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A GRAMMAR OF ARGENTINE TOBA:
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ABSTRACT

A GRAMMAR OF ARGENTINE TOBA:
VERBAL AND NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Harriet Esther Manelis Klein

This dissertation is the first synchronic description in any language of the verbal and nominal morphology of Toba, a language spoken primarily in the Argentine province of the Chaco. Toba belongs to the Guaykuruan language family and is also spoken in the Gran Chaco area of Paraguay and Bolivia.

The grammar is based on fieldwork carried out in Argentina in 1971-1972. Though the initial chapters analyze the phonemic system and the morphophonology, the major part of the grammar is concerned with the structure and the semantics of the verbal and nominal morphology. Included in this analysis are chapters on the verb base, pronominal prefixes and verb suffixes, as well as chapters on the noun base, possessive prefixes, noun suffixes and nominal particles. The dissertation includes a text analysis of a speech by a monolingual speaker of Toba, which exemplifies the structural and semantic analysis undertaken in the previous chapters.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this dissertation was carried out in the various Toba agrupaciones and barrios in Argentina. I would like to thank all the Toba for welcoming me and helping me. Even more importantly, I wish to acknowledge their constant and continuing letters urging me to complete the grammar of their language.

My main informants, Oswaldo Gomez, Julio Ramirez and Ramon Corbalán, deserve special thanks. They not only provided me with most of the data, but they also extended their warm friendship, for all of which I am grateful. I also am thankful for the help given me by the congregation of the Iglesia Evangélica Unida of the Barrio Toba in Resistencia, as well as the members of the Comision Coordinadora de Instituciones Indígenas de la Republica Argentina.

Dr. Ester Hermitte was most helpful in providing me with background ethnographic data on the barrios, as was Dr. José Miranda of the Museum of Anthropology in Resistencia. Dr. Elmer Miller of Temple University was very kind in opening to me his files on the Toba and for putting me in touch with the Mennonite missionary group in the Chaco.

I also owe a debt to Prof. Paul Friedrich who first convinced me that I should work on an American Indian language, to Professors Shirley Silver and Mary Haas who

furthered the idea, and to Prof. Kenneth Kensinger, whose knowledge of South American Indian languages pointed me towards the Toba.

I am very grateful to Prof. Harvey Pitkin, my thesis adviser and sponsor, for his suggestions in the analysis of this grammar and for the help and advice he has so often extended. I would also like to thank Prof. Robert Austerlitz and Prof. Joseph Malone for their careful reading of the dissertation. Both Charlotte Linde and Nancy Bonvillain provided me with many helpful suggestions for revisions.

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On a personal note I would like to thank Rachel, Daniel and Jacob who out of love and without knowing why encouraged me. Finally, the greatest thanks of all go to my husband, Herb, who not only was an excellent companion in the field, but who also provided me with both scholarly and secretarial assistance in the writing of the dissertation. Without him it would never even have happened.

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1.0 Introduction

Toba or Namqom is a Guaykuruan language spoken by the Toba Indians in Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay. The majority of these speakers (15,000) are found in the north-eastern Argentine provinces of Chaco and Formosa, while about 1,000 more are scattered through the adjacent Gran Chaco region of Bolivia and Paraguay (see map, p. 2).[1] Aside from this central zone, recent immigration has led to the settlement of about 300 speakers in the Gran Buenos Aires area and about the same number in several cities of the province of Santa Fé.[2]

The Toba of Paraguay, called Emok-Toba, were originally related to the Argentine Toba. At present, however, their language would not be intelligible to the Argentine group because of the tremendous influence exerted by the language

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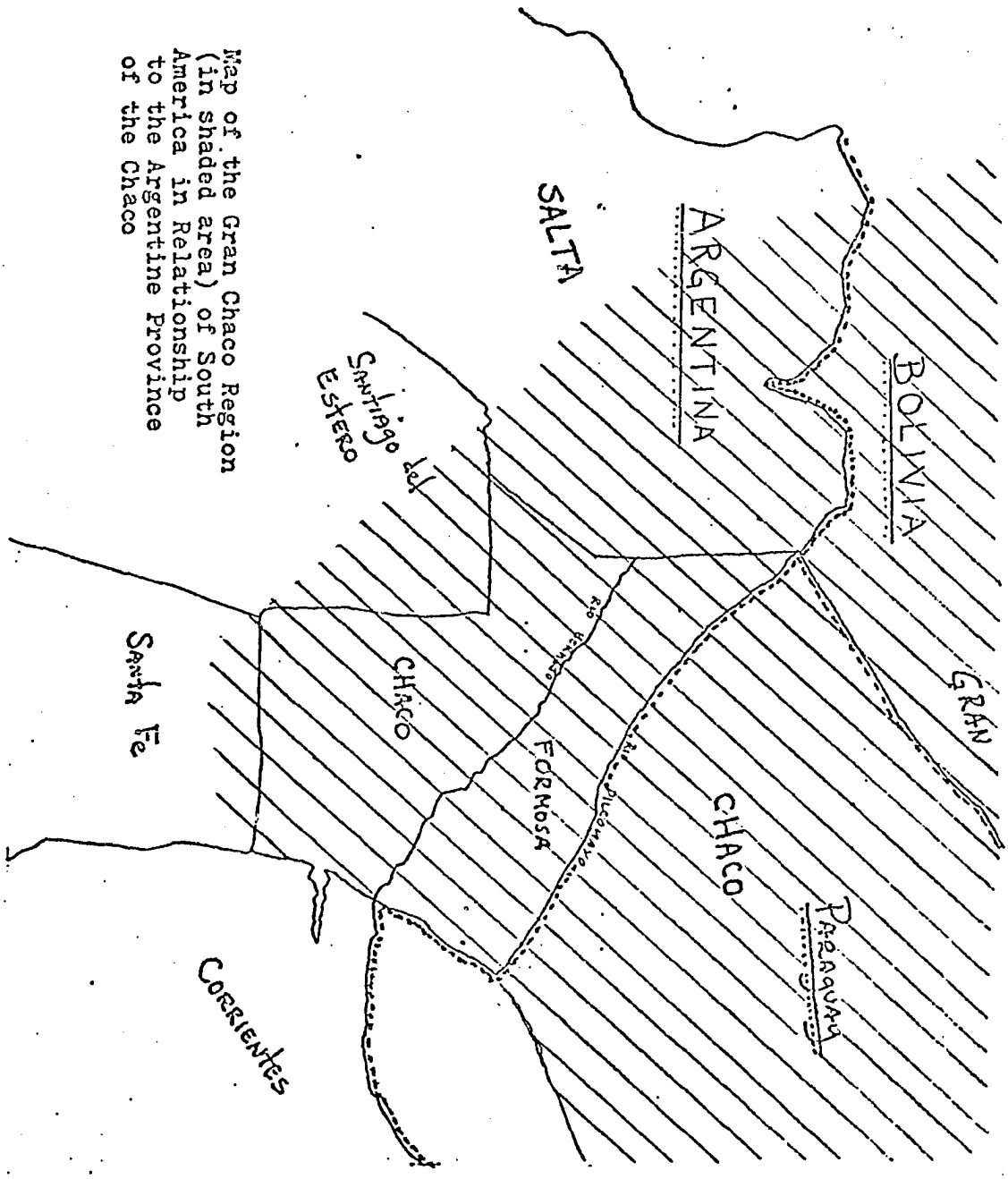
1. Ministerio del Interior. 1968. Censo Indigena Nacional, v. 2. Buenos Aires, for population figures of the Argentine Toba. For the Toba Indians of the Gran Chaco of Bolivia and Paraguay, see Susnik, Blanca J., 1962. "Estudio Emok-Toba". Boletin de la Sociedad Cientifica del Paraguay, 7. Asuncion; and Shapiro, S. 1962. "The Toba Indians of Bolivia." America Indigena 22: iii, 241-45.

2. The figures for these urban dwellers are from my informant, Oswaldo Gomez (oral communication), who had participated in a census taken by Edelmi Griva of Rosario which has not been published. These figures are in the process of being corroborated by Elmer Miller who is now working with the urban Toba in Argentina.



Map of the Gran Chaco Region (in shaded area) of South America in Relationship to the Argentine Province of the Chaco

of another Chaco stock, Mascoian.[1] This group is therefore excluded from this study. The Bolivian Toba are also excluded because they had been a part of the Paraguayan group and had migrated to Bolivia during the Chaco War of 1932-36.

1.1 Argentine Toba

The Argentine Toba are primarily located in the north-eastern province of the Chaco, with a small contingent in the neighboring province of Formosa. The Formosa Toba speak the Taksik dialect, which is also spoken in the northwestern part of Chaco province (see map, p. 4).[2] Unlike the Chaco Toba, the Formosa group live largely in scattered settlements, primarily in small extended family units. They also are generally monolingual and outside the market economy.

The Chaco Toba are the most numerous and the most closely related to the dominant Argentine culture. While a small percentage live in isolated subsistence-agricultural units well away from the semi-sedentary small communities, the majority engage in some form of commercial agriculture. Many work their own lands and sell their farm surplus so that

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1. Interview with Blanca Susnik at the Museo Andres Barbero in Asuncion, Paraguay, June 1972.

2. Among the rest of the Argentine Toba, the word Taksik is now utilized as a derogatory expression meaning crude, uncouth, or uneducated.

Map of the Province of the Chaco
Republic of Argentina

they can purchase manufactured goods. However, most of the Chaco Toba are migratory farm workers who follow the seasonal cycle of planting and harvesting in the cotton, sugar and algarroba plantations of the northeast. These same migrants also work off-season in the region's numerous lumber mills. It is from this same large pool of mobile labor that migrants to the large urban areas are drawn.

In all the major urban centers of the Chaco, these Toba migrants have formed their own barrios, or districts, and work there primarily for local and federal government agencies, both as skilled and as semi-skilled laborers. Moreover, among the urban Toba, unemployment is high and migration, both back to the countryside and to other cities in Argentina is fairly common.

All my informants came from the Chaco province and had at one time or another been involved in each of the above mentioned activities. My main informants had migrated to the city of Buenos Aires for the increased benefits they thought urban living could offer them. Furthermore migration to distant areas is by no means conceived of as a form of self-exile and visiting between families, which is a prevalent feature of social life in the Chaco, is continued as an integral part of urban living. Thus, my informants made at least one trip a year to the Chaco, while at the same time visiting relatives from the Chaco were constant members of their family units. In fact, a visit to the city

Toba family could extend up to three months. Moreover, when it proved economically unfeasible for a family to remain in the city, as was the case with one of my informants, a return to the Chaco and to life as an agricultural laborer was the choice.

1.2 Toba speakers

Though the census data on the Toba indicate the number of people who call themselves Toba, the actual number of speakers is probably somewhat lower. This is because a number of young Toba, especially those who are urban dwellers no longer speak the language.

Those Toba who are over the age of 50 (no more than 8% of the population) are almost always monolingual speakers. Those between the ages of 35 and 49 (about 16%) are principally Toba speakers, but also speak some Spanish.[1] Most Toba between 18 and 34, both urban and non-urban, speak both languages, the degree of fluency in Spanish being determined by education and economic activity. In the non-

1. These percentages are estimates based on the census of a typical Toba agglomeration, Quitilipi. According to a mimeographed census made by the Associacion Amigos de Aborigen de Quitilipi, the following data can be extrapolated. Out of a total aboriginal population of 2,260 persons 192 people were over 50 years old (i.e. 8%) and 334 (i.e. 16%) were between 35 and 49 years old. These percentages are intended to give a rough idea of age breakdown among the Toba, mortality rates being very high (56% of the group being under 20). Certainly my own visits in the barrios seem to corroborate these general statistics.

urban areas of the Chaco, those under 18 tend to speak better Toba than Spanish, but generally some of both.

Urban pre-school children also tend to speak both languages. However, those between the ages of 6 and 18 in the urban areas frequently speak better Spanish than Toba. In some cases, it even appears that this age group no longer speaks Toba at all. The fact that these children are losing command of their language is both a source of pride and of distress to their parents. It adds self-respect to those parents who place great emphasis on the children's ability to acquire correct Spanish speech habits, for they view such a qualification as a means to progress in the Argentine world. Thus, they mistakenly equate the loss of their native speech with a loss of the provincial Spanish accent, believing that only the urban dialects will lead to advancement.

While some are eager for such linguistic acculturation, other Toba view its results with fear. Their concern for their language and their customs is great and is reflected in the recent growth of numerous pro-indigenous organizations and committees. For the vast majority of Toba, loss of language by their children seems to be the ultimate fate of the group. The urban barrios are closely linked with other poor Indian as well as non-Indian populations and Toba children are in contact with only Spanish speakers both in and out of school. The result is that urban Toba

children use Spanish both at play and in school and retain Toba only for home use.[1] Even in such well known districts as the barrio Toba in Resistencia, numbers of non-Toba families have moved in and have even intermarried with Tobas. In the cities outside of the Chaco, the more scattered families of Toba speakers find retention of language and customs among their children even more difficult.

1.3 Linguistic fieldwork

The fieldwork for this dissertation was undertaken in the province of Chaco and in the city of Buenos Aires. In the Chaco, I worked primarily in the Barrio Toba of Resistencia, but also with informants in the Barrio Toba called Namqom in Presidente Roque Saénz Peña, and with the Toba in Casteli. The informants with whom I worked in Buenos Aires originally came from the town called Machagai, from Resistencia, and from Pampa del Indio (see map, p. 4).

The fieldwork was accomplished in two separate field trips, the first from July 1971 to February 1972, and the second during June of 1972.

Though I had four regular informants, the majority of

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1. An interesting socio-linguistic factor is the interaction within the urban barrios of the various groups. Since the largest number of new immigrants to these barrios are Paraguayans and are speakers of Guarani, it turns out that many of the Toba children in Buenos Aires now speak Guarani as well as Toba or Spanish.

the time I worked with Oswaldo Gómez (Negro), aged 38, from the town of Machagai. He was the father of nine children and had worked for five years as a stock boy in a restaurant in Buenos Aires. His knowledge of Spanish was very good and his knowledge of Toba customs, mythology and language excellent. He had not graduated from public school but was literate in Spanish. I worked with Gómez six days a week for three-hour sessions for the entire time I was in Buenos Aires.

Besides Gómez, I worked with three members of the Ramírez family on a regular basis. I started working first with Julio Ramírez, the brother of the cacique (headman) Nives Ramírez, 35, who came from Pampa del Indio, and who had been unemployed for over a year. We worked together two mornings a week for three hour sessions. Since his knowledge of Spanish was not as good as Gómez' and because his interest would occasionally lag, my sessions with him soon included some other member of his family. Most often his brother-in-law, Adriano Canciano, whose own brother was the curandero (folk healer) of the barrio Toba in Resistencia, joined us. His assistance was valuable because his Spanish was better than Julio's. When Adriano had changitos (part-time jobs), Elvira Ramírez, also 35, Julio's wife, took part in the sessions. At first, her contributions were minimal, since Toba women are expected to be quiet in the presence of their husbands. However, she was encouraged by

Julio and myself to participate, and soon became an excellent informant. Finally frequent visitors from the Chaco participated in these family group sessions. They also readily joined in the work sessions and provided me with additional text materials as well as with a wealth of dialectal information.

While in the Chaco, I worked primarily with Ramón Corbalán, 30, a musician and most recently an apprentice-carpenter. Additionally, I wored with Marcelo Gonzalez, the assistant pastor of the Iglesia Evangélica Unida (the indigenous pentecostal church of the barrio), and with about ten of his parishioners who maintained an active interest in their language. These latter provided me with marathon work session in the church on all aspects of the language, as well as with very valuable data on linguistic diversity. During other sessions in Saenz Peña, I worked with Aurelio López, pastor of the Iglesia Evangélica Unida there, and one of the Toba who had worked as an informant for the Bible Society's translation project of two books of the New Testament into Toba. In Casteli, I worked with Jorge Abel Castro, 82, a monolingual speaker from Bermejito and his son Serafino Castro, the cacique of the group at Casteli, with Serafino's niece, Nita Peréz, 19; and with an artisan, Juan Eduardo Enderecio, 30.

1.4 Elicitation techniques

My elicitation of Toba was done in Spanish. All my notes are in Spanish and Toba, with occasional lapses into English for greater clarification. I made free use of drawings and cut-out pictures to clarify certain points further. The tape recorder was utilized in every elicitation session. I taught my informants how to use the machine so that they could freely leave it on or turn it off during conversations that they felt uncomfortable having recorded. Thus, much personal information was recorded but political information (the recording of which made them uncomfortable) was not taped.

The elicitation procedure in Toba was initiated with simple single word utterances which were taperecorded and simultaneously written down in notebooks. These tapes were immediately relistened to and further elicitation was done on the basis of either discrepancies in the tape or unclear points in my notes. These single word utterances covered a wide variety of semantic domains including body parts, kinship terms, animals, trees and other botanical items, weather, and various activities like cooking and hunting.

Sentence elicitation followed in like manner with tapes and notebooks and was then followed almost immediately by the recording of text material. From both the single-sentence data and the text data further paradigmatic

elicitation took place. The text elicitation consisted of texts on a wide range of areas and interests. Since one of my informants had been trained as a curandero, I have collected a variety of remedies for curing diseases as part of the corpus. Text material on anthropomorphic mythological animals which affect hunting were also elicited, as well as many statements on what life used to be like before the Toba became christianized. I was able to elicit much material on life in the fields as agricultural worker or hunter, on life in the city, on instructions on how to make certain objects, or how to cook indigenous meals. I also recorded numerous conversations between informants that covered a wide range of interests, including how to go about getting a loan to buy a cement mixer which would allow the group to form a brick-making cooperative.

Much of the data was put on 4-by-6 slips while I was still in the field, thus permitting me to organize most of the material while informants were still available. This technique encouraged me to recheck the accuracy of my glosses, a task which I deemed necessary because both our knowledge of Spanish was imperfect. The results of this recheck of the glosses, in fact, provided additional information of a sociolinguistic nature.

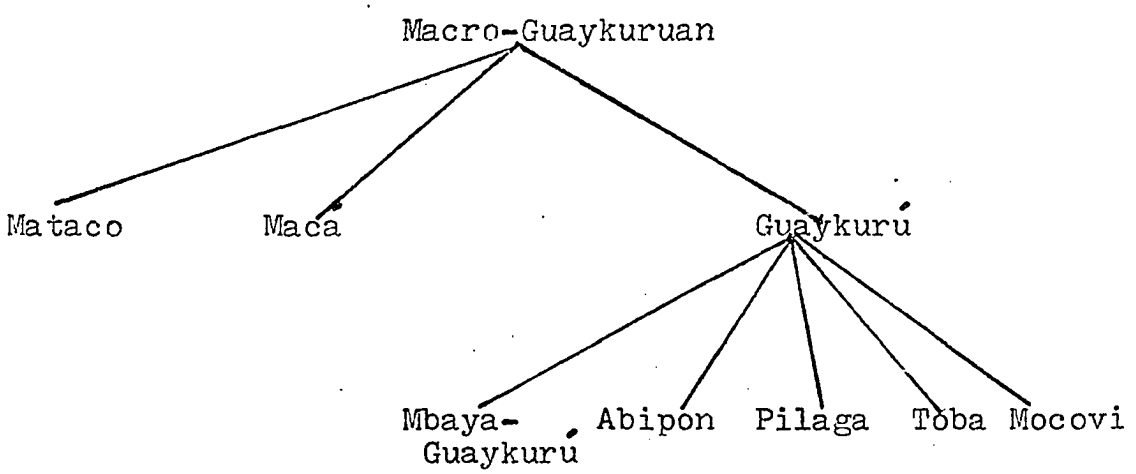
During my second field trip I checked out the preliminary analysis prepared in the States between February and June (1972) and completed the analysis of the verb morphology.

Some new text material was also collected at that time. In total, 720 hours of interviews were obtained from informants in these two trips. This data was transcribed into thirteen notebooks containing 2,600 pages of approximately 17,000 single words, 700 sentences (5 to 7 words per sentence), and 20 texts of a minimum of 20 sentences each. Counting duplications, the total number of words in my corpus is in excess of 20,000.

2.0 Introduction: Language

All recent language classifications agree in categorizing Toba as a Guaykuruan language.[1] As can be seen in the chart below, it is closely related to four other languages of the same family.

Chart of Linguistic Relationships



Both the Mataco and Maca language families are also found in the Chaco region. However, they are not spoken in the

1. Brinton (1898); Ducci (1904); Greenberg (1959); Imbelloni (1936); Karsten (1923, 1932); Kersten (1905); Koch-Grünberg (1903); Lafone y Quevedo (1899, 1910); Lehmann-Nitsche (1925); Loukotka (1968); McQuown (1959); Mason (1950); Metraux (1946); Palavecino (1931-33); Tebboth (1943); Tovar (1961).

east and central parts of the Province of Chaco, and most Toba speakers do not even know of their existence.

2.1 Guaykurú

The Mbaya-Guaykurú language is now extinct. At present there are no Abipon speakers in Argentina, but there are many Mocovi to be found in the southern part of the Chaco province, especially in the area of Villa Ángela and Napalpí (Miranda, 1968, p.76). Pilagá is spoken in the northwestern part of the Chaco and sometimes is classified as a separate language and sometimes as a dialect of Toba (see 2.2)[1] The relationship between Toba and Mocovi seems fairly close. However, no time depth of separation can be determined, for there has not been any systematic work done on Mocovi. According to my informants, there are some initial difficulties in understanding Mocovi speech, but these are readily overcome.

The similarities between these Guaykuruan languages and the other Chaco languages seem to be based more upon areal features due to geographic location than to some common origin. According to Swadesh, however, there was some distant relation between Guaykuru and various other languages of the southern half of South America, including Mapuche, Tuelche, Alacaluf, and Yamana (Tovar, 1961; 42).

1. A recent work by Elena Najlis and Lidia Bruno (1965) attempts to demonstrate its status as a dialect of Toba.

Much more work on all the above-mentioned languages needs to be done before a realistic statement of relationships and origins can be made.

There are several Argentine scholars working on the indigenous languages of their country at present, but their interests and publications generally have been limited. A recent phonology of Mataco has appeared, as well as a text analysis of Vilela - both Chaco languages. Also Salvador Bucca of the University of Buenos Aires has been working on the Guaykuruan family of languages for the past sixteen years but the results of his investigation have thus far not appeared. Finally, the Northamerican Mennonite missionary, Albert Buckwalter, has been working on a still unpublished dictionary of Toba for some ten years and was instrumental in translating and publishing the Gospels of St. Mark and the Apostles into Toba.

Thus, in spite of the fact that work is currently being done in the area of Chaco languages there is little synchronic material available for the linguistic investigator to utilize.[1] An early grammar of Toba by Padre Bárcena (1893), though an important source for lexical materials, follows the style of latinate grammars and provides little indication of the nature or structure of the language.

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1. Nor is there much diachronic material available on these languages, though the quantity and quality of the non-linguistic information for the Toba are excellent.

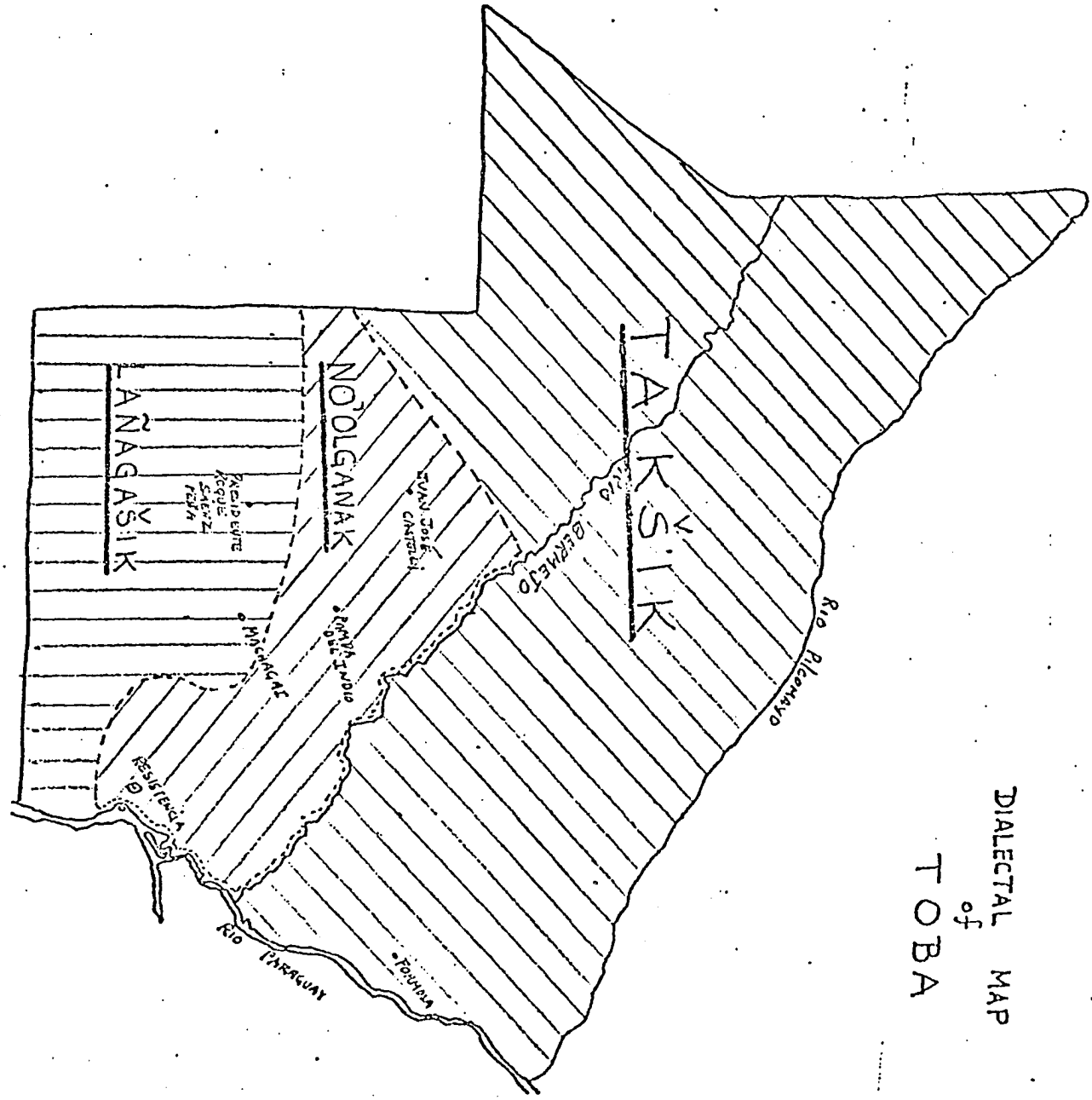
Since Bárcena's work was published, several Toba vocabularies have appeared, including those by Ducci (1904), Lehman-Nitsche (1925), and most recently that of Vellar (1969). These works all are important for statements on lexical change, but do not provide sufficient material of a grammatical nature. This dissertation, therefore, is the first systematic statement of the phonology and morphology of Toba.

2.2 Toba dialects

This grammar is intended to cover all of the three dialect areas of Argentine Toba. However, since there are distinctive phonological differences and some lexical variation, I have decided to base the morphophonemic rules and the phonemic notation on the lañagašik dialect of my main informant, Oswaldo Gomez.

As the map on page indicates, there are three dialect areas within the Toba speech community. The taksik dialect seems to be closer to the speech of the Pilaga.[1] None of my regular informants spoke this dialect; however, on one of my field trips into the northwestern region I taped several hours of conversation by taksik speakers. Since my non-taksik informants were easily able to help me trans-

1. For example, the initial /h/ of the Pilaga corresponds to the initial /s/ of most Toba speakers. The taksik speakers also utilize the /h/ instead of the /s/ initially.



DIALECTAL MAP of TOBA

scribe these tapes, I assume that this dialect is mutually intelligible.

Of the three dialects, taksˇik is spoken by the fewest Toba. The most numerically important dialects thus are no'olganak and lañagasˇik, both of which have approximately the same number of speakers.[1] There are some minor phonological differences between these two dialects, but working with speakers of both at the same time was quite easy. Not only were the utterances of no'olganak perfectly clear to the lañagasˇik, and vice-versa, but my informants were totally aware of these dialectal differences. Moreover they also felt that the differences between these two dialects were slighter than the differences between either lañagasˇik and taksˇik or no'olganak and taksˇik.

Because most of my data are in the lañagasˇik dialect, the phonological and morphological statements are made in terms of that dialect. But since dialectal differences are so slight, this grammar is in fact a grammar of Argentina Toba, rather than that of any single dialect.

2.3 Language

2.3.1 Theoretical approach

At all times during both the collection of

1. The exact figures on the number of speakers are unknown. Moreover the geographic spread of the dialect areas has no correlation with the number of speakers of that dialect.

data and the analysis, I have been influenced more by the exigencies of the data than by the rigidities of any specific theoretical position. Nevertheless, my approach is essentially that of American structural linguistics.

2.3.2 Organizational features

The rest of this section will be concerned with definitions utilized in the thesis and will provide in outline form the organization of the chapters to follow.

2.3.2.1 Definitions

The basic units of the grammar are defined below.

Phonemics: The process of generalization from discrete sounds to groups of functionally related sounds.

Phoneme: A minimal abstract unit representing a range of sounds that are phonetically similar, which show certain distributional patterns, and which contrast with each other in differentiating the meaning of morphemes so as to form a system or organized pattern.

