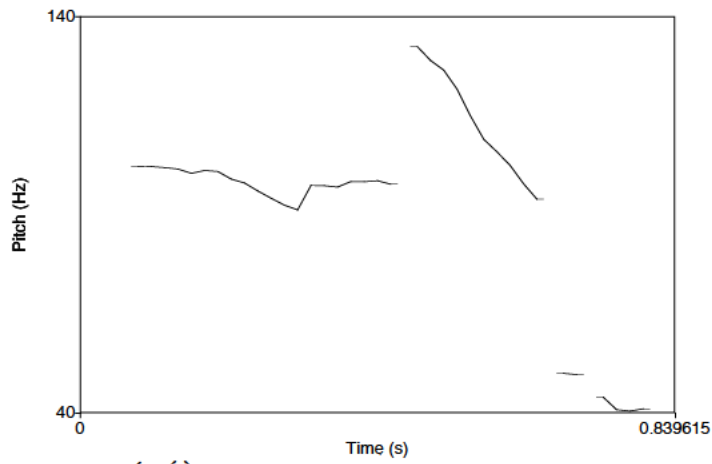


subdot = [+wide pharynx] (not marked on mid vowels); [x̂] = tautosyllabic HL, otherwise L is unmarked.

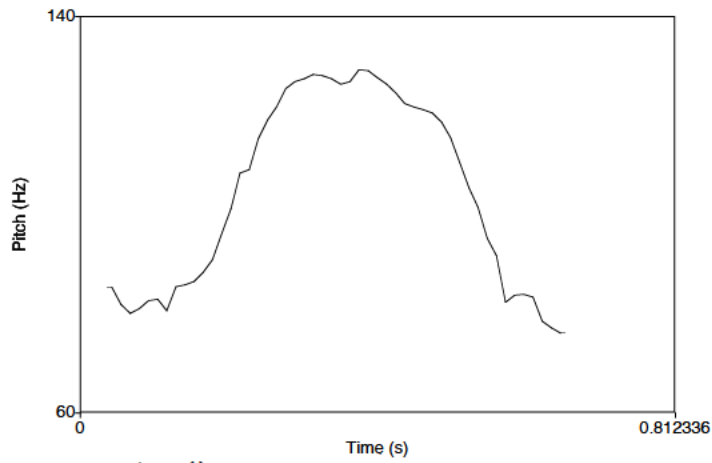
(01)a. o-lu-súumba

‘[a type of initiation]’



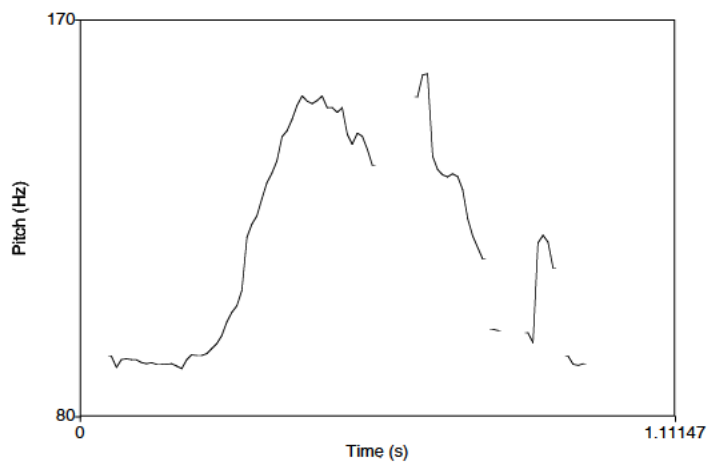
b. o-lú-hóòlo

‘death’



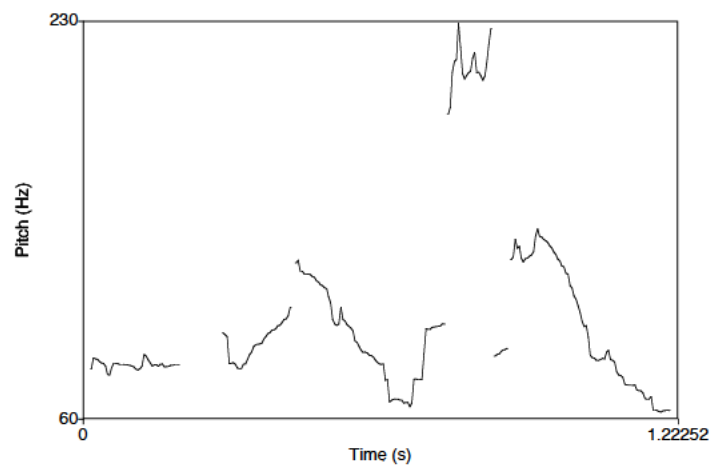
c. o-lú-kwéè

‘wood’



(02)a. O-lu-*sumbá* lu-*kár-íre*.

‘[A type of initiation] is difficult’



b. O-lú-*holó* lu-*kár-íre*. [no audio]

‘Death is difficult’

c. O-lú-*kwé* lu-*mí-ire*. [no audio]

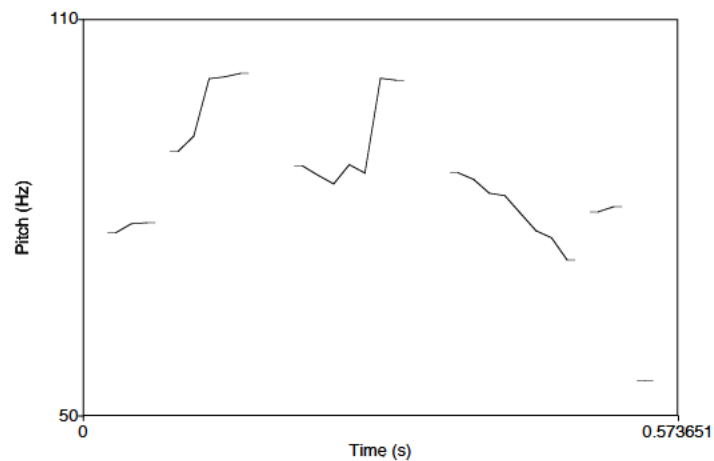
‘The wood is dry’

(03)a. o-mù-*kalì* [no audio]

‘woman’

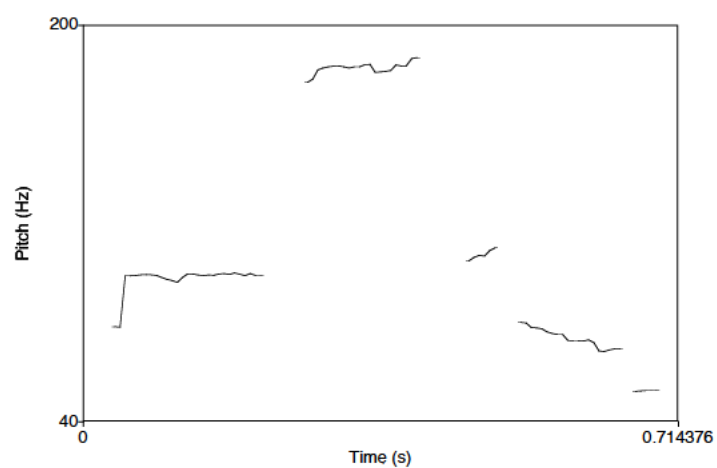
b. a-*ká-kalì*

‘woman [+diminutive/appreciative/depreciative]’



