

# Afranaph Questionnaire on Clausal Complementation

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## 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) *Í sà tɸiljá kálàd màkélif ná Kúkúamá lòm náá gwáám̄b ìdžùùgá.*

*í sà tɸil-á kálàd mà-kél-if ná Kúkúamá lòm ná<sup>1</sup>-á gwáám̄b ì-džùùgá*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg COP write-RCM paper c6-voice-LOC that c3-chief country PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 ask.for c8-apology

It is written in the press that the president demanded apologies.

Comment: The verb ‘to claim’ does not exist in Makaa and can’t be replaced in this context with the verb ‘to write’ as the press is [-human]. To obtain the exact meaning rendered in A1a, the sentence has to be expressed obligatorily with a cleft construction. The pronoun *í* is used in Makaa to refer to classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 or 10 [-human] objects or things depending on the contextual referent. It can also function as an impersonal pronoun as in A1a. Apology is always used in the plural form in Makaa.

b) *Mwá ɸikûl náá búgìlâ ná à mpú jèlân.*

*mwân ɸikûl ná-á búgìlâ ná à mpù jèlân.*

c1-child school PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 believe that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg know answer

The pupil believed that he knows the answer

Comment: Note that due to its non existence in Makaa; the verb ‘claim’ has been replaced by ‘believe’. The replacement thus has an incident in A1b as the infinitival phrase complement ‘to know the answer’ is replaced by the completive ‘that he knows the answer’, the only possible solution.

c) *Spies náá búgìlâ ná Bill má mpú jèlân.*

*Spies ná-á búgìlâ ná Bill mà mpù jèlân.*

Spies PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 believe that Bill COP know answer

Spies believed that Bill know the answer

A2a) *Bùùd mìtɸúndá ó ngà tɸi ná Kúkúamá lòm nêé ɸilá ná bjé.*

*b-ùùd mì-tɸúndá ó ngà tɸi ná Kúkúamá lòm ná-é ɸilá ná bj-é*

c2-person c4-message SM.c2 PROG say that Chief country SM-F1 ask PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg c8-POSS.3sg

Town criers are saying that the president will ask for his.

Comment: Sentence A2a was slightly modified as the words ‘claim’ and ‘rights’ do not exist in Makaa.

bi) *\*Orlando náám̄ tɸi kàlá ɸóp*

*Orlando ná-ám̄ tɸi kà-lá ɸóp*

Orlando PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say go-INF store

Orlando said to go to the store.

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<sup>1</sup> I do not consider *ná* as a subject marker but rather as the PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg as it fails to mark agreement between elements occupying the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> positions respectively as seen in Bantu.

Comment: With the verb say held constant, A2b is not acceptable in Makaa as the complement of the verb ‘say’ must be a completive, i.e. introduced by *ná* ‘that’. However, if the main verb is replaced by *tjǽl* ‘love/like’, A2b becomes grammatical as shown below.

- bii) *Orlando má tjǽl kǎlá jǫp*  
*Orlando má tjǽl kǎ-Hlá jǫp*  
Orlando COP like go-INF store  
Orlando likes to go (or going) to the store.

- c) \**Orlando nàámà tǽ júl dǽsú kǎlá jǫp*  
*Orlando nà-ámà tǽ júl dǽí-sú kǎ-Hlá jǫp*  
Orlando PRN.3rd.sg-P2 say for c7-POSS go-INF store  
Orlando said for us to go (or going) to the store.

Comment: A2c is not acceptable in Makaa as the verb ‘say’ does not allow a prepositional complement.

- d) *Orlando nàámà tǽ ná sá kág jǫp*  
*Orlando nà-ámà tǽ ná sá ká-g jǫp*  
Orlando PRN.3rd.sg-P2 say that PRN.1st.pl go-SUBJ shop  
Orlando said that we [should] go to the store.

Comment: A2d is not acceptable in Makaa without the subjunctive marker *-g*.