Morphophonemics: The system of rules accounting for phoneme sequences or combinations with

respect to grammatical environments, that is, the alternations of phonemes that result from morpheme combinations.

Morphology: The system of establishing units of sound and meaning.

Morpheme: A segment of an utterance to which it is possible to assign a meaning. A syntactically significant part of a word, or a minimum of grammatical structure.

Word: A minimum unit of sound and meaning which may be uttered independently (see 2.4 for a more detailed definition).

2.3.2.2 Symbols and notational conventions

The symbols to be utilized in the following chapters are:

[ ]	phonetic transcription
/ /	phonemic transcription
{ }	morpheme
/ ———	in the environment of

→	is to be rewritten as
<	is derived from
*	ungrammatical or unacceptable form
-	morpheme boundary or bound morpheme
+	morpheme combinations within the derivation

2.4 Word

The word is the key unit in this grammar which is essentially a description of its characteristics. This description is concerned primarily with an analysis of the internal structure of the word in terms of its phonological and morphological properties, and to a lesser extent with the external function of the word within the sentence. The determination of the word as the key unit was a decision based on data from my informants which indicated that the word was the smallest unit to which clear, unequivocal meaning could be attached. Furthermore, palabra, or word, was a notion that the informants could readily understand, and to which they could respond 'yes, that's a word', 'no,

that's not a word' when asked about a linguistic form. The unit 'word' then has significance in terms of both my analysis of the language (see chapters 5 through 11 on verbal and nominal morphology), and the native speaker's understanding of the structure of his language.

2.4.1 Attributes of the word

The word in Toba then can be analyzed in terms of various attributes.

2.4.1.1 Semantic attributes

The word is a semantic unit, the meaning of which, is given in the glosses throughout the grammar.

2.4.1.2 Syntactic attributes

The word is a syntactic unit, the functioning of which will not be discussed here in detail. References to multi-word constructions will be found in the text analysis (chapter 12) and in footnotes throughout the morphology chapters.

2.4.1.3 Morphological attributes

The word can be defined morphologically with respect to the presence and ordering of members of specific morpheme classes. For each of the major parts of speech, different morpheme classes are combined.

2.4.1.4 Morphophonemic attributes

Morphophonemically the word is also a meaningful unit, for there are rules that apply within the word, but not across word borders. Thus, there are rules that affect intra-word concatenations, but do not affect word-juncture phenomena. These intra-morphemic, or inter-word rules will be discussed in following chapters, either in the morphophonemics chapter, where general rules will be encountered, or in the relevant morphological chapters, where the more limited environmental rules will be stated.

2.4.1.5 Phonological attributes

The word can be analyzed phonologically in terms of both segmental and suprasegmental classes of phonemes. These phonological attributes will be discussed in chapter 3.

2.5 Word types

As stated above (section 2.4), words are composed of a specific number of morpheme classes, the specificity for these classes being dependent upon the type of word which is being constructed. Thus, there are classes which are inherent to verbs, and others to nouns. Each of these word types will be discussed in turn below.

2.5.1 Verbs

The verb in Toba as well as in many other American Indian languages is the focal point of the sentence. Verbs convey the notion of either an action or a state. Within the verb the relationship of subject and/or object to the action or state is expressed, as well as modifications of that action or state. These modifications are in terms of a wide range of ideas involving location, direction and spatial specification; as well as number, aspect and mode.

The structure of the verb is based on the combination of various morphological classes, which occur only with this particular word class. The morpheme classes for verbs are the following:

Chart of verb morpheme classes

Pronominal prefix	verb base	verbal suffix

Pronominal prefixes contain the subject pronoun prefixes (see chapter 6); the verb base contains the meaning component of action or state (see chapter 5); the verb suffix denotes object or patient, number, apsect and attributive modifications (see chapter 7). These three classes are obligatory and a well-constructed verb contains at least

one morpheme from each.

2.5.2 Nouns

The class of nouns is smaller in number than verbs, and is less complex morphologically. Semantically, a noun consists of elements of meaning which label persons, places, animals or things. The additional morphological components that make up the structural aspects of the noun further specify the labels just mentioned. This is done in terms of possession, gender, spatial, locational, attributive and enumerative elements. The structure of the noun is based on the combination of various morphological classes that occur only with nominal forms. These morphemic classes are the following:

Chart of Nominal Morpheme Classes

Locative particle	Possessive Prefix	Base	Noun suffix

The locative particle consists of specifications for gender as well as for position or location of the noun (see sec. 2.5.4 and chapter 11). The possessive prefix indicates the possessor of the noun in questions (chapter 9). The noun base contains the lexical component of the word

(chapter 8). The noun suffix class contains elements that identify enumerative as well as attributive elements (chapter 10). There are two optional morphological classes of nouns: the locative particle and the noun suffix class.

2.5.3 Modifiers

There are basically two kinds of modifiers in Toba: modifiers for the noun class and modifiers for the verb class. Those forms that modify the verb class are generally monomorphemic. Those that modify nouns, however, consist of verbal forms and pronominal forms. Verbal forms are adjectival in the gloss, but are identical structurally to verbs. Pronouns, however, form an independent word class. These third person pronouns are formed with the locative particles as the first morpheme class. Consequently the word class of pronouns will be considered as part of the nominal morphology.

2.5.4 Particles

Particles in Toba are not very numerous, and serve essentially the same function as the modifier class. The distinction between modifiers and particles is that the latter are free-floating and can be added at will to a word. They are not classified as words because the stress rule (see 3.2.1) is not applicable.

They are also not classified as a nominal prefix because they can and do occur word finally on non-nominal forms (see 3.11.1). Structurally, they tend to be fairly simple, while semantically they are complex. Particles express temporal, gender, and spatial relationships (see chapter 11).

3.0 Introduction to the phonemic system of Toba

This chapter will approach the description and analysis of the Toba phonemic system from several different levels of analysis. Thus, the word and the syllable will be analyzed initially both in terms of suprasegmental and segmental classes. This will be followed by sentence prosody.

3.1 Phonemic word

As has already been noted (2.4), the "word" can be defined as a semantic, syntactic, morphological, or phonological unit. The concern here, however, will be with the properties of the word as a linear sequence of sounds which form syllables and which are both preceded and followed by pause or potential pause.[1]

3.2 Syllable

The syllable is a unit which is composed of a sequence of phonological segments consisting of at least one consonant and one vowel. This definition applies to the syllable both as a phonemic unit and a phonetic

1. Pause is phonemic and is marked by space at the beginning and the end of the word or by # . See 3.11.

unit, because in terms of the segmentals there is no difference. However, phonetically the prosodic feature of stress occurs and results in stressed and unstressed phonetic syllables.

3.2.1 Phonetic aspects of primary stress

All words in Toba have one syllable which is more prominent in loudness and pitch than any other syllable. Primary stress is always placed on the final syllable of the word. Since stress is predictable, there is no need to mark it phonemically /ˊ/ (see 3.11 for the juncture phoneme). However, all the phonetic transcriptions are marked in the final syllable as [ˊ]. This feature of non-phonemic stress can also be used as a further criterion for word borders.

3.3 Canonical forms for the phonemic syllable

Stress is non-phonemic, and so there is only one phonemic syllable type to consider. The syllable thus will be analyzed in terms of the distribution of the two broad classes of segmentals, that is, vowels and consonants.

The following classes of segmentals indicate the description of syllable types:

Consonants, i.e. syllable marginals, symbolized by C

Vowels, i.e. syllable nuclei, symbolized by V

Syllables must consist of at least one vowel, long or short, and must be preceded by one consonant. A syllable nucleus however may optionally be preceded by two consonants and followed by two consonants. The formula

(C)CV(:)(C)(C)

accounts for these facts. Of the various possibilities,

CV and CVC

are by far the most common. Long vowels are phonemically in contrast with short vowels, although they fill the same structural position as short vowels.

3.4 Words

Words can be seen as a sequence of syllables. However, the number of syllables in a word is finite; in my corpus there are no words with more than ten syllables. The least complex word would consist of one syllable alone, although the most common type of word has two or three syllables.

The structure of syllables as described above indicates that there are consonant clusters of two

segmentals which occur both syllable initial and final. It would thus appear that up to four segmentals would be possible across syllable boundaries. In fact, this does not occur, and in word medial position no more than three consonants are ever found.

When a two consonant cluster occurs medially, one consonant is syllable initial, that is, the onset and the other is syllable final, that is, the coda. When a three consonant cluster occurs, the first consonant is syllable final, and the other two consonants are syllable initial.

Because of the restrictions on syllable shape, geminate vowels never occur across syllable borders. This, however, is not the case with geminate consonants. They can and do frequently occur within the word. Geminate consonants are transcribed as phonetically long, [C:]; however, phonemically they are written as two separate phonemes, e.g. /CC/.[1]

This analysis of both syllable structure and word structure provides the framework for the description of the segmentals which follows. Thus, any statement that refers to syllable final position, unless otherwise

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1. These geminate consonants, however, do not occur within a single morpheme but occur at morpheme boundaries.

indicated, also includes word final position. Similarly any statement that refers to syllable-initial position refers to word-initial position as well.

3.5 Segmental phonemes

As I indicated in the analysis of the syllable structure (3.3), there are two broad classes of segmental phonemes, consonants and vowels.

3.5.1 Inventory

Chart of Phonemes

		Labial	Apical	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Post-Velar	Glottal
Stops	vl.	p	t		k	q	'
	vd.				g	ɢ	
Affricates	vl.			c			
	vd.			ɟ			
Fricatives	vl.		s	ʃ			h
Nasals	vd.	m	n	ɲ			
Liquids	vd.						
Lateral			l	ʎ			
Flap			r				
Semi-vowels	vd.	w		y			
Borrowed	vd.	b	d				

	Front		Back	
High	i	i:	o	o:
Low	e	e:	a	a:

The chart of phonemes contains the segmentals that are necessary to represent all the phonemic contrasts. This inventory, however, will be equally well suited for later morphophonemic representations. The chart has also been arranged so as to indicate as much about structure as is possible. Thus, the phonemes are grouped initially into the two broad segmental classes: consonants and vowels.

The consonants are then grouped according to general types on one axis and by generalized articulatory criteria on the other. The consonant type classes, i.e., the vertical axis, have been organized so as to indicate the general characteristics these types have in common. For example, all stops are voiceless except for the velar and post-velar stops which are both voiced and voiceless. The affricates are also voiced and voiceless, while the fricatives are all voiceless. All nasals, liquids and semi-vowels which follow vertically in the chart share the feature of voice. Borrowed consonants are also all voiced. The names given to the horizontal axis, that is, to the articulatory series, are close to their phonetic denotation, but here are meant to identify functional contrasts rather than provide a complete phonetic description.

The vowels are grouped according to binary contrasts in a four-celled diagram. They share the feature of voicing with the voiced consonants.

The symbols representing individual phonemes were chosen to conform as closely as possible to standard phonetic usage. Occasionally, a choice had to be made between two symbols. In those cases, the allophone which had the greatest distribution was considered the norm and given symbolic status. Thus, for example, [w] has a wider distribution than [v] which results in /w/; [r] has a wider distribution than [r̃] which results in /r/; [o] has a wider distribution than [ɔ] which results in /o/.

Each of the phonemes will be illustrated below, with a statement of its allophonic variation. The phonemic distribution will be stated in section 3.9 and 3.10, following the description of all the phonemes.

3.6 Phonemic description: Consonants

3.6.1 Stops

/p/	[p̚]	voiceless, bilabial, unreleased, occurs in syllable final position
	[pʰ]	voiceless, bilabial, aspirated occurs elsewhere

For example:

/halap/	[halap̚]	mouth
/latap/	[latap̚]	forehead
/pe/	[pʰé]	night

/piyogonak/	[phiyogonák̚]	shaman
/lapa/	[laphá]	much, many
/lpi'inek/	[lːphi'inɛ́k̚]	bone
/p'ay/	[ph'áy]	widow

/k/	[k̚]	voiceless velar unreleased, occurs in syllable final position
	[kʰ]	voiceless velar aspirated, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/nalak/	[nalák̚]	doctor
/ǰalotalek/	[ǰalothalɛ́k̚]	I reach
/wotayke/	[wothaykhɛ́]	he wants
/kotapigi'/	[khɔthapɪgí']	he walks
/šikayt/	[šɪkháyt]	yesterday

/t/	[t]	voiceless dental released, occurs syllable final
	[t̚]	voiceless dental unreleased occurs word final
	[tʰ]	voiceless dental aspirated, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/hawot/	[hawót̚]	rain
/taqoqomente/	[thaqhɔqhɔmɛnthé]	tomorrow again
/ñaqtaganaqtegat/	[ñaqtʰəganaqthəgát̚]	we are conversing together

/qara'aš̆aqantaqa/	[qʰara'aš̆əqʰanthəqʰá]	
		our toys
/n'etgat/	[n'ɛtgát]	water

	[q]	voiceless post-velar released occurs syllable final
/q/	[q̚]	voiceless post-velar unreleased, occurs word final
	[qʰ]	voiceless post-velar aspirated, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/lmalaq/	[l:malá̚q]	smoke
/qo'ipaq/	[qʰɔ'ipá̚q]	tree
/qalota/	[qʰalothá]	much, a lot of
/lqɔna/	[l:qʰɔná]	toe
/nqapalay/	[n:qʰaphalá̚y]	his cap
/roqš̆ilek/	[rɔqš̆ilɛ́̚k]	Christian

/'/	[']	lenis voiceless glottal, occurs syllable initial
	[']	voiceless glottal, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/'ipo'/	['ipʰɔ']	my 'poncho'
/haha'/	[hahá']	yes
/'am/	['ám]	you (sg.)

/'añi/	[ˌ'añí]	there she is
/seke'e/	[sɛkʰɛˌ'ɛ́]	I eat
/ka'amage/	[kʰaˌ'amagɛ́]	course of the river
/semeta'i/	[sɛmɛtʰaˌ'í]	I'm finishing
/'i'ok/	[ˌ'iˌ'ɔ́k]	my body
/yapela'te/	[yapʰɛla'tʰé]	my pair of shoes
/sawatona'q/	[sawatʰoná'q]	we know more than one person or thing

/g/

[g] voiced velar lenis, occurs syllable initial

[g] voiced velar, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/nogotolek/	[nɔgɔtʰolɛ́k]	youth
/lasogoñi/	[lasɔgɔñí]	garbage
/ka'igesak/	[kʰaˌ'igɛsák]	ant
/'olgaga/	['ɔlgəgá]	chicken

/ɡ/

[ɡ] voiced post-velar lenis, occurs syllable initial

[ɡ] voiced post-velar, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/n'etgat/	[nː'ɛtɡát]	water
/'ongayk/	['ongáyk]	good, pretty
/ka'agagoyk/	[kʰaˌ'agəgóyk]	moon

/lwaglawel/	[l:waglawɛ́l]	palm

3.6.2 Affricates

/č/ [č] voiceless alveo-palatal

For example:

/lače'oge/	[lačɛ'ɔgɛ́]	lake
/čim/	[čɪm̥]	bitter
/četarašigem nalčel/	[čɛtharašɪgɛ́m̥ nalčɛ́l]	position of the feet propped on a chair
/yapičqa/	[yapičqʰá]	older brother
/yačoro/	[yačoró]	mi mother-in-law

/ǰ/ [ǰ] voiced alveo-palatal

For example:

/ǰilgoyk/	[ǰilgóyk̥]	bad, naughty
/ǰi'i'awga/	[ǰi'i'awgá]	I am scared
/ǰimaǰi/	[ǰimaǰí]	he (in prone position)
/ǰapit'ala/	[ǰapʰit'alá]	I'm interested
/'aǰala/	['aǰalá]	Come!
/manǰoka/	[manǰɔkʰá]	tapioca

3.6.3 Fricatives

/s/	[s:]	voiceless long alveolar, occurs in word final position in Spanish loan words
	[s]	voiceless alveolar, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/salka'age/	[salk^{h}a'ag$\acute{\varepsilon}$]	very narrow
/yasatawek/	[yasat^{h}aw$\acute{\text{e}}$k]	full of holes
/sastagayapege'/	[sast^{h}agayap$^{h}\varepsilon$g$\acute{\varepsilon}$']	I don't talk to him
/seke'e/	[sεk$^{h}\varepsilon$'$\acute{\varepsilon}$]	I eat
/si'igen/	[si'ig$\acute{\text{e}}$n]	I try
/kos/	[k^{h}$\acute{\text{o}}$s:]	piggish, pig
/haros/	[har$\acute{\text{o}}$s:][1]	rice

/š/	[š]	voiceless alveopalatal

For example:

/mašī/	[mašī]	already
/saširgi/	[saširgī]	I blow up

---

1. But if counting a small amount of rice, the result is

/harasolqa/	[harosolqá]	a handful of rice

That is, the phonetic feature of length is dropped when the /s/ is no longer word final. Spanish words in Toba generally follow the Toba rules for productive morphology.

/nše tayke/	[n:šɛt^haykɛ́]	he wants

/h/	[ɦ]	voiceless glottal lenis, occurs word initially
	[h]	voiceless glottal, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/haha'/	[ɦahá']	yes!
/hañi/	[ɦañí]	it's above
/soholek/	[soholə́k]	I'm well shod
/napoharaña/	[nap^{h}oharañá]	they're covered
/nehešigem/	[nɛhɛrašɪgə́m]	they're riding a horse

3.6.4 Nasals

/m/	[m̚]	voiced bilabial unreleased, occurs word finally
	[m]	voiced bilabial, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/'am/	['ám̚]	you
/hayem/	[hayə́m̚]	I
/ramari/	[ramarí]	he (standing)
/hañimari/	[hañimarí]	she (sitting)
/mši/	[mší]	already
/lma'/	[l:má']	house

	[N]	voiceless dental nasal, occurs word finally, when preceded by a glottal stop
/n/	[n̆]	voiced dental unreleased, occurs word finally elsewhere
	[n:]	voiced dental long, occurs as first member of a consonant cluster
	[n]	voiced dental, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/sayate'n/	[sayatέ'N]	they don't know
/na'araga'n/	[na'aragá'N]	snakes (that are over there)
/qa'en/	[qʰa'έn̆]	I don't want
/'aw'igen/	['aw'igέn̆]	try it (the meal)
/so'ongan/	[sɔ'ɔngán̆]	I sing
/nlawek/	[n:lawɨk̆]	he awakens

/ñ/	[ñ]	voiced alveo-palatal

For example:

/ñilogowek/	[ñilɔgɔwɨk̆]	we get up
/qoñišigem/	[qʰɔñišɩgɨm̆]	arise! (two people)
/ñatare'n/	[ñatʰarέ'N]	I cure (two people
/lañoqo't/	[lañɔqʰɔ́'t̆]	they were born

3.6.5 Liquids

/l/	[l:]	long dental latera, occurs word initial, as first member of a consonant cluster
	[l]	dental lateral, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/nalak/	[nalák̚]	doctor
/sawalekta/	[sawalɛkt^{h}á]	I am going slowly
/'alole/	['alolɛ́]	young woman
/ǰilɢoyk/	[ǰilɢóyk̚]	bad, naughty
/lač̌e/	[lač̌ɛ́]	onion
/lta'a/	[l:ta'á]	his father
/lma't/	[l:má't̚]	their house

/ɬ̃/	[ɬ̃]	alveo-palatal lateral

For example:

/naɬ̃it/	[naɬ̃ít̚]	he plays
/naɬ̃oqta'a/	[naɬ̃ɔqtha'á]	they look
/ɬ̃a/	[ɬ̃á]	the other
/lɬ̃ač̌e/	[l:ɬ̃ač̌ɛ́]	he's urged to move
/'al:ɬ̃ekte/	['al:ɬ̃ɛkt^{h}é]	your knees

	[r̃]	trill, occurs following /t/
/r/[1]		
	[r]	flap, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/ñirotrawo/	[ñirotr̃awó]	I'm carrying something
/nañomtrapigi/	[nañomtr̃apɪgí]	they're drinking something strong
/saširgi/	[sašɪrgí]	I blow up
/nso'oriñi/	[n:sɔ'ɔrɪñí]	they're dreaming
/rko'otapigi/	[rkɔ'ɔtʰapɪgí]	she wants to produce
/rqawi/	[rqʰawí]	undo

3.6.6 Semi-vowels

	[v]	voiced labiodental fricative, preceding or following /i/
/w/		
	[w]	voiced labial semi-vowel, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/wi'iri/	[vi'irí]	years
/hiwagari/	[hivagarí]	my hands

---

1. The allophony in the no'olganak dialect is quite different. [d] occurs in that dialect in free variation with [r] in word initial position, and in syllable final. [d] however occurs far more frequently, and as a result /d/ has been posited by Buckwalter (personal communication) as the phoneme for no'olganak instead of /r/. For example:

[ramarí]	:	[damaǰí]	he (standing)
[na'arqɔté]	:	[na'adqɔté]	your elbow

/serowek/	[sɛrowê̞k]	I carry outside
/ñirogowo/	[ñirɔg̣ɔwó]	let's carry him inside
/harawak/	[harawa̋k]	your cave
/sayawga/	[sayawg̣á]	I'm going to go where he is
/sapettaw'a/	[sap^{h}ɛt:aw'á]	putting one's foot up
/qawkañitak/	[q̣awk^{h}añit^{h}a̋k]	you (pl.) are running

/y/ [y] voiced palatal

For example:

/yapiči̋qa/	[yapiči̋q^{h}á]	older brother
/yi'ige'n/	[yi'ig̣ɛ'N]	they try
/yayaten/	[yayat^{h}ɛ́n]	he knows
/hayem/	[hayê̞m]	I
/mašiyi/	[mašiyí]	already old
/hiqaya/	[hiq^{h}ayá]	my brother
/p'ayk/	[p'a̋yk]	widower
/šikayt/	[šɪkáyt]	yesterday
/ka'agagoyk/	[ka'ag̣əgóyk]	moon
/ǰilgoyk/	[ǰilgɔyk]	bad, naughty
/wasoytegelek/	[wasoyt^{h}ɛg̣ɛlê̞k]	they always accuse him
/qoyoqte'o'a/	[q^{h}ɔyɔqt^{h}e'ɔ'á]	it is expensive

3.7 Phonemic description: Vowels

There are both long and short vowels phonemically. Long vowels generally serve to differentiate third person singular from plural in both the nominal and verbal morphology. This is especially the case with /i/, /e/, and /o/, where the singular units contrast with the plural.[1] /a:/ occurs in other environments as well.

3.7.1 High front vowel

/i/	[ɪ]	high, open, front, unrounded, occurs when preceded by any affricate or fricative, and followed by a voiceless stop, or in the penultimate syllable where the ultimate vowel is also a high front vowel.
	[i]	high, close, front, unrounded, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/šikpe/	[šɪkpʰɛ́]	last night
/šiktego'a/	[šɪktʰɛgo'á]	I want to buy
/samačigiñi/	[samačɪgɪñí]	I am happy
/lčita/	[l:čɪtʰá]	lard
/hima't/	[himá't]	they finish
/nnata'i/	[n:atʰa'í]	they're all lying down

1. However, since this is not the primary way of distinguishing third person plural from singular, the occurrence of long vowels would obviously be less frequent than short ones.

/širaygo/	[širaygó]	the moon (term used by the older Toba)
/pi'ogonkolek/	[pʰi'ɔgɔn:kʰɔlɛ́k]	minor shaman
/i:/	[i:]	long, high, close, front, unrounded

For example:

/ǰi:maǰi/	[ǰi:maǰí]	they (lying down)
/hañi:mari/	[hañi:marí]	they (f) (sitting)

3.7.2 Non-high front vowel

	[e]	mid, close, front, unrounded, occurs in word initial syllable when preceded by /k/ or final syllable when preceded by /r/, /t/, or /j/
/e/	[ɨ̞˅]	central unrounded high slightly lowered, occurs word final, when preceded by /g/, /w/, or /y/
	[ɛ]	mid, open, front, unrounded, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/kesom/	[kesóm]	before (remembering something)
/lere/	[lɛré]	book
/norek lma'ate/	[norɛ́k l:ma'atʰé]	burning fires
/yi'igen/	[yi'igɨ́n]	he tries
/sošigem/	[sošigɨ́m]	I get up (from a chair, a bed)

/serowek/	[sɛrowɛ́k̚]	I leave outside
/hayem/	[hayɛ́m̚]	I
/pe/	[pɛ́]	night
/nogotolek/	[nɔgɔtʰolɛ́k̚]	boy
/nte'eta/	[nːtʰɛ'ɛtʰá]	earlier

/e:/	[ɛ:]	long mid, open, front, unrounded

For example:

/he:k/	[hɛ́:k̚]	they go

3.7.3 Non-low back vowel

	[ɔ̟]	low, close, back, rounded, slightly backed, occurs continguous to back consonants
/o/		
	[o]	mid, close, back, rounded, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/naqom/	[naqʰɔ̟́m̚]	Toba people
/ñirogowek/	[ñirɔ̟gɔ̟wɛ́k̚]	we take it out
/qoki'/	[qʰɔ̟kʰí']	you (pl.) go
/'olgaga/	['ɔ̟lg̟əg̟á]	hen
/'onolek/	['ɔnolɛ́k̚]	one
/'alole/	['alolɛ́]	young woman
/nañomtrapigi/	[nañomtr̃apɪg̟í]	they're drinking (something strong)

/ñirogowo/	[ñirɔgɔwó]	we carry it inside
/hawot/	[hawót]	rain
/rko'otapigi/	[rkʰɔ'ɔtʰaphɪgí]	he wants to buy

/o:/	[o:]	mid, close, back, rounded

For example:

/so:mari/	[so:marí]	them (m) (moving away)

3.7.4 Low back vowel

/a/	[ə]	mid, close, central, unrounded, occurs following /g/.
	[a,][1]	low central, unrounded, backed, occurs before post-velar and glottal stops
	[ã]	low, central, unrounded, nasalized, occurs preceding and following /h/
	[a]	low, central, unrounded, occurs elsewhere

For example:

/šigawo/	[šigəwó]	I'm going already
/ka'agagoyk/	[kʰa'agəgóyk]	moon
/lače'oge/	[lačɛ'ɔgɛ́]	lake

1. "a" is equal to "ɑ" in the usual phonetic transcription. For ease of typing, however, "a" is utilized phonetically and phonemically, instead of "ɑ".

/sasaqtak/	[sasaqták]	I threw it
/nte'eta/	[n:t^{h}ɛ'ɛt^{h}á]	earlier
/l'ongangak/	[l'ɔngangák]	that which he sings
/ka'amage/	[kà'amagɛ́]	course of the river
/'alo/	['aló]	woman
/haha'/	[hãhá']	yes

/a:/ [a:] low central, unrounded

For example:

/lama:ga/	[lama:gá]	back part of lower leg
/lya:ce/	[l:ya:cé]	claw
/sawa:t/	[sawá:t]	I see
/rama:ri/	[rama:rí]	they (m) standing

3.8 Borrowed phonemes

In Toba there are two phonemes which occur in a small number of words borrowed from Spanish. These are the /b/ and /d/.

The bilabial consonant occurs only in borrowed words. Its phonetic manifestation is closer to the semi-vowel /w/, especially in the speech of monolinguals and those who have recently learned Spanish. For these speakers it would indeed be hard to posit another phoneme. However, this phoneme is increasingly being pronounced

in the correct articulatory position for Spanish. This is occurring because there is an increase in the number of bilingual speakers who are becoming proficient in spoken Spanish, and who are having less difficulty in contrasting [b] with [w].[1]

The justification for the inclusion of /d/ is distinct from /b/. This voiced dental stop has never been one of the Spanish phonemes for which the phonetic manifestations have been a problem to the Toba speaker. Because of the free variation that is present with the allophones of /r/, namely [r̃], [r] and [d] for the no'olganak dialect, and because speakers of the other dialects are frequently exposed to speakers of no'olganak, there is no difficulty in pronouncing Spanish words containing both /r/ and /d/ phonemes correctly.

For example:

/arado/	[ar̃ado]	plow
/batidora/	[batidor̃a]	cement mixer

3.9 Distribution of consonant phonemes

3.9.1 Individual consonants

1. In fact the new phoneme which will soon need to be added will be /f/. Presently, Toba speakers utilize the [w] as an allophone for this Spanish phoneme.

All consonants can occur in all positions, word initial, medial or final, with the following specific exceptions.

1. /g/ and /ɡ/ can not occur word initial or word final. Both can occur elsewhere in the syllable as either onset or coda.

2. /w/ can not occur as word final, however it can occur as syllable final, word initial, or syllable initial, with the exception of the cluster */tw/ and */kw/.

3. The fricative, affricate and nasal alveo-palatal phonemes, i.e. /s̆/, /c̆/, /j̆/, and /ñ/, can not occur word finally; however, they do occur syllable finally.

4. /h/ can occur only as word initial or syllable initial. It never occurs finally in either syllable or word position.

5. /q/ is limited in distribution because it can occur only before or after the vowels /a/ and /o/. However, it does co-occur with other phonemes in consonant clusters.

6. /s̆/ must be followed by /i/ or /e/.

7. /n/, /t/, /d/ and /l/ do not occur when followed by /i/.

3.9.2 Consonant clusters

1. Clusters of non-geminate consonants may

occur word initially, medially, or finally.

2. Geminate consonants occur only word medially.

3. Clusters of more than two consonants occur only word medially.

4. The only possible three phoneme consonant cluster occurs word medially, with the apical nasal being the post-nucleus marginal, followed be a pre-nucleus two consonant cluster.

