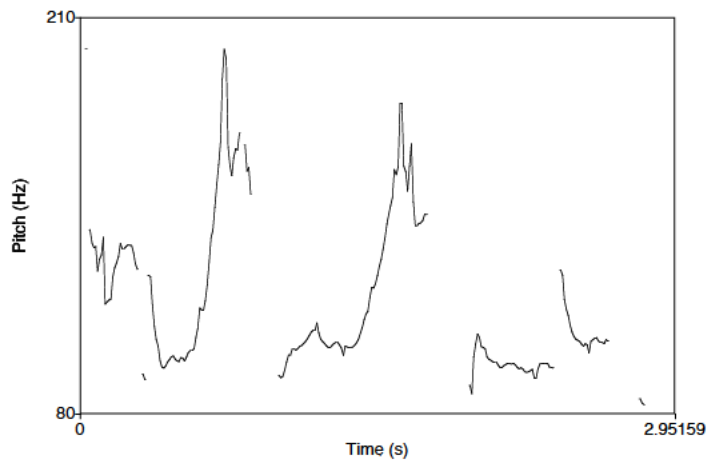


subdot = [+wide pharynx] (not marked on mid vowels); [x̣x̣] = tautosyllabic HL, otherwise L is unmarked.

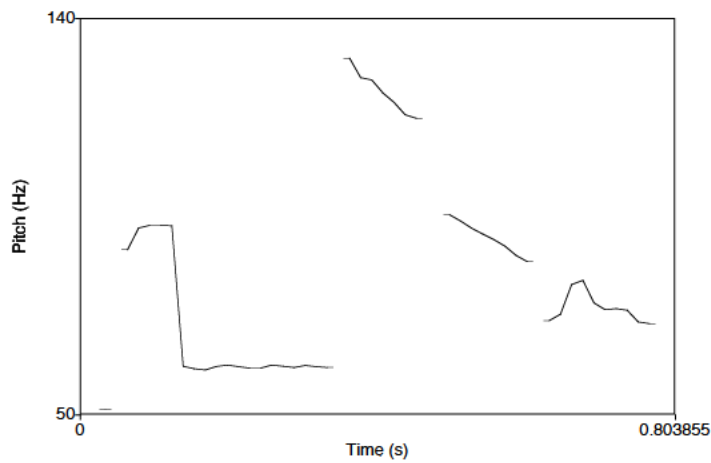
(01)a. émbené nené y'o-mu-sási

'the big red goat [*lit.* of blood]'



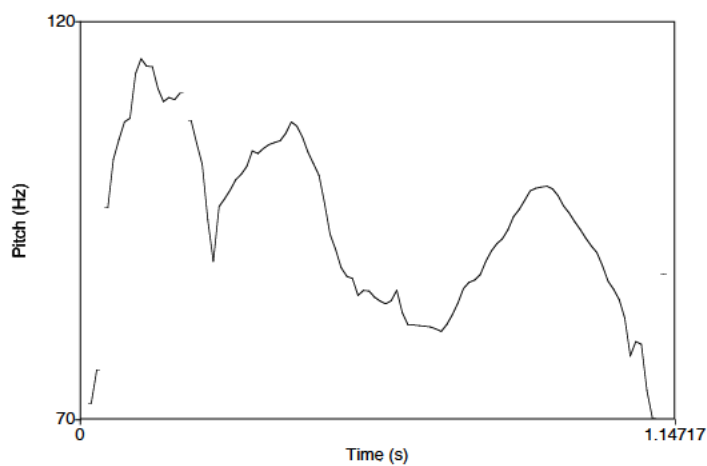
b. émbené nené y'e-kí-rima [last word only]

'the big black goat'



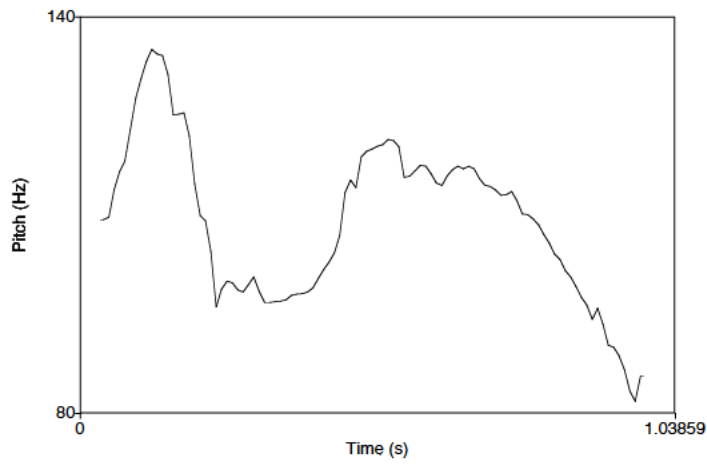
c. émbené nene nyîiri

'the big, long goat'



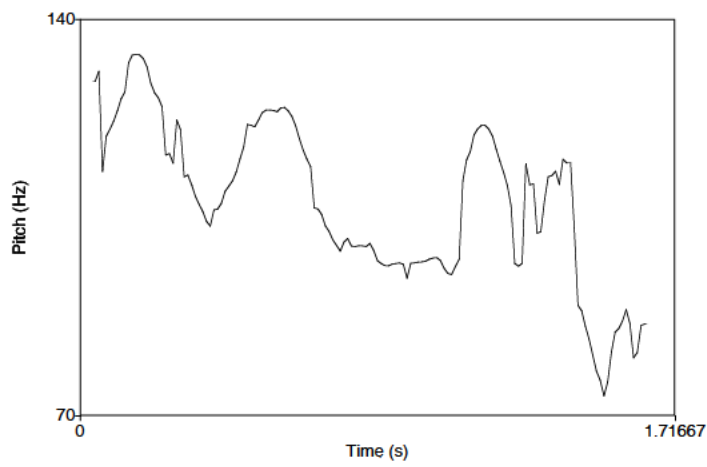
d. émbene nyíri néène

'the long, big goat'



