

IAN KNAPPERT, LEIDEN

The Tonological Behaviour of the Word in Alur — A Study in Tone Syntax

1. The Alur (call themselves álûr, pl. of jâlûr) live on the eastern banks of Lake Albert and of the Nile that springs from it. Their territory stretches into the Congo from the extreme West of Uganda. They are bordered on the East by their kinsmen the Acholi (àcòlì, pl. of jàcòlì), on the South by the Bantu-speaking Nyoro (bànyórò), on the West by the Walendu (sing. jàléndù) and on the North they border on the Lúgù-Lúg'bara dialect-group.

About the Alur language we have the works of Father VANNESTE: M. VANNESTE, *Woordenboek van de Alur-taal*, Mahagi (Congo), BOECHOUT: *Seminarie der Witte Paters*, 1940.

Id., *Sprookjes van een Nilotisch Volk, Alur-teksten* (Mahagi, Congo), Brussels 1953.

Id., *Legenden, Geschiedenis en Gebruiken van een Nilotisch Volk*, Brussels 1949.

See for the ethnology of the Alur: Alur Society, by Aidan W. SOUTHALL, Cambridge (1953) with extensive bibliography.

None of the above-mentioned works indicates tones which play a major part in grammar and lexicon of this language as will be clear from the present study.

In Ghent I had opportunity to work for four months with Mr. J. UKOKO, a teacher from Bunia, N. E. CONGO, who had an extremely fine musical ear. With his help I composed a dictionary of about 8700 entries, from which I can draw my examples.

2. Elsewhere I hope to deal in detail with the phonemic system. Alur is a nine-vowel-language: *i i e e a o o u u*, in which the italic letters represent "open" or rather "creaky" vowelphonemes, which belong together for reasons of vowel harmony. The same holds good for the "closed" or rather "soft, breathy" vowels *i, e, o, u*. The *a* holds an intermediate position since it can be connected with both categories of vowels.

Long vowels are written with double letters.

Consonants. I can give here only a brief enumeration of the consonants: *b* and implosive 'b, *p, v, f* not opposed to *h* before *u*, *m* is often syllabic at the end of morphemes; interdentals: *th, dh*, the latter intervocally sometimes alternating with *z*; alveolars: *t, d, r, l, z*, implosive 'd, *n* often syllabic like *m*; palatals: *c, j* affricates and *ny* which is often syllabic; velars *k, g*; *h* is unvoiced, a velar nasal is often syllabic; labiovelars *kp, gb* and *nb* are always implosive.

Semivowels are written *y* and *w* initially and *i* and *u*, resp. *i* and *u* finally because they never have tones of their own when initial.

3. Tones. There are three tones in Alur; high and low differ with an interval of two tones in musical notation, high and mid differ half a tone, so that mid and low differ just one tone and a half. This is valid for men's voices; it is possible that women's voices display a larger interval.

In the notation it is assumed that a following liquid or nasal has the tone of the last preceding vowel; mid tone is left unmarked, thus: jóm, jóom, jòm, where the m has in succession high, mid and low tone; it should be observed that all three syllables have the same length, but that the middle one had to be written with double tone owing to the absence of high-mid tone vowels, for there is no opposition of short and long vowels in a closed syllable. In actual pronunciation the tone is entirely carried by the closing consonant if that is liquid or nasal, and not by the second part of the vowel, e. g. jòm instead of jóom, pàr instead of pàár, *n* stands for *ng* as in singing.

[II.] 0.

The Alur substantives must be divided into ten tone classes according to the behaviour of their tones under the influence of preceding tones, and also in some cases, under the influence of following tones, especially those on the possessive suffixes.

It is remarkable that most monosyllabic nouns (the few exceptions are some monosyllabic words with vocalic ending) have two morae. This can only be explained historically: we must suppose that an original final vowel disappeared. We shall now give a complete enumeration of the ten tone classes.

1.

The High-Low Class (HL) can not influence a following tone and is not influenced by a preceding tone.

Ex. sâ 'hour, time, watch', mézà 'table'.

To this class also belongs the past tense verb form, e. g. thó '(he) died, is dead'.

2.

