5. PRONOMINAL FORMS AND INVARIABLES

5.1 Pronominal prefixes

Pronominal forms consist of a pronominal prefix (PPx) and a stem. The chart below lists the pronominal prefixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>PPx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(y)u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>li-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>la-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>chi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>vi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>cl.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>pa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The PPx of class 1 is yu- before consonant-initial stems and w- (< u-) before vowel-initial stems. The PPx of class 18 is mu- before vowel-initial stems and minisyllabic stems; it is a homorganic syllabic nasal before consonant-initial stems. (For more details about the syllabic nasal, see 4.1, 4.2 and 6.2.1).

The PPx’s are toneless in the lexicon. They get a default L tone post-lexically in most cases (in some other cases, they get a H tone because some pronominal stems carry a tonal H instruction for their PPx in the lexicon, see 3.4, and 5.3, 5.5 and 5.6).

Historically, the PPx of class 1 probably was 'H. This can be concluded from the Direct Relative Present and the Direct Relative Present Perfective, which historically...
started with a PPx. The participants as well as class 1 get a H tone in these tenses, while the other classes get a L tone (see 7.1.2).

5.2 Substitutives

The basic substitutives are bound forms. They refer to a participant or to a noun (phrase) of any class. The forms of the participants are built from what might be called the minimal pronominal forms of the participants, followed by -é. The forms of the classes are built from the PPx followed by -ó.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>cl.1</th>
<th>cl.2</th>
<th>cl.5</th>
<th>cl.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-né</td>
<td>-hwé</td>
<td>-wé</td>
<td>-mwé</td>
<td>-yó</td>
<td>-vó</td>
<td>-yó</td>
<td>-ló</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These bound substitutives are used after na- ‘and, with’, and after PPx-á as part of a nominal possessive construction. Between na- and the form of class 1, the element -wi- intervenes (as it does between na- and any noun, demonstrative and substitutive of class 1), but a form identical with 2SG is also used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>1PL</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2PL</th>
<th>cl.1</th>
<th>cl.2</th>
<th>cl.5</th>
<th>cl.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naa-né</td>
<td>naa-hwé</td>
<td>naa-wé</td>
<td>naa-mwé</td>
<td>naa-yó</td>
<td>naa-vó</td>
<td>naa-lyó</td>
<td>naa-ló</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free substitutives are independent pronouns; they exist for participants and for classes 1 and 2. There are two series for the participants. The first series consists of the bound substitutive of the participant, followed by the possessive stem (including the preceding connexive) of that participant (tone pattern HRL; for the derivation, see 5.5); the second series, which expresses more emphasis, is built from the reduplicated bound substitutive of the participant, preceded by u- (tone pattern LFH).
I II  I II
1SG náaángu  unéené  1PL  (u)hwéétu  uhwéehwé
2SG wááako  uwéewé  2PL  mwééenu  umwéemwé

uwéewé nncémba iida na-hóótí  hey you there boy, come first!
wááako nncémba iida na-hóótí you boy, come first!

For 2SG, u may be used to attract someone’s attention.

u nncémba iida na-hóótí hey boy, come first!

There are also two forms for classes 1 and 2; the second form, which is more emphatic in meaning, differs form the first form in having an initial u- and in its tone pattern. The structure of the class 1 forms is unclear; the structure of the first class 2 form is identical with the class 2 form of the pronominal ‘-naáng’o ‘the same, the very one’ (see 5.6).

I II  I II
cl.1 nááng’e  unááng’è  cl.2  vanááng’o  uvánááng’ò

When the free substitutives of the first series nááng’e and vanááng’o occur after a conjoint tense with a final H tone, their tones change to FL and HFL respectively.

vamwene nááng’e  they have seen him
vavawene vánááng’o  they have seen them

These changes are the same as found with nouns with similar tones after a conjoint tense with a final H tone; in 4.4.1, we note that these nouns have S2-H tone, i.e., a H tone on the second TBU of the stem. We propose the same analysis for the free substitutives of the first series: nááng’e and vánááng’o.

Free substitutives of the second series have a final H tone which does not retract to the preceding penultimate syllable; furthermore, the first H tone probably has been shifted from the initial ‘ú-’ (and doubles to the next TBU in case of uvánááng’ò).

Free substitutives of the first series can be placed after pronominal possessives to indicate ‘my own’, your own’, etc.; they can also occur after kinship terms instead of the pronominal possessives (and in combination of pronominal possessives in cases of contractions and the use of the special pronominal stems for participant 2SG and class 1, see 5.5).

chipulá chaangu nááángu  my own knife
chipulá chaako wááako  your own knife
chipulá chaake nááng’e  his/her own knife
vipulá yeeetu hwéétu  our own knives
vipulá vyeeenu mwééenu  your own knives
vipulá vyaao vánááng’o  their own knives

atáta nááángu or atáta vaángu or atáata my father
mwanétu nááángu or mwanétu waángu my younger sibling
The L tones of the intermediate pronominal possessives in the examples above are due to Meeussen’s Rule.

Free substitutives can be preceded by na-, where the forms of series I of the participants have the tone pattern L:H; the tone pattern of the forms of the classes may be unchanged or all-L. The tone pattern of the forms of series II remains unchanged. Note the intervening element before class I forms.

Series I: 1SG na-naangú 1PL na-hweetú
2SG na-waakó 2PL na-mweenú
cI. na-wi-náang’e ~ cl.2 na-vanáang’o ~
cl.1 na-wi-naang’e na-vanaang’ó

Series II: 1SG na-unéené 1PL na-uhvéehwé
2SG na-uwéewé 2PL na-umvéemwé
cI. na-wi-unáang’é cl.2 na-uvánáang’ó

Free substitutives can also be part of a nominal possessive construction, preceded by PPx-á. Note the intervening elements before the forms of participants and class 1.

Series I: 1SG yá-ng’ú-náaángu 1PL yá-tú-hvééetu
2SG yá-kú-wááako 2PL yá-nú-mvééenu
cl.1 yá-ki-nááng’e cl.2 yá-vanáang’ó

Series II: 1SG yá-ng’ú néené 1PL yá-tú hwéehwé
2SG yá-kú’ wéewé 2PL yá-nú mwéemwé
cI. yá-ki-únaang’é cl.2 yá-úvánáang’ó

5.3 Demonstratives

There are three series of demonstratives: I. the near demonstrative ‘(a)-PPx-.nó (minisyllabic final part) , II. the far demonstrative ‘(a)-PPx-lá, and III. the referential demonstrative ‘(a)-ne-PPx-ó. The demonstratives below are given as they occur in attributive position.

