

Appendix 2

Cross-reference suffixes, pronouns, copulas and irregular verbs

Class IIA subject and object cross-reference suffixes (§5.2.2)

SUBJ→ OBJ↓	1SG	1DU	1PL	N1MSG	N1FSG	N1DU	N1MPL	N1FPL
	<i>-ha</i>	<i>-hwa</i>	<i>-hu</i>		\emptyset	<i>-na</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-hi</i>
1SG <i>-ya</i>				\emptyset - <i>ya</i>		<i>-na-ya</i>	<i>-wu-ya</i>	<i>-hi-ya</i>
1NSG <i>-mua</i>				\emptyset - <i>mua</i>		<i>-na-mua</i>	<i>-wu-mua</i>	<i>-hi-mua</i>
2SG <i>-nya¹</i>	<i>-ha-nya</i>	<i>-hwa-nya</i>	<i>-hu-nya</i>	\emptyset - <i>nya</i>		<i>-na-nya</i>	<i>-wu-nya</i>	<i>-hi-nya</i>
3MSG \emptyset	<i>-hi-\emptyset</i>	<i>-hwa-\emptyset</i>	<i>-hu-\emptyset</i>	<i>-i-\emptyset</i>	<i>-ya-\emptyset</i>	<i>-nwa-\emptyset</i>	<i>-wu-\emptyset</i>	<i>-hwa-\emptyset</i>
3FSG <i>-a</i>	<i>-ha-a</i>	<i>-hwa-a</i>	<i>-hu-a</i>	\emptyset - <i>a</i>		<i>-na-a</i>	<i>-wu-a</i>	<i>-hi-a</i>
N1DU <i>-pa</i>	<i>-ha-pa</i>	<i>-hwa-pa</i>	<i>-hu-pa</i>	\emptyset - <i>pa</i>		<i>-na-pa</i>	<i>-wu-pa</i>	<i>-hi-pa</i>
N1MPL <i>-ma/mu</i>	<i>-hi-ma</i>	<i>-ho-ma</i>	<i>-hu-mu</i>	<i>-i-ma</i>		<i>-no-ma</i>	<i>-wu-mu</i>	<i>-ho-ma</i>
N1FPL <i>-ti</i>	<i>-ha-ti</i>	<i>-hwa-ti</i>	<i>-hu-ti</i>	\emptyset - <i>ti</i>		<i>-na-ti</i>	<i>-wu-ti</i>	<i>-hi-ti</i>

Class IIB subject and object cross-reference suffixes (§5.2.2)

SUBJ→ OBJ↓	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	3MSG	3FSG	N1DU	N1MPL	N1FPL
	<i>-hya</i>	<i>-hwa</i>	<i>-hu</i>	<i>-wa</i>		<i>-ya</i>	<i>-nya</i>	<i>-wu</i>	<i>-hi</i>
1SG <i>-i</i>				<i>-wa-i</i>		<i>-ya-i</i>	<i>-nya-i</i>	<i>-wu-i</i>	<i>-hi-i</i>
1NSG <i>-mu</i>				<i>-wa-mu</i>		<i>-ya-mu</i>	<i>-nya-mu</i>	<i>-wu-mu</i>	<i>-hi-mu</i>
2SG <i>-ni</i>	<i>-hya-ni</i>	<i>-hwa-ni</i>	<i>-hu-ni</i>			<i>-ya-ni</i>	<i>-nya-ni</i>	<i>-wu-ni</i>	<i>-hi-ni</i>
3MSG \emptyset	<i>-hi-\emptyset</i>	<i>-ho-\emptyset</i>	<i>-hu-\emptyset</i>	<i>-o-\emptyset</i>	<i>-i-\emptyset</i>	<i>-e-\emptyset</i>	<i>-nu-\emptyset</i>	<i>-wu-\emptyset</i>	<i>-ho-\emptyset</i>
3FSG <i>-a</i>	<i>-hya-a</i>	<i>-hwa-a</i>	<i>-hu-a</i>	<i>-wa-a</i>		<i>-ya-a</i>	<i>-nya-a</i>	<i>-wu-a</i>	<i>-hi-a</i>
N1DU <i>-pu²</i>	<i>-hya-pu</i>	<i>-hwa-pu</i>	<i>-hu-pu</i>	<i>-wa-pu</i>		<i>-ya-pu</i>	<i>-nya-pu</i>	<i>-wu-pu</i>	<i>-hi-pu</i>
N1MPL <i>-mo/mu</i>	<i>-hi-mo</i>	<i>-ho-mo</i>	<i>-hu-mu</i>	<i>-o-mo</i>		<i>-i-mo</i>	<i>-nu-mu</i>	<i>-wu-mu</i>	<i>-ho-mo</i>
N1FPL <i>-ti</i>	<i>-hya-ti</i>	<i>-hwa-ti</i>	<i>-hu-ti</i>	<i>-wa-ti</i>		<i>-ya-ti</i>	<i>-nya-ti</i>	<i>-wu-ti</i>	<i>-hi-ti</i>

