

# **Nambikuára Pronouns**

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**0.** Nambikuára pronouns occur in two series: bound and free. Free forms occur as subject only; bound forms occur as subjects and objects. Bound subject pronouns are further sub-divided into sub-classes according to their occurrence in verb classes. A brief description of verb classes will be given here to facilitate the description of pronoun forms. Full description of the verb will be given in a later paper.

**0.1.** Verbs are divided into two morphological classes on the basis of their occurrence with different imperative suffixes. Verbs of Class 1 occur with  $-se^1ra^3$ ; verbs of Class 2 with  $-tʔa^2hẽ^3ra^3$ .

yau • $^3se^1ra^3$	'stay'
aũ • $^2tʔa^2hẽ^3ra^3$	'eat'

**Class 2** is phonologically sub-divided into open and closed stems on the basis of their occurrence with the 'desiderative' suffix  $-te^3na^3ra^3$ .

<b>Class 2.1.</b>	$ũ^3hẽt • ^1te^3na^3ra^3$	'he wants to put on top of...'
<b>Class 2.2.</b>	$ũ^3hi • ^3te^3na^3ra^3$	'he wants to roast...'

**Class 2.1.** is phonologically sub-divided according to pronoun allophones which occur in the 1st singular, future tense.

<b>Class 2.1.1.</b>	All open stems, and those closed with /n/ use $-na^1-$
<b>Class 2.1.2.</b>	All stems closed with stops use $-ta^1-$
<b>Class 2.1.3.</b>	All stems closed with /h/ use $-ha^1-$

$ĩʔ^3nũn • ^3na^1tu^1wa^3$	'I will smell...'
$ũ^3hẽt • ^1ta^1tu^1wa^3$	'I will put on top of...'
$wʔa^2hoh^2ha^1tu^1ra^3$	'I will swim.'

**Class 2.2.** is morphologically sub-divided into two sub-classes, according to the first person singular, future tense pronoun.

<b>Class 2.2.1.</b>	All stems which use $-a^1-$	
$a^3li • ^3a^1tu^1wa^3$		'I will leave'

<b>Class 2.2.2.</b>	All stems which use $la^1 \sim ra^1$ .	
	$la^1$ occurs following stems ending in i, e, ai;	
	$ra^1$ occurs following stems ending in a, o, u, au.	
$ũ^3hi • ^3ra^1tu^1wa^3$		'I will roast'
$ĩ^3su • ^2la^1tu^1wa^3$		'I will hit'

In the lexicon to distinguish these classes, the stems are numbered:

Class 1	as	1.
Class 2	as	2. with a subclass marking
		2a. for subclass 2.2.1.

1. The pronouns of Nambikuára are described in this paper under the following headings:

- 1.1. Subject Pronouns
- 1.2. Object Pronouns
- 1.3. Object -- Subject Constructions
- 1.4. Hortatory Forms
- 1.5. Imperative Forms
- 1.6. Possessive Prefixes

1.1. Subject pronouns occur in isolation as free forms, and as bound forms within the verb complex.

1.1.1. Free subject pronouns occur in the following forms. The third singular, and third plural forms have dialectic variations.<sup>1</sup>

'I'	dʔai• <sup>2</sup> ri <sup>2</sup>
'you'	ʔwãi• <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>
'he'	ja•h <sup>1</sup> La <sup>2</sup> ∞ te• <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup>
'she'	ta• <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> la <sup>2</sup>
'we (excl.)'	tʔa <sup>2</sup> nũ <sup>3</sup> kat <sup>3</sup> tai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>
'we (incl.)'	tʔa <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> nũ <sup>3</sup> kat <sup>3</sup> tai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>
'you'	ʔwa <sup>2</sup> nũ <sup>3</sup> kat <sup>3</sup> tai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>
'they (masc.)'	ja•h <sup>1</sup> La <sup>2</sup> nau <sup>3</sup> ʔai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup> ∞ te• <sup>2</sup> nau <sup>3</sup> ʔai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>
'they (fem.)'	ta• <sup>1</sup> ka <sup>3</sup> la <sup>3</sup> nau <sup>3</sup> ʔai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>

