Tense, aspect and mood in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia) Encoding events, processes and states
Isabelle Bril

To cite this version:

HAL Id: halshs-01418754
https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01418754
Submitted on 2 Mar 2017

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers. L’archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire HAL, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d’enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.
Tense, aspect and mood in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia)

Encoding events, processes and states

Isabelle Bril
LACITO-CNRS, Fédération “Typologie et Universaux Linguistiques”

Nêlêmwa is an Aspect-Mood oriented language; verbs are unmarked for tense, time reference is expressed by chronology and time adverbs. Aspect hinges on three notions: events (in the aorist), states, and processes. One focus is the contrast between the perfect and the aorist. Bare aorist verb forms refer to events or to sequences of events with no reference to their internal phases. The perfect expresses internal relations between processes and clauses (anteriority, backgrounding, causal relations); it refers to transitional processes that have reached or not their final instant, expressing changes of states and resulting states. In future reference frames, the perfect expresses imminent change of states, or imminent completion of a process, and the speaker’s certainty about their projected occurrence.

Keywords: Tense, mood, aspect, Aktionsart, topology, state, event, process, aorist, perfect, chronological ordering, deixis, anaphora, directional

1. Introduction: A brief presentation of Nêlêmwa

Nêlêmwa and its variant Nixumwak are one of the 28 languages of New-Caledonia, which belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family. Nêlêmwa-Nixumwak is spoken in the northernmost part of the Mainland by approximately 900 speakers.

Nêlêmwa is a head-initial language with predicate-argument order. In verbal predication, Nêlêmwa has a split accusative/ergative system: it is accusative with subject/object pronouns (with sVo order), but post-verbal nominal arguments are marked as absolutive and ergative with < verb abs.patient erg.agent > order. Single nominal arguments of intransitive verbs are absolutive, with < V abs.N > order. Absolutive is marked ø; ergative markers are ea- (+ genitive animate NP) and ru (for inanimates) (Bril 1997, 2002: 134–142). In non-verbal predication, which is restricted to equative
and attributive sentences, non-verbs (nouns, pronouns, numeral phrases, locative phrases) may be predicative without a copula, without any derivation or conversion, and without any semantic change, other than the expected change triggered by the predicative function (Bril, in press). Like verbal predicates, non-verbal predicates may combine with tense, aspect or mood (T.A.M.) markers and may be subject to time-instability, transitional stages or duration. Consider the following non-verbal predicates: i ălô ‘he’s a child’ (lit. he child), i baa ălô (lit. he ĐUR child) ‘he’s still a child’, io i ak (lit. FUT he man) ‘he’ll become a man’, i u thaanwa (lit. she FUT woman) ‘she’s become a woman’.

Tense, aspect or mood are not marked by conjugation or inflectional verbal morphology; the T.A.M. system is expressed by morphemes that mostly occur before the (verbal or non-verbal) predicate and which are organised as follows:

(irrealis mood) neg (subject index) (aspect) (modality) predicate.

Irrealis mood includes virtual (subsuming conditional and subjunctive uses), imperative, optative-hortative mood, and future.

The analysis will proceed as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical framework and the terminology used; Section 3 gives an overview of the characteristic features of the system: temporal frame of reference, realis vs. irrealis mood, aspect markers; Section 4 details the irrealis mood system; Section 5 details the various uses of the perfect, in the realis and irrealis domains, and the distinctive uses of the perfect in contrast with the bare verb form; Section 6 deals with the morphemes expressing phasal aspects; Section 7 presents phasal verbs expressing lexical Aktionsart; Section 8 develops the aspect-marking role of some directionals; Section 9 concludes.

2. Theoretical framework and terminology

This analysis of T.A.M. in Nêlêmwa makes use of the theoretical framework developed by Culioli (1990, 1999a–b), Desclés (1989, 1995), Desclés and Guentchéva (2010, this volume), which is based on a topological model with intervals and boundaries representing the notions of event, process and state as they are encoded in the morphosyntax of languages. After Comrie (1976), Lyons (1990), Desclés & Guentchéva (2012: 134–143), these terms are defined as follows:

---

1. I wish to thank Zlatka Guentchéva, Alexandre François and Frank Lichtenberk for insightful comments which led me to refine some definitions and to some reorganisation of the paper.

© 2016, John Benjamins Publishing Company
All rights reserved
Events are viewed as a whole, without reference to any internal phase. They are represented by closed intervals. Depending on verb semantics and verb classes, an event may be punctual [•], like it broke, or not, like he sang ([----]). Events in Nêlêmwa are encoded by a bare verb form called aorist, presented in §3.3.1.

By contrast with events, processes contain internal phases which may be under some aspectual focus; they have an initial instant and a final instant, which may or may not be reached. An ongoing process, whose final instant is not reached, is represented by a semi-open interval ([--]), with an open right boundary (bold-face bracket). If reached (as in it has rained), the final instant of a process is represented by a closed right boundary ([----]). Processes in Nêlêmwa are marked by a wealth of aspect markers presented in §3.3.2 to §3.3.4.

States have no boundaries of their own, they are represented by open intervals schematised as ([]), but the boundaries do not belong to the state itself, they belong to some events (A and B) which frame the state ([A]--[B]). A resulting state such as it's broken can be represented as [A]-broken-[B]: the state results from a preceding event [A] (such as fall, break) conducive to the resulting state (broken). The open (boldface) boundary (---[B]) belongs to some other event [B], which may trigger another change of state (Desclés & Guentchéva 2012: 141–142).

By contrast with some other Oceanic languages, states in Nêlêmwa have no specific marker, nor any specific paradigm of stative pronouns. Stative verbs appear without further marking in the realis mood, as in i alawuk ‘(s)he is/was hungry’, or with the irrealis mood (io i alawuk ‘(s)he’ll be hungry’, o i alawuk ‘if/when (s)he’s hungry’). The combination with the perfect marker expresses a change of state as in i u alawuk ‘he’s become hungry’. States may also combine with other aspects, such as the durative marker i baa alawuk ‘he’s still hungry’ or the remansive marker, as in taa khoxo i hla ‘they’re still numerous’ (REM big.number DET they).

3. Tense, mood and aspect: An overview

This section gives a general presentation of the T.A.M. system in Nêlêmwa, which will be detailed in the following sections.

3.1 Temporal frame of reference and chronological ordering of events

Predicates are not marked for Tense. The temporal frame of events (T) is generally marked contextually or lexically, by adverbs or by determiners, some of which are deictic (i.e. anchored in the time of speech (t₀) and speech situation, noted [T=t₀]),
while others are non-deictic and relative to some other temporal frame, in narratives for instance, with no relevance to the time of speech. This is noted \[T \omega t₀].

Among deictic adverbs are koobwan ‘yesterday’, ereek ‘yesterday night’, caae ‘tomorrow’, éna ‘now’. They are the sole temporal anchors relative to the time of speech \(t₀\).

Caae requires an *irrealis* marker (future or virtual) in the clause, while adverbs referring to the past (koobwan, ereek) or the present (éna) often occur with the bare-aorist verb form that refers to events, as in (1a–b).

(1) a. *Kot koobwan?*  
   rain yesterday  
   ‘Did it rain yesterday?’

b. *Koobwan xe yo tuâi-na.*  
   yesterday TPC 2sg lie-1sg  
   ‘Yesterday, you lied to me.’

Anaphoric determiners, such as bai ‘that’, and adverbs, such as ebai ‘before, earlier on’, refer to the recent or distant past and to shared experience/knowledge. The bare aorist verb udi in (2) refers to a past event, while the perfect in (3) marks relevance of some past event to the time of speech.

(2) \(... idama-m bai co udi ebai na mwamaidu.\)  
   eye-poss.3sg that.anaph 2sg take.off before loc down.there  
   ‘... those eyes of yours that you took off earlier on down there.’

(3) *Na u diyà ebai.*  
   1sg pft do before  
   ‘I’ve done it before.’

Lexical specifiers, such as hule, express past anchor; hule may be used as a noun or as a modifier with deictic or non-deictic use, and meaning ‘long time ago/before’. Habuk ‘before’ is a modifier expressing relative chronology in the past:

(4) *ni yeewat habuk (or) ni yeewat hule*  
   in time before in time long.ago/before  
   ‘in the past’ ‘long ago/before’

---

2. The symbol \(\omega\) encodes disconnection from the time of speech (Culioli 1983, 1999a), whereas the symbol \(\neq\) encodes a temporal frame anchored in the past, but relevant to the time of speech (like the English present-perfect), as in he’s been reading for an hour.
Events or processes are chronologically ordered by mostly spatio-temporal lexemes that are compatible with realis or irrealis moods (see §5.5).

3.2 Irrealis and realis moods

As often in Oceanic languages, the basic mood distinctions hinges on the contrast between realis and irrealis.

Table 1. Realis vs. irrealis moods in Nêlêmwa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRREALIS</th>
<th>REALIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>virtual/subjunctive</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o (or) Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While the realis mood has no overt marker (Ø), the irrealis mood subdivides into the virtual mood marked by o, and the future marked by io. The morpheme o has a variety of uses. In dependent clauses, the morpheme o subsumes conditional and subjunctive moods: it appears in conditional protases, in irrealis time clauses, complement clauses and irrealis relative clauses. In independent sentences, o appears in imperative sentences expressing a doubtful outcome, while unmarked imperatives with the irrealis Ø bare form refer to situations whose outcome is deemed possible; the morpheme o also expresses hortative and optative moods, mostly (but not obligatorily) combined with sho o (lit. good if) (see §4.2). The uses of o in dependent clauses might be considered divergent developments from the irrealis mood marker, but they actually express the basic semantics of irrealis (potential, conditional and subjunctive).

3.3 An overview of aspect markers: Combinations and position

Turning now to aspect markers, the main contrast is between the bare aorist verb form (which is aspectless) and the perfect; other morphemes express recent completion, pluri-actionality and various types of incompletion (see Table 3). All of them stand before the predicate.

3.3.1 Events in the bare aorist verb form

The bare aorist verb form refers to realis events, present or past (narrative aorist) and to generic, atemporal statements (gnomic aorist) (see Table 2).

---

3. Ancient Greek aóristos “indefinite” refers to the unmarked verb form.
Table 2. The bare aorist verb form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REALIS</th>
<th>GENERIC STATEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>present event (concomitant to t₀)</td>
<td>past event (narrative aorist)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø aorist bare V form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2 Aspect markers: Perfect, recent completion, pluri-actional, incompletion

By contrast with events marked by bare aorist verb forms, processes have internal phases which are specified by various aspect markers listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Aspect markers: aorist, perfect, recent completion, pluri-actional, incompletion markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AORIST</th>
<th>PERFECT</th>
<th>RECENT COMPLETION</th>
<th>PLURI-ACTIONAL</th>
<th>INCOMPLETION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>(k)u ~ (x)u</td>
<td>hââ</td>
<td>aa</td>
<td>kua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| perfect | recent completion | iterative | frequency (+ realis) | processual (+activity V) | durative | persistive | remansive, & state of activity |

A. The perfect

The perfect is marked by ku ~ xu ~ u. Ku or its weak form xu appear in clause initial position, allomorph u occurs between the subject index (s) and the predicate (P), as shown below; from now on they will be referred as (k)u ~ (x)u:

\[
< ku ~ xu \quad P > \\
< (s) \quad u \quad P >
\]

A verb in the perfect may refer to a complete or incomplete process, i.e. which may or may not have reached its final instant. This also depends on the verb’s telicity. When completed, a process may have a resulting state, as in he’s cooked the food. With stative verbs, the perfect indicates a change of state. The perfect will be further analysed in §5.

