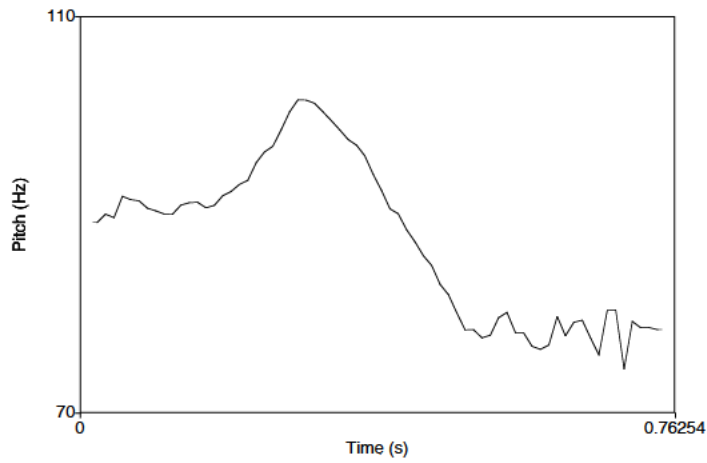


subdot = [+wide pharynx] (not marked on mid vowels); [ $\acute{x}\acute{x}$ ] = tautosyllabic HL, otherwise L is unmarked.

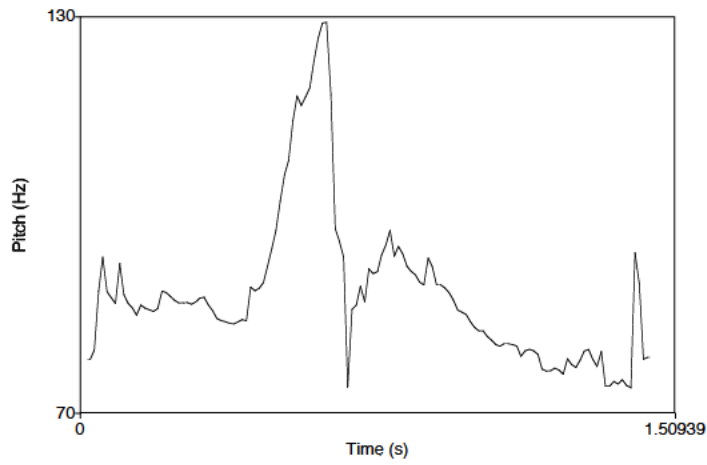
(01)a. o-lu-gáno

'story, tale'



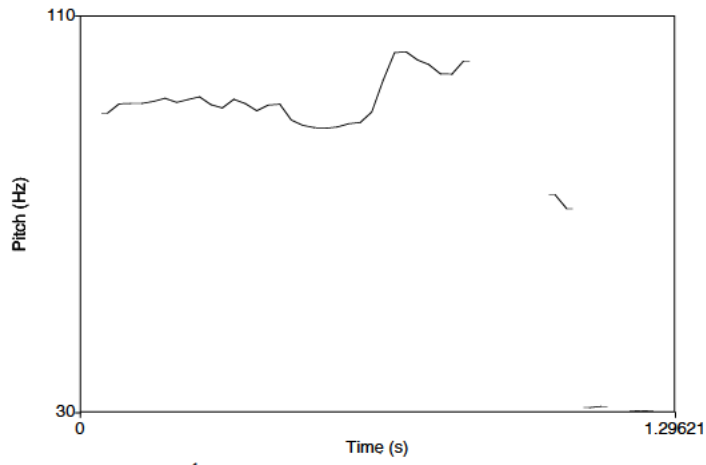
aa. o-lu-ganó lu-age (phonetically, [lua] → [lwaa] &c.)

'my story' (stress shift, no initial L raising)



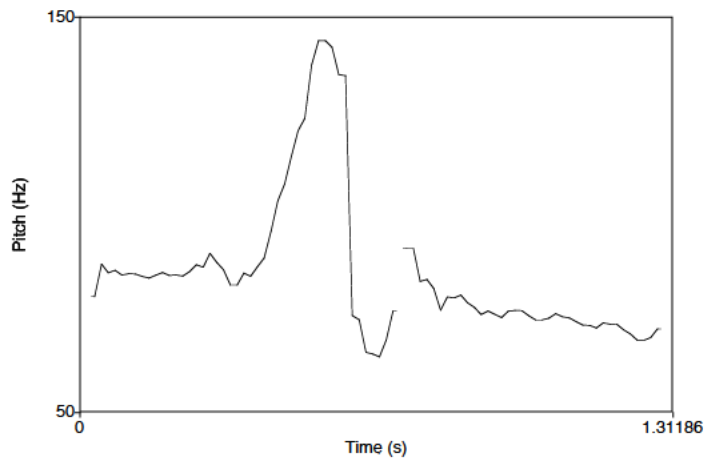
b. o-lu-hadísi

'story, tale' (< Swahili)



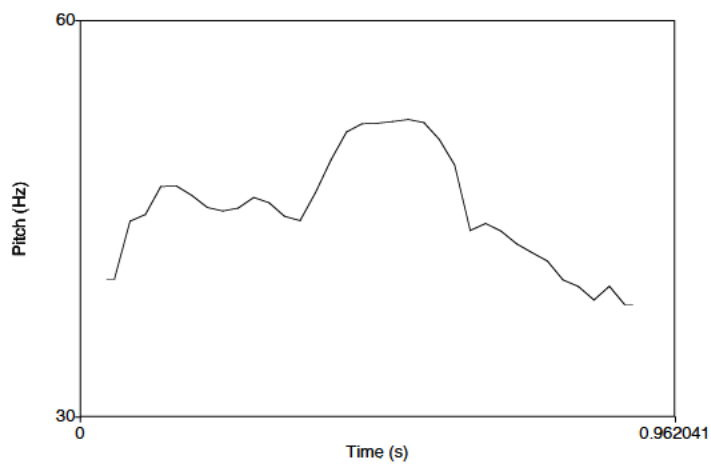
bb. o-lu-hadísi lu-age

'my story'