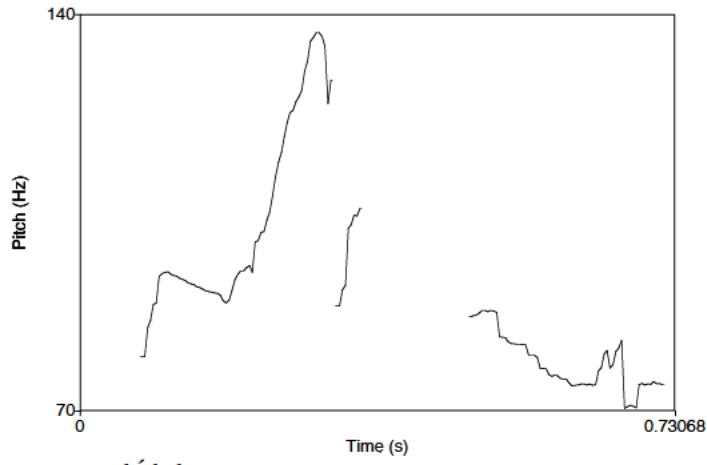
c. e-*kí-kalì*

‘woman [+large/depreciative]’



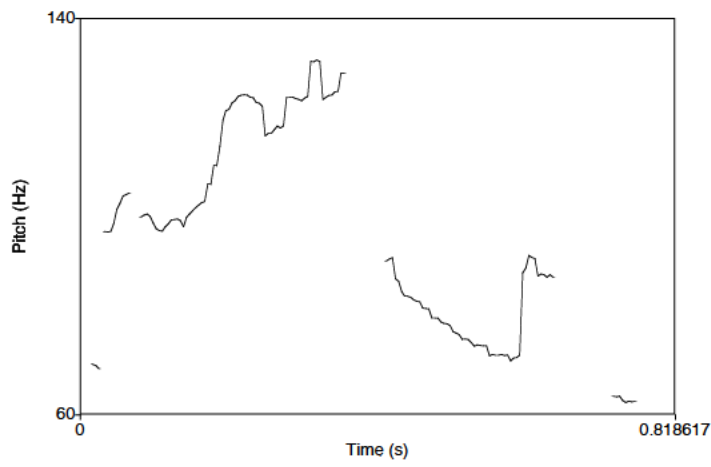
d. o-lí-kalí

'woman [+large/depreciative]'



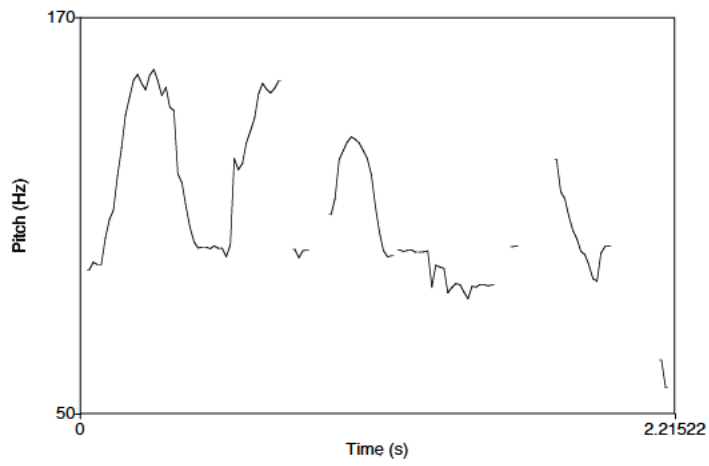
e. e-bí-kalí

= plural of (11.03c) and also of (11.03d)



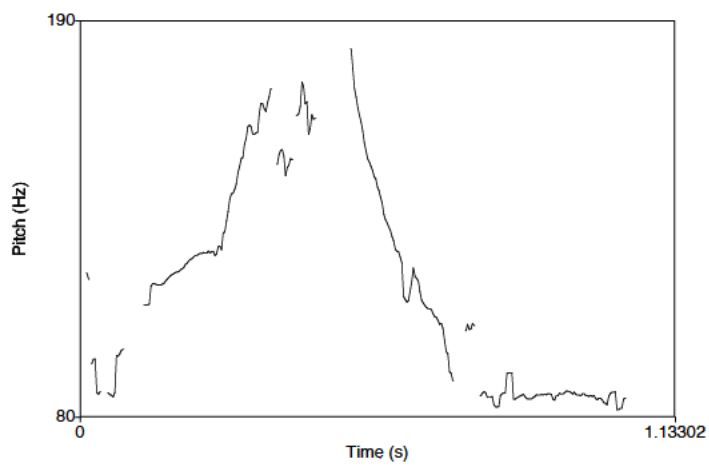
(04)a. O-lú-kalí lú-hek-ire e-ki-tére.

'The big woman picked up the basket'



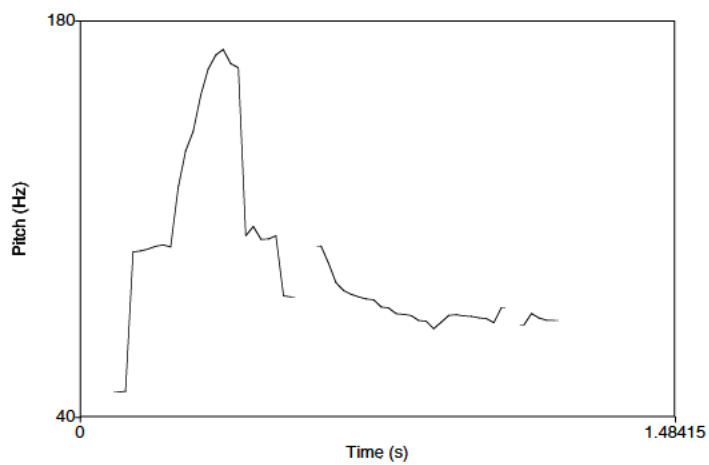
b. e-rí-keèng-a

'to respect'



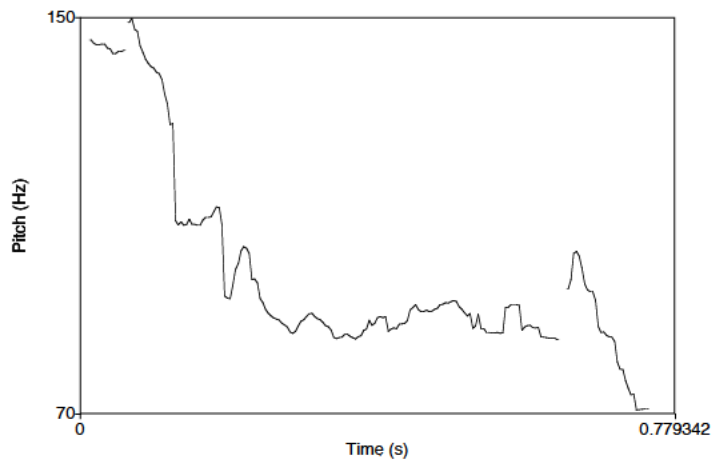
c. o-lú-keng-er-w-a

'respectability' (n.b. accent retraction)
PM says lu- ≡ '-ity' (Fr. -ité)



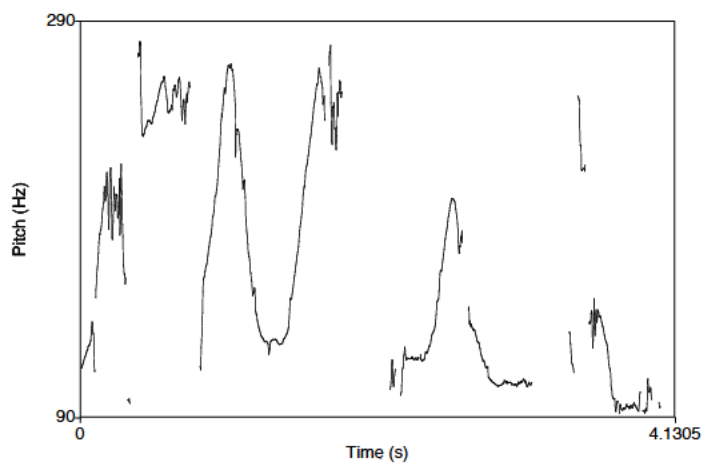
(05)a. Kí-tara Lúù-kyóò

[proper name]



b. Lú-kyó lú-nené lu-láb-y-a nzó-gu.

