

Problem 3.

- 1st person sg:
 - if the word contains at least one voiceless consonant, the first one becomes nasal+voiced ($\langle \mathbf{p} \rightarrow \mathbf{mb}, \mathbf{t} \rightarrow \mathbf{nd}, \mathbf{h} \rightarrow \mathbf{nz}, \mathbf{x} \rightarrow \mathbf{nj}, \mathbf{k} \rightarrow \mathbf{ng} \rangle$)
 - otherwise the whole word is nasalised (-m)
- 2nd person sg:
 - if the word begins with a vowel different from i (í, î): y-
 - otherwise the first vowel different from i (í, î) changes as follows:
 - * a → e, á → é, â → eâ;
 - * o → e, ó → é, ô → eô;
 - * ú → iû;
 - * e → i, é → í, ê → î (the same happens in the immediately following syllables).

(a)	1st person sg	2nd person sg	1st person sg	2nd person sg
<i>mbîho</i>	₁ pîhe	<i>to go</i>	<i>noínjoa</i>	₈ neíxoa <i>to see it</i>
₂ mbêyo	<i>pîyo</i>	<i>animal</i>	<i>vanénjo</i>	₉ venéxo <i>to buy</i>
<i>yênom</i>	₃ yîno	<i>wife</i>	<i>mómindi</i>	₁₀ mémitti <i>to be tired</i>
₄ ênom	<i>yêno</i>	<i>mother</i>	<i>ínzikaxovoku</i>	₁₁ ihikexovoku <i>school</i>
<i>ngásaxo</i>	₅ késaxo	<i>to feel cold</i>	₁₂ ônju	<i>yôxu</i> <i>grandfather</i>
<i>njérere</i>	₆ xírirí	<i>side</i>	₁₃ nêwom	<i>nîwo</i> <i>nephew</i>
<i>ndôko</i>	₇ teôko	<i>nappe</i>	<i>ánzarana</i>	₁₄ yáharana <i>hoe</i>

- (b) 1. 2nd person sg: in Portuguese loanwords á → eá; in native words á → é, â → eâ.
2. lândana, ngápana.

Problem 4.

singular	plural	
-b	-(a)bys	bø-bys ‘betel nuts’, juhuru-bys ‘eggs’
-h	-(a)ruh	ara-ruh ‘sugar canes’
-g	-(a)gas	bai-gas ‘sheets of sago bark’
-t	-(o)gu	nyba-t ‘4’

$$\left(\begin{array}{ll} \boxed{\text{anowip}} & 6 \\ \text{wiwis} & 2 \times 6 = 12 \\ \boxed{\text{araman}} & 4 \times 6 = 24 \end{array} \right) + \left(\begin{array}{ll} \text{atu-} & 1 \\ \text{bi-} & 2 \\ 2 + 1_{\text{sg}} & 3 \\ 2 + 1_{\text{pl}} + 1_{\text{sg}} & 4 \\ 2 + 1_{\text{pl}} + 2 & 5 \end{array} \right) \times \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{baig(as)} \\ \text{bøb(ys)} \\ (\text{nybat}) 4 + \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{atu-} & 1 \\ \text{bi-} & 2 \\ 2 + 1_{\text{sg}} & 3 \end{array} \right\} \times \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ara(ru)h} \\ \text{juhurub(ys)} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right\}$$