

Afranaph Questionnaire on Clausal Complementation

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Changana Questionnaire Response

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This questionnaire (which we will call the CCQ) is designed to explore the relationship between predicates and the clausal arguments they are compatible with.

Part 1A - Sentence translation

The task for all of Part 1 is to translate the elicitation sentence examples as best you can. Please be sure to comment whenever a translation must be adjusted to accommodate the way it must be said in your language.

A1a). Mányùsìphèphà màvùlé lèsvákù mùrhàngèlì wá tìkò àkòmbèlé rìvàlèlò
Mà-nyùsìphèphà mà-vùl-é lè(sví) sv(i)-ákù mù-rhàngèlì w-á Ø-tìkò à-kòmbèl-é Ø-rìvàlèlò
c6-press c6-claim-PST DEM-c8 c8-that 1-president 1-GN c5-country 1-demand-PST c5-apology

The press has claimed that the president demanded an apology.

Note: President is a west concept, it will be helpful if we use the term the king 'hosi' in Changana. That's the reason there ate genitive construction wich means murhangeli 'the chief or the leader' of something, for e.g. the country 'tiko'. PT is -(í)è, the Cj form is -é

b) Sèkèrètání ávùlé lèsvákù wávútívà nhlámúlù
Ø- Sèkèrètání á-vùl-é lé-(sví) sv(i)-ákù w-á-wú-tív-à n-hlámúlù
1-secretary 1-claim-PST DEM-c8 c8-that 1-PROG-c3OM-know-FV c3-answer

The secretary claimed to know the answer.

Note: in Changana the short form of lésví svákù is lèsvákù

COMMENT: *Le-* is a demonstrative form and *-svi* is a c8 agreement suffix+c8 prefix and the form *-aku* (*lesvi svi-aku*). My explanation of this phenomenon is that in Changana, when the morpheme is repeated in the same sequence (i.e. following each other), one of the morphemes is deleted (The Obligatory Contour Principle, McCarthy, 1979, 1981). According to this principle there are restrictions on adjacent elements. Focusing on Morphology, Ngunga (1999) considered ts as RRM (Restriction on Repetition of Morpheme). So, *lesvi sv(a)ku*, results is *lesvaku*, where *svi* of the demonstrative is deleted.

c) Tindzùndzwàni tívulé Bill wávútívà nhlámúlù (? in Changana)
 Ti-ndzùndzwàni tí-vúl-é Bill w-á-vú-tív-à n-hlámúlù
 c10-spies SM.c10-claim-PST Bill c1-PROG-OM.c3-know-FV c3-answer
 Spies claimed Bill to know the answer.

A2a) vápálúxì vámáhúngù váté hósì yítálává ákúvá tífánéló tá yóná tílándziwà
 Và-pálúxì vá-má-húngù vá-t-é Ø-hósì yí-tá-láv-á ákúvá tí-nfánéló t(í)-à y(i) óná tí-lándz-íw-à
 c2-reporter c2- c6-news SM.c2-say-PST c9-king SM.c9-FUT-will-FV that c10-right c10-GN c9-POSS c10-follow-PASS-
 FV

The reporters say that the king will want that his rights be granted/given/allowed to him..

b) Orlando áté fámà rìmàzèyà
 Orlando á-t-é Ø-fám-à rì-màzèyà
 Orlando SM.c1-say-PST IMP-go-FV c5-store
 Orlando said to go to the store.

COMMENT: Imperative best translates he sentence. In a form *akuyiwi rimazaya*, means go to there, where c.17 is a locative (the store).

c) Orlando áhíbzélé ákúvá híyà rìmàzèyà
 Orlando á-hí-bzél-é ákúvá hí-y-à rì-màzèyà
 Orlando SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-say-PST that/for SM.c2.1st.pl-go-FV c5-store
 Orlando said for us to go to the store.

COMMENT: I think that the applicative is there in *ahibzela* ‘say to us’ from the verb *kubzela* <-bzel- vs *-bz-. I can say that the applicative is grammaticalized. Is we want to mean to say, we use another verb (*kuhlaya*) but here, means to say in order to harm to some. In this sentence the best translation is *kubzela* not *kuhlaya*.

d) Orlando áhíbzélé lésvákù hìnà [kùlàvèkà] ákúvá híyà rìmàzèyà
 Orlando á-hí-bzél-é lè(sví) sv(i)-ákù hìnà [kù-làvèk-à] ákúvá hí-y-à rì-màzèyà
 Orlando SM.1-OM.c2.1st.pl-say-PST DM-c8 c8-that PRN.c2.1st.pl c15-necessary-FV that SM.c2.1st.pl-go-FV c5-store
 Orlando said that we [should] go to the store.

Note: A2d is not acceptable in Changana without a command verb e.g. *kulaveka* ‘it is necessary’, *kusindzisa* ‘to force’.

A3a) Hòsì yítívísé lèsvákù yènà ákúmékílè mhàmbínì
 Ø-Hòsì yí-tív-ís-é lè-(svì) sv(i)-ákù yènà á-kúmék-ílè mhàmb(a)-ínì
 c9-President SM.c9-know-CAUS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that PRN.c1 c1-present-PST c9-ceremony-LOC
 The president confessed that he had seen the ceremony.

b) Hòsì yípfúmélílè lèsvákù yònà yíyíngísílè rìtò
 Ø-Hòsì yí-pfúmél-ílè lè(svì) sv(i)-ákù y-ònà yí-yíngís-ílè Ø-rìtò
 c9-president c9-admit/accept-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c9-he c9-heard-PST c5-speech
 The president admitted that he had heard the speech.

c) Hìnà hìtàvùlà lèsvákù Alice ápfúmélílè svìjòhò svá yénà
 Hìnà hì-tà-vùl-à lè-(svì) sv(i)-ákù Alice á-pfúmél-ílè svì-jòhò sv(i)-á yénà
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-FUT-say-FV DEM-c8 c8-that Alice c3-confess/accept-PST c8-sin c8-GN PRN.c1
 We will say that Alice confessed her sins.

COMMENT: Another verb: *kuvona* ‘to see’, *kutwa* ‘to hear’. *Hina hivona lesvaku.....*; *hina hitwa lesvaku....* When I filled the questionnaire I made the same exercise and *lesvaku* is always there!

- a. Hina hivona lesvaku Mariya ajohile
- b. ?Hina hivona (...) Mariya ajohile.

Between (a) and (b), (a) is more natural than (b).

A4a) Tihávù tíkhólwà lèsvákù màrìbzè másívélà àkùvà tìnàlà tí-dúmélà vánà vá yónà
 Ø-Hávù yí-khólw-à lè-(svì) sv(i)-ákù mà-rìbzè má-sívél-à àkùvà tì-nàlà tí-dúmél-à vánà
 C10-monkey SM.c10-believe-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c6-rock SM.c6-prevent-FV from c10-predator SM.c10-attack-FV c2-
 child
 y(i)-ónà v(a)-á
 c2-GN c9-POSS
 The monkeys believe that the rocks prevent predators from attacking the young.

b) Tinyànyànà tírìndzélà lèsvákù mìntwà yísívélà tinyànyànà létíkùlù àkùvà tíjà vánà vá tónà
 Tì-nyànyànà tí-rìndz-él-à lè-(svì) sv(i)-ákù Ø-mìntwà yí-sív-él-à tì-nyànyànà **lé-tí**
 c10-bird SM.c10-expect-APPL-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c3-thorn SM.c3-protect-APPL-FV c10-bird DEM-c10

(c10)-kúlù àkùvà tí-j-à vánà v(a)-á t(i)-ónà
 c10-big from SM.c10-eat-FV c2-child c2-GN c10-POSS
 The birds expect that the thorns will stop bigger birds from eating their young.

c) Tintlárhì tívónà lésvákù tì-nyòkà tìní rísímà
 Tì-ntlárh-ì tí- vón-à lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù tì-nyòkà tí-nì rí-símà
 c10-expert-AGT SM.c10-consider-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c10-snake SM.c10- have c5-beneficial/value
 The scientists consider snakes to be beneficial.

d) Mbzánà yíyánákányà lésvákù xìngòvè xílávà xìtlàngìsò xá yònà
 M-bzánà yíyánákány-à lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù xì-ngòvè xí-láv-à xì-tlàng-ìs-ò x(i)-á y(i)-ònà
 c9-dog c9-think/suspect-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c7-cat SM.c7-want-FV c7-play-CAUS-NOM c7-GN c9-POSS
 The dog suspects that the cat wants its toy.

COMMENT: kùtlàngà (-tlàng-) ‘play’
 Kùtlàngìsà (-tlàng-ìs-) ‘play-CAUS-’

Xìtlàngìsò (xì-tlàng-ìs-o) ‘NOM- play-CAUS-NOM’. Nominalization of cause to play = toy.

In general, in Changana the nominalization of instruments is made by *xi-/svi-* (c.7/8) + *-o*. the agents (*mu-/va-*[c.1/2 + *i*])

e) Mùrhàngèlì ásvívónílè lésvákù Bill àngáwúkótá ntírhò
 Mù-rhàngèl-ì á-svívón-ìlè lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù Bill à-ngá-wú-kót-á n-tírhò
 c1-lead-AGT c1-understand/see DEM-c8 c8-that Bill c1-Mood-mo-capable-FV c3-work
 The boss understood that Bill was capable of doing the work.

COMMENT: *-ilè* is DJ of past tense and *-é* is CJ of the same tense. *-ilè* and *-é* are in complementary distribution as in:

- (a) Mù-rhàngèl-ì á-svívón-ìlè.
- (b) Mù-rhàngèl-ì á-svívón-é [tolo] (yestarday).
- (c) *Mù-rhàngèl-ì á-svívón-é.

f) mùjòndzì ásvívónílè lésvákù nhlàmùlù útálává vútívì bzá tínkóntà
 mù-jòndzì á-svívón-ìlè lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù n-hlàmùlù ú-tá-láv-á wú-tívì bz(i)-á
 1-student SM.c1-OM.c8-see-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c3-answer SM.c3-FUT-want/require-FV c14-knowledge c14-GN
 tí-nkóntà

c9-math

The student saw that the answer would require math skills.

g) Vājòndzì vásvítívà lésvákù mùjòndzìsì wá vónà wábálá wúlóvhí bzá vónà

Và-jòndzì vá- sví-tív-à lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù mù-jòndz-ìs-ì w-á v(a)-ónà w-ábál-à vù-lòvh-ì bz(i)-á
c2-student SM.c2-OM.c8-know-FV DEM-c8 c8-that 1-teach-CAUS-AGT 1-GN c2-POSS SM.c1-record-FV c 14-absence c14-GN
v(a)-ónà
c2-POSS

The students know that their teacher keeps a record of their absences.

h) Mányùsìphèphà mákómbísé lésvákù Hòsì áyímútívá múyécékàni

Mà-nyùsìphèphà má-kómb-ís-é lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù Ø-Hòsì á-yí-mú-tív-á mú-yécékán-ì
c6-newspaper SM.c6-show/reveal-CAUS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c9-king ANT-SM.c9-OM.c1-know-FV 1-actress

The newspapers have revealed that the president knew the actress.

A5a) Ruth ákómbélé vátírhí ákúvá ájísá vátsóngwánà.

Ruth á-kómbél-é v-átírh-í ákúvá v-á-j-ís-á v-á-tsóngwánà.
1-Ruth SM.c1-ask-PST c2-servant-AGT for SM.c2-eat-CAUS-FV c2-child

Ruth asked the servants to make the children eat.

b) Ruth ákómbélé vátírhì [lésvákù] màngàyimìsìsìwà kùyìni màtì àkùv-à màvìlà nkàmà wá kùléhà

Ruth á-kómbél-é v-átírh-ì lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù mà-ngà-yim-ìsìs-ìw-à kùyìni mà-tì àkùv-à mà-vìlà
c1-Ruth SM.c1-ask-PST c2-serve-AGT DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c6-Mood-stop-INT-PASS-FV how c6-water for SM.c6-boil-FV
n-kàmà w(u)-á kù-léhà.
c3-time c3-GN c15-long-FV.

Ruth has asked the servants how to stop the water from boiling too long.

COMMENT: ‘How to stop the water’... *kuyini* refers to ‘how’ and *c6* refers to *mati* ‘water’. If we take out *lesvaku* as in:

(a) Ruth á-kómbél-é v-átírh-ì (lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù) mà-ngà-yim-ìsìs-ìw-à kùyìni mà-tì àkùv-à mà-vìlà

(b)*Ruth á-kómbél-é v-átírh-ì (.....) mà-ngà-yim-ìsìs-ìw-à kùyìni mà-tì àkùv-à mà-vìlà.

2. (a) Ruth á-kómbél-é v-átírh-ì lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù mà-ngà-yim-ìsìs-ìw-à (kùyìni) mà-tì àkùv-à mà-vìlà.

(b) Ruth á-kómbél-é v-átírh-ì lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù mà-ngà-yim-ìsìs-ìw-à (.....) mà-tì àkùv-à mà-vìlà

(2b) is affirmative. i.e. Ruth knows how to stop water to boil... while e (a) she doesn't know and she's asking (interrogative). So, if we take out the interrogative form we will have the affirmative sentence.

[Do not include in entry to database - KS: Do I understand correctly that INT means 'intensive'? Is the c6 on 'stop' *màngàyìmìsìsìwà* correctly marked (by me) as subject agreement? Do you think that *kùyìnì* is introducing a clause or is it in some clause internal position within the most embedded clause? Would (2b) be translated "Ruth asked the servants to stop the water from boiling too long?" I am particularly interested in this because I don't understand the mechanism that allows *màngàyìmìsìsìwà* to have c6 since *màtì* is embedded in a lower clause, which seems especially clear when *kùyìnì* is present. It looks as though there is agreement without raising, which is highly atypical for raising to subject structures in other languages. There are interesting questions of analysis about the placement of *màtì* before *àkùvà* as well, as though it is topicalized in some way. That is why I am asking a lot of questions about this one.

DL:

(i) Do I understand correctly that INT means 'intensive'? Is the c6 on 'stop' *màngàyìmìsìsìwà* correctly marked (by me) as subject agreement?

Yes ma- is a subject agreement. The INT as a verbal extension maybe because *kuyima* < *kuyimisa* 'to cause stop...' < *kuyimisisa* 'to cause to cause to stop...'. We call it intensive because of this repetition of the causative. My interpretation is that the INT comes because normally water boils in fire and it stops when you switch off the fire or you take out the wood. This sentence, itself is not a default sentence in Changana, if we want to express the sentence in (2) we use the verb *kuphula* 'to take out the pot (or something like that) of the fire or stove'. So, *kuyimisisa* sounds like we are forcing it to stop boiling not only using the regular ways (to switch off the stove or take out the wood) but using another agent like a person or something else and the passive *-iw-* to me makes clear that this action of stopping is made by something else and not a regular way.

