend, made slaves the blacksmiths of the Ogiek of Mariashoni ➡ **Kɪbɪrɪgɛɪg**

kipchumariat (n.; pl. **kiptʃumaru**) *big, iron nail used in modern house building*

kipkààtit (n.; pl. **kipkààtisyeg**) *trap which catches the prey by its neck*

kipkèlit (n.; pl. **kipkèlisyeg**) *trap which catches the prey by its leg*

kípkùlu (n.; pl. **kípkùlusyeg**) *mole*

kípkwàta (n.; pl. **kípkwàtasyeg**) *frog*

kipràskɔ́ (n.; no plural) *small bird with white eyes and grey wings, which the Ogiek consider one of the major enemies of bees*

kipsɔ́ngɔnɪɔt (n.; no plural) *old Ogiot man, expert in poison making* ➡ **ngwònét**

kirabanɛt (n.; pl. **kirabanig**) *metal point of the arrow*

kiràágá (n.; pl. ?) < Kiswahili kira-ka; *patch*

kíraigo (n.; pl. ?) *traditional cigar, rolled tobacco*

(k)íràɔríg (n.; no singular) *swarm. This term is appropriate for a common swarm. When the colony of bees is big-*

ger than a common one, the Okiek call it a **tùyéét ak sègemég** *litt.: a horde of bees*

kirigid (n.; no plural) *penis*

kìsánwet (n.; pl. **kìsánʊg**) *comb*

kìsyenjɔ́it (n.; pl. **kìsyenjɔ́isieg**) *1. small axe used to shape the interior of the log hive* ➡ **mùingét**. *This axe is made of a metal head, or chisel, from which it takes its name, and a wooden handle* ➡ **kùnyuktɔ́** *2. chisel*

kìsyét (n.; no plural) *traditional basket made with* ➡ **písìndá** *or similar fibers*

kisùngó / kisùngút (n.; pl. kìswɔ́t / kisùngusyég) *Big wooden (sacred?) container, realized in a hollowed out trunk and stored in a sacred (and secret) place in the forest by the elder males of the community. In ancient times it was the elders' task to decide how much honey was to bring home, when and for which purposes*

kítambáɛt (n.; pl. **kítɔmbɔ́tig**) *foulard, scarf*

kitàndét (n.; pl. **kitàndʊ́tig**) < Kiswahili kitanda ➡ **muìtɔ́** ◆ syép kitàndét! *Prepare the bed!*

kítará (n.; no plural) *a kind of shelf made of olive tree branches, which was placed in front of the door, behind the*

fireplace, where the Ogiek used to store their few goods (medicine herbs, clothes...). The word has no plural because each hut had only one **kítará**

(k)lèkwélèt (n.; pl. (k)**lèkwélɔ̀ig**) *bag for carrying honey used by old women (in menopause) for carrying the honey from the place of collection to the secret place in the forest where it was stored in a* ➡ **kisùngó** *and guarded by the male elders of the community. The same bag, made of vegetal fibers such as* ➡ **kwɔ̀mereryét** *and* ➡ **tèègát**, *was also used to carry the honey from the secret place in the forest to households.*

kɔ́ (n.; pl. **kɔ́rìg**) *house. The word indicates the traditional female hut, where all the women of the compound used to live together with their children. The entrance to this hut was not allowed to initiated men. Inside the* **kɔ́**, *women slept and prepared food for everybody, then food was served to the men in the men's hut (*➡ **koog***). The traditional hut's posts and skeleton were made with wild olive tree branches, while the coverings were realized with bamboo fibers. The door of the hut had to be placed opposite to the direction from which the wind usually came. There was no other rule for orientating the building. The building of a new house was preceded by a ceremony (*➡ **omajɔnit***) during which elder men poured some traditional beer on the ground and made a quick prayer. After*

two deaths happened in the hut, the **kɔ́** *was usually abandoned. Women used to give birth to their babies in this hut, helped by traditional midwives (*➡ **tyemosianig***) or elder women of the family. In those moments children and men were not allowed to stay inside* ◆ **kɔ́láákwèt** *compound word* **kɔ́** *(hut) +* **láákwèt** *(child) placenta* ➡ **ìmondɔit**

kóbééstɔ́ / kúbééstɔ́ (n.; pl. **kóbéésɔ́ig / kóbéésɔ́ig**) *thigh*

kɔ̀ɔ̀búgkyɔ̀t (n.; pl. **kɔ̀ɔ̀búgènig**) *short, traditional broom made of raphia or other vegetal fibers*

kɔ̀b(ʋ)ryɔ́t (n.; pl. **kɔ̀b(ʋ)rénɪg**) *drone* ◆ **làmúm kɔ̀bʋryɔ́t ɛn sègɛmyát** *the drone is bigger than a normal bee (litt.: big drone then bee)* ◆ **pɔ̀rí sègɛmég kɔ̀bʋrénig** *drones were killed by the bees (litt.: killed bees drones)*

koog (n.; no plural) *men's hut* ➡ **kɔ́**

kòògó (n.; no plural) *grandmother, word used both for the mother's and the father's mother* ➡ **ndàsat**

kɔ́gɔ̀ryɔ́t (n.; pl. **kɔ́gɔ̀rɪg**) *Queen bee cell.*

kɔ̀ɪndɔ́ (n.; no plural) ➡ **pòògchɔ́t**

kɔ́ɪsìt (n.; pl. **kɔ́ɪsìsyég**) *bamboo arrows without metal points used by children*

110

kɔ̀gwít (n.; pl. **kɔ̀ɔ́íg**) *bone, the same word is also used for animal bones*

kòirʊrɔ́g mɔ̀ɛ̀t (n.; frozen string) *miscarriage, abortion*

kɔ̀itá (n.; pl. **kɔ̀íg**) *stone*

kɔ̀itámàt (n.; pl. **kɔ̀igámàt**) *stones of the fireplace. The word is a compound noun* kɔ́ità *(stone)* + màt *(fire)* ➡ **màt**

kɔ́itɔ (n.; no plural) *wedding ceremony*

kɔ́ɔ́jèt (n.; pl. **kɔ́ɔ́jɔ̀ɪg**) *liver*

kɔj (n.; pl. **kɔch** — adj.) *1. long; 2. tall*

kɔ́ɔ́jɔ́gìg ➡ **sègeíg**

kɔ̀lait (n.; pl. **kɔ̀laisyeg**) < English *collar*

kɔ̀lyɛlɔt (n.; no plural) *lightning*

kóómèg (n.; no singular) *honey. The Okiek distinguish many different types of honey, according to the plants and trees where the bees gather pollen and nectar. Unfortunately in all but one case it was not possible to identify the corresponding botanical species. Specific types of honey are* ◆ kóómèg ak tɔ́ɔ́ngɔtʋèt *honey of* tɔ́ɔ́ngɔtʋɛt, *clearer than the others and a bit bitterer* ◆ kóómèg ak sílìbuét *honey of to-* bea tree, *white and sugary* ◆ kóómèg ak mɔrɔrtá *honey of* mɔrɔrtá, *yellowish and somehow bitter* ◆ kóómèg ak karabʋét *honey of* karabʋɛt, *sweet and white, used in traditional medicine to prepare remedies for malaria* ◆ kóómèg ak tekwɔijɔ *honey of* tekwɔijɔ, *brown and sweet* ◆ kóómèg ak séregùtyét *honey of* séregùtyét *brown and sweet* ◆ kóómèg ak tèbengwét *honey of* tèbengwét, *brown and sweet* ◆ kóómèg ak tùùnɔ́jèt *honey of* tùùnɔ́jèt, *white and sweet. For the Okiek, honey is a sacred food. It can be handled only by men and very old, infertile women. Once collected, honey is stored in a secret place in the forest and it is up to the elders male of the community to decide how much of it (and when) can be brought to the households, where it is used by the women in the preparation of food and medicines and as a preservative for dried, smoked meat. In ancient times honey was said to be the only source of energetic food for young boys between 3 and 8 years, that is from weaning until they learned how to hunt by themselves.*

kɔndʋɪndɛt (n.; pl. **kɔndʋɪg**) **ak tʋrɔɔt** *leader of hunt*

konetindet (n.; no plural?) *teacher, master*

kɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá (n.; pl. **kɔ̀ɔ̀nyég**) *eye* ◆ kɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá nè tuj *pupil, anatomy, the black, central part of the eye*

kɔ̀ngdamát ➡ **pìnéét**

kɔ̀ɔ̀ngíg (n.; no singular) *holes made in the log-hive (➡ **mùingét***) to let the bees get in and out of it*

kòngɔig (n.; no singular) < Kipsigis? *thanks, modern version* ➡ **sèréig**

kɔntɔ́mɔ (n.; no plural) *appellative for someone who use to eat a lot, big eater, glutton*

kóntɔrɔrwɔ̀g (n.; no plural) *Ekebergia capensis. Parts of this tree were used in traditional medicine for stomach problems and backache*

kòɔ̀nut (n.; no plural) *father, descriptive* ➡ **táàta**

kónyɔ̀indet (n.; pl.?) *traditional healer* < **kénya** *to heal*

kórìg (n.; no singular) *village, the word is just the plural from of* ➡ **kɔ́** *hut*

korɔ̀ktá (n.; pl. **korɔ̀kwég**) *1. tibia; 2. paw*

kórɔ̀ryét (n.; pl. **kórɔ̀ríg**) *feather*

k(ɔ̀)rɔ̀swɔ̀t (n.; pl. **k(ɔ̀)rɔ̀sɔ́ig**) *rib*
kɔ̀rɔtìg (n.; no singular), *blood*

korun (adv.) *tomorrow*

kɔ́somèg (n.; no plural) *wild honey* ➡ **kóómèg**

kɔ́sɔmyàt (n.; pl. **kɔ́sostill still still**) *bee without sting, halictus. Okiek call it "savage bee". **Kɔ́somég** make their hives in holes underground in the forest and their honey is very liquid and much sweeter than the common one. Ogiek appreciate it so much that, when someone discovers one of these hives, he keeps it secret to the other members of the community* ➡ **sègɛmyát**

kòòtét (n.; pl. **kùtisyég**) *1. mouth; 2. proboscis of the bee; 3. sting of the bee* ◆ kééngùs kòòtét ak sègɛmyát ɛn èèút (ɲu) *pull the bee's sting out of my arm (pull sting of bee on arm my)* ➡ **rèèríg**

kóótit (n.; pl. **kóótisyeg**) < English *coat*

kuchɔyét (n.; no plural) *hole in the lobe of the ear. Ogiek elders used to have holes in their lobes as wide as 3 cm* ➡ **ngwenegobit**

kòògɔ́ (n.; no plural) *grandfather, word used both for the father's and the mother's father* ➡ **kòògó**

kògjɔ́t (n.; pl. **kògwénig/kògwɔsyég**) < Kiswahili kuku; *hen, the plural form is rare and people do not agree on its actual form*