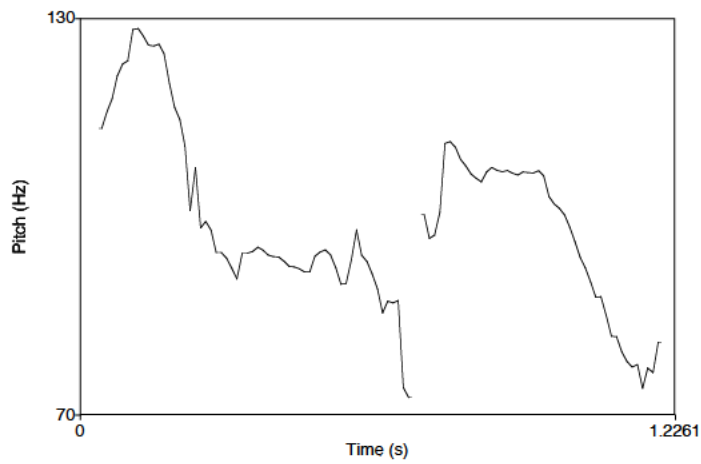
e. émbené nene ndiito

'the big, heavy goat'



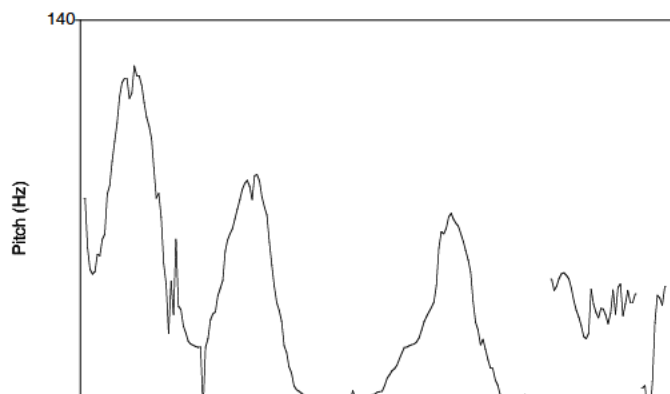
f. émbene ndító néène

'the heavy, big goat'



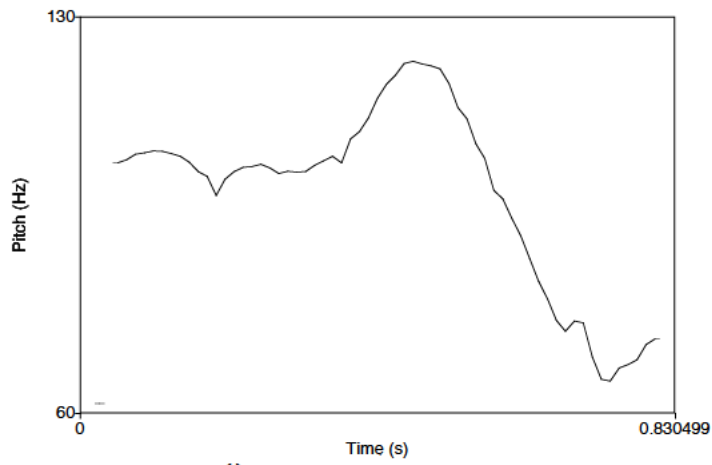
g. émbené nene nyíri ndiito

'the big, long, heavy goat'



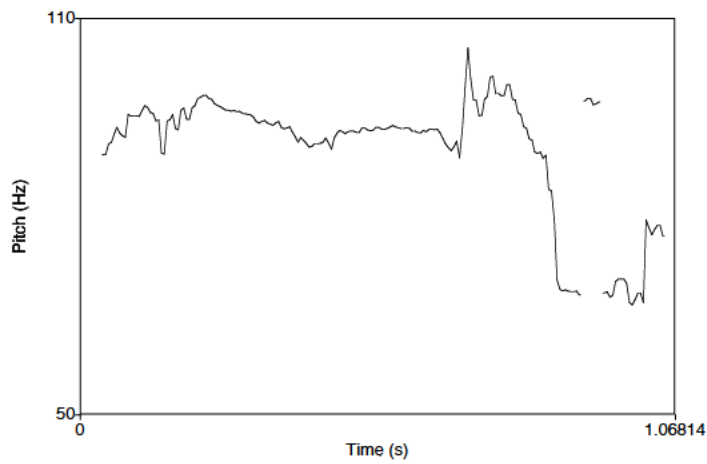
(02)a. e-ri-guùl-a

'to buy'



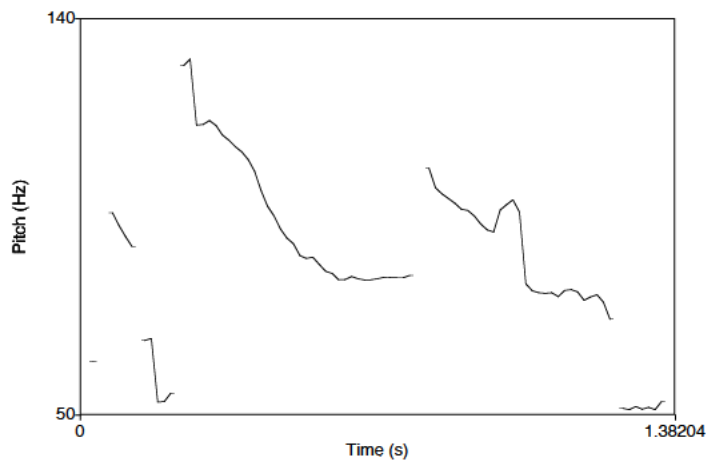
b. e-ri-guul-y-ââ

'to sell' (length preserved on root)



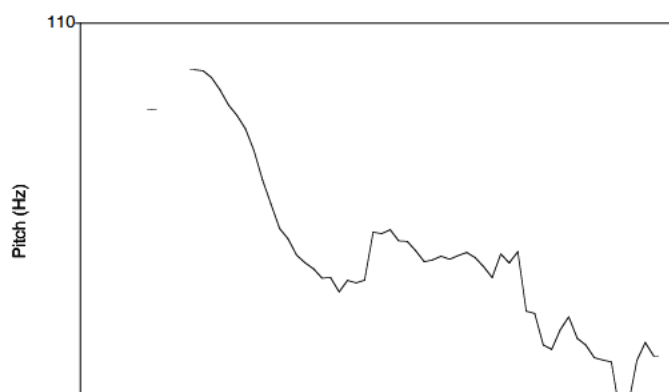
c. Tu ká-gul-a e-syó-mbeene.