(ii) Do you think that *kùyìnì* is introducing a clause or is it in some clause internal position within the most embedded clause? Would (2b) be translated "Ruth asked the servants to stop the water from boiling too long?" I am particularly interested in this because I don't understand the mechanism that allows *màngàyìmìsìsìwà* to have c6 since *màtì* is embedded in a lower clause, which seems especially clear when *kùyìnì* is present.

Kuyini is an interrogative form (how?...). the translation of your sentence is Ruth asked the servants that it is possible to stop the water from boiling. To notion of stop is expressed by the verb *-yim-* 'to stop, to stend..' cl6 ma- agrees with water because it is describe what will happen to water (*mati*). How to express stop X: EG.: *kutirha* 'to work' vs *kuyima kutirha* 'to stop working'; *kuvila* 'to boil' vs *kuyima kuvila* 'to stop boiling'

(iii) There are interesting questions of analysis about the placement of *màtì* before *àkùvà* as well, as though it is topicalized in some way The place of water before *kuyini*: *Kufambisa movha* 'to drive the car' vs *kungafambisisiwa* [*kuyini*] *movha* 'how can the car been driven or how can we drive the car'. To form interrogative sentences, *kuyini* comes just before the object or just after it (*kungafambisisiwa movha* [*kuyini*]). *Hingayencisa kuyini akuva hifambisa movha* vs *hingafambisisa kuyini movha* or *hingafambisisa movha kuyini*.]

c) Ruth ávútísé vátírhì lésvákù átává hí nkámá múní vátáká tívísá váyéndzì màyèlàni ní mátshámélé yá nkámà.
 Ruth á-vútís-é vá-tírh-ì lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù á-táv-á hí n-kámá múní vá-t-ák-á (va)-tív-ís-á
 Ruth SM.c1-ask-PST c2-work-AGT DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c1-be-FV at c3-time what c2-come-REL-FV c2-know-CAUS-FV
 vá-yéndz-ì mà-yèlàni ní má-tshám-él-é y(i)-á n-kámà
 c2-visit-AGT c6-about COM c6-state-APPL-NOM c6-GN c3-time

Ruth asked the servants when they would warn the tourists about the weather.

COMMENT: *vátírhì* servants/workers. *Vátáká (va-)* refers to servants and *(va)tívísá vayéndzi*, *(va-)* refers to tourists - *átává* agrees with c1 (Ruth).

[Do not include in database – KS: I am still unclear why *átává* should agree with Ruth such that we get this translation]

d) Ruth áhákómbélà àkùvà màjàhà mávúlá márító mátsóngò mhámbéni
 Ruth á-(à)há-kómbél-à àkùvà mà-jàhà má- vúl-á má-rító má-tsóngò Ø-mhámb(a)-éni
 c1-Ruth SM.c1-CONT-ask-FV that c6-boy SM.c6-say-FV c6-word c6-small c9-ceremony-LOC
 Ruth is asking that the boys say a few words at the ceremony.

A6a) Ruth átábzélá tíntómbhì àkùvà tíjísà vatsòngwàrà
 Ruth á-tá-bzél-á tíntómbhì àkùvà tí-j-ís-à v-à-tsòngwàrà
 1-Ruth SM.c1-FUT-tell-FV c10-woman for SM.c10- eat-CAUS-FV c2-child
 Ruth will tell the women to make the children eat.

b) Ruth ábzélé tíntómbhì lésvákù màngàyìmìsìsìwà kùyìni máti ákúvá mávúlá nkámá wá kùléhà
 Ruth á-bzél-é tíntómbhì lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù mà-ngà-yim-ìsìs-ìw-à kù-yìni má-ti ákúvá
 c1-Ruth SM.c1-tell-PST c10-woman DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c6-Mood-stop-INT-PASS-FV c17-how c6-water for
 má-víl-á n-kámá w-á kù-léh-à
 SM.c6-boil-FV c3-time c3-GN c15-long-FV
 Ruth has told the women how to stop the water from boiling too long.

c) Ruth áhábzélá tíntómbhì nkámá lówú tífánélákà kùtìvisà váyéndzì tá kúyélánà nì màtshàmèlè yá nkámà
 Ruth á-(à)há-bzél-á tíntómbhì n-kámá ló-wú tí-fánél-ák-à kù-tív-ís-à vá-yéndzì
 c1-Ruth SM.c1-CONT-tell-FV c10-woman c3-time DEM-c3 c10-would-REL-FV c15-know-CAUS-FV c2-visit-AGT
 t(i)-á kù-yélán-à nì mà-tshàmèlè y-á n-kámà

c10-GN c15-about-FV COM c6-state c6-GN c3-time

Ruth is telling the women when she would warn the tourists about the weather.

COMMENT: There is no equivalent single word for weather ‘*matshamele ya nkama*’ ‘the state of time’, which together means weather. The class 10 refers to tintombhi ‘women’. As it is ‘telling the women’, in changana is difficult to translate because we have many interpretations of the word women.

- (i) vavasati ‘whatever a human being that is female (include, children, youth, adult and old people). This can also means my wives, having in mind that Changana people are traditionally polygamous.
- (ii) tintombhi ‘juvenile women’. Talking about tourism, I guess it is about women who are able to go itself for a tourism. This way of thinking excludes children and old people and includes youth and adults.

d) Ruth ábzélé tíntómbhì lésvákù yìn’wè èká tónà tífánélé kúvúlá máritó yókarhì èká mhámbà

Ruth á-bzél-é tí-ntómbhì lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù yì-n’wè èká t(i)-ónà tí-fánél-é kú-vúl-á
Ruth SM.c1-say-PST c10-woman c6-boy DEM-c8 c8-that c10-one of c10-them SM.c10-shall-PST c15-say-FV
má-rító y-ó-kárhì èká Ø-mhámbà
c6-word c6-EXCL-some at c9-ceremony

Ruth told the women that one of them should say a few words at the ceremony.

A7a) Orlando ákhólwísé májáhà lésvákù Bill árírhándzílè bükù

Orlando á-khólw-ís-é má-jáhà lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù Bill á-rírhándz-ílè Ø-bükù
Orlando SM.c1-persuade-CAUS-PST c6-boy DEM-c8 c8-that Bill SM.c1-like-PST c5-book
Orlando persuaded the boys that Bill liked the book.

b) Orlando ákhólwísé májáhà lésvákù ámb’úkélí mhámbà

Orlando á-khólw-ís-é má-jáhà lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù á-má-b’úkél-í Ø-mhámbà
c1-Orlando c1-persuad-CAUS-PST c6-boy DEM-c8 c8-that Mood-SM.c6-watch-Mood c9-ceremony
Orlando persuaded the boys to watch the ceremony.

A8a) Hìnà hìtsèmbìsé májáhà lésvákù hìtàbèlà pòngò òmbòngòlà.

Hìnà hì-tsèmbìs-é má-jáhà lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù hì-tàbèlà Ø-pòngò ò-mbòngòlà.
PRN.c2.2nd.pl SM.c2.2nd.pl-promise-PST c6-boy DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2.1st.pl-cause/make 5-noise c10-donkey
We promised the boys that we would yell at the donkeys.

b) Hinà hitsèmbìsè májàhà ákúvá hívángélá póngó tímbóngólà.

Hinà hì-tsèmbìs-é má-jáhà ákúvá hí-váng-él-á Ø-póngó tí-mbóngólà.
PRN.c2.2nd.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-promise-PST c6-boy that c2.1st.pl-make-APPL-FV c5-noise c9-donkey
We promised the boys to yell at the donkeys.

A9a) Màjàhà máhíkómbélé lésvákù áhímáb'úkél-ì nhà màbèlè

Mà-jàhà má-hí-kómbél-é lè-(svi) sv(i)-ákù á-hí-má-b'úkél-ì nhà mà-bèl-à
c6-boy SM.c6-OM.c2.1st.pl-demand/ask-PST DEM-c8 c8-that Mood-SM.c2.1st.pl-c6-watch-Mood while c6-play-FV
The boys demanded that we watch them playing.

COMMENT: The mood marker that precedes the subject agreement is subjunctive. Often in Changana, when you desire something the subjunctive is required.

b) Màjàhà máhíkómbélé ákúvá hítib'úkèlà nhà híbèlè

Mà-jàhà má-hí-kómbél-é ákúvá hí-tí-b'úkél-à nhà hí-bél-à
c6-boy c6-OM.c2.1st.pl -demand/ask-PST for SM.RFM-watch-FV while c6-play-FV
The boys demanded to watch us playing.

COMMENT: (a) kub'uka 'to see/look' (ex: for short period of time)

(b) kub'ukela 'to see/look (ex: for a long period of time. The football, handball, etc., matches)

1st pl it was a mistake in the gloss.

[This still needs clarification – do not enter this part of comment yet - K: I am still confused a bit here – Is the RFM supposed to be 'us', i.e, OM.c2.1st.pl?]

DL: hitib'ukela. –Ti- is reflexive and it is invariable. We can just use RFM

Mina nitib'ukela 'I watch myself'

Wena utib'ukela 'you watche yourself'

Yena atibukela 'he watches him self'

Hina hitib'ukela 'we watches ourselves']

A10a) Mùrhàngèlì ásíndzísà ákúvá hídlóká svíkhípa lésvì

Mù-rhàngèlì á-síndzís-à ákúvá hí-dlók-á sví-khípa lé-svì
c1-boss SM.c1-require-FV that SM.c2.1st.pl-wear-FV c8-shirt DEM-c8

The boss requires that we wear these shirts.

b) Mùrhàngèlì áhísíndzísà ákúvá hídlóká svíkhípá lésví

Mù-rhàngèlì á-hí-síndzís-à ákúvá hí- dlók-á sví-khípá lé-sví
c1-boss SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-require-FV for SM.c2.1st.pl-wear-FV c8-shirt DEM-c8
The boss requires us to wear these shirts.

A11a) Vàsàtì vá híná vávónà svìyàmpsà ákúvá híyímá kúdzáhá másígàrì

Và-sàtì v(a)-á híná vá-vónà svì-yàmps-à ákúvá hí-yím-á kú-dzàh-á
c2-woman c2-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2-see-FV c8-good-FV for SM.c2.1st.pl-stop-FV c15-smok-FV
má-sígàrì
c6-cigarette
Our wives prefer that we stop smoking.

b) Vàsàtì vá híná vángásvívónà svìhìyàmpsèlè ákúvá híyá máhlwèni nì kùdzàhà màsìgàrì

Và-sàtì v(a)-á híná vá-ngá-sví-vón-à svì-hì-yàmps-èl-à ákúvá hí-y-á
c2-woman c2-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2-Mood-c8OM-see-FV c8-OM.c2.1st.pl-good-APPL-FV for SM.c2.1st.pl-go-FV
má-hlw-èni nì kù-dzàh-à mà-sìgàrì
c6-ahead-LOC COM c15-smoke-FV c6-cigarette
Our wives would prefer for us to continue smoking.

c) Vàsàtì vá híná vángásvívóná svìyámpsìlè ákúvá híyá máhlwèni (ní kúvá) hídzàhà màsìgàrì

Và-sàtì v(a)-á híná vá-ngá-sví-vón-à svì-yámps-ìlè ákúvá hí-y-á má-hlw-èni ní
c2-woman c2-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2-Mood-c8-see-FV c8-good-PST for SM.c2.1st.pl-go-FV c6-ahead-LOC COM
kù-dzàh-à mà-sìgàrì
c15-smoke-FV c6-cigarette
Our wives would prefer to keep smoking.

A12a) Hìnà hìtávà nì kùtshémbà lésvákù vànfirimérà vátátshíká májáhá májà

Hìnà hì-tà-v-à nì kù-tshémb-à lè(svi) sv(i)-àkù vàn-firimérà vá-tá-tshík-á má-jáhá
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -FUT-will-FV COM c15-hope-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c2-nurse SM.c2-FUT-let-FV c6-boy

má-j-à

SM.c6-eat-FV

We will hope that the nurses will let the boys eat.

COMMENT: It is not possible to have *àkùvà* or *lésvákù* after *vátátshíká*.

b) Hìnà hìrìndzélé ákúvá Mary áhlúlà

Hìnà hì-rìndz-él-é ákúvá Mary á-hlúl-à
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -hope-APL-PST for Mary c1-win-FV
We hoped for Mary to be the winner.

c) Hìnà hìrìndzèlè kùvònà Mary áhlúlà

Hìnà hì-rìndz-él-à kù-vòn-à Mary á-hlúl-à
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -hope-APL-FV c15-see-FV Mary c1-win-FV
We hope to see Mary win.

COMMENT: It is not possible to have *àkùvà* or *lésvákù* after *kùvònà*?

A13a) Hìnà hìlávà ákúvá jáhá rá híná ríhlúlà (ok in Changana)

Hìnà hì-láv-à ákúvá Ø-jáhá r(i)-á híná rí-hlúl-à
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-want-FV for c5-son/boy c5-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl c5-win-FV
We want that our son be the winner.

b) Hìnà hìlávà ákúvá váyéndzí vátshíká váná vá vóná vátlángà

Hìnà hì-láv-à ákúvá vá-yéndzí vá-tshík-á vá-ná v(a)-á v(a)-óná vá-tláng-à
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -want-FV that c2-visit-AGT c2-let-FV c2-child c2-GN c2-POSS SM.c2-play-FV
We want the visitors to let their children play.

c) hìnà hìlávà kùkòmbà svìgòtsò svá hínà èká vápfhúmbà

hìnà hì-láv-à kù-kòmb-à svì-gòtsò sv(i)-á hínà èká vá-pfhúmbà
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -want-FV c15-show-FV c8-goods c8-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl for c2-visitor
We want to show our goods to the visitors.

d) John álavá nhléngélétáni hì wòrà rá wúnhárhù

John á-láv-á n-hléngélétáni hì Ø-wòrà r(i)-á wú-nhárhù

John SM.c1-want-FV c9-meeting at c5-three c5-GN c14-three

John wants to meet at three o'clock.

COMMENT: K: For (A13b?) try to preserve the meaning of 'to meet at three o'clock' as best you can in the translation

A14a) Hìnà hitàkòmbà vàyèndzì lèsvákú hávú yíchává xíngókò

Hìnà hì-tà-kòmb-à và-yèndz-ì lè(svi) sv(i)-ákù Ø-hávú yí-cháv-á xí-ngókò

PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -FUT-show-FV c2-visitor-AGT DEM-c8 c8-that c9-monkey c9-fear-FV c7-hyena

We will show the visitors that the monkey fears the hyenas.

b) Vàyèndzì vákómbíwé lèsvákú tíhávú àtísvírhandzì svíngókò

Và-yèndzì vá-kómb-íw-é lè(svi) sv(i)-ákù tí-hávú à-tí-sví-rhandz-í sví-ngókò

c2-visitor SM.c2-show-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c10-monkey Neg-SM.c10-OM.c8-like-Neg c8-hyena

The visitors were shown that the monkeys do not like the hyenas.

