òkélò	ótùàkɔ	gì-	nón	bóth	dhàkɔ	mɛ̀rɛ̀.
Okelo	3.speak.PFV	thing-	HEA	PREP	woman	3.SG.POSS

'Okelo spoke about that to his wife.'

The verb *mìyò* 'give', however, presents the recipient without a preposition:

ìmíyò	wùnú	gɪ́	pî.
2.give.IMV	2.PL.S	3.PL.O	water

'You give them water.'

Peripheral participants are introduced by means of a rich set of prepositions, for which see section 6.1.

4 The verb phrase

The verb phrase has the following basic structure:

negation   -   auxiliary -   verb   -   object

Examples

món	ònyò	cùò	bà	mító	màdhɔ	gɪ́nɪ́	thábá.
women	or	men	NEG	want.IMV	drink	3.PL.S	tobacco

'Neither women nor men want to smoke.'

4.1 Verbs

Verbs are inflected for a variety of grammatical functions, in particular for person, number, aspect (4.3.1), modality (4.3, 4.5), and valency (4.2). Labwor is an inherently aspectual language, and in accordance with their aspectual behavior, verbs can be divided into the five lexical classes to be discussed below. These classes are defined in terms of the aspectual event schema that they represent, where event schemas are described in terms of the following three phrases: an initial boundary or change of state (CS_1), a state or situation (S), and a final boundary or change of state (CS_2).

(a) Totally stative verbs (TSTA). Compared to many other languages, Labwor has a large membership of verbs belonging to this class. Events described by TSTA verbs have no boundary; the lexical meaning consists of a state (S) only. The following are members of this verb class:

kwáàr	'to be red'
béèr	'to be good'
pàth	'not to be'
pék	'to be heavy'
pwɔ̂th	'to be slippery'
ràc	'to be bad'
tùò	'to be ill, sick'

These verbs can combine neither with the perfective nor the progressive aspect, they are compatible only with the imperfective, which highlights the existing state (S). Thus, while the imperfective sentence in (1) is well-formed, the corresponding perfective (2) and progressive sentences (3) are not.

(1)   kìdhí   pék.

stone   be.heavy.IMV
'The stone is heavy.'

(2)   *kìdhí   ópék.

stone   be.heavy. PFV

(3)   *kìdhí   tíê kà   pèk

stone   PROG   be.heavy

(b) Inceptive stative verbs (ISTA). This is a fairly small class of verbs, which highlight the initial boundary (CS_1) and the current state (S) of an event, while the final boundary (CS_2) is not part of the lexical meaning of these verbs. Only the following verbs were identified in König's (forthc.) sample:

cùŋ	'to stand'
kwɔ́	'to be alive'
nɛ́nɔ́	'to be awake'
ŋeo	'to know'
rɔm	'to be equal, to be enough'

All three aspects, imperfective, perfective, and progressive, can be used with these verbs. The imperfective highlights the existing state, the perfective the completed crossing of the initial boundary (CS_1), and with the progressive the situation change is viewed as if it were a gradual process that is not yet completed.

(c) Action verbs (ACTI). These verbs cover the prototypical event type, which has a clear beginning (CS_1), a delimited timespan during which the event takes place (S), and a clear ending (CS_2). The following is a small sample of verbs belong to this class:

càmò	'to eat'
cìdhò	'to go'
kùùrɔ̀	'to wait'
kwàlɔ	'to steal'
módhó	'to drink (water)'
nén	'to see'
ŋwêc	'to run'
tɛ̀dhɔ	'to speak'
tùr	'to break'
yàbɔ	'to open'

The imperfective and the progressive highlight the ongoing action (S); the perfective views the event as a whole and highlights the crossing over to CS_2, whereby the perfective also gets a past tense connotation. The following examples illustrate this verb class with the three aspect categories:

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Òkéló   kwàlò   àthín.

Okelo   steal.IMV   child
(a) 'Okelo steals the child.'
(b) 'Okelo usually steals a child.'