'We're buying goats'



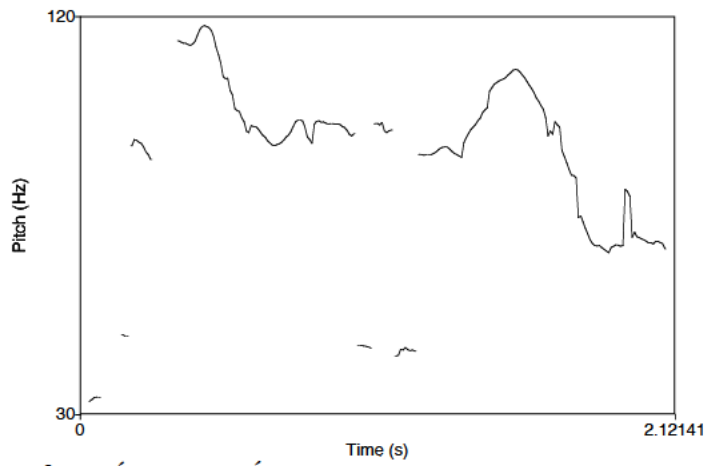
d. Tu ká-gul-a é-mbeene.

'We're buying a goat'



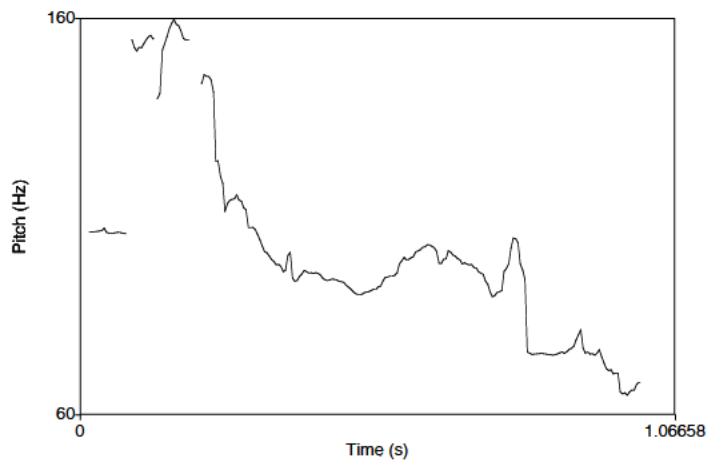
e. Tu ká-ya gul-a é-mbeene.

'We're going to buy a/the goat' [ambiguous]



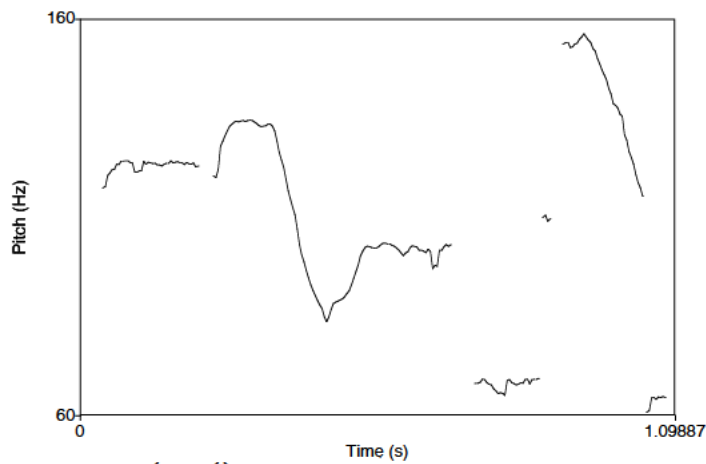
f. Sí tu endi gul-á mbeene.

'We won't buy goats'



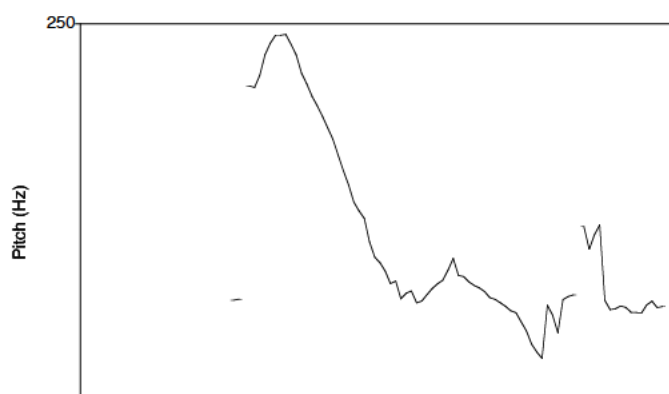
(03)a. Ba ká-gul-á ti kwéhi?

'They're buying [that] what?' (ti = Comp?)



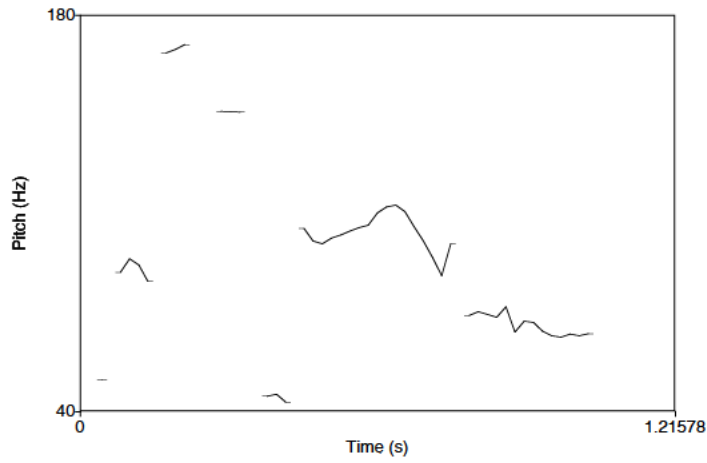
b. Ba ká-gul-ââ ki?

'They're buying what?'



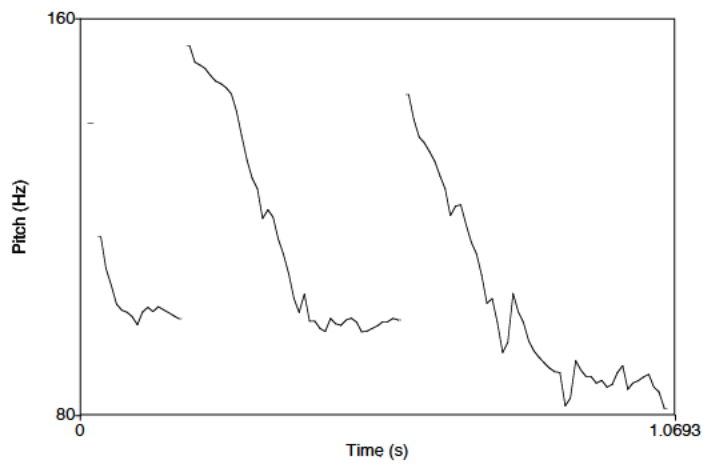
c. Ba ká-gul-á mbeene.