I. the near demonstrative ‘(a)-PPx-.nó:

cI. (a)yúúno cl.2 (a)vááno
cI.3 (a)yúúno cl.4 (a)iino
cI.5 (a)iino cl.6 (a)láiáno
cI.7 (a)chiíno cl.8 (a)viíno
cI.9 (a)iíno cl.10 (a)diíno
cI.11 (a)lúúno
cI.12 (a)kááno cl.13 (a)túúno
cI.14 (a)úúno
cI.15 (a)kúúno
cl.16 (á)pááno
cl.17 (á)kúúno
cl.18 (á)muúno

II. the far demonstrative ‘(a)-PPx-lá:

cl.1 (a)yuulá cl.2 (a)vaalá
cl.3 (a)uulá cl.4 (a)illiá
cl.5 (a)illiá cl.6 (a)laalá
cl.7 (a)chilá cl.8 (a)viilá
cl.9 (a)illiá cl.10 (a)diilá
cl.11 (a)luulá
cl.12 (a)kaalá cl.13 (a)tuulá
cl.14 (a)uulá
cl.15 (a)kuulá
cl.16 (a)paalá
cl.17 (a)kuulá
cl.18 (a)muulá

III. the referential demonstrative ‘(á)-ne-PPx-ó:

cl.1 (á)néeyó cl.2 (á)néeyó
cl.3 (á)néewó cl.4 (á)néeyó
cl.5 (á)néelyó cl.6 (á)nécló
cl.7 (á)néechó cl.8 (á)néevyó
cl.9 (á)néeyó cl.10 (á)néedyó
cl.11 (á)néelwó
cl.12 (á)néekó cl.13 (á)néetwó
cl.14 (á)néewó
cl.15 (á)néekwó
cl.16 (á)néepó
cl.17 (á)néekwó
cl.18 (á)néemwó

Demonstratives and preceding nouns which they specify occur in the same phonological phrase: the noun does not have penultimate lengthening, and the noun gets penultimate H tone and final H tone (see 8.2.2).

| ndídi     | (á)uulá/(á)néewó | cf. ndídi | rope |
| chitéeng’ú | (á)chíino/(á)chilá/(á)néechó | cf. chitéeng’ú | chair |
| nnyené   | (á)yúúno/(á)yuulá/(á)néeyó | cf. nnyené | guest |
| chiyéwe  | (á)chíino/(á)chilá/(á)néechó | cf. chiyéwe | chin |
| litjinji | (á)liíno/(á)lliá/(á)néelyó | cf. litjinji | pumpkin |

There is a short form for each series of demonstratives: I. ‘(a)-PPx. II. ‘(a)-PPxH (= H-toned PPx) and III. ‘(a)-PPx-ó. There is no clear difference in meaning with the first three series of demonstratives. These demonstratives and preceding nouns which
they specify occur in one phonological phrase: the noun does not have penultimate lengthening and gets penultimate H tone and final H tone; in two cases the final H changes to F: before forms without initial a-, which cliticize to the preceding noun, and when the forms with initial a- show vowel coalescence with the final vowel of the preceding noun (examples below with classes 1 and 2).

I. short near demonstrative ’(a)-PPx:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.1</th>
<th>nnyéni aayu</th>
<th>cl.2</th>
<th>vayéni aava</th>
<th>this/these guest/s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nnyénì-yu</td>
<td></td>
<td>vayénìi-va</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nnyény' áayu</td>
<td></td>
<td>vayény' áava</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>ndidi aau</td>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>ndidi aai</td>
<td>this/these rope/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndidi-ú</td>
<td></td>
<td>ndidi-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>likútù aali</td>
<td>cl.6</td>
<td>makútù aala</td>
<td>this/these ear/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>likútúú-lí</td>
<td></td>
<td>makútúu-la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.7</td>
<td>chitèng'ú aachi</td>
<td>cl.8</td>
<td>vitèng'ú aavi</td>
<td>this/these chair/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chitèng'úu-chi</td>
<td></td>
<td>vitèng'úu-ávi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.9</td>
<td>imbédò aai</td>
<td>cl.10</td>
<td>dimbédò aadi</td>
<td>this/these axe/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imbédòó-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>dimbédòó-di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.11</td>
<td>lutámbo aalu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lutámboó-lu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.12</td>
<td>katámbo aaka</td>
<td>cl.13</td>
<td>tutámbo aatu</td>
<td>this/these small trap/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>katámboó-ka</td>
<td></td>
<td>tutámboó-tu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.14</td>
<td>ulindó aau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ulindóó-ú</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.15</td>
<td>kulimá aaku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kulimáa-ku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.16</td>
<td>pachínú aapa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pachínúu-pa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.17</td>
<td>kukátì aaku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ukátì-ku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.18</td>
<td>nnyénjé aamu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nnyénjéé-mu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. short far demonstrative ’(a)-PPx[H]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.1</th>
<th>nnyéni aayú</th>
<th>cl.2</th>
<th>vayéni aavá</th>
<th>that/those guest/s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nnyénì-yú</td>
<td></td>
<td>vayénìi-vá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>ndidi aau</td>
<td>cl.4</td>
<td>ndidi aai</td>
<td>that/those rope/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ndidi-ú</td>
<td></td>
<td>ndidi-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>likútù aali</td>
<td>cl.6</td>
<td>makútù aala</td>
<td>that/those ear/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>likútúú-lí</td>
<td></td>
<td>makútúu-lá</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.7</td>
<td>chitèng'ú aachi</td>
<td>cl.8</td>
<td>vitèng'ú aavi</td>
<td>that/those chair/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chitèng'úu-chi</td>
<td></td>
<td>vitèng'úu-ávi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.9</td>
<td>imbédò aai</td>
<td>cl.10</td>
<td>dimbédò aadí</td>
<td>that/those axe/s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imbédòó-i</td>
<td></td>
<td>dimbédòó-di</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

along this
PRONOMINAL FORMS AND INVARIABLES

III. short referential demonstrative ’(a)-PPx-ó:

cl.11 lutábó aalú
    that trap

cl.12 katábó aaká
    that trap

cl.14 ulíndó aáu
    that hair (of head)

cl.15 kulímá aákú
    that cultivating

cl.16 pachínú aapá
    that place

cl.17 kukátí aákú
    that room

cl.18 nnyénjé aamú
    along that

The short demonstratives without initial a- can cliticize to words other than nouns, e.g., pronominal forms, invariables and verbal forms. With most of these words, the same tonal changes occur (...HF), but in case of cliticization to na- and to verbal forms, no changes occur. (The tonal changes of the noun in the examples below
(chitūūvi/vitūūvi 7/8 bundle) are not due to cliticization but are regular changes due to the following word.)

- **vivillī-vi/vivillī-vi/vivillī-vyó** these/those two
- **vitūvi vivillī-** these two bundles
- **cf. vivillī** two bundles

- **chāngūu-chi/chāngūu-chi/chāngūu-chó** this/that my one
- **chitūvi chāngūu-chi** this my bundle
- **cf. chitūvi chāngu** my bundle

- **ńtwānī-chi/ńtwānī-chó (all classes)** what kind of this/that?
- **chituvi ńtwānī-chi** what kind of this bundle?
- **cf. chituvi ńtwānī** what kind of bundle?