'A big door lets pass an elephant' [warning proverb]
[abbreviated as (05a), n.b. dictation pronunciation]

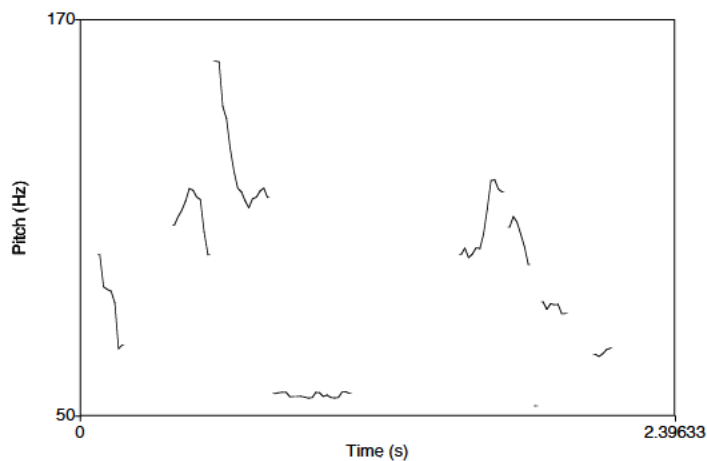


c. Si-hér-y-a [not recorded]

[proper name]

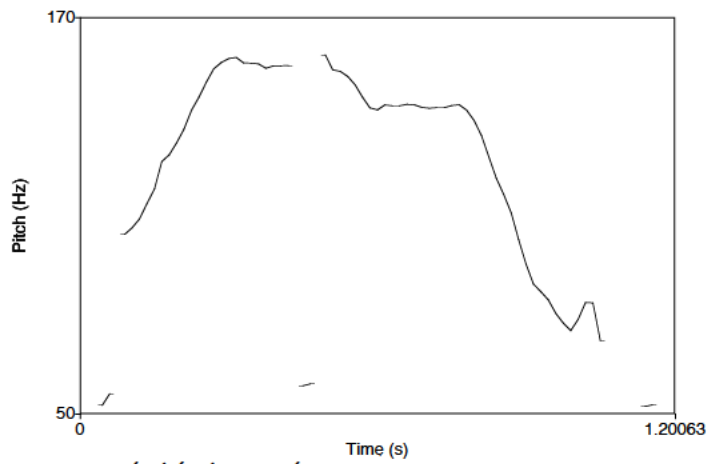
d. E-syó-mbené si-hér-y-a.

'Goats [dowry] cause someone to become lost [wed]'



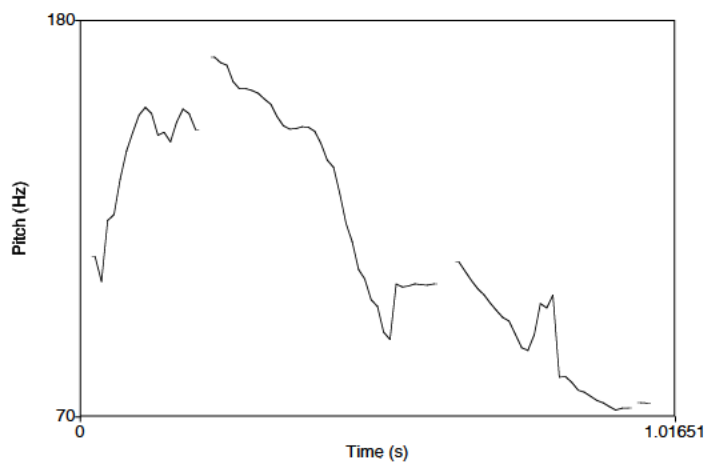
(06)a. mó tú á gúl-a

'we bought (long ago)' [maybe a sentence fragment]



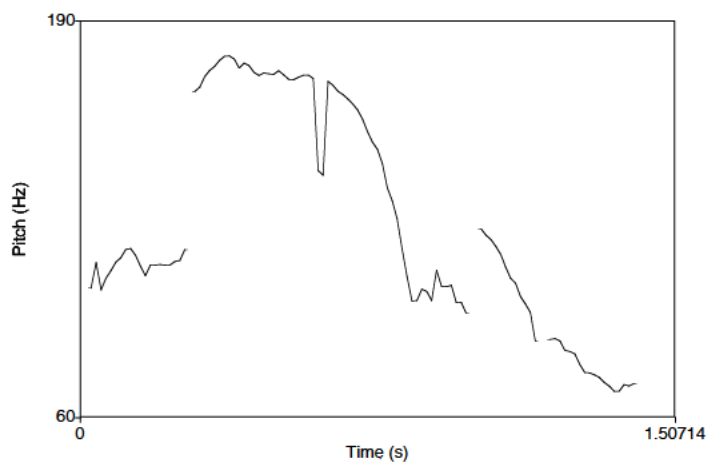
b. Mó tú á gúl-a e-syó-mbene.

'We bought some goats (long ago)'



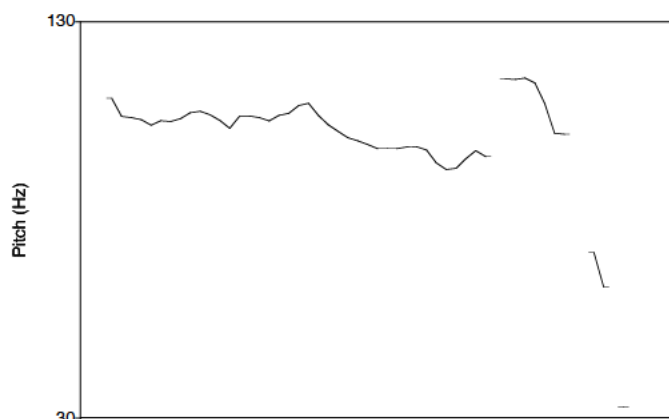
c. Itwé mó tú á gúl-a e-syó-mbene.

'Us, we bought some goats (long ago)'



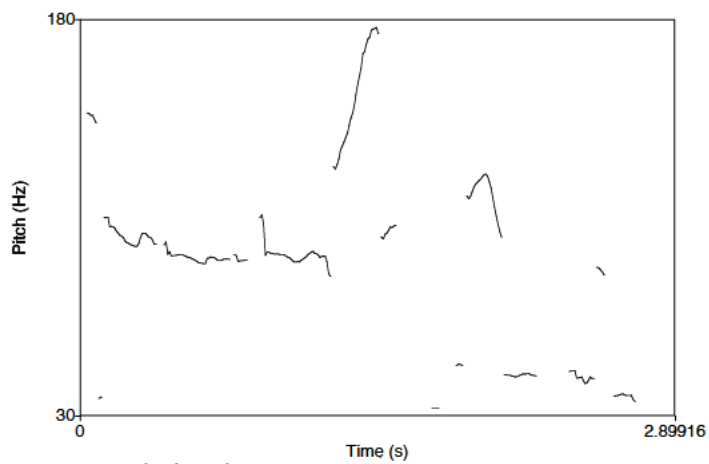
d. Itwe tu a gul-a e-syó-mbene.

