7 The simple clause

7.1 Word and phrase order

In Yélî Dnye, major phrases like the NP and the immediate projection of the verb (a verb plus its obligatory clitics) have rigidly fixed internal order. These major phrases are usually aligned in an A–O–V or S–V order, although the subject is often omitted. However, this is only a tendency, as can be seen from the fact that a simple locative sentence like the following permits all the listed phrase orders, where the subject can be postposed or the verbal complex fronted.

(141) a. *ngomo   ka   kwo   mbwa k:oo*
           house   CERT.3sPRSCI is standing fence   inside
           'The house stands within a fence'
       b. *ngomo mbwa k:oo   ka   kwo*
           house   fence   inside CERT.3sPRSCI is standing
       c. *mbwa k:oo   ngomo ka   kwo*
           fence inside house CERT.3sPRSCI is standing
       d. *mbwa k:oo   ka   kwo   ngomo*
           fence inside CERT.3sPRSCI is standing house
       e. *ka   kwo   ngomo mbwa k:oo*
           CERT.3sPRSCI is standing house fence   inside

There is apparently no meaning difference at a referential (or truth-conditional) level among these variants, although they no doubt occur in different usage contexts. The following example is a full transitive clause with overt arguments and an instrumental phrase, and at least the four indicated orders are possible, although the last, with preposed verb and both ergative (A) and instrumental (I) phrases postposed, is somewhat awkward (although possible). Note that in the singular the ergative case is the same as the instrumental, and potential ambiguity is here resolved by the expectation that the ergative NP will come first.

(142) a. *tp:ee ngê   yedê kpê   dê   châpwo,*
           boy   ERG   vine string 3IMMPI cut
           nkéli chêêpî pee   ngê
           ship   stone   piece INST
           'The boy cut the string with a piece of metal'   A-O-V-I

    b.   *tp:ee ngê nkéli chêêpî pee ngê yedê kpê dê châpwo*   A-I-O-V
    c.   *yede kpê dê châpwo tp:ee ngê, nkéli chêêpî pee ngê*   O-V-A-I
    d.   *dê châpwo yedê kpê, tp:ee ngê, nkéli chêêpî pee ngê*   V-O-A-I

Setting aside argument and adjunct NPs, which generally have freedom of place-
ment, the verb itself comes obligatorily sandwiched between proclitics and enclitics
(in the above example, *dê* is the proclitic and the enclitic is null). As we have seen
in Chapter 6, the proclitics, for both transitive and intransitive verbs, carry informa-
tion about the subject – three persons and three numbers – as well as portmanteau
information about tense, aspect and mood. The proclitics, recollect, are indiffer-
ent to transitivity, in a Nominative pattern. The enclitics come in two series: for
intransitives they mark subject (S) properties combined with tense/aspect/mood,
while for transitives they combine subject (A) *and* object (O) information, as well as
tense, aspect and mood. Thus one could think of the verbal complex (as opposed
to the sentential order) as itself ordered as S–V–(O+)S. The enclitics cannot be sep-
arated from the verb; the proclitics can combine with additional clitics, and they
also allow incorporated objects to come between themselves and the verb.

    With these caveats, we can say that the predominant word order is A–O–V or
S–V, or more properly V-final (meaning verb-complex final), since the subject of
a verb, whether ergative or absolutive, can be freely omitted, so transitive clauses
statistically tend to be O–V. Out of 1259 three participant transitive sentences freely
produced by 60 consultants in a picture-describing experiment (where each partici-
pant in the event was new and therefore tended to be expressed), 1235 were in A–O–V
order, and just 24 (2%) in O–A–V order (see Table 7.1). This strong tendency is con-
sistent with the existence of postpositions rather than prepositions, and preposed
possessives (on the pattern 'John his house'), i.e. with a head-final phrase order.
However, inside NPs adjectives follow the head noun (actually the majority strategy
for OV languages, Dryer 2013a), only modifying nominals in compounds preceding
the head. Further, the language is not left-branching as might be expected on the
basis of A–O–V ordering: relative clauses are superficially to the right of the head
noun (a minority but common enough pattern, Dryer 2013b), although in §8.1 it will
be argued that in fact Yélî relative clauses are internally headed.

Table 7.1: Order of phrases in three and four participant clauses (picture description data; A
agent, O object, V verb, D dative phrase, L locative phrase, I instrumental phrase).

N	3 Argument		+Instrumental			+Locative			+Dative		
	AOV	OAV	AOVI	AOIV	AIOV	AOVL	AOLV	ALOV	AOVD	ADOV	AODV
1417	1235	24	43	29	8	36	63	27	19	17	4

Henderson (1995:59) gives the following phrase order tendencies based on texts:

(143)   Time(day) > Subject > Dat/Abl/ INST/Com > Object > Location/Manner >
         Experiencer > Time(relative) > Quantifier>Predicate

He also notes that most clauses have only one or two major phrases beyond the verb complex, with less than 10% having three or more. In the data from the picture-describing experiment (Table 7.1 above), in just 12% of clauses were additional participants mentioned beyond A–O–V.

7.2 Sentence types, mood and illocutionary force

As mentioned, the language cross-cuts tense with aspect and mood. Since aspect cross-cuts Habitual marking, Henderson (1995:19) argued that the Habitual should be considered a mood (but see discussion in §2.4 and see Comrie 1976:31–32), contrasting with the specificity of the Indicative: there are thus three moods, Indicative, Imperative and Habitual. The Indicative has maximally six tenses, the Imperative and the Habitual maximally two (the Habitual has two tenses in the continuous aspect, the Imperative two in the punctual aspect). The actual marking of such distinctions is distributed across three main markers, the form of the proclitics, the enclitics and the verb-root, as shown in the following table. As Table 7.2 makes clear, counterfactuals are treated like a distinct mood, as are conditionals – although marked in different loci, both have a full range of forms for different tense/aspect/ person configurations.

Table 7.2: Marking of Tense/Mood/Aspect/Force.

Pre-verbal clitic	Post-verbal clitic	Verb-root suppletion	See section
Subject	Subject and Object	(occasional)	Chapter 6, §7.4
	Transitivity	(Transitivity)*	§6.2, §4.5
Tense	Tense	Tense (in Punct. Aspect)	§4.5.4.4
Aspect	Aspect	Aspect	§4.5.2
Habitual vs. Indicative	Habitual vs. Indicative		§6.1, §6.2
Imperative	Imperative	Imperative	§7.2.1
Counterfactuals			§8.3

Table 7.2 (continued)

Pre-verbal clitic	Post-verbal clitic	Verb-root suppletion	See section
	Conditionals		§8.2
Negation	(shifted values in negative sentences)	(occasional)	Chapter 10

*Whether transitivity is marked by suppletion, or the verbs are unrelated, is a moot point. I will assume unrelated.

7.2.1 Imperatives

Imperative forms exist for all three persons, distinguishing most of the nine person/number combinations in proclitic paradigms. They also come in two tenses, Present (now) and Future (deferred). The Imperative mood is functionally important, as it is the main way to express deontic modality in the language. The following examples illustrate the range of usage of imperatives of different persons, numbers and tenses (action to be carried out now vs. deferred till later):

(144) a. *dye   ghi   yintómu Sunday têdê   church*
　　　　 time part every   Sunday place church
　　　　 k:oo   chi   koko
　　　　 inside 2sIMPC ascending
　　　　 'Every Sunday you must go to church'

　　 b. *dye   ghi   yintómu tp:ee dmââdî ma Sunday têdê*
　　　　 time part every   boy   girl   PL Sunday place
　　　　 church k:oo   dny:oo   koko
　　　　 church inside 3plIMPC ascending
　　　　 'Every Sunday the children must go to church'

　　 c. *dini ghi   n:ii ngê   Bishop wa   t:aa,*
　　　　 time part REL ADV bishop 3FUTP arrive
　　　　 dpî   lili   dp:uu   mwini
　　　　 2sIMPDef go.IMP 2sIMPDef.MOT see.IMP
　　　　 'When Bishop comes, you (one) must go and see him (deferred imperative)'

　　 d. *dini ghi   n:ii ngê   Bishop wa   t:aa, dpî   lee,*
　　　　 time part REL ADV bishop 3FUTP arrive 2dIMPDef go.FOL
　　　　 choo dp:uu   m:uu nyoo
　　　　 2dIMPDef.MOT see   2dS3sOIMP
　　　　 'When Bishop comes, you two must go and see him (deferred imperative)'

e. *dini ghi n:ii ngê Bishop wa t:aa, dpî lee,*
    time part REL ADV bishop 3FUTP arrive 2dIMPDef go.FOL
    dmyino dp:uu m:uu yó
    2plIMPDef.MOT see 2plS3sOIMP
    'When Bishop comes, you three or more must go and see him
    (deferred imperative)'

f. *dini ghi n:ii ngê Bishop wa t:aa, dpî lee,*
    time part REL ADV bishop 3FUTP arrive 2dIMPDef go.FOL
    we dp:uu m:uu ngê
    3sSIMP.IV 3sIMPDef.MOT see 3sS3sOIMP
    'When Bishop comes, he must go and see him (deferred imperative)'

g. *dini ghi n:ii ngê Bishop wa t:aa, dpî lee,*
    time part REL ADV bishop 3FUTP arrive 2dIMPDef go.FOL
    dniye dp:uu m:uu y:ee
    3d/pl.lIMPDef.MOT see 3d/plS3sOIMP
    'When Bishop comes, they two or more must go and see him
    (deferred imperative)'

h. *mî ngê kópuni choo tpapê, dye ghi yintómu*
    father ERG word.spec 3sIMPC saying time part all
    chi d:uud:uu
    2sIMPC doing
    'You must always do what your father (imperatively) says'

i. *tp:ee dmââdî ma yi mî knî y:oo kópuni*
    boy girl PL their father AUG ERG.PL word.spec
    dny:oo Tpapê, dye ghi yintómu dny:oo d:uud:uu
    3plIMPC saying time part all 3plIMPC doing
    'Children must always do what their fathers say'

j. *mt:enge n:aa ngmê ma*
    puffer.fish 2sNEVER.IMP eat
    'Never eat *mt:enge* fish (Arothron sp., poison fish)'

k. *pyââ ngê lvéé d:uu dpî ma*
    woman ERG fish.sp 3NEVER.IMP eat
    'Woman must never eat *lvéé* fish (Symphorichthys sp., reserved
    for men)'

7.2.1.1 Positive imperatives

The Imperative mood is expressed, as mentioned, in three persons, two aspects
and two tenses, but with specific gaps in this paradigm. The pre-verbal clitics
mark the distinctions as follows (Table 7.3, after Henderson 1995:102–103, note that

further distinctions are made when the proclitic combines with other features –
see e.g. Henderson 1995:107, and §6.1):

Table 7.3: Imperative Pre-nuclear Clitics – Subject properties, Tense,
Aspect (Positive only – negatives treated later).

Punctual Aspect; Present tense	Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
	1ˢᵗ			
	2ⁿᵈ		Ø	
	3ʳᵈ			

Punctual Aspect; Future tense - i.e. Deferred Imperative	Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
	1ˢᵗ	*(none)*	*paa*	
	2ⁿᵈ		*dpî*	
	3ʳᵈ			

Continuous Aspect; Present OR Deferred tense	Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
	1ˢᵗ	*(none)*	Ø	
	2ⁿᵈ	*chi*	*choo*	*dmyinê*
	3ʳᵈ	*choo*	*dny:oo*	

As can be seen, only the Punctual Aspect has a deferred or future imperative,
meaning 'Do it later'. As noted in §6.1, there are also many additional forms of
these proclitics, according e.g. to deictic and negative status. For example, the
following examples differ in that *dpî* has incorporated an associated motion
marker in the second version (the resultant form is unpredictable, but is formed
analogously to the motion forms in the indicative series):

(145) *dpî*   *lili*
       2/3S.IMPDefd   go.IMP.P
       'You/he/they go later'

(146) *dp:uu*   *lili*
       2/3S.IMPDefd.MOT   go.IMP.P
       'You have to go and leave later'

In addition to this marking in the pre-verbal clitic, there is also marking in the
verb root: following the tendency for suppletion in verbs, many punctual roots
have a suppletive form for the punctual singular imperative (as well as for 'fol-
lowed' roots, that is, roots with a non-zero post-verbal clitic), as Table 7.4 shows:

Table 7.4: Verb root suppletion in Imperatives: Some examples.

verb meaning	unmarked form of Punctual Indicative	unmarked form of Continuous Indicative	Imperative singular form	Followed root
'go'	*lê*	*lêpî*	*lili*	*lee*
'give to 3rd person'	*y:oo*	*y:eemî*	*yéni*	*y:ee*
'change something'	*ngmêê*	*ngmêêpî*	*ngmépi*	*ngmêê*
'break something'	*pwââ*	*pwapî*	*pwédi*	*pwaa*

This special imperative form of the verb root is only used in the 2nd person, and when the verb is not followed by an imperative post-verbal clitic (i.e., when it is zero, e.g. 2nd person singular) – where it is so followed, the 'followed root' (as in Table 7.4) is used if there is one, or if not, the unmarked form of the relevant aspect is used. This brings us to the Imperative forms of the post-verbal clitics: in the intransitive case (Table 7.5), these post-verbal clitics serve to indicate person/number (only in the Punctual aspect), in the transitive case (Table 7.6) they serve to cross-index both the person/number of the subject and the person/number of the object in portmanteau form in the Imperative mood as in the Indicative.

Table 7.5: Imperative intransitive post-verbal clitics, punctual aspect (positive only).

Transitivity, Aspect	Person	Sing	Dual	Plural
Intransitive Punctual	1	_	*knî*	*kmîle*
	2	Ø	*choo*	*dmyino*
	3	*wee*	*dniye*	*dniye*
Intransitive Continuous	Ø throughout			

Table 7.6: Imperative transitive post-verbal clitics, punctual aspect (positive only).[29]

TENSE	SUBJECT Person/ Number	OBJECT Person	OBJECT Number		
			Sing	**Dual**	**Plural**
Immediate or Deferred	**MonoFocal: 1/SG**	**1**	*nédi*	*nyédi*	*nmédi*
	PolyFocal: 2/3/pl		*nódó*	*nyédi*	*nyédi*
Deferred	**3 sing/dual/plural**	**2**	*nyédi*	*dpédi*	*nmyédi*

---

29 This material was hard to elicit, and it may be that the table underplays the Monofocal/Polyfocal collapse of person/number in some cells.

Table 7.6 (continued)

TENSE	SUBJECT Person/ Number	OBJECT Person	OBJECT Number		
			Sing	Dual	Plural
Immediate or Deferred	1sing	3	_	*déme*	*téme*
	1dual		*ngmê*	*déme?*	*téme?*
	1plural		*koo*	*déme?*	*téme?*
	2sing	3	*ngi*	*dé*	*té*
	2dual		*nyoo*	*dóó*	*tóó*
	2plural		*yó*	*dóó*	*dóó*
	3sing	3	*ngê*	*déne*	*téne*
	3dual/pl		*y:e*	*déne*	*téne*

Note that the tables above are restricted to positive punctual verbs – continuous verbs take special proclitics, but with no special enclitics: intransitive continuous verbs take no imperative enclitics, but transitive verbs take indicative enclitics as if for non-proximal tenses, as in Table 7.7:

Table 7.7: Imperative Transitive Post-Verbal Clitics, Continuous aspect (positive only).

SUBJECT		OBJECT		
Person, number	Person	SING	DUAL	PLURAL
all	1	*nê*	*nyo*	*nmo*
all	2	*ngi*	*dp:o*	***nmyo***
all	3	*Ø*	*dê*	*dé*

The interactions between these three kinds of markings of the Imperative (proclitic, root, enclitic) can best be appreciated by some examples:

(147) *chi   lêpî!*
2sIMP.PRS.PI   go.Continuous
'You be going' (normal way to say 'Buzz off!' to troublesome child)

(148) *lili*
go.IMP.P
'Go off' (normal way to say e.g. 'You set off (and deliver that message)')

(149) *dpî*   *lee*   *choo*
        2/3Subject.IMP.P.Defd   go.FOL   2d.IMP.Intrans
        'You two go'

(150) *lee*   *knî;*   *paa*   *ala*
        go.FOL   1d.Intrans   go.1d/pl.IMP   this
        'Let us two go (right now)', 'Let us two/three go now'
        (normal way to say 'Let's start off')

(151) *choo*   *lêpî*
        2d.C.IMP   going
        'You two be going off'

(152) *choo*   *pîpî*   *dê*
        2d.C.IMP   eating   C.3dO.Distal/IMP
        'You two should eat the two of them'

There is as shown a suppletive form of the verb 'go' for the 'let's go' meaning
(1st dual/plural Immediate imperative), namely *pala* or *paa*, which may have
derived from a polite use of the following:

(153) *paa*   *lee*   *knî*
        d/pl.IMPDefd   go.FOL   1d.Intrans
        'Let's go later'

The meaning distinctions in these paradigms need a little explication. For example,
the aspectual distinction in simple imperatives serves to indicate whether an
extended process is to be begun or not:

(154) *mbii*   *ngi!*
        punt.IMP   2sS.3sO
        'Punt it now'

(155) *chi*   *mbiye!*
        2sS.C.IMP   punt.C
        'Be punting now/start punting'

The tense distinction 'Present' vs. 'Future or Deferred' makes a distinction between
an action to be done right now and some time in the future:

(156) *kwidi*   Ø
       wash.IMP   2sS.Intrans
       'Wash (yourself) now!'

(157) *dpî*   *kwidi*
       2/3IMPDefd.P   wash.IMP
       'Wash (later)!'

The interpretation of first and third person imperatives also needs explanation. First person imperatives have the expected 'Let us do it' sense. Third person imperatives have a 'Let him do it' sense. This clearly presupposes a second communication event, e.g., I tell you that you should go and tell him to do it. Because of this, these forms peculiarly allow an extra (2nd person) argument, *nyi*:

(158) *Tili mwi   nyi lee   wee*
       Tili   there   2s   go.FOL   3sS.IMP
       'You (say to) Tilly is to go over there'

This extra argument can take the deictic *a*, 'hither', usually reserved for pre-verbal position, which modifies the main verb (so suggesting that the *nyi* has a sort of incorporated status):

(159) *Tili   a   nyi   lee   wee   Father   ka*
       Tili   hither   you   go.FOL   3sS.IMP   Priest   Dative/Ablative
       'You (go to and tell) Tilly he is to come hither to the Priest'

It is interesting to find a construction like this which builds the actors in two sequential communication events into a single clause.
    All of the imperative forms can be read as deontic modals, especially (but not exclusively) if they are in the continuous aspect form. For example:

(160) *pi   yintómu chuchu k:oo   dny:oo   koko*
       person   all   church   inside   3d/pl.C.IMP   ascending
       'Everybody should go to church'

(161) *vy:a   nédi*
       hit.FOL.P.MFS   1sOTransitiveIMP
       'You should hit me (because I did a bad thing)'

(162) *ngî* *dp:uu* *m:uu* *yó* *mââm:ii* *kî* *tpóknî*
IMP 2plIMP see 2plS3sO later DEIC guys
'You3 must go and see it sometime, guys'
(Here, the *ngî* is an optional additional imperative preverbal marker.)

An alternative way of expressing obligation or 'should'/'ought' is to use the coun-
terfactual paradigm, taking the protasis forms (also, with negative connotations
the apodasis) as independent clauses (see counterfactuals below). Imperatives
are often reinforced by the preverbal item *d:ââ*:

(163) *d:ââ* *mê* *péé,* *d:ââ* *mê* *póó* *cho,*
IMP.EMPH again ask.IMP IMP.EMPH again ask 2dSIMP.P.IV,
d:ââ *mê* *póó* *dmyino*
IMP.EMPH again ask 2plS.IMP.P.IV
'You1 ask again, or you2 ask again, or you3 ask again'

7.2.1.2 Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives introduce an entirely different paradigm. There is a special
set of pre-verbal proclitics indicating negative imperative status, and the imper-
ative post-verbal enclitics are also distinct (for intransitives, they are borrowed
from the positive habitual series, see §6.2.3.1, and for transitives they are distinct,
see §6.2.3.2). These pre-verbal clitics incorporate or attract the basic negative
marker *daa*, or a special negative imperative marker *ngê* or *mê* and also attract
the definite epistemic marker *kî* and a negative polarity item *n:uu* (of uncertain
meaning) – all these elements may or may not be fused in portmanteau form. For
example, the following sentence is the form of a basic injunction to the clumsy
foreigner:

(164) *kid:a* *ngê* *ghay*
kî+daa ngê ghay
CERT.Neg NEG.IMP fall.P
'Don't fall down.'

Or in reported speech:

(165) *vyi* *ngmê* *yepê* *awêde* *Nt:ââp:o*
say PFS_3sOPROX(tvPostN) QUOT.3S.3OREM today village_site
'Then the women said to them: To the village of Nt:ââp:o,

> *kudu*   *ngmê*   *n:aa*   *t:aa*
> CERT.NEG?   NEG.IMP   NegPol?   arrive
> don't go today.'

The following tables (7.9 to 7.11) give the negative imperative paradigms for the intransitive continuous verb *kuku* meaning 'to wash oneself'. This verb has the following suppletions (Table 7.8):

Table 7.8: Suppletive forms of *kuku* 'to wash oneself'.

Inherently Punctual root:	*kudu*
Imperative:	(Punctual suppletive form) *kwidi/* (Continuous form) *chi kudu*
Proximate Past (unmarked) form:	*kudu*
Remote Past and Followed suppletive form:	*kpêê*
Continuous Aspect form:	*kuku*

Table 7.9: Negative Imperatives – Continuous Aspect, Intransitive (illustrated with *kuku*, 'wash oneself, continuous aspect').

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	*daa nê kuku* (I must not wash)	*daa ny:oo kuku* ('we2 are not allowed to wash')	*daa nmî kuku*
2nd	*kidimê kuku* (get out, too late to wash) *kidingê kuku* (river not clean) *kichingê kuku* (never wash here) *n:aamê kuku* (get out, crocodiles)	*kudu mê kuku* *n:aa mê kuku*	*kî dmyemê kuku* *kî dmyengê kuku* ('never wash there, you1–3') *n:aamê kuku*
3rd	*kîngî kuku* (he must not wash) = *kîmê kuku*	*kîdpî ngê kuku* (or *kudu mê kuku*)	*kî dnyingê kuku* *kî dnyemê kuku*

Table 7.10: Negative Imperatives – Punctual Aspect, Present Tense, Intransitive (with *kudu/kpêê* 'wash oneself, Punctual'), Future Tense (Deferred) Forms Only.

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	*daa n:uu kudu* (over there +Motion?) *daa nê kudu*	*daa nyi kpêê knî* ('we must not wash')	*daa nmî kpêê dmi*

Table 7.10 (continued)

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
2nd	*n:uu ngmê kudu (*kwidi)* *= nuku kudu* ('don't swim here')	*kudu ngê kpêê knî*	*kî dmyengê kpêê dmi*
3rd	*kî ngî kudu*	*kî ngî kpêê knî*	*kî ngî kpêê dmi*

(It should be noted that, as explained in §8.3, use of a single counterfactual clause can have some of the same force. For example, *daa pîdê kudu* 'I should not have washed (the water was unclean)', *daa pîdnye kpêê knî*, 'We two should not have washed', etc., can mean 'I must not. . .', 'we must not. . .').

Table 7.11: Negative Imperatives – Punctual Aspect, Future/Deferred tense, Intransitive (with *kudu/kpêê* 'wash oneself, Punctual').

	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st	*kîdîngê kudu* 'later I must not. . .'	*kidingê kpêê knî*	*kudungê kpêê dmi*
2nd	*kidingê kudu* *n:aa ngmê kudu*	*kudungê kpêê knî*	*kî dmyengê kpêê dmi*
3rd	*kî ngê kudu* 'he should not wash'	*kî ngê kpêê knî*	*kî ngê kpêê dmi*

Negative imperatives with intransitive verbs seem sometimes to motivate the use of other verbs as auxiliaries (although direct imperatives are possible here also, as in *namê dpî* 'Don't sleep!'):

(166) a. *dpî   ngê   kiyedê/kidingê ngê   t:oo*
       sleeping ADV   NEG2sIMP   touch
       'You1 don't go to sleep'
       lit. 'Sleeping don't you touch it'

   b. *dpî   ngê   kêê   kudu ngê   t:ee   ngmê*
       sleeping ADV   hand NEG2dIMP touch PFS3sO.IMP
       'You2 don't go to sleep'
       lit. 'Don't you2 put hands on sleeping'

   c. *dpî   ngê   kêê   kê dmyengê ngê   t:ee   ngmê*
       sleeping ADV   hand NEG2plIMP   touch.FOL PFS3sO.IMP
       'You3 don't go to sleep'
       lit. 'Don't you3 put hands on sleeping'

The changes in the enclitics in negative clauses are laid out in tabular form in §6.2.3 but it is useful to see them exemplified. The following tables (7.12 to 7.13) illustrate with transitive verbs *pîpî* 'eating (Continuous)', *vyee* 'hitting (Continuous)' and *ma* 'eat (Punctual)'. The subject person/number is given in the rows/columns, while object person is given at the head of the table, with number indicated by the alternates in brackets (Sing/Dual/Plural) – thus *n:aa mê pîpî(Ø/ dê/té)* is to be read as 'You sing. may not eat it/those2/those3'. Note that the full paradigm is much larger, intersecting nine subject person/numbers with nine object person/numbers. The difference between the straight Imperative and the Generalized Imperative is difficult to pin down, but is perhaps that the straight Imperative forbids the action on specific objects, while the Generalized Imperative forbids the action on all objects of that type.

Table 7.12: Negative Imperatives – Continuous Transitive root *pîpî* 'eating something'.

3ʳᵈ Person Object: Singular/Dual/Plural

Imperative

Subject Person	Subject Number (3ʳᵈ person Object Sing/Dual/Plural in brackets)		
Subject	Sing	Dual	Plural
1	(future forms here)	(future forms here)	(future forms here)
2	*n:aamê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kudumê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kî dmyemê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*
3	*kîmê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kîdpîmê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kî dnyimê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*

3ʳᵈ Person Object: Singular/Dual/Plural

Generalized Imperative

Subject Person	Subject Number (3ʳᵈ person Object Sing/Dual/Plural in brackets)		
	Sing	Dual	Plural
1	?	?	?
2	*kichingê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kudungê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kîdmyengê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*
3	*kîmê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kîdpîngê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*	*kidnyengê pîpî (Ø/dê/té)*

1ˢᵗ Person Object: Singular/Dual/Plural

Imperative

Subject Person	Subject Number (1ˢᵗ person Object Sing/Dual/Plural in brackets)		
	Sing	Dual	Plural
1	?	?	?
2	*kichingê vyee (nê/nyo/ nmo)*	*kudumê vyee (nê/nyo/ nmo)*	*kî dmyemê vyee (nê/nyo/ nmo)*
3	*kîmî vyee (nê/nyo/ nmo)*	*kîdpîmê vyee (nê/nyo/ nmo)*	*kî dnyimê vyee (nê/nyo/ nmo)*

Table 7.13: Negative Imperatives – Punctual Transitive Root *ma* 'eat something'.