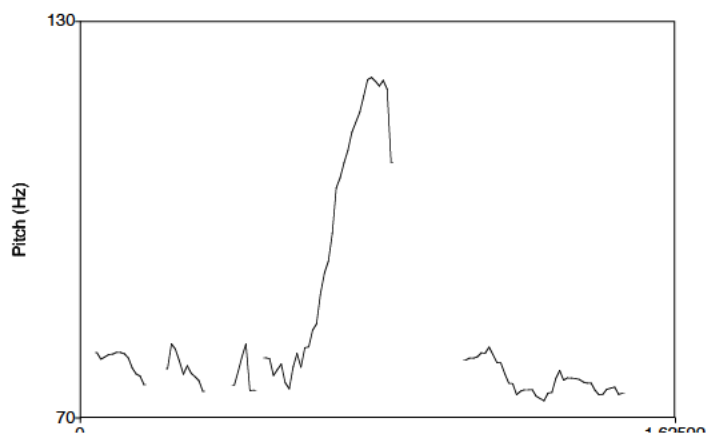
c. e-ri-háno

'advice' (↔ e-ri-hána 'to advise'-- different VH)



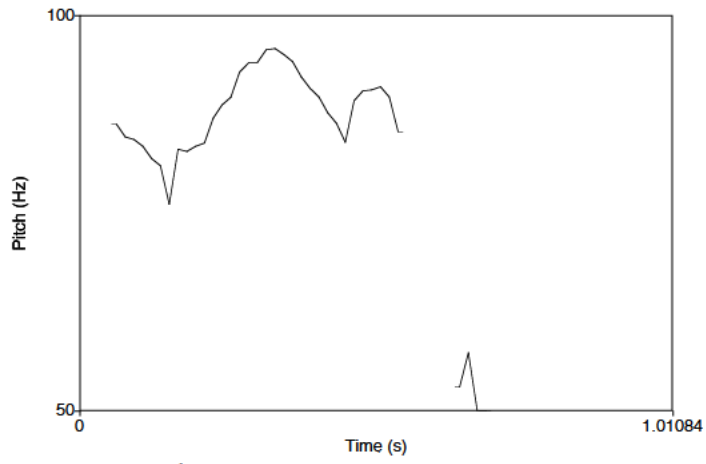
cc. e-ri-hanó ry-age (orthographically, [CiV] → <CiyV>)

'my advice' (stress shift, no initial raising)



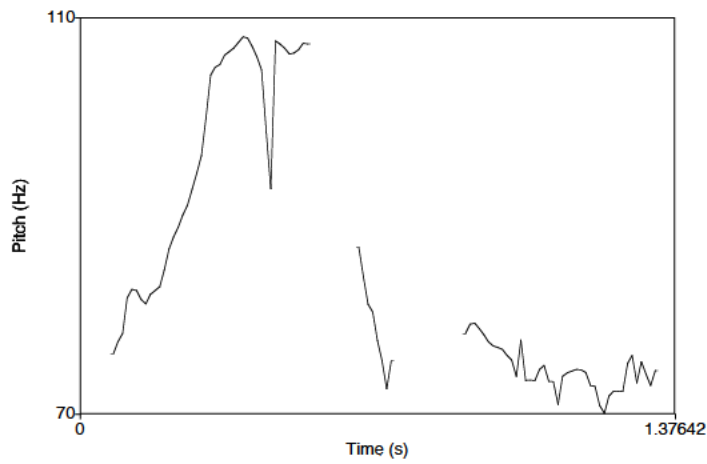
(02)a. o-mw-átsi

'piece of news/information, report'



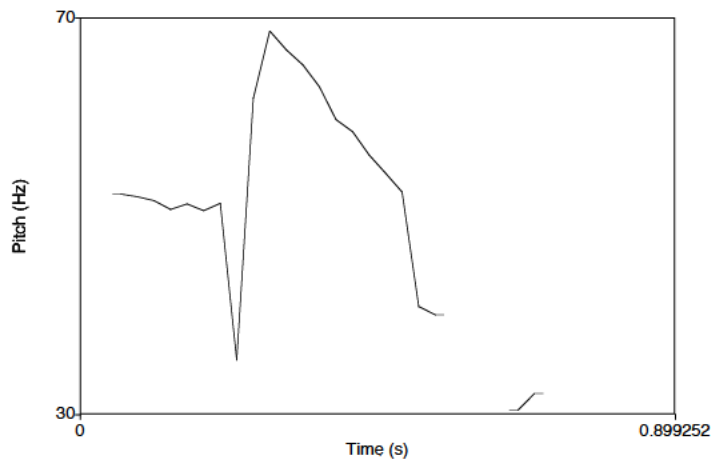
aa. o-mw-átsi w-age (n.b. not [...mwage])

'my report'



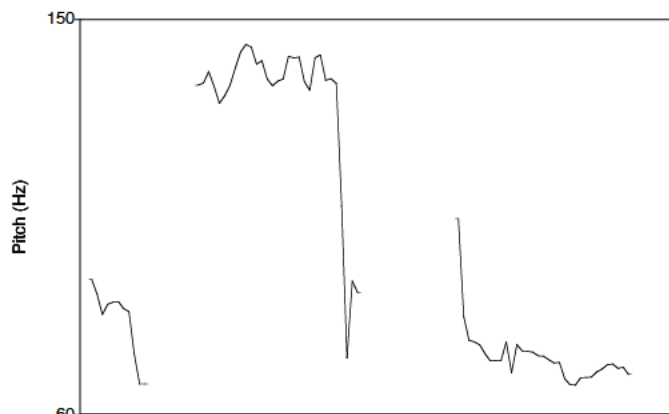
b. e-ky-átsi

'unverified rumors, gossip' [cognate to (2a)]

