

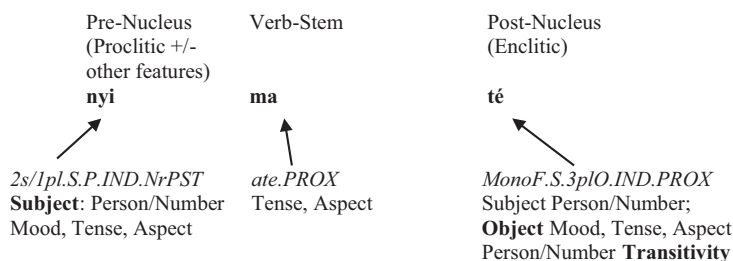
6 The verb complex

The verbal complex is the most complicated part of the syntax of the simplex sentence – indeed every verb complex constitutes a minimal tensed sentence. Here I shall build on the initial analysis sketched by Henderson (1995), which seems to be essentially correct. The verb complex is made up of the verb root, one or more proclitics and an enclitic (Henderson’s Pre-Nucleus and Post-Nucleus respectively). The clitics mark tense, aspect, mood, subject person/number in portmanteau form – a typical Papuan feature (Foley 1986:137, 2018:910). Proclitics and enclitics carry partly redundant (overlapping) information.

Both clitic positions may be null (i.e. contrastively zero). The pre-verbal clitics attract and normally fuse with many other elements, such as those indicating negation, deictic/anaphoric properties of the subject, epistemic status, indefinite markers associated with the object, lowered quantifiers, etc., and Henderson’s concept of a core inflectional ‘nucleus’ attracting other elements seems most appropriate.

The following exemplifies the basic verb complex (*sans* complicating additional fused elements):

(93) Verb Complex – the basic pattern:



Gloss: ‘We two ate three-or-more things yesterday’

As emphasised in bold in (93) above, the proclitics encode precise subject properties along with TAM properties, while the enclitics do all this plus indicate transitivity, and where transitive, they encode object properties.

Additional elements within the verb complex are restricted to the following: (a) grammatical features like negation, deixis, repetition, associated motion which are fused into the pre-verbal nucleus, (b) incorporated objects which are the only additional elements which may occur between clitics (here proclitics) and verb (since they make a complex verb, as it were), (c) satellite-like floated quantifiers which are attached to the proclitics. These elements occur in the ordered template in Table 6.1:

Table 6.1: Template of ‘slots’ in the Verb Complex.

(Quantifier)	Epistemic Repetition Deictic Negation Anaphoric	Proclitic	Motion Deixis	Incorp. Object	Verb	Enclitic
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(Obligatory elements in bold – note though that both Proclitic and Enclitic can have zero-morph forms)

The clitics have a curious status between agreement features and full nominals. For example, an independent pronoun does not generally co-occur with the obligatory proclitic – they would redundantly mark the same information – while lexical NPs with case marking do of course co-occur with the proclitics. The pre-verbal clitic is concerned (in addition to tense/aspect/mood) with subject properties (person/number) of both transitive and intransitive subjects, while the post-verbal clitic marks transitivity, subject properties, mood/tense/aspect and carries additional information about specific properties (person/number) of the object (if any). The post-verbal enclitic marks subject properties in a special way, often collapsed into broad categories like Monofocal/Polyfocal to be described below (§6.1.2). Sometimes, as in imperatives and in the 3rd person Remote Past Punctual aspect, the post-verbal clitic is the only place where the subject properties are marked. Thus we cannot view the clitics as just the remnants of an SVO syntax – the post-verbal enclitics mark tense/aspect/mood and subject properties too, and there is a full range also marking intransitive subjects. In addition, it is important to note that there are a number of verbs and constructions that take oblique subjects which are not then cross-referenced in the clitics at all.

To summarize: both proclitics and enclitics inflect for subject properties, and the proclitics do so on a Nominative basis rather than an Ergative/Absolutive one. The proclitics are the same for transitive and intransitive verbs, but the enclitics are entirely distinct for intransitives (where they mark only subject properties) and transitives (where they also mark object properties in portmanteau form). It is thus possible to see the enclitics as more attuned to the Ergative/Absolutive basis of the language: their primary function is to mark the character of intransitive (Absolutive) subjects and transitive (Absolutive) objects, although they do so in different ways.

The following two sections detail the inflectional clitics. It should however be borne in mind that some of the tense/aspect – and occasionally mood and subject type – marking is (non-redundantly) signalled by verb-root suppletion, as described in §4.5.

6.1 Proclitics: Inflectional pre-verbal particles

6.1.1 The pre-verbal clitic position

The pre-verbal position of finite clauses is a crucial locus: here are obligatorily coded subject, tense, aspect and mood (even when marked by a zero form), together with a range of optional features with wide semantic scope over the clause, e.g. negation, counterfactuality, temporal dependency. The verbal proclitics have a bewildering number of forms, but a crucial set of 56 forms is used to fill a matrix of 144 combined properties of the subject (which is marked in a nominative manner, i.e. indifferently as to the transitivity of the verb), tense, aspect, and mood. I will distinguish between the basic set of proclitics indicating just those former grammatical categories, which I will call the basic proclitic or TAMP inflectional particle, and a much larger set formed by irregular fusions of these core proclitics with deictic/anaphoric/epistemic and other categories. We will start with this larger set, to give an idea of the other parameters. The analysis follows closely that of Henderson (1995).

In certain circumstances, the other particles may fail to fuse with the proclitic, and this allows one to isolate them, and suggest that they fill ordered slots in the pre-verbal nucleus, on both sides of the basic proclitic carrying the information about subject and tense/aspect/mood properties, as in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2: The pre-verbal nucleus.

Epistemic	Addition 'also'	Distal Deictic	Anaphoric	Repetition	Negation	Basic Proclitic	Motion	Proximal Deictic
<i>kî</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>yî</i>	<i>mê</i>	<i>daa</i>		<i>mî</i> <i>n:aa</i>	<i>a</i> <i>nê</i>
<i>wu</i> ²⁶								

In (94) are some examples of ordered strings of proclitic elements with the verb *lê/loo* 'go/went', exemplifying the template above (the elements may take on altered phonological form due to fusion with the basic proclitic, even when zero):

- (94) a. *kî lê* 'he left (yesterday)'
 b. *kî mye lê* 'he also left (yesterday in addition to others)'
 c. *yî mê lê* 'that fellow left again'

²⁶ The position of *wu* is a bit problematic: it seems to occur after the negative in negative sentences as in *daa-w-a nî* 'They won't be going' (Henderson 1995:49).

- d. *mye yi lê* ‘that fellow also went (yesterday)’
- e. *mu mê lê* ‘he went again that way (yesterday)’
- f. *kê mye mê lê* ‘he also left again (yesterday)’
- g. *mye doo loo* ‘he also didn’t come (day before yesterday)’
- h. *mye mî lê* ‘he also went and left (yesterday)’
- i. *mya n:aa lê* ‘he also went and left (today)’
- j. *mêda loo* ‘he came again this way (day before yesterday)’

However, in most cases these elements are likely to fuse with the basic proclitic in unpredictable ways. Take for example the basic proclitic *nyi*, which can mean either 1dual or 2s subject, punctual aspect, indicative, proximate tense (yesterday). The two senses fuse differently in a number of cases, as illustrated in Table 6.3, and in this way the learner of Yéli Dnye must learn all these forms and their functions by rote:

Table 6.3: Examples of portmanteau fusion of grammatical categories in Pre-Nucleus.

	BASE CLITIC	+NEG	+ALSO & CLS	+ANAPH	+MOT	+MOT & CLS	+CERT & ALSO
1dual+Punct+Indic+Yester:	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dîp:e</i>	<i>mye-nyi-nê</i>	<i>y:ee</i>	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>nyumo</i>	<i>kîmyiy:e</i>
2s+Punct+Indic+Yester:	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dîpi</i>	<i>mye-nyi-nê</i>	<i>y:ii</i>	<i>ny:uu</i>	<i>nyumo</i>	<i>myiy:e</i>

Thus *dîp:e* encodes ‘NEG+1dual+Punct+Indic+Yesterday’, while *y:ee* encodes ‘Anaphoric subject+1dual+Punct+Indic+Yesterday’, and so forth.

The full inflectional tables will be given for a number of these fusing elements, including negation (see §6.1.4). In addition to these eight semantic functions, a number of other semantic and syntactic functions are fused with the verbal proclitic, for example counterfactuals have their own huge paradigm of proclitics, subsuming the functions of the basic proclitic (see §8.3). As a result there are well over a thousand distinct proclitics that must be learnt.

Before proceeding, a little should be said about the syntax of the verbal complex. First, the clitics are independent phonological words, which respect various word boundary phenomena (e.g. the initial /p/ of verb roots remains devoiced, while word internal /p/ is voiced; the initial /d/ of verb roots remain post-alveolar stops, while word-internal /d/ is realized as a retroflex flap; §3.1). Second, they are syntactic words in the sense that a few designated elements may intrude between them and the verb. For proclitics, these intruding elements are those Associated Motion and Proximal Deixis elements (§6.1.3) which may not always fuse as indicated (by MOT and CLS) in the slots above, and, most impor-

tantly, incorporated objects and prepositional phrases (which can be full phrases as detailed in §7.9.3). The enclitics however always rigidly follow the verb, with no intrusive elements. Third, the verb may be complex, for example with a causative verb after a verbal noun, in which case the clitics may flank the whole complex, not the head verb alone.

6.1.2 The core proclitic paradigms

Let us return to the core inflectional clitic that precedes the verb. It marks tense, aspect, mood and person/number of the subject in portmanteau form as, for the most part, a single syllable. The dimensions coded are shown in Table 6.4:

Table 6.4: Grammatical Categories coded in the core proclitic.

6 tenses:	Present (Now) Futures: Immediate Future (later Today), Distal Future (Tomorrow or later) Past: Immediate (earlier Today), Near (Yesterday), Remote (Day before Yesterday)
2 aspects:	Continuous Punctual
3 persons, 3 numbers (sing, dual, plural) of Subject	
5 moods:	1 Indicative 2 Imperative/Deontic Moods in all persons: Immediate vs. Deferred 2 Habituals: Continued (“always Vs”) vs. Discontinued (“used to V”)

All the combinations of these categories would yield a matrix of 540 cells ($6 \times 2 \times 3 \times 3 \times 5 = 540$). However, there are systematic reductions of the combinatorial possibilities:

(1) There is a systematic absence of many tense distinctions in particular aspects and moods, and in fact we get only the following distinctions in Table 6.5 in each aspect and mood:

Table 6.5: Number of tense distinctions in each aspect and mood.

Continuous aspect:	Indicative:	6 tenses	= 6 * 9 persons	= 54
	Habitual:	2 tenses	= 2 * 9	= 18
	Imperative:	1 tense	= 1 * 9	= 9
Punctual aspect:	Indicative:	4 tense	= 4 * 9	= 36
	Habitual:	1 tense	= 1 * 9	= 9
	Imperative:	2 tenses	= 2 * 9	= 18

This gives us a matrix of 144 cells – that is, 144 grammatical distinctions to be made by the core proclitics. (In the tables below I will distinguish an extra tense in the Punctual, but this is motivated by distinctions carried elsewhere in the verb complex.)

(2) Some of these 144 cells are filled by regular re-use of the same proclitics – in other words there is syncretism. For example, the Near Past ('yesterday') is conflated with the Remote Past in Punctual Aspect – that is, the same clitics are used in both tenses. However, we have to continue to recognize this tense distinction in the Punctual series because it is independently signalled by verb root suppletion. Thus some of these collapses of the paradigm in one part of the system are compensated for by marking elsewhere in the verb complex. Another example of systematic economy would be that, in all tenses, Punctual Aspect forms don't distinguish 3rd person sing/dual/plural.

(3) Others of these 144 cells are filled by irregular borrowing of forms used elsewhere in the same matrix. These irregular conflations are unreliable tendencies of varying strength, for example:

- (95) 2Sing = 1Dual (frequent)
 2Dual = 3Dual (occasional), and more generally:
 non-1st person Duals tend to conflate (a partial 'Polyfocal Pattern')
 3rd person Sing/Dual/Plural tend to conflate
 Some conflations across Punctual and Continuous Aspects

The end result is that we have 144 cells occupied by only 56 different *basic* forms (there are over 1000 forms altogether if one also takes into account irregular fusions with other grammatical categories like deixis, counterfactuality or negation). These forms must be learnt, complete with their complex syncretism or polysemy.

Such conflations yield the kinds of syncretisms (distinct senses separated by 'or') shown in (96) and (97):

- (96) *dpî* = Habitual Punctual: 1s or 1plural (not 1dual) or 2 dual or 3 sg/dual/plural
 = Punctual Near Past or Remote Past: 2dual
 = Punctual Immediate Past: 2 dual or 1 plural
 = Continuous Immediate Past 2dual or Near Past 2dual or 3 dual
 = Deferred Punctual Imperative: 2 or 3 sg/dual/plural

- (97) *dnye* = Punctual Immediate Past 1 dual
 = Continuous Remote Past 3 plural

Authors examining other languages with complex inflectional paradigms have suggested that such syncretisms can aid language acquisition. For example, Evans, Brown & Corbett (2001) writing on Dalabon find systematic syncretisms, allowing Optimality Theory formulations of the kind “person is preserved before number”, “object before subject attributes except for first person”. However, in the Yêli case, such generalizations seem harder to find. For example, take *dpî* above: it shows that in some conflations number overrides person (e.g. conflating 2Dual and 3Dual), but in other conflations person comes before number (e.g. conflating 1Singular and 1Plural).

The core proclitics are fairly clearly modelled on the independent pronouns to at least some extent. For example, compare the pronouns and one part of the inflectional matrix in Table 6.6:

Table 6.6: Pronouns and sample proclitics (Remote Past, Continuous aspect).

Pronouns:	(a) Independent			(c) Proclitics: Remote Past Continuous Aspect:		
	sing	dual	pl	sing	dual	pl
1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyipu</i>	<i>nmeë</i>
2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>nmyee</i>
3	Ø	Ø	Ø	<i>doo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>dnye</i>
	(b) Possessive					
	sing	dual	pl			
1	<i>a</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>			
2	<i>N-</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>			
3	<i>u</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>yi</i>			

The full set of 144 cells, 81 for the continuous aspect, and 63 for the punctual aspect, are presented in the following tables (Table 6.7 and 6.8), after Henderson (1995:102–103). Note that the pronominal sources are mostly evident, but then become assigned to other cells, so that e.g. *dpî* (2nd person Dual, Possessive Pronoun) can end up as e.g. 3rd person all numbers and 3rd Person Sing in the Punctual Habitual proclitics. Note too that there are two compositional elements discernable: preposed *a-* indicates most distant future in both aspects (there is only one future in the punctual aspect), and is reused for the Continuous Present; the suffix *-mo* indicates Continuous Habitual Distal. Otherwise all the forms are monomorphemic.

A reminder of the meaning of the tense distinctions: all indicative tenses have a strictly diurnal basis, as indicated in the charts. In narratives set in the Remote Past, however, a sort of ‘vivid present’ can be invoked by using the Immediate Past (Henderson 1995:22–23). The lack of a Present in the Punctual aspect is

solved by using the Immediate Past for events already happening or even about to happen. The Habitual Proximal indicates the action is still habitually carried out, the Habitual Distal that it is discontinued, no longer carried out. The Imperative Immediate means ‘do it now’, the Imperative Deferred ‘do it later’. Tenses can be grouped into proximal (the three tenses closest to coding time in each aspect) vs. distal tenses, a distinction playing an important role in the enclitic tables. Here, and throughout the grammar, tables of inflectional clitics are presented separately for punctual and continuous aspects, as this fundamental contrast coincides with different distinctions of tense in each aspect (Tables 6.7 and 6.8).

Table 6.7: Punctual Aspect: Core Inflectional Proclitics (Henderson 1995:102).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Future* (today or later)	1	<i>anî</i>	<i>anyi</i>	<i>anmî</i>
		2	<i>anyi</i>	<i>adpî</i>	<i>anmyi</i>
		3	<i>a</i>		
	Immed. Past* (today)	1	<i>dî</i>	<i>dnye</i>	<i>dpî</i>
		2	<i>chi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dmye</i>
		3	<i>dê</i>		
	Near Past* (yesterday) †	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	Ø		
	Remote Past† (before yesterday)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	Ø		
	Habitual	1	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dmye</i>	<i>dpî</i>
		2	<i>dpyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dmye</i>
		3	<i>dpî</i>		
Imperative	Immed. (now)	(all)	Ø		
	Deferred	1	(gap)	<i>paa</i>	
	(later)	2/3	<i>dpî</i>		

* These three Proximal tenses are conflated in categories of post-verbal enclitics

† Identical sets of proclitics, with tense differentiated by verb stem suppletion

Note that the Habitual Proximal proclitics are identical to the Immediate Future Indicative ones: the Habitual is disambiguated by distinctive post-verbal enclitics (and incidentally the Habitual Proximal does not have future readings that exclude the present). So *n:aa lêpî* ‘I will be going’ contrasts with *n:aa lêpî yédi* ‘I

Table 6.8: Continuous Aspect: Core Inflectional Proclitics (Henderson 1995:103).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Distal Future (tomorrow)	1	<i>anî</i>	<i>any:oo</i>	<i>anmî</i>
		2	<i>anyi</i>	<i>adpî</i>	<i>anmyi</i>
		3	<i>adî</i>	<i>adpî</i>	<i>adnyi</i>
	Imm.Future* (today)	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<i>a</i>		
	Present*	1	<i>anî</i>	<i>anye</i>	<i>anmî</i>
		2	<i>anyi</i>	<i>adpî</i>	<i>anmye</i>
		3	<i>a</i>		
	Immed.Past* (Earlier today)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>nyi</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	Ø		
	Near Past (yesterday)	1	<i>nî</i>	<i>ny:oo</i>	<i>nmî</i>
		2	<i>nyi</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>nmyi</i>
		3	<i>dî</i>	<i>dpî</i>	<i>dnyi</i>
	Remote Past (before yesterday)	1	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyipu</i>	<i>nmee</i>
		2	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>nmyee</i>
		3	<i>doo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>dnye</i>
Habitual	Prox (still continues)	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<i>a</i>		
	Distal (discontinued action)	1	<i>nîmo</i>	<i>nyimo</i>	<i>nmîmo</i>
		2	<i>nyimo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>nmyimo</i>
		3	<i>dpîmo</i>		<i>dnyimo</i>
Imperative	(now or later)	1	(gap)	Ø	
		2	<i>chi</i>	<i>choo</i>	<i>dmyinê</i>
		3	<i>choo</i>	<i>dny:oo</i>	

* Tenses grouped as 'Proximal' tenses in post-verbal enclitics

go habitually' (Henderson 1995:25–26; see below §6.2.1 for intransitive enclitics, §6.2.2 for transitive ones).

Because it is hard to compare the two tables for Punctual and Continuous aspect visually, I combine them in Table 6.9 below by assimilating mismatching tense categories to the nearest relevant category. There is clearly much overlap in forms, and many further cases of minimal difference. Note however that the third persons systematically behave differently. Note that a form like *dpî* which has much use in both the continuous and punctual paradigms only overlaps in usage in two cells (Immediate and Near Past 2Dual).

Table 6.9: Continuous (italics) vs. Punctual (roman in parentheses) aspect proclitics compared.

Mood	Continuous Tense (Punctual tense)	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Future Distal (Future Prox)	1	<i>anî</i> (anî)	<i>any:oo</i> (anyi)	<i>anmî</i> (anmî)
		2	<i>anyi</i> (anyi)	<i>adpî</i> (adpî)	<i>anmyi</i> (anmyi)
		3	<i>adî</i> (a)	<i>adpî</i> (a)	<i>adnyi</i> (a)
	Immed.Future (none)	1	<i>n:aa</i>	<i>nye</i>	<i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>nye</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<i>a</i>		
	Present (none)	1	<i>anî</i>	<i>anye</i>	<i>anmî</i>
		2	<i>anyi</i>	<i>adpî</i>	<i>anmye</i>
		3	<i>a</i>		
	Immed.Past (Imm Past)	1	<i>nî</i> (dî)	<i>nyi</i> (dnye)	<i>nmî</i> (dpî)
		2	<i>nyi</i> (chi)	<i>dpî</i> (dpî)	<i>nmyi</i> (dmye)
		3	Ø (dê)		
	Near Past (Near Past)	1	<i>nî</i> (nî)	<i>ny:oo</i> (nyi)	<i>nmî</i> (nmî)
		2	<i>nyi</i> (nyi)	<i>dpî</i> (dpî)	<i>nmyi</i> (nmyi)
		3	<i>dî</i> (Ø)	<i>dpî</i> (Ø)	<i>dnyi</i> (Ø)
	Remote Past (Remote Past)	1	<i>noo</i> (nî)	<i>nyipu</i> (nyi)	<i>nmee</i> (nmî)
		2	<i>nyoo</i> (nyi)	<i>dpîmo</i> (dpî)	<i>nmyee</i> (nmyi)
		3	<i>doo</i> (Ø)	<i>dpîmo</i> (Ø)	<i>dnye</i> (Ø)
Habitual	Habitual Prox (Habitual)	1	<i>n:aa</i> (dpî)	<i>nye</i> (dmye)	<i>nmo</i> (dpî)
		2	<i>nye</i> (dpyi)	<i>dpo</i> (dpî)	<i>nmye</i>
		3	<i>a</i> (dpî)		
	Distal (none)	1	<i>nîmo</i>	<i>nyimo</i>	<i>nmîmo</i>
		2	<i>nyimo</i>	<i>dpîmo</i>	<i>nmyimo</i>
		3	<i>dpîmo</i>		<i>dnyimo</i>
Imperative	Imperative (Imm. Imperative)	1	—	Ø (Ø)	
		2	<i>chi</i> (Ø)	<i>choo</i> (Ø)	<i>dmyinê</i> (Ø)
		3	<i>choo</i> (Ø)	<i>dny:oo</i> (Ø)	
	None (Deferred Imperative)	1	—	(<i>paa</i>)	
		2	(<i>dpî</i>)		
		3			

Some frequent conflations in the person/number paradigm have already been mentioned. When we come to review the post-verbal clitics, we will see that the Monofocal/Polyfocal conflation pattern will be important. The distinction between Monofocal and Polyfocal subjects can be represented thus (Table 6.10),

where Polyfocal subjects are 2nd or 3rd person dual and plural, and the rest are Monofocal (1st person all numbers and singular 2nd/3rd):

Table 6.10: Monofocal/Polyfocal marking pattern.

Number	Person		
	Sing	Dual	Plural
1	Monofocal	Monofocal	
2		Polyfocal	
3			

In the proclitic paradigms we can find partial elements of this, as in Table 6.11 (2s=1d; 2d=3d), suggesting that we may have remnants of a more widespread Monofocal/Polyfocal marking now preserved only in the post-verbal clitics.

Table 6.11: Partial Monofocal/Polyfocal patterns in the proclitics (some Continuous forms illustrative of conflation patterns).

Number	Person		
	Sing	Dual	Plural
1	nyi (IMM)	nyi (IMM)	
2		dpî (NrPST)	
3		dpî (NrPST)	

The core proclitics are merely the heart of a complex story. We have already mentioned in §6.1.1 that they combine with epistemic, deictic, repetition, and motion information to form new portmanteau morphs. Any two of these features may also combine with partially unpredictable forms of their own. They also combine with negation to form new, unpredictable forms. These negative forms themselves combine with the epistemic, deictic, repetition and motion categories to form yet further unpredictable forms. In addition, there are special modal forms, special cleft-sentence forms, and a large array of special forms for both antecedent and consequent of counter-factual conditionals. A computation of the resulting set of matrices would suggest that altogether there are on the order of 8,000 intersecting grammatical distinctions which in principle could be signalled by special proclitic forms:

144 (core TAMP distinctions) * 7 (epistemic/deictic, etc. distinctions) * 2 (combinations of the latter) * 2 (negative vs. positive) * 2 (both counterfactual clauses) = 8064 cells to be filled by special forms!

