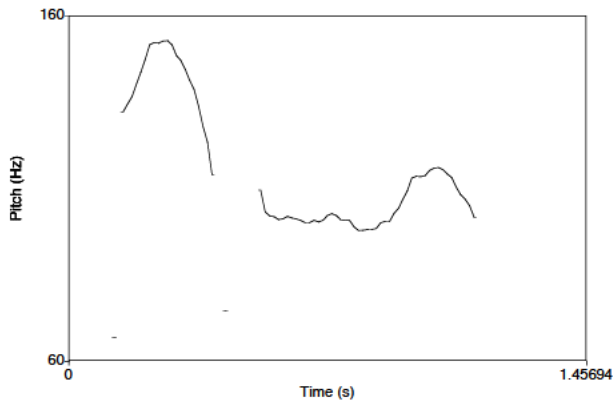


subdot = [+wide pharynx] (not marked on mid vowels); [ $\acute{x}\acute{x}$ ] = tautosyllabic HL, otherwise L is unmarked.

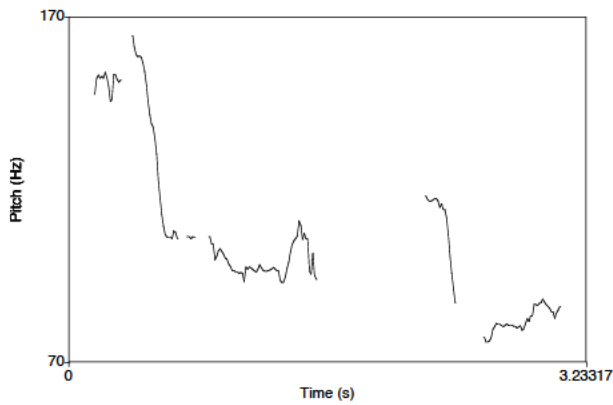
(01)a. Wú lia sy-a gul-ay-ââ ki?

'You came to sell what?'



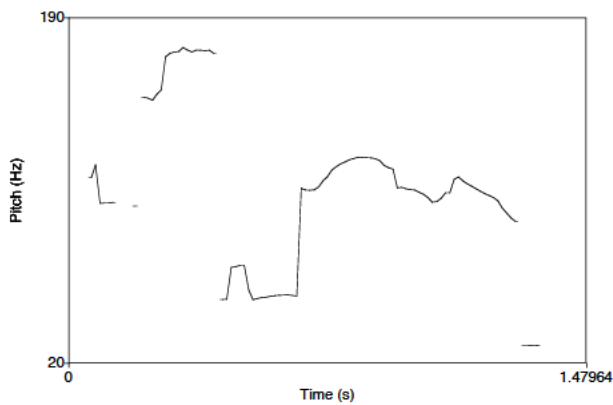
b. Sí tú lia sy-a gul-ay-ââ, tú lia sy-a gul-ââ.

'We didn't come to *sell*, we came to *buy*'



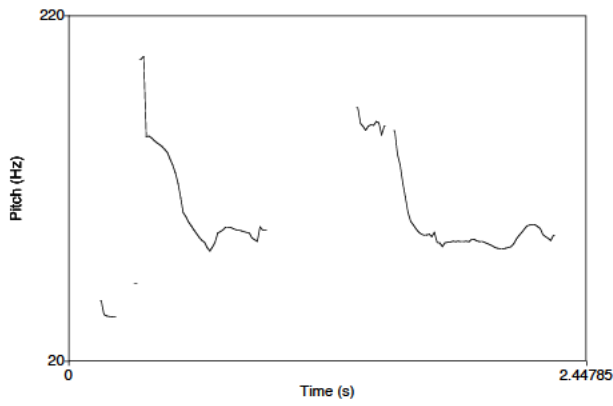
c. Tu ká sy-a gul-ââ njóò.

'We came to *buy*, rather' ( $\grave{n}\acute{j}\acute{o}\grave{o}$  < Kiswahili)



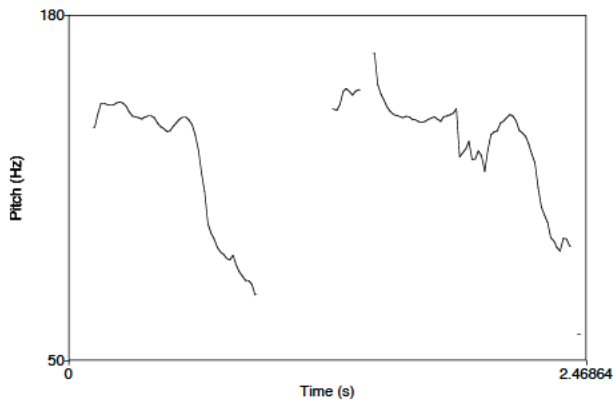
(02a). Tu ká gul-ââ, sí tue gul-ay-ââ.

