Class Agreement

Noun class governs the pattern of agreement between subjects and verbs, between nouns and their modifiers; it also figures into the form of independent and prefixing pronouns, and the form of citation modifiers whose referent is contextually determined. This chapter presents the morphology of noun-class agreement, with remaining syntactic issues being covered in appropriate chapters. Numerous segmental phonological processes affect the realization of stems and agreement morphemes, which are discussed in X, and tonal processes are discussed in Y.

1. NP-internal agreement

Most modifiers, excluding a handful of invariant words, agree in formal class with the head noun, as seen in the following examples. Note that the adjective *-ráhɪ* has a prefix that is similar in shape to the previous head noun (bearing in mind phonological modifications discussed in Q which account for the forms *lláhɪ* and *ɪndáhɪ*)

ḿ-kóóngó mʊ́-ráhɪ	'good boss'	1
ává-kóóngó vá-ráhɪ	'good bosses'	2
irí-ká ꜛl-láhɪ	'good charcoal'	5
kí-gúútí kí-ráhɪ	'good field'	7
éꜛn-zógú ín-dáhi	'good elephant'	9

Even though *rígótʊ* 'village elder' refers to a human, it is formally in cl. 5-6 and therefore it induces cl. 5-6 agreement.

irígótʊ llara	'1 village elder'
magʊ́ꜛtʊ́ máráhɪ	'good village elders'
rigútú riguru	'hard-working elder'

rigútu rino 'this elder'

When the lexical class of a cl. 1 noun is overridden by diminutive or augmentative formation, agreement is likewise in the derived class (12, 13, 20) and not the underlying lexical class.

kákóóngó káráhı 'good boss-dim'
tókóóngó tóráhı 'good bosses-dim'
gwááˈná góráhı 'good child-aug'

     Nouns in cl. 1a (e.g. *baabá* 'father') by definition do not have a noun class prefix, so their pattern of agreement constitutes the primary reason for assigning them to cl. 1a. A noun with no class prefix is combinatorially compatible with both singular and plural agreements on its modifiers, and the pattern of agreement may be the only indication whether the noun is singular or plural. Accordingly, the following pairings of unprefixed nouns with both singular and plural agreements are possible.

baabá ˈmóráhı 'good father'
baabá ˈváráhı 'good fathers'
chííˈfú wáˈángé 'my chief'
chííˈfú váˈángé 'my chiefs'
ofisá mʊlla '1 officer'
ofisá ˈvávírí '2 officers'

When a formally 1a noun is semantically plural as indicated by the pattern of agreement, it will be notated as "1ap" meaning "class 1a, in the plural".
     As discussed in **X**, a cl. 1 possessive may be contracted with the head noun, as long as the head is not marked in cl. 2 or 2a. In the first example below, the head noun is unmarked and the agreeing adjective is in cl. 1, hence the NP is interpreted in the singular. In the second and third examples, the NP is interpreted in the plural as indicated by the form of the agreement and the semantics of the numeral "2", but because the head noun is not marked for singular or plural, contraction of the possessive is allowed.

góóˈkéétú ˈmtáámbı 'our tall grandmother'
góókééˈtú vávírí 'our two grandmothers'
góókééˈnyú vátáámbı '2pl tall grandmothers'
góóˈkéétú ˈvávírí 'our two grandmothers'
góóˈkéényú ˈvátáámbı 'your tall grandmothers'

If a noun is marked in cl. 2a, that is, it has a plural marker (cl. 2 or 2a), contraction is impossible, since an overt plural head requires agreement, and only cl. 1 possessive /wa/ can be reduced.[1]

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[1] The fact that contraction coexists with cl. 2 morphology in adjectives shows that contraction is not phonological deletion of expected /w/, rather, it is a suspension of the agreement requirement on modifiers. A phonological contraction analysis would derive [góóˈkéétú ˈmtáámbı] from /góóˈkó wéétú ˈmtáámbı/: but that would also require deriving [góóˈkéétú vávírí] from the impossible source *\/góóˈkó wééˈtú vávírí/ with

*váá˥góókéé˥tú	'our grandmothers'
*váá˥góókéé˥tú vávírí	'our two grandmothers'

Some nouns (loanwords) which refer to humans optionally omit the cl. 1 prefix /mʊ/.[2] Nevertheless, their cl. 1 status is discernible from the pattern of agreement.

mkó˥ndáá˥ktá ḿtáámbɪ	'tall conductor'
kondáá˥ktá ḿtáámbɪ	'tall conductor'
vakó˥ndáákta varitu	'heavy conductor'
ḿ˥skáári	'askari'
ḿ˥skáári mgʊrʊ	'hard-working askari'
vaskáári avagʊrʊ	'hard-working askaris'
*skaari; *skaari mguru	
askáári mgʊrʊ	'hard-working askari'

Unprefixed nouns with certain theological implications may agree in cl. 1 or 9, depending on how the noun is used. The word *róóho* refers to spirit, either pagan or Christian. In the plural, or with cl. 9 agreement, the referent is pagan, e.g. *róó˥hó mbí* 'evil spirit', *ziróó˥hó zínyííngɪ* 'many spirits', *róóho ndara* '1 spirit (pagan)', versus *róó˥hó mʊ́ráhɪ* 'the holy spirit', *róóho mʊlla* '1 spirit-personal/Christian'; **varóó˥hó váví*; *éngérúsi ndara/*mʊlla* '1 angel'.

      The locative classes 16-18 present a syntactic and semantic complication, in that when a noun bears a locative class prefix, following modifiers may agree with the lexical class of the noun, or with the preceding locative. In such examples, there may be subtle differences in semantics, suggesting that the modifier optionally attaches at the lower N level or the higher P level.

mʊnyʊ́ʊ́˥mbá énéne	'in a big house'	(the house is big)
mʊnyʊ́ʊ́˥mbá mʊ́néne	'in a house with lots of space in it'	("in" is big)
haméé˥sá énéne	'at a big table'	
haméé˥sá hánéne	'at a big space by the table'	
hámígérá jí˥vírí	'at 2 rivers'	(there are two rivers)
hámgérá há˥vírí	'at the 2 sides of the river'	(there are two locations of the river being identified)

Especially with possessive pronouns and demonstratives, the modifier form varies freely beteen locative agreement and N agreement.

koméé˥sá kʊ́ra	'on that table'
haméé˥sá yáha	'at this table'

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incorrect agreement on the pronoun. Instead, I analyze contraction as morphological merger of the noun and possessive into a single word, so that no agreement is required between the nominal stem and the cliticized possessive.

[2] Alternatively, since these derive from Swahili nouns not in class 1, these words optionally acquire a cl. 1 prefix when taken into Logoori.

hamééˈsá háˈángé   'at my table'
mʊrójʊ mʊra   'in that clay bowl'
mʊnyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá yáˈángé   'in my house'
mʊnyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá mwáˈángé   'in my house'

1.1.   Adjectives

Adjectives are modifiers which take the same class prefixes as are found on nouns. As discussed in ch. X, a number of phonological changes affect the realization of agreement morphemes or the shape of adjective stems, summarized here

> 1: Regressive Vowel Harmony between stem and class prefix, which lowers /ɪ ʊ/ to [e o] before [e,o].
> 2: NC effects (hardening and voicing of stem-initial consonants; Ganda Law; deletion of nasal).
> 3: rV- reduction (rʊr…, rir… → [ll…]
> 4: Vowel-initial stems and V-V resolution
> 5: Minimality-related vowel lengthening (ri-chi → rii-chi)
> 6: Phrasal hiatus resolution
> 7: Tonal alternations
> 8: Cl. 4 palatalization   ???what?
> 9: Ky-palatalization

The nominal class prefixes are recapitulated here.

mʊ	1	va	2
mʊ	3	mi	4
ri	5	ma	6
kɪ	7	vi	8
ɪ(N)	9	zi(N)	10
rʊ	11		
ka	12	tʊ	13
vʊ	14		
kʊ	15		
ha	16		
kʊ	17		
mʊ	18		
gʊ	20		

A basic agreement paradigm using the adjectives -*dí* 'small' and -*angʊ* 'fast, light' is given below:

mʊ́límí mʊ̌dí	'farmer'	1
válímí vádí	'farmers'	2
m̀bánó m̀dí	'knife'	3
m̀bánó mídí	'knives'	4
livʊ́ˈyʊ́ lídí	'egg'	5

mavʊ́ˈyʊ́ mádí	'eggs'	6
kírááˈtó kídí	'shoe'	7
virááˈtó vídí	'shoes'	8
ǹgʊ́rʊ́ˈvé índí	'pig'	9
zíngʊ́rʊ́ˈvé zíndí	'pigs'	10
rogéémbé rʊ̌dí	'razor'	11
kákóóngó ˈkádí	'boss-dim'	12
tókóóngó ˈtʊ̌dí	'bosses-dim'	13
vwʊ́ʊ́ˈmá vʊ̌dí	'fork hoe'	14
kóséémbéllá kʊ̌di	'weeding'	15
harʊháángaywá ˈhádí	'at a cave'	16
mʊrʊháángaywá ˈmʊ́dí	'in a cave'	17
kʊrʊháángaywá ˈkʊ́dí	'on a cave'	18
gʊtwí ˈgʊ́dí	'ear'	20
mkáána mwaangʊ	'fast girl'	1
guugá mwaangʊ	'fast grandfather'	1a
avákáána vaangʊ	'fast girls'	2
aváguugá vaangʊ	'fast grandfathers'	2a
ʊ́mˈzúní mwaangʊ	'fast sunbird'	3
ɪmíˈzúní myaangu	'fast sunbirds'	4
irivʊ́yʊ ryaangʊ	'light egg'	5
amavʊ́yʊ maangʊ	'light eggs'	6
ɪkɪsúsu chaangʊ	'fast butterfly'	7
ivisúsu vyaangʊ	'fast butterflies'	8
ɪɲama ɪɲangʊ	'fast animal'	9
ziɲama ziɲangʊ	'fast animals'	10
ʊrʊkʊ́ rwaangʊ	'light firewood'	11
kásaasʊ́ kaangʊ	'light splinter-dim'	12
tóˈdógá twaangʊ	'fast cars-dim'	13
vosera vwaangʊ	'light porridge'	14
koseembella kwaangʊ	'fast weeding'	15
háríkʊ́dʊ haangʊ	'at a fast tortoise'[3]	16
kʊríkʊ́dʊ kwaangʊ	'in a fast tortoise'	17
mʊríkʊ́dʊ mwaangʊ	'on a fast tortoise'	18
gʊtwí gwaangʊ	'fast ear'	20