In practice, through confluences, there will be far fewer forms, but certainly there will be something like 1000 distinct proclitic forms. A full description of all of this will await a native-speaker linguist; meanwhile, we will proceed to document some of the major alternations.

6.1.3 Deixis, evidentiality, motion, repetition and other grammatical features in the proclitics

We return now to some of the grammatical features mentioned earlier which get fused with the basic TAMP proclitic. Tables 6.12 and 6.13 below repeat information largely provided in Henderson (1995:104–7). As can be seen by inspection, there are no obvious rules here – each of the cells must be learnt: even though sometimes the added information has the reflex of a separate clitic, this is often unpredictable, and other times it is incorporated in portmanteau form in the one clitic. The degree of synthesis vs. analyticity varies somewhat over these incorporated grammatical features – roughly, the order in which they are discussed is towards greater transparency and analyticity.

6.1.3.1 Deixis

There is only one spatial deictic incorporated into the proclitic, namely a ‘hither’ particle. The absence of the particle pragmatically implicates ‘thither’, in a manner similar to English *come* (deictically marked) and *go* (unmarked). The ‘thither’ interpretation can be reinforced in various ways, including the use of the motion marker (see below).

The irregularity of the fusion of particles into the proclitic can be well illustrated by the case of the deictic particle. Deictic ‘hither’ has two basic reflexes *a* and *-nê*, but which is operative in any one cell is not predictable: e.g. in the Punctual paradigm, ‘hither’ + *dpî* ‘1Plural Immediate Past’ → *dp:o*, but ‘hither’ + the very same *dpî* when meaning ‘2Dual Immediate Past’ → *dpo*, or ‘hither’ + *dpî* ‘1PluralHabitual’ → *dpîno*. Similarly ‘hither’ + *dmye* has the realization *dmyinê* when it means ‘2 Plural Immediate Past’ and *dmyino* when it means ‘1Dual/2Plural Habitual’. Incidentally, the *a* morpheme when written as a separate succeeding form is auditorily distinct as a separate syllable. The two deictic tables, one for each aspect, follow:

Table 6.12: Punctual Aspect: Deictic ‘hither’ (*a/-nê*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in parentheses for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:106).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Future (today or later)	1	<i>anê (anî)</i>	<i>anyinê (anyi)</i>	<i>anmo (anmî)</i>
		2	<i>anyinê (anyi)</i>	<i>adpo (adpî)</i>	<i>anmyi nê (anmyi)</i>
		3	<i>a-a (a)</i>		
	Immed. Past (today)	1	<i>d:a (dî)</i>	<i>dnyinê (dnye)</i>	<i>dp:o (dpî)</i>
		2	<i>cha (chi)</i>	<i>dpo (dpî)</i>	<i>dmyinê (dmye)</i>
		3	<i>da (dê)</i>		
	Near Past [†] (yesterday)	1	<i>nê (nî)</i>	<i>nyinê (nyi)</i>	<i>nmo (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyinê (nyi)</i>	<i>dpo (dpî)</i>	<i>nmyinê (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>a (Ø)</i>		
	Remote Past [†] (before yesterday)	1	<i>nê (nî)</i>	<i>nyinê (nyi)</i>	<i>nmo (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyinê (nyi)</i>	<i>dpo (dpî)</i>	<i>nmyinê (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>a (Ø)</i>		
Habitual		1	<i>dp:o (dpî)</i>	<i>dmyino (dmye)</i>	<i>dpîno (dpî)</i>
		2	<i>dpye (dpyi)</i>	<i>dpyo (dpî)</i>	<i>dmyino (dmye)</i>
		3	<i>dpo (dpî)</i>		
Imperative	Immed. (now)	(all)	Ø		
	Deferred (later)	1	–	<i>pidê (paa)</i>	
		2/3	<i>dpo (dpî)</i>		

[†] Identical sets of proclitics in these two tenses are differentiated by tense suppletions in the verb root

Table 6.13: Continuous Aspect: Deictic ‘hither’ (*a/-nê*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in parentheses for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:107).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Distal Future (tomorrow)	1	<i>anaa (anyi)</i>	<i>any:oo a (anyi)</i>	<i>anmo a (anmî)</i>
		2	<i>anya a (anyi)</i>	<i>adp:o* (adpî)</i>	<i>anmya a (anmyi)</i>
		3	<i>ada a (adî)</i>	<i>adp:o* (adpî)</i>	<i>a dnya a (adnyi)</i>
	Imm.Future (today)	1	<i>nînê (n:aa)</i>	<i>nyinê (nye)</i>	<i>nmî-nê (nmo)</i>
		2	<i>nyinê (nye)</i>	<i>dpîdê (dpo)</i>	<i>nmyinê (nmye)</i>
		3	<i>wunê (a)</i>		

Table 6.13 (continued)

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
	Present†	1	<i>nîñê (anî)</i>	<i>nyinê (anye)</i>	<i>nmî-nê (anmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyinê (anyi)</i>	<i>dpîdê (adpî)</i>	<i>nmyinê (anmye)</i>
		3	<i>wunê (a)</i>		
	Immed.Past (Earlier today)	1	<i>nê (nî)</i>	<i>nyinê (nyi)</i>	<i>nmo (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyinê (nyi)</i>	<i>dpo (dpî)</i>	<i>nmyinê (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>a (Ø)</i>		
	Near Past (yesterday)	1	<i>na a (nî)</i>	<i>ny:oo a (ny:oo)</i>	<i>nmo (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nya a (nyi)</i>	<i>dpo a (dpî)</i>	<i>nmya a (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>da a (dî)</i>	<i>dpo a (dpî)</i>	<i>dnya a (dnyi)</i>
	Remote Past (before yesterday)	1	<i>noo a (noo)</i>	<i>nyipu a (nyipu)</i>	<i>nmeê a (nmeê)</i>
		2	<i>nyoo a (nyoo)</i>	<i>dpîmo a (dpîmo)</i>	<i>nmyee a (nmyee)</i>
		3	<i>doo a (doo)</i>	<i>dpîmo a (dpîmo)</i>	<i>dnya a (dnye)</i>
Habitual	Prox‡ (still continues)	1	<i>nîñê (n:aa)</i>	<i>nyinê (nye)</i>	<i>nmîñê (nmo)</i>
		2	<i>nyinê (nye)</i>	<i>dpîdê (dpo)</i>	<i>nmyinê (nmye)</i>
		3	<i>wunê (a)</i>		
	Distal (discontinued action)	1	<i>nîmo a (nîmo)</i>	<i>nyimo a (nyimo)</i>	<i>nmîmo a (nmîmo)</i>
		2	<i>nyimo a (nyimo)</i>	<i>dpîmo a (dpîmo)</i>	<i>nmyimo a (nmyimo)</i>
		3	<i>dpîmo a (dpîmo)</i>		<i>dnyimo a (dnyimo)</i>
Imperative	(now or later)	1	—	<i>pîdê (Ø)</i>	
		2	<i>cha a (chi)</i>	<i>choo a (choo)</i>	<i>dmyina a (dmyinê)</i>
		3	<i>choo a (choo)</i>	<i>dny:oo a (dny:oo)</i>	

* *adpo a* without the nasal is also acceptable

† With deictic ‘hither’ the Present tense is collapsed with the Immediate Future, and takes the same proclitics.

‡ Note that the Habitual Proximal is now collapsed with the Immediate Future forms.

The ‘hither’ particle is, for some verbs, obligatorily required: 66 verbs in a lexical database of 340 take the ‘hither’ particle obligatorily, thus acquiring irregular inflection. These include verbs which have no obvious motion component. When motion verbs require this marking, like *pwiyé* ‘move, go, come’, the ‘hither’

interpretation is in fact not fixed. Note below how the ‘come/go’ opposition can be coded with ‘hither’ plus *lê/lêpî* ‘go/going’, or by opposing *lê* to *pwiyé*. Finally, note how statives like *dpî* ‘sleep’ with ‘hither’ have a ‘here’ interpretation:

- (98)
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>da lê</i> | ‘he came here (today)’ |
| b. | <i>dê lê</i> | ‘he went (today)’ |
| c. | <i>(k)a pwiyé knî</i> | ‘he’s coming’ |
| d. | <i>al:ii kê yedê pwiyé knî</i> | ‘he’s coming this way’ |
| e. | <i>al:ii wunê lêpî</i> | ‘he’s coming here’ (= <i>al:ii wunê pwiyé knî</i>) |
| f. | <i>(k)a lêpî</i> | ‘he’s going’ |
| g. | <i>Yidika wunê dpî</i> | ‘Yidika’s sleeping (here)’ |

6.1.3.2 Evidentials

There are two evidential markers *kî* and *wu* which, in a similar way to *a/nê* ‘hither’, get incorporated into the proclitics in a haphazard manner. Henderson (1995:48–49) provides the examples in Table 6.14, and implies that fusion only takes place in these forms (I interpret his remarks on *nmo* as in fact applying to non-past tenses), but there are other, more regular (or phonologically predictable) confluations, e.g. *kî+dê* → *kêdê* where the intervocal *d* becomes a retroflex flap. These fusions are optional, not obligatory.

Table 6.14: *Kî* ‘Evidential – certain’: some examples of incorporation into the core proclitic (These confluations are optional).

Core TAMP		elements fused	fused result
Contin. 3.Present		<i>kî + a</i>	<i>ka</i>
1PL.		<i>kî + nmî</i>	<i>kunu</i>
Contin. Imm.Past & Near Past			
Punct. Near Past & Remote Past			
Contin.	2PL.IMM/ 2PL/DualNear.Past	<i>kî + dpî</i>	<i>kudu</i>
Punct.	1PL/2DualIMM 2/3Dual.NrPST		
1PL.Cont.Imm.Future/Prox.Hab		<i>kî + nmo</i>	<i>kuno</i>

These fusions seem to be form-based rather than meaning-based, as shown e.g. by the following, where *kî+dpî* is fused to *kudu* regardless of the many meanings of *dpî*:

- (99) *kudu lee dmi* ‘they3/we3 went earlier today’
kudu lepî mo ‘you2 were going earlier today’
kudu lee knî ‘you2 already went there today?’

The following examples give some idea of the contexts of use of these evidentials. Essentially, the speaker asserts that they have certain knowledge that the proposition holds (in many cases this will amount to having witnessed the event). The form is thus not usable in e.g. future or imperative contexts.

- (100) a. *Yidika a dpî?*
 Yidika 3CIPROX sleeping
 ‘Is Yidika asleep?’
 b. *Ka dpî*
 CERT.3CIPROX sleeping
 ‘Yes he’s asleep’
- (101) a. *Aani Dâmu’nuwo doo n:ee*
 Aani Damenu NEG.3PI.IMM go.NEGpolarity
 ‘(The boat) Aani hasn’t left (earlier today) for Damenu’
 b. *kêle, kêle, kêdê lê*
 No, no, CERT.3PI.IMM go
 ‘No, you are wrong, it has definitely gone already’
- (102) *kudu lepî mo maa p:uu*
 CERT.2d/pl.CI.NrPST going dCI.PROX.Intrans road ON
a péé dpî
 my basket 2dPINrPST
m:uu ngmê
 see PFS.3OPI.PROX
 ‘While you2 were walking on the road, you2 saw my basket’

The *kî* element itself fuses with other elements. The following tables (Tables 6.15 and 6.16) give the full analytic (non-fused) forms of *kî*+proclitic in bold, contrasted to *kî* + CLOSE, the ‘hither’ or deictic proximal element (mostly *-a*) in roman (non-bold), illustrated with two intransitive verbs, *lê* ‘go’ and *kudu* ‘wash self’. Because of this possible contrast, *kî* alone implicates a ‘thither’ directionality.

Table 6.15: *kî* ('Certain') with Punctual Proclitic Paradigm, 'hither'(CLS) forms compared. Bold indicates *kî* fused only with basic TAM marker, implying 'away' movement (illustrated with verb *lê* 'go'). Non-bold indicates *kî* + CLS, i.e. fused with 'hither' marker (illustrated with another intransitive verb *kudu*/*kpêê* 'wash oneself'), except where *kî* is not usable (Future and Imperative) when 'hither' alone is coded.

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Future (Tomorrow) (<i>kî</i> not usable)			
1 (non-bold forms are +CLS)	(*<i>kî</i> wanê lê) <i>wanê kudu</i>	<i>wa nyinê kpêê knî</i>	<i>wa nmo kpêê dmi</i>
2	<i>wanyinê kudu</i>	<i>wa dpo kpêê knî</i>	<i>wa nyinê kpêê dmi</i>
3	<i>wa a kudu</i>	<i>wa a kpêê knî</i>	<i>wa a kpêê dmi</i>
Imm Past (Today)			
1	<i>kîdî lê</i> <i>kîd:a kudu</i>	<i>kî dnye lee knî</i> <i>kîdnyinê kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî dpî lee dmi</i> <i>kîd:o kpêê dmi</i>
2	<i>kichi lê</i> <i>ché kudu</i>	<i>kî dpî lee knî = kudu</i> <i>dpoo kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî dmye lee dmi</i> <i>dmyinê kpêê dmi</i>
3	<i>kêdê lê</i> <i>kêda kudu</i>	<i>kê dê lee knî</i> <i>kedâ kpêê knî</i>	<i>kê dê lee dmi</i> <i>kêda kpêê dmi</i>
Near Past (Yesterday)			
1	<i>kî nê lê = kunu lê</i> <i>kînî kudu</i>	<i>kî nyi lee knî</i> <i>kînyinê kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî nmî lee dmi = kunu</i> <i>kî nmo kpêê dmi</i>
2	<i>kî nyi lê</i> <i>nyinê kudu</i>	<i>kî dpî lee knî = kudu lee knî</i> <i>dpo kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî nmyi lee dmi</i> <i>nmyinê kpêê dmi</i>
3	<i>kî lê</i> <i>ka a kudu</i>	<i>kî lee knî</i> <i>ka a kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî lee dmi</i> <i>ka a kpêê dmi</i>
Rem. Past (day before yesterday and before)			
1 NB <i>nî</i> vs. <i>nê</i> is distinctive here for +/- CLS*	<i>kî nî loo</i> <i>kî nê kpêê wo</i>	<i>kî nyi lee knâpwo</i> <i>kî nyinê kpêê knopwo</i>	<i>kî nmî lee dniye</i> <i>kî nmo kpêê dniye</i>
2	<i>kî nyi loo</i> (<i>ki</i>) <i>nyinê kpêê wo</i>	<i>kî dpî lee knâpwo = kudu lee knâpwo</i> <i>dpo kpêê knopwo</i>	<i>kî nmyi lee dniye</i> <i>nmyi nê kpêê dniye</i>
3	<i>kî loo</i> <i>ka a kpêê wo</i>	<i>kî lee knâpwo</i> <i>ka a kpêê knopwo</i>	<i>kî lee dniye</i> <i>ka a kpêê dniye</i>

Table 6.15 (continued)

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Imperative (<i>kî</i> not usable)			
1		<i>a pîdê kpêê knî</i>	<i>a pîdê kpêê kmêle</i>
2	<i>dpo kwidi</i>	<i>dpo kpêê cho</i>	<i>dpo kpêê, dmyeno</i>
3	<i>dpî lee wee</i> ‘he should go’ <i>dpo kpêê we</i>	<i>dpo kpêê dniye</i>	<i>dpo kpêê dniye</i>
Habitual			
1	<i>kî dpî lê</i> <i>dp:o kudu</i>	<i>kî dpye lee knî</i> <i>dmyino kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî dpy:e lee dmi</i> <i>dpîno kpêê dmi</i>
2	<i>kî dpye lê</i> <i>dpye kudu</i>	<i>kî dpyo lee knî</i> <i>dpyo kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî dmye lee dmi</i> <i>dmyino kpêê dmi</i>
3	<i>kî dpî lê</i> <i>dpo kudu</i>	<i>kî dpî lee knî = kudu</i> <i>dpo kpêê knî</i>	<i>kî dpî lee dmi</i> <i>dpo kpêê dmi</i>

* *kî nî loo* ‘I went there’ vs. *kî nê loo* ‘I came here’ (+CLS)

Table 6.16: *Kî* (‘certain’) + Continuous proclitic paradigm, and *kî* with Motion. Bold indicates *kî* fused only with core proclitic, implying ‘away’ movement (illustrated with verb *lêpî* ‘going’). Non-bold indicates *kî* + MOTION (MOT) with core proclitic, i.e. fused with ‘going to’ marker (illustrated with another intransitive continuous verb *kuku* ‘wash oneself’, with *kê* forms where available (not in FUT or IMP)).

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Distal Future (tomorrow) (<i>kê</i> not usable)			
1	<i>wanî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa ny:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa nmî n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>wa nyi n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa nmyi n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>wadî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa dnyi n:aa kuku</i>
Imm. Future (today) (<i>kê</i> not usable here)			
1	<i>numo kuku</i>	<i>nyumo kuku mo</i>	<i>nmumo kuku té</i>
2	<i>nyumo kuku</i>	<i>dpumo kuku mo</i>	<i>nmy:umo kuku té</i>
3	<i>wumê kuku</i>	<i>wumê kuku mo</i>	<i>wumê kuku té</i>

Table 6.16 (continued)

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
earlier today			
	<i>kî nî kuku</i> <i>kî n:uu kuku</i>	<i>kî nyi kuku mo</i> <i>kî ny:uu kuku mo</i>	<i>kî nmî kuku té</i> <i>kî nm:uu kuku té</i>
	<i>kî nyi kuku</i> <i>kî ny:uu kuku</i>	<i>kî dpî kuku mo</i> <i>kî dp:uu kuku mo</i>	<i>kî nmyi kuku té</i> <i>kî nmy:uu kuku té</i>
	<i>kî kuku</i> <i>kîmî kuku</i>	<i>kî kuku mo</i> <i>kîmî kuku mo</i>	<i>kî kuku té</i> <i>kîmî kuku té</i>
yesterday			
1	<i>kî nî lêpî</i> <i>kî nî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî ny:oo lêpî</i> <i>kî ny:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nmî lêpî</i> <i>nmî n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>kî nyi lêpî</i> <i>nyi n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî dpî lêpî</i> <i>dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nmyi lêpî</i> <i>nmyi n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>kêdê lêpî</i> <i>kîdî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kê dpî lêpî</i> <i>kuku/dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kê dnyi lêpî</i> <i>kîdnyi n:aa kuku</i>
rempast			
1	<i>kî n:oo lêpî</i> <i>kî n:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nyîpu lêpî</i> <i>kînyîpu n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nmee lêpî</i> <i>kî nmee n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>kî nyoo lêpî</i> <i>nyoo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî dpîmo lêpî</i> <i>dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nmyee lêpî</i> <i>nmyee n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>kê doo lêpî</i> <i>kîdoo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kê dpîmo lêpî</i> <i>kî dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kê dnye lêpî</i> <i>kî dnye n:aa kuku</i>
Habitual Proximal (still continuing)			
1	<i>kî n:aa lêpî yédi</i> <i>kî numo kuku yédi</i>	<i>kî nye lêpî nóó</i> <i>kî nyumo kuku nóó</i>	<i>kî nmo lêpî</i> <i>nyédi =kuno</i> <i>kî nmîmo kuku</i> <i>nyédi</i>
2	<i>kî nye lêpî yédi</i> <i>kî nyîmo kuku</i> <i>yédi</i>	<i>kî dpo lêpî nóó</i> <i>kî dpîmo kuku nóó</i>	<i>kî nmye lêpî</i> <i>nyédi</i> <i>kî nmyîmo kuku</i> <i>nyédi</i>
3	<i>ka lêpî yédi</i> <i>kî wumê kuku</i> <i>yédi</i>	<i>ka lêpî nóó</i> <i>kî wumê kuku nóó</i>	<i>ka lêpî nyédi</i> <i>kî wumê kuku</i> <i>nyédi</i>

Table 6.16 (continued)

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Habitual Distal (discontinued action)			
1	<i>kî nîmo lêpî</i> <i>kî nîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nyipu lêpî</i> <i>kî nyipu n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nmîmo lêpî</i> <i>kî nmîmo n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>kî nyimo lêpî</i> <i>kî nyimo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî dpîmo lêpî</i> <i>kî dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kî nmyimo lêpî</i> <i>kî nmyimo n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>kê dpîmo lêpî</i> <i>kî dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kê dpîmo lêpî</i> <i>kî dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>kê dnyimo lêpî</i> <i>kî dnyimo n:aa kuku</i>
Imperative: (No use of <i>kê</i>)			
	<i>numo kuku</i>	<i>nye kuku knî</i>	<i>nye kuku kmêle</i>
	<i>chi n:aa kuku</i>	<i>choo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dmyinê n:aa kuku</i>
	<i>choo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dny:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dny:oo n:aa kuku</i>

The evidential element contrastive to *kî* is *wu*. The *wu* evidential seems to mean ‘indirectly ascertained, uncertain’, in line with its use as a demonstrative (see §4.2.2.3); this analysis differs from Henderson’s (1995:49). Not surprisingly, it regularly occurs with use of the Future tenses (and there especially with the Punctual aspect), especially in questions, but not in the first person, where speakers would be expected to know their own intentions (example from Henderson 1995:49):

- (103) a. *Naa têdê w-anyi nê?*
 Feast place UNCERT-2sFUTPI go.NegPol
 ‘Are you going to the feast?’
 b. *Kêle, daa-nî nê*
 No, NEG-1sFUTPI go.NegPol
 ‘No, I’m not going’

The question naturally arises whether *wu* can be taken to be an *irrealis* marker, common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986:159ff). However, its optionality in future statements suggests that it is indeed an evidential, or a marker of the degree of uncertainty associated with the relevant facts.

I do not provide a full paradigm here in Tables 6.17 and 6.18, because the forms are largely compositional. It is easy to confuse the evidential *wu* with the counterfactual antecedent clauses with proclitics based on *w-* (there may well be a diachronic

relation between the paradigms), which have deontic force if used alone. Further, the future tenses tend to use *wu* since the evidence for most such events is indirect. For example, *wa lê* ‘he will go’ fuses *wu* with *a* ‘Future marker’, but *waa lê* ‘he should have gone’, is the counterfactual form. The counterfactuals are dealt with extensively in §8.3.

Table 6.17: *Wu* + Punctual Future forms (with PI verb *kudu* ‘wash yourself’). bold = *wu* + core proclitic and *lê* ‘go’, non-bold forms show *wu*+CLS+core proclitic, i.e. fused with ‘hither’ marker, with *kudu*/*kpêê* ‘wash’.