'They're buying goats'



d. Ba ká-gul-a e-syó-mbeene.

'They're buying goats' (= 02c)



(04)a. E-syó-mbene si-ká-gul-á a-bá-lume. [no audio]

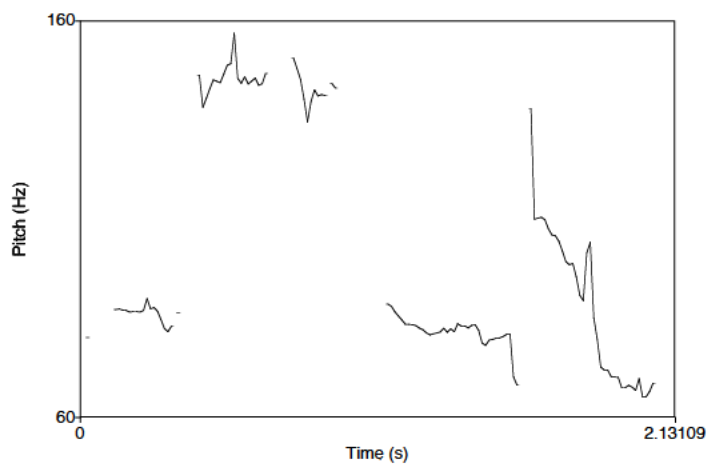
'The men are buying goats' [inverse focus]

b. *E-syó-mbene si-ká-gul-á itùè. [no audio]

[intended as inverse: 'We're buying goats']

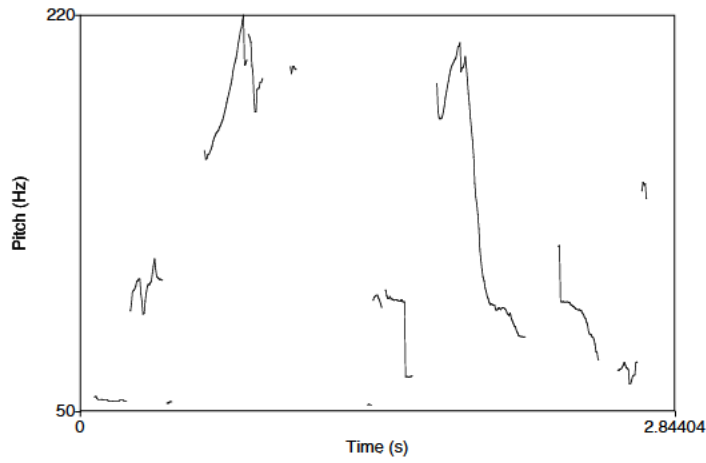
c. Itwé tú-ka-gul-a e-syó-mbene.

'We're buying goats' [≠ (02c)]



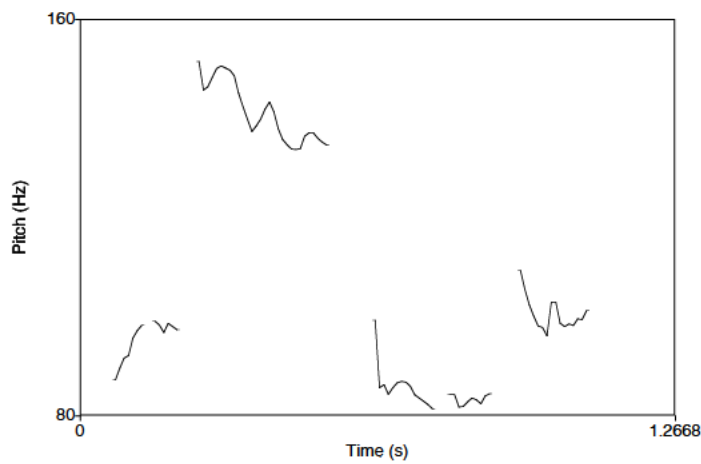
d. Itwé tu ká-gul-a e-syó-mbene.

'Us, we're buying goats' [= (02c)]



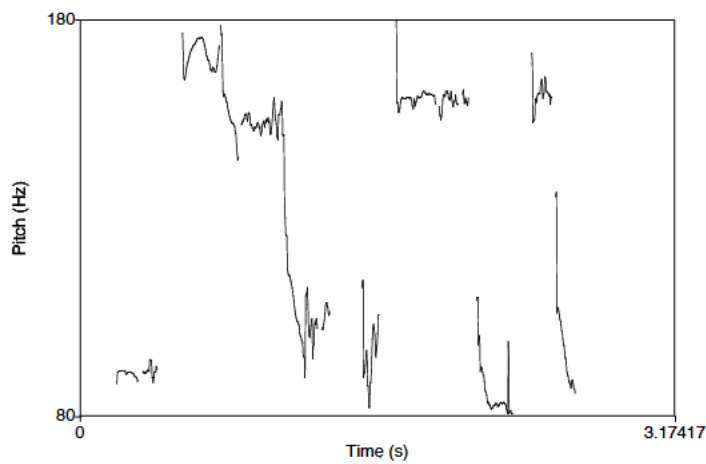
(05)a. itwé bá-tekèè

'we the rich'



b. Itwé bá-tekèè itwé tú-ka-gul-a e-syó-mbene.

'Us the rich, we're buying goats'



c. *Itwé bá-tekèè tú-ka-gul-a e-syó-mbene. [no audio]

[intended: 'Us the rich are buying goats']

d. *Itwé tú-ka-gul-a e-syó-mbene bá-tekèè. [no audio]

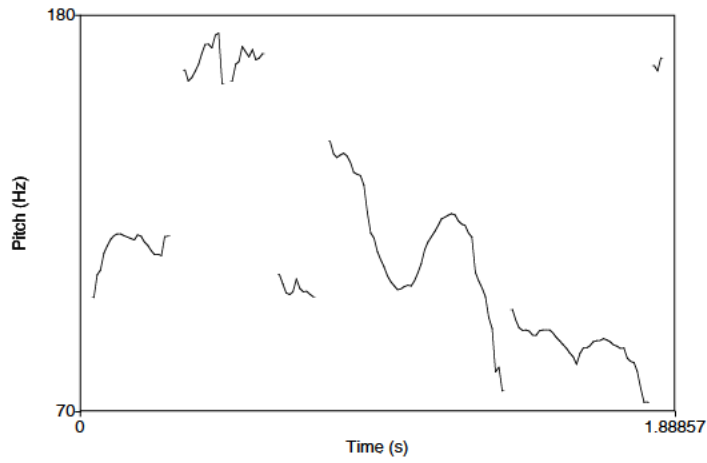
[intended: 'We're buying goats, the rich']

e. Itwé tú-ka-gul-a e-syó-mbene itwé bá-tekèè. [no audio]