The stem -lala '1; some' inflects nominally, and as noted in X, also reduces to *-lla* after a surface vowel-final class prefix (i.e. any class other than cl. 5, 11, 9, 10).

gʊʊgá mʊlla	'1 grandfather'	1a
vááguugá valla	'some grandfathers'	2a
mwáána mʊlla	'1 child'	1

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[3] Normally, adjective agreement with the locative class rather than the lexical class of the noun means that the adjective modifies a spatial relation rather than the noun.

váána valla	'some children'	2
abáchi mʋlla	'1 abachi'	3
mgera mʋlla	'1 river'	3
migɪzi milla	'some homesteads'	4
rívóyʋ llara	'1 egg'	5
mavóyʋ malla	'some eggs'	6
kedéte kɪlla	'1 finger'	7
viguuti villa	'some fields'	8
ɪmbwéé ndara	'1 dog'	9
ɪnyʋ́ʋ́mba ndara	'1 house'	9
zínzógu zindara	'some elephants'	10
rókʋ́ llara	'1 firewood'	11
ká˥rááto kalla	'1 shoe-dim'	12
kásaasʋ́ kalla	'1 splinter-dim'	12
twíígɪzi tʋlla	'some teachers-dim'	13
voséra vʋlla	'some porridge'	14
vwóóngo vʋlla	'1 brain'	14
koseembella kʋlla	'1 weeding'	15
hakiguuti halla	'at 1 field'	16
kʋkiguuti kʋlla	'on 1 field'	17
mkiguuti mʋlla	'in 1 field'	18
ʋgwáána gʋlla	'1 child-aug'	20

Adjective agreement prefixes are optionally preceded by the augment, which may be deleted (see X). Some examples of adjectives with an augment from EM who generally retains the augment are seen here.

masééveeve	maséé˥véév-ámánéne	'big pumpkin leaves'
amakére	amá˥kéré ˥mánéne	'big frogs'
ʋmʋrími	ʋ́mʋ́rí˥mí ʋ́mʋ́néne	'big farm'
mgeni	ḿgéní mʋ́néne	'big stranger'
ʋmwáána	ʋmwáá˥ná mʋ́ráhɪ	'good child'
	ʋmwáá˥n-ʋ́mʋ́ráhɪ	

The form *amá˥kéré ˥mánéne* reflects the option of deleting the augment on the adjective, and *maséé˥véév-ámánéne* reflects the option of deleting it.[4]

   As with nouns, the augment is virtually obligatory in cl. 9 adjectives, for all speakers.

ɪbáákoora	ɪbáákóórá ímwaaḿ	'black walking stick'

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[4] Alternatively, it can be assumed that on adjectives, the augment is only optionally present, rather than being phonologically deleted. As discussed in X, there are good reasons to believe that the augment is present on nouns but is phonologically deleted, but **WAIT UP NANCY** since one of the argument of vowel lengthening before NC nouns. BUT don't we lengthen a noun vowel before NC on an adj., or am I dreaming. If we lengthen then that shoots the shit out of that argument, or shows that adjective non-augment is also phonological deletion

ɪmbáda	ɪmbáda ɪnaŋgʊ	'fast hawk'
ebéde	ébéꜜdé índáhi	'good ring'
	ebéꜜdé ndáhi	
emboongo	émbóóngó éng'élle	'young buffalo'
ɪkááyoongo	ɪkááꜜyóóꜜng-íímbí	'bad blackjack'
eng'oombe	eng'oombe ɪnguru	'hard-working cow'
ísá	ísá ꜜénéne	'big clock'

Unlike other adjectives, '1' / 'some' does not allow the augment.

*msáára ʊmʊlla
*amʊ́ʊ́ŋgʊ amalla

Otherwise, the inflection of adjectives is regular, in light of the segmental and tonal rules discussed elsewhere. The form of the adjective agreement prefix is identical to the prefix on nouns.

1.2. Regular secondary agreement morphemes

A number of nominal modifiers take a distinct set of 'secondary agreement' morphemes. The stems which trigger this series of markers include demonstratives, possessives, plural numerals, wh-modifiers, as well as *-ndí* 'other', *-óosi* 'all', *-óombi* 'both', *-enyiné* 'alone' and *-ené* 'self'. The latter two modifiers have an irregular form in cl. 1 and are discussed in section 1.3.
The secondary agreement morphemes are as follows.

ʊ	1
va	2
gʊ	3
ji	4
ri	5
ga	6
kɪ	7
vi	8
(y)ɪ	9
zi	10
rʊ	11
ka	12
tʊ	13
vʊ	14
kʊ	15
ha	16
kʊ	17
mʊ	18
gʊ	20

The crucial difference between primary and secondary class prefixes resides in the shape of morphemes for cl 1 (mʊ / ʊ), 3 (mʊ / gʊ), 4 (mi / ji), 6 (ma / ga), 9 (N / ɪ) and 10 (ziN / zi).

1.2.1. QUALIFIERS

Examples of the secondary prefixes with -*ndi* 'additional, different, other, another' are given here (lengthening of the prefix vowel is due to general phonological rule).

ḿndʊ ʊʊndí	'an additional person'	1
vásóóréérí vaandí	'other youths'	2
ḿgʊ́ʊ́nda gʊʊndí	'another farm'	3
mígʊ́ʊ́nda jiindí	'other farms'	4
líˈgómyá liindí	'a banana again'	5
máázi gaandí	'different water'	6
kɪdáˈhíró kɪɪndí	'other dipper'	7
vidáˈhíró viindí	'other dippers'	8
embóóngo yɪɪndí	'other buffalo'	9
zíngʊ́rʊve zɪɪndí	'different pigs'	10
rúfʊʊngʊ́ rʊʊndí	'other key'	11
karyáángo kaandí	'another door-dim'	12
tʊgáánda tʊʊndí	'some beans-dim'	13
tóˈdógá ˈtʊ́ʊ́ndí	'other cars-dim'	13
vwóóva vʊʊndí	'other mushrooms'	14
kodééˈká kʊ́ʊ́ndí	'cooking'	15
hádáráˈjá háándí	'another place by bridge'	16
kʊkɪtáˈbʊ́ kʊ́ʊ́ndí	'elsewhere on the book'	17
mónyʊ́ʊ́mba mʊʊndí	'elsewhere in the house'	18
gʊ́tʊ̌ ˈgʊ́ʊ́ndí	'another ear'	20
gʊ́saasʊ̌ ˈgʊ́ʊ́ndí	'another splinter-aug'	20

Examples of this agreement pattern in the stem -*óosi* 'all; whole' are seen below

mwááˈná wóosi	'the whole child'	1
ávásígú vóosi	'all enemies'	2
baabá ˈvóosi	'all fathers'	2a
mʊgáˈdí jóosi	'all the bread'	3
mbánó gwóosi	'the whole knife'	3
migáˈdí jóosi	'all breads'	4
lígéémbé lyóosi	'all hoe'	5
riváˈhá lyóosi	'the whole feather'	5
magéémbé góosi	'all hoes'	6
ddáˈráámʊ́ ˈlyóosi	'the whole drum'	6
kekóóˈmbé chóosi	'the whole cup'	7
vímiiɲú ˈvyóosi	'all chicks'	8
ɪdáráˈjá yóosi	'the whole bridge'	9

zí˧ŋgókó ˈzyóosi	'all chickens'	10
rʊvá˧há rwóosi	'the whole wing'	11
kambítí ˈkóosi	'the whole hyena-dim'	12
tʊkóó˧zá ˈtwóosi	'all uncles-dim'	13
vʊdúúkuurá ˈvwóosi	'all chicken fleas'	14
vwóó˧ŋgó vwóosi	'the whole brain'	14
kódéé˧ká kwóosi	'all cooking'	15
hámígérá hóósi	'at all rivers'	16
kʊzíméé˧sá kwóosi	'on all tables'	17
mzínyʊ́ʊ́˧mbá mwóósi	'in all houses'	18
gʊtʊ́ ˈgwóosi	'the whole ear'	20
gʊ́˧bwóó˧ní gwóósi	'whole potato-aug'	20

For semantic reasons, the modifier -óombi 'both' does not appear in classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12 or 10: forms in the remaining classes are seen below.

vágóógó vóombi	'both wives'	2
séé˧ngé vóombi	'both aunts'	2a
abá˧chí jóombi	'both abachi'	4a
mígérá jóombi	'both river'	4
míí˧tá góombi	'both names'	6
vikóó˧ndó vyóombi	'both monkeys'	8
zíngó zyóombi	'both leopards'	10
tʊnyíí˧ngʊ́ twóombi	'both cooking pots-dim'	13
vwóóvá vóombi	'both mushrooms'	14
kʊ́vígʊ́ʊ́tí kwóombi	'on both fields'	15
hámígérá hóómbi	'at both rivers'	16
kʊzíméé˧sá kwóómbi	'on both tables'	17
mzínyʊ́ʊ́˧mbá mwóombi	'in both houses'	18

1.2.2. NUMERALS

The numerals 2-5 agree in class with the head noun of an NP, whereas 6-10 and 100 do not agree.

váándʊ̌ vá˧-vírí	'2 people'
váándʊ̌ vá˧-vágá	'3 people'
váándʊ̌ vá-ne	'4 people'
váándʊ̌ vá-˧táánó	'5 people'
váándʊ̌ sííta	'6 people'
váándʊ̌ sába	'7 people'
váándʊ̌ múnááne	'8 people'
váándʊ̌ tísa	'9 people'
váándʊ̌ ríkʊ́mi	'10 people'

Examples of each class with all agreeing numerals follow.