¹ Free variation: *-nye*.

² For some speakers the N1DU:OBJ suffix is *-pwi* instead of *-pu*.

Class IA/ IHA cross-reference suffixes (§5.2.1)

SUBJ→		1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	3MSG	3FSG	N1MDU	N1FDU	N1MPL	N1FPL
IA:	V_ C_	-aha	-ehye	-efa	-afa	-∅ -u	-wa	-afa	-efye	-ma -uma	-wi -ei
IHA:	C_	-iha	-yehye	-yefa	-ufa	-u	-wa	-ufa	-yefye	-uma	-yei

Class IB/ IHB cross-reference suffixes (§5.2.1)

SUBJ→		1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	3MSG	3FSG	N1MDU	N1FDU	N1MPL	N1FPL
IB:	V_ C_	-a	-ehi	-efu	-afu	-u	-o	-afani	-efi	-mu -umu	-wi -ei
IHB:	C_	-i	-yehi	-yefu	-ufu	-u	-o	-ufani	-yefi	-umu	-yei

Class IIIA/ IIIB subject and object cross-reference suffixes (§5.2.3)

SUBJ→ OBJ↓	1SG	1DU	1PL	2SG	3SG	N1DU	N1MPL	N1FPL
	-ninga ³	-ningwa	-ningu	-mba	-ka	-mbana	-mbu	-ningi
1SG								
-ya				-mba-ya	-ka-ya	-mbana-ya	-mbu-ya	-ningi-ya
-i				-mba-i	-ka-i	-mbana-i	-mbu-i	-ningi-i
1NSG								
-mua				-mba-mua	-ka-mua	-mbana-mua	-mbu-mua	-ningi-mua
-mu				-mba-mu	-ka-mu	-mbana-mu	-mbu-mu	-ningi-mu
2SG								
-nya	-ninga-nya	-ningwa-nya	-ningu-nya		-ka-nya	-mbana-nya	-mbu-nya	-ningi-nya
-ni	-ninga-ni	-ningwa-ni	-ningu-ni		-ka-ni	-mbana-ni	-mbu-ni	-ningi-ni
3SG								
-wa	-ninga-wa	-ningwa-wa	-ningu-wa	-mba-wa	-ka-wa	-mbana-wa	-mbu-wa	-ningi-wa
-u	-ninga-u	-ningwa-u	-ningu-u	-mba-u	-ka-u	-mbana-u	-mbu-u	-ningi-u
N1DU								
-pa	-ninga-pa	-ningwa-pa	-ningu-pa	-mba-pa	-ka-pa	-mbana-pa	-mbu-pa	-ningi-pa
-po ⁴	-ninga-po	-ningwa-po	-ningu-po	-mba-po	-ka-po	-mbana-po	-mbu-po	-ningi-po
N1MPL								
-pu	-ninga-pu	-ningwa-pu	-ningu-pu	-mba-pu	-ka-pu	-mbana-pu	-mbu-pu	-ningi-pu
-pu	-ninga-pu	-ningwa-pu	-ningu-pu	-mba-pu	-ka-pu	-mbana-pu	-mbu-pu	-ningi-pu
N1FPL								
-ti	-ninga-ti	-ningwa-ti	-ningu-ti	-mba-ti	-ka-ti	-mbana-ti	-mbu-ti	-ningi-ti
-ti	-ninga-ti	-ningwa-ti	-ningu-ti	-mba-ti	-ka-ti	-mbana-ti	-mbu-ti	-ningi-ti

(top: class IIIA; bottom: class IIIB)

³ *seku* is a variant of *sa-ninga* (give-1SG).