'We're *buying*, we aren't *selling*' [cf. (5)]



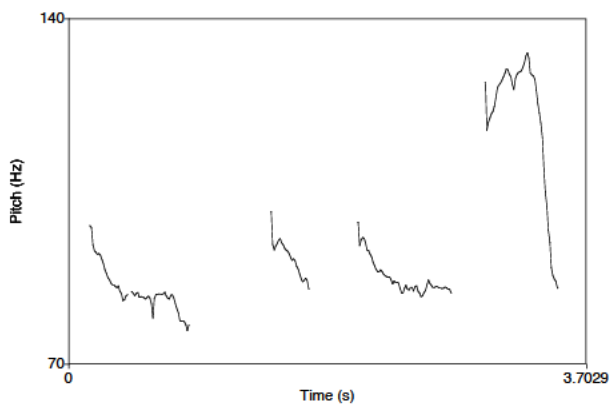
b. Tu á gúl-a, sí tú á gúl-áy-ââ.

'We *bought*, we didn't *sell* [recently but not today]  
speaker adds: 'could be last week or yesterday'



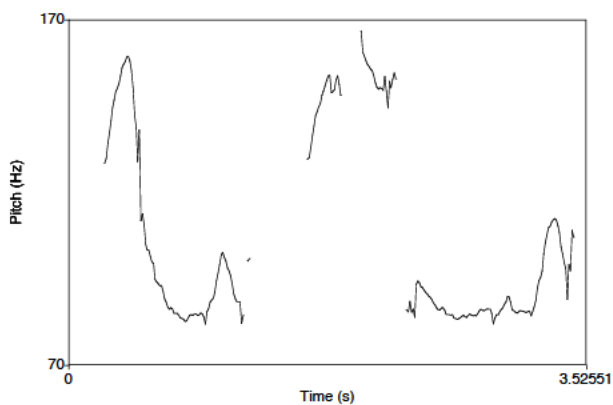
c. Tu a gul-a, si tu a gul-áy-ââ.

'We *bought*, we didn't *sell* [long ago, not recently]  
[this is a 'dictation' pronunciation]



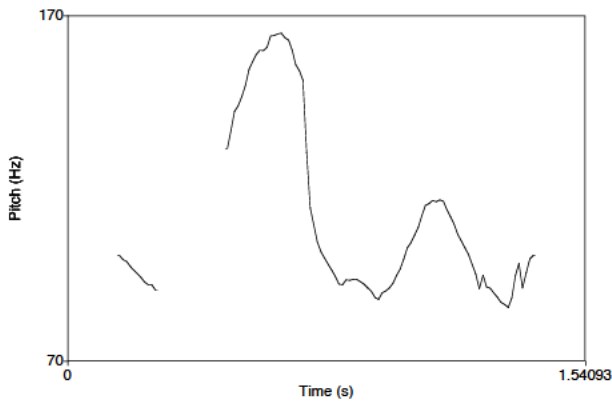
d. Tú lya gul-ââ, sí tú lya gul-ay-ââ.

'We *bought*, we didn't *sell* [recently and also today]  
[i.e., the notion 'today' counts, but not 'yesterday']



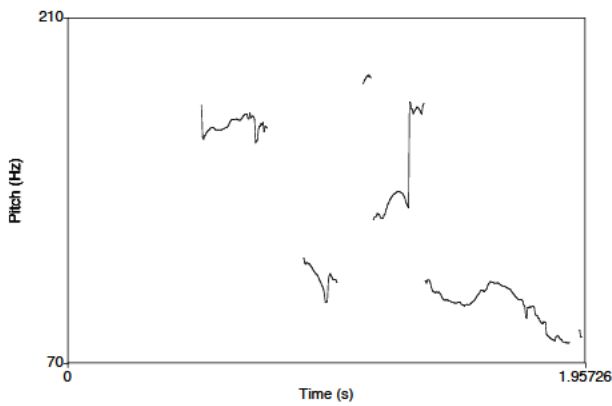
e. Tu ká bi gùl-a, sí tú lya gul-ay-â.