A15a) Hìnà hitàkhòlwìsà vàyèndzì lèsvákù tìhàvù tíchávè svíngókò

Hìnà hì-tà-khòlw-ìs-à và-yèndzì lè(svi) sv(i)-ákù tì-hàvù tí-cháv-é sví-ngókò

PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -FUT-prove-CAUS-FV c2-visitor DEM-c8 c8-that c10-monkey SM.c10-fear/worry-PST c8-hyena

We will prove to the visitors that the monkeys are worried about the hyenas.

b) vàyèndzì vákhólwísíwílè lèsvákù svìngòkò svìzòndhà tìhàvù

và-yèndzì vá-khólw-ís-íw-ílè lè(svi) sv(i)-ákù svì-ngòkò svì-zòndh-à tì-hàvù

c2-visitor SM.c2-prove-CAUS-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c8-hyena SM.c8-hate-FV c10-monkey

The visitors were proved (to) that the hyenas hate the monkeys.

COMMENT: The passive that is not possible in English is possible in Changana.

A16a) Svìkòmbò svíníbzélá lèsvákù àvàyèndzì vánávélá kútírhá svíphélà.

Sví-kòmbò sví-ní-bzél-á lé-(svi) sv(i)-ákù à-và-jòndz-ì vá-návél-á kú-tírh-á sví-phélà.

c8-evidence SM.c8-1psOM-say-FV DEM-c8 c8-that AUG-c2-study-AGT SM.c2-willing-FV c15-work-FV c8-hard

The evidence suggests (to me) that the students are willing to work hard.

b) Lèsvó svínífbzélá lésvákù mùkhòtsìwà ání nándzù.

Lèsvó sví-ní-bzél-á lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù mù-khòts-ìw-à á-ní Ø-nándzù.
DEM-c.8 SM.c8-1psOM-say-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c1-prison-PASS-FV SM.c1-have c5-guilty

It has been suggested (to me) that the prisoner is guilty.

COMMENT: *lesvo* vs *lesvi*. *Le-svi* (DEM-c.8 with –i means this or this one) and *lesvo* (DEM-c.8 with –o means that or it). *Mukhotsiwa* means the imprisoned one. We don't have a single word for prison.

A17a) àhùhlù yízámé kúkúmélá mágámú ká nsínyà.

À-Ø-hùhlù yí-zám-é kú-kúm-él-á má-gámú ká n-sínyà.
AUG-c9-giraffe SM.c9-try-PST c15-reach-APPL-FV c6-top LOC c5-tree

The giraffe tried to reach the treetops.

COMMENT: *Kukuma* is different from *kukumela* which has the APPL. *Kukuma* is used for +animate (subject and object) and *kukumela* is used for +animate subject and –animate object.

b) Mary ázámélé jáhá rá yéná kúbásísá múntíní wá yénà.

Mary á-zám-él-é Ø-jáhá r(i)-á yéná kú-bás-ís-á mú-ntíní w-á yénà.
Mary SM.c1-try-APPL-PST c5-boy c5-GN PRN.c1 15-clean-CAUS-FV c3-house c3-GN PRN.c1

Mary tried **for** her son to clean his room. (* in English)

c) Mary tried **to** get her son to clean his room. (same sentence 17b)

A18a) Hàvù yíkhóhlwé kújísá n'wáná wá yónà

Ø-Hàvù yí-khóhlw-é kú-j-ís-á n'w-ánà w-á y-ónà
c9-monkey SM.c9-fail-PST c15-eat-CAUS-FV c1-child c1-GN c9-POSS

The monkey failed/neglected to feed her child.

b) Mùchìni ùmáhiwé ákúvá útívá míhlámúlú yínénè

Mù-chìni ú-máh-íw-é ákúvá ú-tív-á mí-hlámúlú yí-nénè
c3-machine c3-make/manage-PASS-PST that SM.c3-know/predict-FV c3-answer c3-good/right

The machine managed to predict the right answer.

c) Svib'òchwà svílávà kúkhólwísà vabàsòpì àkùvà vásvínýíká svákújá svínýíngì
 Svì-b'òchwà sví-láv-á kú-khólw-ís-à vâ-bàsòp-ì àkùvâ vá-sví-nyík-á sv-ákújá sví-nyíngì
 c8-prisoner SM.c8-need-FV c15-convince-CAUS-FV c2-guard-AGT for c2-OM.c8-give-FV c8-food c8-more
 The prisoners need to convince the guards to give them more food.

d) Vârhàngèlì vátshémé kúdúmélá vánálà
 Vâ-rhàngèlì vá-tshém-é kú-dúmél-á vá-nálà
 c2-leader SM.c2-decide-PST c15-attack-FV c2-enemy
 The leaders decided to attack the enemy.

e) Mùntì úfánélá kúbásísíwà ndzhákù èká váyéndzì váfíkà
 Mù-ntì ú-fánél-á kú-bás-ís-íw-à ndzhákù èká vá-yéndzì vâ-fík-à
 c3-house SM.c3-need-FV c15-clean-CAUS-PASS-FV before of c2-visit-AGT SM.c2-PR-come-FV
 The house needs to be clean before the guests come.

COMMENT: Ken: Is it possible to have *àkùvâ* or *lésvákù* after *èká*? DL: Yes: *Mùntì úfánélá kúbásísíwà ndzhákù kákúvâ váyéndzì váfíkà*. But never **lésvákù*.

f) Hìnà hitàtìlùlámìsèlâ àkùvâ hifâmbâ ndzhákù èká kúvâ váyéndzì vâlálélílè
 Hìnâ hì-tâ-tì-lùlâm-ìs-èl-â àkùvâ hì-fâmb-â ndzhákù èká á-yéndzì
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -FUT-RFM-prepare-CAUS-APPL-FV for SM.c2.1st.pl-leave-FV before of c2-visit-AGT
 vâ-lálél-ílè
 c2-dinner-PST
 We will prepare to leave when the guests have eaten dinner.

COMMENT: *Vâlálélílè* a verb that means 'to eat dinner'. In Changana we have different words for meals. *kùfìhlùlâ* 'breakfast', *dìnâ* 'lunch' and *kùlâlèlâ* 'dinner'. In fact, *kùlâlèlâ* means eat for the last time of a day. So, we don't use a direct object 'dinner' because all the senses of this word is included in *kùlâlèlâ*.

g) Hìnà hìyànakànyâ kùsvìkòtâ kùmâhèlâ màlè kòmponì
 Hìnâ hì-yànakàny-â kù-svì-kòt-â kù-mâh-èl-â Ø-mâlè Ø-kòmponì
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-think/plan-FV c15-OM.c8-able-FV c15-make-APL-FV c9-money c9-company

We plan to succeed in making money for company.

COMMENT: *kù-svì-kòt-à* is more natural than *kù-kòt-à*. The OMc.8 refers to this (*kumahela male komponi*).

A19a) Ndlòpfù ìngì yísvírhándzílè ákúyá másín'wíní yá mávéle

N-dlòpfù ìngì yí-svírhándz-ílè á-kúy-á má-sín'w-íní y(i)-á má-véle
c9-elephant seems SM.c9-like-PST AUGment-go-FV c6-field-LOC c6-GN c6-maise

The elephant seemed to like to go to the cornfield.

COMMENT: *ìngì* is an adverb. It can appear before nouns and verbs eg:

(a) ìngì Mariya ajondzile
apparently Mariya 3ps.study-PST
Apparently, Mariya has studied.

(b) ìngì nikarhalile
ìngì ni-karhal-ile
apparently SM.1st.pl-tire-PST
Apparently, we are tired.

Ingi means 'to seem, to appear, to sound, to look, to give the impression of'. The augment in *akuya*: In the nominative/infinitive forms of a verb, the augment appears. Eg.: *kujondza* 'to study' vs *akujondza* *katsakisa* 'to study is good' / *kuya* 'to go' vs *akuya* 'to go'. My explanation as to why the augment appears is to express a kind of definiteness. So, it is a semantic reason.

b) Nyànyàni ìngì yíjé tímbéwù

Ø-Nyànyàni ìngì yí-j-é tí-mbéwù
c9-bird seems SM.c9-eat-PST c10-seed

A bird appears to have eaten the seeds.

c) Tinyànyàni ìngì tílává tímbéwú tín'wáni

Ti-nyànyàni ìngì tí-láv-á tí-mbéwú tí-n'wáni
c10-bird seems SM.c10-want-FV c10-seed c10-other/more

The birds are likely to want more seeds.

d) Màjàhà máfánélá kújísá tíhómù.

Mà-jàhà má-fánélá kú-j-ís-á tí-hómù.

c6-boy SM.c6-ought c15-eat-CAUS-FV c10-cow
The boys ought to feed the cattle.

e) àmpfùlà yítshémbísá kúhónhá ntsóvéldò.
À-Ø-mpfùlà yí-tshémb-ís-á kú-hónh-á n-tsóvéldò.
AUG-c9-rain SM.c9-certain-CAUS-FV c15-ruin-FV c9-crops
The rain is certain to ruin the crops.

f) àmpfùlà yísángúlé kúhónhá ntsóvéldò.
À-Ø-mpfùlà yí-sángúl-é kú-hónh-á n-tsóvéldò.
AUG-c9-rain SM.c9-begin-FV c15-ruin-FV c9-crops
The rain began to ruin the crops.

g) Mùvùndzàmàni wà híná ání ndhúamá yá kúvá múbáli m̀nkùlù.
Mù-vùndzàmàni w-à híná á-ní n-dhúamá y(i)-á kú-v-á mú-bál-i mù-nkùlù.
c1-neighbor c1-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c1-have c9-famous c9-GN c15-be-FV c1-write-AGT 1-big
Our neighbor turned out to be a famous writer.
(I.e., we learned of his fame sometime after we had met him)

[Do not include in data entry - K: Note to me for later – think more about the copula here and the relation to the adjective.
DL: OK]

A20a) John ávé ní (kú)tshémbà lésvákù àkúná mághézi
John á-v-é ní (kú)tshémb-à lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù à-kú-n-á má-ghézi
John SM.c1-have-PST with c15-certain-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c1-LOC-have-FV c6-light
John was certain that the lights were out.

b) (svòná) svítámáhà ìngì mùthèthìsìwà ání nándzù. (hambi loko anganawo)
(sv(i)-òná) sví-tá-máh-à ìngì mù-thèth-ìs-ìw-à á-n-í Ø-nándzù.
c8-it SM.c8-FUT-make-FV seems c1-resolve-CAUS-PASS-FV SM.c1-have-FV c3-guilty
It will appear that the defendant is guilty. (Even if he is not)

COMMENT: *Kuva* ‘to have’ is a defective verb which is *ani* ‘have’ in affirmative present and *ave* ‘had’ affirmative past tense. (*svona*) it is a

dropped subject. In English can be translated ‘it’. In other Changana’s variants *kumaha* ‘to make or become’ can be seen as *kuyendla* ‘to make or to build’. In 20b these two words can be seen as synonymous.

COMMENT. *Mùthèthìsìwà* is a derivative name from the verb *kuthetha* ‘to be judged’ and after this process of being judged, you can be guilty of not (defendant) So, *nandzu* means guilty. In the expression *mùthèthìsìwà ání nándzù* means the defendant is guilty. The term for prisoner is *mùkhòtsìwà*.

- c) (svònà) svítámáhà ìngì màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni
 (sv(i)-ònà) sví-tá-máh-à ìngì mà-jàhà má-táy-á kú-ríngél-éni
 c8-it SM.c8-FUT-make-FV seems c6-boy SM.c6-go-FV c15-fishing-LOC

It is likely that the boys will go fishing.

COMMENT: some accept *àkùvà* or *lésvákù* after *ìngì* and others no, the idea of ‘seems’ or ‘likely’ is expressed by *ìngì*.

- a.(svònà) svítámáhà (ìngì) màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni (seems to/likely
 b.?(svònà) svítámáhà (ìngì) (akuva) màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni
 c.(svònà) svítámáhà (ìngì)(lésváku) màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni

- d) (svònà) ìngì màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni
 (sv(i)-ònà) ìngì mà-jàhà má-táy-á kú-ríngél-éni
 c8-it seems c6-boy SM.c6-FUT-go-FV c15-fishing-LOC

It is probable that the boys will go fishing. (I.e., it is more likely than not)

COMMENT: some accept *àkùvà* or *lésvákù* after *ìngì* and others no

- a.(svònà) ìngì (lesvaku) màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni
 b.(svònà) ìngì (akuva) màjàhà mátáyá kúringélèni

- e) Í ntíyísò èká lésvákù dzòngèni ká tíkó ká kúfúmélà
 Í n-tíyísò lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù Ø-dzòng-éni k-á Ø-tíkó k-á kú-fúmél-à
 Cop c3-true DEM-c8 c8-that c3-south-LOC c17-GN c3-landc17-GN c15-warmer-FV

It is true that the south is warmer.

COMMENT: K: Is there no verb in the clause introduced by *lésvákù* - just an understood copula? DL: the sentence is correct as it is.

- f) Í svínénè lésvákù Mary áhlúlílè
 Í sví-nénè lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù Mary á-hlúl-ílè

Cop c8-good DEM-c8 c8-that Mary c1-win-PST
It is good that Mary is the winner.

g) Svítíyílé lésvákù màjàhà màmáhé vátsóngwáná vájá svímílwà.

Sví-tíy-ílé lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù mà-jàhà má-máh-é vá-tsóngwáná vá-j-á sví-mílwà.
SM.c8-solid-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c6-boy SM.c6-make-PST c2-child SM.c2-eat-FV c8-plantain

It is clear that the boys made the children eat the plantains.

COMMENT: K: Is it possible to have *àkùvà* or *lésvákù* after *màmáhé*? DL: a. Svítíyílé **lésvákù**₁ màjàhà màmáhé (lésvákù₂) vátsóngwáná vájá svímílwà. Yes, it is possible but normally is hidden because of the first *lésvákù*.

h) Nìtsàkìlè hì kùvà hìnkwàvò vátátívá ntíyísò

Nì-tsàk-ìlè hì kùvà hìnk-àvò vá-tá-tív-á n-tíyísò
c1.1st.sg-happy-PST for that all-people SM.c2-FUT-know-FV c3-truth

I am happy that everyone will know the truth.

COMMENT: K: Is the complementizer *kùvà* different from *àkùvà* or is the difference here just phonological or allophonic?

DL: This concerns the meaning of augment in Bantu. We have to check if it is a definite or not. I think we have the same in *munhu* 'person' and *amunhu* 'person/the person'.

[DO NOT ENTER THIS IN DATABASE YET

KS: This could be important in that (in)definiteness is not typically assumed to be a property of clauses and I don't know (maybe just my ignorance) if there are any languages that distinguish definite and indefinite clauses. If it is a difference of definiteness, then what is it about *hìnkwàvò vátátívá ntíyísò* that makes it 'definite'? Would you not use *kùvà* if the subject were 'some people'?