The High-Mid Class (HM) can not influence the tones of the following word, nor is it influenced by the preceding tones. But it is influenced by the following tone: if the following tone is low, then the High-Mid pattern becomes High; if the following tone is High, then the Mid tone stays, except in quick speech, where it becomes High.

Ex. thóó 'Death, danger, disease'; jóom 'bath'; yóom 'rest'; líin 'retreat'. In these last three words the distribution of tone is actually so that the mid tone rests in its entirety on the closing consonant, which is vocalic in these cases. The tone pattern is completely parallel with that of bóí 'servant' (but bóí 'emballage, packing'), which could and is actually sometimes pronounced bóóy, in which latter case it is parallel with those words of the same tone pattern that end in non-vocalic consonants, e. g. díit 'greatly, greatness'; kééc 'avarice, bitterness'.

To the same class belong: kúló 'river bed'; kíbú 'small basket'; also the verb form of the present tense which may be used without personal prefix, e. g. cídhó 'goes', bínó 'comes', thóó 'dies', kwóó 'lives'; thúum 'ends, is being finished', kúún 'becomes angry', kwáán 'swims'. E. G. kwóó àndhá 'he lives verily, he is truly alive'.

3.

The Low-High Class (LH) is influenced by a preceding strong high tone in that its low tone becomes mid tone, or sometimes, if there is a consonant between the low and the high tone of the word, the low tone may become falling. E. G. mǎ 'my mother', vǎ 'my father', wiyá 'my head'. lwón vǎ lwón mǎá 'call my father, call my mother'.

4.

The "Concealed Low-High" Class (LH II) only occurs in monosyllables with a closing consonant. If a noun beginning with a low tone follows in juxtaposition, the low tone with which we find the word in isolated position appears suddenly as low-high; the following low tone also becomes mid if a high tone follows. The first low tone of the following word becomes mid tone just as if the preceding word were regular low-high or strong high; the following low tone also becomes mid if a high tone follows. If the following word has only a low tone, then the Concealed High tone jumps on this following low tone and makes it rising; if two or more low tones follow, the first becomes high, the second stays low. If a high tone-word follows, the low tone does not reveal its rising quality. With possessive suffixes the tone pattern is low-high. E. g. *lāk* 'tooth', *lāk fārāsì* 'horse's tooth'; *càk* 'milk', *càk dhyân* 'cow's milk'.

5.

Fixed or strong High Tone (H I) remains high in all circumstances. It is never influenced, but it influences a following low tone so that the latter becomes falling, and a low-high tone in such a way that it becomes mid-high. With unalienable possessive suffixes the pattern is always high-high. E. G. *yúk* 'hair', *yúkà* 'my hair', *yúké* 'his hair', *yúk dhyân* 'cow's hair'.

6.

Weak high (H II). Same as above, only the (unalienable) possessive suffixes in the singular have mid tones. E. g. *lwét* 'finger', *lwét gwók* (< *gwòk*) 'dog's finger', but *lwétà*, *lwéti*, *lwété*, 'My, your, his finger'.

7.

Half-High or Concealed High-Mid (H III). Words of this tone class are never influenced by preceding words and they never influence a following tone either except *pàr-* and see IV. 0. Like in the H II group, the possessive suffixes have mid tones. E. g. *tók* 'nape of the neck', *tók cèu* 'nape of the porcupine'. *tókà*, *tóké* 'my, his nape'.

8.

Fixed or Strong Low Tone Class (L I). Words belonging to this class do not influence following words; the inalienable possessive suffix of the third person singular remains low, the other possessive suffixes are always high. If preceded by a strong or half high tone the low tone of this class becomes rising.

9.

E. g. *pèl or pèn* 'navel' *pèlá*, *pèlè or pèndá*, *pèndè* 'my, his navel'.

9.

Weak low (L II). Same as above, only the possessive suffix of the third person sing. is high like all the other suffixes. If followed by a low tone word, the tone the words of this class may even switch to high.

E. g. *Yàth*, 'wood' *yàthá*, *yàthé*, 'my, his wood' *yàth pàrá or yáth pàrá* 'my wood'. If high, these words do not influence the following low tones.

10.