3ʳᵈ Person Object: Singular/Dual/Plural

Immediate Imperative

Subject Person	Subject Number (3ʳᵈ person Object Dual/Plural in brackets)		
	Sing	**Dual**	**Plural**
1	*daa nê ma (dê/té)** *kîdî ngê ma (dê/té)*	*daa nyi ma (dê/té)* *kî dnye ngê ma (dê/té)*	*daa nmî ma (dê/té)* *kudungê ma (dê/té)*
2	*nangê ma (dê/té)* *n:uu ngmê ma* */nakî ma = nuku ma*	*kudungê ma ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)* */nakî ma (dê/té)*	*kî dmyengê ma ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)* */nakî ma (dê/té)*
3	*kî ngê ma (dê/té)*	*kî ngê ma ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)*	*kî ngê ma ngmê (d:oo/t:oo)*

* 'I should not to eat it/those2/those3 things'

1ˢᵗ Person Object: Singular/Dual/Plural

Immediate Imperative

Subject Person	Subject Number (1ˢᵗ person Object Sing/Dual/Plural in brackets)		
	Sing	**Dual**	**Plural**
1			
2	*nangê vy:a (nê/ny:oo/nmo)*	*kudungê vy:a (nê/ny:oo/nmo)*	*kî dmyengê vy:a (nê/ny:oo/nmo)*
3	*kî ngê vy:a (nê/ny:oo/nmo)*	*kî ngê vy:a (nê/ny:oo/nmo)*	*kî ngê vy:a (nê/ny:oo/nmo)*

3ʳᵈ Person Object: Singular/Dual/Plural

Deferred Imperative

Subject Person (positive in roman for comparison)	Subject Number (3ʳᵈ person Object Sing/Dual/Plural in brackets)		
	Sing	**Dual**	**Plural**
1	(no form) *kîdîngê ma (Ø/dê/té)*	paa ma (ngmê/déme/téme) *kî dnye ngê ma (Ø/dê/té)*	paa ma (koo/ déme/ téme) *kudungê ma (Ø/dê/té)*
2	dpî ma (ngi/dé/té) *kidingê ma (Ø/dê/té)*	dpî ma (nyo/dóó/tóó) *kudungê ma (ngmê/d:oo/ t:oo)*	dpî ma (yó/dóó/tóó) *kî dmyengê ma (ngmê/d:oo/t:oo)*
3	dpî ma (ngê/déne/ téne) *kî ngî ma (Ø/dê/té)*	dpî ma (y:e/déne/téne) *kî ngî ma (ngmê/d:oo/t:oo)*	dpî ma (y:e/déne/ téne) *kî ngî ma (ngmê/ d:oo/t:oo)*

Note that 3rd person imperatives have distinct enclitics in positive vs. negative contexts. The following gives some examples, with negative counterparts in bold:

(167) **Positive imperatives**   **NEG counterparts**

Lee we!   **= kî ngê lê**
'He should go, let him go'   'He should not go'

Mbwódo yaa we!   **= kî ngê yââ**
'Let him sit on the ground'   'Let him not sit on the ground'

Mbwódo yaa dniye!   **= kî ngê yaa knî**
'They2should sit down'   'They2 should not sit down'

Mbwódo yaa dniye!   **= kî ngê yaa dmi**
'They2/3 should sit down'   'They2/3 should not sit down'

Mbwódo yé ngê   **= kî ngê yé**
'He should put it down'   'He should not put it down'

Mbwódo yé y:ee   **= kî ngê yé ngmê**
'They2/3 should put it down'   'They2/3 should not put it down'

Mbwódo yé déne   **= kî ngê yé d:oo**
'He/they2/ should put 2 things   'He/they2/ should not put 2 things
down'   down'

Mbwódo yé téne   **= kî ngê yé t:oo**
'He/they2/ should put 3 things   'He/they2/ should not put 3 things
down'   down'

7.2.2 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are marked either by question words (WH-questions) or perhaps sometimes by prosody; there are no other reflections, e.g. in obligatory change of word-order or in verbal clitics. Nevertheless, polar or yes-no questions are identifiable by virtue of their content, and in discourse they are treated specially with tokens of assent or dissent. Finally, also unmarked as interrogatives are alternative questions, delivered as declarative disjunctions. In informal interaction, roughly 60% of questions are content or WH-questions, 40% polar questions, while alternative questions at 1% are vanishingly rare (Levinson 2010). More about each of these types is given in the following three sections (see also Levinson 2010, 2012, 2015).

7.2.2.1 Polar or Yes-No questions
In the case of Yes-No questions, there is no morphosyntactic marking and no clear characteristic prosody either –pitch traces (see §3.6) of questions in conversation

show systematically falling intonation, mimicked in their answers, although there may be special intensity variation across the clause.

Instead, utterances like the following are understood as questions if the addressee is the one with the knowledge in question:

(168) *yi   kópu   dê   d:uu*
      ANAPH   thing   3IMMPI   makePI
      'Did he make it?'

The answering system to such polar (yes-no) questions is more or less like English for the positive question:

(169) A: *nyââ,   yi   kópu   dê   d:uu*
         yes   ANAPH   thing   3ImmPI   make
         'Yes, he made it'
      B: *kêle,   doo   d:uu   ngê*
         No   NEG3IMMPI   makePI   MFS.3sOPROXPI
         'No, he didn't make it'

However, for the negative question, *nyââ* 'yes' indicates that the negative state of affairs holds (i.e. the recipient agrees with the negative proposition expressed by the questioner):

(170) A: *doo   u   ntââ,   daa   nye   lê*
         NEG   3POSS   enough   NEG   2sPRS   go
         'It's not enough, you're not going? (the sea is too rough)'
      B: *nyââ*
         'Yes I am not going'

Responses to yes-no questions are often kinesic rather than linguistic – an eye-brow flash or a prolonged blink indicates 'yes', a head shake 'no'. These follow the same rules: an eye-brow flash response in the above context would mean 'yes you are correct, I am not going' (Levinson 2015).

There are tag-questions, e.g. using the post-sentential particle *apii* (see §4.6.2.2), 'is it not so?' (lit. 'you say!'):

(171) A: *kî*   *ye*   *wunê*   *wuwó*   *apii?*
        This   ANAPH 3ImmFUTCI.CLS collecting TAG
        'This thing (microphone) will be collecting all this, right?'
   B: *nyââ*
       'Yes'

These tags have clear literal meanings (e.g. *chi ny:oo?* 'Did you hear?', *kwi* 'Tell him!'), and are not properly incorporated into the syntax or, often, the prosody (they may follow a slight pause). They thus do not have the clear morphosyntactic status of the sentence-final tags in many other languages. They essentially demand a response (agreement, commitment, etc., to the proposition expressed).

An expected answer can be marked by particles or negation:

(172) *ndoo*   *apê*   *dê*   *lê*
     perhaps maybe 3IMM.PI goProxPI
     'He went, didn't he?'

(173) Q: *doo*   *loo*
        NEG3IMM.PI go.REM/NegPol
        'He didn't go?'
   A₁: *nyââ doo*   *loo*
        Yes   NEG3IMM.PI go.REM/NegPol
        'Yes, he didn't go'
   A₂: *kêle,* *kêdê*   *lê*
        No   CERT.3IMM.PI go
        'No, he did go'

Echo-questions can be marked in a similar fashion by particles, tags or prosody:

(174) *ndê ndê* *doo*   *d:uu*   *ngê*
     truly   NEG3IMMPI makePI MFS.3sOPROXPI
     'He really hasn't done it?'

7.2.2.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are empirically rare in discourse, and are formed simply by a declarative disjunction uttered in a context where it is clear that the addressee may know which disjunction obtains. The examples I have are elliptical, with two NPs disjoined by *ó* 'or', and are clarification questions.

(175) a. *yéépî wédi ngomo ó kaa   ngomo?*
              sago.thatch house or palm.fan house?
              'Sago leaf house or fan-palm leaf house?' (for thatch)

      b. *Moresby ó Alotau?*
           '(Are they going to) Moresby or Alotau?'

7.2.2.3 Content or Wh-questions

Wh-Questions are marked by a full range of Wh-forms, which take full nominal case-marking (although there are special forms for 'Who+ERG' and 'Where+DAT/ABL'). Since these allow movement, some aspects of Wh-formation are dealt with below, under complex sentence constructions. The following Wh-forms exist (Table 7.14):

Table 7.14: Wh-forms.

n:uu	'Who?'
nanê	'Who-Ergative?' (this has Absolutive uses too in the Western dialect)
lukwe	'What?'
ló	'Which?' e.g. *ló pini* 'which person?'
angê	'Which?'
angênê	'Where?' (static location only)
anyi	'Whither/Whence?'
ló y:i	'Whither/Whence?'
angênté	'How?'
lónté	'How?'
yémi/yimi	'How many?'
angêntoo	'How big?'
lóntoo	'How big?'
angê ndy:ââ	'How tall/long?'
anté	'When?' (*angodo* in P:uum dialect)
ló dini ghi ngê	'When?'

Unlike in many languages, the 'What?' interrogative cannot be used to request repair, instead the particles *:ââ?, :êê?* are used. Despite this, 'What' questions are by far the most frequent, followed by 'Where' and 'Who' forms (see Levinson 2010 for the statistics.)

Further Wh-forms can be constructed using especially *ló*, the interrogative adjective 'which', e.g. *ló dini ghi ngê* 'when', lit. 'which time part time.adverbial-izer'. All these forms often occur in initial position, especially in short utterances, but they often do not – the following example from conversation shows constituents in what would be unmarked declarative order:

(176) a. *ala   yópu   anyi   ka   a   pwiyé   dniye*
        this wind where CERT+HAB CLOSE come/go Intrans.HAB.3pl
        'Where do these cyclones come from?'

    b. *mu   pini   ngê   ló   kópu   ngma a   dy:ââ   ngê*
        DEIC man ERG which word Indef CLOSE send MFS3sOPIPast
        'That man what message did he send?'

Some examples of 'Who' questions follow, which show the range of NPs in different grammatical roles (S (intransitive subject), A (transitive subject), O (object), etc.) which can be questioned (Wh-words in bold):

(177) **Examples with *n:uu* 'Who?'**   **Case**   **Function**

    a. *kî*   **n:uu** *u*   *nee?*   Absolutive Equative
        Demon.unmarked who 3sPoss canoe
        'Whose canoe is this?'

    b. *ala*   *nee*   **nanê**   *ndê*   Ergative   A
        Demon.Prox canoe who.ERG make.boat
        ngê
        MFS3sOREM
        'Who made this canoe?'

    c. *ala*   *nee*   **n:uu** *ngê* *ndê*   Ergative   A
        Demon.Prox canoe who ERG make.boat
        ngê
        MFS3sOREM
        'Who made this canoe?' (same as b. with compositional ergative NP)

    d. *al:ii* **n:uu** *ngmê* *Council?*   Absolutive Equative
        here Who INDF councillor
        'Who is the Councillor here?'

    e. **n:uu** *nmgê* *chi*   *vy:a*   Absolutive O
        who INDF 2sIMM hit
        'Whom did you hit?'

    f. **n:uu** *ka*   *dê*   *y:oo*   Dative   Goal
        who DAT/ABL 3IMMPI give.to.3
        'Whom did he give it to?'

    g. **n:uu** **ngê** *da*   *dy:ââ*   Ergative   A
        who ERG 3IMM.CLS send
        'Who sent (the letter)?'

h. ***n:uu ka*** *da ndê* Abl/Dat Source
who DAT/ABL 3IMM.CLS arrive
'From whom did it come?

i. *u pi **n:uu;** mi **n:uu*** Absolutive Equative
3Poss name who? Your.name (N+pi) who?
'What is his/her name? What is your name?'

j. *nkéli pi **n:uu**? U pi Âni* Absolutive Equative
boat name who? 3POSS name Âni
'What's the boat's name? Its name is Âni'

k. ***n:uu k:ii*** *Alotau dê lee knî* Comitative Adjunct
who COM Alotau 3sIMMPI go.foll 3d.Intrans
'With whom did he go to Alotau?'

l. ***n:uu ngê*** *dómu a t:a* Experiencer Subject
who EXP hunger 3sPRSCI hang
'Who is hungry?' (lit. 'To whom is hunger hanging?')

m. ***n:uu ngma*** *a dómdómu* Absolutive S
Who INDF.CLS 3sPRSCI be.hungry
'Who is hungry?'

n:uu *nkéli k:oo ngmê dê dpî?* Absolutive S
who boat inside INDF 3IMM sleep
'Who slept in the boat (last night)?'

n:uu *mgîdî vy:oo ngomo k:oo ngmê* Absolutive S
who night inside house inside INDF
dê lê
3IMM go
'Who went to your house in the middle of the night?'

n. ***n:uu ngê*** *ala puku dmi u* Experiencer S
who EXP this book CLF its
yi a kwo
desire 3PRSCI stands
'Who wants this book?'

o. ***n:uu ngê*** *Morning Star ngê paa u* Experiencer S
who EXP Morning Star INST going his
yi a kwo?
desire 3sPRSCI stands
'Who wants to go with the (boat) Morning Star?'

p. **n:uu ngê** *Osborne brothers* *u*   Experiencer   Dative
   who   EXP Osborne brothers his   -Subject
   kpêê   *dê*   *kêna*
   experience   Dual   Abeleti
   'To whom was there experience of the Osborne brothers at Abeleti
   (i.e. who knew them)?'

q. *nté* **n:uu ka**   *chi*   *y:oo*   Dative   Recipient
   food who   DAT/ABL 2sIMMPI give.to.3
   'To whom did you give the food (earlier today)?'

r. **n:uu u**   **l:êê dîy:o** *ala*   *ngomo*   Absolutive   Possessor
   who   3sPoss reason   this   house
   chi   *wó*
   2sIMMPI   build
   'For whom did you build this house?'
   (lit. 'You built this house its reason who?')

s. **n:uu ngmê ngê** *Mîknwe* *mgópu*   Ergative   A
   who   INDF ERG Mîknwe kill.by.sorcery.REM
   'Who killed Mîknwe by sorcery?'

Where the referent of *n:uu* is plural, this is indicated by number marking inside the case expression, as in:

(178)   *n:uu dé ye*   *y:ângo*
       who   PL   to.them   give.to.3rdPerson.REM
       'To which 3+ people did he give it?'

Note that interrogative nominals can occur with indefinite *ngmê*, as in *n:uu ngmê*, 'Who? Which of them?'.

    The examples (177)i.-j. show that *n:uu* is not restricted to animates, but rather to things (not places) which have a name – one does not ask 'What is its name?' but 'Who is its name?' (*n:uu u pi*) even if the referent is a boat.

    It is clear from the examples above that *n:uu* and other *Wh*-elements can come with most case markers – they are thus not restricted to specific argument positions, as the following examples further show:

(179)   **Questioned oblique or embedded NPs**
     a. *kî*   *pyópu* **lukwe ngê** *vyâ?*
        that   lady   what   INST kill
       'With what was the lady killed?'

b. **ló   nkéli k:oo**   *Yidika   a   wowo*
Which boat   inside Yidika 3sFUT embark
'Inside which boat did Yidika embark?'

Other question words in a range of functions follow:

(180) **Examples with *lukwê* 'What?', *ló tpile* 'Which thing'**
a. *ala   **lukwe**? ala   **ló**   **tpile***   Equative
Dem.Prox   what   dem.Prox   which   thing   (Absolute)
'What is this? This is what thing?'
b. *kî   kópu   u   nt:uu   **lukwe**?*   Equative
Dem.unmarked affair 3Poss reason what   (Absolute)
'What caused this?'
c. **lukwe** *ngmê dî   l:âmo?*   Absolutive
what   INDF 3IMMPI make   (O-function)
'What did he make?'
d. **ló tpile/lukwe**   *kiyedê   pwiyé   knî*   Absolutive
Which thing/what   3PRS.CI.CLS   coming 3d/s   (S-function)
'What is that coming?'
e. **lukwe** *ngmê dî   y:oo   m:aam:aa ka*   Absolutive
What   INDF 3IMMPI give.to.3 FZ   DAT   (O-function)
'What did he give to auntie?'

A curiosity of the 'Where' forms is that they strictly distinguish motion from location, while not distinguishing between source and goal of motion (this fits the general pattern in the language; §5.2.1, §11.2.2–§11.2.3; Levinson 2006b). So *angenê* 'Where-located?' contrasts with *anyi* 'Whither/Whence?'. Thus **angênê a lêpî* 'where.location is he going' is semantically anomalous, although it might have a rhetorical use as indicating 'He is going nowhere'.

(181) **Examples with *angenê*, *anyi*, *ló y:ii* 'Where, which place?'**
a. **anyi**   *a   lêpî*
where.motion   3PRS   going
'From where is he coming?'
b. **ló**   *y:i   nyi   lêpî?* (Formulaic query)
Which   there   2sPRS going
'Whither are you going?'
c. **anyi**   *wunê   ndiyendiye?*
where.motion   CLS.3PRS   come.fromCI
'Where is he coming from?'

   d. ***angênê*** *m:aa?*
      angênê   N+   p:aa
      where   your   village
      'Where's your village?'

   e. *pód:a* ***angêne*** *dê*
      bottle   where   Dual
      'Where are the two bottles?'

   f. ***ló***   *y:i*   *nmye*   *mbumu*   *té*
      which   there   2plImmFUT   talking   plSprox.Intrans
      'Where are you talking about?' (where did those things happen)
      (*anyi* is OK here, not *angênê*)

Note that in the first examples in (181), the whither/whence interpretation is actually not stipulated; an interpretation can be forced by using a verb that subcategorizes for a source or goal nominal like 'set off from' or 'arrive', as in c. Note in e. the placement of the Wh-word in the middle of an NP – *pód:aa dê* is an NP with a dual clitic marker.

(182) **'When' expressions**

   a. ***ló***   ***dini ghi ngê?***
      which   time   part   ADV
      'What time is it?'

   b. *nkéli* ***anté*** *wa*   *lê*
      boat   when   3FUTPI   go
      'When will the boat go?'

   c. *nkéli ngê kada* ***anté*** *wa*   *a*   *y:oo*
      boat   ERG   before   when   Uncert.FUT   CLOSE   set.off.from
      'When will the boat leave?'

   d. *Mass* ***anté*** *dini?* *ló*   *dini ghi ngê*   *Mass?*
      Mass   when   time.   Which   time   part   ADV   Mass
      'When is Mass? At which time is Mass?'

   e. *Armstrong* ***ló***   *dini ghi ngê*   *doo*   *n:aa ya?*
      Armstrong   which   time   part   ADV   3sREM.I   MOT   staying
      'When was Armstrong (coming and) staying here?'

(183) **Some other Wh-expressions in use:**

   a. ***lónté*** *dê*   *l:âmo*
      how   3sIMMPI   make
      'How did he make it?'

b. ***lónté/angênté*** *wa* *nyi* *lee* *knî* *Kêna*
   how/how   UNCERT.FUT 1d go.FOL 1d.Intrans Kana(Loc)
   'How will we go to Kêna (Abeleti)?'

c. *kêndapî* *ngópu* ***yémi*** *a* *tóó*
                N+ngópu
   shell.money your+possession how.much 3sPRS.CI sits
   'How much shell-money have you got?'

d. *pudu* ***yémi*** *a* *kwo?*
   stars how.many 3PRSCI standing
   'How many stars are there (standing)?'

e. *u* *nkéli* ***angêntoo***
   3sPoss boat how.big
   'How big is his boat?

f. *u* *yedê* ***angê*** *ndy:ââ.* *daadîî*
   his string which long big/long
   'How long is is his rope? It's long'

g. ***ló*** ***dmâãdî*** *ngmê* *dî* *kn:aa*
   which girl INDF 3sIMM defecate
   'Which girl has defecated (here)?'

h. *nté* ***yémi*** *knî* *ye* *dê* *y:oo*
   food how.many Aug Dat/Abl.Pl 3sIMMPI give.to.3
   'To how many did he give food?'

So far, we have seen that in simple sentences there is no need to suppose that the Wh-word is systematically moved from base-position: it tends to occur in any location prior to the verb, but that is true for any NP (recollect, NP phrase order is free). And with equational sentences, it tends to occur in the last, predicating, position, where the answer-word would appear. We have seen no 'postposition stranding' – case markers have always occurred adjacent to the Wh-word. But it is clear that the Wh-constituent can move, as shown by the NP with a postposed dual-marker in example (181)e. above, *pód:a angênê dê?*.

Echo questions do not have a fundamentally different structure. However, double questions have a natural follow-up (repair requesting) function, and the occurrence of the anaphoric particle *yi* may also mark follow-up questions:

(184) a. ***n:uu*** *ka* ***ló*** *tpilé* *yi* *chi* *y:oo*
       who DAT/ABL which thing anaph. 2sIMMPI give.to.3
       'To whom did you give which thing?'

b. A: *Yidika ngê dî   d:uu*
    Yidika ERG 3IMM.PI do
    'Yidika did it'

  B: **lukwe** *Yidika ngê yi   d:uu?*
    what   Yidika ERG ANAPH do
    'Yidika did what?'

Wh-movement from lower clauses has been a topic of considerable theoretical discussion. Long-range movement from lower clauses is attested in elicited (and thus rather contrived) sentences:

(185) *John   ngê **n:uu u pi   ngmê** dê   vyi*
    John   Erg who   its name INDF   3sImPst say
    apu   Yidika u   kêpyââ   p:uu dê   yéé
    QUOT.3sHAB Yidika his grandma to   3sIMM marry
    Lit. 'Whose name did John say, they say that to Yidika's grandma was married?'
    (i.e. 'Who did John say Yidika's grandma was said to be married to?')

The 'marry' verb *yéé* used here is intransitive, taking a postpositional phrase to name the spouse (as in English 'be married to'), so the subject is in Absolutive case. This subject has been preposed to 2nd position just after the ergative subject of the main clause, diagrammatically:

(186) *John ngê **n:uu u pi ngmê** dê vyi*   [apu _____ Yidika u kââpyââ p:uu dî yéé]

Or consider these cases where a Wh-word is raised from a 'want'-clause. Recollect that these clauses have the structure 'To him desire is standing [I go]' meaning 'He wants to go'.

(187) a. ***n:uu** u   yi   nga   ngm:a a   kwo   [nê vy:a]*
    who   its desire 2sExp INDF   3sPRSCI stands I   hit
    'Who do you want me to hit?'

  b. *[**n:uu** ngê a   vyee]   u   yi   a   kwo*
    who   Exp my   hitting its desire 3sPRSCI stand
    'Who wants my hitting, i.e. who wants to hit me.'

  c. *[a vyee] u yi **n:uu ngê** a kwo*
      (same as b. with different word order)

In example (187)a. the absolute 'hittee' of the lower clause is raised into the front of the 'wanting' clause. Another way to say this is to use a gerund or nominalization, which can carry its arguments with it (see §8.7), as in b. and c. However, I have the impression that all these complex structures are generally avoided.

The interaction between interrogatives and some other factors should be mentioned. We have already seen some interaction between indefinite *ngmê* and Wh-words – they often occur together with the sense of 'which one', 'who of several', etc. In addition interrogatives often co-occur with the epistemic uncertainty marker *wu* – described in the section on demonstratives §4.2.2.3).

(188) A: *Nimowa*   *wunê*   *lê*
           Place_name   Close.3sNrPST go
           'I went to Nimowa yesterday'
       B: *wu*   *Nimowa*   *myaa*   *lê*
           UNCERT   Nimowa   also+3NrPST   go
           'Did he also go to Nimowa?'

Wu occurs often after a clarification question, indicating doubt on the part of the addressee not the speaker:

(189) A: *ala*   *n:ii*   (pointing)
           CLS.to.speaker Pro
           'this one'
       B: *ló*   *n:ii?*   (B missed the gesture)
           which   Pro
           'which one?'
       A: *wu*   *n:ii*   (pointing again)
           This-uncertain Pro
           'This one (you are uncertain about)'

7.2.3 Minor sentence types

There are a number of minor sentence types, with special syntax signalling illocutionary force. The following is an example of a special form for expressing counterfactual wishes (formally unrelated to the counterfactuals, §8.3), formed with the particle *lumo* and and element *mê* or *ma* which fuses onto the verbal proclitic:

(190) a. *kwo,*   *lumo*   *mê*   *chi*   *vy:a*   *nê.* *kwo*
       QUOT   if only NEG_imp? 2sIMM.PI hit/kill 1sO QUOT
       ngmâm   *a*   *lama.*
       your-wife my/me knowledge
       'He said: 'If only you hadn't killed me' (nephew in a dream of his uncle's).
       He said: 'I know she was your wife''

    b. *lumo*   *michi*   *ma*
       lumo mê+2sIMM.PI eat
       'If only you hadn't eaten (that poison fish, today)'

    c. *lumo*   *mêdê*   *ma*
       lumo mê+1sIMM.PI eat
       'If only I hadn't eaten it (today)'

    d. *lumo*   *m:aa*   *ma*
       lumo mê+1sNrPST.PI eat
       'If only I hadn't eaten it (yesterday)'

    e. *lumo*   *mê*   *ma*
       lumo mê+3sNrPST eat
       'If only he hadn't eaten it (yesterday)'

    f. *lumo*   *mê*   *ma* *ngmê*
       lumo mê+3NrPST eat PFS.3sOPROX
       'If only the two of them hadn't eaten it (yesterday)'

    g. *lumo*   *maa*   *ma* *ngmê*
       lumo mê+3dNrPST eat PFS.3sOPROX
       'If only they two hadn't eaten it today'

    h. *lumo*   *m:aa*   *ndîî*
       lumo mê+1sREM eat.REM
       'If only I hadn't eaten it the day before yesterday'

    i. *lumo*   *ndeepi*   *ngê* *m:aa*   *pyodo*
       lumo rich.man ADV mê+1sREM become.REM
       'If only I hadn't become a rich man'

The force of the construction can be partially captured by a rhetorical question of the kind *lukwe dîy:o nê loo* 'why did I go?', but *lumo ma loo* 'If only I had gone' conventionalizes the rhetorical force.

    A closely related construction (with *ló m:ee*) seems to be specifically built for rhetorical questions of the kind 'Why on earth . . .?'. Thus:

(191) *Captain,* *ló m:ee*   *mê*   *kee*   *wo,*   *Cheme?*
     Captain why_on_earth REP ascend sS.Intrans.REM Place_name
     'Captain, why on earth did you come up to Cheme (to unload)?'

Another construction for expressing regret uses the article *naka* plus the coun-
terfactual protasis forms. *Naka* may be related to the evidential *na-a-ka* 'It seems
to me that. . .', which is discussed under quotatives §8.4.1), but if so, in this con-
struction it has lost its 1st person only character:

(192) a. *naka   w:aa   loo*
           naka   1sREM.CF.Ante.PI   go.REM
           'I wish I had gone (thinking back)'

       b. *naka   wo   loo*
           naka   3sREM.CF.Ante.PI   go.REM
           'He wished (remote past) he had gone'

       c. *naka   waa   lê*
           naka   3IMM.CF.Ante.PI   go
           'He wishes he had gone'

       d. *naka   wu   dnye   lee   knî*
           naka   IRR   1dIMM.CF.Ante.PI   go.FOL   dS.PI.PROX
           'We2 are wishing (today) we had gone'

       e. *naka   w:ee   lee   knî*
           naka   1DNrPST/REM.CF.Ante.PI   go.FOL   dS.PI.PROX
           'We2 yesterday were wishing we had gone (e.g. the boat left yesterday)'

       f. *naka   w:ee   lee   knâpwo*
           naka   1DNrPST/REM.CF.Ante.PI   go.FOL   dS.PI.REM
           'We2 before yesterday were wishing we had gone'

(Note the typical way in examples (192)e. vs. f. that the tense of the proclitic may
be disambiguated by the enclitic.)

A special construction for expressing regret over an action is formed using the
proclitics fused with *mê* 'again, repetition', as in the paradigm shown in §6.1.3.5
(the enclitics however seem to be irregular, showing shifts in tense, perhaps sig-
nalling the special sense). The literal meanings of these forms are of the kind 'I
did it again'/'Did I do it again?', but the construction is clearly interpreted along
the lines 'Why on earth did I do it'. A partial paradigm follows:

(193) a. *m:aa   d:uu   ngê*
           REP.1s.REM.PI   do   MFS.3sOPast
           'Why (on earth) did I do it (now I am in trouble)'

       b. *m:ee   d:uu   ngê*
           REP.1d.REM.PI   do   MF.3sOPast
           'Why did we2 do it (before yesterday)?'

c. *m:oo*   *d:uu*   *ngê*
    REP.1pl.REM.PI   do   MFS.3sOPast
    'Why (on earth) did we3 do it'

d. *m:ii*   *d:uu*   *ngê*
    REP.2s.REM.PI   do   MFS.3sOPast
    'Why (on earth) did you1 do it',

e. *moo*   *d:uu*   *ngópu*
    REP.2d.REM.PI   do   MFS.2dOPast
    'Why (on earth) did you2 do it'

f. *m:ii*   *d:uu*   *ngópu*
    REP.2pl.REM.PI   do   MFS.3sOPast
    'Why (on earth) did you3 do it'

g. *mê*   *d:uu*   *ngê*
    REP.3s.REM.PI   do   MFS.3sOPast
    'Why (on earth) did he do it'

h. *mê*   *d:uu*   *ngópu*
    REP.3d/pl.REM.PI   do   MFS.3d/plOPast
    'Why (on earth) did they2/3 do it'

i. *mê dî*   *d:uu?*
    REP.1s.IMM.PI   do
    'Why did I do it (earlier today)?'

j. *mê dnye*   *d:uu*
    REP.1d.IMM.PI   do
    'Why did we2 do it (earlier today)?'

k. *mê dpî*   *d:uu*
    REP.1pl.IMM.PI   do
    'Why did we2 do it (earlier today)?'

l. *maa*   *d:uu*
    REP.3s.IMM.PI   do
    'Why did he do it (earlier today)?'

m. *maa*   *d:uu*   *ngmê*
    REP.3d/pl.IMM.PI   do   PFS3sO.PI
    'Why did they2/3 do it (earlier today)?'

n. *mîchi*   *d:uu?*
    REP.2s.IMM.PI   do
    'Why did you1 do it (earlier today)?'

o. *mê dpî*   *d:uu*   *ngmê*
    REP.2d.IMM.PI   do   PFS3sO.PI
    'Why did you2 do it (earlier today)?'

p. *mê dmye   d:uu ngmê* (you3 today)
 REP.2pl.IMM.PI do   PFS3sO.PI
 'Why did you2 do it (earlier today)?'