⁴ For some speakers, the class IIIB suffix for N1DU:OBJ is *-pwi* instead of *-po*.

Grammatical categories and associated subset A and B cross-reference suffixes (§5.2)

(with the exception of class IIB verbs which must take subset B cross-reference suffixes in all environments)

subset A:	subset B/ subset A SUBJ + subset B OBJ
-mbi present (stative/ transn.) (§6.1.1, §7.1.1)	semi-realis positive (§6.2)
-hi present continuous (§6.1.1)	-∅ present imperative (§6.3.1)
-hi simultaneous (§7.1.3)	-ni tentative (§6.3.3)
-hwa past (§6.1.2)	-naho counterfactual (§6.3.4)
-hya past (with focus) (§6.1.2, §7.1.1)	
ga- semi-realis negative (§6.2)	
-∅ future imperative (§6.3.1)	
-hwani real conditional (§7.1.2.1)	
disjoint-referential subjects (§7.2)	
	subset B:
	coreferential subjects (§7.2)

(subset B/ subset A SUBJ + subset B OBJ:

subset B for class I/ IH verbs;

subset B SUBJ + subset B OBJ for class IIB verbs;

subset A SUBJ + subset B OBJ for class II; and

SUBJ + subset B OBJ for class III verbs.

class IIB verbs must take subset B suffixes in all environments,

there is no subset A/B distinction for class III subject cross-reference suffixes.)

Irregular verbs

apu (ap-) 'sleep' class I:

Irregular DR chain verb stem:

1SG:	<i>mehambo</i>	< <i>ma-e-aha-mbo</i>
2SG:	<i>mefambo</i>	< <i>ma-e-afa-mbo</i>
3MSG:	<i>mapumbo</i>	< <i>ma-ap-u-mbo</i>
3FSG:	<i>mapwambo</i>	< <i>ma-ap-wa-mbo</i>
1DU:	<i>mehyambo</i>	< <i>ma-e-ehya-mbo</i>
N1MDU:	<i>mefambo</i>	< <i>ma-e-afa-mbo</i>
N1FDU:	<i>mefyambo</i>	< <i>ma-e-efya-mbo</i>
1PL:	<i>mefambo</i>	< <i>ma-e-efa-mbo</i>
N1MPL:	<i>mapumambo</i>	< <i>ma-ap-uma-mbo</i>
N1FPL:	<i>mewimbo</i>	< <i>ma-e-wi-mbo</i>

boke NEG:R class I (§6.1.3): not used in CR chain clauses (§7.2).

There are only independent verb form and DR chain verb form, which are regular:

	<u>Independent verb form</u>	<u>DR chain verb form</u>
1SG:	bokehahwa < boke-aha-hwa	bokemehahwa < boke-me-aha-mbo
2SG:	bokefahwa < boke-afa-hwa	bokemefahwa < boke-me-afa-mbo
3MSG:	bokehwa < boke-∅-hwa	bokemehwa < boke-me-∅-mbo
3FSG:	bokewahwa < boke-wa-hwa	bokemewahwa < boke-me-wa-mbo
1DU:	bokehyahwa < boke-ehya-hwa	bokemehyahwa < boke-me-ehya-mbo
N1MDU:	bokefahwa < boke-afa-hwa	bokemefahwa < boke-me-afa-mbo
N1FDU:	bokefyahwa < boke-efya-hwa	bokemefyahwa < boke-me-efya-mbo
1PL:	bokefahwa < boke-efa-hwa	bokemefahwa < boke-me-efa-mbo
N1MPL:	bokemahwa < boke-ma-hwa	bokememahwa < boke-me-ma-mbo
N1FPL:	bokewihwa < boke-wi-hwa	bokemewihwa < boke-me-wi-mbo

boka NEG:R class II (§6.1.3): not used in CR chain clauses (§7.2).