DL: distribution of *kuva* vs *akuva*. I made a list of sentences with *kuva* and *akuva* to my Changana colleagues, just to see their evaluation of grammaticity of them. Here the first impression:

Akuva

1.a. se hilungiseliwi tinombori hinkwerhu **akuva** hitayehla hiya mugodini.

b. se hilungiseliwi tinombori hinkwerhu **kuva** hitayehla hiya mugodini.

2.a. mubali laha ka buku **akuva** atirha, se mumhlongolela yini?

b. mubali laha ka buku **kuva** atirha, se mumhlongolela yini?

- 3.a. svindzikarhata mina ndziku kulaveka ndziteka wansati **akuva** atahlayisa mamani.
 b. svindzikarhata mina ndziku kulaveka ndziteka wansati **kuva** atahlayisa mamani.
- 4.a. Se ndixava mathayela ndzixavela tintombhi **akuva** vatayetlela kona vatakota kuya xikolweni.
 b. svindzikarhata mina ndziku kulaveka ndziteka wansati **akuva** atahlayisa mamani.
- 5.a. Se amirhi wakwe **akuva** wuvuya kaya wutalahliwa wuriliwa awuzanga wusvikotile?
 b. Se amirhi wakwe **kuva** wuvuya kaya wutalahliwa wuriliwa awuzanga wusvikotile?
- 6.a. ka wena loko avo khetani lirimi awutakheta lihi lirimi **akuva** vajondza vana?
 b. Se amirhi wakwe **kuva** wuvuya kaya wutalahliwa wuriliwa awuzanga wusvikotile?

Kuva

1. a. Ndzinyimela mimovha loko yifika yiwonhekile **kuva** yilulamisiwa.
 b. Ndzinyimela mimovha loko yifika yiwonhekile **akuva** yilulamisiwa.
- 2.a. Magudi hi **kuva** ayendle ximoko hala Magudu hala, vamuhlongolile.
 b. Magudi hi **akuva** ayendle ximoko hala Magudu hala, vamuhlongolile.
- 3.a. Lesvo svingalava **kuva** himaha hi madixritu.
 b. Lesvo svingalava **akuva** himaha hi madixritu.

My colleagues says:

For them all the senteces are gramatical (ok) and has the same meaning. In given contexts akuva and kuva means the same thing: "so as to", "in order that, so that, that", i.e., it indicates a finality of something. It can be a dialectal or stilistic variation as happens in locatives / buku/abuku 'the book', xikolweni/axikolweni "in the school", axikolweni/exikolweni.]

A21a) Hìnà hìsìmilìlè kùhlàmpsà mòvhà

Hìnà	hì-sìmil-ìlè	kù-hlàmps-à	Ø-mòvhà
PRN.c2.1st.pl	SM.c2.1st.pl -resist-PST	c15-washing-FV	c3-car
We resisted washing the car.			

b) Vàtsòngwànà v àgàmílè kùhlàmpsà mòvhà

Và-tsòngwànà	v-àgàm-ìlè	kù-hlàmps-à	Ø-mòvhà
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c2-child SM.c2-finish-PST c15-washing-FV c3-car
The children have finished washing the car.

c) Hìnà hìdòkàdòkànìsàné kújòndzísá xíkán'wè
Hìnà hì-dòkàdòkànìsàn-é kú-jòndzís-á xí-kán'wè
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -discuss-PST c15-teaching-FV c7-together
We discussed teaching a course together.

d) Vàyàkèlànì v́ híná v́v́híké kúkhúlúmá ní máphóyísà
Vàyàkèlànì v-á híná v́-v́hík-é kú-khúlúm-á ní má-phóyísà
c2-neighbor c2-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl c2-avoid-PST c15-talk-FV COM c6-police
Our neighbors avoided talking to the police.

A22a) Alice ávhúmbátílè lésvákù v̀atsòngwànà v̀àngátívá nhlámúlù
Alice á-vhúmbát-ílè lé(svì) sv(i)-ákù v̀-atsòngwànà v̀-àngá-tív-á n-hlámúlù
Alice SM.c1-guess-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c2-child SM.c2-would-know-FV c3-answer
Alice guessed that the children would know the answer.

b) Alice ávhúmbáté nkámá lówù v̀atsòngwànà v́fánéléké kúkómbá mújòndzísí búkù
Alice á-vhúmbát-é n-kámá ló-wù v̀-atsòngwànà v́-fánél-ék-é kú-kómb-á mú-jòndzísí Ø-búkù
Alice SM.c1-guess-PST c3-time DEM-c3 c2-child SM.c2-will-REL-PST c15-show-FV c3-teacher c5-book
Alice guessed when the children would show the book to the teacher.

c) Alice ávhúmbáté lésví svítívíwèké hì ntsòngwànà
Alice á-vhúmbát-é lé-sví sví-tívíw-èk-é hì n-atsòngwànà
Alice SM.c1-guess-PST DEM-c8 c8-PR-know-REL-PST by c1-child
Alice guessed what the children knew.

[Do not include in data entry - K: At some point I will need to understand agreement patterns in relative clauses, but this can wait.
DL: OK]

A23a) Vàpfána v́svítívíflè lésvákù Alice ángáwútívá nhlámúlù

Và-pfánà vá-sví-tív-ílè lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù Alice á-ngá-wú-tív-á n-hlámùlù
 c2-boy SM.c2-c8-know-PST DEM-c8 c8-that Alice c1-would-c14-know-FV c3-answer
 The boys knew that Alice would know the answer.

b) Vàpfánà vávútívílè nkámá lówú Alice ángátákábzélá hósí mhákà
 Và-pfánà vá-wú-tív-ílè n-kámá ló-wú Alice á-ngá-tá-ká-bzél-á Ø-hósí Ø-mhákà
 c2-boy SM.c2-OM.c3-know-PST c3-time DEM-c3 Alice SM.c1-would-FT-REL-say-FV c9-king c9-story
 The boys knew when Alice would tell the story to the president.

c) Alice áwútívílè nhlámùlù lówú vátsóngwáná vángátáwútívákà
 Alice á-wú-tív-ílè n-hlámùlù ló-wú vá-tsóngwáná vá-ngá-tá-wú-tív-ák-à
 Alice SM.c1-c3-know-PST c3-answer DEM-c3 c2-child SM.c2-would-FT-c14-know-REL-FV
 Alice knew which answers the children would be able to guess.

A24a) Nìvòné lésvákù Mary áhúmá ngátì
 Nì-vòn-é lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù Mary á-húm-á n-gátì
 SM.c1.1st.sg-see-PST DEM-c8 c8-that Mary c1-go out-FV c9-blood

I saw that Mary was bleeding.

COMMENT: This is possible with *àkùvà* instead of *lésvákù* but in this case we will have different meanings. *Lesvaku* is more neutral and when you say *akuva* you are expressing your own opinion or position. i.e., Mary is not bleeding and you think that she should bleed (caused by someone or something) – *akuva*. And when you use *lesvaku*, you are just describing what you see.

[Do not include in data entry: This is one of the kinds of differences that I would like to focus on in subsequent work, that is, cases where evidentiality or point of view is affected by the choice of one complementizer as opposed to another. I will come back to this after data entry.]

b) Nìvòné lésvákù ribzè rávúmbúlúká nhávèni
 Nì-vòn-é lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù rì-bzè r-á-vúmbúlúk-á Ø-nháv-éni
 1ps-see-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c5-rock SM.c5-HAB-rolling-FV c9-hill

I saw the rock roll(ing) down the hill.

COMMENT: This is possible with *àkùvà* instead of *lésvákù* but in this case we will have different meanings. *Lesvaku* is more neutral and when you say *akuva* you are expressing your own opinion or position. i.e., Mary is not bleeding and you think that she should bleed (caused by someone or something) – *akuva*. And when you use *lesvaku*, you are just describing what you see.

c) Rìbzè rívóníwé árívúmbúlúká hé nhávèni

Rì-bzè rí-vón-íw-é ná-rí-vúmbúlúk-á hé Ø-nhávèni
c5-rock SMc.5-see-PASS-PST ANT-c5-rolling-FV of c9-hill

The rock was seen rolling down the hill.

COMMENT: hé < hì lé 'from there'
of DEM

A25a) Nìtwé lésvákù vàjòndzì vátáká ngópù lókó míntírúhó yá vóná yá lé káyá yílí yínè

Nì-tw-é lé(svi) sv(i)-ákù và-jòndz-ì vá-tsák-á ngópù lókó mí-ntírúhó y-á vóná y-á lé Ø-káyá
SM.c1.1st.sg-hear-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c2-teach-AGT c2-happy-FV much when c4-work c4-GNthem c4-GN c5-home
yí-lí yí-nè
SM.c5-be c5-good

I hear that students are happier when their homework is interesting.

b) Nìtwé mátí mántóná hí ká mpóm̀pì

Nì-tw-é má-tí má-ntóná hí (le) ká m-póm̀pì
SM.c1.1st.sg-hear-PST c6-water c6-dripping from there at faucet

I heard water drip(ping) from the faucet.

COMMENT: Is it possible to have àkùv̀ or lésvákù after nìtwé.

c) M̀tì m̀twíwé ná mántóná èkà mpóm̀pì.

M̀-tì m̀-tw-íw-é ná má-ntóná èkà m-póm̀pì.
c6-water SM.c6-hear-PASS-PST while c6-dripping from c4-faucet

The water was heard dripping from the faucet.

A26a) Nìtwé lésvákú Mary ángávé áríválélíwílè

Nì-tw-é lé-(svi) sv(i)ákú Mary á-ngá-v-é á-ríválél-íw-ílè
1ps-feel-PST DEM-c8 c8-that Mary c1-shall-have-PST c1-apologize-PASS-PST

I felt that Mary should have apologized.

b) Nìtwé mínsíhá yá míná yítlhátlhékà

Nì-tw-é mí-nsíhá y-á míná yí-tlhátlh-ék-à
SM.c1.1st.sg-feel-PST c4-muscle c4-GN mine SM.c4-relax-STAT-FV

I felt my muscles relax(ing).

COMMENT: It is possible to have *àkùvà* or *lésvákù* after *nìtwé*, but the sentence is more natural like it is.

c) Ndzhàkù èká nyédzhánà, mìnsihà yá mb'ábzí yítwálé íngí yótlhátlhékà (yitlhatlhekile)

N-dzhàkù èká Ø-nyédzhánà, mì-nsihà y-á m-b'ábzí yí-twál-é íngí y-ó-tlhátlh-ék-à
c3-behind of c9-injection, c4-muscle c4-GN c9-patient SM.c9-feel-PST seems SM.c4-EXC-relax- STAT-FV

After the injection, the patient's muscles were felt relaxing.

COMMENT: Like in English, in Changana (A26c) is ? or * for many speakers also. The ok sentence should be ..., *mìnsihà yá mb'ábzí yítlhlékà* '..., the patient muscles relaxed'. K: The sentence in (A26c) is especially interesting – the perception verb agrees with the patient, not with muscles, but 'relax' agrees with muscles. [Do not include in data entry **We will need to explore this further. It is a very surprising pattern. Can you think of other cases of raising structures where the matrix verb agrees with a Genitive object (in this case the patient) and the subordinate verb agrees with the whole nominal? Is the observer/experiencer of the 'feel' verb not expressed (e.g., is the doctor feeling the muscle when it relaxes?) or is the patient in this sentence the one who feels the relaxation?**]

DL: Even in your example (is the doctor feeling the muscle when it relaxes/I [dokodela] atwaka [minsiha] ya yena yitlhatlhela) what is relaxing is the muscles not the doctor.

A27a) Mähùngù làwà yá kù John ávé ní nándzú ámángáríndzélíwángà

Mà-hùngù l-àwà y-á kù John á-v-é ní Ø-nándzú á-má-ngá-ríndzél-íw-áng-à
c6-news DEM-c6 c6-GN that John c1-have-PST COM c3-guilty c3-c6-NEG-expect-PASS-NEG-PST

The news that John was guilty was surprising.

b) Wùtìvì bzà lésvákù yènà ákwátísé Mary svímúkwátísé svínénè.

Wù-tìv-ì bz(i)-á lé-(svi) sv(i)-ákù yènà á-kwát-ís-é Mary sví-mú-kwát-ís-é sví-nénè.
c14-know-AGT c14-GN DEM-c8 c8-that PRN.c1 SM.c1-bother-CAUS-PST Mary c8-OM.c1-bother-CAUS-PST c8-much

The knowledge that he had made Mary uncomfortable bothered him.

c) Tìntlhàrí tízé típfúmélá lésvákù màvònèlè yá tónà ámángálí mánénè

Tì-ntlhàrí tí-z-é tí-pfúmél-á lé-(svi) sv(i)-ákù mà-vònèlè y-á t-ónà á-má-ngá-lí má-nénè

c10-scientist SM.c10-have-PST SM.c10-accept-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c6-opinion c6-GN c10-POSS NEG-SM.c6-NEG-have c6-correct
 The scientists had to accept the fact their prediction was wrong.

d) Mary átívísé lésvákù ànyìmbísíwílè ávé xívángélò xá kúxwélá ká John
 Mary á-tív-ís-é lé-(svi) sv(i)-ákù á-nyìmb-ís-íw-ílè á-v-é xí-vángélò x-á kú-xwél-á k-á John
 Mary SM.c1-know-CAUS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c1-pregnant-CAUS-APPL-PST c1-be-PST c7-cause GN c17-late-FV c17-GN John
 Mary's announcement that she was pregnant was the cause of John's lateness.

e) Māvùlèlè yá lé(svi) svákù àngàkònà lwé-yì ángátívá mhángò lèyì á mákhólwísání
 Mā-vùlèlè y-á lé(svi) sv-á-kù à-ngà-kòn-à lwé-yì á-ngá-tív-á Ø-mhángò l è-yì á-má-khólw-ís-ání
 c6-claim c6-GN DEM-c8 c8-that c1-NEG-exist-FV DEM-c1 c1-REL-know-FV c9-scandal DEM-c9 SM.c1-OM.c6-believe-CAUS-Part
 The claim that there was no one who know about the scandal this one is made to believe'
 COMMENT: The 'difficulty' is implied by the causative.

f) Lèxì xívángéláká ákúvá kúmá híwá lésvì í kúvá híkótá kúvhíká tríbúnáli.
 Lè-xì xí-váng-él-ák-á á-kú-v-á kú-máh-íw-á lé-svi í kú-v-á hí-kót-á kú-vhík-á
 DEM-c8 c8-cause-APPL-REL-FV AUG-c15-be-FV c15-do-PASS-FV DEM-c8 Cop c15-be-FV SM.c2.1st.pl -able-FV 15-avoid-FV
 Ø-tríbúnáli.
 c5-tribunal
 The only reason to do this properly is so that we can avoid a lawsuit.

g) John áwé mún'wè èkà làv à vágávéká mávónélé yá kúvá kúyívíwá bánkù
 John á-w-é mú-n'wè èkà là-và vá-ngá-vék-á má-vón-él-é y-á kú-v-á kú-yív-íw-á Ø-bánkù
 John SM.c1-be-PST c1-one of DEM-c2 c2-REL-propose-FV c6-opinion-APPL-PST c6-GN c15-be-FV c15-rob-PASS-FV c5-bank
 John was the one who proposed the plan to rob the bank.

h) John áhákélé núná lwéyè ángávóníwà hí Bill
 John á-hákél-é Ø-núná lwé-yí á-ngá-vón-íw-à hí Bill
 c1-John SM.c1-reward-PST c1-man DEM-1 c1-REL-see-PASS-FV for Bill
 John rewarded the man who Bill saw.