Half Low (L III). Same as Class 9, only the possessive suffixes are adhered as if the noun belonged to class 2, 6, or 7.

E. g. *lùl*, *lúndé*, 'forest, his forest'.

Words of class nine and ten which cannot attract inalienable possessive suffixes are indistinguishable. The same holds for classes five and six.

[III.] 0.

The criterion by which we know whether a word is high or low, in case it has only identical level tones, is to predicate it: *rwòth bèr* 'the king is good',

so *rwòth* belongs to class 8, 9 or 10. But one hears: *cám bér* 'the food is good', so *cám* belongs to class 5 or 6. A High tone monosyllabic which does not attract possessive inalienable suffixes, can belong to either class 5 or 6. In this case we have another criterion: All transitive nouns of action belong to class 5, all intransitive, monosyllabic nouns of action belong to class 8, e.g. *rèmè* 'his defect'. Exceptions: *kàŋ* 'sterility' and *kàk* 'slit', which have *kà* and *kàké*.

1.

Irregular are the following words: *òt* 'house' belongs to 8 = LI (fixed low) as is proved by *ò'dá*, *ò'dè*, but can be both high or low when a low tone word follows in juxtaposition and should in such cases be assigned to class 9 or 10. *pì* 'water' belongs to class 10, as is proved by *pì bér* 'the water is good', *pígá*, *pígé* 'my, his urine', but if connected with a following word in juxtaposition it acts as a word of class 6: *pí kù má* 'the water in my body' *pí wàn* 'eye water tears', *pí cá m párá* 'the water in my food', *pí párá* 'the water in the thing which I possess', *pí sù ká rì* 'the water that is found in the sugar cane, but *pí m í sù ká rì* 'sugar water'; *pí m á m á d h à* 'drinking water'. We can go as far as saying there are two words for water, one *pí*, class 6, meaning 'the water inside, or coming forth from, a body' and *pì*, class 9, meaning 'the water separated from a body, as a liquid'. So we find: *pí n à m* 'lake water, the water inside, or pouring from, the lake', the water that *forms* the lake, but *pì n à m* (rare) 'the lake water, if completely separated from the lake'. Here one prefers *pì p à n à m*. *pí d h y à n* 'cow's urine'; *pì d h y à n*, or rather *pì p à d h y à n* 'the boiling water to cook the beef'.

pí n ò m 'the water in the earth, or, well water. *pì m í n ò m* = *pì m á p í y á* 'the ground water = the water acquired from the earth by boring'.

pí k ó t h 'rain water, the water which is rain'; *pí g ó t* mountain water, which is found in, or pours forth from, the mountains; but: *pí y á*, *pí y é* 'my, his water (to drink)'.
(to drink).

Similarly, the word *n ò m* 'earth, land' belongs to classes 9 and 10. *n ò m á* 'my land' (which I possess), *n ó m b à* 'my land' (of which I form part); similarly *n ò m é* and *n ó m b é*; *n ò m m á f ú r á* 'cultivable land', *n ó m l y è c* 'the country of elephants'. = *n ò m m í l y è c*; *n ó m g í - n ò m m í g í* 'their land'.

n ò m b è r 'the land is good', *b è r n ò m* 'the goodness of the land', *n ò m m á b è r* 'the good earth'.

ù m b ò 'lung' forms *ù m b ò á* but rather *ù m b ó j á* 'my lung', if alienable: *ù m b ò n á* and *ù m b ò p á r á*; *ù m b ò d h y à n* or *ù m b ó d h y à n* 'cow's lung'; *ù m b ò é* or *ù m b ó j é* 'his lung'. *ù m b ò b è r* 'the lung is good'.

2.

Imperatives are the most frequent type of LH, class 3. If, however, the following word starts with a vowel in a low tone, the high tone of the imperative is thrown in that vowel, which becomes high if another low tone follows, falling in all other cases. If the initial syllable starts with a consonant, the same procedure is possible but not compulsory; if the low-tone syllable is followed by a high tone, then the low tone becomes mid. E. g. *g w ó k b è r* or *g w ò k b è r* 'take good care'; *n è n á ' d y á n í* > *n è n á ' d y á n í* 'see your mistake'; *n è n ù m b é* < *n è n ù m b é* 'see, he is not there'; the regular form *n è n ù m b é* is condemned as impossible. *N è n c è u* 'see, a porcupine'. If the second word is a verb, the same procedure is not permitted: *n è n ù c á m ó* see, one is eating, but

Nèn ûcámó 'Nen is eating', in which the proper name Nen is a word of class 4. Nèn àbibà > nèn ábibà 'see, a hawk'. Note especially: kǔr ùrù > kǔr úrù 'wait for freedom' or 'guard the freedom'. Here the form: kǔr úrù is judged admissible.

