

An initial description of multi-verb constructions in Lubukusu

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1 Introduction

^[1] It is fairly familiar to speakers of Bantu languages and to Bantuist linguists that something like clause-chaining constructions exist in Bantu languages (Leonard, 1980; Hlongwane, 1996; Nurse, 2008; Sarvasy, 2019; Sikuku et al., 2023; Riedel and Gibson, 2024).

(2) Swahili (Riedel and Gibson, 2024, 804-805)

Wa-li-ingi-a wa-ka-tok-a.
SM2-PST-enter-FV SM2-NAR-leave-FV
‘They entered and then they left.’

(3) Kirundi (Sikuku et al., 2023, 14)

N-á-ra-z-ye, n-ra-bon-a, n-ra-tsind-a.
1SM-PST-DJ-come-FV 1SM-NAR-see-FV 1sm-NAR-conquer-FV
‘I came, I saw, I conquered.’ [Kirundi]

(4) Zulu (Hlongwane 1996, glossing from Riedel and Gibson 2024, 806)

U-mame wa-vuka, wa-geza, wa-pheka, wa-phaka.
AUG-1a.mother SM1.REM-wake.up SM1.NAR-bathe SM1.NAR-cook SM1.NAR-dish.up
‘Mother woke up, bathed, cooked, and dished up [the food].’

(5) Zambian Totela (K41) (Crane, 2015, 146)

... kú-kwààt-à kù-nèns-à kù-nèns-à ...
INF-grab-FV INF-beat-FV INF-beat-FV
‘... [then she] caught [him and] beat [him and] beat [him]’

^[6] Riedel and Gibson (2024) describe four main strategies for clause chaining in Bantu languages:

(7) Strategies for clause-chaining in Bantu:

- Narrative tense on non-initial chained clauses
- Subjunctive on non-initial chained clauses
- Non-initial chained clauses are infinitives
- non-initial verbs bear no TAM marking

^[8] That said, these constructions are relatively underresearched in Bantu languages.

^[9] In this talk we provide a descriptive overview of various multi-verb strategies within Lubukusu.¹

¹This presentation builds on an even more limited description of these patterns in Major et al. (2026); some of the data and descriptions here were drawn from that work.

(10) Strategies for multi-verb constructions in Lubukusu

Strategy	Form	Interpretation	Tentative: internal structure
Standard conjunction	<i>mala, lundi, ne</i>	(un)relatedness	full CP conjuncts
Narrative clause chains	narrative/actual; subjunctive	subsequent events	MoodP
NE-clauses	<i>n(e)</i> - verbal prefix	temporal overlap; purpose	MoodP or AspP
truncated adjunct clause	[_{XP} AGR-verb-a]	manner modifier	AGR + low truncation

[11] Roadmap

- §2 Conjunction
- §3 Narrative clause chains
- §4 NE-clauses
- §5 Truncated verbal adjunction
- §6 *AGR-li* ‘say’-complementation
- §7 Conclusions
- §9 Appendix: Connected speech

2 Clausal conjunction

(12) Lubukusu clause-combining conjunctions

Conjunction	Interpretation	Approximate translation
<i>mala</i>	related conjuncts	‘and then,’ ‘and therefore,’ ‘so’
<i>lundi</i>	unrelated conjuncts	‘and’
<i>ne</i>	underspecified/general	‘and’

- (13) Wafula ech-ile likolooba { *ne* / *lundi* / #*mala* } maayi wa Travisi a-meny-a
 1Wafula 1SM.come-PFV yesterday CONJ / CONJ / CONJ 1.mother 1-ASSOC Travis 1SM-live-FV
 e-Bungoma.

23-Bungoma

‘Wafula came yesterday and Travis’s mom lives in Bungoma.’

- (14) Context: Wafula is harsh towards children and they fear him

Wafula ech-ile likolooba { *ne* / #*lundi* / *mala* } ba-ba-ana ba-kh-ach-e muchuli
 1Wafula 1SM.come-PFV yesterday CONJ / CONJ / CONJ 2-2-children 1SM-FUT-go-FUT tomorrow
 ‘Wafula came yesterday and (therefore) the children will leave.’

- If the children’s leaving is unrelated to Wafula’s arrival: ✓*lundi*; #*mala*

[15] In clausal conjunctions like these, both conjuncts can bear full tense/aspect marking.

