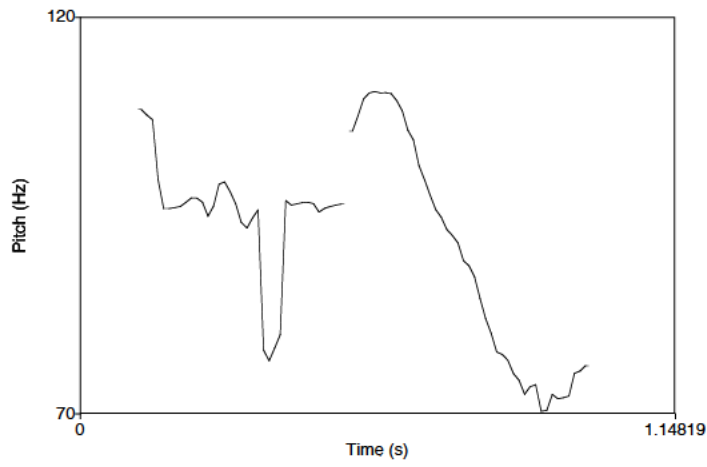


subdot = [+wide pharynx] (not marked on mid vowels); [x̣x̣] = tautosyllabic HL, otherwise L is unmarked.

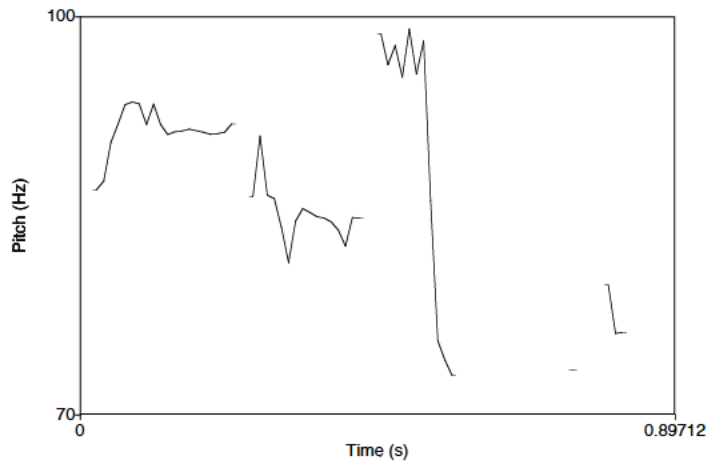
(01)a. o-ru-páwu

'spoon, plank'



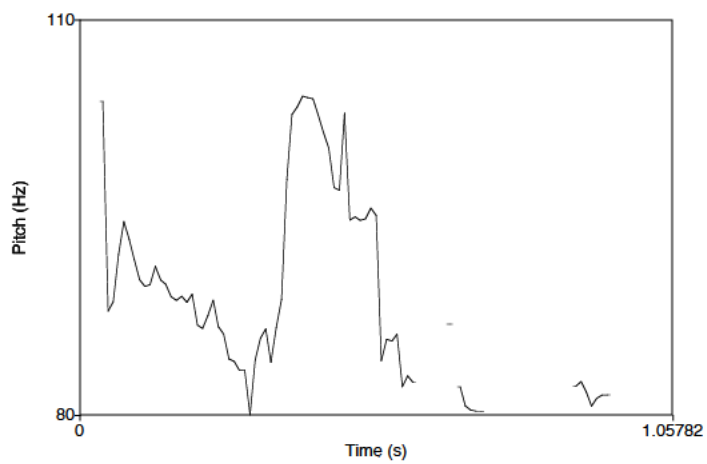
b. e-syo-mbáwu

'[pl. of (1a)]'



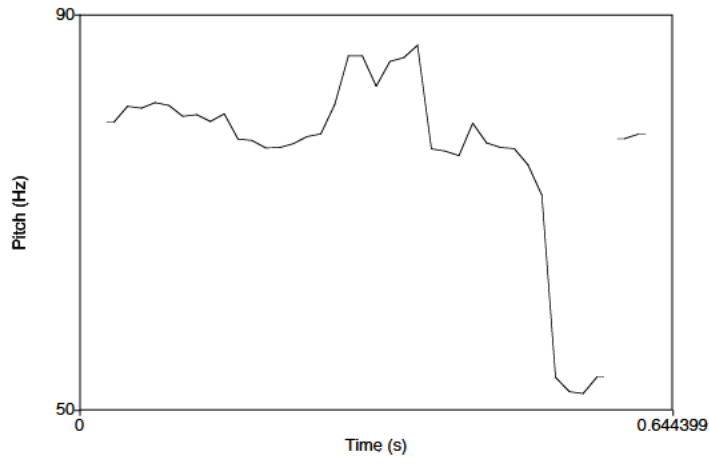
c. o-mu-hámba

'knife, machete'



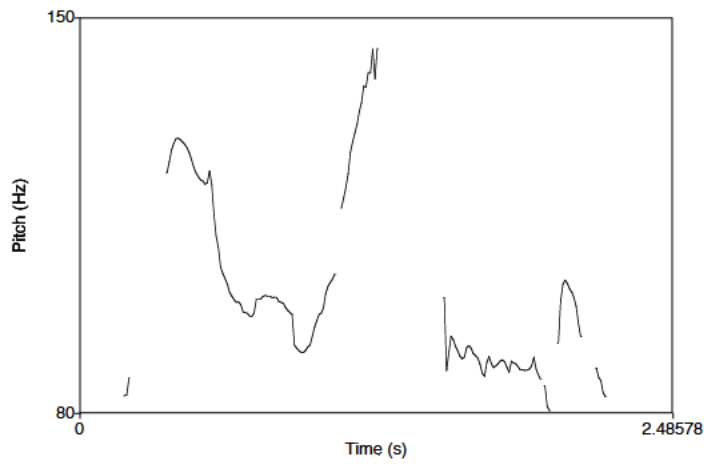
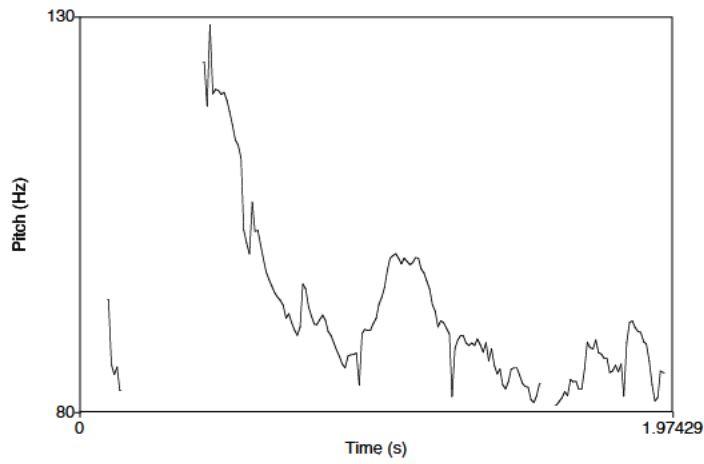
d. e-mi-hám̃ba

‘[pl. of (1c)]’