1.1.2. Bound Subject pronouns occur with variations depending on their occurrence in positive or negative sentences.

1.1.2.1. Positive subject pronouns -- subject pronouns in positive sentences have variant forms based on their occurrence with verbs of different classes, in first singular, second singular, third plural, and first plural (excl.) forms.<sup>3</sup>

Verb Class 1	2.1.1.	2.1.2.	2.1.3	2.2.1.	2.2.2.
1st sing.	-na <sup>1</sup> ∞ [-na <sup>1</sup>	~ -ta <sup>1</sup>	~ -ha <sup>1</sup>	~ -a <sup>1</sup> ∞	(-la <sup>1</sup> ~ -ra <sup>1</sup> )]-
2nd sing.	-ni <sup>1</sup> ∞ [-ni <sup>1</sup>	~ -ti <sup>1</sup>	~ -hi <sup>1</sup>	~ -i <sup>1</sup> ∞	(-li <sup>1</sup> ~ -ri <sup>1</sup> )]-
3rd pl	-ain <sup>1</sup> ∞ [-nain <sup>1</sup>	~ -tain <sup>1</sup>	~ -hain <sup>1</sup>	~ -ain <sup>1</sup> ∞	(-lain <sup>1</sup> ~ -rain <sup>1</sup> )]
1st pl. (excl.)	[(-tsĩn <sup>1</sup> ~ -sĩn <sup>1</sup> ) <sup>4</sup>	∞ (-Lĩn <sup>1</sup> ~ -Rĩn <sup>1</sup> )]			+ na <sup>1</sup> -

Other forms of the positive pronouns are the following. These do not vary according to verb classes.

3rd sing.	#-
1st dual	-yah <sup>3</sup> ha <sup>1</sup>
2nd dual	-yah <sup>3</sup> hi <sup>1</sup> -
3rd dual	-yah <sup>3</sup> #-
1st pl. (incl.)	-kĩ <sup>3</sup> -
2nd pl.	-yah <sup>3</sup> Li <sup>1</sup> -

In tenses other than present progressive and future desiderative, the second person forms close with /n/.

When /i/ occurs between two nasal consonants, it automatically becomes nasalized /ĩ/;

	[dn]	occurs after /i/
	[ñ]	occurs after /ĩ/
/su• <sup>2</sup> lin <sup>1</sup> tait <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> /	[su• <sup>2</sup> lidn <sup>1</sup> tait <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> ]	'you hit him' (past tense)
/wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup> nĩn <sup>1</sup> tait <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> /	[wa• <sup>3</sup> kodn <sup>3</sup> nĩñ <sup>1</sup> tait <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> ]	'you worked' (past tense)

**1.1.2.2.** In negative constructions, pronouns differ greatly from the positive forms, since in many cases the negative and the pronoun are found in the same unit. The following forms occur in the present progressive tense. The 3rd singular and 3rd plural occur with variations according to verb class membership.

Verb Class 1	2.1.1.	2.1.2.	2.1.3.	2.2.1.	2.2.2.
3rd sing. stem + -ʔ	+ # ∞	[# ~ -tʔa <sup>3</sup> ~ -ʔa <sup>3</sup> ~ -ʔa <sup>3</sup> ∞ (-lʔa <sup>3</sup> ~ -rʔa <sup>3</sup> ) ]			+ -wa <sup>3</sup>
3rd pl. stem	+ -ai <sup>1</sup> ∞	[-nai <sup>1</sup> ~ -tai <sup>1</sup> ~ -hai <sup>1</sup> ~ -ai <sup>1</sup> ∞ (-lai <sup>1</sup> ~ -rai <sup>1</sup> ) ]			+ -ʔna <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
1st sing. stem	+ -n	[			]+ -ʔna <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>

Other forms remain the same for all verb classes.

