

<https://bit.ly/3Svzdge> for full paper

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## Background

(1)	<i>M</i>	<i>Toneless</i>	<i>Toned</i>	<i>exemplar tense</i>	<i>melody</i>
1	vara[rakʊʊriza		vara[káraangiza	immediate future	(none)
2	vari[rákóóriza		vara[karáángizá	indefinite future	$T_{\beta,F}$
3	ni va[rákóórizi		ni va[karáángizi	crastinal future	$T_2$
4	váá[rakʊʊriza		váá[káraangiza	remote past	$T_1$
5	rakʊʊriza		karáángizá	imperative	$T_{\beta,F}$
6	ta[rakóóriza		ta[karaanga ~ta[karáángá	negative imperative	$T_{\beta,F} \sim T_{\beta}$
7a	ka[rakóó'rizí		ka[karáá'ngízí	immediate imperative	$T_2 + T_F$
7b	vaaka[rá'kóórízá		vaaka[ká'ráángizá	explanatory past	$T_1 + T_F$
8	váá[rakʊʊriza		váá[karaangiza	stative	$T_l$
9	vaa[rákóórízí		vaa[karáángizí	hesternal perfective	$T_F$
10	va[rákóórizi		va[karaangizi	hodiernal perfective	$T_{\beta}$
11	vara[rakʊʊriza		vara[karaangiza	counterfactual	$T_{F,L}$

(2)	<i>Tone Suppression</i>	<i>Tone Deletion</i>	<i>Second-syllable mapping</i>
	$T \rightarrow T_L \quad T_{\beta}'$	$T \rightarrow \emptyset \quad T'$	$T_2$
			⋮
	V	V	[ σ σ

### Rightward Doubling

$T_2$   
| ↘  
V V

### Stem-initial mapping

$T_1$   
⋮  
[ \*σ

### Word-initial mapping

$T_l$   
⋮  
[# σ

### V2 linking

\*T  $T_{\beta}'$   
| ⋮  
[ V V

### Final linking

\*T  $T_F'$   
| ⋮  
V V ]#

(3)	umʊundʊ	‘person’	moritu	‘heavy’
	móráhi	‘good’	umʊundʊ moritu	‘heavy person’
	ómóóndó mórítú móráhi	‘good, heavy person’		

### (4) Leftward Spread

T  
|  
V V

(Optionality and word-initial exclusion require further study)

(5)	matíginyu	‘heels’	matíginyu malla	‘some heels’
	matíginyú mállá mánéne	‘some big heels’		
	T			H

## V + Ordinary word

(6)	<i>M1 (no melody): no changes</i>		
a.	varagura	varagur-eeng’oombe	‘they will buy (a cow)’
	vararéga	vararé-g-eeng’oombe	‘they will defeat (a cow)’
b.	varátyá	varáty-éeng’oombe	‘they will fear (the cow)’
c.	yaakógóota	yaakógóóta yava	‘he defeated (these)’



kwaar- <b>ɪ</b> ɪnama	‘we ate meat’
kwaave <b>ji</b> marova	‘we shaved marova’
kwaakaraj- <b>ó</b> mwáana	‘we judged the child’ (not *kwaakaraj- <b>ó</b> mwáana)
ndaasaambó <b>ú</b> gá <b>ni</b> gáraha	‘I dismantled slowly’

### No loss of (bare) $T_\beta$

- (15) *M10: hodiernal perfective.  $T_\beta$*
- |                             |                         |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| ogw <b>í</b> vwaango        | ‘you fell quickly’      |
| kogon <b>í</b> ‘vóráhɪ      | ‘we slept well’         |
| vagávó <b>rany</b> i gáraha | ‘they doled out slowly’ |

### No loss of $T_F$ in compound melodies

- (16) *M7a: immediate imperative.  $T_2 + T_F$*
- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| kazy <b>i</b> vwaango   | ‘now go quickly!’      |
| karag <b>é</b> ‘mááma   | ‘now promise mother!’  |
| kadeek- <b>ɪ</b> ɪnama  | ‘now cook meat!’       |
| kakar <b>á</b> ‘áng- <b>ɪ</b> ɪnama                                 | ‘now fry meat!’        |
| kar <b>ɪ</b> nd <b>í</b> ‘íll- <b>ɪ</b> rik <b>ó</b> ‘kó <b>ɔ</b> ɔ | ‘now wait on the ant!’ |
| kavohóoll- <b>ɪ</b> zing’oombe                                      | ‘now untie the cows!’  |

