

## Appendix

### Murrinhpatha finite verb inflection paradigms

This appendix illustrates the inflectional paradigms of all 39 finite verbs in Murrinhpatha (Table 1). Each paradigm is illustrated with the complete forms of inflectional exponence, together with a segmented analysis of the *intersecting formatives* that make up the exponence. A description of this phenomenon is provided in Mansfield, John (2016), *Intersecting formatives and inflectional predictability*, *Word Structure* 9(2): 183–214.

Inflected verb forms that share the same number and tense categories, and differ only in person category (e.g. 1SG.NFUT, 2SG.NFUT, 3SG.NFUT) are usually differentiated only by their prefix consonant. Where this is the case, the first person formative segmentation is given in full, while for second and third persons only the prefix consonant is segmented.

Note that three verbs, /ma/ “do, say”, /ba/ AFFECT, and /ma/ “use hands” each have two distinct inflectional paradigms. “Pseudo-verbs”, i.e. those that lack a clear lexico-semantic meaning, are given arbitrary labels in small capitals such as /bu/ LOWER, reflecting weak patterns of meaning found among the compound verbs in which they occur.

The inflectional paradigms illustrated here were originally documented by Walsh (1976) and Street (1987). An improved presentation format is provided by Blythe et al. (2007). The inflectional analysis presented here draws on all these sources, but is not identical to any of them. Numbering of inflectional paradigms is not consecutive, nor is it meaningful; rather, it follows numbering established in Blythe et al (2007), with some divergences imposed by differences of analysis.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Divergences of my paradigm numbers from the numbering in Blythe et al (2007) are as follows: VIII = 8, 13; X = 10, 11, 12, 15, 16. I analyse /ma/ “do, say” and /ma/ “use hands” as two homophonous verbs, whereas previous works have analysed them as a single, polysemous verb.

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Similarly /ø/ PIERCE and /ø/ “use mouth”. While I analyse /ma/ “do”, /ba/ AFFECT and /ma/ “use hands” as having two inflectional patterns each, previous works have treated each of these as a pair of two separate verbs (respectively 8+34, 13+14, 8+9). All these differences follow from the current analysis of verb stems and inflections, as opposed to previous analyses of the an unsegmentable “classifier stem” (see main text).

Base verb	Inflectional paradigm		Reflexive/reciprocal verb
/ø/ “sit”	I		
/ø/ “lie”	II		
/ra/ “stand”	III		
/ni/ “be”	IV		
/n̥ta/ “perch”	V		
/ru/ “go”	VI		
/nu/ “use feet”	VII	XXXVIII	/ni/ “use feet RR”
/mu/ COERCE	XI		
/bu/ LOWER	XVII	XVIII	/buj/ LOWER.RR
/ø/ “use mouth”	XIX	XXI	/ø/ “use mouth RR”
/ø/ PIERCE			/ø/ PIERCE.RR
/ø/ “appear”	XX		
/n̥ti/ “carry”	XXII		
/ø/ ARC	XXIII	XXIV	/ø/ ARC.RR
/ŋa/ “put together”	XXV		
/la/ “wipe”	XXVI	XXXVII	/li/ “wipe RR”
/na/ “use fire”	XXVII		
/ra/ “watch”	XXVIII	XXXVI	/ri/ “watch RR”
/du/ IMPEL	XXIX	XXX	/di/ IMPEL.RR
/la/ “consume”	XXXI		
/ŋu/ “push”	XXXII	XXXIII	/ŋi/ “push RR”
/n̥ta/ “crouch”	XXXV		
/ba/ AFFECT	XIV		/be/ AFFECT.RR
	VIII		
/ma/ “use hands”	IX		/me/ “use hands RR”
			/me/ “do, say RR”
/ma/ “do, say”	XXXIV		
/mi/ “look”	X		
/bi/ “hear”			
TOTAL 27 VERBS	TOTAL 34 UNIQUE PARADIGMS		TOTAL 12 VERBS

**Table 1. Finite verbs. Shading indicates verbs that have more than one inflectional paradigm, and verbs that share an inflectional paradigm.**

<b>/ø/ 'sit'</b>		STEM: /ø/ DEFAULT /ri/ C:RHOTIC /ju/ C:J (SUPPLETIVE), VH:BACK		
Paradigm: I				
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ɲem ɲ-e-[DEF]-m	ɲi ɲ-i-[DEF]-ø	ɲini ɲ-i-[DEF]-ni	ɲini ɲ-i-[DEF]-ni
	<b>2</b> ʈim ʈ-i-[DEF]-m	ʈi ʈ-...	ʈini ʈ-...	ʈini ʈ-...
	<b>3</b> dim / kem d-i-[DEF]-m / k-e-[DEF]-m	ki/ pi k-... / p-...	dini d-...	dini d-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʈim ʈ-i.[DEF].m	pi p-i.[DEF].ø	ʈini ʈ-i-[DEF]-ni	ʈini ʈ-i-[DEF]-ni
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ɲarim ɲ-a-[RHOT]-m	ɲuju ɲ-u-[J.BACK]-ø	ɲarini ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ni	ɲarini ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ni
	<b>2</b> nirim n-i-[RHOT]-m	nuju n-...	nirini n-i-[RHOT]-ni	nirini n-i-[RHOT]-ni
	<b>3</b> pirim / karim p-i-[RHOT]-m / k-a-[RHOT]-m	kuju / puju k-... / p-...	pirini p-i-[RHOT]-ni	pirini p-i-[RHOT]-ni
		<b>PC 1</b> ɲe ɲe.[DEF].ø	ɲarine ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ne	ɲarine ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ne
		<b>2</b> ne n-...	nirine n-i-[RHOT]-ne	nirine n-i-[RHOT]-ne
		<b>3</b> ke / pe k-... / p-...	pirine p-i-[RHOT]-ne	pirine p-i-[RHOT]-ne

<b>/ø/ 'lie'</b>		STEM: /ø/ DEFAULT /ri/ C:RHOTIC /ju/ C:J (SUPPLETIVE), VH:BACK /bi/ C:B (SUPPLETIVE)		
Paradigm: II				
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ɲabim ɲ-a-[B]-m	ɲu ɲ-i-[DEF]-ø	ɲu ɲ-u-[DEF]-ø	ɲuɲi ɲ-u-[DEF]-ɲi
	<b>2</b> ʈibim ʈ-i-[B]-m	ʈu ʈ-...	ʈu ʈ-...	ʈuɲi ʈ-...
	<b>3</b> jibim / kabim j-i-[B]-m / k-a-[B]-m	ku/ pu k-... / p-...	ju d-...	juɲi j-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʈibim ʈ-i.[DEF].m	pu p-i.[DEF].ø	ʈu ʈ-u-[DEF]-ø	ʈuɲi ʈ-u-[DEF]-ɲi
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ɲarim ɲ-a-[RHOT]-m	ɲuju ɲ-u-[J.BACK]-ø	ɲarini ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ni	ɲarini ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ni
	<b>2</b> nirim n-i-[RHOT]-m	nuju n-...	nirini n-i-[RHOT]-ni	nirini n-i-[RHOT]-ni
	<b>3</b> pirim / karim p-i-[RHOT]-m / k-a-[RHOT]-m	kuju / puju k-... / p-...	pirini p-i-[RHOT]-ni	pirini p-i-[RHOT]-ni
		<b>PC 1</b> ɲe ɲe.[DEF]-ø	ɲarine ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ne	ɲarine ɲ-a-[RHOT]-ne
		<b>2</b> ne n-...	nirine n-i-[RHOT]-ne	nirine n-i-[RHOT]-ne
		<b>3</b> ke / pe k-... / p-...	pirine p-i-[RHOT]-ne	pirine p-i-[RHOT]-ne