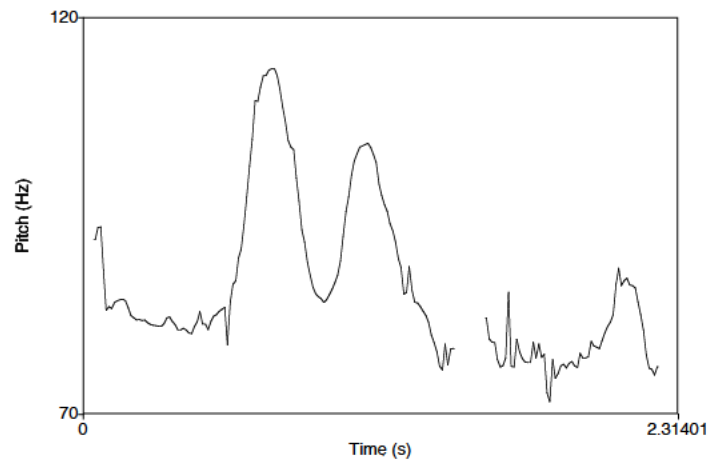


bb. e-ky-átsi ky-age

'my rumors'

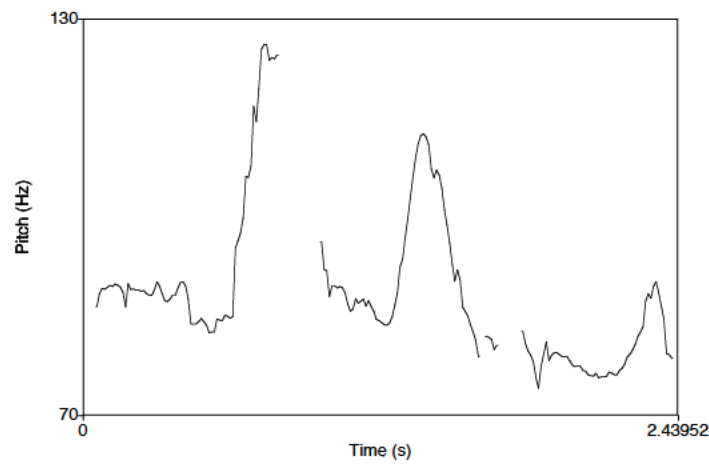


(03)a. o-lu-ganó lu-agé lu' oko ma-lwââ (← [...lue oko...] &c.) 'my story about/on the war'



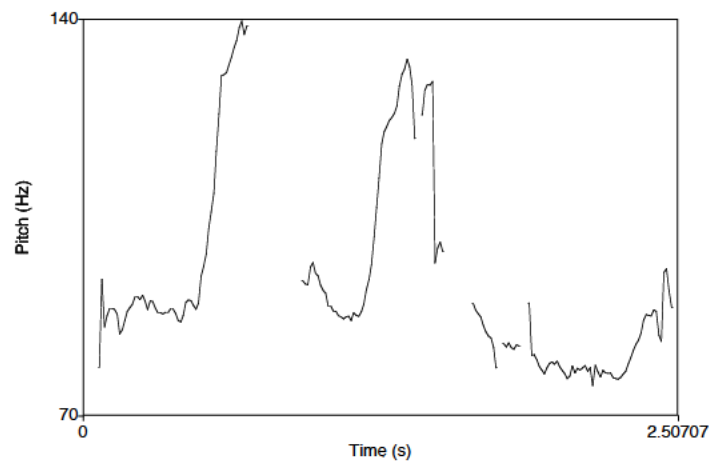
b. o-lu-hadísi lu-agé lu' oko ma-lwââ

'my story about/on the war'



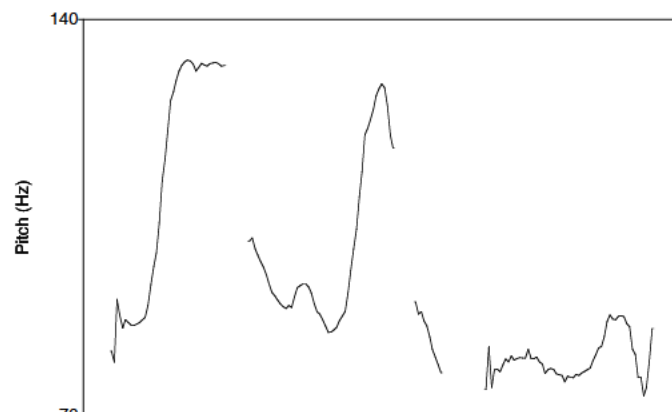
c. e-ri-hanó ry-agé lu' oko ma-lwââ

'my advice about/on the war'



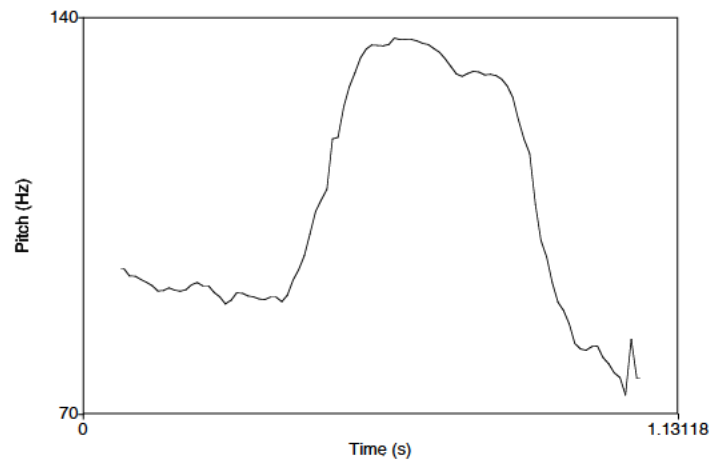
d. o-mw-átsi w-agé lu' oko ma-lwââ

'my bit of info about/on the war'



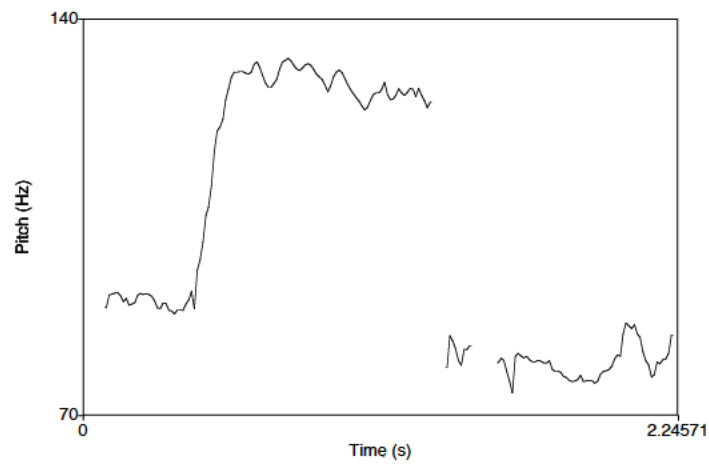
(04)a. o-lu-ganó lu-éwe (phonetically, [...lwéewe])

