FE'EFE'E   Djomeni Gabriel   2/2013

DP Positions in African Languages - version 3

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I. Introduction.

This questionnaire is designed to explore where Determiner Phrases (DPs) are permitted to appear in a string (i.e, where they can be pronounced), where they must appear, and where they must not appear.

In many of the tasks that follow, you will be asked not only for a translation of a model sentence, but for judgments about the scenarios in which the sentence can be appropriately uttered. Please be sure to indicate as clearly as possible which reading for any given sentence is the one you find acceptable and if you find that some examples are more acceptable than others, please use our acceptability scale to give graded judgments, if you feel that such gradations accurately capture your intuitions. The scale is as follows:

* Unacceptable either at all or at least under the interpretation that you have been asked about.
*? Very marginally possible, perhaps only by comparison with an example or interpretation that
     is clearly *
?? Very odd. You probably would not say this sentence this way or would not say it this way for
      the interpretation you have been asked about.
? Just a little off. Something not quite right about it.
OK This sounds like a natural sentence and is an appropriate sentence to use for the
     interpretation that you have been asked about.

When providing a sentence in your language, whether it is based on a model sentence or is one that you formulate or add in a comment about the sentence you are eliciting, always use the following format (example from Lubukusu).

1.	Yòháná éésònyá	ómwèènè
	Yòháná á-á-í-sòní-á	ó-mù-èènè
	Yohana SM.c1-PST-RFM-shame-fv	c1-c1-own
	John shamed himself.	

The first line is a rendering in the latinate alphabet that is typically used for your language with tone marked accordingly. If your language has no latinate representation or certain diglosses are used for certain sounds (e.g., *-kh-* for the voiceless velar fricative, or *–sh-* for the voiceless palatal fricative) then please indicate this information in some explanatory commentary provided with your answers to the questionnaire. The glossing conventions we want you to use are available on the Afranaph site: Look at the lefthand margin of the homepage and click on glossing conventions.

Unless you are explicitly asked to use a particular word order or manner of translation, provide more than one translation if you think the sentence is ambiguous or might be said more than one way. Your comments about what you think might be factors in making the judgment that you do are always welcome and are very frequently useful, if you will be kind enough to provide them.

After we receive your responses to our questionnaire, we will think about the data you have given us and we will be contacting you again both to insure that we have everything we need and that the responses are clear and complete, as well as to ask follow-up questions, questions that involve asking you for new data, especially when an empirical pattern seems to be of particular rarity or serves a particular theoretical interest.

Specify the language into which you are translating here: __Fe'efe'e_____

The Fe'efe'e alphabet follows the prescriptions of the General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages (GACL) (see Tadadjeu & Sadembouo1984). Therefore, the following correspondences will be considered as represented in the following table.

Phonetic representation	Orthographic representation
ɒɒ	ɑ
ɒ	ɑ
ɛ, e	e
ɣ	gh
tʃ	c
ʃ	sh
ʔ	'
dʒ	j

The low tone is not marked. Syllabic nasals bear a mid tone.

II.   Base line questions.

This section is designed to give us an overview of how sentences are constructed in your language. Please translate them using the glossing conventions described above.

1. Mɑ̄ngáangaā kɑkwāt nkhʉnkhʉ ī ntám thʉ̄.
Mɑ̄ngāángaā kɑ-kwāt nkhʉnkhʉ̄ i ntám t hʉ̄.
Spider   PST2-tie web   its inside tree
  "A spider spun a web in the tree."

2. Mʉnzhwiē lɑ́ kɑlɑ́'sī pōōnkhʉɑ̄ ñkɔ̄
  Mʉ-nzhwiē lɑ́   kɑ-lɑ́'sī   pɑ-ōōnkhʉɑ̄ ñ-kɔ̄
C1-woman ADV PST2-show C2-children C4-basket
"The women showed the children the baskets."

3. Nǎm fhʉ̄ndóm shi.

 Nǎm fhʉ̄ndóm shi.

Sun P0-warm water

"The sun has warmed the water."

4. Pɑh kɑlén mbí pɑmbā' mɑ́ pō tíé ngofāt.

  Pɑh kɑ-lén mbí pɑ-mbā' mɑ́ pō tīé   ngofāt

 We   PST2-ask to C2-man   that they plant maize

"We asked the men to plant the maize.

5. Please translate the sentence below. If your language has multiple complementizers (ways of saying 'that') please give us multiple translations. If there are varying shades of meaning associated with complementizer choice, please give us whatever information comes to mind about their usage and meanings.

Siāni kɑlén mɑ́ pōōngoo bê le imbɑ mʉnfɑ̄' wáha

Siāni kɑ-lén mɑ́ pɑ-ōōngoo bê le   i-mbɑ mʉ-nfɑ̄'   wáha

Siāni P1-say that C2-girl   these ADV FUT0-be PROG-work tomorrow

"Mary said that these girls will be working tomorrow."

In subsequent sections of the questionnaire we will be interested to learn whether complementizer choices are available and what shades of meaning are associated with the choices. It does not seem realistic for us to ask you to provide multiple translations of every single sentence containing an embedded clause, but we would appreciate your keeping complementizer options in mind and provide some representative samples and commentary where choices are available.

III.   Checking for DP subjects of infinitives.

Please translate the following items literally, taking care to use the finite verb forms for the finite verb forms in the bracketed clauses, or infinitive verb forms for infinitive verb forms in the bracketed clauses (all the (b) examples below). The term 'infinitive' may not directly translate to your language, but we are particularly interested in verb forms that do not show agreement morphology and are not clearly associated with present, past or future tense. If you think there is more than one candidate verb form that meets this description, then please provide examples of both. Is the result well-formed? For these examples and throughout the questionnaire, please be sure to provide full translations and glosses etc. even for sentences we ask for that are not acceptable,

  1.   Ok a. Pó ñkwá' mɑ́ Tǔko kwě' Siáni.

         Pó   ø-ñkwá' mɑ́ Tǔko ø-kwě'   Siāni

       They PRES-think that Tǔko PRES-love Siāni

         "It is believed [that John likes Mary."

      **ʔb. Pó ñkwā Tǔko kwē̌' Siāni

           Pó   ñ-kwā   Tǔko kwē̌' Siāni

        They PRES-think Tǔko love Siāni

         "It is believed [John to like Mary."

2. Ok a. Mô'ntie' mɑ Siāni yíí Tǔko.

    Mô' ntie'   mɑ Siāni   ø-yíí Tǔko

    other time that Siāni PRES-see Tǔko

    "It is possible [that Mary sees John."

Ok b. Mô'ntie' Siāni yíí Tǔko.