kúistɔ̀ (n.; pl. **kúisyég**) *leg (animal), paw*

kujangda (n.; pl. **kujondoig**) *bow* ➡ **kùriɔ́t**

kùleitɔ́ (n.; pl. **kù(le)lɔɪg**) *handle of the knife, made in bone or wood*

kulkuldá (n.; pl. **kul(u)kul(u)eg**) *armpit, underarm*

kùnyuktɔ́ (n.; pl. **kùnyukwɛ́g**) *wooden handle of the small axe* ➡ **kìsienjɔ́it**, *made of the wood of the* ➡ **kalukchaat** *tree*

kùrbét (n.; no plural) *household goods*

kùryɔ́t (n.; pl. **kùróóno**) *bow, wood used to make bows* ➡ **kujangda**

kùrɔ́gòryét (n.; pl. **kùrɔ́gòríg**) *vegetal fibre burnt during the smoking of the hive.*

kùr(ʋ)gét (n.; no plural) *door, the word refers to the covering made of bamboo fibers, used to obstruct the hut opening during the night* ➡ **kɔ́**

kùsúmdɔ̀ (n.; no plural) *drone cell*
kúútig (n.; no singular) *type of intestinal worms* ➡ **káányig twaagɛg**

kútùngdɔ́ (n.; pl. **kútùngwɛ́g**) *knee*

kwa (adv.) *near, in terms of time* ➡ **négit**

kwèjɔt (n.; pl. **kwèog**) *shoe, boot, general word used referring to casual as well as to elegant shoes, both for men and women*

kwèèmɔsh (adv.) *in the night*

kwéndɛt (n.; pl. **kwénig**) *firewood*

kwéstà (n.; no plural) *Alpha male of small antelopes or other kinds of deers. The skin of an Alpha male was used to make the shoulder bag for honey harvesting* ➡ **mòtogéét**

kwɔ̀mereryét (n.; no plural) *vegetal fiber* (?), *intertwined with bamboo fiber* ➡ **tèègát** *used for making the container for carrying honey* ➡ **(k)lèkwélèt**

L, l

laita (n.; pl. **loyueg**) *anvil, traditionally, in Mariashoni, a piece of rail stolen from the railway Nakuru-Molo*

láákwà / láákwet (n.; pl. **lɔ́ɔ́gòg**) *1. child, of both genders, aged approximately 0-8; 2. grandson, granddaughter* ➡ **wèrɔ́, tyèbtɔ́**

lamum (adj. - pl. **lɔmuech**) *fat*

lànét (n.; pl. **lɔ̀nʊ́g**) *traditional "glass", obtained from a cow horn*

lángàt (adv.) *in the evening*

legishobo (n.; no plural) *traditional mantle made of an animal skin*

lélechuèt (n.; no plural) *tree from which the Ogiek get the wood to make the sticks of their arrows*

lɛkwɛleg (n.; pl. **lɛkwɛlɔɩg**) *baskets to be carried with the* ➡ **ànuét**

leo (adj.) *white*

lèt (adv.) *behind*

lípchààníg (n.; no singular) *sweat*

lɔ́ (numeral) *six*

lóó (adv.) *far*

lòògig (n.; no singular) *tears*

lókómɛ́g (n.; no singular) *non alcoholic drink made with honey and water. Contrary to the sacred beer of honey* ➡ **rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg** *it can be drunk also by women in their fertile age.*

lomejuɔg (n.; no singular) *the two hut bigger posts, made of wild olive tree wood* ➡ **kɔ́**

lóngit (n.; pl. **lóngisyeg**) *trousers*

M, m

màajat (n.; pl. **màaénig**) < Kiswahili mayai; *egg (all kinds)* ◆ mí tèn màaénìg tààgíg ɔ́rìt *the eggs are in the cell (litt.: "here are eggs they + put cell")*

magasít (n.; pl. **magasísyeg**) < ? *scissors*

màgatét (n.; pl. **mɔ̀gɔtɔ́g**) *1. skin, the plural refers only to the animal skins the Ogiek used to wear as coats;*

2. (ak tèètá) *cow skin used to make shoulder bags*

màgatyat (n.; pl. **màgatainig / màgatenig**) < Kiswahili mkate; *slice of bread*

mááisyét (n.; pl. **mááaisyég**) *tendon used as a small rope*

mááma (n.; no plural) *1. mother, appellative; aunt (mother's sister only), appellative* ➡ **e'e**

màrábʊ̀g (n.; no singular) *wings, used both for birds and insects*

màràrakwat (n.; pl. **màràrakweg**) < Kiswahili haragwe; *bean or, by extension, any kind of legumes*

màrindét (n.; pl. **màrindaíg**) *traditional leather skirt* ➡ **tyèbkaajʋít**

màrlìngɔ́tyèt (n.; no plural) *collarbone* ➡ **kéébét**

màsaitá (n.; no plural) *Olea africana, Olea capensis (tree), used to make the sticks of the arrows. In traditional medicine its bark was used for chest pain*

màt (n.; pl. **mósteníg**) *fire, fireplace. It was made of the traditional three stones (➡ **kɔ̀igámàt**) above which stripes of meat smeared with honey where placed to smoke. The **màt** was placed in the **kɔ́** just in front of the door.*

màttaandá (n.; pl. **màttɔngwég**) *chick, the same word exists in Kipsigis, where the plural form ends by -ngɔ̀ì*

mààtat (adv.) *certainly*

màtundeg (n.; no singular) < Kiswahili matunda; *fruit, general word.*

máwat (n.; no plural) *flower* ➡ **tàbtéét**

mbírínyèèt (n.; no plural) *atlas, first cervical vertebra*

mbɔɔlɛt (n.; no plural) *kind of a small deer (?) whose alpha male's skin can be used to make the shoulder bag for honey collection* ➡ **mòtogéét**

mèchɛitá (n.; pl. **mèchɛíg**) *pike, spear, used to make the holes in the hive, where to let the thread (➡ **tunɔ̀ɔ̀jét**) pass in order to sew together the two wooden shells (➡ **kébèèbér**) and keep them in the right position*

mèèldèt (n.; pl. **mèèlèg**) *tendon*

mèmɛrúg (n.; no singular) *millet, the same word indicates both the cereal itself and its flour*

mɛnet (n.; no plural) *type of clay used to soften one's skin* ➡ **tɛɛlyat**

mèregwét (n.; pl. **mèreoníg**) *small bird, very common in the region, unfortunately impossible to identify* ➡ **tààriityɛt**

mèsét (n.; pl. **mèsɔsyég**) *table,* < *Portuguese via Kiswahili* ◆ pàtáimèsét / pàtáimèsɔsyég *top of the table, compound word* pàtái *(back)* + mèsét *(table)* ◆ kèldagmèsét / kèlyég(ag) mèsét *leg of the table, compound word* kèldɔ́ (leg) + ak + mèsét

mètít (n.; pl. **mètogwég**) *head, skull cap*

mí (adv.) *here*

mìchigét (n.; no plural) *hard, upper part of the ear*

mindet (n.; no plural) *red duiker. The skin of the alpha male of this kind of small deer is commonly used for making shoulder bags for honey collection* ➡ **mòtogéét**

mínjig (n.; no singular) < Kikuyu? *pea*

mìnjɔ́rɪ (n.; pl. ?) *wild passion fruit*

mɔ́bɛryɛt / mɔ́bɔryɛt (n.; pl. **mɔ́bɘrɔig**) *leftovers of* ugali ➡ **tɔ́lɔngig**

mɔ̀ɔ́ét (n.; pl. **mɔ̀ɔ̀tenwég/ mɔ̀ɔ̀ténig**) *belly, stomach*

mɔgɔ̀ɔ̀njet (n.; pl. **mogòònjʋg**) *cedar tree, one of the preferred woods used for making log-hives* ◆ mɔgɔ̀ɔ̀njet ngɔ̀ngát *fallen cedar tree (litt.: cedar mature). The Okiek, when possible, prefer to use already fallen tree to make their hives rather than lively ones.* ➡ **sasyát; mùingét**

mɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ́ig (n.; no singular) *testicles*

mɔ̀gúgɛt (n.; pl. **mɔ̀gugɔisyég**) *pocket*

mɔíta (n.; no plural) *edible fat, both from animal and vegetal origins, used*

for cooking ◆ mɔíta ak chèègó *milk cream*

móóktɔ̀ (n.; pl. **móókwèg**) *throat*

mɔ̀ɔ̀rnét (n.; pl. **mɔ̀ɔ̀ríg**) *finger (there are no specific names for the different fingers)*

mɔ̀rɔ́ig (n.; no singular) *eye boogers* ➡ **kɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá**

mɔrɔrtá (n.; no plural) *wild tree whose flowers produce a yellowish, bitter honey*

mòòrtét (n.; pl. **mʋ̀ʋ̀ríg**) *strips of a special kind of green bark used to protect the hive (*➡ **mùingét***) from temperature variations and other weather adversities. Once these strips become dry, they are called* ➡ **pèèrtét***. These stripes are usually made of a special kind of cedar tree* ➡ **tɔrɔ̀ɔ̀kwét**

mɔsìbít (n.; pl. **mɔsìbisyég**) *belt*

mɔ̀silingyét (n.; no plural) *Colanchia crenata (plant). In traditional medicine parts of this plant were used for teeth and pain relief*

mòtogéét (n.; pl. **mòtogɔíg**) *shoulder leather bag for honey harvesting. Okiek elders say that in ancient times it had to be made with the skin of small deer alpha males* ➡ **kwéstà**

mɔtɔ́ɪndá (n.; pl. **motónìg**) *common eagle*

mʊ́ɛ̀j (n.; no plural) *1. shyness* ◆ ɔ́tìnyi mʊ́ɛ̀j *I am shy (litt.: "I have shyness") 2. shy, adjective* ◆ mʊ́ɛ̀j tyébtoni *that shy girl*

mùgaangét (n.; pl. **mùgaangáig**) *cooking stick, probably loaned from neighboring farmer tribes* ➡ **kèrègút**

mɔ̀gʊ̀léldɔ̀ (n.; no plural) *heart*

mɔ̀igaabit (n.; pl.?) *traditional earring*

mùingét (n.; no plural) / **mùingón** (**mùingónig**) *handmade traditional log-hive Ex.* ◆ kààlá mùingét *I have taken (honey) from the hive (litt.: "I + have harvested hive"). The* **mùingét** *is usually made with hard wood, like the one from the cedar tree* ➡ **mɔgɔ̀ɔ̀nyet**, *or from other forest trees such as* ➡ **(ɛ)sisɔ̀ɔ̀nét; ɔ̀ʊnít** *for which we do not know the corresponding scientific taxa. The best wood is said to be that of* **mɔgɔ̀ɔ̀nyet** *and* **(ɛ)sisɔ̀ɔ̀nét** *because it is harder than the one of* **ɔ̀ʊnít** ◆ ɔ́tìnyɪ mùingoníg chéchán *I have many beehives (litt.: "I + have beehives many")* ➡ **póónèt**

muìtɔ́ (n.; no plural) *bed. The traditional Ogiek bed was made of a pile of animal skins placed at the right of the hut's entrance. The mother, or the elder man in the men's hut, used to sleep close to the former wall of the hut, while the children or the other women stayed closer to the fireplace. Alternative name for modern beds* < Kiswahili ➡ **kitàndét**

mùrén (n.; pl. **mùrénig**) *man, usually a married one*

múrɛréɛ́t (n.; pl. **múrɛréénig**) *bride*

mùriat (n.; pl. **mùrɛg**) *mouse*

mùùt (numeral) *five*

mùtiryɔt (n.; pl. **mùtirenig**) *circumciser* ➡ **kémutir**

myánda (n.; no plural) *desease, illness, fever*

myèndɔ́ (n.; no plural) *1. peace; 2. peaceful* ◆ mí myèndɔ́ ijɔn *It is peaceful here* ➡ **chɔmyet**