- (17) *Melody Deletion*

[  $T_F \rightarrow \emptyset$  ]  
[                      ] [ ...V... ]

### No loss – rather, not even added

- (18) *M7b: explanatory past (toneless stem)*
- |                       |           |                     |                  |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------------|------------------|
| yaakázyá              | ‘he went’ | kwaakágó <b>r</b> á | ‘we bought’      |
| yaakazya llara        |           |                     | ‘he went once’   |
| kwaakagor-izing’oombe |           |                     | ‘we bought cows’ |

- (19) *M7b: explanatory past (toned)*
- |                       |            |            |                     |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|---------------------|
| kwaakánwá             | ‘we drank’ | kwaakékéra | ‘we milked’         |
| kwaakanw-óvosera      |            |            | ‘we drank porridge’ |
| kwaakákér-izing’oombe |            |            | ‘we milked cows’    |

Toneless “loses” tone entirely; toned only loses melody. Melody only assigned VP-finally

### Summary 1

- | (20) | behavior  | which patterns   | what tone features                           |
|------|---|--|--|
| I    | no melody, just LS  | M1 (-aaku- past etc)   | $\emptyset$                                  |
| II   | melody only in citation form, entire pattern radically different medially vs. finally | M7b (explanatory -aaka-)   | $T_1 + T_F$ (only added at right edge of VP) |
| III  | no deletion of melody   | M11 (ra-conditional), M10 (hod. perf), M7a (immediate imperative), M3 (subjunctive), M4 (remote), M8 (stative) | $T_{F,L}, T_\beta, T_2 + T_F, T_2, T_1, T_l$ |
| IV   | melodic tone deletes, internal effect of melody persists                              | M2 (subset: -ri- indefinite but not relative forms), M5 (imperative), M9 (hest. perf)                          | $T_{\beta,F}, T_F$                           |

**Tonally-special modifiers**

- (21) Toneless      ndaakórórá kú      ‘I saw a bit’  
                          ndaakórórá gú<sup>1</sup>úgá      ‘I saw grandfather’  
                          ndaakórórá vára      ‘I saw those’
- CV Toned      ndaakotyá kú      ‘I feared a bit’  
                          ndaakotyá <sup>1</sup>gúúgá      ‘I feared a grandfather’  
                          ndaakotyá vara      ‘I feared those’
- CV+ Toned      ndaakóvó<sup>1</sup>há kó      ‘I tied a bit’  
                          ndaakóvó<sup>1</sup>há gú<sup>1</sup>úgá      ‘I tied grandfather’  
                          ndaakóvó<sup>1</sup>há vára      ‘I tied those’

(22) *Seemingly anomalous noun tone pattern*

guugá	‘grandfather’	vááguugá	‘grandfathers’
koozá	‘uncle’	váákoozá	‘uncles’
baabá	‘father’	váábaabá	‘fathers’

T<sub>1</sub>   T<sub>F</sub>      Initial tone does not link to an utterance-initial stem vowel

guu   gá

- (23) guugá      ‘grandfather’      kavírí      ‘twice’      zivágá      ‘3’  
          sara<sup>1</sup>síni      ‘30’      sala<sup>1</sup>ama      ‘safely’      kabísa      ‘totally’  
          garí      ‘how much’      vyaangá      ‘how many’      vwahá      ‘who’

(24) *Particles* (always postverbal)

kí	‘what’	rí	‘when’	ho	‘at’	ku	‘on, a bit’
m’	‘in’	ndí	‘how’	ndí	‘thus’	gú	(insist, assure)

## (25) AGR+stem demonstratives

<i>remote distal</i>	<i>further proximal</i>	<i>cl.</i>
vára	váno	2
góra	gónu	3
zíra	zínu	10

**Particle tonology**

- (26) a. vará[vó<sup>1</sup>há kí      ‘they will tie what?’      *spread*  
          kwaakó[déé<sup>1</sup>ká kó      ‘we cooked a bit’      korá[ká<sup>1</sup>ráangá rí      ‘we will fry when’  
          b. ará[nwá rí      ‘he will drink when’      *deletion*  
          korá[tyá kí      ‘we will fear what?’  
          c. ará[shá rí      ‘he will grind when?’      *shift*  
          ara[sémá gu      ‘he will indeed insult’