    Mô' ntie' Siāni yíí Tǔko

    other time Siāni see Tǔko

    "It is possible [Mary to see John]."

3.   a. Mvak Siāni kɑyīī Tǔko lɑ́ shʉɑ ā

    Mvak   Siāni kɑ-yīī Tǔko lɑ́   ø-shʉɑ   ā

    Manner Siāni PST2-see Tǔko ADV PRS-surpass me

        "[That Mary saw John] surprises me."

    *b. Siāni lah njīī Tǔko inshʉ̄ɑ̄ ā

    Siāni lah njīī Tǔko i-nshʉ̄ɑ̄   ā

    Siāni   for see Tǔko FUT0-surprise me

    "[Mary to see John] would surprise me."

3.   a. Mvak sēn yoh píá pen kɑyū' yāā le lɑ́ ingátsí wen.

    Mvak   ø-sēn   yoh píá pen kɑ-yū' yāā le lɑ́   i-ñgátsí   wen.

    Manner C3-friend we and you P1-hear it   this ADV FUT0-embarrass us

        "[That our friends heard this] is embarrassing."

    *b. Sēn yoh píá pen lah ñjū' yāā iñgātsī wen

    ø-sēn   yoh píá pen lah ñjū' yāā   i-ñgātsī   wen

    C3-friend our and we to   hear that FUT0-embarrass us

    "[Our friends to hear this] would be embarrassing."

5.   OKa. Pō mʉñdēn mɑ́ Siāni kwě' ndu' ndishʉ̄ɑ̄'.

    Pō   mʉ-ñdēn mɑ́ Siāni   ø-kwě' ø-ndu' ndishʉ̄ɑ̄'.

    They PROG-say that Siāni PRS-like C4-drink bitter

        "There is a rumor [that Mary likes beer]."

    ? b. Pō mʉñdēn Siānǐ kwě' ø-ndu' ndishʉ̄ɑ̄'.

    Pō mʉ-ñdēn Siānǐ kwě' ø-ndu' ndishʉ̄ɑ̄'.

    They PROG-say Siāni like C3-drink bitter

    "There is a rumor [Mary to like beer]."

IV. Testing for NP-movement from embedded clauses.
IV. A. Raising.

Please translate the following items literally, taking care to use a tensed or infinitival verb form in the bracketed clauses to match the sentences you are translating. Are the results well-formed in the scenarios described? It may be possible in these instances to have a sentence that is well-formed, but seems odd to say in these circumstances. Please also tell us this, if the sentence is acceptable but if it seems inappropriate in some way in these particular circumstances. And if there are options vis-à-vis the complementizer involved, please indicate this and any correlating differences in grammaticality.

A. *You are a detective investigating a crime scene. You know that Mary wears shoes that leave a specific pattern on the ground. Upon seeing footprints with this pattern, can you say the following?*

    1. Ok Yáá m̄fōh pɑ́' Siāni kɑcō sê lɑ́.

        Yáá ø-m̄fōh   pɑ́' Siāni kɑ-cō   sê   lɑ́.

        It PRES-seem as Siāni P1-fall here ADV

           "It seems [that Mary fell here]."

    2. *Siāni m̄fōh kɑcō sê.

        Siāni ø-m̄fōh   kɑ-cō   sê.

      Siāni PRES-seem P1-fall here

        "Mary seems [fell here]."

3.   *Siāni m̄fōh pɑ́' kɑcō sê lɑ́.

       Siāni m̄fōh   pɑ́' kɑ-cō sê   lɑ́

       Siāni ø-seem as P0-fall here ADV

       "Mary seems [that fell here]."

    3. Ok Siāni mfōh mbᵾɑ̄ ā fhᵾ̄ncō sê lɑ̄.

        Siāni   ø-mfōh   mbᵾɑ̄   ā fhᵾ̄-nco sê   lɑ̄.

        Siāni PRS-seem manner she PST1-fall here ADV

             "Mary seems [to have fallen here]."

B. *You are reading tomorrow's weather forecast in the newspaper. Can you say:*

1.ok   Mbak iñdō wáha.

       Mbak   i-ñdō   wáha

       Rain FUT0-fall tomorrow

       "Rain will fall tomorrow."

2.   Yáá m̄fōh pɑ́' mbāk iñdō wáha lɑ́.

       Yáá   ø-m̄fōh pɑ́' mbāk i-ñdō   wáha   lɑ́.

       It   PRS-seem as rain   FUT0-fall tomorrow ADV

       "It seems that rain will fall tomorrow."

    4. *Mbăk m̄fōh iñdō wáha.

Mbăk ø-m̄fõh   i-n̄dō wáha.
Rain PRES-seem FUT0-fall tomorrow
"Rain seems [will fall tomorrow]."

5. **OK** Mbăk m̄fõh pɑ́' ā in̄dǫ wáha lɑ́
   Mbăk ø-m̄fõh pɑ́' ā i-n̄dō wáha   lɑ́
   Rain PRS-seem as it FUT0-fall tomorrow ADV
   "Rain seems [that will fall tomorrow]."

6. Ok Mbăk m̄fõh mvak mbᵾ̄ɑ̄ a kɑ́lō wáha lɑ́.
   Mbăk ø-m̄fõh   mvak mbᵾ̄ɑ̄   a   kɑ́-lō   wáha   lɑ́
   Rain PRS-seem   as   manner it FUT0-fall tomorrow ADV
        "Rain seems [to be going to fall tomorrow]."

C.   *You find that the watering hole the cows usually drink from is dry. Without seeing the cattle, can you say:*

1.   Ok Yáá m̄fõh mbᵾ̄ɑ̄ nənɑ̌' nū nkwe nshi lɑ́.
     Yáá ø-m̄fõh mbᵾ̄ɑ̄ nənɑ̌' nū   nkwe   nshi   lɑ́.
     It PRES-seem that cow   drink all   water ADV
     "It seems [that the cows have drunk all the water]."

2.   *Něnɑ m̄fõh pɑ́' pō nū nkwē nshī lɑ́.
     Něnɑ   ø-m̄fõh pō lah   nū nkwē nshī lɑ́.
     Cows PRES-seem as they drink all   water ADV
     "The cows seem [to have drunk all the water]."

3.   *Něnɑ m̄fõh pɑ́' nū nkwē nshī lɑ́.
     Něnɑ ø-m̄fõh   pɑ́' nū nkwē nshī lɑ́.
     Cow PRES-seem as drink all water ADV
     "The cows seem [have drunk all the water]."