B. Recent completion

Hââ marks the recent completion of a process and cannot combine with the perfect marker. Hââ originates from the impersonal verb hââhuuk ‘be recent, new’:

---

4. In Nêlêmwa, the realis aorist and the irrealis aorist are both marked Ø.

© 2016, John Benjamins Publishing Company
All rights reserved
(5) **Hââhuuk paara eli.**
   be.recent story that.anaph
   'That story is recent.' (i.e. has just been circulated)

In complex predicate constructions, *hââhuuk* may be the modifier of another verb, as in (6a), whereas the aspect morpheme *hââ* (6b) occurs between the subject and the predicate. *Hââ* indicates that the final boundary of the process has recently been reached ([----]//) in relation to the time of speech (in discourse) or to some past event (in narratives).

   3PL do be.recent 3PL rec.complt do
   'They’ve done it recently/they’ve just done it.'

(7) **I xam⁵ hââ toven.**
   3SG ass rec.complt finish
   'He’s just finished.'

*Hââ* does not combine with the perfect *(k)u, (x)u*, nor with the prospective/future *io*; but it may combine with the potential morpheme *o*. In a narrative (8), the recently completed process (*hââ uya*) is relative to a past situation disconnected from the time of speech.

(8) **Dua hla hââ uya hlaabai**
    when.past 3PL rec.complt arrive those.anaph
    fhavaro-à xe kia hoxo haxixi-hla.
    guest-poss.1pl.incl tpc neg.exist someone fear.tr-3pl
    'When our guests had just arrived (for the first time) nobody was afraid of them.'

C. *Already completed event or process: taa₂ 'already'*

The morpheme *taa₂ 'already'* will be analysed in §6.3, together with the remansive *taa₁*. They probably stem from a common origin, but have developed different meanings. *Taa₂* marks the prior completion of a process or event. In contrast with *hââ*, which excludes any combination with the perfect marker, the prior completion marker *taa₂* may combine with the perfect marker *(k)u, (x)u* to stress anteriority.

(9) **Hla u taa the maaxi habuk ma hla ya mwa.**
    3PL pft prev reap straw before sub 3PL thatch house
    'They’ve/had already reaped the straw before thatching the house.'

5. Xam is a discourse-assertive marker.
D. Pluri-actional markers

Pluri-actionality is encoded by *aa* (iteration) and *kua* (frequency + past reference). This is developed in §6.1.

E. Incompletion markers

Various morphemes express incompletion: the processual marker (*na*) is restricted to activity verbs; other markers are durative (*baa*), persistive (*gaa*), continuative-contrastive *gat*, remansive (*taa₁*). These morphemes will be further detailed in §6.1, §6.2, §6.3.1.

3.3.3 Other aspect markers

Other aspect markers, listed in Table 4 and further detailed in §6.4 to §6.6, focus on the specific relation to the initial or the final boundary of an event, process or state, but from an external perspective, since (i) the event or process has not yet occurred (*kio fwâ* ‘not yet’ refers to an uninitiated process (see §6.4.1)), or (ii) it has failed to achieve completion (*fwâm* ‘almost, nearly’ indicates near, but failed, occurrence of some event or process (§6.4.3), or (iii) the marker refers to some permanently completed or bygone event that will not occur again (*kio haxa* ‘no longer, no more’) (§6.5, §6.6).

Table 4. Other aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unreached boundary</th>
<th>nearly reached boundary, but failed</th>
<th>permanently terminated, bygone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kio fwâ</em></td>
<td><em>fwâm</em></td>
<td><em>kio haxa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘not yet’</td>
<td>‘almost, nearly’</td>
<td>‘no longer, no more’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4 Position of aspect markers

Aspect markers generally occur before the predicate (verbal or non-verbal) and between the subject index and the predicate if there is a subject index.

(10) *Hli baa èlô.*  
3DU DUR child  
‘They are still children.’

In (11), the iterative marker *aa* has its scope on the numeral predicate *aaxan* ‘three’, the iterated event is < catching 3 fish >:

(11) *Aa aa-xan shâ-pwee-n.*  
ITER CL-three content-line-poss.3SG  
‘He has angled three fish again.’ (*lit.* it’s again three (fish) his catch of fish)

Only the continuous marker *gat*, which also has some modal connotations (such as counter-expectancy), appears in post-predicate position (after the non-verbal
predicate *thaamwa* in (12)). The presupposition in (12) is that someone else than the woman is expected to speak:

(12) \[Thaamwa=ena\ gat\ \ \ [hoona\ na\ vhaa!]\]

woman=that.\text{dx2} \ cont\ that.\text{dx2} \ proc\ speak

'It’s still that woman who is speaking!' (lit. it’s still that woman the one speaking)

### 3.4 Combination of aspect markers

After this general overview of T.A.M. morphemes, a brief survey of some of their combinations is now presented.

#### 3.4.1 Combination of the perfect \((k)u \sim (x)u\) and other aspect markers

As shown in Table 5, the perfect cannot combine with the recent completion morpheme \(hââ\), nor does it occur with \(kio\ f\wâ\), which refers to an event or process that has not yet occurred, and is thus in semantic conflict with the perfect in Nêlêmwa. But it may combine with \(taa_2\), which marks previousness and can be translated by ‘already, before’.

The perfect does not combine with incompletion markers (such as processual \(na\) or durative \(baa\)), but it combines with persistent \(gaa\), which has modal semantics. It also combines with pluri-actional aspect markers (iterative and frequency). This will be further detailed in §6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RECENT COMPLETION</th>
<th>PREVIOUS OCCURRENCE</th>
<th>NOT YET OCCURRED</th>
<th>PLURI-ACTIONAL</th>
<th>INCOMPLETION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(hââ)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(taa_2)</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kio\ f\wâ)</td>
<td>(\text{‘not yet’})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(\text{iterative})</td>
<td>(\text{frequency}) (in past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kua)</td>
<td>(\text{iterative})</td>
<td>(\text{frequency}) (in past)</td>
<td>(\text{processual})</td>
<td>(\text{durative})</td>
<td>(\text{persistent})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.4.2 Combination of irrealis morphemes with the perfect

The *irrealis* mood markers, virtual \((o)\) or future \((io)\), may combine with the perfect marker \((k)u \sim (x)u\). *Irrealis* mood markers are in outermost, leftmost position, standing before the whole verb phrase (*i.e.* the predicate (P) and the subject index (s)).
allomorph \( u \)  
allomorphs \( ku \sim xu \)  

(between subject \( s \) & predicate)  
(no subject expressed)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\left[ o < s \ u \ P > \right] & \quad \left[ o < ku \sim xu \ P > \right] \\
\left[ io < s \ u \ P > \right] & \quad \left[ io < ku \sim xu \ P > \right]
\end{align*}
\]

The semantics of such associations is analysed in §5.8.

### 3.4.3 Combination of irrealis morphemes with other aspect markers

The *irrealis* markers may combine with other aspect markers (see Table 6): the main restrictions concern \( kio \text{fwâ} \) ‘not yet’, the recent completion marker \( hàâ \) and the marker of frequency in the past \( kua \), which are all semantically incompatible with the future \( io \) for obvious semantic reasons.

#### Table 6. Combination of irrealis markers (io, o) and other aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLURI-ACTIONAL</th>
<th>INCOMPLETION</th>
<th>NOT YET OCCURRED</th>
<th>RECENT COMPLETION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aa iterative</td>
<td>kua frequency (in past)</td>
<td>na processual</td>
<td>baa durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the future \( io \sim e \) combines with the locative verb \( gi \) ‘be.loc’ and the processual marker \( na \), which expresses some ongoing activity, as in (13), the meaning is epistemic, expressing near certainty.

(13) \( Io \ gi \ ye \ na \ pwe. \)

\( \text{fut be.loc 3sg.fr proc fish} \)

‘He must be fishing.’ (*lit.* He will be fishing)

Compare with reference to an ongoing present activity: \( gi \ ye \ na \ pwe \) ‘he is fishing.’

### 4. Irrealis mood

The two *irrealis* morphemes (virtual/subjunctive \( o \) and future \( io^6 \sim e \), (originally \( ixo \), \( exo \))) express different degrees of epistemic stance and different degrees of certainty or

6. \( Io \) is the form chosen by the speakers to unify the many variants \( e \), \( e(x)o \), \( i(x)o \). This morpheme probably originates from a compound form \( e^{-} \) (presentative) + \( -xo \) (anaphoric suffix referring to unknown, non-referential entities for the speaker).
probability relative to the occurrence of the projected event. They are mutually exclu-
sive in the same clause, but may occur in two different clauses within a sentence. They
stand in the leftmost position before the whole predicate phrase (subject index (s) and
predicate (p)):

\[
\text{virtual: } o < (s) P > \\
\text{future: } io \sim e < (s) P >
\]

(14) \( io \text{ na } \text{diya.} \)  
FUT 1SG do  
'I’ll do it.'

4.1 Future, prospective: \( io \sim e \)

\( io \sim e < (s) P > \)

The future morpheme \( io \sim e \) is compatible with close or distant future, depending on
the context and on other co-occurring morphemes. Imminent future is expressed by
combining \( io \sim e \) with the adverb \( \text{êna} \) 'now':

(15) \( io \text{ i } \text{uya } \text{êna.} \)  
FUT 3SG arrive now  
'He'll arrive soon/in a moment.'

(16) \( \text{Na } io \text{ na } \text{faxi } \text{êna.} \)  
and FUT 1SG cook now  
'and I’m going to cook it now.' (Bril 2002: 493)

4.2 The virtual marker \( o \)

The uses of the virtual morpheme \( o \) in independent sentences (imperative, hortative,
optative) and in dependent clauses (conditional protases, \textit{irrealis} complement and
relative clauses) is now presented.

4.2.1 Virtual marker \( o \) in imperative, hortative and optative sentences

\textbf{A. Imperative}

Unmarked imperatives display the bare verb form,\(^7\) while \( o \) appears in marked impera-
tives expressing a stronger injunction, as in \( o \text{ taauri!} \) 'do wait!'; \( o \text{ maya!} \) 'do be patient!',
wait!'; \( o \text{ khomi!} \) 'do count!'.\(^8\)

\(^7\) In Mwotlap, imperative is one of the many functions of the aorist marker (François

\(^8\) In Palau, “imperative is expressed by the [...] hypothetical form” (Hagège 1986; Lemaréchal
Negative orders or prohibitions are marked by $a(xo)$:

(18) $Axo\ yo\ thea\ o\ hele!$

\begin{tabular}{ll}
proh & 2sg play instr knife \\
\end{tabular}

'Don’t play with this knife!'

B. Optative, hortative: $sho\ o$

The optative, hortative form is $sho\ o$ (lit. good if/that).

(19) $Sho\ o\ yo\ maak!$

\begin{tabular}{ll}
good & virt 2sg die \\
\end{tabular}

'May you die!'

(20) $Sho\ o\ wa\ tâlâ-e.$

\begin{tabular}{ll}
good & virt 2pl listen-3sg \\
\end{tabular}

'You should listen!'

4.2.2 The morpheme $o$ in dependent/subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses, the virtual marker $o$ has several functions in conditional protases, in irrealis complement and in relative clauses.