There are only independent verb form and DR chain verb form, which are regular:

(shown here with -a 3FSG:O)

	<u>Independent verb form</u>	<u>DR chain verb form</u>
1SG:	bokahahwa < boka-ha-a-hwa	bokamahambo < boka-ma-ha-a-mbo
N1SG:	bokahwa < boka-∅-a-hwa	bokamambo < boka-ma-∅-a-mbo
1DU:	bokahwahwa < boka-hwa-a-hwa	bokamahwambo < boka-ma-hwa-a-mbo
N1DU:	bokannahwa < boka-na-a-hwa	bokamanambo < boka-ma-na-a-mbo
1PL:	bokahuahwa < boka-hu-a-hwa	bokamahuambo < boka-ma-hu-a-mbo
N1MPL:	bokawuahwa < boka-wu-a-hwa	bokamawuambo < boka-ma-wu-a-mbo
N1FPL:	bokahiahwa < boka-hi-a-hwa	bokamahiambo < boka-ma-hi-a-mbo

hwafo 'talk' class I:

Suppletive paradigm of CR chain verb form (class II); Irregular DR chain verb stem:

	<u>CR chain verb form</u>	<u>DR chain verb form</u>
1SG:	sa-hya-a-mbo	ma-s-aha-mbo
2SG:	saf-wa-a-mbo	ma-s-afa-mbo
3MSG:	reh-ya-a-mbo ~ sa-ya-a-mbo	ma-eh-u-mbo > mehumbo
3FSG:	reh-ya-a-mbo ~ sa-ya-a-mbo	ma-eh-wa-mbo > mehwambo
1DU:	sa-hwa-a-mbo	ma-s-ehya-mbo
N1MDU:	saf-nya-a-mbo	ma-s-afa-mbo
N1FDU:	saf-nya-a-mbo	ma-s-efya-mbo
1PL:	sa-hu-a-mbo	ma-s-efa-mbo
N1MPL:	saf-wu-a-mbo	ma-eh-uma-mbo > mehumambo
N1FPL:	sa-hi-a-mbo	ma-s-ei-mbo

(-a 3FSG:O)

nungu (*nung-/ numb-*) ‘stand’ class I:

nangu (*nang-/ namb-*) ‘hang up’ class I:

kunangu (*kunang-/ kunamb-*) ‘hang up:MASS’ class I:

The verb stem ends in *ng* when followed by a rounded segment, and *mb* when followed by an unrounded segment, e.g.:

1SG:	<i>numb-aha-hwa</i>
2SG:	<i>numb-afa-hwa</i>
3MSG:	<i>nung-u-hwa</i>
3FSG:	<i>nung-wa-hwa</i>
1DU:	<i>numb-ehya-hwa</i>
N1MDU:	<i>numb-afa-hwa</i>
N1FDU:	<i>numb-efya-hwa</i>
1PL:	<i>numb-efa-hwa</i>
N1MPL:	<i>nung-uma-hwa</i>
N1FPL:	<i>numb-ei-hwa</i>

‘think’/ ‘call’ class I plus II:

This verb, which does not have a non-finite form, carries both class IB and class IIA/B cross-reference suffixes. 3MSG, 3FSG and N1MPL have a different verb stem; 3MSG and 3FSG have irregular cross-reference suffixes. DR chain verb forms (§7.2.1) have a DR prefix *ma-* prefixed to the independent forms, and the last suffix is a dependency suffix instead (§7.5)