4.   *Něnɑ m̄fõh mɑ́ nū nkwē nshī lɑ́.
     Něnɑ   ø-m̄fõh mɑ́   ø-nū nkwē nshī lɑ́.
     Cows PRES-seem that P0-drink all   water ADV
     "The cows seem [that have drunk all the water]."

In English, *seem* is the verb most often used to illustrate raising constructions, but you might also try verbs like *appear*, your closest equivalent to English *be likely*, if there is no easy translation for *seem*. If any of these verbs take something other than what you would normally think of as an infinitive, but permit the paradigm in (B) or (C), then please provide the paradigm for that verb (i.e., provide sentences

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with the verb in question corresponding to each of the examples in B.). If there are complementizer options (with or without differences in meaning) please provide some representative examples.

D. Below we test verbs that indicate inception/duration/cessation of events. This test only works if these semantic notions are represented in your language as separate verbs (some languages just treat them as affixes). Compare the translation of the paradigm below to otherwise identical sentences with other such verbs, particularly translations of verbs like *begin*, and *continue*. See if they take the same sort of complement as your *start* translation. (In English, *stop* takes a gerundive complement, but still acts like a raising predicate, e.g., 'John stopped eating/*to eat', and we are interested in knowing about cases like these, if you language has them).

You are looking out of the window at the weather. Can you say:

Ok 1a. Mbāk tō' lah n̄dō ntiě'.
   Mbāk tō' lah n̄dō ntiě'
  Rain   start to fall now
    "It is starting to rain now."

Ok b. Mbāk tén lah n̄dō ntiě'.
   Mbāk tén   lah n̄dō ntiě'
  Rain   stop to fall now
"It has stopped raining now."

Ok 2a. Mbǎk tó' mbʉ́ɑ́ lah n̄dō
      Mbǎk tó' mbʉ́ɑ́ lah n̄dō
     rain start that   to fall
" It is starting (that) it rains."

OKb. Mbǎk tén mbʉ́ɑ́ lō.
     Mbǎk tén mbʉ́ɑ́ lō
     rain start that   fall
   "It has stopped (that) it rains."

3a. Nɘnɑ́ mʉn̄tō' lah m̄fāt mvēnɑ
   Nɘnɑ́   mʉ-n̄tō' lah m̄fāt mvēnɑ
  Cows   PROG-start to eat   grass
   "The cow is starting to eat the grass."

Ok b. Nɘnɑ̄' tén lah m̄fāt mvēnɑ̄.
    Nɘnɑ̄' ø-tén   lah m̄fāt mvēnɑ̄.
   cow PST0-stop to   eat grass
   "The cow has stopped eating the grass."

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E. Can you think of expressions with idiomatic subjects? English has a few listed below:

Not to my knowledge

1. The cat is out of the bag (meaning the secret has been revealed).

2. All hell broke loose (meaning suddenly there was a big commotion or chaos ensured).

3. The shit hit the fan (meaning there was trouble)

If you can think of expressions like this, we would be very interested to know if they can participate in raising constructions. Please try to insert them in the paradigms in above, such as "All hell seemed to break lose," and "all hell started to break lose," "The cat seems to be out of the bag", etc. Do they retain their idiomatic meaning, or has it changed in some way?

Part IV.B Passive raising.

Please provide literal translations and grammaticality judgments. As above, please consider whether choice of complementizer is significant and indicate this where relevant.

1. Ok Pó zhī mɑ́ Siāni kwě' Kafī

      Pó   ø-zhī   mɑ́ Siāni ø-kwě' kafī

      They PRS-know that Siāni PRS-like kafī

      "It is known that Mary likes coffee."

2. * Siāni zhī kwě' kafī.

    Siāni   ø-zhī   kwě' kafī

    Siāni PRS-know like   kafī

    "Mary is known [likes coffee]."

3. * Siāni mɑ̄ zhí mɑ́ kwě' kafī

    Siāni mɑ̄ zhí   mɑ́ kwě' kafī

    Siāni is know that like   kafī

    "Mary is known that [likes coffee]."

ok 4. Siāni mɑ̄ zhī kwē̌' kafī.

  Siāni mɑ̄ zhī kwē̌' kafī

  Siāni be   know like kafī

 "Siāni is known [to like coffee]."

Ok 5. Pǎh zhī mɑ́ Siānī kwě' kafī.

  Pǎh ø-zhī   mɑ́ Siānī ø-kwě'   kafī.

 we   PRS-know that   Siānī PRS-like   kafī

      "We know that Siāni likes coffee."

Ok 1. Pó zhī mɑ́ Tǔko iñshᵾɑ́.

   Pó   zhī   mɑ́ Tǔko i-ñshᵾɑ́

   They know that   Tǔko FUT0-leave

"It is known that Tǔko will leave."

2.*Tǔko zhī inshᵾɑ

 Tǔko   ø-zhī   i-ñshᵾɑ

Tǔko PRS-know FUT0-leave

   "Tǔko is known [will leave]."

3. *Tǔko mɑ̄ zhī mɑ́ iñshᵾɑ.

   Tǔko mɑ̄ zhī   mɑ́ i-ñshᵾɑ.

 Tǔko be   know that FUT0-leave

"John is known [that will leave]."

4. *Tǔko mɑ zhī iñgén shᵾɑ.

  Tǔko mɑ zhī   i-ñgén   shᵾɑ

 Tǔko be   know FUT0-go leave

"Tǔko is known [to be going to leave]."

5.   Ok Pɑ̌h zhí mɑ́ Tǔkō inshᵾɑ.

        Pɑ̌h   ø-zhí   mɑ́ Tǔkō i-nshᵾɑ

        We   PRS-know that Tǔkō FUT0-leave

    "We know that John will leave."

   1.   Ok Pó ñkwá'sí mɑ́ mbɑɑ̄ndǒm lᵾ nā i tam.

      Pó   ñkwá'sí mɑ́ mbɑɑ̄ndǒm ñdᵾ nā i   tam.

      They believe that   rabbit   hide body its forest

      "It is believed that the rabbit is hiding in the forest."

   2.   *Mbɑɑ̄ndōm mɑ̄ nkwá'sí mɑ̄ lᵾ nā i tam.

      Mbɑɑ̄ndōm mɑ̄ nkwá'sí mɑ̄ lᵾ   nā i   tam

      Rabbit   be think be hide body its forest

      "The rabbit is believed is hiding in the forest."

   3.*Mbɑɑ̄ndōm mɑ̄ nkwá'sí mɑ́ mɑ lᵾ nā i tam.

      Mbɑɑ̄ndōm mɑ̄ nkwá'sí mɑ́ mɑ lᵾ   nā i   tam

      rabbit   be think   that be hide body its forest

     "The rabbit is believed that is hiding in the forest."