N, n

námanèt (n.; pl. **námanìg**) *slave*

nàrʊ́ʊ́g (n.; no singular) *ripe honey (1 month)* ➡ **kóómèg**

ndàméét (n.; no plural) *thin stick on which one rubs the* ➡ **pìnéét** *in order to make fire to smoke the hive*

ndasimet (n.; pl. **ndɔmɔnɔıt**) *ceremony for a newborn baby. The newborn was celebrated three days after delivery if it was a girl, and 4 days after delivery if it was a boy. Until that moment mother and child could not go out of the hut. The ceremony was simply the public presentation of the baby child and it was in this moment that he / she received a name. The name was chosen by the elders of the father's clan*

ndáwó (n.; pl.?) *clanmate. This word is used only by men referring to their male clanmates. There is no corresponding word for women*

nè? (q.w.) *what?*

nέ? (q.w.) *how?*

négit (adv.) *near in terms of space* ➡ **kwa**

negìtupché (n.; pl. **chégìtupché**) *brother / sister /cousin. The same word indicates all the relatives of the same generation belonging to the same family network. In order to specify the gender of the relative* ◆ tyèbtɔ n. *sister, female relative* ◆ wèrɔ n. *brother, male relative*

nèregeg (n.; no plural) *sadness, anger*

nògíg (n.; no singular) *pollen? nectar? royal jelly?* ◆ íbù sέgὲmεg nògíg εn tɔɔbtɔ *bees gather pollen and nectar (litt.: "they+gather bees pollen on flowers")*

nɔ̀nɔjég ak kàrábàryét (n.; no plural) *wild tree used in traditional medicine for stomach problems*

nòòr(o)gít (n.; no plural) *palate (mouth)*

nɔ̀ryeg (n.; no singular) *wild tuber(s), unfortunately not identified, the Ogiek used to gather and eat*

nùkiat (n.; no plural) *Dovyalis abissinica (tree). In traditional medicine parts of this tree were used for joint pains and pregnancy*

(i)ngánu (n.; no plural) < Kiswahili ngano; *wheat, wheat flour*

ngàtét (n.; pl.?) *baby, the word is used for both baby boys and girls*

ngèlyèptá (n.; pl. **ngèlyèbíg**) *tongue*

ngérùt (n.; pl. **ngérùsiég**) *arrow (with metal point, for adults)*

ngérεgεt (n.; no plural) *happiness* ◆ ɔ́ngὲrεgat *I am (always) happy – permanent condition* ◆ ɔ́ngὲrεch *I am happy in this moment – temporary condition*

ngèsyɛmdɔ́ (n.; pl. **ngèsyɛmkwég**) *chin*

ngèètát (n.; pl. **ngèètɔ́tig**) *strong man, the word is used to indicate a mature, but still efficient adult, in good physical conditions* ➡ **mùrén**

ngètkɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá (n.; no plural) *jealousy, compound word* ngè(ɛ)t *(strong ?)* + kɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá *(eye)* ◆ ɔ́tìnyi ngètkɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá *I am jealous (litt.: "I have jealousy"*

ngètwindɔ (n.; no plural) *lion, the word is used for both male and female lions*

ngɔ́? (q.w.) *who? whom? to whom?*

ngɔ̀byét (n.; pl. **ngɔ̀byóg**) *hat, cap*

ngɔ́m (adj.) *brave, brilliant, intelligent* ◆ ngɔ́m Kemoi *Kemoi is brave* ◆ chítɔi ni nè ngɔ́m *that person is brilliant*

ngɔtɔtyɔt (n.; pl. **ngɔtɔtig**) *embers*

ngɔtwet (n.; pl. **ngɔtɔnɔg**) *wild olive tree wood* ➡ **lomejuɔg**

ngùlyát (n.; pl. **ngùléig**) *saliva, spit*

ngùtɔk (n.; pl. **ngɔ̀gíg**) *dog*

ngwàn (adj.) *bad, bitter, wicked* ◆ ɔ́ ngwàn *I am in anguish* ◆ ɔ́gɔsɛ kò ngwàn mùgùlɛ́ldɔ̀ *I feel bitter deep inside (litt.: "me myself + focus + bitter + heart")* ◆ ngwàn-i! *Absolutely not!*

Expression used by elders to convey the idea of an absolute disapproval

ngwénegobìt (n.; no plural) *large hole in the lobe of the ear. Traditionally a first small hole in the lobe of the ear was made on young boys and girls before initiation for beauty purposes and it was celebrated in a special way. The hole was made with a red-hot knife and a stick was placed there in order to avoid the cicatrization of the lobe. Then, year after year, the stick was replaced with a bigger one, in order to enlarge the hole* ➡ **kuchoyét**

ngwɔ́ɪn (n.; no plural) *floor, ground. The same word indicates the modern floor and the ground. In traditional Ogiek huts there were no special coverings for the floor* ➡ **kɔ́**

ngwɔn (adv.) *down*

ngwònét (n.; no plural) *poison*

ngwɔ̀nindɔ́ (n.; no plural) *labour, labour pains*

nyalil (adj.) *green*

nyàsiryat (n.; pl. ?) *rat*

nyìgis (adj.) *heavy, referring to clothes*

nyɔlu (adv.) *maybe*

nyundoit (n.; pl. **nyundoisyeg**) *hammer*

nyùùsít (n.; no plural) *vagina*

O, o / Ɔ, ɔ

ɔ́guryèt (n.; pl. **ɔ́gurɔ̀ig**) *1. cloth, general word*; *2.* **ak (ì)nderit** (*litt.: skin of hyrax - no plural*) *cloth made with hyrax skins, used as a mantle by the beekeepers during their harvesting operations. The mantle is so long that it can cover the beekeeper's head, as well as its whole body. The beekeeper keeps it closed right under the chin with his hand when approaching the hive; 3. by extension, dress; 4. by extension, uniform. In this case the word occurs usually in its plural form and the type of uniform must be specified* ◆ ɔ́gurɔ̀ig ak mchéso *uniform of sport teams* ◆ ɔ́gurɔ̀ig ak ɔ́sigarí *every type of military uniforms (police, forest guards, army etc.)*

ɔ́èn (numeral) *two*

ɔ̀inéét (n.; pl. **ɔ̀inɔsyeg**) *big river* ➡ **pèèg**

ɔ́jù? (q.w.) *when?*

ɔ̀juéét (n.; pl. **ɔ̀jóónòg**) *axe used for making a log-hive* ➡ **mùingét**

ɔ́kwèk (pron.) *you, plural*

ɔlbɛlɛs (n.; no plural) < *unknown origin / Maa / secret language? age-set 300+ ; according to the elders, Ogiek hunters were once divided into 8 different age-sets, 4 of which would*

correspond to people aged 100-300 years (sic!). Trying to recall to the elders' mind the boundaries between the different age-sets, the names of the classes and the characteristics of those belonging to them was very hard. In fact, many of the proper names suggested seem structurally not Ogiek at all. A sound anthropological research on this would be more than welcome.
➡ **illegen, ingenjere, oldiyegi, olderito, olmerotorot, rambau, sogwe**

olderito (n.; no plural) < unknown origin / Maa / secret language? *age-set 250+* ➡ **ɔlbɛlɛs**

oldiyegi (n.; no plural) < unknown origin / Maa / secret language? *age-set 150+* ➡ **ɔlbɛlɛs**

ɔ̀ldɔ́ (n.; pl.?) *place*

olmerotorot (n.; no plural) < unknown origin / Maa / secret language? *age-set 200+* ➡ **ɔlbɛlɛs**

òlòòdóit (n.; pl. **òlòòdòisyeg**) *waist*

omajɔnit (n.; no plural) *ceremony for the building of a new hut* ➡ **kɔ́**

ɔ̀mdít (n.; pl. **ɔ̀mdítwagig**) *food. The word is generic for any kind of foodstuffs* ◆ ɔ̀mdít nè agɛjo *cooked*

food ◆ ɔ̀mdít nè tɔmgéjo *raw food (li. "food that -is- not cooked")*

ɔmɔ̀lɪlít (n.; pl. **ɔmɔ̀lɪlósyeg**) *special kind of bark used to make small threads to sew together the two shells of the hive* ➡ **kébèèbér**

ɔ́mù (conj.) *because*

ɔ́mù nɛ́? (q.w.) *why?*

ɔ́mùt (adv.) *yesterday*

óó (adj.) *big*

ɔ̀rɛ́g (n.; no singular) *ashes of the fireplace*

ɔ́rɛt (n.; pl. **ɔ́ɛngwɔn / ɔ́ràtenig**) *1. clan; 2. path*

ɔ̀rɔgɛt (n.; pl. **ɔ̀rɔgig**) *hawk*

ɔ̀ʊnít (n.; pl. **ɔ̀ʊnɔíg**) *forest tree whose wood is used to make log-hives* ➡ **mùingét**