'her/his story'



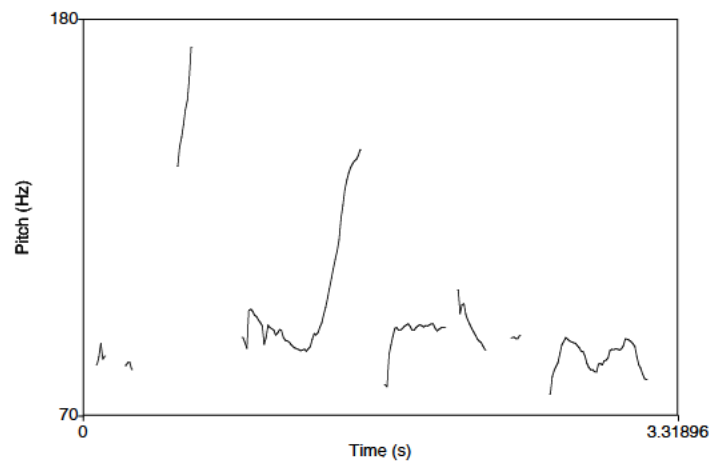
b. o-lu-ganó lu-éwé lu' oko ma-lwáà

'her/his story about/on the war'



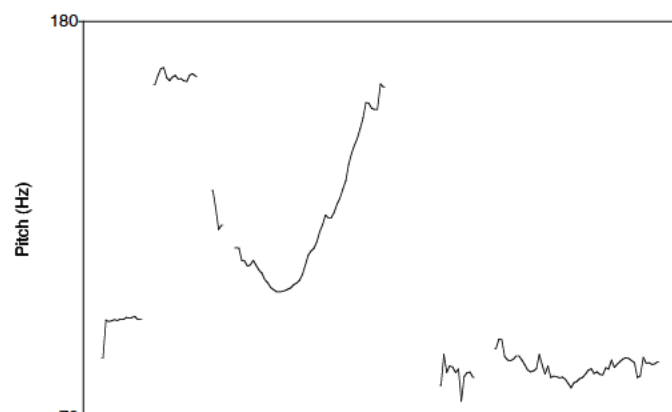
(05)a. Ba ká kanay á oko ma-lwáà. [audio pauses cut]

'They talk/are talking about the war'



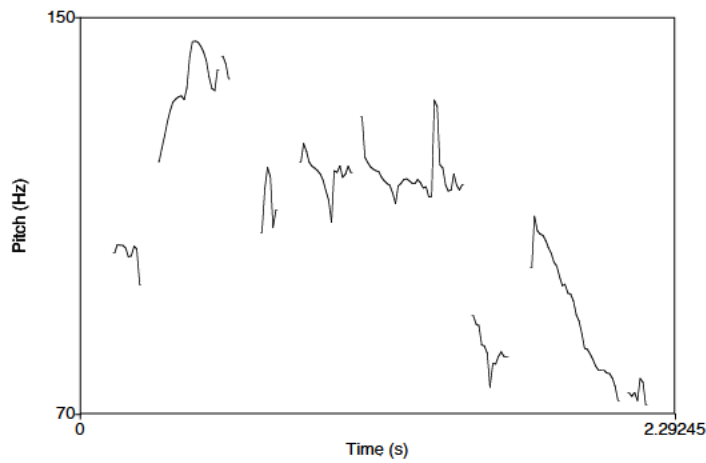
b. Ba ká kanay á uku ma-lwáà. [audio pauses cut]

'They talk/are talking about warfare'



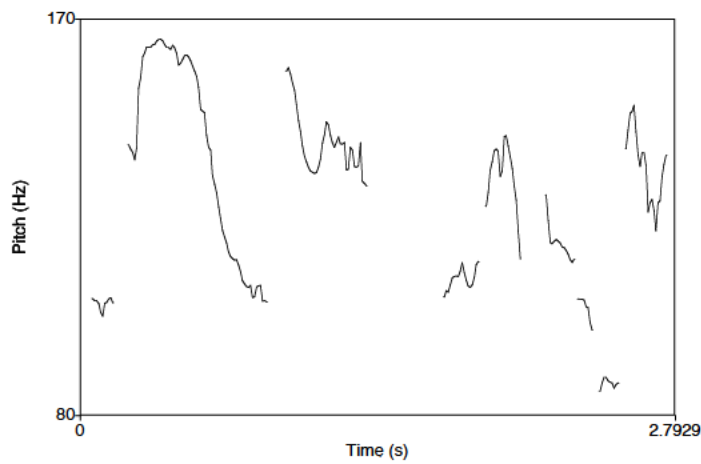
(06)a. Ku-mbé, í tú-á-kánj-á ukú bi-ndi.

'It's better if we discuss some other things'



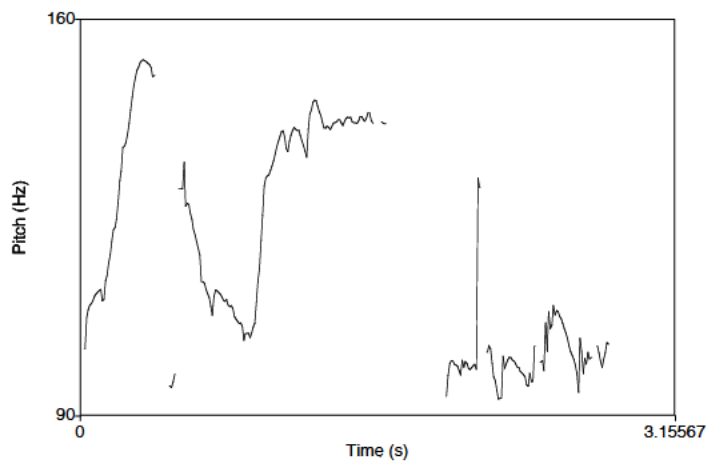
b. O tu á-má-bí bug'e-kí-i, tu-lab-ír-í okó bi-ndi.