A. Conditional protases

– $O$ marks conditional protases, like the first occurrence of $o$ in (21) ($o\ i\ oome\ uya\ agu$); the second occurrence of $o$ bears on the numeral predicate of the irrealis relative clause ($agu\ [o\ aa-xiik]$), and refers to a potential entity of the class $agu$ 'person':

(21) $[O\ i\ oome\ uya\ agu\ [o\ aa-xiik]]\ [na\ a\ wa$

\begin{tabular}{ll}
virt & 3sg come arrive person virt cl-one but proh 2pl \\
tu & paa].
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
go.down & outside \\
\end{tabular}

'If someone arrives, don’t go out.' (lit. should a person who might be one arrive…)

B. Irrealis relative clauses

– In irrealis relative clauses, $o$ refers to some virtual/potential property or determination of the relativised noun.

(22) $Je\ le\ yeewat\ o\ hà\ axe.$

\begin{tabular}{ll}
3sg.be.loc & there time virt 1pl.incl see \\
\end{tabular}

'There are times when we may see it.'

(Bril 2000:256)
O commutes with xe, which refers to realis, factive relative clauses. Compare (23a), which refers to a potential non-specific indefinite 'sharp' knife whose existence is unasserted, with the factive (23b), which asserts the existence of a 'sharp' knife and refers to a definite entity. The epistemic feature of virtual o thus correlates with potential indefinite reference (see Bril 2001).

(23)  a. Oda fhe hele o caak!
    go.up get knife virt sharp
    ‘Go get a sharp knife!’ (lit. a knife that may be sharp, if there is such a thing)

    b. Oda fhe hele xe caak!
    ‘Go get the sharp knife!’ (lit. the knife that’s sharp).

O refers to a virtual and unasserted propositional content in the relative clause, as in (24a), where the verb of the main clause is in the future:

(24)  a. ... me io i thuuxe hmvat [o pwa-giik].
    ... and FUT 3SG tell piece virt cl-one
    ‘... and she’ll tell a part of the story.’ (lit. a piece that may be one)

On the other hand, a realis main clause and realis context trigger the use of xe:

(24)  b. I thuuxe hmvat-t xe pwagiik.
    ‘She told one part of the story.’

Similarly, relativised NPs dependent on negative existential predicates trigger the use of o, as in (25), since there is no possible factual reference.

(25)  Kia agu o na axi-e.
    neg.exist person virt 1SG see-3SG
    ‘I did not see anybody.’ (lit. there isn’t a person (that) I may have seen).

C. Irrealis complement clauses
— O also appears in complement clauses dependent on verbs referring to virtual events, also dependent on modal verbs, deontic (khere ‘be forbidden’, kàâlek ‘be impossible’), or epistemic-evidential (shuma ‘seem as if/that’). All such uses of o are equivalent to the subjunctive or conditional and constitute irrealis frames of reference.

(26)  a. Na faaxeen o hmeede khô-hâ wo.
    1SG ask virt be.cooked food-poss.1PL.INCL PL.INDF
    ‘I asked if our food was cooked.’ (lit. I asked would our food be cooked)

    b. Khere o hâ pweeli nox=ena.
    be.forbidden virt 1PL.INCL fish.TR fish=that.DX2
    ‘It’s forbidden for us to fish that fish.’ (lit. it’s forbidden that we fish …)
c. Cēē  kāālek  o  na  diya.
   very  impossible  virt  1sg  do
   ‘It’s impossible for me to do it.’ (lit. it’s impossible that I do it)

d. Shuma  o  i  jela.
   be.like  virt  3sg  happy
   ‘He seems to be happy.’

D. Irrealis time expressions with o vs. past realis reference with dua

The virtual morpheme o occurs in predicative time expressions with virtual time reference, such as thabwan ‘night’ in (27a). Compare with the past reference marked by the conjunction dua ‘when’ (27b), which may only refer to the past.

(27)  a. êna  o  thabwan.
   now  virt  evening
   ‘tonight, this evening’ (yet to come) (lit. now [when] it be evening)

   b. koobwan  dua  thabwan
   yesterday  when.past  night
   ‘yesterday night’ (lit. now [when] it was evening)

On the other hand, a time reference concomitant to the time of speech is marked by a deictic determiner, as in (27c). Compare with the virtual reference in (27a).

   c. Ni  tan  hleny
   in  night  this.dx1
   ‘tonight, during the night’ (concomitant to the time of speech)

In (28a–b), waak ‘morning’ (like thabwan ‘night’ in (27)) is the predicate of a time clause. In (28a), <o waak> refers to some virtual time dependent on a main clause with future temporal frame; while in (28b), dua has past reference.

(28)  a. Io  i  uya  [o  waak].
   fut  3sg  arrive  virt  morning
   ‘He’ll arrive in the morning.’

   b. I  uya  [dua  waak].
   3sg  arrive  when.past  morning
   ‘He arrived in the morning,’ (lit. he arrived when morning)

Various conjunctive time expressions display similar contrasts: uya=(da) dua ‘until (past)’ ~ uya=(da) o ‘until (virtual)’ (lit. arrive=(up) when), or ni yeewat dua ‘when (past)’ (lit. in the time when) ~ ni yeewat o ‘when(ever)’ (virtual), (see §8.4).

5. The perfect: Definition and use in realis and irrealis frames

While the bare aorist verb form refers to events (independently from any phasal aspect) and to sequential events in narratives, the perfect marker (k)u ~ (x)u refers to
past events or to completed processes which bear some relevance either to the present and to the time of speech (like the English present perfect), or to another past event in narratives (like the English past perfect); the perfect may also refer to some resulting state relevant to present or past temporal frames.

The perfect may appear in realis and irrealis sentences, as shown by (29), which refers to the projected, imminent completion of a process. This will be detailed in §5.8.

(29) Io <na u pwaala=du mwa>.
    FUT 1SG PFT sail=down SEQ
    ‘I shall be off sailing north (soon).’ (north direction is expressed as ‘down’)

5.1 The perfect in realis frames: Relevance to the time of speech and narrative uses

In discourse contexts, the perfect refers to a process anterior to the time of speech (t₀), but relevant to it. In narratives, the perfect refers to a process (tₙ) anterior to another past reference point (tₚₐₜₜ), in a temporal frame which is disconnected from (t₀).⁹

The process in the perfect may be complete or incomplete, i.e. it may or may not have reached its final instant, as in English for that matter, he has/had worked a lot does not signal completion. On the other hand, especially when used with telic verbs such as break, the action may be complete or completed and may have a resulting state, as in he has/had broken the vase; this is also the case with ku hmeede ‘cooked’ in (30):

(30) Ku hmeede cet ?
    PFT cook cooking-pot
    ‘Is the food cooked?’

Completion may be expressed lexically by adding toven or roven ‘stop, end’ (see §7.3).

The interval representing an incomplete process is semi-open: its right boundary is open (as in Figure 1 below). If the process is completed, the (bold) right boundary of the interval [ A ] is closed (as in Figure 2), and there may be a resulting state, represented by slashes (\(///\)) in Figure 2.

Figure 1: [–––[ Figure 2: [ A ]////

In (31–32), (k)u ~ (x)u also refers to a completed process, relative and prior to some reference point (which may be past or present):

(31) Na i u aa fhe.
    but 3SG PFT ITER take
    ‘But he has/had (already) taken it back.’ (something given before)

---

⁹. This is noted [tₙ anterior to tₚₚₜₜ ω t₀].

© 2016, John Benjamins Publishing Company
All rights reserved
(32) *Na na, xe na u khuxi caa-ny.*
but 1SG TPC 1SG PFT eat.TR starch.food-poss.1SG
‘As for me, I’ve eaten my food.’ (Bril 2002:480)

– With inchoative verbs like ‘begin’, *(k)u ~ (x)u* focuses on the initial phase of an incomplete process, as in (33).

(33) …*me ku thaaxapuxet ni yeewar=eli.*
and PFT begin in time=ANAPH
‘… and it has/had begun at that time.’
(and is/was still ongoing relative to some past reference point)

– With terminative verbs, *(k)u ~ (x)u* focuses on the final instant of the closed interval:

(34) *(xu) toven.*
PFT finish
‘It’s finished.’

Terminative processes, such as *he’s finishing*, or *it’s coming to a close*, are represented by an open interval, which is closed only when the process has reached its endpoint.

5.1.1 Past event relevant to the time of speech
In (35), the past temporal frame is set by the adverb *hule* ‘long ago’ in the first clause, the perfect has scope on the numeral predicate NP *tujic kau-n* ‘ten years’, while present relevance to the time of speech (*t₀*) is marked by the adverb *êna* in the second clause.

(35) [*I uya hmwiny hule] [xu tujic kau-n êna].
3SG arrive here long.ago PFT ten year-poss.3SG now
‘He arrived here long ago, ten years from now.’ (lit. it’s been ten years now)

In (36–37), a time interval is computed between two boundaries, going back in time from the time of speech (*t₀*), but with implicit relevance to *t₀*. In (36), the perfect has scope on the numeral predicate NP *pwadu bwalit* ‘two days’:

(36) *Xu pwa-du bwalit*
PFT CL-two day
‘it was two days ago’

(37) *I u o=da mwa mwa-yeenat na le.*
3SG PFT go=up seq house-learn loc there
‘The school there has progressed.’ (until now) (Bril 2000:512)

5.1.2 Completed process in the past temporal frame of a narrative
In example (38), the verb of the main clause (*hnawi-e*) is in the bare aorist form and refers to a past event, while the perfect in the subordinate clause refers to a prior state. Compare with the two past sequential events in the bare aorist form in (39).
Tense, aspect and mood in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia)

(38) I hawaii-e a Pwâ-Hivic dua u gi hli bwa mat.
3SG leave-3SG AGT Pwâ-Hivic when PFT be.LOC 3DU on shore
‘Pwâ-Hivic left her when they were already on the shore.’ (Bril 2002: 482)

(39) Co huli-na ebai dua hi tu.
2SG guide-1SG before when 1DU go.down
‘You guided me earlier on when we went down.’ (Bril 2002: 489)

5.2 The perfect with stative verbs: Change of state

Whether in narratives or discourse, stative or nominal predicates marked in the perfect by (k)u ~ (x)u refer to a change of state or to a new, transitional resulting state, which is represented by ([ ]/b/[/].

[ A ]/b/[/t₀ or t past]

The resulting state ([ ]/b/[/ is the outcome of the event or process [ A ], it may be relevant to a reference point (t₀ in discourse, or t past in narratives). Similarly in Latin, cognōscō ‘I learn’ contrasts with the perfect cognōvī ‘I know’ which expresses a resulting state.

– The change of state may result from some natural evolution, as in (40–41):

(40) Na u hulak.
1SG PFT old
‘I’m old (now).’ (lit. I have gotten old)

(41) Na u whaup.
1SG PFT be.toothless
‘I’m toothless (now).’ (lit. I have become toothless)

In (42) to (44), the change of state results from an event [ A ] which is expressed contextually: it results from disobeying the rules in (42), from eating in (43), from stealing in (44)). In (42), the change of state can be represented as follows: [ A ]- tôxâ-[

(42) Hli u tôxâ. vs. Hli tôxâ.
3DU PFT be.purulent
‘They got covered with pustules.’ ‘They were pustulous.’

(43) Xu pôlôk kiya-n.
PFT be.full belly-poss.3SG
‘His belly is full (now).’ (lit. it has become full) (Bril 2002: 474)

(44) Xu kian idaama-ny!
PFT disappear eye-poss.1SG
‘My eyes have disappeared!’ (Bril 2002: 487)
A noun or pronoun in predicate function may combine with the perfect marker to express a change of state, as *hli u thaamwa* ‘they have become women’ in (45), and *u wap* ‘it’s high tide now’ in (46):

(45) *I axi horaamalileny êbai nu mahlileny xe hli u*

3SG see these2.FEM.DX1 before coconut these2.DX1 REL 3DU PFT

*thaamwa xe aa-ru.*

woman REL CL-TWO

‘He sees these two, (who were) before these two coconuts, who have become two women.’