**M-stem domain**

- (27) koráva<sup>1</sup>[bí<sup>1</sup>má rí      ‘we will measure them when’  
          varikávo<sup>1</sup>[shé ndí      ‘they will grind it how’  
          yaakóva<sup>1</sup>[várízá kó      ‘he has counted them a bit’

**Initial tone not counted**

- (28) wáakavárízá ho      ‘you have now counted by it’  
          wáagávórí ku      ‘you have now divided a bit’

- (29) [ ] [T’]      *Particle Shift*  
              ↗  
          V ] [V ]

- (30) *M3+particle, non-final tone*  
 naa ngóyáá'né kó 'I will be disarranged a bit' ni vahííí'í'í rí 'they will snore when'  
 na vakáráá'ngé kí 'they will fry what' na vágánágá'ne kó 'they will think a bit'
- (31) *M3+partic, final tone*  
 naa nzí gu 'I will go certainly' na vagorí kí 'they will buy what'  
 ni vadééké ri 'they will cook when' ni vagorízí ri 'they will sell when'  
 na vávíimbóri ho 'they will unroof by it'
- (32) *M4 + particle*  
 vaaró'má rí 'they bit when' vaamó'ró'má rí 'they spoke when'  
 vaachéé'rízá rí 'they greeted when' vaavó'dóng'ána kí 'they went around what?'

### Shift when MH is outside Mstem

- (33) *M8 + particle*  
 ndáá!gényá ku 'I am uncertain a bit' yáádeeká kí 'he is the state of having cooked what'  
 kwáá!chéérízá gu 'we are certainly greeted' gáá!kárágwá ndí 'it is decided thusly'

### Phonetically toneless is not always phonologically toneless

- (34) *M2: toneless but no shift* (trace of melodic tone, so no shift)  
 arinwa kó 'he will drink a bit' rigwá hó 'he will fall there'  
 varivega rí 'they will shave when' arideeká rí 'he will cook when'  
 ariséémbérá kó 'he will weed a bit' arivohóóllá kó 'he will untie a bit'

### Sometimes phonetically toneless (deleted) is phonologically toneless

- (35) *M9: hesternal perfective*  
 ndaaróri kí 'I saw what' chaaháándí ndí 'it got stuck how'  
 ndaasííróri ku 'I chopped weeds a bit' chaadínágáni ku 'it hardened a bit'
- (36) *M10: hodiernal perfective* (toneless verbs in M10 keep tone)  
 kiháá'ndí ndí 'it got stuck how' mboró'chí ndí 'I flew this way'  
 avágá'rí ndí 'he spread this way' koháá'ndííchí rí 'we wrote when'  
 agoyáá'ní kó 'he went around a bit'

### Toned M10 verbs are also toneless but don't allow throwback (there is a tone)

- (37)
- |           |                 |              |                         |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| aryii     | 'he ate'        | aryii kí     | 'what did he eat?'      |
| kohoni    | 'we got better' | kohoni kó    | 'we got better a bit'   |
| oteji     | 'you trapped'   | oteji ndí    | 'how did you trap?'     |
| aheenzi   | 'he looked'     | aheenzi kó   | 'he looked a bit'       |
| kucherevi | 'we were late'  | kucherevi kó | 'we were a little late' |

- (38)
- |    |                |                |    |                |                |                |    |                |                |                |
|----|----------------|----------------|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|----|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| T  | T <sub>F</sub> | T <sub>I</sub> |    | T <sub>L</sub> | T <sub>F</sub> | T <sub>I</sub> |    | T <sub>L</sub> | T <sub>F</sub> | T <sub>I</sub> |
|    |                |                |    |                |                |                |    |                |                | ⋮              |
| va | dee            | chi            | ri | va             | dee            | chi            | ri | va             | dee            | chi            |

- (39) *M11: counterfactual*  
 aratega ndí 'if he had trapped how' variikara hó 'if they had sat at'  
 arachiring'ana rí 'if he had been silent when'  
 araseka kó 'if he had laughed a bit'
- $\begin{array}{c} | \quad \backslash \\ T_L \quad T_I \end{array}$