Future (today or later)	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
1	<i>wa nê lê</i> <i>wanê kudu</i>	<i>wa nyi lee knî</i> <i>wa nyinê kpêê knî</i>	<i>wa nmî lee dmi</i> <i>wa nmo kpêê dmi</i>
2	<i>wa nyi lê</i> <i>wanyinê kudu</i>	<i>wa dpî lee knî</i> <i>wa dpo kpêê knî</i>	<i>wa nmyi</i> <i>wa nyinê kpêê dmi</i>
3	<i>wa lê</i> (will) <i>wa a kudu</i>	<i>wa lee knî</i> <i>wa a kpêê knî</i>	<i>wa lee dmi</i> <i>wa a kpêê dmi</i>

Proclitics with *wu* are used to indicate inferred actions or states, as illustrated below:

- (104) a. *m:ââ pââ ndîi, Mundi wu doo n:ee*
 Low.tide big Mundi UNCERT 3NEG.IMM.PI go.NEG
 ‘It was a big low tide, Mundi didn’t go (I suppose, his boat could not leave)’
- b. *m:iituwo yópu pââ ndîi, Diakonos wu*
 day.before.yesterday wind big Diakonos UNCERT
dêpê n:ee
 3IMM.PI.CLS go.NEG
 ‘The day before yesterday there was a big wind, MV Diakonos surely didn’t set off’
- c. *tpii ghay ma, wu daa lóó*
 rain fell yesterday UNCERT 3NEG.NrPST cross.over
 ‘Yesterday it rained, he would not have crossed (over the mountains)’
- d. *wo mb:aa Pikuwa Ghaalyu Tââchó wu dî*
 day good Pikuwa Ghaalyu Tââchó UNCERT 3sIMM.PI
lee knî
 go.FOL 3dS.Intrans
 ‘It’s clear weather, Pikuwa and Ghaalyu will have gone to Tââchó pass today (up the mountain as planned)’

Table 6.18: *Wu* + Continuous Aspect forms (with *kuku* ‘washing (oneself)’). Bold forms are *wu*+base proclitic, roman forms are *wu*+MOT (associated motion ‘on the way to’, see 6.1.3.3).

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Distal Future (Tomorrow)			
1	<i>wanî kuku</i> <i>wanî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa ny:oo kuku</i> <i>wa ny:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa nmî kuku</i> <i>wa nmî n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>wa nyi n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa nmyi n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>wadî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>wa dnyi n:aa kuku</i>
Present (Now)			
1 (<i>wu</i> inconsistent with 1 st Person)	(<i>*wu</i>) n:aa kuku (<i>*wu</i>) numo kuku	(<i>*wu</i>) nye kuku mo (<i>*wu</i>) nyimo kuku mo	(<i>*wu</i>) nmo kuku té (<i>*wu</i>) nmîmo kuku té
2	<i>wu nye kuku</i> <i>wu nyimo kuku</i>	<i>wu dpô kuku mo</i> <i>wu dpîmo kuku mo</i>	<i>wu nmye kuku té</i> <i>wu nmyimo kuku té</i>
3	<i>wu a kuku</i> <i>wu wumê kuku</i>	<i>wu a kuku mo</i> <i>wu wumê kuku mo</i>	<i>wu a kuku té</i> <i>wu wumê kuku té</i>

- (105) a. *mbwaa Nimowa ka tóó, wu*
 fresh.water Nimowa CERT3s.CI sitting UNCERT
nye kuku
 2sPRES bathing
 ‘There’s water at Nimowa, you will be bathing there’
- b. *u mî pyââ dê pw:onu,*
 3sPOSS father woman 3sIMM.PI die.PROX,
wu wumê lêpî
 UNCERT 3FUT.CI.MOT going
 ‘His aunt died, so he’ll be going’
- c. *Ghaapwé mbii, ngomo k:oo wu wunê*
 Ghaapwé ill house inside UNCERT 3PRES.CI.CLS
tóó
 sitting
 ‘Ghaapwé is ill, he’ll be in his house’

Notice that there are proclitic forms like *wumê* and *wunê* which appear to incorporate *wu* but are actually forms indicating motion towards or away – they may occur with or without *wu*:

- (106) a. *wumê lêpî*
 3FUT.CI.MOT going
 ‘He’s going away’

- b. *wunê* *lêpî*
 3PRES.CI.CLS going
 ‘He’s going to come’
- c. *wu* *wumê* *lêpî*
 UNCERT 3FUT.CI.MOT going
 ‘Perhaps he’s going away’
- d. *wu* *wunê* *lêpî*
 UNCERT 3PRES.CI.CLS going
 ‘Perhaps he’s going to come’

6.1.3.3 Associated motion

There is a motion element, vaguely reminiscent of the Central Australian ‘associated motion’ systems (except that those constitute elaborate paradigms; Guillaume & Koch 2021), which can occur with any non-motion verb V, meaning ‘go and V’, or ‘go-in-order-to V’. This element can also occur with basic motion verbs, unlike the Australian counterparts.

The basic forms are given in Tables 6.19 and 6.20 below, from Henderson (1995). Note once again, that although there are regularities, with replacement of the final vowel of the core proclitic with nasal *-uu* for example, or use of *mî* in 3rd person forms, or frequent affixation of *-n:aa* elsewhere, the occurrence of these realizations is not fully predictable. Typically, but again unpredictably, parts of the paradigm are borrowed from elsewhere – e.g. the Continuous Immediate Future + Motion proclitics are the same as the Habitual Proximal ones.

Table 6.19: Punctual Aspect: Associated motion (*n:aa/mî*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in brackets for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:104).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Future (today or later)	1	<i>an:uu (anî)</i>	<i>any:uu (anyi)</i>	<i>anm:u (anmî)</i>
		2	<i>any:uu (anyi)</i>	<i>adp:uu (adpî)</i>	<i>anmy:uu (anmyi)</i>
		3	<i>a-mî (a)</i>		
	Immed. Past (today)	1	<i>dî-n:aa (dî)</i>	<i>dnyi-n:aa (dnye)</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>
		2	<i>chi-n:aa (chi)</i> <i>cho-n:aa*</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dmye-n:aa (dmye)</i>
		3	<i>d:uu (dê)</i>		
	Near Past† (yesterday)	1	<i>n:uu (nî)</i>	<i>ny:uu (nyi)</i>	<i>nm:uu (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>ny:uu (nyi)</i>	<i>dp:uu (dpî)</i>	<i>nmy:uu (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>mî (Ø)</i>		

Table 6.19 (continued)

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
	Remote Past† (before yesterday)	1	<i>n:uu (nî)</i>	<i>ny:uu (nyi)</i>	<i>nm:uu (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>ny:uu (nyi)</i>	<i>dp:uu (dpî)</i>	<i>nmy:uu (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>mî(Ø)</i>		
Habitual		1	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dmye-n:aa (dmye)</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>
		2	<i>dpyi-n:aa (dpyi)</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dmye-n:aa (dmye)</i>
		3	<i>dp:uu (dpî)</i>		
Imperative	immed. (now)	(all)	<i>nyi (Ø)</i>		
	Deferred (later)	1	—	<i>paa-n:aa (paa)</i>	
		2/3	<i>dp:uu (dpî)</i>		

† Identical sets of proclitics in these two tenses are differentiated by tense suppletions in the verb root

* takes different verb form – *chi-n:aa lê* (Immediate Future, ‘are you going now?’), *choo-n:aa loo* (‘you didn’t go?’)

- (107) a. *d:uu* *lê*
 MOT.3IMM go
 (lit. ‘went and went’) ‘He went and departed’
- b. *nkéli kee. dî-n:aa m:uu*
 boat ascended. 1sIMM.MOT see
 ‘The boat came. I went to see it’

Table 6.20: Continuous Aspect: Associated motion (*n:aa/mî*) plus core proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in brackets for comparison) (after Henderson 1995:105).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Distal Future (tomorrow)	1	<i>anî-n:aa (anyi)</i>	<i>any:oo-n:aa (anyi)</i>	<i>anmî-n:aa (anmî)</i>
		2	<i>anyi-n:aa (anyi)</i>	<i>adpî-n:aa (adpî)</i>	<i>anmyi n:aa (anmyi)</i>
		3	<i>adî a (adî)</i>	<i>adpî-n:aa (adpî)</i>	<i>adnyi-n:aa (adnyi)</i>
	Imm.Future (today)*	1	<i>nîmo (n:aa)</i>	<i>nyimo (nye)</i>	<i>nmîmo (nmo)</i>
		2	<i>nyimo (nye)</i>	<i>dpîmo (dpo)</i>	<i>nmyimo (nmye)</i>
		3	<i>wumê (a)</i>		

Table 6.20 (continued)

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
	Present	1	<i>(apparently not used)</i>		
		2			
		3	<i>mîñê (a)</i>		
	Immed.Past (earlier today)	1	<i>n:uu (nî)</i>	<i>ny:uu (nyi)</i>	<i>nm:uu (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>ny:uu (nyi)</i>	<i>dp:uu (dpî)</i>	<i>nmy:uu (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>mî (Ø)</i>		
	Near Past (yesterday)	1	<i>nî-n:aa (nî)</i>	<i>ny:oo-n:aa (ny:oo)</i>	<i>nmî-n:aa (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyi-n:aa (nyi)</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>nmyi-n:aa (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>dî-n:aa (dî)</i>	<i>dpî-n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dnyi-n:aa (dnyi)</i>
	Remote Past (before yesterday)	1	<i>noo-n:aa (noo)</i>	<i>nyipu-n:aa (nyipu)</i>	<i>nmee-n:aa (nmee)</i>
		2	<i>nyoo-n:aa (nyoo)</i>	<i>dpîmo-n:aa (dpîmo)</i>	<i>nmyee-n:aa (nmyee)</i>
		3	<i>doo-n:aa (doo)</i>	<i>dpîmo-n:aa (dpîmo)</i>	<i>dnye-n:aa (dnye)</i>
Habitual	Prox (still continues)	1	<i>nîmo (n:aa)</i>	<i>nyimo (nye)</i>	<i>nmîmo (nmo)</i>
		2	<i>nyimo (nye)</i>	<i>dpîmo (dpo)</i>	<i>nmyimo (nmye)</i>
		3	<i>wumê (a)</i>		
	Distal (discontinued action)	1	<i>nîmo- n:aa (nîmo)</i>	<i>nyimo-n:aa (nyimo)</i>	<i>nmîmo-n:aa (nmîmo)</i>
		2	<i>nyimo-n:aa (nyimo)</i>	<i>dpîmo-n:aa (dpîmo)</i>	<i>nmyimo n:aa (nmyimo)</i>
		3	<i>dpîmo n:aa (dpîmo)</i>		<i>dnyimo n:aa (dnyimo)</i>
Imperative	(now or later)	1	—	<i>nyi (Ø)</i>	
		2	<i>chî-n:aa (chi)</i>	<i>choo-n:aa (choo)</i>	<i>dmyinê-n:aa (dmyinê)</i>
		3	<i>choo-n:aa (choo)</i>	<i>dny:oo-n:aa (dny:oo)</i>	

*Same forms as Habitual Proximal + Motion, which are in turn nearly the same as the Habitual Distal without Motion (except for 3rd person).

- (108) a. *rice wumê pywupwi*
rice 3ImmFUT.CI.MOT buying
‘He’s going to go and buy rice’
b. *mî paambwi*
3IMM.MOT wandering
‘He’s gone for a spin’

- c. *yâpwo têdê mî dpodo*
 garden 3IMM.MOT working
 ‘He’s gone to work in the garden’

6.1.3.4 Associated motion combined with other features in the proclitics

Associated motion combines with the other features already mentioned, to form new portmanteau clitics. There are thus full paradigms for, e.g., Negation+Motion, Close+Motion, etc. A partial paradigm is shown here to demonstrate the nature of the alternations – the table shows Motion+Close, the deictic ‘hither’ element in the Punctual Aspect. These forms are quite difficult to elicit due to the subtle meaning alternations – Table 6.21 shows forms that occur with the verb *pyw:oo* ‘to find something’, which obligatorily takes+Close, while with other kinds of verbs elicitation is less certain. Negative forms also interact to make special Negative+Motion forms – see the sections concerning negation.

Table 6.21: Punctual Aspect: Motion + Deictic ‘hither’ (*a/-nê*) proclitics (basic non-deictic forms in brackets for comparison).

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Future (today or later)	1	<i>wa nîmo (anî)</i>	<i>wa nyimo (anyi)</i>	<i>a nmîmo (anmî)</i>
		2	<i>wa nyimo (anyi)</i>	<i>wa dpumo (adpî)</i>	<i>wa nmyimo (anmyi)</i>
		3	<i>wa mînê (a)</i>		
	Immed. Past (today)	1	<i>a dî n:aa (dî)</i>	<i>a dnye-n:aa (dnye)</i>	<i>a dpî n:aa (dpî)</i>
		2	<i>a? chi-n:aa (chi)</i>	<i>dpî n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dmye n:aa (dmye)</i>
		3	<i>yeda (dê)</i>	<i>dumo (dê)</i>	
	Near Past † (yesterday)	1	<i>kî numo (nî)</i>	<i>(nyi)</i>	<i>(nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyumo (nyi)</i>	<i>(dpî)</i>	<i>nmyumo (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>minê (Ø)</i>		
	Remote Past † (before yesterday)	1	<i>mînîmo (nî)</i>	<i>mînyumo (nyi)</i>	<i>mî nmumo (nmî)</i>
		2	<i>nyumo (nyi)</i>	<i>dpumo (dpî)</i>	<i>nmyumo (nmyi)</i>
		3	<i>kî minê (Ø)</i>		
Habitual		1	<i>dpî n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dmye n:aa (dmye)</i>	<i>dpî n:aa (dpî)</i>
		2	<i>mî dpyi n:aa (dpyi)</i>	<i>dpî n:aa (dpî)</i>	<i>dmye n:aa (dmye)</i>
		3	<i>dpumo (dpî)</i>		

Table 6.20 (continued)

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Imperative	Immed. (now)	(all)	<i>nyinê</i>		
	Deferred (later)	1	—	<i>paa n:aa/pêdê n:aa (paa)</i>	
		2/3	<i>dpumo (dpî)</i>		

† Note how these fused proclitics make the distinction Near/Remote Past which the basic non-deictic proclitics do not (the distinction is made also by tense suppletions in the verb root)

- (109) a. *mââ* *al:ii* *wa* *nîmo* *pyw:ee* *ngi*
tomorrow here IRR.FUT MOT.1sFUT find 2sO
‘Tomorrow, I will come and find you here’
b. *yeda* *lê*
MOT.3IMM go
‘He came here’

The following forms both contain a deictic ‘hither’ meaning and a repetition meaning which is the subject of the next section.

- (110) a. *wa mênê* *diyê*
1s.IMMFUT.PI.REP.CLS return
‘I will come back here again’
b. *wa mênê* *lê*
1s.IMMFUT.PI.REP.CLS go
‘I will go and come back here’
c. *wa mênê* *m:uu*
1s.IMMFUT.PI.REP.CLS see
‘I will see him on the way and on the way back here’

6.1.3.5 Repetition feature (*mê* – ‘again’, REP) in the proclitics

This feature signals that the action was or is repeated, as in English ‘He dived again’, or that it restores a prior state, as in English ‘He threw the fish back again’ (Henderson 1995:43). The basic paradigm is illustrated below (Tables 6.22 to 6.24) for the punctual verb root *diyê* (so the first cell glosses ‘I will return again (there) tomorrow’, and for the continuous verb root *lepî* ‘going’ or *d:uud:u* ‘trying’. Gaps in the paradigm or question marks indicate where the forms were hard to elicit.

In addition to these basic paradigms, the feature Repetition can be combined with others like Deictic Close, which is illustrated in the third paradigm in this

section (Table 6.24) with forms combining *mê* and *a* in the punctual aspect. These forms thus mean ‘do again hither’, and they contrast pragmatically with the plain ‘do again’ forms which are taken to have a ‘thither’ meaning.

Table 6.22: Incorporation of *mê* REP (‘again’) PUNCTUAL Aspect (with verbs *diyê* ‘return’ or *lê* ‘go’).

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Future (today, or later)			
1	<i>a m:aa diyê</i> ‘I will return again tomorrow’	<i>a m:ii diyê knî</i> <i>a mo diyê dmi</i>	
2	<i>a m:ii diyê</i>	<i>a mo diyê knî</i>	<i>a m:ii diyê dmi</i>
3	<i>a mê diyê</i>	<i>a mê diyê knî</i>	<i>a mê diyê dmi</i>
Imm. Past (Today)			
1	<i>mê dê diyê</i>	<i>mê dnye diyê knî</i>	<i>mê dpî diyê dmi</i>
2	<i>mê chî diyê</i>	<i>mê dpî diyê knî</i>	<i>mê dmye diyê dmi</i>
3	<i>maa diyê/lê</i>	<i>maa diyê knî</i>	<i>maa diyê dmi</i>
Near Past (Yesterday)			
1	<i>m:aa diyê</i>	<i>m:ii diyê knî</i>	<i>mo diyê dmi</i>
2	<i>mê diyê</i>	<i>mê diyê knî</i>	<i>mê diyê dmi</i>
3	<i>mê diyê</i>	<i>mê diyê knî</i>	<i>mê diyê dmi</i>
Remote Past (day before yesterday or before)			
1	<i>m:aa diyê wo</i>	<i>m:ee diyê knâpwo</i>	<i>m:oo diyê dnyiye</i>
2	<i>m:ii diyê wo</i>	<i>moo diyê knâpwo</i>	<i>m:ii diyê dnyiye</i>
3	<i>mê diyê wo</i>	<i>mê diyê knâpwo</i>	<i>mê diyê dnyiye</i>
Habitual			
1	<i>mê dpî diyê</i>	<i>mê dnye diyê knî</i>	<i>mê dpî diyê dmi</i>
2	<i>mê dpyi diyê</i>	<i>mê dpî diyê knî</i>	<i>mê dmyi diyê dmi</i>
3	<i>moo diyê</i>	<i>moo diyê knî</i>	<i>moo diyê dmi</i>
Imperative			
1	(counterfactual: <i>w:aa diyê</i> – I should have returned)	<i>mê diyê knî</i>	<i>mê diyê kmîle</i>
2	<i>mê diyê/mê dini</i>	<i>mê diyê choo</i>	<i>mê diyê dmyino</i>
3	<i>moo diyê we</i>	<i>moo diyê dnyiye</i>	<i>moo diyê dnyiye</i>
3	<i>wa mê diyê</i>	<i>wa mê diyê knî</i>	<i>wa mê diyê dmi</i>
(as in ‘he should have returned’)			

Some glossed examples:

- (111) a. *m:ii* *diyé* *knî*
 1Dl.PI.NrPast.REP return dS.Intrans.PROX
 ‘We2 went back again yesterday’
- b. *moo* *diyé* *dmi*
 3HAB.PI.REP return 3Pl.Intrans.HAB/PROX
 ‘They3 used to go back again’
- c. *school* *têdê* *mgîdî* *vy:o* *moo* *diyé* *knî*
 school place night in 3d.HAB.PI.REP return dS.Intrans
 ‘They2 used to go back to school in the night’
- d. *mââ* *yi* *pââ* *knî* *m:uu* *a m:ii*
 tomorrow tree log AUG more 2plFUT.PI.REP
kp:anê *t:oo?*
 fell FUTPI.PFS.3PIO
 ‘Tomorrow will you3 cut more logs again?’

Table 6.23: Incorporation of *mê* REP (‘again’) in CONTINUOUS ASPECT illustrated with verb *lêpî* ‘going’ (with some additional CLOSE or ‘hither’ forms in brackets).

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Distal Future (tomorrow)			
1	<i>a m:aa lêpî</i> ‘I will go again’	<i>a mê ny:oo lêpî</i>	<i>a mê nmî lêpî</i>
2	<i>a m:ii (a) lêpî /</i> <i>a m:ee lêpî</i>	<i>a mê dpî lêpî</i>	<i>a mê nmyi lêpî</i>
3	<i>a mê lêpî</i>	<i>a mê dpî lêpî</i>	<i>a mê dnyi lêpî</i>
Present (now)			
1	<i>mênî lêpî</i>	<i>m:ii lêpî mo</i>	<i>mono lêpî té</i>
2	<i>m:ii lêpî</i> ‘you are going back again’	<i>modo lêpî mo</i>	<i>m:ee lêpî té</i>
3	<i>mê (ka) lêpî</i>	<i>mê (ka) lêpî mo</i>	<i>mê (ka) lêpî té</i>
Immediate Past (earlier today)			
1	<i>m:aa lêpî</i>	<i>m:ii lêpî mo</i>	<i>m:oo lêpî té</i>
2	<i>m:ii lêpî</i>	<i>moo lêpî mo</i>	<i>m:ii lêpî té</i>
3	<i>mê lêpî</i>	<i>mê lêpî mo</i>	<i>mê lêpî té</i>
Near Past (Yesterday)			
1	<i>m:aa lêpî</i>	<i>mê ny:oo lêp</i>	<i>mênmî lêpî</i>
2	<i>m:ii/ mê nyi lêpî</i>	<i>mudu/mê dpî lêp</i>	<i>mênmyi lêpî</i>
3	<i>mêdê lêpî</i>	<i>mudu/mê dpî lêpî</i>	<i>mêdnyi lêpî</i>

Table 6.23 (continued)

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Remote past (the days before yesterday)			
1	<i>mê noo lêpî</i>	<i>mê nyipu lêpî</i>	<i>mê nmee lêpî</i>
2	<i>mê nyoo lêpî</i>	<i>mê dpîmo lêpî</i>	<i>mê nmyee lêpî</i>
3	<i>mê doo lêpî</i>	<i>mê dpîmo lêpî</i>	<i>mê dnye lêpî</i>
Habitual			
1	<i>n:aa lêpî yédi</i>	<i>m:ii lêpî nódó</i>	<i>nmo lêpî nyédi</i>
2	<i>m:ii lêpî yédi</i>	<i>dpo lêpî nódó</i>	<i>nmyo lêpî nyédi</i>
3	<i>mê lêpî yédi</i>	<i>mê lêpî nódó</i>	<i>mê lêpî nyédi</i>
Imperative			
1	—	<i>mê lee knî</i>	<i>mê lee dmyino</i>
2	<i>mê chi lêpî</i>	<i>mê choo lêpî</i>	<i>mê dmyinê lêpî</i>
3	<i>mê choo lêpî</i>	<i>mê dny:oo lêpî</i>	<i>mê dny:oo lêpî</i>

Some glossed examples:

- (112) a. *m:ii* *lepî*
 REP2sPROXPastCI. going
 ‘You are going again (today)?’
- b. *mê dpîmo d:uud:uu*
 REP 2/3dREMCI doing
 ‘They were doing it again (the day before yesterday or before)’
- c. *mêdê diyé dmyino, al:ii mê*
 REP.CLS returning IMP.REP.1pl.CI, here REP
dmyinê dpodo
 IMP.REP.2pl.CI working
 ‘We must come back again, you3 must work again here’

Table 6.24: REPETITION + CLOSE Punctual Aspect (with verb *diyé* ‘return’).