[IV] The longer words

0.

Words of two or more syllables all of which carry a low tone never influence following words; they are influenced by preceding words if these carry a strong or fixed high tone on the last syllable; the first low tone then becomes high. Exception is the word ànyèrò 'monkey', which is also influenced by a preceding half high tone: ìth ànyèrò 'monkey's ear', ìth belongs to class 7 (H III). ùmbój-ànyèrò 'lung of a monkey'.

1.

Words that end in a low or mid tone never influence following words; words of two or more syllables of which the last one is high, act as strong high tone words (class 5 or 6) on the following words.

2.

Words of two or more syllables of which the first one is high, are never influenced by preceding tones; if only the first syllable is low, it becomes mid when preceded by a strong high tone; if two or more syllables at the beginning of the word have low tone, then only the first syllable becomes high when a strong high tone precedes.

Here there is a difference if two vowels collide. In that case, if a high tone prefix precedes a low-high patterned morpheme, then the low tone remains low, the combined tone becomes falling, not high-mid. E. g. má + àndhá > mândhá 'true, real'.

In morphology in general we find a preference for the falling tone: gílwônírì 'they called each other', cf.: gílwônírì 'they will call each other'. We see how the prefix gí 'they have' (past tense) can be considered to belong to class 5 or 6 (H I or H II) but if future ('they will') it must be grouped in to class 7. The singular é 'he, she, or it' always belongs to class 7. We find however, that in the future there is a long vowel: élwònò 'he called', but éélwònò 'he will call'. Thus the distinction between preterite and future is preserved.

Cf. mǐrì 'give each other' with: nímǐrì 'to give each other'. The vowel MII has the same length in both cases.

[V.] Synopsis

0.

Tone class	isolated form	with. unal. poss. suff.		with al. poss. suff.		with low tone monosyll.	predicated.
		-a 'my'	-e 'his'	-pàrá	-pàré		
HL	1 mézà 'table'	mézàá	mézàyé	mézà pàrá	mézà pàré	mézà wòn ¹	mézà bèr
HL	2 láú 'saliva'	láúá	láúé	láú pàrá	láú pàré	láú dhyân	láú bèr
HL	3 làú 'leather'	làwá	làwá	làú pàrá	làú pàré	làú dhyân	làú bér ²

¹ 'The table of the master'.

² This word means leather used as clothing, làú dhyân means: 'the leather that is used to cover a cow'. In the sense of 'skin, part of one's own body' we find: láwá, láwé or láwá; láwé làú dhyân 'cow hide, skin of the cow', class 7.

Tone class	isolated form	with unal. poss. suff.		with al. poss. suff.		with low tone monosyll.	preced. class
		-a 'my'	-e 'his'	-pàrá	-pàré		
LH II	4 làk 'tooth'	làká	làké	lāk pàrá	lāk pàré	làk dhyân	làk
H I	5 yúk 'hair'	yúká	yúké	yúk pàrá	yúk pàré	yúk dhyân	yúk
H II	6 dhóg 'tongue'	dhógá	dhógé	dhóg pàrá	dhóg pàré	dhóg dhyân	dhóg
H III	7 kór 'breast'	kórá	kóré	kór pàrá	kór pàré	kór dhyân	kór
L I	8 nùt 'neck'	nùtá	nùté	nùt pàrá	nùt pàré	nùt dhyân	nùt
L II	9 pòm 'molar'	pòmá	pòmé	{ pòm pàrá { póm pàrá	{ pòm pàré { póm pàré	pòm dhyân	pòm
L III	10 fùr 'hoeing' 'cultivation'	fújá	fújé	{ fùr pàrá { fúr pàrá	{ fùr pàré { fúr pàré	{ fùr nòm ⁴ { fúr nòm	fùr

2.