A28a) Màsòchà máchávélélà lésvákù mátáchélá tíngáná n'wáHòsì

Mà-sòchà má-cháv-élél-à lé(sví) sv-ákù má-tá-chél-á tí-ngáná n'wá-Hòsì
c6-soldier SM.c6-afraid-INTENS-FV DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c6-FUT-put-FV c10-ashame c1-President
The soldiers are afraid that the president will be ashamed of them.

b) Màsòchà máchává kúpfúmélá lésvákù mábálékílè

Mà-sòchà má-cháv-á kú-pfúmél-á lé(sví) sv-ákù má-bálék-ílè
c6-soldier SM.c6-afraid-FV c15-admit-FV DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c6-run-PST
The soldiers are afraid to admit that they ran.

A29a) Cleopatra átíláyílè hí lésvì ángátshémbá Cesar

Cleopatra á-tí-láy-ílè hí lé-svì á-ngá-Ø-tshémb-á Cesar
Cleopatra SM.c1-RFM-regret-PST for DEM-c8 c1-REL-PRES-trust-FV Cesar
Cleopatra regrets that she trusted Caesar.

b) Cleopatra átíláyílè kùbzèlà Cesar màhùngù mókálá mángálí mánénè (ok for Changana speakers)

Cleopatra á-tí-láy-ílè kù-bzèl-à Cesar mà-hùngù m-ó-kál-á má-ngá-l-í má-nénè
Cleopatra SM.c1-RFM-regret-PST c15-tell-FV Cesar c6-newa c6-EXCL-not-FV c6-REL-be-PST c6-good
Cleopatra regretted to tell Caesar the bad news.

A30a) Xìngòvè xísvítsákélílè àkùvà n'wínyí wá xóná áxínyíké svákújà.

Xì-ngòvè xí-sví-tsák-él-ílè à-kù-v-à n'w-íny-í w-á x(i)-óná á-xí-nyík-é sv(i)-á
c7-cat SM.c7-OM.c8-like-APPL-FV AUG-c15-have-FV c1-owner-AGT c1-GN c7-POSS SM.c1-c7OM-give-PST c8-GN
kú-j-à.
c15-eat-FV

The cat liked (it) that his master always gave him treats to eat.

COMMENT: The OM.c8 correspond to the English 'it'. *Svákújà* corresponds to 'treats' in this translation.

b) Xìngòvè xítsákílè hí kújá svákújà.

Xì-ngòvè xí-tsák-ílè hí kú-j-á sv(i)-á kú-j-à
c7-cat SM.c7-like-PST to c15-eat-FV c8-GN c15-eat-FV

The cat liked to eat treats.

COMMENT: *hi* is a complementizer. In passive construction is translated as ‘for’ or ‘by’. In this construction it can be translated as ‘to’.

COMMENT: *Hí* be omitted. *Hí* is a preposition in at least part of its distribution. *Xìngòvè xítsákílè (hí) kújá svákújà*. But mind that the high tone of *kújá* will remain. So, as the final vowel of *xítsákílè* is low toned it makes clear that *hi* is there because ?*Xìngòvè xítsákílè kújà svàkújà*.

c) *Xìngòvè xítsákílè hí lésví n’wínyí wá xóná áxírhándzákà*.

Xì-ngòvè xí-tsák-ílè hí lé-sví n’w-íny-í w-á x(i)-óná á-xírhándz-ák-à.

c7-cat SM.c7-like-PST for DEM-c8 c1-own-AGT c1-GN c7-POSS SM.c1-OM.c7-like/pet-REL-FV

The cat likes (for) his master to pet him.

COMMENT: *Hí* can be omitted.

A31a) *Hìchàvà lésvákù màphòyisà àmákómbélí rívalélò hì svìhònghò svá wónà*

Hì-chàv-à lé(svì) sv-ákù mà-phòyisà à-má-kómbél-í rí-valélò hì svì-hònghò sv-á w-ónà

SM.c2.1st.pl-fear-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c6-police NEG-c6-regret-NEG c5-regret for c8-mistake c8-GN c3-POSS

We fear that the police do not regret their mistake.

b) *Vàbàlèkì vachávà kùkhùlùmà ní vá n’wámáhúngù (ok in Changana)*

Và-bàlèkì vá-cháv-à kù-khùlùm-à ní v(a)-á n’wá-má-húngù

c2-refugee c2-fear-FV c15-speak-FV COM c2-GN c1-GN-c6-press

Refugees fear to speak to the press.

A32a) *Hìnà svá hídánílè àkùvà hìngàkòtàngà kùpfùnà vatsòngwànà kùfàmbà*

Hìnà sv(i)-á hí-dán-ílè hí kú-v-à hì-ngà-kòtà-ng-à kù-pfùnà v-à-tsòngwànà

PRN.c2.1st.pl c8-GN SM.1st.pl -ashame-PST for c15-cause-FV SM.c2.1st.pl -NEG-do-NEG-FV c15-help-FV c2-child

kù-fàmbà

c15-leave-FV

We are ashamed that we did not help the children to leave.

COMMENT: K: I am not sure of my gloss of *hídánílè* – is this a verb or some sort of nominal? If it is not a nominal, why is the GN here?

DL: Good question. I think because there is *lesvi* implicit. So *svi-* is a SM of the genitive and *hi-* SM of a verb.

i. *Hìnà [lesvi] sv(i)-á hí-dán-ílè*

PRN.c2.1st.pl DEM-c.8 c.8-GN SM.1st.pl-ashame-PST

b) N'wá mábindzù ávéni tǐngáná tá kúkhúlúmá ní váfárángéxjí vá yénà

N'w-á má-bíndzù á-vé ní tí-ngáná t(i)-á kú-khúlúm-á ní vá-fárángéxjí v(a)-á yénà
c1-GN c6-businessman SM.c1-have-PST COM c10-ashame c10-GN c15-talk-FV COM c2-customer c2-GN PRN.c1

The businessman was ashamed to talk to his customers.

COMMENT: K: Why is *tá* needed here, the genitive after *tǐngáná*?

DL: *Ta* here has the meaning of 'to' and introduces the phrase *kúkhúlúmá ní váfárángéxjí vá yénà*. If we say *N'wá mábindzù ávéni tǐngáná* 'The businessman was ashamed' some can ask 'of what?' And the answer would be *tá kúkhúlúmá ní váfárángéxjí vá yénà*. If we take out *ta* the sentence will be ungrammatical.

A33a) Hìnà (lesvi) svíhídálísílè àkùvà hòsì yá híná íyè kúringétèni nkámá yímpí yíngásúngúlà

Hìnà sví-hí-dálís-ílè àkùvà Ø-hòsì y(i)-á híná í-y-é kú-ríngét-énì
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c8- 1st.pl -ashame-PST that c9-president c9-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl-we SM.c9-go-PST c15-fishing-LOC
n-kámá (yí)m-pí yí-ngá-súngúl-à
c9-time c9-war c9-REL-begin-FV.

We are embarrassed that our president went fishing when the war began.

COMMENT: The c8 before the c2.1st.pl is probably because *lesvi* is implicit. So *svi-* is a SM and *hi-* is OM.

b) Hìnà svíhídánísílè àkùthèkèlè

Hìnà sví-hí-dán-ís-ílè à-kù-thèkèl-à
PRN.c2.1st.pl c8-c2.1st.pl -ashame-CAUS-PST AUG-c15-ask a favor-FV

We are embarrassed to ask for a favor.

COMMENT: The c8 before the c2.1st.pl is probably because *lesvi* is implicit. So *svi-* is a SM and *hi-* is OM.

KS: So you don't think that the initial pronoun is the subject of the sentence?

DL: we can take out (*hina*) as it referred in the verb *svíhídánísílè*. *Svi-* doesn't concord to the subject but with something omitted here (that things that embarrassed us) So, *svi-* refers to that things which we don't know.

A34a) Vàkhúzì vátákílè lésví ntláwá wá vóná úngápálà.

Và-khúz-ì vá-tsák-ílè lé-sví n-tláwá y(i)-á v(a)-óná ú-ngá-pál-à.
c2-fans-AGT SM.c2-rejoice-PST DEM-c8 c4-team c4-GN c2-POSS c4-REL-success-FV

The fans rejoiced that their team was successful.

COMMENT: K: Is *ntláwá wá vóná úngápála* a nominal of some sort, e.g., ‘their team’s success’? DL: *ntlawa ya vona* means team (the group of them) and *ungapala* (successful)

b) Ntlàwà útsákélé lésvì ntlàwà wá vóná úngápála.

N-tlàwà ú-tsák-él-é lé-svì n-tlàwà w-á vóná ú-ngá-pál-à.
c4-team SM.c4-celebrate-APPL-PST DEM-c8 c4-team c4-GN them c4-REL-success-FV.

The team celebrated their team being successful.

COMMENT: The word ‘team’ *tlàwà* in class 3/4 in some variants and class 9/10 in others. Let’s use class 3 or 4.

A35a) Vàrhàngèlì váhlámálílè lésvì nàwù vúmpshá úngávè nì ndhùmà.

Và-rhàngèl-i vá-hlámál-ílè lé-svì Ø-nàwù vú-mpshá ú-ngá-v-é nì n-dhùmà.
c2-authority-AGT SM.c2-surprise-PST DEM-c8 c4-law c4-new c4-REL-have-PST COM c9-popular

The authorities were surprised that the new law was popular.

[Do not include in data entry COMMENT: K: I am interested in why there is relative clause morphology here in (A34a,b) and this example – are these relative clauses rather than complement clauses? The answer may seem obvious, but I want to be sure there is no sense in which they are exceptional sorts of relative clauses. We can return to this, but I leave it in red to remind me.

DL: I think is a relative. There was an erase in the gloss (?). *Ungavé ni *ungaveni.*]

b) Lèsvákú nàwù wúmpshá úvé ní ndhúmá ávé xíhlámálísù

Lè-(sví) sv-ákú Ø-nàwù wú-mpshá ú-v-é ní n-dhúmá á-v-é xí-hlámál-ís-ù.
DEM-c8 c8-that c3-law c3-new c3-have-PST COM c9-popular c1-have-PST c7-surprise-CAUS-Nominal

That the new law was popular was surprising.

COMMENT: Xihlamalisu is a nominalized class 7/8 noun.

(a) Kuhlmalala <-hlamal- vs *-hlam- to surprise/wonder

(b) Kuhlmalalisa <-hlamal-is- ‘to cause surprise’, were –is- is a causative

(c) Xihlamaliso < xi-hlamal-is-o ‘surprising’, where xi- and –o are nominalizer morphemes.

COMMENT: KS: Still have some questions about this one. Is *mpshá* correctly glossed as ‘new’? Why is *ávè* c1 if the whole subject of that is ‘that the new law was popular’, which appears to be c8? Please clarify if you can.

DL: Not now! This *ávè* seems invariable but we will work on this later.

c) Svíhíhlámálsíflè lèsvákú nájwú wúmpshá úvé ní ndhúmà
 Sví-hí-hlámál-ís-flè lè(sví) sv-ákú Ø-nájwú wú-mps há ú-v-é ní n-dhúmà.
 SM.c8-OM.c2.1st.pl -surprising-CAUS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c4-law c4-new SM.c4-have-PST COM c9-popular.
 It was surprising (to us) that the new law was popular.

A36a) Lèsvákú mùthèthìsì árhúmúké khótsó kúdláyá svíhíxúkúválisíflè.
 Lè-(sví) sv-ákú mù-thèthìs-ì á-rhúmúk-é Ø-khótsó kú-dláy-á sví-hí-xúkúvál-ís-íflè.
 DEM-c8 c8-that c1-judge-AGT SM.c1-remember-PST c5-sentence c15-death-FV SM.c8-c2.1st.pl -upset-CAUS-PST.
 That the judge remembered the death sentences was upsetting (to us).

b) Svíhíxúkúválisíflè lèsvì mùthéthísí ángárimúká khótsó ródláyà
 SM.Sví-hí-xúkúvál-ís-íflè lé-sví mù-théthís-í á-ngá-rímúk-á Ø-khótsó r-ó-dláy-à.
 c8-c2.1st.pl-upset-CAUS-PST DEM-c8 c1-judge-AGT c1-REL-remember-FV c5-sentence 5-EXCL-death-FV.
 It was upsetting (to us) that the judge remembered the death sentences.
 COMMENT: *lesvi* can be replaced by *lesvaku*, even *akuva* and the sentence has the same meaning.

c). Sváxúkúválisánà kùvònà vùsìwànà
 Sv-á-xúkúvál-ís-án-à kù-vòn-à vù-sìwànà.
 SM.c8-HAB-upset-CAUS-REC-FV c15-see-FV c3-poverty
 It is upsetting to see poverty.

A37a)? Svìngòvè svánónón'whà kùsvìtrènàrisà
 Svì-ngòvè sv-á-nónón'wh-à kù-sví-trènàr-ìs-à
 c8-cat SM.c8-HAB-hard-FV c15-c8-train-CAUS-FV.
 Cats are hard to train.

b) Svánónón'whá kùtrénárisá svìngòvè.
 Sv-á-nónón'wh-á kù-trénár-ís-á sví-ngòvè.
 SM.c8-HAB-hard-FV c15-train-CAUS-FV c8-cat
 It is hard to train cats.

c) Sváhínónón'whéla kútrénárisá svíngòvè.

Sv-á-hí-nónón'wh-él-á kú-trénár-ís-á sví-ngóvè.
SM.c8-HAB-OM.c2.1st.pl -hard-APPL-FV c15-train-CAUS-FV c8-cat

It is hard for us to train cats.

d) ?Svíngòvè sváhínónón'wéla kúsvítrénárisá

Sví-ngòvè sv-á-hí-nónón'w-él-á kú-sví-trénár-ís-à
c8-cat SM.c8-HAB- OM.c2.1st.pl -hard-APPL-FV c15-c8-train-CAUS-FV

Cats are hard for us to train.

A38a) Mùnhù lwèyì svírí ní rísímá kúbúlá ná yénà.

Mù-nhù lwè-yì sví-rí ní rí-símá kú-búl-á ná yénà.
c1-person DEM-c1 SM.c8-have COM c5-worth c15-talk-FV COM PRN.c1

This person is worth talking to.