Future (Today, Tomorrow or later)	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
1	<i>a mênê diyé</i>	<i>a mênynê diyé knî</i>	<i>a mono diyé dmi</i>
2	<i>a mênynê diyé</i>	<i>a modo diyé knî</i>	<i>a mê nmyinê diyé dmi</i>
3	<i>a mêda diyé</i>	<i>a mêda diyé knî</i>	<i>a mêda diyé dmi</i>

Table 6.24 (continued)

Future (Today, Tomorrow or later)	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Imm. Past (Today)			
1	<i>mêd:a diyé</i>	<i>mê dnyinê diyé knî</i>	<i>mod:oo diyé dmi</i>
2	<i>mê cha diyé</i>	<i>mê dpo diyé knî</i>	<i>mê dmyinê diyé dmi</i>
3	<i>mêda diyé</i>	<i>mêda diyé knî</i>	<i>mêda diyé dmi</i>
Near Past (Yesterday)			
1	<i>mênê diyé</i>	<i>mê nyinê diyé knî</i>	<i>mono diyé dmi</i>
2	<i>mê nyinê diyé</i>	<i>mê modo diyé knî</i>	<i>mê nmyinê diyé dmi</i>
3	<i>mêda diyé</i>	<i>mê mêda diyé knî</i>	<i>mêda diyé dmi</i>
Remote past (before yesterday)			
1	<i>mênê diyé wo</i>	<i>mê nyinê diyé knâpwo</i>	<i>mono diyé dniye</i>
2	<i>mê nyinê diyé wo</i>	<i>modo diyé knâpwo</i>	<i>mê nmyiné diyé dniye</i>
3	<i>mêda diyé wo</i>	<i>mêda diyé knâpwo</i>	<i>mêda diyé dniye</i>
Habitual			
1	<i>mê dp:o diyé</i>	<i>mê dmy:ee diyé knî</i>	<i>mê dp:o diyé dmi</i>
2	<i>mê dpy:ee diyé</i>	<i>mê dp:o diyé knî</i>	<i>mê dmy:ee diyé dmi</i>
3	<i>mê dpo diyé/modo diyé</i>	<i>mê dpo diyé knî</i>	<i>mê dpo diyé dmi</i>
Imperative			
1	–	<i>mê pêdê diyé knî</i>	<i>mê pêdê diyé kmîle</i>
2	<i>modo dini/diyé</i>	<i>modo diyé choo</i>	<i>modo diyé dmyino</i>
3	<i>modo diyé we</i>	<i>modo diyé dniye</i>	<i>modo diyé dniye</i>

Some glossed examples:

- (113) a. *modo pwiyé*
 REP.2IMP.PI come
 ‘You must come back again’
- b. *mw:aandiyé dpî lee dmi,*
 morning 1pl.IMM.PI go IntransPI.plS
al:ii mod:oo diyé dmi
 here1 1pl.REP.IMM.PI return plS.PROX.PI.Intrans
 ‘This morning we3 went, and we3 came back again here’

6.1.3.6 Commonality feature (*mye* – ‘also’) in the proclitics

This feature indicates some parallel between actions as with English ‘also’, but it may in addition indicate an action repeated with similar result (as in ‘He still didn’t see it’ – see Henderson 1995:42–3). Tables 6.25 and 6.26 illustrate some of the options: the first gives the Punctual aspect proclitics + ‘also’ combined with deictic ‘hither’, the second the core Continuous aspect proclitics + ‘also’.

Table 6.25: ‘Also’ with and without CLS ‘Hither’ – PUNCTUAL forms (incorporation of *mye* in Pre-N).

	SING	+ CLOSE	DUAL	+ CLOSE	PLURAL	+ CLOSE
Future (today, tomorrow)						
1	<i>a mya</i>	<i>(w)a my:enê</i>	<i>wa myiy:e</i>	<i>(w)amyenyinê</i>	<i>wamy:oo</i>	<i>wamyeno</i>
2	<i>a myiy:e</i>	<i>amy:eny:inê</i>	<i>amyoo</i>	<i>amyedo</i>	<i>amy:ee</i>	<i>amyenmyinê</i>
3	<i>amy:e</i>	<i>amy:edê</i>	<i>amy:e</i>	<i>amy:edê</i>	<i>amy:e</i>	<i>amy:edê</i>
Today						
1	<i>myidê</i>	<i>myed:a</i>	<i>myednye</i>	<i>kî mye dnyinê</i>	<i>kî myidu</i>	<i>kî myid:o</i>
2	<i>myechi</i>	<i>myecha</i>	<i>myidu</i>	<i>myedpo</i>	<i>myedmye</i>	<i>myedmyinê</i>
3	<i>kî mya</i>	<i>myeda</i>	<i>myaa</i>	<i>myedê</i>	<i>myaa</i>	<i>kî myedê</i>
Yesterday						
1	<i>kî mya</i>	<i>kî myenê</i>	<i>kî myiy:e</i>	<i>kî myenyinê</i>	<i>kîmy:oo</i>	<i>kîmyeno</i>
2	<i>myiy:e</i>	<i>my:ennyinê</i>	<i>myoo</i>	<i>myedo</i>	<i>my:ii</i>	<i>myenmyinê</i>
3	<i>kî mye</i>	<i>myedê</i>	<i>kî mye</i>	<i>kî myedê</i>	<i>kî mye</i>	<i>kî myedê</i>
Rempast (same as yesterday)						
1	<i>kî mya</i>	<i>kî myenê</i>	<i>kî myiy:e</i>	<i>kî myenyinê</i>	<i>kîmy:oo</i>	<i>kîmyeno</i>
2	<i>myiy:e</i>	<i>my:ennyinê</i>	<i>myoo</i>	<i>myedo</i>	<i>my:ii</i>	<i>myenmyinê</i>
3	<i>kî mye</i>	<i>kî myedê</i>	<i>kî mye</i>	<i>kî myedê</i>	<i>kî mye</i>	<i>kî myedê</i>
Habitual						
1	<i>myidu</i>	<i>myed:oo</i>	<i>myednye</i>	<i>myednyimo</i>	<i>myidu</i>	<i>myed:oo</i>
2	<i>myedpyi</i>	<i>myedpye</i>	<i>myoo</i>	<i>myedpye</i>	<i>myedmye</i>	<i>myedmyino</i>
3	<i>myoo</i>	<i>myedo</i>	<i>myoo</i>	<i>myoo</i>	<i>myoo</i>	<i>Myoo</i>
Imperative (add following <i>paa</i> for Deferred Imperative)						
1	– <i>paa</i>		<i>mye</i> <i>mye paa</i>	<i>myepîdê</i> <i>myedê</i>	<i>mye</i> <i>mye paa</i>	<i>myepîdê</i> <i>myedê</i>

Table 6.25 (continued)

	SING	+ CLOSE	DUAL	+ CLOSE	PLURAL	+ CLOSE
2	<i>myoo</i> (def) <i>mye</i> (now)	<i>myedo</i> <i>myedê</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>
3	<i>myoo</i> <i>mye</i>	<i>myedo</i> <i>myedê</i>	<i>myedê</i>	<i>myedê</i>	<i>myedê</i>	<i>myedê</i>

- (114) a. *Kââti da lê. Myedpo*
Kââti 3sIMM.PI.CLS *go.* 2d.ALSO.ImmFut.PI
lee knî?
go.FOL 3d.sS.IV
 ‘Kââti came. Did you² also come here earlier today?’
- b. *Misima dpî lê, Alotau myoo lê,*
Misima 3HAB.PI *go,* *Alotau* 3HAB.PI.ALSO *go,*
Njinjôpu modo lê
Njinjôpu 3HAB.PI.REP.CLS *go*
 ‘He used to go to Misima, also to Alotau (not just Misima), and then come back again to Njinjôpu’
- c. *naa têdê myedo lili*
feast time/place 2sIMP.PI.ALSO *go.2sIMP*
 ‘You also must come for the feast’
- d. *Mwonî dpî lê Yéli ‘nuwo meeting têdê,*
Mwonî 3sHAB.PI *go* *Rossel point meeting time/place,*
myidu lê
1sHAB.PI.ALSO go
 ‘Mwonî used to go to East Point for meetings, and I also used to go’

Table 6.26: CONTINUOUS ASPECT + *mye* ‘Also’.

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Distal Future (tomorrow)			
1	<i>amyenî</i>	<i>amyeny:oo</i>	<i>amyenmî</i>
2	<i>amyinyi</i>	<i>amyedpî</i>	<i>amyenmyi</i>
3	<i>amyidî</i>	<i>amyeeepî</i>	<i>amyidnyi</i>
Imm. Future (today)			
1	<i>myinî</i>	<i>myenye</i>	<i>myenmo</i>
2	<i>myenye</i>	<i>myedpo</i>	<i>myenmye</i>
3	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>

Table 6.26 (continued)

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Present			
1	<i>myinî</i>	<i>myenge</i>	<i>myenmê</i>
2	<i>my:ii</i>	<i>myedpo</i>	<i>myemye</i>
3	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>
Imm. Past (earlier today)			
1	<i>my:aa</i>	<i>my:ii</i>	<i>myenmî</i>
2	<i>my:ii</i>	<i>myedpî</i>	<i>myinmyi</i>
3	<i>kî mye/ mye kî</i>	<i>mye kî</i>	<i>mye kî</i>
Near Past (yesterday)			
1	<i>myinî</i>	<i>myeny:oo</i>	<i>myenmî</i>
2	<i>myinyi</i>	<i>myedpî</i>	<i>myinmyi</i>
3	<i>myidî</i>	<i>myedpî</i>	<i>myidnyi</i>
Rem. Past (days before yesterday)			
1	<i>myenoo</i>	<i>kî mye nyipu</i>	<i>mye nmee</i>
2	<i>myenyoo</i>	<i>myedpîmo</i>	<i>mye nmyee</i>
3	<i>myedoo</i>	<i>myedpîmo</i>	<i>mye dnye</i>
Habitual Proximal			
1	<i>myinî</i>	<i>myenye</i>	<i>myenmî</i>
2	<i>my:ii</i>	<i>myedo/ myedpo</i>	<i>mye nmye</i>
3	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>	<i>mye</i>
Habitual Distal			
1	<i>mye nîmo</i>	<i>mye nyimo</i>	<i>myenmîmo</i>
2	<i>mye nyimo</i>	<i>myedpîmo</i>	<i>mye nmyimo</i>
3	<i>mye dpîmo</i>	<i>mye dpîmo</i>	<i>mye dnyimo</i>
Imperative			
1		<i>mye (paa)</i>	<i>mye (paa)</i>
2	<i>myichi</i>	<i>myechoo</i>	<i>myedmyinê</i>
3	<i>myechoo</i>	<i>mye dny:oo</i>	<i>myedny:oo</i>

- (115) a. *Hospital myedpîmo lêpî*
 Hospital 3dHAB.DIST.CONT.ALSO going
 ‘They₂ also used to go/they₂ were going (day before yesterday) to the Hospital’
- b. *myenté Father ngê mass Hospital*
 also priest ERG mass Hospital
myedpîmo dóódóó
 3sHAB.DIST.CONT.ALSO doing
 ‘Father also takes mass to the hospital (not just the church)’

- c. *Yidika ka lêpî. Monkî mye lêpî?*
 Yidika 3PRES.CI.CERT going. Monkî 3IMMFUT.CI.ALSO going
 ‘Yidika is going. Is Monkî too?’
- d. *Hospital p:uu n:aa dpodo,*
 Hospital attached 1sIMM.FUT.CI working,
Yélingep p:uu myinî dpodo
 Yélingep attached 1sPRES.CI.ALSO working
 ‘I am working for the hospital, but also for the Yélingep boat’

6.1.4 Negation and the proclitics

Negation is one of the more complex aspects of Yêlî Dnye syntax, the marking being distributed throughout the verbal complex. Negation is marked first and most directly in the proclitics, but indirectly by shifting the tense of some of the enclitics, and also by using Remote Past suppletive stems of the verb, or where available, special suppletive verbal stems. Here we deal just with the proclitic marking (see also §6.2.3 for the enclitics – the two interact in particularly elaborate ways in the case of negative imperatives). Chapter 10 reviews how all the marking of negation combines.

6.1.4.1 The core negative proclitics

The negative particles for verbless clauses – nominal equatives or adjectival predications – are stand-alone particles without fusion to any TAMP elements. (Given the constructions they occur in, statements of absence of state, they could be said to have an inherently stative aspect, pragmatically presuming the present.) Table 6.27 gives these equative forms (after Henderson 1995:61) for comparison to their fused forms in TAMP proclitics. Further details of their use can be found in §7.3 on verbless clauses.

Table 6.27: Negative stand-alone particles in verbless sentences.

Person		Sing	Dual	Plural
1 st	unmarked	<i>d:aa</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>dp:oo</i>
	before /u/	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dp:oo</i>
2 nd	unmarked	<i>d:ii</i>	<i>dpoo</i>	<i>dp:ee</i>
	before /u/	<i>d:ii</i>	<i>dpoo</i>	<i>dp:ee</i>
3 rd	unmarked	<i>daa</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>daa</i>
	before /u/	<i>doo</i>	<i>doo</i>	<i>doo</i>

- a. *d:aa Kââti u kee*
 NEG1s Kââti 3Poss grandchild
 ‘I am not Kââti’s grandson’
- b. *daa Kââti u kee*
 NEG3s Kââti 3Poss grandson
 ‘He is not Kââti’s grandson’
- c. *d:ii u w:ââ*
 NEG2s 3Poss MBS
 ‘You are not his mother’s brother’s son’

In contrast to the stand-alone negative particles, most negative sentences are formed by selecting a portmanteau verbal proclitic that incorporates the negative meaning. These forms sometimes have an analysable compositionality involving one of the stand-alone morphemes, but mostly the forms are fairly opaque, and even homophonous with positive elements elsewhere in a paradigm. Even where they are recognizably negative in form, the actual form is not predictable from first principles – they are thus always opaque from a production point of view. Moreover, negation is so distributed in marking throughout the clause, that I devote Chapter 10 to the subject. Here in Table 6.28 and 6.29 I present just the basic punctual and continuous negative paradigms of verbal proclitics.

Table 6.28: Negative Inflectional Proclitics: Punctual Aspect only.²⁷

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative Negative	Future (today or later)	1	<i>daa nê</i>	<i>daa nyi</i>	<i>daa nmî</i>
		2	<i>daa nyi</i>	<i>daa dpî</i>	<i>daa nmyi</i>
		3	<i>daa wa</i>	<i>daa wa</i>	<i>daa wa</i>
	Immed. Past (today)	1	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>dny:oo</i>	<i>dp:oo</i>
		2	<i>choo</i>	<i>dpoo</i>	<i>dmy:oo</i>
		3	<i>doo</i>	<i>doo</i>	<i>doo</i>
	Near Past (yesterday)	1	<i>dîpî/dîp:a</i>	<i>dip:ee</i>	<i>dpîpî</i>
		2	<i>dipi</i>	<i>dpîpî</i>	<i>dpîp:ee</i>
		3	<i>daa</i>	<i>daa</i>	<i>daa</i>
	Remote Past (before)	1	<i>dîpî</i>	<i>dip:ee</i>	<i>dpîpî</i>
		2	<i>dipi</i>	<i>dpîpî</i>	<i>dpîp:ee</i>
		3	<i>daa/dêpê*</i>	<i>daa/dêpê*</i>	<i>daa/dêpê*</i>

²⁷ This table is derived from Jim Henderson’s fieldnotes, kindly made available by him, and checked and where necessary corrected by myself in the field.

Table 6.28 (continued)

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Habitual		1	<i>d:uuw:oo/d:uuw:ee</i>	<i>d:uuw:ee</i>	<i>dp:uuw:ee</i>
		2	<i>d:uuw:ee</i>	<i>d:uuwo</i>	<i>d:uuw:ee</i>
		3	<i>d:uudpî</i>	<i>d:uudpî</i>	<i>d:uudpî</i>
Imperative	Immed. (now)	1	<i>daa n:uu</i>	<i>daa nyi</i>	<i>daa nmî</i>
		2	<i>n:uu ngmê/ nuku</i>	<i>kudu ngê</i>	<i>kî dmyengê</i>
		3	<i>kî ngî</i>	<i>kî ngî</i>	<i>kî ngî</i>
	Deferred (later)	1	<i>kîdîngê</i>	<i>kidingê</i>	<i>kudungê</i>
		2/3**	<i>kidingê</i>	<i>kudungê</i>	<i>kî dmyengê</i>
			<i>kî ngê</i>	<i>kî ngê</i>	<i>kî ngê</i>

* Apparently, *daa* carries evidential certainty, *dêpê* is weaker

** i.e. The two persons either make 3 number distinctions or just one

- (116) a. *Y:amî d:ââ dîpî pwââ*
 Sudest pot NEG1sNrPastPI break.trans
 ‘I didn’t break the ceramic pot (yesterday)’
- b. *dpîp:ee ngmê loo*
 NEG2pl.REM.PI NEG_POL go.REM
 ‘Not one of you3 went (day before yesterday)?’
- c. *skulî têdê d:uuw:ee lê*
 school place NEG1/2sHABP go
 ‘I do not go to school habitually’
- d. *Yópu u l:êê dîy:o, kîdîngê lê*
 wind 3POSS reason NEG1sDefdIMP.P go
 ‘I must not go (later), on account of the wind (too strong)’
- e. *n:uu ngmê d:uu = n:aa ngê d:uu = nuku d:uu*
 NEG2sIMP do
 ‘Don’t do it!’ (there may be subtle meaning differences between the three forms here)
- f. *dmy:oo ma ngópu*
 NEG3plIMMPI eat.TV NEGPF3sOIMM.PI
 ‘You3 didn’t eat this food?’

A few observations:

- (i) The negative is only analytic in the first tense, the Future, but even here it is not entirely regularly formed from *daa* plus the normal punctual forms: e.g. *daa + anyi* → *daa nê*; *daa + Ø* → *daa wo*.

- (ii) There are no systematic morphophonological rules here to account for the way in which *daa* assimilates to the TAMP clitic. Consider the various different realizations of:

- daa* + *dpî* → 1. *dpoo* (2Dual Immediate Past)
 2. *dpîpî* (2Dual Near Past)
 3. *d:uuwo* (2Dual Habitual)

- (iii) Forms that conflate person/number categories are likely to be disambiguated by the post-verbal clitics – so that *daa wa kudu* ‘he won’t wash’, is distinct from *daa wa kpêê knî*, ‘they dual won’t wash’ (with verb root *kudu* becoming *kpêê* with a following enclitic), and so forth.
- (iv) Note that not only the clitics but also the structure of the negative paradigm is different from the positive one: the Immediate Imperative in the positive paradigm is undifferentiated for person/number, while it is differentiated by seven forms in the negative.

Table 6.29: Negative Proclitics: Continuous Aspect.²⁸

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Indicative	Distal Future (tomorrow)	1	<i>daa nê</i>	<i>daa ny:oo</i>	<i>daa nmî</i>
		2	<i>daa nyi</i>	<i>daa dpî</i>	<i>daa nmyi</i>
		3	<i>daa dî</i>	<i>daa dpî</i>	<i>daa dnyi</i>
	Imm.Future (today)	1	same as Distal		
		2	Future		
		3			
	Present	1	<i>dî nî</i>	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dpînê</i>
		2	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dpîdê</i>	<i>dp:ee</i>
		3	<i>daa</i>		
	Immed.Past (earlier today)	1	<i>dîpî</i>	<i>dip:e</i>	<i>dpîpî</i>
		2	<i>dîpî</i>	<i>dpîpî</i>	<i>dîpî</i>
		3	<i>dî</i>		
	Near Past (yesterday)	1	<i>dê nê</i>	<i>dê ny:oo</i>	<i>dê nmî</i>
		2	<i>dê nyi</i>	<i>dê dpî</i>	<i>dê nmyi</i>
		3	<i>dê dî</i>	<i>dê dpî</i>	<i>dê dnyi</i>
	Remote Past (before yesterday)	1	<i>dê noo</i>	<i>dê nyipu</i>	<i>dê nmee</i>
		2	<i>dê nyoo</i>	<i>dê dpîmo</i>	<i>dê nmyee</i>
		3	<i>dê doo</i>	<i>dê dpîmo</i>	<i>dê dnye</i>

²⁸ This table is derived from Jim Henderson’s fieldnotes, with corrections by myself in the field.

Table 6.29 (continued)

Mood	Tense	Person of Subject	Number of Subject		
			Singular	Dual	Plural
Habitual	Prox (still continues)	1	<i>dê nê</i>	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dpînê/dpîn:oo</i>
		2	<i>d:ee</i>	<i>dpîda</i>	<i>dp:ee</i>
		3	<i>daa</i>		
	Distal (discontinued action)	1	Same as Prox (but with zero enclitic)		
		2			
		3			
Imperative	(now or later)	1	<i>daa nê</i>	<i>daa ny:oo</i>	<i>daa nmî</i>
		2	<i>kidimê/kidingê/ kichingê/namê</i>	<i>kudu mê / namê</i>	<i>kî dmyêmê / kî dmyengê / namê</i>
		3	<i>kîngê/kîmê</i>	<i>kîdpî ngê / kudu mê</i>	<i>kî dnyingê / kî dnyemê</i>

- (117) a. *dini ghi n:ii ngê tp:ee*
time part Pro ADV child
noo ya school tedê
1sREMCI sitting school time/place
dê noo lêpî
NEG 1sREMCI going
‘When I was a boy, I never used to go to school’
- b. *rice dpîdê pîpî ngmê*
rice NEG2dPRSCI eating. PFS.3sO.PROX
‘Are you2 not going to eat the rice?’
- c. *naa têdê daa dpî lee knî*
feast place NEG2d.IMM go.FOL dS.IMM.IV
‘You2 are not going to the feast?’
- d. *sku dê nê lêpî yédi*
school NEG1sgHAB.CI going sS.HAB.PROX.CI.IV
‘I never used to go to school’
- e. *têpwâ dpîda pîpî ngópu*
tobacco 2dHAB.CI eating PFS(2/3.d/pl).3sO
‘You2 never used to chew’
- f. *wunê rice dê nmee pîpî*
long.ago rice NEG 1plREMCI eating
‘Long ago, we weren’t eating rice (but now we do)’

A few notes:

- (i) Again there is some analyticity, but of an unpredictable kind: the distal future is made up of *daa* + the positive proximal future. The Near Past and Remote Past retain the positive proclitics, but the negative prefixes them with *dê* not *daa*. In these analytic forms, the stress falls on the second (positive) element.
- (ii) Although the reflex of the negative *daa* is mostly preposed/prefixed to the positive clitic, it is sometimes suffixed as in the 2Dual Habitual where positive *dpo* + *daa* → *dpîda*.
- (iii) Note the many alternate forms for the negative imperative. There are some meaning differences here, and there may be some confusion with a modal paradigm yet to be elucidated (thus the first person imperative, not elicitable in the positive, here means ‘I must not. . .’). The following examples were given to me to illustrate the different uses of 2nd Person Sing forms (with *kuku* ‘washing, bathing’, Intransitive Continuous verb):

kidimê kuku (‘get out, too late to wash’)
kidingê kuku (‘stop washing, river not clean’)
kichingê kuku (‘never wash here’)
namê kuku (‘get out fast, crocodiles here’)

Similarly the difference between the 2nd Person Plural forms was explained thus:

kî dmyêmê kuku (‘you all stop washing’)
kî dmyengê kuku (‘you all, never wash there’)

For more on imperatives, see §7.2.1.

As so often in the language, there are further irregular wrinkles. The Negative 1st person plural Habitual has an alternative form with *pyi daa* instead of *dpîn:oo*, but in this case the verb now takes a singular enclitic (despite the fact that the form must be understood to be 1st person plural):

- (118) a. *Church k:oo dye ghi yintómu Yéli dnye ngê pyi daa*
 church inside time part all Yéli dnye ADV NEG.HAB.1PL
 wéti yédi
 sing HABPROX.CI.sing
 ‘In church we do not always sing in Yéli Dnye’ (note enclitic change to singular with *pyi*)
- (119) b. *Church k:oo dye ghi yintómu Yéli dnye ngê*
 church inside time part all Yéli dnye ADV

dpîn:oo *wéti* *nyédi*
 NEG.HAB.1PL sing HABPROX.CI.PL
 ‘In church we do not always sing in Yéli Dnye’

This alternate seems to presuppose slightly different pragmatic conditions, the a. special form being used e.g. to contradict an assumption, the normal b. form e.g. to wonder why the situation obtains.

Negation has an effect on other forms of the proclitic, e.g. the Counterfactual (§8.3.2) and Imperative forms (§7.2.1), and these are treated in the relevant sections (see also §6.1.4.2 immediately below). Negation also introduces a number of changes elsewhere in the Verb Complex. The most important of these are regular shifts in the post-verbal inflectional enclitics §6.2.3), which introduces extraordinary complexity into even the simplest negative inflected verb: for example, the Immediate Past Punctual aspect forms are replaced with the Remote Past forms. Wherever there are special forms of the enclitics – e.g. in conditionals – there are likely to be special negative forms (see §8.2.1).