(46) *I axe khabwe u wap.*

3SG see COMP(say) PFT high.tide

‘She sees that it’s high tide (now).’ (Bril 2002: 487)

In (47), the first perfect *u ogi* ‘they had left’ marks a completed, backgrounded process which stands in causal relation with a resulting change of state represented by *u ye hada* ‘she was then (left) on her own’, in which the perfect marker *u* has scope on the predicative free pronoun *ye*.

(47) *Hla u ogi shaak xe u ye hada.*

3PL PFT leave swamp.hen REL PFT 3SG.FR alone

‘They had left the swamp hen who was then (left) on her own.’

5.3 Graded change of state and evolutive process with the perfect

Dynamic or stative verbs are compatible with stages and degrees of evolution which are expressed by combining the perfect marker (*k)*u ~ (*x)*u, degree markers like *cêê* ‘very’, *pwâ* ‘a little’, and the sequential marker *mwa* ‘then’. Together, they refer to an ongoing, transitional process, and to a gradual change of state, from some past point up to the present in discourse, or relative to another time point in narratives.

(48) *Ku cêê coola khîlû i ye.*

PFT very strong disease DET 3SG

‘He’s been increasingly ill.’ (lit. his disease has become very strong)

(49) *Na u cêê mwa tâlâ vhaa Nêlêmwa.*

1SG PFT very SEQ hear language Nêlêmwa

‘I understand Nêlêmwa better and better.’ (lit. I’ve (gained) much better understanding)

(50) *Na u pwâ tâlâ-mwemweli.*

1SG PFT a.little hear-know

‘I understand slightly better.’ (lit. I’ve (gained) slightly better understanding)
5.4 Respective uses of the perfect \((k)u \sim (x)u\) vs. the bare aorist form

Events in the bare aorist verb form may refer to present or past temporal frames; in (51) the event \(tami\) ‘open’ is past and equivalent to an English preterite.

\[(51)\]  
\[\text{Mwa-yeenar=eli kuut Cavet xe tami na le ni 1935.}\]  
\[\text{house-learn=ANAPH stand Tiabet TPC open LOC there in 1935}\]  
\[\text{‘As for that school in Tiabet, it (was) opened there in 1935.’}\]

On the other hand, the perfect is commonly used to refer to processes with some internal relation between them (anteriority, backgrounding, causal relations), and with relevance either to the time of speech \((t_0)\), as in (52a), or relative to some other past event in a narrative. By contrast, the bare aorist form, in (52b-53b), refers to events or to sequences of events without any consideration for any other relation between them.

\[(52)\]  
a.  \[I u uya.\]  
\[3\text{sg} \text{ pft} \text{ arrive}\]  
\[‘He’s (already) arrived/he’s there.’\]  
b.  \[I u uya.\]  
\[3\text{sg} \text{ arrive}\]  
\[‘He arrived.’\]  

The question with the perfect marker in (53a) inquires about the completion of the process and about its resulting state relevant to \((t_0)\). It may consequently trigger some further invitation, while in (53b), with the bare aorist verb, the focus is on the eating event itself and merely inquires about the type of food eaten.

\[(53)\]  
a.  \[Co u khuwo?\]  
\[2\text{sg} \text{ pft eat.INTR}\]  
\[‘Have you eaten?’\]  
b.  \[Co khu da?\]  
\[2\text{sg} \text{ eat} \text{ what?}\]  
\[‘What did/do you eat?’\]  

In (54), the completed process and its resulting state entail further consequences:

\[(54)\]  
\[Na ku hnwu kuru.\]  
\[but \text{ pft drop wind}\]  
\[‘But the wind (has/had) dropped.’ (so he cannot/could not go back home)\]

In (55), since the speaker has retrieved her stolen eyes\(^{10}\) and has put them back into their sockets, the perfect \((na \ u \ axe\ ‘I \ can \ see’)\) refers to the resulting change of perceptual state, resulting from a prior event \((na=da\ ‘put \ back’ (her eyes))\) and relevant to the

\(^{10}\text{The two protagonists go fishing and leave their eyes and clothes on the shore; one of them plays a trick on the other by stealing her eyes; later, when she retrieves them and puts them back into their sockets, she grasps the situation.}\)
speaker’s temporal frame \((t₀)\) marked by \(êna\) ‘now’. Note that the bare verb form (\(faxi\) ‘cook’) in the relative clause refers to a past event marked by \(kôôbwan\).

\[(55)\]  
\[Me\ na\ mwa\ na=da\ me\ mwa\ idaama-ny;\ me\ na\ u\ axe\ and\ 1SG\ SEQ\ put=up\ so.that\ SEQ\ eye-poss.1SG\ and\ 1SG\ PFT\ see\ \online{êna}\ hlaabai\ co\ faxi\ kôôbwan.\]  
now\ those.anaph\ 2SG\ cook\ yesterday  
‘And I put them up to have eyes (lit. to be my eyes), and now I get to see what you cooked yesterday.’  
\((\text{Bril 2002: 492})\)

In (56), the first perfect refers to a change of state \((i\ u\ alawuk\ ‘(as) she got hungry’)\),\(^{11}\) which is the causal background triggering the consequent event in the aorist \((i\ oda\ khîlî-wo\ ja\ ‘she went up to roast sea-shells’)\). In the next sentence, this is repeated in the perfect \((i\ u\ khîlî-wo\ ja)\), as a sort of backgrounding,\(^{12}\) cueing construction (‘once she had roasted sea-shells’) which refers to a completed process relevant for the next event in the aorist \((i\ o=da)\).

\[(56)\]  
\[Na\ i\ u\ alawuk,\ na\ i\ o=da\ khîlî-wo\ ja;\ but\ 3SG\ PFT\ hungry\ so\ 3SG\ go=up\ roast-pl.indf\ sea-shells\ ‘but she’d got hungry, so she went up to roast sea-shells;\ i\ u\ khîlî-wo\ ja\ le,\ mwena\ xe\ i\ o=da…\ 3SG\ PFT\ roast-pl.indf\ sea-shells\ there\ there.dx2\ TPC\ 3SG\ go=up\ (once)\ she\ had\ roasted\ sea-shells,\ then,\ she\ went\ up.’\]  
\((\text{Bril 2000: 502})\)

The excerpt from a narrative in (57) shows an alternation of bare aorist and perfect verb forms in a past temporal frame disconnected from the speaker’s time. The bare form \(yhoraabwa\ ‘lived’ in \([P₁]\) is stative-like, while \((k)u\ ~ (x)u\ in \([P₂]\) (\(hli\ u\ tu\ ‘they had gone down’) refers to a completed and backgrounded process. The event in the bare form \(hli\ tu\ tuuli\ naam\ pwagiik\ ‘they went down, found a water-hole’ in \([P₃]\) forwards the story, adding new information. The perfect in \([P₄]\) \((hli\ u\ tha\ ‘they speared’) marks a process which is the causal background relevant to the next event in \([P₅]\) ‘they caught a lot of fish’.

\[(57)\]  
\[Hli\ yhoraabwa\ Alevic.\ Na\ ni\ naxaat\ pwa-giik\ xe\ […]\ hli\ u\ 3DU\ live\ Alevic\ but\ in\ day\ cl-one\ TPC\ 3DU\ PFT\ ‘They\ lived\ at\ Alevic.\ One\ day,\ they\ had\ gone\ down\ (to\ the\ sea)\]

\(\text{11. Compare with the expression of a present state: } i\ alawuk\ ‘(s)he’s hungry’.}\)

\(\text{12. For similar backgrounding effects of the perfect in Vanuatu languages, see (François 2010).}\)
tu thu naam. Hli tu tuuli naam pwa-giik
go.down make water.hole 3DU go.down find water.hole CL-one

to make water-holes (for fishing). They went down, found a water-hole
xe pôlôk o nok mwena xe hli u tha, tha, tha
REL full with fish there.DX2 TPC 3DU PFT spear spear spear

full of fish then, they set spearing (fish), spearing,
me khada kââlek hleeli shâ-doo-li nok.
COORD after be.numerous these.ANAPH content-assagai-POS.3DU fish

and then they caught a lot of fish.' (shâ-doo-li nok lit. means ‘these assagai-speared fish of theirs’)

In (58), another excerpt from a narrative in a past reference frame, the two perfects
u pwaala in the subordinate clause [P₁] and u yhowaalak in the main clause [P₂] are
backgrounded, prior situations which are relevant for the next sequence of events in
[P₃] and [P₄] marked by the bare verb forms o=da ku-râimi pwat ‘go up to pick a fruit’
and no-huu ‘follow with the eyes’.

(58) [Dua hli u pwaala], [na i u yhowaal=da horaaamwaleny
when 3DU PFT sail COORD 3SG PFT climb=up this.FEM.DX1

‘When they had sailed away, Hiixe had climbed up
Hiixe bwa hooli pwê-khojomi], [me i o=da ku-râimi
Hiixe on ANAPH Cerberas Manghas and 3SG go=up stand-pick

the tree, and she went up to pick
pwat pwa-giik na mwaida ni hadat] [me i no-huu Kaavo
fruit CL-one LOC there.up in branch and 3SG see-follow K

one fruit up there in the branches, and she watched Kaavo
ma Pwayili dua hli u pwaala.] and P. when 3DU PFT sail

and Pwayili when they had sailed away.’

The following segment in (59) shows again alternation of perfects and of bare aorist forms (underlined); the perfects mark transitional processes, serving as background with relevance for the following sequence of events marked by bare verb forms.
(59)  
\[\text{Me i u tu mwa, tu mwa, o=da shi horamwaleny and 3SG PFT go.down SEQ go.down SEQ go=up at this.FEM.DX1 'and she set going down then; she went down, went up to this woman's place, me hli u wo. Hli u wo, na i xau oo=me and 3DU PFT weave 3DU PFT weave COORD 3SG UNEXP come=HITHER and they both set weaving. They'd been weaving, and suddenly hiji aa-xiik xa the para khou-n nu na ant CL-one also take piece food-POSS.3SG coconut LOC an ant arrived, took a piece of coconut, mwêli, me i xau thegela me i o=da mwa bwa baarawo. there and 3SG UNEXP run and 3SG go=up SEQ on weaving ran, and went up onto their weaving.' (Bril 2000: 502–503)}\]

In (60), \textit{ni yeewat dua} sets the temporal reference as past, all the following verbs are in the bare aorist form (underlined) and refer to sequential events. The assertive form \textit{xau} ‘suddenly’ is modal rather than aspectual, and refers to a sudden, unexpected action.

(60)  
\[\text{Ni yeewat dua i xau thaaaxa khuwo, (…)}\]
\[\text{in time when 3SG UNEXP start eat 'As she was just starting to eat, (…)}\]
\[\text{na i xau the buaiyi a aa-xiik ava horamalaaleny (…)}\]
\[\text{but 3SG UNEXP take club AGT CL-one some these.FEM.DX1 all of a sudden one of these (women) (…) took the club me i xau hnawe=du ni bwaat. and 3SG UNEXP let.go=down in head and suddenly struck her on the head.'}\]

5.5  
The perfect in chronologically ordered events and relative time constructions

Events are chronologically ordered by adverbs, such as \textit{habuk} ‘in front, first, before’, \textit{mon} ‘behind, after’, or by sequential lexemes, such as \textit{khadaa} ‘after, then’, \textit{mwa} ‘then’, which may occur in \textit{realis} or \textit{irrealis} reference frames. In (61), the perfect marker (k) \textit{u} ~ (x)\textit{u} marks a completed event, while \textit{mon} marks some posterior chronological ordering relative to another event or process.