- A3a) *Kúkú má lǝ̀m nàámà màgǽlè ná nàá dǽg zàŋ dǝ̀ŋgú*  
*Kúkú má lǝ̀m nà-ámà màgǽlè ná nà-á dǽg zàŋ d-ǝ̀ŋgú*  
Chief country PRN.3rd.sg-P2 agree/confess that PRN.3rd.sg-P3 see c5.ceremony c5.AM-DET.ANAPH  
The president confessed/admitted that he had seen the (that) ceremony

- b) Same as A3a  
*The president admitted that he had seen the ceremony.*

- c) *Séé tǽ ná Alice nàámà kǎ íkààd mìsám.*  
*sâ-é tǽ ná Alice nà-ámà kǎ ì-kààd mì-sâm*  
PRN.1st.pl-F1 say that Alice PRN.3rd.sg-P2 go c8-reduce c4-sin  
We will say that Alice went to confession.

Comment: The verb to confess does not exist in Makaa. The Makaa rather use the verb phrase ‘to go to reduce sins’ to express the meaning of confessing one’s sins.

- A4a) *Òkâm ó búgǽlá ná màkwógú méé sá ná bǫl ófǽdú ó kú gú bwà bwân.*  
*ò-kâm ó búgǽlá ná mà-kwógú mà-é sâ ná bǫl ò-tǽdú ó kú gú bwà b-uân.*  
c2a-monkey SM.c2 believe.PRS that c6-rocks SM.c6-F1 do that other c2a-animal SM.c2 NEG kill PRN.3rd.pl c2-child  
The monkeys believe that the rocks will prevent other animals from killing their young ones.

Comment: ‘The Makaa equivalents of predators’ and ‘prevent’ are entire sentences. For economy purposes, sentence A4a was revised, but the initial meaning was kept unchanged.

- b) *Ìnùùnù í búgǽlá ná màgwàgǽlá méé sá ná ìnùùnù jábùbwàgâ í kú dǎ bwà bwân.*  
*ì-nùùnù í búgǽlá ná mà-gwàgǽlá mà-é sâ ná ì-nùùnù ì-ábùbwàgâ í kú dǎ bwà b-uân.*  
c8-bird SM.c8 believe.PRS that c6-thorn SM.c6-F1 do that c8-bird SM.c8-big SM.c8 NEG.SUBJ kill PRN.3rd.pl c2-child

The birds believe that the thorns will stop bigger birds from eating their young ones.  
Comment: the verb ‘expect’ has been replaced by ‘believe’ in A4a as it does not exist in Makaa.

- c) *Mítán mí búgìlà ná ònwá ó sà nà òfí*  
*mì-tán mí búgìlà ná ò-nwá ó sà nà òfí*  
c4-white.man SM.c4 believe that c2-snake SM.c2 COP with benefit  
White men believe/consider that snakes are beneficial.

Comment: The verb *bùgìlà* ‘believe’ in A4c can also mean ‘consider’ in this particular context.

- d) *Mpjà ngà kè ná síngà nèè déégè jàsá.*  
*mpjà ngà kè ná síngà nà-é déég-è jàsá*  
dog PROG afraid that cat PRN.3rd.sg-F1 snatch-PRN.OM.3Sg bone  
The dog is afraid that the cat will snatch his bone.

- e) *ndzúú bùùd má màgìlà ná Bill òkùl kwàg í-féj.*  
*ndzúú b-ùùd má màgìlà ná Bill òkùl kwàg ì-féj*  
commander c2-person P1 accept/acknowledge that Bill can afford c8-work  
The boss has acknowledged that Bill was capable of doing the work.

- f) *Mwá fìkùl nàámà díg ná jàlán jé jé dzì mpújà*  
*m-uân shìkùl nà-ámà díg ná jàlán j-é j-é dzì mpù-jà*  
c1-child school PRN.3rd.sg-P2 see that c3.answer AM.c3-POSS.3Sg SM.c3-F1 require know-NOM.  
The student saw that the answer would require skills.

- g) *Bwán ófìkùl ó mpú ná jígìlì dzáñ má dí bààgìlà mwów bwá búgà fìkùl má lúf.*  
*b-uân ó-fìkùl ó mpù ná jígìlì dz-áñ má dí bààgìlà m-wów bwà búgà fìkùl má lù-f.*  
c2-child AM.c2-school SM.c2 know that c7.teacher c7-POSS P1 HAB keep c6-day PRN.3rd.pl break school REL.c6 head-LOC  
The students know that their teacher keeps in mind the days they are absent in school.