5. The chart on p.54 indicates the possible consonant clusters that do occur. However not all possible clusters have been recorded. Some cells are empty because of distributional restrictions. Others are empty because the consonant clusters simply have not been recorded. This is probably due to the fact that the phonemes are of limited distribution, or they cluster infrequently.

3.10 Distribution of vowel phonemes

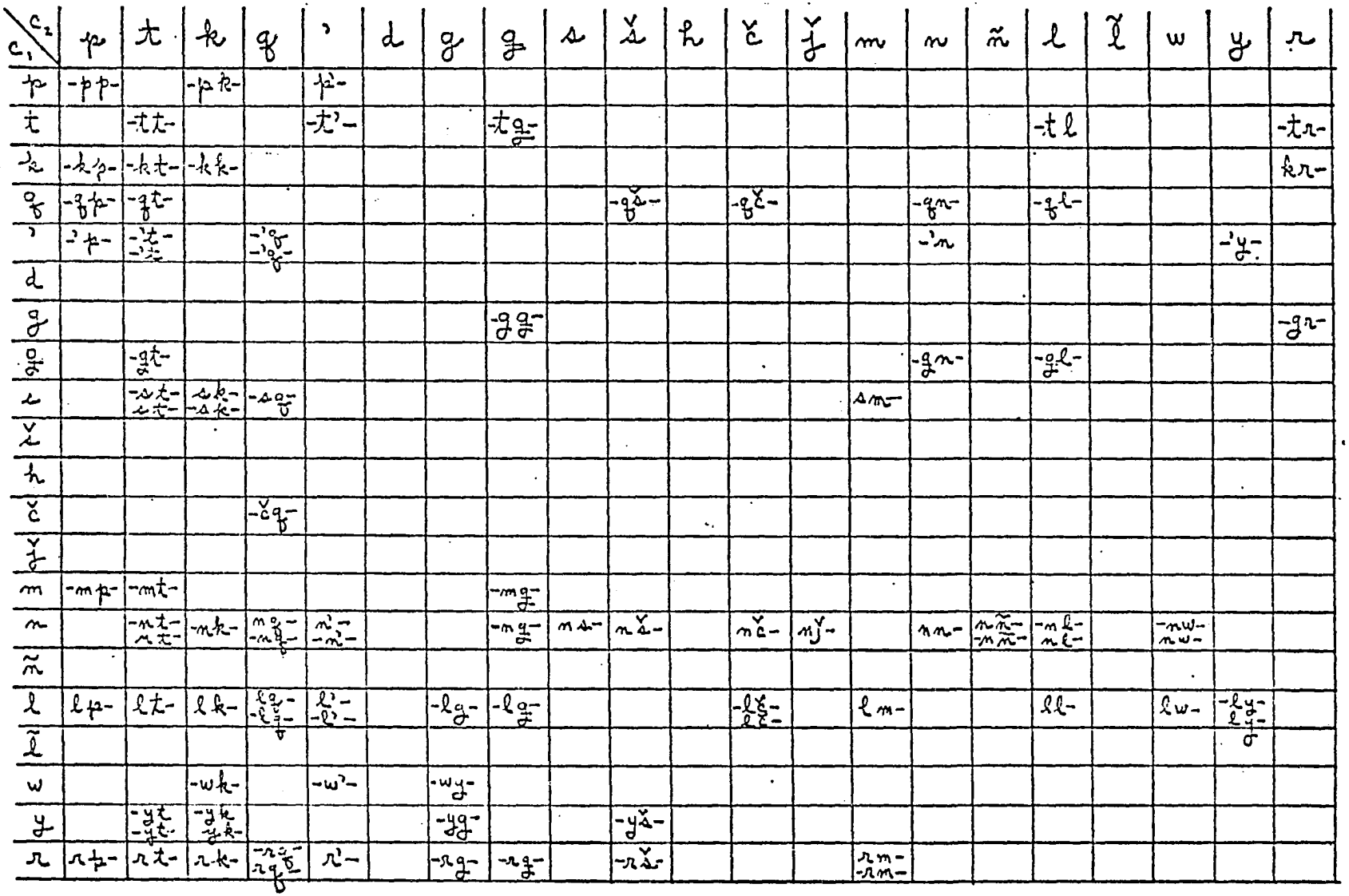
1. No vowel phonemes may occur in word-initial or syllable-initial position.

2. All short vowel phonemes occur in word final or syllable final position. Long vowel phonemes are only attested to in the first syllable of a word.

3. /a/ is the most frequently utilized vowel. It functions as syllable nucleus with all the syllable marginals, except /s̆/. /a:/ is also used more frequently than the other long vowels.

Two Consonant Cluster Chart

cc- = word-initial
-cc- = word-medial
-cc = word-final



4. /e/ does not occur as frequently as /a/, but functions similarly to it. There is only one attested word with /e:/.

5. /i/ and /i:/ occur most frequently, though not exclusively, as syllable nucleus when preceded by one of the alveo-palatal consonants.

6. /o/ occurs most often when preceded by or followed by one of the velar, post-velar, or glottal stops. /o:/ is attested in only one instance.

3.11 Suprasegmental phonemes

The suprasegmental phonemes in Toba are the following:

/#/

/ˋ/

The terminal word juncture phoneme, /#/ , indicates a pause in speech. Throughout this work it is symbolized by space. Secondary stress, /ˋ/, is a phoneme that occurs only within the context of a sentence. It always follows the syllable with primary stress (see 3.12.1).

3.12 Phonemic context of sentence

3.12.1 Secondary stress

Stress as a phonetic feature that occurs in

the final syllable of the word has already been discussed (sec. 3.2.1). However, there are instances, within rapid discourse, when particles (see 2.5.4) instead of remaining prefixed to nominal forms float backward and become instead suffixed to the preceding word. The result then is a word which contains two stresses. The new penultimate syllable, which in slow speech is always the final syllable of the word, retains its primary stress and the ultimate syllable takes on the feature of secondary stress.

For example:

Slow	Rapid	Gloss
/nategana sosikayt/	/nateganasò sikayt/	It happened here yesterday.
/hi'otta napapel/	/hi'ottanà papel/	They're moving papers about.

3.12.2 Pitch[1]

Pitch is an especially significant feature to express modal distinctions. Frequently the same sequence of morphemes are utilized to express a statement, a command, and a question. The only way, then, to distinguish these modes is through the different intonation

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1. Pitch is also an important phenomenon to distinguish the speech of the older and younger generations. Those over 50 tend to use pitch formations in a slightly more emphatic way than do the younger speakers of Toba. Thus in the older speakers the upward pitch curve is more abrupt.

For example:

Younger /qapi'oni/ Older /qapi'oni/ 'small thing'

contours that are linked to each mode. Thus, for example, a rising contour is placed on the final segments of a sentence to indicate a question rather than a statement. A declarative sentence can be identified by a level contour and an imperative is indicated by a rising pitch which drops on the stressed syllable.

For example:

/'awayateteget/ Do you understand it clearly?

/sa'ar'igalaqcigi/ Don't come back soon!

/naya nan'asigak/ Is he coming to the party?

/naya nan'asigak/ He is coming to the party.

3.12.3 Length

Vowel length occurs both phonemically and non-phonemically. Phonemically there are functional contrasts in the form of minimal pairs which have already been discussed elsewhere (section 3.3 and 3.10). Non-phonemic length, or duration in time under certain speech situations, is a sentence level phenomenon. Thus, in sentences where exclamation or surprise are indicated, vowels can be optionally lengthened to express these emotions. When vowels are lengthened for this reason, they

are marked with a macron on top of the vowel to distinguish it from phonemic length. Since this vocalic lengthening does not occur in isolation, the intonation contour is marked above the macron.[1]

For example:

/ča'aji ōnolek/ Yes, he's alone!

/kočoñīk/ He's really skinny!

1. There are no instances in my corpus where /V:/ becomes further lengthened in the context of sentence stress-lengthening.

4.0 Introduction - Morphophonemics

This chapter presents the rules which convert strings of morphemes into their phonemic shape. The rules that will be set forth vary from very general morphophonemic ones that apply across all morpheme boundaries to specific morpheme-class rules which apply in more limited environments. Those rules that are applicable to only one morpheme will not be treated here but will be found in the morphology chapters. References to these chapters (5-12) will be made throughout this chapter.

4.1 Morphemes and their allomorphs

All morphemes that have been isolated have a base representation (for examples, see Appendix A and B).[1] This base form is presented in the morphology sections, with the listing of the distribution of the allomorphs. Thus, for each base form all allomorphic realizations are specified.

4.2 Morphophonemic rules

The general effect of morphophonemic rules in Toba is to maintain the syllable canons through two

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1. The allomorph which is selected as the base form is the form with the highest frequency of occurrence.

processes: (1) the reduction of vowel clusters, and (2) the alteration of consonants. These syllabic canons have already been discussed in 3.3. The canonical shape of both verb and noun bases is discussed in chapters 5 and 8. Pronominal prefixes (chapter 6), possessive prefixes (chapter 9) and locative particles (chapter 11), are word initial in nouns or verbs. They all contain an initial consonant with an optional vowel and consonant and vowel sequence following, that is, C(V(C(V))). Suffixal morphemes (chapter 7 and 10) may have either the shape C(V(C(V))), V(C(V(C))), or C(V(C(C(V)))) and V(C(C(V))).

The notational system for the morphological and phonological structure of the base forms has been presented in 2.3.2.2, and will be utilized here.

The rules that follow are grouped from the most general (those that apply to all words in citation form), to the more specific (morphological class only). Those rules that are morpheme specific are not presented here, but rather in the relevant sections of the morphology chapters.

Rules 1-3 are strictly ordered and must precede all other rules. Rules 1 and 2 are precyclic, while rule 3 is persistent and applies anywhere that its left-hand conditions are met. Rules 4-12 are successively numbered, but unless noted to the contrary are not ordered, that is, they are

'anywhere' rules. (Lakoff, 1967; Ross, 1967).

4.2.1 General rule for words in citation form[1]

The following rule applies to all words in citation form regardless of the types of internal boundaries.

Rule 1 - allomorph selection.

> In the base representation of a word, replace each base form of a morpheme by the allomorph as determined by the environment. This replacement is to be done from right to left.

Rule 1 is thus a recursive rule within the word. It must precede all other rules since the shape of the allomorph will determine which subsequent rules, if any, apply. In the examples that are given below, the first column indicates the phonemic representation, the second column indicates the base representation, the third column indicates the derivation immediately after the application of rule 1, and the fourth column indicates the gloss.

---

1. Following the definition of Margaret Langdon (1970:15), I use the term citation form "to describe any form that may be elicited without providing the context of a full sentence, although some of these may function as a sentence...".

This same set of examples will be utilized throughout this chapter to indicate the result of the application of subsequent rules.

Phonemic	Base morpheme	Derivation as a result of rule 1	Gloss
/qansoqoy/ <	qan...i-soq →	qan+soq+i	you all lift up
/qanqalgoqoy/ <	qan...i-qalqoq →	qan+qalgoq+i	you all run
/qawtaqaytak/ <	qaw...i-taq-tak →	qaw+taq+i+tak	you all are talking
/yaronagawa/ <	hi-ronaq-wa →	ya+ronaq+wa	my brother-in-law by marriage
/ñasogoǰi/ <	ña-sogok-ǰi →	ña+sogok+ǰi	my patios
/hiqa'aǰi/ <	hi-qa'-ǰi →	hi+qa'+ǰi	my chins
/qaraloytalek/ <	qaw...i-lo-tak-lek →	qara+lo+i+ta+lek	you all are reaching
/yawattaygi/ <	r-wat-tak-igi →	ya+wat+ta+igi	he, she is leaving open
/haǰiqaya/ <	haǰi-hi-qaya →	haǰi+hi+qaya	my sister
/lčelasot/ <	l-če-l-hasot →	l+če+l+hasot	his, her, lower leg

Phonemic	Base morpheme	Derivation as a result of rule 1	Gloss
/lpikelamol/ <	l-pike-l-hamo-l →	l+pike+l+hamo+l	his, her upper arm
/yere/ <	hi-here →	ya+here	my book
/saloqta'oga/ <	s...q-haĩi-tak-'oga →	sa+haĩi+q+ta+oga	we're looking outside
/qartagoqoy/ <	qaw...i-tagoq →	qar+tagoq+i	your blood
/qan'emaqay/ <	qan...i-'emaq →	qan+'emaq+i	your left-side
/qarasot/ <	qar-hasot →	qar+hasot	our waist
/qalqa'aǰi/ <	qalqa'a-haǰi →	qalqa'a+haǰi	and then here
/qawkewoytapigi/ <	qaw...i-kewo-tak-pe-igi →	qaw+kewo+i+ta+p+igi	you all are walking and walking in circles
/qawatay/ <	qaw...i-ta →	qawa+ta+i	you all shoot
/qarpotoy/ <	qar...i-poto →	qar+poto+i	your dress
/ñiqarolqay/ <	ñi-qar...i-'olqa →	ñi+qar+'olqa+i	your wild animals who are standing
/selota'a/ <	s-lo-tak-a'a →	se+lo+t+a'a	I'm looking at him

Phonemic	Base morpheme	Derivation as a result of rule 1	Gloss
/siyogotapega/ <	s-yogo-tak-pe-ega	→ si+yogo+ta+pe+ega	I'm going to find a round place to wash in
/napilottapigi/ <	n-pilot-tak-pe-igi	→ na+pilot+ta+p+igi	he, she is washing something inside a sink
/so'o̍caq/ <	s...q-'o̍ce+n	→ so+'o̍ce+aq+Ø	we sleep
/qawke'i/ <	qaw...i+ke'e	→ qaw+ke'e+i	we eat
/ne'epta'apo'/ <	n...'-'ep-tak-o'	→ ne+'ep+ta'ape+o'	I am moving forward on my knees hunting
/qartogi/ <	qar...i-toge	→ qar+toge+i	your chest
/qalĩekti/ <	qar...i-ĩek-te	→ qar+ĩek+te+i	your pair of knees
/ñikoma'a̍ji/ <	ña-koma'-̍ji	→ ñi+koma'+̍ji	my stones
/qamehenagañi/ <	qan...i-mehen-aga-n	→ qa+mehen+aga+n+i	you all are staring
/qan'ogo̍ji/ <	qan-'ok-̍ji	→ qan+'ok+̍ji	our leather
/qarapikeĩi/ <	qar...i-pike-l	→ qara+pike+l+i	your arms

Phonemic	Base morpheme	Derivation as a result of rule 1	Gloss
/si'aganayke/ <	s-'aga-n-ayke →	si+'aga+n+ayke	I call
/qayogoñi/ <	qan...i-yogo-n →	qa+yogo+n+i	you all are going to wash
/qanaĺ̃ici/ <	qan...i-l̃it →	qana+l̃it+i	you all play
/qaw'onagañi/ <	qaw...i-'on-aga-n →	qaw+'on+aga+n+i	you all sing
/lapa hanaloñi/ <	lapa hana-haloni →	lapa hana+haloñi	lots of ice
/raĺ̃ita'oga/ <	r-haĺ̃i-tak-'oga →	r+haĺ̃i+ta+'oga	he's looking
/qallote/ <	qar-lote →	qar+lote	our eyelashes
/'alĺ̃ekte/ <	'ar-l̃ek-te →	'ar+l̃ek+te	your knees
/'ampelawe/ <	'an-pe-l-hawe →	'an+pe+l+hawe	your eyebrow
/mpa'a/ <	n-pa'a →	n+pa'a	his, her root
/qanapiloči/ <	qan...i-pilot →	qan+pilot+i	you all wash
/qanasapačita/ <	qan...i-sapat-tak →	qana+sapat+i+ta	you all want

Phonemic	Base morpheme	Derivation as a result of rule 1	Gloss
/qarčelasoči/ <	qar...i-če-l-hasot →	qar+če+l+hasot+i	your leg below the knee
/qarapela'čiĩi/ <	qar...i-pela'-te-l →	qara+pela'+te+i+l+i	our pairs of shoes
/qawiče/ <	qaw...i-wet →	qa+wet+i	you all ache
/ñaĩita'a/ <	ña-haĩi-tak-a'a →	ñ+haĩi+t+a'a	I'm looking at him and he's looking at me
/sawalkosoq/ <	s...q-walek →	sa+walek+soq	we go slowly
/šigawo/ <	ši-k-wo →	ši+k+wo	I'm going home (inside)
/'ansogowo/ <	'an-soq-wo →	'an+soq+wo	lift up to get inside
/satagawek/ <	s...q-ta-wek →	sa-ta+q+wek	we shoot
/ñilogowek/ <	ña...q-lo-wek →	ñi+lo+q+wek	we get ourselves up
/qarwagari/ <	qar-waq-ji →	qar-waq-ji	our pairs of hands
/qallamki/ <	qar...i-lamek →	qar+lamek+i	your liver
/'ammetak/ <	'an-me-tak →	'an+me+tak	you are buying

Phonemic		Base morpheme	Derivation as a result of rule 1	Gloss
/'ammatak/	<	'an-ma-tak	→ 'an+ma+tak	you are resting
/qapiče/	<	qaw...i-pet	→ qa+pet+i	you all believe
/yapi'a'lagate/	<	hi-pi'a'-l-haq -te	→ ya+pi'a'+l+ haq+te	the tops of my pair of feet

4.2.2 General rules for derived forms

Rule 2 - /h/ deletion rule

Delete /h/ when it follows a segment over a simple morpheme boundary

This rule must be preceded by the allomorph selection rule and is followed by rule 3, the rule for vowel clustering. The examples below have been taken from the set of examples given for rule 1 and show the output of that rule in the left hand column. The result of applying rule 2 is found in the right hand column. Some of the examples indicate that the forms resulting from rule 2 are subject to still other rules. Those examples in phonemic notation indicate

that the application of rule 2 results in the final output.

Output of rule 1	Rule 2	Output of rule 2
ñ a+haĩ i+t+a'a	→	ñ a+aĩ i+t+a'a (+ rule 3)
qaw+haĩ i+i	→	qaw+aĩ i+i (+ rule 3)
haǰi+hi+qaya	→	haǰi+i+qaya (+ rule 3)
čе+l+hasot	→	/čelasot/
l+pike+l+hamol	→	/lpikelamol/
ya+here	→	ya+ere (+ rule 3)
qar+hasot	→	/qarasot/
qalqa'a+haǰi	→	qalqa'a+aǰi (+ rule 3)

The rule that follows is a two part disjunctively ordered rule. Thus if 3a applies, 3b is not permitted to apply (Chomsky and Halle, 1967:30). Rule 3 moreover can be reapplied again anywhere in the cycle when the left hand conditions for its application are met.

Rule 3 - vowel clustering

(a) Clusters a+i and o+i are rewritten as ay and oy.

(b) Delete the first vowel of a vowel sequence.

Vowel clusters appear in the derivation only across morpheme boundaries as the result of the application of rules 1 and 2. These sequences violate the syllabic canon, which does not permit vowel sequences within a syllable, nor does it allow syllable initial vowels. As a result either a diphthong is formed, or, when the environment for the formation of a diphthong does not exist, one of the vowels is deleted. In every case, the deletion is left-handed, and is an example of the regressive nature of morphophonemic alternations.

As a result of the application of rules 3-12, vowel clusters may again occur, so that this rule is recursive and may be reapplied.

Among the set of examples given for rule 1, the following are subject to rule 3:

Output of rule 1 and/or 2		Output of rule 3
qaw+kewo+i+ta+p+igi	→	/qawkewoytapigi/
qawa+ta+i	→	/qawatay/
qar+poto+i	→	/qarpotoy/
ñi+qar+'olga+i	→	/ñiqarolqay/
wota+ayke	→	/wotayke/
na+ima'	→	/nayma'/
ya+wat+ta+igi	→	/yawataygi/
qara+lo+i+ta+lek	→	/qaraloytalek/
si+yogo+ta+pe+ega	→	/siyogotapega/
ne+'ep+ta'ape+o'	→	/ne'epta'apo'/
so+'oče+aq	→	/so'očaq/
qaw+ke'e+i	→	/qawke'i/
qar+toge+i	→	/qartogi/
qar+l̃ek+te+i	→	qar+l̃ek+t+i (+ rule 4 and 7)

Output of rule 1 and/or 2		Output of rule 3
hana+aloñi	⟶	/hanaloñi/
ya+ere	⟶	/yere/

Rule 4 - r assimilation

When r occurs within the derivation as boundary final and is followed by an allomorph with initial l or l̃, the r is changed to l.

Both rules 4 and 5 are partially ordered, since rule 1 must precede it. Rules 2 and 3 however, can be applied before or after rules 4 and 5 without altering the environmental conditions. Examples illustrating rule 4 are the following:

Pre-rule 4 derivation		Output of rule 4
qar+lote	⟶	/qallote/
'ar+l̃ek+te	⟶	/'al̃ekte/
qar+lamek+i	⟶	qal+lamek+i (+ rule 12)

Rule 5 - assimilation of nasals.

When the dental nasal occurs in morpheme final position and is followed by a bilabial stop or a bilabial nasal, the dental form assimilates regressively to the bilabial point of articulation.

For example:

Pre-rule 5 derivation		Output of rule 5
'an+pe+l+awe	⟶	/'ampelawe/
n+pa'a	⟶	/mpa'a/
'an+mat+tak	⟶	/'ammattak/
'an+me+tak	⟶	/'ammetak/

Rule 6 - palatalization rule

When t, n, or l, are in morpheme final position and are followed by the i of a discontinuous morpheme X...i, palatalization takes place. The following is the result:

t+...i ⟶ č i

n+...i ⟶ ñ i

l+...i ⟶ l̃i

There are several morphemes in both noun and verb prefixal classes that are disjunctinuous. Because they occur in verbal and nominal classes, this rule is placed with the general rules for derived forms. For example:

Pre-rule 6 derivation		Output of rule 6
qana+pilot+i	⟶	/qanapiloči/
qana+sapat+i+ta	⟶	/qanasapačita/
qar+če+l+asot+i	⟶	/qarčelasoči/
qara+pela'+t+i+l+i	⟶	qara+pela'+či+l̃i (note: double application of rule)
qa+wet+i	⟶	qa+weči (+ rule 10)
qa+mehen+aga+n+i	⟶	/qamehenagañi/
qaw+'on+aga+n+i	⟶	/qaw'onagañi/
qana+l̃it+i	⟶	/qanal̃ič̃i/
qa+yogo+n+i	⟶	/qayogoñi/
qara+pike+l+i	⟶	/qarapikel̃i/

4.2.3 Rules for specific classes

Rules in this group are very restricted, since they apply to specific morpheme classes. They are numbered successively; however, the ordering is not significant. Thus, rule 8 could precede 7 and 9 could precede 8. However, rules 1-3, still must precede rules 7-12, unless 3 applies recursively.

Rule 7 - w clusters.

> (a) When a verb base ending in q or k is followed by a suffix beginning with a w, the base stop becomes voiced and is followed by a vowel of the same quality as that preceding the stop.
> (b) When a verb base ending in any other stop is followed by the same suffixes, the w is deleted.

The above rule is another disjunctively ordered rule, with 7a preceding 7b. For example:

Pre-rule 7 derivation		Output of rule 7
		/ñilogowek/
ñi+lo+q+wek	⟶	/ñilogowek/

Pre-rule 7 derivation		Output of rule 7
sa+ta+q+wek	→	/satagawek/
'an+soq+wo	→	/'ansogowo/
šu+k+wo	→	/šugiwo/
sa+yat+wek	→	/sayatek/

Rule 8 - vowel insertion

When the noun or verb base ends in aq or oq and is followed by the discontinuous morpheme X...i, at the boundary, insert an a after aq and an o after oq.[1]

For example:

Pre-rule 8 derivation		Output of rule 8
qar+tagoq+i	→	qar+tagoqo+i (+ rule 3)
qan+'emaq+i	→	qan+'emaqa+i (+ rule 3)

1. As already noted in 3.9.1 the phoneme /q/ is limited in distribution and may only be followed by the back vowels. Thus, when through morpheme combinations /q/ is followed by /i/, for example, a back epenthetic vowel occurs.

Pre-rule 8 derivation		Output of rule 8
qan+qalgoq+i	→	qan+qalgoqo+i (+ rule 3)
qaw+taq+i+tak	→	qaw+taqa+i+tak (+ rule 3)

The following rule is a two part rule, but the ordering of the parts is optional.

Rule 9 - consonant voicing and vowel insertion

(a) When a noun base ends in either the voiceless velar stop or back velar stop and is followed by a suffix initial consonant, the base consonant becomes voiced and a vowel is inserted at the boundary.

(b) When the noun base ends in a glottal stop and is followed by a suffix initial consonant, a vowel is inserted at the boundary.

The vowel that is inserted is of the same quality as the vowel preceding the base top, and is another example of the tendency towards vowel harmony. For example:

Pre-rule 9 derivation		Output of rule 9
la+ronaq+wa	→	/laronagawa/
ña+sogok+ǰi	→	/ñasogogoǰi/
hi+qa'+ǰi	→	/hiqa'aǰi/
qan+'ok+ǰi	→	/qan'ogoǰi/
ñi+koma'+ǰi	→	/ñikoma'aǰi/
qar+waq+ǰi	→	/qarwagaǰi/
ya+pi'a'+l+aq+te	→	/yapi'a'lagate/

4.2.4 Local rules

The following four rules occur in only a very few cases.

Rule 10 - vowel metathesis.

> When the verb base has the shape ...eči as a result of the application of rule 6, the position of the noncontiguous vocalic phonemes is reversed.

For example:

Pre-rule 10 derivation		Output of rule 10
qa+weči	⟶	/qawiče/
qa+peči	⟶	/qapiče/

Rule 11 - ' deletion

Delete ' from noun derivations ending in o' when adding an enumerative suffix.

For example:

Pre-rule 11 derivation		Output of rule 11
ya+čo'+ji	⟶	/yačoji/
ñi+tesqo'+ji	⟶	/ñitesqoji/

Rule 12 - root vowel deletion

(a) Delete e from the verb base when it is between l-k, m-k, n-k.

(b) Insert o between k and s when resulting cluster is lks

This rule is also disjunctively ordered so that 12a must

precede 12b.

For example:

Pre-rule 12 derivation		Output of rule 12
sa+walek+soq	⟶	/sawalkosoq/
qa+walek+i	⟶	/qawalki/
qal+lamek+i	⟶	/qallamki/

4.2.5 Rules applying to word junctures

These rules are optional, so that in rapid speech they may apply, whereas in careful, slow speech they do not.

Rule 12- consonant lengthening.

Identical consonants across word boundaries merge.

The results of this merging can be a slight phonetic increase in consonantal length. For example:

/staqtak kanogotolek/ [staqtak:anogotolek]

'I am talking to the boy'

/neget to'oko/ [nɛgɛt:o'o̩ko]

'so, what else?'

Rule 14 - h deletion

Delete h when preceded by a word with a final stop.

For example:

/neget haka/ [nɛgɛtaka]

'which female'

/ñipi'oq hilotak ranogotolek [ñipi'oqilo̩tak ranogo̩to̩lɛk]

'the dog is biting the boy'

5.0 Verb Morphology

5.1 Introduction

The inflected verb in Toba consists of three morphological classes: the pronominal prefix, verb base, and the verbal suffix. Every verb must contain at least one morpheme from each of these three classes.

Chart of Verb Classes

Pronominal prefix	Verb base		Verbal suffixes			
Position Class I	II[a]	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Prefix Class I	Root	Stem	Aspect	Position	Direction and Emotion	Object Number
Prefix Class II		formative				
Prefix Class III						

Note: [a]This and subsequent Roman numerals refer to Position Class number.

5.1.1 Reading the chart

The following sections summarize the basic points of verb structure. A detailed analysis of each of the morphological classes will be found below in the sections

noted.

5.1.1.1 Pronominal prefix

The pronominal prefix which is the class to be found at the beginning of the verb contains three sub-classes one of which always occurs in a verbal complex. Prefix Class II co-occurs with far more verbs than does Prefix Class I, while Prefix Class III co-occurs with the smallest number.[1] Each prefix class can be inflected for both number and person (see 6.2).

5.1.1.2 Verb bases

Verb bases generally consist of only one root. Some roots, however, become derived stems by the addition of a stem-formative morpheme (see 5.2). The base is also the source for the verbal lexical inventory.

5.1.1.3 Verbal suffixes

Verbal suffixes in Toba are of two semantic types: aspectual suffixes and non-aspectual suffixes.

Aspectual suffixes indicate whether the action is

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1. I had only three examples in my original corpus of data. Rechecking with informants did not provide further examples.

progressive or punctual. These two aspects are the only two that are marked by suffixes within the verb structure. They designate the action in relation to a continuum of time, but do not indicate or refer to any particular time.

The non-aspectual suffixes vary greatly in their content. They provide information as to the orientation in space as seen from the speaker's viewpoint, the direction of the action of either the subject or the object of the verb, they indicate the mood, either desiderative, intensive, or specific of the action, and finally indicate the object of the action in terms of three numbers - singular, dual and plural. There are limitations on the combinations of suffixes in terms of possible concatenations, and in the number of suffixes that can co-occur at any one time (see 7.1 and 7.2).

5.2 Verb base

Of the three morphological classes of the verb, the base is the easiest to identify formally and to be assigned a meaning. The chart below represents the two kinds of structure that verb bases exhibit.