(61)  
\[\text{I u mwa le mon. 3SG PFT SEQ go after 'S)he has then left after.'}\]

In (62), the perfect (\textit{ufarame}) in the main clause refers to a completed process, anchored in the past by the anaphoric adverb \textit{ebai} ‘earlier, before’ (see Table 5 below)
and with consequences upon the present situation; the adverb habuk ‘before’ in the subordinate clause orders it chronologically.

(62) Na u farame êbai o na khabwe habuk.
1SG PFT forget before VIRT 1SG say before
‘I have forgotten if I said it before.’

Compare with: na farame êbai o na khabwe habuk ‘I forgot if I said it before’.

Habuk ‘before’ and mon ‘after’ also occur as subordinators, together with the subordinator me, as in (63):

(63) Na habuk me i o=da=me xe pwaxat me i
but before SUB 3SG go=up=HITHER TPC necessity SUB 3SG
parega idaama-n.
hang eye-POSS.3SG
‘But before she came up here, she needed to put her eyes back (in their sockets).’

Habuk ‘before’, mon ‘after’ and hule ‘long ago/before’ also function as nominal modifiers, as in (64).

(64) ni naxâât bai habuk
in day ANAPH before
‘the day before (or) in those days’

5.6 The perfect with reference to some imminent event or to the imminent completion of a process

An imminent event, or the imminent completion of a process, is often expressed by a perfect marker in Oceanic languages (in Toqabaqita, Solomon islands (Lichtenberk 2008), as well as in Kanak languages). It also occurs in Mandarin, or in spoken French, where one of the two readings of je suis parti ‘I’m off’ (lit. I’m gone) is of imminent departure.

(65) Na u le.
1SG PFT leave
‘I’m off.’

The imminent process is asserted, as if already completed (hence the perfect), and the focus is on the projected final instant of the process and its resulting state.

In (66), the first occurrence of the perfect (u nanami) refers to a prior event relevant to the time of speech (t₀) and triggering the next process, also marked in the

13. Ö. Dahl (2006) labels such use of the perfect ‘iamitive’.
perfect (*na u le*), but expressing imminent completion this time. Similarly, in (67), the perfect (*na uulo*) indicates some imminent change of state.

(66)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mo axe bu na } u \text{ nanami khabwe } me \text{ na } u \text{ le.} \\
\text{2DU see for 1SG PFT think COMP(say) SUB 1SG PFT leave} \\
\text{`Listen you two, for I’ve decided to leave.’} 
\end{align*}
\]

(67)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bwaaramwa Pwâ Keebô ! co yhaali-na bu na } u \text{ ulo.} \\
\text{alas P.K. 2SG lift.off-1SG for 1SG PFT burn} \\
\text{`Help Pwâ Keebô ! lift me off (the fire) or I’m going to burn.’} 
\end{align*}
\]

(67) (Bril 2002: 495)

5.7 The perfect and other lexical expressions of imminence

It is of some interest that various lexical (locative or temporal) expressions of imminent completion involve (*k*)u ~ (*x*)u, and express gradation.

A. (*k*)u ~ (*x*)u *jeuk me* ’be close to, almost, nearly’ (*jeuk* ’be close, be next to’) refers to a targeted and nearly reached process or state, relevant to \( t_0 \) in (68) or potential in (69).

(68)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Bu (*xu*) jeuk me pôlôk kee-n.} \\
\text{for PFT be.close SUB be.full basket-poss.3SG} \\
\text{`Her basket is almost full already.’} 
\end{align*}
\]

(69)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Na ni yeewat o khabwe ku jeuk me foro=da taan…} \\
\text{but in time VIRT EVID(say) PFT be.close SUB white=up day} \\
\text{`But at the time when dawn may seem to be almost bright …’} \\
\text{(lit. when day will be close to be white)} 
\end{align*}
\]

B. (*k*)u ~ (*x*)u *thara* also expresses imminent completion (*thara* ’next to’):

(70)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I axe khabwe xu thara bwan.} \\
\text{3SG see COMP(say) PFT next.to night} \\
\text{`She sees that it’s getting dark.’ (lit. it is close to night)} 
\end{align*}
\]

C. Imminent completion may also be expressed by a negative time phrase *kio hule me* ’almost, soon’ (lit. it’s not long, where *hule* is predicative), combined with (*k*)u ~ (*x*)u in the next clause.

(71)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Kio hule me i u toven o khuwo.} \\
\text{NEG long.time SUB 3SG PFT finish PREP food} \\
\text{`He has almost finished eating.’ (lit. it’s not long that he has finished with food)} 
\end{align*}
\]

The verbal phrase *u diya me* (lit. do for) ’be about to’ also expresses imminence, see §7.1 below.
5.8 The perfect in *irrealis* reference frames

The specific uses of the perfect in *irrealis* reference frames are now considered.

5.8.1 The perfect in imperative or hortative utterances: Urged projected completion

In imperative and hortative utterances, the use of the perfect \( (k)u \sim (x)u \) is emphatic, it expresses the projected completion of a transitional process or a projected change of state with a stronger sense of urgency.

(72) \[ Co \ u \ fhe \ hliina \ thaxamo \ i \ yo \ me \ wa \ u \]
\[ \begin{array}{lllllllll}
2SG & PFT & take & those.2.DX2 & old.woman & DET & 2SG & and & 2PL & PFT
\end{array} \]
\[ o=da \ mwa ! \]
\[ \text{go=up} \ SEQ \]

'Do take these two spouses of yours and get on your way back!'

Compare with an unmarked imperative:

\[ Fhe \ hliina \ thaxamo \ i \ yo. \]

'Take these two spouses of yours.'

(73) \[ Wa \ u \ fhe \ hleena \ mââwu-wa \ roven \ me \ wa \]
\[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
2PL & PFT & take & those.2.DX2 & belonging-poss.2PL & all & and & 2PL & u & khavak ! \end{array} \]
\[ PFT \ go.away \]

'Do take all your belongings and be off!'

Compare with an unmarked imperative:

\[ Wa \ fhe \ hleena \ mââwu-wa. \]

'Take all your belongings.'

(74) \[ Co \ axe! \ hi \ u \ taabwa \ me \ hi \ u \ khuwo ! \]
\[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
2SG & see & 1DU & PFT & sit & and & 1DU & PFT & eat
\end{array} \]

'Listen! Do let's sit down and eat!'

– In self-directed hortative utterances, the semantics of \( (k)u \sim (x)u \) are similarly emphatic:

(75) \[ Sho \ o \ na \ u \ o=da \ bwaxamat. \]
\[ \begin{array}{llllllllll}
good & VIRT & 1SG & PFT & go=up & shore
\end{array} \]

'I must absolutely go up to the shore.'

Compare with the neutral self-directed hortative:

\[ Sho \ o \ na \ oda \ bwaxamat. \]

'I had better go back to the shore.'
5.8.2 Use of the perfect in future reference frames
In a virtual (o) or a future (io) frame, (k)u ~ (x)u refers to the imminent completion of a process, or an imminent change of state; it also expresses epistemic modality and the speaker's certainty about the projected occurrence of the event.

Table 7. Combination of irrealis mood and perfect

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantics</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o (k)u ~ (x)u</td>
<td>potentially completed action or change of state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>io (k)u ~ (x)u</td>
<td>projected, future action expressed as if completed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that io has scope on the whole clause, while (k)u ~ (x)u has scope on the predicate only:

(76) a. Io <na u le caae o waak>.
      FUT 1SG PFT leave tomorrow VIRT morning
      ‘I’ll be leaving tomorrow morning (for sure).’
      (lit. I’ll have left for sure tomorrow morning)

Compare with a neutral future event:

b. Io na à caae o waak
   FUT 1SG go tomorrow VIRT morning
   ‘I’ll go tomorrow morning.’

The combination of the future and the perfect may also express a projected change of state considered as certain in some future time:

(77) Io <na u mwa puri>.
     FUT 1SG PFT seq snake
     ‘I shall become a snake.’ (lit. I shall have become a snake for sure)

5.8.3 The perfect in virtual or conditional frames
– In clauses with virtual reference depending on a simulative verb, such as (78), the perfect in the dependent clause refers to a potential change of state or resulting state marked as if already achieved.

(78) Maariik o na u maak!
     be.like VIRT 1SG PFT die
     ‘It’s as if I was dead!’ (Bril 2002: 498)

– In conditional clauses (79), the perfect (k)u ~ (x)u expresses the projected completion of a virtual process with epistemic or deontic meanings.
Tense, aspect and mood in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia) 89

(79)  
\[ O \text{awa-}m\text{ }me\text{ }[yo\text{ }u\text{ }o-da]\text{ }xe\text{ }[e\text{ }na\text{ }diya\text{ }\text{waja-}m]\]

\[\text{pot}  \text{will-poss.2sg} \text{sub} 2\text{sg} \text{pft} \text{go-up} \text{tpc} \text{fut} 1\text{sg}\]

\[\rightarrow \text{P}_1\rightarrow \text{P}_2\]

‘If you must go/really want to go, I’ll make a boat for you.’
‘Should you really want to go, I’ll make a boat for you.’

Compare with the neutral sentence: o awa-m me yo oda… ‘if you want to go…’

– In virtual time clauses, such as [P₁] in (80), marked by the conjunctive marker ni yeewat o ‘when’, the perfect na u à is the prior and backgrounded (but virtual) condition for the projected event in [P₂] to occur.

(80)  
\[\text{Ni yeewat o }na\text{ }u\text{ }\text{à}\text{ }xe\text{ }[io\text{ }na\text{ }pwà\text{ }vhaa\text{ Nêlêmwa}].\]

\[\text{in} \text{time} \text{virt} 1\text{sg} \text{pft} \text{leave} \text{tpc} \text{fut} 1\text{sg} \text{a.Little speak Nêlêmwa}\]

\[\rightarrow \text{prior completed event } \text{P}_1\rightarrow \text{prospective event } \text{P}_2\]

[projected in some potential frame]

‘When I have left, I’ll speak some Nêlêmwa.’

Thus P₁ is equivalent to anterior future in French quand je serai parti. Compare with: ni yeewat o na à ‘when I leave…’ (quand je partirai, a simple future in French).

In (81), in the virtual frame of [P₁] marked by ni yeewa-t o, the perfect marker (k)u ~ (x)u marks the decision to follow (ku awa-m me yo u oxuri) as the prior condition for the process in [P₂] to occur. The perfect in [P₂] yo u le ‘you’ll go’ projects the imminent process as if already completed, and is modally assertive.

(81)  
\[\text{Ni yeewat o }ku\text{ awa-}m\text{ }[me\text{ }yo\text{ }u\text{ }oxuri\text{ hlaabai}\text{nanamiwo }i\text{ }yo\text{ }]\text{]}\text{}(\ldots)\text{ }xe\text{ }[yo\text{ }u\text{ }le].\]

\[\text{in} \text{time} \text{virt} \text{pft} \text{will-poss.2sg} \text{sub} 2\text{sg} \text{pft} \text{follow these.anaph}\]

\[\rightarrow \text{P}_1\rightarrow \text{P}_2\]

‘When you have decided that you must follow your wishes […], you’ll set off.’