'We're buying goats, us the rich'

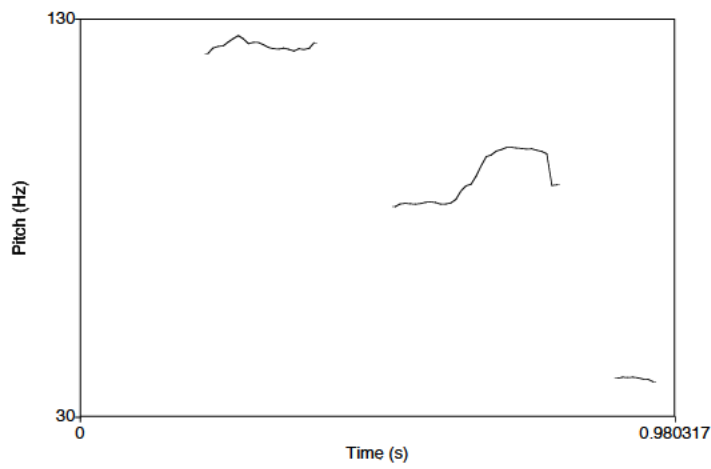
(06)a. Itwé tu ká-gul-á mbeene.

'Us, we're buying goats' [= (04d)]



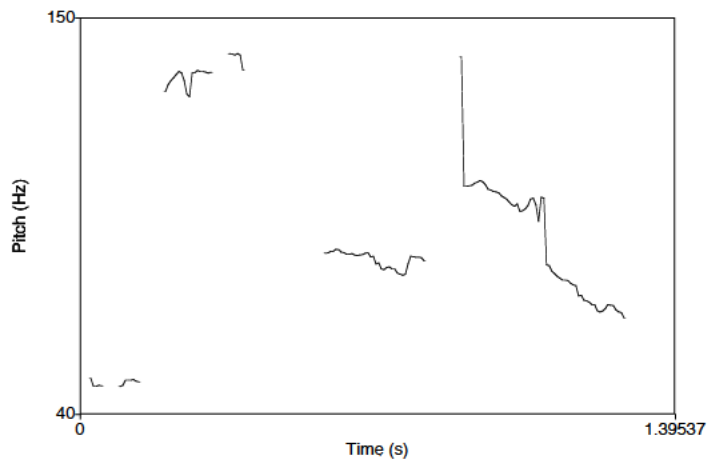
b. *Itwé tú-ka-gul-á mbeene.

[Büring-type double focus: *We're buying goats...*]



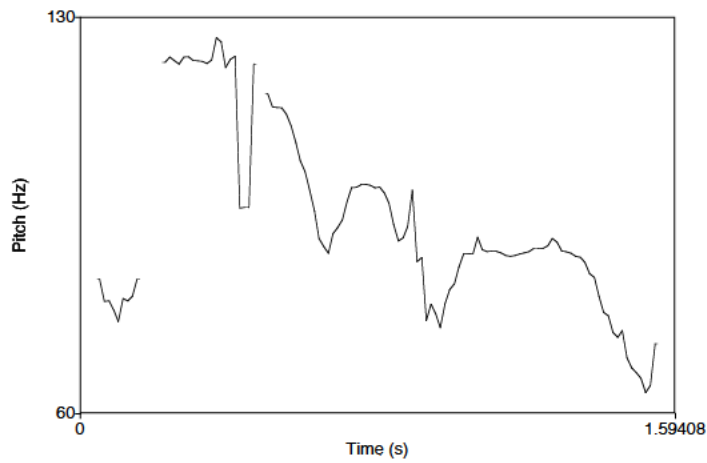
c. Itwé tú ka-gul-a e-syó-mbeene.

'We're buying goats'



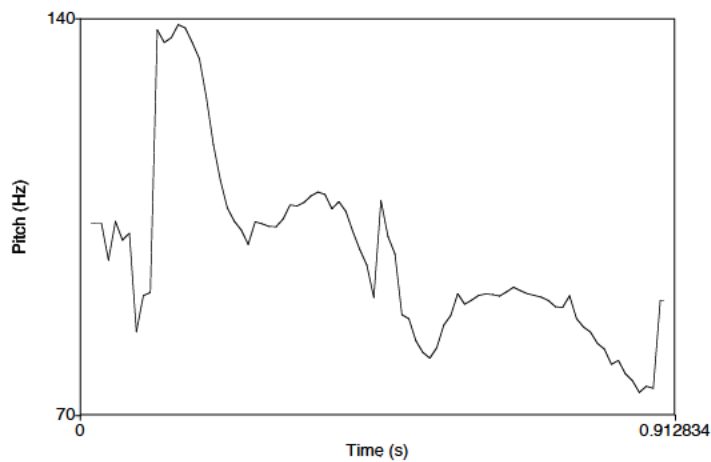
(07)a. Itwé tu ká-gul-á mbeené nééne.

'Us, we're buying *a big quantity of goats* OR *big goats*'



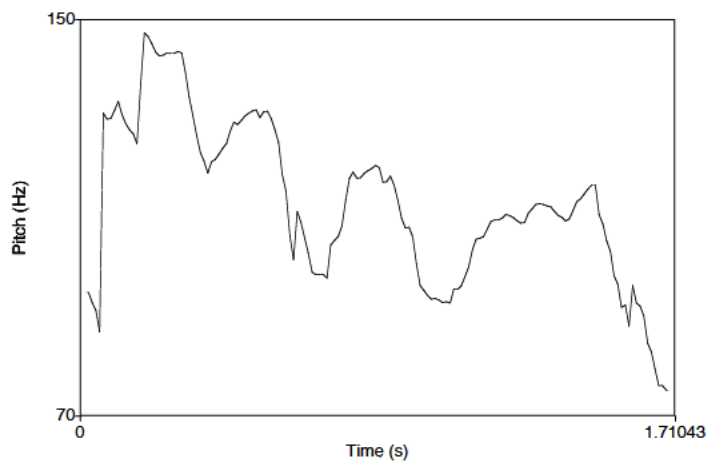
b. Tu ká-gul-a é-mbeené nééne.