Structure of Verb Base

Root	(Stem formative)

Every verb base consists minimally of a root which is easy to identify formally and which has basic lexical meaning. The formal identification is based on the permissable shape of the root, that is, its canonical shape (see 2.), which can be stated as CV(C(V(C))). The majority of Toba verbs are formed in this way. The less frequent base structure is that of a derived stem, which consists of a root morpheme plus a stem formative (see 5.4).

The stem formative modifies the semantic notions of the root, but does not in any way alter the modifications by affixation that the root may undergo. For this reason, the term "base" is being utilized to cover both the root and the derived stem.

5.3 Verb root

Roots are bound morphemes, which without further adjustments, can take the inflectional forms of various affixes. They can be readily identified by their canonical shape, that is, they must begin with a consonant, and must

consist of no more than five phonemes. Thus, the consonant vowel combinations for the root morpheme are limited to the following possibilities.

Canonical shape of root	Examples	
CV	ši	remove, sort out
	la	see, look at
CVC	nak	bite
	taq	talk
CVCV	'oče	sleep
	so'o	raise, lift
CVCVC	pilot	wash the body
	lawat	kill

5.4 Stem formative {aga}

A relatively small number of derived stems are formed in Toba by adding the morpheme {aga} to the root. This stem formative can not be assigned a specific meaning. At times it means a kind of inchoative or inceptive aspect; in other instances it is closer to the factitive or cognate accusative.[1]

There are two types of derived stems that result from this additive process. The first type is a combination of a root whose lexical meaning is attested to in many instances of the occurrence of the root by itself, plus the stem formative. These two morphemes together have a slightly different gloss than does the root alone.

For example:

Root	Root gloss	Stem derivative	Base	Base gloss
{'o'on}	chant	{aga}	-'o'onaga-	sing
{taq}	talk	{aga}	-taqaga-	converse
{kon}	grab	{aga}	-konaga-	acquire

1. See Wallace N. Chafe, Meaning and the Structure of Language (University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 156; and Charles J. Fillmore, The Case for Case, in Universals in

The second type of derived stems are those which consist of roots that never occur without the stem formative morpheme. That is, they are bound to the stem formative morpheme. In all these cases, however, that morpheme which precedes the stem formative follows the rules for the canonical shape of the root. However, no gloss can be stated for these bound forms. There are a greater number of this second type of derived stem than the first.

For example:

Root	Stem formative	Base	Gloss of Base
{mehen}	{aga}	-mehenaga-	stare at
{ma}	{aga}	-maga-	push
{no'}	{aga}	-no'aga-	leave
{šip}	{aga}	-šipaga-	tell a lie

The second example -maga- 'push' indicates the result of morphophonemic rule 3, vowel deletion.

Linguistic Theory, ed. by Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), p. 25.

5.5 Morphophonemic adjustments to the verb base

The process of pluralization of subject pronominal prefixes effects morphophonemic changes in the base. Alterations occur because pluralization involves disjunctive prefixal morphemes, which are either infixed into the base as in the third person plural, or affixed in post-base position, as in the first and second person plural. Because the nature of phonological change in Toba is regressive (see 4.2), these disjunctive forms alter the base. There are three such types of change: vowel loss, metathesis, and infixation.

5.5.1 Vowel loss

Those bases that end in vowels and are followed by the disjunctive morphemes that contain either only one vowel, as in second person, or begin with a vowel as in first person, are affected by the rule for vowel deletion, rule 3. The examples given below show the result of the application of that rule.

{ke'e} 'eat' + {se...aq} '1st person plural'

→ se+ke'e+aq (+rule 3)

→ /seke'aq/ 'we eat'

{'oče} 'sleep' + {so...aq} '1st person plural'

→ so+'oče+aq (+rule 3)

→ /so'očaq/ 'we sleep'

The example below illustrates a base specific rule, rule 12.

{walek} 'go slowly' + {sa...soq} '1st person plural'

→ sa+walek+soq (+rule 12a)

→ sa+walk+soq (+rule 12b)

→ /sawalkosoq/ 'we go slowly'

5.5.2 Metathesis

Those bases that end in /t/ in the second person plural are subject to several rules, the last of which results in vowel metathesis, and thus a change in the base.

For example:

{wet} 'ache' + {qa...i} '2nd person plural'

→ qa+wet+i (+ rule 6)

→ qa+weč+i (+ rule 10)

→ /qawiče/ 'you all ache'

{pet} 'appear' + {qa...i} '2nd person plural'

→ qa+pet+i (+rule 6)

→ qa+pečˇ+i (+rule 10)

→ /qapiče/ 'you all appear'

5.5.3 Infixation

Those bases that end in /t/ in third person plural are subject to infixation. This infixation, however, takes place only when the base is followed by a zero allomorph for aspect (see 7.2).

For example:

{wet} 'ache' + {'i...'} '3rd person plural'

'i+wet+' →

/'iwe't/ 'they ache'

{lawat} 'kill' + {ya...'} '3rd person plural'

ya+lawat+' →

/yalawa't/ 'they kill'

6.0 Pronominal prefixes

The pronominal subject prefixes form the basis for the division of Toba verbs into three sub-classes. These prefixes are the morphemes that occur in the first position class of the verb structure (see 5.1)[1] Each prefix class is inflected for three persons in both singular and plural. At any one time, however, only one prefix morpheme from any of the three paradigms may occur.

6.1 Pronominal sub-classes

The division of the pronominal prefixes into three sub-classes is based initially on the class meaning. There are certain verbs in Toba in which the action of reciprocity, plus the notion of direction inward toward the body or adcorporeal are clearly indicated. Furthermore, one of the three prefix sub-classes, Prefix Class I, always occurs with these verbs. This sub-class clearly contrasts with the other sub-classes which never mean 'inward' as Prefix Class I regularly does.[2]

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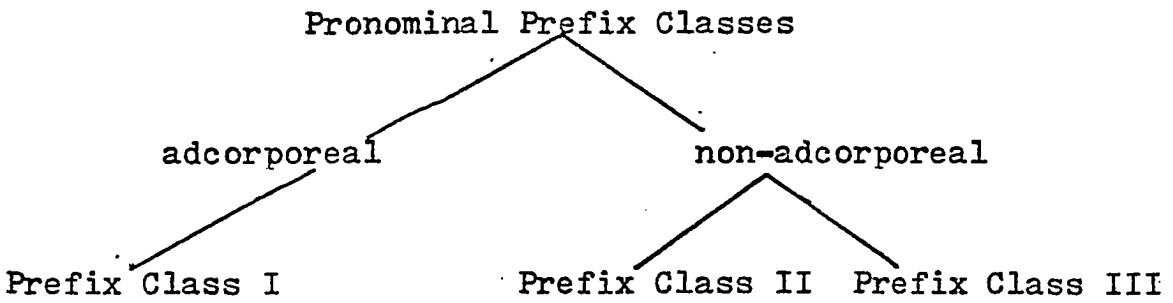
1. In addition, there is a complete paradigm of personal pronouns that are free morphemes and which will be discussed in 11. 3 .

2. What this means, then, is that neither a knowledge of the phonological system, nor the semantics of the verb base would help in the selection of the appropriate sub-class of prefixes to be utilized. Thus, it would seem that only a statement of allomorphic distribution could be the result of the analysis. This, however, is not at all the case.

This dichotomy can be presented in the following way:



As a result of this distinction in meaning, it becomes imperative to view the three sub-classes not only as formal grammatical markers of subject person and number, which in fact they all indicate, but also as having an additional semantic function, namely to distinguish the direction of an action towards or away from the body, or, to indicate mutuality or reciprocity of an action.

The largest number of verbs in Toba select subject pronoun prefixes from Prefix Class II. These do not add positive information about direction to the base, but rather indicate the negative information of non-reciprocity, or non-adcorporeality. Prefix Class III co-occurs with only three bases and the semantic features that distinguish it from Prefix Class II are presently unanalyzable.

Prefix Class I, then, is that group of prefixes which indicates a motion inwards, towards oneself, either an active motion or a motion of attention. All examples

given here will utilize the Class I first person singular morpheme {ñ̃a}, and presuppose that for greater morphological and morphophonemic detail, the appropriate sections will be referred to.

For example:

/ñ̃apilottak/ 'I'm washing (my hands or my face, but not my feet)'

< ñ̃a+pilot+tak

This example contrasts with a different verb base which means 'wash the feet', an action which according to the native speaker requires a motion, if anything, away from the body. It accordingly takes a different pronominal prefix {s}, one from Prefix Class II.

/siyogon/ 'I wash my feet'

< si+yogo+n

This notion of motion towards the body is reiterated in other verbs which also appear only with Prefix Class I. Thus,

/nawekš̆igem haǰiqaya/ 'he's lifting up my sister (but towards him; she is prone)'

< na+wek+š̆igem haǰi+i+qaya

The example which follows below means that the arm is around someone's waist or a baby is held against a

shoulder, that is, the arm is extended outward, and then curved back in towards the body.

/ñisoqtawo/ 'I'm holding'

< ñi+soq+ta+wo

The two examples just cited are those of verb bases which select only Prefix Class I. However, there are numerous verb bases which express the contrast between the subclasses as a difference in action inwards towards the body, as opposed to an action away from the body. In each case, however, the motion is not straight, but rather one that is curved inward for Prefix Class I, and outward for Prefix Class II.

/ñikorek/ 'I pour out (perfume, syrup - inward motion)'

< ñi+kore+ek

/sekorek/ 'I pour out, toss out (liquid, like from a pail, motion away from the body)'

< se+kore+ek

/ñayamagatak/ 'I prepare (fix up) myself physically'

< ña+yam+aga+tak

/sayamagañi/ 'I arrange or repair (e.g., my suitcase)'

< sa+yam+aga+ñi

/nlotañi/ 'he's looking down (e.g. at his feet - presumably action of eye is curved inward)'

< n+lo+ta+ñi

/selota'a/ 'I'm looking at him'

< se+lo+ta+a'a

There are further semantic extensions from these general notions of motion outward, that involve a distinction which is based on whether the subject of the verb and the object of the verb are involved in the same action simultaneously (Prefix Class I) or whether the action is by the subject alone or non-reciprocal (Prefix Class II).

For example:

/ñiwagataget soširagawa/ 'I'm fighting with someone and he's fighting with me'

< ñi+waga+ta+get so+širaq+wa

/sowagataget/ 'I'm hitting someone (with something like a whip, an outward motion)

< so+waga+ta+get

/hayem naĩita'a/ 'someone is looking at me and I'm returning the look'

< hayem na+haĩi+ta+a'a

/am saĩita'a/ 'I'm looking at you, but you're not looking at me'

< am sa+haĩi+ta+a'a

Less obvious, but still a part of this semantic series are the following:[1]

/hayem ñapagana naroqšilaqtak/ 'I study Spanish (the white man's tongue)'

< hayem ña+paga+n+a na+roq+ši+laq+tak

/hayem sapaganek naroqšilaqtak/ 'I teach Spanish'

< hayem sa+paga+n+ek na+roq+ši+laq+tak

/ñikomata/ 'I'm resting'

< ñi+koma+ta

/sekoma/ 'I'm sated, I'm full'

< se+koma

As is apparent from these examples, the formal analysis which follows will contribute greatly to distributional statements of allomorphy. However, the statement of semantic distribution can only be arrived at through a knowledge of the bases, and more importantly, the realization that the sub-classes of prefixes function on two

1. "study" indicates inward notion; "teach" indicates outward action and is re-enforced by the morpheme {ek} 'outwards. "rest" indicates inward notions; "sated" indicates outward or obvious open action.

different structural levels.

6.2 Subject pronominal prefixes

Complete paradigms of the three sub-classes for all persons are:

Chart of Pronominal Prefix Morphemes

	Class I	Class II	Class III
1st sing.	{ñ̃a}	{s}	{j̆a}
2nd sing.	{'an}	{'aw}	{'ar}
3rd sing.	{n}	{r}	{na}
1st plural	{ñ̃a...q}	{s...q}	{j̆a...q}
2nd plural	{qan...i}	{qaw...i}	{qar...i}
3rd plural	{n...'}	{r...'}	{na...'}

The rest of this chapter will discuss the distributional statements of these morphemes.

6.3 Allomorphic distribution of pronominal prefixes

Rules can be formulated which will account for the allomorphic distribution of the subject pronominal prefixes. These rules are stated in terms of the phonological environment when the allomorphs are phonologically conditioned. When they are morphologically conditioned, examples of the distribution are provided. Here, as

elsewhere, constant reference is made to the generalized rules already stated in the morphophonemics chapter.

The allomorphic statements are also presented separately for each of the three sub-classes of prefixes in the singular number, since they are motivated by the specific sub-class membership.

6.3.1 Class I - singular prefixes

This sub-class of prefixes is quite regular in its inflection. In each instance, the same inclusion or exclusion of vowels exists, and therefore a knowledge of one form of the paradigm is sufficient to enable one to decline the entire paradigm.

6.3.1.1 {ñ̃a} 'I (adcorporeal)'

The morpheme {ñ̃a} has three allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

ñ̃a-: occurs in the following examples

/ñ̃apilottak/ 'I am washing (my face, hands)'

< ñ̃a+pilot+tak[1]

/ñ̃awekšigem/ 'I am getting up'

< ñ̃a+wek+šigem

---

1. The string of forms separated by + indicates the combination of allomorphs which are the result of the application of morphophonemic rule 1.

/ñašipagan/ 'I'm going to lie'

< ña+šip+aga+n

/ñalita'a/ 'I'm looking at him'

< ña+haɬi+ta+a'a

ñe-: occurs in the following example

/ñe'eptak/ 'I'm hunting'

< ñe+'ep+tak

ñi-: occurs in the following examples

/ñisoqtawo/ 'I'm reaching out to someone'

< ñi+soq+ta+wo

/ñilowek/ 'I'm going to awaken'

< ñi+lo+wek

/ñina'añi/[1] 'I'm going to lie down'

< ñi+na'a+ñi

6.3.1.2 {'an} 'you (adcorporeal)'

{'an} has two allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

---

1. One of the main dialectal differences is evident in the third person singular where the no'olganak dialect utilized the form hin instead of ñi. The result, then, is for example:

[hina'añi]

'ana-: occurs where the base is /Ce.../ or /Ci.../

/'anapilottak/ 'you're washing'

< 'ana+pilot+tak

/'anawekšigem/ 'you lift up'

< 'ana+wek+šigem

/'anašipagatak/ 'you are lying'

< 'ana+šip+aga+tak

'an-: occurs elsewhere

/'anqalgoqta/ 'you are running'

< 'an+qalgoq+ta

/'ansoqtawo/ 'you are lifting'

< 'an+soq+ta+wo

/'anlowek/ 'you are waking'

< 'an+lo+wek

/'anna'añi/ 'you are lying down'

< 'an+na'a+ñi

6.3.1.3 {n} 'he, she, it (adcorporeal)'

{n} has two allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

na-: occurs where the base is /Ce.../ or /Ci.../

/nalita'a/ 'he is looking at someone, and that someone is looking at him'

< na+hali+ta+a'a (+rule 3)

/nawekšigem/ 'he lifts up'

< na+wek+šigem

/napilottapigi/ 'he is washing inside (in a basin)

< na+pilot+ta+pe+igi (+rule 3)

/nalittagetto/ 'he is playing with two people, or things'

< na+lit+ta+get+to

n-: occurs elsewhere

/nlowek/ 'he gets up'

< n+lo+wek

/nsoqtawo/ 'he lifts someone up'

< n+soq+ta+wo

/nna'añi/ 'he's going to lie down'

< n+na'a+ñi

6.3.2 Class II - singular prefixes

6.3.2.1 {s} 'I (non-adcorporeal)'

The morpheme {s} has five allomorphs:

s ~ sa ~ se ~ so ~ si

The allomorphy is primarily phonologically determined by a rule of vowel harmony which states:

{s} ⟶ /sV$_1$/ where the base is /CV$_1$.../ and

V$_1$ = /a/
/e/
/o/

For example:

/sawattaygi/ 'I am leaving it open'
< sa+wat+ta+igi (+rule 3)

/salawat/ 'I am going to kill'
< sa+lawat+Ø

/sawalekta/ 'I am going slowly'
< sa+walek+ta

/seke'etak/ 'I am eating'
< se+ke'e+tak

/semehenagan/ 'I am going to stare'
< se+mehen+aga+n

/sekewotapigi/ 'I am going alone'
< se+kewo+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/so'očeta/ 'I'm sleeping'

< so+'oče+ta

/so'onagatak/ 'I'm singing'

< so+'on+aga+tak

There are, however, several exceptions to this rule. Four of these exceptions occur in the following distribution:

/sekorek/ 'I pour out'

< se+kore+ek (+ rule 3)

/selota'a/ 'I'm looking at him'

< se+lo+ta+a'a (+ rule 3)

/sekoma/ 'I'm full'

< se+koma+Ø

/sowagataget/ 'I'm hitting someone'

< so+waga+ta+get

There are only two instances where the allomorph si- occurs.

si-: occurs in the following cases

/siyogon/ 'I wash'

< si+yogo+n

/si'agatak/ 'I'm calling'

< si+'aga+tak

The final allomorph occurs in the following case:

/staqtak/ 'I'm talking'

< s+taq+tak

6.3.2.2 {'aw} 'you (non-adcorporeal)'

This morpheme has four allomorphs, two of which are clearly phonologically conditioned.

'aw-: occurs where the base is /Ce.../ or /Co.../

/'awke'etak/ 'you are eating'

< 'aw+ke'e+tak

/'awkewotapigi/ 'you are waslking alone'

< 'aw+kewo+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/'aw'oče/ 'you sleep'

< 'aw+'oče+ø

/'aw'onagan/ 'you sing'

< 'aw+'on+aga+n

'awa-: occurs where the base is /Ca.../

/'awawattigi/ 'you open'

< 'awa+wat+t+igi

/'awalawat/ 'you are going to kill'

< 'awa+lawat+Ø

/'awatawek/ 'you shoot'

< 'awa+ta+wek

The following are exceptions.

'aw-: in the following case

/'awtaqtak/ 'you are talking'

< 'aw+taq+tak

This base is the same one that was an exception to the vowel harmony rule in the first person singular.

'a-: occurs with

/'awet/ 'you ache'

< 'a+wet+Ø

'a- ~'ari-: occurs with

/'ayogon/ 'you are going to wash'

< 'a+yogo+n

/'ariyogotako'/ 'you are washing'

< 'ari+yogo+tak+o'

6.3.2.3 {r} 'he, she, it (non-adcorporeal)'

The selection of the five allomorphs for third person differs from those of first and second since the rules for selection are not at all phonologically determined. Instead one can only state the distribution of the allomorphs.

r-: occurs with

/rke'etak/ 'he is eating'
< r+ke'e+tak

/r'oče/ 'he sleeps'
< r+'oče+Ø

/rtaqtak/ 'he is talking'
< r+taq+tak

/rmehenagan/ 'he stares'
< r+mehen+aga+n

/raĩita'oga/ 'he is looking'
< r+haĩi+ta+'oga (+ rule 2)

Ø-: occurs with

/kewotak/ 'he's walking slowly'
< Ø+kewo+tak

/'agan/ 'he calls'

< Ø+'aga+n

/walekta/ 'he is going slowly'

< Ø+walek+ta

'i-: occurs with

/'iwet/ 'he aches'

< 'i+wet+Ø

/'itaqagatak/ 'he is conversing'[1]

< 'i+taq+aga+tak

ya-: occurs only in the following two examples

/yawattigi/ 'he is opening'

< ya+wat+t+igi

/yalawat/ 'he kills'

< ya+lawat+Ø

ri-: occurs with

/riyogotak/ 'he is washing'

< ri+yogo+tak

---

1. This example is somewhat unusual since it is a stem-derived form which can also occur as a root only. When it occurs only as a root it takes the r allomorph.

6.3.3 Class III - singular prefixes

This sub-class of prefixes is irregular throughout. In both second and third person, for example, the allomorphy bears a great resemblance to Class I prefixal allomorphy.

6.3.3.1 {ǰa} 'I'

This morpheme has two allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

ǰa-: occurs in the following cases

/ǰasapatta/ 'I want to go'
< ǰa+sapat+ta

/ǰalotalek/ 'I'm reaching'
< ǰa+lo+ta+lek

ǰi-: occurs in the following case

/ǰi'itak/ 'I'm afraid'
< ǰi+'i+tak

6.3.3.2 {'ar} 'you'

'ara-: occurs in the following case

/aralotalek/ 'you are reaching for'
< 'ara+lo+ta+lek

'ari- ~ 'aji- in the following example

/'ari'itak/ 'you are afraid'[1]

< 'ari+'i+tak

/'aji'itak/ 'you are afraid'

< 'aji+'i+tak

'ana-: occurs in the following case

/'anasapat/ 'you want to go'

< 'ana+sapat+Ø

6.3.3.3 {na} 'he, she, it'

na-: occurs in these cases

/nalotalek/ 'he is reaching for'

< na+lo+ta+lek

/nasapat/ 'he wants to go'

< na+sapat+Ø

n-: occurs in this case

/n'itak/ 'he is afraid'

< n+'i+tak

---

1. This alternate form occurs as often as the other form. I think it probably arose as a dialectal variation of the no'olganak dialect where the phonetic output of 'ari is ['aji], and because it is so similar to the whole range of particles that begin with haji, that it has become used by analogy also by the lanagasik speakers.

6.4 Pluralization

Before presenting the analysis of non-singular morphology, it is necessary to provide some generalizations about pluralization, that is, both the concept and process of pluralization.

Non-singular in Toba specifically means more than two and between six and ten in number.[1] However, when more than ten items need to be indicated, the singular form plus an adverb is utilized to indicate plurality, multitude, aggregate and disaggregate numbers (see sec. 10.3). Thus, the following sections on pluralization must be understood to refer to a number between 2 and 10, but most frequently between 2 and 6.

Formally, it is also important to note that it is in the plural that discontinuous prefixal morphemes occur. As will be seen in section 6.5., the plural forms require essentially an addition of a pluralizer component in each person to indicate that the form is non-singular. The addition of the pluralizer can occur as a component after the

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1. The only way of actually counting in Toba is to use the word meaning 'only' for 'one' or the words meaning 'many' 'several' or 'many distinct' for quantities of more than one. This does not mean that the Toba do not know how to count, but that the distinction is not significant. Thus informants when asked the meaning of a non-singular form respond 'more than two but less than six'. When asked again, the response may be 'more than two but less than ten; never more than ten'. Today Spanish is frequently used when precision in counting is felt to be important.

base (which has been discussed already in terms of the morphophonemic rules that are applicable to post-base position morphemes), or as a component infixed into the base, or as a component prefixed to the singular form of the pronominal prefix.

6.4.1 First person plural

For the first person plural forms, the knowledge of first person singular morphology enables one to determine the allomorphy of the first part of the pronominal prefix. More complex, however, is the allomorphy of the second part of the prefix, which occurs after the base. This allomorphy however is not determined by class membership, but rather by the phonological shape of the base. Therefore the allomorphic statement for the plural first person forms will be considered in terms of the rules that apply to the post-base position component and the three prefix classes can be analyzed together.

{X...q} 'we'

x...q-: occurs where the base is a simple root and has the shape /...CV/ (where V = /a/, /o/ or /i/)

/sataqwek/ 'we shoot'

< sa+ta+q+wek

/sekewoqtapigi/ 'we are going alone'

< se+kewo+q+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/ñiloqwek/ 'we get up'

< ñi+lo+q+wek

/ñiñoqtak/ 'we are washing ourselves'

< ñi+ño+q+tak

/ǰaloqtalek/ 'we are reaching'

< ǰa+lo+q+ta+lek

X...aq-: occurs where the base ends in /...t/ or /...e/

/sawataqtaygi/ 'we are leaving it open'

< sa+wat+aq+ta+igi (+ rule 3)

/sewetaq/ 'we ache'

< se+wet+aq+Ø

/salawataq/ 'we are going to kill'

< sa+lawat+aq+Ø

/ñapilotaqtapigi/ 'we are washing inside (in a basin)'

< ña+pilot+aq+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/ñalitaqtagetto/ 'we are playing with two people, or things'

< ña+lit+aq+ta+get+to

/ǰasapataqta/ 'we want to go'

< ǰa+sapat+aq+ta

/seke'aqtak/ 'we are eating'

< se+ke'e+aq+tak (+ rule 3)(also see 5.5.1)

/so'očaqta/ 'we are sleeping'

< so+'oče+aq+ta

X...soq-: occurs where the base ends in /...k/ or /...q/ (also see 5.5.2)

/staqsoqtak/ 'we are talking'

< s+taq+soq+tak

/sawalkosoqta/ 'we are going slowly'

< sa+walek+soq+ta (+ rule 12)

/ñisoqsoqtawo/ 'we are lifting someone up'

< ñi+soq+soq+ta+wo

X...naq-: occurs where the base is formed by the root + stem formative [1]

/semehenaganaq/ 'we are going to stare

< se+mehen+aga+naq

/si'aganaqtak/ 'we are calling'

< si+'aga+naq+tak

1. Also occurs where base is simple and ends in /...ga/.

/so'onaganaqtak/ 'we are singing'

< so+'on+aga+naq+tak

/ñašipaganaqtak/ 'we are lieing'

< ña+šip+aga+naq+tak

6.4.2 Second person plural

The allomorphic statements for second person plural are more complex than for first person plural, because there are three components for each of the second person plural morphemes. The first component is identical in all three sub-classes, that is, the phoneme /q/ precedes the form that was used for second person singular. The singular morpheme is the second component. The third component, like the final component of first person plural follows the rules for post-base position morphemes.

There are then two procedures that have to be analyzed for second person plural. The first has to deal with the prefixing of /q/, and the second with the post-base distribution of the second person plural component.

6.4.2.1 First component

The first procedure, the prefixing of /q/, can be handled by the following rule:

Delete /'/ when, in second person plural, the /q/ precedes it.

For example:

'awtaqtak ⟶ qawtaqaytak

'you are talking' 'you all are talking'

'anpilottak ⟶ qanpilocitak

'you are washing' 'you all are washing'

6.4.2.2 Third component X...i

The generalized rules governing the third component have already been noted in the chapter on morphophonemics and will be presented here briefly to indicate, within the specific context of verb morphology, how they operate.

X...i occurs when the base ends in a vowel (also see rule 3)

/qawalita'oga/ 'you all are looking'

< qaw+hali+i+ta+'oga (see rule 2 and 3)

/qawke'itak/ 'you all are eating'

< qaw+ke'e+i+tak (+ rule 3)

X...ci occurs when third component X...i is added to base ending in /t/ (see rule 6)

/qanapilocitapigi/ 'you all are washing inside (in a basin)

< qana+pilot+i+ta+pe+igi (+rule3 and 6)

/qanaɬ̃ic̆itagetto/ 'you all are playing with two people or things'

< qana+ɬ̃it+i+ta+get+to

/qanasapac̆i/ 'you all want to go'

< qana+sapat+i+Ø

X...Vy-: occurs when the base ending in /q/ is followed by /i/(see rule 8)

/qawtaqaytak/ 'you all are talking'

< qaw+taq+i+tak

/qanqalgoqoyta/ 'you all are running'

< qan+qalgoq+i+ta

/qansoqoytawo/ 'you all are lifting'

<qan+soq+i+ta+wo

and also occurs when root ends in a vowel (see rule 3)

/qawkewoytapigi/ 'you all are going alone'

< qaw+kewo+i+ta+pe+igi (+rule 3)

/qawataywek/ 'you all shoot'

< qawa+ta+i+wek

/qanloytalek/ 'you all are reaching for'

< qan+lo+i+ta+lek

/qaraloyta'a/ 'you all are looking at him'

< qara+lo+i+ta+a'a (+ rule 3)

X...ñi-: occurs when the base ends in /...aga/

/qaw'onagañitak/ 'you all are singing'

< qaw+'on+aga+ñi+tak

/qanasipagañitak/ 'you all are lying'

< qana+sip+aga+ñi+tak

/qawagañitagetto/[1] 'you all are hitting two things or two people'

< qa+waga+ñi+ta+get+to

6.4.3 Third person plural

The third person plural morphemes, like the first person plural morphemes, consist of two parts. The first part is the same as the third person singular and

---

1. This same situation occurs in those forms that have the punctual aspect marker {n}. For example:

/qanna'añi/ 'you all are going to lie down'

< qan+na'a+n+i (see rule 4 and sec. 7.2.2)

occurs before the base. Therefore, the same allomorphic statements apply to the plural as to the singular. The second component, however, either follows the base, or is infixed into the base. My concern here, then, will be with the allomorphic statements of the second component. First the analysis will be concerned with those forms where the base is followed solely by the aspectual suffixes. When non-aspectual suffixes are also added to the verb, the process of third person pluralization is more complex. This complexity, however, is not related entirely to the third person pluralization, but rather to suffix formation. Thus, the second part of the analysis will illustrate those morphophonemic changes in pluralization brought about by suffix formation.

