Grammar

The usual form of the Turkana sentence is: verb + subject + object e.g. alosi ayong moi locor: I will go tomorrow to the well. There are other forms depending on which element in the sentence one wishes to stress e.g. moi alosi ayong locor: tomorrow I will go to the well; locor alosi ayong moi: it is to the well I will go tomorrow.

The verb

There are two classes of verbs in the Turkana language: 'T' class and 'K' class, each having characteristic vowels 'a' or 'o'. This gives four different types, which we refer to as being K.A.; K.O.; T.A.; T.O.

1 The imperative form of the verb to beg 'akilip' is kilip/a i.e.

you beg : kilip

all of you beg : kilipa K.A.

2 The imperative form of the verb to herd 'akiyok' is kiyok/o i.e.

you herd : kiyok

all of you herd : kiyoko K.O.

3 The imperative form of the verb to weed 'akicap' is tacap/a i.e.

you weed : tacap

all of you weed : tacapa T.A.

4 The imperative form of the verb to rest 'akiper' is toper/o i.e.

you rest : toper

all of you rest : topero T.O.

Most of the verbs fit within these four forms. So we have K + vowel + stem + characteristic vowel or <math>T + vowel + stem + characteristic vowel. The characteristic vowel is determined by the vowel in the stem and/or the vowel in the infix of the verb. If the vowel in the infix is stronger than that in the stem then there can be a change in the characteristic vowel. This change is easily noticed in the subjunctive.

It is important to understand the verb in Ngaturkana, as the verb is the most important element in the language. The capacity of this language to express the most difficult concepts is conferred on it by its verb-initial and verb-dominant quality. Until the verb type is known it is impossible to analyse the language. Once its classification is known, then an understanding of this language becomes possible. This is the key to the complicated system of tense, voice and mood; as well as action, verbal and manner-nouns.

The Turkana verb has six elements:

Ke- (prefix) : action being done to me

-si- (infix) : causative

-cum- (stem) : stem of the verb to spear

-an- (infix) : frequently -akin- (infix) : for the purpose

-ete- (suffix) : they are doing something

i.e. Kesicumanakinete: they will cause me to kill for them frequently (literal translation). There is a mortuary ceremony called Ngakisicumanakinet: to cause to kill often for the purpose of wiping away tears of bereavement.

The Turkana verb has four final infixes: un, ar/or, kin, and it. All verbs can theoretically have these infixes and combinations of them as our examples below show.

We now illustrate some of these complications by giving some forms of our four verbs.

1. Akilip K.A.: to pray or beg

Active voice

Infinitive participles

Akilip (K.A.) to pray/beg

Akilipitoi to have prayed

to pray with Akilipya Akilipitor to have prayed with

Verbal nouns

Ekelipan/Ngikelipak prayer/s; beggar/s

Ekelipiton/Ngikelipitok one who usually prays

Passive voice

Infinitive participles

Akilipo to be prayed/begged
Akilipupu to be in a state of being prayed
Akilipitae to have been begged

Reflexive

Infinitive participles

Akilipa to beg oneself

Akilipar to get oneself prayed for

Manner-nouns

Ekilipe/Ngikilipasinei a way/s of praying

Instruments

Ekilipet/Ngikilipet instrument for praying/pl. (masculine) Akilipet/Ngakilipet /pl. (feminine) Ikilipet/Ngikilipet /pl. (neuter)

Action-noun

Akilipet/Ngakilipeta a praying/prayings

Reflexive

Erono akilipa bon to be 'asking' oneself is bad

Infinitive nouns

Ejoikinit akilip it is good to pray Eparing akilipo it is difficult to pray it is bad to beg oneself Erono akilipa bon

Akilip/Ngakilipeta praying/prayings

Participles

Active

Ekelipan lo this prayer

Ekelipiton lo this common beggar

Passive

Akilipet/Ngakilipeta: Na/Nu Akilipupu/na ngakilipupu/nu the place/s to be prayed in the begged one

