

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 NOM .c1-PST-RFM-shame-fv | c1-c1-own |
| | John shamed himself. | |

The first line is a rendering in the latinized alphabet that is typically used for your language with tone marked accordingly. If your language has no latinized 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.

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.

Markers:

ABL=ablative,

ACC=accusative;

AGR=person, aspect (past or non-past);

CAUS=causative;

CONJ=conjunction;

COP=copula; in Oromic the copula is represented by short /a/, /i/ or \emptyset if the predicated nominal is consonant final.

EPEN=epenthesis;

f=feminine;

GEN=genitive;

IPF=imperfect tense equivalent marker

INDF=indefinite

INF=infinitive

INS=instrumental;

LOC=locative (to, at);

LV= Long Vowel required by some clitics on the host word

M=masculine

NMLZ = verbal noun,

NOM= nominative case marker

PART=particulative;

PASS=passive;

PL=plural;

AB= autobenefactive this case or voice indicates that the agent and the benefactor are one and the same

1. *A spider spun a web in the tree.*

Aaroon muka keessatti shalasha dhooyte.

Aaroo-n muk-a keessa-tti shalash-a dhooy-t-e.

spider.f-NOM tree.m-ACC in-LOC web-ACC build-3SG.f-PST

‘A/the spider spun a/the web in a/the tree.’

Comment; there are no definite or indefinite articles in Oromo. There are singulative suffixes and demonstratives used in some cases to mark an item as specific.

2. *The women showed the children the baskets.*

Dubartiin	joollee	zambiila	garsiiŋte.
Dubartii-n	joollee	zambiil-a	gar-siis-t-e.
Women.f -NOM	children.f	basket.m-ACC	see-CAUS-3SG.f-PST

‘(The) women showed (the) children (the) baskets.’

Comment: Siis-+-te → siifte. [sf] [sn] [sdh] are not allowed even if mediated by vowel.

2b. *The women showed the children the baskets.*

Dubartiin	zambiila	joollee	(a)garsiiŋte.
Dubartii-n	zambiil-la-n	joollee	gar-siis-t-e.
Women.f -NOM	basket.m-PL-ACC	children.f	see-CAUS-3SG.f-PST

‘(The) women showed (the) baskets to (the) children.’

Comment: that agarsiiŋte=garsiiŋte and is optional. Siis-+-te → siifte. [sf] [sn] [sdh] are not allowed even if mediated by vowel.

Comment; as it is in (2b) there is ambiguity as of what is shown to what. This is disambiguated by adding *-itti* to the target as in (2c), where the order of objects is variable because of the presence of *dhatti* marking the indirect object. [dh] is epenthesised to *-itti* to avoid an illicit vowel cluster which would occur if the final [e] of *joollee* and the [i] of *itti* were adjacent.

2c. *Dubartiin zambiil-la-n joollee dhatti (a)garsiiŋte. OR*

Dubartiin	joollee	dh-a-tti	zambiil-an
Women.f -NOM	children.f	EPEN ACC-LOC	basket.m-ACC

(a)gar-siis-t-e.

see-CAUS-SGf-PST

‘(The) women showed the/a basket to (the) children.’

3. *The sun has warmed the water.*

Aduun bishaan buheeyisitee ti jirti.

Aduu-n	bishaan ¹	buhaaw-sis-t-e-e	ti	jir-ti.
Sun.f-NOM	water.m	∅ warm-CAUS-f-PST LV	V-CONJ	exist-3SG.f.

'The sun has warmed the water.'

Comment: The final 'n' here is part of the word 'bishaan' making it consonant-final and no need to add a ACC. The 'ti' here is used to introduce a verb sequence. Here 'jir' is considered a verb added on 'buhaaw'. There is a sandhi of semivowels in the final position of verb roots. That is why 'buhaw-' changed to 'buheey-s'

4. *We asked the men to plant the maize.*

Jara akka boqqolloo dhaaban gaafanne.

Jar-a	akka	boqqolloo	dhaab-an	gaaf-adh-n-e.
Men.m-a	so.that	maize.f	plant-3P	ask-AB-1P-PST

'We asked (the) men to plant (the) maize.'

5. *Mary said that these girls will be working tomorrow.*

5a. Maryam dubri kun boru ni dalaga jatte.

Maryam	dubr-i	kun	boru	ni	dalag-a	jedh-t-e.
Mary.f	girls.m-NOM	this	tomorrow	EMPH	work-3SG.IPF	say-3SG.f-PST

Mary said these girls work tomorrow.

Comment: 'girls' is a collective singular noun hence singular agreement on 'work'

OR

5b. Maryam dubri kun boru dalguu dhaaf jiraata jatte.

Maryam	dubr-i	kun	boru	dalag-uu	dh-aa- f	jir-aadh-ta
Mary.f	girls.m-NOM	this	tomorrow	work-INF	EPEN-LV-for	exist-AB-3SG.m

jedh-t-e.

say-3SG.f-PST.

Mary said these girls will be (at) work tomorrow.

Comment: Single phoneme morphemes (clitic) are suffixed. They have to be preceded by a long vowel (LV) (while this is phonological, vowel length is contrastive in other places).

5c. Maryam **akka** dubri kun boru dalagu himte.

Maryam	akka	dubrr-i	kun	boru	dalag-u	him-t-e.
Mary.f	that	girls.m-NOM	this	tomorrow	work-3SG.m.IPF	told-3SG.f-PST.

Mary told somebody that these girls work tomorrow.

5d. Maryam waan dubri kun boru dalagu himte.

Maryam	waan	dubrr-i	kun	boru	dalag-u	him-t-e.
Mary.f	that	girls.m-NOM	this	tomorrow	work-3SG.m.IPF	told-3SG.f-PST.

Mary told somebody that these girls might work tomorrow.

Comment: There are *akka*, *waan* and *kan* varieties of complementizers. *Waan* and *kan* cannot be used with ‘know’. *Maryam kan dhufu* ... is comparable to ‘...then Maryam will come’ of an *if...then* statement.

6. Maryam **akka/*waan/*kan** dhuf-t-u ni beek-a.
 Mary that come-3SGf-PST EMPH know-3SG.m.IPF

He knows that Mary [will] come.

7. Maryam **waan/*akka/*kan** dubrr-i dhuf-uu dhaa ni mam-t-i.
 Mary that girls.m-NOM come-infin epenthetic EMPH doubt-3sfem-IMPf

‘Maryam doubts that the girls will come.’

(‘Maryam doubts about the coming of the girls’)

8. Maryam **kan** dhuf-t-u yo Tamam yaam-e.
 Mary then come-3SGf.PST if Tamam call-3Sm.PST

‘If Tamam calls, then Mary will come.’

Some level of uncertainty with *waan* and *kan* as in ‘seem’ sentences:

9. Maryam **waan** dhufu fakkaatti.
 Maryam waan dhuf-t-u fakkaadh-t-i.
 Mary.f that come-3SGf-IPF seem-3SGf-IPF

‘[It] seems that Mary [will] come.’ (based on evidence)

10. Maryam **kan** dhufu fakkaatti.
 Maryam kan dhuf-t-u fakkaadh-t-i.
 Mary.f that come-3SGf-IPF seem-3SGf-IPF.

‘[It] seems that Mary [will] come.’ (she intends to; an observation about Mary)

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.

11. *It is believed [that John likes Mary].*

- a. Yoonis Maryam akka fedhu ni amanama.
 Yoonis Maryam akka fedh-u ni aman-am-a.
 John Mary that like-3SGm **EMPH** believe-PASS-3SG.IPF.

‘John is believed to like Mary/is trusted to like Mary.’

Comment; i) ‘Maryam’ and ‘akka’ can switch places, as in (11b).

b. Yoonis akka Maryam fedhu ni amanama.

Yonis akka Marayam fedh-u ni aman-am-a
John.m that Mary.f like- 3SG.m.IPF EMPH believe-PASS-3SG.IPF
‘John is believed/trusted to like Mary.’

12. It’s true that John loves Mary.

Yoonis Maryam fedhuun dhugaa dha.