However these two changes – with special proclitics and systematically shifted enclitics – are not the only complexities in negative sentences. For example, some irregular verbs supplete on negation, like *lê* ‘go’:

Table 6.30: Irregular verb *lê* ‘go’.

Tense/Aspect	Positive root	Negative Root
Proximal	<i>lê</i>	<i>nê</i>
Rem.Past	<i>loo</i>	<i>n:ee</i>
Continuous	<i>lêpî</i>	<i>(lêpî)</i>

In this case, the marking in the clause is doubled:

- (120) a. *m:a* *dîpê* *nê*
 yesterday IsIMM.NEG go.NegPol
 ‘I didn’t go yesterday’ (lit. ‘yesterday I did-today go.not’)
- b. *mii tuwó* *nî* *n:ee*
 day before yesterday 1sREM.NEG go.REM.NegPol
 ‘I didn’t go the day before yesterday (or before)’

These special forms of roots can be considered negative polarity items, and like such items in general they may also optionally occur in positive questions:

- c. *awedê dî nê/lê?* ‘He went today?’
- d. *ma nê/lê* ‘He went yesterday?’
- e. *m:iituwó n:ee/loo* ‘Did he go the day before yesterday?’

A more regular tense shift occurs in the roots associated with negative proclitics: verb roots which supplete on Remote Past (as many punctual roots do), use the Remote Past verb root in the Immediate Past (‘today’) tense when in the negative (cf. the pattern in shifted enclitics in §6.2.3). ‘Weak’ verbs which use the singular Remote Past enclitic *wo* instead of a Strong Remote Past root, also use *wo* in the Immediate Past with the negative proclitic.

- (121) a. *d:oo* *ndĩĩ*
 NEG1sIMM eat.REM
 ‘I did not eat earlier today’
 lit. ‘I-not-today eat.day-before-yesterday’
- b. *d:oo* *kpêê* *wo*
 NEG1sIMM wash.self 3s.REM.WEAK
 ‘I didn’t wash myself earlier today’
 lit. ‘I not-today wash.self.-day-before-yesterday’

An additional wrinkle here is that whereas these root changes in the Remote Past tense are normally confined to singular persons, they generalize a bit in the negative, so that *d:oo ndĩĩ* can be understood as 1st person dual and plural (i.e. it now has Monofocal coverage).

6.1.4.2 Interaction of negation with other factors in the verbal proclitic

There are unpredictable results of compounding negation with a number of the deictic, epistemic and motion elements that can fuse with the positive proclitic. I will illustrate some of these here. In addition, there are negative counterfactuals, with another 144 cells of possible distinctions: these are dealt with in the section on counterfactuals, but just to indicate the nature of the beast, consider the following positive/negative counterparts. Note the special form of the negative antecedent, and the shift of the verb root into the Remote Past:

- (122) a. positive:
 wudĩ lē, *pĩdĩ* *m:uu*
 1sIMM.PI.CF_{Ant} 1sIMM.PI.CF_{Cons} see
 ‘If I were to go today, I would see it’

b. negative:

wud:oo *loo,* *daa*
 NEG1sIMM.PI.CF_{Ant} go.REM(neg) NEG
pîdî *m:uu*
 1sIMM.PI.CF_{Cons} see
 ‘If I were not to go today, I would not see it’

There are also special forms for negative conditionals, but these are marked on the post-verbal clitic, and will be discussed under that rubric – see §6.2.3) We saw in §6.1.3 that the positive proclitics fuse in unpredictable ways with deixis, evidentiality, repetition, etc. The same happens with the negative proclitics, but we restrict ourselves here to the associated motion element (MOT). The following tables (Tables 6.31 and 6.32) give whole verb complexes, since the verb roots show tense shifts under negation. Note that although a proclitic string like *dê-nyi -n:aa* might be segmented as NEG-2s-MOT this does not capture the tense/aspect/mood constraints special to the string as a whole, and therefore the whole chunk is glossed as NEG2sNrPast.CI.MOT below.

Table 6.31: NEG + MOTION: Punctual transitive verb ‘see’ TV (*m:uu*; *môdu* = Remote Past root), 3s Object held constant.

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Future (today, tomorrow)			
1	<i>daa n:uu m:uu</i>	<i>daa ny:uu m:uu</i>	<i>daa nm:uu m:uu</i>
2	<i>daa ny:uu m:uu</i>	<i>daa dp:uu m:uu ngmê</i>	<i>daa nmy:uu m:uu ngmê</i>
3	<i>daamî m:uu</i>	<i>daamî m:uu ngmê</i>	<i>daamî m:uu ngmê</i>
Immed. Past (earlier today)			
1	<i>d:oo n:aa môdu</i>	<i>dny:oo n:aa môdu</i>	<i>dp:oo n:aa môdu</i>
2	<i>choo/chuu n:aa môdu</i>	<i>dpoo n:aa m:uu ngôpu</i>	<i>dmy:oo n:aa m:uu ngôpu</i>
3	<i>doo n:aa môdu</i>	<i>doo n:aa m:uu ngôpu</i>	<i>doo n:aa m:uu ngôpu</i>
Near Past (yesterday)			
1	<i>dîpî n:aa m:uu</i>	<i>dîp:e n:aa m:uu</i>	<i>dpîpî n:aa m:uu</i>
2	<i>dipî n:aa m:uu</i>	<i>dpîpî n:aa m:uu ngê</i>	<i>dpîp:e n:aa m:uu ngê</i>
3	<i>dîmî m:uu</i>	<i>dîmî m:uu ngmê</i>	<i>dîmî m:uu ngmê</i>

Table 6.31 (continued)

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Remote Past (before yesterday)			
1	<i>dîpî n:aa módu</i>	<i>dîp:en:aa módu</i>	<i>dpîpî n:aa módu</i>
2	<i>dîpî n:aa módu</i>	<i>dpîpî n:aa m:uu ngópu</i>	<i>dpîp:e n:aa m:uu ngópu</i>
3	<i>dîmî módu</i>	<i>dîmî m:uu ngópu</i>	<i>dîmî m:uu ngópu</i>
Habitual			
1	<i>d:uuw:een:aa m:uu</i>	<i>d:uuw:een:aa m:uu</i>	<i>dp:uuw:een:aa m:uu</i>
2	<i>dp:uuw:een:aa m:uu</i>	<i>dp:uuw:een:aa m:uu ngmê</i>	<i>dp:uuw:een:aa m:uu ngmê</i>
3	<i>d:uudp:uu m:uu</i>	<i>d:uudp:uu m:uu ngmê</i>	<i>d:uudp:uu m:uu ngmê</i>
Imp			
1	<i>daa mu nê m:uu**</i>	<i>daa mu ny:uu m:uu***</i>	<i>daa mu nm:uu m:uu</i>
2	<i>na ngîn:aa m:uu/ na mu ngê n:aa m:uu*</i>	<i>kudungên:aa m:uu ngmê</i>	<i>kî dmye ngê n:aa m:uu ngê</i>
3	<i>(mê)kî ngî n:aa m:uu</i>	<i>kî ngî n:aa m:uu</i>	<i>kî ngî n:aa m:uu</i>

* Meaning 'Don't ever go and see it again' (one can omit the *mu* 'again')

** Alternatively: *daa mu n:uu m:uu*, meaning 'I must not go and see it again'

*** Meaning 'We2 must not go and see it again'

- (123) a. *dpoo n:aa m:uu ngópu*
 NEG2d.IMM.PI.MOT see PFS3sO
 'You2 did not see her?'
- b. *mbwaa lêê u kwo d:uuw:een:aa ghê knî*
 water pool inside NEG1dHAB.P.MOT stand dS.Intrans
 'We2 don't stand in the pool (it's too deep)'
- c. *dîmî n:aa m:uu*
 NEG3sIMM.PI.MOT see
 'He didn't see it'

Table 6.32: NEG + MOTION: Continuous intransitive verb root ‘wash’ (*kuku*).

	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Distal Future (tomorrow)			
1	<i>daa nî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>daa ny:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>daa nmî n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>daa nyi n:aa kuku</i>	<i>daa dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>daa nmyi n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>daa dî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>daa dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>daa dnyi n:aa kuku</i>
Imm. Future (today)			
1	<i>dînî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>d:ee n:aa kuku mo</i>	<i>dpînê n:aa kuku té</i>
2	<i>d:ee n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dpîda n:aa kuku mo</i>	<i>dp:ee n:aa kuku té</i>
3	<i>dê wumê kuku</i>	<i>dê wumê kuku</i>	<i>dê wumê kuku</i>
Imm Past (earlier today)			
1	<i>dîpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dip:e n:aa kuku mo</i>	<i>dpîpî n:aa kuku té</i>
2	<i>dipî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dpîpî n:aa kuku mo</i>	<i>dpîp:e n:aa kuku té</i>
3	<i>dîmî kuku</i>	<i>dîmî kuku</i>	<i>dîmî kuku</i>
Near Past (yesterday)			
1	<i>dînî n:aa mumu</i>	<i>dê ny:oo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê nmî n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>dê nyi n:aa mumu</i>	<i>dê dpî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê nmyi n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>dê dî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê dpiî n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê dnyi n:aa kuku</i>
Rem.Past (before yesterday)			
1	<i>dê noo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê nyipu n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê nmee n:aa kuku</i>
2	<i>dê nyoo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê nmyee n:aa kuku</i>
3	<i>dê doo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê dpîmo n:aa kuku</i>	<i>dê dnye n:aa kuku</i>
Habitual Proximal			
1	same as Present		
2			
3			
Habitual Distal	(dê + Positive Habitual Continuous forms in Table 6.30)		

- (124) a. *dpîpî n:aa kuku té*
 NEG1plIMM.CI.MOT bathe plS.Intrans
 ‘We3 didn’t go and bathe today’

- b. *dê nyi n:aa* *mumu*
 NEG2sNrPast.CI.MOT seeing
 ‘You were not seeing it yesterday’

6.2 The post-verbal inflectional clitics (enclitics)

The inflectional enclitics are in some ways simpler than the pre-verbal clitics, because they mercifully fuse with fewer additional grammatical features beyond the core TAMP features – conditionals alone are the main complicating feature. The enclitics follow directly on the verb – nothing may intervene between them and the verb. Forms that appear to have two enclitics are mostly distinct constructions – see e.g. §7.9.1 where the Resultative construction is described, which takes enclitic *ngmê* followed by *dê/dé* dual/plural agreement. Thus example (125) would be misanalysed as a., for it should have the analysis in b.:

- (125) a. *daa ch:amê* *ngmê*
 not to.separate.things PFS3sOPROX(tvPostN)
dê
 MF3dOPROX/HAB(tvPostN)
 ‘They have not been separated one from the other’
 b. *daa ch:amê* *ngmê dê*
 not to.separate.things RES Dual
 ‘They have not been separated one from the other’

Conditionals, however, in proximate tenses do allow, for example, an additional Dual or Habitual enclitic after the main conditional enclitic, see §8.2. In general, the post-verbal clitics redundantly mark much of the same information as the proclitics, namely subject person/number, tense, mood, aspect. However they do so using a cross-cutting classification of those properties. Moreover, they add crucial additional information about transitivity – there being a distinct set each for transitive and intransitive verbs – and in the case of transitives they also mark the person/number of the object. All this information is carried in portmanteau form, permitting no breakdown into component morphemes.

The ways in which the grammatical information is cross-classified with the information in the proclitics is especially obvious with respect to two features. First, tenses are grouped into Proximal and Distal. Proximal tenses are those three tenses closest to coding time (‘now’): in the punctual aspect, future, immediate past (today) and near past (yesterday), and in the continuous aspect imme-

diate future (today), present (now) and immediate past (today). Second, subject person/number is classified in a special manner in some of the enclitic paradigms, using the previously mentioned Monofocal/Polyfocal distinction (Table 6.33) found in Highland languages (Henderson 1995:39):

Table 6.33: The Monofocal/Polyfocal distinction.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st person	MONOFOCAL		
2 nd person	POLYFOCAL		
3 rd person			

For intransitive enclitics, subject person is not marked in enclitics at all except in Imperatives, while number follows a simple singular/dual/plural marking. Thus the Monofocal/Polyfocal distinction is only relevant for the transitive set of enclitics. For transitive enclitics, the Monofocal/Polyfocal distinction is generally relevant only for 3rd person objects (except in the imperative, where only 1st person objects are relevant). Table 6.34 illustrates how subjects which are 1st person or singular have collapsed marking along with 3rd person objects – these forms are for the proximate tenses, indicative mood, both aspects (also the Punctual Habitual mood):

Table 6.34: Example of Monofocal/Polyfocal marking: transitive enclitics, proximal tenses, indicative mood.

SUBJECT PERSON	SUBJECT NUMBER		OBJECT NUMBER		
			3Sing	3Dual	3Plural
1	Sing/Dual/Plural	} Monofocal	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>tê</i>
2	Sing		∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>tê</i>
3	Sing		∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>tê</i>
2	Dual/Plural	} Polyfocal	<i>ngmê</i>	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>t:oo</i>
3	Dual/Plural		<i>ngmê</i>	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>t:oo</i>

Foley (1986:137) suggests that object-marking in Papuan languages never has the complex portmanteau coding associated with subject inflections: “the corresponding morpheme is always simple, never a portmanteau expressing tense or mood as well”, but this is clearly false for Yéli Dnye.

Naturally enough, the subject information in the proclitic or subject NP and in the enclitic normally agrees. There are some systematic exceptions however.

One exception is found in 3rd person Imperatives (see §7.2.1), which presuppose two communication events – the addressee is being told to go and tell the subject to do something. In this case the proclitic – or perhaps this is just a subject pronoun – can (but need not) be 2nd person and the enclitic 3rd person, as in:

- (126) *Tili mwi nyi lee we*
 Tili there 2s go.FOL 3IMP.Intrans
 ‘You tell Tilly to go there’ lit. ‘You (make it known) he is to go there’

Other cases of unexpected agreement principles – that is, where the enclitic does not agree with the subject person/number – include:

- (i) Where personal pronouns exceptionally take ergative case marking (§5.2.2), the enclitic is always third person regardless of a 1st or 2nd person pronoun.
- (ii) A subject with another person in comitative case is always counted in the dual/plural, with the person of the main subject being marked in the enclitic (§5.3).
- (iii) Quantified NPs (with *yintómu* ‘all’ or *yilī* ‘many’) take singular agreement.
- (iv) Both reflexives (optionally) and reciprocal sentences (obligatorily) take 3rd person enclitics, even with 1st and 2nd person subjects (§7.8). Reciprocal sentences in addition always inflect as if for Monofocal subjects, whereas except for 1st person subjects the actual subjects are necessarily Polyfocal.

The core enclitics come in two main series, transitive and intransitive, which we will discuss in turn. In negative clauses, the enclitics have shifted values in some tense/aspects – these are outlined in §6.2.3, where compact paradigm tables can be found that compare negative and positive enclitics. However, there is one other major grammatical feature that gets fused into the enclitics, namely indicative conditionals (not counter-factual conditionals, which are marked on the proclitic, and are described in §8.3). These conditional enclitics are described in §6.3.

6.2.1 The intransitive enclitics

The following table (derived from Henderson 1995:37 with emendations) provides the paradigm for intransitive verbal enclitics. These are selected by inherently intransitive verbs, and by transitive verbs with incorporated objects (the main kind of grammatical valence-shifting operation in the language, other kinds of shift being done lexically). Inspection of the table (Table 6.35) shows that these forms essentially code Subject Number, disregarding Person except in the Imper-

ative, combining this with tense/mood/aspect categories. Beyond that, Punctual vs. Continuous aspect and mood are the main features marked (see Table 6.35).

Table 6.35: Intransitive Enclitics.

Tense, Mood, Aspect	SUBJECT NUMBER		
	Sing	Dual	Plural
Punctual Indicative:	Ø (strong roots)	<i>knâpwo</i>	<i>dniye</i>
Remote Past, Habitual	<i>wo</i> (weak roots)		
Punctual Indicative FUT/IMM/NrPST	Ø	<i>knî</i>	<i>dmi</i>
Punctual Imperative: Person			
1	–	<i>knî</i>	<i>kmîle</i>
2	Ø	<i>choo</i>	<i>dmyino</i>
3	<i>wee /we</i>	<i>dniye</i>	<i>dniye</i>
Cont.Indic. Present & IMM	Ø	<i>mo</i>	<i>té</i>
Proximal (Fut, Pres, Past)	<i>nê</i> (optional)		
Cont.Indic. Distal tenses (Yester/Rem/Tomorrow),	Ø	Ø	Ø
Cont.Indic. Habitual Distal			
Cont. Indic. Habitual Proximal	<i>yédi</i>	<i>nódó</i>	<i>nyédi</i>
Cont. Indic. IMP	Ø	Ø	Ø

Incidentally, the optional use of enclitic *nê* instead of zero for singular, intransitive subjects of continuous verbs, as in the following sentences, does not seem to carry any meaning difference:

- (127) a. *al:ii n:aa tóó (nê)*
 here 1sImmFUTC sitting sS.CI.PROX
 ‘I will be here’
- b. *Yidika ka kuku (nê)*
 Yidika CERT3sPRSC bathing sS.CI.PROX
 ‘Yidika is bathing’

Note that, despite redundant marking of various features, there is a systematic play-off between marking in the proclitics and the enclitics. For example, the Immediate Imperative in the Punctual aspect is unmarked for person/number in the proclitics, but marked for person/number in the enclitics. Correspondingly, in the Continuous aspect, person/number is marked in imperatives in the proclitics, but unmarked in the enclitics.

To allow the reader to check further such correspondences, in Tables 6.36 and 6.37 I provide some sample paradigms for two verbs, one (*paa* ‘walk’) inherently continuous, the other (*lê* ‘go’) inherently punctual.

Table 6.36: Intransitive enclitics with an Inherently Continuous verb: *paa* ‘walk, go down’ (enclitics in bold).

	Sing	Dual	Plural
FUTURE DISTAL CONTINUOUS (Day after tomorrow)			
1	<i>wa nê paa</i>	<i>wa ny:oo paa</i>	<i>wa nmî paa</i>
2	<i>wa nyi paa</i>	<i>wa dpî paa</i>	<i>wa nmyi paa</i>
3	<i>wa dî paa</i>	<i>wa dpî paa</i>	<i>wa dnyi paa</i>
FUT PROX CI (Tomorrow)			
1	<i>a nê paa (nê)</i>	<i>a ny:oo paa</i>	<i>a nmî paa</i>
2	<i>a nyi paa (nê)</i>	<i>a dpî paa</i>	<i>a nmyi paa</i>
3	<i>a dî paa (nê)</i>	<i>a dpî paa</i>	<i>a dnye paa</i>
PRESENT (Today)			
1	<i>n:aa paa (nê)</i>	<i>nye paa mo</i>	<i>nmo paa té</i>
2	<i>nye paa (nê)</i>	<i>dpo paa mo</i>	<i>nmye paa té</i>
3	<i>a paa (nê)</i>	<i>a paa mo</i>	<i>a paa té</i>
PROXPAST (Earlier today)			
1	<i>nê paa (nê)</i>	<i>nyi paa mo</i>	<i>nmî paa té</i>
2	<i>nyi paa (nê)</i>	<i>dpî paa mo</i>	<i>nmyi paa té</i>
3	<i>paa nê/paa (nê)</i>	<i>paa mo</i>	<i>paa té</i>
NRPST Yesterday			
1	<i>nê paa</i>	<i>nyipu paa</i>	<i>nmî paa</i>
2	<i>nyi paa</i>	<i>dpî paa</i>	<i>nmyi paa</i>
3	<i>dê paa</i>	<i>dpî paa</i>	<i>dnye paa</i>
REMPAST Day before yesterday			
1	<i>noo paa</i>	<i>nyipu paa</i>	<i>nmee paa</i>
2	<i>nyoo paa</i>	<i>dpumo paa</i>	<i>nmyee paa</i>
3	<i>doo paa</i>	<i>dpumo paa</i>	<i>dnyimo paa</i>
HAB PROX <i>paa</i> (‘Still today doing X’)			
1	<i>n:aa paa yédi</i>	<i>nye paa nódó</i>	<i>nmo paa nyédi</i>
2	<i>nye paa yédi</i>	<i>dpo paa nódó</i>	<i>nmye paa nyédi</i>
3	<i>a paa yédi</i>	<i>a paa nódó</i>	<i>a paa nyédi</i>

Table 6.36 (continued)

	Sing	Dual	Plural
IMP ‘You be going down’			
1	—	—	—
2	<i>chi paa</i>	<i>choo paa</i>	<i>dmyinê paa</i>
3	<i>choo paa</i>	<i>dny:oo paa</i>	<i>dny:oo paa</i>

Table 6.37: Intransitive enclitics with an Inherently Punctual verb: *lê* ‘go’ (with Remote Past root *loo*, followed root *lee*, imperative *lilî*).

	Sing	Dual	Plural
FUTURE			
1	<i>wa nê lê</i>	<i>wa nyi lee knî</i>	<i>wa nmî lee dmi</i>
2	<i>wa nyi lê</i>	<i>wa dpî lee knî</i>	<i>wa nmyi lee dmi</i>
3	<i>wa lê ∅</i>	<i>wa lee knî</i>	<i>wa lee dmi</i>
PI IMM PAST today			
1	<i>dî lê</i>	<i>dnye lee knî</i>	<i>dpî lee dmi</i>
2	<i>chi lê</i>	<i>dpî lee knî</i>	<i>dmye lee dmi</i>
3	<i>dê lê</i>	<i>dê lee knî</i>	<i>dê lee dmi</i>
PI PROXPAST yesterday			
1	<i>nê lê</i>	<i>nyi lee knî</i>	<i>nmî lee dmi</i>
2	<i>nyi lê</i>	<i>dpî lee knî</i>	<i>nmyi lee dmi</i>
3	<i>lê</i>	<i>lee knî</i>	<i>lee dmi</i>
PI REMPAST			
1	<i>nê loo/nê lee wo*</i>	<i>nyi lee knâpwo</i>	<i>nmî lee dnyiye</i>
2	<i>nyi loo/lee wo</i>	<i>dpî lee knâpwo</i>	<i>nmyi lee dnyiye</i>
3	<i>loo/lee wo</i>	<i>lee knâpwo</i>	<i>lee dnyiye</i>
IMPERATIVE ((double brackets show continuous forms ~no punctual forms here))			
1	<i>((n:aa lêpî))</i>	<i>(nyi) lee knî!</i>	<i>(nyi) lee kmîle (we have to go)</i>
2	<i>((lilî)) (regular V: (nyi) kee!)</i>	<i>(nyi) lee choo!</i>	<i>(nyi) lee dmyino</i>
3	<i>(nyi) lee wee!</i>	<i>(nyi) lee dnyiye!</i>	<i>(nyi) lee dnyiye!</i>

Table 6.37 (continued)

	Sing	Dual	Plural
IMP PI DEFERRED			
1	((dīyo n:aa lēpī))	paa n:aa lee <i>knī!</i>	paa n:aa lee <i>kmīle</i> (we3 have to go later)
2	dp:uu lili! (regular V: dp:uu kee!)	dp:uu lee <i>choo!</i>	dp:uu lee <i>dmyino</i>
3	dp:uu lee <i>wee!</i>	dp:uu lee <i>dniye!</i>	dp:uu lee <i>dniye!</i>

**wo* here is optional, but obligatory with weak verbs, e.g. *kee wo* ‘He came up’. With verbs like *lē* and *taa* ‘arrive’, *wo* is optional.

For negative sentences, the entire paradigm changes – see §6.2.3 (for negative imperatives see §7.2.1.2).