- h) *kálàd màkèl í ngà tēñ ná Kúkúamá lòm nàá mpù mùdá fìlmá.*  
*kálàd màkèl í ngà tēñ ná Kúkúamá lòm nà-á mpù mùùd fìlmá*  
c1.paper c6.news SM.c1 PROG say that Chief country PRN.3rd.sg-P2 know woman film  
The newspaper reveals that the president knew the actress.

- A5a) *Ruth nàámà fìlè óntàmbijè ná bwá jág bwân ìdñ*  
*Ruth nà-ámà fìlè ò-ntàmbijè ná bwà jà-g b-uân ì-dñ*  
Ruth PRN.3rd.sg-P2 ask c2-servant that PRN.3rd.pl give c2-child c8-food  
Ruth asked the servants to give food to the children.

- b) *Ruth nàámà fìlè óntàmbijè ndà bwá má dí sá ná màdzwó má kú bǔl tǔwààg*  
*Ruth nà-ámà fìlè ò-ntàmbijè ndà bwà má dí sà ná màdzwó má kú bǔl tǔwààg*  
Ruth SM-P2 ask c2-servant as PRN.3rd.pl P1 HAB do that c6.water SM.c6 NEG QUANT boil  
Ruth has asked the servants how to stop the water from boiling too long.

- c) *Ruth nàámà fìlè óntàmbijè wàlà bwéé dzààw óndzòñ ná dzwów í sà òkí bāw*  
*Ruth nà-ámà fìlè ò-ntàmbijè wàlà bwà-é dzààw ò-ndzòñ ná dz-wów í sà òkí bāw*  
Ruth PRN.3rd.sg-P2 ask c2-servant time PRN.3rd.pl-F1 tell c2-visitor that c5-day PRN.c5 COP COP bad  
Ruth asked the servants when they would tell the tourists the weather is bad.

- d) *Ruth ngà fìlè ná màntǔwámá má lásìg bíbjá zánjif*

*Ruth ngà jílà ná mà-ntfwámá má lás-ìg bíbjá zàh-ìf*  
Ruth PROG ask that c6-boy SM.c6 talk-SUBJ little ceremony-LOC  
Ruth is asking that the boys say a few words at the ceremony.

A6a) *Ruth nées dzààw búdá ná bwá jág bwân ìdîh*

*Ruth nà-é dzààw b-ùdá ná bwà jà-g b-uân ì-dîh*  
Ruth PRN.3rd.sg-F1 tell c2-woman that PRN.3rd.sg give-SUBJ c2-child c8-food  
Ruth will tell the women to give food to the children.

b) *Ruth nàámà dzààw búdá ndà bwám<sup>2</sup> dí sá ná màdzwó má kú bül tfwààg*

*Ruth nà-ámà dzààw b-ùdá ndà bwà=má dí sâ ná màdzwó má kú bül tfwààg*  
Ruth PRN.3rd.sg-P2 tell c2-woman as PRN.3rd.pl-COP.PRS HAB do that c6.water SM.c6 NEG QUANT boil  
Ruth has told the women how one does to stop water from boiling too long.

c) *Ruth ngà dzààw búdá wàlà néé dzàw óndzôh ndà dz-wôw jé bà ná*

*Ruth ngà dzààw b-ùdá wàlà nà-é dzàw ò-ndzôh ndà dz-wôw í-é bà ná*  
Ruth PROG tell c2-woman time PRN.3rd.sg-F1 say c2-visitor as c5-day SM.c5 COP like  
Ruth is telling the women when she would tell the tourists how the weather will look like.

d) *Ruth nàámà dzààw búdá ná ngwál mpádígá bwà má dzàlá nà lás bíbjá zàh-ìf*

*Ruth nà-ámà dzààw b-ùdá ná ngwál mpádígá bwà má dzàlá nà lás bíbjá zàh-ìf*  
Ruth PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 tell c2-woman that QUANT between PRN.3rd.sg ?? ought to talk little ceremony-LOC  
Ruth told the women that one of them should say a few words at the ceremony.