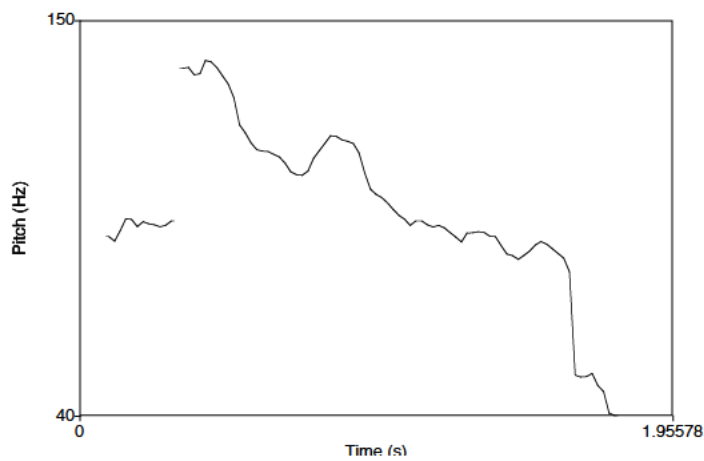
(02)a. Tu ká lí-a e-nyamá y'omo mu-hám̃ba. [two tokens]

‘We’re eating/eat the meat with a knife’



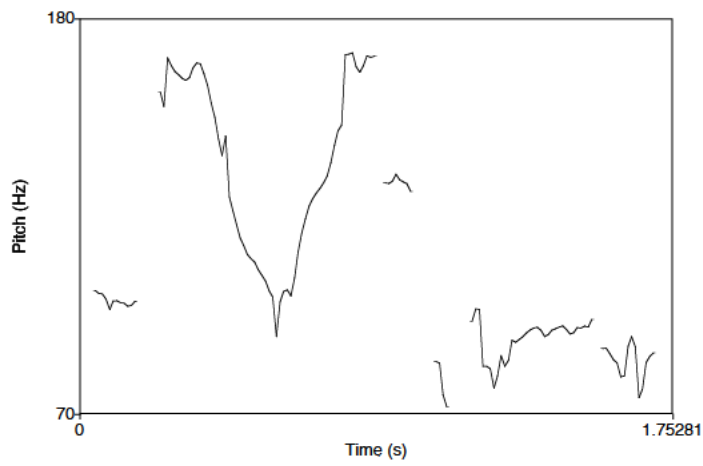
b. Ba ká lí-a e-nyamá y'omo mi-hám̃ba.

‘They’re eating/eat the meat with knives’



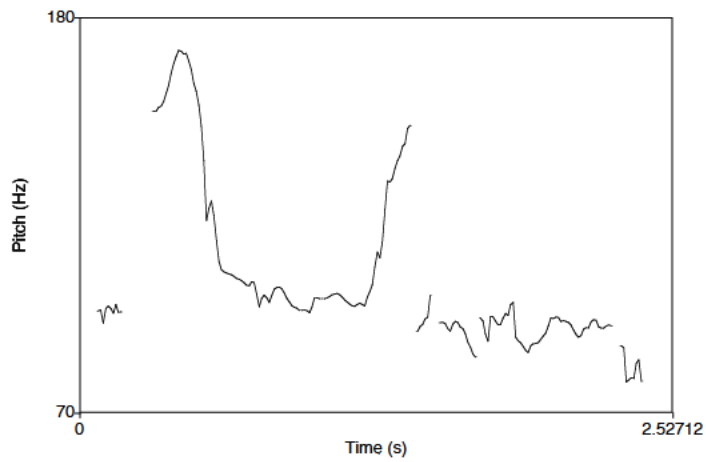
c. Tu ká li-ri-á o-ko-mésâ.

'We're eating/eat on/at the table/on tables'



d. Tu ká li-ri' e-nyamá y'o-ko-mésâ.

'We're eating/eat meat on/at the table/on tables'

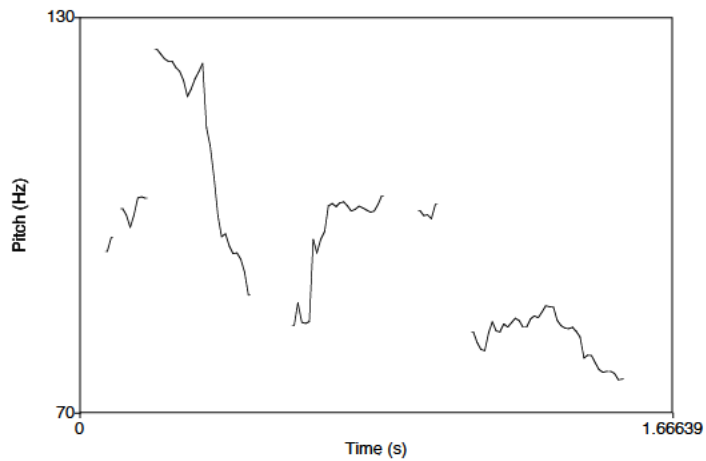


dd. Tu ká li-ri' e-nyamá y'u-ku-mésâ. [no audio]

[= (02d)]

e. Tu ká li-ri' o-ko-mésá ko e-nyââma.

[= (02d), with pragmatic difference?]

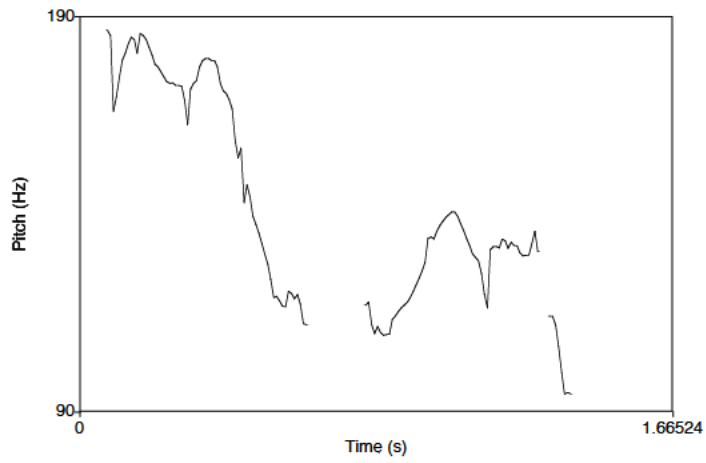


f. Tu ká li-ri' u-ku-mésá ko e-nyââma. [no audio]

[reinforces the indefinite sense of 'on tables']

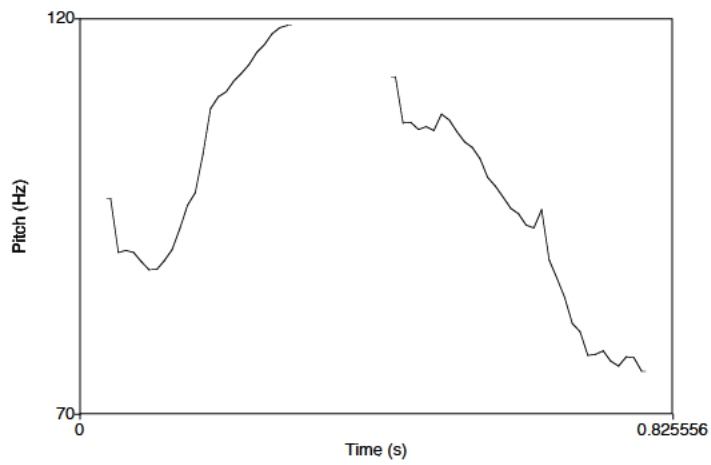
g. Sí n dí-rí' u-ku-mésáà.