[16] We have not found a clausal conjunction context where the *ne* conjunction is unacceptable.

3 Narrative clause chains

- [17] There is a construction in Lubukusu wherein sequential verbs communicate a series of actions/states.
- These constructions communicate a collection of events without a requirement that the clauses be interpreted as the same single event, able to link ‘coming’ and ‘leaving’ in (18).
 - We will refer to these as **narrative clause chains**.

- (18) a. Wafula ech-a a-(a-) ch-a
 1Wafula 1SM.PST.come-FV 1SM-NAR-go-FV
 ‘Wafula came and (then) went.’
 b. Wafula a-kh-ech-e a-ch(-e)
 1Wafula 1SM-FUT-come-FUT 1SM-go-SBJV
 ‘Wafula will come and (then) leave.’
- (19) a. Narrative tense: SM-(a-) verb.root-a
 For past tense events that have actually occurred at the utterance time (20a)²
 b. Subjunctive: SM-verb.root(-e)
 For sequences of future (irrealis) events unrealized at the utterance time (20b).
- (20) a. Past + Narrative:
 Wekesa osy-a e-nyam-a a-a-(ki-)ly-a
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST.roast-FV 9-meat 1SM-NAR-9OM-eat-FV
 ‘Wekesa roasted meat and (then) ate it.’
 b. Future + subjunctive:
 Wekesa a-kh-osy-e e-nyama a-(ki-)ly-e
 1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-roast-FUT 9-meat 1SM-9OM-eat-SBJV
 ‘Wekesa will roast meat and eat (it).’

- [21] Some properties of narrative clause chains include:
- No overt conjunction or linker/subordinator morphology
 - No tense specified after the first verb (apart from narrative tense / subjunctive)
 - The interpretation of non-initial, mood-marked predicates is dependent on the tense of the main clause.
 - Otherwise they behave like full clauses: contain goals, applicatives, objects, object markers, modification, etc.

4 NE-clauses

- (22) Unrelated but simultaneous activities:
 Wekesa osy-a e-nyama [(n-) a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa.]
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST.roast-FV 9-meat NE-1SM-drink-FV 6-6-beer
 ‘Wekesa roasted meat while drinking beer.’

²This is also known as the “actual” Baker et al. 2013; Sikuku et al. 2023 given its uses and interpretations in non-narrative contexts with apparent complement clauses.

[23] In NE-clauses:

- modifying clause displays *n(e)*- morphology as a prefix to the verbal form.
- NE-clauses have different interpretations based on their aspect marking.
- The internal syntax of NE-clauses is the full syntax of typical finite clauses, EXCEPT:
 - NE-clauses do not include their own tense marking.

(24) Lubukusu NE-clauses: A ne-B

TAM-marking on NE-clause	Interpretation	Approximate translation
NE + tense	*	*
NE + imperfective	simultaneous	‘while’
NE + perfective	A follows ne-B	‘after’
NE + negated perfective	A precedes ne-B	‘before’
NE + narrative/actual	ne-B happens because of A	‘so’

(25) NE + tense is ungrammatical

*Wekesa a-ly-osy-a e-nyama ba-keni ne- ba-ly- ol-a.
 1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-roast-FV 9-meat 2-guests NE-2SM-FUT-arrive-FV

(26) NE + imperfective; simultaneous

Wekesa a-ly-osy-a e-nyama ba-keni ne- kha- b-ol-a.
 1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-roast-FV 9-meat 2-guests NE-IPFV-2SM-arrive-FV
 ‘Wekesa will (sometime long from now) roast meat while the guests arrive.’

(27) NE + perfective: ‘after’

Wekesa a-ly-osy-a e-nyama ba-keni ne- b-ol-ile.
 1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-roast-FV 9-meat 2-guests NE-2SM-arrive-PFV
 ‘Wekesa will (sometime long from now) roast meat after the guests arrive.’

(28) NE + negated perfective: ‘before’

Wekesa a-ly-osy-a e-nyama ba-keni ne- ba-kh- ol-ile ta.
 1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-roast-FV 9-meat 2-guests NE-2SM-NEG-arrive-PFV NEG
 ‘Wekesa will (long from now) roast meat before the guests arrive.’