A7a) *Orlando nàámà sá ná màntfwámá má mpûg ná Bill ámà tjjèl kálàd wòhngù*

*Orlando nà-ámà sâ ná mà-ntfwámá má mpû-g ná Bill ámà tjjèl kálàd w-òhngù*  
Orlando PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 do that c6-boy SM.c6 know-SUBJ that Bill P2 like book c1-DET  
Orlando informed/(or made it known to) the boys that Bill liked the (that) book.

b) *Orlando nàámà sá ná màntfwámá má dígìg zàh*

*Orlando nà-ámà sâ ná mà-ntfwámá má díg-ìg zàh*  
Orlando PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 do that c6-boy SM.c6 see-SUBJ ceremony  
Orlando persuaded the boys to watch the ceremony.

A8a) *Sáámà tji nà màntfwámá ná séé wííng ódzàkás*

*Sâ-ámà tji nà mà-ntfwámá ná sâ-é wííng ò-dzàkás*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 tell to c6-boy that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-F1 chase away c2-donkey  
We told the boys that we would yell at the donkeys.

b) *\*Sáámà tji nà màntfwámá wííng-í-là ò-dzàkás*

*Sâ-ámà tji nà mà-ntfwámá wííng-là ò-dzàkás*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 say to c6-young boy chase-INF c2-donkey  
We promised the boys to yell at the donkeys.

Comment: A8b is ungrammatical because in Makaa, an infinitival phrase occurring as a complement of a main verb should directly follow the latter (A8c). For A8b to be grammatical, the infinitival phrase has to act as the subject of a subordinate clause (A8d).

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<sup>2</sup> This morpheme needs further investigation. It looks like SM.C6, like P1 though it does not mark past in A6b or d. it functions like a copula or an anaphoric pronoun (see A7d also). It occurs solely with the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun within present tense constructions. I might be wrong but I will consider it a copula for now.

c) *Sáámà fúndà wííngílà ódžàkás.*

*sá-ámà fúndà wííng-Hlè ó-džàkás*

PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 afraid chase-INF c2-donkey

We were afraid chasing the donkeys away.

d) *Sáámà t̄fi nà m̀ànt̄fwámá ná wííngílà ódžàkás í s̀à b̀áwłà.*

*sê-ámà t̄fi nà m̀à-nt̄fwámá ná wííng-Hlè ò-džàkás í s̀à b̀áw-Hlè*

PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 say to c6-boy that chase-INF c2-donkey PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg COP be.bad-INF

We said to the boys that driving away donkeys is not fair.

A9a) *M̀ànt̄fwámá m̀ámà fílà ná s̀á d̄íḡg bẁà bẁá ng̀á gẁìmb.*

*m̀à-nt̄fwámá m̀-ámà fílà ná s̀á d̄íg-ìg bẁà bẁá ng̀á gẁìmb*

c6-boy SM.c6-P2 ask that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl see-SUBJ PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PROG play.

The boys demanded that we should watch them (as they are) playing.

b) *M̀ànt̄fwámá m̀ámà fílà ná bẁám t̄j̀èl d̄íg s̀á s̀á ng̀á gẁìmb.*

*m̀à-nt̄fwámá m̀-ámà fílà ná bẁám=t̄j̀èl d̄íg s̀á s̀á ng̀á gẁìmb*

c6-boy SM.c6-P2 ask that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl=COP.PRS wish see PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl we PROG play

The boys demanded that they wish to watch us (as we) playing.

A10a) *Ǹdžúú b̀ùùd ng̀á fílà ná s̀á bẁáád̄ìg ìwómà ìg̀à*

*Ǹdžúú b̀-ùùd ng̀á fílà ná s̀á bẁáád-ìg ì-wómà ì-g̀à*

commander c2-person PROG ask that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl wear-SUBJ c8-shirt AM.c8-DEM

The boss is requiring/asking that we wear these shirts.

b) *Ǹdžúú b̀ùùd ng̀á fílà s̀á ná s̀á bẁáád̄ìg ìwómà ìg̀à*

*Ǹdžúú b̀-ùùd ng̀á fílà s̀á ná s̀á bẁáád-ìg ì-wómà ì-g̀à*

commander c2-person PROG ask PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl wear-SUBJ c8-shirt AM.c8-DEM

The boss is asking us that we wear these shirts.