Infinitive abstract nouns

Akilipanot/Ngakilipanotin praying/s

Verbal adjectives

Ilipana/Ilipaka this person is adept at praying beggar/s
Ilipana apese na this girl likes to pray

Apese na ilipana na this is the girl who likes to pray

Infinitives of verb akilip K.A.: to beg

akilip	to beg		
akilipun	"	this way	
akilipar	"	that way	
akilipakin	"	for	
akilipenen	"	frequently	
akilipunun	"	• "	this way
akilipanar	"	"	that way
akilipanakin	"	"	for
akilipilip	"	repeatedly	
akilipilipun	"	- "	this way
akilipilipar	"	"	that way
akilipilipakin	"	"	for

Causative infinitives

akisilip	to cause	to beg	z .	
akisilipun	"	"	this way	
akisilipar	"	"	that way	
akisilipakakin	"	"	for	
akisilipenen	"	"	frequently	
akisilipunun	"	"		nis way
akisilipanar	"	"		at way
akisilipanakin	"	"	" fo	
akisilipilip	"	"	repeatedly	
akisilipilipun	"	"		nis way
akisilipilipar	"	"		nat way
akisilipilipakin	"	"	" fo	

To all these the infix 'it' can be added, which gives the notion of a customary action e.g. akilipit, akilipunit

The causative form of the 'K' class verb is s + vowel:

akisilipanakin : to cause to beg for often akisicumanakin : to cause to spear for often

All these infixed verbs have the same complicated system of tense, voice and mood as well as action, verbal and manner-nouns

2. Akiyok K.O.: to herd

Active voice

Infinitive participles

Akiyok (K.O.) to herd

Akiyokitoi to have herded Akiyokyo to herd with

Akiyokitor to have herded with

Verbal nouns

Ekeyokon/Ngikeyokok one who herds/pl.

Ekeyokiton/Ngikeyokitok one who usually herds/pl.

Passive voice

Infinitive participles

Akiyoko to be herded

Akiyokoku to be in a herded state Akiyokitoi to have been herded

Reflexive

Infinitive participles

Akiyoko to herd itself

Akiyokor to get itself herded

Manner-nouns

Ekiyokiye/Ngikiyokisyo a way of herding/ways of herding

Instruments

Ekiyokiet/Ngikiyokiet instrument/s for herding. (masculine)
Akiyokiet/Ngakiyokiet " " (feminine)
Ikiyokiet/Ngikiyokiet " " (neuter)

Action-noun

Akiyoket/Ngakiyoketa a herding/herdings

Reflexive

Ekiyokiye lo kon erono this herding of yours is bad

Infinitive nouns

Ejoikinit akiyok it is good to herd

Eparing akiyoko Erono akiyoko bon Akiyoket/Ngayoketa it is strange to be herded herding in itself is bad herding/herdings

Participles

Active

Ekeyokon lo

this herder

Ekeyokiton lo

this usual herder

Passive

(Acokor: usual word for the place of herding)

Ayokor/Ngayokorisyo: Na/Nu

the place/s of herding

Infinitive abstract noun

Akiyoket/Ngakiyoketa

a herding/herdings

Verbal adjectives

Ekeyokon/Ngikeyokok

Iyokono/Iyokoku Iyokono idia lo

Idia lo iyokono lo

herding/herders adept person in herding this boy likes to herd

this is the boy who likes to herd

Infinitives of verb akiyok K.O.: to herd

akiyok	to herd		
akiyokun	"	this way	
akiyokior	"	that way	
akiyokin	"	for	
akiyokenen	"	frequently	
akiyokunun	#	" "	this way
akiyokonor	"	"	that way
akiyokonokin	"	"	for
akiyokoyok	"	repeatedly	
akiyokoyokun	"	1 "	this way
akiyokoyokor	"	" .	that way
akiyokoyokokin	"	"	for