'We *bought*, we didn't *sell* [immediate past]



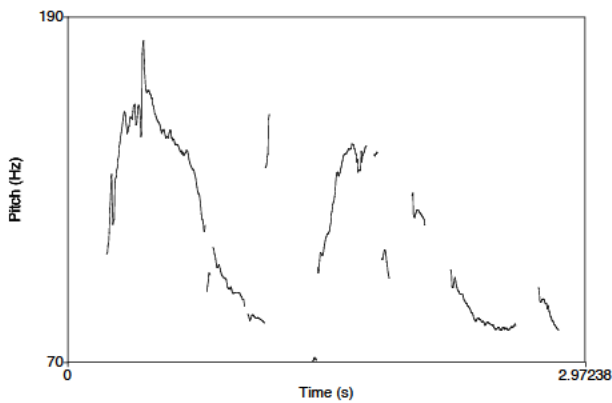
f. \*Sí tu ká bi gùl-a

[i.e. the immediate past (X01e) is not negatable]



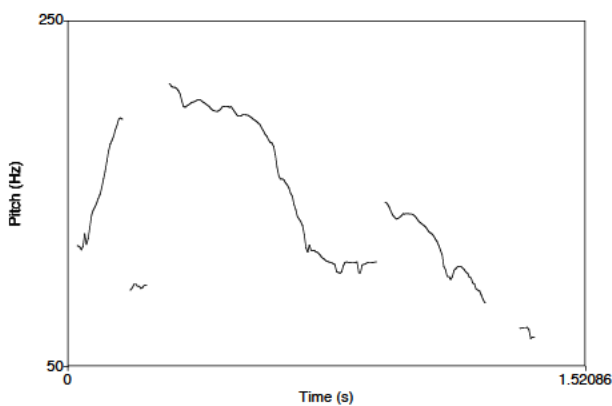
(03a). Mó tú á gùl-ire, mó tu teta gul-y-â.

'We bought [something], we haven't sold' [recently]  
impossible as narrow focus correction to (01a);  
responds only to the question, 'What have you done?'



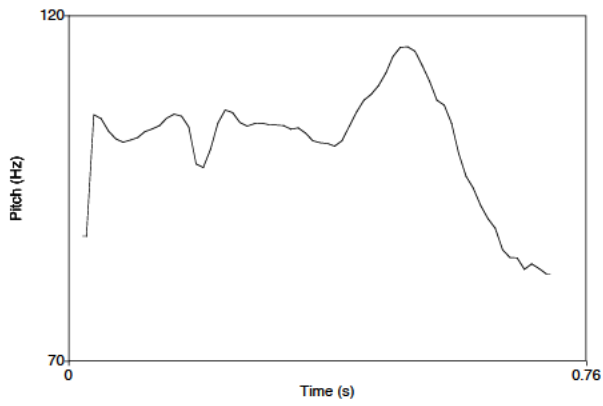
b. Mó tú á gùl-ire e-syó-mbene.

'We bought goats' [recently]



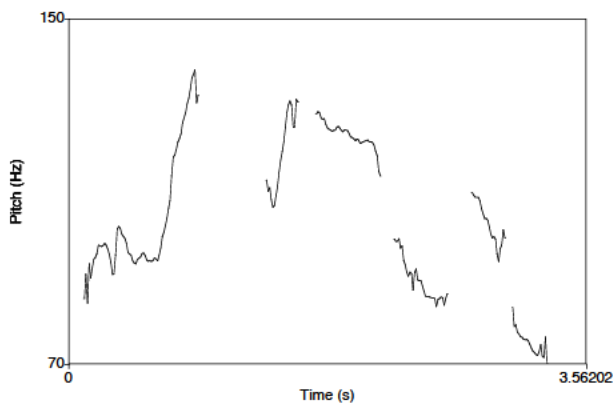
c. muligólo

'yesterday'



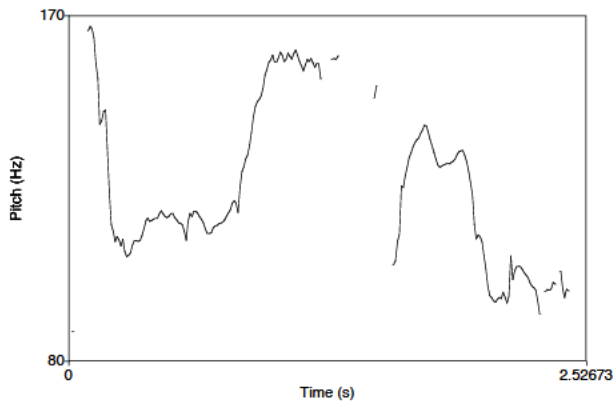
d. Muligoló, mó tú á gúl-ire e-syó-mbene.