- (40) *M7b: explanatory past* (no melody VP-internally, = M1)
- |    |                                    |                             |                |
|----|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| a. | kwaakaryá kú                       | ‘we ate a bit’              | <i>deleted</i> |
|    | vaakakwá gu                        | ‘they certainly paid dowry’ |                |
| b. | vaakázyá ri                        | ‘they went when’            | <i>shift</i>   |
|    | kwaakáséembéllá kɪ                 | ‘we weeded what’            |                |
| c. | yaakáté <sup>1</sup> má ri         | ‘he chopped when’           | <i>spread</i>  |
|    | yaakáháá <sup>1</sup> ngárizáná kú | ‘he argued a bit’           |                |

### Guuga-modifiers (Melodic tones block, some melodic tones are erased)

#### M1

- (41) *Final tone*
- |                           |                       |                |                   |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| oratyá <sup>1</sup> kóózá | ‘you will fear uncle’ | vaakotyá vwahá | ‘they feared who’ |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|

#### *Toned root (non-final)*

aráté <sup>1</sup> gá sá <sup>1</sup> rásiini	‘he will trap 30’	kokó <sup>1</sup> vódóng <sup>1</sup> áná ká <sup>1</sup> vírí	‘to go around you twice’
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#### *Toneless root*

koráshá kí <sup>1</sup> ndí kí	‘we will grind what?’	koráyáará kó <sup>1</sup> ózá	‘we will sue uncle’
--------------------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------------	---------------------

yaakógóríz-árobáini	‘he sold 40’	árágávórányá ká <sup>1</sup> róono	‘he will divide now’
---------------------	--------------	------------------------------------	----------------------

### No tone after stem melody

- (42) *M3: crastial*
- |                                      |                         |  |                        |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|--|------------------------|
| na koshí <sup>1</sup> sábwíini       | ‘we will grind 70’      | na koháámíbíkí <sup>1</sup> káróono    | ‘we will be drunk now’ |
| na kovéézégé <sup>1</sup> ré kátááno | ‘we will belch 5 times’ | naa mbáángári <sup>1</sup> záné kávírí | ‘I will argue twice’   |

- (43) *M4: remote*
- |                             |                  |                                   |                      |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| yáarya sarasíini            | ‘he ate 30’      | kwáára <sup>1</sup> gá kóózá      | ‘we promised uncle’  |
| vaavó <sup>1</sup> há vwáhá | ‘they tied who?’ | vaagá <sup>1</sup> nágána sítíini | ‘they thought of 60’ |

- (44) *M7a: immediate imperative*
- |  |                           |   |                     |
|--|---------------------------|---|---------------------|
| kagwí <sup>1</sup> káróono                   | ‘now fall!’               | katomí <sup>1</sup> kóózá                   | ‘now send uncle!’   |
| kakweesé kamílli                             | ‘now pull correctly!’     | kaminá <sup>1</sup> gé káróono              | ‘now stir!’         |
| kahóro <sup>1</sup> ókí <sup>1</sup> kávírí  | ‘now take a break twice!’ | kavohó <sup>1</sup> óllé <sup>1</sup> báábá | ‘now untie father!’ |
| kahónó <sup>1</sup> nóké <sup>1</sup> kávírí | ‘now escape twice!’       | kasimógukizí <sup>1</sup> kóózá             | ‘now revive uncle!’ |

- (45) *M10: hodiernal perfective*
- |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| kugóri <sup>1</sup> sábwíini    | ‘we bought 70’             |
| kerorwí <sup>1</sup> kátááno    | ‘it has been seen 5 times’ |
| kubóro <sup>1</sup> chí sáláama | ‘we flew safely’           |
| ndáándollu koozá                | ‘I tore for uncle’         |
| vagánágani sitiini              | ‘they thought of 60’       |

#### *Toneless verbs*

#### *Toned verbs*

koveji baabá	‘we shaved father’
kodeechi sítíini	‘we cooked 60’
ngoonyi baabá	‘I helped father’
abomori samaníini	‘he destroyed 80’
njeerizi guogá	‘I greeted grandfather’

### Tone on guuga despite melodic tone (pre-Mstem)

- (46) *M8: stative*
- |   |                           |  |                                |
|---|---------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| cháá <sup>1</sup> shá ká <sup>1</sup> bísa      | ‘it is totally ground’    | váá <sup>1</sup> vódóng <sup>1</sup> áná ká <sup>1</sup> róono | ‘they are ... gone around now’ |
| yáá <sup>1</sup> gávórányá ká <sup>1</sup> vírí | ‘he is ... divided twice’ |  |                                |