- **chāa-va/chāa-vá/chāa-vó (all classes)** of these/those (cl.2)
- **chitūvi chāa-va** bundle of these (cl.2)
- **cf. chitūvi chá-vaanáang’o** bundle of them

- **naa-chi/naa-chi/naa-chó (all classes)** and, with this/that
- **cf. na-chitūvi** and, with the bundle

- **utulaa-chi/utulaa-chi/utulaa-chó** you set down this/that one
- **cf. utula chitūūvi** you set down the bundle

The initial a- of the demonstratives is optional in attributive position (AP), i.e., directly after the (head-)noun (or specified noun) with which it agrees. In non-attributive position (NAP), however, the initial a- is obligatory. Demonstratives are in NAP when they appear (i) without the head-noun, e.g., as a subject or a complement of a verb, or as a predicate, (ii) after the head-noun, often with intervening specifiers, as a predicate, and (iii) before the head-noun (the precise meaning of this marked word order has not been analysed); when occurring before the head noun, the demonstrative may have penultimate lengthening or penultimate shortening.

The tone pattern of the demonstratives of series I in NAP differs from the tone pattern of these demonstratives in attributive position (AP).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I AP</th>
<th>NAP</th>
<th>II AP</th>
<th>NAP</th>
<th>III AP</th>
<th>NAP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.1</td>
<td>(á)yúunu</td>
<td>ayúunu</td>
<td>(á)yuulá</td>
<td>ayuulá</td>
<td>(á)néeyó</td>
<td>ánéeyó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(aa)yu</td>
<td>ááyu</td>
<td>(aa)yú</td>
<td>aayú</td>
<td>(aa)yó</td>
<td>aayó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2</td>
<td>(á)yááno</td>
<td>ayaáno</td>
<td>(á)vaalá</td>
<td>avaalá</td>
<td>(á)néevó</td>
<td>ánéevó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(aa)va</td>
<td>ááva</td>
<td>(aa)vá</td>
<td>aavá</td>
<td>(aa)vó</td>
<td>aavó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.

Some examples of demonstratives of series I in AP:
uhímá (á)yúúno  this lion
uhímá (aa)yú  id.

Some examples of demonstratives of series I in NAP:

ayúúno  (it is) this one
aáyú  id.
amwené ayúúno  (s)he has seen him/her
amwené aáyú  id.
uhímá nkulúungwa ayúúno  the big lion is this one
uhímá nkulúungwa aáyú  id.
ayúúno uhímá  this (is the) lion
ayúnó uhímá  id. (Penultimate Shortening)
aáyú uhímá  id.

Some demonstratives are used to refer to time, especially locative demonstratives (which may refer to place as well). The last two examples below show demonstratives in AP:

viíno  now, then, well
ánéepó viíno  now then
viíno apaáno  now (then) here
ánéepó, ánéekó  here, there, then
amúó nyúúma  meanwhile  cf. nnyúúma  behind, after
palyámbáa-pó  2nd day after tomorrow  cf. palyáámba  day after tomorrow
machédó paalá  year before last year, some time ago  cf. machéédó  last year

The tone pattern of demonstratives of series I in attributive position is different from their tone pattern in non-attributive position (for demonstratives of the other series, these tone patterns are similar). This is probably due to a H Tone Bridge (HTB) from the noun to the demonstrative with penultimate R (a similar process of HTB occurs with emphatic demonstratives, see later this section, as well as with certain pronominal forms, see 5.6). The result of this HTB is level H penultimate tones, as happens to nouns with penultimate R (see 8.3.2). These nouns have final 'H tone and belong to tone group C1. We may assume that demonstratives of series I also have final 'H which retracts to the penultimate syllable. But there is no retraction of the final H tone to the penultimate syllable with the other demonstratives, hence no HTB. With demonstratives of series III, the initial á- has a H tone which doubles to the next TBU.

There are also three series of emphatic demonstratives: I. 'ú-PPx-nó, II. 'ú-PPx-lá and III. 'ú-PPx-o-PPx-ó. The initial u- of demonstratives of series I and II is not optional; the PPx in these series has a F tone. The forms are given below as in AP.
I. emphatic near demonstratives ‘ú-PPx-nó:

cl.1 úyûunó  cl.2 úvánó
cl.3 úuunó  cl.4 úünó
cl.5 úlînó  cl.6 úlåanó
cl.7 úchiînó  cl.8 úvûnó
cl.9 úünó  cl.10 úlînó
cl.11 úlûunó
cl.12 úkåanó  cl.13 útûunó
cl.14 úuunó
cl.15 úkåunó
cl.16 úpåanó
cl.17 úkåunó
cl.18 úmûunó

II. emphatic far demonstratives ‘ú-PPx-lå:

cl.1 úyûulá  cl.2 úváalá
cl.3 úûulá  cl.4 úiîlå
cl.5 úlîlå  cl.6 úlåalå
cl.7 úchiîlå  cl.8 úvûlå
cl.9 úiîlå  cl.10 úûlå
cl.11 úûulå
cl.12 úkåalå  cl.13 útûulå
cl.14 úûulå
cl.15 úkåulå
cl.16 úpåalå
cl.17 úkåulå
cl.18 úmûulå

III. emphatic referential demonstratives ‘(ú)-PPx-ô-PPx-ô:

cl.1 (ú)yîóyoç  cl.2 (ú)vóovó
cl.3 (ú)wîowó  cl.4 (ú)yîooyó
cl.5 (ú)yîolyó  cl.6 (ú)lîoló
cl.7 (ú)chôochó  cl.8 (ú)vyóovyó
cl.9 (ú)yîooyó  cl.10 (ú)dyôodyó
cl.11 (ú)wîowlwó
cl.12 (ú)kôokó  cl.13 (ú)twóotwó
cl.14 (ú)wîowó
cl.15 (ú)kwóokwó
cl.16 (ú)pîopó
cl.17 (ú)kwóokwó
cl.18 (ú)mwóomwó
The emphatic referential demonstratives can be combined with short demonstratives of series I and II in order to express 'right that one here/there'. The short demonstratives have their NAP-tone, also when there is vowel coalescence of the initial a- with the final -o of the preceding referential demonstrative.