To express wishes, the apparently fixed phrase *mêdaa lukwe* '(I) wish' (lit. ?'never again what') is used, as in the following examples (194) and (195):

(194) *mêdaa lukwe, mbóó p:uu   nkéli k:oo   ngê   pîdî*
   I.wish   sky   attached ship inside INST CF.Cons.1sIMM
   wópu, ngmênê ndapî a   ngópu   daa tóó.
   embark but   money my possession not sitting
   'I wish I could have gone by plane, but I haven't got any money.'

(195) *mêdaa lukwe, nkéli paa   kee*
   I.wish   boat CF3sIMMPI come.east
   'If only a boat had come up our way'

Other minor sentences types include the following way to express 'What if X?' and 'How about if X?' (suggestion):

(196) *kwonê,   lónté nkéli daa wa   a   dy:ââ,*
   QUOT1s>3s how boat NEG 3sIMPdef 3s/d/plPRS(CI) send
   Father   ngê
   Priest   ERG
   'I said to him: What if the priest does not send the boat?'

(197) *lónté   knomomê, ye   Wednesday ntumokwodo, a   mê*
   how   COND   that Wednesday afternoon   PROX REP
   nyinê   diyé   knî
   we2MOTION return   dPROX.IV
   'How about if we return on Wednesday evening?'

There are also a large range of fixed expressions (idioms) which cannot be fully parsed but express full propositional content. A sample follows:

(198) a. *a   kwodé*
    my   dislike
    'I don't want it [refusal]' (goes with a shoulder shrug)

   ngwodé
   'You don't want it?'
   nyi kwodé, nmî kwodé, u kwodé, yi kwodê
   'don't want it, we3 don't, he doesn't, they2 don't want it'
   nyi kwodé, dpî kwodé, nmyi kwodé
   'You1 don't, You2 don't, You3 don't want it'

   a *kwodé,* *daa* *nê*   *lê*
   My dislike, NEG IsIMMPI go
   'I don't want to go'

 b. *mo yi mo,* *a* *chedê* *nê*
   Not.want, 3IMM finish me
   'I don't want to (go to pig feasts), they might finish me (my shell money)'

 c. *niye kêdê yédi*
   'Oh I long for it' (Exclamation)
   Njimi kêdê yédi
   'I am longing for Njimi'
   niye kêdê yédi
   Mum longing.for
   'Oh for mum' (if only she was here)!

 d. *Apuu!* (said with hand to mouth)
   'That's taboo, not allowed'

7.3 Verbless and agentless clauses

There are a number of types of verbless clause involving nominal predication, adjectival predication and special constructions.

7.3.1 Nominal predication

Nominal predication consists of two NPs in juxtaposition, where the second is understood to be the predication, normally with an equative interpretation. The first NP may be a pronoun, as in:

(199) *nê*   *mââwe; nyi* *mââwe, kî* *mââwe dé*
   1sNOM big.man 2sNOM leader DEIC big man PL
   'I am a big man, you are a big man, those are big men (chiefs)'

These expressions can be 'tensed' with a time adverb:

(200) *wunê   nyi   tp:ee, awêde nyi   mââwe*
long.ago 2sNOM boy   today   2sNOM leader
'Once you were a boy, today you are a big man'

Another common form of verbless predicate uses a possessive NP as predicate:

(201) *danêmbum   wu   dî*
story   3sPoss end
'The story its end, i.e. that's the end of the story' (normal formula for
'The end')

(202) *Yidika   u   nee*
Yidika   3sPoss canoe
'Yidika, his canoe; i.e. That is Yidika's canoe' (demonstrativeless deictic)

Equatives have special negatives, portmanteau with person/number, which are given
in Table 7.15, with the corresponding positive sentences for comparison beneath.
The sentences are based on the form *nê kâmo* 'I am a good-fisherman', etc., and the
expression *doo u ntââ* 'It is not enough', etc., the latter only having a negative use.
Note that before *u* the negative has a different form (after Henderson 1995:61).

Table 7.15: Negatives of equative clauses (tenseless).

Person	Sing	Dual	Plural
1st	*d:aa k:âmo* 'I am not a good fisherman' *d:oo u ntââ* 'I am not up to it'	*daa k:âmo dê* 'We2 are not good fisherman' *d:ee u ntââ dê* 'We2 are not up to it'	*dp:oo k:amo dé* 'We3 are not good fisherman' *dp:oo u ntââ dé* 'We3 are not up to it'
2nd	*d:ii k:âmo* 'You are not a good fisherman' *d:ii u ntââ* 'You are not up to it'	*dpoo k:âmo dê* 'You2 are not good fishermen' *dpoo u ntââ dê* 'You2 are not up to it'	*dp:ee k:âmo dé* 'You3 are not good fishermen' *dp:ee u ntââ dé* 'You3 are not up to it'
3rd	*daa k:âmo* 'He is not a good fisherman' *doo u ntââ* 'He is not up to it'	*daa k:âmo dê* 'They2 are not good fishermen' *doo u ntââ dê* 'They2 are not up to it'	*daa k:âmo dé* 'They3 are not good fishermen' *doo u ntââ dé* 'They3 are not up to it'

Positives of equative clauses for comparison		
1st	nê k:âmo	nye k:âmo dê	nmo k:âmo dé
2nd	nyi k:âmo	dp:o k:âmo dê	nmy:o k:âmo dé
3rd	k:âmo	k:âmo dê	k:âmo dé

There is a topic-marker, the polysemous *ngê*, which can also be used in equational sentences:

(203) a. *ye   pini   ngê,   mu   pini   Nomono*
           anaph. person TOPIC that person Nomono
           'As for this guy, he is like that fellow Nomono'
      b. *Daa   yoo   ngê   yila*
           Daa.clan Human.Pl TOPIC PRESENTATIONAL
           'The Daa clan people, this is one'

Other kinds of verbless predication may involve Experiencer NPs or 'oblique subjects'. To repeat an earlier example from (177):

(204) *n:uu ngê Osborne brothers u   kpêê   dê   kêna*
        who EXP Osborne brothers his experience Dual Abeleti
        'To whom is there experience of the two Osborne brothers at Abeleti?'

Finally, note that questions can also be verbless, with plural expressed on the predicating element, as in:

(205) a. *a   kê w:uu   angênê dé?*
           my kê beads where PL
           'Where are my kê beads (shell money coins)?'
      b. *ala   n:ii   w:uu   dé (N+)nani   w:uu   dé?*
           these ones beads PL 2ndPoss.ownership beads PL
           'Are these beads your ones?'

7.3.2 Adjectival and nominal predication

We saw under the rubric of parts of speech (Chapter 4) that there is a range of adjectives covering size, weight, colour, moral quality and other categories. Adjectives canonically occur after the noun, both when modifying the noun and when used as predicates:

(206) *pi   kpêdêkpêdê*
       person   black
       'The man is black'

(207) *pi   kpêdêkpêdê kêdê   pwiyé   knî*
       man   black   CERT-3sCI   come   3dPROXIntrans
       'The black man is coming' [Note: *pwiyé* is an irregular verb that takes dual enclitics]

Nominal predications have very wide uses, translating many sentences we would not think of as equational:

(208) *dye   ghi   yintómu   tpii*
       time   part   all   rain
       'Every day, there's rain'

(209) *Matha   u   pye   a   kpêê*
       Martha   3sPoss   mother   my   experience
       'I have met Martha's mother', lit. 'Martha's mother (is in) my experience'

The nominal subject can be of arbitrary complexity:

(210) {[Mod-N[Mod-N   *nkéli*] [Head-N   *pi*]] [Head-N[N   *too*][CLASS.-N   *pee*]]}
                       boat   man   skin   piece
       [ADJ *kpaapîkpaapî*]
       white
       'Europeans have white skin'

Nominalizations from verbal clauses (constructed by an untensed use of the continuous root) can continue to carry their arguments, the whole non-finite clause then occurring as subject (see §8.7):

(211) *Yidika   u   tp:ee   vyee   dono*
       Yidika   3sPoss   son   hitting   bad
       'Yidika's hitting of his son was bad'

Adjectival predications can have general adverbial functions:

(212) *u*   *kmaapî* *ndîî*
       3sPoss   eating   big
       'He eats much (lit. his eating big)'

Another kind of potentially verbless construction is the Experiencer construction dealt with in §7.5, although usually these occur with a verb.

7.3.3 Agentless clauses and evidential nominals

There is a range of possessed nominals expressing personal experience which take the place of English agentive and verbal expressions of the sort 'I saw him do it', which are expressed instead as '(in) my sight he did it' unmarked for case.

(213) a. *nmî* *ngópu*   *kî*   *d:uu* *ngê*
           our   experience   CERT   do   MFS.3sOREM
           'We saw him do it.'
       b. *nmî* *ngópu/ngîma/lama*   *kî*   *d:uu*
           our   experience/visual.presence/knowledge   CERT   do
           ngê
           MFS.3sOREM
           'We experienced/witnessed/know he did it'

Notice the contrasts between a purely verbal, a purely nominal and a verb plus nominal construction:

(214) a. *dê*   *ny:oo*
           3IMM.PI   hear
           'he's heard about it'
       b. *kî*   *kópu* *a*   *ngêêdî*
           DEIC   affair 1sPOSS   heard.experience
           'I heard it happening'
       c. *kî* *kópu* *u*   *ngêêdî*   *dê*   *pyódu*
           DEIC   affair 3POSS   heard.experience   3IMM.PI   happen
           'He heard the affair happening last night'

Some of these evidential nominals can occur without verbs in an equative structure, others require a positional verb or the verb *pyódu* 'become'. A notable set

of these are the evidential nominals *lama, ngópu, kpêê, ngêêdî, ngîma, nt:anê*. Where they occur unmarked in an equative structure, they are probably to be understood as marked with the zero Locative, like place names.

(215) a. *Tili   a   lama*
           Tili   my   knowledge
           'I know Tilly' (lit. 'Tilly (in) my knowledge')
       b. *kmîmpwe   a   kpêê*
           grasshopper sp. my   experience
           'I have experienced (seen) that grasshopper species'
       c. *l:êê   a   ngópu*
           fight   my   sight
           'I saw that fight'
       d. *kî   kópu   a   ngêêdî*
           that   thing my   hearing
           'I've heard about that thing'

Examples (215)b–d. are presented in the order of strength of epistemic commitment: *kpêê* requires real direct visual experience for the first time, *ngópu* requires visual sighting, so that c. above could be said e.g. of something seen on the TV news, while *ngêêdî* reports hearsay, or non-visual perception. There is another nominal of perception which is cross-modal over sight, hearing, smell, etc., namely *nt:anê*, as in:

(216) *yi   tpile   tuu   a   nt:anê*
        that thing   smell my   in.perception
        'I smelled that thing'

Other similar nominals require a supporting positional verb:

(217) a. *l:êê   a   ngîma   kwo*
           fight   my   visual_presence standing
           'They fought right in front of me' (lit. a fight stood in my presence)
       b. *Yidika   u   chi   daa   kwo*
           Yidika   his   sign   not   standing
           'There was no sign of Yidika'

In a. *ngîma* is actually a locative form of *ngwolo* 'eye' (§4.2.1.4), not a special kind of nominal predicate like *kpêê*. The moment of apprehension can be tensed by using a finite verb, e.g. inchoative *pyódu* 'become':

(218) a. *kî   kópu   a   lama   dê   pyódu*
           that affair my knowledge 3IMMPI became
           'I learnt about it today/in the night (e.g. someone's death)'

   b. *awêde   l:êê   a   ngópu dê   pyódu*
       today   fight my sight   3IMMPI became
       'I saw that fight today (I was there and saw it)'
       Lit 'Today that fight happened in my sight'

   c. *awêde   l:eê   a   kpêê   ngê   dê   pyódu*
       today   fight my direct.experience ADV   3IMMPI became
       'This is my first time to see fighting like that'
       Lit. 'Today the fight happened while in my experience'

   d. *Father   ngê   tpile wee   u   kpêê*
       Father   EXP   sing.sing   his direct.experience
       'Father (the priest) has experienced a tpile wee (sing-sing)'

   e. **a nga   tpile wee   a   kpêê*
       to.me   sing-sing   my direct.experience
       *'To me sing-sing (in) my experience'
       (Experiencer case not possible here)

   f. *awêde   l:êê   a   ngêêdî   dê   pyódu*
       today   fight 1sPOSS heard.experience 3IMM.PI happen
       'Today I learnt there was a fight'

Note that the structure in examples (218)b. and c. is not exactly parallel – the *ngê* after *kpêê* is obligatory in c., and although d. suggests that this *ngê* could be the experiencer case, e. shows that the structure does not generalize (actually here it would be redundant) and so suggests the *ngê* is here in its adverbializing role. The examples incidentally bring out the meaning difference between *ngópu* and *kpêê*.

   The experiencer construction (§7.5) can be used with just the *kpêê* and *lama* evidential nominals, otherwise one simply uses the possessive:

(219) a. *Father   ngê   tpilewee   u   lama*
           priest   EXP   sing.sing   3POSS   knowledge
           (*ngópu*/ngêêdî)
           experience/heard.experience
           'Father knows how a sing-sing is done (he's experienced it)'

   b. *Yidika   u   ngópu   pi   knî   y:oo   l:êê   dóó*
       Yidika   his experience people some ERG.PL fight make
       ngópu
       PFS3sO.REM.PI/HAB.C(T.PostN)
       'Yidika saw some people fighting (before yesterday)'

The evidential *kpêê* can be further qualified with *n:uu* 'taste of', to emphasize the bodily experience:

(220) a. *mty:uu*   *u*   *n:uu daa   a*   *kpêê*
pandanus.fruit 3sPoss taste NEG 1sPoss first.experience
'I have never tasted mty:uu'

b. *tpete*   *u*   *n:uu doo   u*   *kpêê*
giving.birth 3sPoss taste NEG 3sPoss first.experience
'She hasn't experienced giving birth'

c. *helicopter k:oo   wowo*   *u*   *n:uu daa   a*
helicopter inside embarking 3Poss taste NEG 1sPoss
kpêê,   *mbóó p:uu*   *nkéli k:oo   wowo*
first experience sky   attached ship   inside embark
u   *n:uu   a*   *kpêê*
3sPoss taste 1sPoss first.experience
'I've never experienced a helicopter ride, but I have been in an airplane'

In addition to these uses, most of the evidential nominals can occur directly (unmarked with adverbializers) as adverbs:

(221) a. *ndê ngê nmî ngópu*   *ngomo ndîî*
fire   ERG our experience house   ate.REM
'The fire ate the house in our experience (long ago)'

b. *ndê ngê nmî ngîma/ngêêdî (*kpêê)*   *ngomo ndîî*
fire ERG our sight/hearing direct.experience house ate.REM
'The fire ate the house in our sight/hearing (long ago)'

Despite the syntactic differences between them, the following examples show the closely parallel behaviour of the evidential nominals when in an adverbial locative position in a clause:

(222) a. *A   ngîma   dê*   *pyódu*
my   in.sight 3sIMMPI happen
'It happened in my sight'

b. *A   ngópu   dê*   *pyódu*
my   presence 3sIMMPI happen
'It happened in my presence'

c. *A   ngêêdî   dé*   *pyódu*
my   hearing 3sIMMPI happen
'It happened in my hearing'

  d. *A nt:anê dê   pyódu*
    my experience 3sIMMPI happen
    'It happened in my experience, visual or heard'

  e. *A kpêê   ngê dê   pyódu*
    my first.experience ADV 3sIMMPI happen
    'I experienced it for the first time today'

  f. *A lama dê   pyódu*
    my knowledge 3sIMMPI happen
    'I know it happened/experienced it happening'

Incidentally, the evidentials do not exactly cut up the senses in the Western manner – *ngêêdî* 'in/by hearing, hearsay', actually covers internal proprioception, as shown by example (223):

(223) *mbwili   u   ngêêdî tp:ee a   m:ii yédi*
    Pregnant.woman her hearing/feeling child 3sPRSCI moving
    sS.CIHab
    'A baby will move in a pregnant woman's feeling (she'll feel it move)'

There are nominals of possession which have somewhat similar properties, some (e.g. *nani*) building equative verbless structures, others (*nkwodo,* and *ngópu* in an additional non-evidential sense) requiring positional verbs:

(224) a. *kî nee Yidika u   nani*
     this canoe Yidika his possession
     'This canoe is Yidika's possession'

  b. A: *taa   a ngópu   daa tóó*
      bush.knife my possession not sitting
      'I haven't got the knife' (lit. 'the knife is not sitting in my possession')

    B: *a ngópu   ka   tóo*
      my possession CERT3PRS sitting
      'I've got it'

  c. *Yi   tpile a nkwodo daa tóó*
     Anaph. thing my use   not sitting
     'I haven't got that thing.'

  d. *Yidika u nkwodo dyââma ntîî a   tóó, daa Yidika*
     Yidika his use   shell.coin 3PRS sitting NEG Yidika
     u   nani
     his possession
     'Yidika has the chaamundu with him, but it is not his property'

7.4 Existential and locative sentences with positional verbs

The basic locative construction, used e.g. in answer to Where-questions, has the following canonical form:

(225)

Figure		**Ground**	**postposition**		**positional verb**
kéme	*kîgha*	*kapî*	*k:oo*	*ka*	*tóó*
mango	fruit	cup	in	deictic+TAMP	sits

'The ripe mango is in the cup' (or 'There is a ripe mango in the cup')

In this locative construction, a locative verb is obligatory, drawn from a small set of postural or positional verbs.

Many languages have close relations between the existential and locative constructions, which may differ only by some kind of definiteness marking in the locative and a universal spatial interpretation in the existential – but these are often matters of degree. Rossel is of this type, with no obligatory definiteness marking, so that 'The pigs are in the forest' and 'There are pigs in the forest' are expressed with the same form:

(226)

nko		*u*	*mênê*	*mbwêmê*	*a*
bush/inland area		its	inside	pig	3s/d/plHAB.C
m:ii		*té*			
move/inhabit		pl.PROX.IV			

Both existentials and locatives require a verbal predicate, drawn from a closed set of locative verbs. These verbs draw, as in many languages, on human posture verbs, but also on a less anthropomorphic 'hang' verb. In the Rossel case, we have verbs that in their postural use would gloss 'sit/lie',[30] 'stand' and 'hang'. Henderson (1995:32) gives the following paradigm (Table 7.16, where proximal tenses are the three of the six tenses nearest to coding time, which with these continuous aspect verbs means present, immediate future and immediate past):

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30 The verb I will henceforth simply gloss 'sit' clearly covers both sitting and lying. Nevertheless, sitting is the prototype interpretation, and to indicate lying one has to say in effect 'sitting prone' (*pîpî a tóó*), or 'sleeping' (*dpî*). Incidentally, these verbs collocate only with continuous aspect, and *tóó* has punctual counterpart *yââ* 'sit down', *kwo* has the punctual counterpart *ghê* 'stand up', with its own continuous form *wowo*. There are independent roots for the causative counterparts of the main positionals: *kââ* 'make stand'; *yé* 'make sit'; *t:oo*, 'cause to hang'.

Table 7.16: Positional verbs (with inherently continuous aspect).

		'sit/lie'	'stand'	'hang'
Indicative, Proximal tense	**Sing/Dual**	*tóó*	*kwo*	*t:a*
	Plural	*pyede*[31]	*wee*	*t:a*
Non-Indicative, or non-proximal tense	**Sing/Dual/Pl**	*ya*	*kwo*	*t:a*

There is however one other locative verb, *m:ii*, (with an invariant root like *t:a* above) used for animals or persons moving in their prototypical way in their normal medium (e.g. of fish in water, birds in the air, people walking), used to assert existence or location in a habitat. But it has less currency, and generally a locative verb must be selected from this set of three.[32]

While suppletive roots are the norm in Rossel verbs, they do not normally split on +/– plurality of subject, but rather on such dimensions as specific tenses and aspects, or are triggered by zero-post-verbal particles. Thus *tóó* and *kwo* constitute a minor form class. (Invariant *t:a* and *m:ii* are also distinctive, belonging to a small set of invariant roots which take continuous aspect only).[33]

In Yélî Dnye, a locative or existential statement must select one or other of these verbs. This is true equally for negative existentials or negative locatives, where the orientation/position of things is clearly irrelevant. Thus it is clear that the choice must be based on a notional classification of the properties of the subject, rather than its current actual orientation or disposition. These verbs thus have a *sortal* nature – they constitute a kind of nominal classification, but a kind which is not strictly determined by either noun or referent. I have described this system elsewhere in detail (Levinson 2000a, 2006b). Here I will simply sketch the system for completeness.

Many nominal subjects normally collocate with just one or other of these verbs. These default collocations can be clearly discerned by negative existential con-

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31 Increasingly, young people are regularizing this form, and replacing it with *tóó té* 'sit Intransitive+ Contin.Aspect+ Prox.tense+ Plural-Subject'; similarly, *wee* is sometimes replaced with *kwo té*. Speakers who use *pyede* will only optionally use the plural enclitic *té* – marking the plurality once is sufficient.

32 There is yet another candidate, Jim Henderson points out to me, namely *dpî* 'sleep', as in *k:ââ pââ k:ii ka dpî* 'The post is lying (lit. sleeping) there'. Although the verb belongs to the same class as *t:a*, in the sense that it is also an invariant inherently continuous root, it is vanishingly rare in this positional use with inanimate subjects, and I am inclined to treat it as here metaphorically applied.

33 My database has 27 other intransitive verbs with invariant roots. Some of these though do have probably related roots occurring with punctiliar aspect, unlike the positional verbs.

texts – in these contexts the actual disposition (orientation or placement) of any particular object is irrelevant, while in other contexts it can play a subsidiary role.

(227) *wuluwulu   kpêdêkpêdê   daa   tóó*
　　　bagi.valuable   black   NEG1/3.s/d   sit.s/dCI.PROX
　　　'Black-coloured bagi (shell valuable type) does not exist (lit. sitting)'

(228) *mwi   nee   daa   t:a*
　　　there   canoes   NEG1/3.s/d   hang.CI.PROX
　　　'There are no canoes (hanging) there'

(229) *nkaalî   too   pee   daa   t:a*
　　　cloud   skin   piece   NEG1/3.s/d   hang.CI.PROX
　　　'There are no clouds (lit. no skin of clouds) hanging (in the sky)'

Some of these collocations are not predictable – one simply has to learn that clouds, paths and canoes 'hang', islands and most animals 'stand', while humans, rain, and happiness 'sit'. The following table (7.17) gives a sample of such conventional collocations – note that celestial objects differ, so that the sun 'sits', the stars 'stand', while the moon 'hangs'.

Table 7.17: Some default assignments of different nominal concepts to positional predicate.[34]

SIT (*tóó*)	STAND (*kwo*)	HANG (*t:a*)	MOVE (*m:ii*)
shell money	trees, palms, houses, mountains, islands,	canoes, boats, roads, clouds,	
darkness, light tides		currents, winds, rivers	
rain, calm-weather, mist	(calm?)	rain	

---

34 I have made a number of corrections here from an earlier publication (Levinson 1999), prompted by comments from Jim Henderson. Among them: the moon normally 'hangs' (I had 'sit' which implies one is talking about the moonlight on the ground); the sun can 'sit' as shown here, or 'stand'. As mentioned above, water can 'sit' or 'hang' according to whether it is still or running. I had earlier listed 'knowledge' as 'sitting', but this was a misanalysis of the construction, which Henderson correctly points out is a covert locative:

(i) *ye   pini   a   lama   daa   tóó*
　　that   man   my   knowledge   not   sitting
　　'That man is not sitting in my knowledge'

Table 7.17 (continued)

SIT (*tóó*)	STAND (*kwo*)	HANG (*t:a*)	MOVE (*m:ii*)
sun	stars	moon, red-sky (dawn)	
people, friends, relatives, descendants, wife, etc.	chickens, dogs, birds (in tree), pigs, fish (or *m:ii*) grubs (inside fruit) crocodiles (in river)	crocodiless (on bank)	fish, birds, flying-fox, people, spirits, etc. crocodiles (in general)
water juice	fire, steam	smoke	
yams (in ground) fat	taro & tapioca (in ground)		
coconuts, betelnuts, fruits on ground	pineapples, fruits on trees	mangoes, nuts in trees	
mangrove swamps, tidal zones, sandbanks, bottom of slopes, canoe harbours, gardens, villages, reef tops	pools, passage entrances, mountains, hills, grasslands	virgin rain forest, fresh-water rivers, estuaries, passages, paths, landslides, ridges, blow-holes	
meetings, feasts	beginning of meeting, feast		
sleep story, news discipline, work happiness		taste, hunger, thirst signs, tracks	
fornication debt, peace medicine, mortuary payment	threat debt	flagrant fornication sorcery/power	
clothes firewood	smells, light	smoke (also 'stand')	
skin disease	cancer	disease/epidemic	
books	cups, alarm clocks, candles	holes (negative spaces)	
	eyes, teeth, hair, grey hair		

However, there is both a cultural logic to some of these collocations (see Levinson 2000a) and a spatial logic to the collocation with physical objects. The shape and canonical orientation of physical objects plays a role in the following sort of way: 'hang' is assigned to things which are attached or fastened, 'stand' to

things which have a long axis canonically vertical, and otherwise 'sit' is assigned as the residual category. There are additional wrinkles, for example, a fastened object does not warrant 'hang' if it projects prominently – then it gets 'stand' (hence e.g. lightbulbs do not 'hang' but 'stand' even when hanging from the ceiling).

The choice of a posture verb can help resolve the interpretation of a semantically general noun (similar to the way Mayan positional verbs do). For example, *mbw:aa* covers 'fresh water, river, pool'– but the referent type is selected by the choice of posture verb:
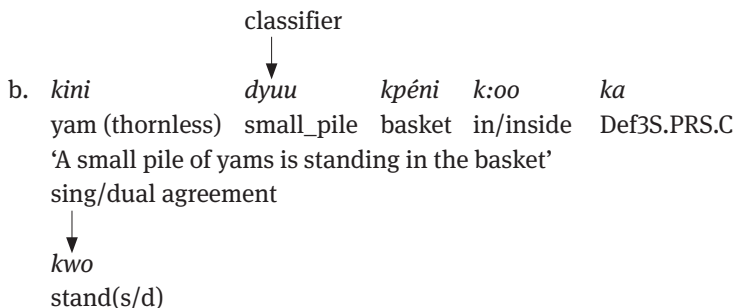
(230) a. *Kiriwina mbwaa daa t:a*
   Kiriwina water NEG1/3.s/d hang.CI.PROX
   'There are no rivers on Kiriwina'

   b. *Kiriwina mbwaa daa tóó*
   Kiriwina water NEG1/3.s/d sit.s/d.CI.PROX.
   'There is no fresh water on Kiriwina'

Similarly, many plants and their corresponding fruits or food products are described with the same nominal, but distinguished by the collocation with the posture verb:

(231) a. *wédi daa kwo*
   sago NEG1/3sing/dual stand.s/d.CI.PROX
   'There are no sago (trees) standing'

   b. *wédi daa tóó*
   sago NEG1/3sing/dual sit.s/d.C.PROX
   'There is no sago flour'

A further factor is that many nominals are associated with classifiers, and these classifiers can have an effect on the choice of posture verb. The example in (232)a. below is a description of half a dozen yams in a basket without a classifier – the yams take the plural 'sitting' verb. In the b. example, the subject has a classifier 'small pile of', and now we get singular 'stand':

(232)   plural (3+)   plural
                 marker   agreement
                   ↓   ↓
   a. *kini   dé kpéni k:oo   ka   pyede*
   yam (thornless) PL basket in/inside Def+3SpresCon sitting(pl)
   'Yams are sitting in the basket'

classifier

b. *kini*   *dyuu*   *kpéni*   *k:oo*   *ka*
yam (thornless)   small_pile   basket   in/inside   Def3S.PRS.C
'A small pile of yams is standing in the basket'
sing/dual agreement

kwo
stand(s/d)

This shows that semantically it is not the nominal referent that determines the positional verb, but the associated concept (the way it is construed). It also suggests that the classifier may be the head of the NP, controlling the collocation and the verb agreement for number. In fact, however, although *dyuu* 'small pile' normally collocates with 'stand', this is not automatic – a verb can agree with plural nominals with a singular classifier.[35]

The choice of posture verbs is complicated by an additional layer of reasoning. If an object is not in the expected configuration, then that can be signalled by an appropriate shift: e.g. a bottle normally is held to 'stand', but if it is relevant that it is lying down, a locative description might specify that 'it is sitting on the table'. Less concretely, an unexpected collocation can be signalled by a strategic shift of posture verb. Consider a head band tied around a man's forehead – its normal position would be described with the 'hang' predicate since it is attached, but a switch to the 'sit' verb would suggest that it was insecurely tied, or about to fall off:

(233) a. *kpîdî*   *pee*   *pi*   *kêpa*   *ka*   *t:a*
      cloth   piece   person   forehead   CERT.3PRS.CI   hanging
      'The piece of cloth is (hanging) on the person's forehead'

---

35 For example, the following is possible with singular classifier and plural agreement on 'stand':

(i) *pód:a*   *dyuu*   *têpê*   *mbêmê*   *ka*   *wee*
   bottle   small_pile   soil/ground/dirt   on/according   Def+3SPresCon   stand(pl)
   'The pile of bottles are standing on the ground'

and the following is also possible, with plural agreement on 'sit':

(ii) *polî*   *dyuu*   *mbwódo*   *ka*   *pyede*
   ball   small_pile   on_the_ground   Def+3SPresCon   sitting(pl)
   'A pile of balls is sitting on the ground'

b. *kpîdî pee pi kêpa ka tóó*
cloth piece person forehead CERT.3PRS.CI sitting
'The piece of cloth is (sitting, i.e. perilously) on the person's forehead'
(perhaps he is lying down)

For a full account of these alternations, see Levinson (1999, 2006b).