Causative infinitive

akisiyok	to cause	to herd		
akisiyokun	"	"	this way	
akisiyokior	"	"	that way	
akisiyokin	"	"	for	
akisiyokenen	"	"	frequently	
akisiyokunun	"	"	",	this way
akisyokonor	"	"	"	that way
akisiyokonokin	"	"	"	for
akisiyokoyok	"	"	repeatedly	
akisiyokoyokun	"	"	' "	this way
akisiyokoyokor	"	"	"	that way

akisiyokoyokokin to cause to herd repeatedly for

To all these infinitives the 'it' form can be added

3. Akicap T.A.: to weed

Active voice

Infinitive participles

Akicap (T.A.)

to weed

Acapitoi Acapya

to have weeded to weed with

Acapitor

to have weeded with

Verbal nouns

Ekacapan/Ngikacapak

weeder/s

Ekacapiton/Ngikacapitok

one who usually weeds/pl.

Eleven Bergerings- II

Passive voice

Infinitive participles

Acapo

to be weeded

Acapapu Acapitae

to be in a weeded state

to have been weeded

Reflexive

Infinitive participles

Acapa

to weed itself

Acapar

to get itself weeded

Manner-nouns

Ecape/Ngicapesyo

a way of weeding/ways of weeding

Instruments

Ecapet/Ngicapeta Acapet/Ngacapeta instrument for weeding/pl. (masculine) /pl. (feminine)

Icapet/Ngicapeta

" /pl. (neuter)

Action-noun

Acapet/Ngacapeta

a weeding/weedings

Reflexive

Ecape lo erono

this weeding is bad

Infinitive nouns

Ejoikinit akicap

it is good to weed

Eparing acapo

it is strange for it to be weeded

Erono 'acapa' bon Akicap/Ngacapeta

weeding in itself is bad weeding/weedings

Participles

Active

Ekacapan lo

this weeder

Ekacapiton lo

this usual weeder

Passive

Acapat na/Ngacapan nu Acapap na/Ngacapap nu the place to be weeded/pl

the weeded one/pl

Infinitive abstract nouns

Acapanot/Ngacapanotin

this weeding/pl

Verbal adjectives in participle form

Ekacapan/Ngikacapak Ekacapana/Ekacapaka weeder/weeders

Ecapana apese na

adept person in weeding/pl this girl likes to weed

Apese na ecapana na

this is the girl who likes to weed

Infinitives of verb akicap T.A.: to weed

akicap	to weed		
acapun	"	this way	
acapar	*	that way	
acapakin	"	for	
acapenen	"	frequently	
acapunun	"	1 ,,	this way
acapanar	"	"	that way
acapanakin	n	"	for
acapacap	"	repeatedly	
acapacapun	"	"	this way
acapacapar	"	"	that way
acapacapakin	"	"	for

Causative infinitives

akitacap	to cause	to weed		
akitacapun	"	"	this way	
akitacapar	"	"	that way	
akitacapakin	"	"	for	
akitacapenen	"	"	frequently	
akitacapunun	"	"	'"	this way
akitacapanar	"	"	"	that way
akitacapanakin	"	H	"	for
akitacapacap	"	"	repeatedly	
akitacapacapun	"	"	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	this way
akitacapacapar	"	"	"	that way
akitacapacapakin	"	"	"	for

To all these the infix 'it' can be added, which gives the notion of customary action e.g. acapunit, acaparit.

4. Akiper T.O.: to rest/sleep

Active voice

Infinitive participles

Akiper (T.O) to sleep Aperitoi to have slept Aperyo to sleep with Aperitor to have slept with

Verbal nouns

Ekaperon/Ngikaperok sleeper/s Ekaperiton/Ngikaperitok usual sleeper/s

Passive voice

Infinitive participles

Apero a place which can be slept in Aperitoi to have been used for sleeping a place which has been slept in/pl. Aperot/Ngaperon

Reflexive

Infinitive participles

Apero bon to sleep alone Aperor bon to sleep away alone

Manner-nouns

Epere/Ngiperesinei a way/s of sleeping

Instruments

a thing/s for sleeping in (masculine) Eperiet/Ngiperiet Aperiet/Ngaperiet (feminine) (neuter) Iperiet/Ngiperiet