sééŋge vavírí	'2 aunts'	2a
váˈyááyi vavirí	'2 boys'	2
abáchi jivírí	'2 abachi'	4a
mígáˈdí jívírí	'2 breads'	4
mavʊ́ˈyʊ́ gávírí	'2 eggs'	6
víbʊ́rʊ́bʊ́rʊ́ vvíˈrí	'2 butterflies'	8
zimbáángaywá zivɪrí	'2 caves'	10
tʊtíˈmú tóvírí	'2 spears-dim'	13
vwʊ́ʊ́ˈmá vvírí	'2 fork-hoes'	14
kóséémbéllá kʊ́ˈvírí	'2 cultivatings'	15
hámgérá háˈvírí	'at 2 rivers'	16
kʊzímééˈsá kʊ́vírí	'on 2 tables'	17
mʊzínyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá zívírí	'in 2 houses'	18
vááseeŋge vavágá	'3 aunts'	2a
mááˈmá vávágá	'3 mother'	2a
vááˈná vávágá	'3 children'	2
ḿbánó jíˈvágá	'3 knive'	4
magéémbe gavágá	'3 hoes'	6
víˈfʊ́ryá ˈvvágá	'3 pans'	8
zíŋgó zíˈvágá	'3 leopards'	10
twíígízí ˈtóvágá	'3 teachers-dim'	13
vwʊ́ʊ́vá ˈvvágá	'3 mushrooms'	14
kóséémbéllá kʊ́ˈvágá	'3 cultivatings'	15
hámíryáángó ˈhávágá	'at 3 doors'	16
kʊzímééˈsá kʊ́vágá	'on 3 tables'	17
mmásáándʊ́ˈgʊ́ ḿvágá	'in 3 boxes'	18
várímí váˈné	'4 farmers'	2
mígérá jíˈné	'4 river'	4
mavʊ́ˈyʊ́ gáné	'4 eggs'	6
vyééyó víˈnné	'4 brooms'	8
zíŋgó zíˈnné	'4 leopards'	10
tóˈdógá ˈtóné	'4 cars-dim'	13
vʊchíˈmá vóné	'4 ugali'	14
kovʊ́ˈdóng'áná ˈkóné	'4 spinnings'	15
háváándʊ́ háˈné	'near 4 people'	16
kʊzímééˈsá kóné	'on 4 tables'	17
m̀misááˈrá mʊ́né	'in 4 trees'	18
váˈyááˈyí vátáánó	'5 boys'	2
sééŋge vatáánó	'5 aunts'	2a
mígérá jíˈtáánó	'5 rivers'	4
abáchi jitáánó	'5 abachi'	4a
vikóóˈndó vítáánó	'5 monkeys'	8

zídárá˥já zítáánó	'5 bridges'	10
vwʊ́ʊ́˥má vʊ́táánó	'5 fork-hoes'	14
kodéé˥ká kʊ́˥táánó	'5 cookings'	15
hamóó˥ngʊ́ hátáánó	'at 5 pumpkin locations'	16
kʊ́mágíná kʊ́˥táánó	'on 5 stones'	17
m̀má˥bwóóní ˥mʊ́táánó	'in 5 potatoes'	18

The cl. 12 form of agreeing numerals is, in lieu of an overt cl. 12 head noun, used for ordinal numbers and to indicate repetitions

ɪnyʊ́ʊ́mba yá kavírí	'2nd house'
ʊmwáá˥ná wákávágá	'3rd child'
ɪkítábu chá˥káné	'4th house'
agwíí ˥kávírí	'he fell twice'
agwíí ˥kávágá	'he fell thrice'
agwíí ˥káné	'he fell 4 times'

Citation forms of the agreeing numerals are as follows.

	Numeral(*class*)
mʊlla	1(3)
llara	1(5,11)
vávírí	2(2)
jívírí	2(4)
gávírí	2(6)
vvírí	2(8,14)
vávágá	3(2)
jívágá	3(4)
gávágá	3(6)
vvágá	3(8;14)
váné	4(2)
vátáánó	4(2)
jíné	4(4)
gáné	4(6)
jítáánó	5(4)
gátáánó	5(6)

Counting forms of the agreeing numerals are in cl. 9-10.

ndárá	1
zívírí	2
zívágá	3
zíné	4
zítáánó	5
sííta	6
sabá	7

mʊnááne	8
tisá	9
rikʊmi	10
ímya	100

1.2.3.   WH

There are three agreeing NP modifiers, all of which employ the secondary agreement series. The most general is -*lihá* 'which'

mʊ́ˈyááyi ʊliha	'which boy'	1
séé ́ngé ʊ́líhá	'which aunt'	1a
aváámi variha	'which chief'	2
séénge val ihá	'which aunts'	2a
mʊ́llo guriha	'which fire'	3
mígʊ́ʊ́ ̍ndá jíríhá	'which farms'	4
livʊ́yʊ lliha	'which egg'	5
mavúrúri gariha	'which leaf trash'	6
chééyo kiriha	'which broom'	7
vikóóndo viriha	'which monkeys'	8
ɪbáákúúri iriha	'which bowl'	9
zijíríchi ziriha	'which bulls'	10
rʊ́kʊ́ lliha	'which firewood'	11
káˈdógá ˈkáríhá	'which car-dim'	12
tóˈdógá ˈtʊ́ríhá	'which cars-dim'	13
voséra vuriha	'which porridge'	14
kʊkáˈráángá ˈkʊ́ríhá	'which frying'	15
hakígʊ́ʊ́ˈtí háríhá	'at which field'	16
kóméé ́sá kʊ́ríhá	'on which table'	17
mʊrʊháángaywá mʊrɪhá	'in which cave'	18
gʊtʊ́ gʊriha	'which ear'	20
gʊ́ˈbwóó ́ní gʊ́ríhá	'which potato-aug'	20

The quantity modifier -*ri* 'how much' can be used with singular nouns if the object can be subdivided into sub-units.

mkáádo guri	'how much avocado'	3
mikáádo jiri	'how much pl. avocado'	4
rigáánda lli	'how much (of one) bean'	5
rígóké ríri	'how much ash'	5
mágáánda gari	'how much pl. bean'	6
márwá gari	'how much beer'	6
késééró kíri	'how much hide'	7
vimé ́réméénde viri	'how much pl. candy'	8

íkáhááwa iri	'how much coffee'	9
rógúúchí lʷli	'how much dust'	11
tʋgáánda tʋri	'how much beans_dim'	13
vwóóngo vuri	'how much brain'	14
kʋkáˈráángá ˈkʋ́rí	'how much frying'	15

The modifier -*anga* 'how many' only combines with a countable noun which is either unmarked for number or is marked plural.

aváágʋʋkʋ́ ˈváángá	'how many grandmothers'	2a
gʋʋkʋ́ ˈváángá	'how many grandmothers'	2a
váábaabá ˈváángá	'how many fathers'	2
vákóóngó váˈángá	'how many bosses'	2
m̀bánó jáˈángá	'how many knives'	4
magééˈmbé gáángá	'how many hoes'	6
vikóóˈndó vyáángá	'how many monkeys'	8
zídáráˈjá zyáángá	'how many bridges'	10
tóng'óómbé twáˈángá	'how many cows_dim'	13
vosérá vwáˈángá	'how many porridges'	14
kʋ́yává kwáˈángá	'how much digging'	15
hamágáníˈsá háángá	'in how many churches'	16
kʋmágíˈná kwáángá	'on how many stones'	17
mzínyʋ́ʋ́ˈmbá mwáángá	'in how many houses'	18

Examples of 'whose' are covered below under N of N.

1.2.4. POSS PRO

Possessive pronouns are generally formed by combining a secondary prefix and a person-appropriate pronominal stem. The person markers, apart from 2s and cl. 1, are as follows (tone at the start of the pronoun is subject to phrasal variation discussed in Q, which includes optional rule application):

1s	-áˈángé
1p	-íítʋ́
2p	-íínyú[5]
cl. 2	-áávó

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[5] Very often, the 2pl. possessive stems seems to have a different vowel from the 1pl stem, suggesting -*íítʋ́* versus -*íínyú*. This is due to the following consonant and vowel, where a palatal consonant and tense vowel may influence the pronunciation of [íí] in the 2pl. form so that it resembles [íí]. There is also a minor tendency for the high vowel in the plural pronouns stems to be pronounced [e], vis [véényú], which is partially because of the acoustic variability of [ʋ, ɪ] in the language but also partially due to influence from Swahili and other languages, where the stems are [etu, enyu].

Person markers for 2s and cl. 1 are formed via a pattern, involving double-marking of noun class separated by a harmonizing vowel, and the final suffixes *-o* (2s) and *-e* (cl. 1). A person paradigm for cl. 5 agreement is seen below.

rɪtíˈmú ryáˈángé	'1s spear'
rɪtíˈmú ryíítʊ̌	'1p spear'
rɪtíˈmú ríˈíryó	'2s spear'
rɪtíˈmú ryíínyú	'2p spear'
rɪtíˈmú ríˈíryé	'3s spear'
rɪtíˈmú ryáávó	'3p spear'

There are two additional complications in the form of possessive pronouns. First, the stem for 1s can be (and usually is) shortened to just *-aa* rather than *-aange*. Second, the pronoun stem can be directly attached to the noun, without agreement, if the noun is cl. 1 – see also discussion of associative constructions. Examples of the full form for 1s possessor are as follows.

		class
mkáˈrájí wáˈángé	'1s judge'	1
mʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wáˈángé	'my person'	1
sééˈngé wáˈángé	'1s aunt'	1
chífʊ́ ˈwáˈángé	'1s chief'	1
váásyaará ˈváˈángé	'my cousins'	2
váándʊ váˈángé	'my people'	2
vááˈsééngé ˈváángé	'my aunts'	2
mboozó ˈváángé	'my cs-sibs'	2
m̀báˈnó gwáˈángé	'my knife'	3
msááˈrá gwáˈángé	'my tree'	3
imisááˈrá jáˈángé	'my trees'	4
m̀báˈnó jáˈángé	'my knives'	4
rínyóˈnyí ryáˈángé	'my bird'	5
matíˈmú gáˈángé	'my spears'	6
mányóˈnyí gáˈángé	'my birds'	6
kékóóˈmbé cháˈángé	'my cup'	7
víkóóˈmbé vyáˈángé	'my cups'	8
ímbúˈrí yáˈángé	'my goat'	9
zímbúˈrí zyáˈángé	'my goats'	10
rókʊ́ ˈrwáˈángé	'my firewood'	11
vóchíˈmá vwáˈángé	'my ugali'	14
koseembella kwaange	'my weeding'	15
hamééˈsá háˈángé	'at my table'	16
kʊkítáˈbʊ́ kwáˈángé	'on my book'	17
mʊnyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá mwáˈángé	'in my house'	18
gótʊ́ ˈgwáˈángé	'my ear'	20