(29) NE + narrative/actual: ‘so’³

- Li-nani ly-a-ba ne-njaala ne- ly-aa- teekh-a sy-akhulia.
 5-ogre 5SM-PST-COP with-9hunger NE-5SM-NAR-cook-FV 7-food
 ‘The ogre was hungry so it cooked food.’
- Li-nani ly-a-bir-a li-kela ne- ly-aa- keniya America.
 5-ogre 5SM-PST-pass-FV 5-exam NE-5SM-NAR-visit-FV America
 ‘The ogre passed (its) exams so it visited America.’
 (i.e. it was able to go to America because it passed its exams; it is an accomplished ogre)

³The NE- is optional in these constructions; in the absence of NE- (so, just an actual adjunct clause), the interpretation is either ‘and then [actual clause]’ or ‘so [actual clause].’ When NE- is present, however, the sequential interpretation is unavailable and only a ‘so’ reading is available.

4.1 Internal syntax of NE-clauses

[30] NE-clauses:

- can contain overt subjects independent from the main clause,
- can be negated distinctly from the main clause, with dependent clause negation in (31a)
- can occur with an applicative (31b)
- can contain object markers (31c)

- (31) a. Wekesa osy-a e-nyama [Nafula n-a-kha-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa ta.]
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST.roast-FV 9-meat 1Nafula NE-1SM-NEG-drink-FV 6-6-beer NEG
 ‘Wekesa roasted meat while Nafula was not drinking beer.’
- b. Wekesa osy-a e-nyama [Nafula n-a-kha-nyw-el-a o-mu-khulundu ka-ma-lwa
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST.roast-FV 9-meat 1Nafula NE-1SM-NEG-drink-APPL-FV 1-1-pastor 6-6-beer
 ta.]
 NEG
 ‘Wekesa roasted meat while Nafula was not drinking beer on behalf of the pastor.’
- c. Wekesa osy-a e-nyama [n-a-ki-ly-a]
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST.roast-FV 9-meat NE-1SM-9OM-eat-FV
 ‘Wekesa roasted meat while eating it.’
 (i.e. *roasting it and eating bits as he went*)

[32] NE-adjuncts can receive independent modification from the main verb, as in (33):

- in this example, the partitive class 17 *-kho* enclitic is used to modify the matrix predicate, meaning ‘a little bit’
- the NE-adjunct includes an adverbial that means ‘intensely/a lot’

- (33) Wekesa osy-a(-kho) e-nyama Nafula n-a-nyw-a ka-ma-lwa (lukali)
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST.roast-FV-17 9-meat 1Nafula NE-1SM-drink-FV 6-6-beer intensely
 ‘Wekesa roasted meat a little bit while Nafula was drinking a lot of beer.’

4.2 A potential confound: Discourse particle NE

[34] There is a NE-form that appears in connected speech:

- It appears before subjects, rather than as a verbal prefix.
- It is interpreted as marking a subsequent event ‘and then,’ not as a simultaneous event (i.e. not ‘while’).⁴

[35] We can call this a discourse connective NE.

[36] Discourse connective NE is compatible with various tenses:

- (37) a. Discourse connective NE (past tense)
 Nafula a-a-teekh-a sy-akhulya. Ne li-nani ly-a-ly-a ba-ba-ana.
 1Nafula 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7-food. NE 5-ogre 5SM-PST-eat-FV 2-2-children
 ‘Nafula cooked food. And (then) the ogre ate the children.’

⁴In some examples it seems more like a simple conjunction ‘and’ (perhaps being derived from the conjunction *ne*): more research is certainly necessary.

- b. Discourse connective NE (indefinite future tense)

Nafula a-li-teekh-a sy-akhulya ne li-nani li-li-ly-a ba-ba-ana.
 1Nafula 1SM-FUT-cook-FV 7-food. NE 5-ogre 5SM-FUT-eat-FV 2-2-children
 ‘Nafula will (sometime in the distant future) cook food. And (then) the ogre will eat the children.’

5 VP-modifying truncated adjunct clauses

5.1 Single event restriction

(38) Main clause [SM-verb.root-FV]

- (39) a. Nafula { a-a-nyw-a / a-kha-nyw-e ka-ma-beele } a-kesemulil-a.
 1Nafula 1SM-PST-drink-FV 1SM-FUT-drink-FV 6-6-milk 1SM-sweat-FV
 ‘Nafula drank/will drink milk sweating’
 b. Wekesa { a-a-som-a / a-kha-som-a sii-tabu } a-keend-a.
 1Wekesa 1SM-PST-read-FV 1SM-FUT-read-FV 7-book 1SM-walk-FV
 ‘He read/will read a book walking.’