The other part of the basic locative construction is a locative adjunct or post-positional phrase (PP). Place names and a number of special nominals do not require a locative postposition, and occur simply as nominal adjuncts:

(234) *Njinjópu yi nkwólu tââ daa t:a*
Jinjo ANAPH fornication openly NEG hang
'There is no open fornication at Jinjo' (but they do it secretly)

Exceptionally, only the place name of Rossel Island itself takes a locative postposition: one says *Yélî p:uu* 'Rossel attached' for 'on Rossel', while no other islands take such a postposition.

The language has a very rich set of locative postpositions, on the order of thirty basic forms. Some of these are hierarchically arranged, so that e.g. a general 'attachment' postposition like *p:uu* is in privative opposition with a more specific 'attached by spiking' postposition like *'nedê*. In this sort of way there are many distinctions between different kinds of ON and IN spatial relations. See Levinson (2006b) and Levinson & Meira (2003) for the details.

One way of stating relations of possession is using a verbless clause (of the sort *kê tpile Cheme u mbw:aa* 'that thing is Cheme village's sago-axe'), another is to use a locative clause with positional verb, as in:

(235) *a ngópu daa tóó*
my possession not sitting
'I haven't got it'

Since not only concrete nominal concepts but also abstract nominals collocate with positional verbs, these verbs are the key to understanding many constructions and many semantic domains. Further, since positional verbs have active, causative ('put in position') and uncausative ('take from position') counterparts as in Table 7.18 (see also §11.2), the initial assignment of nominal to positional class has far-reaching consequences.

Table 7.18: Active, causative and uncausative positional counterparts.

Stative Positionals (intransitive)	Active (intransitive)	Do Causative (transitive)	Undo Causative (transitive)
kwo 'be standing'	*ghê* 'stand up'	*kââ* 'stand something up'	*y:oo* 'take something which stands'
tóó 'be sitting'	*yââ* 'sit down'	*yé* 'put something down'	*ngî* 'take something which sits'
t:a 'be hanging'	*kaalî* 'make oneself hang' (e.g. flying fox)	*t:oo* 'hang something up'	*ngee* 'take something which hangs'

For example, in the next section various emotion expressions are discussed. Note here the role that positionals play, as in the opposition between the first two examples below (*nódo* is a special locative form of the body part throat/neck):

(236) a. *têpwâ   u   nuu   ghi   a   nódo   ka tóó*
        tobacco   its   throat   parts   my   neck.*LOC*   is   sitting
        'Tobacco its throat is sitting by my neck, i.e. I want it'

    b. *têpwâ   u   nuu   ghi   a   nódo.LOC   ka t:a*
        tobacco   its   throat   parts   my   neck   is   hanging
        'Tobacco its throat is hanging on my neck – i.e. I am still angry about the tobacco'

    c. *yi   kópu   u   nódo   ka t:a*
        that   thing   his   throat.*LOC*   is   hanging
        'That thing is hanging on his throat – he is angry about it'

    d. *yi   kópu   nódo   ka   t:êmî*
        that   thing   throat.LOC   CERT3CI.PRS   putting (of a hanging thing)
        'He's putting the problem in his throat (getting angry inside)'

In examples (236)c. and d. above, the collocation with 'hanging' carries over to its causative counterpart 'make hanging'. Similarly, because *'n:ee* 'jealousy' collocates with *kwo* 'stand', 'to become jealous' will be expressed with the causative counterpart *kââ* 'make stand':

(237) a. *Ghaalyu   ngê   'n:ee   ka kwo*
        Ghaalyu   EXP   jealousy   is   standing
        'Jealousy of Ghaalyu is standing – i.e. someone is jealous of him'

b. *Kakan   ngê   Ghaalyu   ka   'n:ee   dê   kââ*
Kakan   ERG   Ghaalyu   DAT   jealousy   3sIMM   cause.to.stand
'Kakan has made stand jealousy to Ghaalyu i.e. Kakan has become jealous of Ghaalyu'

7.5 Experiencer construction – 'Oblique Subject' clauses

Yélî Dnye has an 'Oblique Subject' construction used with mental predicates such as fear and desire similar to the dative subject constructions of German or Tamil. The 'Oblique Subject', or more properly Experiencer Subject, is marked with a postposition, which in the singular is either homophonous with the Ergative *ngê* or the Dative/Ablative *ka*, but in the plural is distinctive. In addition, instead of pronouns taking the postposition, there are (as Henderson 1995:65 notes) special pronominal forms for experiencer subjects (note how these are the source for the plural postposition in Table 7.19):

Table 7.19: Experiencer Subject marking.

Postpositions		Special Pronominal Forms		
Number	Form	1st Person	2nd Person	3rd Person
Singular	*ngê/ka*	*a nga*	*nga*	*u ngwo*
Dual	*y:e*	*nye*	*dpo*	*y:e*
Plural	*y:e*	*nmo*	*nmye*	*y:e*

The normal form of the Experiencer Construction consists of an 'Oblique Subject', an absolutive nominal expressing the subjective state, and a positional or postural verb from the locative verb series, which collocates with the absolutive nominal:

(238)   **The Experiencer Construction**
Sensation/Experience   Experiencer
(Absolutive Case)   (special Oblique case)

nkuwo   *a*   *nga*   *a*
coldness   1s   EXP   3s/d/plPRS(CI)

Positional OR other verbs
(Positional verb)

↓

t:a
hanging/being
'I am feeling cold – lit. coldness is hanging to me'

The following illustrates the pronominal paradigm:

(239) a. *dómu   a nga   a   t:a*
        hunger   1s EXP   3presCI   hangs   'I am hungry'

    b. *dómu   nga   a   t:a*
        hunger   2sEXP   3presCI   hangs   'You are hungry'

    c. *dómu   u ngwo   a   t:a*
        hunger   3s EXP   3presCI   hangs   'He is hungry'

    d. *dómu   y:e   a   t:a*
        hunger   3d/plEXP   3presCI   hangs   'They (2 or more) are hungry'

    e. *dómu   nmo   a   t:a*
        hunger   1plEXP   3presCI   hangs   'We (3 or more) are hungry'

    f. *dómu   nye   a   t:a*
        hunger   1dEXP   3presCI   hangs   'We two are hungry'

Nominals can be stacked with a plural postposition, compare the following examples:

(240) a. *Yidika   ka   dómu   a   t:a*
        Yidika   EXP   hunger   3presCon   hangs
        'Yidika is hungry'

    b. *Stephen   Yidika   y:e   dómu   a   t:a*
        Stephen   Yidika   EXP.PL   hunger   3presCon   hangs
        'Yidika and Stephen are hungry'

Other positionals collocate with other nominals of experience, for example, 'fear' and 'desire' take 'stand':

(241) a. *u   nkîngê   Yidika   Stephen   y:e   daa   kwo*
        3sPoss   fear   Yidika   Stephen   EXP.Pl   NEG   stands
        'Yidika and Stephen are not afraid of him'
        (lit. 'His fear to Yidika and Stephen is not standing')

    b. *u*   *yi*   *nga*   *kwo?*
       3sPoss desire to.you stands
       'Do you want to have it?' (lit. 'It's desire is standing to you?')

Note that the possessive here has a patient-like rather than agentive-like interpretation – 'its desire' means 'desire for it' not 'desire by it'.

    A positional verb is not obligatory in this construction: verbless variants are possible, as in the example (242)b. version below, where a predicate adjective is derived from a noun by reduplication:

(242) a. *Yidika* *ka*   *nkuwo* *a*   *t:a*
           Yidika EXP cold   3presCI hang
           'Yidika is cold'
      b. *Yidika* *ka*   *nkuwonkuwo*
           Yidika EXP cold-ADJ
           'Yidika is cold'

In addition, various other verbs may participate in this construction. A number of verbs specifically seem to subcategorize for such an experiencer subject. One of these is *chópu* or *chipwo* 'to experience' (possibly diachronically related to *chap* 'strike'), used in the Punctual aspect, which collocates with many of the experiencer nouns but not all; examples (243)b. – d. show how this construction can be tensed:

(243) a. *mbwaa/vye/knê/dómu/ nkuwo* *a nga* *a*   *chópu*
           thirst /piss/shit/hunger/cold   to.me 3PRSCI experiencing
           'I am feeling (in need of) water/a piss/a shit/hunger/cold'
      b. *mbwaa* *a nga* *da*   *chópu*
           water   to.me 3IMMPI.CLS experiencing
           'I was thirsty earlier today'
      c. *mbwaa* *a nga* *a*   *chópu*
           water   to.me 3PROXPast.CLS experiencing
           'I was thirsty yesterday'
      d. *mbwaa* *a nga* *a*   *chópu*   *wo*
           water   to.me CLS experiencing 3sS.REM.WEAK
           'I was thirsty before yesterday'

Another similar verb is *kaalî* 'happen to, attach', as in (from Henderson 1995:65):

(244) a. *m:êêmgînî a nga dê   kaalî*
           diarrhoea   to.me 3sIMMPI   happen
           'I have got diarrhoea'

      b. *pwopwo a nga dê   kaalî*
           birthing   to.me 3sIMMPI   happen
           'I'm about to give birth', lit: 'Birthing to me has come to fruition'

There are also more specific verbs that subcategorize for an experiencer subject (note in the (245)a. example that an Unmarked pronoun takes the role usually taken by an Absolutive NP):

(245) a. *nga   nê   ch:anêch:anê!*
           to+You   1sNOM   evoke_pity
           'To you I evoke pity' i.e. have mercy on me!

      b. *a   kpâm ghee knî Ø   a nga dî   yipê   dmi*
           my   wife   &kids Aug ABS   to me 1sIMMPI   miss   IV3plO
           'I'm missing my wife and kids'

These constructions have some interest for theories of argument structure. For example, it has been supposed that "It is not possible for a verb meaning what *fear* means, to have its arguments realized like *frighten*, nor vice versa" (Grimshaw 1992:22). But in fact *nkîngê* 'fearing' can have the experiencer in both Experiencer and Absolutive case:

(246) a. *nkîngê a   nga daa kwo*
           fearing to me   not   standing
           'I am not frightened' (*nkîngê* is here a verbal gerund)

      b. *n:aa   nkîngê*
           1sHabProxCI   fear
           'I am fearing' (here *nkîngê* is an intransitive verb)

It should also be pointed out that not all emotional experiences take this construction, e.g. one 'finds' joy:

(247) *p:o   dpî   t:aa, w:aa dp:o   pyw:oo*
        home 1sHABPI arrive joy   1sHABPI.CLS find
        'When I arrive home, I find joy'

And further that Experiencer NPs can occur outside this construction:

(248) *a nga   dpî   d:uu ngi!*
       1s.EXP IMP2/3Defd.P do   2sS.3sO.IMP.P..PostN
       'Do it to me!'

7.5.1 The 'Want' Construction

The single most important instantiation of the Experiencer Construction is the 'Want' Construction. In the simplest case, what is desired is a thing, which occurs in the Absolutive case, with the desirer in the Experiencer case, the noun 'desire' collocating with the positional verb 'stand':

(249) *k:ii   kîgha   nt:uu   u   yi   u ngwo*
       banana   ripe   single_fruit 3Poss desire 3sEXP
       a   kwo
       3s/d/plPRS(CI)   stand(s/d)
       'He wants a banana', lit. 'Its desire a banana fruit to him is standing'

This nominal version of the construction makes it quite clear that structurally the subject of the sentence is *yi* 'desire', since this is the argument controlling verb agreement, as shown by the following:

(250) a. *Weta   ngê   nee   miyó u   yi   u ngwo*
            Weta   EXP   canoe two   3POSS desire 3sEXP
            a   kwo
            3s/d/plPRS(CI)   stand(s/d)
            'Weta wants two canoes'
       b. *Weta   ngê   nee   dê   u   yi   dê   u ngwo*
            Weta   EXP   canoe Dual 3POSS desire Dual 3sEXP
            a   kwo   mo
            3s/d/plPRS(CI)   stand dS.Intr
            'Weta has two desires for two canoes'

In the example above there is a single desire for two canoes, the noun *yi* is singular, and the verb root (though compatible with both singular and dual but not plural) has a zero enclitic indicating singular subject. In the b. sentence, there are two desires, and the verb enclitic agrees accordingly.

When what is desired is an action or state, the construction gets complex: the Experiencer Construction is followed by a direct quote always (except with 2nd person subjects) in the first person with adjusted tense. For example:

(251) a. *yi   u ngwo dî   kwo,   nî   lê*
          desire 3sEXP 3sNrPSTCI_NEG stand(s/d) 1sPast goPI
          'He didn't want to go yesterday', lit. 'Desire to him was not standing 'I went''

      b. *yi   u ngwo a   kwo,   a nî   lê*
          desire 3sEXP 3s/d/plPRS(CI) stand(s/d), 1sImmFUT.PI/CI goPI
          'He wants to go later today', lit. 'Desire to him is standing 'I will go''

The construction has somewhat wider uses than English 'want to': it also expresses such notions as 'try to':

(252) a. *u   yi   nye a   kwo   mbwêmê nye*
          its desire 1d.EXP is standing pig   1d
          vy:a, ngmênê dê   mbêpê
          hit   but   3IMM.PI run
          'We2 tried to catch the pig but he ran away'

      b. *u   yi   nmo   doo   kwo   dinghy nmî*
          its desire 1pl.EXP 3sREMCI standing   dinghy 1PlPastPI
          dyé,   nmgênê doo   u   ntââ
          save   but   3sNEG   3Poss   sufficient
          'We3 tried to save the dinghy, but we couldn't (lit. it wasn't sufficient)'

In the case of 2nd person subjects of the desired action, the second person pronoun is used in the embedded clause – here shown in the (optional) ergative case possible in embedded contexts:

(253) *u   yi   a nga   a   kwo   nyi ngê wa   d:uu*
       its desire 1s.EXP 3sCI standing   you ERG IRR do
       'I want you to do it' (lit. 'It's desire to me is standing: you do it')
       [example repeated from earlier]

7.5.2 Body-part expressions of emotion

As already illustrated, body-part terms are used to express emotional states – these occur in a number of constructions, not only with the Experiencer Con-

struction, but are brought together here for comparison with that construction. A number of the examples here come from the second edition of the dictionary by Henderson & Henderson (1999), where an effort was made to collect these expressions. The throat is the locus of both positive and negative emotions: *nuu* 'throat' is normally positive, *nódo* 'neck' both positive and negative:

(254) a. *a   nuu   u   tpile.*
       my   throat   his/its/her   thing
       'A thing I really like', lit. 'My throat its thing'

   b. *a   nuu   u   kópu   ngê   dê   pyódu*
       my   throat   its   word/matter   ERG   3s/plIMMP(preN)   cause.become
       'I am really fond of it', lit. 'Its thing has made my throat'

   c. *nmî   tp:ee   yoo   yi   nuu   ghi   dmi   nmî*
       our3   child   Pl   their   throat   part   bundle   1plPOSS
       nódo   a   tóó
       throat   3HABC   sitting
       'We love our children', lit. 'Our children's throat bundles are sitting at our throats'

The 'neck' expressions can express 'choking' emotions; the neck is also a seat of knowledge – the distinction can be made purely with choice of positional verbs:

(255) a. *yi   kópu   a   nódo   ka   t:a*
       that   thing   my   neck   CERT.3sC.HAB   hanging
       'That thing is hanging at my neck, i.e. I feel bitter about it'

   b. *yi   kópu   a   nódo   ka   tóó*
       that   thing   my   neck   CERT.3sC.HAB   sitting
       'That thing is sitting at my neck, i.e. I know all about it/ I'm still thinking about it'

Other body part expressions in frequent use are *mbodo* 'head', *gha* 'core, inside' used to mean 'feelings', *ngópu* 'inner ear, possession', *kee* 'spleen, fear':

(256) *ntii   u   kee   u   mênê   daa   kwo*
       sea   its   fear   his   inside   NEG   stands
       'The fear of the sea does not stand in his inside, i.e. he has no fear of the sea'

7.6 The basic intransitive clause

There are a number of kinds of intransitive predication, already described in §7.3 and §7.4: nominal predication, adjectival predication and positional clauses. Here we turn to the basic, tensed intransitive clause with canonical intransitive verbs. Such a clause need not have an explicit subject (if there is one, it will be in the unmarked Absolutive case of course). It consists minimally of an intransitive verb complex: i.e. an intransitive verb flanked by pre- and post-verbal clitics, since subjects are always omissible. Verbs, as we have seen, are inherently transitive or intransitive, and inherently continuous or punctual, although punctual verbs have continuous forms. Punctual roots tend to supplete on tense, mood and according to whether the post-verbal clitics are null or not, while continuous roots are (apart from the positional roots) normally uniform across tense.

We have already described the pre-verbal (§6.1) and post-verbal (§6.2) clitics, but it is nevertheless important to see how they interact together with verb root suppletion (§4.5; §4.5.4.4) to code all the grammatical categories of tense, aspect, mood, person and number. Let us illustrate with the verb 'to go', which has the following roots (Table 7.20):

Table 7.20: Roots of the verb 'to go'.

Verb 'Go'	Punctual	Continuous
Imperative	*lili* (2sing)/*paa ala* (1dual)	*lêpî*
Proximate tense (unmarked) form	*lê*	*lêpî*
Remote Past	*loo*	*lêpî*
Followed form	*lee*	*lêpî*
Negative form	*nê*	*lêpî*
Negative remote past	*n:ee*	*lêpî*

It is the combination of clitics, verb root and explicit arguments (if any) that code the basic clause or simple proposition.

There follow the clitics collocated with the correct root forms of the verb 'go' for a good portion of the full (144 cell) tense/aspect/person array (all forms are Punctual aspect unless otherwise indicated).

(257)   Imperative clauses
   (a) Present tense (immediate)
       lili   you1 go! (Punctual aspect)
       lee knî/paa ala   let us2 go! (Punctual aspect)

lee kmîle	let us3 (three or more) go! (Punctual aspect)
chi lêpî	you1 be going! (Continuous aspect)
choo lêpî	you2 be going! (Continuous aspect)
dnyinê lêpî	you3 be going! (Continuous aspect)

(b) Deferred Imperative ('Do it later')

paa lee knî	let us2 go later
paa lee kmîle	let us3 go later
dpî lili	you1 go later
dpî lee cho	you2 go later
dpî lee dmyeno	you3 go later!

(258)   Indicative Tenses, Punctual Aspect

(a) Immediate Past (earlier today)

(nê) kêdê lê	I went today
(kê) dnye lee knî	we2 went
dpî lee dmi	we3 went
dî lee dmi	they3 went
dî lee knî	they2 went
dî lê	he went
chi lê	you went
dpî lee knî	you2 went
dmye lee dmi	you3 went

(b) Near Past (yesterday)

nê lê	I went yesterday
nyi lee knî	we2 went yesterday
nmî lee dmi	we3 went yesterday
lee dmi	they3 went yesterday
lee knî	they2 went yesterday
lê	he went yesterday
nyi lê	you1 went yesterday
dpî lee knî	you2 went yesterday
nmyi lee dmi	you3 went yesterday

(c) Future

(mââ) a nî lê	I will go tomorrow
nyi lee knî	we2 will go tomorrow
a nmî lee dmi	we3 will go tomorrow
wa lee dmi	they3 will go tomorrow
wa lee knî	they2 will go tomorrow
wa lê	he will go tomorrow
wa nyi lê	you1 will go tomorrow

wa nyi lee knî   you2 will go tomorrow
wa nmî lee dmi   you3 will go tomorrow

(d) Remote Past

(kî) nê loo   I went long ago (epistemically certain)
nyi lee knâpwo   we2 went long ago
nmî lee dniye   we3 went long ago
lee dniye   they3 went long ago
lee knâpwo   they2 went long ago
loo   he went went long ago
nyi loo   you1 went long ago
dpî lee knâpwo   you 2 went long ago
nmyi lee dniye   you 3 went long ago

(259)   Indicative tenses, Continuous aspect

(a) Immediate Future (later today)

n:aa lêpî   I am going, later today
nye lêpî mo   we2 are going, later today
nmo lêpî té   we3 are going, later today
a lêpî té   they3 are going, later today
a lêpî mo   they2 are going, later today
a lêpî   he is going, later today
ka/a lêpî   he is going, later today
nye lêpî   you1 are going, later today
dpo lêpî mo   you2 are going, later today
nmye lêpî té   you3 are going, later today

(b) Near Past (yesterday)

(kê) nê lêpî   I was going yesterday
ny:oo lêpî   we2 were going yesterday
nmî lêpî   we3 were going yesterday
dniye lêpî   they3 were going yesterday
dpî lêpî   they2 were going yesterday
(kê)dê lêpî   he was going yesterday
nyi lêpî   you1 were going yesterday
dpî lêpî   you2 were going yesterday
nmyi lêpî   you3 were going yesterday

(c) Remote Past (before yesterday)

noo lêpî   I was going long ago
nyipu lêpî   we2 were going long ago
nmee lêpî   we3 were going long ago
dnye lêpî   they 3 were going long ago

dpîmo lêpî	they2 were going long ago
doo lêpî	he was going long ago
nyoo lêpî	you1 were going long ago
dpîmo lêpî	you2 were going long ago
nmyee lêpî	you3 were going long ago

(d) Proximal Habitual

n:aa lêpî yédi	I used to go everyday
nye lêpî nódó	we2 used to go everyday
nmo lêpî nyédi	we3 used to go everyday
a lêpî nyédi	they3 used to go everyday
a lêpî nódó	they2 used to go everyday
a lêpî yédi	he used to go everyday

Each of these verb complexes is a fully-formed sentence, expressing a precise proposition restricted in time. Naturally, an explicit nominal subject is likely to occur (in the unmarked Absolutive case) at the outset, and then in a narrative the cross-referencing on the particles will tend to be sufficient to keep track of the participants, sometimes with the help of an anaphoric pronoun. In (260) is an example of such a transition, with the last clause (the simplex intransitive clause) without a subject NP:

(260) R97(4)-V1 Story 2

Nkêê		*tpémi*	*paa*	*até*	
mountain_name		people	going_down	immediately	

yedê		*y:ee*	*ngópu*		
3sSDEIC.PROX		leave	PFS3sO.REM.P/HABC(tvPostN)		

'The people of Mt Nkêê (near P:uupaa) as they were going down, they left their village'

mu	*Ndâwó*	*a*	*mê*	*pee*	*p:aa*	*ngmê*
that island	Ndâwó	my	DEICTIC	side	village	one

ka		*tóó*
CERT.3SPRSCon		sitting(s/d)

'Near Ndâwó, this side of it, there's a village'

y:i		*dnye*	*lêpî*
ANAPH.Place		3plREMCon	going

'They were going there'

Not all intransitive clauses are simple. Transitive verbs with incorporated objects are inflected (take post-verbal clitics) like Intransitive verbs; in this case the object is sandwiched between pre-verbal clitic and verb (§7.9). Further, some formally

intransitive verbs obligatorily take incorporated PPs (here in bold; example from Henderson 1995:28), again sandwiched between pre-verbal clitic and verb in a position nothing else can occur in:

(261) *ka*   **nté** **ka**   *chaa*   *té*
       CERT.3Pres food Source/Goal ground-bake plS.PROX.CI
       'They are food-baking (in ground oven)'

And others do so optionally:

(262) *wumê*   **nêêdî** **ka**   *vyuwo*
       3a/d/pl/HABPROX.C.MOT possum Source/Goal look for
       'He goes looking for possum'

An intransitive verb like *vyuwo* 'look for' could be said to subcategorize for a PP and optionally incorporate it. Incorporation is described further in §7.9.3 below.

Many notions that, in English, would be rendered with a transitive verb, can be expressed with intransitive verbs in Yélî. In many cases there are transitive and intransitive verb doublets (see §4.5.1; §7.9.1).

7.7 The simple transitive clause

The simplex (non-subordinative) transitive clause is expressed maximally by an Ergative NP, an Absolutive NP, a verb complex with pre- and post-verbal clitics, and any adjuncts and adverbials. Where explicit noun phrases for the arguments occur, it is of course essential that the person/number marking in the NPs agrees with that in the verb complex (3rd person often unmarked for number in the proclitic). Subjects are marked twice, in proclitics and enclitics, objects only in enclitics.

(263)

Yidika *Mwonî* **y:oo** *ngw:ââ*   **dê** **Ø**   *vya*   **dumo**
N+w:ââ

Yidika   Mwonî ERG.pl your.dog Dual 3Rem/PROXPST   hit.FOL   PFS.3dO
 'Yidika and Mwonî hit (before yesterday) your two dogs'

There are various agreement peculiarities – quantified NPs usually take singular agreement, subjects with NP adjuncts in Sociative or Comitative case agree as if the nominal in Sociative case were part of the subject (thus 'John with me' will take 1ˢᵗ Dual agreement), reflexives sometimes (§7.8.1) and reciprocals always (§7.8.2) agree as if they were 3ʳᵈ person, and so forth. See §5.2; §5.3, §7.8.2.

Once the agent is set up, subsequent mentions are likely to elide the NP, as in the following extended example from a narrated myth, where the supreme deity went around the island placing all the people in their districts:

(264) *Ngwonoch:a ngê ala dyamê Ø a*
Ngwonoch:a ERG this island/country Abs 3snear/REM.PI.CLS
yina ngê,
go_around 3sO_MFS(tvPostN)
'Ngwonoch:a (the supreme deity) went around the island,
kî kêêlî ghi yintómu, pi yilî yintómu
that(medial) place part all person many all
yi p:o-p:o
3plPoss homes
everywhere, everyone (in) their homes
yinê yó Ø
3sREM.PI+ANAPH putTV.REM MFS.3sOI
he placed.'

Here the first clause has the full form with Ergative and Absolutive NP, but thereafter the same agent is indicated by zero-anaphora. The Absolutive NP is cross-referenced in the post-verbal clitic except when it is 3ʳᵈ person singular with a Monofocal subject (members of a class of 'weak' verbs substitute *ngê* here in the Remote Past):

(265) a. *awêdê tp:ee dî vy:a Ø*
today boy 3sIMM hit.PROX MFS.3sO
'He hit a boy today'
    b. *pi ngmê dî vy:a Ø*
person INDF 3sIMM hit.PROX MFS.3sO
'He hit someone today'

In example (265)b. above, the indefinite marker of Absolutive NPs is attracted to the pre-clitic position so that other constituents may intervene between noun and indefinite, this constituting part of the marking of Absolutive status (Henderson

1995:15). The clitic now forms a single phonological word (§3.5) with the Absolutive marker: *ngmê=dî*.