COMMENT: K: Why isn't it c1 to match *mùnhù lwèyì*? Perhaps *mùnhù lwèyì* has moved to a higher focus or topic position? Is there a difference in answering a question whether one would use (A38a) vs. (A38b)? For example, if the question is 'who is worth talking to', might one choose (A38a) over (A38b)? If we are investigating a crime and someone asks what we might do next, would (A38b) be a better answer? DL: yes, SM is c8. *sviri ni risima kubula ni [munhu lweyi]*. This is a default agreement sentence and in A38a) is moved and *yena* is indexed to *munhu lweyi*. Your predictions are correct.

b) Svírí ní rísímá kúbúlá ní múnhú lwéyì.

Sví-rí ní rí-símá kú-búl-á ní mú-nhú lwé-yì.
SM,c8-have COM c5-worth c15-talk-FV COM c1-person DEM-c1

It is worth talking to this person.

A39a) Paul kùmbèxì àngásvíkótá kúmáhá lésvì.

Paul kùmbèxì à-ngá-sví-kót-á kú-máh-á lé-svì.
c1-Paul probably c1-MOOD-able-FV c15-do-FV DEM-c8

Paul was probably able to do this.

b) Paul kùmbèxì àngásvíkótá kúmáhá lésvì

Paul kùmbèxì à-ngá-sví-kót-á kú-máh-á lé-svì.
 c1-Paul probably c1-MOOD-c8-able-FV c15-do-FV DEM-c8.
 Paul is probably capable of reading this.

c) Paul wátídzúnísà hì kùvà ásvíkótá kúmáhá lésvì.
 Paul w-á-tí-dzúnís-à hì kùvà á-sví-kót-á kú-máh-á lé-svì.
 c1-Paul c1-HAB-proud-FV for that c1-c8-able-FV c15-do-FV DEM-c8
 Paul is proud of being able to do this.

A40a) Mùthèthìsì áyálélílè lè(svì) svákú hínkwávó vájóhílé.
 Mù-thèthìs-ì á-yálél-ílè lè(svì) sv-ákú hínkwá-v-ó vá-jóh-ílé.
 1-judge-AGT c1-deny-PST DEM-c8 c8-that anyone-c2-FV SM.c2-wrong-PST
 The judge denied that anyone had committed a crime.

COMMENT: *Kujoha* means ‘to wrong’ (in this case to commit a crime). *Hinkwavo* has two morphemes of which one is a stem and the other a suffix class concord. E.g. *Hinkwav(a)o vanhu* (persons); *hinkwat(i)o tinhlampfi* (fish); *hinkasv(i)o svitulo* (chair). The final vowel is always –o.

b) Mùthèthìsì áyálélé hínkwávù àkùvá vájóhílé
 Mù-thèthìs-ì á-yálél-é hínkwávù àkùvá vá-jóh-ílé
 c1-judge-AGT SM.c1-deny-PST anyone that SM.c2-commit.a.crime-PST
 The judge denied anyone to commit a crime. (* in English)

COMMENT: There is an ambiguity here: (a) the judge denied with respect to all of them that they had committed a crime or (b) the judge denied with respect to each of them that they had committed a crime.

c) Svíyálíwílé lé(svì) svákú hínkwávó vájóhílé.
 Sví-yálíw-ílé lé(svì) sv-ákú hínkwávó vá-jóh-ílé
 SM.c8-deny-PST DEM-c8 c8-that anyone SM.c2.commit.a.crime-PST
 It was denied that anyone had committed a crime.

A41a) Mùlàndzèlèlì àngávánángá tshémbhá rá kú múkhótsíwà ávé ní málè.
 Mù-làndz-èlèl-ì à-(ng)á-v-á-(ná)-ng-á Ø-tshémbh-á r(i)-á akúva mú-khóts-íw-à á-v-é ní Ø-málè.

c1-follow-INTNSV-AGT SM.c1-NEG-have-NEG-FV c5-sure-FV 5-GN that c1-prison-PASS-FV SM.c1-have-PST c5-money
 The prosecutor doubted that the prisoner had any money.

b) The prosecutor doubted the prisoner to have any money. (* in English) (=A41)

A42a) Wèná ùsvìrìmùkílè lèsvákù nàsvìzòndhà kùjà tìnhlàmpfi.

Wèná ù-svì-rìmùk-ílè lè(svì) sv-ákù n-à-svì-zòndh-à kù-j-à tì-nhlàmpfi
 PRN.c1.2nd.sg SM.c1.2nd.sg-c8-remember-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c1.1st.sg-PRES-OM.c8-hate-FV c15-eat-FV c10-fish
 You remembered that I hate to eat fish.

b) Ntòmbhì yísvìrìmùkílè àkùlùlàmisà tìhòmù.

N-tòmbhì yí-svì-rìmùk-ílè à-kùlùlà-mìs-à tì-hòmù
 c9-girl SM.c9-c8OM-remember-PST Aug-ready-CAUS-FV c10-cow
 The girls remembered to get the cows ready.

c) Vávánúná várìmúké kútsémákányá nàmbù nkámà áwútálà.

Vá-vánúná vá-rìmúk-é kù-tsémákány-á Ø-nàmbù n-kámà á-wú-tál-à
 c2-man SM.c2-remember-PST c15-crossing-FV c3-river c3-time c1-OM.c3-full-FV
 The men remember crossing the river when it was flooded.

d) Mbzánà yísvìrìmùkílè lèsvákù hìyìjòndzìsílè.

M-bzánà yí-svì-rìmùk-ílè lé(svì) sv-ákù hì-yì-jòndz-ìs-ílè.
 c9-dog SM.c9-c8OM-remember-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2.1st.pl -OM.c9-teach-CAUS-PST
 The dog remembered what we taught him.

e) Tìntòmbhì yítárìmúkà kújísá tìhòmù.

Tì-ntòmbhì tí-tá-rìmùk-á kù-j-ís-á tí-hòmù.
 c10-girl SM.c10-FUT-remember-FV c15-eat-CAUS-FV c10-cow
 The girls will remember what to feed the cows.

A43a) Ndzìtìyànkànyé lèsvákù ndzìngámáhá svókárhì.

Ndzì-tì-yànkàny-é lé-(svì) sv-ákù ndzì-ngá-máh-á sv-ó-kárhì.

SM.c1.1st.sg -RFM-imagine-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c1.1st.sg -Mood-do-FV c8-EXCL-thing
I imagined that I could do anything.

b) ?Ndzìtìyànakànyé kúmáhá xíkhúdúdù

Ndzì-tì-yànakàny-é kú-máh-á xí-khúdúdù
SM.c1.1st.sg -RFM-imagine-PST c15-be-FV c7-millionaire
I imagined to be a millionaire. (* in English).

c) Ndzìtìyànakànyé áníwíná lótáryà.

Ndzì-tì-yànakàny-é á-ní-wín-á Ø-lótáryà.
SM.c1.1st.sg -RFM-imagine-PST CONT- SM.c1.1st.sg -win-FV c5-lottery
I imagined winning the lottery.

d) Ndzìngàsìyànakànyà lésvákù vátáníkómbélá ákúvá nìsvímáhà.

Ndzì-ngà-sì-yànakàny-à lé-(svì) sv-ákù vá-tá-ní-kómbél-á ákúvá ní-sví-máh-à.
SM.c1.1st.sg -Mood-OM.c8-imagine-FV DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2-FUT-OM. c1.1st.sg -ask-FV that SM.c1.1st.sg -OM.c8-do-FV
I can imagine what they will ask me to do.

A44a) John árimúkísé vájóndzí lésvákù váfánélé kújóndzá xígává xá wúmbírì.

John á-rímúk-ís-é v-ájóndz-í lé-(svì) sv-ákù v-áfánél-é kú-jóndz-á xí-gává x-á wú-mbírì.
John SM.c1-remind-CAUS-PST c2-study-AGT DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2-shall-PST c15-study-FV c7-chapter c7-GN c14-two
John reminded the students that they should read chapter 2.

b) John árimúkísé vájóndzí ákúvá vájóndzá xígává xá wúmbírì.

John á-rímúk-ís-é v-ájóndz-í ákúvá v-ájóndz-á xí-gává x-á wú-mbírì.
John SM.c1-remind-CAUS-PST c2-study-AGT that SM.c2-study-FV c7-chapter c7-GN c14-two
John reminded the students to read chapter 2.

c)*John árimúkísé kújóndzá xígává xá wúmbírì

John á-rímúk-ís-é kú-jóndz-á xí-gává x-á wú-mbírì
John SM.c1-remind-CAUS-PST c15-study-FV c7-chapter c7-GN c14-two

John reminded to read chapter 2.

d) Vājòndzì vārímúkísíwé lésvákù váfánélá kújóndzá xígává xá wúmbírìhì.

Và-jòndz-ì vá-rímúk-ís-íw-é lé-(sví) sv-ákù váfánél-á kú-jóndz-á xí-gává x-á wú-mbírìhì.
c2-study-AGT SM.c2-remind-CAUS-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2-shall-FV c15-study-FV c7-chapter c7-GN c14-two
The students were reminded that they should read chapter 2.

e) Vājòndzì vārímúkísíwé kújóndzá xígává xá wúmbírìhì.

Và-jòndz-ì vá-rímúk-ís-íw-é kú-jóndz-á xí-gává x-á wú-mbírìhì.
c2-study-AGT SM.c2-remind -CAUS-PASS-PST c15-study-FV c7-chapter c7-GN c14-two
The students were reminded to read chapter 2.

A45a) Vājòndzì vājóndzé lésvákù vāvònèlì àvávílavángá kúsúká gqékénì.

Và-jòndz-ì vājóndz-é lé-(sví) sv(i)-ákù vāvòn-èl-ì à-vá-sví-láv-áng-á kú-súk-á
c2-study-AGT SM.c2-study-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2-look-APPL-AGT NEG-SM.c2-OM.c8-want-NEG-FV c15-leave-FV
Ø-gqék-énì.
c5-camp-LOC
The students read that the scouts were unwilling to leave camp.

b) Mary átsálé lésvákù àngàsvìyànakànyì kùtshìkà xìkòlè.

Mary á-tsál-é lé-(sví) sv-ákù à-(ng)à-sví-yànakàny-ì kù-tshìk-à xì-kòlè.
Mary SM.c1-write-PST DEM-c8 c8-that NEG-SM.c1-c8OM-consider/think-NEG c15-leave-FV c7-school
Mary wrote that she would not consider leaving the school.

c) Xìkòxà xíngúréngúré lésvákù màtì ámánádzíhì, kàmbè àngàkònà lwèyì ángáxítwísìsà.

Xì-kòxà xí-ngúréngúr-é lé-(sví) sv-ákù mà-tì á-má-nádzíh-ì, kàmbè à-(ng)à-kòn-à
c7-old man SM.c7-mumble-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c6-water NEG-SM.c6-taste.bad-NEG, but NEG-SM.c1-have-FV
lwèyì á-ngá-xí-tw-ísìs-à.
DEM-c3 SM.c1-Mood-c7OM-hear-INT-FV
The old man mumbled that the water tasted bad, but no one understood him.

d) Ntsòngwàrà árílé lésvákù àngàkònà lwèyì á múrhándzéké, kámbè hìyànakànyé lésvákù yèná áyókárhálà.
 N-tsòngwàrà á-ríl-é lé-(svì) sv-ákù à-ngà-kòn-à lwè-yì á-mú-rhándz-ék-é, kámbè hì-yànakàny-é
 c1-child SM.c1-cry-PST Dem-c8 c8-that SM.c1-NEG-have-FV DEM-c1 c1-OM.c1-like-EST-PST, but SM.c2.1st.pl -think-PST
 lé-(svì) sv-ákù yèná á-yó-kárhál-à
 DEM-c8 c8-that PRN.c1 c1-EXCL-tired-FV
 The child whined that no one liked him, but we thought that he was just tired.

A46a) Mùfàmbìsì áhíléngétíflè lèsvákù hìlè mhàngwèni, kámbè áhísvítívá lésvákù àkútí xítímélà.
 Mù-fàmb-ìs-ì á-hí-léngét-íflè lè-(svì) sv-ákù hì-l-è Ø-mhàngw-èni, kámbè
 c1-go-CAUS-AGT SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-yell-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2.1st.pl -be-PST c9-danger-LOC, but
 á-hí-sví-tív-á lé-(svì) sv-ákù à-kút-í xí-tímélà.
 ANT-SM.c1.1st.pl-OM.c8-know-FV DEM-c8 c8-that NEG-come-NEG c7-train
 The conductor yelled to us that we were in danger, but we knew the train was not coming.

b) Mùkòmbì áhíléngétíflè lèsvákù hìfànèlà kùsùkà, kámbè svímáhé íngí àngákóná lwéyí ángámútà.
 Mù-kòmb-ì á-hí-léngét-íflè lè-(svì) sv-ákù hì-fànèl-à kù-sùk-à, kámbè sví-máh-é
 c1-guide-AGT SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl -yell-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2.1st.pl-shall-FV c15-leave-FV, but c8-seem-PST
 íngí à-(ng)á-kón-á lwé-yí á-ngá-mú-tw-à.
 like NEG-SM.c1-have-FV DEM-c8 c1-REL-1OM-hear-FV
 The guide yelled to us that we would have to leave, but it seemed like no one heard it.

c) Mùfàmbìsì áhíléngétíflè àkùvà hìxìkà gòmbéni, kámbè hìnà àhìsèlùlà mà àkùvà hìxìkà.
 Mù-fàmb-ìs-ì á-hí-léngét-íflè àkùvà hì-xìk-à Ø-gòmb-éni, kámbè hìnà
 1-go-CAUS-AGT SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-yell-PST that SM.c2.1st.pl-get off -FV c5-track-LOC, but PRN.c2.1st.pl
 à-hì-sè-lùlà-à àkùvà hì-xìk-à.
 NEG-SM.c2.1st.pl-NEG-ready-FV that SM.c2.1st.pl-leave-FV
 The conductor yelled to us to get off the tracks, but we were not ready to leave.

d) Mùfàmbìsì áhíléngétíflè àkùvà hìxìkà gòmbéni, kámbè àhìsvìyànakànyàngà lésvákù ááléngétéla hìnà.
 Mù-fàmb-ìs-ì á-hí-éngét-íflè àkùvà hì-xìk-à Ø-gòmbéni, kámbè
 SM.c1-go-CAUS-AGT SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-yell-PST that SM.c2.1st.pl-get off-FV c5-track-LOB, but

à-hì-svì-yànakànyà-ngà lé-(svì) sv-ákù á-á-léngét-él-á hínà
 NEG-SM.c2.1st.pl-c8OM-know-NEG DEM-c8 c8-that c1-CONT-yell-APPL-FV PRN.c2.1st.pl
 The conductor yelled to get off the tracks, but we didn't realize that he was yelling at us.

