

Across-the-board tonal polarity in Kipsigis: Implications for the morphology-phonology interface

Supplementary materials

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The supplementary .wav files include recordings of oblique ~ nominative pairs of adjectives from each monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllabic subpattern reported in the paper. Each file contains the adjective in one of the two case forms, as well as the relativizer preceding it. Each relativizer-adjective sequence was recorded as part of a post-verbal noun phrase in either subject position (for nominatives) or object position (for obliques) and then isolated using Praat. Example sentential contexts are provided below, for the adjective [kɔjtit] ‘cold.PL’ in the oblique and nominative case, respectively.¹

- (1) Ki:-á-lú tʃè:gá tʃè kájtít.
 PST-1SG-drink milk(PL).OBL REL.PL.OBL cold.PL.OBL
 'I drank cold milk.'

(2) ápjñíŋ tʃè:gà tʃé kájtít.
 tasty.PL milk(PL).NOM REL.PL.NOM cold.PL.NOM
 'Cold milk is tasty.'

All recordings were made in March 2020 in Nairobi, Kenya, and they feature one of two male speakers (ages 22 and 23). The equipment used was a portable Zoom H4n Pro recorder and a head-mounted microphone. The full transcriptions of each file are given below, organized by number of syllables and tonal pattern, following the order of presentation of the data in example 24 in the main paper.

¹ Abbreviations: 1: first person, H: high tone, L: low tone, NOM: nominative, OBL: oblique, PL: plural, PST: past, REL: relativizer, SG: singular.

- b. né àjíŋ
REL.SG.NOM tasty.SG.NOM
'tasty' (ne anyiny - tasty.SG.NOM.wav)

(5) Disyllabic pattern B (adjectives with H.H predicative shape): OBL H.L → NOM L.H

a. tʃè kájtìt
REL.PL.OBL cold.PL.OBL
'cold' (che kajtit - cold.PL.OBL.wav)

b. tʃé kàjtít
REL.PL.NOM cold.PL.NOM
'cold' (che kajtit - cold.PL.NOM.wav)

(6) Trisyllabic pattern A: OBL H.H.L → NOM L.L.H

a. tʃè púrgé-è:n
REL.PL.OBL hot-PL.OBL
'hot' (che purgeen - hot-PL.OBL.wav)

b. tʃé pùrgè-é:n
REL.PL.NOM hot-PL.NOM
'hot' (che purgeen - hot-PL.NOM.wav)

(7) Trisyllabic pattern B: OBL H.HL.L → NOM L.H.H

a. tʃè tóró:r-è:n
REL.PL.OBL tall-PL.OBL
'tall' (che torooreen - tall-PL.OBL.wav)

b. tʃé tòrò:r-é:n
REL.PL.NOM tall-PL.NOM
'tall' (che torooreen - tall-PL.NOM.wav)

(8) Trisyllabic pattern C: OBL H.L.H → NOM L.H.L

a. nè míntilí:l
REL.SG.OBL sour.SG.OBL
'sour' (ne mintiliil - sour.SG.OBL.wav)

b. né mìntilì:l
REL.SG.NOM sour.SG.NOM
'sour' (ne mintiliil - sour.SG.NOM.wav)

(9) Trisyllabic pattern D: OBL H.HL.H → NOM L.H.L

a. tʃè kárâ:rán
REL.PL.OBL beautiful.PL.OBL
'beautiful' (che karaaran - beautiful.PL.OBL.wav)

b. tʃé kàrá:ràn
REL.PL.NOM beautiful.PL.OBL
'beautiful' (che karaaran - beautiful.PL.NOM.wav)