'We're buying the big goat' (# '...big quantity...')



c. Tu ká-gul-á mbeené nene nééne.

'We're buying *a big quantity of big goats*'

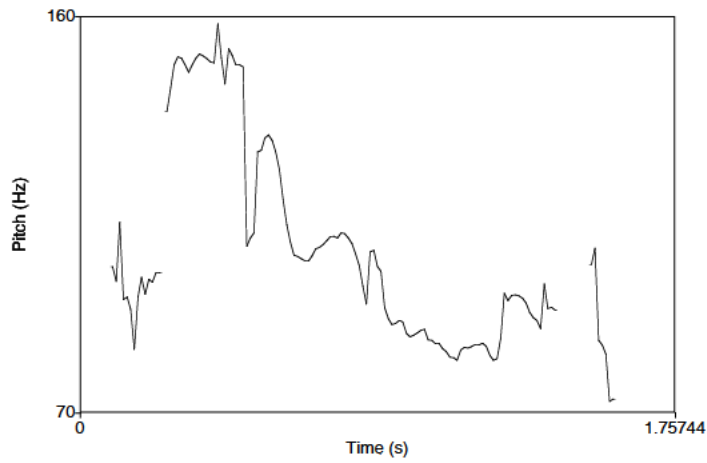


d. Tu ká-gul-á mbeené nene nééne nyisanyisa.. [no audio]

'We're buying only *a big quantity of big goats*'

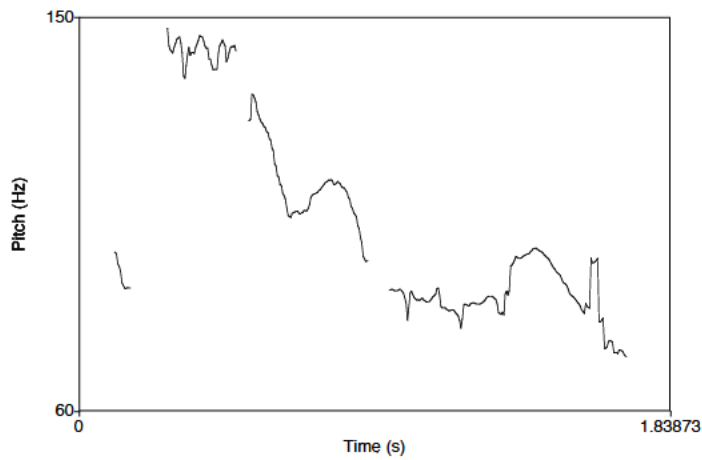
(08)a. Itwé tu ká-gul-á mbeene ndítu.

'Us, we're buying *a lot of goats* OR *heavy goats*'



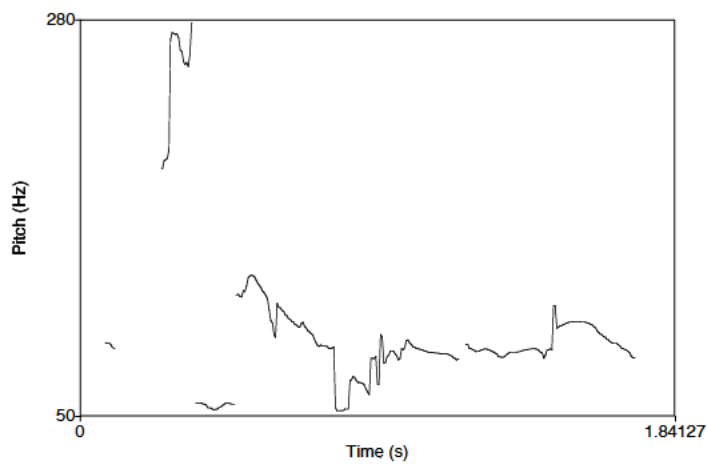
b. Itwé tu ká-gul-á mbeene ndéere

'Us, we're buying *young goats*'



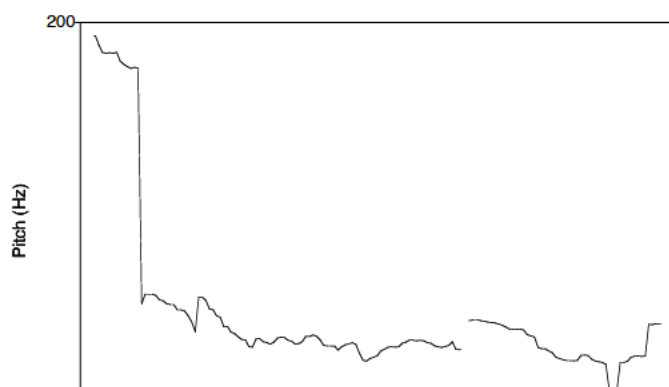
c. Tu ká-gul-á mbeene ndere ndéere

'We're buying *several young goats* OR *very young goats*'



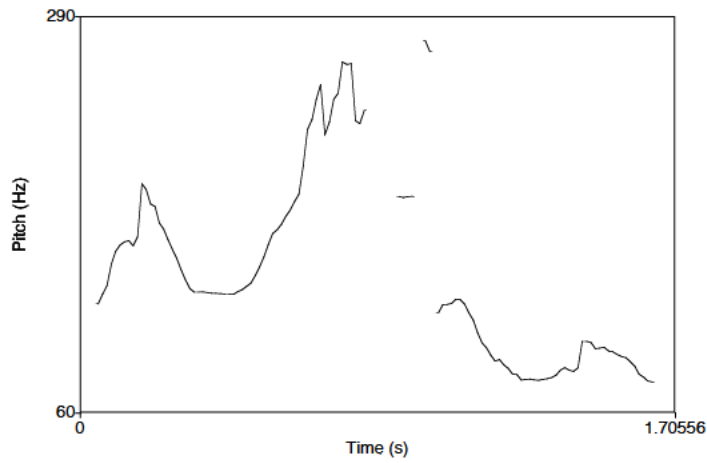
(09)a. é-mbeene ndéere

'a young goat' [plus a second meaning as in (10c)]



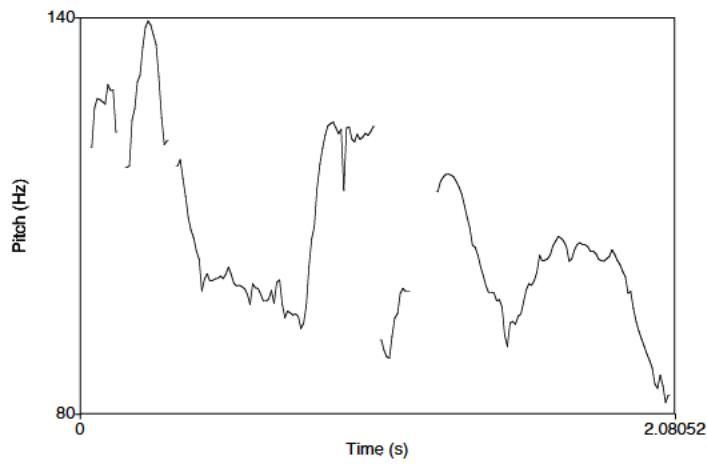
b. É-mbeené tu ká-gul-a ndéére.