A11a) *B̀ùdá b̀ísú bẁám j̀idǎ t̄j̀èl ná s̀á j̀áwùg d̄žùlǎlǎ fìg̀á*

*b̀-ùdá b̀-ísú bẁám=t̄j̀èl ná s̀á j̀áw-ùg d̄žùlǎ-Hlè fìg̀á*

c2-woman AM.c2-POSS PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl =COP.PRS rather like that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl stop-SUBJ drive-INF cigarette

Our wives rather prefer that we stop smoking.

b) \**B̀ùdá b̀ísú bẁéé j̀idǎ t̄j̀èl f̀úl d̄ísú ná s̀á k̀ág f̀wóóg ǹà d̄žùlǎlǎ fìg̀á*

*b̀-ùdá b̀-ísú bẁám-é j̀idǎ t̄j̀èl f̀úl d̄-ísú ná s̀á k̀à-g f̀wóóg ǹà d̄žùlǎ-lè fìg̀á*

c2-woman AM.c2-POSS PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl -F1 rather like for AM.c5-POSS that we go-SUBJ ahead with drive-INF cigaret

Our wives would rather prefer for us to continue smoking.

Comment: The presence of the benefactive ‘*f̀úl d̄ísú*’ is not tolerated in A11b for two reasons.

Firstly, it never occurs as the first object of a verb. Secondly, it clashes with the accepted complement *s̀á* ‘we’. Without it the sentence is grammatically correct.

c) *B̀ùdá b̀ísú bẁéé j̀idǎ t̄j̀èl k̀ǎlǎ f̀wóóg ǹà d̄žùlǎlǎ fìg̀á*

*b̀-ùdá b̀-ísú bẁám-é j̀idǎ t̄j̀èl k̀à-Hlè f̀wóóg ǹà d̄žùlǎ-lè fìg̀á*

c2-woman AM.c2-POSS PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl -F1 rather like go-INF ahead with drive-INF cigaret

Our wives would rather prefer to keep smoking.

A12a) *S̀éé búg̀ìlǎ ná ìd̄žwòwdà j̀é b̀íd ná bẁán ó d̄ág*

*Sâ-é búgìlâ ná ì-dzôwdâ ì-é bíd ná b-uân ó dà-g*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl -F1 hope that c8-nurse SM.c8-F1 let that c2-child SM.c2 eat-SUBJ  
We will hope that the nurses will let the boys eat.

b) \**Sáámà búgìlâ fúl Mary ná néé t́ón m̀ùd jêf*  
*Sâ-ámà búgìlâ fúl Mary ná nà-é t́ón m̀ùd j-êf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 hope for Mary that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 surpass c1-person AM.c1-QUANT  
We hoped for Mary to be the winner.

Comment: As in 11b, the structure ‘to verb for X...’ is a forbidden word order in Makaa as it always yields ungrammatical constructions. For A12b to be correct it has to be written as below.

bi) *Sáámà búgìlâ ná Mary néé t́ón m̀ùd jêf*  
*Sâ-ámà búgìlâ ná Mary nà-é t́ón m̀ùd j-êf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 hope that Mary PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 surpass c1-person AM.c1-QUANT  
We hoped that Mary will be the winner/will win.

c) *Sám búgìlâ ná Mary néé t́ón m̀ùd jêf*  
*Sâ=m búgìlâ ná Mary nà-é t́ón m̀ùd j-êf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl =COP.PRS hope that Mary PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 surpass c1-person AM.c1-QUANT  
We hope that Mary will win/will be the winner.