'I don't eat at a table' [negation likes indefinites]



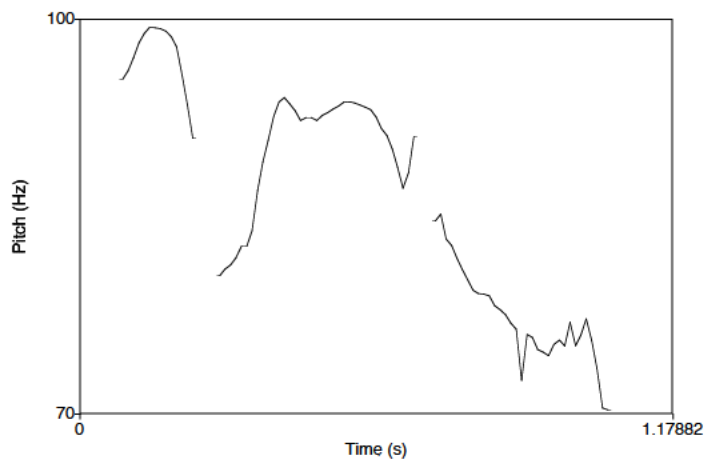
(03)a. o-mó bí-ala

'by hand'



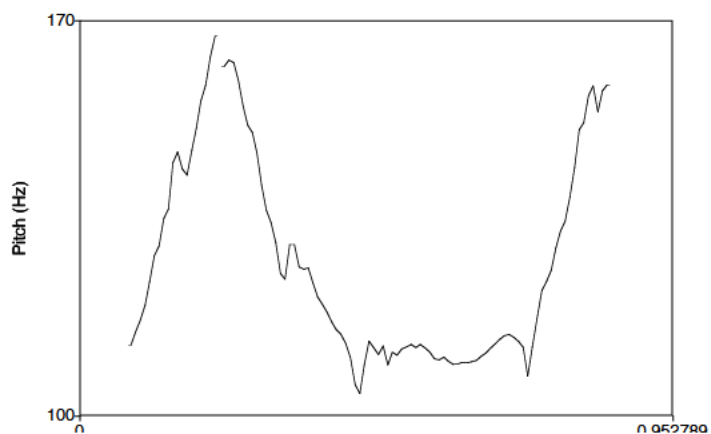
b. é-bi-álá bí-guma

'one hand' [literally, 'one hands']



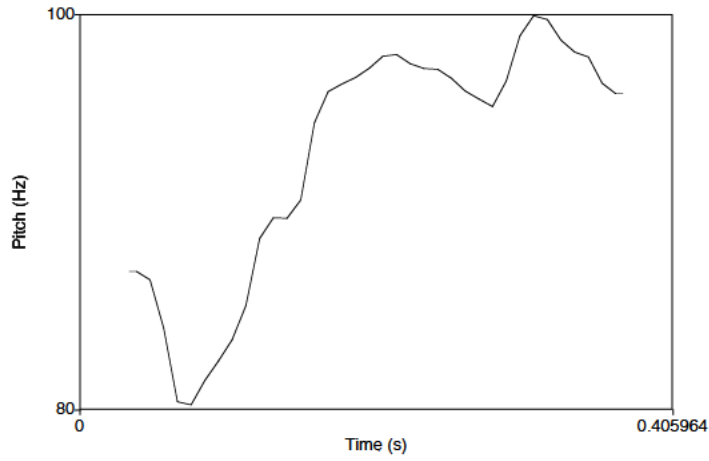
c. é-bi-ala bi-birí

'two hands'



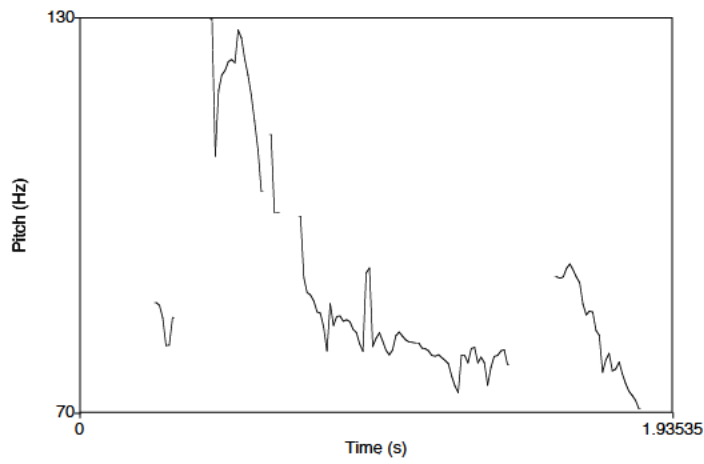
d. e-bi-álya

'food' [ordinary mass noun]



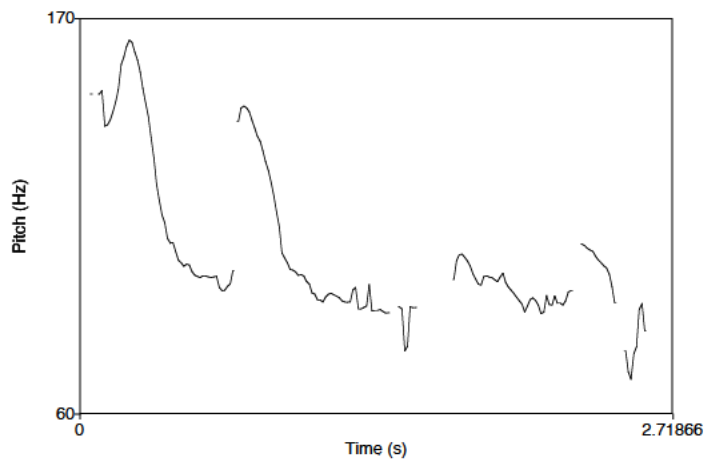
(04)a. Tu ká nde gend-a o-mo bi-sáandu. [...u-mu...]

'We are traveling on foot' [lit: 'by [the] feet']



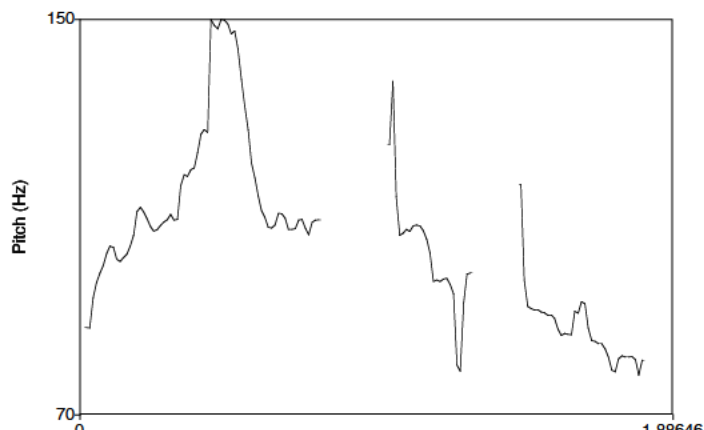
b. Ó-mu-ami sí ali-gend-a u-mu bi-sáandu. [...o-mo...]

'The king doesn't travel on foot' [lit: 'by feet']



(05)a. A-ba-ndú bo-sí mó ba-ká lí-a. [...kí-ndu. '...something']

'All the people ate something' [V > E]

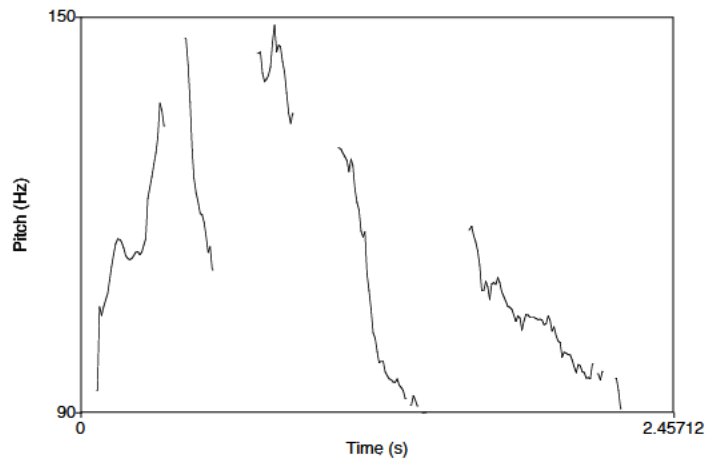


b. *A-ba-ndú bo-sí mó ba-ká lí-a kí-ndu. [no audio]