Action-nouns

Aperet/Ngapereto a sleeping/s

Reflexive

this sleeping is bad Epere lo erono

Infinitive nouns

it is good to sleep Ejoikinit akiper it is difficult to sleep Eparing epere it is wrong to sleep alone Erono apero bon

sleeping/s Aperit/Ngaperito

Participles

Active

Ekaperon lo this sleeper Ekaperiton lo this common sleeper

Passive

Aperot na the place to be slept in the places to be slept in Ngaperon nu

Infinitive abstract nouns

Aperonot/Ngaperonotin sleeping/s

Verbal adjectives

Ekaperon/Ngikaperok

sleeper/s Eperono/Eperoko adept sleeper/s

Eperono apese na this girl likes to sleep

Apese na eperono na this is a girl who likes to sleep

Infinitives of verb akiper T.O.: to rest/sleep

akiper	to rest		
aperun	"	this way	
aperor	"	that way	
aperokin	"	for	
aperenen	"	frequently	
aperunun	"	. "	this way
aperonor	"	"	that way
aperonokin	"	"	for
aperiperit	"	repeatedly	
aperiperun	"	' "	this way
aperiperor	* **	"	that way
aperiperokin	"	"	for

Causative infinitive

akitoper	to cause	to rest		
akitoperun	"	"	this way	
akitoperor	"	"	that way	
akitoperokin	"	"	for	
akitoperenen	"	"	frequently	
akitoperunun	"	"	• "	this way
akitoperonor	"	"	"	that way
akitoperokin	"	"	"	for
akitoperiper	"	"	repeatedly	
akitoperiperun	"	"	- "	this way
akitoperiperor	"	"	"	that way
akitoperiperokin	"	"	"	for

To all these the infix 'it' can be added to give the notion of customary action e.g. aperit, akiperit.

The causative form of the 'T' class verb is t + vowel:

akitoper to cause to rest akituduk to cause to build So the number of Turkana infinitives reaches fifty five for every verb.

Verb tenses

There are so many tenses that it would be impossible to give them here. However let me give a few of the more common and simple tenses. Let us take the verb to weed (akicap) and the verb to beg or pray (akilip).

Past	Present	Future
elipi (I prayed) ilipi elipi (i)kilipi ilipete elipete acapi (I weeded) icapi acapi (i)kicapi icapete	elipi (I am praying) ilipi ilipi (i)kilipi ilipete ilipete acapi (I am weeding) icapi ecapi (i)kicapi icapete	elipi + moi (I will pray) ilipi " ilipi " (i) kilipi " ilipete " ilipete " acapi + moi (I will weed) icapi " ecapi " (i)kicapi " icapete "
acapete	ecapete	ecapete "
Narrative	Contemporary	Root Past
elip (and I prayed) kilip kilip elipa kilipa kilipa	praying) kilipi kilipi elipete	elip (I really prayed) ilip elip (i)kilip ilipa elipa
prayed) kilip kilip elipa kilipa	praying) kilipi kilipi elipete kilipete kilipete	prayed) ilip elip (i)kilip ilipa

Negatives

Prefix ny to make the negative nyelipi: I am not praying. Another negative is pa + verb e.g. pa alosi: I am not going.

Subjunctive

This tense is made by adding ya (ia) or yo (io) to the personal prefix

San Sulfand Co.

and the root of the verb in the singular, and yata (iata) or yoto (ioto) in the plural e.g.

acapya	kicapya	ecapyata
elipya	kilipya	ilip yata

Conditional

It is formed by putting 'k' before the personal prefixes of the tenses we know. The present and past however are the same:

kacapit: if I weed; if I weeded.