### Tone on guuga when M9 tone is deleted

- (47) *M9: hesternal perfective*  
 vaashíí ká'vágá 'they ground thrice'  
 kwaarorí ká'vírí 'we saw twice'  
 vaakarájí ká'vágá 'they judged thrice'  
 kwaagávórányí ká'míli 'we doled out exactly'

### Also when M2 tone is deleted (despite different behavior before particle)

- (48) *M2: indefinite*  
 varigwá há'rihá 'they will fall by which?' arivegá gú'úgá 'he will shave grandfather'  
 korígórá gá'rí 'we will buy how much?' aricheerizá vá'táánó 'he will greet 5'
- (49) rwá varitya guugá 'when they will fear grandfather'  
 aváána varigwá ká'vágá 'the children who will fall thrice'  
 rwá korikora kamíllí 'when we will do properly'  
 rw-árisémá' báábá 'when he will insult father'

(50)	Melody content	Floats?	CV	guugá
M2	T <sub>β,F</sub>	Yes	Tone on particle	<b>Tone on modifier</b>
M2(rel)	T <sub>β,F</sub> <sup>+</sup> ?	Yes	Tone on particle	No tone on modifier
M9	T <sub>H</sub>	Yes	<b>Tone on verb</b>	<b>Tone on modifier</b>
M10	T <sub>β</sub>	Yes	Tone on particle	No tone on modifier
M3	T <sub>2</sub>	No	Tone on particle	No tone on modifier
M4	T <sub>1</sub>	No	Tone on particle	No tone on modifier
M8	T <sub>l</sub>	No	<b>Tone on verb</b>	<b>Tone on modifier</b>
M7a	T <sub>2</sub> +T <sub>F</sub>	Yes	(Deletes)	No tone on modifier
M11	T <sub>L,F</sub>	No	Tone on particle	No tone on modifier
M1	(none)		<b>Verb ~ particle</b>	<b>Tone on modifier</b>

“Toneless” means “no tones are present”. Floating and suppressed tones are still present.

Deletion of bare T<sub>F</sub> applies early, deletion of T<sub>β,F</sub> is later.

→Crucial step for particle tone is linking particle's T<sub>1</sub> to the particle – this happens only after stem tone

Bare T<sub>F</sub> is gone early, T<sub>β,F</sub> is gone after link-to-particle

Particle Shift is the ‘elsewhere’ rule: particle tone only remains floating after toneless stem

(51)	<b>M2</b> [T <sub>β,F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	<b>M2</b> [T <sub>β,F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	<b>M9</b> [T <sub>F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	<b>M9</b> [T <sub>F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	
	V cv	V guuga	V cv	V guuga	0: underlying
	[T <sub>β,F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>β,F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	
	V cv	V guuga	V cv	V guuga	1: T <sub>F</sub> -deletion
	[T <sub>β,F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>β,F</sub> ] [T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	
	V $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \text{cv} \end{array}$	V guuga	V cv	V guuga	2: T <sub>1</sub> particle link
	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	[T <sub>1</sub> ]	
	V $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \text{cv} \end{array}$	V guuga	V cv	V guuga	3: T <sub>F,β</sub> deletion

[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V    cv	[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V <b>guuga</b>	[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V    cv	[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V <b>guuga</b>	4: <i>T<sub>1</sub> polysyl link</i>
[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V    cv	[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V    guuga	[T <sub>1</sub> ] / V <b>cv</b>	[T <sub>1</sub> ]   V    guuga	5: <i>T<sub>1</sub> (particle) shift</i>

### Demonstratives: delete only after final tone

#### (52) *Final tone*

ndaakokwá vara	‘I paid those’
ndaakonwá gano	‘I have drunk this’

#### *Toneless*

aráshá vóra	‘he will grind those’
arádóyá váno	‘he will hit these’
orázáázáámá zíra	‘you will taste those’

#### *Toned*

arávé <sup>1</sup> gá váno	‘he will shave these’
varakóó <sup>1</sup> já vára	‘they will help those’
varávó <sup>1</sup> dóng <sup>1</sup> áná hára	‘they will go around yonder’