'Yesterday we bought goats'  
answers EITHER 'What did you do yesterday?'  
OR 'What did you buy yesterday?' (= 03e)



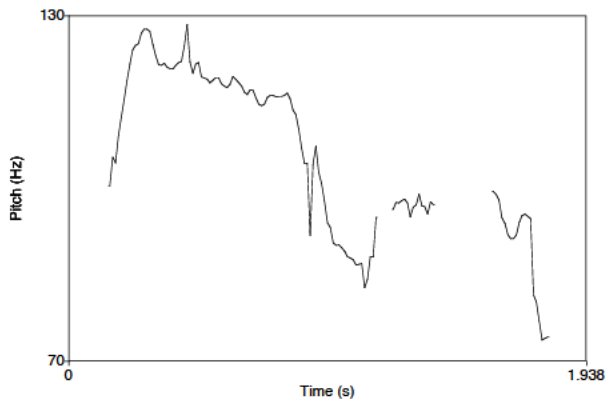
e. Muligoló, mu á gúl-iré kî?

'Yesterday you bought what?'



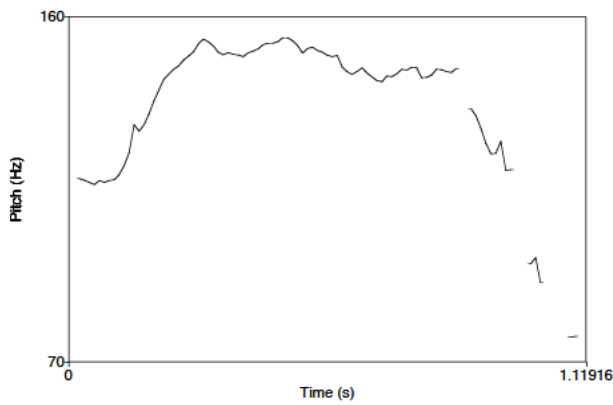
(04)a. \*Mó mu á gúl-iré syó hayi?

[intended: 'You bought them where?']



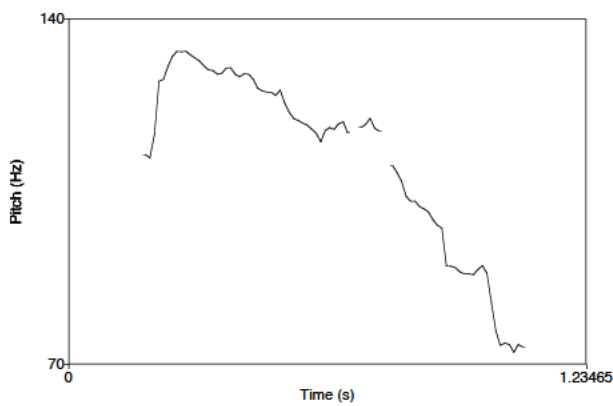
b. Mu á gúl-á syó hayi?

'You bought them where?' (adjunct focus)



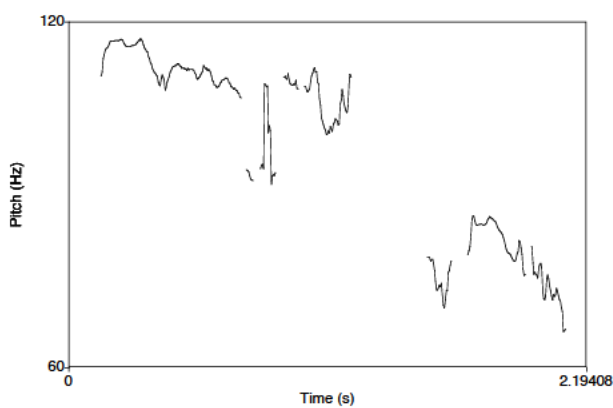
bb. Mu á gúl-á syó hi?