A47a) Mùkòmbìsì wá nkámà áhítsátsíyílè lésvákù kùtànà mpfùlà, kàmbè hìgàràgànílè lésvákù áávúlá ntíyísò.
 Mù-kòmb-is-ì w-á n-kámà á-hí-tsátsíy-ílè lé-(svì) sv-ákù kù-t(àn)-à m-pfùlà, kàmbè
 c1-go-CAUS-AGT c1-GN c4-time SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-warn-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c15-come-FV c9-rain, but
 hì-gàràgà-ílè lé-(svì) sv-ákù á-á-vúl-á n-tíyísò
 SM.c2.1st.pl-doubt-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c1-CONT-say-FV c3-truth
 The weatherman warned us that it would rain, but we doubted that he was right.

b) Mùkòmbìsì wá nkámà áhítsátsíyílè lésvákù kùtànà mpfùlà, kàmbè hìtsèmbhísé vánhú lésvákù átává mùmù.
 Mù-kòmb-ìs-ì w-á n-kámà á-hí-tsátsíy-ílè lé-(svì) sv-ákù kù-t(àn)-à m-pfùlà, kàmbè hì-tsèmbhís-é
 c2-go-CAUS-AGT c1-GN c4-time c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-warn-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c15-come-FV c9-rain, but SM.c2.1st.pl-assure-PST
 vá-nhú lé-(svì) sv-ákù á-tá-v-á múmù.
 c2-person DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c1-FUT-be-FV c4-sunny
 The weatherman warned that it would rain, but we assured fans that it would be sunny.

c) Dòkòdèlè áhítsátsíyílè àkùvà hìvhikà jàmbù.
 Ø-Dòkòdèlè á-hí-tsátsíy-ílè àkùvà hì-vhik-à Ø-jàmbù
 c1-doctor SM.c1-OM.c2.1st.pl-warn-PST that SM.c2.1st.pl-avoid-FV c5-sun
 The doctor warned us to avoid the sun.

d) Dòkòdèlè átsátsíyílè àkùvà kùvhikìwà jàmbù.
 Ø-Dòkòdèlè á-tsátsíy-ílè àkùvà kù-vhik-ìw-à Ø-jàmbù.
 c1-doctor SM.c1-warn-PST that c15-avoid-PASS-FV c5-sun
 The doctor warned to avoid the sun.

A48a) Lèsvákù hínkwávó vání nándzù svíhíkwátísílè.
 Lè-(svì) sv-ákù hínkwávó vá-ní Ø-nándzù sví-hí-kwátís-ílè.
 DEM-c8 c8-that everyone SM.c2-have c5-guilty SM.c8-OM.c2.1st.pl-upset-PST

That everyone was guilty was upsetting

b) Kùjà nyàmà svìngàkwàtìsà.

Kù-j-à Ø-nyàmà svì-ngà-kwàt-ìs-àn-à.
c15-eat-FV c9-meat SM.c8-Mood-upset-CAUS-RCM-FV
To eat meat would be upsetting.

b) Èkà vàrhàngèlì lávákúlù àkùjà nyàmà svìngàkwàtìsà vaji vá mátsávù.

Èkà v-à-rhàngèl-ì lá-(v-à) vá-kúlù à-kù-j-à Ø-nyàmà svì-ngà-kwàt-ìs-à v-à-j-ì v-á má-tsávù.
For c2-aheard-AGT DEM-c2 c2-big AUG-c15-eat-FV c9-meat SM.c8-Mood-upset-CAUS-FV c2-eat-AGT c2-GN c6-vegetable
For important leaders to eat meat would upset the vegetarians.

COMMENT: 'Eaters of vegetables' is vegetarian. This concept is new in Changana culture because Changana people are cow creators and eaters. So, to be a vegetarian it is not expected.

c) àkùjà nyàmà svìngàkwàtìsà vaji vá mátsávù.

À-kù-j-à Ø-nyàmà svì-ngà-kwàt-ìs-à v-à-j-ì v-á má-tsávù
AUG-c15-eat-FV c9-meat SM.c8-Mood-upset-CAU-FV c2-eat-AGT c2-GN c6-vegetarian
To eat meat would upset the vegetarians.

COMMENT: 'Eaters of vegetables' is vegetarian.

d) Lésvákù Hòsì yítáhántlá yífambà svìrì nì rìsìmà.

Lé(-svì) sv-ákù Ø-Hòsì yí-tá-hántl-á yí-famb-à svì-rì nì rì-sìmà
DEM-c8 c8-that c9-president SM.c9-FUT-early-FV SM.c9-go-FV SM.c8-have COM c5-important/value
That the president leave early is important.

e) Lésvákù Hòsì sé yífambílè, svì-í ní rìsìmà.

Lé(-svì) sv-ákù Ø-Hòsì sé yí-famb-ílè, svì-í ní rì-sìmà.
DEM-c8 c8-that c9-president already SM.c10-go-PST, SM.c8-have COM c5-important/value
That the president has already left is important.

A49a) Lésvákù mùnyikèlì wá máhúngú áhántlá áfiká svá lávékà.

Lé-(svì) sv-ákù mù-nyík-èl-ì w-á má-húngú á-hántl-á á-fík-á sv-á-lávék-à.
 DEM-c8 c8-that c1-give-APPL-AGT c1-GN c6-news c1-early-FV SM.c1-arrive-FV c8-CONT-necessary-FV.

That the messenger arrive early is necessary.

COMMENT: KS: Is ‘early’ a verb here or just an adverb? Is there an easy way to tell?

DL: *áhántlá áfíká* (early), i.e. who arrive soon

Here we have two verbs, auxiliary *kuhantla* and the main verb *kufika*, which together means “to arrive soon”. We have verbs not adverbs.

b) Sválávéká ákúvá múnyíkélí wá máhúngú áhántlá áfíkà.

Sv-á-láv-ék-á ákúvá mú-nyík-él-í w-á má-húngú á-hántl-á á-fík-à.
 SM.c8-CONT-necessary-STAT-FV that c1-give-APPL-AGT c1-GN c6-news c1-early-FV SM.c1-arrive-FV.

It is necessary that the messenger arrive early.

c) Sválávékéla ákúvá múnyíkélí wá máhúngú áhántlá áfíkà.

Sv-á-láv-ék-él-á ákúvá mú-nyík-él-í w-á má-húngú á-hántl-á á-fík-à.
 SM.c8-CONT-necessary-STAT-APPL-FV that c1-give-APPL-AGT c1-GN c6-news c1-early-FV SM.c1-arrive-FV

It is necessary for the messenger to arrive early.

d) Sválávéká ákúhántlá kúfíkíwà.

Sv-áláv-ék-á á-kú-hántl-á kú-fík-íw-à.
 SM.c8-necessary-STAT.VF AUG-c15-early-FV c15-arrive-PASS-FV

It is necessary to arrive early.

e) Mùrhàngèlì ávúlé lésvákù ásvílávékà àkùvà hìnkwèrhù hìfàmbà. (necessary)

Mù-rhàng-èl-ì á-vúl-é lé-(svì) sv-ákù á-sví-láv-ék-à àkùvà hìnkw-èrhù hì-fàmbà.
 c1-govern-APPL-AGT SM.c1-say-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SBJV-c8-necessary-STAT-FV that every-1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-leave/go.

The governor stated that it would be necessary for everyone to leave.

COMMENT: The *á-* in *ásvílávékà* is a subjunctive mood morpheme. *hìnkwèrhù* is two morphemes *hìnkw-èrhù* (*hìnkw*, is a stem and *-erhu* 1st pl morpheme). In *hìfàmbà*, *hi* agrees with *hìnkwerhu*. E.g.: *hìnkwa-v(a)o* (c.2), *hìnkwa-t(i)o* (c.10), *hìnkwa-l(i)o* and so on.

e') Mùrhàngèlì ávúlé lésvákù svírí ní rísímà àkùvà hìnkwèrhù hìfàmbà. (important)

Mù-rhàng-èl-ì á-vúl-é lé-(svì) sv-ákù sví-rí ní rí-símà àkùvà hìnkwè-rhù hì-fàmbà.
 c1-govern-APPL-AGT SM.c1-say-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c8-have COM c5-important that every-1st.ple SM.1st.pl-leave/go.

The governor stated that it would be necessary for everyone to leave.

COMMENT: The *á-* in *ásvílávékà* is a subjunctive mood morpheme. *hìnkwèrhù* is two morphemes *hìnkw-èrhù* (*hìnkw*, is a stem and *-erhu* 1st pl morpheme). In *hìfàmbà*, *hi* agrees with *hìnkwerhu*. E.g.: *hìnkwa-v(a)o* (c.2), *hìnkwa-t(i)o* (c.10), *hìnkwa-l(i)o* and so on.

A50a) *hìnà hìtìvisé mújónzísì màyèlàni ní kúbóngéla vátsóngwánà.*

hìnà hì-tìv-ìs-é mú-jónz-ìs-ì mà-yèlàni ní kú-bóng-él-á vá-tsóngwánà.
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-now-CAUS-PST c1-teach-CAUS-AGT c6-about/for COM c15-yell-APPL-FV c2-child.

We prevented the teacher from yelling at the children.

b) *Hìnà hìpfùmèlèlé vábásòpì àkùvá vásénchá svíbámú éká svíb'óchà.*

Hìnà hì-pfùmèl-èl-é vá-básóp-ì àkùvá vá-sénch-á sví-bámú éká sví-b'óchà.
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-accept-APPL-PST c2-guard-AGT that SM.c2-search-FV c8-weapon for c8-prisoner.

We allowed the guards to search the prisoners for weapons.

c) *Hìnà hìsìndzìsé vábásòpì àkùvá vátívísá svíb'óchà màyèlàni ní wúsénchì.*

Hìnà hì-sìndzìs-é vá-básóp-ì àkùvá vá-tív-ìs-á sví-b'óchà mà-yèlàni ní
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl -force-PST c2-guard-AGT that SM.c2-know-CAUS-FV c8-prisoner c6-about COM
wú-sénch-ì.

14-inspection-AGT

We forced the guards to warn the prisoners about inspections.

d) *Hìnà hìchùnsilè àkùvá wùsénchì bzímáhíwà ní mpúndzù. (ok. Changana)*

Hìnà hì-chùns-ìlè à-kù-v-à wù-sénch-ì bzí-má-h-íw-à ní
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM. c2.1st.pl -permit-PST AUG-c15-have-FV c14-inspection-AGT c14-c6OM-do-PASS-FV COM

c5-early.morning

m-púndzù.

We permitted that inspection take place early in the morning. (?? For some in English).

A51a) Hìnà hìtshìnyé John àkùvá ákhúlúmá ní múlaphì.

Hìnà hì-tshìny-é John àkùvá á-khúlúm-á ní mú-láph-ì.
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-advise-PST John that SM.c1-speak-FV COM c1-therapy-AGT
We advised John to speak to a therapist.

b) Hìnà hìtshìnyé John èká lésvákù (ááfánélá) kúkhúlúmá ní múlaphì.

Hìnà hì-tshìny-é John èká lé-(svì) sv-ákù (á-á-fánél-á) kú-khúlúm-á ní mú-láph-ì.
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-advise-PST John for DEM-c8 c8-that (SBJV-3rd.ps-shall-VF) c15-speak-FV COM
c1-therapy-AGT.
We advised John that he (should) speak to a therapist.

b') Hìnà hìtshìnyé John àkùvá ákhúlúmá ní múlaphì. (in Changana without should it is another sentence)

Hìnà hì-tshìny-é John àkùvá á-khúlúm-á ní mú-láph-ì.
PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-talk-PST John that c1-speak-FV COM c1-therapy-AGT
We advised John that he speak to a therapist

COMMENT:á- refers to John. In fact *kukuluma* means 'to talk/speak', however here appears as 'advise'.

A52a) Elsa áyímé kúyángúláná ná Martin.

Elsa á-yím-é kú-yángúl-án-á ná Martin.
Elsa SM.c1-stop-PST c15-talk-RCM-FV COM Martin
Elsa stopped talking to Martin.

b) Elsa átsímbísé Martin kùyàngùlà nà Julia.

Elsa á-tsímb-ís-é Martin kù-yàngùl-àn-à nà Julia.
Elsa SM.c1-stop-CAUS-PST Martin c15-talk-RCM-FV COM Julia
Elsa stopped Martin from talking to Julia.

c) Elsa áyímé kúyángúláná ná Martin.

Elsa á-yím-é kú-yángúl-án-á ná Martin.
Elsa SM.c1-stop-PST c15-talk-RCM-FV COM Martin
Elsa stopped to talk to Martin.

COMMENT: “A52c is * for English speakers if it means ‘Elsa stopped talking to Martin’, but it also has an acceptable meaning, ‘Elsa stopped in order to talk to Martin.’ For A52c, we are interested in whether or not the first reading is possible, but if the second reading is possible for the same translation, please let us know.” In Changana A52a) and A52c) have the same interpretation.

d) Elsa áyé máhlwénì ní kúyángúlánà nà Bill.

Elsa á-y-é má-hlw-énì ní kú-yángúl-án-à nà Bill.

Elsa SM.c1-go-PST c6-beyond-LOC COM c15-tall-RCM-FV COM Bill

Elsa continued talking to Bill.

e) Elsa áyé máhlwénì ní kúyángúlánà nà Bill.

Elsa á-y-é má-hlw-énì ní kú-yángúl-án-à nà Bill.

Elsa SM.c1-go-PST c6-beyond-LOC COM c15-talk-RCM-FV COM Bill

Elsa continued to talk to Bill.

f) Elsa àhá-yángúláné ná Bill.

Elsa à-(à)há-yángúl-án-é ná Bill.

Elsa SM.c1-CONT-talk-RCM-PST COM Bill

Elsa kept talking to Bill.

g) Elsa átsákísé Bill.

Elsa á-tsák-ís-é Bill.

Elsa SM.c1-happy-CAUS-PST Bill

Elsa kept Bill happy.

h) Elsa áyéndlé ákúvá Bill átsákà.

Elsa á-yéndl-é ákúvá Bill á-tsák-à.

Elsa c1-make-FV that Bill c1-happy-FV

Elsa kept Bill to be happy (* for English speakers if Bill is the one who is happy. Same interpretation in Changana)

COMMENT: If the speakers are in the same topic (universe of discourse), h) makes sense. No matter about the reasons, Elsa made Bill happy.

(h')Elsa áyé máhlwénì hí kútsákísá Bill

Elsa á-yé má-hlw-éni hí kú-tsák-ís-á Bill
 Elsa 3rd.sg-go-PST 6-ahead-LOC prep.of 15-happy-CAUS-VF Bill
 Elsa went ahead of make happy Bill (Elsa kept Bill to be happy)
 (h') is the best translation of "kept". Both sentences are grammatical in Changana.

i) Elsa ájísé mátsávú Bill.