ıcháánzeywé wá!ángé   'my Chanzeywe'   23[6]

The more common truncated form deletes the second syllable.

mtééˈ ndé wáá	'my neighbor'	1
sééˈ ngé wáá	'1s aunt'	1a
vatééˈ ndé váá	'my neighbor'	2
vááˈ sééngé váá	'1s aunts'	2a
m̀báˈ nó gwáá	'my knife'	3
midíígíˈ ró jáá	'1s crutches'	4
rigóˈ tó ryáá	'1s elder'	5
madííˈ jí gáá	'my walls'	6
kerééˈ ngé cháá	'my leg'	7
vítʋʋngóóˈ ró vyáá	'my onions'	8
émbóóˈ ngó yáá	'my buffalo'	9
zíngo zyáá	'my leopards'	10
órózé ˈ rwáá	'my grain drying area'	11
káˈ dógá ˈ káá	'my car-dim'	12
ʋtójáˈ májɔ́ ˈ twáá	'my squirrels-dim'	13
vʋchíˈ má vwáá	'my ugali'	14
kódééˈ ká kwáá	'my cooking'	15
hamsááˈ rá háá	'at my tree'	16
kʋmóríˈ mí kwáá	'on my farm'	17
mʋndóóˈ hó mwáá	'in my bucket'	18
gʋtó ˈ gwá	'my ear'	20
ımájééˈ ngó wáá	'my Majengo'	23

1pl possessors are marked with the stem *-íítú*.

mboozó ˈ wíító	'our cs-sib'	1
mʋlíˈ mí wíító	'our farmer'	1
chíˈ fú wíító	'our chief'	1
mboozó ˈ víító	'our cs-sibs'	2
valíˈ mí víító	'our farmers'	2
varóóˈ ndí víító	'our followers'	2
vatééˈ ndé víító	'our neighbor'	2
vááseengé ˈ víító	'1p aunts'	2
koozá ˈ víító	'our uncles'	2
vákoozá ˈ víító	'our uncles'	2
m̀báˈ nó gwíító	'1p knife'	3
ʋmʋríˈ mí gwíító	'1p farm'	3
mʋdíígíˈ ró gwíító	'our crutch'	3

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[6] The patterns for cl. 20 and 23 illustrate a fundamental problem of noun class detection. Class 23 induces agreements that are the same as cl. 9 in some contexts, and cl. 1 in other contexts – but never a morpheme that is unique to cl. 23. Class 20 always induces cl. 3 agreements, indeed cl. 20 could be relegated to 'special prefix allomorph' for the singular noun prefix.

ímítwí ˈjíítʊ́	'1p heads'	4
ryííˈtá ryíítʊ́	'our name'	5
matíˈmú gíítʊ́	'1p spears'	6
madúúˈmá gíítʊ́	'our maize'	6
késééˈró chíítʊ́	'1p hide'	7
kédéˈté chíítʊ́	'our finger'	7
virééˈngé vyíítʊ́	'our leg'	8
vídéˈté vyíítʊ́	'our fingers'	8
síiˈndáání zyíítʊ́	'our needles'	9
zidááˈywá zyíítʊ́	'our roosters'	10
órózé ˈrwíítʊ́	'1p grain drying area'	11
rogééˈndó rwíítʊ́	'1p journey'	11
rogééˈmbé rwíítú	'our razor'	11
akááˈná kíítʊ́	'our child₋dim'	12
ʊtwááˈná twíítʊ́	'our children₋dim'	13
voséˈrá vwíítʊ́	'1p porridge'	14
kodééˈká kwíítʊ́	'our cooking₋dim'	15
háskʊ́ʊ́ˈrʊ́ híítʊ́	'at out school'	16
kokeségeséˈ kwíítʊ́	'on our roof peak'	17
m̀bááˈkʊ́ʊ́ˈrí mwíítʊ́	'in our bowl'	18
gʊ́ˈfwááví ˈgwíítʊ́	'our dirtiness'	20

2pl is denoted with the stem -*íínyú*.

mtéénde wíínyú	'2p neighbor'	1
mʊlíˈmí wíínyú	'2p farmer'	1
mʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wíínyú	'2p person'	1
sééˈngé wíínyú	'2p aunt'	1a
daadá ˈwíínyú	'2p father'	1a
vatééˈndé víínyú	'2p neighbors'	2
vakʊ́ˈrʊ́ʊ́ndʊ́ ˈvíínyú	'2p elder'	2
avalíˈmí víínyú	'2p farmers'	2
amwaavó ˈvíínyú	'2p same-sex sibling'	2a
ʊmpááˈngó gwíínyú	'2p plan'	3
mʊdíígíˈró gwíínyú	'2p crutch'	3
ɪ̀mpááˈngó jíínyú	'2p plans'	4
midíígíˈró jíínyú	'2p crutches'	4
rɪtíˈmú ryíínyú	'2p spear'	5
ritíˈmú ryíínyú	'2p spear'	5
mátíˈmú gíínyú	'2p spears'	6
kítʊʊngʊ́ʊ́ˈrʊ́ chíínyú	'2p onion'	7
vítʊʊngʊ́ʊ́ˈrʊ́ vyíínyú	'2p onions'	8
vídéˈté vyíínyú	'2p fingers'	8
ɪnávóˈdó yíínyú	'2p basket'	9
éng'ʊ́ʊ́ˈmbé yíínyú	'2p cow'	9
rogééˈndó rwíínyú	'2p journey'	11

rókááyí'ró rwíínyú	'2p sickle'	11
vosé'rá vwíínyú	'2p porridge'	14
vwóó'vá vwíínyú	'2p mushroom'	14
koséémbé'llá kwíínyó	'2p weeding'	15
harígí'ná híínyó	'by 2p stone'	16
kómítwí 'kwíínyó	'on 2p heads'	17
mkíráá'tó mwíínyó	'in 2p shoe'	18
gó'fwááví 'gwíínyú	'2p dirtiness'	20

The 2nd person singular is based on a pattern AGR_1-V-AGR_2-o, which resembles the distal demonstrative with the following conditions:
<NB that may be EM, so recheck as much as possible>

       C of AGR_2 is [v] rather than [w] in cl. 1 ([woo**v**o])
       V is a **tense** copy of an underlying high vowel of AGR_2: [j**ii**jo, g**uu**gwo], and is [o] if the vowel of AGR_2 is /a/ (which deletes): [v**oo**vo]. V is also [o] in cl. 9 .

mtéénde wó'óvó	'2s neighbor'	1
séé'ngé wóóvó	'2s aunt'	1
vatéénde vó'óvó	'2s neighbors'	2
vááseengé 'vó'óvó	'2s aunts'	2
m̀bá'nó gú'úgwó	'2s knife'	3
ímbá'nó jíí'jó	'2s knives'	4
rɪtímú 'ríí'ryó	'2s spear'	5
mátí'mú gó'ógó	'2s spears'	6
kédé'té chíí'chó	'2s finger'	7
vídé'té víí'vyó	'2s fingers'	8
ɪmbú'rí yó'óyó	'2s goat'	9
zimbú'rí zíí'zyó	'2s goats'	10
rogéé'ndó rúú'rwó	'2s journey'	11
kakóó'zá kóó'kó	'2s uncle-dim'	12
tʊkóó'zá túú'twó	'2s uncles-dim'	13
vosé'rá vúú'vwó	'2s porridge'	14
kodéé'ká kúú'kwó	'2s cooking'	15
hám̀'dógá 'hóó'hó	'by 2s car'	16
kokéréé'ngé kúú'kwó	'on 2s leg'	17
mʊgʊtó 'múú'mwó	'in 2s ear'	18
mʊgʊtó 'múú'mwó	'in 2s ear'	18
mwɪɪgání'sá m̋'m̋'mwó	'in 2s church'	18[7]
ʊgótó 'góó'gwó	'2s ear'	20

3s employs a pattern analogous to 2s, selecting /e/ as the final vowel, **and /ɪ/ as the V between agreement elements**, <u>well fuck the recent EM data on this is quite mixed<</u>

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[7] Deletion of *u* between instances of *m* is due to a phonological rule discussed in X.

which harmonizes with following *e*. As with 2s, the cl. 1 agreement C is [v], not [w]. Thus, the pattern for 3s pronons is AGR$_1$-ɪ-AGR$_2$-e.

msáá˥zá wé˥évé	'3s husband'	1
séé˥ngé wéévé	'3s aunt'	1
váásyaará ˥vé˥évé	'3s cousins'	2
vááseengé ˥vé˥évé	'3s aunts'	2
ʊ́˥ḿ'féré˥jí gwíí˥gwé	'3s water tap'	3
ɪmyóó˥gó jíí˥jé	'3s cassavas'	4
m̀bá˥nó jí˥íjé	'3s knives'	4
ligéé˥mbé lí˥ílyé	'3s hoe'	5
matí˥mú gé˥égé	'3s spears'	6
keréénge chíí˥ché	'3s leg'	7
vítʊʊngʊ́ʊ́˥rʊ́ víí˥vyé	'3s onions'	8
ɪnávó˥dó yé˥évé	'3s basket'	9
zínjúú˥gú zí˥ízyé	'3s peanuts'	10
rogéé˥ndó rwíí˥rwé	'3s journey'	11
akáng'óó˥mbé ké˥éké	'3s cow'	12
otóng'óó˥mbé twíí˥twé	'3s cows'	13
vʊchí˥má vwí˥ívwé	'3s ugali'	14
kóséémbélá kwíí˥kwé	'3s weeding'	15
harʊ́gá˥gá héé˥hé	'at 3s fence'	16
kʊkítá˥bʊ́ kwí˥íkwé	'on 3s book'	17
m̀bíká˥bó mwíí˥mwé	'in 3s basket'	18
gʊtʊ́ gwí˥ígwé	'3s ear'	20