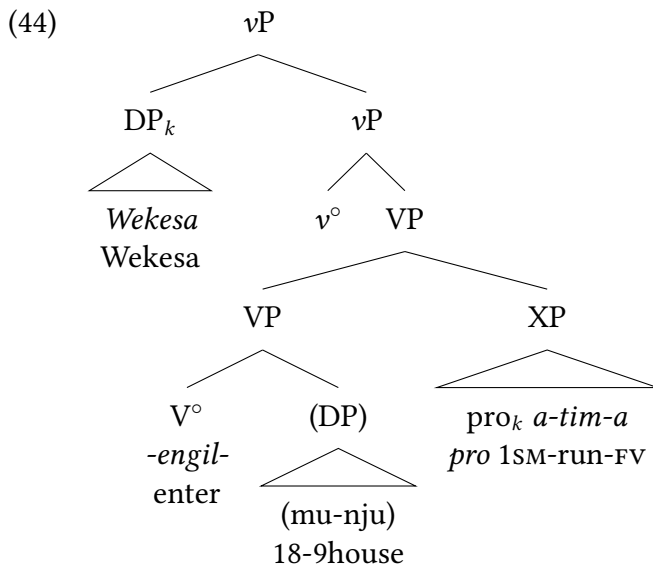
[40] We refer to these as **truncated** specifically because they lack the full range of structures that NE-adjunct clauses and narrative clause chains do.

[41] Both verbal elements necessarily refer to a single event.

- (42a) is necessarily construed as a manner modifier of the matrix clause that temporally overlaps with it, necessarily describing a single event.
- (42b) encodes two separate temporally related events, interpreted sequentially.

- (42) a. Truncated verbal adjunction:
 Wekesa a-kha-engil-e mu-nju [a-tim-a]
 Wekesa 1SM-FUT-enter-FUT 18-house 1SM-run-FV
 ‘Wekesa will enter the house running.’
 b. Full verbal adjunct:
 Wekesa a-kha-engil-e mu-nju [_{TP} a-kha-tim-e]
 Wekesa 1SM-FUT-enter-FUT 18-9house 1SM-FUT-run-FUT
 ‘Wekesa will enter the house (and then) will run.’

[43] We assume these are minimal structures that contain just a vP and some functional structure on top of that which hosts the agreement morphology, which we call XP for the purposes of this discussion.



[45] Truncated adjunction appears to require a manner interpretation, or must at least refer to a single event.

- In (46) only *dancing* (46a) can be considered an actual way of entering the house.
- A similarly simultaneous activity of greeting people in (46b) is nonetheless not itself the manner of entering, and is less acceptable using the truncated adjunct clause, instead requiring the NE subordinator.

- (46) a. Wafula engil-a mu-nju (??n-)a-khin-a ka-ma-beka
 1Wafula 1SM.enter-FV 18-house (??NE-)1SM-dance-FV 6-6-shoulders
 ‘Wafula entered the house dancing.’ (*dancing shoulders = a particular kind of dance*)
- b. Wafula engil-a mu-nju ??(n-)a-khesi-a buli mundu
 1Wafula 1SM.enter-FV 18-house ??(NE-)1SM-greet-FV every 1person
 ‘Wafula entered the house (while) greeting everyone.’

[47] Some predicates make appropriate second events but not appropriate manner modifiers:

- one can enter a house and then sit (narrative clause chain in (48a)),
- but it is unclear how could enter a house via the manner of sitting (truncated adjunction in (48b)).

- (48) a. Narrative clause chain:
 Wafula e-cha e-e-khal-a.
 Wafula 1SM-enter 1SM-NAR-sit-FV
 ‘Wafula entered and then sat down.’
- b. (Attempted) truncated verbal adjunction:
 ??Wafula e-cha e-khal-a.
 Wafula 1SM-enter 1SM-sit-FV
 ‘Wafula entered in a sitting manner (maybe: kept sitting in the process of entering?).’