Yoonis Maryam fedh-uu-n dhugaa dh-a.
John.m Mary.f like-INF-NOM true EPEN-COP
‘John loving Mary is true.’

13. We understand that John likes Mary.

a. Yoonis Maryam akka fedhu ni hubanna.

Yoonis Maryam akka fedh-u ni hubadh-n-a.
John Mary (so)that like-3SG.mIPF EMPH understand-1P-IPF.
‘We understand that John likes Mary.’

Alternatively, with Maryam and *akka* switched; no difference in meaning.

b. Yoonis akka Maryam fedhu ni hubanna.

Yoonis akka Maryam fedh-u ni hubadh-n-a.
John.m that Mary.f like-3SG.mIPF EMPH understand-1P-IPF.
‘We understand that John likes Mary.’

Differences in the use of the 3 complementizers

14. *Yoonis Maryam akka dhufu fedha*

Y M akka dhuf-t-u fedh-a
John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF like-3SG.m.IPF
‘John wants a condition/situation where Mary will come.’

15. *Yoonis Maryam akka dhufu hin fedhu*

Y M akka dhuf-t-u hin fedh-u
John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF not like-3SG.m.IPF
‘John doesn’t like the condition/situation for Mary to come.’

16. *Yoonis Maryam akka dhufu ni beeka*

Yoonis Maryam akka dhuf-t-u ni beek-a
John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF EMPH know-3SG.m.IPF
‘John knows that Mary will come.’
**waan, *kan do not fit here*

17. *Yoonis Maryam waan dhufu hin seehu.*

Y M waan dhuf-t-u hin seeh-u
John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF NEG think-3SG.IPF
‘John does not think that Mary will come.’

18. *Yoonis Maryam waan dhufu seeha*

Y M waan dhuf-t-u seeh-a
 John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF think-3SG.IPF
 ‘John thinks that Mary will come.’

19. *Yoonis Maryam kan dhufu seeha*

Y M kan dhuf-t-u seeh-a
 John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF think-3SG.m-IPF
 ‘John thinks that Mary will come.’

20. *Yoonis Maryam kan dhufu itti fakkaate*

‘Y M kan dhuf-t-u itti fakkaadh-t-e
 John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF to seem-3SG.m-PST
 ‘It seemed to John that Mary will come.’

21. *Yoonis Maryam waan dhufu itti fakkaate*

Y M waan dhuf-t-u itti fakkaadh-t-e
 John.m Mary.f that come-3SG.f-IPF to seem-3SG.m-PST
 ‘It seemed to John that Mary will come.’
 *akka does not fit here

22. *It is believed [John to like Mary].*

[Yoonis Maryam fedhuun] ni amanama.

Yoonis Maryam fedh-uu-n ni aman-am-a.
 John.m Mary.f like-INF-NOM EMPH believe-PASS-3SG.IPF.
 ‘John to like/liking Mary is believed.’

23. *It is possible [Mary to see John].*

a. *? Maryam Yoonis akka agartu ni mala.

Maryam Yoonis akk-a agar-t-u ni mal-a.
 Mary.f John.m that-ACC see-3SGf-IPF EMPH possible-3SGm.
 [Lit: Possible that Mary see John.]

b. *Maryam Yoonis arkuu ni mala.

Maryam Yoonis ark-uu ni mal-a
 Mary.f John.m see-INF EMPH possible-3SGm.
 [Lit: Mary to see John possible.]

c. Maryam Yoonis arkuun ni mala.

Maryam Yoonis ark-uu-n ni mal-a.
 Mary.f John.m see-INF-NOM EMPH possible-3SGm.
 OK: ‘Mary seeing John is possible.’

24. *[That Mary saw John] surprises me.*

a. *Maryam Yoonis akka arkite na rifachiise.

Maryam Yoonis akka ark-t-e na rifadh-iis-e.
 Mary.f John.m that see-3SGf-PST me surprise-CAUS-3SG.PST.
 [Intended: That Mary saw John surprised me.]

Comment: Note here that because the subject of the sentence is not Maryam but the action which is not considered feminine, the verb does not have the feminine marker -t- as in 24b.

b. Maryam Yoonis arkiteen na rifachiifte.

Maryam Yoonis ark-i-t-e-e-n na riafadh-iis-t-e.
 Mary.f John.m see-EPEN-3SGf-PST- NOM me surprise-CAUS-3SGf-PST.
 [Lit: Mary saw John surprised me.]

c. Maryam Yoonis arkuun na rifachiifte.
 Maryam Yoonis ark-uu-n na rifadh-iis-t-e.
 Mary.f John.m see-INF-NOM me surprise-CAUS-3SGf-PST
 ‘Mary seeing John surprised me.’ (i.e. her act of seeing him)

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

a. *Maryam Yoonis arkuu na rifachiifti turte.
 Maryam Yoonis ark-uu na rifadh-siis-ti tur-t-e.
 Mary.f John.m see-INF me surprise-CAUS-3SGf.IPF was-3SGf-PST.
 [Lit: Mary to see John would surprise me.]

b. Maryam Yoonis arkuun na rifachiifti turte.
 Maryam Yoonis ark-uu-n na rifadh-siis-ti tur-t-e.
 Mary.f John.m see-INF-NOM me surprise-CAUS-3SGf was-3SGf-PST
 ‘Mary seeing John would surprise me.’

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

a. *Akka/kan/waan hiriyoonni keenya kana dhagaye nama qaanfachiisa.

Akka/wan/kan hiriyaa-oot-ni keenya kana dhagay-e
 That friend-PL-NOM our this.m.Acc hear-3SG.PST

nama qaanfadh-siis-a
 human embarrass-CAUS-3SG.IPF.

[Intended: That our friends heard this (something that’s near addressee) is embarrassing.]

Comment: All three complementizers are ungrammatical here.

b. *Hiriyoonni keenya akka/wan/kan kana dhagaye nama qaanfachiisa.

hiriyaa-oot-ni keenya akka/wan/kan kana dhagay-e nama
 friend-PL-NOM our that this.m.Acc hear-3SG.PST human

qaanfadh-siis-a
 embarrass-CAUS-3SG.IPF.

[Intended: That our friends heard this (somewhat near the addressee) was embarrassing]

c. Hiriyoonni keenya kana dhagayeen nama qaanfachiisa.

Hiriyaa-oot-ni keenya kana dhagay-e-e-n nama
 Friends.f-PL-NOM our this.m.Acc hear-3SG.m.PST-NOM human

qaanfadh-siis-a.

embarrass- CAUS-3SG.IPF

‘[That] our friends heard this (some that’s near addressee) embarrasses one.

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

a. *Hiriyoonni keenya kana dhagayuu ni qaanfachiisa ture.

Hiriyaa-oot-ni keenya kana dhagay-uu ni qaanfadh-siis-a
 Friend-PL-NOM our this hear-INF EMPH embarrass-CAUS-3SG.IPF

tur-e.
 be-3SG.PST.
 [Intended: Our friends to hear this would embarrass one.]

b. Hiriyooni keenya kana dhagayuun nama qaanfachiisa ture.
 Hiriyooot-ni keenya kana dhagay-uu-n nama qaanfadh-siis-a tur-e.
 Friends.m-NOM our this hear-INF-NOM human embarrass-CAUS-3SG.IPF be-
 3SG.PST
 ‘Our friends hearing this would embarrass one.’

28. *There is a rumor [that Mary likes beer].*

a. Maryam akka farshoo feetu jattejatteen ni jirti.
 Maryam akka farshoo fedh-t-u jattejattee-n ni jir-ti.
 Mary.f that beer.f like-3SGf-IPF rumor.f-NOM EMPH exist-f.
 ‘A rumor exists that Mary like beer.’

b. *There is a rumor [Mary to like beer].*

Maryam farshoo fedhuu jattejatteen ni jirti.

Maryam farshoo fedh-uu jattejattee-n ni jir-ti.
 Mary.f beer like-INF rumor.f-NOM EMPH exist-f.
 [Lit: Mary to like beer rumor exist].