<b>/ra/ ‘stand’</b>		STEM: /ra/ DEFAULT		
Paradigm: III		/ri/ VH:HIGH, VF:FRONT		
		/ɬa/ C:GEMINATE		
		/ɬi/ C:GEMINATE, VH:HIGH, VF:FRONT		
		/bi/ C:B (SUPPLETIVE), VH:HIGH, VF:FRONT		
		/ø/ C:WEAK		
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
SG	1 ɣarim ɣ-a-[HIGH,FRONT]-m	ɣira ɣ-i-[DEF]-ø	ɣiri ɣ-i-[HIGH,FRONT]-ø	ɣiraŋi ɣ-i-[DEF]-ɣi
	2 ɬirim ɬ-i-[HIGH,FRONT]-m	ɬira ɬ-...	ɬiri ɬ-...	ɬiraŋi ɬ-...
	3 pirim / karim p-i-[HIGH,FRONT]-m / k-...	kira / pira k-... / p-...	piri p-...	piraŋi p-...
INCL	1 ɬirim ɬ-i-[HIGH,FRONT]-m	pira p-i-[DEF]-ø	piri p-i-[HIGH,FRONT]-ø	ɬiraŋi ɬ-i-[DEF]-ɣi
PL	1 ɣibim ɣ-i-[B,HIGH,FRONT]-m	ɣiɬa ɣ-i-[GEM]-ø <sup>2</sup>	ɣi ɣ-i-[WEAK]-ø	ɣiɬaŋi ɣ-i-[GEM]-ɣi
	2 nibim n-...	niɬa n-...	ni n-...	niɬaŋi n-...
	3 pibim / kibim p-... / k-...	kiɬa / piɬa k-... / p-...	pi p-...	piɬaŋi p-...
		PC 1 ɣiɬa ɣ-i-[GEM]-ø	ɣe ɣ-e-[WEAK]-ø	ɣiɬaŋi ɣ-i-[GEM]-ɣi
		2 niɬa n-...	ne n-...	niɬaŋi n-...
		3 kiɬa / piɬa k-... / p-...	pe p-...	piɬaŋi p-...

<sup>2</sup> /r → ɬ/ is analysed as a gemination pattern by Green (2003, p. 143). This may have more of a historic than a synchronic motivation, according to which we could posit the /ɬ/ stems in this verb as synchronically suppletive.

<b>/ni/ ‘be’</b> Paradigm: IV		STEM:	/ni/	DEFAULT
			/na/	VH:LOW, VF:BACK
			/ŋi/	C:RN (SUPPLETIVE)
			/ŋe/	C:RN (SUPPLETIVE), VH:LOW
			/ŋa/	C:RN (SUPPLETIVE), VH:LOW, VF:BACK
			/dʒi/	C:RD (SUPPLETIVE)
			/dʒe/	C:RD (SUPPLETIVE), VH:LOW

  

	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
SG	1 ɲanam ɲ-a-[LOW,BACK]-m	ɲani ɲ-a-[DEF]-∅	ɲaɖi ɲ-a-[RD]-∅	ɲani ɲ-a-[DEF]-∅
	2 ʈanam ʈ-...	ʈani ʈ-...	ʈaɖi ʈ-...	ʈani ʈ-...
	3 kanam / kanam k-... / k-...	kani / pani k-... / p-...	paɖi p-...	kani k-...
INCL	1 ʈanam ʈ- a-[LOW,BACK]-m	pani p-a-[DEF]-∅	paɖi p-a-[RD]-∅	ʈani ʈ-a-[DEF]-∅
PL	1 ɲaŋam <sup>3</sup> ɲ-a-[RN,LOW,BACK]-m	ɲaŋi ɲ-a-[RN]-∅	ɲaɖi ɲ-a-[RD]-∅	ɲaŋi ɲ-a-[RN]-∅
	2 naŋam n-...	naŋi n-...	naɖi n-...	naŋi n-...
	3 paŋam / kaŋam p-... / k-...	kaŋi / paŋi k-... / p-...	paɖi p-...	kaŋi k-...
		PC 1 ɲaŋe ɲ-a-[RN,LOW]-∅	ɲaɖe ɲ-a-[RD,LOW]-∅	ɲaŋe ɲ-a-[RN,LOW]-∅
		2 naŋe n-...	naɖe n-...	naŋe n-...
		3 kaŋe / paŋe k-... / p-...	paɖe p-...	kaŋe k-...

<sup>3</sup> The retroflex /ŋ/ in PL stems, as opposed to apical /n/ in SG stems, is not produced by all speakers. Younger speakers especially tend to realise the pl stem instead with a geminate consonant.

<b>/nta/ ‘perch’</b> Paradigm: V		STEM: /nta/ DEFAULT /nti/ VH:HIGH, VF:FRONT			
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ḡaṇṭim ḡ-a-[FRONT,HIGH]-m	ḡiṇṭa ḡ-i-[DEF]-∅	ḡiṇṭaṇi ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	ḡiṇṭaṇi ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
	<b>2</b> ṭiṇṭim ṭ-i-[FRONT,HIGH]-m	ṭiṇṭa ṭ-...	ṭiṇṭaṇi ṭ-...	ṭiṇṭaṇi ṭ-...	
	<b>3</b> piṇṭim / kaṇṭim p-i-... / k-a-...	kiṇṭa / piṇṭa k-... / p-...	piṇṭaṇi p-...	piṇṭaṇi p-...	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ṭiṇṭim ṭ-i-[FRONT,HIGH]-m	piṇṭa p-i-[DEF]-∅	ṭiṇṭaṇi ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	ṭiṇṭaṇi ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ḡaṇṭim ḡ-a-[FRONT,HIGH]-m	ḡiṇṭa ḡ-i-[DEF]-∅	ḡiṇṭaṇi ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	ḡiṇṭaṇi ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
	<b>2</b> niṇṭim n-i-[FRONT,HIGH]-m	niṇṭa n-...	niṇṭaṇi n-...	niṇṭaṇi n-...	
	<b>3</b> piṇṭim / kaṇṭim p-i-... / k-a-...	kiṇṭa / piṇṭa k-... / p-...	piṇṭaṇi p-...	piṇṭaṇi p-...	
		<b>PC 1</b> ḡiṇṭa ḡ-i-[DEF]-∅	ḡiṇṭaṇe ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡe	ḡiṇṭaṇe ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡe	
		<b>2</b> niṇṭa n-...	niṇṭaṇe n-...	niṇṭaṇe n-...	
		<b>3</b> kiṇṭa / piṇṭa k-... / p-...	piṇṭaṇe p-...	piṇṭaṇe p-...	