P, p

panà̀ktá (n.; pl. **ponɔ̀ɔ̀kwég**) *palm (hand)*

pàndyát (n.; pl. **pàndég**) *corn, the singular form indicates the single cob, while the plural refers both to a plurality of cobs and to the cereal itself*

paani (adv.) *now*

pàànyég (n.; no singular) *meat* ◆ ɔ́tùn ɔ́sìrɪgɔnɪ pàànyég *I am going to hang the meat to smoke* ➡ **pèèntɔ́**

pàrág (adv.) *above, up* ➡ **pàtái** *1.*

pàríd (n.; pl. **pàrísyeg**) *lake, pond*

pàtái *1.* (adv.) *above, up* ➡ **pàrág**; *2. back*

pàtáigɔ́ (n.; pl. **pàtáigɔ́rìg**) *roof of the hut, compound word* pàtái *(back)* + kɔ́ *(hut)* ➡ **kɔ́**

pàtáimèsét (n.; pl. **pàtáimèsɔsyég**) *top of the table, compound word* pàtái *(back)* + mèsét *(table)* ➡ **mèsét**

pɛchɛnɪt (n.; no plural) *kind of a small deer (?) whose alpha male's skin can be used to make the shoulder bag for honey collection* ➡ **mòtogéét**

pèèg (n.; no singular) *1. water; 2. river* ➡ **ɔ̀inéét**

pèèlyɔ́t (n.; pl. **pèèlyég**) *elephant. In ancient times Ogiek hunters, joined in a team of 6-8 men, used to hunt elephants. The meat of a single elephant could be preserved even for 3 years.*

pèèntɔ́ / pèèndɔ́ (n.; pl. **pàànyég**) *meat. In the singular form, the word indicates a single piece of smoked meat, while in the plural it can refer either to a plurality of pieces of meat, or to "meat" as a food*

pèèrtét (n.; pl. **pèèrɪg**) *stripes of dry bark wrapping the log hive (➡ **mùingét***) used to protect it from temperature variations and other weather adversities. These stripes must be at least 20 cm longer than the hive itself in order to protect also the bees when they get in and out of the hive. When they are still green they are called* ➡ **mòòrtét** *These stripes are usually made of a special kind of cedar tree* ➡ **tɔ̀rɔ̀kwét**

pèèt (adv.?) *daylight, during the day*

pèètút (n.; pl. **pèètusyég**) *day*

piig ak tòrɔ́ɔt (litt.: people of the place suitable for hunting) *team of hunters*

pìlìpìlì (n.; no singular) < Kiswahili pilipili; *chili pepper*

pìnéét (or **kɔ̀ngdámát**) (n.; no plural) *thin stick of hard wood (cedar or any other dry wood), used together* with the ➡ **ndààmét** *to make the fire for burning the* ➡ **kùrɔ́gʊryét** *when smoking the hive*

pirìri (adj.) *white, used for Asian and Western people*

písìndá (n.; no plural) *kind of vegetal fibre used to make small threads for fixing the bark stripes* ➡ **mòòrtét; pèèrtét** *around the log-hive* ➡ **mùingét**

pòògchɔ́t (n.; pl. **pòògíg**) *honeycomb. Okiek know and distinguish three types of comb: a long one* **kɔ́ɪndɔ́** (n.; no plural)*, a cross comb* **sèmaanég** (n.; no singular)*, and a short, round one* **kéénèjuég** ◆ kɔ̀ɔ̀ɪngdén sègɛmég kóómèg tààgíg ak pòòkchɔ́t *bees make honey in the honeycomb (litt.: "they + make bees young honey in honeycombs")*

pòògít (n.; no pural) *worker cell*

pɔ̀ɪnét (n.; pl. **pɔ̀ɪníg**) *antelope, general word*

pɔ́ɔ́ldɛt (n.; pl. **pɔ́ɔ́lig**) *cloud*

pòòlɛɪtɔ́ (n.; pl. **pòòlɛɪtíg**) *small bottle-shaped container for storing at home the honey destined specifically to children, made of two intertwined types of vegetal fibre* ➡ **sèlɛkwét***, and* ➡ **fàbarárig**

pɔ́ɔ́ndɛt (n.; no plural) *husband*

póónèt (n.; no plural) *1. natural beehive, usually made in hollow trunks; 2.* **(n.;** *pl.* **póónìtig)** *handmade opening of the* ➡ **mùingét**, *hole making the opening of 1*

pòònòòchɛg (n.; pl. **pòònòòkwég**) *scapulo-humeral bone*

pòònɔkta (n.; pl. **pùyʋeg**) *shoulder*

pòòrtɔ́ (n.; pl. **pòòruég**) *1. body; the same word is used for a human or animal body; 2. thorax*

pòòstɔ́ (n.; pl. **pòòswég**) *baldness* ◆ tìn pòòstɔ́ chichɔn *that man is bald (litt.: "that man has baldness")*

pɔ̀yɔt (n.; pl. **pɔ̀isyonig**) *elder*

pʋ̀ʋ́gít (adj.) drunk ◆ chìtoi-ni apʋ́ʋ́git *that person is drunk / a drunkard*

pugut (n.; pl. **pugusyég**) < English *book*

puìndá (n.; no plural) *Engleromyces goetzei. In traditional medicine this mushroom was used for washing stomach*

pùjìtà (n.; pl. **pùjùég**) *shoulder blade*
pùlanét (n.; pl. **pùlanog**) < English via Kiswahili? *pullover*

puɔ́nyɔ̀t (n.; pl. puɔ́nìg) *lungs*

pùsit (n.; pl. **pùsisyeg**) < English via Kiswahili? *(pussy) cat*

púsyeg (n.; no singular) *flour, any kinds* ◆ ɔ́ngɔ̀i púsyeg *I am grinding flour* ➡ **kéngali**

puyeyotig (n.; no singular) *large antelopes*

p(ʋ)rʋ̀rʋ̀tíg (n.; no singular) *pus*

púútég (n.; no singular) *hair, used for both men and women* ◆ chítɔi ne jùgisie *hairdresser (litt.: "person who cuts - hair")* ◆ pùùtég ché rìngogen *short hair* ◆ púúteg ché kɔ́ɔ́en *long hair* ◆ púúteg ché kágísanuan *combed hair* ◆ púúteg ché mákísanuan *uncombed hair* ◆ púúteg ché Sabulen *curled hair. The Sabulen were a Cushitic tribe, coming presumably from the Horn of Africa and they had curled hair. For this reason the Ogiek use their name to refer to curled hair*

pyàsyét (n.; pl. **pyàsɛnig**) < Kiswahili kiazi; *potato*

pyɛ́g (n.; no singular) *shit, feces*

R, r

ra (adv.) *today*

rambau < unknown origin / Maa / secret language? *age-set 16+; according to the elders, Ogiek hunters were once divided into 8 different age-sets, 4 of which would correspond to people aged 100-300 years (sic!). Trying to recall to the elders' mind the boundaries between the different age-sets, the names of the classes and the characteristics of those belonging to them was very hard. In fact, many of the proper names suggested seem structurally not Ogiek at all. A sound anthropological research on this would be more than welcome.* ➡ **illegen, ingenjere, ɔlbɛlɛs, oldiyegi, olderito, olmerotorot, sogwe**

rèèríg (n.; no singular) *sting of the bee ?* ➡ **kòòtéét** 2

ringààg (adj.) *short*

rɔ̀ɔ̀bta (n.; no plural) *rain* ◆ rɔ̀ɔ̀bta ak kɔɔjat *storm (litt.: "rain with longness"). This syntagm has also a plural form:* rɔ̀ɔ̀bta ak kɔɔig

rɔ́ngeet (n.; no plural) *thirst* ◆ chitɔi ni tin rɔ́ngeet *that person is thirsty* ◆ kábara rɔ́ngeet *I was thirsty (litt.: "thirst was killing me")*

róngòríg (n.; no singular) *porridge, usually made of millet or mais*

rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg (n.; no singular) *beer* ◆ rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg ak kóómèg / ak sègɛmég *beer of honey. The Okiek use this alcoholic drink in all ritual occasions except for funerals, i. e. births, initiations, marriages, the building of a new hut etc. Only male adults and very old women with the males' permission can drink this beer. This demonstrates the sacred value of honey*

rɔ̀ɔ̀tínig (n.; no singular) *bitter vegetal substance used to make beer* ➡ **rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg**

rɔ̀ɔ̀twet (n.; pl. **rɔ̀ɔ̀tog**) *1. knife, general word; 2. knife used to incise the measure and shape of the opening of the hive; 3. big knife of the Ogiek hunter, which is also used as the point of the Ogiek spear* ➡ **póónèt**.

rɔ̀ɔ̀twet ak chóg (n.; no plural) *sheath of the knife*

róótyèt (n.; pl. **róótyónìsieg**) *1. spine 2. all kinds of skeletal joints:*

vertebrae, ankles, knuckles 3. piece of bamboo cane between one node and the other

rubèèitɔ́ (n.; pl. **rubèèjuég**) *sole of the foot*

rùbét (n.; no plural) *hunger*

S, s

sààbó (n.; no plural) *warm place*

sà'ét (n.; pl. **sɔ́ʊgdi**) *prayer*

sààit (n.; pl. **sààisyeg**) < Kiswahili saa; *watch, clock, weaker; 2. time*

sàitá (n.; pl. **sɔ̀júék**) *let fly notch*

saramàég (n.; no singular) *twin babies*

sààrtít (n.; pl. **sààrtísyeg**) *stick used for smoking the meat. It was about 1 m long and was fixed into the ground close to the fireplace in the hut* ➡ **sìrígɔnyɔ̀t**

sààrùrìèt (n.; pl. **sààrùrù**) *sacrum, tailbone*

sasyát (n.; no plural) *cedar tree. It is commonly used for making log-hives. Its bark is cut in very small pieces and put, while burning, inside the* ➡ **kùrɔ́gʊ̀ryét** *in order to grant a good smoking of the hive during honey harvesting.*

rùrɔ́t (adj.) *ripe, used for all kinds of fruit* ◆ rùrɔ́t mìnjóri ni *this wild passion fruit is ripe*

sébɛryɔ̀t/séberchyɔ̀ (n.; pl. **séberù**) *mucus, snot; in the singular, the word means booger*

sègeíg (n.; no singular) *scout bees. Task of the scout bee is going around looking for flowers and call the worker bees to collect the pollen. When it is time to migrate, scout bees look for a new hive to settle in and, at the right moment, they call the swarm to get inside.* ◆ sègeíg kòòsegéi yemí tɔ́ɔ́btóg *the scouts look for flowers (litt.: "scouts they + look + they + find + flowers")* ◆ sègeíg kòò sègéi mùingét / póónèt *the scouts look for a hive (litt.: "scouts they + look handmade hive / natural hive")* ◆ sègeíg kòò sègéi jebʊrʊgɪg *the scouts look for a warm place (litt.: "scouts they + look for warm place")* ◆ sègeíg kòògúri sègɛmég *the scouts call the bees (litt.: "scouts they + call bees").*

sègɛmyát, (n.; pl. **sègɛmég**) *bee, general word, Apis mellifera* Ex. ◆ újè sègɛmég *the bees migrate (litt.:*

they + migrate bees") ◆ kɔ́ù sègɛmég jemi ɔ́mdìt *bees migrate to look for food (litt.: "they + have migrate bees they + look for food")*◆ mètít ak sègɛmyát (n.; pl. mètɔgwég ak sègɛmég) *head of the bee* ◆ pɔ̀ɔrt(ɔ́) ak sègɛmyát (n.; pl. pòòruég ak sègɛmég) *thorax of the bee* ◆ mɔ̀ɔét ak sègɛmyát (n.; pl. mɔ̀ɔténwég ak sègɛmég) *abdomen of the bee* ◆ kèld(á) ak sègɛmyát (n.; pl. kèèlyég ak sègɛmég) *leg of the bee* ◆ màràbʊ̀g ak sègɛmyát *wings of the bee* ◆ màáénig ak sègɛmyát *eggs of bee* ◆ sègɛmég ɔ́èn *two bees (litt.: "bees two")* ◆ sègɛmég kò ségèmɛg *bees are bees (litt.: "bees + actualizer + bees"). According to the Ogiek, it is impossible to think of a bee as an insect, so they refuse to translate a sentence like "bees are insects"* ◆ ɔ́chɔ̀mɪ kébèndát ak sègɛmég *I like to work with bees (litt.: "I + like to work with bees")*◆ újè ségèmɛg *the bees are swarming (litt.: "they + swarm bees")* ◆ ménèsh sègɛmég mùingét *the swarm lives in the beehive ("they + live bees hive")*