The cl. 2 (3pl) pronoun combines the secondary agreement prefix with the stem *-avó*.

mʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wáávó	'their person'	1
séé˥ngé wáávó	'their aunt'	1a
mboozó˥ váávó	'their cs-sibs'	2
váámboozá ˥váávó	'their siblings'	2a
varóó˥ndí vááwó	'their followers'	2
mʊʊryáá˥ngó gwáávó	'their door'	3
m̀bá˥nó jáávó	'their knives'	4
rɪtí˥mú ryáávó	'their spear'	5
magóóngór˥ó gáávó	'their millepedes'	6
kédé˥té cháávó	'their finger'	7
vídé˥té vyáávó	'their fingers'	8
éng'óó˥mbé yáávó	'their cow'	9
zinávó˥dó zyáávó	'their baskets'	10
órózé ˥rwáávó	'their grain drying area'	11
akágáá˥ndá káávó	'their bean-dim'	12
ʊtʊ́gáá˥ndá twáávó	'their beans-dim'	13

vwʊ́ʊ́ˈkí vwáávó	'their honey'	14
koséémbéˈllá kwáávó	'their weeding'	15
hamʊryááˈngó háávó	'at their door'	16
kʊnyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá kwáávó	'on their house'	17
mʊzíng'óóˈmbé mwáávó	'in their cows'	18

Contracted forms, i.e. ones with no agreement prefix on the possessive pronoun, exist for nouns in cl. 1 or 1a (the later of which as noted elsewhere may be syntactically plural) – see X for discussion of the phonological changes found with contraction.

sééˈngááˈngé	'1s aunt'	1a
sééˈngíítʊ́	'1p aunt'	1a
mkáˈrájáˈángé	'1s judge'	1
mtééˈndíítʊ́	'1p neighbor'	1
baabóˈóvó	'2s father'	1a
mtééˈndóˈóvó	'2s neighbor'	1
sééˈngíínyú	'2p aunt'	1a
mtééˈndíínyú	'2p neighbor'	1
sééˈngééve	'3s aunt'	1a
msááˈzéévé	'3s husband'	1
mtééˈndáávó	'3p neighbor'	1
sééˈngáávó	'3p aunt'	1a

Citation forms of possessive pronouns may be used in discourse-appropriate contexts such as replying to a question, e.g. "Whose book did he take?" – "Mine". The form of the pronoun is essentially the same as that found in phrasal collocations, except that the plural pronouns have the tone pattern HL rather than HH, and the augment may be present. Examples with the augment are seen here.

ʊwáˈángé	1s (1)
ʊwíítʊ	1p (1)
ʊwóˈóvó	2s (1)
ʊwíínyu	2p (1)
ʊwéˈévé	3s (1)
ʊwáávo	3p (1)
aváˈángé	1s(2)
avíítʊ	1p(2)
avóˈóvó	2s (2)
avíínyu	2p(2)
avéˈévé	3s (2)
aváávo	3p(2)
ʊgwáˈángé	1s (3)
ʊgwíˈígwé	3s (3)
ɪjíítu	1p(4)
ɪjáˈángé	1s(4)
ɪjáávo	3p(4)

ɪryíítʊ	1p(5)
iríí˩ryé	3 (5)
agá˩ángé	1 (6)
agíítʊ	1p(6)
agó˩ógó	1s(6)
agíínyu	2p(6)
agáávo	3p(6)
agé˩égé	3s(6)
agé˩égé	3s(6)
ɪchá˩ángé	1s(7)
ɪchíí˩chó	2s(7)
ɪvyá˩ángé	1s(8)
ɪvyíínyu	2s(8)
ɪvyíínyu	2p(8)
ɪvyíínyu	2p(8)
ɪyíítʊ	1p(9)
ɪyá˩ángé	1s(9)
ɪyíínyu	2p(9)
ɪyó˩óyó	2s(9)
ɪyáávo	3p(9)
ɪyé˩éyé	3s(9)
ɪzyá˩ángé	1s(10)
ʊrwíítʊ	1p(11)
ʊrwá˩ángé	1s(11)
ʊrwíínyu	2p(11)
ʊrwí˩írwé	3s(11)
aká˩éngé	1s(12)
aké˩éké	3s(12)
akíínyu	2p(12)
akó˩ókó	2s(12)
ʊtwíítu	1p(13)
ótʊ́ʊ́˩twó	2s(13)
ʊvwíítu	1p(14)
ʊvwá˩ángé	1s(14)
ʊvwíínyu	2p(14)
ʊvú˩úvwó	2s(14)
ʊvwí˩ívwé	3s(14)
ʊgwá˩ángé	1s(20)
ʊgʊ́ʊ́˩gwó	2s(20)
ʊgwáávo	3p(20)

At present it is unclear if harmony is possible in aug-G[e/o]. The relevant contexts would be cl. 1, 9 2s and 3s possessor. Generally there is no harmony across the glide.

ɪyé˩éyé	his-9
ʊwó˩óvó	yours-1

ʊwé˥évé   his₋₁

Harmony has been accepted but also rejected:

*owó˥óvó
*owé˥évé
eyó˥óyó   (maybe)
eyé˥éyé   (maybe)

In the case of a post-copula it is harder to tell whether there is harmony since COP₋ₐᵤ₉(9) unharmonized has the same as COP with no augment.

nɪyó˥óyó   'it's yours'
neyó˥óyó   'it's yours'
nɪyé˥éyé   'it's his'
neyé˥éyé   'it's his'
nʊwá˥ángé   'it's mine'
nɪwá˥ángé   'it's mine'
nɪyó˥óyó   'it's yours-9'
nʊwó˥óvó   'it's yours-1'
*nowó˥óvó
nʊwé˥évé   'it's his-1'
*nʊwé˥évé

Examples without the augment are as follows.

wá˥ángé   1s (1)
wíítʊ   1p (1)
wó˥óvó   2s (1)
wíínyu   2p (1)
wé˥évé   3s (1)
wáávo   3p (1)
vá˥ángé   1s(2)
víítʊ   1p(2)
gá˥ángé   1s(6)
gáávo   3p(6)
gé˥égé   3s(6)
chá   1s(7)
chá˥ángé   1s(7)
cháávo   3p(7)
chíínyu   2p(7)
chíítu   1p(7)
chí˥íché   3s(7)
chí˥íchó   2s(7)
yó˥óyó   2s(9)

vwíítʋ   1p(14)

For possessors in classes other than 1-2, the general form of the pronoun is AGR_{head}-a-AGR_{poss}-o

		N head class	possessor class
mtwí ꜛgwáyó	'head of 9'	3	9
ʋmʋtwí gwarwó	'head of 11'	3	11
rigóꜛdó lyágwó	'skin of 3'	5	3
rigódo ryachó	'skin of 7'	5	7
rivóyʋ ryayó	'egg of 9'	5	9
mágódo gajó	'skins of 4'	6	4
magóꜛdó gázyó	'skins of 10'	6	10
keréénge charyó	'leg of 5'	7	5
keréénge chachó	'leg of 7'	7	7
keréénge charwó	'leg of 11'	7	11
víréénge vyagó	'legs of 6'	8	6
gʋtó gwachó	'ear of 7'	20	7
mʋtwí gwaryó	'head of 5'	3	5

Like other possessive pronouns, the augment is allowed in citation forms.[8]

waryó	'1 of it$_{-5}$'
ʋwáryo	'1 of it$_{-5}$'
varyó	'2 of it$_{-5}$'
aváryo	'2 of it$_{-5}$'
gwaryó	'3 of it$_{-5}$'
ʋgwáryo	'3 of it$_{-5}$'
ryaryó	'5 of it$_{-5}$'
ɪryáryo	'5 of it$_{-5}$'
gajó	'6 of it$_{-10}$'
agájo	'6 of it$_{-5}$'

1.2.5. ASSOCIATIVE

The secondary agreement prefix combined with -a- is used in a wide range of constructions where a noun (phrase) serves as a modifier within another NP. The examples below illustrate this prefix before a proper name, in a possessive construction.

baabá wa marova	'father of Marova'	1a
mʋróóndi wa mʋng'oma	'follower of Mung'oma'	1
váákoozá ꜛvá ródéeji	'Rodeji's uncle'	2a
vatéénde va rodéeji	'Rodeji's neighbor'	2
ʋmbáꜛnó gwá míhádya	'knife of Mihadya'	3

---

[8] The tone shifts in these examples are discussd in Z.

abáchi gwa rodéeji	'Rodeji's abachi'	3a
ɪmbáno gwa kɪsaato	'knife of Kisaato'	4
abáchi ja rodéeji	'Rodeji's abachis '	4a
ddííji rya rodéeji	'Rodeji's wall'	5
amʊ́ʊ́ngʊ́ ga kɪdwááro	'pumpkins of Kidwaro'	6
kírááto cha rodéeji	'Rodeji's shoe '	7
vírááto vya rodéeji	'Rodeji's shoe '	8
eng'óóˈmbé yá víhééndá	'Vihenda's cow'	9
zíngʊ́gí zya rodéeji	'Rodeji's baboons '	10
rogééˈmbé rwá ródéeji	'Rodeji's razor '	11
kádogá ka marova	'Marova's car_dim'	12
tódogá twa marova	'Marova's cars_dim'	13
voséra vwa rodéeji	'Rodeji's porridge '	14
koséémbélla kwa marova	'Marova's weeding'	15
hagáníˈsá há ródéeji	'at Rodeji's church'	16
kokéséˈgésé chá ródééji	'on Rodeji's roof'	17
mʊ́nyʊ́ʊ́mba mwa marova	'in Marova's house'	18
ʊgʊ́tʊ́ ˈgwá ródééji	'Rodeji's ear'	20

The same prefix is used before a common noun, with the additional complication that the noun retains the augment (even for augment-avoiding speakers), so /a/ of the associative prefix is deleted and the associative syllable bears H tone.[9] The post-consonantal glide *w* may delete before ʊ, likewise *y* before ɪ.