2nd sing. stem + -ʔ	+	-ʔna <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>
1st dual stem	+	-yah <sup>3</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
2nd dual stem	+	-yah <sup>3</sup> hʔa <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>
3rd dual stem	+	-yah <sup>3</sup> ʔa <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
1st pl. (excl.) stem	+	(-tsĩn <sup>1</sup> ~ -sĩn <sup>1</sup> )ʔna <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
1st pl. (incl.) stem	+	-ki <sup>3</sup> sʔa <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
2nd pl. stem	+	-yah <sup>3</sup> Lʔa <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>

When the first person singular occurs preceding suffixes beginning with /t/, the /a/ of the negative pronoun /-ʔna/ is omitted, and the /n/ becomes syllabic.

ũ<sup>3</sup>hũ<sup>3</sup>ʔn<sup>3</sup>thu<sup>3</sup>ra<sup>3</sup> 'I won't give it.'

Only in the third singular for Verb Class 2 is the /a/ retained.

a<sup>3</sup>li•<sup>3</sup>ʔa<sup>3</sup>tait•<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>3</sup>wa<sup>3</sup> 'he won't leave'

The two-morpheme plural pronouns are divided when they occur with the desiderative. The consonant changes in the first and second person singular since the addition of the desiderative causes the verb class to change.

-tsĩn <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	+	desiderative	-tsĩn <sup>1</sup> te <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
-yah <sup>3</sup> hi <sup>1</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	+	desiderative	-yah <sup>3</sup> te <sup>3</sup> ri <sup>1</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>
-nain <sup>1</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	+	desiderative	-nain <sup>1</sup> te <sup>3</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>

**1.2.** Object pronouns occur only as bound forms within the verb complex. They occur without variation as to verb classes.

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
1st sing.	-sa <sup>3</sup> -	-sa <sup>3</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> -
2nd sing.	-ʔna <sup>2</sup> -	-ʔnãñ <sup>2</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> -
3rd sing.	-#-	-#ʔna <sup>3</sup> -
1st dual	-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>3</sup> -	-yah <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> -
2nd dual	-ʔn <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> -	-ʔn <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> ʔa <sup>3</sup> -
3rd dual	-ya <sup>3</sup> #-	-yah <sup>3</sup> ʔa <sup>3</sup> -
1st pl. (excl.)	-sa <sup>2</sup> sĩn <sup>1</sup> -	-sa <sup>2</sup> sĩ <sup>1</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> -
1st pl. (incl.)	-ni <sup>3</sup> -	-ni <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup> -
2nd pl.	-ʔn <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> -	-ʔn <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> ʔa <sup>3</sup> -
3rd pl.	-ain <sup>1</sup> -	-aiʔ <sup>1</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> -

### 1.3. Object - Subject Constructions

**1.3.1.** When subject and object pronouns occur in the same construction, the object always occurs before the subject.

Certain elided forms occur. When two vowels occur across syllable boundaries the first vowel is lost and the morphemes are elided.

sa <sup>3</sup>	+	ain <sup>1</sup>	sain <sup>1</sup>	'me + they'
ʔn <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup>	+	ain <sup>1</sup>	ʔn <sup>3</sup> tain <sup>1</sup>	'you (pl) + they'

Other elided forms also occur.

sa <sup>3</sup>	+	nĩn <sup>1</sup>	san <sup>1</sup>	'me + you (sing)'
ʔna <sup>3</sup>	+	na <sup>1</sup>	ʔna <sup>3</sup> ha <sup>1</sup>	'you (sing) + I'
ʔn <sup>3</sup> ti <sup>3</sup>	+	na <sup>1</sup>	ʔn <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>1</sup>	'you (pl)+ I'
ni <sup>3</sup>	+	yah <sup>3</sup>	ni <sup>3</sup> rah <sup>3</sup>	'us (incl) + they (dual)'

Pluralizers of the first and third persons switch positions.

sa <sup>3</sup> sĩn <sup>1</sup>	+	ain <sup>1</sup>	sain <sup>1</sup> tsĩn <sup>1</sup>	'us (exc) + they'
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In negative sentences, the negatives occur in accordance with the rules listed for negative subject pronouns in section 1.1.2.2.