Elsa á-j-ís-é má-tsávú Bill.
 Elsa SM.c1-eat-CAUS-PST c6-vegetable Bill
 Elsa kept Bill eating vegetables.

j) Elsa áyéndlé ákúvá Bill áyá máhlwéní ní kújá mátsávù. (undelined gives the meaning of keep/maintenance/continuous eating vegetables)

Elsa á-yéndl-é ákúvá Bill á-y-á má-hlw-éni ní kú-j-á má-tsávù.
 Elsa c1-make-PST that Bill c1-go-FV c6-beyond-LOC COM c15-eat-FV c6-vegetable
 Elsa kept Bill from eating vegetables.

Note: The same verb in English, *keep*, allows both the maintenance of Bill eating vegetables, as in (A52i) and the prevention of him from doing so in (A52j). If your language uses different verbs for these meanings, just make sure your translations are clear, and alert us to what the meaning differences are.

A53a) Kútiwá lésvákù àkhàlàvatlà rítíwá rílí hándzù.

Kú-tív-íw-á lé-(svì) sv-ákù à-Ø-khàlàvatlà rí-tív-íw-á rí-lí Ø-hándzù.
 SM.c17-know-PASS-FV DEM-c8 c8-that AUG-c5-melon SM.c5-know-PASS-FV SM.c5-be c9-fruit
 It is known that melons are claimed to be fruits.

b) Kúvúliwá lésvákù àkhàlàvatlà í hándzù.

Kú-vúl-íw-á lé-(svì) sv-ákù à-Ø-khàlàvatlà í Ø-hándzù.
 SM.c17-say-PASS-FV DEM-c8 c8-that AUG-c5-melon COP c9-fruit
 It is claimed that melons are fruits.

c) Ká khólwíwá éká lésvákù tìmpfùlà tíyáyá máhlwéní ní kúvángá tíndhámbhì.

Ká (ku)-khólw-íw-á éká lé-(svì) sv-ákù tì-mpfùlà tí-tá-y-á má-hlw-éni ní kú-váng-á tí-ndhámbhì.
 c17 c15-believe-PASS-FV that DEM-c8 c8-that c10-rain c10-FUT-go-FV c6-beyond-LOC COM c15-cause-FV c10-flood

It is believed that the rain will continue to cause flooding.

d) Kúríndzíwílè lésvákù vàyèndzì vátákhálélá mfúmù.

Kú-ríndz-íw-ílè lé-(svì) sv-ákù và-yèndz-ì vá-tákhál-él-á m-fúmù.
c17-expect-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c2-visit-AGT SM.c2-complain-APPL-FV c4-authority
It is expected that the tourists will complain to the authorities.

A54a) Lèsvákù wùsèrchì bzímáhwá hí 3 wórá svíkómbéwé hí máphóyísà.

Lè-(svì) sv-ákù wù-sèrch-ì bzí-máh-íw-á hí 3 Ø-wórá sví-kómbél-íw-é hí má-phóyísà.
DEM-c8 c8-that 14-inspection-AGT SM.14-take-PASS-FV for/at 3 c5-hour SM.c8-ask-PASS-PST by c6-police/officer
That the inspection take place at 3 o'clock was required by the officers.

b) Lèsvákù kùtìmpfèkèlà kùtálàvèkà ásvíríndzíwílè.

Lè-(svì) sv-ákù kù-tì-mpfèk-èl-à kù-tàláv-èk-à á-á-sví-ríndz-íw-ílè.
DEM-c8 c8-that c15-RFM-precaution-APPL-FV c15-need-STAT-FV SBJV- SM-c1-OM.c8-expect-PASS-PST
That precautions (taking care of oneself) would be necessary was expected.

K: When SBJV is on the verb, is the SM morphologically missing or is it suppressed or phonologically (assimilated)? Also, can any complementizer come after kùtálàvèkà?

DL: SBJV is á-, this is the rare case of long vowel because the mood and subject marker is the same.

c) Lèsvákù xìb'òchà xívé ní nándzù svìkhàmbè svá kúhúndzá xín'wè àsvìngàngàtìvìsìwà.

Lè-(svì) sv(i)-ákù xì-b'òchà xí-v-é ní Ø-nándzù svì-khàmbè sv(i)-á kú-húndz-á xí-n'wè
DEM-c8 c8-that c7-prisoner SM.c7-have-PST COM c4-guilty c8-time c8-GN c15-more.than-FV c7-one
à-svì-(ngà)ngà-tìv-ìs-ìw-à.
NEG-SM.c8-NEG-know-CAUS-PASS-FV

That the prisoner was guilty of more than one crime was never revealed (to the judge).

COMMENT: The first à- (with low tone) on àsvìngàngàtìvìsìwà is a negation marker and the SM is svì-. The negation -nga- is repeated! I didn't expect this but in some variants of Changana, they use àsvìngàngàtìvìsìwà also, where à- and -nga- a negation morpheme. Another interpretation, it could be that there is a kind of subjunctive mood there because if nobody knows there is an uncertainty!

d) Lèsvákù vàtèrèkì vátákhómíwà àsvízángá svíhíbzéwà.

Lè-(svì) sv-ákù và-tèrèk-ì vá-tá-khóm-íw-à à-sví-z-áng-á

DEM-c8 c8-that c2-protest-AGT SM.c2-FUT-arrest-PASS-FV c1-c8OM-conclude-NEG-FV(never)
sví-hí-bz-él-íw-à.

SM.c8-OM.c2.1st.pl-say-APPL-PASS-FV

That the protestors would be arrested was never told to us.

e) Hinà àhìngàngàbzèlìwà lèsvákù vètèrèkì váfánélé kúkhómíwà.

Hinà à-hì-ngà(ngà)-bz-èl-ìw-à lè-(sví) sv-ákù v-à-tèrèk-ì vá-fánél-é kú-khóm-íw-à.

PRN.c2.1st.pl NEG-SM.c2.1st.pl-NEG-say-APPL-PASS-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c2-protest-AGT SM.c2-shall-FV c15-arrest-PASS-FV

We were never told that the protestors would be arrested.

A55a) John ásíndzísíwé kújá sópà.

John á-síndzís-íw-é kú-j-á Ø-sópà.

John SM.c1-force-PASS-FV c15-eat-FV c5-soup

John was forced to eat the soup.

b) John átshínyíwílè àkùv-à átívóné-lá sópà.

John á-tshíny-íw-ílè àkùv-à á-tívón-él-á Ø-sópà.

John SM.c1-advise-PASS-PST that/to c1-avoid-APPL-FV c5-soup

John was advised to avoid the soup.

c) John ányímé-lé kújá sópà.

John á-nyím-él-é kú-j-á Ø-sópà.

John SM.c1-expect-APPL-PST c15-eat-FV c5-soup

John was expected to eat the soup.

d) John átshím-bíwé ákúv-à áj-á sópà.

John á-tshím-b-íw-é ákúv-à á-j-á Ø-sópà.

John SM.c1-prevent-PASS-PST that/to SM.c1-eat-FV c5-soup

John was prevented from eating the soup.

e) John ávóníwé ákwátí-lè màyèl-àní ní n-áwú wúpsh-à.

John á-vón-íw-é á-kwát-ílè màyèlàni ní Ø-náwú wú-pshà.
 John SM.c1-see-PASS-PST c1-angry-PST about COM c5-law 14-new
 John was understood to be angry about the new law.

A56a) John ávóníwé nàájá sópà.

John á-vón-íw-é nà á-j-á Ø-sópà.
 John SM.c1-see-PASS-PST while SM.c1-eat-FV c5-soup
 John was seen eating the soup.

b) John was seen to eat the soup. (*for English speakers) (*)

c) John was seen to have been eating the soup (? or ?? for many English speakers).(*)

Note: Some English speakers accept A56c on the interpretation that the missing agent has seen a ‘John eating soup’ event, but most who accept (A56c) do so on the assumption that John may not have been eating soup, e.g., either John was actually pretending to eat soup or those who thought they saw him eating soup did not in fact see what they thought they saw. If A56 is acceptable to you, please comment on what it means.

A57a) Hìnà hìtshèmbhìsìwé lésvákú hínychùsékà.

Hìnà hì-tshèmbh-ìs-ìw-é lé-(svì) sv-ákú hí-nchùs-ék-à.
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-promise-CAUS-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2.1st.pl-leave-STAT-FV
 We were promised to leave

b) Hìnà hìtshèmbhìsìwé lésvákú hítàpfúméléíwá kúnchúsíwà.

Hìnà hì-tshèmbh-ìs-ìw-é lé-(svì) sv-ákú hí-tá-pfúmél-él-íw-á
 PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-promise-CAUS-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that SM.c2.1st.pl-FUT-allow-APPL-PASS-FV
 kú-nchús-íw-à.
 c15-leave-PASS-FV
 We were promised to be allowed to leave.

c) Màjàhà màtshèmbhìsìwé lésvákú hìnà hìtàkwàtìsìwà hí tímbóngólà.

Mà-jàhà mà-tshèmbh-ìs-ìw-é lé-(svì) sv(i)-ákù hìnà hì-tà-kwàt-ìs-ìw-à hí
 c6-boy SM.c6-promise-CAUS-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that PRN.c2.1st.pl SM.c2.1st.pl-FUT-upset-CAUS-PASS-FV of

tí-mbóngólà.

c10-donkey

The boys were promised that we would be upset at the donkeys.

A58a) Vàléké várhúmiwé kújísá wátsóngwánà.

Và-léké vá-rhúm-íw-é kú-j-ís-á vá-tsóngwánà.

c2-servant SM.c2-ask-PASS-PST c15-eat-CAUS-FV c2-child

The servants were asked to make the children eat.

b) Vàlèkè wátárhúmiwà nkámá lówú wángátátshíká mátisí mávíla nkámá wólèhà.

Và-lèkè vá-tá-rhúm-íw-à n-kámá ló-wú vá-ngá-tá-tshík-á má-tí má-víl-á n-kámá
c2-servant SM.c2-FUT-ask-PASS-PST c5-time DEM-c4 SM.c2-REL-FUT-stop-FV c6-water SM.c6-boil-FV c4-time
w-ó-léh-à.
c4-EXCL-long-FV

The servants will be asked when to stop the water from boiling too long.

COMMENT: K: Is either *lèsvákú* or *àkùvà* possible after *wángátátshíká*? DL: Yes. *àkùvà* is possible after *wángátátshíká*.

c) Vàlèkè wávútísíwé nkámá lówú wátákátívísáká wáyéndzì màyèlànì ní mátshámélé yá nkámà.

Và-lèkè vá-vútís-íw-é n-kámá ló-wú vá-tá-ká-tív-ís-ák-á vá-yéndz-ì màyèlànì ní
c2-servant SM.c2-ask-PASS-PST c4-time DEM-c4 SM.c2-FUT-REL-know-CAUS-REL-FV c2-visit-AGT about COM
c6-state c6-GN c4-time
má-tshámélé y-á n-kámà.

The servants have been asked when they will warn the tourists about the weather.

A59a) Vávásàtì wátábzélíwà àkùvà wájísá wátsóngwánà.

Vá-vásàtì vá-tá-bzél-íw-à àkùvà vá-j-ís-á vá-tsóngwánà.

c2-woman SM.c2-FUT-tell-PAS-FV that/to SM.c2-eat-CAUS-FV c2-child

The women will be told to make the children eat.

b) Vávásàtì wábzélíwé nkámá lówú wátákáyímá kútshíká mátisí mávíla nkámá wólèhà.

Vá-vásàtì vá-bzél-íw-é n-kámá ló-wú vá-tá-ká-yím-á kú-tshík-á má-tí má-víl-á n-kámá

c2-woman SM.c2-tell-PASS-PST c4-time DEM-c4 SM.c2-FUT-REL-stop-FV c15-let-FV c6-water c6-boil-FV c4-time
 w-ó-léh-à.
 c4-EXCL-long-FV

The women have been told when to stop the water from boiling too long.

c) Vávásàtì vábzelíwé nkámá lówú váfánéláká kútívísá váyéndzì màyèlàni ní mátsámélé yá nkámà.
 Vá-vásàtì vá-bzél-íw-é n-kámá ló-wú vá-fánél-ák-á kú-tív-ís-á vá-yéndz-ì màyèlàni ní
 c2-woman SM.c2-tell-PASS-PST c4-time DEM-c4 c2-shall-REL-FV c15-know-CAUS-FV c2-visit-AGT about COM
 má-tshámélé y-á n-kámà.
 c6-state c6-GN c4-time

The women are told when they should warn the tourists about the weather.

A60a) Màjàhà mákhútázíwílè lésvákù Bill árírhándzílè bükù.
 Mà-jàhà má-khútáz-íw-ílè lé-(svì) sv-ákù Bill á-rírhándz-ílè Ø-bükù.
 c6-boy SM.c6-persuade-PASS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that Bill SM.c1-like-PST c5-book
 The boys were persuaded that Bill liked the book.

b) Màjàhà mákhútázíwílè àkùvà máb'úkélá mhámà.
 Mà-jàhà má-khútáz-íw-ílè àkùvà má-b'úkél-á Ø-mhámà.
 c6-boy SM.c6-persuade-PASS-PST to SM.c6-watch-FV c5-ceremony
 The boys were persuaded to watch the ceremony.

A61a) Svìvùtìsò lèsvì svíníbzélá lésvákù yèná wátíhítá máyélaní ní póróxjétú rá hínà.
 Svì-vùtìsò lè-svì svì-ní-bzél-á lé-(svì) sv-ákù yèná wá-tí-hít-á máyélaní ní Ø-póróxjétú
 c8-remark DEM-c8 SM.c8-OM.c1.1st.sg-say-FV DEM-c8 c8-that PRN.c1 SM.c1-REFL-worry-FV about COM c5-project
 r-á hínà.
 c5-GN PRN.c2.1st.pl

Those remarks suggest to me that he is worried about our proposal.

b) Lèsvì svíkómbé lésvákú vájóndzì vángásvíkótá kúmáhá mháká léyì.
 Lè-svì SM.sví-kómb-é lé-(svì) sv-ákú vá-jóndz-í vá-ngá-sví-kót-á kú-máh-á Ø-mháká léyì.

DEM-c8 c8-show-FV DEM-c8 c8-that c2-study-AGT SM.c2-Mood-OM.c8-able-FV c15-do-FV c9-problem DEM-c9

It has been shown that the students are capable of doing this problem.

COMMENT: The OM.c8 refers to a implicit object ‘that thing’.

c) Svípfúmélélíwílè lésvákù vājòndzì vátsákà lókò ntìrhò wá lé káyá wúlí wúnénè.

Sví-pfúmél-él-íw-ílè lé-(svì) sv-ákù v-à-jòndz-ì vá-tsákà lókò n-tìrhò w-á lé Ø-káyá
SM.c8-prove-APPL-PAS-PST DEM-c8 c8-that c2-study-AGT SM.c2-happy-FV if/when c4-work c4-GN DEM c5-home
wú-lí wú-nénè.

SM.c4-be c14-good

It has been proved that the students are happier when the homework is interesting.