6.2.2 The transitive enclitics

As mentioned, the transitive enclitics mark both subject properties and object properties, together with tense, aspect, mood, in portmanteau form – an unusual feature since object properties are not usually conflated with other grammatical features in Papuan languages (Foley 1986:137). In principle, given that there are 144 cells in the basic tense/aspect/mood/person/number matrix, and given that there are nine possible person/number (three persons, three numbers) combinations of objects, there are 1296 cells to be covered by the transitive enclitics! This vast array is collapsed by: (a) grouping tenses into proximal vs. distal, (b) neutralizing all person/number subject distinctions in many tense/aspect/mood combinations, and (c) using the Monofocal/Polyfocal collapse of subject categories elsewhere. The resulting distinctions serve to highlight the person/number of the object in specific tense/mood/aspect combinations, as in Table 6.38. This table supplants that in Henderson (1995:38) (from which it was originally derived, with corrections) – all 1296 cells have been checked by direct elicitation and compact exemplifying tables of paradigms can be found below, and negative versions (often distinct) in §6.2.3.

Naturally enough, the transitive enclitics normally track both subjects and direct objects. But there are a number of exceptional constructions (including quantified subjects, reflexives and reciprocals) where the expected enclitics are supplanted by others (e.g. 3rd person for 1st or 2nd person), as mentioned in §6.2.1.

In addition, there are constructions where Absolutive (and thus intransitive) subjects take transitive enclitics (see §7.8.2 on reciprocals), others like noun-incorporation where transitive verbs take intransitive enclitics (see §7.9.4), and cases of noun-incorporation (as in causativization) where nevertheless the verb takes transitive enclitics §7.9.2). Thus the transitive enclitics are sensitive to degrees of gradient transitivity.

Table 6.38 works in the following way: for each tense/mood/aspect combination at the left, select a Subject Person/Number; now select an Object Person/Number – the intersection of row and column gives the relevant form.

Table 6.38: Transitive Enclitics (Post-verbal Nuclei for Transitive Verbs).

TENSE/ ASPECT/MOOD	SUBJECT	OBJECT			
	Person, Number	Person	Sing	Dual	Plural
Punctual & Continuous Indicative, Proximal tenses only; Also, Punctual Habitual	all	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
	MF: (1/SG)	3	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>té</i>
	PF: (2/3/PL)		<i>ngmê</i>	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>t:oo</i>
Punctual and Indicative Remote Past; Also: Continuous Habitual Proximal	all	1	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyópu</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>nyo</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyoo</i>
	MF: 1/SG	3†	<i>ngê/∅</i>	<i>doo</i>	<i>too</i>
	PF: 2/3/PL		<i>ngópu</i>	<i>dumo</i>	<i>tumo</i>
Continuous Non-Proximal tenses	all	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
	all	3	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>dé</i>
Imperatives – Punctual	MF: 1/SG	1	<i>nédi *</i>	<i>nyédi</i>	<i>nmédi</i>
	PF: 2/3/pl		<i>nódó</i>	<i>nyédi</i>	<i>nyédi</i>
	3 s/d/pl	2	<i>nyédi</i>	<i>dpédi</i>	<i>nmyédi</i>
	1sing	3	–	–	–
	1dual		<i>ngmê</i>	<i>déme</i>	<i>téme</i>
	1plural		<i>koo</i>	<i>déme</i>	<i>téme</i>
	2sing	3	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>té</i>
	2dual		<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dóó</i>	<i>tóó</i>
	2plural		<i>yó</i>	<i>dóó</i>	<i>dóó</i>
	3sing	3	<i>ngê</i>	<i>déne</i>	<i>téne</i>
	3dual/pl		<i>y:e</i>	<i>déne</i>	<i>téne</i>

† Some speakers may generalize these forms to the Continuous Indicative also

*e.g *vy:a nédi* ‘hit me!’

dpī vy:a nyédi ‘you2 must hit us2’

paa vy:a nyi ‘We2/3 should have hit you1’

To see how this works out, complete with corresponding proclitics, the following tables (Tables 6.39 to 6.41) give most of the inflectional particles for Past Tense combinations of both subject and object for the single transitive verb *vy:a* ‘hit’, concentrating on the Punctual Aspect. Each table holds constant ONE object person-specification (e.g. 1st person Object), and varies the nine Subject properties. It also holds constant the tense – we thus need three tables per tense.

These exemplifications are not only checks on the generalizations made in the enclitics table above, they also reveal exceptions. For example, reflexive sentences do not always have the expected enclitics:

- (128) *nmî* *numo* *vy:a té* (**nmo*)
1plNrpST REFL hit MFS3plO 1plO
‘We3 hit us3 (each other)’

Here the reflexive element *numo* takes a 3rd person plural enclitic with a 1st person plural proclitic, while in contrast the reflexive element *chóóchóó* in the first example in the table below takes the expected person agreement, but with 2nd person Dual it takes the 3rd person, and so forth.

In Table 6.39 through Table 6.41 note that the Monofocal/Polyfocal conflation pattern only emerges in the 3rd person Object series, which I have emphasized by marking the Polyfocal enclitics in bold. Mismatched reflexives of the sort ‘You2 hit You3’ (where one set of referents is properly included in another) do not in general seem to be realizable and are marked by question marks.

Table 6.39: Punctual Near Past (‘yesterday’): Transitive enclitics FIRST PERSON OBJECT (cells with ? do not seem to make conceptual sense to consultants).

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
First Person Object: Singular			
1	<i>chóóchóó nê vy:a nê</i> ‘I hit myself yesterday’	?	?
2	<i>nyi vy:a nê</i> ‘You1 hit me yesterday’	<i>dpî vy:a nê</i> ‘You2 hit me yesterday’	<i>nmyi vy:a nê</i> ‘You3 hit me yesterday’
3	<i>vy:a nê</i> ‘He hit me yesterday’	<i>vy:a nê</i> ‘They2 hit me yesterday’	<i>vy:a nê</i> ‘They3 hit me yesterday’

Table 6.39 (continued)

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person Object: Dual			
1	?	<i>nyi numo vy:a dê</i> 'We2 hit us2'	?
2	<i>nyi vy:a nyo</i> 'You1 hit us2'	<i>dpî vy:a nyo</i> 'You2 hit us2'	<i>nmyi vy:a nyo</i> 'You3 hit us 2'
3	<i>vy:a nyo</i> 'He hit us2'	<i>vy:a nyo</i> 'They2 hit us2'	<i>vy:a nyo</i> 'They3 hit us2'
1st Person Object: Plural			
1	?	?	<i>nmî numo vy:a té</i> (*nmo) 'We3 hit us3 (each other)'
2	<i>nyi vy:a mmo</i> 'You hit us3'	<i>dpî vy:a nmo</i> 'You2 hit us3'	<i>nmyi vy:a nmo</i> 'You3 hit us3'
3	<i>vy:a nmo</i> 'He hit us3'	<i>dpî vy:a nmo</i> 'They2 hit us3'	<i>vy:a nmo</i> 'They3 hit us3'

Table 6.40: Punctual Near Past ('yesterday'): Transitive enclitics SECOND PERSON OBJECT.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
2nd Person Object: Singular			
1	<i>nî vy:a ngi</i> 'I hit you1'	<i>nyi vy:a ngi</i> 'We2 hit you1'	<i>nmî vy:a ngi</i> 'We3 hit you1'
2	<i>nyôôchôô nyi vy:a (ngi)</i> 'You1 hit yourself1'	??	??
3	<i>vy:a ngi</i> 'He hit you1'	<i>vy:a ngi</i> 'They2 hit you1'	<i>vy:a ngi</i> 'They3 hit you1'
2nd Person Object: Dual			
1	<i>nê vy:a dp:o</i> 'I hit you2'	<i>nyi vy:a dp:o</i> 'We2 hit you2'	<i>nmî vy:a dp:o</i> 'We3 hit you2'
2	??you hit you2	<i>dpî vy:a dp:o</i> 'You2 hit you2' <i>dpî chôôchôô vy:a d:oo</i> 'You2 hit each other' (reciprocal)	??

Table 6.40 (continued)

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
3	<i>vy:a dp:o</i> 'He hit you2'	<i>vy:a dp:o</i> 'They2 hit you2'	<i>vy:a dp:o</i> 'They3 hit you2'
2nd Person Object: Plural			
1	<i>nê vy:a nmyo</i> 'I hit you3'	<i>nye vy:a nmyo</i> 'We2 hit you3'	<i>nmî vy:a nmyo</i> 'We3 hit you3'
2	?you1 hit you3	??	<i>nmo numo vy:a té</i> 'You3 hit you3 (each other)'
3	<i>vy:a nmyo</i> 'He1 hit you3'	<i>vy:a nmyo</i> 'They2 hit you3'	<i>vy:a nmyo</i> 'They3 hit you3'

Table 6.41: Punctual Near Past ('yesterday'): Transitive enclitics THIRD PERSON OBJECT.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
3rd Person Object – Singular			
1	<i>nê vy:a</i> 'I hit him'	<i>nyi vy:a</i> 'We2 hit him'	<i>nmî vy:a</i> 'We3 hit him'
2	<i>nyi vy:a</i> 'You hit him'	<i>dpî vy:a ngmê</i> 'You2 hit him'	<i>nmyi vy:a ngmê</i> 'You3 hit him'
3	<i>vy:a</i> 'He hit him' <i>chóóchóó vy:a</i> 'He hit himself'	<i>vy:a ngmê</i> 'They2 hit him'	<i>vy:a ngmê</i> 'They3 hit him'
3rd Person Object – Dual			
1	<i>nê vy:a dê</i> 'I hit them2'	<i>nyi vy:a dê</i> 'We2 hit them2, we2 hit ourselves'	<i>nmî vy:a dê</i> 'We3 hit them2'
2	<i>nyi vy:a dê</i> 'You hit them2'	<i>dpî vy:a d:oo</i> 'You2 hit them2' <i>dpî, chóóchóó dpî vy:a d:oo</i> 'You2 hit you2selves'	<i>nmyi vy:a d:oo</i> 'You3 hit them2'
3	<i>vy:a dê</i> 'He hit them2'	<i>vy:a d:oo</i> 'They2 hit them2'	<i>vy:a d:oo</i> 'They3 hit them2'

Table 6.41 (continued)

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
3rd Person			
Object – Plural			
1	<i>nê vy:a té</i> 'I hit them3'	<i>nyi vy:a té</i> 'We hit them3'	<i>nmî vy:a té</i> 'We3 hit them3'
2	<i>nyi vy:a té</i> 'You hit them3'	<i>dpî vy:a t:oo</i> 'You2 hit them3'	<i>nmyi vy:a t:oo</i> 'You3 hit them3'
3	<i>vy:a té</i> 'He hit them3'	<i>vy:a t:oo</i> 'They2 hit them3'	<i>vy:a t:oo</i> 'They3 hit them3' <i>yî chóóchóó vy:a t:oo</i> 'They3 hit themselves'

Table 6.42 through Table 6.44 do the same exercise for the Remote Past tense, Punctual aspect. Note that the verb stem here alternates between the Remote Past root *vyâ* and the followed root *vy:a* (or *vyâ*) when the enclitic is non-null.

Table 6.42: Punctual Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics FIRST PERSON OBJECT.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person			
Object – Singular			
1	<i>nê vy:a noo</i> 'I hit me' <i>a chóóchóó nê vy:a noo</i> 'I hit myself'	??	??
2	<i>nyi vy:a noo</i> 'You hit me'	<i>dpî vy:a noo</i> 'You2 hit me'	<i>nmyi vy:a noo</i> 'You3 hit me'
3	<i>vy:a noo</i> 'He hit me'	<i>vy:a noo</i> 'They2 hit me'	<i>vy:aa noo</i> 'They3 hit me'
1st Person			
Object – Dual			
1	??	<i>(nyi chóóchóó) nyi vy:a</i> <i>nyópu</i> 'We2 hit us2' (Reflexive is optional)	??
2	<i>nyi vy:a nyópu</i> 'You1 hit us2'	<i>dpî vy:a nyópu</i> 'You2 hit us2'	<i>nmyi vy:a nyópu</i> 'You3 hit us2'
3	<i>vy:a nyópu</i> 'He hit us2'	<i>vy:a nyópu</i> 'They2 hit us2'	<i>vy:a nyópu</i> 'They3 hit us2'

Table 6.42 (continued)

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person			
Object – Plural			
1	?	?	nmî chóóchóó nmî vy:a nmoo 'We3 hit us3'
2	nyi vy:a nmoo 'You1 hit us3'	dpî vy:a nmoo 'You2 hit us3'	nmyi vy: nmoo 'You3 hit us3'
3	vy:a nmoo 'He hit us3'	vy:a nmoo 'They2 hit us3'	vy:a nmoo 'They3 hit us3'

Table 6.43: Punctual Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics SECOND PERSON OBJECT.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
2nd Person			
Object – Singular			
1	nê vy:a nyoo 'I hit you1 before yesterday'	nyi vy:a nyoo 'We2 hit you1'	nmî vy:a nyoo 'We3 hit you1'
2	(see reflexives)	?	?
3	vy:a nyoo 'He hit you1'	vy:a nyoo 'They2 hit you1'	vy:a nyoo 'They3 hit you1'
2nd Person			
Object – Dual			
1	nê vy:a dpo 'I hit you2'	nyi vy:a dpo 'We2 hit you2'	nmî vy:a dpo 'We3 hit you2'
2	(see reflexives)	dpî chóóchóó dpî vy:a d:oo 'You2 hit you2' (3 rd person agreement)	(see reflexives)
3	vy:a dpo 'He hit you2'	vy:a dpo 'They2 hit you2'	vy:a dpo 'They3 hit you2'
2nd Person			
Object – Plural			
1	nê vy:a nmyoo 'I hit you3'	nyi vy:a nmyoo 'We2 hit you3'	nmî vy:a nmyoo 'We3 hit you3'

Table 6.43 (continued)

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
2	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	<i>nmyi chóchóó nmyi vy:a tumo</i> 'You3 hit you3'
3	<i>vy:a nmyoo</i> 'He hit you3'	<i>vy:a nmyoo</i> 'They2 hit you3'	<i>vy:a nmyoo</i> 'They3 hit you3'

Table 6.44: Punctual Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics THIRD PERSON OBJECT.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
3rd Person Object – Singular			
1	<i>nê vyâ/nê vy:a ngê</i> 'I hit him'	<i>nyi vyâ/nyi vy:a ngê</i> 'We2 hit him'	<i>nmî vyâ/nmî vy:a ngê</i> 'We3 hit him'
2	<i>nyi vyâ/nyi vy:a ngê</i> 'You hit him'	<i>dpî vyâ ngópu</i> 'You2 hit him'	<i>nmyi vy:a ngópu</i> 'You3 hit him'
3	<i>vyâ/vy:a ngê</i> 'He hit him' reflexive: <i>chóóchóó vyâ</i>	<i>vy:a ngópu</i> 'They2 hit him'	<i>vy:a ngópu</i> 'They3 hit him'
3rd Person Object – Dual			
1	<i>nê vy:a doo</i> 'I hit them2'	<i>nye vy:a doo</i> 'We2 hit them2'	<i>nmî vy:a doo</i> 'We3 hit them2'
2	<i>nyi vy:a doo</i> 'You hit them2'	<i>dpî vy:a dumo</i> 'You2 hit them2'	<i>nmyi vy:a dumo</i> 'You3 hit them2'
3	<i>vy:a doo</i> 'He hit them2'	<i>vy:a dumo</i> 'They2 hit them2' reciprocal: <i>yi chóóchóó vy:a dumo</i>	<i>vy:a dumo</i> 'They3 hit them2'
3rd Person Object – Plural			
1	<i>nê vy:a too</i> 'I hit them3'	<i>nyi vy:a too</i> 'We2 them3'	<i>nmî vy:a too</i> 'We3 hit them3'
2	<i>nyi vy:a too</i> 'You hit them3'	<i>dpî vy:a tumo</i> 'You2 hit them3'	<i>nmyi vy:a tumo</i> 'You3 hit them3'
3	<i>vy:a too</i> 'He hit them3'	<i>vy:a tumo</i> 'They2 hit them3'	<i>vy:a tumo</i> 'They3 hit them3'

From these examples, the reader should be able to work out the rest of the paradigm using the proclitic and enclitic tables. The imperatives however are a

bit complex, and need some exemplification, shown in Table 6.45. (here, punctual aspect only, transitive verbs). These have also proved quite hard to elicit, because of a number of different ways to encode obligation (see under Counterfactuals §8.3). In addition, realistic scenarios with e.g. 2nd person objects are hard to set up.

Table 6.45: Transitive Punctual Imperatives.

Imperative Type	Subject Properties	Object Properties			
		Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
Immediate (now)! (e.g. ‘You2 hit me now!’)	MF: 1/SG	1	<i>vy:a nêdi</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nyédi</i>	<i>vy:a nmédi</i>
	PF: 2/3/pl		<i>vy:a nôdó</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nyédi</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nyédi</i>
Deferred (e.g. ‘later he should hit you’)	3 S/D/PL	2	<i>vy:a nyédit/</i> <i>vy:a nyine</i>	<i>vy:a dpédi †/</i> <i>vy:a dpinê</i>	<i>vy:a nmyédi †/</i> <i>vy:a nmyinê</i>
Immediate/Deferred‡ (e.g. ‘Let us2 hit him’)	1sing	3	–	<i>vy:a dê</i>	<i>vyee té</i>
	1dual		<i>vy:a ngmê</i>	<i>vy:a déme</i>	<i>vy:a téme</i>
	1plural		<i>vy:a koo</i>	<i>vy:a déme</i>	<i>vy:a téme</i>
(e.g. ‘You2 hit him’)	2sing	3	<i>vy:a ngi</i>	<i>vy:a dé</i>	<i>vy:a té</i>
	2dual		<i>vy:a nyoo</i>	<i>vy:a dóó</i>	<i>vy:a tóó</i>
	2plural		<i>vy:a yó</i>	<i>vy:a dóó</i>	<i>vy:a tóó</i>
(e.g. ‘Let them2 hit him’)	3sing	3	<i>vy:a ngê</i>	<i>vy:a déne</i>	<i>vy:a téne</i>
	3dual/pl		<i>vy:a y:e</i>	<i>vy:a déne</i>	<i>vy:a téne</i>

† These forms seem to be going out of use, and being replaced by the forms underneath

‡ Note these forms can be disambiguated by the use of proclitics in addition to enclitics.

- (129) a. *dpî* *vy:a nyédi*
 2/3IMPDef.P hit PFSdOIMP
 ‘You (1 or more) should punish us2 later’
 b. *dpî* *vy:a nmédi*
 2/3IMPDef.P hit MFSplOIMP
 ‘He/you should punish us3 later’

A textual example of a 1st person Imperative with enclitic is as follows (r99_v7_s1):

- (130) *Wodokpê* *ngê* *yepê* *mââ* *paa*
 man's_name ERG QUOT.3S.3O.REM tomorrow 1d/plIMPDefd.P
 vya déme
 kill 1plS.3dO.IMP(tvPostN)
 ‘Wodokpê said, tomorrow we are going to go and kill them’

For the continuous aspect, Tables 6.46 to 6.48 give illustrative inflections for transitive verbal complexes for the Remote Past only. For the complete series see Tables 6.50 to 6.63 under §6.2.3.2, where positive and negative enclitics are compared in more compact form.

Table 6.46: Continuous Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics FIRST PERSON OBJECT.

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person			
Object – Singular			
1	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)
2	<i>nyoo vyee nê</i> 'You are hitting me'	<i>dpîmo vyee nê</i> 'You2 are hitting me'	<i>nmyee vyee nê</i> 'You are hitting me'
3	<i>doo vyee nê</i> 'He was hitting me'	<i>dpîmo vyee nê</i> 'They2 were hitting me'	<i>dnye vyee nê</i> 'They3 were hitting me'
1st Person			
Object – Dual			
1	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)
2	<i>nyoo vyee nyo</i> 'You1 were hitting us2'	<i>dpîmo vyee nyo</i> 'You2 were hitting us2'	<i>nmyee vyee nyo</i> 'You3 were hitting us2'
3	<i>doo vyee nyo</i> 'He was hitting us2'	<i>dpîmo vyee nyo</i> 'They2 were hitting us2'	<i>dnye vyee nyo</i> 'They3 were hitting us2'
1st Person			
Object – Plural			
1	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)
2	<i>nyoo vyee nmo</i> 'You1 were hitting us3'	<i>dpîmo vyee nmo</i> 'You2 were hitting us3'	<i>nmyee vyee nmo</i> 'You3 were hitting us3'
3	<i>doo vyee nmo</i> 'He was hitting us3'	<i>dpîmo vyee nmo</i> 'They2 were hitting us3'	<i>dnye vyee nmo</i> 'They3 were hitting us3'

Table 6.47: Continuous Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics SECOND PERSON OBJECT.

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
2nd Person			
Object – Singular			
1	<i>noo vyee ngi</i> 'I was hitting you1 before yesterday'	<i>nyipu vyee ngi</i> 'We2 were hitting you1'	<i>nmee vyee ngi</i> 'We3 were hitting you1'
2	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)
3	<i>doo vyee ngi</i> 'He was hitting you1'	<i>dpîmo vyee ngi</i> 'They2 were hitting you1'	<i>dnye vyee ngi</i> 'They3 were hitting you1'

Table 6.47 (continued)

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
2nd Person			
Object – Dual			
1	<i>noo vyeē dp:o</i> 'I was hitting you2 before yesterday'	<i>nyipu vyeē dp:o</i> 'We2 were hitting you2'	<i>nmee vyeē dp:o</i> 'We3 were hitting you2'
2	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)
3	<i>doo vyeē dp:o</i> 'He was hitting you2'	<i>dpîmo vyeē dp:o</i> 'They2 were hitting you2'	<i>dnye vyeē dp:o</i> 'They3 were hitting you2'
2nd Person			
Object – Plural			
1	<i>noo vyeē nmyo</i> 'I was hitting you3 before yesterday'	<i>nyipu vyeē nmyo</i> 'We2 were hitting you3'	<i>nmee vyeē nmyo</i> 'We3 were hitting you3'
2	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)	(see reflexives)
3	<i>doo vyeē nmyo</i> 'He was hitting you3 before yesterday'	<i>dpîmo vyeē nmyo</i> 'They2 were hitting you3'	<i>dnye vyeē nmyo</i> 'They3 were hitting you3'

Table 6.48: Continuous Remote Past ('before yesterday'): Transitive enclitics THIRD PERSON OBJECT.

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
3rd Person			
Object – Singular (zero morph)			
1	<i>noo vyeē</i> 'I was hitting him'	<i>nyipu vyeē</i> 'We2 were hitting him'	<i>nmee vyeē</i> 'We3 were hitting him'
2	<i>nyoo vyeē</i>	<i>dpîmo vyeē</i> 'You2 were hitting him'	<i>nmyee vyeē</i> 'You3 were hitting him'
3	<i>doo vyeē</i> 'He was hitting him'	<i>dpîmo vyeē</i> 'They2 were hitting him'	<i>dnye vyeē</i> 'They3 were hitting him'
3rd Person			
Object – Dual			
1	<i>noo vyeē dē</i> 'I was hitting them2'	<i>nyipu vyeē dē</i> 'We2 were hitting them2'	<i>nmee vyeē dē</i> 'We3 were hitting them2'
2	<i>nyoo vyeē dē</i> 'You1 was hitting them2'	<i>dpîmo vyeē dē</i> 'You2 were hitting them2'	<i>nmyee vyeē dē</i> 'You3 was hitting them2'

Table 6.48 (continued)

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
3	<i>doo vyee dē</i> 'He was hitting them2'	<i>dpîmo vyee dē</i> 'They2 were hitting them2'	<i>dney vyee dē</i> 'They3 were hitting them2'
3rd Person Object – Plural			
1	<i>noo vyee té</i> 'I was hitting them3'	<i>nyipu vyee té</i> 'We2 were hitting them3'	<i>nmee vyee té</i> 'We3 were hitting them3'
2	<i>nyoo vyee té</i> 'You1 was hitting them3'	<i>dpîmo vyee té</i> 'You2 were hitting them3'	<i>nmeye vyee té</i> 'You3 was hitting them3'
3	<i>doo vyee té</i> 'He was hitting them3'	<i>dpîmo vyee té</i> 'They2 were hitting them3'	<i>dney vyee té</i> 'They3 were hitting them3'

6.2.3 Negation and verbal enclitics

As part of the pattern of distributed marking of negation (see §2.3 and specifically Chapter 10), some parts of the enclitic paradigms change in the negative. One of the more obvious and striking elements is that, in both the intransitive and transitive paradigm, there is a tense shift in the Punctual Aspect: the Remote Past forms are used in the Immediate Past (cf. English *Had I gone, I would have seen it*). Other changes occur in the Habitual and Imperative moods.