'We've finished that one, let's pass to the others'



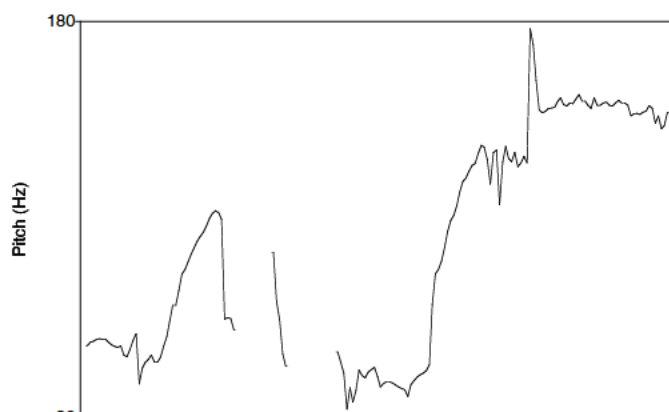
(07)a. e-mi-átsí ya Mujóm̃bá uku Mubúùtu

'Mujomba's reports about/on Mobutu' ([\*oko])



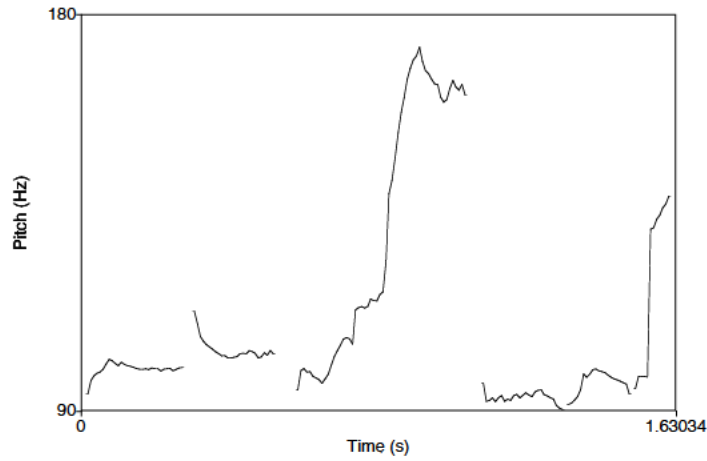
aa. e-mi-átsí uku Mubúùtu ["Mubúù" = interlanguage error]

'reports about/on Mobutu'



b. ...oko ba-ndú ba-Mubúùtu

'...about/on Mobutu's people'

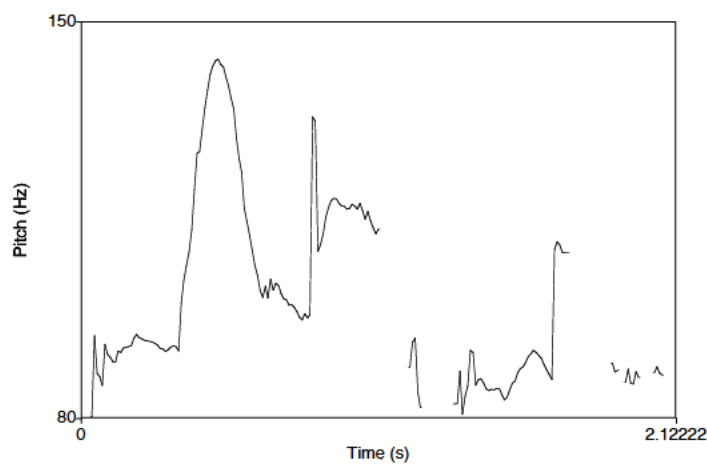


c. #e-mi-átsí ya Mubúútu uku Mujóm̐ba [no audio]

[pragmatically impossible to reverse roles]

d. o-lu-ganó lu a Mujóm̐bá uku Mubúùtu

'Mujomba's stories about/on Mobutu'

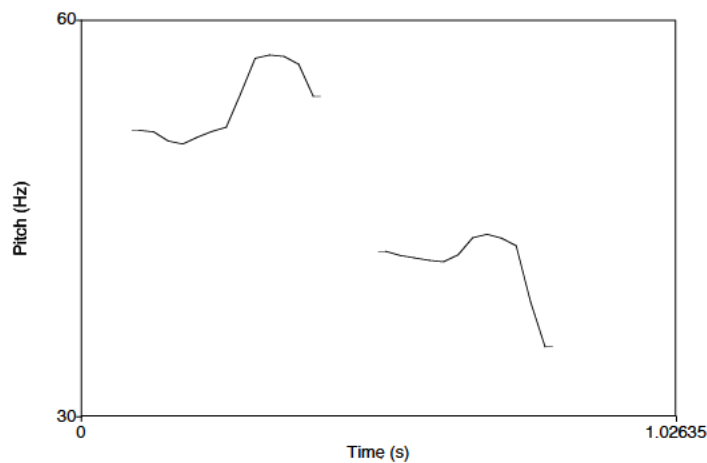


dd. \*o-lu-ganó uku Mubúùtu [no audio]

[intended: 'stories about/on Mobutu']

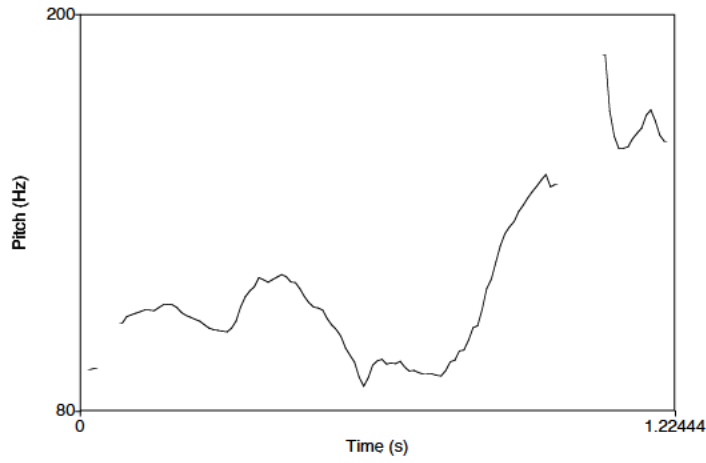
ddd. o-lu-ganó lu a Mubúùtu

'stories by/about Mobutu' [fully ambiguous]