Òkéló   òkwàlò   àthín.

Okelo   steal.PFV   child
'Okelo has stolen the child.'

Òkéló   tíê kà   kwàlò   àthín.

Okelo   PROG   steal   child
'Okelo is stealing the child.'

(d) Gradually terminative verbs (GTER). These verbs are telic; they highlight the end of the event (CS$_2$), the beginning is unimportant, i.e. it is not part of the event schema. In König's (forthc.) sample there is only one verb in this class, namely *thɔ* 'to die'. The verb combines with all the aspect markers, its event schema consists of two phases: the final boundary (CS$_2$), preceded by a short state (S). The left boundary (CS$_1$), which would mark the beginning of the event, is not lexicalized. The progressive highlights the phase S which leads to the final change of state (CS$_2$):

èn   óthɔ.

3.SG   die.PFV
'He is dead.'

èn   thɔ́.

3.SG   die.IMV
(a) 'He dies.' *or* (b) 'He can die.'

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ɛn   tíê kà   thɔ.

3.SG   PROG   die
'He is in the process of dying.'

(e) Totally terminative verbs (TTER). These verbs are completely telic in meaning in that all three phases of the event schema instantly follow each other -- to the extent that once started, the end of the event is already reached. König (forthc.) found only one verb belonging to this class, namely *nùòŋò* 'to find'. The perfective highlights the event being successfully completed, e.g.,

ɛ́n   ónùòŋò   tcìlíŋ.

3.SG   find.PFV   money
'He (already) found money.'

Neither imperfective nor progressive can be used in their actual meaning since the event schema excludes the highlighting of the phase S; rather, the imperfective receives a habitual reading:

ɛ́n   núóŋó   tcìlîŋ.

3.SG   find.IMV   money
'He usually finds money.'

The progressive encodes a factitive meaning of a repeated act of finding:

à tíê kà   nùòŋò   tcìlîŋ.

1.SG PROG   find   money
'I find money. (I have found already some and I am still finding more).'

Copulas

In quite a number of contexts, utterances can be used without a copula, e.g.,

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má-   nón   bɔ́ɔ́.

PRON- HEA   *bɔɔ*[4]

'It is *bɔɔ* vegetable.'

More often than not, utterances can be used with or without copula without any significant difference in meaning, e.g.,

àthín   ˈmɛ́g-   á.

child   PREP-   1.SG

or

àthín   òbèdò   mɛ́g-   á.

child   3.be.PFV   PREP-   1.SG

'The child is mine.'

There are two copular verbs, namely *tíê* and *bèdò* and the two have largely complementary functions: Whereas *tíê* is mainly used to denote existence (1) and location (2), *bèdò* serves the expression of classification (3) and identification (4):

(1)   án   àtíê.

   1.SG   1.SG.be
   'I exist, I am around.'

(2)   gín   tíê   kà-   cà.

   3.PL   be   LOC-   DIST
   'They are there.'

---

[4] *bɔ́ɔ́* is perhaps the most popular (spinach-like) vegetable of the Labwor.

(3) líéc   óbèdò   lɛ̀nɪ̀.

elephant   3.be.PFV   animal
'An elephant is an animal.'

ɛ́n   bínó bèdò   àpúóny.

3.SG   FUT be.INF   teacher
'She is going to be a teacher.'

(4) ɛ̀thínɔ̀   nà   tíê   kányɪ   òbèdò   mɛ́   wá.

children   REL be   here   3.be.PFV PREP   1.EX
'The children who are here are ours (i.e. not yours).'

But the situation is more complex in that both copulas have overlapping functions. For example, *bèdò* can also be used for existence (1) and location (2):

(1)   òbèdò.

3.be.PFV
'He exists.'

(2)   àmɪ̀tó   bèdò   ká-   cá.

1.SG.want.IMV   be.PFV   LOC-   DIST
'I want to be there.'