So far, the analysis has focused on the functions and meanings of combined mood and aspect markers; we shall now turn to the expression of the various phasal aspects of processes.
6. Expression of the phasal aspects of processes

There are numerous morphological indicators of the internal phases of processes; these morphemes are generally pre-verbal. Table 8a (repeated from Table 3) summarises pluri-actional markers, and the various markers of incompletion.

Table 8a. Pluri-actional and incompletion markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLURI-ACTIONAL</th>
<th>INCOMPLETION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>aa</strong> iterative</td>
<td><strong>kua</strong> frequency (+past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>na</strong> processual</td>
<td><strong>baa</strong> durative (+activity V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gaa</strong> persistent</td>
<td><strong>gat</strong> continuative contrastive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>taa₁</strong> remansive &amp; state of activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stative verbs and states are compatible with some of the aspect markers expressing pluri-actionality (iterative **aa**, frequency **kua**) and incompletion (durative **baa**, persistive **gaa**, remansive **taa₁**). This will be developed under §6.1, §6.2.

The morphemes in table 8b (repeated from Table 4) focus on the initial or final boundary of an event or process. **Kio fwâ** ‘not yet’ refers to a still uninitiated process (§6.4.1); **fwââm** ‘almost, nearly’ indicates near, but failed, completion of some projected event (§6.4.3); **kio haxa** ‘no longer, no more’ refers to some permanently terminated event or process.

Table 8b. Other aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>boundary unreached</th>
<th>boundary nearly reached, but failed</th>
<th>permanently terminated, bygone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>kio fwâ</strong> ‘not yet’</td>
<td><strong>fwââm</strong> ‘almost, nearly’</td>
<td><strong>kio haxa</strong> ‘no longer, no more’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These aspect morphemes are compatible with any predicative lexeme (± verbal), but some of them, for instance the processual marker **na**, only combine with activity verbs. Compatibility between verb semantics and aspect morphemes also depend on the verb's inherent semantic features and Aktionsart: ± stative, ± punctual, ± telic, ± reversible (like ‘die’), iterative or cyclic (like ‘breathe’), compatible with a gradient (like ‘grow’), with degrees and grades.

6.1 Pluri-actionality: Iteration and frequency

Pluri-actional markers such as **aa** (iterative) and **kua** (frequency) may refer to punctual events (like ‘kick’) or to processes (like ‘work’). **Aa** is compatible with ± **realis** mood morphemes, while **kua** ‘often’ is only compatible with past reference.

All rights reserved
6.1.1 Aa: Iteration of time points or time intervals

Aa is compatible with all types of predicate (± verbal) and with all semantic types, stative or dynamic, ± telic verbs, ± punctual. It has iterative, regressive meaning (like ‘read again’) or reversive meaning (like ‘grow again’). In (82), the first iterative marker has scope on a free pronoun in predicate function.

(82) Aa yawa! wa aa tu khak!
    iter 2pl.fr 2pl iter go.down cast.net
    ‘(it’s) you again! Go back net-casting again!’

– In a negative sentence marked by kio, the meaning changes with the scope of aa, either on < p > or on < non p > as summarised below:
  kio < aa p > ‘not again’ vs. aa < kio p > ‘again not p’

(83) Kio i aa mago.
    neg 3sg iter sleep
    ‘He did not fall back to sleep.’ (interrupted cycle)

(84) Aa kio i mago.
    iter neg 3sg sleep
    ‘Again, he is not sleeping.’ (iterative)

6.1.2 Kua: Frequency (past)

The frequency marker kua is only compatible with past reference frames. It may combine with the perfect marker, as in (85), expressing relevance to some reference point. When combined with other markers, kua occurs immediately before the predicate.

(85) I u kua khabwe.
    3sg pft freq say
    ‘He’d often said it.’

(86) Kio i kua shaya shi-n.
    neg 3sg freq work side-poss.3sg
    ‘He does/did not often work at home.’ (known from past experience)

Interestingly, kua may combine with iterative aa with emphatic meaning:

(87) I aa kua tuâ yava.
    3sg iter freq lie 1pl.excl.fr
    ‘He kept lying to us.’ (known from past experience)

6.2 Markers of incompletion

Various morphemes mark ongoing or incomplete processes, which are represented by semi-open intervals ([---]); these morphemes have distinct semantics: na is prosessual, baa is durative, gaa is persistive, gat is continuative-contrastive, taa₁ is remansive.
Only persistive gaa and continuative-contrastive gat, which have modal semantics, are compatible with the perfect marker (k)u ∼ (x)u.

6.2.1 Na: Processual

The processual marker na is only compatible with activity verbs. It originates from a nominalising locative prefix (hna- ‘place’), which accounts for its immediate pre-verbal position and for the lack of a subject pronoun, which makes such constructions less finite and more participial. Na occurs in dependent clauses, headed by locative predicates (gi and je),¹⁵ as in (88–89), or dependent of perception verbs, as in (90), where na is actually part of a participial-like relative clause. Note that in (88), the plural pronoun hla is the subject of the locative verb gi in postverbal¹⁶ position. Compare with gi na ni mwa (lit. be.loc 1sg in house) ‘I’m in the house’.

(88) [Gi hla [na pwa-yiic]].
be.loc 3pl proc cut-wood
‘They are cutting wood.’ (lit. they are in the process of wood-cutting)

(89) Kio je [na haga].
NEG 3sg.be.loc proc fish
‘He is not fishing.’

(90) I axi hobai hulak [na taabwa ni woxa-hli].
3sg see anaph old.man proc sit in middle-pos.3du
‘He sees/saw that old man sitting among them.’

Example (12), repeated here, is another example of a participial-like relative clause headed by na: [thaamwa=ena gat] [hoo na vhaa] ‘it’s still that woman who is speaking’ (lit. it’s still that woman the one speaking).

But with such usage, na is no longer a nominalising prefix, as evidenced by the possible insertion of another aspect marker, such as persistive gaa in (91), which connotes obstinacy. Since nominalising prefixes do not allow insertion of any other entity between the prefix and the verb, na appears to have specialised as an aspect marker.

(91) Je na gaa gi.
3sg.be.loc proc persist cry
‘He’s still there crying/he keeps on crying’ [obstinately]

---

¹⁵. The locative verb gi ‘be in some place’ has postverbal subject pronouns for all persons (including 3sg gi ye), and only refers to animates, while je is only compatible with 3rd person singular or plural ±animate entities; compare gi ye ni mwa ‘he’s in the house’, je ni mwa ‘he’s/it’s in the house’.

¹⁶. Gi ‘be in some place’ is one of the few verbs with postverbal subjects.

© 2016, John Benjamins Publishing Company
All rights reserved
Yet, in contrast with other aspect markers, *na* excludes any subject index. Thus, in contrast with *i baa gi* 'he’s crying’ or *i gaa gi* ‘he keeps crying’, ‘*i na gi* is ungrammatical, only a locative expression, such as *je na gi* ‘he’s there crying’, is acceptable.

6.2.2 Comparison of durative *baa*, persistive *gaa*, continuative-contrastive *gat*

Before proceeding with the detailed analysis of durative *baa*, persistive *gaa* and continuative-contrastive *gat*, here is a brief outlook of their semantic differences, illustrated in (92).

*Baa* refers to some ongoing process with activity verbs, while *gaa* expresses persistence, and possibly contrast with some other expectation on the speaker’s part and modal semantics; as for continuative *gat*, the only marker to be in post-verbal position, it also denotes contradictory expectation.

(92) a. *I baa khuwo* ‘(s)he’s eating’
   b. *I gaa khuwo* ! ‘(s)he’s still eating’ [she’s persistent, but should not]
   c. *i khuwo gat* ‘(s)he’s still eating’ [it is expected to be over]

(93) a. *I baa khu kuvic ̀ålò hleny.* 3sg dur eat yam child this.DX1
   ‘The child is eating yam.’
   b. *I gaa khu kuvic ̀ålò hleny.* 3sg persist eat yam child this.DX1
   ‘The child goes on eating yam.’ (he should not, yams must be kept)

6.2.3 Gaa: Persistive

Like iterative *aa*, and frequency *kua*, persistive *gaa* is compatible with all types of predicates, non-verbal (94), stative or dynamic, and with ± punctual events. It is also compatible with *irrealis* and *realis* reference frames. Positions are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o ~ io (s) gaa predicate (irrealis)} & \\
\text{(s) u gaa predicate (realis)} &
\end{align*}
\]

(94) *Xam gaa pànaat.*
   ass persist stone
   ‘It is still stone.’ (as a persistent state of things, but a different one is expected)

(95) *Xam gaa pe-maariik.*
   ass persist rec-be.similar
   ‘It is again similar.’

(96) *Gaa nabak=du kua-n.*
   persist sink=down foot POSS.3sg
   ‘Her feet keep on sinking down.’

*Gaa* may express irritation when the persistent process or state is seen as an obstacle. It may combine with *gêlâ ‘always’* (like iterative *aa* and frequency *kua*).
(97) \[ I \quad \text{gaa} \quad \text{gi} \quad \text{gêlà}. \]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3\text{sg} & \text{persist} \\
\end{array}
\]
(always)

‘She keeps wailing all the time.’

6.2.4 Baa: Durative

Durative *baa* is compatible with ± *reals* reference frames; but not with the perfect marker \((k)u \sim (x)u\), in contrast with persistive *gaa*. It refers to an ongoing process with activity verbs, but it is durative with stative verbs, as in (99):

(98) \[ I \quad \text{baa} \quad \text{khuwo}, \quad \text{na} \quad \text{xau} \quad \text{tabö} \quad \text{kot}. \]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
3\text{sg} & \text{dur} & \text{eat} & \text{but} & \text{unexp} & \text{fall} & \text{rain} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He was eating when the rain started falling.’

(99) \[ \text{Baa} \quad \text{maaxa}. \]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{dur} & \text{be.raw} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘It’s still raw.’

– Negated duration: *kio... baa* ‘not/no longer ongoing’ vs. non-initiated duration *baa kio* ‘still not’

If the negation *kio* has scope on the segment \(< \text{baa} + \text{predicate}>\), as in (100), the process is no longer ongoing: *kio < baa p* > ‘not/no longer ongoing’. If *baa* has scope on the negated predicate (101), the process has not yet started: *baa < kio predicate>* refers to some uninitiated duration meaning ‘still not’; *gat* marks some contradictory expectation.

(100) \[ \text{Kio} < i \quad \text{baa} \quad \text{mago} \quad \text{gat} >. \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{neg} & 3\text{sg} & \text{dur} & \text{sleep} & \text{cont} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He’s not/no longer sleeping.’

(101) \[ \text{Baa} < \text{kio} \quad i \quad \text{mago} \quad \text{gat} >. \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{dur} & \text{neg} & 3\text{sg} & \text{sleep} & \text{cont} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He’s still not asleep.’