sɛgétyɛt (n.; no plural) *traditional "spoon" made by a simple bamboo cane or wooden stick*
sèlɛkwét (n.; no plural) *vegetal fibre used, together with the* ➡ **fàbarárig** *to make the small container for the children's honey* ➡ **pòòlɛɪtɔ́**

sèmaanég (n.; no singular) ➡ **pòògchɔ́t**

seregùtyét (n.; no plural) *type of tree whose honey is brown and sweet. According to my informants the words could be a borrowing < Kipsigis*

sèréig (n.; no singular) *thanks* ➡ **kòngɔig**

sérérét (n.; no plural) *? tree whose leaves are used to envelop the meat in the forest*

sèèrseeríg ➡ **kɪbɔɪtèènɪg**

sèrúút (n.; pl. **sèrnég**) *nose*

serút (n.; pl. **serúnig**) *1. knot (different kinds); 2. ties of the* ➡ **ɔ́guryèt**

shátit (n.; pl. **shátisyeg**) < English *shirt, blouse*

sígeryèt (n.; pl. **sígeròg**) *donkey*

sígwɔt (n.; pl. **síjeg**) *nettle, used for cooking. One of the most common traditional Ogiek dish was a green paste obtained by mashing raw nettle in a bamboo cane, in order to let its water come out. This paste was served with honey (*◆ sígwɔt ag kóómèg*) and dry meat. In traditional medicine, nettle was used as a remedy against worms, as blood cleaner and as a bone strengthener.*

sílibuét (n.; no plural) *Dobea tree*

sìmeitɔ (n.; no plural) *wild plant used in traditional medicine for malaria*

sindánùt (n.; pl. **sindánusyeg**) *needle*

sìngimyét (n.; pl. **sìngiimíg**) *ant, generic word. Ants are among the most dangerous enemies of bees, because they eat bees' eggs* ➡ **tágɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀íg**

singurtet (n.; pl. **singurosyeg**) *small iron wings that sometimes are realized at the two sides of the arrow points*

síngwɔ̀ɪ (adj.) *sweet, good, kind, beautiful* ◆ síngwɔ̀ɪ Catherine *Catherine is sweet* ➡ *opposite to* **ngwàn**

siriben (adj.) *small, little*

sìrɪgɔ́nyɔ̀t (n.; pl. **sìrɪgɔ́nìg**) *dry meat. The Ogiek used to preserve game meat by smearing it with honey and smoking it close to the fire in their huts. Dry meat was stored in the men's hut. The family elders managed the meat rationing it and giving their women just a small amount of it for the daily needs*

sirir (adv.) *lonely*

siriret (n.; no plural) *loneliness* ◆ mí siriret ijùn *it is lonely here, it is a lonely place* ◆ chítɔi nigó sirir *this is a lonely person*

sísíít (numeral) *eight*

sístet (n.; no plural) *toothbrush, stick used to brush tooth*

sítɔ̀tig (n.; no plural) *wild plant used in traditional medicine for worms*

sìɪyét (n.; pl. **sìɪyóg**) *nail* ◆ sìɪyóg ché múnyɔtig *dirty nails* ◆ sìɪyóg ché tílílín *clean nails*

slìvas (n.; no singular) < English *slippers*

sɔ̀béét (n.; no plural) *daily life* ◆ ujù sɔ̀béét *life is difficult;* ◆ singwɔɪ sɔ̀béét *life is good*

sɔ̀ɔ̀ét (n.; pl. sɔ̀ɔ̀énɪg) *buffalo*

sɔ̀gét (n.; no plural) *Warburgia ugandensis. Parts of this tree were used in traditional medicine for chest and ear problems*

sɔ̀gísyɔt (n.; pl. **sɔ̀gísyenig**) < English *sock*

sɔ́gɔ̀l (numeral) *nine*

sɔ̀gɔség (n.; no singular) *urine*

sɔ́gɔt (n.; pl. **sɔ́geig**) *leaf, generic term, used also to indicate the large leaves where food (➡ **ɔmdít**) is served.*

sɔ́gɔ̀tyát (n.; pl. **sɔ́gɔ̀tíg**) *natural bifurcation of two tree branches. The Okiek consider it as the most appropriate position where to place and fix a log-hive* ➡ **mùingét**. *When a tree does not have a natural bifurcation, the Okiek create an artificial one*

➡ **tèjuɔ́t**, *which is a kind of a long crutch reaching the ground*

sogwe (n.; no plural) < unknown origin / Maa / secret language? *age-set 60+; according to the elders, Ogiek hunters were once divided into 8 different age-sets, 4 of which would correspond to people aged 100-300 years (sic!). Trying to recall to the elders' mind the boundaries between the different age-sets, the names of the classes and the characteristics of those belonging to them was very hard. In fact, many of the proper names suggested seem structurally not Ogiek at all. A sound anthropological research on this would be more than welcome.* ➡ **illegen, ingenjere, ɔl-beles, oldiyegi, olderito, olmero-torot, rambau**

sɔ́iret (n.; pl. **sɔ́irʊg**) *type of monkey, unfortunately impossible to identify*

sɔ́jet (n.; pl. **sɔ́jɛg**) *container for water, made of simple bamboo canes, whose dimensions varied according to the needs of the moment. It could be used as a cup for drinking, as a wa-shing tool or even for water storage*

sɔ̀lɔitɔ́ (n.; pl. **sɔ̀lotwég**) *pregnant woman*

sómòg (numeral) *three*

sɔ́mɔ̀seryet (n.; pl. **sɔ́mɔ̀serig**) *red bee (?). These bees are said to be very*

aggressive and their honey seem not to be very good

sɔ́ndugu (n.; pl. **sɔ́ndugusyég**) *box*

sɔ́ngɔbindét (n.; no plural) *1. fear, noun; 2 fearful*

sɔ́rɔ̀myét (n.; pl. **sóròòmók**) *kidney*

sɔ̀rɔtét (n.; pl. ?) *a type of antelope, unfortunately impossible to identify, deer* ➡ **pɔ̀inét**

sɔ́ɔsɔnét (n.; no plural) *? tree whose leaves are used to envelop the meat in the forest*

súbuíg (adv.) *early*

sùgùitá (n.; pl. **sùgùtwég**) *buttocks*

sùgúl (n.; no plural) < English

sùgʊmèryɛt (n.; no plural) *wild plant, used in traditional medicine for worms*

sugwét (n.; pl. **sugwɔ́sieg**) *back*

súlualit (n.; pl. **súlualisyeg**) *underwear*

sùùndet (n.; no plural) *non edible animal fat* ➡ **mɔíta**

sʊrʊyɔt (n.; pl. **sʊrʊɛg**) **(**ak ɔinɛt / ak ra / ak ɔmʊt / ak negip ɔin) *dung (very fesh / of today / of yesterday / old)*

sút (n.; pl. **sútisyeg**) < English via Kiswahili *suit*

swétet (n.; pl. **swétaisyeg**) < English via Kiswahili *sweater*

T, t

tàrét (n.; pl. **tɔ̀ɔ́óg**) *type of traditional bracelet* ➡ **bɔngileit**

tàbaràryet (n.; pl. **tàbaràrig**) *small basket*

taabojat (n.; pl. **taabɔig**) *star*

táábtèt (n.; pl. **tɔ́ɔ́btóg**) *1. flower, generic term; 2. nectar?* ➡ **máwat**

(n.; **tàgát**) pl. **tàgátuut** *the word is mostly used in ints plural form, meaning "chest, thorax", while, when used in the singular it only describes a woman carrying her baby in her arms*

tágìtári (n.; pl. **tágìtárisyég**) < English via Kiswahili *doctor*

tágɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀íg (n.; no singular) *small ants of the cow, considered very dangerous for the bees by the Okiek* ➡ **sìngimyét**
tàmán (numeral) *ten*

tàngáwìsíg (n.; no singular) < Kiswahili tangawizi; *ginger*

tààriityet (n.; pl. **tɔ̀ɔ́riitig**) *bird, general term used for all small edible birds*

tááta (n.; no plural) *1. father, appellative 2. uncle (father's brother) appellative 3. father in law* ➡ **kòònut**

tèbétèbét (n.; pl. **tèbétèbíg**) *dove, pigeon*

tebengwét (n.; no plural) *type of wild tree whose honey is brown and sweet*

tèègát (n.; no plural) *1. bamboo fiber used with the* ➡ **kwɔ̀mereryét** *for making the bag for carrying honey* ➡ **(k)lèkwélèt**

téégàt (n.; no plural) *tree from which the Ogiek obtained wood to make sticks for their arrows*

tèjuɔ́t (n.; pl. **tèjuég**) *artificial bifurcation of a tree, made by the Okiek to place and fix a log-hive on a tree, when a natural one is not at hand* ➡ **sɔ́gɔ̀tyát**

tekwoyɔ (n.; no plural) *type of wild tree whose honey is brown and sweet*

téldél (adj.) *light, referring to clothes*

tɛɛlyat (n.; pl. **tɛɛleg**) *type of clay used to soften one's skin* ➡ **mɛnet**

tèmenyét (n.; no plural) *wax ?* ➡ **àsaɛ́g**

tɛnden (adj. - pl. **tɛndɛnɛch**) *thin*

tɛɛngét (n.; pl. **tɛɛngʊ́g**) *lance, spear (little used term)*

tèrɛryét (n.; pl. **tèrɛríg**) *1. ak ɔınɛt / ak ra / ak ɔmʊt / ak negip ɔın buffalo dung (very fesh / of today / of yesterday / old) 2. cow's dung, used in traditional medicine to keep the baby's umbilicus "clean" after the cutting of the umbilical cord*

tèètá (n.; pl. **tʊ̀gá**) *cow*

tígìtyɔ (n.; pl. **tígìtíg**) *vein*

tìlıgét (n.; no plural) *instep*

tímdɔ̀ (n.; no plural) *bush*

tísàp (numeral) *seven*

tísyɛt (n.; pl. **tísʊg**) *type of monkey, unfortunately impossible to identify*

tɔ́bɔ̀kwét (n.; pl. **tɔ́bɔ̀gíg**) *special kind of cedar tree whose bark is used to make the stripes (*➡ **mòòrtét;**