mkárají w-íˈchááˈnzéywé	'judge of Chanzeywe'	1	9
msíˈgʊ́ w-áˈkáné	'fourth enemy'	1	12
ʊmʊrína w-ʊ́ˈvvééshi	'false friend'	1	14
avárína v-ʊ́ˈvvééshi	'false friends'	2	14
avááˈná v-ʊ́ˈkʊ́táanga	'first children'	2	15
mgádi g(w)-ʊ́mkáádo	'avocado bread'	3	3
mʊgáánda gw-íˈvíbágá	'crowd of cats'	3	8
misííbi j-ʊ́ˈmwáana	'belts of child'	4	1
mbáno j-ávaandʊ	'knives of the people'	4	2
rigóˈdó ry-éˈkéréénge	'skin of leg'	5	7
rigódo r-íˈpʊ́ʊ́nda	'skin of donkey'	5	9
márwá ˈg-íˈríˈgómyá	'banana beer'	6	5
amééyo g-ééˈnyʊ́ʊ́mba	'broom for a house'	6	9
kémerwá ch-íˈrígáánda	'bean plant'	7	5
virééˈngé v-ííˈzíˈngókó	'legs of chickens'	8	10
virééˈngé vy-ʊ́ˈkʊ́táanga	'first legs'	8	15
ɪnyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá y-ʊ́mbʊ́ˈgʊ́sʊ́	'house of the Bukusu'	9	1
ɪbáákʊ́ʊ́rí y-ámaheengere	'bowl of mahengere'	9	6
éng'óómbe y-ʊ́ˈvvééshi	'false cow'	9	14

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[9] For semantic reasons, the previous examples of N1 - assoc - N2 constructions with a proper name as N2 were possessive, but with common nouns the range of semantic relations in the construction is wider.

ɪzíꜜímyá ꜜz-ízíꜜŋgókó	'hundreds of chickens'	10	10
rʊvʊ́ʊ́sí ꜜrw-ámádoongoro	'string for beads'	11	6
rogééꜜndó rw-áꜜkáné	'fourth journey'	11	12
akáána kóꜜmwáámi	'child-dim of the chief'	12	1
ʊtwáána tóꜜmwáámi	'children-dim of the chief'	13	1
vʊchíꜜmá vwáꜜmádúúma	'corn ugali'	14	6
ʊvʊrímʊ vw-éeng'oombe	'grass for cow'	14	9
kóríra kwízing'oombe	'crying of cows'	15	10
hányʊ́ʊ́ꜜmbá hómʊgeni	'by the house of the guest'	16	1
kʊmgóóngo kwééng'oombe	'on the back of the cow'	17	9
mʊgatí ꜜmw-ílíbóógisi	'inside of the box'	18	5
mʊbáákʊ́ʊ́ꜜrí mwómʊgeni	'in the bowl of the guest'	18	1
mʊrígódo mwíkíꜜfóóyo	'in the skin of the rabbit'	18	7
ʊgótʊ́ gwʊ́ꜜmwííha	'ear of the bride'	20	1

Proper names as N₂ in N of N can, in some instances, optionally take the augment, in which case their phonological pattern is identical to that of common nouns.

baabá ꜜw-óródéeji	'Rodeji's father'	1a
vííꜜvʊ́rí v-óꜜródééji	'parents of Rodeji'	2
ʊmbáno gw-íꜜ míhádya	'knife of Rihadya'	3
ɪmíríꜜmí jóꜜ ródééji	'farms of Rodeji'	4
ɪryʊ́ʊ́ngʊ ryíꜜ kídwááro	'pumpkins of Kidwaro'	5
amʊ́ʊ́ꜜngʊ́ gíꜜ kídwááro	'pumpkins of Kidwaro'	6
eng'óóꜜmbé yíꜜvíhééndá	'Vihenda's cow'	9

Similar to the situation with possessive pronouns, the class 1 associative prefix, which would be realized as [w], may delete.[10]

mʊ́róóndi a mʊng'oma	follower of Mung'oma
mʊ́róóndi a mʊng'oma	follower of Mung'oma
mkóóng-aa marova	Marova's boss
mkári-a marova	Marova's wife
ʊmwáán-aa marova	Marova's child
ʊmwííꜜgízí a marova	Marova's teacher
mʊrína a marova	Marova's friend
msíga a marova	Marova's enemy
mwiikaamarova	Marova's relative
gʊʊkaamarova	marova's grandmother
seengaa midéécha	Mideecha's aunt
ʊmwaami a marova	Marova's chief
ʊmwáámi a marova	Marova's chief

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[10] Agreement-deletion is tonally and semantically distinct from the relational structure discussed in X, examplified in *maam-ʊmwáána* 'mother to the child'.

mwáámi a marova	Marova's chief
mkóóngaamarova	Marova's boss
msíg-aa marova	Marova's enemy
ʊmsíg-aa marova	enemy of Marova
mkáraji a marova	Judge of Marova
ʊmwáán-aa marova	child of Marova
mwaan-aa Marova	child of Marova
ʊmwáán-aa marova	child of Marova
mwaan-aa marova	child of Marova
víík-aa marova	Marova's relatives
mwíí'gíz-íʊ́'mwáána	teacher of the child
máá'm-ʊ́'mwáána	child of the mother
gʊʊgá oródéeji	grandfather of Rodeeji

<yes there is length: will return to this but here are more:

msí!g-óóródééji	enemy of Rodeji
ʊmwíísʊkʊr-aa marova	grandchild of Marova
seeng-aa mihádya	aunt of mihadya
ʊmʊ́dót-aa míhádya	infant of mihadya
ʊmwíík-aa míhádya	relative of mihadya
ámwááv-áámíhádya	brother of mihadya

1.2.6. DEMONSTRATIVES

There are 4 morphological series of spatial demonstratives in Logoori.[11] The first proximal series ('near speaker') is formed according to the template (y)V-AGR where AGR is the secondary agreement morpheme appropriate for the class. The prefix vowel is

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[11] There are 2 additional demonstratives which have a slightly different morphological form, presented in

X.

basically *ɪ*, except in cl. 1 where it is *ʊ* (and "(y)" is null), and it assimilates to following /a/. Initial /(y)/ is typically deleted in connected speech, but is present in the following examples.[12]

ʊyʊ	mʊ́ʊ́ndʊ ʊyʊ	'this person'	1
yava	váándʊ yava	'these people'	2
yɪgʊ	m̀báno yɪgʊ	'this knife'	3
yiji	misáá˩rá yíji	'these tree'	4
yiri	rigéémbe yiri	'this hoe'	5
yaga	mágéémbe yaga	'these hoe'	6
yɪkɪ	kédé˩té yíkɪ	'this finger'	7
yivi	vídé˩té yívi	'these fingers'	8
yɪyɪ	ébé˩dé yíyɪ	'this ring'	9
yizi	zíbé˩dé yízi	'these ring'	10
yɪrʊ	rʊgága yɪrʊ	'this fence'	11
yaka	ká˩dógá yaka	'this car-dim'	12
yɪvʊ	ovóró ˩yívʊ	'this finger millet'	14
yaha	haméé˩sá yáha	'at this table'	16
yɪkʊ	koméé˩sá yíkʊ	'on this table'	17
yɪm	mʊrójʊ yɪm	'in this clay bowl'	18
yɪgʊ	gótʊ́ ˩yígʊ	'this ear'	20

Examples with deletion of *y* include these: this is a phonological issue, discussed in more detail in Q.

orógéénd-ɪɪrʊ	'this trip'
ʊ́tʊ́mbít-íɪtʊ	'this hyena'
koséémbéll-ɪɪkʊ	'this weeding'

The second distal series ('near hearer') is the same in form as the first series, with the added suffix *-o*, subject to regular phonological rules of glide formation and vowel harmony.

oyo	m̀bʊ́˩gʊ́s-óóyo	'that Bukusu'	1
yavo	váándʊ yavo	'those people'	2
yɪgwo	mʊrí˩tú yígwo	'that forest'	3
yijo	migéra yɪjo	'those river'	4
yɪryo	rigéé˩mbé yíryo	'that hoe'	5
yago	magéé˩mbé yágo	'those hoe'	6
yɪcho	kɪsí˩rí yícho	'that veg. hoe'	7
yivyo	visí˩rí yívyo	'those veg. hoe'	8
yeyo	ɪngáta yeyo	'that headpad'	9
yɪzyo	zingáta yɪzyo	'those headpads'	10
yɪrwo	rogééndo yɪrwo	'that journey'	11

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[12] Tonal alternating involving demonstratives are discussed in W.

yako	kanyííngʋ yako	'that cooking pot-dim'	12
yɪtwo	tóˈdóg-íítwo	'those cars-dim'	13
yɪvwo	vosér-ɪɪvwo	'that porridge'	14
yɪkwo	koséémbéll-ɪɪkwo	'that weeding'	15
yaho	haméésa yaho	'at that table'	16
yɪkwo	komééˈsá yíkwo	'on that table'	17
yɪmwo	mʋrój-ɪɪmwo	'in that clay bowl'	18
yɪgwo	gótʌ́ yɪgwo	'that ear'	20

The third remote-distal ('remote from participants') series is formed by prefixing the secondary agreement morpheme to /ra/.

ʋra	mʋdót-ʋʋra	'that rem. infant'	1
vara	váándʋ vara	'those rem. people'	2
gʋra	msááˈrá gʋ́ra	'that rem. tree'	3
jira	misááˈrá jíra	'those rem. tree'	4
rira, lla	llééˈsí lla	'that rem. cloud'	5
gara	marééˈsí gára	'those rem. clouds'	6
kɪra	kerééˈngé kíra	'that-rem. leg'	7
vira	vígúrú ˈvíra	'those rem. hill'	8
yɪra	embóóˈngó íra	'that rem. buffalo'	9
zira	zímbóóˈngó zíra	'those rem. buffalos'	10
rʋra, lla	ʋrwííˈgá ˈlʷlá	'that horn'	11
kara	katímu kara	'that-rem spear-dim'	12
tʋra	ótʌ́mbítí tʋra	'those hyenas-dim'	13
vʋra	vʋchíma vʋrya	'that rem. ugali'	14
kʋra	koséémbélla kʋra	'that weeding'	15
hara	hamééˈsá hára	'at that table'	16
kʋra	komééˈsá kʋ́ra	'on that table'	17
mʋra	mʋrójʋ mʋra	'in that clay bowl'	18
gʋra	gʋ́ˈbwóóni gʋra	'that potato-aug'	20

The final proximal series (an optional variant of the first proximal series: not used by all speakers) is formed by prefixing the secondary agreement morpheme to -no.