'It's *us* who bought goats (long ago)' [= (11c)]



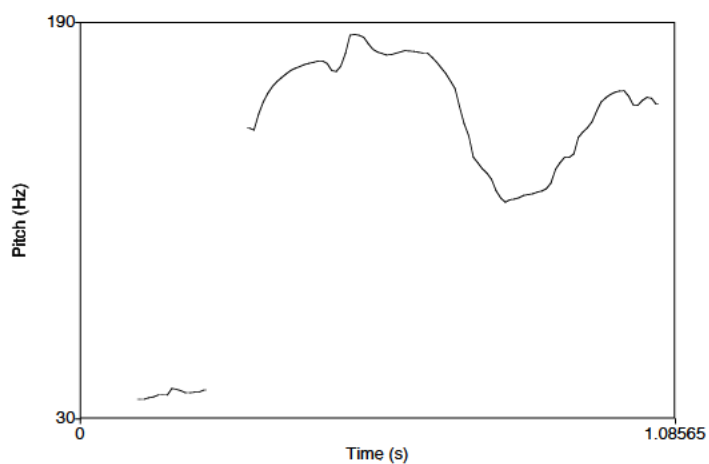
(07)a. Itwe bandú tu ká gul-a e-syó-mbene.

'Us people, we buy/are buying goats'



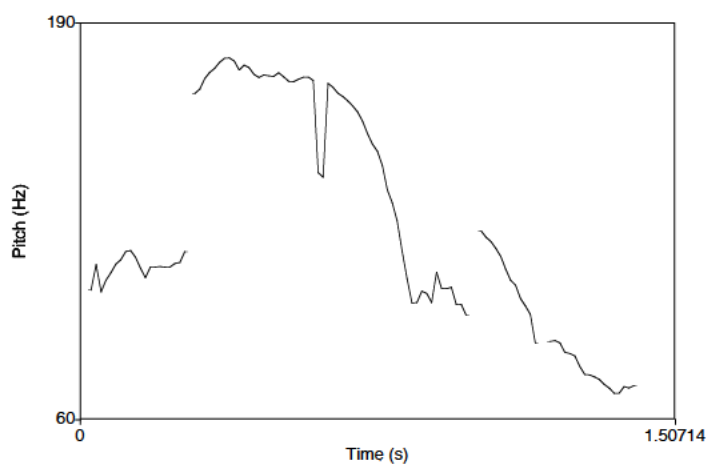
b. Itwé bálumé...

'Us men...' [as topic phrase parallel to (07a)]



c. Itwé tú ka gul-a e-syó-mbene.

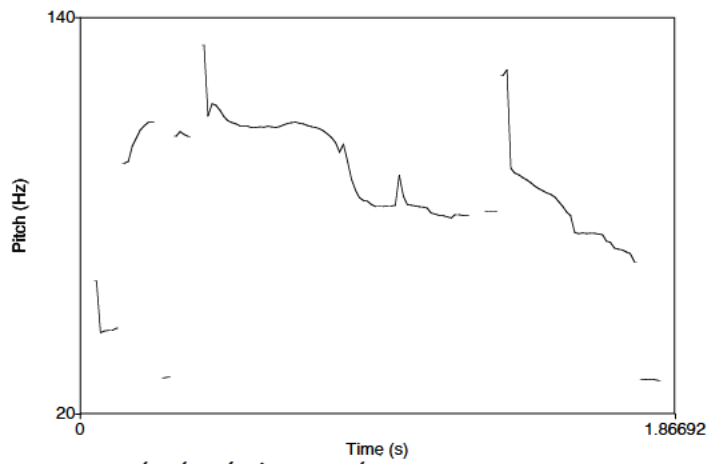
'It's *us* who buy/are buying goats'



d. *Itwe tu ka gul-a e-syó-mbene. [no audio]

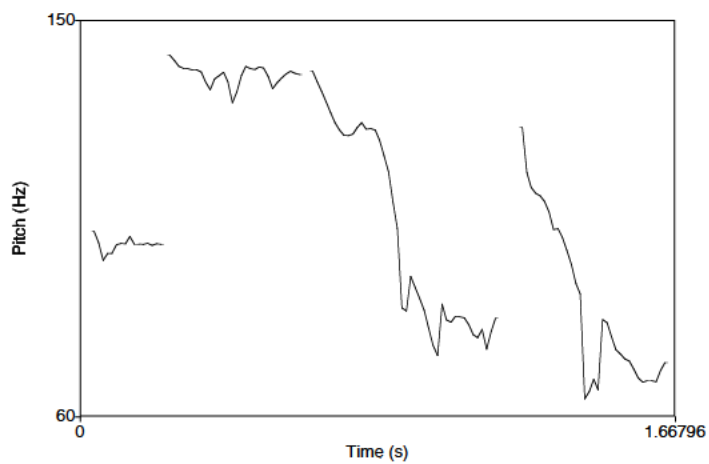
(08)a. Mó tu á gúl-ire e-syó-mbene.

'We bought some goats (recently)'



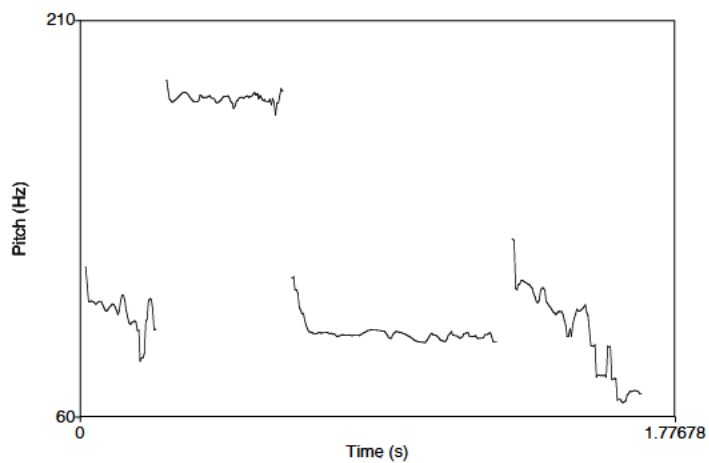
b. Itwé mó tu á gúl-ire e-syó-mbene.