	CR chain verb form	independent verb form
1SG:	<i>s-a-hya-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-a-ha-a-mpi</i>
2SG:	<i>s-afu-wa-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-afu-∅-a-mpi</i>
3MSG:	<i>ah-∅-ya-a-mbo</i>	<i>ah-∅-ya-a-mpi</i>
3FSG:	<i>ah-∅-ya-a-mbo</i>	<i>ah-∅-ya-a-mpi</i>
1DU:	<i>s-ehi-hwa-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-ehi-hwa-a-mpi</i>
N1MDU:	<i>s-af(ani)-nya-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-af(ani)-na-a-mpi</i>
N1FDU:	<i>s-ef(ya)-nya-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-ef(ya)-na-a-mpi</i>
1PL:	<i>s-efu-hu-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-efu-hu-a-mpi</i>
N1MPL:	<i>ah-umu-wu-a-mbo</i>	<i>ah-umu-wu-a-mpi</i>
N1FPL:	<i>s-ei-hi-a-mbo</i>	<i>s-ei-hi-a-mpi</i>

However, younger people typically use the verb forms of *hwafo* ‘talk’ (see above) as a substitute of this more complex ‘think’ verb. The suppletive CR chain verb paradigm of *hwafo* ‘talk’ is similar in form with that of the ‘think’ verb.

The following are verbs with distinct non-future versus future finite verb stems (§5.1.2):

	non-future finite verb stem	future finite verb stem
<i>pi</i> 'go' (I)	<i>pi-</i>	<i>po-</i>
<i>kro</i> 'come down' (I)	<i>kro-</i>	<i>kut-</i>
<hr/>		
<i>hafu</i> 'arrive' (I)	<i>haf-</i>	<i>gaf-</i>
<i>hahofu</i> 'go up/ come up' (IH)	<i>hah- / hahuf- / hahof-</i>	<i>gak- / gakuf- / gakof-</i>
<i>hanu</i> 'go down' (IH)	<i>han-</i>	<i>gan-</i>
<i>hofu</i> 'come' (I)	<i>hof-</i>	<i>gof-</i>
<i>hafu</i> 'go across/ pass' (IIB)	<i>haf- / hafa- / hafaf-</i>	<i>gaf- / gafa- / gafaf-</i>
<hr/>		
<i>semi</i> 'take' (I)	<i>semi- / sami-</i>	<i>dam- / dami- / demi-</i>
<i>simi</i> 'drink' (I)	<i>simi-</i>	<i>dom-</i>
<i>seru</i> 'eat' (IH)	<i>ser-</i>	<i>det-</i>
<i>samefi</i> 'cook/ burn' (IIB)	<i>sama-</i>	<i>dama-</i>
<i>sefi</i> 'give' (III)	<i>sa-</i>	<i>da-</i>

pi (*pi-/ po-*) 'go' class I:

The DR chain verb stem is unexpectedly *po-* as well, e.g.

- *pi-aha-hwa* (go-1SG-PAST) 'I went';
- *pi-Ø-a-mbo* (go-CR-1SG-DEP) 'I went, and I...';
- *po-l-a-mby-a* (go:FUT-LIG-1SG-POS:SMR-1SG) 'I will go'; but
- *pomehambo* < *po-me-aha-mbo* (go:DR-DR-1SG-DEP) 'I went, and someone else...'

hahofu 'go up/ come up' class IH:

The verb stem is *hahuf-/ gakuf-* when the subject is 3MSG or N1MPL; *hahof-/ gakof-* when the subject is 3FSG, and *hah-/ gak-* for other subjects, e.g.

1SG:	<i>hah-ihahwa</i>
2SG:	<i>hah-ufahwa</i>
3MSG:	<i>hahuf-uhwa</i>
3FSG:	<i>hahof-wahwa</i>
1DU:	<i>hah-yehyehwa</i>
N1MDU:	<i>hah-ufahwa</i>
N1FDU:	<i>hah-yefyehwa</i>
1PL:	<i>hah-yefahwa</i>
N1MPL:	<i>hahuf-umahwa</i>
N1FPL:	<i>hahof-yeihwa</i>

hafu 'go across/ pass' class IIB:

This is the only class IIB verb (§5.2.2) with consonant ending verb stems. The non-future finite verb stems come in the form of *haf-*, *hafa-* or *hafaf-*; the future finite verb stems come in the form of *gaf-*, *gafa-*, *gafaf-*: *haf-/ gaf-* is used when the subject is 3SG; *hafa-/ gafa-* is used when the subject is 1SG, 1DU, 1PL or N1FPL; *hafaf-/ gafaf-* is used when the subject is 2SG, N1DU or N1MPL. The following independent verb forms demonstrate this (-a 3FSG:0):