'You bought them where?' (shorter alternative)



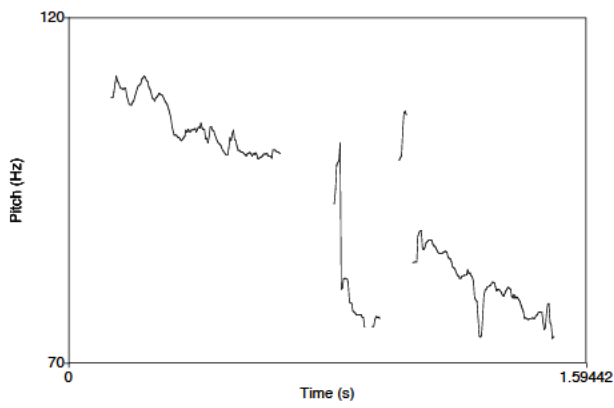
c. Tu á gúl-àà syó e Bèniî.

'We bought them at Bèniî'



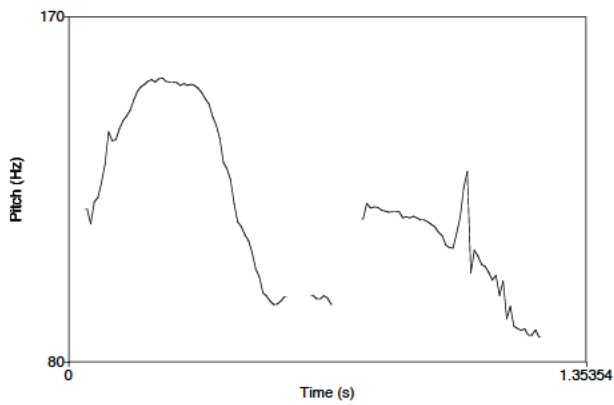
cc. Tu á gúl-á si e Bénéî.

'We bought them at Bénéî' (shorter alternative)



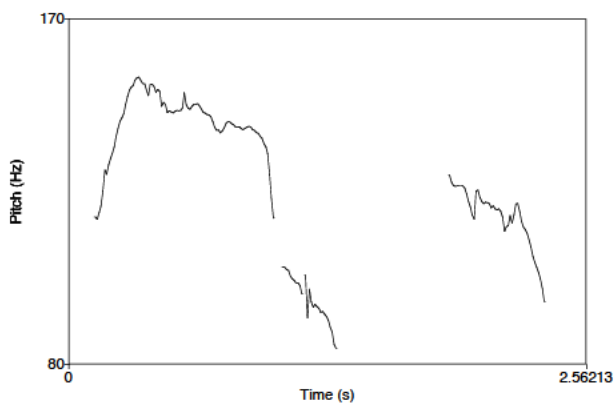
d. \*Mu á gúl-a síngá hi?

[intended: 'You bought them how many?']



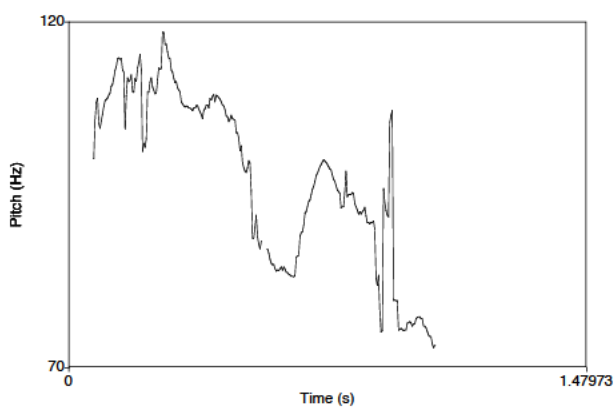
e. Mó mu á gúl-ire síngá hi?

'You bought how many' (object focus)



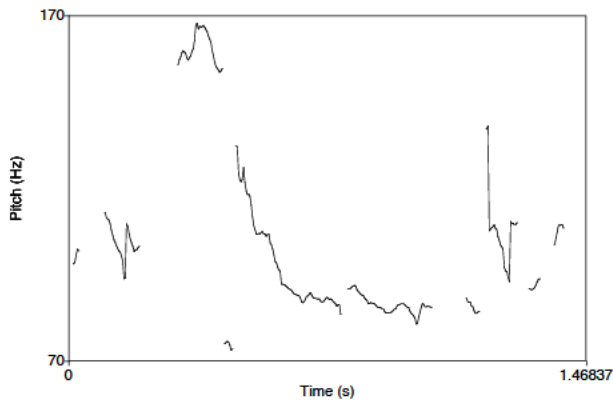
f. Mó tu á gúl-ire ndátı.