**1.3.2.** A third person acting upon another third person has the following forms:

Positive:	Singular	-Ña <sup>1</sup> -	ũ <sup>3</sup> hũh <sup>3</sup> Ña <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'he will give to him'
			(only two persons involved)	
	Plural	-Ñain <sup>1</sup> -	ũ <sup>3</sup> hũh <sup>3</sup> Ñain <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'he will give to them'
			(more than two persons involved)	'they will give to him'
				'they will give to them'
Negative:	Singular	-Ña <sup>1</sup> ʔ <sup>1</sup> -	ũ <sup>3</sup> huh <sup>3</sup> Ña <sup>1</sup> ʔ <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'he will not give to him'
	Plural	-Ñai <sup>1</sup> ʔ <sup>1</sup> -	ũ <sup>3</sup> hũh <sup>3</sup> Ñai <sup>1</sup> ʔ <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'he will not give to them'
				'they will not give to him'
				'they will not give to them'

**1.4.** In hortatory sentences the forms are basically subject and object forms. They occur in the following paradigms --positive and negative.<sup>5</sup>

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Listener</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
'let us....'	'let's not....'		
-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> tā <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	one --	one
-ya <sup>3</sup> sah <sup>1</sup> ʔwa <sup>3</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> tā <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	two --	one
-ya <sup>3</sup> sah <sup>1</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> ʔwa <sup>3</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sah <sup>1</sup> Li• <sup>3</sup> tā <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	more than two --	one
-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> sī• <sup>1</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sah <sup>2</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> tā <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	one --	more than one
-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> sī• <sup>1</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sah <sup>1</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> tā <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	two --	more than one
-ya <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> sī• <sup>1</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sah <sup>1</sup> Li• <sup>3</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> tā <sup>3</sup> rʔa <sup>3</sup>	more than two --	more than one

**1.5.** Imperative sentences have the following forms positive and negative.

<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>Listener</u>	<u>Speaker</u>
'work!'	'don't work!'		
wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup> -tʔa <sup>2</sup> hē <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup> -tʔa <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	one --	one
-jʔa <sup>2</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	-tʔa <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	two --	one
-jʔa <sup>2</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> tʔa <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	more than two --	one
-tʔa <sup>2</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> hē <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	-tsīn <sup>1</sup> tʔa <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	one --	more than one
-jʔa <sup>2</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> hē <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> tʔa <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	two --	more than one
-jʔa <sup>2</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> hē <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>2</sup>	-ya <sup>3</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> sīn <sup>1</sup> tʔa <sup>3</sup> hē <sup>1</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	more than two --	more than one

**1.6.** Nouns and locationals have possessive pronominal prefixes. They occur with the following forms:

tʔa <sup>2</sup> -	my	tʔa <sup>2</sup> si <sup>3</sup> yon <sup>3</sup> tʔa <sup>3</sup>	'behind me'
		my -- in back of --	
ʔwā <sup>2</sup> -	your (sing)	ʔwā <sup>2</sup> ye•n <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	'It's yours (sing)'
a <sup>2</sup> -	his	ā <sup>2</sup> ye•n <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	'It's his'

ʔwaĩ <sup>2</sup> -	your (pl)	ʔwaĩ <sup>2</sup> ye•n <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	'It's yours (pl)'
dã <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> -	our (incl)	dã <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>3</sup> ye•n <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>3</sup> sa <sup>2</sup> na <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>	'It's ours (incl)'

The first plural (exclusive) and the third plural have the same forms as the singular. When these forms need to be distinguished from their singular counterparts, object pronouns in the verb complex show this difference.

## 2. Distribution

Within the verb complex, the pronouns always occur following the verb stem with its optional qualifiers and prepositions.<sup>6</sup>

wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup>	-- na <sup>1</sup>	-- tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>		
work	-- I	-- future		
wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup>	-- kaiʔ <sup>1</sup>	-- na <sup>1</sup>	-- tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	
work	-- hard	-- I	-- future	
wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup>	-- nũ <sup>3</sup>	-- na <sup>1</sup>	-- tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	
work	-- also	-- I	-- future	
wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup>	-- ki <sup>2</sup>	-- ʔna <sup>3</sup>	-- ha <sup>1</sup>	-- tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
work	-- for	-- you	-- I	-- future

Up to three pronouns slots have been found, occurring as suffixes in the same verb construction, in the following order away from the stem; 1. goal, 2.subject, 3. speaker of indirect quotation. Slot one is filled by object pronouns; slots two and three are filled by subject pronouns.