1SG:	<i>hafa-hya-a-hwa</i>
2SG:	<i>hafaf-wa-a-hwa</i>
3SG:	<i>haf-ya-a-hwa</i>
1DU:	<i>hafa-hwa-a-hwa</i>
N1DU:	<i>hafaf-nya-a-hwa</i>
1PL:	<i>hafa-hu-a-hwa</i>
N1MPL:	<i>hafaf-wu-a-hwa</i>
N1FPL:	<i>hafa-hi-a-hwa</i>

semi 'take' class I

<p>Realis <i>sami-aha-hwa</i> <i>sami-afa-hwa</i> <i>semi-∅-hwa</i> <i>semi-wa-hwa</i></p> <p><i>semi-ehye-hwa</i> <i>sami-afa-hwa</i> <i>semi-efye-hwa</i></p> <p><i>semi-efa-hwa</i> <i>semi-ma-hwa</i> <i>semi-wi-hwa</i></p>	<p>CR chain <i>sami-a-mbo</i> <i>sami-afu-mbo</i> <i>semi-u-mbo</i> <i>semi-o-mbo</i></p> <p><i>semi-ehi-mbo</i> <i>sami-afani-mbo</i> <i>semi-efi-mbo</i></p> <p><i>semi-efu-mbo</i> <i>semi-mu-mbo</i> <i>semi-wi-mbo</i></p>	<p>DR chain <i>semi-me-aha-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-afa-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-∅-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-wa-mbo</i></p> <p><i>semi-me-ehye-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-afa-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-efye-mbo</i></p> <p><i>semi-me-efa-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-ma-mbo</i> <i>semi-me-wi-mbo</i></p>
<p>Positive semi-realis <i>dam-a-mby-a</i> <i>dam-afu samby-afu</i> <i>dam-∅-ah-u-mb-i</i> <i>dam-∅-ah-o-mb-e</i></p> <p><i>demi-e(hi sa)mby-ehi</i> <i>dami-afani samby-afani</i> <i>demi-efi samby-efi</i></p> <p><i>dem-e(fu sa)mby-efu</i> <i>dami-ma-ah-u-mb-imu</i> <i>dem-ei samby-ei</i></p>	<p>Negative semi-realis <i>ga dam-aha</i> <i>ga dam-afa</i> <i>ga demi-∅</i> <i>ga demi-wa</i></p> <p><i>ga dem-ehye</i> <i>ga dam-afa</i> <i>ga dem-efye</i></p> <p><i>ga dem-efa</i> <i>ga demi-ma</i> <i>ga demi-wi</i></p>	<p>Irrealis <i>ma-dam-a</i> <i>ma-dam-afu</i> <i>ma-dam-u</i> <i>ma-dam-o</i></p> <p><i>ma-dam-ehi</i> <i>ma-dam-afani</i> <i>ma-dam-efi</i></p> <p><i>ma-dam-efu</i> <i>ma-dam-umu</i> <i>ma-dam-ei</i></p>

