

context, but it is not distinctive in the meaning of these verb forms.

#### 2.1.3.2.3. 'Expectation': -nem

This suffix obligatorily selects one of the two prefixes of position -4.

Meaning: Forms containing this suffix present an event, which is 'non-realised', as being 'expected'. The informant's translations into English vary between 'he will ...' or 'can' or 'might' or even an imperative.

Closest in meaning are the nominalising -ka(t) 'inceptive' (see 1.1.3.2.2.1. above) and the verbal inflective suffix -pulu. The former is syntactically a relativiser and thus always related to an (overt or covert) head noun. The latter indicates 'possibility' rather than 'expectation'.

Prefix ?ax- combined with suffix -nem indicates '(expectation) absolute', prefix Ø- combined with suffix -nem indicates '(expectation) non-absolute'. Among the examples (Fuchs:30) the following is particularly illustrative:

- (163) mutúleka ?axnehíčinem pentéewnem  
 'Tomorrow morning I shall go see her.'  
 (?ax-ne-híči-nem 'absolute', pe-n-téew-nem  
 'non-absolute')

The 'absolute' is characterising the primary event while the 'non-absolute' links the second event to the first.

Absolute forms in -nem are more frequent than non-absolute ones.

#### 2.1.3.2.4. 'Possibility': -pulu

The suffix shows two variants, one with initial consonant /-pulu/, one with initial vowel /-alu/. Their distribution follows the regularities formulated for the VC/CV - suffixes in the Morphophonemics, I, 2.2.

Meaning: The possibility of an event is underlined. One frequent contextual variant is 'wish':

- (164) hem-ǰíi-pulu 'I wish they would go.'

For further examples see Fuchs, p. 31.

#### 2.1.3.2.5. 'Injunctive'

- (a) 'injunctive, absolute' = 'imperative'

Two morphemes: singular -e, plural -am

- (b) 'injunctive, non-absolute' -na

Variation:

-na and -an according to the VC/CV-regularity found in -pulu and in other affixes.

Meaning:

The common denominator of both imperative and -na consists in an 'order'.

The contrast between the two perspectives is typically linked with certain contexts, so much so that certain contexts exclude one or the other perspective.

If the injunctive is preceded by an element indicating a 'condition' or a 'temporal precedence', only the 'non-absolute' forms are permitted.