X...ta'ape — occurs when the progressive aspect follows the base

/rke'eta'ape/ 'they are eating'

r+ke'e+ta'ape

/riyogota'ape/ 'they are washing'

ri+yogo+ta'ape

/naš̆ipagata'ape/ 'they are lieing'

na+š̆ip+aga+ta'ape

/naĩitta'ape/ 'they are playing'

< na+ĩit+ta'ape

/nñota'ape/ 'they are washing themselves'

< n+ñ̃o+ta'ape

X...'n-: occurs when the base is followed by the morpheme for punctual aspect

/rke'e'n/ 'they eat'

< r+ke'e+'n

/riyogo'n/ 'they wash'

< ri+yogo+'n

/r'onaga'n/ 'they sing'

< r+'on+aga+'n

/naš̆ipaga'n/ 'they lie'

< na+š̆ip+aga+'n

X...'C-: occurs when punctual action is unmarked and the base final form is /...C/ (see 5.5.3)

/iwe't/ 'they ache'

< i+wet+'

/yalawa't/ 'they kill'

< ya+lawat+'

X...' occurs elsewhere when punctual action is unmarked

/r'oče'/ 'they sleep'

< r+'oče+'

X...r occurs with the following suffixes as an infix where the progressive aspect has the allomorph ta, or precedes other non-aspectual morphemes where the punctual action is unmarked

{lek} 'over'

/nalotralek/ 'they are reaching over'

< na+lo+ta+r+lek

{wek} 'outward'

/ratarek/ 'they shoot outward'

< ra+ta+Ø+r+ek

/nlorek/ 'they wake themselves'

< n+lo+Ø+r+ek

{wo} 'inward'

/nsoqtrawo/ 'they are reaching inwards'

< n+soq+ta+r+wo

/ketrawo/ 'they are going inside'

< Ø+ke+ta+r+wo

{pe} 'circular position'

/napilottrapigi/ 'they are washing inside'

< na+pilot+ta+r+p+igi

/raĩitrapega/ 'they are looking for some reason'

< r+haĩi+ta+r+pe+ega (+ rule 2 and3)

{šigem} 'upwards'

/nso'oršigem/ 'they arise'

< n+so'o+Ø+r+šigem

/nñiršigem/ 'they lift up'

< n+ñi+Ø+r+šigem

{'oga} 'across space'

/raĩitra'oga/ 'they are looking outwards'

< r+haĩi+ta+r+'oga

6.5 Pronominal prefix components

On the basis of the data presented in the preceding sections and utilizing the rules to account for this data, it is now possible to isolate the components of the prefixes and assign particular meanings to them.

6.5.1 Singular components

For the first person, the choice is large. Either the phonemes /s/, /ñ/ or /ǰ/ must occur; vowel addition also occurs in some cases.

For the second person, the phonemes common to all three sub-classes are /'a/. There are differences, however, which reflect sub-class membership. These differences are therefore markers for that membership.

For the third person, the choice is again large, though distinct from the first person. Furthermore, since the choice is different for each sub-class, no common element can be extracted.

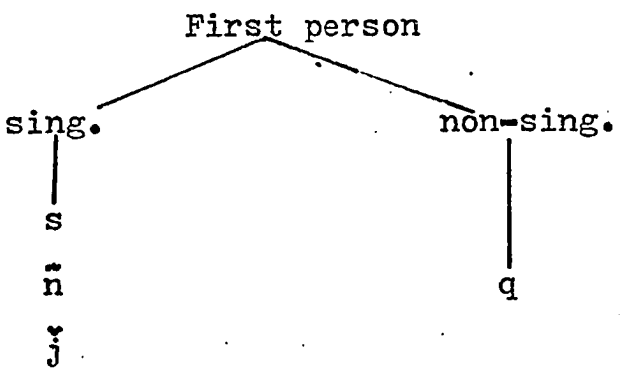
Chart of Singular Components

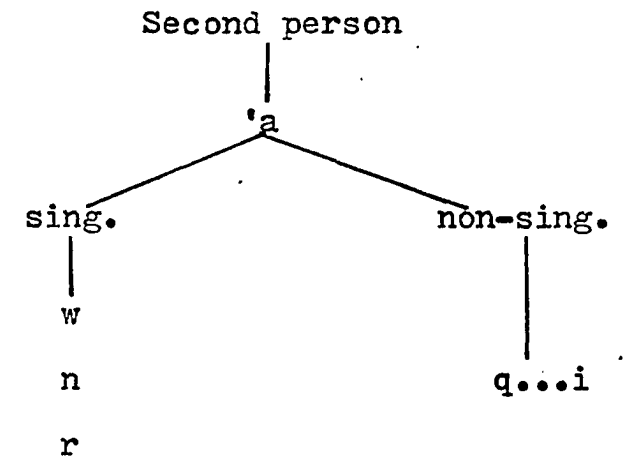
	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Class I	s(V)	'a(w(V))	r(V)~y~'~Ø
Class II	n̰(V)	'an(a)	n(a)
Class III	j̰(V)	'an~'ar	na

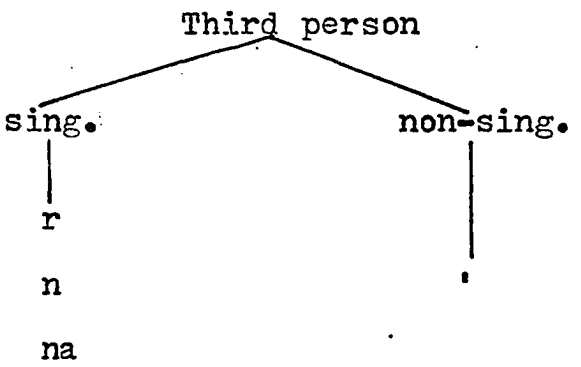
6.5.2 Non-singular components

The common element to all three subclasses in the first person plural is the phoneme /q/ (see 6.4.1). The presence of the first component /q/ and the third component /i/ is common to all three subclasses in second person plural (see 6.4.2). The third person plural idea is clearly demonstrated by the glottal stop (see 6.4.3).

6.5.3 Demonstration of co-occurrence features







6.6 Paradigms

The following three paradigms are examples of each sub-class of pronominal prefixes in Toba. These paradigms will illustrate the rules of selection for each of the sub-classes.

Prefix morpheme	Base morpheme	Suffixal morpheme	Phonemic word	Gloss
	Class I			
ña	ĩit	tak	ñaĩittak	'I am playing'
'an	ĩit	tak	'anaĩittak	'you are playing'
n	ĩit	tak	naĩittak	'he, she, it is playing'
ña...q	ĩit	tak	ñaĩitaqtak	'we are playing'
qan...i	ĩit	tak	qanaličitak	'you all are playing'
n...'	ĩit	tak	naĩitta'ape	'they are playing'
	Class II			
s	'onaga	tak	so'onagatak	'I am singing'
'aw	'onaga	tak	'aw'onagatak	'you are singing'
r	'onaga	tak	r'onagatak	'he, she is singing'
s...q	'onaga	tak	so'onagatak	'we are singing'
qaw...i	'onaga	tak	qaw'onagañitak	'you all are singing
r...'	'onaga	tak	r'onagata'ape	'they are singing'

Prefix morpheme	Base morpheme	Suffixal morpheme	Phonemic word	Gloss
		Class III		
ǰa	lo	tak+lek	ǰalotalek	'I am reaching over'
'ar	lo	tak+lek	'aralotalek	'you are reaching over'
na	lo	tak+lek	nalotalek	'he, she, it is reaching over'
ǰa...q	lo	tak+lek	ǰaloqtalek	'we are reaching over'
qar...i	lo	tak+lek	qaraloytalek	'you all are reaching over'
na...'	lo	tak+lek	nalotralek[1]	'they are reaching over'

1. See suffixal morphemes section 7.4.5.

7.0 Verbal suffixes

The verbal suffixes form the third and last morphological class of the verb. These suffixes are the morphemes that occur in the final four position classes (see 5.1). All these suffixes are bound morphemes, and the occurrence of at least one suffixal morpheme from the first position class is obligatory.[1]

7.1 Suffix formation

The verbal suffixes in Toba consist of two types: aspectual and non-aspectual (see chart below). The aspectual suffixes are those that indicate either progressive action or punctual action. They form position class I. The non-aspectual suffixes consist of three position classes.

Position class II includes suffixes of position, which indicate the location in space of the subject of the verb, or of the action itself; the position of the subject of the verb while involved in the action; or the fact that the location of the object of the verb is unknown, or that he, she, or it are absent.

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1. Moreover, the suffix is an integral part of the verb as a word, for the final suffix carries the stress on the ultimate syllable (see 3.2.1). This means, then, that the final suffix acts as the phonological determinant for the verb.

Chart of Position Classes of Verbal Suffixes

I Aspect	II Position	III Direction- A	IV Number
{tak} 'progressive'	{a'a} 'unchanging'	{wek} 'out'	{a} 'single'
{n} 'punctual'	{pe} 'circular'	{wo} 'in'	{to} 'dual'
	{o'} 'knees bent'	{ñi} 'down'	{lo} 'plural'
		{sigem} 'up'	
		{lek} 'over'	
		{'oga} 'across space'	
		{get} 'toward speaker'	
		Emotion- B Repetition- C	
		{ayke} 'Desiderative'	
		{ega} 'Intentive'	
		{igi} 'Repetitive'	

The third position class contains three types of suffixes. The first type signals the direction of the action that is being perpetrated by the subject of the verb, or the movement towards the subject on the part of the object of the verb. The second type includes those morphemes that are called emotional suffixes because they describe something about the state of mind of the subject of the verb. These suffixes specify either a desire for something, a desiderative; or an intentive, which indicates a certain intention on the part of the subject. The third type or suffix is a repetitive or intensifier which indicates that the action is repititious, or the state more intense.

The final class of suffixes (Class IV) are those that indicate the number of the object of the verb. Within this class of suffixes there are morphemes for expressing single, dual, or plural number.

There is a strict order to the suffixes and there are specific restraints on their possible combinations. At no time are more than three position classes represented; one of which must be an aspectual suffix. Thus the possible combinations of position classes would be as follows:

I

I + II

I + III

I + IV

I + II + III

I + II + IV

I + III + IV

By far the most common suffix is the progressive aspect which occurs most frequently as the only verbal suffix. The semantic load of the other suffixes is frequently carried by other word classes within the sentence. Moreover, when the non-aspectual suffixes occur, they are generally employed redundantly for greater clarity or for emphasis.

7.2 Suffixes of Aspect - Position Class I

There are two aspects expressed in Toba: the progressive and the punctual. The progressive aspect is defined in terms of ongoing action, that is, action that is in progress, or was in progress, or that is expected to be in progress. The punctual, on the other hand, is defined in terms of action that takes place once and is

completed or an action that is about to take place, but again only once, and then is expected to be terminated.

As must be clear from these definitions of aspect, tense is not overtly marked within these suffixes of aspect, nor in any other part of the verb, but it can be expressed either by adverbs of time, or by particles which are affixed to either nouns or pronouns (see section 2.5 and 11.1). In those cases, however, where neither an adverb nor a particle occurs the informant will gloss each verb in the present tense. For this reason, all glosses that follow verbs in this section on suffixes will be given in the present tense.

7.2.1 Progressive aspect {tak} 'verb + ing'

The morpheme {tak} indicates progressive aspect and can best be translated as 'be Xing'. It has five allomorphs which are determined by both morphological and phonological criteria.

-tak : occurs verb final, except for third person plural, or when followed by {o'} from position class II

/so'onagatak/ 'I am singing'

< so+'on+aga+tak

/'ayogotak/ 'you are washing'

< 'a+yogo+tak

/si'agatak/ 'I am calling'

< si+'aga+tak

/ñašipagatak/ 'I am lieing'

< ña+šip+aga+tak

/staqtak/ 'I am talking'

< s+taq+tak

/staqtako'/ 'I am talking (with my knees bent)'

-ta'ape: occurs word final, in third person plural (see 6.4.3)

/ro'onagata'ape/ 'they are singing'

< ro+'on+aga+ta'ape

/rtaqta'ape/ 'they are talking'

< r+taq+ta'ape

/riyogota'ape/ 'they are washing'

< ri+yogo+ta'ape

/ri'agata'ape/ 'they are calling'

< ri+'aga+ta'ape

/naš̆ipagata'ape/ 'they are lying'[1]

< na+š̆ip+aga+ta'ape

-ta:[2] occurs following bases that have no overt marking for punctual aspect, and preceding non-aspectual suffixes that have the shape /C.../ (also see 7.2.2)

/so'oč̆eta/ 'I am sleeping'

< so+'oč̆e+ta

/sawalekta/ 'I am walking slowly'

< sa+walek+ta

---

1. The complete paradigm below illustrates the aspectual suffix when it is word final, in all persons and numbers.

/ñaš̆ipagatak/	'I am lying'
/'anaš̆ipagatak/	'you are lying'
/naš̆ipagatak/	'he, she is lying'
/ñaš̆ipaganaqtak/	'we are lying'
/qanaš̆ipagañitak/	'you all are lying'
/naš̆ipagata'ape/	'they are lying'

2. There is another form with the same phonemic shape, but having a different underlying structure. This second /ta/ is derived from a combination of two morphemes {ta} and {a}, and indicates that the verb is in the progressive and has a single object (see 7.7). For example:

/staqta/ 'I'm talking to one person'

s+taq+ta+a (+ rule 3)

/ñaqalgoqta/ 'I am running'

< ña+qalgoq+ta

/'inakta/ 'he is biting'

< 'i+nak+ta

/staqtapigi/ 'I'm talking and talking in a circle'

< s+taq+ta+pe+igi (+rule 3)

/staqtapega/ 'I'm talking to a specific person in a known location'

< s+taq+ta+pe+ega (+ rule 3)

/staqtaget/ 'I'm talking to someone who is walking towards me'

< s+taq+ta+get

/staqtašigem/ 'I'm talking to someone who is higher than me'

< s+taq+ta+šigem

/staqta'aygi/ 'I'm talking and talking and not moving'

< s+taq+t+a'a+igi (+ rule 3)

/staqta'alo/ 'I'm talking to several people and not moving while I'm talking'

< s+taq+ta+a'a+lo

-te': [1] occurs following bases that have no overt marking for punctual aspect in third person plural (also see 7.2.2)

/ro'ǒcete'/ 'they are sleeping'

< ro+'ǒce+te'

/naqalgoqte'/ 'they are running'

< na+qalgoq+te'

/walekte'/ 'they are going slowly'

< ø+walek+te'

-t: occurs when the non-aspectual suffix is /V.../ and/or when the punctual aspect is not marked by zero.

/staqtigi/ 'I'm talking and talking'

< s+taq+t+igi

/staqtega/ 'I'm talking to a specific person, or for a specific reason'

< s+taq+t+ega

---

1. The complete paradigm below indicates the two allomorphs.

/sawalekta/	'I am going slowly'
/'awawalekta/	'you are going slowly'
/walekta/	'he, she, it is going slowly'
/sawalgosoqta/	'they are going slowly'

/si'agata/ 'I'm calling one person'

< si+'aga+t+a

These various non-aspectual suffixes referred to in the examples above will be dealt with in greater detail in section 7.3.

7.2.2 Punctual aspect {n} 'is going to X'

The morpheme {n} which indicates punctual aspect can best be glossed as ' X ' or 'is going to X'. It has three allomorphs which are determined by both morphological and phonological criteria.

-n: occurs verb final, or when followed by /V.../

/so'onagan/ 'I sing'

< so+'on+aga+n

/siyogon/ 'I'm going to wash'

< si+yogo+n

/semehenagan/ 'I stare'

< se+mehen+aga+n

/qawawalki'ita/ 'you are going slowly'

/walekte'/ 'they are going slowly'

/ñašipagan/ 'I lie'

< ña+šip+aga+n

/semehenagana/ 'I am going to look at someone'

< se+mehen+aga+n+a

/si'aganega/ 'I call that one in particular'

< si+'aga+n+ega

-na: occurs when followed by /C.../

/'aw'aganapigi/ 'call him'

< 'aw+'aga+na+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/sawanalek/ 'I look on top of'

< sa+wa+na+lek

-Ø: occurs in these cases (the allomorph ta is used in the progressive aspect, see 7.2.1)

/salawat/ 'I kill'

< sa+lawat+Ø

/so'oče/ 'I sleep'

< so+'oče+Ø

/sowet/ 'I ache, hurt'

< so+wet+Ø

/ñaqalgoq/ 'I run'

< ñ̃a+qalgoq+Ø

/ñalit/ 'I play'

< ñ̃a+l̃it+Ø

Because of the inherent meaning of punctual, not all suffixes combine with this aspect. As a result, for example, the repetitive morpheme {igi} never occurs with punctual aspect. Therefore, there are far fewer morphological combinations involving punctual aspect than progressive aspect.

7.3 Suffixes of position - Position Class II

The positional suffixes (Class II) consist of three morphemes, which are in complementary distribution. They always occur immediately after the suffixes of aspect, and may be followed by suffixes from Class III or IV. As already noted, morphemes from this class occur optionally since non-occurrence indicates that either the semantic notion of position is already indicated in the internal semantics of the verb base, or that the notion will be more specifically expressed in another morphological form, or else that position is not of any significance in the

particular context.

The three morphemes that occur with the class of positional suffixes are the following:

{a'a} absence of movement on the part of the subject, position of subject unchanged during the action

{pe} subject moves about in a circle during action

{o'} subject during action changes position to knees from sitting or standing position

7.3.1 Unchanging position {a'a}

The morpheme {a'a} indicates the absence of any explicit physical motion on the part of the subject, while engaged in another action or state. It has only one allomorph.

-a'a-:

/sela'a/ 'I see someone (I am standing still)'

< se+la+Ø+a'a (+ rule 3)

/rtaqta'a/ 'he's talking to someone (he doesn't change position while doing so)

< r+taq+t+a'a

This suffix is also very frequently combined with suffixes of direction (class III), or suffixes of number (class IV). For example:

/sela'aget/ 'I am going to look at someone or something that is going to move towards me (I'm not going to move)

< se+la+a'a+get (+ rule 3)

/ñalita'ato/ 'I am staring at the two of them'

< ña+halí+ta+a'a+to (+ rule 2 and 3)

7.3.2 Circular position {pe}

The morpheme {pe} indicates that the action of the subject is ongoing in a circular motion, or that the action is going on within the confines of a real or imaginary circle or semi-circle. This morpheme has two allomorphs which are phonologically conditioned.

-pe-: occurs before suffixes beginning with /e.../ (see rule 3)

/siyogotapega/ 'I'm going to find a round place to wash in'

< si+yogo+ta+pe+ega

/staqayapega/ 'I talk in an enclosed area with that particular person'

< s+taq+aya+pe+ega (+ rule 3)

-p-: occurs elsewhere

/si'agatapigi/ 'I'm calling and calling someone, while going in circles'

<si+'aga+ta+p+igi

/ñaqalgoqtapigi/ 'I'm running and running inside my house (or in a circle)'[1]

< ña+qalgoq+ta+p+igi

/ñašipagatapigi/ 'I'm really fibbing (lit. I'm going around lying'

7.3.3 Position of knees bent {o'}

This suffix of position is rarely utilized. When it does occur, however, it is only with the progressive aspect and then is always that last morpheme in the word. It thus is the morpheme that receives the stress. Because it co-occurs with the allomorph tak it also occurs with the third person plural allomorph ta'ape. {o'} has only one allomorph.

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1. The shape of an aboriginal house was round.

-o': occurs in verb final position following progressive aspect

/ne'eptako'/ 'I am moving forward on my knees hunting'

< ne+'ep+tak+o'

/ne'epta'apo'/ 'they are crawling forward on their knees hunting'

< ne+'ep+ta'ape+o' (+ rule 3)

{o'} also implies a notion of futurity, that is, one is moving forward into the future. It frequently co-occurs with the time adverb indicating future. For example:

/siyogotako' qome/ 'I'm going (to bend my knees) and wash later on. I've decided to wash up later'

< si+yogo+tak+o' qome

It also implies, especially in the second person, a reaction on the part of the speaker (not the subject), that the speaker is surprised by the action of the subject. For example:

/'ayogotako'/ 'you are washing (and boy am I surprised!)'

< 'a+yogo+tak+o'

7.4 Suffixes of direction - Position Class III A

The suffixes in this class consist of seven morphemes which refer either to the direction of an action on the part of the subject or to a movement in a direction towards the subject.[1] These suffixes may be preceded by an aspectual suffix (Class I) and a positional suffix (Class II). Therefore, when an aspectual, positional, and directional suffix occur, the suffix of direction is word final.

The directional morphemes that occur in position class III are the following:

{wek}	'inside to outside'
{wo}	'outside to inside'
{ñi}	'up to down'
{šigem}	'down to up'
{lek}	'on top of, over'
{'oga}	'outside'
{get}	'to, towards'

1. There are three other non-directional morphemes in this position class which will be discussed in 7.5 and 7.6.

7.4.1 {wek} 'inside to outside'

The morpheme {wek} refers to a motion involving direction from within to without on the part of the subject. {wek} has two allomorphs which are phonologically conditioned.

-ek-: occurs where preceded by /...C/

/sayetek/ 'I go outside'

< sa+yet+ek

/pa'arek/ 'they are outside'

< pa'a+r+ek

-wek-: occurs elsewhere

/pa'awek/ 'he is outside'

< pa'a+wek

/senoganagawek/ 'let's get out of here'

< se+no+aga+naq+wek (+ rule 3 and 7)

/'anašiwek/ '(you) card (i.e. the cotton)!'

< 'ana+ši+wek

7.4.2 {wo} 'outside to inside'

The suffix {wo} indicates direction inwards, that is, towards one's house, or one's space, or an area that is enclosed. This suffix and all the other directional suffixes have only one allomorph.

-wo-:

/šigawo/ 'I'm going to go home (inside)'

< šik+wo (+ rule 7)

/šiktawo/ 'I go home (inside)'

< šik+ta+wo

/'ansogawo/ 'you lift up to get inside'

< 'an+soq+wo (+ rule 7)

7.4.3 {ñi} 'up to down'

The morpheme {ñi} indicates a general direction of downwards in those verbs that are not customarily thought of as indicating action in that direction. It also occurs as an obligatory morpheme in verbs that have an inherent meaning of downwards motion. That is, these bases never occur without the {ñi} suffix (see examples two and three).

-ñi-:

/wetañi/ 'he is prone (lit. he is located in a downwards position)

< Ø+weta+Ø+ñi

/ñina'añi/ 'I'm going to lie down'

< ñi+na'a+Ø+ñi

/nigotañi/ 'it is setting (i.e. the sun going down)

< ni+hi-go+ta+ñi (+ rule 3 and 2)

7.4.4 {šigem} 'down to up'

The suffix {šigem} indicates the notion of direction upwards. As with {ñi} it is used most frequently with bases that have an inherent meaning of upwards direction.

-šigem-:

/ñiso'onaqšigem/ 'we lift ourselves up a bit (e.g. from a seat)'

< ñi+so'o+naq+šigem

/ñawekšigem/ 'I pick up'

< ña+wek+Ø+šigem

/natašigem/ 'he is (flying, e.g. a bird) upwards (lit. he is in the direction of upwards)'

< na+ta+Ø+šigem

/si'agatašigem/ 'I'm calling upwards (e.g. from a well, or up to someone in a tree)

< si+'aga+ta+šigem

7.4.5 {lek} 'on top of, over'

The suffix {lek} indicates direction over something, or on top of something or someone. For example:

-lek-:

/sekorelek/ 'I'm pouring water (over someone or something)'

< se+kore+Ø+lek

/so'otalek/ 'I'm riding (e.g. a horse) (lit. I'm going on top of)'

< so+'o+ta+lek

/'awawanalek/ 'you look for something on top'

< 'awa+wa+na+lek

7.4.6 {'oga} 'direction across space'

This suffix is unique within the corpus because it does not indicate a specific performative action as do the other direction suffixes. It indicates rather a visual motion across space. For example:

/saĩita'oga/ 'I am looking (outside, i.e. across space)

< sa+haĩi+ta+'oga (+ rule 2 and 3)

/'alota'oga/ 'you are looking occasionally (outside, or across space)'

< 'a+lo+ta+'oga

7.4.7 {get} 'direction towards the speaker'

The suffix {get} is placed in this category of directional suffixes although it does not indicate the direction of the action of the subject, as do the other suffixes. It does, however, indicate that the object of the verb is approaching the speaker. The subject of the verb simultaneously is performing another action, an action which the base specifies. For example:

-get-:

/saĩitaget/ 'I'm looking at someone moving towards me, and I might or might not be moving'

< sa+haĩi+ta+get (+ rule 2 and 3)

/selota'aget/ 'I'm looking at someone (I'm standing still) and that someone is coming towards me)

< se+lo+ta+a'a+get (+ rule 3)

Furthermore, since the action that is involved in the form {get} implies an action of reciprocity in terms of motion towards the subject, it occurs most often with the object pronoun which specifies dual number. For example:

/'awtaqtagetto/ 'you are talking to those two who are approaching you'

<'aw+taq+ta+get+to

/saĩitagetto/ 'I'm looking at those two who are approaching me'

<sa+haĩi+ta+get+to

/sekinaqtagetto/ 'we pass those two on the road and greet them'

<se+ki+naq+ta+get+to

7.5 Suffixes of emotion - Position Class III B

There are two morphemes to express emotion: a desiderative and an intentive. They sometimes occur immediately after the aspectual suffixes, sometimes follow positional suffixes, and may be followed by the suffixes of number. They occur infrequently since these same emotional distinctions are expressed within the syntax by the use of differing adverbs.

The suffixes of emotion that occur in Position Class III B are the following:

{ayke} 'desiderative'

{ega} 'intentive'

7.5.1 {ayke} 'desiderative'

This suffix indicates both the absence of the object, and the desire on the part of the subject of the verb for that object. It has only one allomorph.

-ayke:

/solotayke/ 'I'm looking for something (I want it and it's not here)'

< se+lo+ta+ayke (+ rule 3)

/'iwatayke/ 'he is waiting for someone (wants that person or thing to arrive)'

< 'i+wa+ta+ayke (+ rule 3)

/si'agatayke/ 'I am calling someone who's not here (and I want him to come)'

< si+'aga+ta+ayke (+ rule 3)

/si'aganayke/ 'I call someone who's not here (so that he'll come)'

< si+'aga+n+ayke

7.5.2 {ega} 'intentive'

The intentive morpheme indicates that the subject of the verb is either doing something with a specific purpose in mind, or for a specific individual or individuals. This suffix {ega} when immediately preceded by either the progressive aspect or the punctual aspect indicates a factor of specificity, or indubitability. The gloss usually given with these forms is "there's not a doubt that ...".[1] {ega} also has only one allomorph.

-ega-:

/si'agatega/ 'I'm calling that one in particular'

< si+'aga+t+ega

si'aganega/ 'I call that one'

< si+'aga+n+ega

---

1. This suffix contrasts in meaning with the object pronominal suffix {a} which indicates only the singular number of the object. If, the emphasis in a sentence is on the fact that the object of the action is just one specific person, as opposed to either many people, two people, or no people; or that a specific person whose name or attributes will be dealt with elsewhere are being discussed, then the form {ega} co-occurs. The sentences taken from the corpus indicate that the form {ega} never occurs in sentences where there is no explicit morpheme for the object of the verb. Thus, the morpheme {ega} also serves as a redundant signal to the hearer that there will be an explicit word to follow which will indicate what the object of the action refers to.

/staqtega/ 'I'm talking about that one'

< s+taq+t+ega

/si'aganegalo/ 'I call those guys'

< si+'aga+n+ega+lo

/saĩtegalo/ 'I'm looking at them for a reason'

< sa+haĩi+t+ega+lo (+ rule 2 and 3)

When {ega} co-occurs with {pe} it indicates the specificity of the action within a spatial boundary. Thus, using the same bases as above, the following results:

/so'onagatapega/ 'I'm going there to sing'

< so+'on+aga+ta+pe+ega (+ rule 3)

/siyogotapega/ 'I'm going to find a place to wash in'

< si+yogo+ta+pe+ega

/si'agatapega/ 'I'm calling to someone so that they'll come here'

< si+'aga+ta+pe+ega (+ rule 3)

7.6 Suffix of repetition - Position Class III C

The suffix {igi} indicates a repetition of the action or by extension an intensification of the action.

When it occurs with the progressive aspect this suffix indicates repetition. When it occurs with the punctual aspect, the suffix means an intensification of whatever action the base specifies. For example:

-igi-:

/sawa:tigilo/ 'I see them well'

< sa+wa:t+igi+lo

/yapo'igi/ 'he closed completely'

< ya+po'+Ø+igi

/so'očetaygi/ 'I'm sleeping and sleeping (sleeping soundly)'

< so+'oče+ta+igi

/yawiktaygi/ 'it's burning and burning (burning completely)'

< ya+wik+ta+igi

This suffix also occurs in the combination of aspectual suffixes followed by the Class II suffix of position {pe}. For example:

/'anačeltapigi/ 'you are bathing in a tub (basin)'

< 'ana+čel+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/sawalektapigi/ 'I'm looking for an animal, going around slowly to see if I can find it'

< sa+walek+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/si'alatapigi/ 'I'm hurrying looking for something going around in circles'

< si+'ala+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/ñapigoqtapigi/ 'I'm chewing (moving my mouth around) something chewy (like a caramel)'

< ña+pigoq+ta+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

/si'aganapigi/ 'I'call him loudly (he's nearby, within a specific boundary)'

< si+'aga+na+pe+igi (+ rule 3)

7.7 Object pronouns - Position Class IV

This final position class of suffixal morphemes indicates the number of the object pronoun. They specify three numbers: singular, dual and plural.[1] They are frequently utilized and may occur after any of the position classes. The three morphemes each have only one allomorph.

The morphemes that indicate object number are the following:

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1. Subject pronominal number is indicated only in the singular and plural.

{a} 'singular'

{to} 'dual'

{lo} 'plural'

7.7.1 Singular object {a} 'him, her, it, one'

The morpheme {a} indicates the singular object pronoun.