The Absolutive (object) NP can also be dropped from any clause, if it is clear from the context:

(266) *Ngwonoch:a   ngê   yinê   d:uu   ngê*
      Ngwonoch:a   ERG   that's_the_one   do   MFS.3sO.WEAK
      'Ngwonoch:a was the one who did (everything)'

Thus, as in the intransitive clause, the minimal finite transitive clause consists of a verb complex, in this case a transitive verb flanked by clitics. The nominative proclitics are the same as for the intransitive clause, but in the transitive case the enclitics carry information about the person/number of the object as well as the subject in portmanteau form. Again, it is useful to see at least a partial paradigm of the minimal transitive clause, the verb complex, in order to appreciate how the information is contributed by verb stem, proclitic and enclitic (full analytic tables for the enclitics are provided in §6.2). We will take the perhaps hackneyed example of the verb 'to hit (kill)', which is at least indubitably transitive in both form and meaning. The verb has the suppletive forms shown in Table 7.21:

Table 7.21: The verb 'to hit (kill)'.

Verb 'hit/kill'	Punctual	Continuous
Imperative	*vya* (*ngi*) (2sing)	(*chi*) *vyee*
Proximate tense (unmarked) form	*vy:a*	
Remote Past	*vyâ*	*vyee*
Followed form	*vya*	

Because of the huge number of forms involved (and because proclitics are the same in the intransitive case we have just reviewed), we will hold the subject constant (even though of course variables here affect the enclitic) as 3rd person singular, except in the imperative.

(267)   Imperative clauses (Punctual only)
         vya ngi   you hit him
         vya dé   you hit them2
         vya té   you hit them3
         vya nédi   you1 hit me
         vya nódó   you2/3 hit me

vya nyédi	you hit us2
vya nmédi	you hit us3
vya ngmê	let us2 hit him
vya déme	let us2 hit them2
vya téme	let us2 hit them3
dpî vya ngê	let him hit it later (Deferred)
dpî vya ngê déne	let him hit those two later
dpî vya ngê téne	let him hit those three-or-more later

(268)   Punctual Indicative clauses: 'He hit(s) you/they/us' etc.

(a)   Immediate Past (earlier today)

dî vya nê	he hit me today
dî vya ngi	he hit you1
dî vya dp:o	he hit you2
dî vya nmy:oo	he hit you3
dî vya ny:oo	he hit us2
dî vya nmo	he hit us3
dî vy:a Ø	he hit him
dî vya dê	he hit them2
dî vya.té	he hit them3

(b)   Future

wa vya nê	he will hit me
wa vya ny:oo	he will hit us2
wa vya nmo	he will hit us3
wa vya ngi	he will hit you1
wa vya dp:o	he will hit you 2
wa vya nmy:o	he will hit you 3
wa vy:a Ø	he will hit him
wa vya dê	he will hit them2
wa vya té	he will hit them3

(c)   Remote Past (before yesterday)

Ø vya noo	he hit me (before yesterday)
Ø vya nyópu	he hit us2
Ø vya nmo	he hit us3
Ø vya nyoo	he hit you1
Ø vya dpo	he hit you2
Ø vya nmyoo	he hit you3
Ø vyâ Ø	he hit him (note unfollowed root)
Ø vya doo	he hit them2
Ø vya too	he hit them3

(d) Habitual

Punctual ('sometimes')		Continuous ('everyday')
dpî vya nê	he used to hit me	*a vyee noo*
dpî vya ny:oo	he used to hit us2	*a vyee nyópu*
dpî vya nmo	he used to hit us3	*a vyee nmoo*
dpî vya ngi	he used to hit you1	*a vyee ngi*
dpî vya dp:o	he used to hit you2	*a vyee dp:o*
dpî vya nmy:o	he used to hit you3	*a vyee nmy:o*
dpî vy:a Ø	he used to hit him	*a vyee ngê*
dpî vya dê	he used to hit them2	*a vyee doo*
dpî vya té	he used to hit them3	*a vyee too*

(269)   Continuous Aspect ('He (is/was/will be) hitting me/them/you, etc.')

(a) Future Distal (Tomorrow or later)

wa dî vyee nê	he will be hitting me (everyday, continuously)
wa dî vyee ny:o	he will be hitting us2
wa dî vyee nmo	he will be hitting us3
wa dî vyee Ø	he will be hitting him
wa dî vyee dê	he will be hitting them2
wa dî vyee.té	he will be hitting them3
wa dî vyee nyi	he will be hitting you1
wa dî vyee dp:o	he will be hitting you2
wa dî vyee. nmy:o	he will be hitting you3

(b) Present

a vyee noo	he is hitting me (continuously)
a vyee nyópu	he is hitting us2
a vyee nmoo	he is hitting us3
a vyee Ø	he is hitting him
a vyee doo	he is hitting them2
a vyee too	he is hitting them3
a vyee nyoo	he is hitting you1
a vyee dpo	he is hitting you2
a vyee nmyoo	he is hitting you3

(c) Immediate Past (earlier today)

Ø vyee nê	he was hitting me continuously today
Ø vyee ny:oo	he was hitting us 2
Ø vyee nmo	he was hitting us3
Ø vyee Ø	he was hitting him

    Ø vyee dê   he was hitting them2
    Ø vyee té   he was hitting they3
    Ø vyee ngi   he was hitting you1
    Ø vyee dp:o   he was hitting you2
    Ø vyee   he was hitting you3
    nmy:o

(d) Proximal Past (yesterday)
    dî vyee nê   he was hitting me yesterday, etc.

(e) Remote Past (before yesterday)
    doo vyee nê   he was hitting me (long before)
    doo vyee nyo   he was hitting us2
    doo vyee   he was hitting us3
    nmo
    doo vyee ngi   he was hitting you1 etc.

(f) Habitual Proximal (habitual actions still occurring)
    a vyee noo   he used to hit me (continuously, everyday)
    a vyee nyópu   he used to hit us2
    a vyee nmoo   he used to hit us3
    a vyee ngi   he used to hit you1
    a vyee dp:o   he used to hit you2
    a vyee nmy:o he used to hit you3
    a vyee ngê   he used to hit him
    a vyee doo   he used to hit them2
    a vyee too   he used to hit them3

(g) Habitual Distal (habitual actions discontinued)
    dpîmo vyee nê   he was habitually hitting me everyday long ago etc.

(h) Imperatives – see Tables 7.22 & 7.23 below, and §7.2.1 above.

Table 7.22: Transitive Imperatives: 1ˢᵗ Person Sing OBJECT held constant.

Subject properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
1			
2	*vy:a nédi* 'you1 hit me!'	*vy:a nódó* 'you2 hit me'	*vy:a nódó* ' you3 hit me'
3	*vy:a nédi* 'let him hit me' OR *vy:a nene*	*vy:a nódó* 'let them2 hit me'	*vy:a nódó* 'let them3 hit me'

Table 7.23: Transitive Imperatives: 1st Person Dual OBJECT held constant.

Subject properties	Sing	Dual	Plural
1			
2	*vy:a nyédi* 'you hit us2!'	*vy:a nyédi* 'you2 hit us2'	*vy:a nyédi* 'you3 hit us2!'
3	*vy:a nyédi* 'let him hit us2!'	*vy:a nyédi** 'let them2 hit us2'	*vy:a nyédi* 'let them3 hit us2

7.8 Reflexive and reciprocal clauses

Self-reference in both reciprocals and reflexives is done lexically, with a reflexive or reciprocal nominal. In the reflexive cases, these are arguably normal objects of transitive verbs (no intransitivization or middle construction is employed), but in the reciprocal case the reciprocal pronoun is incorporated into an intransitive construction. There are puzzles and complexities in both constructions: the semantic binding conditions are hard to formulate and agreement in the verb complex is irregular, but reciprocals are especially complex, and are dealt with separately below (§7.8.2) (see also Levinson 2011).

7.8.1 Reflexives

The reflexive 'pronoun' is actually a noun like English 'self' preceded by a possessive pronoun (except in the 3rd person singular). The forms of the reflexive are repeated here (Table 7.24) from §4.2.2.1 Table 4.6; note that the unmarked form *chóóchóó* is interpreted strictly as 3rd person singular (with some person switches to be described):

Table 7.24: Reflexive 'pronouns'.

	Sing	Dual	Plural
1	*a chóóchóó*	*nyi chóóchóó*	*nmî chóóchóó*
2	*nyóóchóó*	*dpî chóóchóó*	*nmyi chóóchóó*
3	*chóóchóó*	*yi chóóchóó*	*yi chóóchóó*

(The *nyóóchóó* form is a regular formation from the 2nd person possessive nasal prefix applied to the unmarked form.) The forms are identical for absolute and

possessive uses, except that in the 3rd person the singular form in the possessive has a preposed possessive pronoun: *u chóóchóó*.

The following examples show some basic usages with the reflexive in object position and (zero) Absolutive case:

(270) a. *a   chóóchóó dî   vyee   nê*
           my   self   1sIMM   hit.FOL 1sO.PROXPI
           'I hit myself (earlier today)'

    b. *nyóóchóó nyi   vy:a ngi*
           2s.self   2sPastPI hit   2sO.PROXPI
           'You hit yourself (earlier today)'

    c. *Yidika Mwonî y:oo   yi   chóóchóó dê   vy:a*
           Yidika Mwonî ERG-3PL   3Pl   self   3IMMPI   hit
           d:oo
           MFS.3dO.PROXPI
           'Yidika and Mwonî hit themselves'

Other forms however are possible, for example the following, where in example (271)b. the reflexive has a 3rd person zero morph not in agreement with the 2nd person subject:

(271) a. *a   chóóchóó nî   vy:a nê*
           1sPOSS   self   1sNrPST   hit   1sOPROXPI
           'I hit myself (yesterday)'

    b. *nyóóchóó nyi   vy:a Ø*
           2s.self   2sPastPI   hit   MFS3sO.PROX
           'You hit yourself (yesterday)' OR 'You yourself hit him'

    c. *nyi chóóchóó nyi   vy:a ngi*
           2s   self   2sPastPI   hit   2sO.PROXPI
           'You hit yourself (yesterday)' (unambiguous)

Notice that example (271)b. is ambiguous between an emphatic and reflexive interpretation. But construction c. (a variant of *nyóóchóó nyi vy:a ngi* but with the same reflexive-only interpretation) is unambiguous, and thus the binding conditions for reflexives can be ascertained . The inflectional patterns in both a. and b. can be explained by the fact that reflexives can be optionally treated as 3rd person nominals. In b. there is then a zero enclitic, which would encode (as shown) Monofocal Subject and 3rd person Singular Object – other evidence is described below. Incidentally, non-reflexive sentences with forced coreferentiality between A and O arguments are ungrammatical:

(272) a. *nî   vy:a   nê
           1sPastPI   hit   1sO.PROXPI
           *'I hit me'

       b. *nyi   vy:a   ngi
           2sPastPI   hit   2sO.PROXPI
           *'You hit you'

The basic, 3rd person reflexives in object position are illustrated in example (273) below. As the glosses make clear, these sentences are potentially ambiguous between a reflexive reading and a reading with a zero-anaphoric object and an emphatic subject (insertion of an unambiguous O NP will force the reflexive reading, as in b.):

(273) a. *Weta   ngê   chóóchóó   dê   vy:a*
           Weta   ERG   self   3IMM   hit
           'Weta killed himself', or 'Weta himself killed (that animate entity)'

       b. *Weta   ngê   Weta   chóóchóó   dê   vy:a*
           Weta   ERG   Weta   self   3IMM   hit
           'Weta hit Weta himself'

       c. *Weta   ngê   chóóchóó   da   nâko*
           Weta   ERG   self   3IMM   hang.something
           'Weta hung himself', or 'Weta himself hung it up'

       d. *Ghaalyu   ngê   chóóchóó   dê   châpwo   tuu   ngê*
           Ghaalyu   ERG   self   3IMM   cut   axe   INST
           'Ghaalyu cut himself with an axe' or 'Ghaalyu himself cut it with an axe'

Chóóchóó is a nominal, and can stand directly as either a subject or a nominal predicate in an equational sentence:

(274) a. *chóóchóó   ngwépi*
           3s.self   sorceror
           'Himself is the sorcerer; the sorcerer is himself'

       b. *nyóóchóó   (nyi)   mââwe*
           2s.self   2s   bigman
           'Yourself (you) are a bigman; the bigman is yourself'

       c. *pini   n:ii   ngê   dê   d:uu,   chóóchóó*
           man   who   ERG   3IMM   do   3s.self
           'The man who did it is himself'

d. *nyóóchóó   'nm:ee?*
                   N+*tp:ee*
   2s.self   2sPoss+son
   'Is this your own son?'

Where the reflexive occurs alone, as in example (274)a. above, it would not seem to be an emphatic, but where there is an additional pronoun (or noun), as shown as possible in b., the reflexive pronoun may be merely emphatic.

When the reflexive stands in a possessive relation to another nominal, it is often reduced, and the reduced forms (possessive + *chóó*) reinforce a possessive reading:

(275) a. *chóó(chóó) u   mî   ngê dê   vy:a Ø*
          3s.self   his father ERG 3IMM.PI hit   MFS3sO.PROX
          'Himself's father hit him' (i.e. 'His own father hit him')
       b. *kêndapî   chóó   u   kada da   yé   té*
          shell.money 3s.self his front 3IMM.CLS put MFS3plO.PROXPI
          'He put the shell money at self's front, i.e. in front of himself'

In example (275)a. above the reflexive seems to be bound from an unusual position: the object (coded in the zero enclitic) appears to be binding an adjunct to the subject ('Himself's father hit him'), contrary to some predictions in the theoretical literature. Those who think that Absolutive arguments may be underlying subjects may find this interesting.

A reflexive in this position tends to force a reading that might have come about anyway, and is thus typically optional:

(276) a. *kêndapî   (chóóchóó) u   péé   maknâpwo dê   ngmo*
          shell-money 3s.self   3sPoss basket under   3IMM.PI hide
          'He hid the money under his (own) basket'
       b. *yu   chóó da   châpwo*
          3sPoss.leg self 3IMM.CLS cut
          'He cut his own leg'

This same reduced form *chóó*, but also the fuller forms, can be emphatics, adjunct to the subjects which bind them:

(277) a. *a   chóó dî   d:uu*
          1sPOSS self 1sIMM.PI do
          'I myself did it'

b. *Weta   ngê   Yidika   chóó   dê   vy:a*
   Weta   ERG   Yidika   self   3IMMPI   hit
   'Weta himself hit Yidika' (Not 'Weta hit Yidika himself')

c. *nyóóchóó   chi   d:uu = nyóó   chi   d:uu*
   2s.self   2sIMM.PI   did   2s.self(reduced) 2sIMMPI   did
   'You yourself did it' (two versions)

d. *nyóóchóó   (*ngê)   nee   nyi   l:âmo   ngê*
   2s.self   ERG   canoe   2sREM.PI fix   MFS3sOPIREM
   'You yourself made the canoe (before yesterday)?'

e. *Mwonî   ngê   chóóchóó   da   châpwo*
   Mwonî   ERG   3.self   3IMM.CLS   cut
   'Mwonî cut himself'

f. *chóóchóó   ngê   Mwonî   da   châpwo*
   3.self   ERG   Mwonî   3IMM.CLS   cut
   *'Self (ERG) cut Mwonî'

As shown in examples (277)d. and f., these reflexive forms cannot occur marked with Ergative case, although they may seemingly occur in, or adjunct to, subject position. As emphatics, reflexives can occur in this position also in intransitive clauses:

(278) a. *Kostka   Father   ka   chóóchóó   lê*
         Kostka   Father   DAT   3s.self   go
         'K himself went to Father yesterday'

     b. *Kostka chóóchóó Father ka lê = chóóchóó Kostka Father ka lê* = (a.)
         above.

     c. *Kostka   Father   ka   chóó   lé*
         Kostka   Father   DAT   3s.Self   go
         'Kostka went to Father himself' (ambiguous who is being emphasized)

The full reflexive pronoun seems to pick out the subject as referent in these cases (note that the different orders in examples (278)a. and b. seem equivalent), but the reduced form has ambiguous scope as in c.

   Some examples of other permissible positions follow in example (279):

(279) a. *chóó   u   tp:ee   ka   puku dmi   dê*   Possessive
         self   3sPOSS   son   DAT   book CLF   3sIMM   within Dative
         y:oo
         give.to.3rd
         'He gave to his own son the book'

b. *puku   dmi (u)   chóóchóó u kwo*   Adjunct to Dative
book   3sPOSS   self   to.him
maa   y:oo
REP.3IMM   give.to.3rd
'He gave the book to himself'

c. *chóóchóó u   mgî   chó*   Benefactive?
3s.self   her   hole dug.REM
'She dug herself her hole, i.e. she dug her own grave'

d. *gun   chóóchóó u   kuwó   dê*   Complement
gun   3.self   3sPOSS   behind   3sIMM   of Possessive?
ngmo
hide
'He hid the gun behind himself'

e. *u   yi   u ngwo a   kwo*   Object
its   desire 3sEXP   3sHABCon   standing
chóóchóó nê   vy:a
3.self   1s   hit
'He wanted to kill himself', lit. 'He wanted 'I kill self''

As already mentioned, there is an important agreement fact that only becomes clear with non-third person dual or trial subjects – the verbal enclitic which tracks object person/number does not always agree with the person, optionally taking 3rd person in the appropriate number, except in imperatives like example (280)c.:

(280) a. *dpî   chóóchóó dpî   vy:a d:oo*
2d.POSS   self   2d.IMM   hit   PFSubject.3dO.PROXPI
'You2 hit yourselves' OR: 'You2 yourselves hit them2 earlier today'
(Ambiguous)
Lit. 'You2 hit them2selves (day before yesterday/earlier today/ yesterday)'
dpî   chóóchóó dpî   vy:a dp:o
2d.POSS   self   2d.IMM   hit   PFSubject.2dO.PROXPI
'You2 hit yourselves (today or yesterday)' (Unambiguous)
dpî   chóóchóó dpî   vy:a dpo
2d.POSS   self   2d.IMM   hit   PFSubject.3dO.PROXPI
'You2 hit yourselves (the day before yesterday)' (Ambiguous)
b. *nmyi   chóóchóó nmyi   vy:a tumo*
2PlPOSS   self   2plIMM   hit   PFS.3plO.PROXPI
'You3 hit yourselves' OR 'You3 hit 3 others' (Ambiguous)

    nmyi   chóóchóó nmyi   vy:a nmyo
    2plPOSS self   2pl.IMM hit   3plO
    'You3 hit yourselves' (Unambiguous)

  c. *dpî   chóóchóó dpî   vy:a dóó*
      2d.POSS self   2dIMM hit   2dS.3dO.IMP
      '(Go on)You2 hit each other!' (Imperative, Immediate)

      nmyi   chóóchóó dpî vy:a tóó
      2pl.POSS self   2pl hit 2pl
      'You3 hit each other!'

Note as another fact that both reflexives and reciprocals can occur in the same sentence with the same reference:

(281) *puku   dmi   yi   chóóchóó noko   maa*
      book   bundle 3PL.POSS self   RECP.DAT REP.3IMM
      y:ee   t:oo
      give.to.3rd PFS.3plO.PROX
      'They gave the books to each one of themselves
      (each gave himself a book, or they exchanged books.)'

As so often with reflexives in language, these various facts are quite hard to reconcile with a single structural analysis. One approach would take all these reflexives to actually be emphatics, with only preferred or implicated reflexive readings – hence all sentences permit a non-reflexive interpretation unless this is ruled out by other means (1st and 2nd person reference, or repeated names). A second approach would try to isolate the true from the pseudo-reflexive uses of the same morphemes. We might then set aside as emphatics those reflexives which occur as adjuncts to subjects, as with the intransitive cases. We would then attempt to isolate as core cases those reflexives which can be analysed as in the object position of transitive verbs, bound as expected on typological grounds by explicit or inexplicit Ergative subjects. This however would leave a number of other puzzling cases to the side: (a) the occurrence of reflexives as apparent subjects of verbless predications, (b) reflexives serving as nominal predications, (c) reflexives embedded in an ergative NP apparently bound from object position (as in 'Himself's father beat him'). A third approach would highlight the 3rd person agreement with 1st and 2nd person subjects – on this analysis all these 'reflexives' are adjuncts, along the lines of 'I hit someone, namely myself' (and thus none of them occupy argument positions or are anaphors in Chomsky's sense). Finally, a quite promising approach would start with the observation that reflexives are

always in Absolutive (unmarked) case, and can be bound by any pronominal or clitic element in the verb complex – this would unify the emphatic uses, and the intransitive subject uses, with those where an A-role NP appears to bind an O-role NP. In fact, on this analysis, all cases of *chóóchóó* are bound out of the verb complex by the verbal inflections themselves. A problem for this analysis comes from Experiencer sentences like:

(282) *nyóóchóó kî   dmââdî u   yi   nga   a   kwo*
       2s.self   that girl   3sPoss desire 2sEXP   3CI   stands
       'You yourself want that girl (to marry)?', lit. 'To you yourself
       the desire of that girl is standing?'

Here the reflexive is apparently bound by the Experiencer 'subject' which is not coded in the verbal inflections (the Absolutive subject is *yi*, 'desire').

7.8.2 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

Reciprocals are used to refer to reciprocal actions, although the usage does not exactly parallel English (see §7.8.2.5). There are two essential constructions:
i.   The pronominal *numo* is used as if it was the direct object of a transitive verb root – but the whole construction is always intransitivized to differing degrees, as explained below, and *numo* may or may not be cross-referenced on the verb. In all cases the subject is marked with Absolutive case, not Ergative, and *numo* is incorporated into the verb complex.
ii. The pronominal *noko* (= *numo*+Dative *ka*) or *numo*+adposition occurs in an oblique position (e.g. a PP) with both transitive and intransitive roots. It is normally not cross-referenced in the verb, but occasionally the whole PP (adpositional phrase) can be incorporated, in which case indirect cross-referencing is possible, and there may be other special cases (see below §7.8.2.6).

7.8.2.1 The numo construction
The reciprocal pronoun *numo* when it is the patient of a transitive verb (as in 'they hit each other') is always incorporated into the verbal complex, making an intransitive construction. This is marked by (i) the position of *numo* between the verb and the verbal proclitic, (ii) by the fact that the subject cannot be in the ergative case, but must be absolutive, (iii) by a change of the verbal enclitic from

a transitive to an intransitive one just in case the verb is in continuous aspect. Compare:

(283) a. *Kakan   ngê   Nganapwe- Ø   wunê   kpêênî*
           Kakan   ERG   Nganapwe-ABS   3HABCI   chasing
           Ø
           MFS.3sOPROXTransitive
           'Kakan habitually chases Nganapwe'
       b. *Kakan- Ø   Nganapwe- Ø   wunê   numo   kpêênî*
           Kakan-ABS   Nganapwe-ABS   3HABCI   each other   chasing
           mo
           3dS.PROXIntransCI
           'Kakan and Nganapwe habitually chase each other'

Despite the incorporation of *numo*, the verbal enclitic is sometimes transitive and sometimes intransitive (as in example (283)b.), showing that the reciprocal exhibits intermediate degrees of transitivity. The agreement facts with *numo* as expressed in the enclitic are as follows:

i.   The Punctual verb form takes a transitive enclitic, as for Monofocal Subject (singular or 1st person) even when the subject is not Monofocal. There is a neutralization of tense distinctions in the enclitic, only the Remote Past being marked distinctively for tense.

ii.   Wherever there is a transitive enclitic, this enclitic codes the reciprocal as 3rd person object regardless of actual person.

iii. The Continuous verb form takes intransitive enclitics agreeing in number with the subject in all tenses and in the habitual as well as indicative moods.

Tables 7.25 and 7.26 show the relevant verb forms for a sentence of the form 'X hit each other' in the punctual aspect, and 'X were/are looking.at each other' for the continuous aspect, with the different possible tense, mood and person/number combinations (there are only two relevant numbers, Dual and Plural, and object person/number is the same of course as subject person/number). The intransitive enclitics are marked in bold. The forms *dê/té* are forms normally used with transitive verbs in the proximal tenses with Monofocal subject and 3rd person dual/plural objects, respectively (see §6.2.1). The forms *mo/té* are normally used with intransitive verbs in proximal tenses with dual/plural subjects of any person, but only in the continuous aspect. Likewise the zero suffixes indifferent to person are a unique feature of intransitive continuous aspect marking in distal tenses.

Table 7.25: Punctual aspect transitive inflectional enclitics associated with incorporated reciprocals – paradigm with verb *vy:a/vyee* 'hit, hitting', all Subjects with coreferential Objects (annotations in left column under the tense category show normal value of the corresponding enclitics).

PUNCTUAL	Person	Dual	Plural
Future	**Person**		
(proximal tense)	1	*anyi numo vy:a dê*	*a nmî numo vy:a té*
	2	*wa dpî numo vy:a dê*	*wa nmyi numo vy:a té*
	3	*wa numo vy:a dê*	*wa numo vy:a té*
Earlier Today – Immediate Past	1	*dnye numo vy:a dê*	*dpî numo vy:a té*
(proximal tense)	2	*dpî numo vy:a dê*	*dmye numo vy:á té*
	3	*dî numo vy:a dê*	*dê numo vy:a té*
	Person		
Yesterday – Near Past	1	*nyi numo vy:a dê*	*nmî numo vy:a té*
(proximal tense)	2	*dpî numo vy:a dê*	*nmyi numo vy:a té*
	3	*numo vy:a dê*	*numo vy:a té*
Day before Yesterday – Remote Past	**Person**		
(distal tense)	1	*nyi numo vy:a doo*	*nmî numo vy:a too*
MFS 3d/plObj REM	2	*dpî numo vy:a doo*	*nmyi numo vy:a too*
	3	*numo vy:a doo*	*numo vy:a too*
Habitual	**Person**		
	1	*dmye numo vy:a dê*	*?nmî numo vy:a té*
	2	*dpî numo vy:a dê*	*dmye numo vy:a té*
	3	*dpî numo vy:a dê*	*dpî numo vy:a té*
Imp 1S.3d/plO	1	*numo vy:a déme*	*numo vy:a téme*
2S .3d/plO	2	*numo vy:a dóó!*	*numo vy:a tóó!*
3S .3d/plO	3	*numo vy:a déne*	*numo vy:a téne*

Table 7.26: Continuous aspect intransitive inflectional enclitics associated with incorporated reciprocals – paradigm with verb *y:ene* 'be looking at'[36]
(annotations in left column under the tense category show normal value of the corresponding enclitics.).

y:ene 'looking at'			
CONTINUOUS ASPECT	Person	Dual	Plural
Tomorrow – Distal Future			
(distal tense)	1	*wa nyo numo y:enê Ø*	*wa nmî numo y:enê Ø*
	2	*wa dpî numo y:enê Ø*	*wa nmyi numo y:enê Ø*
	3	*wa dpî numo y:enê Ø*	*wa dnyi numo y:enê Ø*

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36 The continuous root of the verb *vyee* 'be hitting' is unfortunately sometimes used in the punctual aspect, and so proved an unreliable root for this elicitation.

Table 7.26 (continued)

y:ene 'looking at'			
CONTINUOUS ASPECT	**Person**	**Dual**	**Plural**
Today – Immediate Future	**Person**		
IV prox CI DUAL/PL	**1**	*nye numo y:enê* ***mo***	*nmo numo y:enê* ***té***[37]
(proximal tense)	**2**	*dpo numo y:enê* ***mo***	*nmye numo y:enê* ***té***
	3	*a numo y:enê* ***mo***	*a numo y:enê* ***té***
Present	**Person**		
IV prox CI DUAL/PL	**1**	*a nye numo y:enê* ***mo***	*a nmî numo y:enê* ***té***
(proximal tense)	**2**	*a dpî numo y:enê* ***mo***	*a nmye numo y:enê* ***té***
	3	*a numo y:enê* ***mo***	*a numo y:enê* ***té***
Earlier Today – Immediate Past	**Person**		
IV prox CI DUAL/PL	**1**	*nyi numo y:enê* ***mo***	*nmî numo y:enê* ***té***
(proximal tense)	**2**	*dpî numo y:enê* ***mo***	*nmyi numo y:enê* ***té***
	3	*numo y:enê* ***mo***	*numo y:enê* ***té***
Yesterday – Near Past	**Person**		
(distal tense)	**1**	*ny:oo numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*nmî numo y:enê* ***Ø***
	2	*dpî numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*nmyi numo y:enê* ***Ø***
	3	*dpî numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*dnyi numo y:enê* ***Ø***
Day before Yesterday – Remote Past	**Person**		
(distal tense)	**1**	*nyipu numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*nmee numo y:enê* ***Ø***
	2	*dpîmo numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*nmyee numo y:enê* ***Ø***
	3	*dpîmo numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*dnye numo y:enê* ***Ø***
Habitual	**Person**		
(Proximal)	**1**	*nye numo y:enê* ***nódó***	*nmo numo y:enê* ***nyédi***
IV – D/PL	**2**	*dpo numo y:enê* ***nódó***	*nmye numo y:enê* ***nyédi***
Habitual	**3**	*a numo y:enê* ***nódó***	*a numo y:enê* ***nyédi***
(Distal)	**Person**		
IV = zero(TV is dê/té)	**1**	*nyimo numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*nmîmo numo y:enê* ***Ø***
	2	*dpîmo numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*nmyimo numo y:enê* ***Ø***
	3	*dpîmo numo y:enê* ***Ø***	*dnyimo numo y:enê* ***Ø***

Table 7.26 shows that the switch of transitive to intransitive clitics occurs just in the continuous aspect (indicative and habitual) – perhaps the motivation is

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37 The form *té* is here marked bold, i.e. intransitive, although not formally distinct from a transitive form (restricted to Monofocal subjects with ÄPL objects in proximal tenses), on the basis that Yélî Dnye paradigms are always symmetrical in this way (cf. Habitual below).

that the continuous aspect has to do with continued and repeated actions, and these are especially likely to be stereotypical actions, which typologically are the actions most likely to incorporate, and thus here to fully intransitivize. In any case, the association between punctual aspect and greater transitivity is in line with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) generalizations.