<b>/ru/ ‘go’</b> Paradigm: VI		STEM: /ru/ DEFAULT /ɹu/ GEMINATE /∅/ WEAK /ji/ J (SUPPLETIVE), FRONT /mpa/ MP (SUPPLETIVE), LOW		/ra/ LOW /ri/ FRONT /je/ J (SUPPL), FRONT, LOW	
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ḡuran ḡ-u-[LOW]-n	ḡuru ḡ-u-[DEF]-∅	ḡurini ḡ-u-[FRONT]-ni	ḡuri ḡ-u-[FRONT]-∅	
	<b>2</b> ṭuran ṭ-...	ṭuru ṭ-...	ṭurini ṭ-...	ṭuri ṭ-...	
	<b>3</b> wuran / kuran w-... / k-...	kuru / puru k-... / p-...	wurini w-...	wuri w-...	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ṭuran ṭ-u-[LOW]-n	puru p-u-[DEF]-∅	ṭurini ṭ-u-[FRONT]-ni	ṭuri ṭ-u-[FRONT]-∅	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ḡumpan ḡ-u-[MP,LOW]-n	ḡuɹu ḡ-u-[GEM]-∅	ḡuṇi ḡ-u-[WEAK,FRONT]-ḡi	ḡuji ḡ-u-[J,FRONT]-∅	
	<b>2</b> numpan n-...	nuɹu n-...	nuṇi n-...	nuji n-...	
	<b>3</b> pumpan / kumpan p-... / k-...	kuɹu / puɹu k-... / p-...	puṇi p-...	puji p-...	
		<b>PC 1</b> ḡa ḡ-a-[WEAK]-∅	ḡuṇe ḡ-u-[WEAK,FRONT]-ḡe	ḡuje ḡ-u-[J,FRNT,LOW]-∅	
		<b>2</b> na n-...	nuṇe n-...	nuje n-...	
		<b>3</b> ka / pa k-... / p-...	puṇe p-...	puje p-...	

<b>/nu/ ‘use feet’</b>		STEM:	/nu/	DEFAULT	/nnu/	C:GEMINATE
Paradigm: VII			/ni/	VF:FRONT	/nni/	C:GEM, VF:FRONT
			/nuj/	VF: OFFGLIDE	/nna/	C:GEM, VH: LOW
			/na/	VH: LOW	/nne/	C:GEM, VH: LOW, VF:FRONT
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	ḡunuḡam ḡ-u-[DEF]-ḡam	ḡunu ḡ-u-[DEF]-∅	ḡuna ḡ-u-[LOW]-∅	ḡuni ḡ-u-[FRONT]-∅	
	<b>2</b>	ṭunuḡam ṭ-...	ṭunu ṭ-...	ṭuna ṭ-...	ṭuni ṭ-...	
	<b>3</b>	nuḡam / kunuḡam ∅-... / k-...	kunu / punu k-... / p-...	na <sup>4</sup> ∅-...	nuj ∅-u-[OFFGLIDE]-∅	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	ṭunuḡam ṭ-u-[DEF]-ḡam	punu p-u-[DEF]-∅	ṭuna ṭ-u-[LOW]-∅	ṭuni ṭ-u-[FRONT]-∅	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	ḡunnuḡam ḡ-u-[GEM]-ḡam	ḡunnu ḡ-u-[GEM]-∅	ḡunni ḡ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-∅	ḡunni ḡ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-∅	
	<b>2</b>	nunnuḡam n-...	nunnu n-...	nunni n-...	nunni n-...	
	<b>3</b>	punnuḡam / kunnuḡam p-... / k-...	kunnu / punnu k-... / p-...	punni p-...	punni p-...	
		<b>PC 1</b>	ḡunna ḡ-u-[GEM,LOW]-∅	ḡunna ḡ-u-[GEM,LOW]-∅	ḡunne ḡ-u-[GEM,FRONT,LOW]-∅	
		<b>2</b>	nunna n-...	nunna n-...	nunne n-...	
		<b>3</b>	kunna / punna k-... / p-...	punna p-...	punne p-...	

<b>/ni/ ‘use feet RR’</b>		STEM:	/ni/	DEFAULT	/nni/	C:GEMINATE
Paradigm: XXXVIII			/na/	VF:BACK, VH: LOW	/nna/	C:GEM, VF:BACK, VH: LOW
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	ḡinim ḡ-i-[DEF]-m	ḡini ḡ-i-[DEF]-∅	ḡinaḡa ḡ-i-[BACK,LOW]-ḡa	ḡinaḡa ḡ-i-[BACK,LOW]-ḡa	
	<b>2</b>	ṭinim ṭ-...	ṭini ṭ-...	ṭina ṭ-i-[BACK,LOW]-ḡa	ṭina ṭ-i-[BACK,LOW]-ḡa	
	<b>3</b>	niḡam / kiniḡam ∅-i-[DEF]-ḡam / k-...	kini / pini k-... / p-...	niḡa ∅-i-[DEF]-ḡa	niḡa ∅-i-[DEF]-ḡa	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	ṭiniḡam ṭ-u-[DEF]-ḡam	pini p-i-[DEF]-∅	ṭinaḡa ṭ-i-[BACK,LOW]-ḡa	ṭinaḡa ṭ-i-[BACK,LOW]-ḡa	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	ḡinnaḡam ḡ-u-[GEM,BACK,LOW]-ḡam	ḡinni ḡ-i-[GEM]-∅	ḡinnaḡa ḡ-i-[GEM,BACK,LOW]-ḡa	ḡinnaḡa ḡ-i-[GEM,BACK,LOW]-ḡa	
	<b>2</b>	ninnaḡam n-...	ninni n-...	ninnaḡa n-...	ninnaḡa n-...	
	<b>3</b>	pinnaḡam / kinnaḡam p-... / k-...	kinni / pinni k-... / p-...	pinna p-...	pinna p-...	
		<b>PC 1</b>	ḡinni ḡ-u-[GEM]-∅	ḡinnaḡa ḡ-i-[GEM,BACK,LOW]-ḡa	ḡinnaḡa ḡ-i-[GEM,BACK,LOW]-ḡa	
		<b>2</b>	ninni n-...	ninnaḡa n-...	ninnaḡa n-...	
		<b>3</b>	kinni / pinni k-... / p-...	pinnaḡa p-...	pinnaḡa p-...	

<sup>4</sup> Street (1987) in addition lists a variant /nuḡa/ use.feet.3SG.PST. This variant does not appear in my corpus data.



		<b>/ma/ ‘say, do’</b> <b>/ma/ ‘use hands’</b> Paradigm: VIII	STEM: /ma/    DEFAULT /na/    C:APICAL /me/    VF:FRONT /ne/    C:APICAL, VF:FRONT			
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	mam Ø-U-[DEF]-m <sup>5</sup>	ma Ø-U-[DEF]-Ø	me Ø-U-[FRONT]-Ø	me Ø-U-[FRONT]-Ø	
	<b>2</b>	nam Ø-U-[APIC]-m	na Ø-U-[APIC]-Ø	ne Ø-U-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø	ne Ø-U-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø	
	<b>3</b>	mam / kumam Ø-U-[DEF]-m / k-...	ma / ma Ø-U-[DEF]-Ø	me Ø-U-[FRONT]-Ø	me Ø-U-[FRONT]-Ø	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	tumam ṭ-U-[DEF]-m	puma p-U-[DEF]-Ø	tume ṭ-U-[FRONT]-Ø	tume ṭ-U-[FRONT]-Ø	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	numam ŋ-U-[DEF]-m	numa ŋ-U-[DEF]-Ø	nume ŋ-U-[FRONT]-Ø	nume ŋ-U-[FRONT]-Ø	
	<b>2</b>	numam n-...	numa n-...	nume n-...	nume n-...	
	<b>3</b>	pumam / kumam p-... / k-...	kuma / puma k-... / p-...	pume p-...	pume p-...	
		<b>PC</b>	<b>1</b>	numa ŋ-U-[DEF] Ø	nume ŋ-U-[FRONT]-Ø	nume ŋ-U-[FRONT]-Ø
			<b>2</b>	numa n-...	nume n-...	nume n-...
			<b>3</b>	kuma / puma k-.../ p-...	pume p-...	pume p-...