-a: occurs in the following distribution

/si'agana/ 'I call one person'

< si+'aga+n+a

/si'agata/ 'I am calling one person'

< si+'aga+ta+a (+ rule 3)

/staqa/ 'I talk to one'

< s+taq+Ø+a

/ñaloqta'a/ 'we are looking at each other (you and me) and we're stationary'

< ña+lo+q+ta+a'a+a (+ rule 3)

7.7.2 Dual object {to} 'two'

The morpheme {to} refers to two individuals as well as to a couple. It has a reciprocal meaning as well, when used with verbs that have the pronominal prefix Class I forms. For example:

-to: occurs in the following cases

/ñalĩita'ato/ 'I'm looking at those two and they are looking back at me (I'm not moving)'

< ña+halĩ+ta+a'a+to (+ rule 3 and 2)

/ñalĩittagetto/ 'I'm playing with those two who are coming near me and they're playing with me'

< ña+lĩit+ta+get+to

/ñikinaqtagetto/ 'we're greeting those two people whom we pass, and they greet us back'

< ñi+ki+naq+ta+get+to

but

/sekinaqtagetto/ 'we're greeting those two people whom we pass'

< se+ki+naq+ta+get+to

7.7.3 Plural object {lo} 'them, those'

The morpheme {lo} indicates an object number greater than two. For example:

-lo: occurs in the following cases

/si'agatalo/ 'I'm calling them'

< si+'aga+ta+lo

/sawa:ttegalo/ 'I am seeing those people in particular'

< sa+wa:t+t+ega+lo

/'inakta'alo/ 'he's (standing still) and biting them (e.g. his nails)'

<'i+nak+ta+a'a+lo

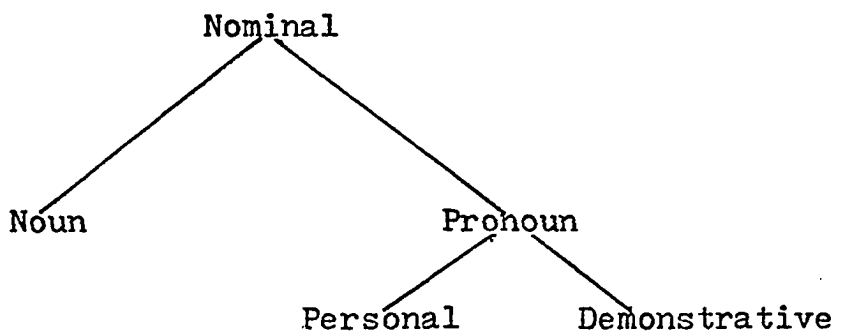
/so'onagataygilo/ I'm going to sing and sing (keep on singing to them)'

< so+'on+aga+ta+igi+lo

8.0 Nominal system

The nominal system consists of nouns and personal and demonstrative pronouns. These are defined as a single system because they all co-occur with the same six particles, which impart information about position, direction and motion, concepts of great concern to the Toba speaker. Furthermore, any one of these forms can satisfy the syntactic requirements of a noun phrase marker. Thus, the nominal system can be charted in the following way:

CHART OF NOMINAL SYSTEM



The noun contains the most complex morphology of the three and will therefore be dealt with initially. The pronominal data will be presented in chapter 11.

8.1 Noun Morphology - Introduction

The noun consists of the following four morphological classes:

CHART OF NOUN CLASSES

Locative particles	Possessive prefixes	Noun base		Noun suffixes	
Position Class I	II[a]	III	IV	V-VI	VII-IX
Present	Prefix class I	Root	Prefix + Root	Attributive	Enumerative
Absent	Prefix class II				
Sitting					
Lying					
Approaching					
Withdrawing					

Note: [a]This and subsequent Roman numerals refer to Position class number.

8.1.1 Reading of chart

The following sections summarize the salient points of noun structure. A detailed analysis of each of the morphological classes will be found below in the sections

noted.

8.1.1.1 Locative particles

The locative particles consist of one position class and occur optionally with nouns.[1] When these particles are affixed to the noun, they provide greater specificity as to the position of the noun in both spatial and temporal terms (see chapter 11).

8.1.1.2 Possessive prefix

The possessive prefix, the second position class, consists of two sub-classes, both of which contain morphemes that represent either personal or indefinite possession. The prefix can be inflected for both number and person.[2]

8.1.1.3 Noun bases

Noun bases consist of two position classes. The first class is composed of only one root. The second position class contains a possessive prefix and

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1. Their main importance is their function as a bound morpheme in third person personal pronouns and as the base of the demonstrative pronouns.

2. But it is not possible to say that its occurrence is obligatory. There are about a dozen roots which are considered by the Toba as not capable of being possessed, because they are abstract or deal with natural phenomena. These, therefore, do not occur with any possessive prefixes (see section 9.1).

a noun root. It obligatorily co-occurs with a root from the first position class. These compounds are subject to the same phonological and morphological rules as single root nouns, and for this reason the two position classes are discussed as one morphological class, the base.

8.1.1.4 Noun suffixes

The noun suffix, the fourth morphological class, consists of five position classes all of which are optional. There are, however, no instances of all five co-occurring. The first two classes by indicating attributes such as size, condition, and natural property, refine the meaning of the base. The last three classes enumerate the base.

8.2 Noun bases

The noun base, like the verb base, can also be easily identified formally and be assigned a basic lexical meaning. Unlike the verb base, the noun base carries additional syntactic information. The syntactic information is the specification of gender, masculine and feminine, which is not overtly marked.[1] The chart below represents

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1. There are some noun roots, however, that are unmarked for gender. When that is the case, there is an obligatory rule which requires that the gender be marked in the noun suffixes. In these cases, moreover, there are usually two contrasting overt markers of gender, and the object is specified for either masculine or feminine (see 10.2).

the two position classes of noun bases.

STRUCTURE OF NOUN BASE

Noun root	(Prefix + Noun root)

All noun bases are composed of at least one noun root.[1] The formal identification is based upon the permissable shape of the root, which is the same as that of a

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1. There is considerable homonomy between verb roots and noun roots (see Appendix A), with no semantic correlation between them. Therefore, in general, it can be stated that the same root in Toba is not subject to both the process of verbalization and nominalization. There are, however, some exceptions which consist of roots which can be nominalized or verbalized. In these cases, the root is subjected to the morphological rules of prefixing and suffixing of the particular word class in which it appears. For example:

root šip 'lie' ⟶

ɲašipagan ' they lie '
sipaqayk ' liar '

root 'ona 'work' ⟶

so'onatak ' I am working '
hi'onatak 'my work, my job'

verb root (see 5.3). There are some noun bases, however, that are composed of two noun roots joined by an indefinite person pronominal prefix. These compound roots must still be considered morphologically as a single noun since they obey the rules of single noun roots. Thus, the morpho-phonemic rules of prefixing and suffixing are the same for single noun roots as for the compounds.

8.3 Noun root

The noun root like the verb root is generally a bound morpheme because it too can be preceded by a prefix and followed by at least one suffix. Unlike the verb, however, there are times when the noun root is a free morpheme (see 9.1). It is readily identified by its canonical shape. All root morphemes must begin with a consonant and must consist of no more than five phonemes. Thus the noun root is limited to the following consonant-vowel combinations.

Chart of Noun Root Shapes

Canonical Shapes of Root	Examples
CV	{pe} bone, where eyebrows are {so} body hair, fur
CVC	{ma'} house {qa'} chin
CVCV	{kowe} horn {ta'a} father (reference)
CVCVC	{qosot} collar {koma'} stone

8.4 Compound noun roots

Compound noun roots refer in general to body parts or to house parts. They always consist of a noun root followed by the indefinite possessive pronoun {l} and another noun root of the same gender as the first root. Thus, each member of a compound root structure can occur within a base as a single root. However, when two roots occur together, the basic meaning reflect the relationship between the first noun root, which is the possessor, and the second noun root, which is the possessed.[1]

For example:

/pikelamo/ 'upper arm at the muscle'

< {l}{pike} 'arm'(f)'

{l} 'indefinite possessive pronoun'

{hamo} 'trunk' (+ rule 2)

---

1. This final point was derived through an analysis of sentence structure, in which it had become clear to me that in Toba sentences there were strict rules of word order insofar as nouns are concerned. The rules of word order indicated that the noun representing the possessor preceded the noun representing the possessed, and that furthermore the possessor was always marked by one of the personal possessive prefixes, while the possessed noun was marked by the unspecified possessor morpheme. In other words, basic word order is recapitualted syntactically as well as morphologically.

	/waqlasot/	'forearm (elbow to fingers)'
<	{waq}	'hand (m)'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun'
	{hasot}	'waist'
	/čelasot/	'leg (knees to ankle)'
<	{če}	'leg (m)'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun'
	{hasot}	'waist'
	/waqlawel/	'palm of the hand'
<	{waq}	'hand'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun (+ rule 1)'
	{wel}	'palm'
	/miklawak/	'nostrils'
<	{mik}	'nose (m)'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun'
	{hawak}	'cave'
	/ñikellaq/	'roof'
<	{ñikel}	'refers to the flesh above the buttocks, and below the waist'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun'
	{haq}	'upper part'

	/pelawe/	'eyebrow'
<	{pe}	'bony area of eyebrow (f)'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun (+ rule 1)'
	{hawe}	'hair'
	/pi'a'laq/	'upper part of the foot'
<	{pi'a'}	'foot (m)'
	{l}	'indefinite possessive pronoun (+ rule 1)'
	{haq}	'upper part'

8.5 Morphophonemic adjustments in the noun base

Noun bases like the verb bases are subject to morphophonemic change as a result of the pluralization of the possessive prefix. Unlike the verb bases, which are affected only by the disjunctive morphemes of the pronominal prefixes, the noun base is also altered by the suffixes. In the process of pluralization of the base itself, a morphophonemic change in the base results when the pluralizing suffix occurs immediately after the base form. Also, unlike the verb base, there are no obligatory suffixes; however, there are a greater number of attributive morphemes that optionally follow the noun base form. Some of these also affect a change in the base.

In the following sections these various changes in the noun base are summarized. They are dealt with in greater detail both in the morphophonemics chapter, where the rules

are first presented, and in the prefix and suffix chapters where the morphology of these classes is presented.

8.5.1 Vowel deletion

{toge} 'chest' + {qar...i} '2nd plural possessive'

→ qar+toge+i (+ rule 3)

→ /qartogi/ 'your (pl.) chest'

{pelawe} 'eyebrow' + {qan...i} '2nd plural possessive'

→ qan+pelawe+i (+ rules 3 and 5)

→ /qampelawi/ 'your eyebrow'

8.5.2 Palatalization

Those bases that end in /t/ in the second person plural possessive prefix are subject to rule 6.

For example:

{čelasot} 'lower leg' + {qar...i} '2nd plural possessive'

→ qar+čelasot+i (+rule 6)

→ /qarčelasoči/ 'your (pl.) lower leg'

8.5.3 Infixation

When a noun base ends in any consonant except a glottal stop, then the disjunctive part of the third person plural morpheme is infixed before that stop.

For example:

{'ok} 'leather' + {n...'} '3rd plural possessive'

→ n+'ok+'

→ /n'o'k/ 'their leather'

{qa'im} 'river, gully' + {n...'} '3rd plural possessive'

→ n+qa'im+'

→ /nqa'i'm/ 'their river, gully'

8.5.4 Consonant voicing and vowel insertion

Rule 9, consonant voicing and vowel insertion, applies to the noun base when an attributive or enumerative suffix follows the base.

For example:

{moq} 'spouse' + {wa} 'relationship'

→ moq+wa (+ rule 9)

→ /mogawa/ 'spouse'

{ñ̃a} 'lst singular possessive' + {sogok} 'patio' + {ǰi} 'severalizer'

→ ñ̃a+sogok+ǰi (+ rule 9)

→ /ñ̃asogogoǰi/ 'my patios'

8.5.5 Consonant deletion

When the noun base ends in /k/ and is followed by the plural morpheme {qa}, the /k/ is deleted.

For example:

{yalek} 'my son' + {qa} 'several'

→ yalek+qa (+ rule 12)

→ /yaleqa/ 'my sons'

{ič̆ikenek} 'my bow' + {qa} 'several'

→ ič̆ikenek+qa (+ rule 12)

→ /ič̆ikenqa/ 'my bows'

9.0 Possessive prefixes

Noun prefixes consist of two mutually exclusive sub-classes which indicate possession. They occur in the second position class of the noun structure (see 8.1). Each possessive prefix class is inflected for three persons in singular and plural, and for an indefinite person in the singular. Furthermore, unlike the verbs, only one sub-class of prefixes ever occurs with a noun base.

An attempt to arrange the nouns according to classes on a variety of axis, including gender, choice of pluralizer or by semantic domains, seeking to find shape, or size or typological similarities, was unsuccessful. As a result, sub-class membership was decided on the basis of the co-occurrence of possessive prefixes with the noun bases.

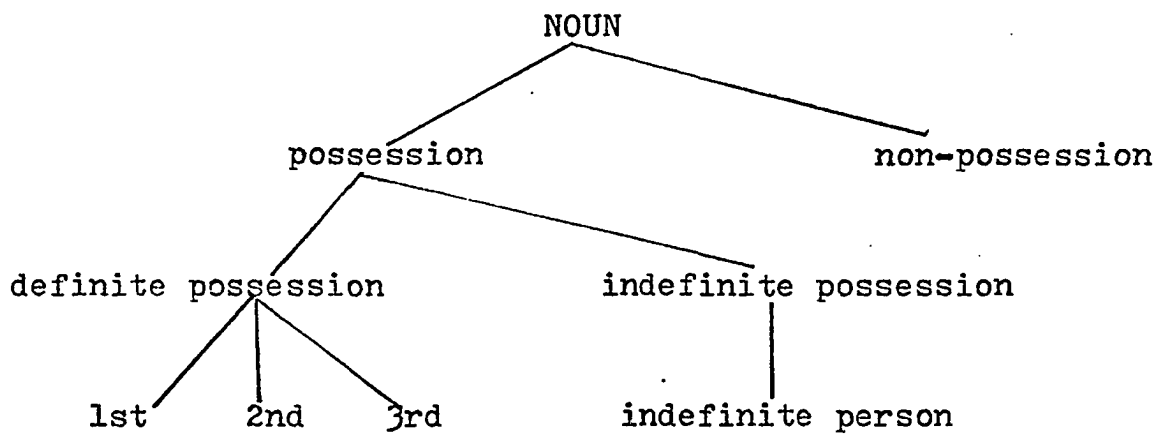
9.1 Semantic sub-categorization

There are some noun bases, however, that do not occur with possessive prefixes. These bases, few in number, are abstract nouns or nouns which deal with natural phenomena over which humans have no control.

For example:

wi'i	'year'
haloñi	'ice'
hawot	'rain'

Not only do these nouns not occur with any of the possessive prefixes, but they also never occur with any attributive or enumerative suffixes.[1] Nouns, therefore, must be conceived of not only as morphological units having certain attributes which are reflected in terms of possessive prefix sub-class membership, but as semantic units that are inherently capable of being possessed or that are not capable of being possessed. The following chart represents this dichotomy:



The forms that are marked as indefinite possession are then morphologically indicated by one of the indefinite

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1. They are, however, covertly marked for gender, and when they do occur with the locative particles, the gender is overtly marked in the particles (see 11.1). For example:

lapa hanaloñi 'lots of ice(f)'

laqčigi nan'etgat 'filled with water (m)'

morphemes. The majority of these fall into the group which is prefixed by the morpheme {n}; the rest are prefixed by {l}.[1] The forms that indicate definite possession are the first, second and third person possessive morphemes.[2]

9.2 Possessive prefix morphemes

Complete paradigms of the two sub-classes for all persons are:

Chart of Possessive Prefix Morphemes

	Class I	Class II	Gloss
1st. sing.	{hi}	{ñ̃a}	'my'
2nd sing.	{'ar}	{'an}	'your'
3rd sing.	{l}	{n}	'his, her, its'
Indef. sing.	{n}	{l}	'one's'
1st. plural	{qar}	{qan}	'our'
2nd. plural	{qar...i}	{qan...i}	'your'
3rd plural	{l...'}	{n...'}	'their'

1. In each instance that the indefinite marker is {n}, there is a set paradigm that follows for the prefixes, which does not include the phoneme /n/ anywhere in the paradigm.

2. This analysis was greatly helped by my informant, Oswaldo Gomez, who when asked to supply the possessive

The rest of this chapter will discuss the distributional statements of these morphemes.

9.3 Allomorphic distribution of possessive prefixes

The allomorphic variation in possessive prefixes is not as great as was the variation in the subject pronominal prefixes of the verbs. Rules, however, can be formulated which will account for the allomorphic distribution of the possessive prefixes. When the allomorphs are phonologically conditioned, the rules are stated in terms of the phonological environment. When they are morphologically conditioned, examples of the distribution are provided. Reference will also be made in the examples to the generalized rules already stated in the morphophonemics chapter.

The allomorphic statements are also presented separately for each of the two sub-classes of prefixes in the singular, since these statements are motivated by the specific subclass membership.

9.3.1 Class I - singular prefixes

9.3.1.1 {hi} 'my'

This morpheme, when added to the base

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pronominal forms in a paradigmatic type of elicitation, answered "do you mean my ... or your ... or ... 'no mas'". When asked what 'no mas' referred to, his response was that it must belong to someone, but he didn't know who. In other words the noun is capable of being possessed, but the possessor is unknown or indefinite.

indicates the first person singular possessive prefix. The allomorphy is phonologically conditioned.

hi-: occurs where the base is /Ca.../ or /Co.../, except where /Ca.../ = /ha/ or /qa/

/hilote/ 'my eyelashes'

< hi+lote

/hiwaq/ 'my hand'

< hi+waq

/hipoto/ 'my dress'

< hi+poto

/hi'ʌsaqanta/ 'my toy' (e.g. a doll)

< hi+'ʌsaqanta

ya-: occurs where the base is /ha.../ or /qa.../

/yasot/ 'my waist'

< ya+hasot (+ rule 2 and 3)

/yanoq/ 'my cheek'

< ya+hanoq (+ rule 2 and 3)

/yaqaya/ 'my sibling'

< ya+qaya

/yaqayk/ 'my road'

< ya+qayk

hi- ~ ya-: occurs where the base is /Ce.../ or /Ci.../

/yačiʼ/ 'my gut'

< ya+čiʼ

/hičikenek/ 'my bow'

< hi+čikenek

/yateʼe/ 'my mother'

< ya+teʼe

/itela/ 'my ear'

< i+tela

As is apparent from the above examples no generalized statement can be made for the way that either of the front vowels of the base affects the choice of allomorphs. In those cases where the root consists of Ceʼe the allomorph generally has the form /ya/. For example:

/yateʼe/ 'my mother'

ya+teʼe

/yaĩeʼe/ 'my brother-in-law (husband of sibling)'

ya+ĩeʼe

Although it is impossible to predict which allomorph will be utilized where the base contains the front vowels, by far the majority of those bases occur with the /ya/ allomorph.

For example:

/yapi'/ 'my grandfather'
< ya+pi'

/yašire/ 'my trumpet'
< ya+šire

/yawet/ 'my salt'
< ya+wet

/yapela'/ 'my shoe'
< ya+pela'

/yere/ 'my book'
< ya+here (+ rule 2 and 3)

9.3.1.2 {'ar} 'your'

This morpheme has three allomorphs, all phonologically conditioned.

'ar-:	occurs where the base is /Ca.../ or /Co.../

/'arqa'/ 'your chin'

< 'ar+qa'

/'arkowe/ 'your horn'

< 'ar+kowe

'ara-: occurs where the base is /Ci.../ or /Ce.../

/'arapi'a'/ 'your foot'

< 'ara+pi'a'

/'araĉo'/ 'your father-in-law'

< 'ara+ĉo'

'ar- ~ 'ara-: in one case

/'arma'/ /'arama'/ 'your house'

< 'ar+ma' < 'ara+ma'

'al-: occurs where the base begins with /l̃.../ or /l.../ (see rule 4)

/'allẽkte/ 'your knees'

< 'ar+l̃ek+te (+ rule 4)

/'allamek/ 'your heart'

< 'ar+lamek

9.3.1.3 {l} 'his, her, its'

This morpheme has two allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

l-:

/lta'a/ 'his, her, its father

< l+ta'a

/lkote/ 'his, her, its grandmother'

< l+kote

la-:

/lapi'a'laq/ 'the top of his, her, its foot'

< la+pi'a'+l+haq (+ rule 2)

/lasǒsi/ 'his, her, its niece'

< la+so+ǒsi

9.3.1.4 {n} 'someone's'[1]

This morpheme also has two allomorphs

1. What is most obvious about the relationship between the third person possessive form and the indefinite possessive form is that in Class I nouns, the former morpheme is {l} and the latter {n}, while in Class II nouns, the opposite is the case. Thus, in Class II nouns, the indefinite possessive form is marked with an {l} morpheme, while the third person possessive form is marked with an {n} morpheme.

which occur in the following distribution:

n-:

/nta'a/ 'someone's father'

< n+ta'a

na-:

/napi'a'laq/ 'the top of someone's foot'

< na+pi'a'+l+haq

9.3.2 Class II - singular prefixes

Class II noun prefixes are practically identical in shape to the prefixes of Class I verbs. They both contain the phoneme /n/ as the prime marker. Semantically, however, noun and verb prefixes bear no resemblance.[1]

9.3.2.1 {ñ̃a} 'my'

ñ̃i-: occurs where base is /'V.../

/ñ̃i'igayna/ 'my old lady'

< ñ̃i+'igay+na

1. Furthermore, if any generalization can be made about the semantics of Class II prefixes, it would be that the notion of distance away, rather than direction towards, prevails.

/ñi'ok/ 'my leather'

< ñi+'ok

/ñi'alwa/ 'my land'

< ñi+'alwa

ñi- ~ ña-: occurs elsewhere

/ñipelawe/ 'my eyebrow'

< ñi+pe+l+hawe

/ñikoma'/ 'my stone'

< ñi+koma'

/ñiso'ongaki/ 'my seat, chair'

< ñi+so'onga+ki

/ñiqopaq/ 'my handkerchief'

< ñi+qopaq

/ñitesqo'/ 'my uncle'[1]

< ñi+tesqo'

---

1. This particular kinship term is unique because it alone co-occurs with class II prefixes - all the other terms occur with Class I prefixes. This uniqueness in prefix class, plus the fact that the root for aunt, nephew and niece are the same lead me to conjecture that perhaps historically there were several different terms to express this relationship and that these have been lost, leaving the form that refers to the affinal relative. If my conjecture that this prefix also indicates the notion of 'distance away' is correct, than this example would provide evidence of that notion.

/ñamo/ 'my trunk'

< ña+hamo (+ rule2 and 3)

/ñawagay/ 'my sea'

< ña+wagay

/ñawe/ 'my feather'

< ña+ hawe (+ rule 2 and 3)

/ñate/ 'my rump'

< ña+te

/ñasogok/ 'my patio'

< ña+sogok

/ñaqa'em/ 'my river, gully'

< ña+qa'em

/ñaro'o/ 'my hat, cap'

< ña+ro'o

/nala'/ 'my sun'

< ña+la'

9.3.2.2 {'an} 'your'

The morpheme {'an} has three allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

'an-:[1]

/'an'emaq/ 'your left'

< 'an+'emaq

/'anlegagayšte/ 'your button'

< 'an+leg+aga+ište

/'anke/ 'your outside back wall'

< 'an+ke

'am-: occurs where the base is /p.../[2] (see rule 5)

/'ampelawe/ 'your eyebrow'

< 'an+pe+la+we (+ rule 5)

/ampa'a/ 'your root'

< 'an+pa'a (+ rule 5)

'ana-:[3]

---

1. Those bases that took the ni allomorph in the first person, take the 'an allomorph in the second person.

2. This particular allomorph reflects some of the dialectal variation which occurs in the Chaco. The northernmost speakers use this allomorph, as do the speakers of the western dialect. However, those speakers from the eastern part of the dialect area do not.

3. But note here also that those bases that took the ña allomorph in first person, take the 'ana allomorph in second person.

/'anasom/ 'your door'

< 'ana+som

/'anamo/ 'your trunk'

< 'ana+hamo (+ rule 2 and 3)

9.3.2.3 {n} 'his, her, its'

The allomorphic distributions here are the same as they were for the first and second person. Thus, a knowledge of the prefix for just one of the persons is enough to allow for the correct inflection of the rest of the paradigm. The allomorphs occur in the following distribution:

n-:

/ntowe/ 'his, her, its salt'

< n+towe

/nlomagaki/ 'his, her, its shirt'

< n+lom+aga+ki

/nñikellaq/ 'his, her, its roof'

< n+ñikel+la+haq (+ rule 2 and 3)

na-:

/nasogok/ 'his, her, its patio'

< na+sogok

/nala'/ 'his, her, its sun'

< na+la'

/naro'o/ 'his, her cap'

< na+ro'o

m-: occurs where the base is /p•••/

/mpa'a/ 'his, her, its root'

< n+pa'a (+ rule 5)

9.3.2.4 {l} 'someone's'

This morpheme has two allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

l-:

/ltowe/ 'someone's salt'

< l+towe

la-:

/laro'o/ 'someone's cap'

< la+ro'o

9.4 Plurals of Class I and II possessive prefixes

9.4.1 First person plural possessive

The first person plural morpheme component in nouns differs in position from verbs. In the latter the plural component occurred after the base (see 6.4.2). In nouns, on the other hand, the plural component has the same phonemic shape /q/, but it occurs before the base. In fact, the first person plural component occurs in the same position as second person plural pronominal prefix in verbs.[1] It thus follows the same rule stated in 6.4.2.1

> Delete /'/ when, in first (or second) person plural possessive, the /q/ precedes it.[2]

For example:

'arkowe	⟶	qarkowe
'your horn'		'our horn'

---

1. One can conjecture from this second person morpheme that perhaps the first person plural possessive form was meant to be an inclusive possessive. The second person morpheme would mark this inclusion. From the elicitation, it became clear that possession in terms of first person plural was distinctive. My informant always referred to his children as his wife's children. When asked if they weren't his, he commented that he could not say 'our children' because his wife, not being present, could not be included. It was also not possible because children are possessed by females, not males. Furthermore, in an activity like drinking tea in my house, which both my informant and I participated in, he referred to as 'our tea'.

2. This same rule applies also to second person plural

'an'emaq qan'emaq

'your left' 'our left'

The allomorphic statements for first person plural possessive forms will be considered in class order.

9.4.1.1 Class I- qar 'our'

This morpheme has three allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

qar-:

/qarqoyšte/ 'our Adam's apple'

qar+qo+ište

/qarkijakte/ 'our heart'

qar+kijak+te

qara-:

/qarano'o/ 'our younger sister'

qara+no'o

qal:-

/qallote/ 'our eyelashes'

qar+lote

---

possessive morphemes (see 9.4.2).

9.4.1.2 Class II- {qan} 'our'

This morpheme has three allomorphs which occur in the following distribution:

qan-:[1]

/qanke/ 'our back outside wall'
< qan+ke

/qanqa'ayk/ 'our road'
< qan+qa'ayk

/qan'ok/ 'our leather'
< qan+'ok

/qan'igayna/ 'our old lady'
< qan+'igay+na

qana-:

/qanate'/ 'our rump'
< qana+te'

/qanawagay/ 'our sea'
< qana+wagay

---

1. But note, that here again those bases that took the ñi allomorph in first person singular, take the qan allomorph in first person plural.

qam-: occurs where the base is /p.../

/qampelawe/ 'our eyebrow'

<qan+pe+la+we

9.4.2 Second person plural - Class I - {qar...i}
Class II - {qan...i}

The second person plural possessive pronominal prefix formally is very similar to the second person pronominal plural is verbs. For both nouns and verbs there are three components for each class of second person plural morphemes. The first component in nouns is the same as first person plural (see 9.4.3). The second component consists of the second person singular morpheme. The third component, a single phoneme /i/, occurs in post-base position.

9.4.2.1 Third component /i/

The analysis and rules for the first two components of the second person possessive plural have already been stated (9.3.1.2, 9.3.2.2, and 9.4.3). The generalized rules governing the third component have already been stated in the chapter on morphophonemics and will be referred to in this section to indicate how they operate within the specific context of noun morphology.