5.2 Truncated verbal adjunction is truncated

[49] The truncation strategy appears to be a small verbal constituent.

[50] It is impossible to have goals/applicatives added to a truncated adjunct clause:

- (51) *Alfred engila munju a-tim-a khu-ese.
1Alfred 1SM.PST.enter-FV 18-house 1SM-run-FV 17-me
Intended: ‘Alfred entered the house running toward me.’

- (52) a. Wafula a-a-khin-il-a Nafula.
1Wafula 1SM-PST-dance-APPL-FV 1Nafula
‘Wafula danced for Nafula.’
b. *Wafula engil-a mu-nju a-khin-il-a Nafula.
1Wafula 1SM.PST.enter-FV 18-house 1SM-dance-APPL-FV 1Nafula
‘Wafula entered the house dancing-for Nafula.’

[53] Truncated adjunct clauses cannot be negated; any attempt to do so requires the NE- subordinator.

- Both negation strategies are shown in (55) to be ungrammatical with the truncated adjunct clause strategy.

- (54) Wafula engil-a mu-nju *(ne)-a-kha-khin-a ta.
1Wafula 1SM.enter-FV 18-house NE-1SM-NEG2-dance-FV NEG
‘Wafula entered the room while not dancing.’

- (55) a. *Wafula engil-a mu-nju se-a-khin-a ta.
1Wafula 1SM.enter-FV 18-house NEG-1SM-dance-FV NEG
Intended: ‘Wafula entered the house not-dancing.’
b. *Wafula engil-a mu-nju a-kha-khin-a ta.
1Wafula 1SM.enter-FV 18-house 1SM-NEG-dance-FV NEG
Intended: ‘Wafula entered the house not-dancing.’

[56] Truncated adjuncts make up the same event as the matrix predicate, and therefore can’t be manner-modified distinctly from the matrix predicate:

- (57) *Wekesa a-kha-engil-e(-kho) mu-nju a-tim-a (bwaangu) .
1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-enter-FUT-17PART 18-9house 1SM-run-FV quickly
Attempted: ‘Wekesa will enter the house a little bit running quickly.’

6 AGR-li ‘say’-complementation

6.1 AGR-li constructions

[58] This presentation originates in our independent efforts to re-analyze the so-called agreeing complementizer in Lubukusu.

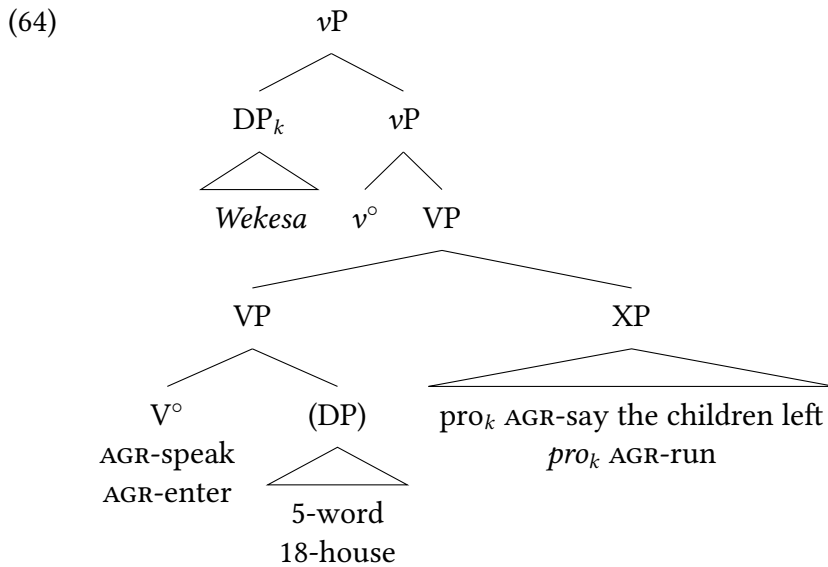
[59] In Major et al. (2026) we propose that AGR-li is not an agreeing complementizer but is instead a verbal element meaning ‘say’ in a multi-verb construction (Major, 2021; Major and Torrence, 2021).

- (60) Context: A speechwriter explains to the press what the president will say in his speech later:
 O-mw-aami a-la-lom-a a-li ba-a-sikari ba-la-yukh-a e-ngo.
 1-1-leader 1SM-FUT-speak-FV 1SM-SAY 2-2-soldiers 2SM-FUT-return-FV 9-home
 ‘The president/leader will speak saying the soldiers are returning home.’ (Major et al., 2026) (i.e.,
 ‘The president will say that ...’)