I  (ú)chóochó aáchi  (ú)chóoch' aáchi  
II (ú)chóochó aachí  (ú)chóoch' aachí

There is another form which may have both meanings 'right that one here' and 'right that one there'; its structure is (ú)-PPx-óó-PPx\(^{16}\) (second PPx is H-toned). The demonstratives below are given as in AP.

cl.1  (ú)yóoyú  cl.2  (ú)yóová  
cl.3  (ú)wóowú  cl.4  (ú)yóoyí  
cl.5  (ú)yóoolí  cl.6  (ú)yóolá  
cl.7  (ú)chóochí  cl.8  (ú)yóoví  
cl.9  (ú)yóoyí  cl.10  (ú)yóoodí  
cl.11 (ú)wóólú  cl.12 (ú)kóoká  cl.13 (ú)twóotú  
cl.14 (ú)wóowú  cl.15 (ú)kóokú  
cl.16 (ú)póopá  cl.17 (ú)kóokú  
cl.18 (ú)mwóomú

Like all demonstratives, emphatic demonstratives and nouns which they specify occur in the same phonological phrase: the noun does not have penultimate lengthening, and the noun also gets penultimate H tone and final H tone (see 8.2.2). One example:

chjyévé   úchínó/úchílá/(ú)chóochó/(ú)chóochó aáchi/  
(ú)chóochó aachí/(ú)chóochí  

chjyeeve  chin

cf.  chjyeeve  chin

When the emphatic demonstratives appear in NAP, there is always an initial u- with a L tone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AP</td>
<td>NAP</td>
<td>AP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| cl.1  úyúunó  uyúnó  úyúulá  uyúulá  (ú)yóoyó  uyóoyó  
|     (ú)yóoyú  uyóoyú  |
| cl.2  úváanó  uváanó  úváalá  uváalá  (ú)vóovó  uvóovó  
|     (ú)vóovú  uvóovú  |

Some (emphatic) demonstratives are used to refer to time, especially locative demonstratives (which may refer to place as well). The last example shows a demonstrative in AP:

(na) upóopó  (and) right here/then, and also
The tone pattern of emphatic demonstratives in attributive position is different from their tone pattern in non-attributive position. This is probably due to a H Tone Bridge (HTB) from the noun to the demonstrative (a similar process of HTB occurs with non-emphatic demonstratives, see earlier this section, as well as with certain pronominals, see 5.6). The result of this HTB is that the initial u- is raised; the HTB then stops because of the H tone on the PPx. The emphatic demonstrative stems all have a final H, just as the non-emphatic demonstratives; the stem is reduplicated together with the PPx with part of demonstratives of series III (with the other part, only the PPx is reduplicated). The emphatic demonstratives also have a H-toned PPx; an alternative analysis is that the initial has a ‘H which has been shifted to the PPx.

5.4 Nominal possessives

The nominal possessive construction consists of the connexive PPx-á- followed by a nominal or pronominal form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.1</th>
<th>cl.2</th>
<th>cl.3</th>
<th>cl.4</th>
<th>cl.5</th>
<th>cl.6</th>
<th>cl.7</th>
<th>cl.8</th>
<th>cl.9</th>
<th>cl.10</th>
<th>cl.11</th>
<th>cl.12</th>
<th>cl.13</th>
<th>cl.14</th>
<th>cl.15</th>
<th>cl.16</th>
<th>cl.17</th>
<th>cl.18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

As the result of Meeussen’s Rule, which also applies across word boundaries (see 5.1), the connexive has a L tone when the final syllable of the preceding word has a H tone. This occurs with penultimate shortening (PS) of nouns of TG C1, e.g. mahaámba. With nouns of other tone groups, there is no final H tone after PS, e.g. dináávi, tone group A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mahaámba lá-nnáandi</th>
<th>leaves of the tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mahámbá la-nnáandi</td>
<td>id. (PS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dináávi dyá-miláandi</td>
<td>branches of trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dináávi dyá-miláandi</td>
<td>id. (PS)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the connexive has a H tone and the following noun starts with a H tone, then the H tone of the following noun is lowered by Meeussen’s Rule. (The second H tone of náháakú is the result of H Tone Doubling.) Meeussen’s Rule does not occur with fixed nominal possessive constructions (see later this section).

makumbáatu lá-náháakú  feet of the girl
makumbáatu la-náháakú  id. (PS)

makumbáatu lá-náníjüpi  short feet  cf. PPx-á-náníjüpi  short

As the examples show, a noun and a following specifying nominal possessive construction do not occur in the same phonological phrase: the noun has penultimate lengthening, but penultimate shortening may also occur. In the examples below, both possibilities are used.

As shown in 5.2, specific elements intervene between PPx-á and the forms of the participants (Substitutives, abbreviated below as Subst.) and class 1. These elements have the same tone as the connexive, probably due to H Tone Doubling from the connexive.

muúnda wá-ng’u-nááangu  field of me  cf. nááangu  1SG.Free Subst.
muúnda wá-ng’u-né  id.  cf. -F-né  1SG.Bound Subst.
muúnda wá-kú-wáááko  field of you  cf. wáááko  2SG.Free Subst.
muúnda wá-kúu-wé  id.  cf. -F-wé  2SG.Bound Subst.
muúnda wá-tú-hvééetu  field of us  cf. hvééetu  1PL.Free Subst.
muúnda wá-túu-hvé  id.  cf. -F-hvé  1PL.Bound Subst.
muúnda wá-nú-nvééênu  field of you  cf. nvééênu  2PL.Free Subst.
muúnda wá-núu-mvé  id.  cf. -F-mvé  2PL.Bound Subst.
muúnda wá-kí-nááng’e  field of him  cf. nááng’e  1.Free Subst.
muúnda wá-kí-nnúúme  field of man  cf. nnúúme  1.man
ntánó wa-ng’u-nááangu  tale of mine
ntánó wa-kí-nááng’e  tale of him/her
ntánó wa-kí-nnúúme  tale of man

These intervening elements are derived from (or are a part of?) the pronominal possessive stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>elements</th>
<th>pron. possessive stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG -ng’u-</td>
<td>1PL -tu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG -ku-</td>
<td>2PL -nu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1 -ki-</td>
<td>cl.1 -ke</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The element -ki- is also found between the connexive and a following proper name or kinship term. If there is more than one name or kinship term, (v)angáánya ‘folk’, or in short angáá, appears between the connexive and the proper names or kinship terms (see also 4.1 and 4.2).
lihálá lya-ki-zakíía field of Zakia

lihálá ly-angáanya zakía na-wi-mariáámú, or
lihálá ly-angáá zakía na-wi-mariáámú, or
lihálá lya vangáanya zakía na-wi-mariáámú field of Z. and Mariamu

vitúvi vy-ángáanya zakía na-wi-mariáámú, or
vitúvi vy-ángáá zakía na-wi-mariáámú, or
vitúvi vyá vangáanya zakía na-wi-mariáámú bundles of Z. and M.

Nouns from classes other than class 1 denoting persons (and in stories also animals) may optionally be preceded by the element -ki-.

chipúla chá-(ki)-likutúkúutu knife of the troublesome child

Fixed nominal possessive constructions exist which express certain qualities.