   4-   * Mbɑɑ̄ndōm mɑ ñkwā'sī mɑ̄ lᵾ nā i tam.

Mbɑɑ̄ndōm mɑ ñkwɑ̄’sī mɑ̄ lꜟ̄ nɑ̄ i tam

     rabbit be think   that hide body its forest

    "The rabbit is believed to be hiding in the forest."

3.   Ok Pɑ̌h nkwɑ́’sí mɑ́ mbɑɑ̄ndōm lꜟ̄   nɑ̄ i tam.

    Pɑ̌h nkwɑ́’ mɑ́ mbɑɑ̄ndōm lꜟ̄   nɑ̄ i tam.

    We think that   rabbit   hide body its forest

    "We believe that the rabbit is hiding in the forest."

Part V.   Objects of passive verbs.

Are these sentences licit? Please translate and comment. It is possible that your language will not have any overt 'dummy subject' like "there" – if it does have a 'dummy subject', please include the data and discuss, but if not, are there possible analogous sentences with no overt subject?

1a.Ok   Pō lɑyíí tɑ’ ndꜟ̄’ sê wáha.

      Pō   lɑ-yíí tɑ’ ø-ndꜟ̄’ sê wáha

      They PST2-see one C1-car here yesterday

      "(There) was seen a car here yesterday."

Note: The word for the third person plural pronoun also stands for the dummy subject in Fe'efe'e.

b. Siāni kɑyíí tɑ’ ndꜟ̄’ wáha.

  Siāni kɑ-yíí tɑ’ ndꜟ̄’ wáha

Siāni PST2-see one car yesterday

"Siāni saw a car here yesterday."

Ok 2a.   pō lɑkwát tɑ’ pe’ē dom sii

       pō   lɑ-kwát tɑ’ ø-pe’ē   dom sii

     they   PST2-build one C3-house on   field

     "(There) was built a house in the field."

Ok b.   Pɑ̌h kɑkwát tɑ’ pe’e fī dom sii.

     Pɑ̌h kɑ-kwát tɑ’   pe’e fī dom sii.

    We   P2-build one house new on   field

     "We built a new house in the field."

3a. Pó iñhɑ̄ laksī mbí ghɑ̌’ŋwɑ’ni wáha.

  Pó   i-ñhɑ̄   laksī mbí ghɑ̌’ŋwɑ’ni wáha.

  They FUT0-give test to   student   tomorrow

"(There) will be given the students a test tomorrow."

Ok b. Pɑ̌h iñhɑ̄ laksī mbí ghɑ̌’ŋwɑ’ni wáha.

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Pǎh   i-n̄hɑ̄   laksī mbí ghǎʼŋwɑʼni wáha
We FUT0-give test   to students   tomorrow
"We will give the students a test tomorrow."

Ok 4a.   Tɑʼ thʉ kɑcō.
         Tɑʼ thʉ kɑ-cō.
         One tree P2-fall
       "(There) fell a tree."

   b.   Tɑʼ thʉ kɑcō.
           Tɑʼ thʉ kɑ-cō.
           One tree P2-fall
           "A tree fell."
    (a) And (b) have exactly the same translation and meaning in Feʼefeʼe.

Ok 5a.   Pǔnzhwīē pʉ́ɑ́ kɑghɔ̌ nǔ tʉ́ɑ́nshu.
         Pɑ-ǔnzhwīē pʉ́ɑ́ kɑ-ghɔ̌   nǔ   tʉ́ɑ́nshu.
         C2-woman two P2-speak think conference
        "(There) spoke two women at the conference."

  Ok b. Pǔnzhwiē pʉ́ɑ́ kɑghɔ̌ nǔ tʉ́ɑ́nshu.
         Pɑ-ǔnzhwiē pʉ́ɑ́ kɑ-ghɔ̌   nǔ   tʉ́ɑ́nshu.
         C2-woman two   PST2-speak thing conference
         "Two women spoke at the conference."
We notice that in some cases (see 4a & 5a), the dummy subject is not translatable in Feʼefeʼe.

Part VI. Multiple subject agreement

   1. Ok Pɑnzhʉ̂nʉɑ̌ imbɑ̄ mɑ n̄hɑ̄ʼ ngofāt wáha.
       Pɑ-nzhʉ̂ʼnʉɑ̌ i-mbɑ̄   mʉ-n̄hɑ̄ʼ   ngofāt   wáha.
       C2-farmer   FUT0-be PROG-harvest maize tomorrow
       "The farmers will be harvesting the maize tomorrow."

   2. Ok Nzhʉ̂nʉɑ̌ imbɑ̄ mʉn̄hɑ̄ʼ ngofāt wáha.
       Ø-zhʉ̂ʼnʉɑ̌ i-mbɑ̄   mʉ-n̄hɑ̄ʼ   ngofāt   wáha.
       C1-farmer FUT0-be PROG-harvest maize   tomorrow
       "The farmer will be harvesting the maize tomorrow."

   3. Ok Sāk kɑbɑ́ mʉn̄jōh nshǐ ntám thʉ wáha.
       sāk kɑ-bɑ́   mʉ-n̄jōh   nshǐ ntám thʉ wáha.
       bird P2-be PROG-sing song   in tree yesterday
       "The bird was singing in the tree yesterday."

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4. Ok Nsāk kɑbɑ́ mʉñjōh nshǐ ntám thʉ́ wáha.

    nsāk kɑ-bɑ́   mʉ-ñjōh   nshǐ ntám thʉ́ wáha.

    Bird P2-be PROG-sing song   in   tree yesterday

      "The birds were singing in the tree yesterday."

5. Ok Ǒ indî́ kwēn mbe mɑ pǎh yɑ́' zɑ̄ wúzɑ̄.

Ǒ   i-ndî́-kwēn   mbe mɑ pǎh yɑ́'   zɑ̄ wúzɑ̄.

You FUT0-ASP-arrive home that we already eat food

    "We will have eaten already when you get home."

6. Ok A kɑbɑ̄ mɑ à yɑ́' ' nam pʉ́ɑ́.

  A kɑ-bɑ̄   mɑ à   yɑ́'   nam pʉ́ɑ́.

  She P1-be that she already   hour two

    "She **had** been working for 2 hours."

Part VII. Looking for Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)/Raising to Object.

Please translate as many of these as possible, even if they are very unacceptable. If your language has a subjunctive, try it in these embedded clauses. If there are complementizer option please give us some representative examples.

1a.   ? Ngǎ kwe' Tǔko shʉ́ɑ́.

      Ngǎ ø-kwe' Tǔko shʉ́ɑ́.