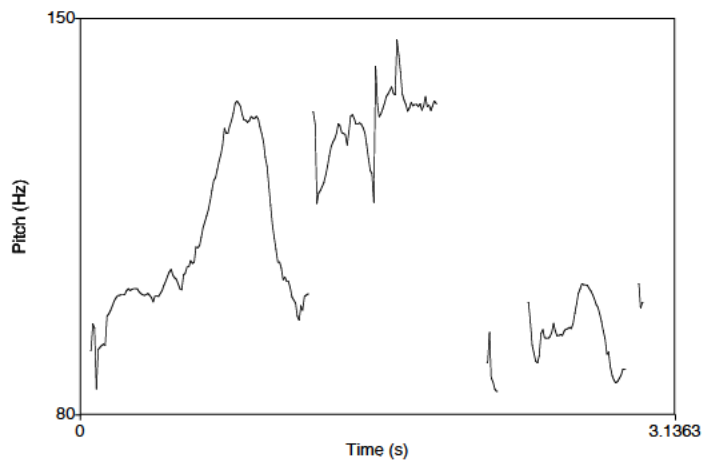
d4. o-lu-ganó lu a Mubúú

[metalinguistic version of (8.07ddd) with final H]



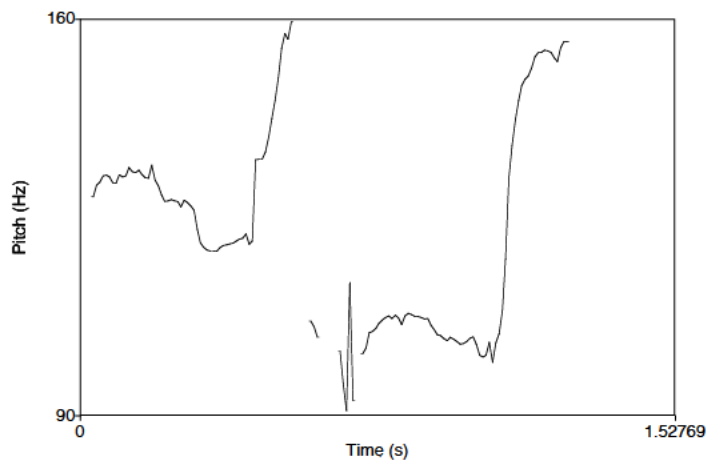
e. a-ma-hanó a Mujómbá uku mu-gáála

'Mujomba's counsels of advice to [his] son'



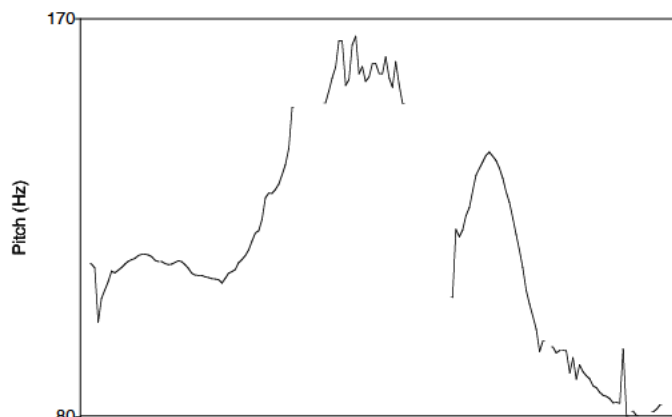
ee. a-ma-hanó w a Mujómbá... [= longer form of (07e)]

'Mujomba's counsels of advice...'



(08)a. mu-galá wí-we

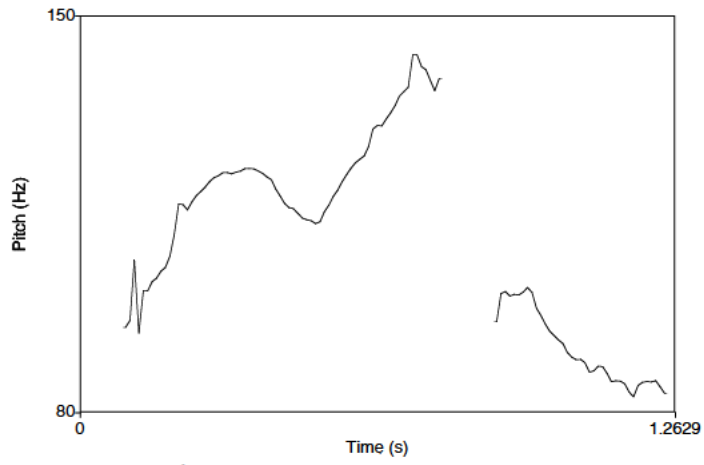
'her/his son'





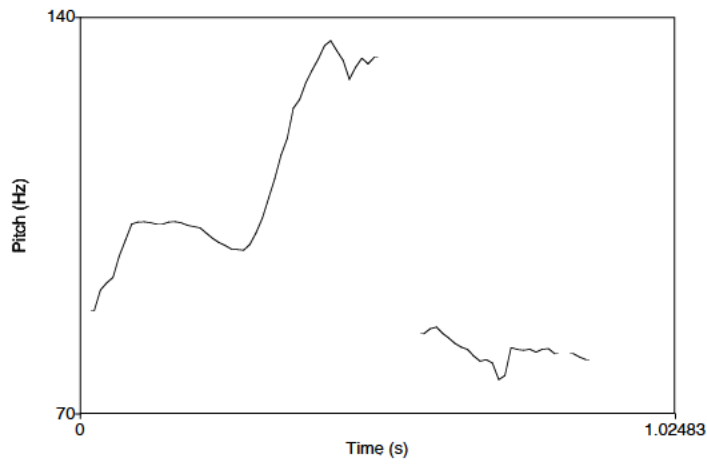
b. mu-galá w-age

'my son'