kwemi 'take:MASS' class I

<p>Realis <i>kwami-aha-</i> <i>kwami-afa-</i> <i>kwemi-Ø-</i> <i>kwemi-wā-</i></p> <p><i>kwemi-ehye-</i> <i>kwami-afa-</i> <i>kwemi-efye-</i></p> <p><i>kwemi-efa-</i> <i>kumi-ma-</i> <i>kumi-wi-</i></p>	<p>CR chain <i>kwami-a-mbo</i> <i>kwami-afu-</i> <i>kwemi-u-mbo</i> <i>kwemi-o-mbo</i></p> <p><i>kwemi-ehi-</i> <i>kwami-afani-</i> <i>kwemi-efi-</i></p> <p><i>kwemi-efu-</i> <i>kumi-mu-</i> <i>kumi-ei-</i></p>	<p>DR chain <i>ku[ma]mi-aha-mbo</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-afa-</i> <i>ku[me]mi-Ø-</i> <i>ku[me]mi-wa-</i></p> <p><i>ku[me]mi-ehye-</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-afa-</i> <i>ku[me]mi-efye-</i></p> <p><i>ku[me]mi-efa-</i> <i>ku[me]mi-ma-</i> <i>ku[me]mi-wi-</i></p>
<p>Positive semi-realis <i>kwam-amby-a</i> <i>kwam-afu samby-afu</i> <i>kwam-Ø-ah-u-mb-i</i> <i>kwam-Ø-ah-o-mb-e</i></p> <p><i>kwam-e(hi sa)mby-ehi</i> <i>kwami-afani samby-afani</i> <i>kwam-efi samby-efi</i></p> <p><i>kwam-e(fu sa)mby-efu</i> <i>kumi-ma-ah-u-mb-imu</i> <i>kwam-ei samby-ei</i></p>	<p>Negative semi-realis <i>ga kwami-aha</i> <i>ga kwami-afa</i> <i>ga kwemi-Ø</i> <i>ga kwemi-wa</i></p> <p><i>ga kwemi-ehye</i> <i>ga kwami-afa</i> <i>ga kwemi-efye</i></p> <p><i>ga kwemi-efa</i> <i>ga kumi-ma</i> <i>ga kumi-wi</i></p>	<p>Irrealis <i>ku[ma]mi-a</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-afu</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-u</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-o</i></p> <p><i>ku[ma]mi-ehi</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-afani</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-efi</i></p> <p><i>ku[ma]mi-efu</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-mu</i> <i>ku[ma]mi-wi</i></p>

kahefi (kaha-) 'chop upright things' class IIB:

sihefi (siha-) 'remove food from cooking fire' class IIB:

The DR affix and negative irrealis affix of these verbs freely vary between the regular *-ma* suffix or the irregular *[ma]* infix, e.g.

- *kaha-ma-hya-a-mbo* (chop-DR-1SG-3FSG:O-DEP) ~ *ka[ma]ha-hya-a-mbo*
 'I chopped it, and someone else...'
- *siha-ma-hya-a* (remove.from.fire-NEG:IR-1SG-3FSG:O) ~ *si[ma]ha-hya-a*
 'will I remove it from cooking fire?'

Citation pronouns (§4.6.1)

yo first person *si* second person *ai* third person

Object pronouns (§4.6.2) (class IB cross-reference suffixes)

		1 EXCL	1 INCL	2	3
SG		<i>yo-a-mbo</i>		<i>si-h-afu-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-afu-mbo</i>
DU	M	<i>yo-hw-ehi-mbo</i>	<i>si-h-ehi-mbo</i>	<i>si-h-afani-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-afani-mbo</i>
	F			<i>si-h-efi-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-efi-mbo</i>
PL	M	<i>yo-hw-efu-mbo</i>	<i>si-h-efu-mbo</i>	<i>si-h-umu-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-umu-mbo</i>
	F			<i>si-h-ei-mbo</i>	<i>ai-ah-ei-mbo</i>

(*ai* can be omitted; *ai-a* is also pronounced as *e*, *aiahafumbo* → *ehafumbo*)

Genitive pronouns (§4.6.2) (class IA cross-reference suffixes)

		1 EXCL	1 INCL	2	3
SG		<i>yo-w-ala</i>		<i>si-h-afa</i>	<i>ai-ah-ala</i>
DU	M	<i>yo-hw-ehya</i>	<i>si-h-ehya</i>	<i>si-h-afa</i>	<i>ai-ah-afa</i>
	F			<i>si-h-efya</i>	<i>ai-ah-efya</i>
PL	M	<i>yo-hw-efa</i>	<i>si-h-efa</i>	<i>si-h-ama</i>	<i>ai-ah-ama</i>
	F			<i>si-h-ei</i>	<i>ai-ah-ei</i>

(*ai* can be omitted; *ai-a* is also contracted as *e*, *aiahala* → *ehala*)

Citation pronouns plus subject resumptive pronouns (§4.6.3) (class IA suffixes)