      I   PRS-want Tǔko leave

       "I want Tǔko to leave."

Ok 2a. Ngǎ kwe' mɑ́ Tǔko shʉ́ɑ́.

  Ngǎ   ø-kwe' mɑ́ Tǔko shʉ́ɑ́.

  I   PRS-want that Tǔko leave

    "I want that Tǔko to leave."

Ok 3a. Ngǎ kwe' mɑ́ Tǔko yáá pe' shʉɑ

      Ngǎ kwe' mɑ́ Tǔko yáá pe' shʉɑ

      I want that Tǔko it good leave

      "I want that Tǔko should leave."

Ok 4a. Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ Tǔko shʉɑ

  Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ Tǔko shʉɑ

  I want very much that Tǔko leave

     "I want very much John to leave."

? 5b. Ngǎ kwe' Tǔko tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ á shʉɑ

   Ngǎ kwe' Tǔko tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ á shʉɑ

    I   want   Tǔko very much that he leave

   "I want Tǔko very much to leave."

Ok 6a. Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ yáá pe' mɑ́ Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ̄

   Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ yáá pe'   mɑ́ Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ̄

  I want very much that   it good that Tǔko leave

     "I want very much that Tǔko should leave."

??7a.Ngǎ kwē' Tǔko tɑ kémbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ yáá pe' shʉ̄ɑ̄.

   Ngǎ kwē' Tǔko tɑ kémbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ yáá pe' shʉ̄ɑ̄

   I   want Tǔko very much that it good leave

    "I want John very much (that) should leave."

Ok 8a. Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ́

    Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ́

     I   want very much that Tǔko leave

    "I want very much that Tǔko leave."

9a. ?   Ngǎ kwē' Tǔko tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ á shʉ̄ɑ́.

       Ngǎ kwē' Tǔko tɑ kȩmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ á shʉ̄ɑ́.

       I   want Tǔko very much that he leave

"I want Tǔko very much that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]

*10a.   Ngǎ kwe' a shʉɑ.

     Ngǎ ø-kwe' a shʉɑ.

      I PRES-want that he leave

     "I want-him to leave."   [OM on matrix verb]

11a. ok Ngǎ kwe' mɑ́ á shʉɑ.

     Ngǎ ø-kwe'   mɑ́ á shʉɑ.

     I   PRS-want that he leave

     "I want-him that to leave."   [OM on matrix verb]

?*12a.   Ngǎ kwe' ī tɑ kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ á shʉɑ.

     Ngǎ ø-kwe'   ī   tɑ   kēmbʉ̄ɑ̄ mɑ́ á shʉɑ

     I PRS-want him very much   that he leave

   "I want-him very much that to leave." [OM on matrix verb]

*13a. Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kémbʉ̄ɑ mɑ́ yáá pě' shʉɑ.

    Ngǎ kwe' tɑ kémbʉ̄ɑ mɑ́ yáá pě' shʉɑ.

      I   like very much that it good leave

"I want-him very much that should leave. [OM on matrix verb, subordinate verb SM = him]

*14a.   Ngǎ kwe' mɑ́ yáá pe' á shʉɑ.

     Ngǎ kwe' mɑ́ yáá pe' á shʉɑ.

     I   want that it good he leave

     "I want him that he should leave."

*15.   Tǔko kwe' lah ñshʉɑ́

    Tǔko   ø-kwe' lah   ñshʉɑ́

    Tǔko PRS-like to   go

      "John wants to leave."

??1b. Ngǎ yíí Tǔko lah ñshʉɑ́.

   Ngǎ yíí Tǔko lah ñ-shʉɑ́

   I   see Tǔko to leave

   "I saw John to leave."

Ok 2b. Ngǎ yíí mɑ́ Tǔko shʉɑ.

      Ngǎ yíí mɑ́ Tǔko shʉɑ.

      I   see that Tǔko leave

     "I saw that Tǔko to leave."

Ok 3b. N kɑyíí mɑ́ mó' Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ

     N kɑyíí mɑ́   mó' Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ

     I P2-see that perhaps Tǔko leave

     "I saw that Tǔko would leave."

*4b.   N kɑyíí ndīndē Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ́.

     N kɑyíí ndīndē Tǔko shʉ̄ɑ́

     I P2-see clearly Tǔko leave

     "I saw clearly Tǔko to leave."

5b. * N kɑyīī Tǔko ndīndē shʉ̄ɑ́

    N kɑ-yīī Tǔko ndīndē shʉ̄ɑ́

    I P1-see Tǔko clearly shʉ̄ɑ́

     "I saw John clearly to leave."

*6b.   N kɑyíí ndīndē mɑ́ Tŭko yáá pe' shʉ̄ɑ́.
        N kɑyíí ndīndē mɑ́ Tŭko yáá pe' shʉ̄ɑ́.
        I P1-see clearly that Tŭko it good leave
            "I saw clearly that Tŭko would leave."

7b.   N kɑyíí Tŭko ndínde mɑ́ yáá pe' shʉɑ.
        N kɑ-yíí   Tŭko ndíndē mɑ́ yáá pě' shʉɑ.
        I PST2-see Tŭko clearly that it good leave
        "I saw Tŭko clearly (that) would leave."

8b.   *N kɑyíí ndíndē mɑ́ Tŭko lah shʉɑ
        N kɑ-yíí   ndíndē mɑ́ Tŭko lah shʉɑ
        I PST2-see clearly that Tŭko to leave
        "I saw clearly that John to leave?"

9b.   *N kɑyíí Tŭko ndíndē mɑ́ lah shʉɑ.
        N kɑyíí   Tŭko ndíndē mɑ́ lah shʉɑ
        I PST2-see Tŭko clearly that to leave
        "I saw Tŭko clearly that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]"

*10b. N kɑyíí nī shʉɑ.
     N kɑ-yíí nī shʉɑ
     I PST2-see him leave
    "I saw-him to leave"   [OM on matrix verb]

*11b. N kɑyíí nī mɑ́ shʉɑ.
     N kɑ-yíí   nī   mɑ́ shʉɑ
     I PST2-see him that leave
        "I saw-him that to leave"   [OM on matrix verb]

12b.   N kɑyíí nī ndíndē mɑ́ lah nshʉ̄ɑ́.
     N kɑ-yíí   nī ndíndē mɑ́ lah nshʉ̄ɑ́
     I PST2-see him clearly that to leave
    "I saw-him clearly that to leave"   [OM on matrix verb]

?13b.   N kɑyíí nī ndíndē mɑ́ yáá pě' lah nshʉ̄ɑ́.
     N kɑ-yíí   nī   ndíndē   mɑ́ yáá pe' lah nshʉ̄ɑ́
     I PST2-see him clearly   that it good to   leave
"I saw-him clearly that would leave. [OM on matrix verb, subordinate verb SM = him]

14b.   N kɑyíí nī mɑ́ yáá pe' mɑ́ á shʉɑ.
        N kɑ-yíí   nī mɑ́ yáá   pe' mɑ́ á shʉɑ

15

I PST2-see him that it   good that he leave
   "I saw him that he would leave."