<sup>5</sup> Where forms have a phonologically empty PrefC, I analyse them as having an “underlying” PrefV following whatever theme vowel pattern is established in the rest of the paradigm. In these instances the PrefV cannot be realised on the surface due to the constraint against onsetless syllables (Mansfield, in prep.).

<b>/ma/ ‘use hands’</b>		STEM:	/ma/	DEFAULT		
Paradigm: IX			/na/	C:APICAL		
			/me/	VF:FRONT		
			/ne/	C:APICAL, VF:FRONT		
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR		
SG	1 manan Ø-u-[DEF]-nan	ma Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	me Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	me Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø		
	2 nanan Ø-u-[APIC]-nan	na Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	ne Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø	ne Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø		
	3 manan / kumanan Ø-u-[DEF]-nan / k-...	ma / ma Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	me Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	me Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø		
INCL	1 tumanan t-u-[DEF]-nan	puma p-u-[DEF]-Ø	tume t-u-[FRONT]-Ø	tume t-u-[FRONT]-Ø		
PL	1 numanan n-u-[DEF]-nan	numa n-u-[DEF]-Ø	nume n-u-[FRONT]-Ø	nume n-u-[FRONT]-Ø		
	2 numanan n-...	numa n-...	nume n-...	nume n-...		
	3 pumanan / kumanan p-... / k-...	kuma / puma k-... / p-...	pume p-...	pume p-...		
		PC	1 numa n-u-[DEF]-Ø	nume n-u-[FRONT]-Ø	nume n-u-[FRONT]-Ø	
			2 numa n-...	nume n-...	nume n-...	
			3 kuma / puma k-... / p-...	pume p-...	pume p-...	

<b>/ma/ ‘say, do’</b>		STEM:	/ma/	DEFAULT	/na/	C:APICAL
Paradigm: XXXIV			/me/	VF:FRONT	/ne/	C:APICAL, VF:FRONT
			/mi/	VF:FRONT, VH:HIGH	/ni/	C:APICAL, VF:FRONT, VH:HIGH
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR		
SG	1 namam n-a-[DEF]-m	nama n-a-[DEF]-Ø	me Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	mi Ø-u-[FRONT,HIGH]-Ø		
	2 nam Ø-a-[APIC]-m	tama t-...	ne Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø	ni Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT,HIGH]-Ø		
	3 mam / kamam Ø-a-[DEF]-m / k-...	kama / pama k-... / p-...	me Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	mi Ø-u-[FRONT,HIGH]-Ø		
INCL	1 tamam t-a-[DEF]-m	pama p-a-[DEF]-Ø	tume t-u-[FRONT]-Ø	tumi t-u-[FRONT,HIGH]-Ø		
PL	1 namam n-a-[DEF]-m	numama n-uje-[DEF]-Ø	nume n-u-[FRONT]-Ø	numi n-u-[FRONT,HIGH]-Ø		
	2 namam n-...	numama n-...	nume n-...	numi n-...		
	3 pamam / kamam p-... / k-...	kujema / pujema k-... / p-...	pume p-...	pumi p-...		
		PC	1 numama n-uje-[DEF]-Ø	nume n-u-[FRONT]-Ø	numi n-u-[FRONT,HIGH]-Ø	
			2 numama n-...	nume n-...	numi n-...	
			3 kujema / pujema k-... / p-...	pume p-...	pumi p-...	

		<b>/me/ ‘say, do RR’</b>		STEM: /me/	DEFAULT
		<b>/me/ ‘use hands RR’</b>		/ne/	C:APICAL
		Paradigm: X			
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	mem Ø-u-[DEF]-m	me Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	mena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	mena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø
	<b>2</b>	nem Ø-u-[APIC]-m	ne Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	nena Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	nena Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø
	<b>3</b>	mem / kumem Ø-u-[DEF]-m / k-...	me / me Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	mena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	mena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	tumem t̥-u-[DEF]-m	pume p-u-[DEF]-Ø	tumena t̥-u-[DEF]-Ø	tumena t̥-u-[DEF]-Ø
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	numem ŋ-u-[DEF]-m	nume ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	numena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	numena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø
	<b>2</b>	numem n-...	nume n-...	numena n-...	numena n-...
	<b>3</b>	pumem / kumem p-... / k-...	kume / pume k-... / p-...	pumena p-...	pumena p-...
		<b>PC 1</b>	nume ŋ-u-[DEF] Ø	numena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	numena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø
		<b>2</b>	nume n-...	numena n-...	numena n-...
		<b>3</b>	kume / pume k-... / p-...	pumena p-...	pumena p-...

		<b>/ba/ AFFECT</b>		STEM: /ba/	DEFAULT
		Paradigm: VIII		/da/	C:APICAL
				/be/	VF:FRONT
				/de/	C:APICAL, VF:FRONT
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	bam Ø-u-[DEF]-m	ba Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø
	<b>2</b>	dam Ø-u-[APIC]-m	da Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	de Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø	de Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø
	<b>3</b>	bam / bam Ø-u-[DEF]-m	ba / ba Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	tubam t̥-u-[DEF]-m	puba p-u-[DEF]-Ø	tube t̥-u-[FRONT]-Ø	tube t̥-u-[FRONT]-Ø
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	numam ŋ-u-[DEF]-m	numa ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	nume ŋ-u-[FRONT] Ø	nume ŋ-u-[FRONT] Ø
	<b>2</b>	nubam n-...	nuba n-...	nube n-...	nube n-...
	<b>3</b>	pubam / kubam p-... / k-...	kuba / puba k-... / p-...	pube p-...	pube p-...
		<b>PC 1</b>	numa ŋ-u-[DEF] Ø	nume ŋ-u-[FRONT] Ø	nume ŋ-u-[FRONT] Ø
		<b>2</b>	nuba n-...	nube n-...	nube n-...
		<b>3</b>	kuba / puba k-... / p-...	pube p-...	pube p-...

<b>/ba/ AFFECT</b>		STEM:	/ba/	DEFAULT
Paradigm: XIV			/da/	C:APICAL
			/be/	VF:FRONT
			/de/	C:APICAL, VF:FRONT
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
SG	1 banjam Ø-u-[DEF]-ŋam	ba Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]--Ø
	2 daŋam Ø-u-[APIC]-ŋam	da Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	de Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø	de Ø-u-[APIC,FRONT]-Ø
	3 banjam / banjam Ø-u-[DEF]-ŋam	ba / ba Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø	be Ø-u-[FRONT]-Ø
INCL	1 t̥ubanam t̥-u-[DEF]-ŋam	puba p-u-[DEF]-Ø	t̥ube t̥-u-[FRONT]-Ø	t̥ube t̥-u-[FRONT]-Ø
PL	1 ŋubanam ŋ-u-[DEF]-ŋam	ŋuba ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋube ŋ-u-[FRONT]-Ø	ŋube ŋ-u-[FRONT]-Ø
	2 nubanam n-...	nuba n-...	nube n-...	nube n-...
	3 pubanam / kubanam p-... / k-...	kuba / puba k-... / p-...	pube p-...	pube p-...
		PC 1 ŋuba ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋube ŋ-u-[FRONT]-Ø	ŋube ŋ-u-[FRONT]-Ø
		2 nuba n-...	nube n-...	nube n-...
		3 kuba / puba k-... / p-...	pube p-...	pube p-...