'As for the goat, we're buying a young one'



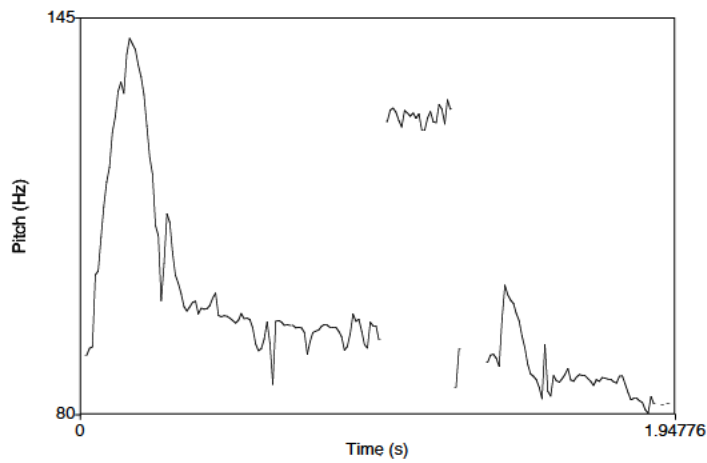
c. É-mbeene nderé tu ká-gul-á néne.

'As for the young goat, we're buying a big one'



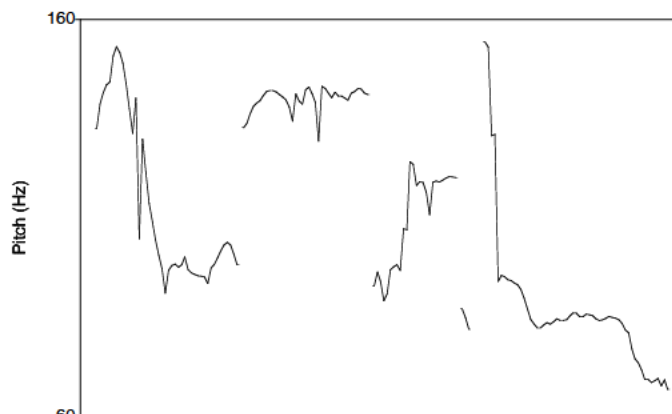
d. É-mbeene nder' itwé tu ká-gul-á néne.

'As for the young goat, us we're buying a big one'



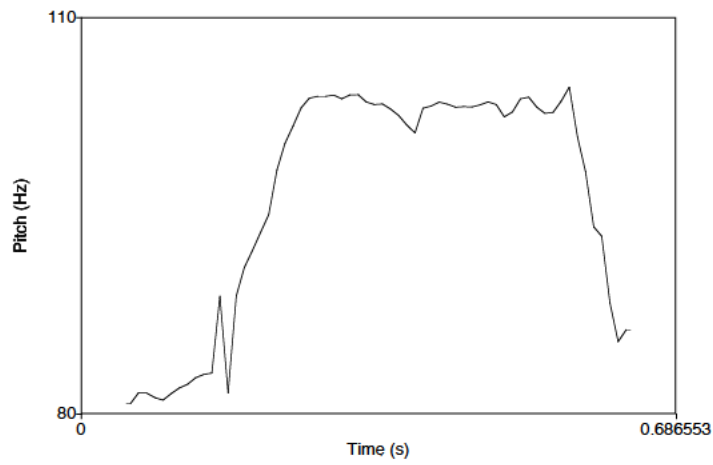
dd. É-mbeene nderé, itwé tu ká-gul-á néne.

[= (09d) with a pausal H after the topic]



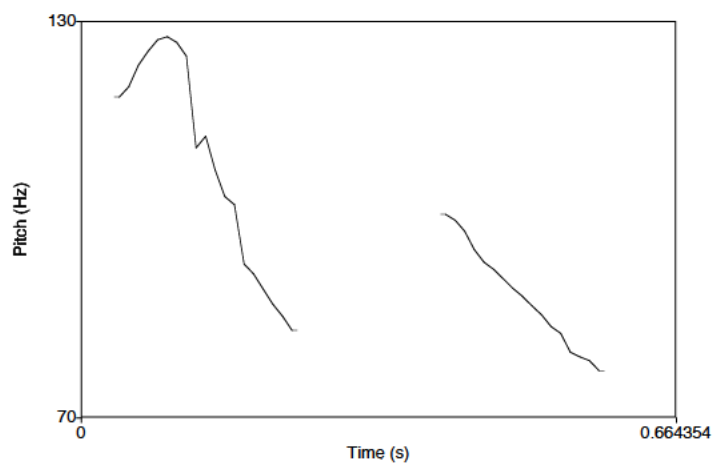
(10)a. e-rí-táá

'to bury'



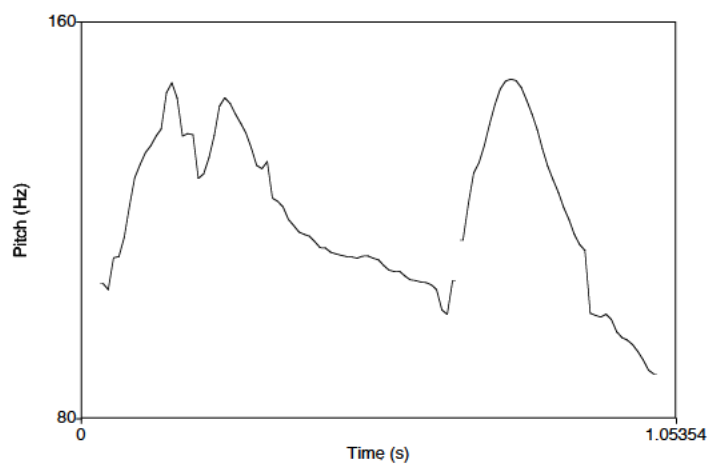
b. Mó na té-re.