X...i-: occurs where the base ends in a consonant other than /t/ or /q/

/qarapela'i/ 'your shoe'

< qara+pela'+i

/qarqayki/ 'your head'

< qar+qayk+i

/qar'onataki/ 'your work'

< qar+'onatak+i

/qampa'a'i/ 'your root'

< qan+pa'a'+i

/qanasomi/ 'your door'

< qana+som+i

/qanasogoki/ 'your patio'

< qana+sogok+i

X...'i- ~ X...i-: occurs where the base is /...Ce/

/qarqote'i/ 'your elbow'

< qar+qote+'i

/qarašire'i/ 'your trumpet'

< qara+šire+'i

/qartogi/ 'your chest'

< qar+toge+i (+ rule 3)

/qampelawi/ 'your eyebrow'

< qan+pelawe+i (+ rule 5 and 3)

/qanlegagayšte'i/ 'your button'

< qan+leg+aga+ište+'i (+ rule 3)

X...'i-: occurs where the base is /...Ci/

/qanlomagaki'i/ 'your shirt'

< qan+lom+aga+ki+'i

/qanso'onagaki'i/ 'your seat'

< qan+so'on+aga+ki+'i

X...Vy-: occurs where the base is /...Ca/ or /...Co/ (see rule 3)

/qarče'tay/ 'your lard'

< qar+če'ta+i (+ rule 3)

/qarpotoy/ 'your dress'

< qar+poto+i (+ rule 3)

/qanamoy/ 'your trunk'

< qan+hamo+i (+ rule 3)

/qan'igaynay/ 'your old lady'

< qan+'igay+na+i (+ rule 3)

X...ki- ~ X...Vy-: occurs where the base is /..../ (see rule 8)

/qanñikellaki/ 'your roof'

< qan+ñikel+lak+i

/qan'emaqay/ 'your left'

< qan+'emaq+i

/qartagoqoy/ 'one source for your blood'

< qar+tagoq+i

X...či-: occurs where the base is /...t/ (see rule 6)

/qarčelasoči/ 'your leg(from knee on down)'

9.4.3 Third person plural Class I - {l...'}
Class II - {n...'}

The third person plural possessive morphemes, like the third person pronominal morphemes of the verb, consist of two parts. The first component is the same as the third person singular and precedes the base. Therefore the same allomorphic statements as the singular apply to this component in the plural. The second component, however, either

follows the base, or is infixed into the base. The concern here, then, is with the distribution of this second component.

X...'-: occurs when the base is /...V/

/lkowe'/ 'their horn'

< l+kowe+'

/lasǒsi'/ 'their nephew'

< la+so+ǒsi+'

/lere'/ 'their book'

< l+here+' (+ rule 2)

/n'alwa'/ 'their land'

< n+'alwa+'

/nawe'/ 'their feather (pen)'

< na+we+'

/nke'/ 'their outer back wall'

< n+ke+'

X...'C occurs where the base is /...C/, except where /.../

/lčelaso't/ 'their leg (knee on down)'

< l+če+l+hasot+'

/lapi'a'la'q/ 'their top of the foot'

< la+pi'a'+l+haq+' (+ rule 2)

/n'o'k/ 'their leather'

< n+'ok+'

/nqa'i'm/ 'their river, gully'

< n+qa'im+'

X...'t-: occurs where the base is /.../

/lma't/ 'their house'

< l+ma'+t

/lapi'a't/ 'their foot'

< la+pi'a'+t

/nala't/ 'their sun'

< na+la'+t

/ntowe't/ 'their salt (unprocessed)'

< n+towe'+t

/nkoma't/ 'their stone'

< n+koma'+t

9.5 Possessive prefixal components

On the basis of the data presented in the preceding sections it is now possible to isolate the

components of the possessive prefixes and assign particular meanings to them.

9.5.1 Singular components

For first person, either /h/, /y/, or /ñ/ must occur; vowel epenthesis also quite common. For second person, the phonemes common to both sub-classes are the phonemes /'a/. There are differences that reflect the distinctions of sub-class membership. For third person, the choice is between /l/ and /n/. Again, vowel epenthesis may take place. For indefinite person, the choice is also between /l/ and /n/, the only restriction being that if /l/ is the marker for third person, /n/ must be the marker for indefinite person or vice-versa.

Chart of Singular Components

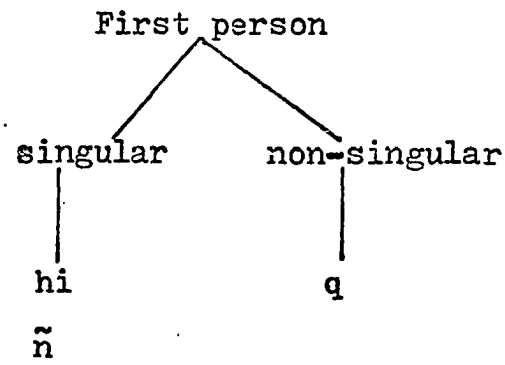
	1st	2nd	3rd	Indefinite
Class I	hi~ya	'ar(V)~'al	l(V)	n(V)
Class II	ñ(V)	'an(V)~'am	n(V)~m	l (V)

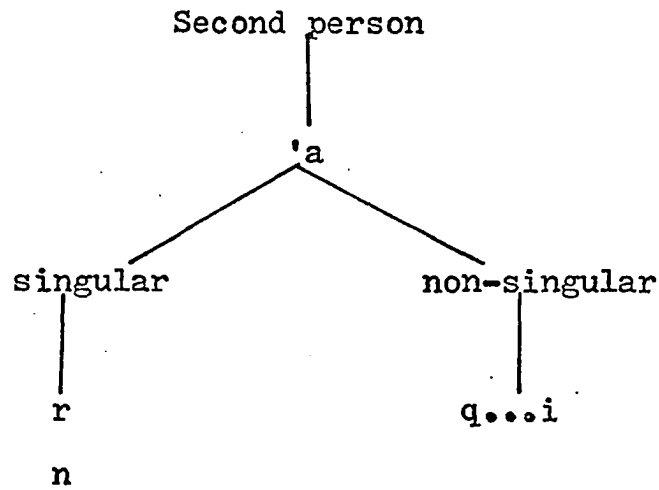
9.5.2 Non-singular components

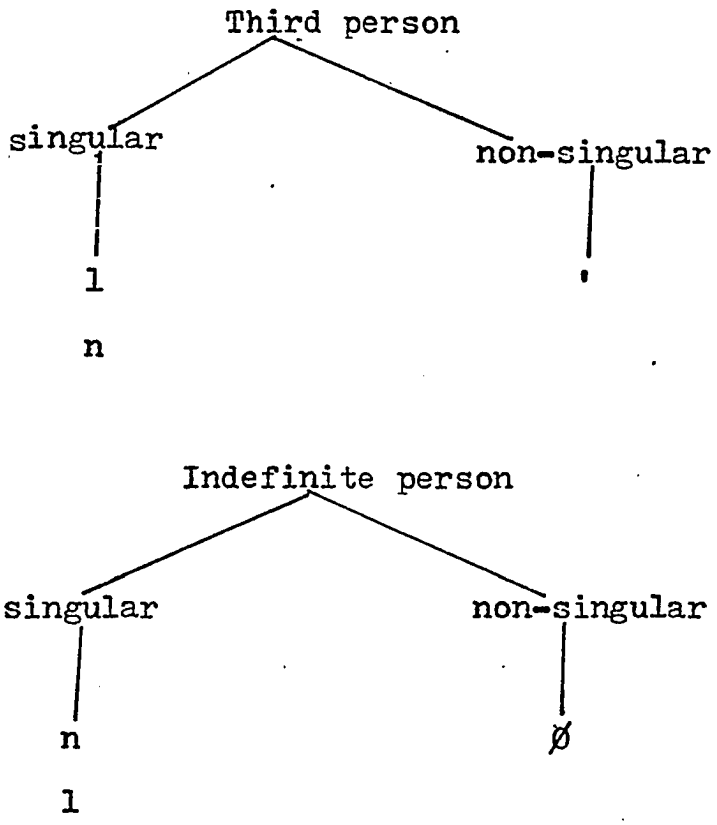
For first person plural in both cases the distinctive marker is the phoneme /q/. For second person

plural, the first person plural marker /q/ is used, but it is differentiated from first person plural by the phoneme /i/. For third person plural, the common marker is the glottal stop.

9.5.3 Demonstration of co-occurrence features







9.6 Paradigms

The following two paradigms are examples of each of the sub-classes of possessive pronominal prefixes. These paradigms will illustrate the rules of selection for each of the sub-classes.

Prefix morpheme	Base morpheme	Phonemic word	Gloss
	Class I - ma' (masc.)	'house'	
{hi}	{ma'}	hima'	'my house'
{'ar}	{ma'}	'arma'	'your house'
{l}	{ma'}	lma'	'his, her, its house'
{n}	{ma'}	nma'	'someone's house'
{qar}	{ma'}	qarma'	'our house'
{qar...i}	{ma'}	qarma'i	'your house'
{l...'}	{ma'}	lma't	'their house'
	Class II - pelawe (fem.)	'eyebrow'	
{ñi}	{pelawe}	ñipelawe	'my eyebrow'
{'an}	{pelawe}	ampelawe	'your eyebrow'
{n}	{pelawe}	mpelawe	'his, her, its eyebrow'
{l}	{pelawe}	lpelawe	'someone's eyebrow'
{qan}	{pelawe}	qampelawe	'our eyebrow'
{qan...i}	{pelawe}	qampelawi	'your eyebrow'
{n...'}	{pelawe}	mpelawe'	'their eyebrow'

10.0 Noun suffixes

The noun suffixes form the last morphological class of the noun. They are the morphemes that occur in the final five position classes (see 8.1). All these suffixes are bound morphemes; however, they are not obligatory.[1]

10.1 Suffix formation

Suffixation in Toba nouns involves two distinctive processes. The most productive, morphologically, is that of enumeration; that is, changing the noun base from a singular to a non-singular number. The suffixes of enumeration indicate three ways of pluralizing: dual, several, and plural, each of which is a separate position class.

The second process indicates a variety of attributive notions. These suffixes indicate kinship relationships, size relationships, gender differentiation for bases which can be both masculine and feminine, and natural versus man-made property characteristics. These also form two position classes, which can co-occur with the suffixes of enumeration.

---

1. When they do occur, though, they carry the stress on the final syllable, and thus act as the phonological determinant of the word.

Chart of Position Classes of Noun Suffixes

Attributive			Enumerative	
I	II	III	IV	V
Affinal	Shape	Dual	Several	Many
{wa}	{ki} {iš̆te}	{te}	{j̆i}	{l}
Gender	Diminutive			
{te} {'o} {q} {ro} {s̆i} {s̆ik} {'} {le} {lek} {na} {ki}	{'ole} {'olek}			
Manufactured				
{aga}				

As in the verb suffixal system, morphemes from more than three classes never co-occur. Either there are two from the attributive classes and one from the enumerative, or one from the attributive and two from the enumerative. There can, of course, be only one from each, or only one alone. Since, as has already been noted, these suffixes are optional, there are, in fact, many nouns which have no suffixes at all.

10.2 Attributive suffixes - Position Class I and II

The suffixes that are characterized as attributive suffixes cover semantically a large range of possibilities. Nevertheless, despite the semantic range, most of these suffixes appear very rarely and are frozen to the bases so that the meaning of the base alone is difficult to derive. Because these suffixes can be grouped by their semantic features, and because these attributive suffixes, when combined with the base, violate the canonical shape of the base, I assume that they were previously more productive than they are in the language as spoken today.

Position Class I of the attributive suffixes contains the suffixes which specify affinal relationship, gender, and manufactured condition. Morphemes from position class II, which can co-occur with position class I, contain the suffixes of shape and specify the diminutive. Each of these morphemes consists of only one allomorph.

10.2.1 Affinal relationship {wa}

The morpheme {wa} occurs within the kinship terminology to indicate affinal ties. For example:

-wa-:

/ronagawa/ 'brother-in-law by marriage'

< ronaq+wa (+ rule 9)

/mogowa/ 'spouse'

< moq+wa (+ rule 9)

10.2.2 Gender

10.2.2.1 Gender of kin {te} 'feminine'

This morpheme {te} is added on to the noun base which by itself indicates the type of relationship. For example:

-te-:

/kote/ 'grandmother (reference term)[1]

< ko+te

---

1. One clue here to the morphological cut is based on the change in the address form for grandmother, which is /kome/, derived from ko+me.

/wete/ 'sister-in-law (i.e. spouse of a male sibling)'

< we+te

/hate/ 'daughter-in-law'

< ha+te

/pilte/[1] 'elder sister'

< pil+te

10.2.2.2 Gender of younger sibling

{'o} 'feminine'

{q} 'masculine'

These two morphemes indicate a difference between younger brother and younger sister where 'sibling' is the same base morpheme. For example:

-'o-:

/no'o/ 'younger sister'

< no+'o

-q-:

/noq/ 'younger brother'

< no+q

1. Here the diminutive form points out the morphemic cuts, since that form is /pil'ole/, derived from pil+'ole.

10.2.2.2 Gender and generation

{ro} 'ascending (f)'
{šī} 'peer (f)'
{šik} 'peer (m)'

These three morphemes indicate both gender relationships and vertical kinship relationships. For example:

/soro/ 'aunt'
< so+ro

/sošī/ 'niece'
< so+šī

/sošik/ 'nephew'
< so+šik

10.2.2.3 Gender and type of kinship relationship {'} 'male in-law'

There is also a contrast simultaneously between type of kinship relation and gender. Thus, both morphemes {ro} and {'} indicate gender. For example:

/čoro/ 'mother-in-law'
< čo+ro (see 10.2.2.2)

/č̆o'/ 'father-in-law'

< č̆o+:

10.2.2.4 Gender differentiation

{le} 'female'

{lek} 'male'

{na} 'female'

{ki} 'male'

Gender differentiation is also expressed by the following morphemes.

/yale/ 'my daughter'

< ya+ha+le (+ rule 2 and 3)

/yalek/ 'my son'

< ya+ha+lek (+ rule 2 and 3)

/qomle/ 'a female Toba, a paisana'

< qom+le

/qomlek/ 'a male Toba, a paisano'

< qom+lek

/ñi'igayna/ 'my old lady'

< ñi+'igay+na

/ñi'igayki/ 'my old man'

< ñi+'igay+ki

10.2.3 Manufactured {aga}

The morpheme {aga} indicates that the item is man-made rather than direct from nature. For example:

-aga-:

/qopaga/ 'handkerchief'

< qop+aga

10.2.4 Shape classifiers

10.2.4.1 Flat {ki}

This shape classifier always co-occurs with the morpheme {aga} to indicate that the manufactured product is flat in shape. For example:

-ki-:

/sa:tagaki/ 'belt, waistband made out of material'

< sa:t+aga+ki

/so'onagaki/ 'seat'

< so'on+aga+ki

/lomagaki/ 'shirt'

< lom+aga+ki

10.2.4.2 Protruding {iše}

{iše} means jutting out, or, by extension, prominent. For example:

-iše-:

/qoyše/ 'Adam's apple'

< qo+iše (+ rule 3)

/lekagayše/ 'key, button'

< lek+aga+iše

10.2.5 Diminutive {'ole} (f.)'
{'olek} (m.)'

There are two morphemes, one masculine and one feminine, which indicate the notion of diminution. For example:

/'igayki'olek/ 'little old man'

< 'igay+ki+'olek

/'igayna'ole/ 'little old lady'

< 'igay+na+'ole

10.3 Enumerative suffixes - Position Class III, IV and V

In Toba the basic division in enumeration is between the number one, two, several and many. As already noted in sections 6.4 and 7.7 dealing with verb morphology, subject number specifies one and more than one, while object number specifies one, two and any number from three to ten. The distinctions in enumeration are different in noun morphology.

When the noun base occurs without any enumerative suffixes it is unmarked for number, and unless further specified elsewhere in the sentence, is considered singular in number. However, when any of the morphemes from the three enumerative position classes co-occur with a noun base, the meaning of the base is changed. This change is from the singular to the dual or to a number called 'several' or to 'many' or to 'many disaggregate'. The use of the term 'several' implies any number between 3 and 6, and occasionally up to ten. More importantly, however, it indicates distinct or disaggregate number. The term 'many' or 'plural' indicates a number somewhere above ten, but short of a multitude.[1] Many also implies that the items

1. When the sense of a multitude is implied, then the speaker reverts back to the singular and adds an adverb, indicating either differentiated or undifferentiated multitude.

are undifferentiated, that is, an aggregate number.

When the speaker wishes to indicate many distinct or disaggregate, then a morpheme for several is combined with the morpheme for many. On the other hand, when the speaker wishes to indicate several aggregate, this notion must be expressed elsewhere in the sentence with an adverb. Finally, when the speaker wishes to indicate that the dual number is disaggregate, this can be done by adding the morpheme that indicates several.

10.3.1 Dual number - Position Class III- {te}

The morpheme {te} indicates the number two, and, by extension, a pair. It can be combined with {l} 'many' (Position Class V) to mean more than one pair. It has two allomorphs.

-te-: occurs in the following cases

Compare

/lapela'te/ 'his pair of shoes'

< la+pela'+te

with

/lapela'tel/ 'his pairs of shoes'

< la+pela'+te+l

Compare

/lapi'a'te/ 'his pair of feet'

< la+pi'a'+te

with

/lapi'a'tel/ 'its pairs of feet'

< la+pi'a'+te+l

Compare

/qarapela'čʷi/ 'your pair of shoes'

< qara+pela'+te+i (see rule 3 and 6)

with

/qarapela'čʷiĩi/ 'your pairs of shoes'[1]

< qara+pela'+te+i+l+i (see rule 3 and 6)

Compare

/lapela'te'/ 'their pair of shoes'

< la+pelą'+te+'

---

1. But note there is one exception to rule 6:

Compare

/qalĩekti/ 'your pair of knees'
qar+ĩek+te+i (+ rule 7)

with

/qalĩekteĩi/ 'your pairs of knees'
qar+ĩek+te+l+i

with

/lapela'teli/ 'their pairs of shoes'

< la+pela'+te+l+i (+ rule 6)

compare

/yapi'a'laq/ 'the top of my foot'

< ya+pi'a'+l+haq (+ rule 2)

with

/yapi'a'lagate/ 'the tops of my pair of feet'

< ya+pi'a'+l+haq+te (+ rule 2 and 9)

compare

/nñigelaq/ 'roof, top of his house'

< n+ñige+l+haq (+ rule 2)

with

/nñigelagate/ 'his roofs, the tops of his house'

< n+ñige+l+haq+te (+ rule 2 and 9)

-o-: occurs only after a base which ends in either the velar or the back velar

compare

/nqa'ayk/ 'his road'

< n+qa'ayk

with

/nqa'ayko/ 'his two roads'

< n+qa'ayk+o

compare

/lqayk/ 'his head'

< l+qayk

with

/lqayko/ 'his two heads (of cattle)'

< l+qayk+o

compare

/'imiklawak/ 'my nostril (the cave of my nose)'

< 'i+mik+l +hawak

with

/'imiklawako/ 'my two nostrils'

< 'i+mik+la+wak+o

compare

/yanoq/ 'my cheek'

< ya+noq

with

/yanoqo/ 'my two cheecks'

< ya+noq+o

and with

/yanoqoǰi/ 'my two distinct cheeks'

< ya+noq+o+ǰi

compare

/'itagoq/ 'my blood'

< 'i+tagoq

with

/'itagoqoǰi/ 'the two distinct sources of my blood'

< 'i+tagoq+o+ǰi

10.3.2 Severalizer - Position Class IV - {ǰi}

The fourth position class of the suffixal morpheme indicates the enumeration of more than two. As already noted, however, the enumerated noun bases are all distinct or disaggregate, and can be glossed as 'more than two, but less than 100 of different X's'.[1] The morpheme that is used to express the notion of several is {ǰi} . It has five allomorphs whose distribution is stated below.

-ǰi-: occurs in the following examples

compare

/qarqaya/ 'your (pl.) brother'

< qar+qaya

with

/qarqayaǰi/ 'your brothers'

< qar+qaya+ǰi

compare

/qanqopagay/ 'your handkerchief'

< qan+qopaq+i (+ rule 8)

---

1. The number 100 seems to be the cutoff point according to my informants.

with

/qanqopagaǰi/ 'your handkerchiefs'

< qan+qopaq+ǰi (+ rule 9)

compare

/qarwa q/ 'our hand'

< qar+wa q

with

/qarwa gaǰi/ 'our hands'

< qar+wa q+ǰi (+ rule 9)

compare

/yasoš̌i/ 'my niece'

< ya+so+š̌i

with

/yasoš̌iǰi/ 'my nieces'

< ya+so+š̌i+ǰi

compare

/hiqa'/ 'my chin'

< hi+qa'

with

/hiqa'aǰi/ 'my chins'

< hi+qa'+ǰi (+ rule 9)

compare

/ñate'/ 'my rump'

< ña+te'

with

/ñate'eǰi/ 'my rumps'

< ña+te'+ǰi

-'-: occurs in the following instances

compare

/hilomagaki/ 'my shirt'

< hi+lom+aga+ki

with

/hilomagaki'/ 'my shirts'

< hi+lom+aga+ki+'

compare

/yale/ 'my daughter'

< ya+ha+le (+ rule 2 and 3)

with

/yale'/ 'my daughters'

< ya+ha+le+' (+ rule 2 and 3)

-qa-: occurs when the attributive suffix preceding it has the shape /...Vk/ as well as in other examples

compare

/yalek/ 'my son'

< ya+ha+lek (+ rule 2 and 3)

with

/yalqa/ 'my sons'

< ya+ha+lek+qa (+ rule 2, 3 and 12)

compare

/l'aš̆aqanta'k/ 'their toy (e.g. soldier)'

< l+'aš̆aqanta+'+k

with

/l'ašaqantaqa'/ 'their toys'

l+'ašaqanta+qa+'

compare

/igayki'olek/ 'my little old man'[1]

'i+gay+ki+'olek

with

/'igayki'olqa/ 'my little old men'

'i+gay+ki+'olek+qa (+ rule 12).

compare

/hičikenek/ 'my bow'

hi+čikenek

with

/hičekenqa/ 'my bows'

hi+čikenek+qa (+ rule 12)

---

1. Related to this, but somewhat of an exception by virtue of the vowel following the final /k/ is

/igayki/ 'my old man'

< 'i+gay+ki

/'igayqa/ 'my old men'

< 'i+gay+qa

compare

/qallamek/ 'our liver'

< qar+lamek (+ rule 4)

with

/qallamqa/ 'our livers'

< qar+lamek+qa (+ rule 4 and 12)

These last two examples are different structurally from the preceding examples since they consist simply of the base (inherently masculine) followed by the severalizer. The final two phonemes before the severalizer, however, are the same as the final two phonemes of the first example (here the base is unmarked for gender, and the attributive suffix {lek} provides gender specification). Thus, it is probable that, by analogy, both types of structures take the same severalizer.

-mi-: occurs with bases that end in /m/

compare

/l'am/ 'his stomach'

< l+'am

with

/l'ammi/ 'his stomachs'

< l+'am+mi

compare

/ñaqa'em/ 'my river, gully'

< ña+qa'em

with

/ñaqa'emmi/ 'my rivers, gullies'

< ña+qa'em+mi

-'oče-: occurs with bases that end with the phonemes /...sot/

compare

/qarwaqlasot/ 'our forearm'

< qar+waq+l+hasot (+ rule 2 and 3)

with

/qarwaqlaso'oče/ 'our forearms'

< qar+waq+l+hasot+'oče

compare

/hiqosot/ 'my neck'

< hi+qosot

with

/hiqoso'oče/ 'my necks'

< hi+qosot+'oče

compare

/hičelasot/ 'my lower leg'

< hi+če+l+hasot (+rule 2)

with

/hičelaso'oče/ 'my lower legs'

< hi+če+l+hasot+'oče (+ rule 2)

10.3.3 'Many' or 'plural' - Position Class V

The morpheme {l} can occur alone following the base, or as an additional suffix with either a dual or severalizer suffix. For example:

-l:

/li'agal/ 'his claws'

li+'aga+l

/'ita'al/ 'my fathers'

< 'i+ta'a+l

/laš̆ire'l/ 'their trumpets'

< la+š̆ire+'+l

When the second person plural possessive prefix occurs with the morpheme {l} 'man' the third component does not follow immediately after the base but is instead infixed and palatalized afterthe l (see rule 6). For example:

/qarta'aĩ/ 'your fathers, parents'

< qar+ta'a+l+i (+ rule 6)

/qan'alwaĩ/ 'your lands'

< qan+'alwa+l+i (+ rule 6)

/qanamoĩ/ 'your trunks (cut down)

< qan+hamo+l+i (+ rule 6)

11.0 Locative particles

As has already been made explicit in the verb morphology, in Toba there is a continuous emphasis on locational specificity as an important morphological and semantic feature. This same emphasis is also a part of the nominal morphology.

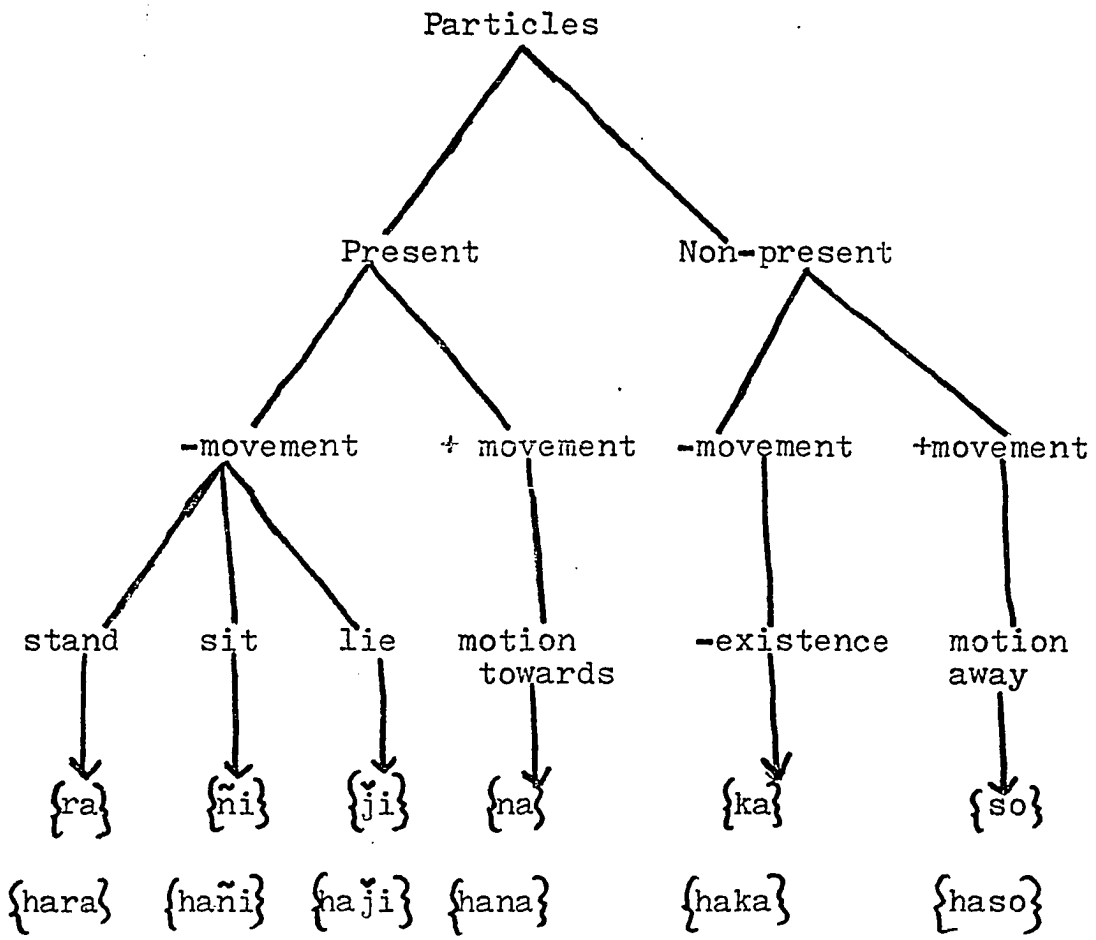
Location in nominal forms is manifested in two different word classes: nouns and pronouns. In both of these the same exact set of morphological forms occur. In nouns the particles may occur optionally (see 11.2), whereas in pronouns their occurrence is obligatory (see 11.3).

11.1 Semantic categorization of particles

The locative particles are divided into two basic concepts, presence or non-presence. They are then further analyzed in terms of movement and non-movement. The chart on the following page presents these conceptual criteria.

For each of these locational concepts there is a further dichotomy based on gender. The result is a morpheme for masculine and a morpheme for feminine gender. The locative particles thus consist of twelve morphemes.

Chart of Semantic Categorization of Particles



11.2 Noun locative particles

When the locative particles occur as part of the noun, they are always the first morphological class. In rapid speech they frequently occur with secondary stress (see 3.11.1) and are followed by pause. This, however, is never the case in slow, deliberate speech, and it is for this reason that the particles are considered as an integral

part of the noun morphology. Each particle has only one allomorph, the occurrence of which is described within the context of a sentence.[1]

11.2.1 'present, stand' {ra} (m)
{hara} (f)

The particles {ra} and {hara} when preceding the possessive prefixes of the noun specify two distinct semantic notions. The more prevalent notion is 'present', that is, during the speech act the noun that is referred to is present. The second notion is 'stand', that is, unless otherwise indicated the noun referrent is considered to be standing. By 'standing' the implication is that it is normally on two legs. Thus, this particle can never be used for animals.[2] For example:

The dog is biting the boy.

hinakta ranogotolek ñimpi'oq
1 2 3

---

1. This framework is utilized for the analysis, because locative particles can not occur in single word utterances.

2. On the other hand, inanimate nouns occur with the particle to indicate that they are in a vertical position. Thus, for example, a house that is already built would occur with the particle {ra} (see 11.2.6 for the particle used to indicate a house under construction).

1. hinakta < hi+nak+ta = is biting

2. ranogotolek < ra+nogoto+lek = the boy

3. ñimpi'oq < ñi+mpi'oq = the dog

The particle {ra} provides the information that the boy, the object of the verb, is both present and that he is standing. The subject of the sentence, the third word, indicates that the animal is also standing (see 11.2.5).

11.2.2 'absent' {ka} (m)
{haka} (f)

{ka} and {haka} indicate the lack of, absence of, or non-existence of animate or inanimate things. For example:

You cook the corn flour.