péértét*) used to protect the log-hive from weather adversities*

tɔ̀gɔ́ità (n.; pl. **tɔ̀góchèg**) *forehead*

tɔ́gʊ̀l (indef.) *all, every*

tɔlelyɔn (adj.) *yellow*

tɔ́lɔngig (n.; no singular) *leftovers of food, general term*

tɔ̀ngúch (n.; no singular) *tales*

tɔ̀raét (n.; pl. **tɔ̀rʊ́g**) *wild pig*

tɔ̀rɔ̀kwét (n.; no plural) *cedar tree*

Tùgmín (n.; no plural) *name of the banquet made after the initiation ceremony* ➡ **tùmdó**

tuj (adj.) *black*

tùjéét ➡ **(k)íràɔríg**

tulɔtét (n.; no plural) *thunder*

tumdò < **tum** *Nandi circumcision*

tùmɔtít (n.; pl. **tùmɔtɔíg**) *tobacco. In its plural form the word means cigarette* ➡ **kíraigo**

tunɔ̀ɔ̀jét (n.; pl. **tunɔ̀ɔ̀jíg**) *1. thread made of bark, rope (*➡ **ɔmɔ̀lilít***) used to sew together the two wooden shells of the hive (*➡ **kébèèbér***) 2. small, twisted wild tree whose honey is white and very sweet*

túrìndét (n.; pl. **túrìg**) *hunter*

tòrɔ́ɔt (n.; no plural) *place in the forest suitable for hunting*

túrùgút (n.; no plural) *field*

túútìgín (indef.) *a few, some, used to quantify animals and objects* ➡ **ablak**

túttuìndɔ́ (n.; pl. **túttùngwég**) *heel*

tyèbkaajʋít (n.; no plural) *traditional skirt, made of an animal skin, sometimes embellished with beads and tied at the waist as a skirt. Compound word* tyèbtɔ́ *(girl)* + kaajʋít *(skirt)* ➡ **màrindét**

tyèbyòsá (n.; pl. **tyèbyòsó**) *woman, usually a mature and married one*

tyèbtɔ́ (n.; pl. **tíbííg**) *1. baby girl, girl; from birth to marriage; 2. daughter* ➡ **tyèbyòsá**

tyémʋgʋgwit (n.; pl. **tyémʋgʋsyɛg**) *hyena*

Tyɛmosit (n.; no plural) *monster, evil spirit living in the forest*

tyemosyanig (n.; no plural) *traditional midwife*

tyɔ̀ndɔ́ (n.; pl. **tyɔ̀níg**) *wild beast, wild animal, general word which cannot be used referring to pets or livestock*

tyɔ́sɛt (n.; pl. **tyósog**) *wife, the word has a plural form because the Ogiek accept and practice polygamy* ◆ tyɔ́sɛt nè óó *first wife (litt.: "the wife who is big")* ◆ tyɔ́sɛt nè siriben *second, third… wife (litt.: "the wife who is small")*

Ʊ, u / Ʊ, ʋ

ʋááèg (n.; no singular) *propolis*

ʋárvèt (n.; pl. **várèg**) *pupa* ◆ kɔ́gɔ̀múch várvèt ak sègɛmyát kòmɔ́n ɛn pòògíg *the pupa is ready to go out from the honeycomb (litt.: "it + is ready pupa of bee it + go honeycombs")* ◆ mí ìség ak várèg ɔ́rìt pòògíg *larvas and pupas are in the honeycomb (litt.: "there larvae and pupae inside honeycombs")*

ʋɔ̀chegwéét (n.; pl. **ʋɔ̀chegwɔ́syég**) *big, black eagle*

ùruméét (n.; pl. **ùrumɔɪg**) *stick of the arrow*

ùsít (n.; pl. **ùsisyég**) *wire for sewing*

W, w

wachewet (n.; pl. **wachewesyeg)** *bird whose feather are used as flies for arrows*

wàlѓldá (n.; pl. **wàlѓluèg**) *biceps*

wèrɔ (n.; pl. **wèríg**) *1. boy, approximately from the age of 8 until marriage; 2. son* ➡ **mùrén**

wísa (n.; pl. **wísaisyeg**) *small knife used in the cutting of the flies for arrows2*

Y, y

yémdìt (n.; no plural) *Olea europaea From this tree Ogiek obtain wood to make the sticks of their arrows. In addition, some parts of it in traditional medicine are used for eye problems*

Part II.
English-Ogiek Wordlist

A, a

above, *pàrág, pàtái*

(to) advise, teach, *kénɛt*

afternoon, *lángàt*

age-set, *íbenda*

age-set 16 + , *rambau*

age-set 60 + , *sogwe*

age set 90 + , *ingenjere*

age-set 100 + , *illegen*

age-set 150 + , *oldiyegi*

age-set 200 + , *olmerotorot*

age-set 250 + , *olderito*

age-set 300 + , *ɔlbɛlɛs*

all, *tɔ̀gúl*

alcoholic millet beverage, *chànga*

alpha male, small deer, *kwéstà*

animal, wild beast, *tyɔ̀ndɔ́*

(to) anoint, apply body lotions, *kɛ́il*

ant, *sìngimyɛ́t*

ant of the cow, *tágɔ̀ɔ̀gɔ̀íg*

antelope, *pɔ̀ınɛ́t*

antelope (large), *puyeyotig*

antelope (?), *sɔ̀rɔtɛ́t, túmdà*

anvil, piece of rail, *laita*

any, *ágè*

Apis mellifera, sègɛmyát

arm, hand, *èèút*

armpit, *kulkuldá*

arrows (bamboo) for children, *kɔ́ısìt*

arrow (with metal point) for adults, *ngérùt*

arrow point, iron decoration, *singur-tet*

ashamed, *aíbu*

ashes of the fireplace, *ɔ̀rɛ́g*

(to) ask, *kétɛb*

atlas, first cervical vertebra, *mbírínyɛ̀ɛ̀t*

axe, *ɔ̀juéét*

axe (small), *kìsienjɔ́it*

B, b

baby, *ngàtét*

back, *sùgwɛ́t*

bad, *já*

bad, bitter, wicked, *ngwàn*

bag, traditional, general term, *mòtogéét*

bag for carrying honey, *(k)lɛ̀kwélɛ̀t*

baldness, *pòòstɔ́*

bamboo, *tɛ̀ɛ̀gát*

banquet for of the initiation ceremony, *Tùgmín*

bark used to make small threads, *ɔmɔ̀lilít*

basket, traditional, *kìsyɛ́t*

basket, to be carried with the *ánvɛt*, *lɛkwɛleg*

basket, small, *tàbaràryɛt*

bead, pearl, *kàǎryát*

bean, legume, *mààrakwat*

beard, *ɛ́lmonyoít*

beast, wild animal, *tyɔ̀ndɔ́*

(to) make oneself beautiful, *kényarij*

because, *ɔ́mù*

(to) become old (things), *kéjɔsit*

bed, *kitàndét / muìtɔ́*

beehive, *mùingét / póónèt*

beer of honey, *rɔ̀ɔ̀tíg ak kóómèg*

behind, *lèt*

belly, *mɔɔ̀ét*

belt, *mɔsìbít*

berries, wild, *(ı)ngùluma*

beverage (analcoholic) made with honey and water, *lókóómég*

biceps, *wààléldá*

bifurcation (natural), *sɔ́gɔtyát*

bifurcation (artificial), *tèjuɔ́t*

big, *óó*

bird, general word, *tààriityɛt*

bird, small, type of, *méregwèt*

bird (type of - dangerous for the bees), *kipràskɔ́*

bird, type of, *wachewet*

(to) bite, *késus*

black, *tuj*

black bee, *chéptìgige*

blacksmith, name of the legendary Ogiek clan made slave by the Maasai in 1500, *Kıbırıgɛıg*

(to) bleed (of a pregnant woman), *kétungduman*

blood, *kɔ̀rɔtìg*

blouse, shirt, *shátit*

body, *pɔ̀ɔ̀rtɔ́*

bone, *kɔ̀gwít*

book, *pugut*

bow, *kùriɔ́t, kujangda*
     to load the bow, *kényi*
     to point a prey, *kéngwɛrɛr*
     to free the arrow, *kémwɔgtɔ*
     to get the target, *kétyɛch*
     to miss the target, *kéndus*

box, *sɔ́ndugu*

boy, *wèrɔ́*

bracelet, *bɔngileit, tààɛ́t*

brave, brilliant, *ngɔ́m*

bread, slice of, *màgatyat*

breast, *kíínèt*

(to) breastfeed, *kéchuchunisi*

(to) brew beer, *kéryech*

bride, *múrɛréét*

brood, *isɛ́g*

broom, short, traditional, *kɔ̀ɔ̀búgkyɔ̀t*

brother, *negìtupché*

(to) brush, *késit*

buddleja polystachia (tree), *kíbàrnyát*

buffalo, *sɔ̀ɔ̀ɛ́t*

buffalo dung, *tɛrɛryɛt*

bush, *tímdɔ̀*

buttocks, *sùgùitá*

button, *kíbùngwét*

(to) buy, *kéle*

C, c

calf muscle, *(ə)ldèmít*

carrot, *kárat*

cat, *pùsit*

catarrh, phlegm, *ɔ́ngulupchɔ́*

cave, hole, *kèringet*

cedar tree, *(ɛ)sisɔ̀ɔ̀nét, mɔgɔ̀ɔ̀njet, sasiát, tɔ̀rɔ̀kwét*

ceiling (of the hut), *kárástákpɔ̀*

cell,   drone cell, *kùsùmdɔ́*
     queen cell, *kɔ́gɔ̀ryɔ́t*
     worker cell, *pòògít*