[...something']

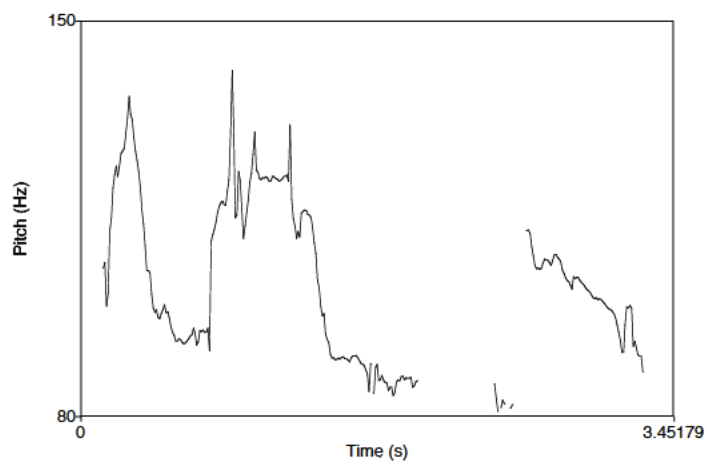
c. A-ba-ndú bo-sí mó ba-ká na yere ekyó bá-má lí-a.

'All the people had that which they ate'



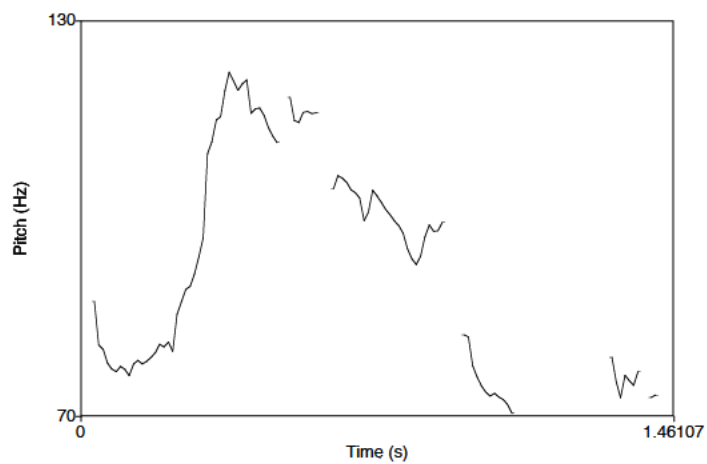
d. Ó-bu-li mu-ndú mó áká na yere eky' á-má lí-a.

'Each person had that which s/he ate'



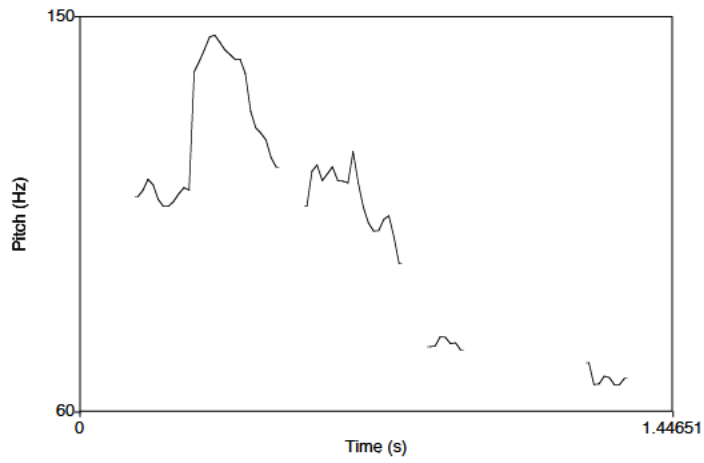
(06)a. O-mu-ndú mó á-ká lí-a e-bi-osîi.

'Someone ate everything' [E > V, *V > E]



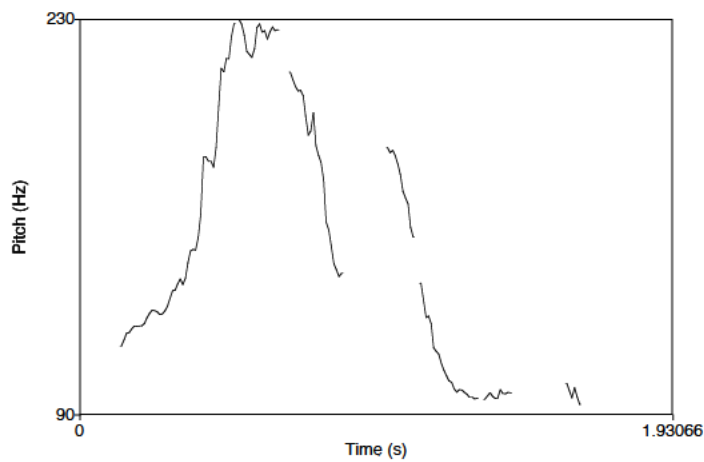
b. O-mu-ndú á-b-ìr-ìk-a *e-television*.

'Someone stole the TV'



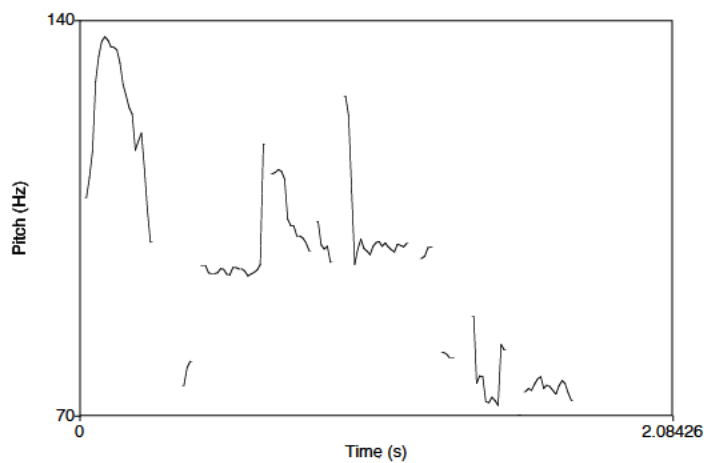
c. O-mu-ndú mó á-ká lí-a o-kó bi-osíi.

'Someone tasted everything' [ɛ > ʋ, *ʋ > ɛ]



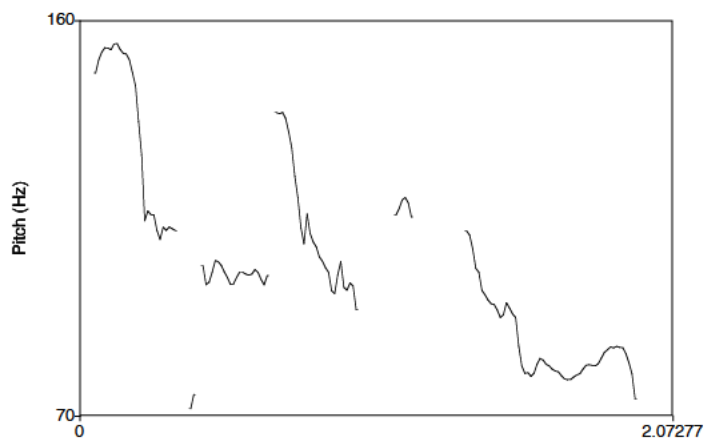
d. Ó-bu-li kí-bakúli mó á-ki-ká liba-w-á kòò.