6.2.5 Gat: Continuative and contrastive

*Gat* is one of the few aspectual morphemes to occur after the predicate. It marks continuative aspect, but also denotes contradictory expectation or presupposition. It often combines with durative *baa*:

(102) \[ \text{Baa} \quad \text{kia-e} \quad \text{gat}. \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{dur} & \text{not.be.there-3sg} & \text{cont} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He’s still not there.’ [but he should be]

(103) \[ \text{Co} \quad \text{khuxi} \quad \text{o} \quad \text{baa} \quad \text{hnu} \quad \text{gat}! \]
\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
2\text{sg} & \text{eat.tr} & \text{virt} & \text{dur} & \text{hot} & \text{cont} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Eat it while it’s still hot!’
A. kio mwa… gat ‘no longer’
In (104), the state of ‘still being young’ (âlô gat) is negated; the perfect (k)u ~ (x)u and the sequential mwa mark the transitional process leading to a change of state (lit. it’s no longer the case I am still young). The perfect has scope on the whole negative sentence and marks the change of state relevant to the present (t₀):

\[
\text{xu} < \text{kio mwa na âlô gat} >
\]

(104)  \[\text{xu kio mwa na âlô gat}.\]
\[\text{PFT NEGSEQ 1SG child CONT}\]
‘I’m no longer young.’ (in spite of what you think)

Compare with the neutral statement: kio na âlô ‘I’m not young’.

B. Combinations of durative baa, continuative-contrastive gat, processual na
When durative baa and continuative gat combine with the locative processual constructions gi… na or je… na, the markers baa… gat frame the locative predicate while na has scope on the following activity verb.

(105)  \[\text{je gat ] [na pwe].}\]
\[\text{3SG.be.LOC CONT PROC fish}\]
‘He’s still there fishing.’ (but he should be back)

(106)  \[\text{baa gi hla gat ] [na khuwo] !}\]
\[\text{DUR be.LOC 3PL.FR CONT PROC eat}\]
‘They are still there eating!’ (they should not)

Compare with: je [na pwe] ‘he’s fishing’, gi hla [na khuwo] ‘they are eating’.

6.3 Taa₁ remansive and taa₂ previous occurrence

Taa₁ (possibly originating from taabwa ‘sit, be settled’) refers to remansive states or states of activity, often expressing contrast. There is another taa₂, probably with the same lexical origin, which expresses previous occurrence and means ‘already, (do) in advance, before’; taa₂ often (but not always) appears in what can be analysed as lexicalised verb compounds, like taa fooyet ‘cook in advance’, taa khabwe ‘predict, warn’ (khabwe ‘say’), taa paare ‘warn’ (paare ‘announce’), taa pajale ‘promise, say in advance (pajale ‘reveal’). On the other hand, some non-lexicalised uses of taa₂ (analysed in §6.3.2) express previous occurrence and can be translated by ‘already’. These two morphemes are probably independent evolutions from the same lexeme.

---

17. See Desclés & Guentchéva (1995) for the notion of state of activity like it’s on flight.
6.3.1 Remansive *taa₁*
Remansive *taa₁* combines with stative or activity verbs with different semantics.

A. *Taa₁* with stative predicates: Remanent state of things
With stative predicates, *taa₁* refers to a remanent state, which may be seen as an obstacle (107a) to another expected state, with which it is implicitly contrasted; it may con- note impatience or irritation:

(107) a. *Puxet da me taa khoxo i wa?*
   origin what? sub be.many det 2pl
   ‘Why do you remain so numerous?’ (there should be fewer people)

Compare with a simple neutral question:

(106) b. *Puxet da me khoxo i wa?*
   origin what? sub be.many det 2pl
   ‘Why are you so numerous?’

B. *Taa₁* with activity verbs: remanent activity or state of activity
With dynamic verbs, *taa₁* expresses a remanent activity or state of activity, contrasting with some other (expected) event/state. In (108), two projected concomitant activities are contrasted:

(108) *Co taa kuut mwena, bu na taa haga=ve hmwiny.*
   2sg rem stand there.dx2 for 1sg rem fish=crosswise here
   ‘You stay there, as I’ll be fishing around here.’ (Bril 2002: 482–483)

Compare (108) with an ongoing process: *je na haga* ‘he is fishing’.

In (109), an event (*o-da ‘go up’*) is contrasted with a remanent state of activity (*taa muuvi ‘stay put’*):

(109) *Na o=da ni daak, wa taa muuvi.*
   1sg go=up in garden 2pl rem stay
   ‘I go up to the field, you stay (here).’

(110) *Na hi agu xe shuma o i pweedi-e [...],*
   but this person tpc be.like virt 3sg turn.round-3sg
   ‘But this person, he seems to turn his back (i.e. lose interest),
   *bu i taa no=du ni wi-yaak.*
   for 3sg rem watch=down in sea-salt
   for he remains/keeps watching down towards the sea.’
   (instead of listening facing the speaker)

The persistive marker *gaa* may combine with a *taa*-marked remanent activity:
Tense, aspect and mood in Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia) 97

(111) Co [gaa [taa kââleng hwiny]].
2SG PERSIST REM go.around here
‘Keep on turning round here.’

Differences appear clearly in the two imperative clauses in (112): in a. the participant is urged to keep moving, and taa marks some implicit and contextual contrast with the one who stops; while in b. with gaa, simple persistence is expressed without any such contrastive meaning.

(112) a. Co taa ôô=xi !
2SG REM go=away
‘Keep moving away!’ [while the other is stopping]

b. Co gaa mwa ôô=xi !
2SG PERSIST SEQ go=away
‘Go further away!’

6.3.2 Taa₂ ‘already’, expressing previousness
The other morpheme, taa₂, stresses the previous occurrence of an event, and prior completion of some activity.

(113) I axi hulak aa-xiik xe i taa tuu=me.
3SG see.TR old.man CL-one REL 3SG PREV go.down=HITHER
‘He sees an old man who’d already come down here.’

Taa₂ may combine with the perfect marker to stress anteriority in relation either to the time of speech or to a past event in a narrative:

(114) Hla u pe-tîxââc hlaali yabwec, puxet hoona i u
3PL PFT REC-be.angry those.DX3 subject cause that.DX2 3SG PFT
 taa ogine
PREV finish
‘The subjects got angry because he had already finished (tilling)
baaruxia i ye, ke i baa mwelôô baaruxia i Teâ. furrow DET 3SG then 3SG DUR remain furrow DET Chief
his furrow (of new yam), while the chief’s furrow still remained (untilled).’

(115) Pûwûlûû fââlô xe i u taa kââleng mwamaidu Tavaam.
news mission TPC 3SG PFT PREV go.around down.there Tavaam
‘As for the news of (this) mission, it has already gone around (the area of)
Tavaam down there (in the north).’

6.4 Morphemes equivalent to ‘not yet’ and ‘almost’
This section concentrates on morphemes which specifically focus on the relation to the initial boundary of the event, process or state. Those are kio... fwâ or fwâ kio ‘not yet’,

All rights reserved
fwâ koni ‘never yet, still never’, and fwâam ‘almost, nearly’; they refer to a process or event that has not yet occurred.

6.4.1 Kio… fwâ ~ fwâ kio ‘not yet’
Fwâ is only used in combination with the negation kio. The morphemes are discontinuous when the negation comes first in kio… fwâ, but they are adjacent in the reverse order (fwâ kio), without any semantic difference whatsoever. Kio… fwâ or fwâ kio refer to an event that has not yet occurred, either in relation to the time of speech or to some other reference point disconnected from the time of speech (116–117).

(116) Kio i fwâ uya (or) fwâ kio i uya.
    NEG 3SG YET arrive     YET NEG 3SG arrive
    ‘He has/had not arrived yet.’ (or) ‘He has/had yet not arrived.’

The combination with gat marks some contradictory expectation:

(117) Fwâ kio i uya (gat).
    YET NEG 3SG arrive CONT
    ‘He (still) hasn’t arrived yet.’ [gat rendered here as ‘still’ suggests that he should be here.]

Compare with the durative aspect in (102) repeated here:

    baa kia-e gat
    ‘he’s still absent/not there.’

When kio … fwâ combines with a phasal verb (start, finish), only the phase expressed lexically and the relevant boundary are under consideration (the initial boundary with an inchoative verb as in ‘he hasn’t yet started’, or the final boundary as in (118)).

(118) Kio i fwâ toven.
    NEG 3SG YET finish
    ‘He hasn’t yet finished.’

6.4.2 Fwâ koni ‘never so far, never yet, still never’
Koni is a negative modal verb meaning ‘unable, impossible’. By contrast with kio … fwâ which refers to one event, fwâ koni ‘never yet/so far’ has a scanning effect, it negates any occurrence of an event within a given temporal frame, up to the time of speech or up to some past event.

(119) Va fwâ koni tu Frans.
    1PL.EXCL YET be.unable go.down France
    ‘We’ve/d never been to France so far/yet.’
6.4.3 *Fwââm* ‘almost, nearly’

*Fwââm* ‘almost, nearly’ refers to an event which almost occurred. A similar meaning is expressed by French *faillir, manquer de* or English *come close to*. The semantics of \(<fwââm p>\) can be glossed as follows, [the interval of event p was almost reached, but fell short of it].

(120) *Fwââm* au-riik me io kio i khabwe shi-ny!
    ALMOST times-one CONJ FUT NEG 3SG say side-poss.1SG
    ‘He was very close not to tell me!’ [but he did]

(121) *I fwââm* maak.
    3SG ALMOST die
    ‘He almost died.’

6.5 Permanently terminated event or state: *Kio… ha(x)a* ‘no… longer’

*Haxa* expresses permanence with restrictive connotations, meaning ‘only stay/keep doing’. In (122), the perfect marker signals a change of state relevant to the time of speech. As shown by (122a–b), it appears in realis and irrealis reference frames. Its negative counterpart *kio haxa* refers to a situation (event or state) which is permanently terminated (123) and which may also denote bygone events.

– Permanence: *haxa*

(122) a. *I u ha(x)a taa nô-waa.*
    3SG PFT PERM sit watch-empty
    ‘He merely stayed/kept staring away.’

b. *Io ha(x)a top na mwena.*
    FUT PERM rot LOC there.DX2
    ‘It will just remain rotting away there.

– Permanently terminated or bygone event or state: *kio haxa*

(123) *Mwena xe hla u hûn, kio hla ha(x)a vhaa.*
    there.DX2 TPC 3PL PFT be.silent NEG 3PL PERM speak
    ‘Then, they fell silent, they no longer spoke.

6.6 Comparing permanently terminated *kio… haxa* ‘no longer’ with *kio… baa* ‘not ongoing’ and *fwâ kio* ‘not yet’

The following examples illustrate the use of these negative aspectual phrases, contrasting (i) permanently terminated events, processes or states expressed by *kio… haxa*, with (ii) no longer ongoing processes with *kio… baa*, and (iii) events that have not yet occurred with *fwâ kio* ‘not yet’.
I sabelle Bril

– kio… haxa refers to a terminated event, sometimes permanently over as in (124).

(124)  
\[\text{Kio } i \text{ ha(x)a mago.}\]
\[\text{NEG 3SG PERM sleep}\]
‘He never sleeps anymore.’ [due to insomnia or disease]

– By contrast, kio… baa in (125), (repeated from (100)) simply refers to an interrupted process, which may be resumed. Optional gat denotes some contradictory expectation or presupposition.

(125)  
\[\text{Kio } <i \text{ baa mago (gat)}.}\]
\[\text{NEG 3SG DUR sleep (CONT)}\]
‘He’s not/no longer sleeping.’

– Compare finally with fwâ kio (126) which refers to an event that has not yet started.

(126)  
\[\text{Fwâ kio } i \text{ mago (gat).}\]
\[\text{ASP NEG 3SG sleep CONT}\]
‘He’s not yet asleep.’

7. Phasal verbs

So far, the focus has been on the morphological expression of aspects and on the phasal aspects of a process; there are also a few phasal verbs expressing imminent occurrence (diya me ‘about to’), incipient phase (thaaxa ‘begin’) or final phase (toven ‘end’). Duration can also be expressed lexically by verbs such as kuut ‘stand’ or mu ‘stay, remain’.