- (61) Argument structure of ‘say’/AGR-li (Major et al., 2026)
 [SOURCE say [COMMUNICATED CONTENT]]

[62] Major et al. (2026) propose that the structure of an AGR-li ‘say’-complementation structure is similar to a truncated verbal adjunction:

- (63) a. Wekesa a-kha-engil-e mu-nju a-tim-a
 1Wekesa 1SM-FUT-enter-FUT 18-house 1SM-run-FV
 ‘Wekesa will enter the house running.’
 b. Wekesa a-a-lom-a li-khuwa a-li ba-ba-ana b-a-ch-a
 1Wekesa 1SM-PST-say-FV 5-word 1SM-SAY 2-2-children 2SM-PST-go-FV
 ‘Wekesa said that the children left.’



[65] Major et al. (2026) show that AGR-li constructions can appear in unselected contexts, with a ‘saying’-type interpretation:

- Adjunct constructions in (66).
- Matrix AGR-li uses like (67)

- (66) Unselected adjunct AGR-li clauses (Major et al., 2026)

- a. Wafula a-kha-ch-a a-nje a-li a-nyol-e e-m-beo.
 1Wafula 1SM-PFV-go-FV 16-outside 1SM-SAY 1SM-get-SBJV 9-9-air
 ‘Wafula went outside saying he would get fresh air.’

- b. O-mu-keni a-ly-a bu-suma bwaangu lukali (a-li) a-bu-siim-a.
 1-1-guest 1SM.PST-eat-FV 14-ugali quickly very 1SM-SAY 1SM.PST-14OM-like-FV
 ‘The guest ate the ugali very quickly, saying that they(sg) liked it.’

- (67) Matrix *AGR-li* (Major et al., 2026)
 e-barua (e-li) ba-ba-ana b-a-ch-a.
 9-letter 9SM-SAY 2-2-children 2SM-PST-leave-FV
 ‘The letter says the children left.’

[68] We don’t lay out all the data here, but *AGR-li* constructions show the same morphosyntactic restrictions as truncated verbal adjunction does.

6.2 *AGR-li* appearing in chaining constructions

[69] If we begin with a verb like *-lila* ‘cry’ in (71a) without *AGR-li*, it is not construed as a communicative predicate at all.

[70] Communication is encoded only by the presence of *AGR-li*, as in (71b).

- (71) a. Wekesa a-a-lil-a
 1Wekesa 1SM-PST-cry-FV
 ‘Wekesa cried.’
 b. Wekesa a-a-lil-a (a-li) maayi a-a-tib-a
 1Wekesa 1SM-PST-cry-FV 1SM-SAY 1mother 1SM-PST-get.lost-FV
 ‘Wekesa cried, saying his mother passed away. (lit. got lost, fig. died)’

[72] *AGR-li* can appear in clause chains.

- The *AGR-li* clause specifies what was communicated (“said”) via a series of actions ‘say/speak,’ ‘cry,’ and ‘sing.’

- (73) Wekesa a-lom-ile a-a-lil-a e-emb-a (a-li) maawe a-a-tib-a.
 1Wekesa 1SM-speak-PFV 1SM-NAR-cry 1SM.NAR-sing-FV 1SM-SAY 1mother 1SM-PST-get.lost-FV
 ‘Wekesa spoke, cried, and sang saying that his mother passed away.’ (lit. got lost, fig. died)
- (74) Wekesa a-ulil-a li-khuwa a-a-lil-a eemb-a lu-lw-imbo (a-li) maawe
 1Wekesa 1SM.PST-hear-FV 5-news 1SM-NAR-cry-FV 1SM.NAR.sing-FV 11-11-song 1SM-SAY 1mother
 a-a-tib-a.
 1SM-PST-get.lost-FV
 ‘Wekesa heard the news, cried, sang the song, saying that his mother passed away.’ (lit. got lost, fig. died)

7 Conclusions

[75] This presentation gives an initial description of multi-verb constructions in Lubukusu.

[76] Much further empirical and analytical work is necessary.

[77] The appendix in §9 shows that narrative tense and NE-clauses can also appear in connected speech.