Slots one and two occur contiguous to each other; slots two and three are separated by the indirect quotation marker morpheme tah<sup>1</sup>.

wa• <sup>3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup>	-- ki <sup>2</sup>	-- sain <sup>1</sup>	-- tah <sup>1</sup>	-- ha <sup>1</sup>	-- te <sup>1</sup> ni• <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
work	-- for	-- me they	-- said	--I	-- recent past
'I said that they worked for me today.'					

### 2.1. Subject Pronouns

#### 2.1.1. Subject pronouns occur as free forms in a slot preceding the object.

The first singular dʔai<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup> has an allomorph dʔai<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>, which has been found to occur: 1. when dʔai<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup> occurs as one part of a multiple subject, 2. when dʔai<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup> occurs with suffixes.

dʔai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	jo <sup>3</sup> aũ• <sup>2</sup> ya <sup>3</sup> lai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup>	e• <sup>3</sup> ya <sup>3</sup> ha <sup>1</sup> kʔai <sup>3</sup> nān <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>3</sup>	ʔaũʔ• <sup>3</sup> ʔi <sup>2</sup> ya <sup>3</sup> ha <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
I	(and) John	when we have talked	we will sleep.
	dʔai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup> so <sup>1</sup> lʔi <sup>3</sup>		'I only'
	dʔai <sup>2</sup> na <sup>2</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> kʔai <sup>3</sup> ru <sup>2</sup>		'I (emphatic)'

The third person singular dialectic form *te•<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup>* is also used as a relative pronoun. In this slot, it also occurs with a negative variant form *te•<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup>*.

<i>te•<sup>2</sup>na<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>te•n<sup>3</sup>tsah<sup>3</sup>Na<sup>3</sup>wa<sup>3</sup></i>	
this	I want	
<i>na<sup>1</sup>tah<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>te•<sup>2</sup>ri<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>te•n<sup>3</sup>tsaʔ<sup>3</sup>ʔna<sup>3</sup>Na<sup>2</sup>wa<sup>3</sup></i>
but	this	I don't want

Since this form occurs in the same slot as a free noun object, and is the only pronominal form that occurs as a free object, it might be considered as a nominal form.

### 2.1.2. Subject pronouns occur as bound forms in the following constructions.

2.1.2.1. They occur as bound subject forms. (Forms are indicated by underscoring.)

*wa•<sup>3</sup>kon<sup>3</sup>na<sup>1</sup>ti•t<sup>2</sup>tu<sup>3</sup>wa<sup>3</sup>* 'I'm working.'

2.1.2.2. They occur in endings for intention and uncertainty clauses.

verb	ending	
<i>wa•<sup>3</sup>ko•<sup>3</sup><u>na<sup>1</sup></u>tu<sup>3</sup>ʔā<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>ʔ<u>na<sup>1</sup></u>Na<sup>2</sup>wa<sup>3</sup></i>	'I intend to work.'

(There is agreement of subject, if the subject is planning to take part in the intended action.)

<i>wa•<sup>3</sup>ko•<sup>3</sup><u>na<sup>1</sup></u>tu<sup>3</sup>ʔā<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>ʔ<u>na<sup>1</sup></u>Na<sup>2</sup>wa<sup>3</sup></i>	'I intend for them to work.'
3rd pl.	1st sing.	
<i>wa•<sup>3</sup>ko<sup>3</sup><u>na<sup>1</sup></u>tu<sup>3</sup>ʔā<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>ʔ<u>na<sup>1</sup></u>na<sup>3</sup>ra<sup>3</sup></i>	'They intend to work.'
3rd pl.	3rd pl.	

In this occurrence pronoun forms beginning with /n/ are preceded by /ʔ/.