ʋno	mkááˈná ʋ́no	'this girl'	1
vano	vakááˈná váno	'these girls'	2
gʋno	mwóóyo gʋno	'this voice'	3
jino	myóóˈgó jíno	'these cassavas'	4
rino	ryííˈtá ríno	'this name'	5
gano	mííˈtá gáno	'these name'	6
kɪno	kedéˈté kíno	'this finger'	7
vino	vidéˈté víno	'these fingers'	8
yɪno	embóóngo yɪno	'this buffalo'	9
zino	zímbóóngo zino	'these buffalos'	10
rʋno	rʋkʋ́ˈ rʌ́nó	'this firewood'	11

| vʊno | voséra vʊno | 'this porridge' | 14 |
| gʊno | gʊ́tú gʊno | 'this ear' | 20 |

1.3. Special Secondary Agreement

Two stems take somewhat irregular variant forms of the secondary agreement series, limited to cl. 1 – the irregularity is in selecing /mʊ/ or /ye~we/ as the class 1 prefix. In addition, these stems have two tone patterns which are associated with different interpretations. The first is -*ené* 'specific' and the tonal variant -*éne* 'itself', both of which takes the nominal cl. 1 prefix /mʊ-/ but otherwise take the regular secondary prefixes. Examples of 'specific' are given below.

ʊmʊ́ʊ́ˈndʊ́ mwééné	'the specific person'	1
aváána veené	'the specific children '	2
msáára gweené	'the specific tree '	3
ɪmisááˈrá jééné	'the specific trees'	4
risyáámógómá lyeené	'the specific gecko '	5
matíˈgínyú geené	'the specific heels '	6
kɪsííˈmbíkírá cheené	'the specific whydah '	7
vísógóto vyeené	'the specific cobs '	8
éng'óóˈmbé yééné	'the specific cow'	9
zing'éˈréng'ání zyeené	'the specific stars'	10
rwííˈmbʊ́ rwééné	'the specific song'	11
akááˈná kééné	'specific child-dim'	12
ʊtwááˈná twééné	'specific children-dim'	13
vóséra vweené	'the specific porridge '	14
kodééˈká kwééné	'specific cooking'	15
hanyʊ́ʊ́ˈmbá hééné	'at the specific house'	16
kómééˈsá kwééné	'on the specific table'	17
mmísááˈrá mwééné	'in the specific trees'	18
gʊtʊ́ gweené	'the specific ear '	20

The tonal alternative -*éne* has the meaning 'alone, on one's own', and can take the augment.

ʊ́mʊ́ʊ́ndʊ́ mwééne	'the person on his own'
avarógoori avééne	'the Logooris on their own'
avanákɪvara vééne	'the non-Logoori on their own'
mkááˈdó gwééne	'the avocado alone'
ímígóy-íjééne	'the ropes on their own'
ékérééngé chééne	'the leg on its own'
éng'óómbé yééne	'the cow by itself'
zíng'óómb-ízyééne	'the cows on their own'
orómé ̍m-ʊ́rwééne	'the flame on its own'
ʊ́vwóóv-ʊ́vwééne	'the mushroom on its own'
kódééˈk-ʊ́kwééne	'cooking alone'

hámgérá hééne	'I saw at the river alone'	
kʊméé'ꞌs-ókwééne	'I saw on the table alone'	
mʊnyʊ́ʊ́'ꞌmb-ʊ́mwééne	'in the house alone'	

The second agreement-irregularity is found in the stem *-éng'íné* 'alone', which usually takes the agreement /ye-/ in cl. 1, though regular /ʊ/ is also attested.[13]

msyaará weeng'iné	'alone cousin '	1
ḿdʊ́ yééng'íné	'alone person '	1
ḿndʊ́ wéé'ꞌnyíné	'alone person '	1
mʊ́dótó yéényíné	'alone infant '	1
mʊ́rímí yéényíné	'alone farmer'	1
vakáá'ꞌná véé'ꞌnyíné	'alone girls '	2
várímí vóónyíné	'alone farmers '	2
mʊ́gérá gwéényíné	'alone river '	3
mígérá jéényíné	'alone rivers '	4
ddó'ꞌshí lyéé'ꞌnyíné	'alone mud '	5
mábwóó'ꞌní géé'ꞌnyíné	'alone potatoes '	6
gekóó'ꞌndó chéényíné	'alone monkey '	7
víbúrúbúrú vyéényíné	'alone butterflies'	8
éngó yéényíné	'alone leopard '	9
zíngó zyéényíné	'alone leopards '	10
rʊ́báá'ꞌng'á rwéényíné	'alone panga '	11
kakóózá 'ꞌkééng'íné	'uncle-dim alone'	12
kanyíí'ꞌngʊ́ kéényíné	'only cooking pot-dim'	12
vósérá vwéé'ꞌnyíné	'alone porridge '	14
vwʊ́ʊ́'ꞌmá vwéényíné	'alone fork-hoe '	14
kodéé'ꞌká kwééng'íné	'cooking alone'	15
hanyʊ́ʊ́'ꞌmbá hééng'íné	'near the house only'	16
gʊsáá'ꞌrá gwééng'íné	'only a splinter-aug'	20

1.4. Non-Agreeing NP modifiers

As noted in X, numerals higher than 5 do not agree in class with the head nouns. Some examples of non-agreeing post-nominal modifiers are listed here.

ki: what, which

éɲéngéró ki	'what beer pot'
ridá'ꞌvángírʊ́ 'ꞌkí	'what badly-made pot'
mʊ́'ꞌyáá'ꞌyí ki	'what boy'
kíbʊ́rʊ́bʊ́rʊ́ ki	'what butterfly'

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[13] The stem is also attested as [-enyine], sometimes both, depending on the speaker. Forms like [mwáá'ꞌná wóóng'íné] 'child alone' have been attested but are rare.

káándí: additionally, again
mbánó káándí   'a knife additionally'
éng'óómbé káándí   'a cow additionally'
mwáá˥ná káándí   'child additionally'

kɔ́rí: like
aváána kɔ́rí ˥yává   'children like this'
risyáámógómá kɔ́rí iri   'a gecko like this'
ḿndʊ́ kɔ́rí marova   'person like Marova'
mkáá˥ná kɔ́rí ˥wóó˥mányí   'a girl like the one you know'
vosérá kɔ́rí ˥vwává˥míɲáji   'porridge like we cooked'

vʊza: 'just'
mwááná vuza   'just a child'
mbano vuza   'just a knife'
vaandʊ vuza   'just people'
meeyo vuza   'just a broom'
kí˥fóóyó vuza   'just a rabbit'
engo vuza   'just a leopard'
rʊkaayɪrʊ vuza   'just a scythe'
vʊchíma vuza   'just ugali'

There are also non-agreeing adjectives, derived from Swahili:

ivikóómbe sahííhi   'correct (number of) cups'
ɪrijíí˥bʊ́ sáhíhɪ   'correct answer'
kɪbá˥g-áátáári   'dangerous cat'
ɪmbwá ˥átáári   'dangerous dog'
aváándʊ́ á˥táári   'dangerous people'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́nd-áá˥táári   'dangerous person'
ekerééngé sá˥bííti   'firm leg'
ʊ́mʊ́ʊ́ndʊ́ sá˥bííti   'firm person'
ɪmbʊ́˥rí háláalɪ   'lawful goat'
aváándʊ́ há˥láálí   'lawful people'
ʊmwíí˥gízí ˥háláalɪ   'lawful teacher'
endé˥vé kámíílɪ   'proper chair'
ʊ́mbánó kámɪlɪ   'proper knife'
íḿbánó kámɪlɪ   'proper knives'
ɪrígómyá ˥táyáari   'ready banana'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ́ tá˥yáári   'ready person'
amʊ́ʊ́ngʊ tayáari   'ready pumpkin'
ʊvʊchíma tayáari   'ready ugali'
ʊ́mbánʊ́ sá˥láama   'safe knife'

2.   Pronouns

What do we really mean by "pronoun", anyway?

ínzí 'me'
íyí 'you'
kónyí 'us'
mónyí '2p'
ínzí ˈngórí ˈómódógá I bought the car
vákórórí ˈkónyí   they saw us

There is no specifically pronominal form for 3rd person, instead, an appropriate demonstrative (ʊyu, oyo, ʊra) is used.