Part IIX. Wh-agreement in source clause of subject raising.

Consider first the form of subject agreement on the verb in 1 versus 2 below, and 3 versus 4.

Ok 1. Tǔko kɑlɔ́ ngāp.
  Tǔko kɑ-lɔ́ ngāp
Tǔko PST2-cook chicken
"Tǔko cooked the chicken."

Ok 2. Wɑ̄ kɑlɔ́ ngāp lɑ̄ ?
  Wɑ̄   kɑ-lɔ́   ngāp   lɑ
who P1-cook chicken ADV
"Who cooked the chicken?"

Ok 3. Nga'ŋwɑ'ni kɑcéh ŋwɑ'ni.
  Nga'ŋwɑ'ni kɑ-céh ŋwɑ'ni
    Student   PST2-read book
"The student read the book. "

Ok 4. Wɑ̄ kɑcēh ŋwɑ'ni?
  wɑ̄ kɑ-cēh ŋwɑ'ni?
 who PST2-read book
 "Who read the book?"

Is there any special subject agreement form that appears in 2 and 4 that does not appear in 1 and 3? If not, move on to the next section.
Comment: No special subject agreement form.

Part XI. Super-raising.
A. Subject of deeply embedded clause.

Please translate the sentences in (1) and (2) below. If you had to use a different verb for section IVA in place of *seem*, then use that verb here. Additional question: If you can say a sentence like (2), can you use this in a context where you are not actually looking at the teacher, for example, if you have deduced from what the students say that they know the teacher is sick? Or is it only appropriate if you are actually looking at the teacher and observing his remarks and behavior?

   1.   **Ok** Yáá m̄fōh pɑ́' ghɑ̌'ŋwɑ'nǐ zhí mɑ nsiesi mɑ ngōō lɑ́.

Yáá ø-m̄fōh   pɑ́' ghǎ'ŋwɑ'nĭ   ø-zhí   mɑ́ nsiesi mɑ ngōō lɑ́.

It PRS-resemble as   students   PRS-know   that teacher is sick ADV

   "It seems like the students know that the teacher is sick."

   2.   Ok Nsiesī   mɑ̄ndɑ́h pɑ' ghǎ'ŋwɑnī zhí mɑ́ á mɑ ngōō lɑ̄.

      ø-nsiesī   mɑ̄-ndɑ́h pɑ' ghǎ'ŋwɑnī   ø-zhí   mɑ́ á mɑ ngōō lɑ̄

      C1-teacher is look like students PRS-know that he is sick ADV

         "The teacher seems like the students know he is sick."

The example in (A2), is only appropriate if you are actually looking at the teacher and observing his remarks and behavior? Nevertheless, we can also have the following example (see A2') where the same meaning could be obtained but which does not require the looking at the teacher. This example is little off

.

   ʔ 2' Nsiesī m̄fōh pɑ́' ghǎ'ŋwɑnī zhí mɑ́ á mɑ ngōō lɑ̄.

      ø-nsiesī   ø-m̄fōh   pɑ́' ghǎ'ŋwɑnī ø- zhí   mɑ́ á mɑ ngōō lɑ̄.

      C1-teacher PRS-resemble like   students   PRS-know that he is sick ADV

         "The teacher seems like the students know he is sick."

Additional question, like above: If you can say a sentence such as (4), can you use this in all the same contexts as (3)? Could you use it where you are simply reporting what you have gathered from or about the husband? Or is it only appropriate in reaction to the woman or evidence of her behavior?

Ok 3. Yáá m̄fōh pɑ́' ø-ndū i kwe' mɑ́ mɨnzhwiē lɑ̄ shɨɑ́ lɑ́.

Yáá ø-m̄fōh pɑ́'   ø-ndū   i   ø-kwe'   mɑ́ mɑ-ɨnzhwiē lɑ̄ shɨɑ́ lɑ́.

It PRS-seem like C1-husband her PRS-like   that C1-woman   the leave ADV

      "It seems like her husband wants the woman to leave."

In (3), the information could have essentially be gathered from the husband.

Ok 4. Mɨnzhwiē lɑ̄ m̄fōh pɑ́' ndū i kwe' mɑ́ ā ghenɑ lɑ́.

      mɑ-ɨnzhwiē lɑ̄   ø-m̄fōh   pɑ́'   ø-ndū   i   ø-kwe' mɑ́ ā ghenɑ lɑ́

      C1-woman ADV PRS-seem like C1-husband her PRS-like that she go ADV

      "The woman seems like her husband wants her to go."

In (4), the reaction of the reaction of the woman, her behavior or looking at her could make the sentence appropriate.

B. Object super-raising

Please translate (1) (with and without an object marker. Indicate whether or not each result is acceptable.

1.   ? Wūzɑ̄ m̄fōh pɑ́' Siāni kɑlɔ̄ lɑ́.

      Wūzɑ̄   ø-m̄fōh pɑ́' Siāni   kɑ-lɔ̄ lɑ́.

      Food PRS-seem   like Siāni PST2-cook ADV

      "The food seems that Siāni cooked (it)."

If you have judged (1) to be acceptable, please consider what would be a felicitous context for this utterance. For the situations described in A-C below, answer for each one (Yes or No) whether or not (1) could be uttered in that context.

A. You taste the food and recognize her favorite ingredient. **NO**
B. You see Mary in an apron and deduce from this that she did the cooking. **NO**
C. Mary is an incredibly messy cook, and from the state of the kitchen you can't imagine anyone else being responsible. **YES**

Part XII. DP/CP Contrasts. Are DPs licit in the same range of positions as CPs? Please translate and provide judgments. Does it make a difference what complementizer you use in the CPs?

1. **Ok** Pᵫnōk lɑ́ kɑpén mɑ́ Tǔko lɑshᵫɑ̄.

    Pɑ-ᵫnōk   lɑ́   kɑ-pén   mɑ́ Tǔko lɑ-shᵫɑ̄
    C2-people ADV   PST2-believe that Tǔko PST2-leave
    "The people believed that John left."

2. **Ok** Pɑ-ᵫnok kɑpén cwe' Tǔko.