### M3 crastinal

(53) a. n-aanwí gara	‘he will drink those’	na vasémé vano	‘they will insult these’
n-oodééké kɪno	‘you will cook this’	naa vasíngírí hano	‘they will stop at it’
b. naa ndákóó <sup>1</sup> rí váno	‘I will release these’	n-aavódóng <sup>1</sup> á <sup>1</sup> né vára	‘he will go around those’
n-aavéézégé <sup>1</sup> ré hára	‘he will belch yonder’	naa mbáángá <sup>1</sup> rí <sup>1</sup> záné hára	‘I will argue yonder’

### M4 remote

(54) yáá <sup>1</sup> tá vára	‘he buried those’	yáágó <sup>1</sup> rá kírā	‘he bought that one’
ndáábíí <sup>1</sup> má zíra	‘I measured those ones’	yaará <sup>1</sup> kóórā vára	‘he released those’

### M8 stative

(55) wáá <sup>1</sup> ryá kírā	‘you are ... eaten that’	yáá <sup>1</sup> mápná vára	‘he ...known those’
yáá <sup>1</sup> várizá vára	‘he ... counted those’	yá <sup>1</sup> kárágá vára	‘he ... judged those’
yáá <sup>1</sup> sáállízā vára	‘he... injured those ones’		

### M2 indefinite

(56) arigwa hára	‘he will fall there’	arivega vára	‘he will shave those’
arikayéengá gára	‘he would brew those’	arikagávórányá víra	‘he would dole out those’

If Melody deletion, no final tone on verb

(57) a. vwahá varishá vora	‘who will grind those’
urí <sup>1</sup> gépá hara	‘the one who will wonder yonder’
rw-ákíkúungá vano	‘when he is still chasing off these’
umóúnd-arikaráángá kírā	‘the person who will fry that’
b. rwá varitya vára	‘when they will fear those ones’
orívega vára	‘the one who will shave those’
c. avasóóréri varirákóó <sup>1</sup> rā kírā	‘the boys who will release that one’
aváána varibíí <sup>1</sup> má hára	‘the children who will measure yonder’

Relatives *retain* melody therefore the contrast between final toned / toneless

#### (58) *M9: hesternal perfective* (total melody loss, no final tone to trigger deletion)

yaasaallízí vára	‘he injured those ones’	vaatejí vára	‘they trapped those ones’
ndaabíímí zíra	‘I measured those ones’	ndaatoongámíní víra	‘I inverted those’



(59) *M10:hodiernal perfective*

- |    |                             |                           |                            |                      |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | ndorí vara                  | ‘I saw those ones’        | ngavó <sup>1</sup> rí kára | ‘I divided that one’ |
|    | urakóó <sup>1</sup> rí váno | ‘you released these ones’ |                            |                      |
| b. | vatyii vára                 | ‘they feared those ones’  | kovoshi kára               | ‘we tied that one’   |
|    | kodeechi vára               | ‘we cooked those’         | ovuguri kára               | ‘you took that one’  |

- (60) kang’oodé kino ‘now write this!’  
kasiníkizí vano ‘now annoy these!’  
kavegé vara ‘now shave those!’  
karakóó<sup>1</sup>rí vara ‘now release those!’  
kazyí hara ‘now go yonder!’  
kasuondóranyí gano ‘now pour these!’  
kadovó<sup>1</sup>ri vura ‘now crush that!’  
(kadovó<sup>1</sup>ri ‘now crush!’)  
(kadovó<sup>1</sup>rí some speakers, main speaker rarely)

## (61) Other alternations: subject tone, ‘definite’ tone

- |    |              |                                      |                                    |
|----|--------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| a. | kurira       | kó <sup>1</sup> ríra kw-ízing’oombe  | ‘crying (of cows)’                 |
|    | umoryaango   | umoryáángo gwa marova                | ‘door (of Marova)’                 |
|    | rishaamogoma | risháámgóma rya kisaato              | ‘gecko (of Kisaato)’               |
|    | imidigiro    | imidígíro jira                       | ‘(those) crutches’                 |
| b. | um’biri      | um’bírí goraguunda                   | ‘the body (will rot)’              |
|    | avasooeeri   | vasóóréérí vaséémbellee              | ‘the boys (weeded)’                |
|    | maasoori     | máásóórí yaakogota                   | ‘the marijuana (just disappeared)’ |
|    | marova       | maróvá yaarí yéé <sup>1</sup> ng’iné | ‘Marova (was alone)’               |