2.1.2.3. They occur in object phrases (showing possession).

<i>wa•<sup>3</sup>kon<sup>3</sup></i>	-- <i><u>tsĩn<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup></u></i>	-- <i>ka<sup>2</sup>yoh<sup>3</sup>ha<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>so<sup>1</sup></i>	-- <i>kʔi<sup>2</sup></i>	-- <i>ʔn<sup>3</sup></i>	-- <i><u>tsĩn<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup></u></i>	-- <i>tait<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>3</sup>wa<sup>3</sup></i>
work	-- we (exc)	-- payment	take	-- from	-- you	-- we (exc)	-- remote past
The payment for our work			we got from you.				
(our work payment)							

**2.1.2.4.** They occur in the following conjunction constructions:

<u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> jut <sup>3</sup> tsu <sup>2</sup>	therefore I
<u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> kʔai <sup>2</sup> nã <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>3</sup>	then if I
<u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> kã <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>3</sup>	afterward I
<u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> jau <sup>3</sup> su <sup>2</sup>	therefore I
<u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> tah <sup>1</sup> .	but I
<u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> ha <sup>1</sup> kʔai <sup>3</sup>	therefore I
<u>nai</u> <sup>1</sup> Na <sup>1</sup> kʔai <sup>3</sup>	because they

**2.1.2.5.** They occur in endings following direct quotations and following thought clauses:

yaun <sup>2</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> Lu <sup>3</sup> ri <sup>1</sup>	<u>sĩn</u> <sup>1</sup> <u>na</u> <sup>1</sup> tait <sup>•1</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
'I won't stay' (I said)	thus we (exc) past tense
tĩ <sup>•n</sup> te <sup>2</sup> Na <sup>2</sup> ku <sup>2</sup>	<u>ki</u> <sup>3</sup> Na <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>
'maybe they lost'	'we (incl) think'

**2.2. Object pronouns occur as bound forms in the following constructions:**

**2.2.1.** They occur as direct object of an action.

ʔũ <sup>•3</sup> <u>sa</u> <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'It will bite me.'
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**2.2.2.** They occur as objects in personal state constructions.

he <sup>•h</sup> <u>sah</u> <sup>3</sup> Na <sup>2</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'I'm hungry' (hunger – upon me)
--	---------------------------------

**2.2.3.** They occur as object of the preposition -ki<sup>2</sup>- 'for'

wa <sup>•3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>2</sup> <u>sa</u> <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'He will work for me'
wa <sup>•3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>2</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> <u>ha</u> <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'I will work for <u>you</u> .'
1. 2.	2. 1.

**2.2.4.** They occur as indirect objects.

ʔũ <sup>3</sup> hũ <sup>ʔ3</sup> ʔna <sup>3</sup> <u>ha</u> <sup>1</sup> tu <sup>1</sup> wa <sup>3</sup>	'I will give <u>you</u> ....'
1. 2.	2. 1.

**2.2.5.** They occur as pronoun objects in endings following direct quotations.

tĩ <sup>•3</sup> Nau <sup>1</sup> su <sup>2</sup>	wa <sup>•3</sup> kon <sup>3</sup> ki <sup>2</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> Li <sup>3</sup> hẽ <sup>1</sup> ri <sup>1</sup>	ne <sup>3</sup> -- sain <sup>1</sup> tsĩn <sup>1</sup> na <sup>2</sup> -- hẽ <sup>3</sup> ra <sup>3</sup>
road	let us work (make)	this --they-us (exc) --past tense
		(See Sec. 1.3.1.)

## NOTES

1. Dialectic variations are regional based on the speech of villages in a general area. Three general dialect areas have been found, however, a full study of dialectic variations has not yet been made. (See Sec. 2.1.1.)
2. ∞ indicates morphological separation; ~ indicates phonological separation.
3. When any morpheme occurs between the verb stem and the subject pronoun, class distinctions are lost and the pronoun takes the form for Class 1 verbs.
4. After nasal consonants and stops, the first plural exclusive suffix occurs with /t/ before /sĩn¹/.

wa •³kon³tsĩn¹na¹tu¹wa³	'we (excl.) will work'
yo •³sĩn¹na¹tu¹wa³	'we (excl.) will gather'
ũ³hě •t¹tsĩn¹na¹tu¹wa³	'we (excl.) will put on top of...'

5. The data do not include paradigms for Class 1 verbs.
6. Hyphens indicate morpheme breaks.