6.2.3.1 Intransitive negative enclitics

The main change here from the positive enclitics is that Punctual verbs behave differently especially in the Immediate Past (today) and the Imperative as shown in Table 6.49 (special negative clitics underlined).

Note that what happens in the negative is the re-use of some of the Punctual positive enclitics with shifted tense or mood: so Remote Past positive enclitics are also used in the Present Indicative, while positive Proximal tense enclitics are re-used in negative Imperatives. This is a methodical strategy in the language: verb roots which change in the Remote Past are also used for the Proximal negative tenses. Note the following positive Remote Past sentences with the verb 'go' which has three alternative roots in this tense (it can be treated as a weak verb requiring *wo*, in which case it takes the followed root *lee*, or it can be treated as a

Table 6.49: Intransitive Positive and Negative enclitics compared: Positive in *italics* , Punctual negative enclitics in **bold**, forms special to the negative underlined.

Tense, Mood, Aspect	SUBJECT NUMBER		
	Sing	Dual	Plural
Punctual Indicative:			
Remote Past	Ø (strong roots) Ø <i>wo</i> (weak roots) wo	<i>knâpwo knâpwo</i>	<i>dniye dniye</i>
Punctual Habitual	Ø (strong roots) Ø <i>wo</i> (weak roots)	<i>knâpwo knî</i>	<i>dniye dmi</i>
Punctual Indicative-			
– Future	Ø Ø	<i>knî knî</i>	<i>dmi dmi</i>
– Today (Imm.Past)	Ø wo	<i>knî knâpwo</i>	<i>dmi dniye</i>
– Yesterday (Near Past)	Ø Ø	<i>kni knî</i>	<i>dmi dmi</i>
Punctual Imperative:			
Person			
1	–	<i>knî knî</i>	<i>kmîle dmi</i>
2	Ø	<i>choo knî</i>	<i>dmyino dmi</i>
3	<i>wee /we</i>	<i>dniye knî</i>	<i>dniye dmi</i>
Cont.Indicative Present & Future	Ø Ø	<i>mo mo</i>	<i>té té</i>
Proximal	<i>nê (optional)</i>		
Cont.Indic. Distal tenses (Yester/ Rem/Tomorrow),	Ø Ø	Ø <i>mo</i>	Ø <i>té</i>
Cont.Indic. Habitual Distal			
Cont. Indic. Habitual Proximal	<i>yédi yédi</i>	<i>nódó nódó</i>	<i>nyédi nyédi</i>
Cont. Indic. IMP	Ø Ø	Ø Ø	Ø Ø

strong verb with its own Remote Past root *loo* (alternate *n:ee* is preferred in negative and questioning contexts):

- (131) a. *Yidika* *lee* *wo*
 Yidika went.FOL REM.WEAK
 ‘Yidika went the day before yesterday’
 b. *Yidika loo/n:ee?*
 Yidika went.REM/went.REM(Question/Neg.context)
 ‘Yidika went the day before yesterday?’

Now compare the negative Proximal Past, and note that the same three Remote Past root forms can be used in the negative Proximal Past (earlier today), although when *loo* is followed, the followed root *lee* is preferred, and the alternate Remote Past form *n:oo* (*nê* when followed) favouring negative polarity contexts is also possible:

- (132) a. *Yidika doo lee wo*
 Yidika NEG.3IMMPI go.FOL REM.WEAK
 ‘Yidika did not go earlier today’
- b. *Yidika doo loo/doo n:ee*
 Yidika NEG.3IMMPI go.REM/go.REM(Q/NEG.context)
 ‘Yidika did not go earlier today’
- c. *Yidika Pikuwa doo lee knâpwo*
 Yidika Pikuwa NEG.3IMMPI go.FOL dSREMP.IV/NegPolPRS
 ‘Yidika and Pikuwa did not go earlier today’
- d. *Yidika Pikuwa doo nê*
 Yidika Pikuwa NEG.3IMMPI go.NEG
*knâpwo /*loo knâpwo*
 dSREM.P.IV/NegPolPRS go.REM dSREM.P.IV
 ‘Yidika and Pikuwa did not go earlier today’
- e. *Yidika Pikuwa Ñ:aamono doo lee dniye*
 Yidika Pikuwa Ñ:aamono NEG.3IMMPI go.FOL
/doo nê dniye
 NEG.3IMMPI go.NEG plSREM.IV
 ‘Yidika Pikuwa and Ñ:aamono did not go earlier today’

6.2.3.2 Transitive negative clitics

As with the intransitive enclitics, the main change from the positive inflectional pattern is that in the negative there is a re-use of the positive Punctual Remote Past enclitics in other tenses/moods. Altogether, there are special forms for the negative verb enclitics in the following tense/aspect/mood categories:

- (i) In the Punctual Immediate Past tense, the negative verb is inflected with the positive Remote Past forms,
- (ii) In the Punctual Habitual mood, the negative verb is also inflected with the positive Remote Past forms,
- (iii) In the Imperative, the negative verb employs different enclitics.
- (iv) Weak verbs, which in the positive Punctual may take a special non-zero enclitic form with Monofocal subjects, in the negative behave like strong verbs and take a zero enclitic.
- (v) In the Continuous aspect, the same enclitics are employed as in the positive throughout the paradigm, except that 3rd person object Immediate Future enclitics are not sensitive to the Monofocal/Polyfocal subject conditioning as the positive ones are.

It is difficult to represent the positive vs. negative enclitics in the same table (as we could do for the intransitive enclitics) because they make different tense/aspect groupings. In Table 6.50, I have separated out just those tense/mood combinations where the positive and negative enclitics are different, and have then shown the negative enclitics in bold. Wherever there is no negative enclitic information provided, that indicates that the positive and negative enclitics are the same.

Table 6.50: Transitive enclitics, showing NEGATIVE ENCLITICS IN BOLD only where different from the positive ones.

TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD	SUBJECT		OBJECT		
	Person, Number	Person	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Continuous Indicative Present and Immediate Past (today) only; Also, Punctual Future and Near Past	all	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
	MF: (1/SG)	3	Ø	<i>dê</i>	<i>té</i>
	PF: (2/3/PL)		<i>ngmê</i>	<i>d:oo</i>	<i>t:oo</i>
Punctual Immediate Past (today) Positive in italics, NEG in bold	all	1	<i>nê</i> <i>noo</i>	<i>ny:o</i> <i>nyôpu</i>	<i>nmo</i> <i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i> <i>nyoo</i>	<i>dp:o</i> <i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i> <i>nmyoo</i>
	MF	3	Ø	<i>dê</i> <i>doo</i>	<i>té</i> <i>too</i>
	PF		<i>ngmê</i> <i>ngôpu</i>	<i>d:oo</i> <i>dumo</i>	<i>t:oo</i> <i>tumo</i>
	all	1	<i>nê</i> <i>noo</i>	<i>nyo</i> <i>nyôpu</i>	<i>nmo</i> <i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i> <i>nyoo</i>	<i>dp:o</i> <i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyo</i> <i>nmyo</i>
	MF: (1/SG)	3	Ø <i>ngê</i>	<i>dê</i> <i>doo</i>	<i>té</i> <i>too</i>
	PF: (2/3/PL)		<i>ngmê</i> <i>ngôpu</i>	<i>d:oo</i> <i>dumo</i>	<i>t:oo</i> <i>tumo</i>
Continuous Immediate Future (today) – Positive and Negative the same except for 3 rd Person Polyfocal subjects	all	1	<i>nê</i> <i>nê</i>	<i>ny:o</i> <i>ny:o</i>	<i>nmo</i> <i>nmo</i>
		2	<i>ngi</i> <i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i> <i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i> <i>nmo</i>
	MF	3	Ø	<i>dê</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>té</i> <i>té</i>
	PF		<i>ngmê</i> Ø	<i>d:oo</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>t:oo</i> <i>té</i>

Table 6.50 (continued)

TENSE/ASPECT/MOOD	SUBJECT	OBJECT			
	Person, Number	Person	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
Continuous Indicative – Near Past (yesterday) and Remote Past (day before yesterday), Pos & Neg.	all	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
	MF & PF	3	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>té</i>
Continuous Imperative (both present and deferred)		3	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>té</i>
Punctual Indicative Remote Past (Positive & Negative); Also: Continuous Habitual Proximal (Pos & Neg)	all	1	<i>noo</i>	<i>nyópu</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>nyoo</i>	<i>dpo</i>	<i>nmyoo</i>
	MF: 1/SG PF: 2/3/PL	3†	<i>ngê/∅</i> <i>ngópu</i>	<i>doo</i> <i>dumo</i>	<i>too/tee*</i> <i>tumo</i>
Continuous Non-Proximal tenses: Yesterday, REM Same in NEG	all	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>nyo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	all	2	<i>ngi</i>	<i>dp:o</i>	<i>nmyo</i>
	all	3	∅	<i>dê</i>	<i>dé</i>
Imperatives – Punctual	MF: 1/SG	1	<i>nédi</i>	<i>nyédi</i>	<i>nmédi</i>
	PF: 2/3/pl		<i>nódó</i>	<i>nyédi</i>	<i>nyédi</i>
	2s/d/pl	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>ny:oo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	3s/d/pl	1	<i>nê</i>	<i>ny:oo</i>	<i>nmo</i>
	3 s/d/pl	2	<i>nyédi</i>	<i>dpédi</i>	<i>nmyédi</i>
	1sing (MF)	3	– ∅	<i>déme</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>téme</i> <i>té</i>
	1dual (MF)		<i>ngmê</i> ∅	<i>déme?</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>téme</i> <i>té</i>
	1plural (MF)		<i>koo</i> ∅	<i>déme?</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>téme</i> <i>té</i>
	2sing (MF)	3	<i>ngi</i> ∅	<i>dé</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>té</i> <i>té</i>
	2dual (PF)		<i>nyoo</i> <i>ngmê</i>	<i>dóó</i> <i>d:oo</i>	<i>tóó</i> <i>t:oo</i>
	2plural (PF)		<i>yó</i> <i>ngmê</i>	<i>dóó</i> <i>d:oo</i>	<i>dóó</i> <i>t:oo</i>
	3sing (MF)	3	<i>ngê</i> ∅	<i>déne</i> <i>dê</i>	<i>téne</i> <i>té</i>
	3dual (PF)		<i>y:e</i> <i>ngmê</i>	<i>déne</i> <i>d:oo</i>	<i>téne</i> <i>t:oo</i>
	3pl (PF)		<i>y:e</i> <i>ngmê</i>	<i>déne</i> <i>d:oo</i>	<i>téne</i> <i>t:oo</i>

† Negative forms of weak verbs do not take the weak *ngê*, but instead inflect with zero.

Because of the complexity of these patterns, and in order to allow the reader to check my generalizations, I include here a full set of paradigms in a compact form, showing both positive and negative forms of enclitics for all person/number combinations in the basic non-imperative aspect/moods (Tables 6.51 to 6.63). I start with the Punctual aspect, and then run through the tenses, within each tense providing the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person object forms with object-number as a sequence Singular/Dual/Object, with the subject explicitly represented as columns (number) and rows (persons).

A. TRANSITIVES – PUNCTUAL SERIES

Table 6.51: Transitive PI Future Positive = non-bold, Negative = **bold**, Object number marked by slashes: Sing/Dual/PI Objects.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person Object			
1	??		
2	<i>anyi vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa nyi vy:a nê/ny:</i> <i>o/nmo</i>	<i>adpî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa dpî vy:a nê/ny:</i> <i>o/nmo</i>	<i>anmyi vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa nmyi vy:a nê/ny:</i> <i>o/nmo</i>
3	<i>wa vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa wa vy:a nê/ny:</i> <i>o/nmo</i>	<i>wa ma ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>daa wa vy:a nê/ny:</i> <i>o/nmo</i>	<i>wa vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa wa vy:a nê/ny:</i> <i>o/nmo</i>
2nd Person Object			
1	<i>anî vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i> <i>daa nê vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i>	<i>anyi vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i> <i>daa nyi vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i>	<i>anmî vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i> <i>daa nmî vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i>
2	??		
3	<i>wa vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa wa vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i>	<i>wa vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa wa vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i>	<i>wa vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa wa vy:a ngi/dp:</i> <i>o/nmyo</i>
3rd Person Object			
1	<i>anî ma 0/dê/té</i> <i>daa nê ma (dê – 2</i> <i>objects té -3)</i>	<i>anyi ma 0/dê/té</i> <i>daa nyi ma (dê-té)</i>	<i>anmî ma 0/dê/té</i> <i>daa nmî ma (dê/té)</i>
2	<i>anyi ma 0/dê/té</i> <i>daa nyi ma (dê -té)</i>	<i>adpî ma ngmê/d:oo/</i> <i>t:oo</i> <i>daa dpî ma ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo/t:oo)</i>	<i>anmyi ma ngmê/d:oo/</i> <i>t:oo</i> <i>daa nmyi ma ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo/t:oo)</i>
3	<i>wa ma 0/dê/té</i> <i>daa wa ma (dê -té)</i>	<i>wa ma ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>daa wa ma ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo/t:oo)</i>	<i>wa ma ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>daa wa ma ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo/t:oo)</i>

Table 6.52: Transitive PI Today.

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
First Person Object: Sing/dual/pl NEG IN BOLD			
1	??dî vy:a ?	??dnye vy:a	??dpî vy:a
2	chî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo choo vy:a noo/nyôpu/ nmoo	dpî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo dpo vy:a noo/nyôpu/ nmoo	dmyî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo dmy:oo vy:a noo/ nyôpu/nmoo
3	dê vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo doo vy:a noo/nyôpu/ nmoo	dê vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo doo vy:a noo/nyôpu/ nmoo	dê vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo doo vy:a noo/nyôpu/ nmoo
2nd Person Object Sing/dual/pl			
1	dî vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo d:oo vy:a nyoo/dp:o/ nmyoo	dnye vy:a ngi/dp:o/ nmyo dny:oo vy:a nyoo/ dp:o/nmyoo	dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo dp:oo vy:a nyoo/dp: o/nmyoo
2	??chî vy:a (ngi)	??	??dmyî vy:a
3	dê vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo doo vy:a nyoo/dp: o/nmyoo	dê vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo doo vy:a nyoo/dp: o/nmyoo	dê vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo doo vy:a nyoo/dp: o/nmyoo
3rd Person Object Note Verb Root REM vs. Followed			
1	dî vy:a 0/dê/té d:oo vyâ 0 d:oo vy:a doo/too	dnye vy:a 0/dê/té dny:oo vyâ 0/ vy:a doo/too	dpî vy:a 0/dê/té dp:o vyâ 0/ vy:a doo/ too
2	chî vy:a 0/dê/té choo vyâ 0/ vy:a doo/ too	dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/ t:oo dp:oo vy:a ngôpu/ dumo/tumo	dmyî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/ t:oo dny:oo vy:a ngôpu/ dumo/tumo
3	dê vy:a 0/dê/té doo vyâ 0/ vy:a doo/ too	dê vy:a ngmê/d:oo/ t:oo doo vy:a ngôpu/ dumo/tumo	dê y:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo doo vy:a ngôpu/dumo/ tumo

Table 6.53: PI Near Past Yesterday PI (Negatives in bold).

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person Object (Sing/Dual/Plural)			
1	<i>a chóóchóó nê vy:a nê</i> <i>a chóóchóó dîpî vy:a nê</i>	<i>nye chóóchóó nyi vy:a nyo</i> <i>nye chóóchóó dîpî:e vy:a nyo</i>	<i>nmî chóóchóó nmî vy:a nmo</i> <i>nmî chóóchóó dîpî vy:a nmo</i>
2	<i>nyi vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>dîpî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>dpîpî vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>nmyi vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>dpîpî:e vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i>
3	<i>vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i>
2nd Person Object (Sing/Dual/Plural)			
1	<i>nê vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i> <i>dîpî vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>	<i>nyi vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i> <i>dîpî:e vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>	<i>nmî vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i> <i>dpîpî vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>
2	<i>nyóóchóó nyi vy:a ngi</i> <i>nyóóchóó dîpî vy:a (ngi)</i>	<i>dpî chóóchóó dpî vy:a dp:o</i> <i>dpî chóóchóó dîpî vy:a dp:o/d:oo</i>	<i>nmyi chóóchóó nmyi vy:a nmyo</i> <i>nmyi chóóchóó dîpî:e vy:a nmyo/t:oo</i>
3	<i>vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>	<i>vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>	<i>vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa vy:a ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>
3rd Person Object – Sing/dual/plural			
1	<i>nê vy:a 0/dê/té</i> (I hit him, them2, them3) <i>dîpî vy:a (dê /té)</i>	<i>nyi vy:a 0/dê/té</i> (we2 hit him, them2, them3) <i>dîpî:e vy:a (dê /té)</i>	<i>nmî vy:a 0/dê/té</i> (we3 hit him. . .) <i>dpîpî vy:a (dê /té)</i>
2	<i>nyi vy:a 0/dê/té</i> (you hit him. . .) <i>dîpî vy:a (dê /té)</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> (you2 hit him. . .) <i>dpîpî vy:a ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)</i>	<i>nmyi vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> (you3 hit him. . .) <i>dpîpî:e vy:a ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)</i>
3	<i>vy:a 0/dê/té</i> <i>he hit him</i> <i>daa vy:a (dê /té)</i> (chóóchóó vy:a he hit himself <i>chóóchóó daa vy:a)</i>	<i>vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>they2 hit him</i> <i>daa vy:a ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)</i>	<i>vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>they3 hit him</i> <i>daa vy:a ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)</i>

Table 6.54: Remote Past.

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person Object			
1	??		
2	<i>nyi vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i> <i>dipi vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i> <i>dpîpî vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i>	<i>nmyi vy:a nê/ny:o/nmo</i> <i>dpîp:ee vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i>
3	<i>vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i> <i>daa vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i>	<i>vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i> <i>daa vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i>	<i>vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i> <i>daa vy:a noo/nyópu/nmoo</i>
2nd Person Object			
1	<i>nê vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>dpî vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>nyi vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>dip:ee vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>nmî vy:a yoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>dpîpî vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>
2	<i>nyóóchóó nyi vyâ</i> <i>nyóóchóó dipi vy:a nyoo</i>	<i>dpî chóóchóó dpî vy:a dpo/dumo</i> <i>dpî chóóchóó dpîpî vy:a dpo/dumo</i>	<i>nmyi chóóchóó nmyi vy:a nmyo/tumo</i> <i>nmyi chóóchóó dpîp:e vy:a nmyo/tumo</i>
3	<i>vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>daa vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>daa vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>daa vy:a nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>
3rd Person Object – Sing/dual/pl (note verb root changes: REM vs. Followed)			
1	(I hit him, them2, them3) <i>nê vyâ/</i> <i>nê vy:a ngê/doo/too</i> <i>dpî vyâ†</i> <i>(dpî vy:a doo/too)</i>	(we2 hit him, them2. . .) <i>nyi vyâ/</i> <i>nyi vy:a ngê/doo/too</i> <i>dip:ee vyâ</i> <i>(dip:ee vy:a doo/too)</i>	(we3 hit him. . .) <i>nmî vyâ/</i> <i>nmî vy:a ngê/doo/too</i> <i>dpîpî vyâ</i> <i>(dpîpî vy:a doo/too)</i>
2	(you hit him. . .) <i>nyi vyâ/</i> <i>nyi vy:a ngê/doo/too</i> <i>dipi vyâ</i> <i>(dipi vy:a doo/too)</i>	(you2 hit him. . .) <i>dpî vy:a ngópu/dumo/</i> <i>tumo</i> <i>dpîpî ma ngópu</i> <i>(dpîpî ma dumo/tumo)</i>	(you3 hit him. . .) <i>nmyi vy:a ngópu/</i> <i>dumo/tumo</i> <i>dpîp:ee vy:a ngópu</i> <i>(____ vy:a dumo/</i> <i>tumo)</i>
3	(he hit him. . .) <i>vyâ/</i> <i>vy:a ngê/doo/too</i> <i>daa vyâ</i> <i>(daa vy:a doo/too)</i>	(they2 hit him. . .) <i>vy:a ngópu</i> <i>daa vy:a ngópu</i> <i>(daa vy:a dumo/tumo)</i>	(they3 hit him. . .) <i>vy:a ngópu/ dumo/</i> <i>tumo</i> <i>daa vy:a ngópu</i> <i>(daa vy:a dumo/tumo)</i>

† Weak verbs in the negative appear to act like strong verbs.

Table 6.55: Habitual PI (Negatives in bold).

(Negatives are difficult to elicit, as they have rarified uses, e.g. the following gloss like “you never used to hit me/us2/us3”, etc.)

Subject	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st Person Object			
Habitual PI			
1	<i>a chóóchóó dpî vy:a</i> <i>nê</i> <i>a chóóchóó d:uu w:ee</i> <i>vy:a nê</i>	<i>nye chóóchóó dnye</i> <i>vy:a nyo</i> <i>nye chóóchóó d:uu</i> <i>w:ee vy:a nyo</i>	<i>nmî chóóchóó dmye</i> <i>vy:a nmo</i> <i>nmî chóóchóó d:uu</i> <i>w:ee vy:a nmo</i>
2	<i>dpî vy:a nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>d:uu w:ee vy:a nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>dp:uu w:ee vy:a nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dmye vy:a nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>dp:uu w:ee vy:a nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>
3	<i>dpî vy:a nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a nê/nyo/</i> <i>nmo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a nê/nyo/</i> <i>nmo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a nê/nyo/</i> <i>nmo</i>
2nd Person Object			
Habitual PI			
1	<i>dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/</i> <i>nmyo</i> <i>d:uu w:ee vy:a ngi/</i> <i>dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dmye vy:a ngi/dp:o/</i> <i>nmyo</i> <i>dp:uu w:ee vy:a ngi/</i> <i>dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>dp:uu w:ee vy:a ngi/</i> <i>dp:o/nmyo</i>
2	<i>nyóóchóó dpî vy:a</i> <i>ngi</i> <i>nyóóchóó d:uu w:ee</i> <i>v:a ngi</i>	<i>dpî chóóchóó dpî</i> <i>vy:a dê</i> <i>dpî óóchóó d:uu w:ee</i> <i>vy:a dp:o</i>	<i>nmyi chóóchóó dpî</i> <i>vy:a t:oo</i> <i>nmyi chóóchóó d:uu</i> <i>w:ee vy:a t:oo</i>
3	<i>dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/</i> <i>nmyo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a ngi/</i> <i>dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/</i> <i>nmyo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a ngi/</i> <i>dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a ngi/dp:o/</i> <i>nmyo</i>
3rd Person Object			
Habitual PI – this			
may conflate two			
closely related			
paradigms			
1	<i>dpî vy:a 0/dê/té</i> <i>d:uu w:ee vy:a 0/dê/</i> <i>té*</i>	<i>dmye vy:a 0/dê/té</i> <i>d:ee vyee ngê/doo/</i> <i>too</i>	<i>dpî vy:a 0/dê/té</i> <i>dpîno vyee ngê/doo/</i> <i>too</i>
2	<i>dpî vy:a 0/dê/té</i> <i>d:uu w:ee vy:a 0/dê/té</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/</i> <i>t:oo</i> <i>d:uu w:ee vy:a 0/dê/té</i>	<i>dmye vy:a ngmê/d:oo/</i> <i>t:oo</i> <i>d:uu w:ee vy:a 0/dê/té</i>

Table 6.55 (continued)

Subject	Sing	Dual	Plural
3	<i>dpî vy:a 0/dê/té</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a 0/dê/té**</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i>	<i>dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i> <i>d:uu dpî vy:a ngmê/d:oo/t:oo</i>

* glosses ‘I never hit him’

** not e.g. *ngê/doo/too*

- (133) *dini ghi ngê n:aa dpodo yédi,*
time part ADV 1sHABPROX work sS.HAB.PROX,
yi pini ngê wédi d:uu dpî ma
that person ERG sago NOT_HAB eat
‘While I work on a person (with intestinal troubles), that person will never eat sago’
(Native healer, 2011 August 9 film)

B. CONTINUOUS ASPECT – various verbs: *pîpî* ‘eating’, *kpîdîkpîdî* ‘washing someone’

Table 6.56: Future (DISTAL – tomorrow, always).