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?*

29. *It seems [that Mary fell here].*

Maryam waan asitti kufte fakkaata.
 Maryam waan as-i-tti kuf-t-e fakkaadh-ta.
 Mary.f that here-EPEN-LOC fall-f-3SG.PST seem-3SGm².IPF
 ‘[It] seems that Mary fell here.’

30. *Mary seems [fell here].*

Maryam [asitti kufte] fakkaata.
 Maryam as-i-tti kuf-t-e fakkaadh-ti.
 Mary.f here-EPEN-LOC fall-3SGf-PST seem-3SGf.IPF
 ‘[It] seems Mary fell here.’

Comment: intonation distinguishes two distinct readings: ‘It seems that it is on this spot that Mary fell’ vs. ‘It seems that Mary fell here.’

31. Wannu asitti kufe Marayam fakkaata.
 Wannu as-i-tti kuf-e Maryam fakkaadh-ta.
 What.m here-EPEN-LOC fall-3SGm.PST Mary.f seem-3SGm.
 '[It] seems that what fell here is Mary.'

32. Mary seems [to have fallen here].
 Maryam waan asitti kufte fakkaata.
 Maryam waan as-i-tti kuf-t-e fakkaadh-ta.
 Mary.f that here-EPEN-LOC fell-3SGf-3SG.PST seem-3SG.m.IPF
 'It seems that Mary fell here.'

Comment; 'waan' and 'asitt' can switch orders but the EMPHasis implying EMPHasis on the first. If put 'asitti' first we EMPHase the place that the falling and vice versa.

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

33. Rain will fall tomorrow.

Roobni boru ni rooba.

Roob-ni boru ni roob-a.
 Rain.m-NOM tomorrow EMPH rain-3SGm.
 [Lit: Rain tomorrow rains.]

34. Roobni boru roobuu dhaaf deema/jiraata

Roobni boru roob-uu dh-aa-f deem-a/jiraadh-ta.
 Rain.m tomorrow rain-INF EPEN- GEN go-3SGm.IPF/exist-3SGm.IPF
 [Lit: Rain is going to rain tomorrow.]

Comment: *dh-* is epenthesized between the infinitive long vowel and the one before *-f*

35. It seems that rain will fall tomorrow.

Boru roobni waan roobu fakkaata.
 Boru roob-ni waan roob-u fakkaadh-ta.
 Tomorrow rain.m-NOM that rain-3SG.IPF seem-3SGm.
 'Tomorrow [it] seems that rain [will] rain.' (non-past clauses)

Comment: the location of 'tomorrow' is flexible.

36. Rain seems [will fall tomorrow].

Roobni boru roobuu dhaaf deema fakkaata.

Roob-ni boru roob-uu dh-a-a-f deem-a
 Rain.m-NOM tomorrow rain-INF EPEN-COP-LV-for go-3SGm.IPF
 fakkaadh-ta.
 seem-3SGm.IPF
 [Lit: [It] seems rain is going to rain tomorrow.]

37. Rain seems [that will fall tomorrow].

Roobni kan boru roobu fakkaata.

Roob-ni kan boru roob-u fakkaadh-ta.
Rain.m-NOM that tomorrow rain-3SGm.IPF seem-3SGm.IPF
'[It] seems that [it] will rain tomorrow.' (It is the rain which seems like it will fall tomorrow; contrastive focus on rain)

38. Roobni kán boru roobu fakkaata.

Roob-ni kán boru roob-u fakkaadh-ta.
Rain.m-NOM that (as if) tomorrow rain-3SG.IPF seem-3SGm.IPF
[Lit: Rain seems that rains tomorrow.] (not ambiguous)

39. Rain seems [to be going to fall tomorrow].

*Roobni deemuu dhaaf fakkaata roobuu boru

*Roob-ni deem-uu dh-aaf fakkaadh-ta roob-uu boru.
Rain.m-NOM go-INF EPEN- for seem-3SGm.IPF rain-INF tomorrow.
[Intended: Rain seems to be going to fall tomorrow.] (word order unacceptable with *to.rain tomorrow* following *seem*)

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

40. *It seems [that the cows have drunk all the water].*

Loon bishaan hundumaa waan dhugan fakkaata.

Loon bishaan-ø hund-uma-a waan dhug-an fakkaadh-ta.
Cows.m water-ACC all-PART-ACC that drink-3P.PST seem-3SGm.IPF
'It seems that the cows have drunk all water.'

41. *The cows seem [to have drunk all the water].*

Loon bishaan hundumaa waan dhugan fakkaata.

Loon bishaan-ø hund-uma-a waan dhug-an fakkaadh-ta.
Cows.m water.m-ACC all-PART-ACC that drink-3P.PST seem-3SGm.IPF
(same as 39)

42. *The cows seem [have drunk all the water].*

Loon bishaan hundumaa waan dhugan fakkaata.

Cows water all that drink seems

Loon bishaan-ø hund-uma-a waan dhug-an fakkaadh-ta.
Cows.m water.m-ACC all-PART-ACC that drink-3P seem-3SGm.IPF
Seems cows have drunk all water. (same as 39 and 40)

Comments: The agreement on 'seem' does not refer to the cows but the 'situation, condition'. There is no distinction between cows and cattle. Both *sa 'a* singular 'cow' and plural *loon* 'cows/cattle' are masculine.

43. *The cows seem [that have drunk all the water].*

Loon	kan	bishaan-ø	hund-uma-a	dhug-e-e
Cows.m	that	water-ACC	all-PARTIC-ACC	drink-3SG.PST-CONJ
	fit'e		fakkaadh-ta.	
	finish-3SGm.IPF	seem-3SGm.IPF		

'The cows seem to have drunk all the water.'

44. Loon kun kan bishaan hundumaa dhugee fit'e fakkaata.

Loon	kun	kan	bishaan-ø	hundumaa	dhug-e-e
Cows.m	this	that	water.m-ACC	all-PARTIC-ACC	drink-3SGm.IPF-CONJ

fit'e fakkaadh-ta.
finish-3SGm.PST seem-3SGm.IPF
'These cows seem like those that drank 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 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 your language has them).

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

45. *It is starting to rain now*

*? Amma	roobuu	jalqabuu	dhatii	jira.
Amma	roob-uu	jalqab-uu	dh-a-tti	jir-a.
Now	rain.m-INF	start-INF	EPEN-ACC-LOC	exist-3SGm.IPF

[Intended: It is starting to rain now.]

46. Amma roobuu jalqabe.
Amma roob-uu jalqab-e.
Now rain-INF start-3SGm.PST.
'Raining [has] started now.'

47. *It has stopped raining now*

Amma	roobni	qa'e.
Amma	roob-ni	qa'-e ³ .
Now	rain.m-NOM	stop-3SGm.PST

³ This /k'aʔ/ is a suppletive word for rain 'to stop'.

‘Now rain stopped.’

48. *It is starting (that) it rains.*

* Rooba akka jalqabuu dhatti jira
Rooba akka jalqab-uu dh-a-tti jir-a.
Rain that start-INF EPEN-ACC-LOC exist-3SGm.IPF.
[Intended: [It is] starting that it rains.]

49. *It has stopped (that) it rains.*

*Rooba akka qa'e ti jira.
Roob-a akka qa'-e-e ti jir-a
Rain-ACC that stop-3SGm.PST-LV V-CPNJ exist-3SGm.
[Intended: That [it] rains has stopped./It has stopped that it rain]

Comment: the gloss ‘verbal conjunction’ indicates [ti] which is a verb sequence marker vz [qa] & [jir].

50. *The cow is starting to eat the grass.*

*? Saani citaa nyaachuu jalqabuu dhatti jira.
Sa'-ni citaa-ø nyaadh-uu jalqab-uu dh-a-tti jir-a.
Cow.m-NOM grass.m-ACC eat-INF start-INF EPEN-ACC-LOC exist-3SGm.
[Intended: Cow is starting eating/to eat grass.]