'We bought six'



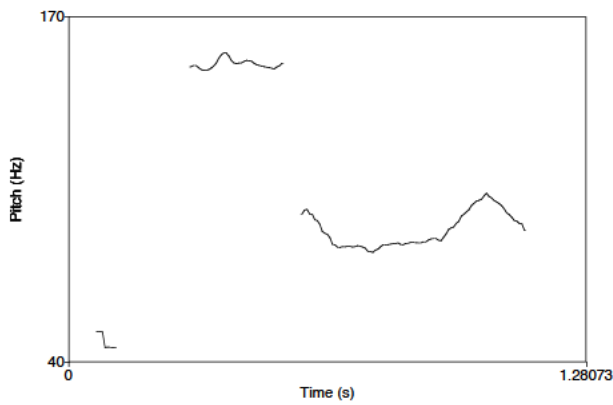
(05)a. Tu ká gul-a li-sáà.

‘We’re buying only’ [*li-* = infinitive *ri-*, cf. (5c)]



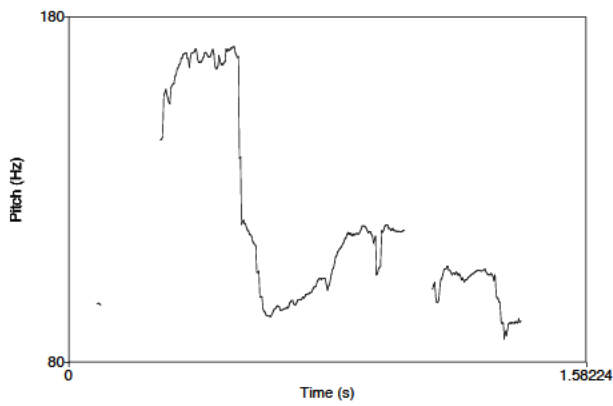
b. Tu ká ta gul-ââ.

‘We’re buying only’ [*ta-* = ‘to start with’]



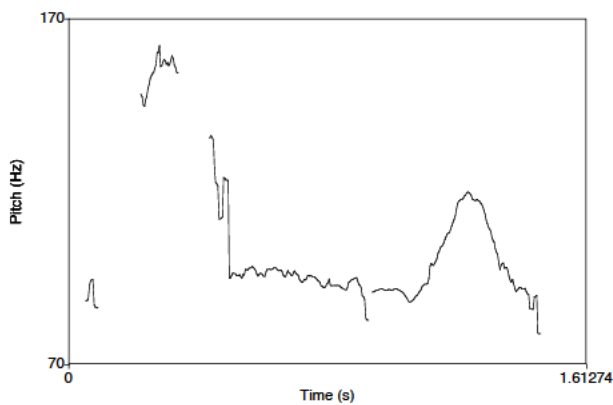
bb. Tu ká ta gul-á kwáânza.

‘We’re buying only, first’



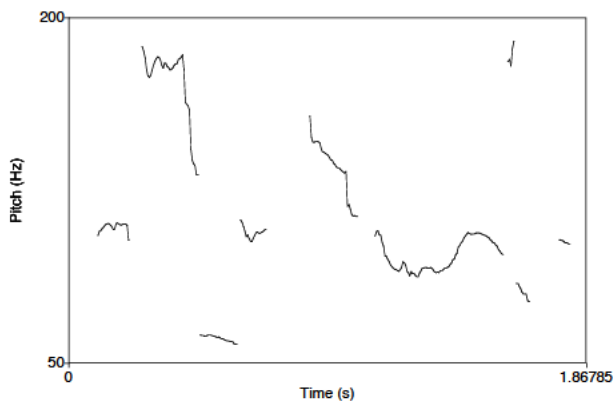
bbb. Tu ká ta gul-a e-ri-gúùl-a.

‘We’re buying only’



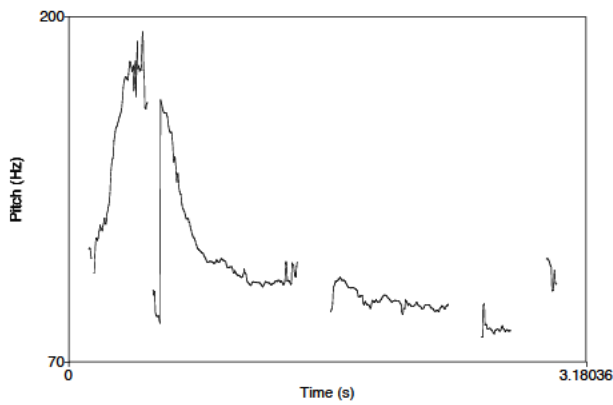
b4. Tu ká ta gul-a kwaânza e-ri-gúùl-a.