'Us, we bought some goats (recently)'



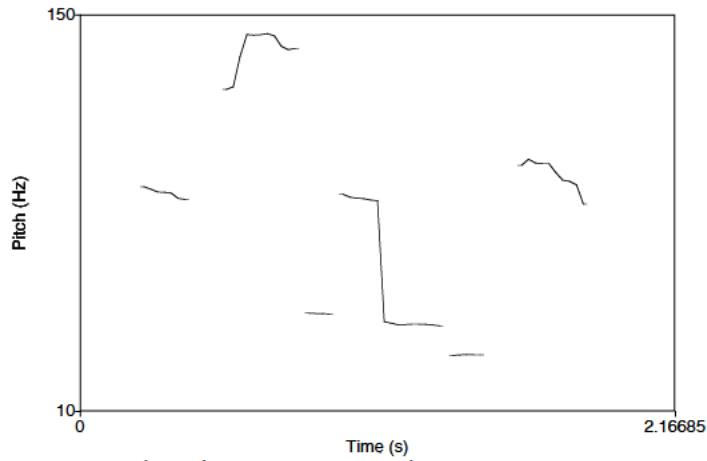
c. Itwé tu a gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'It's us who bought goats (recently)' [cf. 06d]
[n.b. zero realization of both *mó* and *-ire*]



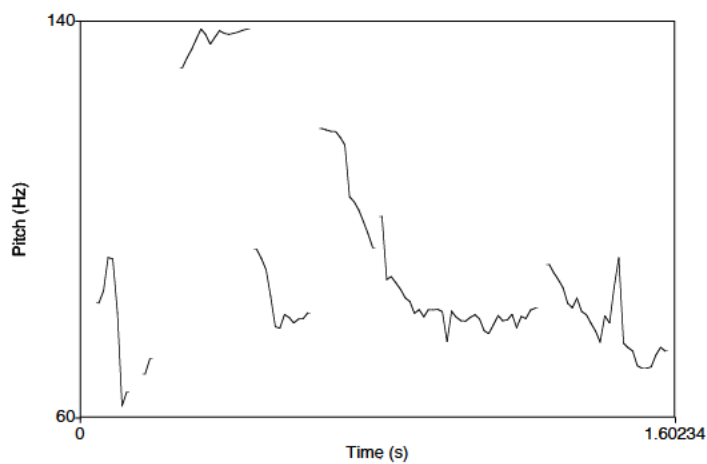
(09)a. Tu ká ndi (sya) gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'We're going to buy some goats <after today>
[n.b. the <sya> adverb is not included in the audio]



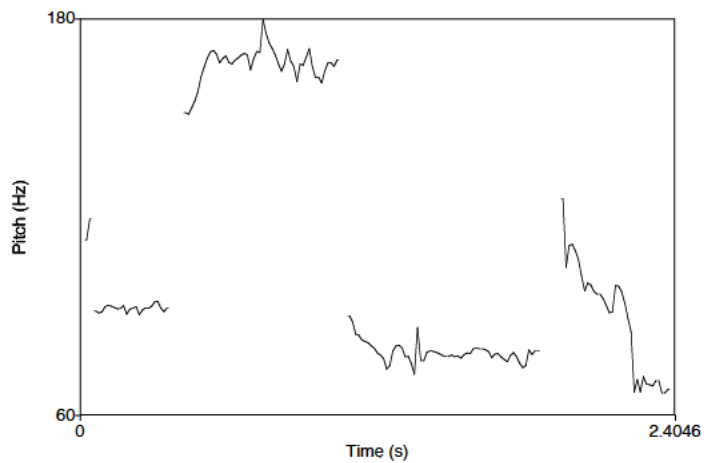
b. Itwé tu ká ndi (sya) gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'Us, we're going to buy some goats (after today)
[n.b. final H on the strong pronoun, even pre L]



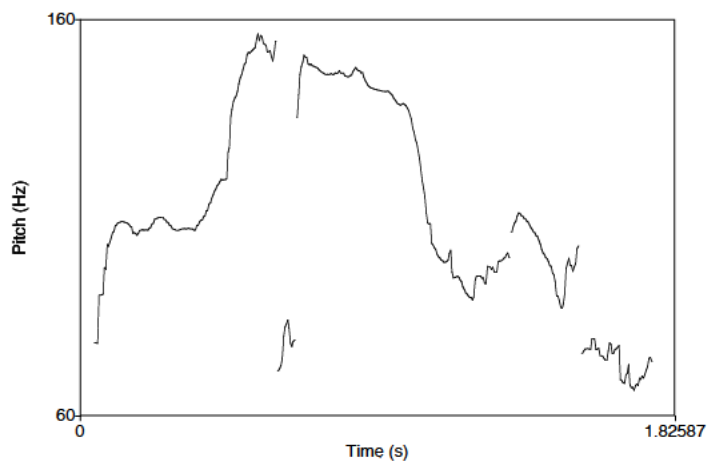
c. Itwé tú ka ndi (sya) gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'It's us who're going to buy some goats (after today)'

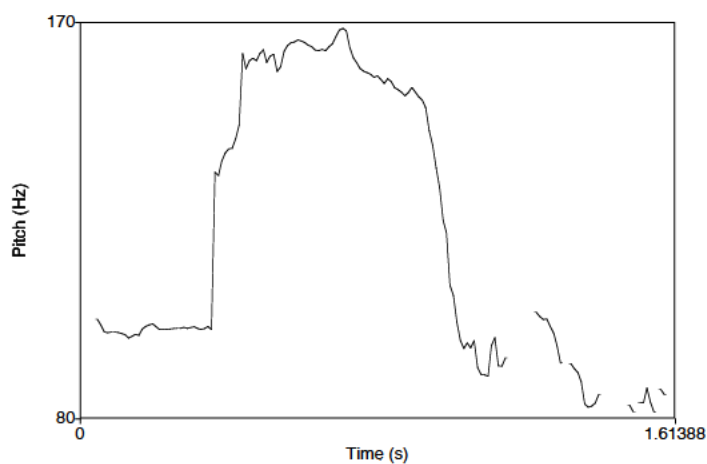


(10)a. Abandú mó bá á gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'The men bought some goats (long ago)'

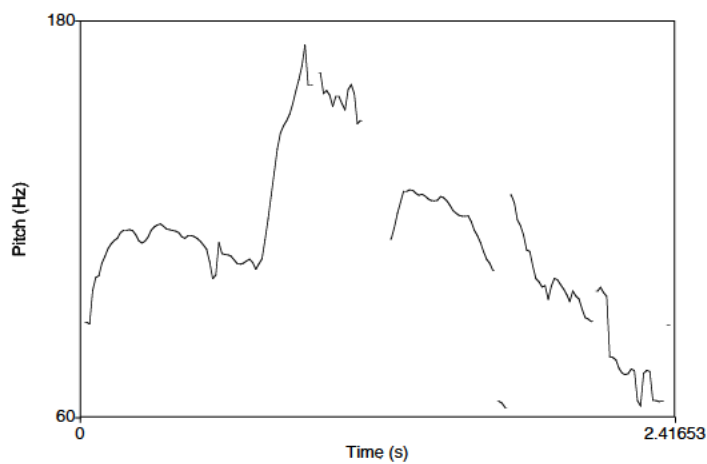


aa. [repetition of (10a) without pause]



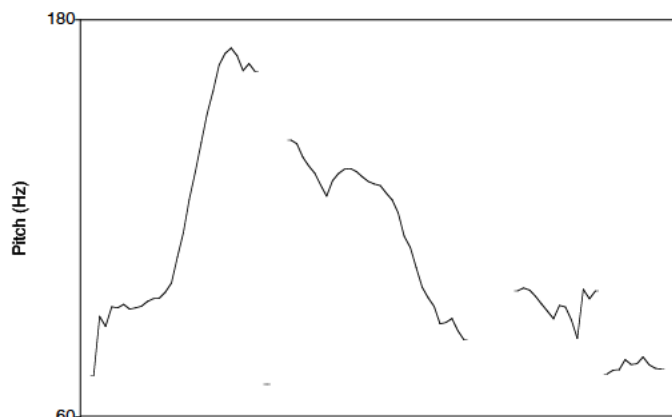
b. Abandu ibó mó bá gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'As for the men, they bought goats (long ago)'