'anwaq kapolenta

1 2

1. 'anwaq 'an+waq+Ø = you (s) cook

2. kapolenta ka+polenta = corn flour (Sp. loan)

Look for firewood.

'awlayke kalašik

1 2

1. 'awlayke < 'aw+la+Ø+ike = you (s) look for something

2. kalašik < ka+l+hašik = firewood

{ka} in both examples indicates that the object of the verb is not present, and therefore not in sight. It frequently occurs when the main verb of the sentence is a verb like 'look for' or 'search'.

11.2.3 'motion towards' {na} (m)
{hana} (f)

{na} and {hana} indicate that the noun referrent is in some way involved in an action that is a motion towards something or someone. For example:

The students are fighting the police.

lakwalero nwagatega nawataganak

1 2 3

1. lakwalero < la+kwalero = the students (derived from Spanish 'los escolares')

2. nwagatega < n+wa+aga+t+ega = they are fighting with someone specific

3. nawataganak < na+wata+aga+nak = the police, they are approaching the students

11.2.4 'motion away' {so} (m)
{haso} (f)

{so} and {haso} indicate that the noun is involved in an action of moving away or almost out of sight. For example:

My bird is flying away.

wayota so'iloqoy

1 2

1. wayota < wayo+ta = it is flying

2. so'iloqoy < so+'i+loqoy = my bird (motion away)

The notion of movement away also indicates that something is moving into the past, or more specifically, recent past time. For example:

The party last night was good.

'ongayk so'asigak šikpe

1 2 3

1. 'ongayk < 'ongay+k = was good

2. so'ašigak < so+'a+šigak = your party

3. šikpe < šik+pe = last night

11.2.5 'sit down' {ñi} (m)
{hañi} (f)

The particle {ñi} or {hañi} indicates non-movement and the position of sitting down. It refers only to humans sitting down. {ñi} or {hañi}, however, is utilized to indicate that an animal is on its legs, that is, standing (see {ra} or {hara} for humans standing).[1] For example:

The little old lady doesn't have her teeth.

hañi'igayna'ole qaykawa kalwe'

1 2 3

1. hañi'igayna'ole < hañi+'igay+na+'ole = the little old lady sitting down

2. qaykawa < qaykawa = not to have

3. kalwe' < ka+l+we' = her teeth (lacking, not present)

The dog is looking at the boy.

ñipi'oq hilota ranogotolek

1 2 3

1. ñipi'oq < ñi+pi'oq = the dog (standing)

2. hilota < hi+lo+ta = it is looking

3. ranogotolek < ra+nogoto+lek = the boy (standing)

11.2.6 'lying down' {ǰi} (m)
{haǰi} (f)

{ǰi} and {haǰi} indicate in both humans and animals the notion of lying down, stretched out, reclining. By extension, it then is also used for inanimate objects, which are essentially flat. For example:

I'm looking at the woman.

sawa:ttigi haǰi'alo

1 2

1. sawa:ttigi < sa+wa:t+t+igi = I am looking and looking

2. haǰi'alo < haǰi+'alo = the woman (lying down)

I'm building the house.

hi'ottak ǰilma'

1 2

1. hi'ottak < hi+'ot+tak = I am building

2. ǰilma' < ǰi+l+ma' = the house (not far from the house, i.e. not vertical)

The sentence below will illustrate an extension of the concept of lying down, because it indicates that the animal has already been slaughtered as it is no longer mentioned as being upright (for example, haño'olgaga 'hen [standing]').

Let us cook this hen.

sawotaq haǰi'olgaga

1 2

1. sawotaq < sa+wo+ta+q = let us cook

2. haǰi'olgaga < haǰi+'olgaga = the hen (lying down)

11.3 Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns in Toba indicate subject or object according to their position in the sentence. They

consist of free morphemes for first and second persons in both singular and plural. Third person forms, however, must occur with one of the locative particles.

Chart of Personal Pronouns

Singular		Plural	
{hayem}	'I, me'	{qomi}	'we, us'
{'am}	'you'	{qami}	'you'
{..mari}	'he, she, it him, her, it'	{..:mari}	'they, them'

The similarity between the phonemes of the second person singular and first and second person plural in the personal pronouns, the pronominal prefixes in verb morphology and the possessive prefixes in noun morphology is apparent. Thus, the singular second person form contain the /'a/ phonemes which occur in the verb and noun prefixal morphemes. In the plural first and second person words, it is also possible to isolate the components of plurality. /q/ occurs in both nouns and verbs in the same position, and indicates plurality. In the second person plural form the combination of {q...i} are also noted.

Third person singular and plural are formed differently.

Here the locative particles must co-occur with the suffixal morpheme component -mari. These particles function here as bound prefixes. The pronouns for third person singular are the following:

{ramari}	'he is present, he is standing'
{kamari}	'he is absent, he is unknown to the speaker'
{ñimari}	'he is sitting down'
{ǰimari}	'he is lying down'
{namari}	'he is coming towards me or you'
{somari}	'he is going away from, he is absent'
{haramari}	'she is present, she is standing'
{hakamari}	'she is absent, she is unknown to the speaker'
{hañimari}	'she is sitting down'
{haǰimari}	'she is lying down'
{hanamari}	'she is coming towards me or you'
{hasomari}	'she is going away from, she is absent'

Third person plural personal pronouns are formed by lengthening the vowel of the particle. Thus, for example:

{ra:mari} 'they (m) are standing'

{haka:mari} 'they (f) are absent'

11.4 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in Toba have the same basic structure as the personal pronouns. If one assumes they are formed from the personal pronouns, then the following rules explain their derivation. The first three rules apply to masculine forms; rule one and rule four apply only to feminine forms.

Rule 1: Reduplicate the locative particle.

For example:

ra → rara 'present, stand (m)'

hara → harahara 'present, stand (f)'

Rule 2: If the first vowel of the CVCV form is a back vowel, then it changes to e'e.

For example:

rara → /re'era/ this one, that one (present)

soso → se'eso 'this one, that one moving away (m)'

kaka → ke'eka 'this one, that one absent (m)'

nana → ne'ena 'this one, that one, approaching (m)'

Rule 3: If the first vowel of the CVCV form is a high front vowel, then it changes to 'i.

For example:

ñiñi → ñi'iñi 'this one, that one, sitting down'

ǰiǰi → ǰi'iǰi 'this one, that one, lying down'

Rule 4: Change the reduplicated /h/ to /'/.

For example:

harahara → hara'ara 'this one, that one standing (f)'

hakahaka → haka'aka 'this one, that one absent (f)'

hañihañi → hañi'añi 'this one, that one sitting down (f)'

haǰihaǰi → haǰi'aǰi 'this one, that one lying down (f)'

hanahana → hana'ana 'this one, that one approaching'

hasohaso → haso'aso 'this one, that one departing'

11.5 Shortened pronominal forms

These same demonstratives are frequently shortened into personal pronominal forms but only for the third person. This is done by dropping the phonemes before the glottal stop. For example:

re'era → 'era 'he is standing there'

ke'eka → 'eka 'he is not present'

hana'ana → 'ana 'she is coming towards'

haǰi'aǰi → 'aǰi 'she is lying down'

These shortened forms are used primarily in interrogative sentences. For example:

Which girl went yesterday?

neget 'aka hek šikayt

1 2 3 4

1. neget = question word- what, which

2. 'aka = pronoun - she (not present)

3. hek = third person singular - goes

4. šikayt = adverb - yesterday

8.0 Text analysis

8.1 Introduction

The following short text was chosen for the analysis because it was elicited from a monolingual speaker of Toba who only recently had come into contact with the national culture.[1] The effect of this change is evident in the nature of the topic, which indicates the missionary influence on the aspirations of the native Toba. It also indicates the degree of discomfort the speaker felt talking about his life in front of strangers. The effects of exposure to Spanish are also indicated within the text by the occasional use of loan words.

The purpose of presenting a text with a complete analysis is to exemplify some of the morphological processes which have been described in this grammar. In order to include all the information in an orderly presentation, the

---

1. This informant, named Abel Castro, is about 80 years old. He was interned at a rural tuberculosis center run by an Argentine doctor in Casteli, a town in the northwest corner of the province of the Chaco. His son, Serafino Castro, was a patient there and had recently moved his family from even further north near the Bolivian border to the outskirts of this small town. As part of the rest and recuperation procedure, the doctor's wife ran a small school during the day for the children and in the evening for adults. Her pedagogic approach was unique in Argentina, because she attempted to teach her students to read and write in their native language before she exposed them to the national curriculum.

following procedure has been adopted. First, a free English translation will be given. This will be followed by a sentence to sentence breakdown of the text itself. This breakdown will take the form of a phonemic transcription of the sentence, followed below by an interlinear breakdown by morphemes, by a word for word literal translation and by a morpheme reference number. These reference numbers refer to the list of morphemes at the end of this chapter. This list of morphemes in turn identifies the sections in chapters five through eleven where the verbal and nominal morphological analyses are located.

12.2 Free English translation of Toba text

1. Thank you very much. 2. Now I am an old man. 3. And now the good hings in life are reaching me. 4. Before, there were no white people in my life, and 5. now I give them my thanks. 6. Many thanks, life is good. 7. My grandchildren, who keep on appearing, are going to find the good life. 8. Poor little me, in the past I was without knowledge. 9. No one taught me. 10. And now, many thanks, for there is a god who helps me.

11. What else? 12. I didn't know these things. 13. I didn't know about flour, I couldn't find yerba tea. 14. The only thing I ate was food found on the ground.

15. My strength is increasing.

16. I could only find fish. What else? What other

type of food? That was all.

17. And now I am very happy. 18. All my grandchildren are learning more and more.

19. And, as for me, it appears that my wisdom is increasing.

20. My grandchildren are finding wisdom, thank you. I am thankful.

21. God, our father, took pity on us. 22. And I too am happy.

23. Oh yes, I have a name. 24. What is the name those white men gave me?

25. My grandfather was named Megesoqoče. 26. I am his grandson. 27. I am named Nesogoji.

28. That's it. 29. Goodbye.

12.3 Transcription, morphemic analysis and literal translation

1.	haha	qalota	rañi'ačik
	haha	qalota	ra-ña-'ačik
	25	1	2 3 4
		many	present-my-thanks

2.	Nagi	hayem'olek	masi	'igayki
	nagi	hayem-'olek	masi	'igay-ki
	5	6 7	8	10 11
	now	I-diminutive	almost	old-man
3.	Qaqka	nagi	nwi	ran'on
	qaq-ka	nagi	n-wi	ra-n-'on
	12 13	5	14 15	2 16 17
	and-absent	now	it-arrive	present-one's-good thing
4.	Ko'oĩaga	qalqayka	qayka	
	ko'oĩaga	qalqayka	qayka	
	18	19	20	
	A long time ago	before	was not	

naroqšik.

n-roq-šik

16 22 21

one's-non-Toba-male

5. Qalqa'a nagi ñi'ačik'olek haha

qalqa'a nagi ña-'ačik-'olek haha

24 5 3 4 7 25

and then now my-thanks-little

6. Qalota rañi'ačik n'on

qalota ra-ña-'ačik n-'on

1 2 3 4 16 17

many present-my-thanks someone's-good thing

7.	Naywalpi	waqtega	kan'on
	na-hi-wal-pi	waq-tak-ega	ka-n-'on
	9 26 23 27	28 80 29	13 16 17
	approaching-my-grandchild-many	find-ing-some thing specific	not present-one's good thing
8.	Hayem'olek	qalqa'aji	selamagata'aget
	hayem-'olek	qalqa'a-haji	s-lam-aga-tak-a'a-get
	6 7	24 31	32 33 34 80 35 36
	me-little	and then-here	I-unknow-ing-not moving-approached to me

sotta

sotta

37

in the past recently

9.	Qayka	yapagen	hayem	
	qayka	r-page-n	hayem	
	20	38 39 40	6	
	was not	it-understand-s	me	
10.	Qalqa'a	nagi	qalota	rañi'ačik
	qalqa'a	nagi	qalota	ra-ña-'ačik
	24	5	1	3 2 4
	and then	now	many	present-my-thanks
	wo'okaDios	'itawan	hayem	haha
	wo'o-ka-Dios	r-tawa-n	hayem	haha
	41 13 42	38 44 40	6	25
	there is-not present-God	he-help-s	me	yes

11. Neget to'okoka

neget to'oko-ka

45 46 13

What else?

12. Sasawana kamari

sa-sa-wa-n-a ka-mari

47 32 49 40 50 13 51

not-I-know-some thing not yet present-it

13. Sañawane' ka'arina sañawane'

sa-ña-wane' ka-'arina sa-ña-wane'

47 52 53 13 54 47 52 53

not-I-find absent-flour not-I-find

kayirwa

ka-yirwa

13 55

absent-herb tea

14.	Ndotrek	namayče	ñiqar'olqay	haha
	ndotrek	na-mayče	ñi-qar...i-'olqa	haha
	56	9 58	59 43 60	25
	only things	approaching-one's own	sitting-your-uncultivated food products	yes

15.	'I'añagatega	haha
	r-'ana-aga-tak-ega	haha
	38 62 34 80 29	25
	it-stronger-grow-ing-for someone	

16. Ra'a kañi'aq ra'aka neget

ra'a ka-ñi'aq ra'a-ka neget

63 13 64 63 13 45

only absent-fish only-absent what

to'oko kaĨa hanoq 'enawak haha

to'oko ka-Ĩa hanoq 'enawak haha

46 13 65 66 67 25

else absent-other comestible that's all yes

17. Qaqnagirà ñitonagak ltarayk

qaq-nagi-ra ña-to-nagak ltarayk

12 5 2 52 68 79 81

and-now-present I-happy-that's right very

18. 'Enawak naywalpi wo'oka

'enawak na-hi-wal-pi wo'o-ka

67 9 26 23 27 41 13

all approaching-my-grandchild-many here-not present

yayate'n haha

r...'-yate-n haha

72 71 40 25

they-know

19. Qaqayem 'iko' yayanaganagak

qaq-hayem r-ko' hi-yanaq-nagak

12 6 38 73 26 83 79

and-to me it-seems my wisdom-it is true

	'era	haha
	'era	haha
	74	25
	it is present	

20.	Waqtega	naywalpi	qaq	qalota
	waq-tak-ega	na-hi-wal-pi	qaq	qalota
	28 80 29	9 26 23 27	12	1
	find-ing it (wisdom)	approaching-my-grandchild-many	and	many

rañi'ačik	ñi'ačik'olek	haha
ra-ña-'ačik	ña-'ačik-'olek	haha
2 3 4	3 4 7	25
present-my-thanks	my-thanks-little	

21.	'Icoren	qomi	qarta'a	Dios
	r-coren-n	qomi	qar-ta'a	Dios
	38 75 40	76	77 78	42
	he-pitie-s	us	our-father	God

22.	Qaqayem	ñitotaget	haha
	qaq-hayem	ña-to-ta-get	haha
	12 6	52 68 80 36	25
	And to me	I-happy-am being-approaching me	

23.	Hayem	ray'enagak
	hayem	ra-hi-'e-nagak
	6	2 26 84 79
	I	present-my-name-it is true

24. Negetto ram roqšik l'enagak

neget-to ra-m roq-šik l-'e-nagak

45 85 2 30 22 21 48 84 79

what is it present-emphatic non-Toba-male it-name-that's true

25. Hayem yapi' kal'enagak megesoqoče

hayem hi-pi' ka-l-'e-nagak megesoqoče

6 26 69 13 48 84 79 57

I my grand-father absent-his-name it is true megesoqoče

26. Hayem lawal

hayem l-wal

6 48 23

I (am) his-grandchild

27. Hayem nesogoǰi hi'enagak haha

hayem nesogoǰi hi-'e-nagak haha

6 61 26 84 79 25

I (am) nesogoǰi my-name-it is true

28. Qaqnaǰéhaǰì

qaq-naǰe-haǰi

12 70 31

and-it's finished-here

29. Nal'en

nal'en

82

Good-bye

12.4 Analysis

Morpheme Number	Morpheme	Syntactical analysis
1.	qalota	modifier = much, many (always followed by the locative particle)
2.	ra	locative particle = present, standing (m) (see 11.2.1)
3.	ña	first person singular personal possessive prefix = my (see 9.3.2.1)
4.	'ačik	noun root= thanks, appreciation (see 8.3)
5.	nagi	time modifier = now
6.	hayem	personal pronoun, first person singular = I, me (see 11.3)

Morpheme Number	Morpheme	Syntactical Analysis
7.	'olek	attributive suffix = diminutive (see 10.2.5)
8.	masi	modifier = almost
9.	na	locative particle = approaching (m) (see 11.2.3)
10.	'igay	noun root = old person (see 8.3)
11.	ki	attributive suffix of gender differentiation = masculine (see 10.2.2.4)
12.	qaq	connective = and qaqra = and it is now present qaqka = and I never even thought... (also like morpheme 1 it is always followed by a locative particle)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactical Analysis
13.	ka	locative particle = absent, not present, not yet present (m) (note use with Dios [God is invisible], and with question words) (see 11.2.2)
14.	n	third person singular pronominal prefix = it (see 6.3.1.3)
15.	wi	verb root = arrive (see 5.3)
16.	n	indefinite person possessive prefix = someone's (see 9.4.1.4)
17.	'on	noun root = the good, a good thing (see 8.3)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
18.	ko'oĩaga	time adverb = a long time ago
19.	qalqayka	time adverb = before, but no longer
20.	qayka	negativizer of existential = not [there is]
21.	šik	attributive suffix of gender and generation = masculine (see 10.2.2.2)
22.	roq	noun root = non-Toba (see 8.3)
23.	wal	noun root = grandchild (see 8.3)
24.	qalqa'a	time adverb = and then (seems to indicate time change - perhaps some temporal focus marker)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
25.	haha	particle = yes (also signals beginning or end of thought - best explanation here as a paragraph marker)
26.	hi	first person singular personal possessive prefix = my (see 9.3.1.1)
27.	pi	particle = many (capable of being put into piles)
28.	waq	verb root = come across, meet by accident (see 5.3)
29.	ega	verb suffix = intentive (see 7.5.2)
30.	m	particle = emphatic

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
31.	haǰi	locative particle = lying down, here, crosswise motion (accompanied by hand gesture indicating that motion) (f) (see 11.2.6)
32.	s	first person singular pronominal prefix = I (see 6.3.2.1)
33.	lam	verb root = to be without knowledge, to go without knowing where (see 5.3)
34.	aga	stem formative (see 5.4)
35.	a'a	verb suffix = unchanging position (see 7.3.1)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
36.	get	verbal suffix = direction towards the speaker (see 7.4.7)
37.	sotta	time adverb = time that's already past
38.	r	third person singular pronominal prefix = he, she, it (see 6.3.2.3)
39.	page	verb root = understand (see 5.3)
40.	n	punctual aspect (see 7.2.2)
41.	wo'o	particle = there is, there are
42.	Dios	Spanish loan = God
43.	qar...i	second person plural possessive prefix (see 9.4.2)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
44.	tawa	verb root = help (see 5.3)
45.	neget	interrogative morpheme = what?
46.	to'oko	adverb = other thing (occurs only with question neget)
47.	sa	negativizer of verb = no
48.	l	third person plural possessive prefix = his, her, its (see 9.3.1.3)
49.	wa	verb root = know, be acquainted with (see 5.3)
50.	a	singular object verb suffix = him, her, it one (see 7.7.1)

Morpheme number	morpheme	Syntactic Analysis
51.	mari	personal pronoun, third person, base (see 11.3)
52.	ñ̃a	first person singular pronominal prefix = I (see 6.3.1.1)
53.	wane'	verb root = to find, come upon (see 5.3)
54.	'arina	Spanish loan = harina (flour)
55.	yirwa	Spanish loan = yerba (herb tea)
56.	ndotrek	modifier = alone, only
57.	megesoqoc̆e	noun = name in Toba, meaning unknown
58.	mayc̆e	modifier = one's own
59.	ñ̃i	locative particle = sitting down (human), standing (animal)(see 11.2.5)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
60.	'olqa	compound noun root = comida sylvestre (uncultivated food products) (see 8.4)
61.	nesogoǰi	noun = name in Toba, meaning unknown
62.	'aña	verb root = to grow strong (see 5.3)
63.	ra'a	modifier = only
64.	ñi'aq	noun root = fish (see 8.3)
65.	Ĩa	modifier = other
66.	hanoq	noun root = food (see 8.3)
67.	'enawak	modifier = all, total
68.	to	verb root = to be happy (see 5.3)
69.	pi'	noun root = grandfather (see 8.3)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
70.	nacĕ	time adverb = its over, finished
71.	yate	verb root = to know, i.e. to have knowledge (see 5.3)
72.	X...'	third person plural pronominal prefix (see 6.4.3)
73.	ko'	verb root = appear (see 5.3)
74.	'era	demonstrative pronoun = that is, present (see 11.5)
75.	cŏre	verb root = to have pity (see 5.3)
76.	qomi	personal pronoun, first person plural = we, us (see 11.3)

Morpheme number	Morpheme	Syntactic analysis
77.	qar	first person plural possessive prefix (see 9.4.1.1)
78.	ta'a	noun root = father (see 8.3)
79.	nagak	particle = it is true
80.	tak	progressive aspect suffix (see 7.2.1)
81.	ltarayk	modifier = very
82.	nal'en	particle = farewell, goodbye, that's it
83.	yanaq	noun root = wisdom (see 8.3)
84.	'e	noun root = name (see 8.3)
85.	to	particle attached to interrogative = what is it that?

APPENDIX A: LIST OF ROOTS

The following list contains the verb and noun roots used in this grammar. They are listed alphabetically according to the Toba with those letters having superscripts following the letter alone. The glottal stop is placed last. A small n refers to a noun root; a small v refers to a verb root (see sec. 5.3 and 8.3).

čᵉ	leg (n)
čᵉl	bathe (v)
čᵉi'	gut (n)
čᵉo	parent (n)
ha	daughter-in-law (n)
haĩi	look at (v)
hamo	trunk (n)
hanoq	cheek (n)
haq	upper part (n)
hasot	waist (n)
hawak	cave (n)
hawe	feather, eyebrow (n)
here	book (n)
higo	set (v)
ke	go (v)
ke	back, outside wall (n)
kewo	walk alone (v)
ke'e	eat (v)

kijak	heart (n)
ko	grandmother (n)
koma	rest, sate (v)
koma'	stone (n)
kon	grab (v)
kore	pour out (v)
kowe	horn (n)
la	see, look at someone (v)
lamek	liver (n)
lawat	kill (v)
la'	sun (n)
lek	key (n)
lo	reach (v)
lo	look at (v)
lo	awaken (v)
lom	shirt (n)
lote	eyelash (n)
ĩek	knee (n)
ĩe'e	brother-in-law (n)
ĩit	play (v)
ma	rest
ma	push
ma'	house (n)
me	buy (v)
mehen	stare (v)
mik	nose (n)

moq	spouse (n)
nak	bite (v)
na'a	lie down (v)
no	sibling (n)
no'	leave, get out (v)
ñike	flesh above buttocks (n)
ño	wash oneself (v)
paga	study, teach (v)
pa'a	root (n)
pa'a	to be (v)
pe	bone, where eyebrows are (n)
pela'	shoe (n)
pet	believe, appear
pigoq	chew a chewy thing (v)
pike	arm (n)
pil	elder sister (n)
pilot	wash (face, hands) (v)
pi'	grandfather (n)
pi'a'	foot (n)
po'	close (v)
poto	dress (n)
qaya	sibling (n)
qayk	road, head (n)
qa'	chin (n)
qa'em	river, gully (n)
qo	neck area (n)

qom	Toba (n)
qopaq	handkerchief (n)
qosot	collar (n)
ronaq	brother-in-law (n)
ro'o	hat, cap (n)
sapat	want to go (v)
sa:t	belt (n)
so	niece, nephew, aunt (n)
so	body hair, fur (n)
sogok	patio (n)
som	door (n)
soq	lift up, reach out (v)
so'o	raise (v)
so'on	seat, chair (n)
ši	remove, sort out, card (cotton) (v)
šip	tell a lie (v), a lie (n)
šire	trumpet (n)
ta	shoot (v)
tagoq	blood (n)
taq	talk (v)
ta'a	father (n)
te	rump (n)
tela	ear (n)
te'e	mother (n)
toge	chest (n)
towe	salt (n)

wa	look for (v)
waga	hit (v)
wagay	sea (n)
walek	go slowly (v)
waq	hand (n)
wat	open (v)
wa:t	see (v)
wek	get up, lift up (v)
wel	palm (n)
wet	ache (v)
wet	salt (n)
weta	be located (v)
wik	burn (v)
yam	prepare (v)
yet	go (v)
yogo	wash (v)
'aga	call (v)
'aga	claw (n)
'ala	hurry (v)
'am	stomach (n)
'emaq	left-side (n)
'ep	hunt (v)
'i	be afraid (v)
'igay	old person (n)
'o	ride, go (v)
'oce	sleep (v)

'ok	leather (n)
'olqa	wild animals (n)
'on	sing (v)
'ona	work (v), work (n)

APPENDIX B: LIST OF AFFIXES

-a	singular object pronominal suffix 7.7.1.
-aga-	verb stem formative 5.4
-aga-	attributive nominal suffix 'manufactured' 10.2.3.
-ayke-	desiderative verbal suffix 7.5.1.
-a'a-	unchanging position verbal suffix 7.3.1.
-ega-	intentive verbal suffix 7.5.2.
-get	direction verbal suffix 'towards speaker'
haka-	locative particle (f)'absent' 11.2.2.
haǰi-	locative particle (f) 'lying down' 11.2.6.
hana-	locative particle (f) 'motion towards' 11.2.3.
hañi-	locative particle (f) 'sit down' 11.2.5.
hara-	locative particle (f) 'present, stand' 11.2.1
haso-	locative particle (f) 'motion away' 11.2.4.
hi-	first person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.1.1.
-igi-	repetitive verbal suffix 7.6.
-iš̌te-	attributive nominal suffix 'protruding' 10.2.4.2
ǰa-	first person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.3.1

ǰa...q-	first person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.1.
ǰi-	locative particle (m) 'lying down' 11.2.6.
-ǰi-	enumerative nominal suffix 'several' 10.3.2.
ka-	locative particle (m) 'absent' 11.2.2.
-ki-	attributive nominal suffix 'flat in shape' 10.2.4.1.
-ki-	male gender nominal suffix 10.2.2.5.
l-	third person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.1.3.
l-	indefinite person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.2.4.
-l	enumerative nominal suffix 'many' 'plural' 10.3.3.
l...'-	third person plural personal possessive prefix 9.4.3.
-le-	female gender nominal suffix 10.2.2.5.
-lek	direction verbal suffix 'on top of' 'over' 7.4.5.
-lek-	male gender nominal suffix 10.2.2.5.
-lo	plural object pronominal suffix 7.7.3.
n-	third person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.1.3.

n-	third person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.2.3.
n-	indefinite person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.1.4
-n	punctual aspect suffix 7.2.2.
n...'-	third person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.3.
n...'-	third person plural personal possessive prefix 9.4.3.
na-	locative particle (m) 'motion towards' 11.2.3.
na-	third person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.3.3.
-na-	female gender nominal suffix 10.2.2.5
na...'-	third person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.3.
ñ̃a-	first person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.1.1.
ñ̃a-	first person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.2.1.
ñ̃a...q-	first person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.1.
ñ̃i-	locative particle (m)'sit down' 11.2.5.
-ñ̃i	direction verbal suffix 'up to down' 7.4.3.

-o'	knees bent position verbal suffix 7.3.3.
-pe-	circular position verbal suffix 7.3.2.
-q-	gender of younger sibling nominal suffix 10.2.2.2.
qan-	first person plural personal possessive prefix 9.4.1.2.
qan...i-	second person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.2.2.
qan...i-	second person plural personal possessive prefix 9.4.2.
qar-	first person plural personal possessive prefix 9.4.1.1.
qar...i-	second person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.2.2.
qar...i-	second person plural personal possessive prefix 9.4.2.
qaw...i-	second person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.2.2.
r-	third person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.2.2.
r...'-	third person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.3.
ra-	locative particle (m) 'present' 11.2.1.
-ro-	feminine ascending generation nominal suffix 10.2.2.3.

s-	first person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.2.1.
s...q-	first person plural pronominal prefix 6.4.1.
so-	locative particle (m) 'motion away' 11.2.4.
-šī-	female peer nominal suffix 10.2.2.3.
-šigem	direction verbal suffix 'down to up' 7.4.4.
-šik-	male peer nominal suffix 10.2.2.3.
-tak	progressive aspect suffix 7.2.1.
-te-	gender of kin nominal suffix 10.2.2.1.
-te-	enumerative nominal suffix 'dual' 10.3.1.
-to-	dual object pronominal suffix 7.7.2.
-wa-	affinal relationship nominal suffix 10.2.1.
-wek	direction verbal suffix 'inside to outside' 7.4.1.
-wo	direction verbal suffix 'in' 7.4.2.
-'-	male relation nominal suffix 10.2.2.4.
'an-	second person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.1.2.
'an-	second person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.2.2.

'ar-	second person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.2.2.
'ar-	second person singular personal possessive prefix 9.3.1.2.
'aw-	second person singular pronominal prefix 6.3.2.2.
-'o-	gender of younger sibling nominal suffix 10.2.2.2
-'oga	direction verbal suffix 'across space' 7.4.6
-'ole	attributive nominal suffix (f) diminutive 10.2.5.
-'olek	attributive nominal suffix (m) diminutive 10.2.5.

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