<b>/be/ AFFECT.RR</b>		STEM:	/be/	DEFAULT
Paradigm: X			/de/	C:APICAL
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
SG	1 bem Ø-u-[DEF]-m	be Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø
	2 dem Ø-u-[APIC]-m	de Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	dena Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	dena Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø
	3 bem / kubem Ø-u-[DEF]-m / k-...	be / be Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bena Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø
INCL	1 t̥ubem t̥-u-[DEF]-m	pube p-u-[DEF]-Ø	t̥ubena t̥-u-[DEF]-Ø	t̥ubena t̥-u-[DEF]-Ø
PL	1 ŋubem ŋ-u-[DEF]-m	ŋube ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø
	2 nubem n-...	nube n-...	nubena n-...	nubena n-...
	3 pubem / kubem p-... / k-...	kube / pube k-... / p-...	pubena p-...	pubena p-...
		PC 1 ŋube ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubena ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø
		2 nube n-...	nubena n-...	nubena n-...
		3 kube / pube k-... / p-...	pubena p-...	pubena p-...

<b>/mu/ COERCE</b>		STEM:	/mu/	DEFAULT	
Paradigm: XI			/nu/	C: APICAL	
			/ø/	C: WEAK	
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	muṇam ø-u-[DEF]-ṇam	mu ø-u-[DEF]-ø	muni ø-u-[DEF]-ni	muj ø-u-[DEF]-j
	<b>2</b>	nuṇam ø-u-[APIC]-ṇam	nu ø-u-[APIC]-ø	nuni ø-u-[APIC]-ni	nuj ø-u-[APIC]-j
	<b>3</b>	muṇam / muṇam ø-u-[DEF]-ṇam	mu / mu ø-u-[DEF]-ø	muni ø-u-[DEF]-ni	muj ø-u-[DEF]-j
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	tumuṇam t-u-[DEF]-ṇam	pumu p-u-[DEF]-ø	tuni t-u-[WEAK]-ni	tumuj t-u-[DEF]-j
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	ṇumuṇam ṇ-u-[DEF]-ṇam	ṇumu ṇ-u-[DEF]-ø	ṇumuni ṇ-u-[DEF]-ni	ṇumuj ṇ-u-[DEF]-j
	<b>2</b>	numuṇam n-...	numu n-...	numuni n-...	numuj n-...
	<b>3</b>	pumuṇam / kumuṇam p-... / k-...	kumu / pumu k-... / p-...	pumuni p-...	pumuj p-...
		<b>PC 1</b>	ṇumu ṇ-u-[DEF]-ø	ṇumune ṇ-u-[DEF]-ne	ṇumuj ṇ-u-[DEF]-j
		<b>2</b>	numu n-...	numune n-...	numuj n-...
		<b>3</b>	kumu / pumu k-... / p-...	pumune p-...	pumuj p-...

<b>/mi/ ‘look’</b>		STEM:	/mi/	DEFAULT	
Paradigm: X			/ni/	C:APICAL	
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	mim Ø-u-[DEF]-m	mi Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	mina Ø-u-[DEF]-na	mina Ø-u-[DEF]-na
	<b>2</b>	nim Ø-u-[APIC]-m	ni Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	nina Ø-u-[APIC]-na	nina Ø-u-[APIC]-na
	<b>3</b>	mim / mim Ø-u-[DEF]-m	mi / mi Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	mina Ø-u-[DEF]-na	mina Ø-u-[DEF]-na
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	tumim ṭ-u-[DEF]-m	pumi p-u-[DEF]-Ø	tumina ṭ-u-[DEF]-na	tumina ṭ-u-[DEF]-na
	<b>PL</b>				
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	ṇumim ṇ-u-[DEF]-m	ṇumi ṇ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ṇumina ṇ-u-[DEF]-na	ṇumina ṇ-u-[DEF]-na
	<b>2</b>	numim n-...	numi n-...	numina n-...	numina n-...
	<b>3</b>	pumim / kumuṇam p-... / k-...	kumi / pumi k-... / p-...	pumina p-...	pumina p-...
		<b>PC 1</b>	ṇumi ṇ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ṇumina ṇ-u-[DEF]-na	ṇumina ṇ-u-[DEF]-na
		<b>2</b>	numi n-...	numina n-...	numina n-...
		<b>3</b>	kumi / pumi k-... / p-...	pumina p-...	pumina p-...

<b>/bi/ ‘hear’</b>		STEM:	/bi/	DEFAULT
Paradigm: X			/di/	C:APICAL
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> bim Ø-u-[DEF]-m	bi Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bina Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bina Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø
	<b>2</b> dim Ø-u-[APIC]-m	di Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	dina Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø	dina Ø-u-[APIC]-Ø
	<b>3</b> bim / kubim Ø-u-[DEF]-m / k-...	bi / bi Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bina Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø	bina Ø-u-[DEF]-Ø
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> t̥ubim t̥-u-[DEF]-m	pubi p-u-[DEF]-Ø	t̥ubina t̥-u-[DEF]-Ø	t̥ubina t̥-u-[DEF]-Ø
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ŋubim ŋ-u-[DEF]-m	ŋubi ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubina ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubina ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø
	<b>2</b> nubim n-...	nubi n-...	nubina n-...	nubina n-...
	<b>3</b> pubim / kubim p-... / k-...	kubi / pubi k-... / p-...	pubina p-...	pubina p-...
		<b>PC 1</b> ŋubi ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubina ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubina ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø
		<b>2</b> nubi n-...	nubina n-...	nubina n-...
		<b>3</b> kubi / pubi k-... / p-...	pubina p-...	pubina p-...

<b>/bu/ LOWER</b>		STEM:	/bu/	DEFAULT	/ba/	VH:LOW
Paradigm: XVII			/du/	C:APICAL	/da/	C:APICAL, VH:LOW
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>		
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ban Ø-[LOW]-n	bu Ø-[DEF]-Ø	buni Ø-[DEF]-ni	buj Ø-[DEF]-j		
	<b>2</b> dan Ø-[LOW,APIC]-n	du Ø-[APIC]-Ø	duni Ø-[APIC]-ni	duj Ø-[APIC]-j		
	<b>3</b> ban / kuban Ø-[LOW]-n / k-u-[LOW]-n	bu / bu Ø-[DEF]-Ø	buni Ø-[DEF]-ni	buj Ø-[DEF]-j		
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> t̥uban t̥-u-[LOW]-n	pubu p-u-[DEF]-Ø	t̥ubuni t̥-u-[DEF]-ni	t̥ubuj t̥-u-[DEF]-j		
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ŋuban ŋ-u-[LOW]-n	ŋubu ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubuni ŋ-u-[DEF]-ni	ŋubuj ŋ-u-[DEF]-j		
	<b>2</b> nuban n-...	nubu n-...	nubuni n-...	nubuj n-...		
	<b>3</b> puban / kuban p-... / k-...	kubu / pubu k-... / p-...	pubuni p-...	pubuj p-...		
		<b>PC 1</b> ŋubu ŋ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ŋubune ŋ-u-[DEF]-ne	ŋubuj ŋ-u-[DEF]-j		
		<b>2</b> nubu n-...	nubune n-...	nubuj n-...		
		<b>3</b> kubu / pubu k-... / p-...	pubune p-...	pubuj p-...		