But only *bèdò* can present nominal predicates (1) while *tíê* may present qualities (2):

(1)   ɛ́n   bédó   àpúóny.

3.SG   be   teacher
'She is a teacher.'

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(2)   tíê   nà   bêr.

       be   REL   be.good
       'It is good.'

The functions of the two copulas can be summarized thus (where parentheses stand for "minor function"):

Function	*bèdò*	*tíê*
Existence	(+)	+
Location	(+)	+
Classification	+	-
Identification	+	-
Nominal predicate	+	-
Quality	-	+

bèdò is negated by means of the general negator *ba*, and the same applies to *tíê* but more often the latter takes the negative auxiliary *pé* instead (see 4.4):

    bɔ̀ɔ̀   tíê.   'There is *bɔɔ* vegetable.'

    bɔɔ   be

    bɔ̀ɔ̀   ó'pé.   'There is no *bɔɔ* vegetable.'

    bɔɔ   3.be.NEG

4.2 Valency

There are three inflectional categories that serve to decrease the valency by one argument, which are the antipassive, the anticausative, and the benefactive. None of them is entirely productive but of all three, the antipassive is the most productive while the benefactive occurs only with a small number of verbs.

Antipassive

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There is a classic antipassive category in Labwor, whereby the patient of a transitive verb is deleted, thus turning the transitive verb into an intransitive one, e.g.,

mán	òbèdò	mé	lùɔkɔ	bóŋ.	Transitive
this	3.be.PFV	PREP	wash.INF	clothes	

'This is for washing clothes.'

mán	òbèdò	mé	lùɔk.	Antipassive
this	3.be.PFV	PREP	wash.INF.AP	

'This is for washing (e.g. oneself).'

The morphological means employed is inflectional, consisting of a change of the verb stem, as illustrated by the following examples:

Transitive stem	Antipassive stem	Meaning
càmò	cìèm	'eat'
lùɔkɔ	lùɔk	'wash'

The antipassive is however not an entirely productive operation: While many transitive verbs have a corresponding antipassive stem, a number of them do not.

Anticausative

Another morphosyntactic operation leading from transitive to intransitive verbs has the effect that the agent argument of the transitive verb is deleted, the patient thereby assuming the role of the sentence subject, e.g.,

ànyáká	òtèdò	rìŋó.	Transitive
girl	3.cook.PFV	meat	

'The girl has cooked the meat.'

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rìŋó	ètèdò.		Anticausative
meat	3.cook.PFV.AC		

The following illustrates the imperfective paradigm of person markers of the anticausative stem *nén* of the transitive verb *nɛ̀nò* 'to see':

1.SG	(án)	ànćn	'I am seen, I am visible'
2.SG	(ìn)	ìnén	
3.SG	(ɛ́n)	nćn	
1.EX	(wán)	ènén	
1.IN	(ónú)	ènén	
2.PL	(wún)	ìnén	
3.PL	(gín)	nćn	

Example

òt   tíê kà   nén.

house   PROG   see.IMV.AC
'The house is visible.'

The anticausative stem can, at least in many contexts, be indistinguishable from the transitive one (see the example above), but usually it is not, as the following examples of imperfective stems show:

Transitive stem	*Anticausative stem*	*Meaning*
nɛ̀nò	nén	'see'

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One difference concerns the third person perfective forms, where the prefix ɔ/o- changes to ɛ/e- in the anticausative:

Transitive form	*Anticausative form*	*Meaning*
ɔ̀kwàlɔ̀	ɛ̀kwàlɔ̀	'steal'
ò mòdhò	è mòdhò	'drink (water)'
ɔ̀nɛ̀nò	ɛ̀nɛ̀nò	'see'
òtèdò	ètèdò	'cook'

Benefactive
The benefactive is coded by means of the morpheme -ɩ̀ which is suffixed to the verb stem:

kɛ̀l pì!   'Bring water!'

kɛ̀l- ɩ̀   n-   à   pî!

bring- BEN   PREP-   1.SG.POSS   water
'Bring me water!'