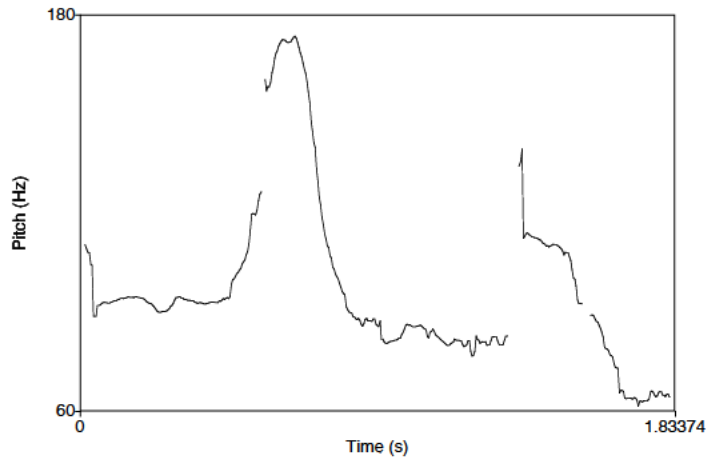
bb. Ibó mó bá gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'As for them, they bought goats (long ago)'



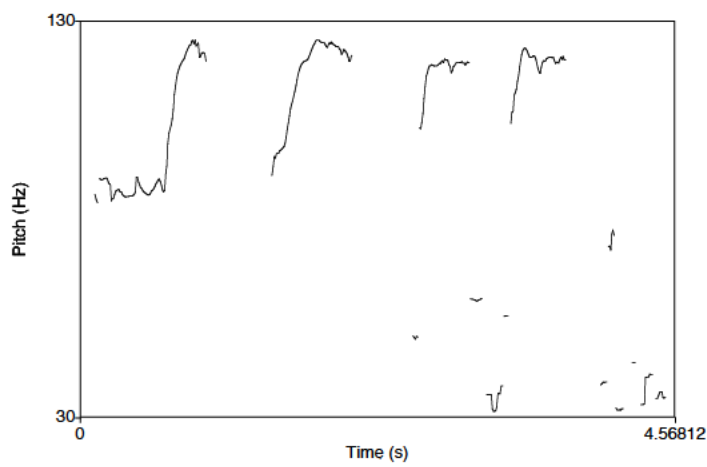
c. Abandú bo ba a gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'It's the men who bought some goats (long ago)'
[n.b. insertion of clefting pronoun *bo*]



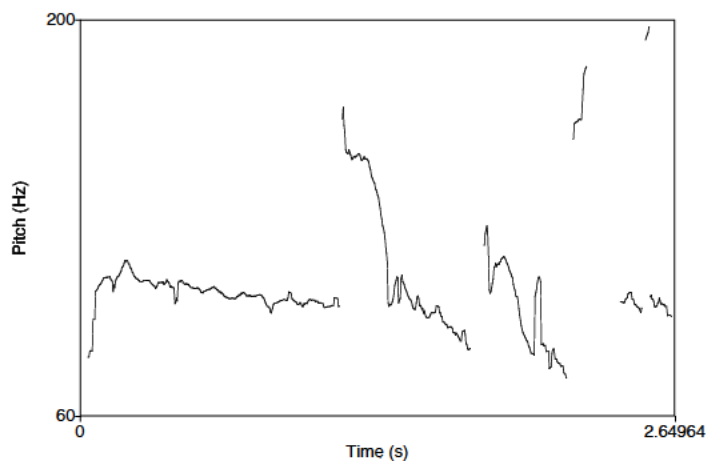
d. Abandú [-pause-] bó [- -] bá [- -] gúl-' [- -] e-syó-mbene.

'It's the men who bought some goats (recently)'



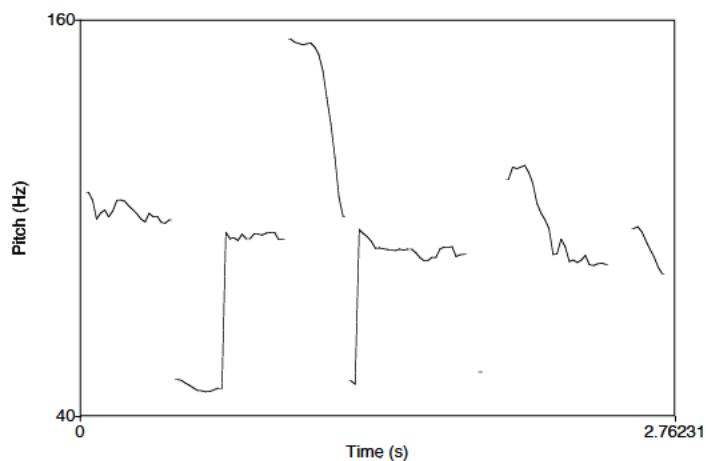
(11)a. Abandu (a) ba a gul-' e-syó-mbene bá-bya ba-síre.

'The men who bought goats (long ago) were foolish'
[≠ (10c), n.b. the rel-pron *a* is optional in 3pl]

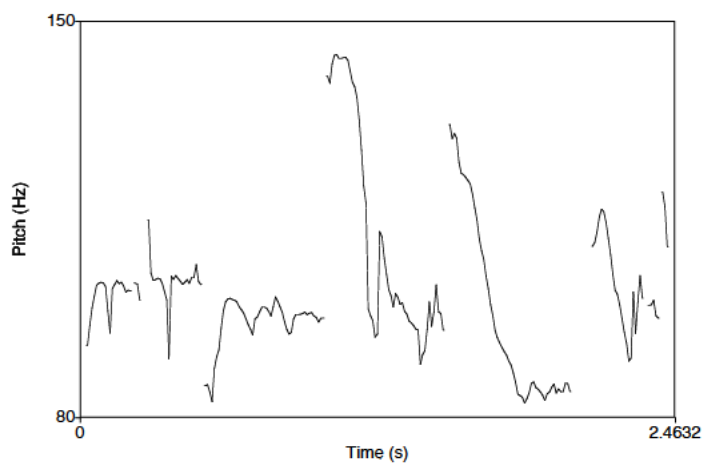


b. Itwe tu a-gul-' e-syó-mbene [pause] tu á-bya ba-síre.

'We who bought goats (long ago) were foolish'

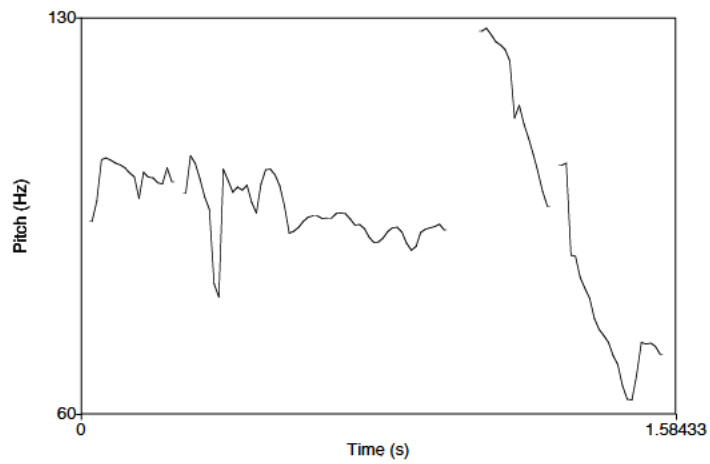


bb. [repetition of (11b) without pause]



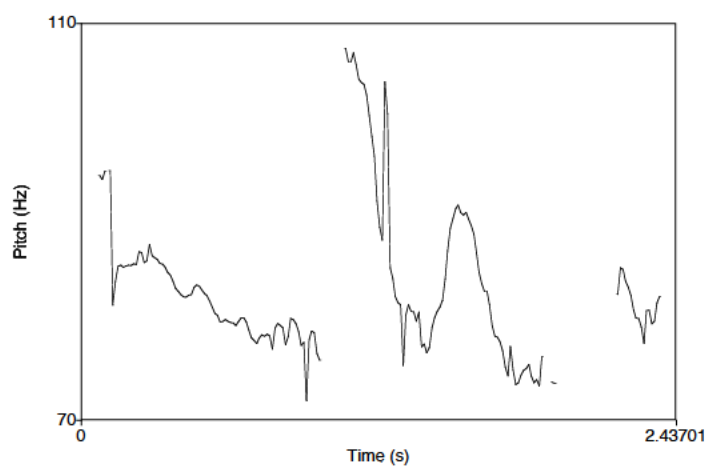
c. Itwe tu a-gul-' e-syó-mbene.