In the above synopsis we have only indicated the influence a word tone exercises on the following tone, not the influence a tone undergoes from preceding tone. This can, however, be easily formulated: The classes 1, 2, 3, 6, 7 undergo no changes by whatever tone they are preceded; The classes 4, 8, 9, 10 become falling instead of low if preceded by a strong or weak high tone (classes 3, 5, 6 and see IV. 1). Class 3 is influenced as explained in II, 3.

Another possible classification of the tone classes in Alur is the following:

Pure Tones	$\begin{matrix} \searrow \\ \swarrow \end{matrix}$	High I, II, III.
		Low I, II, III.
Mixed Tones	$\begin{matrix} \searrow \\ \swarrow \end{matrix}$	Low-High I, II.
		High-Low & High-Mid

[VI.] The possessives tonologically classified

(n stands for velar nasal)

0. Class 5, H I, Strong High

tím, work, tím pàrá 'my work; tím pá nòm 'work on the land'.
 yúk, 'body hair', yúká, yúkí, yúkwá, yúkú, yúkgí < yúggí.
 cók, 'remainder', cóká, cóké; cók dhyân, 'the remains of a cow'.
 cáam 'food', cáamá, cáamé (Better:) cáam pàrá; cáam fàrásì cáam páfàrásì 'food of the horse'.
 ùlókóró 'throat, adam's apple', ùlókóróná, ùlókóró pàrá.
 pí 'boring, drilling'. pí nòm 'drilling the earth'.
 cák 'beginning' cáká, cák pàrá 'my beginning'.
 pén 'début, commencement' péná, péné, pén pàrá; pén bér 'the debut is good'.
 pár 'thinking, thought' pàrá, páré; pár pàrá = páró pàrá 'my thoughts'.
 páng 'pile', pángá, pángé.
 tón 'lance', tóngá, tóngí, tóngé.

These three words should not be confused with a fourth: làu 'rinsing', e. g. làwá, làwé 'rinse me' 'rinse him' làwé 'this rinsing', but làwé 'this saliva', là dhyân 'rinsing (of) the cow', class 8.

³ But làk pàré 'the teeth of his (e. g. dog)'. làk úndyék (from úndyék úndyék) 'tooth of a hyena' N. B. làk dhyân 'wandering about of the cows', class 8. làk dhyân 'origin of the cows', làká, làké 'my, his origin', or root', làk pàrá, pàré 'my, his roots (possession)', class 5.

⁴ 'Cultivation of the land'.

- pón 'filling' póna, póné.
 yóm 'victory', yómá, yómé.
 pá'd 'slap' pá'dá, pá'dé.
 pór 'measure, comparaison, taste', pórá, póre.
 rám, chewing, mastication'; rám' arthritis, rheumatism of the joints' ráma, rámé.
 lár 'aide, help, relief' lará, laré.
 lá 'urinating, passing urine', láyá, láyé.
 láw 'exchange', láwé, but láwé 'his or her rinsing'.
 lóm 'object received, something won, bank account', líma, límé.
 kák 'declaration', káká, káké.
 néy 'knowledge', néyá, néyé.
 kán 'sterilization', káná, káné.
 lwón 'appeal', lwóná, lwóné.
 kál 'jumping, crossing over', kálá, kálé.
 wán 'branding', wáná, wáné.
 gwók 'care, caring, attendance', gwóká, gwóké.
 lák 'origin', root, cause', láká, lékí, láké.
 lúk 'premarital relations, illegitimate child, bastard', lúká, lúké.