51. *The cow has stopped eating the grass.*

Saani citaa nyaachuu dhaabee ti jira.
Sa'-ni citaa-ø nyaadh-uu dhaab-e-e ti jir-a.
Cow.m-NOM grass.m-ACC eat-INF stop-3SGm.PST-LV V-CONJ exist-3SGm.
‘The cow has stopped eating the grass.’

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

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?

52. Okkateen dhagaa dhatti oriite.

Okkatee-n dhagaa-dh-a-itti orih-t-e.
Clay pot.f-NOM rock/stone.m-EPEN-ACC-LOC run(P)-F-PST.
Clay pots run to rocks (to attack). Trying to act beyond one’s capacity.
‘Someone is overreaching.’

53. Okkateen dhagaa dhatti orihuu jalqabde.

Okkatee-n dhagaa.m dh-a-itti orih- uu jalqab- t- e.
Clay pot.f-NOM rock.m EPEN-ACC-LOC run(P) INF start- F- 3SG.PST

‘Someone started overreaching.’
 [Lit: Pots started running to rocks]
 Comment: *orih-* is the plural form of the verb *fūig-* ‘run’

54. Okkateen dhagaa dhatti orihuu dhiifte.
 Okkatee-n dhagaa.m dh-a-itti orih-uu dhiif-t-e.
 Clay pot.f-NOM rock.m EPEN-ACC-LOC run(P)-INF stop-F-3SGf.PST
 Pots stopped running to rocks.
 ‘Someone has stopped overreaching.’

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.

55. *It is known that Mary likes coffee.*
 56. *Mary is known [likes coffee].*

Maryam akka buna feetu ni beekama.
 Maryam akka bun-a fedh-t-u ni beek-am-a.
 Mary.f that coffee.m-ACC like-F-IPF EMPH know-PASS-3SGm.IPF
 ‘[It] is known that Mary likes coffee.’

57. *? Maryam ni beekamti buna feeti.
 Maryam ni beek-am-t-i buna fedh-ti.
 Mary.f EMPH know-PASS-F-IPF. coffee like-3SGf.IPF
 [Intended: Mary is known likes coffee.]
 Comment: word order is unacceptable [coffee like] after ‘known’ as is absence of C

58. *Mary is known that [likes coffee].*

*? Maryam ni beekamti akka buna feetu.
 Maryam ni beek-am-ti akka buna-fedh-t-u.
 Mary.f EMPH know-PASS-F that coffee.m-like-F-3SGf.IMP.
 [Intended: Mary known that likes coffee.’ *Same word order problem*

59. *Mary is known [to like coffee]*
 *Maryam buna fedhuu beekamaa dha.
 Maryam buna fedh-uu beek-am-aa dh-a.
 Mary.m coffee.m like-INF know-PASS-3SGm.IPF EPEN-COP.
 [Intended: Mary to like coffee is known/Mary is known to like coffee].
 Comment: ‘like’ needs to be gerundivized by the nominalization suffix

60. *We know that Mary likes coffee*

Maryam akka buna feetu ni beeyna.
 Maryam akka buna fedh-tu ni beek-na.
 Mary.f that coffee like-F EMPH know-1P.IPF
 ‘We know that Mary likes coffee.’

61. *It is known that John will leave.*
 Yoonis akka deemuu dhaaf deemu ni beekama.
 Yoonis akka deem-uu dh-a-a-f deem-u ni beek-am-a.

John that go-INF EPEN-ACC- GEN go-3SG.imp EMPH know-PASS-3SGm.IPF
 [Lit: That John is going to go is known/[It] is known that John is going to go.]

62. *John is known [will leave].*

*?Yoonis beekamaa dha deemuu dhaaf deema.
 Yoonis beek-am-aa dh-a deem-uu dh-a-a-f deem-a.
 John know-PASS-3S EPEN-COP go-INF EPEN-ACC- GEN go-3SGm.
 [Intended: John is known [to be] going to leave.]

63. *John is known [that will leave].*

*? Yoonis beekamaa dha akka deemuu dhaaf deemu.
 Yoonis beek-am-aa dh-a akka deem-uu dh- aa- f
 deem-u.
 John.m know-PASS-3SGm EPEN-COP that go-INF EPEN- LongV GEN
 go-3P.IPF
 [Intended: John is known that will leave.]

Comment: Single phoneme clitics, suffixes and few particles need be preceded by a long vowel. If the preceding word is already long-vowel final, /d/ will be epenthesized and the long vowel added on it. That is what *aa-* is above as *deemuu* ‘going’ is already long-vowel-final.

64. John is known that is going to leave.

John is known [to be going to leave].

*Yoonis ni beekama deemuu dhaaf deemu tahuu.
 Yoonis ni beek-am-a deem-uu dh-aa-f deem-u tah-uu.
 John.m EMPH know-PASS-3SGm go-INF EPEN- LV-GEN go-3P.IPF be-INF.
 [Intended: John is known to be going to leave.]

65. *We know that John will leave.*

Yoonis akka deemuu dhaaf deemu ni beeyna.
 Yoonis akka deem-uu dh-aa-f deem-u ni beek-na.
 John.m that go-INF EPEN-LV-GEN go-3SG.IPF EMPH know-1P.IPF
 ‘(We) know that John is going to leave.’

66. *It is believed that the rabbit is hiding in the forest.*

Hilleensi akka daggala keessatti dhokatee jiru ni amanama.
 Hilleens-i akka daggala keessa-itti dhokadh-t-e-e jir-u ni
 Rabbit.m-NOM that forestr in-LOC hide-3SGm-3SGm.PST-LV exist-3SGm EMPH
 aman-am-a.
 believe-PASS-3SGm.
 ‘[It] is believed that the rabbit is hiding in the forest.’

67. *The rabbit is believed is hiding in the forest.*

*?Hilleensi daggala keessatti dhokachuu dhatti jira ni amanama.
 Hilleens-i daggala keessa-itti dhokadh-uu dh-a-itti jir-a ni
 Rabbit-NOM forest in-LOC hide-INF EPEN-ACC-LOCexist-3SGm EMPH
 aman-am-a.

believe-PASS-3SGm.

'The rabbit hiding in the forest is trusted.'

NOT: The rabbit is believed to be hiding in the forest.'

68. *The rabbit is believed that is hiding in the forest.*

Hilleensi *(kan) daggala keessatti dhokachaa dhaa jiru ni amanama.

Hilleens-i	kan	daggala	keessa-itti	dhokadh-taa	dh-aa	jir-u
Rabbit-NOM	that	forest	in-LOC	hide-3SGm	EPEN-LV	exist-3SGm

ni aman-am-a.

EMPH believe-PASS-3SGm.

'The rabbit that is hiding in the forrest is trusted.'

69. *The rabbit is believed to be hiding in the forest.*

Hilleensi daggala keessatti dhokachaa dhaa jiraachuun ni amanama.

Hilleens-i	daggala	keessa-itti	dhokadh-taa	dh-aa	jiraadh-uu-n	ni
Rabbit-NOM	forest	in-LOC	hide-3SGm	EPEN-LV	exist-INF-NOM	EMPH

aman-am-a.

believe-PASS-3SGm.

'The rabbit is believed to be hiding in forest.'

70. *We believe that the rabbit is hiding in the forest.*

Hilleensi akka daggala keessatti dhokachaa dhaa jiru ni amanna.

Hilleens-i	akka	daggala	keessa-itti	dhokaadh-cha	dh-aa	jir-u
Rabbit-NOM	that	forest	in-LOC	hide-INF	EPEN-LV	exist-3SGm

ni aman-na.

EMPH believe-IP.

'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?

71. *(There) was seen a car here yesterday.*

Kalee makiinaan (takka) asitti arkamtee ti turte.

Kalee	makiinaa-n	(takka)	as-itti	ark-am-t-e-e	ti
Yesterday	car.f-NOM	one.F.INDF	here-LOC	see-PASS-f-PST-LV	CONJ

tur-t-e.

exist-f-PST.

'(A) car was seen here yesterday.'

Comment; no dummy subject. Every underlined word can switch with some change in the EMPHasis.