Ani or kerai can also be used with the verb:

ani kacapi: if I weed

Nouns

Ngaturkana has no articles, but has three genders for nouns viz. masculine, feminine and common (neuter). It distinguishes between singular and plural by means of:

- 1 Regular prefixes and irregular suffixes
- 2 Regular prefixes and suffixes of verbal nouns
- 3 Special prefixes for kinship terms
- 4 Nouns without gender prefix
- 5 Other plurals

1 Regular prefixes and irregular suffixes

Singular	Plural	
aberu	ngaberu	woman/women
ekile	ngikilyok	
	(ngigiliok)	man/men
ikoku	ngide	child/children

So the prefixes are:

Singular		Plural
Feminine	a-	nga-
Masculine	e-	ngi –
Neuter	i –	ngi-

2 Regular prefixes and suffixes of verbal nouns

Theoretically all infinitives of a verb are verbal nouns, as shown above for akicap: to weed and akiyok: to herd. Also the four participles of a verb are verbal nouns.

ekacapan lo	this weeder
ekacapiton lo	this usual weeder
acapat/ngacapan: na/nu	the place to be weeded/pl
acapap/na ngacapap/nu	the weeding one/pl

3 Special prefixes for kinship terms

Here in the singular the feminine prefix **a** is replaced by **na** (like locative), the masculine **e** with **lo**, but the neuter retains **i**.

nakaato my sister (of mother)
lokaato my brother (of mother)
ikaato my small sister or brother
nakaapa my 'half' sister (of father)
ikaapa my small half-sister/brother

4 Nouns without gender prefix

Kuju North Kwap South Kide East Too West

5 Other plurals

No singular prefix and 'ta' plural.

lokuto/talokuto also ngikutoi panase/tapanase aardwolf/s apa/taapa father/s ito/taito mother/s amae/tamae uncle/s eya/taeya aunt/s

Living plants and grasses are usually masculine:

etir: acacia tortilis (young) eowi: acacia tortilis (mature) esekon: salvadora persica

Cut down trees and grasses become feminine:

ekitoe: tree akitoe: cut tree nginya: grass nganya: cut grass

The names of foreign peoples are masculine, their languages are feminine:

Ngitoposa Ngijie ngajie

Foreign liquids are generally masculine singular and indigenous ones feminine plural:

ar) ngakipi: watei ngakile: milk

Classes of nouns

There are nine classes according to my classification:

- 1 Infinitives of transitive verbs e.g. akigir: writing
- 2 Infinitives of intransitive verbs e.g. akibusokin: falling
- 3 Those got from primitive verbs of quality e.g. aosou: cleverness
- 4 Those got from derived verbs of quality e.g. abanganut: stupidity
- 5 Concrete nouns from verbs of quality ending in ana (emudukana/emudukaka) e.g. emudukanot: blind man
- 6 Nouns of action e.g. ekaswoman: reader
- 7 Instrumental nouns e.g. ebanyet: instrument for shaving
- 8 Nouns made by adding 'it' e.g. edukit: way of building
- 9 Compound nouns e.g. taataa: grandmothers

Pronouns and adjectives

Personal pronouns

ayong	I	ngoni (sua)	we
iyong	you	iyesi	you (plural)
inges	she/he	ikes	they

Possessive adjectives

kang	my	yok (kosi)	ours
kon	yours	kus	yours
keng	his	kec	theirs

These adjectives can be placed within or after the nouns:

After	Within
awi kang	akaawi
erot kon	ekonirot
ikoku keng	ikeekoku
akwap yok	ayokokwap (inclusive)
akwap kosi	akosikwap (exclusive)
ngatuk kus	ngakusituk
ngimongin kec	ngikecemongin

Relative pronouns

These agree in gender and number with noun:

	Singular	Plural	
M F C	ngolo ngina ngini	ngulu nguna ngulu	
e.g.	ekile ngolo ngikiliok ngulu apese ngina ngapesur nguna		the man who the men who the girl who the girls who

ikoku ngini the child who ngide ngulu the children who

Possessive pronouns/adjectives

Singular	Plural
ekang: mine	ngikang
akang	ngakang
ikang	ngikang
ngolo kang: mine	ngulu kang
ngina kang	nguna kang
ngini kang	ngulu kang