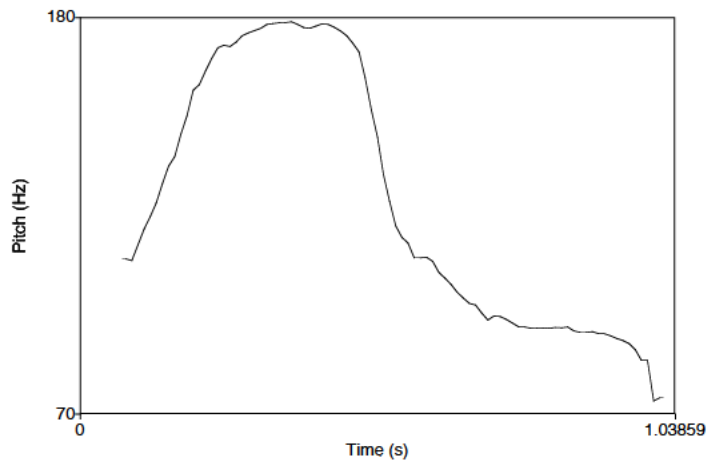
c. mu-galá w-etu

'my brother' [lit. 'our...']



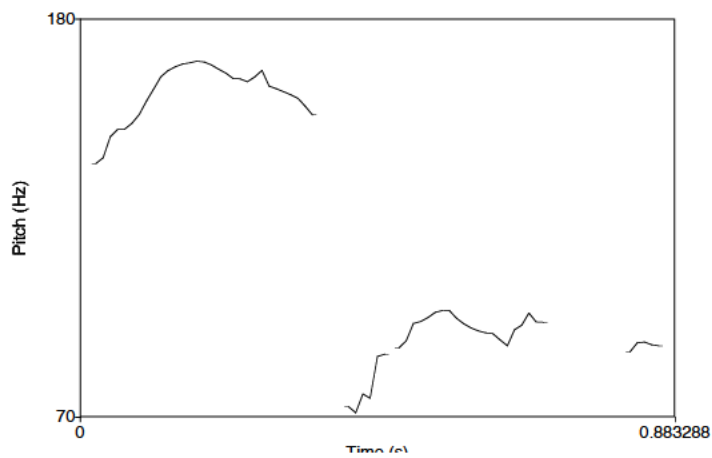
d. mu-álí w-age

'my daughter'



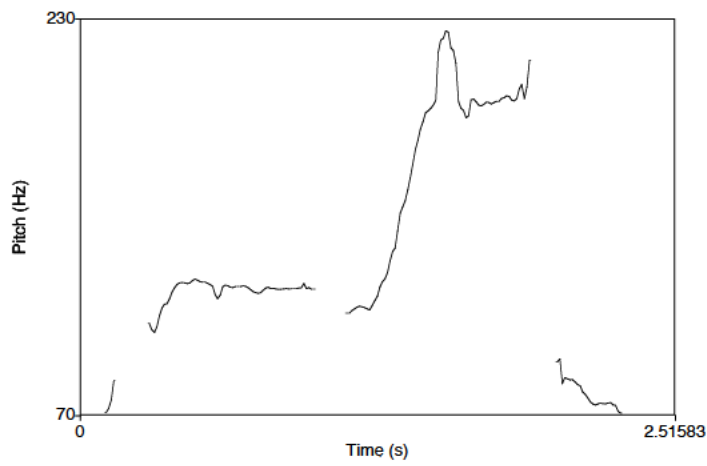
e. mu-álí w-etu

'my sister' [lit. 'our...']



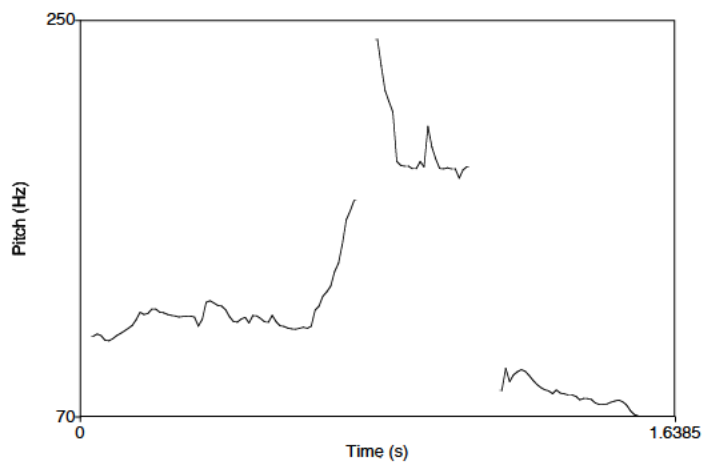
(09)a. Nyi-ri na mu-áí w-age.

'I'm accompanying my daughter'



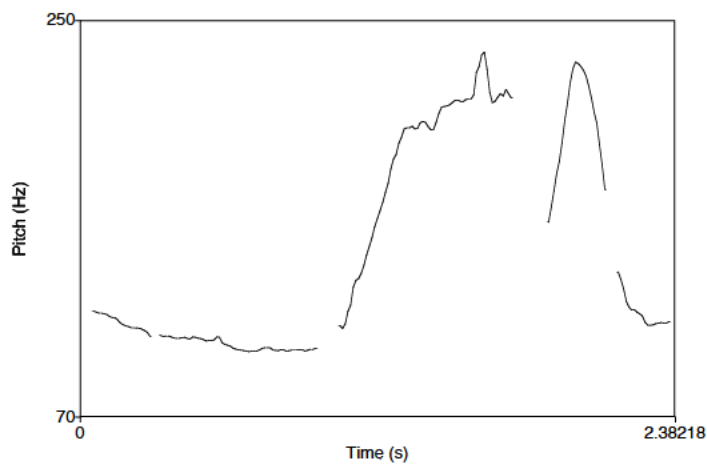
b. U-ri na mu-áí w-agu.