PPx-á-náápi    black    cf. kudiúmba 15 to be black
PPx-á-nááswe   white    cf. kuswélélétla 15 to be white
PPx-á-nahúúvi   red     cf. kuhoúüiliíla 15 to be red
PPx-á-mbóóne   good
PPx-á-táangu    old, former
PPx-á-háámbi    new
PPx-á-nanjípi    short     cf. kwínjípaála 15 to be short
PPx-á-nwáana    small      cf. mwáana/váana 1/2 child
PPx-á-chilúúme   male     cf. nnúúmé/válúúmé 1/2 man
PPx-á-chikóngwe    female  cf. nkóongwe/vakóongwe 1/2 woman
PPx-á-mbaleenga    pierced (of ear lobe)    cf. mbaleenga/mibaleenga 3/4 hole in ear lobe
PPx-á-vílli    second     cf. -vílli two
PPx-á-táatu    third      cf. -táatu three etc.
PPx-á-chihwaango (tones unknown)  last   cf. kúúhwa 15 to die
PPx-á-NPx-naání    whose

If a nominal possessive construction is separated from the head-word by a specifier, the connexive loses its H tone.

vipúla vyóóhe vya-valúúme many knives of the men
vipúla vínji vya-ku-wáááko other knives of you (sg.)
chikápú chaangu cha-nahúúvi my red basket

There is one exception: the connexive keeps its H tone when the specifier is an interrogative. Questions containing interrogatives have a special melody, i.e., the final word has penultimate F and final H; such a melody is also possible without interrogatives (see 4.8, 5.6 and 8.2.2).

vipulá útwani vyá-valúúmé what kind of knives of the men?
5.5 Pronominal possessives

The pronominal possessive construction consists of the connexive PPx-a- (for tones, see below), followed by the possessive stem (with a final H tone). Special possessive stems exist for participants and classes 1; in class 2, the connexive is followed by the bound substitutive of that class, the v being optional. Other classes make use of the class 1 pronominal possessive stem. The possessive stems are:

- 1SG -ngú
- 2SG -kó
- cl.1 -ké
- 1PL -ítú
- 2PL -inú
- cl.2 -(v)ó

We assume that with the possessive stems of 1PL and 2PL, an H appears as the result of (the historical) vowel coalescence of the connexive -a- with the initial -i-: -etú (1PL) and -enú (2PL). The pronominal possessive construction has RL tones in attributive position; the R tone results from retraction of the final H of the stem to the preceding penultimate syllable. The possessive and its preceding noun appear in the same phonological phrase: the preceding noun does not have penultimate lengthening and appears with a final H tone (see below, and 8.2.2).

- chiyewe chaángu my chin cf. chiyeeewe 7 chin
- malóvé laákó your words cf. malóóvé 6 words
- lutambó lwaáké his trap cf. lułambó 11 trap
- víténg’ú vyéétu our chairs cf. vítéeng’u 8 chairs
- vipuía vyéétu your knives cf. vipuía 8 knives
- mátiñji laá(v)ó their pumpkins cf. mátiñji 6 pumpkins

nnáandi na-dinávi dyááké the tree and its branches

In non-attributive position, the tones of the pronominal possessive are FL.

- avawene váángu (s)he has seen mine (cl.2)
- vayeéni váeví váángu two guests are mine (cl.2)
- váángu vayeéni my guests, mine are the guests
- vángu vayeéni id. (Penultimate Shortening)

Assuming that the connexive -a- is L-toned, and assuming that the connexive plus the possessive stem count as a disyllabic vowel-initial stem (-angú, -akó, -aké, etc.), we can compare possessives with nouns with disyllabic vowel-initial stems. Nouns with
disyllabic vowel-initial stems with a FL tone pattern belong to TG C2, i.e., they have a H-toned NPx and a final ‘H tone (see 4.4.2). We assume that possessives also have a H-toned PPx as well as a final ‘H. This final H tone retracts to the lengthened penultimate syllable where a R tone appears. There is vowel coalescence of the PPx with the stem; if there would have been space, the H tone of the PPx would have shifted back to escape the vicinity of the R tone on the stem. Next, tonal coalescence of the H tone of the PPx and the R tone of the stem results in a F tone (see 3.5.5). In attributive position, the H tone of the PPx has space to shift back to the final syllable of the preceding noun. The preceding noun gets a H on the final syllable, and the possessive remains with a penultimate R.

An alternative analysis would be that the connexive has its normal H tone rather than the PPx. We would then have to assume further that a H tone of the connexive, too, shifts back under the influence of a R tone.

Contractions take place between certain terms of kinship and relation and a following pronominal possessive. Note the tonal changes that occur in case of contraction compared to the non-contracted forms. There are special pronominal stems for 2SG and cl.1 (see below).

\[
\text{nkúlwáángu} \quad \text{nkúlwéétu} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{nkúlú waángu} \quad \text{nkúlú weétu} \\
\text{nkúlwéénu} \quad \text{nkúlwááo} \quad \text{nkúlú weénu} \quad \text{nkúlú waáo}
\]

\text{cf. \ nkúulu/vakúulu} \ 1/2 elder sibling (of same sex)

There probably is a H Tone Bridge in the contracted form (more or less similar to what happens with a noun plus demonstrative, see 5.3).

\[
\text{nnúmbwaángu} \quad \text{nnúmbweétu} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{nnumbú waángu} \quad \text{nnumbú weétu} \\
\text{nnúmbweénu} \quad \text{nnúmbwaáo} \quad \text{nnumbú weénu} \quad \text{nnumbú waáo}
\]

\text{cf. \ nnuúmbu/valuúmbu} \ 1/2 elder sibling (of opposite sex)

The final H tone of the noun shifts back to the preceding syllable with contraction.

\[
\text{nnúng’únwáángu} \quad \text{nnúng’únwéétu} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{nnúng’únwááo} \\
\text{nnúng’únwéénu} \quad \text{nnúng’únwááo}
\]

\[
\text{nnúng’úné wáángu} \quad \text{nnúng’úné weétu} \quad \text{or} \quad \text{nnúng’úné waáo} \\
\text{nnúng’úné weénu} \quad \text{nnúng’úné waáo}
\]

\text{cf. \ nnúng’úné/vanúng’úné} \ 1/2 younger sibling (of same sex)

There are more examples of contractions.

\text{atátaáko} \ your father
atátaáke his father

cf. atáata father, my father; atátá veétu our father

ntwáangu my husband
ndyáangu/adyáangu my wife
mwanáangu my child

cf. mwáana/váana 1/2 child; mwaaná weétu our child

cf. mwanéétu/vanéétu 1/2 younger sibling (of opposite sex);
mwanétu waángu my younger sibling

The following forms are nominalized possessives consisting of the stem -angu ‘my’, preceded by the pronominal prefix of class 9/class 2 -i/-a-, preceded by the NPx of class 1/2A n/-a-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>companion</th>
<th>companions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nnyáangu</td>
<td>nnyéétu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnyáako</td>
<td>aváangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnyááke</td>
<td>aváénu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnyááo</td>
<td>avááke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nnyááo</td>
<td>avááo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another kinship term where contraction has taken place is:

mwípaángu/vípaángu 1/2 nephews/nieces

Special pronominal possessive stems exist for the participant 2SG and cl.1., occurring with certain kinship terms.