'Every bowl was eaten from' [ʋ > ɛ]



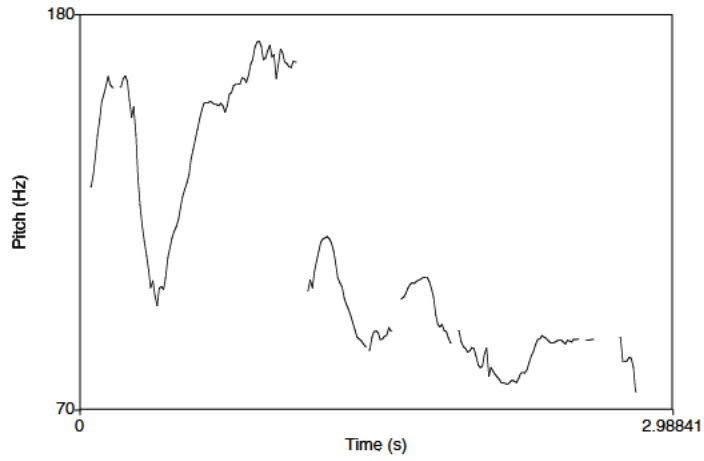
e. Ó-bu-li kí-bakúli mó á-ki-ká liba-w-àà.

'Every bowl was eaten up'



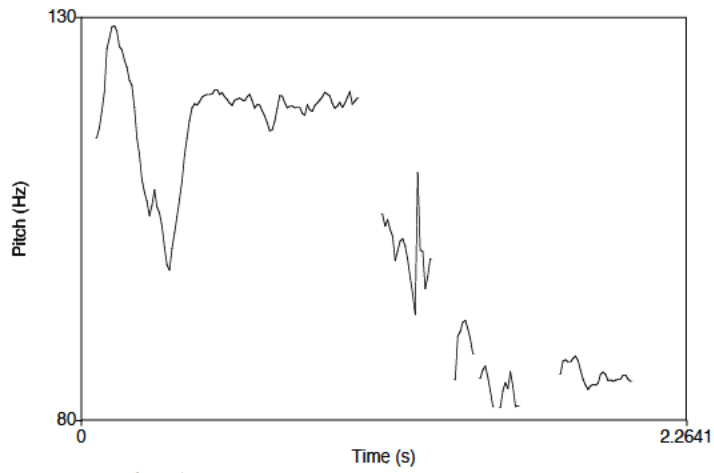
f. Ó-bu-li bi-álya mó bi-ká liba-w-á kóò.

'Every food was eaten from' [V > E]



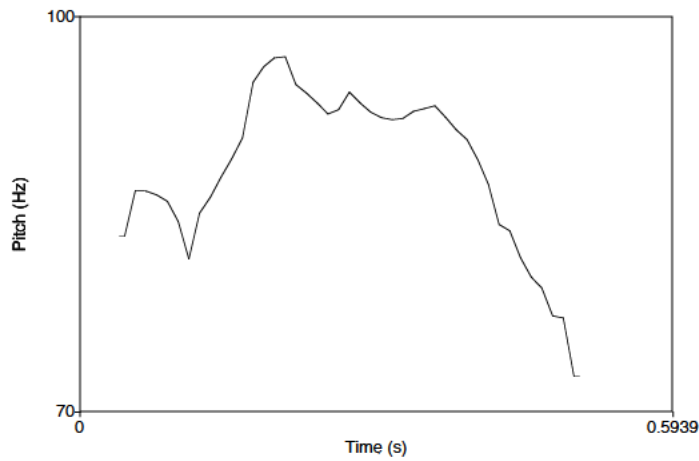
g. Ó-bu-li bi-álya mó bi-ká liba-w-ââ.

'Every food was eaten up'



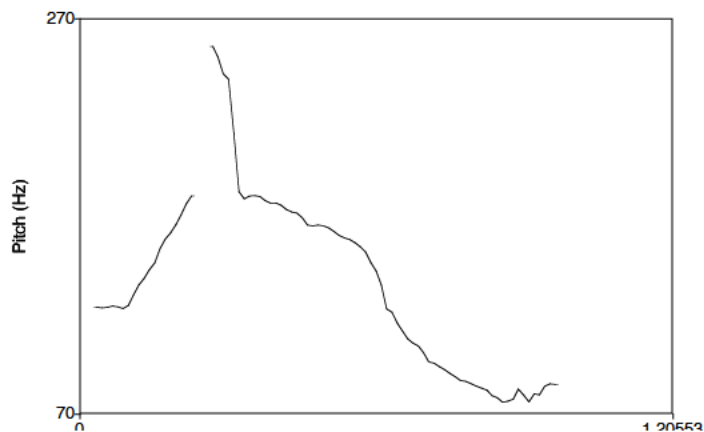
(07)a. e-rí-nyú-a

'to drink, consume a liquid'



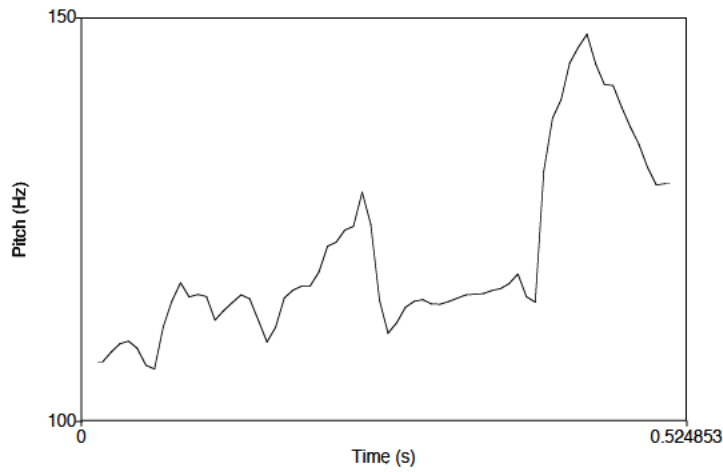
b. Tu ná-mù nyú ó-bu-abu.

'We're drinking beer'



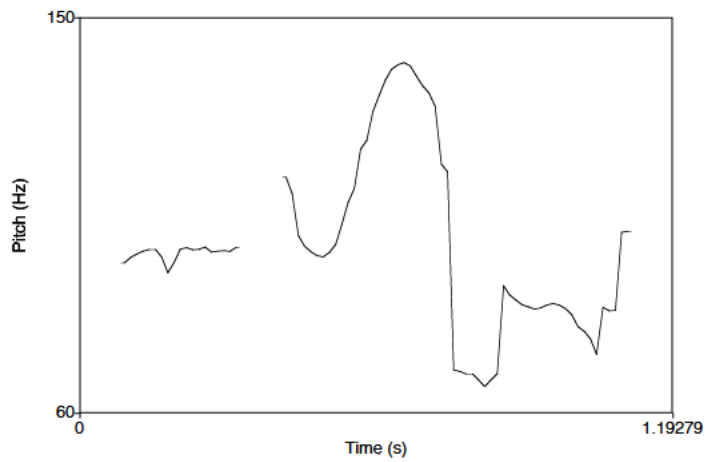
c. e-ri-bbo-lí-a

'to smoke, drink from tube/bottle in the mouth'



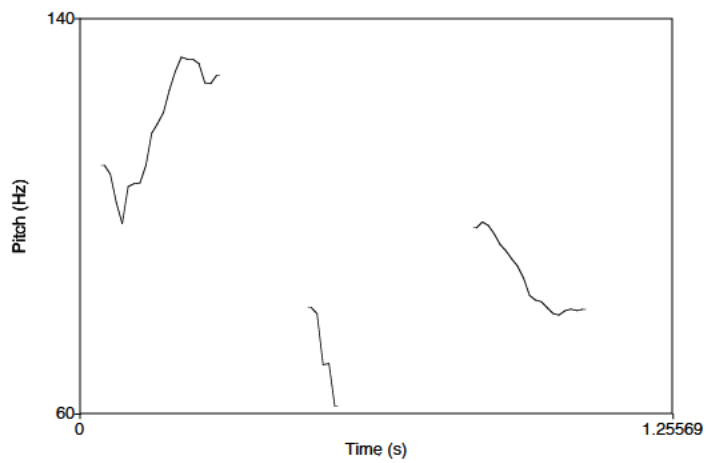
d. e-ri-som-a ó-bu-abu

'to "read" beer' (= consume with concentration?)