7.1 Diya me: Imminence

Diya me (lit. do for) ‘be about to’ refers to an imminent action. It is compatible with realis (127–128) or irrealis virtual frames (129).

(127) \[I u \text{ diya me i (u) oxo-va.}\]
\[3SG PFT do SUB 3SG PFT follow-1PL.EXCL\]
‘He’s about to follow us.’

(128) \[Bu i \text{ diya me i fhe aroo-ny ai a Kaavo ?}\]
\[for 3SG do SUB 3SG take husband-POS.1SG where? AGT Kaavo\]
‘So where is Kaavo about to take my husband?’

(129) \[O \text{ diya me kot, na fha kuru.}\]
\[\text{VIRT do SUB rain COORD blow wind}\]
‘When it’s about to rain/should it be about to rain, the wind blows.’
7.2 Inchoative verb: *Thaaxa(puxet)* ‘begin’

The inchoative verb *thaaxapuxet* is a compound of *thaaxa* ‘begin, start’ (which also has spatial use)\(^{18}\) and *puxet* ‘origin’; it is compatible with present, past or future reference frames.

(130)  
\(\text{(a) } \text{Dua hla thaaxapuxet me hla uya...} \)  
\(\text{when 3PL begin SUB 3PL arrive} \)  
\(\text{‘When they began to arrive...’} \)

\(\text{(b) } \text{I thaaxa shaya.} \)  
\(\text{3SG begin work} \)  
\(\text{‘He started working.’} \)

7.3 Cessative verb: *Toven* ‘end, stop, finish’

*Toven* ‘stop; finish, end’ marks the last instant of a process.

(131)  
\(\text{Wa u toven o thivi maaxi i na?} \)  
\(\text{2PL PFT finish COMP pluck.TR straw DET 1SG} \)  
\(\text{‘Have you finished plucking my straw?’} \)

The postverbal form, *roven*, is a verbal specifier in complex predicates:

(132)  
\(\text{I u keva wany xe wa-giik... xa keva roven wany hleny.} \)  
\(\text{3SG PFT build boat REL CL-one also build finish boat this.DX1} \)  
\(\text{‘He’s built a boat... and that boat is finished.’} \)

7.4 Durative verbs: *Kuut* ‘stand’, *mu* ‘stay’

The verbs *kuut* ‘stand’ and *mu* (the short form of *muuvi* ‘stay’) express durative meanings.

(133)  
\(\text{Tu kuut me yo axe khabwe ti.} \)  
\(\text{go.down stand COORD 2SG see COMP(say) who?} \)  
\(\text{‘Go down, stay, and see who it is.’} \)

(134)  
\(\text{Hla taabwa me hla u muuvi mu.} \)  
\(\text{3PL sit COORD 3PL PFT stay stay} \)  
\(\text{‘They settled and they’ve been staying there.’} \)

\(^{18}\) *Thaaxapuxet* has a temporal prepositional function as in *thaaxapuxet caae* ‘starting from tomorrow’, while *thaaxa* functions as a spatial preposition, as in *thaaxa na Odayan* (begin LOC Odayan) ‘starting from Odayan’.
8. Aspectual role of directional markers

One last part of speech which contributes to aspectual specifications is directional- 
als; their main spatial and aspectual meanings are summarised in Table 9 (see Bril 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DEICTIC DIRECTIONALS</th>
<th>NON-DEICTIC DIRECTIONALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me</td>
<td>ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xi</td>
<td>da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up to now</td>
<td>continuous (or)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centripetal, hither</td>
<td>progressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centrifugal</td>
<td>up to a point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space centripetal, hither</td>
<td>aspectual meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space centrifugal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.1 Centripetal directional me: Present perspective

In its aspectual function, the centripetal morpheme me 'hither’ (towards the speaker) 
expresses the current relevance to the time of speech (t₀) of a past process which may 
be completed or not, since current relevance does not presuppose the completion of 
the process.

(135) Na xam kua noolî=me. 
1SG ASS often see.TR=HITHER 
'I’ve often seen that.' (until now)

(136) Hooli vhaa eli xe hà u tâlâ=me. 
that.ANAPH speech that.ANAPH TPC 1PL.INCL PFT hear=HITHER 
‘Those words, we’ve heard them up to now.’

8.2 Upwards da: Progression

The upward directional da marks a progressive and cumulative process:

(137) Hla vhaa=da. 
3PL speak=up 
‘They’re talking away.’

When some time limit is expressed, da indicates progression up to that point.

(138) Hla u civa=da [ku “cilig civa!”]. 
3PL PFT dance=UP PFT go.wrong dance 
‘They danced until (they heard) « the dance has gone wrong! ».’

The verb o=da ‘go up’ also expresses cumulation and progression until some endpoint:
Dua $u$ o=$da$ $uya$ mweli, $hla$ thu $wooxa$ $agu$.

when $PFT$ go=up arrive there.$ANAPH$ $3PL$ do middle people

‘When things have reached that point, they divide people.’

O=$da$ $mwa$ $xa$ $tan$.

go=up $SEQ$ also be.night

‘In the end, it got dark.’

8.3 Crosswise ve: Temporal expansion, continuous

When used aspectually, the crosswise\textsuperscript{19} directional ve refers to the unbounded expansion of an ongoing process. Ve is compatible with present, past or potential temporal references, as shown below.

I $hâk$=ve.

3SG be.big=cROSSWISE

‘He’s growing up.’

Co $taa$=ve $da$ mwêna?

2SG sit=cROSSWISE what? there.$DX2$

‘Why do you remain sitting there?’

– Future or potential reference

Paari-na=ve $uya$ hna-kûûli-a-t.

tell-1SG=cROSSWISE arrive NMZ-end-DET-C

‘Tell me until the end.’

Pwaxa $taan$ mahleena $io$ yo malep=ve $na$-t.

for day those.$DX2$ fut 2SG live=cROSSWISE inside-DET-C

‘for the days to come that you’ll be living.’

Kââlek $o$ hâ $na$=ve.

impossible VIRT 1PL.INCL put=cROSSWISE

‘It is impossible for us to postpone (it).’

8.4 Aspectual conjunctive phrases with $da$ ‘up’, $ve$ (crosswise)

The directional also occurs in a conjunctive phrase $uya$=$da$, the grammaticalised form of the verb $uya$ ‘arrive’, which marks a final instant.\textsuperscript{20} If the endpoint is virtual, it

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item The crosswise directional is used for directions such as ‘across a river’, but it is also used for directions across the oriented ‘up-down’ axis; thus, it is also used with meanings such as ‘along the coast’, and with the aspectual meaning of progression.
\item It also has a prepositional function as in $uya$ $éna$ ‘until now’ (lit. arrive now).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
combines with o, *uya=da o* ‘until’ (146a); if *realis*, it combines with *xe* (146b); if the endpoint is past in a narrative, it combines with *dua*.

(146) a. \( I \) o na xam gaa shaya maya *uya=da o*  
\( \text{FUT 1SG ASS PERSIST work slowly arrive=up VIRT} \)  
\( \text{na kûûlî.} \)  
\( \text{1SG finish.TR} \)  
‘I’ll do this work slowly until I finish (it).’  

b. I \( wâlem uya=da xe i axe puyat xe pwa-giik. \)  
\( \text{3SG walk arrive=up SUB 3SG see hill REL CL-one} \)  
‘He walks until he sees a hill.’ *(lit. until he sees a hill that is one)*

It may also combine with the crosswise directional *ve* to express progression until an endpoint (147–148).

(147) \( ... uya=ve ni thumaaxa i aayo-ma. \)  
\( \text{arrive=CROSSWISE in do-funeral DET Chief-great} \)  
‘[they do so] until the great Chief’s funerals (come).’  

(148) \( me oo=me uya=ve ni yeewat hleny. \)  
\( \text{and come=HITHER arrive=CROSSWISE in time this.DX1} \)  
‘and it has been passed on until nowadays.’  
*(lit. and it has come here passing on until this present time)*

9. Conclusion

Tense (present or past) has no verbal exponent in Nêlêmwa; the time of events is merely contextual and indicated at clause or sentence level by deictic and anaphoric adverbs. In the aspectual domain, the core notions hinge on the bare aorist form, the perfect marker *(k)u ~ (x)u*, the recent completion marker *hââ*, and a wealth of incompletion markers encoding subtle semantic nuances, plus two pluri-actional markers. Directionals also participate in aspectual specifications. Mood has been shown to hinge on the contrast between *realis* and *irrealis*, with some imbalance between them in terms of morphological exponents: *realis* is Ø-marked, in contrast with the *irrealis* markers. The virtual/subjunctive marker *o* also has epistemic value when used to refer to uncertain, potential situations.

In dependent clauses, some conjunctive markers like *dua* ‘when’ (+past) contain inherent temporal reference. Some aspect morphemes also have inherent temporal features: thus, *kua* (translatable by ‘often’) is only compatible with the past, *hââ* refers to a recently/just completed process, *taa₂* (translatable by ‘already’) marks previous occurrence. Tense and aspect thus interact to some extent.

All rights reserved
Coming back to the contrast between the bare aorist verb form and the perfect marker \((k)u \sim (x)u\), the bare aorist verb form refers to (past or present) events, or to sequences of events, without reference to their inner phasal structure. It also expresses generic statements. On the other hand, the basic meaning of the perfect is to express the relevance of some anterior event or process in relation to a reference frame (either the time of speech \((t_0)\) or some past event \((t_2)\)); but the perfect has other functions and meanings: it may refer i. to the resulting state of a completed process, ii. to a change of state, or iii. to a transitional process or to a change of degree in the context of some evolution. In complex clauses, the perfect may be used with backgrounding effects and may express causal relations between processes and clauses. In \textit{irrealis} reference frames, the perfect may have deontic or epistemic meanings, it may assert the projected completion of a process as certain.

Thus, the fairly basic time reference stands in contrast with the wealth of aspectual and phasal morphemes. This classifies Nêlêmwa as a mood- and aspect-predominant language.

### Abbreviations

\begin{itemize}
  \item AGT agent marker;
  \item ANAPH anaphoric;
  \item ASP aspect;
  \item ASS assertive;
  \item C construct morpheme;
  \item CL classifier;
  \item COMP complementiser;
  \item CONJ conjunction;
  \item CONT continuous;
  \item COORD coordinator;
  \item DET determiner;
  \item DIR directional;
  \item DU dual;
  \item DUR durative;
  \item DX deictic;
  \item EVID evidential;
  \item EXCL exclusive;
  \item EXIST existential;
  \item FEM feminine;
  \item FR free pronoun;
  \item FREQ frequency;
  \item FUT future;
  \item INCL inclusive;
  \item INSTR instrumental;
  \item INTR intransitive;
  \item ITER iterative;
  \item LOC locative marker;
  \item NEG negation;
  \item NMZ nominaliser;
  \item PERM permanence;
  \item PERSIST persistive;
  \item PFT perfect marker;
  \item PL plural;
  \item PL.INDF plural indefinite;
  \item POSS possessive;
  \item POT potential;
  \item PREV previous;
  \item PROC prosessual;
  \item PROH prohibitive;
  \item REC reciprocal;
  \item REC.COMPLT recent completion;
  \item REL relative marker;
  \item REM remansive;
  \item SEQ sequential conjunction;
  \item SG singular;
  \item SUB subordinator;
  \item TPC topic marker;
  \item TR transitive;
  \item UNEXP unexpected;
  \item VIRT virtual.
\end{itemize}

### References