'We're buying only, first'



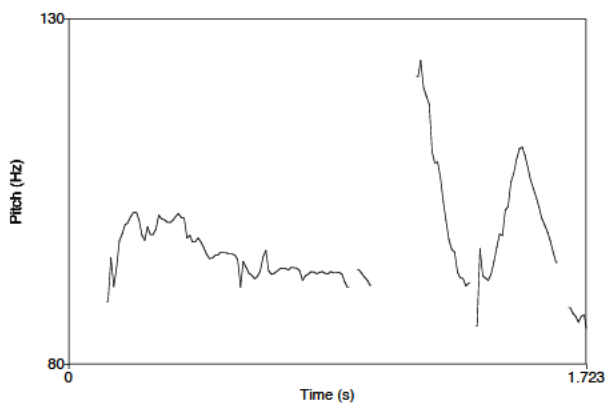
c. Ngwíté bana ba-biri ba-sââ.

'I have two children only'



d. E-ri-gul-a li-sá ni búre.

'To buy only is nothing'

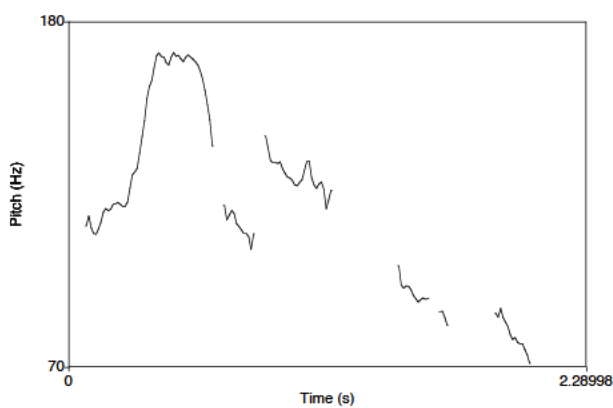


e. a-ma-gétse ma-sââ [no audio]

'water only'

(06)a. Wa ná gúl-iré yó kundu-kundu?

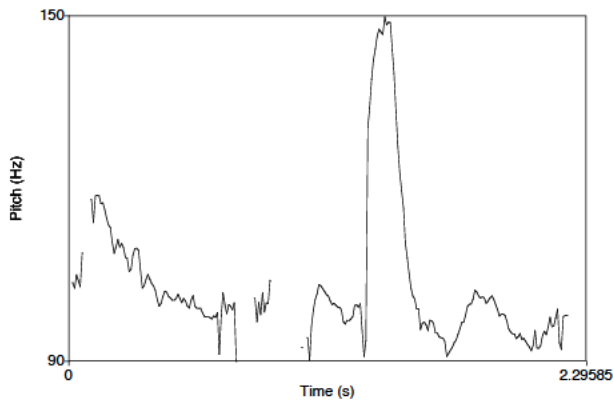
'You bought it for real?'





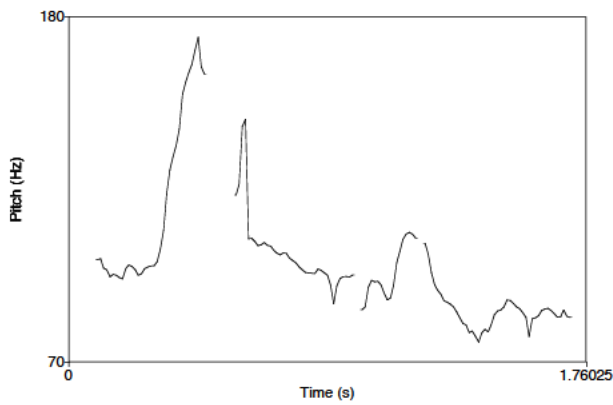
b. Kwenene, wa bírí gul-á yó?

'In truth, you have already bought it?'