'I have buried [something]' (a complete sentence)



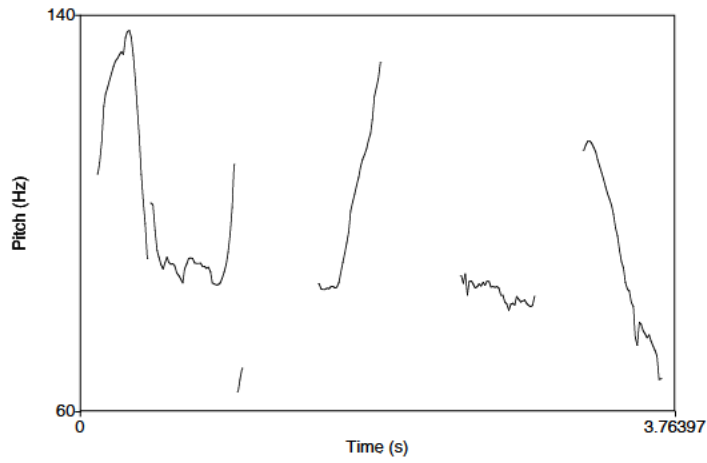
c. é-mbeene ndéere

'a young goat' OR 'the goat which I buried' [< (10d)]



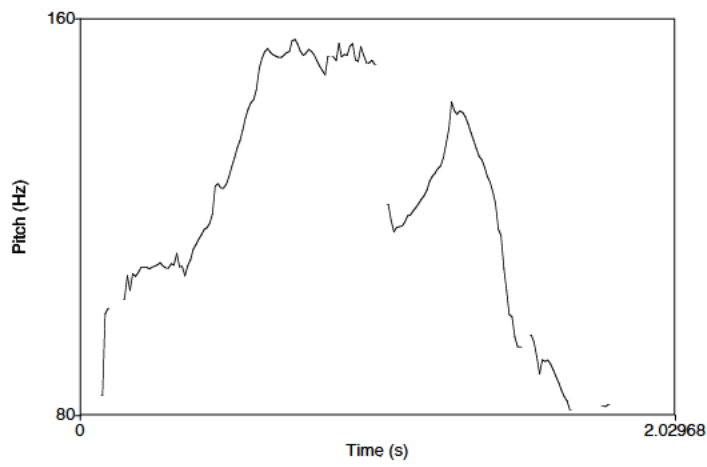
d. é-mbeené eyó nyi téére

'the goat the one I buried' (didactic pauses)



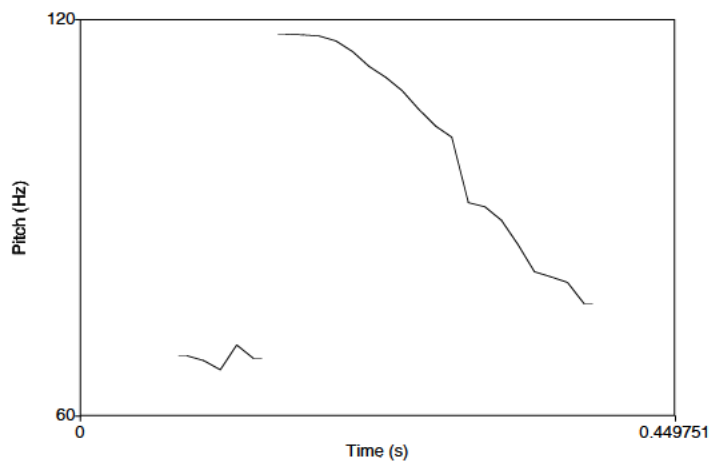
e. N lál-íre.

'I have slept'



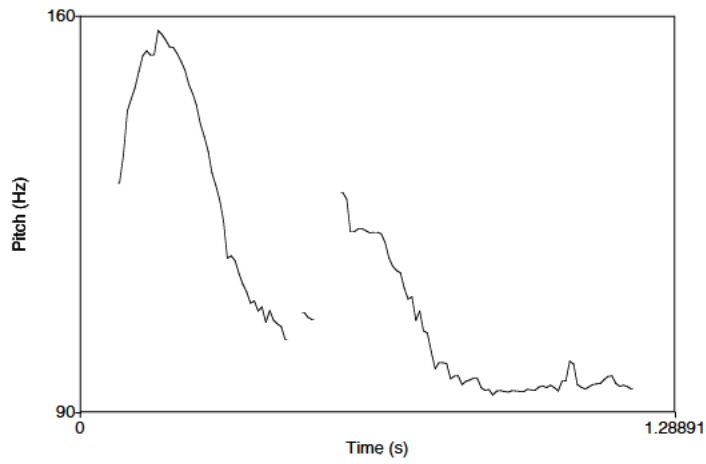
f. N dé-re.

'I have slept' (assimilated form) [ʔ ≠ (10c)]



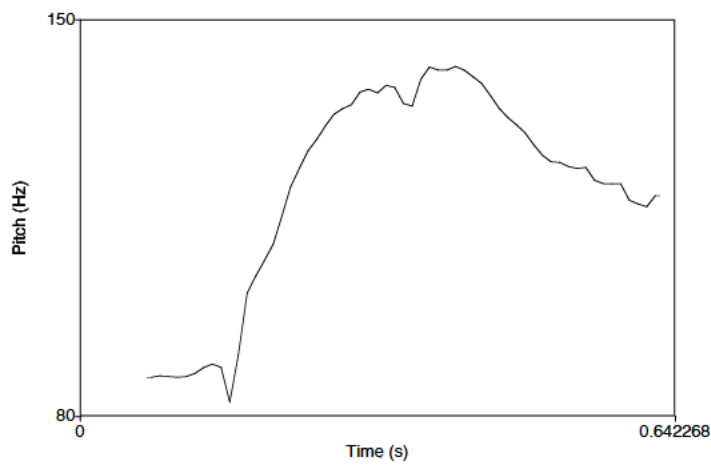
(11)a. É-boh[a] i-ká yi-boh-á.

'The [predatory animal] snares itself [yi]'
[i.e. a culprit condemns himself -- *jeu de mots*]



b. e-rí-bóh-a

'to tie'



c. [unanalyzed audio -- *jeu de mots*]

'A child with parasites is not therefore to be rejected'