'It's *us* who bought goats (long ago)
[identical to first clause of (11b)]



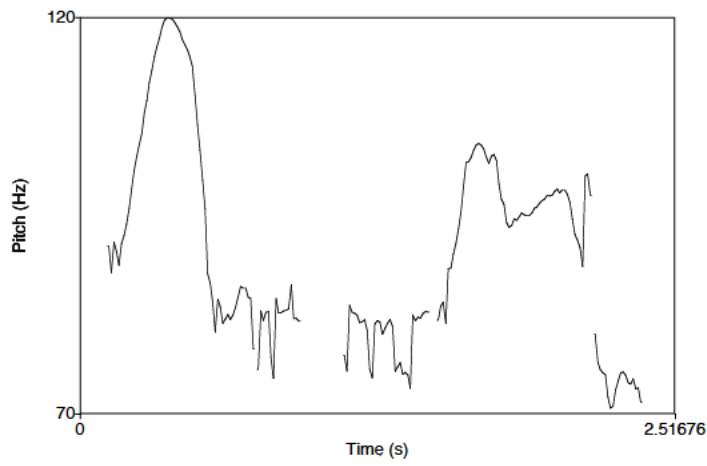
d. Inyue mu a-gul-' e-syó-mbene mu á-bya ba-síre.

'You-pl. who bought goats (long ago) were foolish'



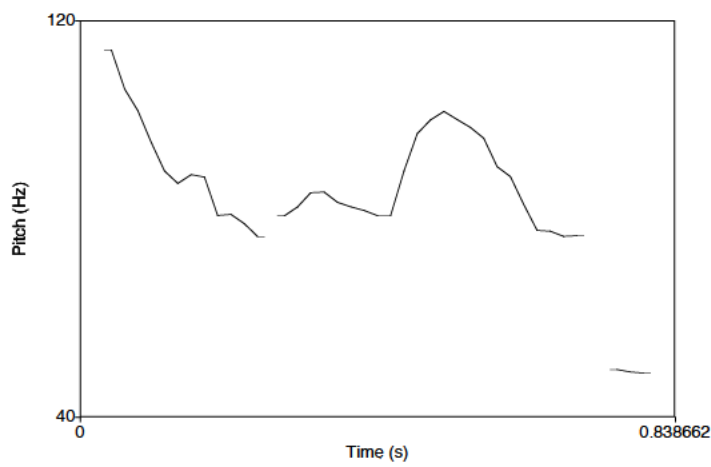
(12)a. [Mó ba a kwam-án-ír-e.]

'They followed each other' [dictated UR of (12b)]



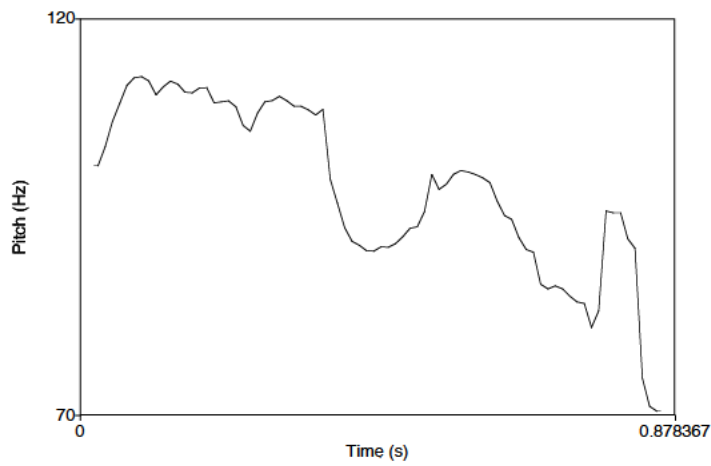
b. Mó ba a kwam-én-e.

'They followed each other' [-an + -il-e → -en-e]



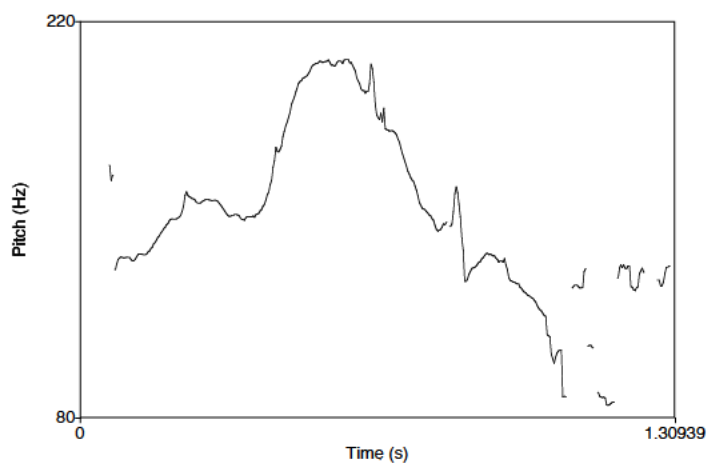
c. Bá má kwam-án-a.

'They followed each other' [alternative VH & infl?]



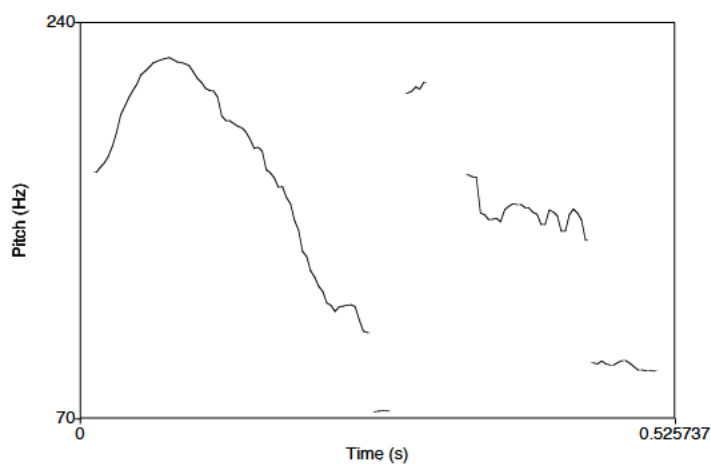
(13)a. Lu húmb-ir-e.