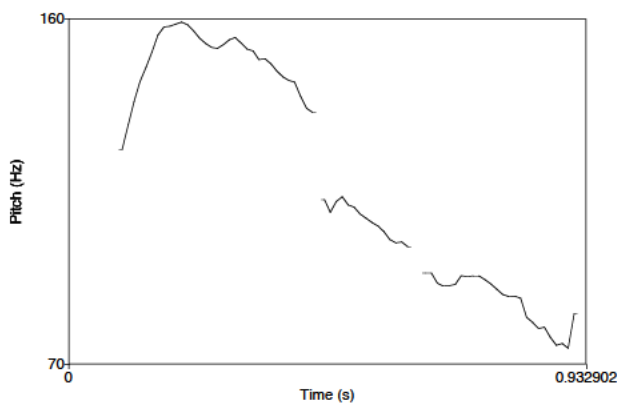
c. Kwenené kwenene, wa bírí gul-á yó?

'In truth, you bought it?'



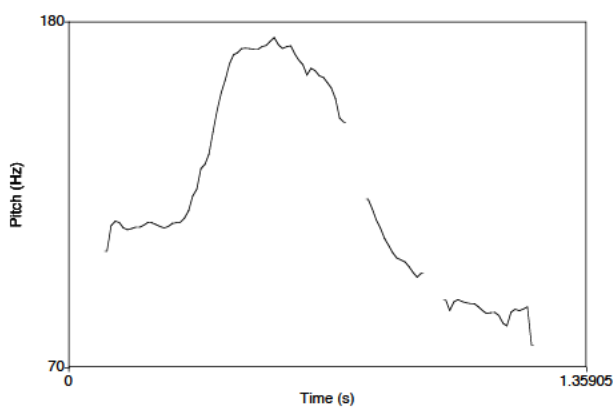
d. Wá gúl-ire.

'You bought [something]'



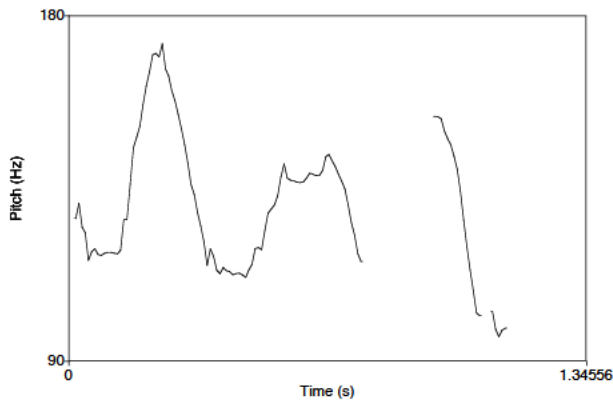
e. Wa ná gúl-ire.

'You did indeed buy [something]'



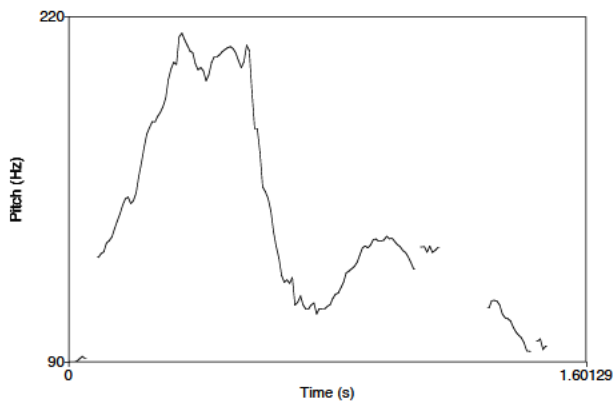
f. Wa bírí gul-á yó kwéhi?

'You already bought it, didn't you?'



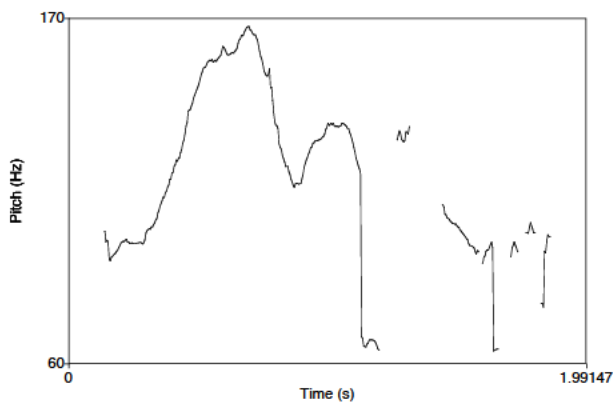
g. Wa ná bírí gul-á yó kwéhi?

'You did already buy it, didn't you?'



(07)a. Wa ná gúl-iré yó kwéhi?

'You did buy it recently, didn't you?'



b. ??Wá gúl-iré yó kwéhi?

[intended as tag question version of (06d)]