Causative
Causativity of verbs is almost invariably coded by means of a grammaticalized form of the verb *mìyò* 'give' as the main verb:

ɛ́n   wɔ́lɔ́.   'He coughs.'

ɛ́n   míyá   àwɔ́lɔ́.

3.SG   give.IMV.1.SG.O   1.SG.S.cough.IMV

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'He makes me cough.'

4.3 Tense, aspect, and modality (TAM)

4.3.1 Inflections

Labwor is essentially an aspectual language with an obligatory imperfective vs. perfective distinction: Verb forms in declarative utterances must be inflected for either of these aspects. Unlike Lango (cf. Noonan 1992), Labwor has no inflectional progressive aspect; rather, a progressive is formed regularly via periphrasis, as we will see below. The main inflectional categories of TAM being imperfective (IMV), perfective (PFV), and subjunctive (SUBJ). There is no regular segmental morphology distinguishing these TAM categories, rather, there is an interaction of tonological and phonological features characterizing them.

Imperfective

For details on the behavior of this category, see 4.1. The following is an example of an imperfective paradigm of person markers:

1.SG		à-cámó rìŋó	'I eat meat'
2.SG		ì-cámó rìŋó	
3.SG		cámó rìŋó	
1.EX	(wán)	wè-cámó rìŋó	
1.IN	ónú	è-cámó rìŋó	
2.PL	wún	ì-cámó rìŋó	
3.PL	gín	cámó rìŋó	

Perfective

Typically, the perfective expresses completed actions and bounded situations viewed as a whole, e.g.,

ɛn	lílɔ́	àgúlú.	Imperfective
3.SG	smoothen.IPF	pot	

'He will smoothen the pot.'

vs.

ɛn	ɔ́lìlɔ	àgúlú.	Perfective
3.SG	3.smoothen.PFV	pot	

'He has made the pot smooth.'

For details on the behavior of the perfective, see section 4.1.

Subjunctive

The subjunctive form constitutes, among others, the base of the imperative stem (where the prefix is omitted), and it is used with complement verbs in some categories of deontic modality. For example, the verb *mìtò* 'want' expresses volition when taking the indicative as a complement (cf. (1)) but obligation with the subjunctive (2):

(1) ɛn   mító   ŋènò.

    3.SG   want.IMV   know.INF
    'He wants to know.'

(2) ɛn   mító   òŋé.

    3.SG   want.IMV   3.know.SUBJ
    'He should, must know.'

The subjunctive is commonly used in purpose clauses, e.g.,

kɔ̀ny   ɛ́k   kúr   ɔ́thɔ́ɔ.

help   PUR   NEG.IMP   3.die.SUBJ
'Help him so that he won't die!'

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The following is a sample of subjunctive stems (third person singular forms):

Infinitive	Subjunctive	Meaning
càmò rìŋó	òcàm ríŋò	'eat meat'
cíém	òcìém	'eat (AP)'
cǔ̀ŋ	òcǔŋ	'stand up'
kwàlɔ	ɔkwál	'steal'
lùɔkɔ bóŋ	ɔlǔ̀ɔk bòŋ	'wash clothes'
mìnò pì	ɔmì pí	'give water'
mòdhò pì	òmòth pí	'drink water'
nènò	ɔněn	'see'
ŋènò	òŋé	'know'
wɔlɔ	ɔwɔ̌l	'cough'

A number of intransitive verbs take the suffix -í (PL -úí) in the subjunctive (cf. 4.5):

Infinitive	Subjunctive	Meaning
lùɔkɔ	ɔlùɔk-í	'wash (AP)'
ŋwèc	ɔŋwèc-í	'run'
tèdò	òtèd-í	'cook (AP)'
yàbɔ	ɔyàb-í	'open (AP)'

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4.3.2 Periphrastic constructions

In the same way as inflectional aspect constructions, there are also lexical-periphrastic constructions that have been created to express aspect and tense distinctions.