2SG -I,o cl.1 -we

The tonal changes which occur in adding these possessive stems are similar to the tonal changes which occur in case of contraction (see above).

| nkúluúlo       | your elder sibling (of same sex) |
| nkúluúwe       | his/her elder sibling           |
| cf. nkúlwáangu  | my elder sibling               |
| nnúmbuúlo      | your elder sibling (of opposite sex) |
| nnúmbuúwe      | his/her elder sibling           |
| cf. nnúmbwaángu | my elder sibling               |
| nnúng’úúno      | your younger sibling (of same sex) |
| nnúng’úúnwe     | his/her younger sibling         |
| cf. nnúng’únwáángu | my younger sibling         |
| ntwáalo         | your husband                  |
| ntwáawe         | her husband                   |
| cf. ntwáangu     | my husband                   |
| ndyáalo/adyáalo | your wife                    |
| ndyáawe/adyáawe | his wife                     |
There are two words for 'mother', ámaáma and aayu. Both words have special forms for 2SG and class 1.

amámaáyo your mother
amámaáye his/her mother
cf. ámaáma mother, my mother; ámámá veétu our mother

ányóóko your mother
ányóókwe his/her mother
cf. aayú veétu our mother; there is no form for 1SG.

The special pronominal possessive stem -we of class 1 is also used in class 17 pronominal possessive constructions.

kung’ándé kwááwe to his/her house
kwááwe at his/her home
cf. pang’ándé paáke at his/her house

After some terms of kinship and relation, the pronominal possessive mwa- (class 18?) followed by a possessive stem is used; the possessive stems used for the participant 2SG and class 1 are the special stems. With relational terms, it indicates 'fellow-'. The tone of the pronominal possessive is H:L; a H Tone Bridge might have occurred with these forms.

vahívání mwáángu my cousins vahívání mwéétu our cousins
mwáálo
mwááwe

cf. nnyívání/vahívání 1/2 cousin

níng’ándá mwáángu my husband níng’ándá mwéétu our husband
mwáálo
mwááwe

cf. níng’aanda/váng’aanda 1/2 husband

nnémbá-mwááwe his fellow boyfriend cf.nneémba 1 boy
amwánda-mwááwe his fellow travellers cf.mwáánda 3 journey

Contracted forms as well as forms with special pronominal possessive stems may be followed by another pronominal possessive or by a free substitutive; this indicates 'my own', 'your own', etc.

nkúlwángu waángu or nkúlwángu nááángu my own elder sibling
ndyáwé waáke or ndyáwe nááang’e his own wife
The intervening elements -ki/-wi- between the connexive/na- and a following word of class 1 do not appear in class 1 contracted forms and forms with special pronominal possessive stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>TSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the bundle of his wife</td>
<td>chitūūvi chá-adyåawé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the man and his wife</td>
<td>nnúûme na-adyåawé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.6 Other pronominal forms

`-mó` ‘one’, ‘a(n), some’

This pronominal stem is a minisyllabic stem which has a first TBU indicated by the sign "`" (see 3.4.1 and 6.3.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yúûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vaámu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>uûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>iîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>liîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>laámu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>chiîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>viîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>iîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>diîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>luîmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>kaámu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tuúmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>uûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>kuûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>paámu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>kuûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>muûmu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tone pattern of this stem including the preceding PPx is RL in attributive position as well as in non-attributive position. Preceding nouns with which it agrees do not occur in the same phonological phrase, as can be concluded from the penultimate lengthening of the noun (with possible penultimate shortening).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>TSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one/a branch</td>
<td>lutaávi luûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id.</td>
<td>lutâvi luûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s)he has seen the one</td>
<td>aluwenê luûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one big branch</td>
<td>lutaávi lukûlungwa luûmu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one branch</td>
<td>luûmu lutaávi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>id.</td>
<td>lûmó lutaávi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The penultimate R tone is a clear indication that this pronominal form has a (final) `H (‘`mó), belonging to TG C1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TG</th>
<th>PPx.stem</th>
<th>TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>L.SF</td>
<td>&quot;-mó&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

`-óhe` ‘much, many’

This stem is not used in class 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.2</th>
<th>vóóhe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cl.3</td>
<td>wóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5</td>
<td>lyóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.7</td>
<td>chóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.9</td>
<td>yóóhe</td>
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<tr>
<td>cl.12</td>
<td>twóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.14</td>
<td>wóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.15</td>
<td>kwóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.16</td>
<td>póóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.17</td>
<td>kwóóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.18</td>
<td>mwóóhe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The tone pattern of this stem including the preceding PPx is H:L in attributive position as well as in non-attributive position. Preceding nouns with which it agrees do not occur in the same phonological phrase, as can be concluded from the penultimate lengthening of the noun.

- lyóóhi lyóóhe: much smoke
- malóóve lóóhe: many words
- malóóve lóóhe: id. (Penultimate Shortening)
- ding’áánde dyóóhe: many houses
- ding’áánde dyóóhe: id. (Penultimate Shortening)
- alawene lóóhe: (s)he has seen many (cl.6)
- vikáapu vyá-nahúvi vyóóhe: many red baskets/red baskets are many
- lóóhe mahaamba: many (are the) leaves

As seen in 4.4.2, nouns with disyllabic vowel-inital stems with a H:L tone pattern may belong to TG A, B, D2 or E; we may assume that this pronominal form also belongs to one of these TG’s, but we do not know how to determine to which TG exactly this pronominal belongs.

`-ohe-óhe/-ahi-óhe` ‘every, all’

This stem is a reduplication of the stem `-óhe` ‘much, many’; its variant is `-ahi-óhe`. 
The tone pattern of this compound stem including the preceding PPx is LLH:L in attributive position as well as in non-attributive position. Preceding nouns with which it agrees do not occur in the same phonological phrase, as can be concluded from the penultimate lengthening of the noun.

We would classify this LLH:L tone pattern as another remaining tone pattern next to the two which are listed at the end of section 4.4.4.

`H-.njì `other``

This pronominal stem is a minisyllabic stem which has a first TBU indicated by the sign “.” (see 3.4.1 and 6.3.1). The sign “H” indicates that the pronominal stem imposes a H tone on the preceding PPx.
The tone pattern of this stem including the preceding PPx is FL in attributive position as well as in non-attributive position. The final H tone retracts to the lengthened penultimate syllable and the HLH tonal sequence, which appears on the penultimate syllable, becomes a F tone after tonal coalescence which applies together with VC/GF (see 3.5.5 and 4.4.2). Nouns with which it agrees do not occur in the same phonological phrase, as can be concluded from the penultimate lengthening of the noun.

váana váanji other children
likáála línji other charcoal
likála línji id. (Penultimate Shortening)

avawene váanji (s)he has seen the other ones
valúúme vakúlungwa váanji other big men
váanji valúúme other men
vánji valúúme id. (Penultimate Shortening)

Surprisingly, we found the following expression, where the tone pattern of the pronominal form is H:L.

náäng’e yúúńji (s)he is the other one

As this pronominal form has a final H tone as well as a H-toned PPx, the TG to which it belongs is TG C2.