Note the systematic effects of intransitivization by contrasting, for example, two paired continuous habitual proximal-tense sentences differing only in reciprocity:

(284) a. *a*   *vyee*   *dumo*
           3HAB.C.PROX   hitting   PFS3.dO.HAB.C.PROX.Trans
           'They-Dual$_1$ are habitually hitting them-Dual$_2$'
           (i.e. those two guys are habitually hitting those other two guys)
       b. *a*   *numo vyee*   *nódó*
           3HABC.PROX   RECP   hitting   HAB.C.PROX.dS.Intrans
           'They two are habitually hitting each other'

Note also that intransitive enclitics continue to correctly signal (dual vs. plural) subject number:

(285) a. *Yidika Weta a*   *numo vyee*   *nódó*
           Yidika Weta 3HAB.PROXCI RECP hitting dS.HABPROXC.Intrans
           'Yidika and Weta are habitually hitting each other'
       b. *Yidika,   Weta, Monki a*   *numo vyee*
           Yidika   Weta   Monki 3HAB.PROXCI RECP hitting
           nyédi
           PluralSubjectHABPROXC.Intrans
           'Yidika, Weta and Monki are habitually hitting each other'

As mentioned, ergative case-marking of the subject with reciprocal *numo* is absolutely out, regardless of whether there is a transitive or intransitive enclitic:

(286) a. *Tili Monki (*y:oo) ka*   *numo vyee*   *mo*
           Tili Monki ERG.PL Def3.PROXCI RECP hitting dS.PROXCIIntrans
           'Tilly and Monki are hitting each other (today)'
       b. *Tili Monki (*y:oo) kî*   *numo vy:a dê*
           Tili Monki ERG.PL Def3PIPROX RECP hit   MFS.dO.PROXTrans
           'Tilly and Monki were hitting hit each other (yesterday)'

c. *Tili Monki (*y:oo) kî   numo y:enê mo*
   Tili Monki ERG.PL Def3distCI RECP hitting 1/2/3dO.DistCITrans
   'Tilly and Monki were looking at each other (today)'

Observe that in these structures, where the reciprocal is understood as direct object, *numo* is obligatorily incorporated, that is, placed between proclitic and verb. Only when a reciprocal is in an oblique phrase or is itself possessive can it occur outside this position (see §7.8.2.2). The clauses with incorporated *numo* thus show differing degrees of intransitivity in accord with aspect, as indicated in the verbal inflection.

Returning to the Punctual aspect, we noted that in the Punctual aspect reciprocal verbs inflect with transitive enclitics. This is of course bizarre, as the clause bears systematic marking as already intransitivized, with an absolutive subject and an incorporated object, which in other circumstances would invariably trigger intransitive inflection (with the one exception of the causativizing construction, q.v. §7.9.2). However, these transitive enclitics are peculiar in two respects. First, reciprocal *numo* takes 3rd person agreement in the enclitics – unlike with reflexives which take 3rd person agreement optionally, here such agreement is obligatory:

(287) a. *dnye   numo vy:a   dê*
          1d.IMMPI RECP hit   MFS.3dO.PROX.PI.Trans
          'We2 hit each other (this morning)', OR
          Yidika   k:ii   dnye   numo vy:a dê
          Yidika   COM 1d.IMMPI RECP hit   MFS.3dO.PROX.PI.Trans
          'We2, (I) withYidika, hit each other (this morning)'
       b. *nmî numo vy:a té   (*nmo)*
          we3 RECP hit   MFS.3plO.PROXPI (*1PLObject)
          'We3 hit each other (yesterday)'
       c. *Weta Yidika yi   k:ii   nmî   numo vy:a*
          Weta Yidika 3PL COM 1PLNrPastPI RECP hit
          té
          MFS.3plOPROXPI.Trans
          'I with Weta and Yidika, we3 hit each other (yesterday)'

Second, in addition to 3rd person object marking regardless of actual object person, the transitive enclitics are deviant with respect to subject number: they are always marked for Monofocal subjects, and therefore systematically fail to match the number of the coreferential Subject and Object – objects of reciprocals must be semantically dual or plural, and a third person dual/plural Object nec-

essarily implies a coreferential Polyfocal Subject (3Dual or 3Plural). Once again, as with negation, we see how Yélî Dnye signals non-canonical grammatical constructions by mismatching grammatical markers. This is illustrated in Punctual aspect examples (288)a.–c. below, with Monofocal Subject marking for Polyfocal subjects. The imperative in d. however codes for a 2nd Dual subject (so would be Polyfocal if that category applied to imperatives), but in accord with the general pattern it still takes 3rd person object marking for 2nd person subject reciprocal objects:

(288) a. *Yidika   Weta   (*y:oo) dî   numo   vy:a   dê*
              Yidika   Weta   ERG   3IMMPI   RECP   hit   MFS3dO
              'Yidika and Weta hit each other (today)'
              (NB. Enclitic correct despite mismatch with Polyfocal subject)

       b. *Yidika   Weta   numo   vy:a   dê*
              Yidika   Weta   RECP   hit   MFS3dO
              'Yidika and Weta hit each other (yesterday)'

       c. *Yidika   Weta   numo   vy:a   doo*
              Yidika   Weta   RECP   hit   MFS3dOREM.PI
              'Yidika and Weta hit each other (before yesterday)'

       d. *numo   vy:a   dóó!*
              RECP   hit   P.IMP.2dS.3dO.Trans
              'You two hit each other! (Imperative)'

Table 7.27 summarizes all the special ways in which reciprocals are coded by shifted values of inflectional marking.

Table 7.27: Yélî Dnye: Shifted marking of reciprocals, with increased intransitivity in continuous aspect.

Mood	Indicative	
Aspect	Punctual	Continuous
A-NPs not Ergative	+	+
incorporated *numo*	+	+
Intransitive inflection	−	+
Transitive inflection as if singular subject and 3rd person object	+	−

Summing up the *numo* construction, we can say that all versions of the construction share the following marking of Intransitivity: all the structures are intransitive in the sense that if the subject is explicit it must be in Absolutive case and the reciprocal *numo* must be incorporated between proclitic and verb just like

an intransitivizing nominal incorporation §7.9.4. But the enclitics show varying degrees of inflectional intransitivity according to aspect.

7.8.2.2 The noko construction – reciprocals in oblique positions

Numo has, as mentioned, a special Dative/Ablative form *noko*, so that optionally *numo ka* becomes *noko*, hence the metonymic name of this construction.[38] Reciprocals in oblique positions can occur with both fully transitive and intransitive clauses. Thus transitive clauses occur with Ergative subjects, both implicit and explicit:

(289) a. *kópu   dê   noko   dnye   dy:ââ dê*
         message two   RECP.DAT   1dIMMPI   send   MFS3.dO..PROX
         'We2 sent two messages to each other (today)'

   b. *Pikuwa Lêmonkê y:oo   Mutros   noko   dê   y:ee*
         Pikuwa Lêmonkê ERG+PL   tobacco RECP.DAT   3IMMPI gave
      ngmê
         PFS_3sOPROX(tvPostN)
         'Pikuwa and Lêmonkê gave the tobacco to each other'

Note that in example (289)b. a Polyfocal subject receives Polyfocal marking in the enclitic, unlike in the *numo* construction.

Further, fully intransitive clauses with intransitive verbs can host *noko*:

(290) a. *yoo   noko   ka   kwopwepe té*
         people each.to CERT3S.PRSCI quarrel   PFS..PROX.Intrans
         'The people (3+) are quarrelling with each other'

   b. *yoo   numo   ka (=noko)   ka*
      dnyepéli té.
         people   RECP   DAT   CERT3S.PRSCI   squabbling
         PFS..PROX.Intrans
         'The people are squabbling with each other'

   c. *Teacher yoo   noko   ka   mbumu*
      té
         teacher plural RECP.DAT CERT3S.PRSCI talking
         PFS..PROX.Intrans
         'The teachers are talking to each other'

---

38 In line with the typological aims of the volume in which it appears, Levinson (2011) unifies the *numo* and *noko* constructions, but at a finer granularity they should be treated as distinct, since the latter construction does not have the same marking complexities as the former.

Many oblique positions are introduced by postpositions, and *numo* (not *noko*) can occur as the complement of many other postpositions, in both transitive and intransitive clauses. Note that in the following examples the semantic contexts of use are familiar enough from English parallels ('sit next to/kiss/be on top of/be touching each other'):

(291) a. *Yidika Mwolâ numo chedê ka   tóó mo*
           Yidika Mwolâ each near 3PRSCI sit d.CI.PROX.Intrans
           'Yidika and Mwolâ are sitting next to each other'

   b. *Yidika Mwolâ Pikuwa numo chedê ka   pyede*
       Yidika Mwolâ Pikuwa RECP near 3PRSCI sit.pl
       té
       plCI.PROX.Intrans
       'Yidika, Mwolâ and Pikuwa are sitting next to each other'

   c. *Cheme   mââwê yoo numo chedê ka   pyede*
       Village.name bigmen PL RECP near 3PRSCI sit.pl
       (*té*)
       plCI.PROX.Intrans
       'The Cheme bigmen sat next to each other (they all sat in a line)'

   d. *tp:ee yoo numo mbêmê ka   pyede*
       child PL RECP on   3PRSCI sit.pl
       'The children sat on top of each other'

   e. *tp:ee dmââdî numo 'nuwo   ka   nt:uu mo*
       boy girl RECP nose+LOC 3PRSCI kiss S.pl
       'The boy and girl are kissing each other on the nose'
       (lit. putting their noses together, sign of affection)

   f. *pileti dyuu numo u   pwopwo a   wee*
       plate pile RECP 3sPoss top   3PRSCI stand.pl
       'The pile of plates are standing on top of each other' (*noko)

   g. *Kakan Ghaalyu y:oo   nté   numo u l:êê dîy:o dê   ch:ee*
       Kakan Ghaalyu ERG+PL food each its reason   3IMM cook
       ngmê
       PFS_3sOPROX(tvPostN)
       'Kakan and Ghaalyu cooked for each other'

   h. *kéme kîgha numo p:uu   ka   pyede*
       mango fruit RECP on/against 3PRSCI sit.pl
       'The mangos are touching each other'

   i. *tiini dyuu numo u   kwo kwo   a   wee*
       tin pile RECP inside stand REDUP 3PRSCI stand.pl
       'The pile of tins are stacked inside one another'

Like reflexives, reciprocals can also occur as possessors of NPs. In the first example below, *lama* 'knowledge' is in unmarked locative case, and *numo* part of the complex NP expressing the possessor of the knowledge:[39]

(292) a. *Teyoo Teluwe numo (u) lama a tóó mo.*
Teyoo Teluwe RECP their knowledge 3CIPRS sits dS.Intrans
'Teyoo and Teluwe know each other (lit. they sit in each other's knowledge)'

b. *Yélî p:uu pi yintómu numo yi lama*
Rossel on person all each their knowledge
a pyede
3CI.PRS sits.pluralS
'On Rossel, everybody knows each other'

c. *tp:ee dmââdîm:a y:oo numo kóó ka tpyé*
boy girl+plural ERG+PL each 3poss.Hand 3CI.PRS hold
t:oo
PFS.3plO.PI&CI.PROX/HAB(tvPostN)
'The children are holding each others' hands'

7.8.2.3 Third person 'agreement' with recipient – the case of verbs of 'giving' and *noko*

Agreement in the enclitic naturally enough ignores the person/number of the oblique reciprocal and encodes the number of the direct object, as shown in examples (293) a. and b. below. But as we have seen, reciprocals take 3rd person Object enclitics regardless of the person of the Object (in the *numo* construction, but not in the *noko* construction, the Subject also always takes Monofocal agreement). Agreement is often quirky in languages, so this 3rd person marking might have little significance. But there's evidence that something more fundamental is involved. Consider this interesting feature of the (293)c. example: the verbal root for 'give' is suppletive over 1st/2nd person (the root is *kê*) vs. 3rd person recipients (where the root is *y:ee/y:oo* depending on whether it is followed by an enclitic), but in example c. the verb with *noko* takes the 3rd person form *y:ee* (not *kê* as illustrated in d.) even though the subject is 1st person and the goal is reciprocal. This shows that 3rd person agreement with *numo/noko* is not a superficial agreement

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39 A verb inflected in the plural can make the oblique role of *lama* clearer:

(i) *yi kópu dyuu lama a wee té*
these things heap your.knowledge 3sCIprox standing.pl 3Pl.intrans
'You knew about those things', lit. 'Those things were standing in your knowledge'

rule, but a conceptual switch of person, which here affects not only the direct object but the indirect one or the recipient.

(293) a. *pi   dê   noko   dnye   dy:ââ dê*
           person two   RECP.DAT   1d.IMM.PI   sent   MFS.3dO.PROX
           'We2 sent two messengers to each other'

       b. *pi   limi   noko   dnye   dy:ââ té*
           person five   RECP.DAT   1d.IMM.PI   sent   MFS.3plO.PROX
           'We2 sent five messengers to each other'

       c. *puku   dmi   dê   noko   dnye   y:ee*
           book   bundle two   RECP.DAT   1d.IMM.PI   give.to3rdPerson
           dê
           MFS.3dO.PROX
           'We2 gave each other the two books'

       d. *u kwo   ngmêda   y:oo,   a ka*
           him.DAT   INDF.1sIMM.CLS   give.to.3rd   1s.DAT
           ngmêda   kê
           INDF.3sIMM.CLS   give.to.1/2
           'I gave him one book, and he gave me one'

7.8.2.4 A note on the woni. . .woni construction

There is a totally unrelated construction that can have a systematic reciprocal interpretation. This is based on the pronoun *woni*: a sequence *woni. . .woni* has the interpretation 'the one. . .the other':

(294) *kî   pini   woni   ngê   woni   da   mgoko*
       That   man   the.one ERG   the.other   3IMM.CLS   hug
       'The one man hugged the other'

When however two such *woni. . .woni* sequences occur, they have a special reciprocal interpretation:

(295) *kî   pini   woni   ngê   woni   da   mgoko,*
       That   man   the.one ERG   the.other   3IMM.CLS   hug
       wonî   ngê   woni   myedê mgoko
       the.other   ERG   also   3IMM   hug
       'The one man$_1$ hugged the other$_2$, and also the other$_2$ hugged the one$_1$'
       (i.e. They hugged each other one by one)

The *woni. . .woni* construction seems to be used, in preference to the *numo* or *noko* constructions, for reciprocal actions which are not simultaneous, but which can rather be thought about as two separate events. The reciprocal use of the construction has some theoretical interest: it is one of the rare *cross-serial dependencies* that show that natural languages cannot be modelled by context-free phrase-structure grammars (of the GPSG type, see Partee et al. 1990:503ff). For the *intensional* (as opposed to *extensional*) dependencies in question are of the following sort, where the second *woni ngê* (*woni+*ERG) depends for its interpretation on its contrast to the first *woni ngê* (the second 'the other' means 'not the prior one in the same syntactic role'), and similarly for the two instances of *woni* in the unmarked Absolutive case:

(296)

intensional dependencies

extensional identities

$woni_1 ngê...$ $woni_2$ $woni_2 ngê...$ $woni_1$
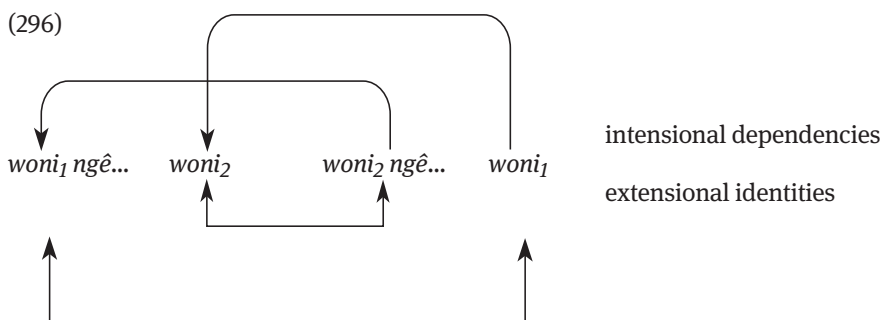
7.8.2.5 Uses of the reciprocal

The reciprocal has a slightly different range of usage from the parallel English construction. First, there is no overlap with the distributive (as in English *each*), for the distributive is expressed using different constructions:

(297) a. *Steve   Yidika   Chris   k:ii   nt:uu   ntémwintwémi   ka*
           Steve   Yidika   Chris   banana   fruit   each   3CI
           pîpî   ngmê
           eating   PFS3sO
           'Steve, Yidika and Chris are each eating a banana'[40]
       b. *Stephen   ngê   k:aa   woo   ngmê   ngmê   ka   kaapî*
           Stephen   ERG   taro   seeds   one   one   3CI   planting.taro
           'Stephen is planting the taro seeds one by one'

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[40] The ergative marker may be dispensed with in a list of three or more names.

   c. *Stephen ngê dee w:uu miyó miyó ka nt:ene*
      Stephen ERG yam seeds two two 3CI planting
      'Stephen is planting two yams in each hole'

Secondly, the reciprocal does not necessarily have a strictly reciprocal interpretation: thus the following example (298)a. describes a single event in which one man gave another a single axe, in the same terms as two paired givings constituting an exchange (as in b.).

(298) a. *pini n:ii dê y:oo tuu noko dê y:ee ngmê,*
         man who two ERG axe RECP.DAT 3IMM give.to3 PFS3sO
         kê vyîlo dê
         that the.one Dual
         'The two men who gave each other an axe, those two'
    b. *pini n:ii dê y:oo tuu dê noko dê*
         man who two ERG axe Dual RECP.DAT 3IMM
         y:ee d:oo, kê vyîlo dê
         give.to PFS3sO that the.one Dual
         'The two men who gave each other the two axes, those ones'

Although the (298)b. example has the natural interpretation of an exchange of axes, it can be read as one man gave the other two axes!
    In fact, single one-way acts of transfer seem often to be related with a reciprocal:

(299) a. *Chris John y:oo Mutros noko dê y:ee*
         Chris John ERG+PL tobacco RECP.DAT 3IMMPI 3.gave.to.3
         ngmê
         PFS.3sO
         'Chris and John gave the Mutros to each other'
         (This could easily describe one cigarette given by Chris to John)
    b. *Kmiyé p:uu Daa p:uu y:oo toko noko dê*
         Kmiyé clan Daa clan ERG *toko* RECP.DAT 3IMM
         dmy:aa ngmê
         put.money PFS.3sO
         'The Kmiyé and Daa clan members gave funerary payments (*toko*) to each other'
         (The cultural prescription is in fact one way)

Other asymmetrical relations expressed with the reciprocal include chasing, following, etc., as in English:

(300) a. *Yidika Lêmonkê numo kuwó ka paa mo*
Yidika Lêmonkê RECP behind 3CI walk dS
'Yidika and Lêmonkê are walking behind one another'

b. *mbêpê pyu yoo wunê numo kpêênî té*
running doers PL 3HABPROX.CLS RECP chase Pl.S
'The runners are chasing each other (round the track)'

Finally, as mentioned above, non-simultaneous acts of reciprocity, where these can be viewed as two distinct events, are preferably coded with the *woni. . .woni* construction rather than the reciprocal construction, in a pattern that diverges from English.

7.8.2.6 Reciprocals as bound anaphors and the hierarchy of syntactic roles

Reciprocals are clearly anaphors, bound by another argument in the same clause – unlike *chóóchóó* reflexives they do not admit of another interpretation. As we have seen, *numo* in Patient or Theme role cannot be bound by an Ergative subject (the Ergative subject in A-role is first demoted to an Absolutive in S-role, with *numo* incorporated in the verbal complex) – rather it is always bound by an overt or implicit Absolutive NP in S-role. But we have also seen that an Ergative NP, or an Absolutive NP, can bind a reciprocal in an oblique position in the *noko* construction. The fact that A-NPs cannot bind *numo* in O-position might suggest that in Yélî Dnye Absolutives rank higher than Ergatives, either in structural position or in a thematic-role hierarchy. But no overall hierarchy emerges, because incorporated O-NPs cannot bind any other NP, and anyway can never occur as clausemates with an A-NP. The constraints in fact seem to be as follows:

(301)   Antecedents that can bind reciprocals:
    (i)   S-NP binds Incorporated-O-NP
    (ii)   A-NP binds Dative NP
    (iii)   Experiencer-NPs can bind Possessive within NP
    (iv)   Possessive within an NP can bind Experiencer NP

The status of Experiencer NPs in (iii) and (iv) is curious. Consider:

(302) a. *yi yi dê noko a kwo mo*
their desire Dual RECP.DAT 3CI standing 3dS.Intrans
'They want/need each other', lit. 'Their desires two are standing to each other'

b.	*Yidika*	*Pikuwa*	*numo*	*nee*	*dê*	*u*	*yi*	*dê*
	Yidika	Pikuwa	RECP	canoe	Dual	3sPOSS3	desire	Dual

y:e	*a*	*kwo*	*mo*
DualEXP	3CI	stand	3d.S.Intrans

'Yidika and Pikuwa each want the other's canoes'
lit. 'To Yidika and Pikuwa each other's two canoes its two desires are standing'

In the (302)a. example, the dual desires are the surface subject, as reflected in the verb inflection, and the dative-case reciprocal *noko* would seem to be bound by the possessive *yi* in the Absolutive NP (surface subject). In the b. sentence, the possessive *numo* reciprocal seems to be bound by the Experiencer-case-marked resumptive pronoun (*y:e*) (referring to Yidika and Pikuwa). So here the Experiencer subject binds the possessive in the Absolutive NP. This suggests that the binding is determined by degrees of obliqueness or embeddedness:

(303) a. [[Their] desires] are standing [to each other]

   b. [[[Each other's] canoes] their] desires] are standing [to them]

Further research in this direction might resolve some of the still outstanding questions about the underlying structures holding between Yélî Dnye arguments, and whether (as is hinted at in this reciprocal arena) Ergatives generally have fewer subject properties than Absolutives.

Note that in these Experiencer cases the inflectional affixes on the verb (in the examples (302) immediately above coding 'dual' desires) are irrelevant to the binding relation. If it was not for these cases, one might argue, as for reflexives, that the binding relation does not hold between the NPs and the reciprocal pronoun, but rather that the reciprocal is bound by the verbal inflections themselves. This would otherwise account for the majority of the binding patterns exhibited.

7.8.3 Summary: Reflexives and reciprocals compared

As Table 7.28 makes clear, in Yélî Dnye the canonical reflexive and reciprocal constructions – where the reflexive or reciprocal element is in patient role – contrast

in that the reflexive is expressed in a basically transitive clause, but the reciprocal is a largely intransitive clause with some transitive inflectional properties. The reciprocal clause is multiply marked as deviant: an Absolutive subject may occur with Transitive actor cross-referencing, and it is likely to have deviant person/number or tense marking.

Table 7.28: Features of the main Reflexive vs. Reciprocal (*numo*) Constructions.

	Reflexive	Reciprocal
Subject	Ergative case	Absolutive case
Object	Reflexive pronoun, unincorporated	Incorporated reciprocal pronoun
Verbal enclitics	Transitive only	Transitive or Intransitive (in continuous aspect)
Deviant agreement	Optional (Monofocal Subject 3rd sing. Object regardless)	Transitive enclitics are always Monofocal subject, 3rd person (Dual or Plural) Object
Deviant tense	none	Continuous Aspect Distal tenses marked by Proximal tense enclitics

Focussing on the inflectional contrasts, Table 7.29 makes it possible to compare and contrast the verbal complex in the reflexive and reciprocal constructions. The first sentence in bold glosses 'We2 hit ourselves earlier today', while the roman (non-bold) sentence in the same cell means 'We2 hit each other earlier today', and so on, mutatis mutandis.

Table 7.29: Reflexive vs. Reciprocal inflection contrasted – Reflexives in bold, Reciprocals in non-bold (inflected with transitive verb *vy:a /vyee* 'to hit').