Phasal concepts

In order to express ingressive and completive actions, the most common way is by using, respectively, the telic verbs *càkɔ̀* 'start, begin' and *tièkò* 'finish' in an aspectual function:

gín   ɔ́càkɔ̀   càmò   rìŋó.

3.PL   3.start.PFV   eat.INF   meat
'They began to eat meat.'

òkélò   ótìèkò   màdhò   kɔ̀ŋɔ̀.

Okelo   3.finish.PFV   drink.INF   beer
'Okelo finished drinking beer.'

Habitual

While the imperfective expresses habitual actions in many of its uses, the most pronounced way for coding habituality is by using *màrɔ̀* 'love, like' with an infinitival verb complement. Example (1) illustrates the lexical use of the verb while (2) can be understood to express either the lexical or the grammatical meaning of a habitual aspect. In contexts where the lexical meaning makes little sense, as in (3), *màrɔ̀* has primarily a habitual function.

(1)   ɛ́n   márɔ́   àthín.

       3.SG   love.IMV   child
       'He loves the child.'

(2)   ɛ́n   márɔ́   bìnò.

       3.SG   love.IMV   come.INF
       a   'He likes to come.'

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b 'He usually comes.'

(3) έn   márɔ́   tùò.

3.SG   love.IMV   be.sick
'He is usually sick (also: 'He is always sick.').'

Progressive

Unlike some other Western Nilotic languages, Labwor has a full-fledged progressive aspect, which is a grammaticalized construction based on the location schema (*X is at Y*), using the copular verb *tíê* and the locative preposition *kà*. The nominal character of the construction is still visible in the fact that the pronominal object is coded as a possessive attribute:

tíê   kà   kùrɔ̀   ná.

be   LOC   wait.INF POSS.1.SG
'He is waiting for me.'

With inchoative-stative verbs the progressive highlights an inchoative process:

àgúlú   ĺil.   'The pot is smooth.'

vs.

àgúlú   tíê   kà   ĺil.

pot   be   LOC   be.smooth
'The pot is becoming smooth.'

àtíê   kà   ŋèò.

1.SG.be LOC   know.INF
'I am learning it.'

Future

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Labwor is overall an aspectual language in that the distinction imperfective vs. perfective is the most pervasive and frequently used means of signalling temporal contours of actions or events. Nevertheless, there are also two recurrent tense categories.

One is based on a crosslinguistically common schema, namely directed motion (*X goes to Y*), where the verb *bìnò* 'come' serves as an auxiliary and the main verb appears as an infinitival complement; consider the following example:

ɛ́n   bédó   àpúóny.

3.SG   be   teacher
'He is a teacher.'

vs.

ɛ́n   bínó   ˈbédó   àpúóny.

3.SG   come.IMV   be   teacher
'He will be a teacher.'

That this future is a fully grammaticalized tense is suggested by the fact that the auxiliary verb and its historical source can cooccur in the same clause:

(án)   àbínó   bínô.

1.SG   1.SG.come.IMV   come.INF
'I will come.'

Past

An entirely different source of grammaticalization has been used to develop a construction that can best be interpreted as a periphrastic past tense; consider the following examples:

án.   'It is me.'

1.SG

vs.

ònùòŋò   án.   'It was me.'

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The form *ònìòŋò* is the third person perfective form of the verb *nìòŋò* 'find' which has been grammaticalized to a past tense marker. The following example illustrates both the lexical (1) and the functional use of the form (2).

(1)   ònùòŋò.   'He found it.'

       3.find.PFV

(2)   ònùòŋò bínó.   'He came.'

       PAST   come.INF

That the past tense marker *ònìòŋò* is felt, at least to some extent, to be verbal in character is suggested by the fact that it cannot cooccur with its lexical source, i.e. the verb *nìòŋò* 'to find', hence the following example is not well-formed:

  ? ɛ́n   ónùòŋò ònùòŋò.