ceremony for a newborn baby, *nda-simet*

certainly, *mààtat*

chair, *kètiit*

(to) check, *kéger*

chest, *tàgát / tàgátuut*

(to) chew food, *kényej*

(to) chew tobacco, *kémul*

chick, *màttaandá*

chief, *chìp, chèmoget*

child, *láákwà / láákwet*

chili pepper, *pìlìpìlì*

chin, *ngèsyɛmdɔ́*

(to) chop, *kémurmur*

cigar, *kíraigo*

(to) circumcise, *kémutir*

circumciser, *mùtiryɔt*

clan, *ɔ́rɛt 1.*

clanmate, *ndáwó*

clay, types of, *mɛnet, tɛɛlyat*

(to) clean, *kétìlil*

closing of the artificial beehive, *kèrʋbéét*

cloth, *ɔ́guryèt*

cloth (hyrax skin), *ɔ́guryèt ak (i)ndèrít*

cloud, *pɔ́ɔ́ldɛt*

coat, *kóótit*

cock, *chɔ̀gʋ*

colanchia crenata (plant), *mɔ̀silingyét*

collar, *kɔ̀lait*

collarbone, *màrlìngɔ́tyɛ̀t*

      hole of the c., *kéébét*

colony (big) of bees, *tùjéét*

comb, *kìsánwɛt*

(to) comb, *késanuan*

container for honey, *kisùngó / kisùngút*

container (small) for the children's honey, *pòòlɛitɔ́*

container for water, *sɔ́jet*

contractions (labour pains) *kanàmgé*

cook (to), *kéjɔi(sye)*

corn, corn cob, *pàndyát*

cousin, *negìtupché*

(to) cover a newborn baby, *kétuch*

cow, *tɛ̀ɛ̀tá*

D, d

daughter, *tyébtɔ̀ 2.*

day, *pèètút*

daylight, *pèèt*

day of the week, *kàstɔ́p*

(to) decay, *kébus*

deer (small), *mbɔɔlɛt, pɛchɛnιt*

deer, type of (non identifiable), *sɔ̀rɔtét, jèragànɛt*

delivery, *kéchùtkó*

disease, fever, *myánda*

dobea tree, *sílibuét*

doctor, *tágìtári*

dog, *ngʋ̀tɔk*

donkey, *sígeryèt*

door, *kʋ̀r(ʋ)gét*

dove, pigeon, *tèbétèbét*

dovyalis abissinica (tree), *nùkiat*

down, below, *ngwɔ́n*

dread (hair), *íldàgait*

dress, *ɔ̀guryèt*

(to) dress someone, *kɛ́lach 2.*

(to) drink, *kéje*

drinker, frequent, *kímàját / kíbɔ̀gityɔ́t*

drone, *kɔ̀b(ʋ)ryɔ́t*

drunk, adj., *pʋ̀ʋgít*

duicker, *mindɛt*

dung, *sʋrʋyɔt*

E, e

eagle, big black, *vɔ̀chegwéét*
eagle, common, *mɔtɔ́mdá*
ear, *ìtít*
      hard part of the ear, *mìchigét*
early, *súbuíg*
earring, *mʋ̀igaabit*
(to) eat, *kéam*
egg, *màájat*
eight, *sísíít*

Ekebergia capensis, *kɔ́ntɔ̀rɔ́rwɔ̀g*
elder, *pɔ̀yɔt*
elephant, *pèèlyɔ́t*
embers, *ngɔtɔtyɔt*
engleromyces goetzei (mushroom), *puìndá*
evil spirit of the forest, *Tyɛ̀mosit*
eye, *kɔ̀ɔngdá*
eye boogers, *mɔ̀rɔ́íg*

F, f

face scarifications, *kíbèléchɔ́*
(to) faint, *kétɔn*
family, *káinwàn*
far, *lóó*
fat, adj., *lamum*
fat, edible, *mɔ̀ita*
fat, non edible, *sùùndet*
father, *kòònut, tááta 1.*
father in law, *tááta 3.*
fear, *sɔ́ngɔbindét 1.*
fearful, *sɔ́ngɔbindét 2.*
feather, *kɔ́rɔ̀ryét*
(to) feed someone sick, *kɛ́baj*
few, some, *ablak, túútìgín*
field, *túrùgút*
finger, *mɔ̀ɔrnɛ́t*
fire, fireplace, *màt*
      stone(s) of the f., *kɔ̀itámàt*

firewood, *kwéndɛt*
five, *mùùt*
floor, ground, *ngwɔ́m*
flour, *púsyeg*
flower, *tàbtéɛ́t, máwat*
food, *ɔ̀mdít*
foot, leg, *kɛ̀ldét / kɛ̀ldɔ́*
foot (only animal), *kɔ̀rɔɔktá*
footmark, *kɛ́ɛ́ldɔ̀*
(to) forge, *kétàny*
forehead, *tɔ̀gɔ́ità*
foulard, scarf, *kítambáɛt*
four, *ángwán*
frog, *kípkwàta*
fruit, *màtundeg*
(to) fry, *kégɛl*
furniture, *kètiit*

G, g

ginger, *tàngáwisíg*
girl, *tyὲbtɔ́*
glass, cow horn, *lànέt*
glutton, big eater, *kɔntɔ́mɔ*
goat, *(i)ngìnet*
God, *Asista 2.*
granary, *chɔ́gʋ̀*

grandfather, *kʋ̀ʋ̀gɔ́*
grandmother, *kòògó*
grandson / granddaughter, *láákwà 2.*
green, *nyalil*
(to) greet, *kégat*
(to) grind flour, *kéngali*
guinea fowl, *chàngwɛrὲtyɛt*

H, h

Halictus, kɔ́sɔmyàt
hair, *pʋ̀ʋ̀tég*
       hair (to make one's h.),
                       kéjuch
hammer, *nyundoit*
hand, arm, *èèút*
handle of the axe, *kùnyuktɔ́*
handle of the knife: *kùleitɔ́*
(to) hang the log on the tree,
                késɔ̀ngɔí
(to) hang the meat to smoke,
                késɪrɪgɔnɪ
happiness, *ngérɛget*
happy (to be), *kéngɛrɛch*
(to) harvest honey, *kémù*
hat, cap, *ngɔ̀byέt*
hawk, *ɔ̀rɔget*
he/she/it - him/her/it, *ínὲ*
head, skull cap *mὲtít*
(to) heal, *kénya*
healer, traditional, *kɔ́nyɔ̀indet*
(to) hear, listen, *kégas*
heart, *mʋ̀gʋ̀léldɔ̀*

heavy (clothes), *nyìgis*
heel, *túttùindɔ́*
hen, *kʋ̀gjɔ́t*
here, *mí*
(to) hit, fight, *kébirigej*
hole, cave, *kèringet*
hole (lobe of the ear),
          kuchɔyét, ngwénegobìt,
holes to let the bees in and out
      of the hive, *kɔ̀ɔ̀ngíg*
(to) hollow out the wood, *kébàl*
honey, *kóómèg*
   old honey (1 year or more),
              kὲldέt ak kòògó
   ripe honey (1 month),
               nàróóg
honeycomb, *pòògchɔ́t*
   cross comb, *sὲmaanég*
   long comb, *kɔ́mdɔ́*
   short, round comb,
              kὲènèjuég
household goods, *kùrbét*
how?, *nέ?*
hunger, *rùbét*

hunter, *túrìndét*
husband, *pɔ́ɔ́ndɛt*
hut (for women), *kɔ́*
      ceremony for the building
      of the kɔ́, *omajɔnit*

hut (men's), *koog*
hyena, *tyémʋgʋgwit*
hyrax, *ìndɛrit*

I, i

I, me, *ánɛ̀*
(to) incise the opening of the hive,
kégàk (póónèt)

insect, *kàlyangát*
instep, *tìlʋgɛt*
insult, type of, *àstɛ́*

J, j

jacket, vest, *jágɛtit*
jealousy, *ngɛ̀tkɔ̀ɔ̀ngdá*
(to) join, *kɛ́mì*

Joint, all kinds (vertebra, ankle,
    knuckle…), *róótyèt*

K, k

kidney, *sɔ́rɔ̀myɛ́t*
(to) kill, *kébar*
knee, *kútùngdɔ́*
kneecap, *ìsyɛ́t*
knife, *ròòtwét*

knife (short, men's), *kíbɪndɔ̀*
knife, small, used in the cutting
       of the flies for arrows, *wísa*
knot, *serút*

L, l

labour, pains of delivery *ngwɔ̀nindɔ́*
lake, pond, *pàríd*
lance, spear, *ísugít*
lance, spear, little used term, *tɛɛngét*
larva, *ìsyát*
(to) lay down, *kéruj*
leader of hunt, *kɔndʋɪndɛ ak tʋrɔɔt*
leaf, *sɔ́gɔt*
(to) learn, *késɔman*
leftovers, *tɔ́lɔngig*
leftovers of *ugali*, *mɔ́bɛryɛt*
leg, *kèldɔ́, kúistɔ̀*
leg of the table, *kèldagmèsét*
leopard, *àbejɛt*
let fly notch, *saita*
(to) lick, *kémbɛl*

life, daily life, *sɔ̀béét*
(to) lift the log hive on the tree,
                                kéchùt
light (clothes), *téldél*
lightning, *kɔ̀lyɛlɔt*
lightning, mythical bird of the, *ílɛt*
lion, *ngètwindɔ*
liver, *kɔ́ɔ́jèt*
loneliness, *siriret*
lonely, adj. and adv. *sirir*
(to be) lonely, *késirir*
long, tall *kɔj*
love, desire, *chàmét*
lovely, *chàmát*
lungs, *puɔ́nyɔ̀t*

M, m

man, *mùrén*
          strong man, *ngèètát*
mantle, traditional, *legishobo*
many, a lot, *chéchàn*
(to) mash, *kétyɔny*
maybe, *nyɔlu*
meat, *pàànyég, pèèntɔ́*
meat (dry), *sìrɪgɔ́nyɔ́t*
midwife, traditional, *tyemosianig*
milk, *chèègó*
mill, *kímyɛt*
millet, millet flour, *mèmɛrúg*
(to) mince, *kémurmur*

miscarriage, abortion, *koìrɔrɔg mɔ̀ɔ́ét*
(to) mix, *kéngɔrl*
mole, *kípkùlu*
Monday, *chùmátàtó*
mongoose, *ɘsìmínjaìt*
monkey, *tísyɛt, sɔ́irɛt*
moon, *aragwɛt*
mother, *káámèt, e'e*
mother in law, *káámètnyun nè siriben*
mouse, *mùriat*
mouth, *kòòtét*
mucus, booger, *sɛ́bɛryɔ̀t/sɛ́bɛrchyɔ̀*
mustache, *ɛ́lmonyoít*

N, n

nail, *sììjét*

nail, big, iron used in house building and by the Ogiek to forge their points of arrow, *kipchumariat*

near, *négit, kwa*

neck, *kààtít*

necklace, *kàryát*

nectar, *táábtèt*

needle, *sindánùt*

nettle, *sígwɔt*

new, *imbya*

night, in the, *kwèèmɔ́sh*

nine, *sɔ́gɔ̀l*

no, *é'éig*

nose, *sèrúút*

now, *paani*

O, o

old, *jɔ́s*

old woman, woman in menopause, *indàsat*

olea africana, olea capensis (tree), *màsaitá*

olea europaea (tree), *yémdit*

(wild) olive tree, *ngɔtwɛt*

once, *éngèny, kíngò*

one, *ágèèngɛ*

opening of the hive, *pónèèt*

P, p

palate (mouth), *nòòr(o)git*

palm (hand), *panààktá*

(to) pass, *késir*

passion fruit, wild, *mìnjɔ́rɪ*

patch, *kirààgá*

path, *ɔ́rɛt 2.*

paw, *korɔ̀ktá*

pea, *mínjig*

peace, *chɔmyet, myèndɔ́ 1.*

peaceful, *myèndɔ́ 2.*

penis, *kirigid*

person, *chítɔ̀i*

piercings (ear), *ɘmenaisyeg*

pig, wild, *tɔ̀raɛ́t*

pigeon, dove, *tèbétèbét*

pike, spear, *mèchɛɛitá*

place, *ɔ̀ldɔ́*

place in the forest suitable for hunting, *tʊ̀rɔ́ɔ́t*

placenta, *ìmondɔit*

pocket, *mɔgùgwet*

point of the arrow (metal), *kirabanɛt*

poison, *ngwònét*
poison maker, *kipsɔ́ngɔnyɔt*
pollen ?, *nɔ̀ɔ̀gíg*
porridge, *róngòríg*
posts of the hut, *lomejuɔg*
pot, *kèrègút*
potato, *pyàsyét*
potato, sweet, *(i)ngwàje*
(to) praise, *kɛ́lɔs*