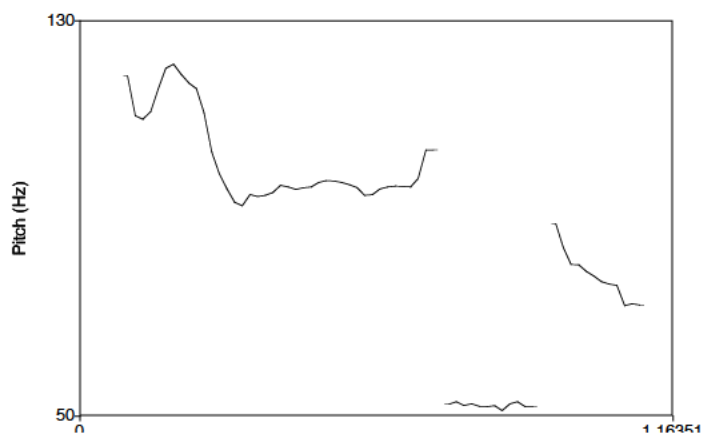
(08)a. -mù-syakúlu

'old/elderly'



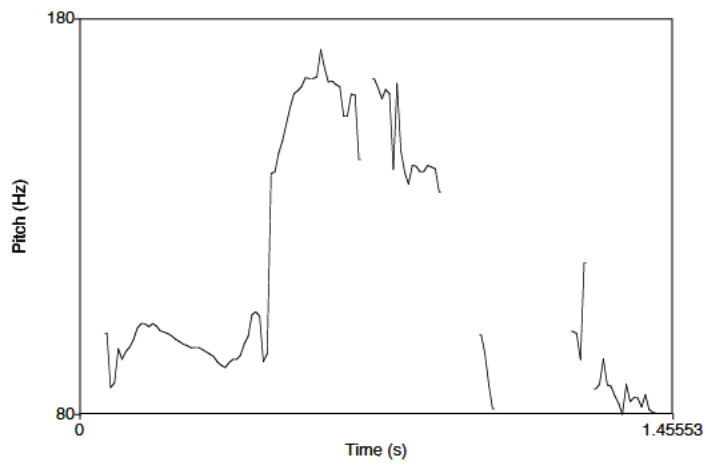
b. #ó-mu-amí mù-syakúùlu

[intended: 'the aged chief']



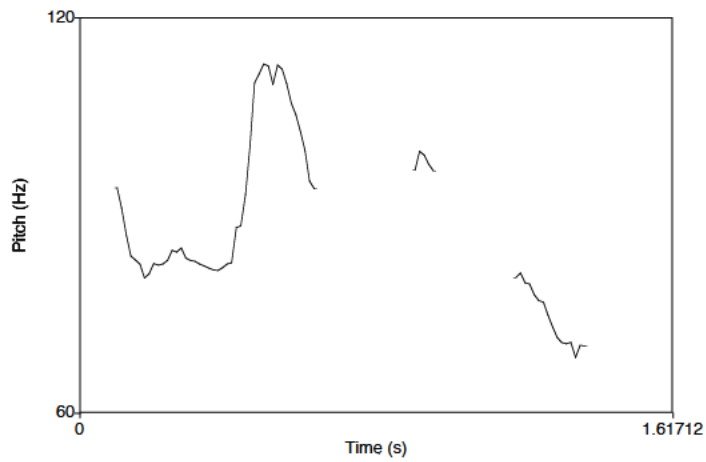
c. o-mu-garíma mú-syakuùlu

'the aged teacher'



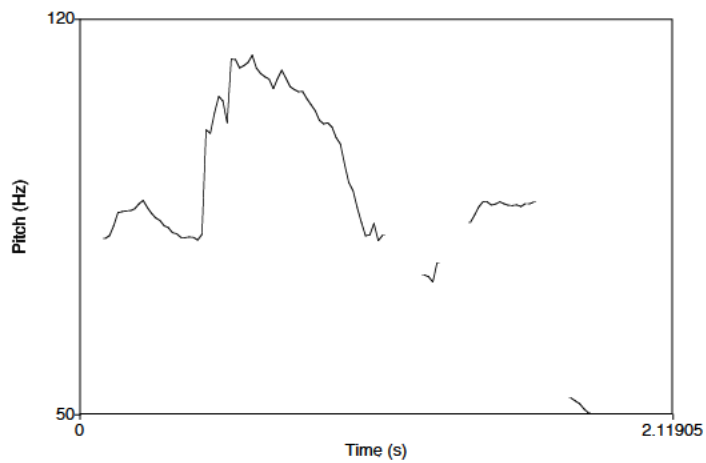
d. o-mu-garíma wá-kerá [n.b. not ...-garíma...]

'the former teacher' [lit: '...teacher of yore']



e. o-mu-garíma mú-luana wá-kerá

'the youngman ex-teacher' ['teacheryouth of yore']



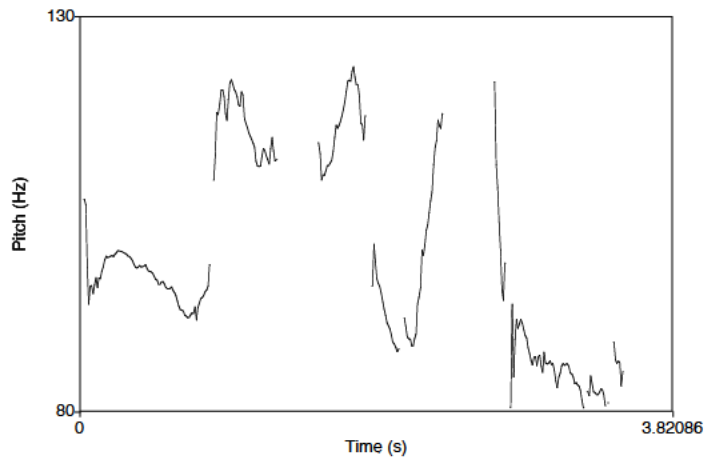
ee. o-mú-luana mu-garíma wá-kerá [no audio]

'[≡ (8e)]'

eee. *o-mu-garíma wá-kerá mú-luana [no audio]

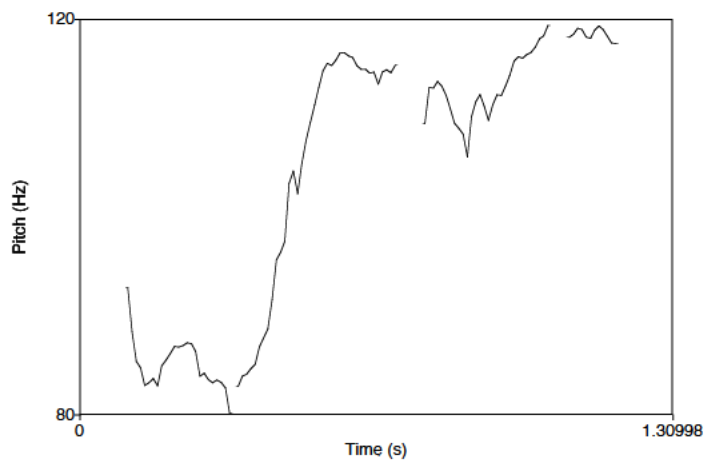
[sandwich of relative clause between two nouns]

f. o-mu-garímá mú-luaná wa-gendâà [*n.b.* cut&pasted audio] ‘the youngman teacher who left (i.e. was sacked)’