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<th>TG</th>
<th>PPx.stem</th>
<th>TP</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>H.SF</td>
<td>ÿ^1-nji FL/HL</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

^1-lida ‘which’

The PPx preceding this stem has a L tone and the stem itself has a F tone in attributive as well as in non-attributive position. The PPx of class 1 is a-.

c.l.1 aliída cl.2 valiída
c.l.3 uliída cl.4 iliída
c.l.5 liliída cl.6 laliída
c.l.7 chiliída cl.8 viliída
c.l.9 iliída cl.10 dilíída
c.l.11 luliída
c.l.12 kaliída cl.13 tuliída
When the interrogative is the final word of a question, it has penultimate F and final H; this is the question melody (see 4.8 and 5.4).

mituupa iliiddá which holes?
mituupa iliiddá id. (Penultimate Shortening)
amwené aliiddá (s)he has seen which one (cl.1)?
nnúume nkúlungwa aliiddá which big man?

Preceding nouns with which it agrees do not occur in the same phonological phrase (as can be concluded from the penultimate lengthening of the noun), except when there is no question melody, but a “surprise”-melody. A question with this melody has yé at the beginning, and the noun to which the interrogative is attributive gets penultimate H and final H (see 4.8 and 8.2.2).

yé mitúpá iliiddá (what?) which holes

When the interrogative is not the final word in a question, it does not get the question melody; the question melody then goes to the final word in such a question.

viínu vilíida vyá-valúumé which things of the men?
viínu vilíida vyá-valúumé id. (Penultimate Shortening)

We can establish the tone group to which this form belongs after comparing this form with nouns (see 4.4.1) with respect to its tone pattern with penultimate lengthening as well as its tone pattern with penultimate shortening.

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<tr>
<th>TG</th>
<th>PPx.stem</th>
<th>TP</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>L.S1</td>
<td>-lída L.FL / L.HL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘-ómi’/-úmi ‘healthy, strong, whole’

In class 1 (and class 2?), the NPx is used.

cl.1 múúmi  cl.2 vúúmi
cl.3 wúúmi  cl.4 yúúmi
cl.5 lyúúmi cl.6 lúúmi
cl.7 chúúmi cl.8 vyúúmi
cl.9 yúúmi  cl.10 dyúúmi
cl.11 lúúmi
The tone pattern of this stem including the preceding PPx is H:L in attributive as well as in non-attributive position. Preceding nouns with which it agrees do not occur in the same phonological phrase, as can be concluded from the penultimate lengthening of the noun.

vakóngwe vúúmi  healthy women
vakóngwe vúúmi  id. (Penultimate Shortening)
ing’ánde yúúmi  whole house
ing’ánde yúúmi  id. (Penultimate Shortening)
avawene vúúmi  (s)he has seen the healthy ones (cl.2)
vaaná vaangu vúúmi  my healthy children
vúúmi váana  healthy (are) the children

The forms of classes 1 and 2 as well as the forms of the participants are used as greetings.

umúúmi  how are you? (lit.: are you healthy?)
nimúúmi  I am fine (lit.: I am healthy)

As seen in 4.4.2, nouns with disyllabic vowel-initial stems with a H:L tone pattern may belong to TG A, B, D2 or E; we may assume that this pronominal form also belongs to one of these TG’s, but we do not know how to determine to which TG exactly this pronominal belongs.

’-éne ‘self’

In class 1 (and class 2?), the NPx is used.

| cl.1  | mwéene  | cl.2  | véeene  |
| cl.3  | wéene   | cl.4  | yéene   |
| cl.5  | lyéene  | cl.6  | léene   |
| cl.7  | chéeene | cl.8  | vyéene  |
| cl.9  | yéeene  | cl.10 | dyéene  |
| cl.11 | lwéene  |       |         |
| cl.12 | kéene   | cl.13 | twéene  |
| cl.14 | wéene   |       |         |
| cl.15 | kwéene  |       |         |
| cl.16 | péene   |       |         |
| cl.17 | kwéene  |       |         |
| cl.18 | mwéene  |       |         |
The tone pattern of this stem including the preceding PPx is FL in attributive position. This pronoun demands occurrence of a preceding word with which it agrees, but there is one other position where it can appear, i.e., in postverbal position. This pronoun and preceding nouns which it specifies occur in one phonological phrase: the noun does not have penultimate lengthening and gets penultimate H tone and final H tone (see 8.2.2).

\textit{nankakatámbwé mwéene} the spider itself \textit{cf. nankakataambwe} spider
\textit{paháli péene} the place itself \textit{cf. pahááli} place

\textit{avawene véene} (s)he has seen they themselves (cl.2)

A different tone pattern, H:L, occurs in the following expression.

\textit{nááng'e mwéene} (s)he is him-/herself

With the participants SG (and PL?) the NPx is preceded by the verbal prefix (VPx); with most stems, this VPx is exclusively used as a copula, but with `-éne it can also be used in a non-copulative sense: `I myself', `you yourself', etc.

1SG \textit{nimwéene} 2SG \textit{umwéene}
1PL \textit{tuvéene} 2PL \textit{mméene}

The tone pattern of this pronominal form in attributive position (FL) is probably due to a H Tone Bridge (HTB) from the noun to the H:L-toned pronominal (a similar process of HTB occurs with nouns and following demonstratives, see 5.3). As seen in 4.4.2, nouns with disyllabic vowel-initial stems with a H:L tone pattern may belong to TG A, B, D2 or E; when occurring after a conjoint tense with a final H tone, nouns of TG B, D2 and E have a FL tone pattern after HTB. Thus, comparing the tone patterns of this pronominal form to those of nouns with the same structure, we may conclude that the pronominal form belongs to one of the TG’s B, D2 or E.

`-naáng’o ‘the same, the very one’

The class 1 form is not used.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
cl.2 & vánaang’o \\
cl.3 & únáang’o \\
cl.4 & ináang’o \\
cl.5 & línnáang’o \\
cl.6 & ánáang’o \\
cl.7 & chínáang’o \\
cl.8 & vínnáang’ó \\
cl.9 & ináang’o \\
cl.10 & dináang’o \\
cl.11 & lúnáang’o \\
cl.12 & kánáang’o \\
cl.13 & túnáang’o \\
cl.14 & únáang’o \\
cl.15 & kúnnáang’o \\
cl.16 & pánnáang’o \\
cl.17 & kúnnáang’ó \\
cl.18 & ánáang’o \\
\end{tabular}
In attributive position, the tone pattern of this stem including PPx is HFL; this pronoun occurs in one phonological phrase with a preceding noun: the noun does not have penultimate lengthening and gets penultimate and final H tone (see 8.2.2).

- lidūvá lináang’o the very day
- ing’ándé ináang’o the same house
- lináang’o lidūvá that very day or: lináang’o lidúúvá (with PUS)

In non-attributive position, its tone pattern is LH:L; the class 2 form in non-attributive position is similar to the class 2 free substitutive.