(to) pray, *kɛ́sa*
prayer, *sà'ét*
pregnant woman, *sɔ̀lɔitɔ́*
proboscis, sting, *kɔ́ɔ́tét*
propolis, *vááɛ̀g*
proud of (to be), *kɛ́lɔsʊgɛt ak*
pullover, *pùlanét*
pupa, *várvèt*
pus, *p(ʋ)rʋ̀rʋ̀tíg*

Q, q

queen bee, *káámèt ak sègɛmég*

R, r

rain, *rɔ̀ɔ̀bta*
(to) rain, *kéroban*
rat, *nyásiryat*
red bee, *sɔ́mɔ̀seryet*
red duiker, *mindet*
relatives, *chégìtupché*
(to) remove a tooth, *kéngus*
(to) rest, *kémuny*
rib, *k(ɔ̀)rɔ̀swɔ̀t*
ripe, *rùrɔ́t*

(to) rise, *kɛ́chɔr*
river (big), *ɔ̀inéét*
river (small), *pèèg*
(to) roast, *kɛ́bɛl*
roof, *pàtaígɔ́*
root, *(ɩ)ndàànait*
rope, *túnɔ̀ɔ̀jét*
rope for carrying the hive in the
        forest, *ànuét*
royal jelly ?, *nɔ̀ɔ̀gíg*

S, s

sacrum, tailbone, *sàarùryèt*

sad (to be), *kénerech*

sadness, anger *néregeg*

saliva, spit, *ŋgùlyát*

salt, modern, *chumbig*

salt, traditional, *imágatit*

Saturday, *chùmɔ́mùs*

scapulo-humeral bone, *pòònòòchég*

school, *sùgúl*

scissors, *magasít*

scout bee, *kàutánig / kɔ̀ɔ̀jɔ́gìg / sègeíg*

(to) secrete, *kéchèn*

(to) set down, *kérɔrɔk*

seven, *tísàp*

(to) sing, *kétyeni*

(to) shape, *kébàrbar*

(to) shape a noose knot, *kérìch*

(to) shape (roughly) the external
          surface of the hive, *kéchɔk*

(to) shape the interior of the log,
                    kébɔ̀tɔ́t

(to) share, serve food *képchèn*

(to) shave, *kérwach*

sheath of the knife, *róótwèt ak chóg*

sheep, *àrtɛt*

shelf, *kítará*

shell / half log, *kèbéébɛ́r*

(to) shine, *kéilu*

shit, feces, *pyég*

shoe, *kwèjɔt*

shoelace, *kààmbét ak kwèjɔt*

short, *ringààg*

shoulder, *pònɔktá*

shoulder bag for honey harvesting,
                    mòtogéét

shoulder bag for arrows, *mɔ́ɔ́tyèt*

shoulder blade, *pùjìtà*

(to) show, *kébɔr*

shy (adj.), *múèj 2*

shy / fearful (to be), *kémvɛj*

shyness, *múèj 1*

sister, *negìtupché*

(to) sit down, *kétebɔte(n)*

six, *lɔ́*

skin, *màgatét*

(to) skin vegetables, *kéchɔk*

(to) skin animals, *kéjende*

skirt, traditional, *màrindét,*
                    tyébkaajvít

(to) slaughter, *kéjèm*

slave, *námanèt*

(to) sleep, *kéruj*

slippers, *slìvas*

small, *siriben*

smoke, *íjèèt*

snake, *(i)ndàrét*

soap, traditional, *akílɛ*

sock, *sɔ̀gísyɔt*

sole of the foot, *rubèèitɔ́*

son, *wèrɔ́ 2.*

spine, *róótyèt*

(to) split the wood, *kébàt*

spoon, traditional, *sɛgétyɛt*

star, *taabojat*

stick used for cooking, *mùgaangét*

stick used for smoking the meat,
                    sààrtít

stick used to light the fire,
                    ndàméét, pìnéét

stick of the arrow, *ùruméét*

(to) stimulate a newborn baby to
          breath, *késyɛn*

sting ? , *kòòtét, rèèríg*

(to) sting, *kémwɔ̀g*

stone, *kɔ̀itá*
(to) store, *kégɔnɔr*
storm, *rɔ̀ɔ̀bta (ak kɔɔjat)*
strength, *ingobut*
stripes of green bark, *mòòrtét*
stripes of dry bark, *péértét*
stupid, *bɛ́rbɛ́r*
stupidity, *bɛ́rbɛ́rnatɛt*
(to) suck, *kéchuchun*
sugar, *sùgáru*
suit, *sút*

sun, *Asista 1.*
Sunday, *chùmɔ́mbìlí*
sunrise, *(kɔ́chɔr) Asista*
sunset, *(kɔ́rɔ̀rɔk) Asista*
sunshine, *(kóìlu) Asista*
(to) swallow, *kélogoi*
swarm, *(g)írààɔríg*
sweat, *lípchààníg*
sweater, *swɛ́tɛt*
sweet, kind, beautiful, adj., *síngwɔ̀i*

T, t

table, *mèsét*
tale, *tɔ̀ngúch*
(to) taste good/sweet, *kényiny*
tea, *chai*
(to) teach, *kénɛt*
teacher, master, *konetindet*
team of hunters: *piik ak tὺrɔ́ɔ́t*
tears, *lòògíg*
ten, *tàmán*
tendon, *mèèldét*
tendon, used as a small rope,
                    mááisyét
testicles, *mòògɔ́íg*
thanks, *sèréig, kòngɔig*
they, them, *íchὲg*
thigh, *kóbééstɔ́ / kúbééstɔ́*
thigh (animal), *cháátìt*
thin, *tɛndɛn*
(to) think, *kɛ́bwat*
thirst, *rɔ́ngeet*
thorax, *pɔ̀ɔ̀rtɔ́*
thread, *tunɔ̀ɔ̀jét 1.*

three, *sómòg*
throat, *móóktɔ̀*
thunder, *tulɔtét*
tibia, *korɔktá*
time, *sààit 2.*
tobacco, *tùmɔtít*
today, *ra*
tomorrow, *korun*
tongue, *ngὲlyɛptà*
toothbrush, *sístɛt*
tooth, *kὲèldét*
top of the table, *pàtaímèsét*
trap (which catches the prey by its
        neck), *kipkààtit*
trap (which catches the prey by its
        leg), *kipkèlit*
tree, general name, used also to refer
        to the trees from which
        poison is obtained, *kéélyɔt*
tree whose leaves are used to
        envelop the meat in the
        forest, *chémurmuriét, sérérét,*
                    sɔ́ɔ́sɔ́nɛ́t

trees from which the Ogiek get the wood to make the sticks of their arrows, *léletʃuèt, má-saitá* (olea africana), *téégàt* (?), *yémdìt,* (?)

trees or plants used in traditional medicine, non identified, *chɛ́b'ndɔ̀rwɛt, chɛ́lʊ̀mbʊt, chɛ́pkɔ̀lɔgolyo, íngɔ̀lɔgit, nɔ̀njɛg ak kàrábàryét, sìmeitɔ, sitɔ̀tig, sʊ̀gʊmèryɛt*

trees, bushes or plants from which the Ogiek get their honey, *karabwet, mɔrɔrtá, seregùtyét, tebengwet, tekwojɔ, tunɔ̀ɔ̀jét 2.*

trousers, *lóngit*

trunk, half excavated, *kɛ́bɛ̀ɛ̀bɛ́r*

tuber, wild, *nɔ̀ryeg*

twin babies, *saramàég*

two, *ɔ́èn*

U, u

umbilical cord, *kàgwalda*

umbilicus, *ké'ttùbéét*

uncle (father's brother), appellative, *tááta*

underwear, *súlualit*

(to) undress, *kéreg*

uniform, *ɔ̀guryèt 4.*

urine, *sɔ̀gɔség*

uterus, *kapinyɛt*

V, v

vagina, *nyʊ̀ùsít*

vegetables, grown in garden, *ingwɔt*

vegetables, wild, *isɔ̀jot, kélyeg*

vegetal fibre burnt during the smoking of the hive, *kùrɔ́gʊ̀ryét*

vegetal fiber for making the bag for carrying honey, *kwɔ̀mereryét*

vegetal fibre used to fix the bark stripes on the hive, *písìndá*

vegetal fibre used for making containers, *fàbarárig, sèlɛkwét*

vegetal ingredient used to make honey beer, *rɔ̀ɔ̀tínig*

vein, *tígìtyɔ*

village, *kɔ́rìg*

W, w

waist, *òlòòdóit*

(to) wake up, *kɛ́gɔs*

(to) wake someone, *kɛ́nyɛt*

(to) walk, go, *kɛ́ba*

(to) walk quickly, *kéchumdan*

wall, *kàrastàkpɔ*

(to) want, desire, love, hope, *kɛ́cham*

warburgia ugandensis (tree), *sɔ̀gét*

warm place, *sààbó*

(to) wash, *kéun*

watch, clock, *sààit 1.*

water, *pèèg*

wax *?, àsaɛ́g, tèmeniét*

we, us, *échèg*

(to) wear, *kɛ́lach 1.*

(to) weave, knit, *kénobis*

wedding, ceremony, *kɔ́ɪtɔ*

what?, *nɛ̀?*

wheat, wheat flour, *(i)ngànu*

when?, *ɔ́jìù?*

where?, *ánɔ̀*

which?, *áinù?*

white, *leo*

white (people), *pirìri*

who? whom? to whom? *ngɔ́?*

why?, *ɔ́mù nɛ́?*

wild honey, *kɔ́somèg*

wife, *tyɔ́sɛt*

wind, *isonet*

wings, *màrábʋ̀g*

wire (nylon), *ínet*

wire (for sewing), *ùsít*

woman, *tyὲbyὸsá*

wood used for hives?, *ɔ̀ʋnít*

wooden handle of the small axe, *kùnyúktɔ̀*

wooden shell / half hollowed out trunk, *kὲbɛ́ɛ́bɛ́r*

worker bee, *kibɔɪtèènʋg / sὲὲrseeríg*

worms, intestinal, types of, *káá019 kúútig, twaageg*

Y, y

year, *kὲnyít*

yellow, *tɔlelyɔn*

yes, *ὲ'ὲ*

yesterday, *ɔ́mùt*

you (sg), *ínyè*

you (pl.), *ɔ́kwὲg*