    Pɑ-ᵫnok   kɑ-pén   cwe' Tǔko.
    C2-people PST2-believe story Tǔko
    "The people believed John's story."

3. **OK** Pō ñkwá'sí mɑ́ Tǔko lɑshᵫɑ́.

    Pō   ñkwá'sí mɑ́ Tǔko lɑ-shᵫɑ́
    They think   that Tǔko PST2-go
    "It is believed that John left."

4. Ok Pō mbēn cwe' Tǔko.

    Pō   mbēn cwe'   Tǔko.
    They believe story Tǔko
    "It is believed Tǔko's story."

5. **Ok** Pō lɑpén cwe' Tǔko.

    Pō lɑ-pén cwe' Tǔko
    They P1-believe story Tǔko
    "Tǔko's story was believed (by the people)."

6. *Mɑ́ Tǔko lɑshᵫɑ lɑ́ pᵫnok lɑpén

    Mɑ́ Tǔko lɑ-shᵫɑ   lɑ́ pɑ-ᵫnok   lɑ-pén
    That Tǔko P1-leave ADV C2-people P1-believe
    "That Tǔko left was believed (by the people)."

7.   **Ok** Tǔko kɑzɑ́ tok lɑ́.

       Tǔko kɑ-zɑ́ ø-   tok lɑ́

       Tǔko PST2-eat C5-banana

       "Tǔko ate the banana.

8.   ***** Tok lɑlɑ́' ñzɑ̄

       ø-tok   lɑlɑ́'-ñzɑ̄

       C5-banan PST4-eat

       "The banana was eaten."

9.   Ok Pō lɑlɑ́'ñzɑ́ tok

       Pō   lɑlɑ́'-ñzɑ́ ø-tok

       They PST4-eat C5-banana

"(there) was eaten a banana. (with or without overt 'dummy subject')."

10.   **Ok** Tǔko kɑlēn mɑ́ pɑnzɨ́'nɨɑ kɑhɑ́' ngofat.

       Tǔko kɑ-lēn mɑ́ pɑ-nzɨ́'nɨɑ kɑhɑ́' ngofat

       Tǔko PST1-say that C2-farmer PST1-harvest

       "Tǔko said that the farmers harvested the maize."

11.   *****Mɑ́ pɑnzɨ̂'nɨɑ kɑhɑ́ɑ ngofāt pō lɑlén.

       Mɑ́ pɑ-nzɨ̂'nɨɑ kɑ-hɑ́'   ngofāt pō lɑ-lén.

       That C2-farmer PST1-harvest maize they PST2-say

       "That the farmers harvested the maize was said."

12.   **Ok** Tǔko kɑlén mbí Siāni mɑ́ pɑnzɨ́'nɨɑ kɑhɑ́' ngofāt wáha.

       Tǔko kɑ-lén mbí Siāni mɑ́ pɑ-nzɨ́'nɨɑ kɑ-hɑ́' ngofāt wáha.

       Tǔko P1-say to   Siāni that C2-farmer P1-give maize yesterday

       "John told Mary that the farmers harvested the maize yesterday."

13.   **OK** Pō lɑsók Siāni mɑ́ pɑnzɨ̂nɨɑ lɑhɑ́' ngofāt.

       Pō lɑ-sók   Siāni mɑ́ pɑ-nzɨ̂'nɨɑ lɑ-hɑ́'   ngofāt.

       They PST1-tell Siāni that C2-farmer   PST1-harvest maize

       "Mary was told that the farmers harvested the maize."

14.   * Mɑ́ pɑnzɨ̂'nɨɑ lɑhɑ́' ngofāt lɑsók Siāni.

       Mɑ́ pɑnzɨ̂'nɨɑ lɑhɑ́' ngofāt lɑsók Siāni

       That C2-farmer PST2-harvest maize PST2-tell Siāni

       "That the farmers harvested the maize was told Mary."

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15.   *Mɑ́ Ngǎʼndɔ̄ kɑshʉɑ̄ m̄fɔ̄h.

        Mɑ́ Ngǎʼndɔ̄ kɑ-shʉɑ̄ m̄fɔ̄h.

        That Ngǎʼndɔ̄ PST2-leave seem

        "That Ngǎʼndɔ̄ left seems."

        OK Yáá m̄fɔ̄h pɑ́ʼ Tǔko kɑshʉɑ̄ lɑ́.

           Yáá ø-m̄fɔ̄h pɑ́ʼ Tǔko kɑ-shʉɑ̄ lɑ́

           It PRS-seem like Tǔko PST2-leave ADV

              "It seems that Lewis left."

16.   ? Tǔko m̄fɔ̄h pɑ́ʼ a kɑshʉɑ lɑ́.

        Tǔko ø-m̄fɔ̄h pɑ́ʼ a kɑ-shʉɑ lɑ́.

        Tǔko PRS-seem like he PST1-leave ADV

           Tǔko seems that (he) left.

17.   Ok Mɑ́ Tǔko kɑshʉɑ́, pɑ́ʼ yāā bɑ̄ ndíndē.

        Mɑ́ Tǔko kɑ-shʉɑ́, pɑ́ʼ yāā bɑ̄ ndíndē.

       that Tǔko PST2-leave like that be true

        "That Tǔko left is possible."

        Without the presence of the comma, this sentence cannot be acceptable.

18.   **Ok** Pɑ́ʼ yāā bɑ̄ ndíndē mɑ́ Tǔko kɑshʉɑ́.

        Pɑ́ʼ yāā bɑ̄ ndíndē mɑ́ Tǔko kɑ-shʉɑ́

        Like it be true that Tǔko PST2-leave

        "It is possible that Lewis left."

19.   Ok Pʉ lɑ́ kɑyíí mɑ́ Tǔko lɑshʉɑ́.

        Pɑ-ʉ lɑ́ kɑ-yíí mɑ́ Tǔko lɑ-shʉɑ́

        C2-people ADV PST2-see that Tǔko PST2-leave

        "The people discovered/found out that Lewis left."

20.   **Ok** Pʉ lɑ́ lɑyíí ndíndē.

        Pɑ-ʉ lɑ́ lɑ-yíí ndíndē

        C2-people ADV PST2-see truth

        "The people discovered/found out the truth."

21.   **OK** Pɔ̄ lɑzhī ndíndē.

        Pɑ-ʉ lɑ-zhī ndíndē

        C2-people PST1-know truth

        "It was discovered/found out the truth."

22.	?Mɑ́ Tǔko lɑshɥ́ɑ́, pō lɑzhī. (the presence of the comma renders the sentence acceptable)

Mɑ́ Tǔko lɑ-shɥ́ɑ́ pō lɑ-zhī.