   3.SG   PAST 3.find.PFV

Unlike other de-verbal tense markers, *ònìòŋò* has not developed into an auxiliary but rather behaves like an adverb; hence, it can appear in various syntactic slots of the clause. Thus, in the following examples it is placed either clause-initially (1) or clause-finally (2):

(1) ònùòŋò àtíê kà   àthín   àcíêl.   'I had one child.'

    PAST   1.SG.have child   one

or

    àtíê kà   àthín   àcíêl   ònùòŋò .

    1.SG.have child   one   PAST

ònìòŋò also serves to present irrealis conditionals:

ká	ónùòŋò	dhákɔ́	tíê k-	ὲthɨ́nò	kó	cúínyé-yòm.
PROT	PAST	woman	have-	children	APO	be.happy

'If the woman had had children she would have been happy.'

4.4 Negation

Verbal negation is achieved by means of the general negator *ba*, which follows the subject noun phrase and precedes the verbal word, e.g.,

án	bá	àbédò	àthɨ́n	mê	àcíêl.
1.SG	NEG	1.SG.be.IMV	child	PREP	one

'I am not the first child.'

The following illustrates the imperfective paradigm of negation:

1.SG	án	bá	ànɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	'I don't see a cow'
2.SG	ɨ́n	bá	`ɨnɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	
3.SG	ɛ́n	bá	nɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	
1.EX	wán	bá	ὲnɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	
1.IN	ónù	bá	ὲnɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	
2.PL	wún	bá	`ɨnɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	
3.PL	gɨ́n	bá	nɛ́nó	dhìàŋ	

ba causes a following high tone to be downstepped:

ɛ́n	bá	ˈócùŋ.

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3.SG   NEG   3.stand.PFV

'He doesn't stand.'

The copula *tíê* may take *ba* but more often uses the negative auxiliary *pé* instead:

án   bá   àtíê   ká-   cá.

1.SG   NEG   1.SG.be   LOC-   DIST

or

án   àpé   ká-   cá.

1.SG   1.SG.be.NEG   LOC-   DIST

'I am not there.'

Since *tíê* occurs in a number of grammaticalized constructions, *pé* is also found in all those constructions as the negative counterpart of *tíê*, such constructions being in particular those of existence (1), predicative possession (2), and the progressive aspect.

(1)   pì   ó'pé.

      water   3.be.NEG

      'There is no water.'

cf.

      pì   tíê.

      water   be

      'There is water.'

(2)   gín ó'pé   kí   tîc.

      3.PL 3.be.NEG PREP work

      'They have no work.'

cf.

      gín tíê   kí   tîc.

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3.PL   3.be.NEG   PREP   work

'They have work.'

Concerning negation in modally marked constructions, see 4.5 below.

4.5 Imperative and deontic modality

The second person singular imperative consists of the simple subjunctive stem. The corresponding plural form takes the dominant [+ATR] suffix -*ú*, which changes a [-ATR] verb stem into [+ATR]:

lɔ   ɛ́n!   'Defeat him!'

lò-ù   ɡ́ɪ!   'Defeat (ye) them!'

kùr   nákà   kɔth   òcùé!

wait   until   rain   3.rain.PFV

'Wait until it rains!'

The following is a sample of imperative verb forms:

Infinitive	Imperative		Meaning
	Singular	Plural	
bínó	bín	bín-ú	'come'
cúŋ	cúŋ	cùŋ-ú	'stand up'
kèlò	kèl	kèl-ù	'bring'
kùr	kǔr	kùr-ú	'wait'
kwàlɔ	kwàl	kwàl-ù	'steal (tr.)'