'You're accompanying your (sg.) daughter'



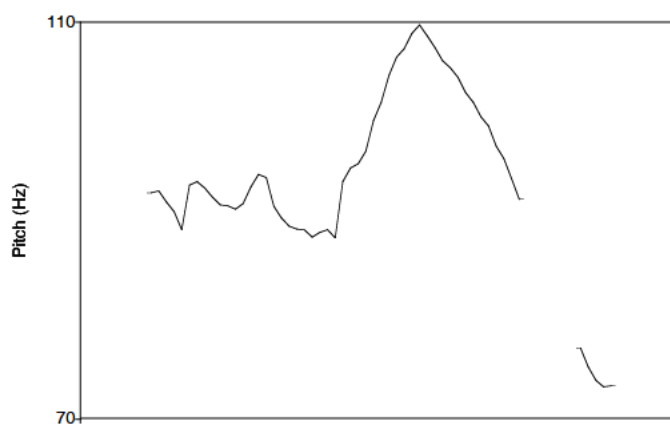
c. A-ri na mu-áí wí-we.

'S/he's accompanying her/his daughter'



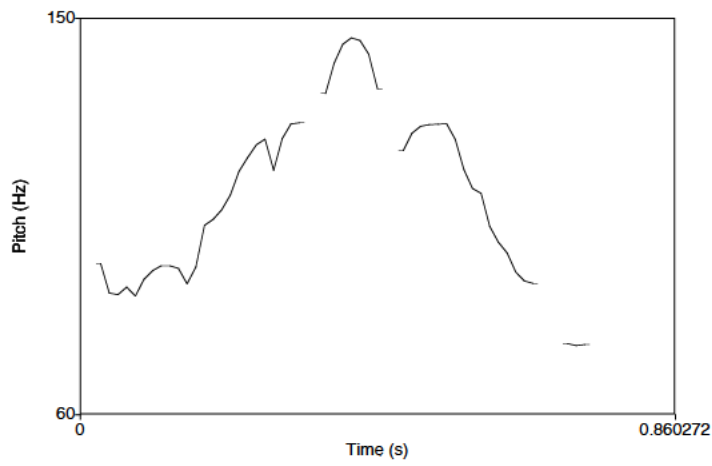
d. A-ri na mu-ááli.

'[= (9c)]'



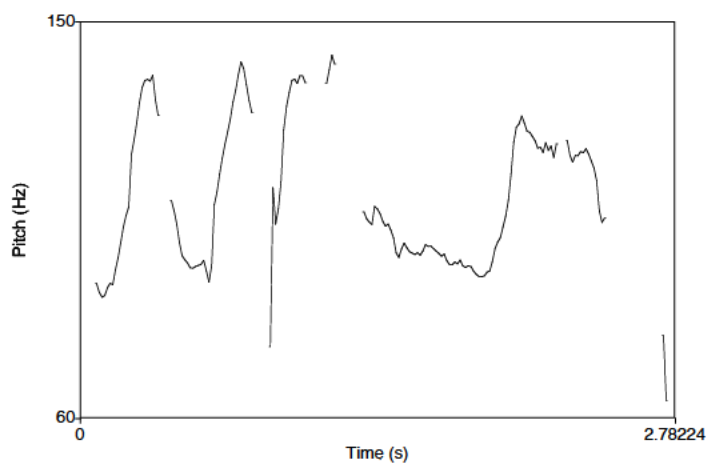
(10)a. e-rí-túm-a

'to send'



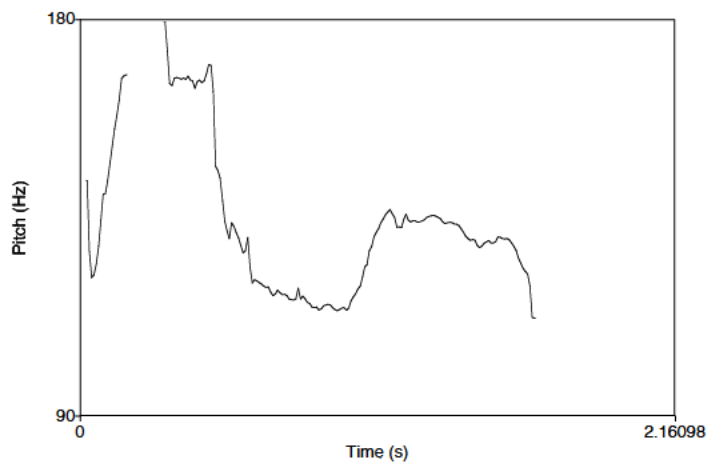
b. Omúkálí mw'áká tum-ir-a mugalá y'íse.

'The woman sent [her] son to his/her father'



c. ...mw'áká tum-a mugalá y'éw'íse.

'The woman sent [her] son to *chez* his/her father'



[*n.b.* no audio for (11) - (12)]

(11)a.	í-sé w-aghe	'my father'
aa.	tatá (w-aghe)	'(my) father'
b.	í-sé w-agu	'your (s.) father'
bb.	tatá w-agu	'your (s.) father'
bbb.	so	'your (s.) father'
b4.	*só w-agu	
c.	í-sé (wí-we)	'her/his father'
cc.	tatá wí-we	'her/his father'
d.	*í-sé w-etu	
dd.	tatá w-etu	'our father'
e.	*í-sé w-enyu	
ee.	tatá w-enyu	'your (pl.) father'
f.	í-sé w-ábó	'their father'
ff.	tatá w-ábó	'their father'
(12)a.	kóyó w-aghe	'my mother'
aa.	kóyo, mamá	'(my) mother'
b.	kóyó w-agu	'your (s.) mother'
bb.	mamá w-agu	'your (s.) mother'
bbb.	nyòòko	'your (s.) mother'
b4.	*nyókó w-agu	
c.	kóyó/mamá wí-we	'her/his mother'
cc.	nyí-nya	'her/his mother'
ccc.	*nyí-nyá wí-we	
d.	kóyó (w-etu)	'our mother'
e.	kóyó w-enyu	'your (pl.) mother'
f.	kóyó w-ábó	'their mother'