<b>/buj/ LOWER.RR</b> Paradigm: XVIII		STEM: /buj/ DEFAULT /duj/ C:APICAL	/ba/ VH:LOW /da/ C:APIC, VH:LOW	
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> bam ø-[LOW]-m	buj ø-[DEF]-ø	bana ø-[LOW]-na	bana ø-[LOW]-na
	<b>2</b> dam ø-[LOW,APIC]-m	duj ø-[APIC]- ø	dana ø-[APIC,LOW]-na	dana ø-[APIC,LOW]-na
	<b>3</b> bam / kubam ø-[LOW]-m / k-u-[LOW]-m	buj / buj ø-[DEF]-ø	bana ø-[LOW]-na	bana ø-[LOW]-na
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> t̥ubam t̥-u-[LOW]-m	pubuj p-u-[DEF]-ø	t̥ubana t̥-u-[LOW]-na	t̥ubana t̥-u-[LOW]-na
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ŋubam ŋ-u-[LOW]-m	ŋubuj ŋ-u-[DEF]-ø	ŋubana ŋ-u-[LOW]-na	ŋubana ŋ-u-[LOW]-na
	<b>2</b> nubam n-...	nubuj n-...	nubana n-...	nubana n-...
	<b>3</b> pubam / kubam p-... / k-...	kubuj / pubuj k-... / p-...	pubana p-...	pubana p-...
	<b>PC</b>	<b>1</b> ŋubuj ŋ-u-[DEF]-ø	ŋubana ŋ-u-[LOW]-na	ŋubana ŋ-u-[LOW]-na
		<b>2</b> nubuj n-...	nubana n-...	nubana n-...
		<b>3</b> kubuj / pubuj k-... / p-...	pubana p-...	pubana p-...

<b>/ø/ PIERCE</b> Paradigm: XXI		STEM: /ø/ DEFAULT /ra/ C:RHOTIC		
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ŋam ŋ-a-[DEF]-m	ŋa ŋ-a-[DEF]-ø	ŋani ŋ-a-[DEF]-ni	ŋe ŋ-e-[DEF]-ø
	<b>2</b> t̥am t̥-...	t̥a t̥-...	t̥ani t̥-...	t̥e t̥-...
	<b>3</b> dam / kam d-... / k-...	ka / pa k-... / p-...	dani d-...	de d-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> t̥am t̥-a-[DEF]-m	pa p-a-[DEF]-ø	t̥ani t̥-a-[DEF]-ni	t̥e t̥-e-[DEF]-ø
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ŋaram ŋa-[RHOT]-m	ŋa ŋ-a-[DEF]-ø	ŋarani ŋ-a-[RHOT]-ni	ŋera ŋ-e-[RHOT]-ø
	<b>2</b> naram n-...	na n-...	narani n-...	nera n-...
	<b>3</b> param / karam p-... / k-...	ka / pa k-... / p-...	pani p-...	pera p-...
		<b>PC</b>		
	<b>1</b> ŋa ŋ-a-[DEF]-ø	ŋarane ŋ-a-[RHOT]-ne	ŋera ŋ-e-[RHOT]-ø	ŋera ŋ-e-[RHOT]-ø
	<b>2</b> na n-...	narane n-...	nera n-...	nera n-...
	<b>3</b> ka / pa k-... / p-...	parane p-...	pera p-...	pera p-...

<b>/la/ ‘wipe’</b>		STEM: /la/ DEFAULT		
Paradigm: XXVI		/lla/ C:GEMINATE		
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ŋilam ŋ-i-[DEF]-m	ŋila ŋ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ŋila ŋ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ŋilangi ŋ-i-[DEF]-ŋi
	<b>2</b> ʔilam ʔ-...	ʔila ʔ-...	ʔila ʔ-...	ʔilangi ʔ-i-[DEF]-ŋi
	<b>3</b> dilam / kilam d-... / k-...	kila / pila k-... / p-...	dila d-...	dilangi d-i-[DEF]-ŋi
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʔilam ʔ-i-[DEF]-m	pila p-i-[DEF]-Ø	ʔila ʔ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ʔilangi ʔ-i-[DEF]-ŋi
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ŋillaŋam ŋ-i-[GEM]-ŋam	ŋilla ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋilla ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋillaŋi ŋ-i-[GEM]-ŋi
	<b>2</b> nillaŋam n-...	nilla n-...	nilla n-...	nillaŋi n-...
	<b>3</b> pillam / killam p-... / k-...	killa / pilla k-... / p-...	pilla p-...	pillangi p-...
		<b>PC 1</b> ŋilla ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋilla ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋillaŋi ŋ-i-[GEM]-ŋi
		<b>2</b> nilla n-...	nilla n-...	nillaŋi n-...
		<b>3</b> killa / pilla k-... / p-...	pilla p-...	pillangi p-...

<b>/li/ ‘wipe RR’</b>		STEM: /li/ DEFAULT		
Paradigm: XXXVII		/lli/ C:GEMINATE		
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ŋilim ŋ-i-[DEF]-m	ŋili ŋ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ŋili ŋ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ŋilingi ŋ-i-[DEF]-ŋi
	<b>2</b> ʔilim ʔ-...	ʔili ʔ-...	ʔili ʔ-...	ʔilingi ʔ-i-[DEF]-ŋi
	<b>3</b> dilim / kilim d-... / k-...	kili / pili k-... / p-...	dili d-...	dilingi d-i-[DEF]-ŋi
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʔilim ʔ-i-[DEF]-m	pili p-i-[DEF]-Ø	ʔili ʔ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ʔilingi ʔ-i-[DEF]-ŋi
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ŋillim ŋ-i-[GEM]-m	ŋilli ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋilli ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋillingi ŋ-i-[GEM]-ŋi
	<b>2</b> nillim n-...	nilli n-...	nilli n-...	nillingi n-...
	<b>3</b> pillim / killim p-... / k-...	killi / pilli k-... / p-...	pilli p-...	pillingi p-...
		<b>PC 1</b> ŋilli ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋilli ŋ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ŋillingi ŋ-i-[GEM]-ŋi
		<b>2</b> nilli n-...	nilli n-...	nillingi n-...
		<b>3</b> killi / pilli k-... / p-...	pilli p-...	pillingi p-...



<b>/na/ ‘use fire’</b>		STEM: /na/ DEFAULT /nna/ C:GEMINATE /Ø/ C:WEAK		Paradigm: XXVII	
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ḡinaḡam	ḡina	ḡinaḡa	ḡinaḡi	
	ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡam	ḡ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡa	ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
	<b>2</b> ṭinaḡam	ṭina	ṭinaḡa	ṭinaḡi	
	ṭ-...	ṭ-...	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡa	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
<b>3</b>	ninaḡam / kinḡam	kina / pina	niḡa	niḡa	
	n-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	n-i-[WEAK]-ḡa	n-i-[WEAK]-ḡa	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ṭinaḡam	pina	ṭinaḡa	ṭinaḡi	
	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡam	p-i-[DEF]-Ø	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡa	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ḡinnaḡam	ḡinna	ḡinnaḡa	ḡinnaḡi	
	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡam	ḡ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡa	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡi	
	<b>2</b> ninnaḡam	ninna	ninnaḡa	ninnaḡi	
	n-...	n-...	n-...	n-...	
	<b>3</b> pinnaḡam / kinnaḡam	kinna / pinna	pinnaḡa	pinnaḡi	
	p-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	p-...	p-...	
		<b>PC</b>	<b>1</b> ḡinna	ḡinnaḡa	ḡinnaḡi
			ḡ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡa	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡi
		<b>2</b> ninna	ninnaḡa	ninnaḡi	
			n-...	n-...	
		<b>3</b> kinna / pinna	pinnaḡa	pinnaḡi	
			k-... / p-...	p-...	