1. Class 6, HII, Weak High

- úbón 'hoof, claw', úbóngá, úbóngé, úbón fàrásì 'horse's hoof', úbón zì 'rhino hoof',
 úbón ríù 'giraffe's hoof'.
 nyín 'name', nyíngá, nyíngé; nyín jálàwóbí 'the name of the boy', nyín fàrásì
 'the name of the horse'.
 cín 'arm, front leg', cíngá, cíngé; cín fàrásì 'front leg of the horse'.
 dhóg 'tongue, language', dhógá, dhógé; dhó-dhyàn 'cow's tongue', dhó-fàrásì.
 lál 'urine', lálá, lálé; lál dhyàn 'cow's urine'.
 béd 'sorgho', béndà, béndì; béndé; bén dhyàn, bén fàrásì 'sorgho for the cow,
 the horse'.
 kál 'millet' kándà kándì, kándé; kál dhyàn or kál pádhyàn 'millet for the cow'.
 tón 'egg', tóngá, tóngì, tóngé.
 lóp 'tongue' lébà, lébì, lébé.
 tík 'chin', tíkà, tíkì, tíké.
 kóm 'chair', kómbà, kómbì, kómbé.
 nwíó 'odour', nwíká or nwíjà.
 thér 'hind part, bottom', thérà, théri, théré.

2. Class 7, H III, Half High.

- kór 'breast', kórà, kóre; kór dhyàn, kór fàrásì 'breast of the cow, of the horse'.
 íth 'ear', íthà, íthé; íth dhyàn, íth fàrásì, 'ear of the cow, of the horse'.
 úm 'nose', úmà, úmé; úm dhyàn, úm fàrásì; úm bér 'the nose is good'.
 tók 'nape of the neck', tókà, tóké; tóg dhyàn, tók cèú 'nape of the porcupine'.
 lwét 'finger', lwétà, lwété; lwét jálàwóbí 'finger of the boy' lwét nyàthíin
 'finger of the child', but: lwét ányèrò 'finger of monkey'.
 nyím 'sexual organ, front part', nyímá 'my sexual organ'; ì nyím òt 'in front
 of the house'.

The possessives tonologically classified continued

n stands for velar nasal

3. Class 8, L I, Strong Low.

wàn 'eye', wàná, wàné, 'my, his eye(s)'. nyíngwàn 'globe of the eye'.
 wìc 'head', wiyá, wiyé, 'my, his head'. wídhyan 'cow's head'.
 kùm 'body', kumá, kumé, kùm ànyèrò 'body of a monkey'.
 ìc 'belly', iyá, iyé, 'my, his belly'. ì dhyàn 'cow's belly'; ìy ànyèrò 'monkey's belly'.
 nèc, nèi, 'back', nèyá, nèyé 'my, his back'. nèi dhyàn 'cow's back'.
 òt, 'house', òdá, òdè, 'my, his house'. òd vǎ 'the house of my father'. òddhyàn 'cow stable'. N. B. This word is irregular: plur.: ùdì, we also find: òtè 'my house', or òt pàrè = òt pàrè, as if it belonged to L II (Class 9).
 nùt 'neck', nùtá, nùtè 'my his, neck'. nùt jòbì 'buffalo's neck'.
 pèl, pèn, 'navel'; pèlá or pèndá 'my navel'; pèlè or pèndè 'his navel'.
 rèmm, 'insufficiency, defect'. rèmmá, rèmmé 'my, his defect'.
 'dìr 'hip', 'dìrá, 'dìrè, 'my, his hip'.
 pìn 'cheek', pìndá.
 pyèr 'waist', pyèrá, pyèrè, 'my, his waist'.
 gòk, side, 'flank', gògá, gògè. tǎl, 'vulva', tùndá, tùndè.

4. Class 9, L II, Weak low.

lèn, 'beauty', lèná, lèné, 'my, his beauty'. lènkùm 'beauty of the body = health'.
 ìth, 'scorpion' ìthá, ìthé 'my, his scorpion'. ìth ràc, 'a scorpion is bad'.
 pàù, 'noise', pàwá, pàwé.
 pòm 'molar', pòmá, pòmé 'my, his molar'; pòm dgyàn 'molar of a cow'.
 làù 'rinsing', làwá = làùá, làwé, 'my, his rinsing'.
 kàk 'split', fissure, cleft', kàká, kàké.
 kàl, 'palace, capital, residency', kàlá, kàlé.
 kàn, 'sterility', kàná, kàné, 'my, her sterility'.
 wàn, 'burning, a burn', wàná, wàné.
 gwòk (pl. gwògì) 'dog', gwòká, gwòké, 'my, his dog'. Also Cl. 10: gwógá, gwógé.
 gòk, 'shoulder', gòká, gòké.
 tùn, 'horn', tùngá, tùngé.
 lìm, 'chelek', lìmbá, lìmbé.