- vanáang’o vaânu the same people
- vanáang’o they

Preceded by na- ‘and, with’, the meaning is ‘likewise, as well’. The tone pattern can alternatively be all-L.

- na-chinduúli na-chinaang’o taaya múnkùungu úunjí, or
- na-chinduúli na-chinaang’o taaya múnkùungu úunjí

and the cassava vegetable likewise, put it in the other bowl

With a locative PPx, the meaning may either be ‘likewise, as well’ (without reference to place or time) or ‘et cetera’.

The tone pattern in attributive position (HFL) is probably due to a H Tone Bridge (HTB) from the noun to the LH:L-toned pronominal (a similar process of HTB occurs with nouns and following demonstratives, see 5.3). The TG of ‘-naáng’o is established on the basis of comparison with nouns when occurring after a conjoint tense with a final H tone. Nouns of TG E with the same structure (disyllabic stem) and the same tone pattern (LH:L) as this pronominal form (and free substitutive, see 5.2) have the same HFL tone pattern after HTB (see 4.4.1 and 8.3.2 and 8.3.3); they also have the same tones after penultimate shortening. We therefore assume that this pronominal form also belongs to TG E.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TG</th>
<th>PPx.stem</th>
<th>TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>L.S2</td>
<td>‘-naáng’o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.7 Invariables

Invariables are words which neither demand nor undergo agreement; they do not belong to any of the major categories (noun, adjective, verb, pronominal form), but some of them probably are derived in one way or another from one of the major
categories. The syntactic functions of invariables are mainly adjunct, conjunction, interjection or exclamation.

Invariables which are probably derived from pronominal forms are:

- **panjíka**
- **chipánjí** perhaps cf. `-njí` other
- **napanááng’o**
- **nakunááng’o**
- **namunááng’o** also, likewise, therefore cf. `-naáng’o` the same
- **chalúúmo** together cf. `-mó` one

There are two words which probably are Nominal Connexives, in view of the initial H tone.

- **chákaáni** when
- **chámaáni** what

Invariables which are probably derived from nominal forms as adjectives and a numeral are:

- **mwaléèhu** directly cf. `-léèhu` tall
- **kadiíki** a bit cf. `-didiíki` small
- **kaviíla** again,
- **kuviíla** again,
- **uvííla** thus, so, as follows cf. `-víí` two

Invariables which are probably derived from verbs are:

- **péeèpi** near cf. `-píka` be short, `-a-nanjípi` (nominal connexive) short
- **kwááli** perhaps, maybe, I don’t know cf. `-páli` be
- **kóóka** then, finally, at the end; if cf. `-uka` go away
- **kwaáachi** where,
- **muuchí** as, like,
- **daáachi** hey, tell me!, what?,
- **mwadaáachi** why cf. `-chi` say

The other invariables in our word list either do not seem to be derived (synchronously) or are Swahili loans. The list below includes ideophones.

- **baáhi** and so, accordingly, well, enough!, stopt it!, be it so! (< Sw. *basi*)
- **daáhu** bare, naked, useless
- **célo** yes!
- **céma** or
- **heeká** but, to the contrary
- **kaála** formerly, the past (cf. Sw. *kale*)
- **malíka** since, because
- **malíinga** as, like
muhiiu  real, right, ready
mwââha  right
nahôôti  now (immediate future)
namaâdi  on purpose
nâmêêne, namêêne  very, especially
naânga  no!, there is no, Negative particle
nââno  and so, accordingly, well, enough!, stopt it!, be it so!
nduulu  not yet, still
ndûâââni  when (Chimaraba)
neêlo  today (cf. chiilo cl.7 night)
ngóoo  oh no! (something bad happened)
ngwaââ  sound of stubbing, e.g. one’s toe
nggéeé  sound expressing the sunrise
njóôôni  so and so, such a one
ńtwâââni  what kind of
nüûûndu  tomorrow (also lôûûndu cl.11)
pîïi  sound expressing that the sun has disappeared
piûú  sound expressing that the sun is about to disappear
saâna  very (< Sw. sana)
taângu  formerly, the past (< Sw. tangu)
waâla  nor (< Sw. wala)
weêêka  alone, on one’s own

Comparing the tone patterns of the invariables with those of nouns, we can assign the invariables to the tone groups A through E, but we are less certain than with nouns. The first problem is that invariables do not have a prefix like nouns, although some of them do have a lexicalized one; we must therefore compare the tone pattern of the combined nominal prefix and nominal stem with the whole tone pattern of the invariable. Also, the tests described in 4.4.1 to distinguish nouns of certain tone groups can not be used with invariables since they do not appear in the same p-phrase with a preceding verbal form. So, we are not able to distinguish TG B and D2, nor TG A and E with respect to (inherent) disyllabic stems with a penultimate level H.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TG</th>
<th>Px-stem</th>
<th>?</th>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A / E</td>
<td>L-S1/SF / L-S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>napanââng’o</td>
<td>LLH:L</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nakunââng’o</td>
<td>LLH:L</td>
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<td>namunââng’o</td>
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<td>LH:L</td>
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<td>kaviîla</td>
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<td>maliinga</td>
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<td>muhiúu</td>
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<tr>
<td>B / D2</td>
<td>L-S1 / H-no H</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chipanji</td>
<td>HFL</td>
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<td>‘mwaléchu</td>
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The preclitic na- cliticizes to words of all major categories. The element -wi- intervenes between na- and any form of class 1. The preclitic basically means ‘and’ and ‘with’; together with the verbs -va ‘to be’ and -ké ‘not to be’, it expresses ‘to have’ and ‘to have not’ respectively. In passive sentences, it indicates the agent.

- paámo na-vaánu váánji  together with other people
- paámo na-wi-muúnu yúúnji  together with another person
- váníikaála na-vyááka vyóóhe  they lived during many years
- vadikidiíki na-vakúlúungwa  the small ones and the big ones
- kulééhu na-kúúno kuntwáála  far from this (place) Mtwara
- nkuwhéná unáháuula nding'ándé dyaáo paámo na-kuláhumya mávéélu  and went speaking in their houses while (lit. together with) throwing out all mischievous children
- loohelójéhe  
- avelé na-dimoóngo  (s)he has the authority
- nikée na-vikáapu vitaátu  I do not have three baskets
- múndá úúno unaliimwa na-vaánu váánji  this field is cultivated by other people

When a nominal with the preclitic na- appears after a conjoint verbal form with a final H tone, this final H tone remains on the final syllable of the verbal form, and there is no H Tone Bridge. This is exemplified by the example above: avelé na-dimoóngó  (s)he has the authority. Without the preclitic, there is a H Tone Bridge from the final H tone of the verbal form to the first H tone of the following noun (followed by lowering of the final H tone of the verbal form, see 8.3.2): avelé dimóóngó  (s)he is the authority.