PUNCTUAL	Person	Dual	Plural
Earlier Today	1	**nyi chóóchóó dnye (numo) vy:a dê /nyo*** 'We2 hit ourselves today' *dnye numo vy:a dê* 'We2 hit each other today'	**nmî chóóchóó dpî vy:a té/nmo** *dpî numo vy:a té*
	2	**dpî chóóchóo dpî vy:a d:**oo *dpî numo vy:a dê*	**nmyi chóóchóo dmye vy:a t:oo** *dmye numo vy:á té*
	3	**yi chóóchóo dê vy:a d:oo** *dî numo vy:a dê*	**yi chóóchóo dê vy:a t:oo** *dê numo vy:a té*

Table 7.29 (continued)

PUNCTUAL	Person	Dual	Plural
	Person		
Yesterday	**1**	*nyi chóóchóó nyi vy:a dê* *nyi numo vy:a dê*	*nmî chóóchóó nmî vy:a té* *nmî numo vy:a té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóo dpî vy:a d:oo* *dpî numo vy:a dê*	*nmyi chóóchóo nmyi vy:a t:oo* *nmyi numo vy:a té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó vy:a d:oo* numo *vy:a dê*	*yi chóóchóó vy:a t:oo* *numo vy:a té*
Day before Yesterday	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó nyi vy:a doo* *nyi numo vy:a doo*	*nmî chóóchóo nmî vy:a too* *nmî numo vy:a too*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó vy:a doo* *dpî numo vy:a doo*	*nmyi chóóchóó nmyi vy:a too* *nmyi numo vy:a too*
	3	*yi chóóchóó vy:a doo* *numo vy:a doo*	*yi chóóchóó vy:a too* *numo vy:a too*
Future	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó nyi vy:a dê* *anyi numo vy:a dê*	*nmî chóóchóó nmî vy:a té* *a nmî numo vy:a té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó dpî vy:a dê wa* *dpî numo vy:a dê*	*nmyi chóóchóó nmyi vy:a té* *wa nmyi numo vy:a té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó wa vy:a d:oo* *wa numo vy:a dê*	*yi chóóchóó wa vy:a t:oo* *wa numo vy:a té*
Habitual	**Person**		
	1	*nye chóóchóó dmye vy:a dê* *dmye numo vy:a dê*	*nmye chóóchóó dmye vy:a té* *?nmî numo vy:a té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó dpye vy:a dê* *dpî numo vy:a dê*	*nmyi chóóchóó dpye vy:a té* *dmye numo vy:a té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó dpî vy:a dê* *dpî numo vy:a dê*	*yi chóóchóó dpî vy:a té* *dpî numo vy:a té*
Imp	**1**	*nyi chóóchóó vy:a déme* *numo vy:a déme*	*nmî chóóchóó vy:a téme* *numo vy:a téme*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó vy:a dóó* *numo vy:a dóó!*	*nmyi chóóchóó vy:a tóó* *numo vy:a tóó!*
	3	*yi chóóchóó vy:a déne* *numo vy:a déne*	*yi chóóchóó vy:a téne* *numo vy:a téne*

*The second forms were suggested by me, and found acceptable, but not volunteered

Table 7.29 (continued)

PUNCTUAL	Person	Dual	Plural
CONTINUOUS			
Tomorrow	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó a nyi vyee dê* *wa nyi numo vyee dê*	*nmî chóóchóó a nmî vyee té* *wa nmî numo vyee té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó a dpî vyee dê* *wa dpî numo vyee dê*	*nmyi chóóchóó a nmyi vyee té* *wa nmyi numo vyee té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó wa vyee dê* *wa numo vyee dê*	*yi chóóchóó wa vyee té* *wa numo vyee té*
Today Future	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó nye vyee dê* *nye numo vyee mo*	*nmî chóóchóó nmo vyee té* *nmo numo vyee té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó dpo vyee dê* *dpo numo vyee mo*	*nmyi chóóchóó nmyo vyee té* *nmye numo vyee té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó a vyee dê* *a numo vyee mo*	*yi chóóchóó a vyee té* *a numo vyee té*
Present	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó nye vyee dê* *nye numo vyee mo*	*nmî chóóchóó nmo vyee té* *nmo numo vyee té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó dpo vyee dê* *dpo numo vyee mo*	*nmyi chóóchóó nmye vyee t:oo* *nmye numo vyee té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó ka vyee dê* *ka numo vyee mo*	*yi chóóchóó ka vyee t:oo* *ka numo vyee té*
Earlier Today	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó dnye vyee dê* *kî nyi numo vyee mo*	*nmî chóóchóó dpî vyee té* *kî nmî numo vyee té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó dpî vyee d:oo* *kî dpî numo vyee mo*	*nmyi chóóchóó dmye vyee t:oo* *kî nmyi numo vyee té*
	3	*yi chóóchóó dê vyee d:oo* *kî numo vyee mo*	*yi chóóchóó dê vyee t:oo* *kî numo vyee té*
Yesterday	**Person**		
	1	*nyi chóóchóó nyi vyee dê* *kî nyi numo vyee dê*	*nmî chóóchóó nmî vyee té* *kî nmî numo vyee té*
	2	*dpî chóóchóó dpî vyee dê* *kî dpî numo vyee dê*	*kî nmyi numo vyee té* *nmyi chóóchóó nmyi vyee t:oo*
	3	*yi chóóchóó vyee d:oo* *kî numo vyee dê*	*yi chóóchóó vyee t:oo* *kî numo vyee té*

Table 7.29 (continued)

PUNCTUAL	Person	Dual	Plural
Day before Yesterday	**Person**		
	1	**nyi chóóchóó nyi vyee doo** kî nyi numo vyee doo	**nmî chóóchóó nmî vyee too** kî nmî numo vyee too
	2	**dpî chóóchóó dpî vyee doo** kî dpî numo vyee doo	**nmyi chóóchóó nmyi vyee too** kî nmyi numo vyee too
	3	**kî numo vyee doo** yi chóóchóó vyee doo	kî numo vyee too **yi chóóchóó vyee too**
Habitual	**Person**		
(prox)	1	**nyi chóóchóó nye vyee nódó** nye numo vyee nódó	**nmî chóóchóó nmo vyee nmoo** nmo numo vyee nyédi
	2	**dpî chóóchóó dpo vyee nódó** dpo numo vyee nódó	**nmyi chóóchóó nmye vyee nmyo** nmye numo vyee nyédi
	3	**yi chóóchóó a vyee doo /dumo** a numo vyee nódó	yi chóóchóó a vyee too/tumo **a numo vyee nyédi**
(Distal)	**Person**		
	1	**nye chóóchóó nyipu vyee dê** nyipu/nyópu a numo vyee	**nmî chóóchóó nmee vyee dé** nmee a numo vyee
	2	**dpî chóóchóó dpîmo vyee dê** dpîmo a numo vyee	**nmyi chóóchóó nmyee vyee dé** nmyee a numo vyee
	3	**yi chóóchóó dpîmo vyee dê** dpîmo a numo vyee	**yi chóóchóó dnye vyee dé** dnyimo a numo vyee

7.9 Noun-incorporation and valence-changing operations

There are limited valence-changing operations in the language: nominal incorporation, a causative and a resultative construction. There is no true passive, anti-passive, or ditransitive causativizer (making a causative from a transitive verb). There is also no derivational morphology allowing transitive to intransitive conversion of verb roots – hence many verbs come in doublets, transitive and intransitive, so that one has pairs of distinct roots for e.g. grating coconut (*chii* TV vs. *tiye* IV), chewing betel (*kuwo* TV vs. *tpapê* IV), breaking (*pwââ* TV vs. *pwópu* IV), sailing (*kédi* TV vs. *tpyîpî* IV), one transitive and one intransitive (see §4.5.1). In addition, alternations from direct to indirect object and the like are also handled lexically, not by rule or derivation – thus for example there are two basic 'throw' verbs, one (*d:ii/dimi*) which has the object thrown as direct object

and the target as oblique NP (instrumental case), and another (*tolo/t:ee/tele*) which has the target as direct object and the thing thrown as oblique (instrumental case).

Here I detail the three regular valency-changing processes, namely a resultative construction, a causative construction and noun-incorporation.

7.9.1 The resultative construction versus pseudo-passive

How are passive-like sentences with indefinite agents expressed? There are at least three ways to do this: (i) by simply omitting mention of the agent ('Pseudo-Passive'), (ii) by using an intransitive counterpart verb if there is one (lexical solution), (iii) by using the Resultative construction. These can be hard to distinguish, as will become clear.

One method for expressing passive-like meanings is to just leave off the Ergative NP (this is not a 'mediopassive' or 'middle' or 'anti-causative' construction, because there is no obvious change in grammatical relations):

(304) a. *m:a   yópu ngê ngomo   kî   pwââ*
           yesterday wind ERG houseABS CERT breakIMM
           'The wind blew the house down'
       b. (Pseudo-Passive)
          ngomo   kî   pwââ
           houseABS   CERT breakIMM
           'The house was blown down' = ('something unspecified broke the house down')

The verb 'to break' (like the majority of other verbs) has many unpredictable parts, and following the pattern elsewhere in the lexicon it seems best to treat it as in fact consisting of two main verbs, transitive and intransitive, each with its unpredictable or irregular parts (Table 7.30):

Table 7.30: The transitive and intransitive verbs 'to break'.

'break something' (Transitive)	'break' (Intransitive)
Tense/Aspect/Mood Root	Tense/Aspect/Mood Root
TV citation form *pwââ*	IV citation form *pwópu*
Punct. imperative **pwaa** *ngi*	Punct. imperative *pwédi*
Punct.prox.past *pwââ/puwâ*	Punct. prox. past *pwópu*

Table 7.30 (continued)

'break something' (Transitive)	'break' (Intransitive)
Punct. rem.past *pwââ/puwâ*	Punct. rem. past ***pwaa*** *wo*
Followed ***pwaa*** *wo*	Followed root ***pwaa*** *wo*
Continuous *pwaapî*	Continuous *pwópupwópu*

So one way to achieve a passive type of alternation in this and many other cases where there are suppletive transitive/intransitive counterparts is simply to switch to the intransitive verb. Note that in this case (unlike many others) the transitive/intransitive parts are not only similar but actually overlap as shown in bold (distinguishing the counterparts then depends on either tense or enclitic collocations). Where such an alternation is possible, the intransitive sentence suggests unknown agency, or if the agent is clear, implicates unintentional action, as in the contrast below:

(305) *pyââ   ngê   hammer   ngê   péliti   dê   pwââ*
        woman   ERG   hammer   INST   plate   3sIMMPI   break.TV
        'The woman broke the plate with a hammer (intentionally)'

(306) *hammer   péliti   yede   dê   kéé,   peleti   dê   pwópu*
        hammer   plate   on   3sIMMPI   threw   plâte   3sIMMPI   break.IV
        'She threw the hammer on the plate (accidentally), and the plate broke'

Similarly, if I accidentally drop my glasses I might report it with an intransitive sentence like:

(307) *kââyikuu   dê   pwópu*
        glasses   3sIMMPI   breakIV
        '(my) glasses broke'

The third expressive possibility is to use the Resultative alternation or construction. (This is distinct in type from the English resultative as in *The man wiped the table clean*, since the agent cannot be expressed and a stative adjective describing the result is not required.) The construction has a distinctive post-verbal enclitic *ngmê*. This transitive enclitic normally encodes Polyfocal Subject (plural subjects excluding 1st person ones) portmanteau with 3rd Sing Object in proximal tenses only, as in:

(308) | *pyââ* | *dê* | *y:oo* | *kpîdî* | *pee* | *kumu* | *ka* | *tpyé* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| woman | Dual | ERG+PL | cloth | piece | in_hand | 3PROXCI | holding |

ngmê
PFS3sOPROX
'Two women were holding a piece of cloth'

However, in the Resultative Construction *ngmê* can occur in circumstances where it is clear that the agent was Monofocal (singular or 1st person), and in distal tenses – it is effectively tenseless, since the action leading to the resulting state can have taken place at any time. Compare for example:

(309) a. | *d:ââ* | *dê* | *pwópu* |
|---|---|---|
| pot | 3sIMMPI | breakIV |

   'The pot was broken earlier today or yesterday'

   b. | *d:ââ* | *pwaa* | *wo* |
|---|---|---|
| pot | break.FOL | sS.REM.Intrans |

   'The pot was broken the day before yesterday'

   c. | *d:ââ* | *pwaa* | ***ngmê*** |
|---|---|---|
| pot | break.FOL | RES |

   'The pot is broken' (untensed, action took place any time)

The first two examples are 'pseudo passives'; that is, the agent is simply unexpressed. It is the last which seems to be a true de-transitivizing de-tensed alternation, with focus on the resulting state. The deverbal or adjectival status of the verb is further evidenced by its occurrence with further predicates:

(310) | *péliti* | *pwaa* | *ngmê* | *ka* | *kwo* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| plate | broken | RES | Deic+3sCI.PROX | stands |

'The broken plate is there'

Additional evidence that this forms a distinct construction, despite the homophony of *ngmê*, is that further inflection is possible. The active sentence in example (311)a. below describes an action, resulting in b., where *ngmê* is followed by the dual marker. These are the normal nominal markers for dual and plural nouns, showing that the structure is essentially a nominalization, even though it can function as a clause:

(311) a. *pyââ*   *ngê*   *te*   *mbodo* *dê*   *châpwo,* *te*   *tpuu*
       woman   ERG   fish   head   3sIMMPI   cut   fish   tail
       mya   *châpwo*
       also+3sIMMPI   cut
       'A woman cut (off) the fish head and also the fish tail'

      b. *te*   *mbodo*   *te*   *tpuu*   *châpwo*   *ngmê*   *dê*
       fish   head   fish   tail   cut   RES   Dual
       'The head and tail of the fish were cut (off)'/
       'a fish head and tail cut off'

Likewise for the following:

(312) a. *daa* *ch:amê*   **ngmê** **dê**
       not   to.separate.things   RES   Dual
       'Not separated one from the other'

      b. *pweepwee* *pee*   *kââdî* *ngmê* *dé,* *numo* *p:uu*   *dê*
       paper   pieces   stuck   RES   PL   RECP   attached.to   Dual
       da   *dmya*
       3IMMPI.CLS   stuck
       'The pages are joined/stuck together, they are stuck to each other'

      c. nê   vy:ene   ngmê
       1s   old   RES
       'I'm already old'

      d. nye   vy:ene   ngmê   dê
       We2   old   RES   Dual
       'We2 have become old'

      e. nmî   vy:ene   ngmê   dé
       We3   old   RES   PL
       'We3 have already become old'/'We3 who have gotten old'

The Resultative Construction is restricted for the most part to transitive verbs of inherently punctual aspect – any transitive verb of this kind collocates with the construction, rather than it being restricted to a semantic subclass (e.g. to verbs of the 'break' – as opposed to the 'cut' type – which cross-linguistically typically undergo such an inchoative alternation). Apart from an exceptional class of intransitives noted below, intransitive verbs allow only the pseudo-passive or omission of the agent NP. The Resultative is formed on the unmarked (proximal tense) punctual aspect root of a transitive verb, or the followed root if there is one for that verb. (The fact that a followed root – i.e. a root that occurs wherever the

postverbal enclitic is non-zero – is required is interesting because it shows that this construction, despite nominalization, still follows rules for verb inflection.)

(313) a. *yi   mbwii   dê   pwópu*
           tree   spine   3sIMMPI   brokenIV
           'The stick is broken'

       b. **yi   mbwii   pwópu   ngmê*
           tree   spine   brokenIV   RES
           'The stick is broken RES' (ungrammatical with intransitive verb)

       c. *yi   mbwii   pwaa   ngmê*
           tree   spine   broken.TV   RES
           'The stick is broken'

       d. **yi   mbwii   pwaapî   ngmê*
           tree   spine   breaking.CI   RES
           'The stick is breaking RES'(ungrammatical with Continuous Aspect root)

(314) a. *yi   mbwii   dê   chópu*
           tree   spine   3sIMMPI   splitIV
           'The stick is split'

       b. **yi   mbwii   chópu   ngmê*
           tree   spine   split.iv   RES
           'The stick is split RES' (ungrammatical with intransitive verb)

       c. *yi   mbwii   chaa   ngmê*
           tree   spine   splitTV   RES
           'The stick is split'

       d. **yi   mbwii   châpwo*
           tree   spine   cutting.CI
           ngmê
           RES (ungrammatical with Continuous Aspect root)

       e. A: *yi   mwbii   châpwo   ngmê*
               tree   spine   cut.PI   RES
               'Is it cut up?'

           B: *daa   châpwo   ngmê*
               NEG   cut.PI   RES
               'not yet cut up'

Note that Resultative *ngmê* collocates only with a Present/Proximal tense root (punctual, transitive), and that although it carries with it an Absolute argument, it cannot carry an Ergative one, or any other arguments:

(315)   *Yidika ngê yi   mbwii châpwo   ngmê
        Yidika ERG tree spine breakTV RES
        'The stick broken by Yidika'

Any exceptional argument structure of roots with respect to the absolute argu-
ment is preserved in this construction, thus, for example, in finite usage *tpidi*
'paint something' takes the thing painted as object while *d:ee* 'smear/paint with'
takes the paint as object, and similarly in the resultative.

(316) a. *Yidika ngê u   nee   mbyw:oo   ngê dê   tpidi*
           Yidika ERG his canoe white.shell INST 3IMMPI paint
           'Yidika painted his canoe with white stuff'
       b. *Yidika u   nee   (mbyw:oo   ngê) tpidi   ngmê*
           Yidika 3sPOSS   canoe white.shell INST painted RES
           'Yidika's canoe is already painted white', lit. 'painted with white'
       c. *Yidika ngê mbyw:oo   u   nee   p:uu dê   d:ii*
           Yidika ERG white.shell 3sPOSS canoe on   3IMM.PI smear
           'Yidika smeared white paint on his canoe'
       d. *Yidika u   nee   p:uu mbyw:oo   d:ee   ngmê*
           Yidika his canoe on   white.shell smear.FOL RES
           'Yidika's canoe is already painted white', lit. 'smeared white on'

I have found a class of exceptional intransitive roots (e.g. *y:ââ*, followed root *y:aa*,
'disappear') that can collocate with the Resultative *ngmê*:

(317) a. *d:ââ   y:aa   ngmê*
           pot   disappear.FOL RES
           'The pot has disappeared'
       b. *ndyuw:e dnyââpu   ngmê*
           fire   grow.big RES
           'Then the fire got bigger'
       c. *wópu   ngmê dé*
           embark.in.canoe   RES   3PL
           'They have already left-by-canoe'
       d. *Raymond Alouitious vy:ene   ngmê dê*
           Raymond Alouitious get.old RES   Dual
           'Raymond and Alouitious, the two of them are getting old'
       e. *km:ii   pyw:ee   ngmê*
           coconut   fall.over.FOL RES
           'The coconut is fallen over'

f. *chikini   dê   mdo   ngmê   dê*
pawpaw Dual get.ripe RES   Dual
'The two pawpaws have become ripe'

g. *cement   ndê   ngmê*
cement get.hard RES
'The cement is already set/got hard'

h. *nee   daa   ngêpa   ngmê*
canoe outrigger get.separated RES
'The canoe and the outrigger are already separated'
(cf. transitive: *nee daa ch:amê ngmê* – with a transitive verb)

i. *tpii   nt:êma   ngmê*
rain get.bigger RES
'The rain has already got bigger/worse'

j. *lââ   pyipó   ngmê*
boil heal.self RES
'The boil has already healed'

k. *naa   pyódu   ngmê*
feast become RES
'The feast has already happened'

l. *pyââ   tpamê   ngmê*
woman delivered.of.baby RES
'The woman has already given birth'

m. *yélînkéli   vy:êê   ngmê*
Yélînkéli become.old RES
'The boat the Yélînkéli is already scuppered'

n. *yaa   ngmê ngê ka   tóó*
sit.down RES   ADV 3sPRSCI sitting
'They have already sat down'

This class of verbs would seem to have an inchoative semantics, although not all inchoatives seem to belong (**wââ ngmê* 'it got light', **pwene ngmê* 'already died'). It excludes general intransitive verbs of going, calling, falling, and so forth. The existence of such a class of intransitives taking the construction shows that the resultative cannot be considered a passive.

Interestingly, it is possible to indirectly transform an intransitive into a resultative, using the causative construction described in the next section, to feed the resultative. To use the passive/resultative with an intransitive, one must first transitivize with the causative. We can illustrate this with a pair of 'open' verbs (Table 7.31):

Table 7.31: Transitive and intransitive verbs 'to open'.

	'to open (transitive)'	**'be open (intransitive)'**
proximate tenses, punctual	*kpêmî*	*kwe'ne*
remote past, punctual	*kpêmî*	*kwe'ne*
continuous	*kpêmîkpêmî*	*kwe'nekwe'ne*

(318) a. *ke'ne ka   kwe'ne*
         door   CERT3sPROXCI   openIV
         'The door is open (so he's at home)'

    b. *Yidika ngê   ke'ne dê   kpêmî*
         Yidika   ERG   door   3sIMM   openTV
         'Yidika opened the door'

    c. *Yidika ngê   ke'ne dê   kwe'ne   kwolo*
         Yidika   ERG   door   3sIMM   openIV   cause
         'Yidika made the door open'

    d. *ke'ne kpêmî   ngmê*
         door   openTV   RES
         'The door is open/unlocked (go and get the thing
         I left behind)'

    e. *ke'ne kwe'ne kalê   ngmê*
         door   openIV   Causative   RES
         'The door is open'

    f. *ke'ne kwe'ne kalê   ngmê ngê   ka   tóó*
         door   openIV   Causative   RES   ADV   CERT3sPRSCI   sit
         'The door stays open (habitually)'

The meaning differences between examples (318)a., d. and e. are subtle, as suggested in the glosses – c. suggests intentionality, and d. a general state, emphasized in e. (see §8.7.2 for more on this last construction).

    Not all intransitives allow this causative+resultative construction – they must in collocation with *kwolo* be construable as plausible causatives. Thus a verb like *dpî* 'sleep' resists such a reading, unless the subject is an infant being put to sleep:

(319) *p:ee   dpî   kalê   ngmê*
       child   sleeping   causative   RES
       'The child is already (made) asleep'

7.9.2 Causative constructions

There are at least three kinds of causative: lexical, periphrastic and a causativizing construction. In turn:

1. *Lexicalized causative doublets:*
Apart from many transitive/intransitive counterparts in the lexicon, there are traces of what was probably once a systematic causativizing alternation, expressed by nasalization of the intransitive root's first syllable. This is no longer productive, and is confined to a few verbs, such as the following pairs on the left, compared to the more general unpredictable pattern to the right:

(320)	**Nasalized pairs**	**Normal unpredictable pattern**
	pwii 'exit, go out' → *pw:ii* 'get something out'	*kee* 'enter' → *knî* 'make enter'
	ghay 'fall' → *gh:ay* 'make fall down'	*tóó* 'sit' → *yé* 'make sit, put'
	mbumu 'cry' → *mb:uu* 'make him cry'	*t:a* 'hang' → *t:oo* 'cause to hang'
	nyââ 'wake up' → *ny:ââ* 'wake him up'	*kwo* 'stand' → kââ 'make stand'

There are many further systematic doublets in the lexicon, but these are either formally unrelated, or they are related in non-rule-governed ways, e.g. *ghêpê* 'go down', *ghîpî* 'make go down'.

One interesting example, already mentioned under §7.4, concerns the relationship between stative positionals, their active counterparts and caused positionals (Table 7.32):

Table 7.32: Positionals with active and causative counterparts.

stative	active	causative
kwo 'be standing'	*ghê* 'stand up'	*kââ* 'make stand'
tóó 'be sitting'	*ya* 'sit down'	*yé* 'make sit'
t:a 'be hanging'	*(chóó) kaalî* 'hang (self) down'	*t:oo* 'cause to hang'

Where there are intimately related counterparts like these, they seem to block the causativizing construction described below. Thus:

(321)	a.	**kwo*	*dê*	*kwolo*
		standing	3IMMPI	cause.to.be
	b.	**ghêêmî*	*dê*	*kwolo*
		standing.up	3IMMPI	cause.to.be

c. *ghêêmî   dê   kââ*
   standing.up   3IMMPI   make.stand
   'He stood it up standing'

2. *Periphrastic causative construction:*
This periphrastic construction uses a specific verb *l:âmo*, glossing 'arrange it, fix it', so that the whole construction glosses 'X fixed Y, so Y did Z', meaning the Agent caused Patient to do something, or alternatively 'X fixed Y, so that X did Z'. Thus the construction allows both 'subject control' and 'object control':

(322) *Yee   ngê pi   Ø   l:âmo ngê,   mê   vyâ*
      EagleMan   ERG   person   3REM   fix up   3sO_MFS(tvPostN)   REP   kill/hit
      'Eagle Man fixed up the person$_i$, (so that) he$_i$ killed again' = X made Y kill

(323) *God   ngê   Adam Ø   l:âmo ngê   ghê*
      God   ERG   Adam   3REM   fix-up   3sO_MFS(tvPostN)   life/breath
      u   mênê   yó
      his   inside   putREM
      'God made Adam$_i$ so that He(God) put breath in him$_i$' = X fixed Y so X made Y alive

3. *Causativing main verb construction:*
This construction takes an intransitive gerund (formed from the continuous root of the verb; §4.5.2; §8.7.1.4) as an incorporated object of *kwolo* 'cause to be':

(324) Causative verb **kwolo** 'to cause something':
       class: Transitive, irregular strong punctual root:
       imperative: *kwéli/kala ngi*
       proximate stem: *kwolo*
       remote past stem: *kwólu*
       followed stem: *kalê too*
       continuous aspect root: *kîgha*

Unlike normal incorporation, but like the punctual reciprocal construction, the verb remains inflectionally transitive:

(325)   Verb retains transitive post-nucleus:

Yidika	*ngê*	*tp:ee*	*dê*	*a*		*dpodo*	*kîgha*	*dê*
man's name	ERG	boy	Dual	3sIMMCI.CLS		working	causing	MFS.3dO.PROX

 'Yidika causes the two boys to work'

Yidika	*ngê*	*tp:eema*	*a*		*dpodo*	*kîgha*	*té*
man's name	ERG	boy.PL	3sIMMCI.CLS		working	causing_to_be	MFS.3plO.PROX

'Yidika causes the 3+ boys to work–he put them to work (today)'

This construction can be combined with the periphrastic one:

(326)   *Christ   ngê   pi   Ø   l:âmo   ngê,   **mê   paa***
        Christ   ERG   person   3REM   fix.it   3sOMFS   REP   walking
        kwólu   Ø
        caused(REM)   MF3sO
        'Christ made the man walk again'

Points to note about this construction:
(a) The incorporated (caused) nominalized verb **must be intransitive**, so the structure does not introduce a third argument. It only makes a transitive from an intransitive, not a ditransitive from a transitive.

(327)   a.   *m:aa   ngê   Monkî   Ø   ngomo   p:uu   Ø   dpodo*
             Father   ERG   Monki   ABS   house   on   3sREM   **working(IV)**
             kwólu
             caused(REM)
             'Dad got Monki working on the house'
        b.   *m:aa   ngê   Monkî   Ø   ngomo   p:uu   ka   dpodo*
             Father   ERG   Monki   ABS   house   on   3CPROX   **working(IV)**
             kîgha
             causing
             'Dad has got Monki working on the house'

(328)   **Father   ngê   Monkî   Ø   ngomo   p:uu   Ø   wuwó*
        Father   ERG   Monki   ABS   house   on   3sREM   **roofing(TV)**
        kwólu
        caused(REM)
        '*Dad got Monki to roof (transitive verb) his house'

(b) The causee (*Monki* in the examples above) appears as a normal Absolutive NP. Its position in the sentences above, outside the verbal complex, suggests that it

is here the object for *kwólu*, and not (or not primarily) the subject of the incorporated intransitive verb. The resulting clause can be either punctual or continuous.

Although the valence increase is only from one argument to two, the construction is quite useful as a way of introducing an unexpected object, as illustrated in the following sentences.

(329) a. *Ghaalyu   ka   kwódu*
           Name   3CIPROX   vomit
           'Ghaalyu is vomiting'
       b. *Ghaalyu   ngê   wêê   ka   kwada   kîgha*
           Name   ERG   blood 3CIPROX   vomiting   cause.C
           'Ghaalyu is vomiting blood'
       c. *Nkélipi   ka   knê*
           Name   3CIPROX   shits(PROX)
           'Nkélipi is shitting'
       d. *Nkélipi   ngê   wêê   ka   knênî   kîgha*
           Name   ERG   blood 3CIPROX   shitting cause.C
           'Nkélipi is shitting blood'

Another frequent use of this construction, like the *mb:anê* construction mentioned below, is as a means of introducing English loans as inflectable verbs.

(330) a. *k:omo   ngê   kî   mênê   trick   kîgha   ngê*
           trick   ADV   CERT 1sMOT.REMCI trick   cause.C   MFS3sO
           'I was always tricking him'
       b. *kê   dmi   exchange   kalê   ngópu*
           shell.money CLF exchange causeREMPI PFS3sO
           'They mixed up the kê bead string'

7.9.3 Other complex predicates based on incorporation or otherwise

As we have just seen, the causative construction with *kwolo* is based on incorporation of a gerund in the predicate. A number of other important constructions use the same mechanism – that is, the use of a special verb acting as an auxiliary to form a compound predicate, allowing systematic alternations of valency, aspect or other dimensions. The following table (7.33) contrasts the functions of these constructions.

Table 7.33: Auxiliary verbs with valence changing, aspect changing or causativing effects.

Auxiliary Verb	Input or Main Action verb	Output clause	Function	Meaning
kwolo	IV C gerund, incorporated	P or C TV	makes a TV	Causative
mbanê	IV C gerund, incorporated	P IV verb	makes a P IV	Inceptive Punctualizer
pwââ	IV C gerund, not incorporated	P or C TV	makes a P or C TV	Inceptive
(kn:ââ) chaa	TV or IV gerund, not incorporated	P or C TV	makes a P or C TV	Inceptive
(ngê) pyódu_TV	IV Gerund, TV Resultative or other NP	P/C TV	makes a TV	Causative
(ngê) pyódu_IV	TV Gerund, Resultative or other NP	IV	makes an inchoative IV	Inchoative

*IV = intransitive verb, TV = transitive verb, C = Continuous, P = Punctual

One of the most important of these constructions is based on the verb *mb:anê*, which has limited main verb uses, e.g. as in example (331):

(331) *Yidika   u   mo   dê   mb:anê*
       Name   3sPOSS   alone   3sPI.IMM   cause.be
       'Yidika was abandoned to it' (lit. perhaps 'Yidika had to do it alone')

It is a punctual-only verb with proximal root *mb:anê*, followed root *mbê,* and Remote Past *mbê wo*.