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lílɔ̀	líl	lìl-ú	'smoothen'
lʊ̀ɔ̀kɔ̀	lʊ̀ɔ̀k	lʊ̀ɔ̀k-ú	'wash'
mìyò	mǐ	mì-ú	'give'
mòdhò	mòdh-í	mòdh-ú	'drink (water)'
nɛ̀nò	nén	nèn-ú	'see'
ŋwɛ̀cɔ̀	ŋwɛ̀c-í	ŋwɛ̀c-ú	'run'
wɔ́lɔ́	wɔ̌l	wòl-ú	'cough'
yàbɔ̀	yàp	yàb-ú	'open'

Quite commonly, the imperative form takes the second person subject pronoun ɪ/i- of the modality paradigm (see below):

ɪ̀kúr	*or*	ín	ɪ̀kúr!	'(You) wait!'
2.SG.wait		2.SG	2.SG.wait	

A negative imperative is formed with the particle *kúr* followed by the subjunctive verb form:

kúr	í'gɔ́	wú'nú	dhôk	kɪ̀	lûth!
NEG.IMP	2.hit.SUBJ	2.PL.S	cattle	PREP	stick

'Don't beat the cows with a stick!'

kɔ̀ny	gí	ɛ́k	kúr	ɔ́thɔ̀	gíní!
help	3.PL.O	PURP	NEG.IMP	3.die.SUBJ	3.PL.S

'Help them so that so that they won't die!'

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kúr	(wún)	ìtúák-	'ú	lɛ́p	thùr!
NEG.IMP	2.PL.S	2.speak-	PL	tongue	Labwor

'Don't (ye) speak the Labwor language!'

The imperative is part of the paradigm of deontic modality of obligation:

1.SG		kúr	ábín		'I shouldn't come'
2.SG		kúr	íbín		(a) 'you shouldn't come', (b) 'don't come!'
3.SG		kúr	óʼbín		's/he shouldn't come'
1.IN	wán	kúr	ébín		'we (but not you) shouldn't come'
1.EX	ónú	kúr	ébín		'we (all) shouldn't come'
2.PL	wún	kúr	íbín-ú	(a)	'you (PL) shouldn't come',
				(b)	'don't (ye) come!'
3.PL	gín	kúr	óʼbín		'they shouldn't come'

There is a range of periphrastic constructions employed for expressing distinctions of deontic modality. Obligation is not only coded by the subjunctive but perhaps more commonly by the matrix verb *mìtò* 'want', with the complement verb presented in the subjunctive:

ɛ́n	mító	ɔ̀lù̀ɔ̀k	bòŋ.
3.SG	want.IPF	3.wash.SUBJ	clothes

'She must wash the clothes.'

Ability and permission are expressed generally by either of the matrix verbs *rɔ̀mɔ̀* 'be sufficient' or *tùèrɔ̀* 'be able':

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ɛn   rɔ́mɔ́   càmò

3.SG   be.sufficient eat.INF
'He is allowed to/can eat.'

òkélò   túɛ́rɔ́   yàbɔ̀.

Okelo   be.able open.INF
'Okelo may open it.'

A hortative construction is formed with the imperative form (*wɛ̀k*) of the verb *wɛ̀kɔ̀* 'leave' plus the person-inflected subjunctive form of the main verb. Example (1) shows the lexical use of *wɛ̀kɔ̀*, while (2) illustrates the hortative paradigm:

(1)   ɛ́n   ɔ́wɛ̀kɔ̀   díél-   ɛ́   kàny.

       3.SG   3.leave.PFV goat-   3.SG.POSS   here
       'He left his goat here.'

(2)   wɛ̀k   àcɪ́dhí   'let me go!'

       wɛ̀k   ɔ́cìdhí   'let him go!'

       wɛ̀k gɪ́ ɔ́cìdhí   'let them go!'

There is also a hortative first person plural form which consists of the particle *árɪ́* and the verb taking the second person plural suffix *-ɪ́*:

árú   écìdh-   ú!   'Let us go!'

HORT   1.PL.go.SUBJ- PL

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