<b>/ra/ ‘watch’</b>		STEM: /ra/ DEFAULT /ɿa/ C:GEMINATE /Ø/ C:WEAK		Paradigm: XXVIII	
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ḡiraḡan	ḡira	ḡira	ḡiraḡi	
	ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡan	ḡ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ḡ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ḡ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
	<b>2</b> ṭiraḡan	ṭira	ṭira	ṭiraḡi	
	ṭ-...	ṭ-...	ṭ-...	ṭ-...	
<b>3</b>	diraḡan / kiraḡan	kira / pira	dira	diraḡi	
	d-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	d-...	d-...	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ṭiraḡan	pira	ṭira	ṭiraḡi	
	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡan	p-i-[DEF]-Ø	ṭ-i-[DEF]-Ø	ṭ-i-[DEF]-ḡi	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ḡaḡan	ḡiɿa	ḡiɿa	ḡiɿaḡi	
	ḡ-a-[WEAK]-ḡan	ḡ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ḡ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡi	
	<b>2</b> naḡam	niɿa	niɿa	niɿaḡi	
	n-...	n-...	n-...	n-...	
	<b>3</b> paḡam / kaḡam	kiɿa / piɿa	piɿa	piɿaḡi	
	p-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	p-...	p-...	
		<b>PC</b>	<b>1</b> ḡiɿa	ḡiɿa	ḡiɿaḡe
			ḡ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ḡ-i-[GEM]-Ø	ḡ-i-[GEM]-ḡe
		<b>2</b> niɿa	niɿa	niɿaḡe	
			n-...	n-...	
		<b>3</b> kiɿa / piɿa	piɿa	piɿaḡe	
			k-... / p-...	p-...	

<b>/ra/ ‘watch RR’</b>		STEM:	/ri/	DEFAULT
Paradigm: XXXVI			/ɿ/	C:GEMINATE
			/ø/	C:WEAK
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ɲirim	ɲiri	ɲiri	ɲirini
	ɲ-i-[DEF]-m	ɲ-i-[DEF]-∅	ɲ-i-[DEF]-∅	ɲ-i-[DEF]-ni
	<b>2</b> ʈirim	ʈiri	ʈiri	ʈirini
	ʈ-...	ʈ-...	ʈ-...	ʈ-...
	<b>3</b> dirim / kirim	kiri / piri	diri	dirini
	d-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	d-...	d-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʈirim	piri	ʈiri	ʈirini
	ʈ-i-[DEF]-m	p-i-[DEF]-∅	ʈ-i-[DEF]-∅	ʈ-i-[DEF]-ni
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ɲim	ɲiɿ	ɲi	ɲiɿ
	ɲ-i-[WEAK]-m	ɲ-i-[GEM]-∅	ɲ-i-[WEAK]-∅	ɲ-i-[GEM]-∅
	<b>2</b> nim	niɿ	ni	niɿ
	n-...	n-...	n-...	n-...
	<b>3</b> pim / kim	kiɿ / piɿ	pi	piɿ
	p-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	p-...	p-...
	<b>PC 1</b> ɲiɿ	ɲi	ɲiɿ	ɲiɿ
	ɲ-i-[GEM]-∅	ɲ-i-[WEAK]-∅	ɲ-i-[GEM]-∅	ɲ-i-[GEM]-∅
	<b>2</b> niɿ	ni	niɿ	niɿ
	n-...	n-...	n-...	n-...
	<b>3</b> kiɿ / piɿ	pi	piɿ	piɿ
	k-... / p-...	p-...	p-...	p-...

<b>/du/ IMPEL</b>		STEM: /du/ DEFAULT		/dɖu/ C:GEM	
Paradigm: XXIX		/da/ VH:LOW		/dɖa/ C:GEM, VH:LOW	
		/di/ VF:FRONT		/dɖi/ C:GEM, VF:FRONT	
		/de/ VH:LOW, VF:FRONT		/dɖe/ C:GEM, VH:LOW, VF:FRONT	
	<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>	
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ɲuɖan	ɲuɖu	ɲuɖini	ɲuɖi	
	ɲ-u-[LOW]-n	ɲ-u-[DEF]-∅	ɲ-u-[FRONT]-ni	ɲ-u-[FRONT]-∅	
	<b>2</b> ʈuɖan	ʈuɖu	ʈuɖini	ʈuɖi	
	ʈ-...	ʈ-...	ʈ-...	ʈ-...	
<b>3</b>	wuɖan / kuɖan	kuɖu / puɖu	wuɖini	wuɖi	
	w-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	w-...	w-...	
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʈuɖan	puɖu	ʈuɖini	ʈuɖi	
	ʈ-u-[LOW]-n	p-u-[DEF]-∅	ʈ-u-[FRONT]-ni	ʈ-u-[FRONT]-∅	
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ɲuɖɖan	ɲuɖɖu	ɲuɖɖini	ɲuɖɖi	
	ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW]-n	ɲ-u-[GEM]-∅	ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-ni	ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-∅	
	<b>2</b> nuɖɖan	nuɖɖu	nuɖɖini	nuɖɖi	
	n-...	n-...	n-...	n-...	
<b>3</b>	puɖɖan / kuɖɖan	kuɖɖu / puɖɖu	puɖɖini	puɖɖi	
	p-... / k-...	k-... / p-...	p-...	p-...	
		<b>PC 1</b> ɲuɖɖa	ɲuɖɖene	ɲuɖɖe	
		ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW]-∅	ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT,LOW]-ne	ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT,LOW]-∅	
		<b>2</b> nuɖɖa	nuɖɖene	nuɖɖe	
		n-...	n-...	n-...	
		<b>3</b> kuɖɖa / puɖɖa	puɖɖene	puɖɖe	
		k-... / p-...	p-...	p-...	

<div> <div> <div>/dʒ/ IMPEL.RR</div> <div>Paradigm: XXX</div> </div> <div> <div>STEM: /dʒ/ DEFAULT</div> <div>/dʒa/ VH:LOW, VF:BACK</div> </div> <div> <div>/dʒi/ C:GEM</div> <div>/dʒe/ C:GEM, VH:LOW</div> <div>/dʒa/ C:GEM, VH:LOW, VF:BACK</div> </div> </div>				
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
SG	1 ɲuɖam ɲ-u-[LOW,BACK]-m	ɲuɖi ɲ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ɲuɖana ɲ-u-[LOW,BACK]-na	ɲuɖana ɲ-u-[LOW,BACK]-na
	2 tɲuɖam tɲ-...	tɲuɖi tɲ-...	tɲuɖana tɲ-...	tɲuɖana tɲ-...
	3 wuɖam / kuɖam w-... / k-...	kuɖi / puɖi k-... / p-...	wuɖana w-...	wuɖana w-...
INCL	1 tɲuɖam tɲ-u-[LOW]-n	puɖi p-u-[DEF]-Ø	tɲuɖana tɲ-u-[LOW,BACK]-na	tɲuɖana tɲ-u-[LOW,BACK]-na
PL	1 ɲuɖɖam ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW,BACK]-n	ɲuɖɖi ɲ-u-[GEM]-Ø	ɲuɖɖana ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW,BACK]-na	ɲuɖɖana ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW,BACK]-na
	2 nuɖɖam n-...	nuɖɖi n-...	nuɖɖana n-...	nuɖɖana n-...
	3 puɖɖam / kuɖɖam p-... / k-...	kuɖɖi / puɖɖi k-... / p-...	puɖɖana p-...	puɖɖana p-...
		PC 1 ɲuɖɖe ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW]-Ø	ɲuɖɖana ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW,BACK]-na	ɲuɖɖana ɲ-u-[GEM,LOW,BACK]-na
		2 nuɖɖe n-...	nuɖɖana n-...	nuɖɖana n-...
		3 kuɖɖe / puɖɖe k-... / p-...	puɖɖana p-...	puɖɖana p-...
<div> <div> <div>/la/ 'eat'</div> <div>Paradigm: XXXI</div> </div> <div> <div>STEM: /la/ DEFAULT</div> <div>/le/ VF:FRONT</div> </div> <div> <div>/lla/ C:GEMINATE</div> <div>/lle/ C:GEMINATE, VF:FRONT</div> </div> </div>				
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
SG	1 ɲulam ɲ-u-[DEF]-m	ɲula ɲ-u-[DEF]-Ø	ɲule ɲ-u-[FRONT]-Ø	ɲule ɲ-u-[FRONT]-Ø
	2 tɲulam tɲ-...	tɲula tɲ-...	tɲule tɲ-...	tɲule tɲ-...
	3 wulam / kulam w-... / k-...	kula / pula k-... / p-...	wule w-...	wule w-...
INCL	1 tɲulam tɲ-u-[DEF]-m	pula p-u-[DEF]-Ø	tɲule tɲ-u-[FRONT]-Ø	tɲule tɲ-u-[FRONT]-Ø
PL	1 ɲullam ɲ-u-[GEM]-m	ɲulla ɲ-u-[GEM]-Ø	ɲulle ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-Ø	ɲulle ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-Ø
	2 nullam n-...	nulla n-...	nulle n-...	nulle n-...
	3 pullam / kullam p-... / k-...	kulla / pulla k-... / p-...	pulle p-...	pulle p-...
		PC 1 ɲulla ɲ-u-[GEM]-Ø	ɲulle ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-Ø	ɲulle ɲ-u-[GEM,FRONT]-Ø
		2 nulla n-...	nulle n-...	nulle n-...
		3 kulla / pulla k-... / p-...	pulle p-...	pulle p-...