Its principal use is as a compound-predicate forming verb which converts continuous aspect intransitive predicates to punctual ones, at the same time introducing an inceptive ('begin to') meaning. Although this may seem quite a specialized use, it should be remembered that the aspectual distinction between punctual and continuous is one of the most important dichotomies in the grammar, determining root form and distinct sets of inflectional proclitics and enclitics (§2.4.2; §6.1.2). In addition, there is a small, but important set of intransitive roots that lack a punctual suppletive form (recollect that most verbs come with distinct stems for both aspects), in particular *dpodo* 'working', *pwiyé* 'coming/going', *mbê* 'crying', *ng:aa* 'listening' as noted in Henderson (1995:17). The construction once again involves the incorporation of the content verb as a continuous gerund preceding the auxiliary *mb:anê*, the two verbs together being flanked by proclitics and enclitics. Consider the following examples:

(332) a. *engine a   dpodo?*
           engine 3PRSCI working
           'Does the engine work?'

       b. *engine dê   dpodo   mb:anê?*
           engine 3IMMPI working cause.be
           'Is the engine fixed/now in working order?'

       c. *engine dê   ghêdê*
           engine 3NrPastCI shaking
           'The engine was shaking'

       d. *engine dê   ghêdê   mb:anê*
           engine 3IMMPI shaking cause.be
           'The engine shook/shuddered'

       e. *Yidika ngê   engine u dênê dê   ghodo*
           Yidika ERG engine start.to 3sIMMPI shake
           'He started the engine'

The sentence in example (332)a. is the normal continuous aspect of this contin-
uous-only verb, while the b. sentence punctualizes the interpretation – did the
engine suddenly start working again? The same contrast with another verb is
illustrated in c. and d., while e. gives the corresponding transitive sentence using
the matching transitive root (many verbs come in transitive and intransitive dou-
blets).

    The combination of continuous gerund and punctual meaning tends natu-
rally to have an inceptive meaning, although this seems largely restricted to major
changes of state, as illustrated in example (333) below.

(333) a. *myenté u   gha   myaa   mbê mb:anê*
           also   3POSS core REP.CLS.3d/pl cry   START
           'Then his heart also began to cry'

       b. *Pwiliyópu dê   kmaapî mb:anê?*
           Pwiliyópu 3IMM.PI eating   cause.be
           'Has Pwiliyópu started to eat (after his illness)?'

       c. *ala   tpémi dê   paa   mb:anê?*
           this boy   3IMM.PI walking cause.be
           'Has the infant begun to walk?'

       d. *tpómu dê   danêmbum mb:anê?*
           baby   3IMM.PI talking   cause.be
           'Has the baby started to talk?'

e. *mw:aandiye Mbweemono Ghaalyu ka dê ng:aa*
   morning   Mbweemono Ghaalyu DAT 3IMM.PI listening
   mb:anê
   cause.be
   'In the morning Mbweemono listened to Ghaalyu (and did what he said)'

It also tends to get an impersonal interpretation, with the inception of the state of VERBing being agentless, as in example (334)a. below (the b. sentence, with the transitive verb counterpart is ungrammatical). Sentence e. with the causative auxiliary contrasts with d, as it emphasizes agency.

(334) a. *kupî dê pwópupwópu mbanê*
   cup 3IMMPI breaking   cause.be
   'The cup is beginning to break (e.g. cracked from hot water)'

     b. **kupî dê pwaapî mb:anê*
   cup 3IMMPI break cause.be
   *'The cup is beginning to break' (transitive root ungrammatical)

     c. *engine dê chópuchópu mb:anê*
   engine 3IMMPI splitting   cause.be
   'Has the engine worn out?'

     d. *dini ghi n:ii ngê wa harvest mb:anê*
   time part PRO ADV FUT3sPI harvest cause.be
   'At the time when the crop begins to be harvested'

     e. *dini ghi n:ii ngê wa (nmî) harvest kwolo*
   time part PRO ADV FUT3sPI (we) harvest cause
   'At the time when we harvest it'

     f. *Yidika Mboo dê nyêpê knî*
   Yidika Mboo 3sIMM be.amazed Dual
   'Yidika and Mboo were amazed'

     g. *Yidika Mboo dê nyêpê mbê knî*
   Yidika Mboo 3sIMM be.amazed cause.be Dual
   'Yidika and Mboo got suddenly into a state of being amazed'

     h. *a kmo dpududpudu mb:anê*
   my stomach churning   cause.be
   'My stomach is upset'

This construction is also used to introduce English loans (as already shown above in the d. example):

(335) a. *wa   nyi m:uu wa   nyi believe mb:anê*
       3FUT 2s see   3FUT 2s believe cause.be
       'You'll see it and you'll believe it'

    b. *w:uu   paadi dî   lose mb:anê   cha   w:ee*
       beads four   3IMMPI lose cause.be 2sIMP.CLS understand
       'They lost four (kê) beads, you understand?'

    c. *yoo   dê   mix mb:anê = yoo   dê*
       people 3sIMMPI mix cause.be   people 3sIMMPI
       mbimbala mb:anê
       scattered cause.be
       'The people are going around everywhere'

    d. *yimi   tired mbê   dniye*
       properly tired cause.be PI.HAB.pl
       'They must be tired out!'

Another construction with inceptive meaning uses the verb *pwââ* 'to break' (followed root *pwaa*, Remote Past *puwâ*, Continuous root *pwaapî*.). Although the main action verb is usually intransitive, in this case the resulting construction is transitive because the main action verb is not incorporated inside the verb complex. The resulting construction is normally punctual, but continuous main verbs are possible, as illustrated in example (336)b. below.

(336) a. *tpómu ngê mbê   a   pwââ*
       baby   ERG crying 3NrPST.CLS break
       'The baby started to cry (yesterday or before)'

    b. *tpómu ngê mbê   kiyedê   pwaapî*
       baby   ERG crying 3PRS.CI.CLS breaking
       'The baby is about to start crying (in the state of beginning)'

The construction has limited uses as a regular inceptive, since with specific predicates it acquires special meanings as shown below.

(337) a. *dpodo   pwaa ngi!*
       working break 2sIMP
       'You set the date for the work!'

    b. *Mgaa ngê km:ii   chaapî   da   pwââ*
       Mgaa ERG coconut breaking 3IMMCLSPI break
       'Mgaa has started making copra (he has started the process by asking a group of people to help)'

c. *Mboo   ngê   kmaapî   a   pwââ*
   Mboo   ERG   dining   3IMMCLSPI   break
   'He set the date for a feast'

Another, more regular inceptive is based on the verb *chaa* 'split' in collocation with *kn:ââ* 'source, base'. It forms transitive verbs from intransitive or transitive gerunds followed by *kn:ââ*. The construction has the form Gerund + *kn:ââ* ('base, source') + *chaa* ('split'). *Chaa* is a transitive verb and the gerund+*kn:ââ* fills the object slot, while *chaa* carries the tense/aspect of the beginning of the event:

(338) *Pulê   ngê   ka'ne pê   vyómuvyómu   kn:ââ   kêda*
      Pulê   ERG   steps   fixing   source   CERT.3IMMPI.CLS
      chaa   ngmênê   neli   daa   tóó
      split   but   nails   NEG   sitting
      'Pulê started to fix the steps (today) but there were no nails'

(339) a. *Yidika   ngê   kpîmbó   dpodo   kn:ââ   dpî   chaa*
         Yidika   ERG   dawn   working   source   3HABPI   split
         'Yidika always begins to work at dawn'
      b. *kmaapî   kn:ââ   dê   chaa*
         eating   source   3IMMPI   split
         'He started eating'
      c. *n:uu   ngê   u   vy:ee   kn:ââ   dê   chaa*
         who   ERG   3POSS   hitting   source   3IMMPI   split
         'Who started hitting him?'
      d. *n:uu   ngê   km:ii   chapî   kn:ââ   dê   chaa*
         who   ERG   coconut   splitting   source   3IMMPI   split
         'Who has started making copra?'
      e. *ngêpê   kn:ââ   a   dê   chaa   ngmê*
         praying   source   CLOSE   3IMMPI   split   PFS3sOPROX
         'They began to pray'

Finally, there is the inchoative intransitive verb *pyódu* 'become' and its causative transitive counterpart of the same citation form, but with different suppletive forms as shown in Table 7.34:

Table 7.34: Inchoative and causative inchoative verbs with citation form *pyódu* 'become'.

	Intransitive 'become'	Transitive 'cause to become'
Imperative	(none)	*pyódu*
Proximal past	*pyódu*	*pyódu*
Remote Past	*pyodo*	*pyódu*
Followed root	*pyaa*	(none)
Continuous root	*pyodopyodo*	*pyépi*

The intransitive verb produces an intransitive construction, placing an adjective or nominal in an adverbial phrase followed by adverbializer *ngê*. This allows a transitive verb to be first nominalized with the resultative construction (§7.9.1), then inserted as an adverbial, as in:

(340) a. *d:ââ   pwaa   ngmê ngê   pyodo*
           pot   break.FOL   RES   ADV   become
           'The pot was broken (long ago)'
       b. *d:ââ dê   pwaa   ngmê ngê   dê   pyaa*
           pot   Dual   break.FOL   RES   ADV   3NrPST.PI   become
           Knî/ knâpwo
           d.NrP/ d.REM ST
           'Two pots got broken (yesterday)/(long ago)'

The transitive version allows the same insertion of a resultative transitive phrase. Here the function is less clear, and there is a subtle contrast with the non-causativized version which precedes each example.

(341) a. *Yidika ngê   yi   pââ   dê   chaa*
           Yidika ERG   tree body 3IMMPI   split
           'Yidika split the log'
       b. *Yidika ngê   yi   pââ   chaa ngmê ngê   dê   pyódu*
           Yidika ERG   tree body split RES   ADV   3IMMPI   cause.become
           'Yidika made the log split into (further) pieces'
       c. *Yidika ngê   d:ââ dê   pwââ*
           Yidika ERG   pot   3IMMPI   broke
           'Yidika broke the pot'

d. *(Yidika ngê) d:ââ pwaa   ngmê ngê dê   pyódu*
  Yidika ERG pot   break.FOL RES ADV 3IMMPI cause.become
  'Yidika made it broken (today)'/'it got broken'

In example (341)d., if the agent is omitted, a lack of intentionality is conveyed – for example, Yidika may have bumped into a table and the pot may then have fallen.
  The above examples all have a punctual reading. But continuous forms are possible – compare:

(342) a. *ntii ngê chaa Ø   dyênê ngê*
   sea ERG reef   3REM.PI ruin   MFSubj3sObjREM
   'The sea ruined the reef (before yesterday)'

  b. *ntii ngê chaa dyênê ngmê ngê pyódu*
   sea ERG reef spoil RES ADV cause.become
   ngê
   MFSubj3sObjREM
   'The sea caused the reef to become really spoiled (before yesterday)'

  c. *ntii ngê chaa dyênê ngmê ngê doo   pyépi*
   sea ERG reef spoil RES ADV 3sREMCI cause.become.CI
   'The sea was (continuously) spoiling the reef (before yesterday)'

  d. *ntii ngê chaa dyênê ngmê ngê a dî   pyépi*
   sea ERG reef spoil RES ADV FUT3sCI cause.become.CI
   'The sea will always be spoiling the reef'

Cessation can be expressed with the construction (Possessive) + Gerund + *yé* 'put down', which is a transitive verb with the gerund in object slot. For example:

(343) a. *Pulê ngê ka'ne pê vyomuvyómu dê   yé,   neli*
   Pulê ERG steps   fixing   3IMMPI put.down nails
   daa   tóó
   NEG   sitting
   'Pulê stopped fixing the steps (today) – there are no nails'

  b. *Weta ngê (u)   kmaapî   kêdê   yé*
   Weta ERG (3sPOSS) eating.intransitive CERT3IMM put.down
   'Weta has stopped (his) eating'

  c. *Weta ngê yi   ntini u   pîpî   dê*
   Weta ERG Anaphoric food 3sPOSS eating.TV 3IMMPI
   yé
   put.down
   'Weta has stopped his eating that food'

Note here that the possessed gerund is optional when the gerund is intransitive, but seems to be obligatory (or at least preferred) when the gerund is transitive, as illustrated.

7.9.4 Noun incorporation

Incorporation can be identified simply by the position of nominal elements in the slot between inflectional proclitics and verb – only incorporated elements may appear here. By this criterion, a number of nominal elements other than nouns can get incorporated, including PPs, and they may be incorporated by intransitive as well as transitive verbs. There is thus a cluster of incorporation types, already mentioned under §4.5.4.6:

(i)   optional incorporation of PPs with intransitive verbs which obligatorily subcategorize for Dative PPs, with no change of transitivity status.

(ii)   obligatory incorporation of Dative PPs with a handful of specified intransitive verbs, with no change of transitivity status.

(iii)   intransitive verbs that incorporate their 'objects', i.e. the affected theme implicit in their semantics is optionally made explicit with no change of transitivity status.

(iv)   true incorporation of objects by transitive verbs, with a consequent change of transitivity status, so that the verbal enclitics inflect as for an intransitive verb.

Briefly, here are some examples of the first three phenomena. The optional incorporation of obligatorily subcategorized PPs can be illustrated with the verb *vyuwo* 'look for' which takes a Dative/Ablative object of the search, here incorporated after proclitic *wumê* (Henderson 1995:27):

(344)   ***wumê***   *nêêdî*   *ka*   ***vyuwo***
         3a/d/pl/HABPROXC.MOT   possum   Source/Goal   look for
         'He goes looking for possum'

Obligatory incorporation of a PP can be illustrated with the verb *chaa* 'to cook in a ground oven' which takes the theme (the food to be cooked) as a Dative/Ablative PP incorporated between proclitic and verb:

(345)   ***ka***   *nté*   *ka*   ***chaa***   *té*
         CERT.3PRS   food   Source/Goal   ground-bake   plS.CI.Intrans
         'They are food-baking (in ground oven)'

The third type mentioned above is the incorporation of an 'object', the theme implied by the semantics of the verb but here made explicit as an NP between proclitic and verb – again with no change of the intransitive status of the clause (see also §8.7.1.3 for further examples):

(346) ***nmî*** ***mbwo*** ***tpapê*** ***té***
       1plIMMPI native.betel chew Pl.S.CI.Intrans
       'We3 were chewing betel earlier this morning'

Such a structure allows one to specify the specific type of the 'object', e.g. here native Rossel betel as opposed to *t:aa* 'imported betel species'. However, since there is (as so often) a counterpart transitive verb, as illustrated in example (347) below, the motivation for this structure is opaque:
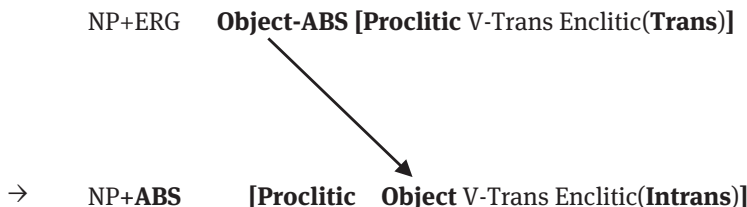
(347) ***Yidika*** ***ngê*** ***mbwo*** ***ngma*** ***a*** ***kuwo*** ***Ø?***
       Yidika ERG native.betel INDF 3PRS.CI chew MFS.3sO.CI.PROX
       'Is Yidika chewing any betel?'

I am not sure how lexically specific this incorporation of an implied 'object' by an intransitive verb is. Here however in (348) is another example:

(348) *mu* *ny:uu* *kéni* *téme* *mo*
       there 1dNrPSTCI-Motion beche-de-mer.species dive dS.PROX.IV
       'We went diving for beche de mer there (earlier today)'

This brings us to the subject of true object incorporation by lexically transitive verbs, with a consequent change of transitivity status. The valence-changing operation can be schematized thus as an old-fashioned transformation (the diagonal arrow shows the shift of Object position):

(349) **'Transformational' Pattern for Object-Incorporation:**

       NP+ERG   **Object-ABS [Proclitic** V-Trans Enclitic(**Trans**)**]**

→   NP+**ABS**   **[Proclitic   Object** V-Trans Enclitic(**Intrans**)**]**

Here is a basic example:

(350) **tpile**   nyimo   ghêêghêê **té**
       thing   2s/1d.ImmFUT.CI.MOT washing   MFS.plO.Trans
       'We 2 are going to wash the things'

→
(351) nyimo   **tpile** ghêêghêê **mo**
       2s/1d.ImmFUTCI.MOT   thing   washing   dS.POX.Intrans
       'We two will things wash'

Note the correlated changes:
i.   The agent NP loses its ergative postposition falling into the unmarked abso-
      lutive case (illustrated in the following pair of examples);
ii.   The object has moved inside the inflectional proclitic next to the verb, and
iii. The enclitic immediately after the verb which monitors transitivity switches
      to intransitive to signal the change in valency.
iv.   The associated meaning change is in the expected direction: *tpile ghêêghêê*
      is a complex verb 'plate-washing, i.e. doing the dishes', naming a stereotyp-
      ical activity (cf. Henderson 1995:27). In a similar way, the object often loses
      its definite/specific reading, as illustrated by the following pair of sentences
      (object in bold):

(352) Osborne mbwémi y:oo **pyaa** dpumo   yâmuyâmu Ø
       Osborne brothers ERG   croc   3d.HABC. hunt.C   HABC.3O
       'The Osborne brothers used to look for a particular crocodile'

→

(353) Osborne mbwémi Ø   dpumo   **pyaa** yâmuyâmu Ø
       Osborne brothers ABS   3d.HABCont croc   hunt.C   HABC.3O
       'The Osborne brothers used to go crocodile hunting'

Similarly, compare the first of the sentences below (repeated from example (347)
above) to the second:

(354) a. Yidika ngê **mbwo**   ngma a   kuwo
           Yidika ERG native.betel INDF. 3PRSCI chew
           Ø
           MFS.3sO.CI.PROX.Trans
           'Is Yidika chewing any betel?'

b. *Yidika Ø a* **mbwo** *kuwo Ø*
   Yidika ABS 3PRSCI native.betel chew sS.Intrans
   'Is Yidika betel-chewing?'

However, these expected semantic corollaries are not always present. It is possible to incorporate objects which are definite, possessed and of arbitrary complexity, as we will now illustrate. First note that complex objects can be incorporated – compare the simple NP in example (355)a. below with the almost arbitrarily complex NP in b.:

(355) a. *doo*   *kpémi yâmuyâmu*
      3sREMCI(PreN) shark hunting.C
      'He was hunting shark (before yesterday)'

    b. *doo*   **kpémi vy:êmî gh:aa pââ ndîî** *vyokovyoko*
      3sREMCI(PreN) shark fin hair body big drying.C
      'He was (collecting and) drying fins of large sharks (before yesterday)'

Definite NPs as in example (356)b. below, just like the indefinite in a., are also fine inside the verbal nucleus:

(356) a. *wumê*   *yi kp:êênî mo*
      CERT3d.ImmFUT tree cutting dPROXCI.Intrans
      'They2 are chopping (indefinite) trees (future today)'

    b. *wumê*   *kî yini kp:êênî mo*
      CERT3d.ImmFUT DEIC tree.SPEC cutting dPROXCI.Intrans
      'They2 are chopping (definite) this tree (future today)'

It is possible to get the identical NP with deictic determiners both outside the verb complex and inside, as incorporated NPs:

(357) a. **kî**   **tpyé** *nye*   *châpwo*
      Dem.Unm grass 1d.ImmFUTCI cut.C
      'This grass we will cut (today)'

    b. *nye*   **kî**   **tpyé** *châpwo mo*
      1dImmFUTCI Dem.Unm grass cut.CI 1dFUT.Intrans
      'We will this-grass-cut today'

One expects constraints, however, of the sort that complex NPs can't contain quantifiers, deictics, proper names or possessives. Some of these expectations are correct:

(358) *n:aa*　　　**tpile**　*ghêêghêê*
　　　1sImmFUTCI　thing　washing
　　　'I am going to plate-wash (to wash the plates)'

(359) **ngmile**　　*kuu*　　*n:aa*　　　*ghêêghêê*
　　　N+tpile　　*kuu*　　*n:aa*　　　*ghêêghêê*
　　　Your thing　dish_of　1sImmFUTCI　washing
　　　'Your plates I am going to wash'

but not:

(360) **n:aa*　　　*ngmile*　　*ghêêghêê*
　　　1sImmFUTCI　your.thing　washing
　　　'I am going your-plate-washing'

But many of the expectations are confounded. Quantifiers can occur inside the verbal nucleus, but not numerals above one (cf. example (361)c. vs. d.):

(361)　a.　*wumê*　　　　　*yi*　*pââ ndîî ngmê kp:êênî mo*
　　　　　CERT3d.ImmFUT　tree　big　　　one　cutting　d.PROXCI.Intrans
　　　　　'They are cutting down one big tree'
　　　b.　*wumê*　　　　　*yi*　*yintómu kp:êênî mo*
　　　　　CERT3d.ImmFUT　tree　all　　　cutting　d.PROXCI.Intrans
　　　　　'They2 are cutting down all kinds/every tree'
　　　c.　*yi*　*miyó wumê*　　　　*kp:êênî ngmê*
　　　　　tree　two　CERT3d.ImmFUT　cutting　PFS3sOPROX.Trans
　　　　　'They2 are cutting down two trees'　　　　(*miyó* resists incorporation)
　　　d.　**wumê*　　　　　*yi*　*miyó kp:êênî mo*
　　　　　CERT3d.ImmFUT　tree　two　cutting　d.PROXCI.Intrans
　　　　　*'They2 are two-tree-cutting'　　　　(ungrammatical)

And contrary to the unacceptability of 'your-plate-washing' illustrated in example (360) above, it is possible to get possessives inside incorporated NPs – compare the following, both possible descriptions for the traditional activity of pulling a canoe-log out of the bush. In this case the possessive is first person, and high on the animacy/definiteness hierarchy. Note that the transitivity change is marked in the enclitic:

(362) a. ***a   nee***   *nyinê*   *paapaa* Ø
         my canoe   1d.CLS.ImmFUTCI   pulling   MFS.3sO.PROX.Trans
         'We2 are going to pull my canoe (later today)'
      b. *nyinê*   ***a   nee***   *paapaa* *mo*
         1d.CLS.ImmFUTCI   my   canoe   pulling   dS.CI.PI.ImmFUT.Intrans
         'We2 are going pulling-my-canoe (later today)'

Overall, then, Yélî Dnye incorporation does not fit the typological expectations: it allows NPs of arbitrary complexity to be incorporated, and in the right circumstances they may be definite, possessed, or marked with demonstratives. Perhaps the constraint is overall semantic: the activity must be seen to be an expected, culturally stereotypical activity – washing *your* plates is just not how plates are washed, but as a collective enterprise in the river; pulling my canoe on the other hand is an activity I can expect general help with. The role of stereotypical activity in encouraging incorporation is made clear by the following examples. The verb *nt:ene* is used for planting roots (yams, potatoes) that are not set vertically, the verb *kaapî* 'setting upright' for those (taro, banana, pineapple, etc.) that must be set vertically. Using the verb *kaapî* with say potatoes is perfectly construable – it means putting them vertically in some container, but unlike the setereotypical planting construals, such a usage resists incorporation. Thus example (363)b. below is the incorporated version of a., and d. of c., but e. has no incorporated counterpart (f. is ungrammatical).

(363) a. *kini*   *dee*   *nyimo*   *nt:ene*   *té*
         yam.sp yam.sp 1dImmFUTCI plant.horizontally MFS3plO.Trans
         'We2 are going to plant some yams'
      b. *nyimo*   *kini*   *dee*   *nt:ene*   *mo*
         1dImmFUTCI yam.sp yam sp plant.horizontally dSFUT.Intrans
         'We2 are going to plant some yams (incorporated)'
      c. *pwelap*   *woo*   *nyimo*   *kaapî*   *té*
         pineapple seed 1dImmFUTCI set.upright MFS3plO.Trans
         'We2 are going to stand up the pineapple seeds, i.e plant them'
      d. *nyimo*   *pwelap*   *woo*   *kaapî*   *mo*
         1dImmFUTCI pineapple seed set.upright dSFUT.Intrans
         'We2 are going to stand up the pineapple seeds, i.e plant them'
      e. *kini*   *dee*   *nyimo*   *kaapî*   *té*
         yam.sp yam.sp 1dImmFUTCI set.upright MFS3plO.Trans
         'We2 are going to stand up the yams (e.g. in baskets, not plant them)'
      f. **nyimo kini dee kaapî mo*

In formal respects, too, Yélî Dnye incorporation has quirky features, including the incorporation of pseudo-objects by intransitives.

7.9.5 *tee*: A semi-productive intransitivizing suffix

Some transitive verbs allow intransitivization using the suffix or postverbal clitic *tee*, which makes an intransitive continuous root (as in example (364)a., or more naturally c.) from a transitive punctual root (as in b.):

(364) a. *God mb:aamb:a ngê   doo   vyómu tee*
             God   good   ADV 3sREMCI fix   TEE
             'God was making things properly'

      b. *God ngê mb:aamb:a ngê vyómu too*
             God   ERG good   ADV fix   MFS3plOPI
             'God made everything properly'

      c. *God u   lama   vyómu tee mb:aamb:a ngê   a*
             God   his knowledge fix   TEE good   ADV 3PRSCI
             tóó
             sitting
             'God knows how to make things properly'

Similarly, (365)a. below is an intransitivized version of b., and c. shows how *tee* is not an inflectional clitic despite often replacing one, but a derivational suffix or verb compound component, since it can take further (intransitive) post-verbal clitics, and does not by itself turn a continuous gerund or nominalization into a finite verb (d.):

(365) a. *Weta dye ghi yintómu school k:oo   doo   t:âmo tee*
             Weta time part all   school inside 3sREMCI steal   TEE
             'Weta was stealing /used to steal everyday from the school'

      b. *Weta   ngê   dye   ghi   yintómu school k:oo*
             Weta   ERG   time part all   school inside
             pencil a   t:âmo t:âmo too
             pencil 3HAB stealing   MFS3sOHAB
             'Weta was stealing pencils everyday from school'

      c. *Weta Yidika dye   ghi   yintómu school k:oo   a*
             Weta Yidika time   part all   school inside 3HAB
             t:âmo tee   mo
             steal TEE   dSPRSCI
             'Weta and Yidika were stealing everyday from the school'

d. *Weta   u   d:uu   tee   dono*
    Weta   3POSS   tasting   TEE   bad
    'Weta's tasting was bad'

Because the root with *tee* is a continuous form, it is also the basis for nominalizations such as *kââdî tee pyu*, 'One who joins together, brings people together', *yipe tee pyu* 'One who accuses (people) falsely', *wópu tee pyu* 'a person who covers things up, doesn't tell the truth', *ch:ámê tee pyu,* 'One who separates things', *dêpê tee pyu* 'One who chases the flies away (e.g. over a corpse)', *têêdî tee pyu* 'One who transports by water, ferryman', *d:uu tee pyu* 'One who tries/tastes'.

The verbs observed to undergo this alternation are *l:âmo* 'fix', *vyómu* 'make', *t:âmo* 'steal', *tîpî* 'do wrong', *kn:aadi* 'do wrong, miss when throwing', *kââdî* 'join', *yipe* 'accuse falsely', *wópu* 'cover something', *ch:amê* 'to separate', *dêpê,* 'chase (flies) away', *têêdî* 'transport by water', *d:uu* 'to do, try', but there are no doubt a few others. The suffix is unproductive over random transitive verbs: **vy:a tee pyu,* 'One who hits', **ma tee pyu* 'One who eats', **d:ii tee pyu* 'One who throws'.

A final puzzle is that *tee* does occasionally appear with already continuous transitive stems, as in *ch:em tee pyu* 'one who is putting things inside'. This usage also allows an inflected form:

(366)   *nye   ch:em   tee   mo*
        1dImmFUT   put.in.container.CI   TEE   d.PRSCI
        'We two are loading things'

7.10 Ellipsis

There is widespread ellipsis in Yélî Dnye discourse. NPs in subject and object role are standardly omitted when their referents have already been established in discourse – indeed new referents are often introduced in zero form (coded in verb inflection or quotation particle, as in the example below), and queried if necessary. When verbs are ellipsed, NPs normally carry the case inflections appropriate to their syntactic role with respect to the omitted verb. Note in the following case, in B's turn the relevant verb (*vyi* 'say, tell') has never actually been used, since a quotation particle was used instead:

(367) A: *akêda*   *ngomo*   *u*   *mo*   (from R02_v21_s1)
          he.said.to.me   house   his   self
          wa   *pwila*
          3FUTPI   buy
          'He said to me he was going to pay for his house by himself'
     B: *n:uu*   *ngê?*
          Who   ERG?
          'Who did?'
     A: *yed:oo* *kî*   *maawê* *ngê*
          thus   that   bigman ERG
          'That bigman did'

Just as English *do* can act as a carrier of tense and aspect for an ellipsed verb, the Yélî Dnye preverbal clitic can act in the same way:

(368) A: *mu* *pini* *yi*   *doo*   *kmaapî*
          that fellow ANAPH 3CI.REM eat.intrans
          'That guy was eating (people)'
     B: *Kee* *tp:oo* *yi*   *doo*
          Kee   son   ANAPH 3CIREM
          'Kee's son was the one doing it'

That these proclitics can stand independently shows that they are something more than mere inflectional affixes.