Only the predicate part has to remain at the end. E.g. *Makiinaan takka kalee asitti; takka makiinaan kalee asitti; asitti kalee makiinaan takka; kalee asitti makiinaan takka*, etc.

72. *Mary saw a car here yesterday*

Maryam kalee makiinaa (takka) asitti agarte.

Maryam kalee makiinaa takka as-itti agar-t-e.
Mary.f yesterday car oneF here-LOC see-f-PST.
'Mary saw (a) car here yesterday.'

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

Manni dirree keessatti jaaramee ti ture.

Man-ni dirree keessa-itti jaar-am-e-e ti tur-e.
House.m-NOM field in-LOC build-PASS-3SG.PST-LV CONJ exist-3SG.PST.
'A house was built in the field.'

74. *We built a new house in the field.*

Mana haaraya dirree keessatti jaarre.

Man-a haaraya dirree keessa-itti jaar-n-e.
House.m-ACC new field.f in-LOC build-1PL-PST.
'We built a new house in the field.'

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

Barattootaaf boru qoruumsa ni kannama.

Baradh-toota-a-f boru qoruums-i ni kann-am-a.
Learner-3rdP- GEN tomorrow test-NOM EMPH give-PASS-3SGm.
'A test will be given for the students tomorrow.'

76. *We will give the students a test tomorrow.*

Barattootaaf boru qoruumsa ni kannina.

Baradh-toota-a-f boru qorums-a ni kann-i-n-a.
Learn-NOMIN.3P-LV- GEN tomorrow test.m-ACC EMPH give-EPEN-1P-IPF.
'We will give the students a test tomorrow.'

77. *(There) fell a tree.*

(Kuunoo) muyni (tokko) jige.

Kuunoo muk-ni tokko jig-e.
There tree.m-NOM one.m fell-3SG.PST
'A tree fell there.'
'There, a tree has fallen.'

78. Achitti muyni (tokko) jige.

Achi-itti muk-ni tokko jig-e.
There-LOC tree.m-NOM one.m fell-3SG.PST.
'At that place a tree fell.'

79. *A tree fell*

Muyni (tokko) jige.

Muk-ni tokko jig-e.
Tree.m-NOM one.m fell-3SG.PST.
'A tree fell.'

80. (There) spoke two women at the conference.

a. (Kuunoo) dhalaan lama walgayiirratti dubbate.
Kuunoo dhalaan-n lama wal-gayii-irra-itti dubbadh-t-e.
There women.m-NOM two eachother-reach-on-LOC speak-3SGm-PST.
(There) two women spoke on meeting. (locative ‘there’)

b. Two women spoke at the conference.
Dhalaan lama walgayiirratti dubbate.
Dhalaan-n lama wal-gayii-irra-itti dubbadh-t-e.
Women.m-NOM two eachother-reach-on-at speak-3SGm-PST
Two women spoke at meeting.

Part VI. Multiple subject agreement

81. *The farmers will be harvesting the maize tomorrow.*

Qottuun boru boqqolloo muruu dhaaf teeyisi.
Qottuu-n boru boqqolloo mur-uu dh-aa-f taa’-si⁴.
Farmers.f-NOM tomorrow maize.f cut-INF EPEN- GEN wait-3SGf.IPF
‘Farmers will be harvesting maize tomorrow.’ (‘wait’ yields the future reading)

The farmer will be harvesting the maize tomorrow.

82. Qottuun boru boqqolloo muruu dhaaf teessi.
Qottuu-n boru boqqolloo mur-uu dh-aa-f taa’-si.
Farmers.m-NOM tomorrow maize.f cut-INF EPEN- GEN wait-3SGf.IPF
‘The farmer is going to cut the maize tomorrow.’

83. *The bird was singing in the tree yesterday.*

Shimbirroon kalee muka keessaa hi wacuu turte.
Shimbirroo-n kalee muka keessa-a hi wac-uu tur-t-e.
Bird.f-NOM yesterday tree.m in-LV LOC shout-INF stay-f-PST.
‘The bird was making noise from inside the tree yesterday.’

84. *We will have eaten already when you get home.*

Hogguu ati dhuftetti nuti nyaannee ti jiraanna.
Hogguu ati dhuf-t-e-itti nu-ti nyaadh-n-e-e ti jiraadh-n-a.
When you come-2SG-PST-LOC we-NOM eat-1PL-PST-LV CONJ exist-1PL-IPF.
‘By the time you come we will have eaten.’

85. *She had been working for 2 hours*

Za’aa lamaaf hojjachaa dhaa turte.
Za’aa lama-a-f hojjadh-chaah dh-aa tur-t-e.
Hour.f two- LV-GEN work-while EPEN-LV wait-f-PST.
‘She was/had been working for two hours.’

⁴ Since we only have past and non-past, the future is indicated by ‘wait to, exist to, going to’, etc. The gender and number are not based on the natural but grammatical. Hence ‘*qottuu*’ NOM F despite representing a collective noun. If singular it can be F or M depending on the referent person.

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 options please give us some representative examples.

86. *I want John to leave*

Yoonis deemuu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis deem-uu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.

John.m go/leave-INF EPEN-1SG want-IPF.

‘I want John to leave.’

87. *I want that John to leave.*

*?Yoonis akka deemuu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis akka deem-uu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.

John.m that go-INF EPEN- 1SG want-IPF.

[Intended: I want that John to leave.]

88. *I want that John should leave.*

*?Yoonis akka deemuu qabuun barbaada.

Yoonis akka deem-uu qab-u-u-n barbaad-a.

John.m that go-INF have-3SGm-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF

[Intended: I want that John should leave.]

89. *I want very much John to leave*

Yoonis deemuu hedduu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis deem-uu hedduu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.

John.m go-INF much EPEN-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF.

[Lit: I want much John to leave.]

90. *I want very much that John should leave.*

*?Yoonis akka deemuu qabu hedduu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis akka deem-uu qab-u hedduu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.

John.m that go-INF have-3SGm.IPF much EPEN-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF.

[Intended: I want much that John has to/should leave.]

91. *I want John very much (that) should leave.*

*?Yoonis (akka) deemuu qabu hedduu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis akka deem-uu qab-u hedduu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.

John.m that go-INF have-3SGm.IPF much EPEN-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF.

[Intended: I want much that John has to/should leave.]

92. *I want very much that John to leave*

*Yoonis akka deemuu hedduu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis akka deem-uu hedduu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.

John.m that go-INF much EPEN- LongV 1SG want-1SG.IPF

[Intended: I want much that John to leave.]

Comment: As in part IVB above, *aa-* is the long vowel required by suffix *-n* after *hedduu* ‘much’

93. *I want John very much that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]*

*Yoonis akka deemuu hedduu dhaan barbaada.

Yoonis akka deem-uu hedduu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.
John.m that go-INF much EPEN-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF.

[Intended: I want much that John to leave.]

94. *I want-him to leave* Comment: *there is no object marking in Oromo*

Inni deemuu dhaan barbaada.

Is-ni deem-uu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.
3SGm-NOM go-INF EPEN-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF.

‘I want his leaving.’ [Lit: I want he to leave.]

95. *I want-him that to leave* [no OM]

*Inni akka deemuu dhaan barbaada.

Is-ni akka deem-uu dh-aa-n barbaad-a.
3SGm-NOM that go-INF EPEN-LV-1SG want-1SG.IPF.

[Intended: I want 3S that to go/leave.]

96. *I want him that he should leave.*

*?Inni akka deemuu qabuun barbaada.

Is-ni akka deem-uu qab-u-u-n barbaad-a.
3SGm-NOM that go-INF have-3SG.IPF- 1SG want-1SG.IPF

[Intended: I want him that he has to leave.]

97. *John wants to leave*

Yoonis deemuu dha barbaada.

Yoonis deem-uu dh-a barbaad-a.
John.m go-INF EPEN-ACC want-3SG.IPF

‘John wants to leave.’

98. *I saw John to leave*

(An) Yoonis deemuu arke.

(An) Yoonis deem-uu ark-e.
(I) John .m go-INF see-1SG.PST.

‘I saw John to leave.’