<b>/ɣu/ ‘pull’</b>		STEM: /ɣu/ DEFAULT /ɣa/ VH:LOW /ɣi/ VF:FRONT		
Paradigm: XXXII				
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ɣuŋan ɣ-u-[LOW]-n	ɣuŋu ɣ-u-[DEF]-∅	ɣuŋuni ɣ-u-[DEF]-ni	ɣuŋuni ɣ-u-[DEF]-ni
	<b>2</b> ʔuŋan ʔ-...	ʔuŋu ʔ-...	ʔuŋuni ʔ-...	ʔuŋuni ʔ-...
	<b>3</b> juŋan / kuŋan j-... / k-...	kuŋu / puŋu k-... / p-...	juŋuni j-...	juŋuni j-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʔuŋan ʔ-u-[LOW]-n	puŋu p-u-[DEF]-∅	ʔuŋi ʔ-u-[FRONT]-∅	ʔuŋi ʔ-u-[FRONT]-∅
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ɣuŋan ɣ-u-[LOW]-n	ɣuŋu ɣ-u-[DEF]-∅	ɣuŋuni ɣ-u-[DEF]-ni	ɣuŋuni ɣ-u-[DEF]-ni
	<b>2</b> nuŋan n-...	nuŋu n-...	nuŋuni n-...	nuŋuni n-...
	<b>3</b> puŋan / kuŋan p-... / k-...	kuŋu / puŋu k-... / p-...	puŋuni p-...	puŋuni p-...
		<b>PC 1</b> ɣuŋu ɣ-u-[DEF]-∅	ɣuŋune ɣ-u-[DEF]-ne	ɣuŋune ɣ-u-[DEF]-ne
		<b>2</b> nuŋu n-...	nuŋune n-...	nuŋune n-...
		<b>3</b> kuŋu / puŋu k-... / p-...	puŋune p-...	puŋune p-...

<b>/ɣi/ ‘pull RR’</b>		STEM: /ɣi/ DEFAULT /ɣe/ VH:LOW /ɣa/ VH:LOW, VF:FRONT		
Paradigm: XXXIII				
	NFUT (/PRSL)	IRR (/FUT)	PST	PSTIRR
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b> ɣuŋam ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-m	ɣuŋi ɣ-u-[DEF]-∅	ɣuŋana ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na	ɣuŋana ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na
	<b>2</b> ʔuŋam ʔ-...	ʔuŋi ʔ-...	ʔuŋana ʔ-...	ʔuŋana ʔ-...
	<b>3</b> juŋam / kuŋam j-... / k-...	kuŋi / puŋi k-... / p-...	juŋana j-...	juŋana j-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b> ʔuŋam ʔ-u-[LOW]-m	puŋi p-u-[DEF]-∅	ʔuŋana ʔ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na	ʔuŋana ʔ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b> ɣuŋam ɣ-u-[LOW]-m	ɣuŋi ɣ-u-[DEF]-∅	ɣuŋana ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na	ɣuŋana ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na
	<b>2</b> nuŋam n-...	nuŋi n-...	nuŋana n-...	nuŋana n-...
	<b>3</b> puŋam / kuŋam p-... / k-...	kuŋi / puŋi k-... / p-...	puŋana p-...	puŋana p-...
		<b>PC 1</b> ɣuŋe ɣ-u-[LOW]-∅	ɣuŋana ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na	ɣuŋana ɣ-u-[LOW,FRONT]-na
		<b>2</b> nuŋe n-...	nuŋana n-...	nuŋana n-...
		<b>3</b> kuŋe / puŋe k-... / p-...	puŋana p-...	puŋana p-...

<b>/ṇṭa/ ‘crouch’</b>		STEM: <b>/ṇṭa/</b>	DEFAULT		
Paradigm: XXXV					
		<b>NFUT (/PRSL)</b>	<b>IRR (/FUT)</b>	<b>PST</b>	<b>PSTIRR</b>
<b>SG</b>	<b>1</b>	ṇaṇṭaṇan ṇ-a-[DEF]-ṇan	ṇaṇṭa ṇ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṇaṇṭa ṇ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṇaṇṭaṇi ṇ-a-[DEF]-ṇi
	<b>2</b>	ṭaṇṭaṇan ṭ-...	ṭaṇṭa ṭ-...	ṭaṇṭa ṭ-...	ṭaṇṭaṇi ṭ-...
	<b>3</b>	kaṇṭaṇan / kaṇṭaṇan k-... / k-...	kaṇṭa / paṇṭa k-... / p-...	kaṇṭa k-...	kaṇṭaṇi k-...
<b>INCL</b>	<b>1</b>	ṭaṇṭaṇan ṭ-i-[DEF]-ṇan	paṇṭa p-a-[DEF]-∅	ṭaṇṭa ṭ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṭaṇṭaṇi ṭ-a-[DEF]-ṇi
<b>PL</b>	<b>1</b>	ṇaṇṭaṇan ṇ-a-[DEF]-ṇan	ṇaṇṭa ṇ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṇaṇṭa ṇ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṇaṇṭaṇi ṇ-a-[DEF]-ṇi
	<b>2</b>	naṇṭaṇan n-...	naṇṭa n-...	naṇṭa n-...	naṇṭaṇi n-...
	<b>3</b>	paṇṭaṇan / kaṇṭaṇan p-a-... / k-a-...	kaṇṭa / paṇṭa k-... / p-...	paṇṭa p-...	paṇṭaṇi p-...
		<b>PC 1</b>	ṇaṇṭa ṇ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṇaṇṭa ṇ-a-[DEF]-∅	ṇaṇṭaṇi ṇ-a-[DEF]-ṇi
		<b>2</b>	naṇṭa n-...	naṇṭa n-...	naṇṭaṇi n-...
		<b>3</b>	kaṇṭa / paṇṭa k-... / p-...	paṇṭa p-...	paṇṭaṇi p-...