3.   Subject and Object Verbal Agreement

3.1.   SP

The basic subject prefixes are most clearly seen in a tense such as the hodiernal future which position a consonant-initial prefix after the SP.

n-da-gwa	1s will fall	
kʊ-ra-gwa	1p will fall	
ʊ-ra-gwa	2s will fall	
m̀-ra-gwa	2p will fall	
a-ra-gwa	cl.1 will fall	
va-ra-gwa	cl.2 will fall	
gʊ-ra-gwa	cl.3 will fall	
ji-ra-gwa	cl.4 will fall	
ri-ra-gwa	cl.5 will fall	llagwa
ga-ra-gwa	cl.6 will fall	
kɪ-ra-gwa	cl.7 will fall	
vi-ra-gwa	cl.8 will fall	
ɪ-ra-gwa	cl.9 will fall	
zi-ra-gwa	cl.10 will fall	
rʊ-ra-gwa	cl.11 will fall	llagwa
ka-ra-gwa	cl.12 will fall	
tʊ-ra-gwa	cl.13 will fall	
vʊ-ra-gwa	cl.14 will fall	
kʊ-ra-rorwa	cl. 15 will be seen	
ha-ra-rorwa	cl. 16 will be seen	
kʊ-ra-rorwa	cl. 17 will be seen	
mʊ-ra-rorwa	cl. 18 will be seen	

The cl. 1 prefix /a-/ has the phonologically-conditioned allomorph [y-] when it comes immediately before a vowel, as discussed in X. Two examples are before the past tense

prefix /-a-/ which appears in the remote and immediate past (SP-a-STEM-a, SP-a-ka-STEM-a) and hesternal perfective (SP-a-STEM+perf), and before vowel-initial roots in X tense.

kwáávária	/ko-á-váriza/	we counted rem
wáávária	/o-á-váriza/	2s counted rem
mwáávária	/mo-á-váriza/	2p counted rem

yáávária	/a-á-váriza/	he counted rem
yááhííza	/a-á-hííza/	he hunted
yííta	/a-á-íta/	he killed

wáakárya	/o-á-ká-rya/	you have eaten (immed past)
kwáakáróma	/kó-á-ká-róma/	we have bitten
yáakárya	/a-á-ká-rya/	he has eaten

ko-riizáa	we are eating
o-kınáa	2s are playing
a-liizáa	he is eating
a-kınáa	he is playing
a-kı-fŏ'nyíírízáa	he is smelling it

y-eeɲáa	he wants
y-iitáa	he is killing
y-aatáa	he is doing surgery
y-eerémáa	he is floating

The 1s SP has a morphologically-governed allomorph [nd] before the past tense prefix /a/ in the immediate past (both variants), remote past, and hesternal perfective.[14]

kw-aa-ká-ryâ	we just ate
kw-áa-ká-rya	we have eaten
nd-aa-ká-ryâ	I just ate
nd-áa-ká-rya	I have eaten
kw-aa-ríı	we ate
nd-aa-ríı	I ate
kw-áá-rya	we ate (rem.)
nd-áá-rya	I ate (rem.)

The form of the SP in main and relative clauses is almost identical, segmentally, but there are complications in the form of the 1s, 2s and cl. 1 SP in relative clauses. First, instead of /a/, the cl. 1 SP may be /o/.

mogóye gwayaaza oróóngíkízı   'the rope that he will untangle'

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[14] Before other vowels, *y* is inserted between the 1s SP or OP.

voséra vwayaaza oyóómbóore	'the porridge that he will over-pour'
kɪrihá choogotízi	'what did he lose?'
ʊʊzaa	'the one who will come'
ʊká˥ráánjí	'the one who fried'
okó˥rórí	'the one who coughed'
ʊmʊsááz-odééchi	'the man who cooked'
ʊtáazaa	'the one who won't come'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ waakʊhaanda	'the person who is stuck'

This option is rarely exercized, and tends to only appear in subject-relative forms. As the following examples show, in object relative clauses the SP is generally the same in form as it is in main clauses.

kɪndɪkí cha **yaa**káséé!mbéllá	'what did he weed?'
vwáhá vwa **vaa**káséé!mbéllá	'who did they weed for?'
ʊmwáánwa wa **ndaa**kávé!gá	'the child which I just shaved'
ɪŋá!má yáá **n**dééká	'meat which I will cook'
ɪŋá!má yá **vá**dééká	'meat which they will cook'
ɪŋá!má y-**óó**dééká	'meat which you will cook'
ʊvʊ́!shí vwá **n**díkʊ́shééra	'the flour which I will grind for you'
vwahá wa **waa**kóvóha	'who did you tie up?'
ḿndʊ wa **kwaa**kʊtʊ́ʊ́ngaminya	'person who we inverted'
ɪkɪtábʊ ch-**ʊ**riroraᵒ	'the book which you will see'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wa **kʊ**rikakooɲaᵒ	'the person that we will help'
vwahá wa **va**rigʊ́rízɪra	'who will they sell to?'

There is a systematic (quasi)-exception pertaining to the 1s and 2s SP. When the verb is in a subject relative clause and the subject is 1s or 2s (e.g. 'I who am speaking'), the SP has the form /ʊ/.

inz-**ʊ́**rímaa	'I who am plowing'
yiv-**ʊ́**rímaa	'you who are plowing'
ɪnz-**ʊ́**m-**ʊ́!ʊ́**rímí	'I who will plow'
yiv-**ʊ́**m-**ʊ́!ʊ́**rímí	'you who will plow'
yív-**ʊ́**ríma	'you who will plow'
inz-**ó**dééchi	'I who cooked'
ínz-**ʊ́w**áádééka	'I who cooked'
ínz-**ʊ́w**ááríma	'I who plowed'
yív-**ʊ́w**ááríma	'you who plowed'
ńz-**ʊ́w**áárééva	'I who am drunk'
ńz-**ʊ́w**áá!dééchí	'I who cooked'
yív-**ʊ́w**áá!dééchí	'you who cooked'
ńz-**ó**ké!végá	'I who am still shaving'
yív-**ó**ké!végá	'you who are still shaving'

From examples like ínz-**ʊ́w**áádééka, yív-**ʊ́w**áá!dééchí we note two occurrences of ʊ, one which becomes [w] pursuant to Glide Formation, and another copy immediately before that. Two copies of the SP appear in *ɩnz-ʊ́m-ʊ́!ʊ́rímí*, one on the auxiliary *maa* and one on the main verb – this is a regular feature of the crastinal future, that both verbs are subject marked. The explanation for this double-marking is not clear: it may be that one copy is the augment ʊ- and the second is the actual subject prefix.

   If the subject is 1p or 2p ('We who are cooking'), the SP has the expected segmental form.

kʊ́nyí kʊ́rímaa	'we who are plowing'
mʊ́nyí mʊ́rímaa	'2p who are plowing'
kʊnyí kʊ́!máá kʊ́rímí	'we who will plow'
kʊnyí ḿ!máá mʊ́rímí	'2p who will plow'
kʊ́nyí kwááríma	'we who plowed'
mʊ́nyí mwááríma	'2p who plowed'
kʊ́nyí kwáárééva	'we who are drunk'
mʊ́nyí mwáárééva	'2p who are drunk'
kʊ́nyí kwááreeva	'we are drunk'
kʊ́nyí kwáá!dééchí	'we who cooked'
mʊ́nyí mwáá!dééchí	'2p who cooked'
mʊ́nyí ḿké!végá	'2p who are still shaving'
kʊ́nyí kóké!végá	'we who are still shaving'

There is an additional complication regarding the 1s subject prefix in negative relative verbs, that the negative prefix -ta- may be duplicated after /N-/. For example, in the -*aka*-recent past, /-ta-/ stands between the SP and /aka/, but after /N-/ we find /ta-ta-/.

ŋáma ya **ku**taakádééka	'the meat which we didn't just cook'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ **a**taakádééˈká	'the person who didn't just cook'
vwah-**á**taakádééˈká	'who didn't cook?'
ʊvʊ́chíma vwa **nda**taakáryá	'the ugali that I didn't just eat'

Tone issues

Similar examples in the remote past are seen below.

ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ w-ʊtáátʊ́ʊ́nga	'the person who you didn't pay'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wa kwatááhʊ́lla	'the person that we didn't hear'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wa vatááyáánza	'the person who they didn't like'
ʊvʊchíma vw-ʊtóónoonya	'the ugali that you didn't mess up'
eléésoni ya mtáásóóma	'the lesson that you pl didn't learn'
ʊtáádééka	'the one who didn't cook'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wa ndatááróra	'the person who I didn't see'
ʊmʊ́ʊ́ndʊ wa ndatáákóóɲa	'the person who I didn't help'

-bf-

kɪtábʊ chʊtarórá	the book which you will not see
eng'óómb-ɪtagórízwa	the cow that will not be sold
ɪɲʊ́ʊmba yoteeyaᵒ	the house that you won't sweep
mweene á!tágʊ́rá	the one who won't buy
rwá!tágóná	when he will not sleep

Generally impoverished

-cr-

| ʊmʊʊ́nd-atá!m-áávégé | the person who will not shave |
| aváána vatamaa vadeekeᵒ | the children who won't cook |

really impoverished

-fn-

vwahá atakɪna	who won't play
avíígizí !vátamórómaa dáave	the teachers who are not (still?) speaking

-if-

vwah-átarideeká	who won't cook

lols no data

-pf
<MF I wiped the hod/hest tag

-pg-

ɪɲáma yakʊtakaraangizáa	the meat which we are not frying up
ndakóba mwáána átayíínzɪra	I hit the child who is not working
varasáá!mééhá vá!ndʊ́ vá!tákʊ́chéé!rízá	they will forgive the people who are not greeting us
vwah-á!tá!górízáá	who isn't selling

Connectes to tense?

mwáána wa kʊtavegáa   the child who we are not shaving
mwáána waa ndakóóɲaa   the child who I am not helping
zing'óó!mbé zyá kʊ́távárízaa   the cows that we are not counting

eng'óómbe ya kʊtaakohée   the cow which we didn't give to you
ʊmʊʊ́ndʊ w-ʊtaaroriᵒ   the person who you didn't see
ɪmbúri ya ndaatagʊriziᵒ   goat which I didn't sell

Argh, I don't trust my controls over this

3.2.   OP

From korora 'to see'

n	kóó-n-dora	1s	
kʊ	ko-kó-rora	1p	
kʊ	ko-kó-rora	2s	
mʊ	kʊ-mʊ́-rora	2p	kʊmŕrora
ɪ	kw-éé-rora	refl	
mʊ	kʊ-mʊ́-rora	cl.1	kʊmŕrora
va	kʊ-vá-rora	cl.2	
gʊ	ko-gó-rora	cl.3	
ji	kʊ-jí-rora	cl.4	
ri	kʊ-rí-rora	cl.5	kʊ́llora
ga	kʊ-gá-rora	cl.6	
kɪ	ko-ké-rora	cl.7	
vi	kʊ-ví-rora	cl.8	
gɪ	ko-gé-rora	cl.9	
zi	kʊ-zí-rora	cl.10	
rʊ	ko-ró-rora	cl.11	
ka	kʊ-ká-rora	cl.12	
tʊ	ko-tó-rora	cl. 13	
vʊ	ko-vó-rora	cl. 14	
kʊ	ko-kó-rora	cl. 15	
ha	kʊ-há-rora	cl. 16	
kʊ	ko-kó-rora	cl. 17	
mʊ	kʊ-mʊ́-rora	cl. 18	
gʊ	ko-gó-rora	cl. 20	