Demonstrative pronouns/adjectives

	Singular		Plural	
M F C	lo, logo na, naga en, egen	this "	lu, lugu nu, nugu lu, lugu	these
e.g.	ekile lo logo	this man this one	ngikiliok lugu lugu	these men these ones
M F C e.g.	ye, yege ya, yaga i, igi	that "	kui, kukwi kwa, kokwa kui, kukwi	those "
0.6.	emoru ye yege	that hill that one	ngimoru kui kui	those hills those ones
M F C	ngolo, ngol ngina, ngin ngini, ngin	that near	ngulu, ngul nguna, ngun ngulu, ngul	those near
e.g.	apese ngina ngin	that girl that one	ngapesur nguna ngun	those girls those ones

All demonstrative pronouns and adjectives may be augmented or quantified by inserting 'ti' (singular) and 'koo' or 'koso' (plural) between the nominal gender prefix and its nominal stem:

atiberu na this big woman ngakosoberu nu these big women

It is commonly used between demonstratives:

lotilo	this big man
lukosolu	those big men
yetiye	that big man (far)
kuikosokui	those big men (far)
ngolotingol	that big man (near)
ngulukosongul	those big men (near)

Demonstratives can convey the notion of *smallness* by using 'dyo' singular and 'di' plural:

adyokimuj some little food ngadikipi some little water

The notion of sameness can be conveyed by the infix 'pei':

lopeikilelo this very same man lupeikilioklu these very same men

Interrogative pronouns and adjectives

ngae (tangae plural)? who?

e.g. ngae elosi? who goes? who are going?

Singular Plural

M ali (nyali)? alu (nyalu)?
F ani (nyani)? anu (nyanu)?
C ani (nyani)? alu (nyalu)?

(who, what, which, where)?

alikile? which man? aniberu? which woman? anikoku? which child?

nyali ekile tokona? where is the man now? where is the girl? nyanu ngatuk? where are the cows?

How many is expressed:

ngiai ngikiliok? how many men? ngaai ngatuk? how many cows? ngiai ngide? how many children?

They are so many indicating the number with a show of fingers:

emwakasi ngikiliok ngine the men are so many emwakasi ngatuk ngane the cows are so many

The feminine form ngane is often used with a masculine noun:

ngimongin (ngane) ngine so many oxen

Indefinite pronouns and adjectives

ati (plural, taati)
nyali ati?
eyei ati ai?
ngolokile?
nginapese?

such a person
where is so and so?
"
any man who?
any girl who?

nginikoku isaki iyong? whichever child you want?

ngulukiliok? any men who?

Some or a little is expressed:

Singular	Plural	
edyo	ngidi	
adyo	ngadi	
idyo	ngidi	
e.g.		
nakinae	edyobela	give me a little stick
"	adyokiring	give me some meat
"	idyokale	give me a small kid
"	ngidibaren	give me some cattle
"	ngadikile	give me some milk
"	ngidikidyo	give me just a little

The other is expressed:

Singular	Plural	
ece	ngice	
ace	ngace	
ice	ngice	
e.g.		
ecekile or ekile ece		another man
acepese or apese ace		another woman
icekoku or ikoku ice		another child

ngicekiliok other man other girls ngacepesur Singular Plural

9	
ngoloce	nguluce
nginace	ngunace
nginice	nguluce
e.g.	

ekile ngoloce the other man the other girl the other thing

The concept small can be rendered by:

Singular	Plural	
cici	cicik	
e.g.		
lodyocici		the little man
nadyocici		the little woman
nidyocici		the little child
ludicicik		the little men
ngaberu ng	adicicik	the little woman
ngide ngulu		the little children

Singular	Plural
loci naci	lucik
nici	nacik lucik
e.g. ckile loci loci (m) naci (f) nici (c)	the small man the small one

Adverbs

when?
for what reason's
why?
why?
in what manner?
where?
why again?

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