99. *I saw that John to leave.*

*?(An) Yoonis akka deemuu arke.

(An) Yoonis akka deem-uu ark-e.
(I) John.m that go-INF see-1SG.PST.

[Intended: I saw that John to leave.]

100. *I saw that John would leave.*

(An) Yoonis akka deemuu dhaaf deemu arke.

(An) Yoonis akka deem-uu dh-aa-f deem-u ark-e.
 (I John.m that go-INF EPEN-LV-GEN go-3SG.IPF see-2SG.PST
 'I saw that John is going to go.'

Comment; there is not much distinction comparable to English *shall, should, will, would*, etc.

101. *I saw clearly John to leave.*

Yoonis deemuu ifattiin arke.

Yoonis deem-uu ifa-itti-i-n ark-e.
 John.m go-INF light-LOC-LV-1SG see-1SG.PST
 [Lit: I saw John to leave clearly] [lit: in light] (i.e. my seeing was clear)

102. *I saw John clearly to leave*

Yoonis deemuu ifatti arke.

Yoonis deem-uu ifa-itti ark-e.
 John.m go-INF light-LOC see-1SG.PST
 'I saw John to leave clearly [in light]' (no special emphasis)

103. *I saw clearly that John would leave.*

Yoonis (akka) deemuu dhaaf deemu ifatti arke.

Yoonis akka deem-uu dh-aa-f deem-u ifa-itti ark-e.
 John.m that go-INF EPEN-LV-GEN go-3SG.IPF light-LOC see-1SG.PST
 'I saw clearly that John would leave.'

Comment: If we switch the position of *ifatti* 'clearly' to be before *deemuu* 'to go' [*ifatti deemuu arke*] instead of before *arke* 'saw' [*deemuu ifatti arke*] then *ifa* can have the meaning of its components *ifa* 'light' and *itti* 'towards' becoming 'going towards light'. So the sense of *ifatti* 'clearly' being a modifier depends on its position vis-a-vis the verb it modifies.

104. *I saw clearly that John to leave/John clearly to leave.*

*Yoonis akka deemuu ifatti arke.

Yoonis akka deem-uu ifa-itti ark-e.
 John.m that go-INF light-LOC see-1SG.PST.
 [Intended: I saw clearly John to leave.]

105. *I saw-him to leave* [no OM]

a. *Isa deemuu arke.

Is-a deem-uu ark-e.
 3SGm-ACC go-INF see-1SG.PST.
 [Intended: I saw him to go/leave.]

Comment: The grammatical way of saying 105a is in 105b.

b. Inni deemuu arke.

Is-ni deem-uu ark-e.
 3SGm-NOM go-INF see-1SG.PST.
 [Lit: I saw he to go/leave.]

106. *Isa akka deemuu arke.

Is-a akka deem-uu ark-e.
 3SGm-ACC that go-INF see-1SG.PST

[Intended: I saw him that to leave.]

107. *I saw-him clearly that to leave* [no OM]

*Isa ifatti akka deemuu arke.

Is-a ifa-itti akka deem-uu ark-e.
3SGm-ACC light-LOC that go-INF see-1SG.PST

[Intended: I saw him clearly that to go.]

108. *I saw-him clearly that would leave.* [there's no OM subordinate verb NOM =him]

Isa ifatti akka deemuu dhaaf deemu arke.

Is-a ifa-itti akka deem-uu dh-aa-f deem-u ark-e.
3SGm-ACC light-LOC that go-INF EPEN-LV-GEN go-3SG.IPF

arke
see-1SG.PST.

[Lit: I saw him clearly that would leave.]

109. *I saw him that he would leave*

*Isa akka inni deemuu dhaaf deemuun arke.

Is-a akka is ni deem-uu dh-aa-f deem-u-u-n ark-e.
3SGm-ACC that 3S NOM go-INF EPEN-LV-GEN go-3SG.IPF- 1SGsee-
1SG.PST

[Intended: I saw him that he is going to/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.

110. *John cooked the chicken.*

Yoonis lukkuu bilcheesse.

Yoonis lukkuu bilchaadh-eess-e.
John.m chicken.f cook-CAUS-3SG.PST
'John cooked chicken.'

111. *Who cooked the chicken?*

Eennyuu tu lukkuu bilcheesse?

Eenyu-u tu lukkuu.f bilchaadh-eess-e?
Who-LV EMPH chicken cook-CAUS-3SG.PST.
'Who cooked chicken?'

112. *The student read the book.*

Barataan kitaaba dubbise.

Baradh-taa-n kitaab-a dubbis-e.
Learn-3SGm-NOM book.m-ACC read-3SG.PST
'The learner/student read the book.'

113. *Who read the book?*

Eenyuu tu kitaaba dubbise?

Eenyu-u tu kitaab-a dubbis-e?
 Who-LV EMPH book.m-ACC read-3SG.PST
 'Who read the book?'

Is there any special subject agreement form that appears in 'who' questions that does not appear in the statements? If not, move on to the next section.

There is no special agreement.

If there is a special form of subject agreement that appears in the 'who' questions above, please consider these additional questions. Recall the questions from section VI.A 2 and 3 above:

- IV. A. 2. *Mary seems [fell here].*
 IV.A.3. *Mary seems [that fell here].*

Is it possible to form the sentences which you gave for the examples listed above but using on 'fell' the special agreement forms that appear on the verbs 'cooked' and 'read' in your translations of Who cooked the chicken and Who read the book? If so, please translate the examples above using this special agreement form, and please also provide translations of (5) and (6).

1. *Who seems fell here?*
 2. *Who seems that fell here?*

If there is special agreement for (2) 'Who cooked the chicken' and (4) 'Who read the book' of this section, then please translate the following sentences.

7. *Who was arrested?*
 8. *Who did the police arrest?*
 9. *Who did you see leaving?*
 10. *Who made the children eat fish?*
 11. *Which children did John make eat fish?*

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?

114. *It seems like the students know that the teacher is sick.*

Barattoonni barsiisaan dhukkubsachuu waan beekan fakkaatti.
 Baradh-toot-ni bar-siis-aa-n dhukkub-sadh-tuu waan
 Learner-PL.m-NOM learn-CAUS-3SGm-NOM sick-get-INF that .
 beek-an fakkaadh-t-i.
 know-3P seem-3SGf-IPF
 It seems like the students know that teacher is sick.

115. *The teacher seems like the students know he is sick.*

Barsiisaa barattoonni waan dhukkunsachuu isaa beekan fakkaatti.
 Bar-siis-aa baradh-toot-ni waan dhukkub-sadh-tuu is-aa

Learn-CAUS-3SGm learn-PL-NOM that sick-get.INF 3SGm-GEN

beek-an fakkaadh-t-i.
know-3P seem-3SGf-IPF.
'Teacher (it) seems like students know he is sick.'

Comment; There is no distinction between the cases where the teacher is present or not. 114 and 115 mean the same.

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?

116. *It seems like her husband wants the woman to leave.*

Dhiirsi niitiin akka deemtu waan fedhu fakkaatti.
Dhiirs-i niitii-n akka deem-t-u waan fedh-u
Husband.m-NOM wife.f-NOM that go-f-IPF that want-3SG.IPF

fakkaadh-t-i.
seem-f-3SG.f.IPF
'[It] seems like husband wants the wife/woman to leave.'

117. *The woman seems like her husband wants her to go.*

Niitii dhiirsi isii dhaa akka isiin deemtu waan fedhu fakkaatti.
Niitii dhiirs-i isii dh-aa akka isii-n deem-t-u
Wife/woman.f husband.m 3SGf EPEN-LV.GEN that 3SGf-NOM go-f-IPF

waan fedh-u fakkaadh-ti.
that want-3SG.IPF seem-3SGf.IPF
'[The] woman, it seems like her husband wants her to leave.'

Comment; there is little distinction between whether the woman is focused in that 117 or whether it's the husband (man) that is focused. The focus can either be on the women or husband by putting either one first.

B. Object super-raising

Please translate (118) (with and without an object marker. Indicate whether or not each result is acceptable.