(78) Properties of multi-verb constructions in Lubukusu

	Truncated verbal adjuncts	AGR- <i>li</i>	temporal NE-clause	reason NE-clause	Narrative/ actual
Subject agreement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Takes applicative	✗	✗	✓	tbd	✓
Negation	✗	✗	✓	tbd	✓
Tense-marked	✗	✗	✗	narrative	✓
Aspect-marked	✗	✗	✓	tbd	✓
Takes object marker	✗	✗	✓	tbd	✓
Independent manner adverb	✗	✗	✓	tbd	✓

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9 Appendix: Dependent clauses in connected speech

- [79] Both NE-clauses and narrative tense/actual clauses are also available in connected speech, rather than just as adjunct clauses.
- [80] That is to say, both NE-clauses and narrative tense (the ‘actual’) can appear across sentence boundaries in subsequent sentences in a narrative.

- (81) a. Nafula a-a-teekh-a sy-akhulya. Ba-ba-ana ne-ba-si-ly-a
 1Nafula 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7-food. 2-2-child NE-2SM-7OM-eat-FV
 ‘Nafula cooked food. Simultaneously, the children ate the food (e.g. bit by bit, eating as she cooked).’
 b. Nafula a-a-teekh-a sy-akhulya. Ba-ba-ana ba-a-si-ly-a
 1Nafula 1SM-PST-cook-FV 7-food. 2-2-child 2SM-NAR-7OM-eat-FV
 ‘Nafula cooked food. And then the children ate the food.’

- [82] One way this is visible is via clause-final negation particles.
- (83) shows NE-clauses and narrative tense/actual clauses before clause-final negation
 - (84) shows them after clause-final negation, presumably as subsequent sentences.⁵

- (83) a. NE-clauses preceding clause-final negation:
 Li-nani se-li-a-keend-a mu-mu-siru [ne-li-enj-a sy-akhulya] [ne-li-si-ly-a] [ta].
 5-ogre NEG-5SM-PST-walk-FV 18-3-forest NE-5SM-look.for-FV 7-food NE-5SM-7OM-eat-FV NEG
 ‘The ogre didn’t walk in the woods while looking for food and eating it.’ (i.e. none of the actions happened)
 b. Narrative clauses preceding clause-final negation:
 Li-nani se-ly-a-keend-a mu-mu-siru [ly-a-enja sy-akhulya] [ly-a-si-ly-a] [ta].
 5-ogre NEG-5SM-PST-walk-FV 18-3-forest 5SM-NAR-look.for-FV 7-food 5SM-NAR-7OM-eat-FV NEG
 ‘The ogre didn’t walk in the forest and then look for food and then eat it.’ (the ogre did none of these things)

⁵For reasons we don’t currently understand, truncated verbal adjunction appears to be incompatible with all negation. We’re also unsure whether this is a grammatical fact or a semantic/pragmatic fact.

- (1) a. *Se-ly-a-som-a li-keend-a ta.
 NEG-5SM-PST-read-FV 5SM-walk-FV NEG
 ‘It (the ogre) didn’t read walking.’
 *Se-ly-a-som-a ta li-keend-a.
 NEG-5SM-PST-read-FV NEG 5SM-walk-FV
 ‘It (the ogre) didn’t read walking.’

(84) a. NE-clauses following clause-final negation

Li-nani se-li-a-keend-a mu-mu-siru (ta) [ne-li-enj-a sy-akhulya] [ne-li-ly-a.]
 5-ogre NEG-5SM-PST-walk-FV 18-3-forest NEG NE-5SM-look.for-FV 7-food NE-5SM-7OM-eat-FV

‘The ogre didn’t walk in the woods; (at that time) it was looking for food and eating it.’ (walking didn’t happen; the ogre did look for food and eating it)

b. Narrative clauses following clause-final negation:

Li-nani se-ly-a-keend-a mu-mu-siru (ta) [ly-a-enja sy-akhulya] [ly-a-si-ly-a.]
 5-ogre NEG-5SM-PST-walk-FV 18-3-forest NEG 5SM-NAR-look.for-FV 7-food 5SM-NAR-7OM-eat-FV

‘The ogre didn’t walk in the forest and then looked for food and then ate it.’ (no forest-walking; ogre DID look for food and eat)