'S/he has harvested' [for *lu*- see (04a)]



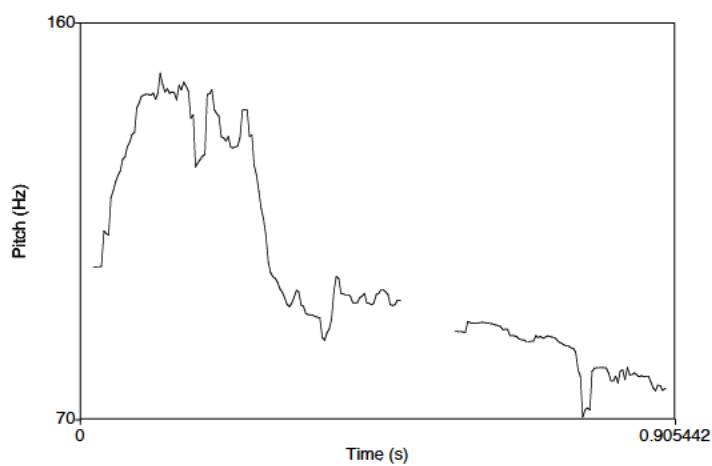
b. Lú hek-ir-e.

'S/he has picked up'



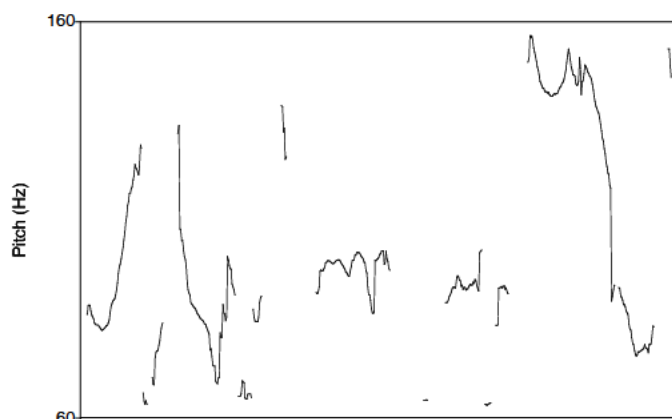
bb. Á hek-ir-e.

[alternative 3sg nounclass for (13b)]



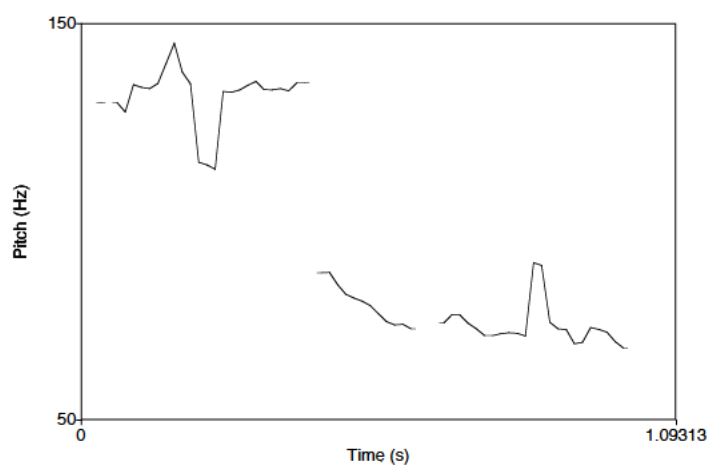
c. O-mű-kalí órya a kál-ír-e.

'This woman is difficult' [dictation pronunciation]



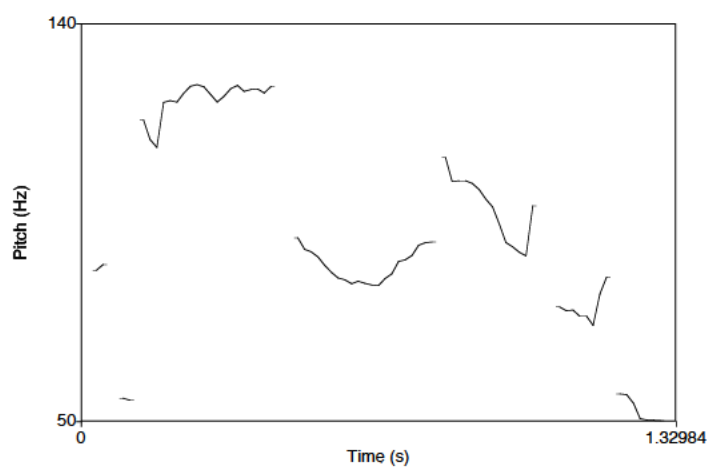
d. ...á kal-ir-e.

'...s/he has become difficult'



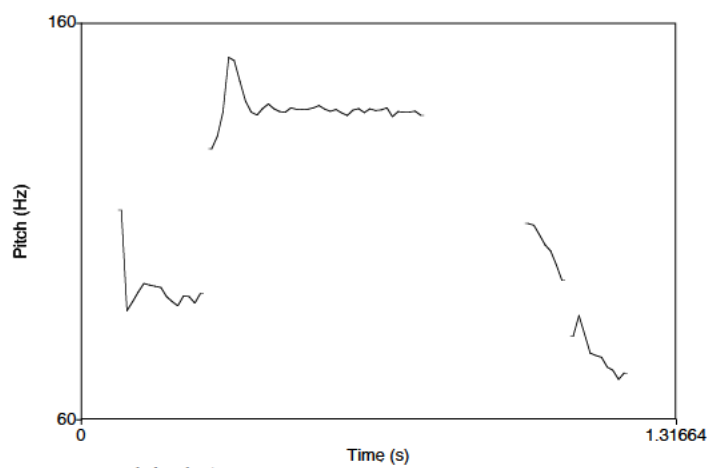
(14)a. Mó tu a l-ír-e.

'We ate (some time ago)'



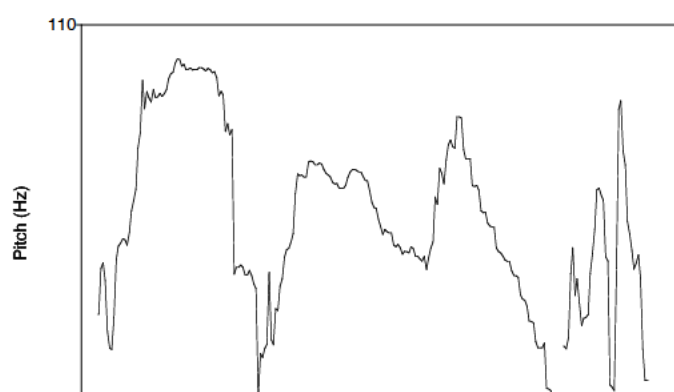
b. ...i hák-ír-e.

'[this goat]... is/has become pregnant/inseminated'



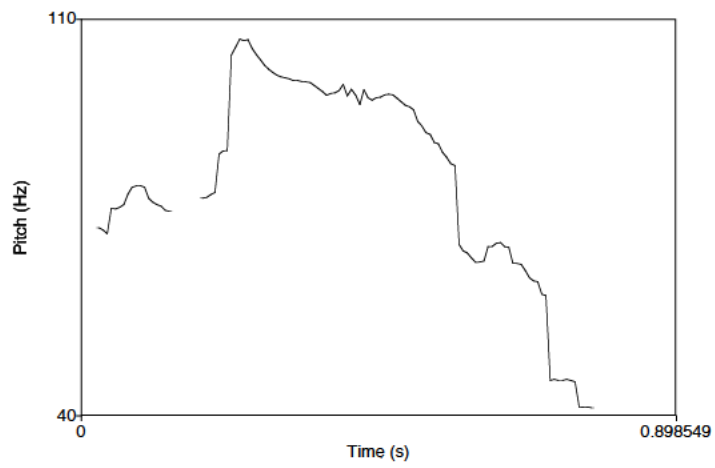
c. Mó á hól-ír-e.

'S/he died (at a given, past topic time)'



d. A hól-ír-e.

'S/he has (just now) died/is dead'



e. Á hol-ir-e.

'S/he died (long ago)'