118. *The food seems that Mary cooked (it).*

a. Nyanni kan Maryam (isa) bilcheessite fakkaata.
Nyaat-ni kan Marayam (is-a) bilchaadh-siis-t-e fakkaadh-ta.
Food.n-NOM that Mary.f (3SGm-ACC) cook-CAUS-f-PST seem-3SGm.IPF
'The food seems that Mary cooked it.'

OR

b. Nyaat-ni is-a Marayam bilchaadh-siis-t-e fakkaadh-ta.
Food.n-NOM 3SGm-ACC Mary.f cook-CAUS-f-PST seem-3SGm.IPF
'The food seems that Mary cooked it.'

Comment; there is redundancy in adding *is-a* in 118a. If it replaces *kan* as in 118b, it is obligatory.

If you have judged (118) 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.*

Yes.

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.*

No.

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?

119. *The people believed that John left.*

Ummanni Yoonis akka deeme amanan.

Ummat-ni Yoonis akka deem-e aman-an.
 People.m-NOM John.m that go-3SG.PST believe-3P.PST
 'People believe that John left.'

120. *The people believed John's story.*

Ummanni oduu Yoonis amane.

Ummat-ni oduu Yoonis- \emptyset^5 aman- e.
 People.m-NOM news Yoonis.m-GEN believe-3SG.PST
 'People believed John's story.'

121. *It is believed that John left.*

Yoonis akka deeme ni amanama.

Yoonis akka deem-e ni aman-am-a.
 John.m that go-3SG.PST EMPH believe-PASS-3SGm.IPF
 '[It is] believed that John left.'

122. *It is believed John's story.*

*?Oduu Yoonis ni amanamti.

Oduu Yoonis- \emptyset ni aman-am-t-i.
 News.f John.m's EMPH believe-PASS-f-IPF.
 [Intended: John's story is believed/It is believed John's story.]

123. *John's story was believed (by the people).*

Oduun Yoonis (ummataan) amanamtee ti turte.

Oduu-n Yoonis- \emptyset (ummat-a-a-n) aman-am-t-e-e ti
 News.f-NOM John.m-GEN (people.m-ACC- INS) believe-PASS-f-PST-LV CONJ

tur-t-e.
 stay-f-PST.

⁵The genitive marker LV is absent for some consonant final nominals.

‘Johns news/ story was believed (by the people).’

124. *That John left was believed (by the people).*

Yoonis akka deeme (ummataan) amanamee ti jira.
Yoonis akka deem-e (ummat-a-a-n) aman-am-e-e ti jir-a.
John.m that go-3SG.PST (people.m-ACC- INS) believe-PASS-PST-LV CONJ exist-
3SGm.IPF
‘That John left was believed by the people.’

125. *John ate the banana.*

Yoonis muuza nyaate.
Yoonis muuza nyaadh-t-e.
John.m banana.m eat-3SGm-PST.
‘John ate the banana.’

126. *The banana was eaten.*

Muuzni nyaadhamee ture.
Muuz-ni nyaadh-am-e-e tur-e.
Banana.m-NOM eat-PASS-PST-LV stay-3SG.PST
‘The banana was eaten.’

127. *(there) was eaten a banana. (with or without overt ‘dummy subject’)*

Comment; no dummy subject. Same as 126.

128. *John said that the farmers harvested the maize*

Yoonis qottuun boqqolloo murte je’e.
Yoonis qottuu-n boqqolloo mur-t-e je’-e.
John.m farmers.f-NOM maize.f cut-3SGf-PST say-3SG.PST
‘John said the farmers cut the maize.’

Comment; there is no distinction between direct and indirect speech ‘say’. It is different for ‘tell’.

129. *That the farmers harvested the maize was said.*

Qottuun akka boqqolloo murte ja’amee ti ture.
Qottuu-n akka boqqolloo mur-t-e ja’-am-e-e ti tur-e.
Farmer.m-NOM that maize.f cut-3SGf-PST say-PASS-PST-LV CONJ stay-
3SG.PST
‘That farmers cut maize was (already) said.’

Comment; this can happen like on a meeting where the audience is informed that this information is there.

130. *John told Mary that the farmers harvested the maize yesterday.*

Yoonis qottuun akka kalee boqqolloo murte Maryamiif hime.
Yoonis qottuu-n akka kalee boqqolloo mur-t-e Maryam-ii-f
John.m farmers.f-NOM that yesterday maize.f cut-3SGf-PST mary.f-LV-GEN
him-e.
tell-3SG.PST.
‘John told Mary that farmers cut/harvested maize yesterday.’

131. *Mary was told that the farmers harvested the maize.*

Qottuun akka boqqolloo murte Maryamiif himame.
 Qottuu-n akka boqqolloo mur-t-e Maryam-ii-f him-am-e.
 Farmers.f-NOM that maize.f cut-3SGf-PST mary.f- GEN tell-PASS-3SG.PST
 ‘Mary was told that farmers cut/harvested maize.’

132. *That the farmers harvested the maize was told Mary.*

Qottuun boqqolloo akka murte Maryamiif himamee ti ture.
 Qottuu-n boqqolloo akka mur-t-e Maryam-ii-f him-am-e-e
 Farmers.f-NOM maize.f that cut-3SGf-PST Mary.f- LV-GEN tell-PASS-3SGm-LV

ti tur-e.
 CONJ stay-3SG.PST
 ‘That farmers cut/harvested maize was told (to) Mary.’

133. *That Lewis left seems.*

*?Lewis akka deeme fakkaatti.
 Lewis akka deem-ø-e fakkaadh-t-i.
 Lewis.m that go-3SGm.PST seem-3SGf-IPF.
 [Intended: That Lewis left seems.]
Comment; the complementizer needs to be *waan* as in 134.

134. *It seems that Lewis left.*

Lewis waan deeme fakkaatti.
 Lewis waan deem-ø-e fakkaadh-t-i.
 Lewis.m that go-3SGm.PST seem-3SGf-IPF.
 ‘It seems that Lewis left.’

135. *Lewis seems that (he) left.*

*?Lewis inni waan deeme fakkaatti.
 Lewis is-ni waan deem-ø-e fakkaadh-t-i.
 Lewis.m 3SGm-NOM that go-3SGm.PST seem-3SGf-IPF
 [Intended: Lewis seems that (he) left.]
Comment; the insertion of ‘he’ distorts.

*?Lewis waan inni deeme fakkaatti.
 Lewis waan is-ni deem-ø-e fakkaadh-t-i.
 Lewis.m that SGm-NOM go-3SGm.PST seem-3SGf-IPF
 [Intended: Lewis seems that (he) left.]
Comment; the insertion of ‘he’ distorts.

Note: This seems to refer to a missing head like “the time” or “the situation” not to Lewis.

136. *That Lewis left is possible*

Lewis deemeen ni malti.
 Lewis deem-ø-e-e-n ni mal-t-i.
 Lewis.m go-3SGm-PST-LV-NOM EMPH is.possibile-3SGf-IPF.
 ‘That Lewis left is possible.’

137. *It is possible that Lewis left.*

Lewis deemeen ni malti.
 Lewis deem-ø-e-e-n ni mal-t-i.
 Lewis.m go-3SGm-PST-LV-NOM EMPH be.possible-3SGf-IPF.
 ‘That Lewis left is possible.’

138. *The people discovered/found out that Lewis left*

Lewis akka deeme ummanni itti dhaqqabe.
 Lewis akka deem-ø-e ummat-ni itti dhaqqab-e.
 Lewis.m that go-3SGm-PST people.m-NOM LOC arrive-3SG.PST.
 ‘People found out (arrived at the fact) that Lewis left.’

139. *The people discovered/found out the truth*

Ummanni dhugaa itti dhaqqabe.
 Ummat-ni dhugaa itti dhaqqab-e.
 People.m-NOM truth.f LOC arrive-3SG.PST.
 ‘People found out the truth.’

140. *It was discovered/found out the truth*

Dhugaan itti dhaqqabame.
 Dhugaa-n itti dhaqqab-am-e.
 Truth.f-NOM LOC arrive-PASS-3SG.PST.
 ‘The truth was found out.’