		1 EXCL	1 INCL	2	3
SG	M	<i>yo aha</i>		<i>si afa</i>	<i>ai u</i>
	F				<i>ai wa</i>
DU	M	<i>yo ehya</i>	<i>si ehya</i>	<i>si afa</i>	<i>ai afa</i>
	F			<i>si efya</i>	<i>ai efya</i>
PL	M	<i>yo efa</i>	<i>si efa</i>	<i>si ma</i>	<i>ai ma</i>
	F			<i>si wi</i>	<i>ai wi</i>

Copulas in Menggwa Dla (§6.4.1)

Non-finite form	Finite form
	present tense <i>ny-x/ nV-x</i>
positive declarative <i>nu</i>	past tense \emptyset - <i>x-hwa</i>
	future tense <i>l-x-samby-x</i>
negative declarative <i>me</i>	future tense <i>ga ... l-x</i>
	non-future tense <i>m(e)-x</i>
future interrogative <i>me</i>	<i>m(e)-x</i>
tentitive <i>meni</i>	<i>m(e)-x-ni</i>
non-future interrogative <i>be</i>	<i>b(e)-x</i>
'where' interrogative <i>ke</i>	<i>k(e)-x</i>
'who' interrogative <i>de</i>	<i>d(e)-x</i>

The following are the finite forms of the copulas:

Positive present declarative copulas

(class IB cross-reference suffixes)

		1	2	3
SG	M	<i>ny-a</i>	<i>ny-afu</i>	<i>nu-u</i>
	F			<i>no-o</i>
DU	M	<i>ny-ehi</i>	<i>ny-afani</i>	
	F		<i>ny-efi</i>	
PL	M	<i>ny-efu</i>	<i>nu-mu</i>	

Positive past declarative copulas

(class IA cross-reference suffixes)

		1	2	3
SG	M	<i>aha-hwa</i>	<i>afa-hwa</i>	\emptyset - <i>hwa</i>
	F			<i>wa-hwa</i>
DU	M	<i>ehye-hwa</i>	<i>afa-hwa</i>	
	F		<i>efye-hwa</i>	
PL	M	<i>efa-hwa</i>	<i>ma-hwa</i>	

Positive future declarative copulas (class IB cross-reference suffixes)

		1	2	3
SG	M	<i>l-a-mby-a</i>	<i>l-afu samby-afu</i>	<i>l-a-ah-u-mb-i</i>
	F			<i>l-a-ah-o-mb-e</i>
DU	M	<i>l-e(hi sa)mby-ehi</i>	<i>l-afani samby-afani</i>	
	F		<i>l-efi samby-efi</i>	
PL	M	<i>l-e(fu sa)mby-efu</i>	<i>l-uma-ah-u-mb-imu</i>	
	F		<i>l-ei samby-ei</i>	

Negative future declarative copulas (class IA cross-reference suffixes)

		1	2	3
SG	M	<i>ga ... l-aha</i>	<i>ga ... l-afa</i>	<i>ga ... Ø</i>
	F			<i>ga ... l-wa</i>
DU	M	<i>ga ... l-ehye</i>	<i>ga ... l-afa</i>	
	F		<i>ga ... l-efye</i>	
PL	M	<i>ga ... l-efa</i>	<i>ga ... l-uma</i>	
	F		<i>ga ... l-ei</i>	

Negative non-future declarative/ future interrogative copulas (me)

(class IA cross-reference suffixes)

		1	2	3
SG	M	<i>m-aha</i>	<i>m-afu</i>	<i>me-u</i>
	F			<i>me-o</i>
DU	M	<i>me-ehi</i>	<i>m-afani</i>	
	F		<i>me-efi</i>	
PL	M	<i>me-efu</i>	<i>me-mu</i>	
	F		<i>me-wi</i>	

Tentative copulas: add *-ni* to the *me* copulas, e.g. *m-aha-ni* 'I maybe'

Non-future interrogative copulas: substitute *m* with *b*, e.g. *b-aha* 'is/ was I?'

'Where' interrogative copulas: substitute *m* with *k*, e.g. *ga k-aha* 'where am I?'

'Who' interrogative copulas: substitute *m* with *d*, e.g. *da d-aha* 'who am I?'