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

(01)a. o-lu-súmmba  
     ‘[a type of initiation]’

b. o-lú-hǒōlo  
     ‘death’

c. o-lú-kweē  
     ‘wood’
(02a) O-lú-sumbá lu-kár-íre. 'A type of initiation is difficult'

b. O-lú-hóló lu-kár-íre. [no audio]  'Death is difficult'
c. O-lú-kwé lu-mí-íre. [no audio]  'The wood is dry'

(03a) o-mú-kalj [no audio]  'woman'
b. a-ká-kalj  'woman [+diminutive/appreciative/depreciative]' 
c. e-ká-kalj  'woman [+large/depreciative]'
d. o-li-kalj  'woman [+large/depreciative]'

c. c-bi-kalj  = plural of (11.03c) and also of (11.03d)
(04a) a. O-lú-kalí lú-hek-ire e-ki-tére.  "The big woman picked up the basket"

b. e-ri-kééng-a  "to respect"

c. o-lú-keng-er-w-a  'respectability' (n.b. accent retraction)
PM says In= 'ity' [Fr. -ité]
(05a) Kí-tara Lúù-kyòò

b. Lúù-kyòó 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. Sì-hér-y-a [not recorded]

[proper name]


'Goats [dowry] cause someone to become lost [wed]'
(06a)  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 tú a gúl-a e-syó-mbene.  ‘It’s us who bought goats (long ago)’ [\(= (11c)\)
(07a) Itwe bandú tu kà 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 à giul-ire e-syó- mbene.  
'Ve bought some goats (recently)'

b. Itwé mó tu à giul-ire e-syó- mbene.  
'Us, we bought some goats (recently)'

c. Itwé tu a giul-e-syó-mbene.  
'It’s us who bought goats (recently)' [cf. 06d]  
[n.b. zero realization of both mó and -ire]
(09a) Tu ká ndi (syá) gúl’ é-syó-mbene.  'We’re going to buy some goats <after today>’
[n.b. the <syá> adverb is not included in the audio]

b. Itwé tu ká ndi (syá) gúl’ é-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 ká ndi (syá) gúl’ é-syó-mbene.  'It’s us who’re going to buy some goats (after today)’
(10a) Abandú mó bá á gul’ e-syó-mbene.  "The men bought some goats (long ago)"

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

b. Abandú 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 gūl’-e-syō-mbene. ‘It’s the men who bought some goats (long ago)’
[n.b. insertion of clefting pronoun bo]

d. Abandú [-pause-] bó [-] bá [-] gūl’ [-] e-syō-mbene. ‘It’s the men who bought some goats (recently)’
(11a) Abandu (a) ba a gul'-e-syó-mbene bá-byá ba-síre.

"The men who bought goats (long ago) were foolish"

[≠ (10c), n.b. the rel-pron a is optional in 3pl]

(11b) Itwe tu a-gul'-e-syó-mbene [pause] tu á-byá ba-síre.

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

(bb) [repetition of (11b) without pause]
c. Itwe tu a-gul- ꞑ e-syó-mbene. ‘It’s we who bought goats (long ago)’
[identical to first clause of (11b)]

(d) Inyue mu a-gul- ꞑ e-syó-mbene mu ñ-byà ba-síre. ‘You-pl. who bought goats (long ago) were foolish’
(12)a.  Mó ba a kwam-án-íř-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 m’a kwam-án-a.  
'They followed each other' [alternative VH & infl]
(13a) 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- mú-kalí órya a kál-ir-e. 'This woman is difficult' [dictation pronunciation]
d. ...á kal-¡r-e.  

"...s/he has become difficult"

(14)a. Mó tu a l-¡r-e.  

"We ate (some time ago)"

b. ...i hák-¡r-e.  

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

c. Mó á hól-¡r-e.  

"S/he died (at a given, past topic time)"
d. A hōl-it-e.   'S/he has (just now) died/is dead'

e. Ā hōl-it-e.   'S/he died (long ago)'