That Tǔko PST2-leave they PST2-know

That Tǔko left was discovered/found out.

Part XIII. Inversion Constructions.

A. Locative Inversion. In addition to the canonical neutral word orders that would translate to the (a) examples, are the (b) examples well-formed? Please translate and evaluate.

OK1a. Thɨ̄ kɑcō tam.

ø-thɨ̄	kɑ-cō	tam

C5-tree PST2-fall	forest

"A tree fell in the forest."

*b. Ko kɑcō thɨ.

Ko	kɑ-cō	thɨ.

Forest PST2-fall tree

"In the forest fell a tree."

(1b) is not well-formed nor grammatically acceptable.

Ok 2a. Mōō kɑlát ñcō siī.

Mɑ-ōō	kɑ-lát	ñcō siī.

C2-child PST2-jump fall field

"A child jumped into the field."

*b. Ndom siī kɑlát mōō.

Ndom siī	kɑ-lát	mōō

On	field PST1-jump child

"Into the field jumped a child."

Ok 3a. Sāk kɑyɤ̌ nshi ndom thɨ̄.

ø-sāk	kɑ-yɤ̌	nshi ndom thɨ̄.

C3-bird PST2-sing song on	tree

"A bird sang on the tree."

* b. Ndom thɨ̄ sák kɑyɤ̌ nshi.

Ndom thɨ̄ ø-sák	kɑ-yɤ̌	nshi

On	tree C3-bird PST2-sing song

"On the tree sang a bird."

OK4a. Sɨ̄ kɑcɑ̌ʼ zúnɨɑ ndom siī.

    sɨ̄   kɑ-cɑ̄ʼ   zúnɨɑ ndǒm sii.

Elephant PST2-trample crop   on   field

"Elephants trampled the crops in the field."

 Ok b. Ndom siī kɑcɑ́ʼ sɨ̄ zúnɨɑ.

   Ndom siī   kɑ-cɑ́ʼ   sɨ̄   zúnɨɑ.

 On   field   PST2-trample elephant crop

"In the field trampled elephants the crops (perhaps as opposed to COWS trampling them)."

*5. Pō kɑsíésí nsiesi nglisi cɑ̄ʼ.

There taught the teacher English trample (impossible)

*6. pō kɑsíésí nglisi nsiesi.

    pō kɑ-síésí   nglisi   nsiesi.

  They PST2-teach English teacher

  "There taught English the teacher."

OK 7. Pō kɑsíésí ghɑ̌ʼŋwɑʼni nsiesi. (meaning the teacher of the students has been taught)

There taught the students the teacher.

8. Pō kɑsíésí nsiesi ghɑ̌ʼŋwɑʼni.

  Pō kɑ-síésí   nsiesi   ghɑ̌ʼŋwɑʼni.

They PST2-teach teacher students

"There taught the teacher the students."

*9. Pō kɑsíésí nsiesi pōōnkhɨ̄ɑ nglisi.

  Pō kɑ-síésí   nsiesi pɑ-ōōnkhɨ̄ɑ nglisi

  They PST2-teach teacher c2-child   English

There taught the teacher the children English.

Ok 10. Móó mɨ̄ñzɑ̄ wū pí lɨ̄ʼ.

   Mɑ-óó mɨ̄-ñzɑ̄   wū   pí ø-lɨ̄ʼ.

  C1-child PROG-eat thing with C5-spoon

   "The child is eating with a spoon."

*11. Lɨ́ʼ mɨ̄ñzɑ̄ mōō.

   Ø-lɨ́ʼ mɨ̄-ñzɑ̄ mōō.

  C5-spoon PROG6-eat child

"The spoon is eating the child."

Although (11) is grammatically acceptable, the sentence is semantically incorrect because the verb does not required the selection of the first argument of the sentence which is "*lɨ̄*".

(Try 9-11 with and without an applicative morpheme).
(For all of these inversions, can the verb subject-agree with the fronted locative or expletive? Can it subject-agree with the postverbal logical subject?)

B. Subject-Object Inversion (OVS). Does your language permit the word orders in the (b) sentences? Please translate the questions below and give judgments on them.

1. Ok a.   Pōōnkhɨ̄ɑ̄ kɑnú mbén lɑ́.
   Pɑ-ōōnkhɨɑ̄   kɑ-nú   ø-mbén lɑ́
   C2-child   PST1-drink C4-milk ADV
   "Children drank the milk."

   *b.   Mbēn kɑnū pōō.
   ø-mbēn kɑ-nū   pōō.
   C4-milk PST2-drink child
   "The milk drank **the children** (not the parents)."

Same interpretation like in (11) above because the verb does not accept the subject-argument in this case. That is the subject does not bear the semantic features required to eat.

2. **Ok**   a. Tǔko kɑcéh ŋwɑ'ni.
   Tǔko kɑ-céh   ŋwɑ'ni.
   Tǔko PST2-read book
   "Tǔko read the books."

   *b. Ŋwɑ'ni kɑcéh Tǔko.
   Ŋwɑ'ni kɑ-céh   Tǔko
   book PST2-read Tǔko
   "The books read **Tǔko** (not Peter)."

3. *****a. pōōnkhɨ̄ɑ̄ kɑcéh Tǔko ŋwɑ'ni.
   Pɑ-ōōnkhɨ̄ɑ̄ kɑcéh Tǔko ŋwɑ'ni.
   C2-child   PST1-read Tǔko book
   "The children read John the books, (not Peter; i.e. it was John who read the children
             books, not Peter)"

   Ok b. Pōōnkhɨ̄ɑ̄ kɑcéh ŋwɑ'ni Tǔko.
   Pɑ-ōōnkhɨɑ̄   kɑ-céh ŋwɑ'ni Tǔko.
   C2-child   PST2-read book   Tǔko
   "The children read the books Tǔko (not Peter; as above)"

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Note: It rather means "the children read Tǔko's book."

c. ŋwɑ'ni kɑcéh Tǔko pōōnkhʉ̄ɑ̄.

   ŋwɑ'ni kɑ-céh   Tǔko pɑ-ōōnkhʉ̄ɑ̄

   book   PST2-read   Tǔko C2-child

"The books read Tǔko the children (not Peter) i.e. It was John who read the children books, not Peter."

*d. Ŋwɑ'ni kɑcéh pōōnkhʉ̄ɑ̄ Tǔko

   Ŋwɑ'ni kɑ-céh   pɑ-ōōnkhʉ̄ɑ̄ Tǔko

   Book PST2-read   C2-child   Tǔko

"The books read the children Tǔko, (not Peter; as above)."

Note: **ADV** is known as adverbial reinforcer.