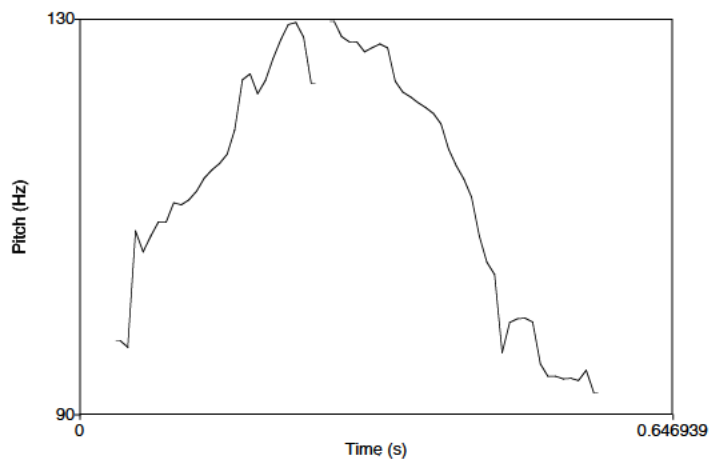
g. ...wa-luó ku'bó

‘...who left therefrom’



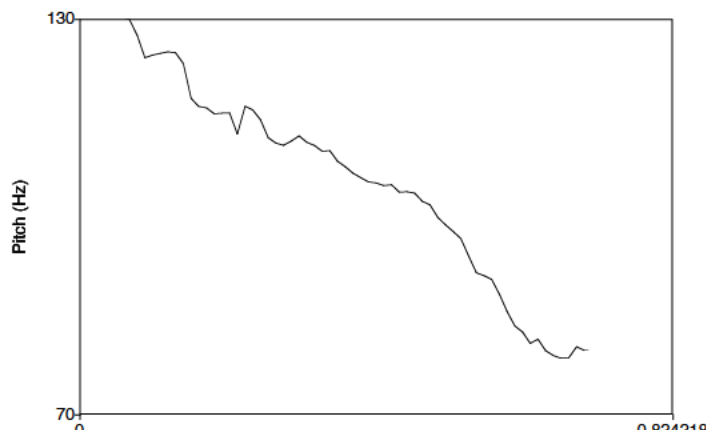
(09)a. o-mú-néne

‘the fat one’ [a person]



b. Pierre mú-néne

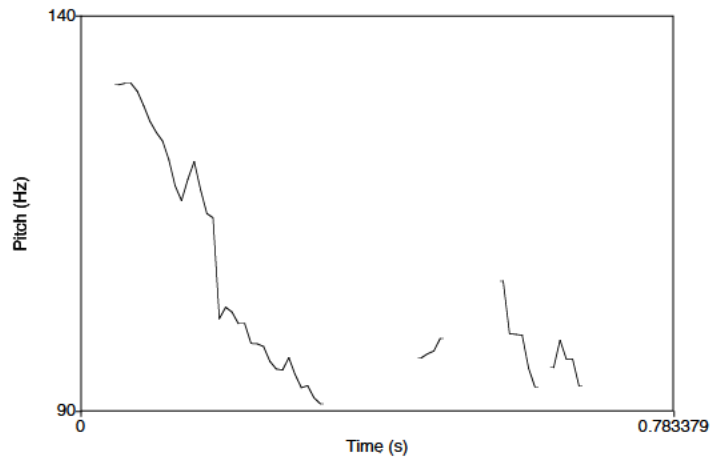
‘the fat Pierre’ (maybe no contrast necessary??)



bb. *o-mú-néne Pierre [no audio]

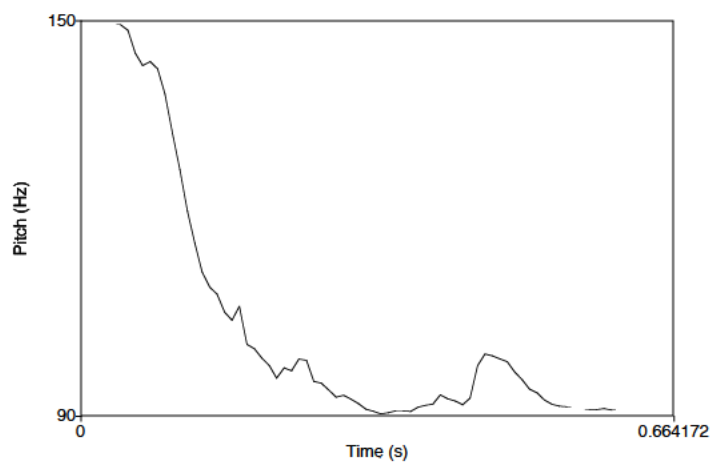
c. Pierre mu-síre

'Pierre the foolish'



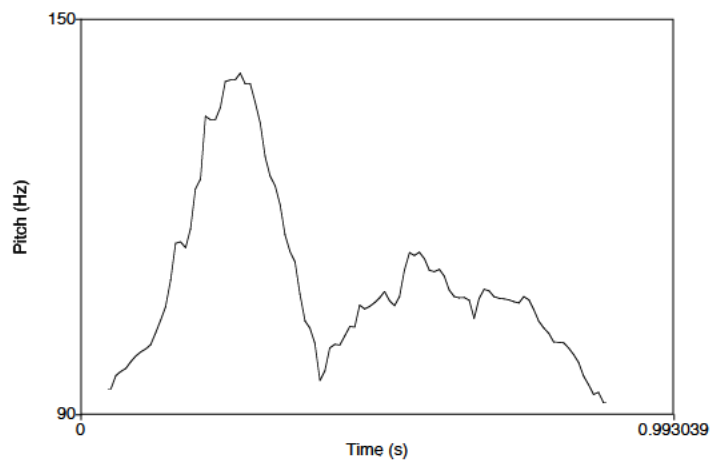
d. Pierre mu-garíma

'Pierre the teacher'



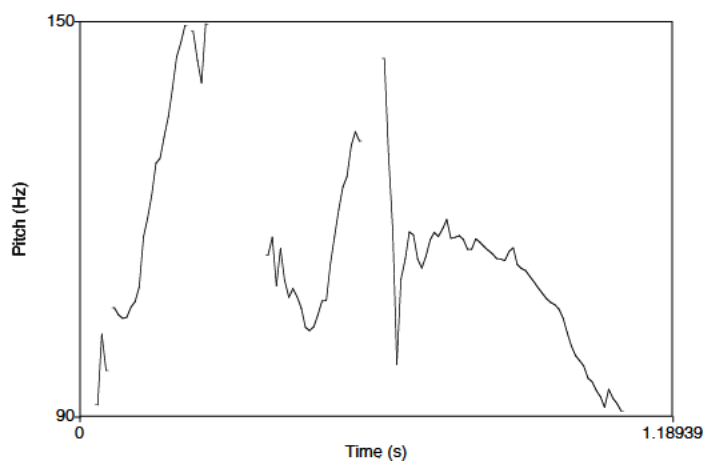
e. o-mú-luaná mú-néne

'the youngman the fat'