Subject	Sing	Dual	Plural
with 1 st person Object (sing/dual/ plural in slashes)			
1	<i>a chóóchóó a nê</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nê</i> <i>a chóóchóó daa nê</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nê</i>	<i>nye chóóchóó a nye</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî ny:o</i> <i>nye chóóchóó daa</i> <i>ny:o kpîdîkpîdî ny:o</i>	<i>nmî chóóchóó a nmî</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nmo</i> <i>nmî chóóchóó daa nmî</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nmo</i>
2	<i>a nyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa nyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>	<i>a dpî kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ny:o/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>a nmyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa nmyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nmo/nyo/nmo</i>
3	<i>wa dê kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa dî kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>	<i>wa dpî kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>	<i>wa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>ny:o/nmo</i> <i>daa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/</i> <i>nyo/nmo</i>

Table 6.56 (continued)

Subject	Sing	Dual	Plural
(NB above is same as Immediate Future)			
with 2 nd person			
Object			
1	<i>a nê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa nê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a ny:o kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa ny:oo kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a nmî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa nmî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
2	<i>nyóóchóó a nyi</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nyi (*ngi)</i> <i>nyóóchóó daa nyi</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nyi (*ngi)</i>	<i>dpî chóóchóó a dpî</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî dp:o</i> <i>dpî chóóchóó daa dpî</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî dp:o</i>	<i>nmyi chóóchóó a nmyi</i> <i>kpîdîkpîdî nmyi:o</i> <i>nmyi chóóchóó daa</i> <i>nmyi kpîdîkpîdî nmyo</i>
3	<i>a dî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa dî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a dnye kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>daa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
(NB above is same as Immediate Future)			
with 3 rd person			
Object: 3s (with 3Dual/3Plural in brackets)			
1	<i>a nê kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dé)</i> <i>daa nê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>	<i>a ny:o kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa ny:o kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>	<i>a nmî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa nmî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>
2	<i>a nyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa nyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>	<i>a dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>	<i>a nmyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa nmyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>
3	<i>a dê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa dî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>	<i>a dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>	<i>a dnyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i> <i>daa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/dé)</i>
(NB above is same as Immediate Future)			

this Near Past (distal) tense has same enclitics as positive

Table 6.57: Immediate Future (later today).

Today IMMED. FUT	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st person Object			
1	<i>a chóóchóó daa nê kpîdîkpîdî nê</i>	<i>nye chóóchóó daa ny:o kpîdîkpîdî ny:o</i>	<i>nmî chóóchóó daa nmî kpîdîkpîdî nmo</i>
2	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ ny:o/nmo) daa nyi kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny:o/nmo)</i>	<i>dpo kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ ny:o/nmo) daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny:o/nmo)</i>	<i>nmye kpîdîkpîdî ngmê (nê/ny:o/nmo) daa nmyi kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny:o/nmo)</i>
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny: o/nmo) daa dî kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny:o/nmo)</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny: o/nmo) daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny:o/nmo)</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny: o/nmo) daa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî (nê/ny:o/nmo)</i>
2nd person Object			
1	<i>n:aa kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo) daa nê kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo)</i>	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo) daa ny:oo kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo)</i>	<i>nmo kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo) daa nmî kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo)</i>
2	??		
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo) daa dî kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo)</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo) daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo)</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp: o/nmyo) daa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî (ngi/dp:o/nmyo)</i>
3rd person Object			
1	<i>n:aa kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê) daa nê kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)* daa ny:oo kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>	<i>nmo kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)* daa nmî kpîdîkpîdî (dê/ dê)*</i>
2	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)* daa nyi kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>	<i>dpo kpîdîkpîdî ngmê (d:oo/t:oo) daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>	<i>nmye kpîdîkpîdî ngmê (d:oo/t:oo) daa nmyi kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)* daa dî kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngmê (d:oo/t:oo) daa dpî kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>	<i>kpîdîkpîdî ngmê (d:oo/t:oo) daa dnyi kpîdîkpîdî (dê/dê)*</i>

* *dê* is correct, *tê* incorrect unlike in Present tense

Table 6.58: Present.

Now	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st person Object			
1	??		
2	<i>anyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i> d:ee kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>a dpî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i> dpîdê kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>a nmye kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i> dp:ee kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i>
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/ny:o/nmo</i>
2nd person Object			
1	<i>a nî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> dînê kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a nyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> d:ee kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a nmî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> dpînê kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
2			
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
3rd person Object			
1	<i>a nî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/tê)</i> dînê kpîdîkpîdî <i>(dê/tê)</i>	<i>anyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/tê)</i> d:ee kpîdîkpîdî <i>(dê/tê)</i>	<i>a nmî kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/tê)</i> dpînê kpîdîkpîdî <i>(dê/tê)</i>
2	<i>a nyi kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/tê)</i> d:ee kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)	<i>a dpî kpîdîkpîdî ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i> dpîda kpîdîkpîdî ngmê <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i>	<i>a nmye kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngmê (d:oo /t:oo)</i> dp:ee kpîdîkpîdî ngmê <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i>
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>(dê/tê)</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî <i>(dê/tê)</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i> daa kpîdîkpîdî ngmê <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i>	<i>kpîdîkpîdî ngmê</i> <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i> daa pîpî ngmê <i>(d:oo /t:oo)</i>

Table 6.59: Immediate Past (earlier today).

Today	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st person Object			
1			
2	<i>(kê) nyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo dîpî kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>(kê) dpî kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo dpîpî kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo</i>	<i>(kê) nmyi kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo dpîp:e kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny:o/nmo</i>
3	<i>kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny: o/nmo dî kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny: o/nmo</i>	<i>kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny: o/nmo dî kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny: o/nmo</i>	<i>kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny: o/nmo dî kpîdîkpîdî nê/ny: o/nmo</i>
2nd person Object			
1	<i>(kê) nê kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo dîpî kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>(kê) nyi kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo dîp:e kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>nmî kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo dpîpî kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
2	??		
3	<i>kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp: o/nmyo dî kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp: o/nmyo dî kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp: o/nmyo dî kpîdîkpîdî ngi/dp: o/nmyo</i>
3rd person Object			
1	<i>(kê) nê pîpî (dê/té) dîpî pîpî (dê/té)</i>	<i>(kê) nyi pîpî (dê/té) dîp:e pîpî (dê/té)</i>	<i>(kê) nmî pîpî (dê/té) dpîpî pîpî (dê/té)</i>
2	<i>(kê) nyi pîpî (dê/té) dîpî pîpî (dê/té)</i>	<i>(kê) dpî pîpî (ngmê/d:oo/t:oo) dpîpî pîpî ngmê (d:oo /t:oo)</i>	<i>(kê) nmyi pîpî (ngmê/d:oo/t:oo) dpîp:e pîpî ngmê (d:oo /t:oo)</i>
3	<i>pîpî (dê/té) dî pîpî (dê/té)</i>	<i>pîpî ngmê (d:oo /t:oo) dî pîpî ngmê (d:oo /t:oo)</i>	<i>pîpî ngmê (d:oo /t:oo) dî pîpî ngmê (d:oo /t:oo)</i>

Table 6.60: Yesterday – Near Past CI (Negatives in bold).

Subject Properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
First Person Object:			
Sing/dual/pl			
1	(* <i>nê chók kpidikpidi</i>)	?	?
2	<i>nyi kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>dipi kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dpî kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>dpîpî kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>nmyi kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>da nmyi kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i>
3	<i>dê kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>da dê kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dpî kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>da dpî kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dnye kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i> <i>da dnyi kpidikpidi nê/nyo/nmo</i>
2nd person Object			
Sing/dual/pl			
1	<i>nê kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>da nê kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>ny:oo kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>dpîpî kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>nmî vy:a ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>da nmî kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
2		??	??
3	<i>dî kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>da dê kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dpî kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>da dpî kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dnye kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> <i>da dnye kpidikpidi ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
3rd person Object			
Sing/dual/pl			
1	<i>nê kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>I was washing him</i> <i>da nê kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i>	<i>ny:oo kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>we2 him</i> <i>d a ny:oo kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i>	<i>nmî kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>we3 him</i>
2	<i>nyi kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>you hit him</i>	<i>dpî kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>you2 him</i>	<i>nmyi kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>dé you3 him</i>
3	<i>dî kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i>	<i>dpî kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>they2 him</i> <i>da dpîmo kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i>	<i>dnye kpidikpidi 0/dê/dé</i> <i>they3 were washing him</i>

Table 6.61: Remote Past *m:iituwó*.

Subject:	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st person Object (Singular/dual/plural)			
1		??	??
2	<i>nyoo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i> da nyoo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i> da dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>nmyee a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i> da nmyee a kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i>
3	<i>doo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i> dêpwo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i> da dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i>	<i>dnye a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i> da dnye a kpîdîkpîdî <i>nê/nyo/nmo</i>
2nd person Object (Singular/dual/plural)			
1	<i>noo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> da noo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>nyipu a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> da nyipu a kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>nmee a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> da nmee a kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
2	?	?	
3	<i>doo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> dêpwo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> da dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>	<i>dnye a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i> da dnye a kpîdîkpîdî <i>ngi/dp:o/nmyo</i>
3rd person Object (Singular/dual/plural)			
1	<i>noo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dênnoo (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)	<i>nyipu a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dê nyipu (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)	<i>nmee a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dê nmee (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)
2	<i>nyoo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dênnyoo (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)	<i>dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dê dpîmo (a) <i>kpîdîkpîdî dê/tê</i>	<i>nmyee a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) de nmyee (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)
3	<i>doo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dêpwo (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)	<i>dpîmo a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dê dpîmo (a) <i>kpîdîkpîdî dê/tê</i>	<i>dnye a kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/tê) dê dnye (a) kpîdîkpîdî (dê/tê)

Table 6.62: Habitual Continuous.

Hab Proximal	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st person Object			
1	??		
2 'You used to wash us everyday...'	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i> <i>d:ee kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i>	<i>dpo kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i> <i>dpîdê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i>	<i>nmye kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i> <i>dp:ee kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i>
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i> <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i> <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i> <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>noo/nyôpu/nmoo</i>
2nd person Object			
1	<i>n:aa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>dîñê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>d:ee kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>nmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>dpîn:oo kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>
2	??		
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i> <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>nyoo/dpo/nmyoo</i>
3rd person Object			
1	<i>n:aa kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too) <i>dîñê kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too)	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too) <i>d:ee kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too)	<i>nmo kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too) <i>dpîn:oo kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too)
2	<i>nye kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too) <i>d:ee kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too)	<i>dpo kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> (dumo/tumo) <i>dpîdê kpîdîkpîdî</i> <i>ngôpu (dumo/tumo)</i>	<i>nmye kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> (dumo/tumo) <i>dp:ee kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> <i>(dumo/tumo)</i>
3	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too) <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî ngê</i> (doo/too)	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> (dumo/tumo) <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> <i>(dumo/tumo)</i>	<i>a kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> (dumo/tumo) <i>daa kpîdîkpîdî ngôpu</i> <i>(dumo/tumo)</i>
Habitual Distal (discontinued action) <i>Positive in roman Negative in bold</i>			
3rd person Object			
1	<i>nîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé*) <i>dê nîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê /tê)	<i>nyimo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê /dé) <i>dê nyipu kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê /tê)	<i>nmîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê /dé) <i>dê nmîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê /tê)

Table 6.62 (continued)

Hab Proximal	Sing	Dual	Plural
2	<i>nyimo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé) dê nyimo kpîdîkpîdî (dê /té)	<i>dpîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé) dêdpîmo kpîdîkpîdî (dê /té)	<i>nmyimo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé) dê nmyimo kpîdîkpîdî (dê /té)
3	<i>dpîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé) dê dpîmo kpîdîkpîdî (dê /té)	<i>dpîmo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé) dê dpîmo kpîdîkpîdî (dê /té)	<i>dnyimo kpîdîkpîdî</i> (dê/dé) dê nyimo kpîdîkpîdî (dê /té)

*both *té* and *dé* seem OK here

Table 6.63: Imperatives Continuous Aspect (Negative in bold).

Imp	Sing	Dual	Plural
3 rd person Object, Continuous Aspect, Imperatives			
1	(future forms here)* <i>a nê pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>daa nê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	(future forms here) <i>a ny:oo pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>daa ny:oo pîpî</i> (dê/té)	(future forms here) <i>a nmî pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>daa nmî pîpî</i> (dê/té)
2	<i>chi pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>namê pîpî</i> (dê/té) = <i>kidimê pîpî</i>	<i>choo pîpî</i> <i>namê pîpî</i> (dê/té) = <i>kudumê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>dmyinê pîpî</i> <i>namê pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kî dmyemê pîpî</i> (dê/té)
3	<i>choo pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kîmê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>dny:o pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kîdpîmê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>dny:o pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kî dnyimê pîpî</i> (dê/té)

* The 1st person has no real imperative forms – the future is used instead

Imp – alternative forms*	Sing	Dual	Plural
1			
2	<i>chi pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kichingê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>choo pîpî</i> <i>kudungê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>dmyinê pîpî</i> <i>kîdmyengê pîpî</i> (dê/té)
3	<i>choo pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kîmê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>dny:o pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kîdpîngê pîpî</i> (dê/té)	<i>dny:o pîpî</i> (dê/té) <i>kidnyengê pîpî</i> (dê/té)

* Just the 2nd person negative offers 3 distinct alternate forms.

The meaning differences between the 3 alternate continuous 2nd person imperatives are subtle. The ones listed in the box “alternative forms” seem to suggest universal quantification over times:

- (134) a. *namê pîpî* – you should not be eating this now (maybe later)
 b. *kidimê pîpî* – you should not be eating this now (maybe later)
 c. *kichingê pîpî* – you should never eat it

6.3 Conditional enclitics

Indicative conditionals are formed by replacing the above enclitics, on the antecedent only, with two separate paradigms, one for intransitives and one for transitives. This is the only major independent grammatical category, beyond basic tense/aspect/mood/person/number information, which is fused with the post-verbal clitics. In contrast the pre-verbal clitics, as we have seen, code for many additional features, including Counterfactual conditionals, which thus have a quite unrelated structure to Indicative Conditionals. Both types of conditional sentence are treated under complex sentences in Chapter 8, and the paradigms for conditional enclitics will be found there (§8.2). Here I simply demonstrate that the conditional enclitics replace the normal ones in the antecedent only:

- (135) a. $\emptyset$ *lee* *wo*
 3REM.PI go.FOL Sing.Subj.REM.PI.WEAK
 ‘He went (before yesterday)’
 b. *m:iitwuwó* *lee* *knomomê*,
 day.before.yesterday go.FOL.PI. COND
 ye *n:aa* *lêpî*
 there 1sCI.MOT going.Cont
 ‘If he went the day before yesterday, then I’ll be going there too’

Here *wo* gets replaced with *knomomê* which is indifferent to different tenses and persons in the punctual indicative. There is less neutralization in the transitive conditional enclitics, but a lot of tense/aspect/number information is also collapsed there. Both conditionals and especially counterfactuals have uses as independent main clauses, described for convenience under their complex sentence uses.

6.4 Complex verb phrases

There is no evidence for a VP in the sense of a constituent that binds a transitive verb to its object NP, since objects are freely placed. But the verb complex itself forms a tight unit, and this can include complex verbs and other elements.

Among these are incorporated objects including gerunds (treated in §79.3), a few compound verbs and a few special constructions.

Consider for example the construction in example (136), built on the template: **yida Verb ala Verb** ‘keep on doing something’ (the construction takes both PI and CI verbs). In this construction, the whole verbal complex takes just one proclitic, as appropriate to tense/aspect/mood, but each of the repeated verbs takes its own enclitic (this is further evidence of the tighter connection between verb and enclitic than verb and proclitic, the latter allowing intrusive intervening elements). The proclitic *dê* in the a. sentence below indicates Punctual Aspect. In b., the Continuous Aspect is signalled by a zero-proclitic, and the dual object is reflected in the dual enclitic *dê* in bold (*châpwo* is an irregular verb with same form in the PI and CI aspects). In b., the object is marked dual (*dê*) both in the noun phrase and the enclitic, while in c. the noun is quantified with *limi* ‘five’ and the plural is marked in the enclitics. The other examples just show that, in other respects, the construction inflects as expected: d. and e. are parallel to b., but with dual and plural subjects respectively, f. is parallel to d. but with plural object, g. is the Remote Past version of c., and h. the Near Past version of f.

- (136) a. *pi ngê yi ghi yi kn:ââ mbêmê*
 man ERG tree part tree base on
tuu ngê dê yida châpwo ala châpwo
 axe INST 3IMM yida cut ala cut
 ‘A man kept on cutting a piece of wood on a tree stump with an axe (today)’
- b. *pi ngê yi ghi dê Ø*
 man ERG tree part Dual 3CI.PROX
yida châpwo dê ala châpwo dê
yida cutting MFS.3dO *ala* cutting MFS.3dO
 ‘A man kept on cutting two pieces of wood on a tree stump (today)’
- c. *pi ngê yi ghi limi Ø yida*
 man ERG tree part five 3CI.PROX yida
châpwo té ala châpwo té
 cutting MFS.3plO *ala* cutting MFS.3plO
 ‘A man kept on cutting five pieces of wood (today)’
- d. *pi dê y:oo yi ghi dê*
 man Dual ERG.PL tree part Dual
dê yida châpwo d:oo ala châpwo d:oo
 3IMM yida cut PFS.3dO *ala* cutting PFS.3dO
 ‘Two men kept on cutting two pieces of wood (today)’

- e. *pi limi knî y:oo yi ghi*
 man five AUG ERG.PL tree part
dê dê yida châpwo d:oo
 Dual 3IMM yida cut PFS.3dO
ala châpwo d:oo
ala cutting PFS.3dO
 ‘Five men kept on cutting two pieces of wood (today)’
- f. *pi dê y:oo yi ghi limi dê*
 man Dual ERG.PL tree part five 3IMM
yida châpwo t:oo ala châpwo t:oo
yida cut PFS.3plO ala cutting PFS.3plO
 ‘Two men kept on cutting five pieces of wood (today)’
- g. *pi ngê yi ghi limi yida châpwo*
 man ERG tree part five yida cut
too ala châpwo too
 MFS.3plO.Rem ala cutting MFS.3plO.Rem
 ‘A man kept on cutting five pieces of wood (day before yesterday or before)’
- h. *pi dê y:oo yi ghi limi yida*
 man Dual ERG.PL tree part five yida
châpwo t:oo, ala châpwo t:oo
 cut PFS.3plO ala cutting MFS.3plO
 ‘Two men kept on cutting five pieces of wood (yesterday)’

The *yida* element is not itself a proclitic, since the normal proclitic precedes it, and when a proclitic is regularly missing as in Punctual Imperatives *yida* remains:

- (137) a. *yida châpwo ngi, ala châpwo ngi!*
yida cut 2sS3sOIMPP ala cut 2sS3sOIMPP
 ‘Keep on cutting it’
- b. *yida châpwo nyoo, ala châpwo nyoo*
yida cut 2dS3sOIMPP ala cut 2dS3sOIMPP
 ‘You2 keep on cutting it’
- c. *yeda châpwo koo, ala châpwo koo*
yida cut 1plS3sOIMPP ala cut 1plS3sOIMPP
 ‘We3 should keep on cutting one thing’
- d. *yeda châpwo ngmê, ala châpwo ngmê*
yida cut 1dS3sOIMPP ala cut 1dS3sOIMPP
 ‘We2 should keep on cutting one thing’

- e. *yeda chápwo nyoo, ala chápwo nyoo*
 yida cut 2dS3sOIMPP ala cut 2dS3sOIMPP
 ‘You2 should be cutting it’
- f. *yeda chápwo yó, ala chápwo yó*
 yida cut 2plS3sOIMPP ala cut 2plS3sOIMPP
 ‘You3 should be cutting it’
- g. *yeda chápwo y:e, ala chápwo y:e*
 yida cut 3d/plS3sOIMPP ala cut 3d/plS3sOIMPP
 ‘They2/3 should be cutting it’

Many other complex verbal constructions, which would for example express English infinitival clauses (like the English phase-verbs ‘start to V’, ‘continue to V’ or the attempt-verbs like ‘fail to V’, ‘manage to V’), are done with non-incorporated gerunds (e.g. ‘fail to V’ is expressed as gerund + *dêê* ‘fail to’) which have no tight connection at all to the verb complex. For example:

- (138) *te yâmuyâmu ngê nî dêê wo*
 fish hunting ADV 1s fail.to MF.REM.PI
 ‘I failed to catch any fish’ (lit. ‘fish hunting-wise I failed’)

The phase-verbs have some additional constructional complexities, e.g. ‘to start’ is expressed (with or without an explicit gerund describing the activity) with the nominal *kn:ââ* ‘base, origin, cause’ plus the verb *chaa/chópu/chapi* ‘to split something’:

- (139) a. *tpilewee kn:ââ wunê dê chaa ngmê?*
 dance source already 3IMMPI split PFSbjPROX3sObj
 ‘Has the sing-sing already started?’
- b. *Pule ngê ka'ne pé vyómuvyómu kn:ââ*
 Pule ERG door.steps fixing source
kêdê chaa, ngmênê neli daa tóó
 CERT3CloseIMM split but nails NEG sitting
 ‘Pule started to fix the steps but there were no nails (today)’

Stopping is expressed with the transitive verbs *yé* ‘put down’ or *pwââ* ‘break’ with the gerund (if there is one) as direct object:

- (140) a. *tpilewee dê yé ngmê?*
 dance 3IMMPI put.down PFSbjProx3sObj
 ‘Has the sing-sing already stopped?’

- b. *Pule ngê ka'ne pê vyómuvyómu dê*
 Pule ERG door.steps fixing 3sIMM
yé, neli daa tóó
 put.down nail not sitting
 'Pule stopped fixing the steps – there were no nails'
- c. *Nkéli mbêpê da puwâ*
 boat running 3IMM.CLS break
 'The boat stopped running'

Constructions involving gerunds or nominalized verbs are further dealt with in §8.7, the point here being that these and the associated notions do not involve the formation of a complex verb or verb phrase.