141. *That Lewis left was discovered/found out.*

Lewis akka deemeen itti dhaqqabamte.
 Lewis akka deem-e at dhaqqab-am-t-e.
 Lewis.m that go-3SG.PST LOC arrive-PASS-3SGf-PST.
 [Lit: That Lewis left was arrived at.]

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.

142. a. *A tree fell in the forest.*

Muyni daggala keessatti jige.
 Muk-ni daggala keess-a-itti jig-e.
 Tree.m-NOM forest.f in-ACC-LOC fall-3SG.PST.
 ‘A tree fell in the forest.’

b. *In the forest fell a tree.*

Daggala keessatti muyni jige.
 Daggala keess-a-itti muk-ni jig-e.
 Forest.f in-ACC-LOC tree.m-NOM fall-3SGm.PST
 ‘In the forest a tree fell.’

Comment; both are well-formed as long as the verb is kept at the end. We can use this inversion to EMPHAsise the subject, ‘tree’ or the location, ‘in the forest’.

143 a. *A child jumped into the field*

Mucaan dirree keessatti utaale.
Mucaa-n dirree keess-a-itti utaal-e.
Child.m-NOM field.f in-ACC-LOC jump-3SG.PST.
'A child jumped in(to) field.'

b. *Into the field jumped a child.*

Dirree keessatti mucaan utaale.
Dirree kess-a-itti mucaa-n utaal-e.
Field.f in-ACC-LOC child.m-NOM jump-3SG.PST.
'In(to) the field jumped a child.'

144. a. *A bird sang on the tree.*

Shibirroon mukarraa wacce.
Shibirroo-n muk-a-irra-a wac-t-e.
Bird.f-NOM tree.m-ACC-LOC-ABL make noise-3SGf-PST.
'A bird made noise from on a tree.'

b. *On the tree sang a bird.*

Mukarraa shibirroon wacce.
Muk-a-irra-a shibirroo-n wac-t-e.
Tree.m-ACC-LOC-ABL bird.f-NOM make noise-3SGf-PST.
'On the tree sang a bird.'

145. a. *Elephants trampled the crops in the field.*

Arbi midhaan oyruu keessaa irra deeme.
Arb-i midhaan- \emptyset oyruu keessa-a irra deem-e.
Elephant.m-NOM crop.m-ACC farm/field.f in-GEN on go-3SG.PST
'Elephant(s) go/trample on crops in the farm/field.'

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

Oyruu keessatti arbaa tu midhaanirra deeme.
Oyruu keess-a-itti arb-a-a tu midhaan- \emptyset -irra deem-e.
Farm.f in-ACC-LOC elephant.m-ACC-LV EMPH crop.m-ACC-on go-3SG.PST.
'In field [it is] elephants [that] trampled on the crop.'

146. *There taught the teacher English.*

?Achitti barsiise barsiisaan afaan Ingiliz
Achi-itti bar-siis-e bar-siis-aa-n afaan Ingiliz.
There-LOC learn-CAUS-PST learn-CAUS-NMLZ.m-NOM language.m English.
'There taught the teacher English.'

147. *There taught English the teacher.*

*?Achitti barsiise afaan Ingiliz barsiisaan.
Achi-itti bar-siis-e afaan Ingiliz bar-siis-aa-n.
There-LOC learn-CAUS-3SG.PST language English learn-CAUS-NMLZ.m-NOM
[Intended: There taught English the teacher.]

148. *There taught the students the teacher.*

?Achitti barsiise barattoota barsiisaan.
Achi-itti bar-siis-e bar-adh-toot-a bar-siis-aa-n.
There-LOC learn-CAUS-3SG.PST learn-AB-PL-ACC learn-CAUS-NMLZ.m-NOM .
'There taught the students the teacher.'

Comment: AB = autobenefactive. There are certain verbs that only come in AB voice, like *nyaadhu* 'eat', *baradhu* 'learn', *dhaabbadhu* 'stand', *jiraadhu* 'live'.

149. *There taught the teacher the students.*

?Achitti barsiise barsiisaan barattoota.
Achi-itti bar-siis-e bar-siis-aa-n bar-adh-toot-a.
There-LOC learn-CAUS-3SG.PST learn-CAUS-NMLZ.m-NOM learn-AB-PL-ACC
'There taught the teacher the students.'

150. *There taught the teacher the children English.*

?Achitti barsiise barsiisaan joollee afaan Ingiliz.
Achi-itti bar-siis-e bar-siis-aa-n joollee- \emptyset
There-LOC learn-CAUS-3SG.PST learn-CAUS-NMLZ.m-NOM children.f-ACC

 afaan Ingiliz.
 language.m English
'There taught the teacher the children English.'

151. *The child is eating with a spoon.*

Mucaan fal'aanaani nyaachuu dhatti jira.
Mucaa-n fal'aan-a-a-n-i nyaadh-suu dh-a-itti jir-a.
Child.m-NOM spoon.m-ACC-LV- INS-COP eat-INF EPEN-ACC-LOC exist-
3SG.IPF.
'The child is eating with a spoon.'

152. *The spoon is eating the child.*

a. Fal'aanni mucaa nyaachuu dhatti jira.
Fal'aan-ni mucaa- \emptyset nyaadh-suu dh-a-itti jir-a.
Spoon.m-NOM child.m-ACC eat-INF EPEN-ACC-LOC exist-3SG.IPF.
Literally: 'The spoon is eating the child.' (only meaning)

b. Fl'aanni joollee nyaachuu dhatti jira.
Fal'aan-ni joollee nyaadh-suu dh-a-tti jir-a
Spoon.m-NOM children.f eat-INF EPEN-ACC-LOC exist.3SG.IPF
'The spoon is eating the children.' (only meaning available)

(For all of these inversions, can the verb subject-agree with the fronted locative or expletive? The fronted expression is the subject. Can it subject-agree with the postverbal logical subject? NO)

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.

153. a. *Children drank the milk.*

Joolleen aanan dhuyde.

Joollee-n aanan- \emptyset dhug-t-e.
 Children.f-NOM milk.m-ACC drink-3SGf-PST.
 'Children drank milk.'

153 b. *The milk drank **the children** (not the parents).*

Aanan dhuyde joolleen.
 Aanan- \emptyset dhug-t-e joollee-n.
 Milk.m-ACC drink-3SGf-PST children.f-NOM
 'The children drank the milk.' (stylistically marked; as in, they didn't throw it away)

Comment, since the agreement on the verb shows who did the drinking the inversion per se does not cause problem.

154. a. *John read the books.*

Yoonis kitaabban dubbise.
 Yoonis- \emptyset kitaab-ban- \emptyset dubbis-e.
 John.m-NOM book.m-PL-ACC read-3SG.PST.
 'John read books.'

b. *The books read **John** (not Peter).*

Kitaabban dubbise Yoonis.
 Kitaab-ban dubbis-e Yoonis- \emptyset .
 Book.m-PL read-3SG.PST John.m-NOM
 John read books.

Comment, there is a pause after the verb, like in reacting to a statement like 'John read magazine' with a H tone on the last syllable of 'kitaabban', contrasting it with something else.

154. a. *The children read John the books, (not Peter; i.e. it was John who read the children books, not Peter)*

**Joollee [n OR dhaa] dubbif[te OR se] Yoonis[\emptyset] kitaabban[\emptyset].
 Children-NOM or ACC read-? John books

Comment: First of all, -n goes with -te and -dhaa goes with -se. Secondly, it's difficult to translate these because: 1) 'children' has to carry NOM or ACC suffix. 2) 'read' also should carry the agreement morpheme suffix showing person and aspect. 3) 'Yoonis' and 'kitaabban' should carry either the NOM or ACC which are marked by \emptyset in this case because they are consonant final.

- b. *The children read the books John (not Peter; as above)*
- c. *The books read John the children (not Peter) i.e. It was John who read the children books, not Peter.*
- d. *The books read the children John, (not Peter; as above).*