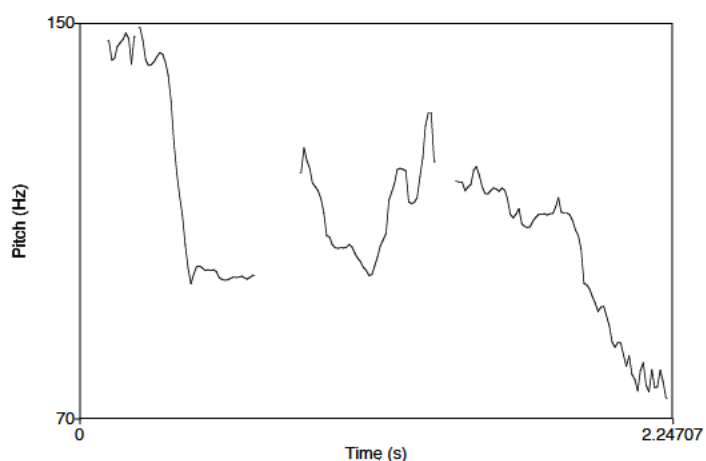
f. o-mú-kuhí mú-néne

'the short, fat one' [a person]



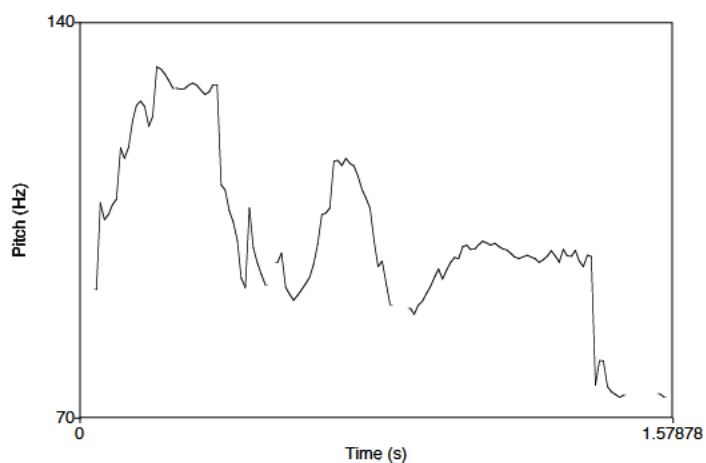
(10)a. Tú lí-á hul-a bá-néne bá-néne. [cut&pasted audio]

'We mentioned the fat ones' (not intensive)



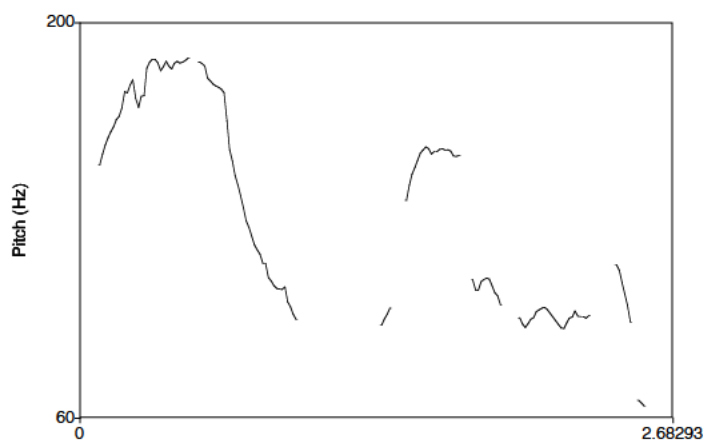
b. Tú lí-á hul-a o-mú-néne mú-kuhi.

'We mentioned the fat one the short'



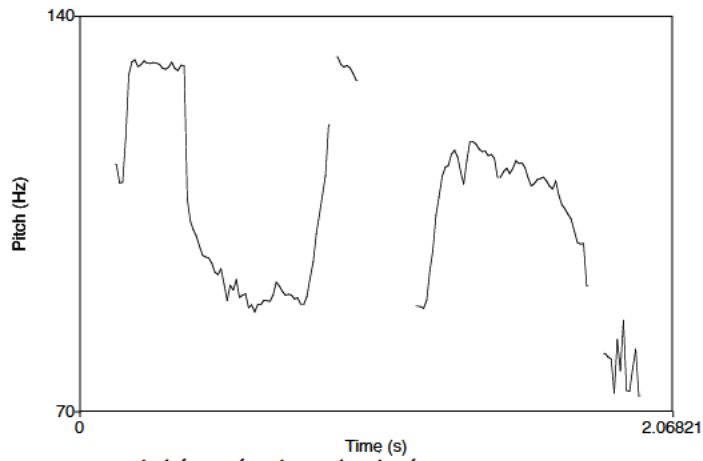
c. Sí ndí tu á-hul-a a-bá-kuhi bo-siì...

'We haven't mentioned all the short ones...'



d. ...tú lí-á hul-a o-mú-kuhí mú-néne.

'...we mentioned the *fat* short one' (narrow focus)

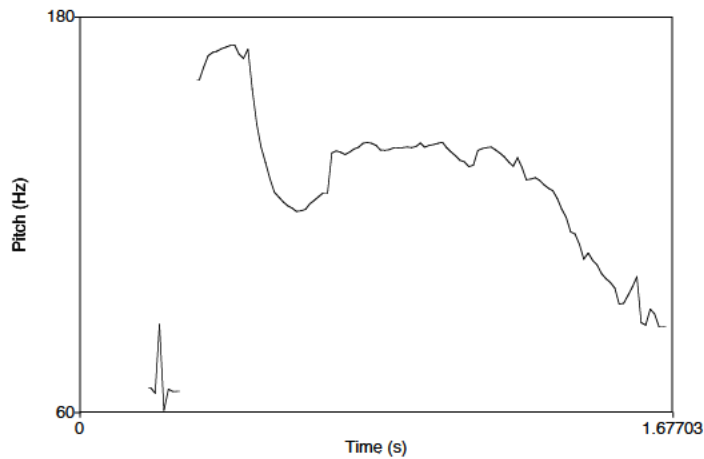


e. *...tú lí-á hul-á mú-kuhí mú-néne. [no audio]

[augment required for narrow focus]

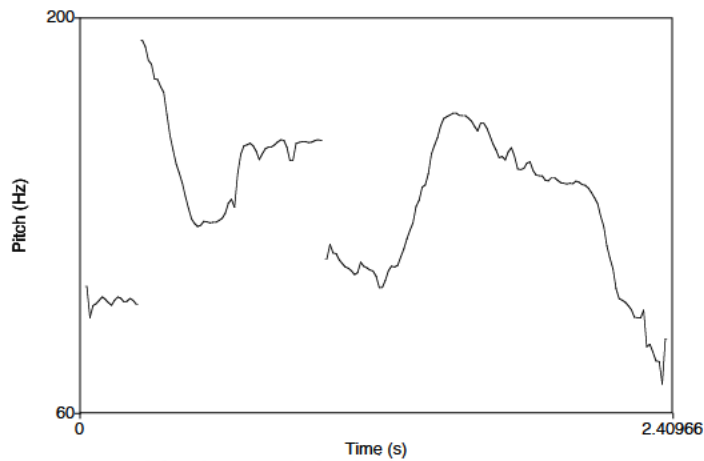
f. Tu ká rond-á mú-néne.

'We are looking for a *fat* one' [a person]



g. A ká rond-á mú-kali mú-rí mú-néne.

'S/he is looking for a woman who's tall and fat'



h. a-wité mú-kali mú-rí mú-néne

'someone with a wife who's both tall and fat'