5. Class 10, L III, Half Low.

cèn, 'sun, day', céngá 'my day' = cén pàrá or cèn pàrá.
 tíc, 'work', tíjá, tíjé 'my, his work' tíc thwòni or tíc thwòni 'oxen work' tíc pànòm = tíc pànòm, 'work on the land'.
 thò 'death, disease', thójá, thójé; thó dhyàn = thó dhyàn 'cows' disease'.
 mò 'oil', mójá, mójí, 'my, your oil'.
 lyèc, 'elephant', lyéjà, lyéji, 'my, your elephant'.
 lyèl, 'graveyard', lyéndá, lyéndé, 'my, his grave'.
 lùl, 'forest', lúndé 'his forest' = lùl pàrè = lúl pàrè. Lùl mâtóná 'a forest ready to be cut'.
 pèm, 'bed', pèmbá or pèiná, 'my bed', pèmbé or pèmé, 'his bed'.
 So this word belongs to classes 9 & 10 pèm bér 'the bed is good'.
 lìm, 'possession, belonging', límbá, límbé or límá, límé; lím pàrá or lím pàrá.
 lèi, 'axe', léjà, léji, 'my, your axe'; lèi pàrá or léi pàrá, 'my axe'.

dák, 'relish', 'dégá, 'dégi, 'my, your relish'. 'Dég 'dyèl'goat's meat as relish'.
 yir, 'beard, body hair', yijà, yíjé; yir pàrá, yír pàrá, 'my hair (that I possess)'.
 máo, 'fire', májà, méji, 'my, your fire'.
 mwòc, 'labours, childbearing pain', mwòcá or mwójà, 'my labours'.
 myèl, 'dance', myèlá or myéndà, 'my dance, myèlé or myéndé, 'his dance'.
 lém, 'word, affair', lémbà, lémbi.
 thwòl, 'snake, thwòndà = thwòlàrà 'my snake'.
 kònd, 'beer', kóngà, kóngé.
 lìm, 'grass', lúmbà.
 kùl, 'pig', kúndà.
 vùl, 'drum', vúndà.
 vùr, 'hole', vújà.

6. Class 3, LH, Low High.

bó, 'edible leaves of beans', (irregular) bójà, bójí, bójé; bǒ pàrá.

7. Class 5, LH II, Concealed Low-High.

cǎn 'knee', cǎngá, cǎngí, cǎngé; cǎn dhyân 'cow's knee'. cǎn céú, 'knee of a porcupine'.
 cǎk, 'milk', cǎgá, cǎgí, cǎgé, 'my, your, her (breast) milk'.
 cǎk pàrá, 'my milk' (which I drink); cǎk dhyân, 'cow's milk'.
 'dín, 'jaws' 'dìngá, 'dìngí, 'dìngé; 'dín céú, 'jaws of a porcupine'. 'dín ródà 'jaws of a bushbuck'.
 tyèlò, 'foot'. tyèndá, tyèndé; tyèn dhyân, 'cow's feet', tyèn céú 'porcupine's feet'.
 lìm, 'cheek', lìmbá, lìmbé; lìm dhyân, 'cow's cheek'; lìm fàràsì, 'horse's cheek'.
 'dánd, 'throat, palate', 'dàndá, 'dàndé; 'dánd pàrá; dánd dhyân, 'cow's palate'.
 bót, 'arm', bótá, bótí, bóté; bót ányèrò, 'monkey's arm'.
 cǎth, 'excrement', cǎdhá, cǎdhí, cǎdhé; cǎdh dhyân 'cow dung'.
 thwòk, 'spur', thwòké; thwòg gwénò, cock's spur'.
 thèn, 'temple' thèngá, thèngí, thèngé; thèng ót, 'the side of a house'.
 nèt, 'side', nètá, nèté; nèt yò, 'along the road'.
 wèg (pl. of wòn) 'father, master'; wègwá, 'our father' (respectful plural).
 wègú, 'your father', wèg nyòm (< nyòm, 'marriage) 'the spouses'.