A13a) *Sám t́jèl ná mwán wúsú t́óníg m̀ùd jêf*  
*Sâ=má t́jèl ná m-uân wú-sú t́ón-íg m̀ùd j-êf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl =COP.PRS want that c1-child AM.C1-POSS surpass-SUBJ c1-person AM.c1-QUANT  
We want that our son be the winner. (?? in English)

b) *Sám t́jèl ná òdzôñ ó bídíg bwán bán bwá gwíimbìg*  
*Sâ=má t́jèl ná ò-dzôñ ó bíd-ìg b-uân b-áh bwà gwíimb-ìg*  
we=COP.PRS want that c2-visitor SM.c2 let-SUBJ c2-child AM.c2-POSS PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl play-SUBJ  
We want the visitors to let their children play.

c) *Sám t́jèl lwá òdzôñ isá ímákít bí-sú*  
*Sâ=má t́jèl lwâ ò-dzôñ ì-sâ í-mákít bí-sú*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl =COP.PRS want show c2-visitors c8-things AM.c8-market AM.c8-POSS  
We want to show our goods to the visitors.

d) *John má t́jèl ná sá bwámàg máwàlà màlòl*  
*John má t́jèl ná sâ bwàmà-g mà-wàlà má-lòl*  
John COP.PRS want that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl meet-SUBJ c6-hour AM.c6-three  
John wants us to meet at three o’clock.

A14a) *Séé lwá òdzôñ ná òkâm ó dí fúndá óntfi*  
*Sâ-é lwâ ó-dzôñ ná ò-kâm ó dí fúndá ó-ntfi*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-F1 show c2-visitor that c2-monkey SM.c2 HAB fear c2-gorilla  
We will show the visitors that monkeys fear gorillas.

b) *òndzôñ bwáámà lwájòw ná òkâm bwáá dé t́jèl óntfi*  
*ò-ndzôñ bwà-ámà lwâ-jòw ná ò-kâm bwà-á dí-é t́jèl ò-ntfi*

c2-visitor PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 show-PASS that c2-monkey PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P3 HAB-NEG like c2-gorilla  
The visitors were shown that monkeys do not like gorillas.

A15a) *Séé lwá óndzôh ná òkâm mìlám mí tǔgé ná jǐè nà òntǐ*

*Sâ-é lwâ ò-ndzôh ná ò-kâm mì-lâm mí tǔgé nà jǐè nà ò-ntǐ*

PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-F1 show c2-visitor that c2-monkey c4-heart SM.c4 COP.NEG with calm with c2-gorilla

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

b) *Òndzôh bwáámà lwájòw ná òkâm ó fùm óntǐ*

*ò-ndzôh bwâ-ámà lwâ-jòw ná ò-kâm ó fùm ò-ntǐ*

c2-visitor PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 show-PASS that c2-monkey SM.c2 hate c2-gorilla

The visitors were proven that monkeys hate gorillas. (\* in English)

A16a) *Ndàm í ngà lwá ná ìkágá ífùkùl í ngà tǐjèl mpù féj*

*ndàm í ngà lwâ ná ì-kágá í-fùkùl í ngà tǐjèl mpù féj*

c7.evidence SM.c7 PROG show that c8-boy ASS.C8-school SM.c8 PROG like know work

The evidence is suggesting that the students are willing to work hard/well.

b) *Jámà dzàjòw mà ná mwá mimbùùg sà nà àdzú*

*í-ámà dzàw-jòw mà ná m-uân mì-mbùùg sà nà àdzú*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say-PASS PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg that c2-child c4-prison COP with guilt

It has been suggested/said to me that the prisoner is guilty.

A17a) *Kâm nàámà kàg kùmǎlá lííí gwôw*

*kâm nâ-ámà kàg kùmâ-Hlá líí-f gwôw*

monkey PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 try-INF reach tree-LOC up

The monkey tried reaching the treetops.

b) \**Mary nàámà kàg mwán jé ná à wáámbìlèg fúm dé*

*Mary nâ-ámà kàg m-uân j-é ná à wáámbìlè-g fúm d-é*

Mary PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 try c1-child c1-POSS that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg sweep-SUBJ c5.room AM.c5-POSS

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

Comment: A17b is ungrammatical in Makaa because the verb ‘kàg’ always needs to be followed by a content verb as in A17a.

c) *Mary nàámà kàg tǐ nà mwán jé ná à wáámbìlèg fúm dé<sup>3</sup>*

*Mary nâ-ámà kàg tǐ nâ m-uân j-é ná à wáámbìlè-g fúm d-é*

Mary PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 try tell c1-child c1-POSS that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg sweep-SUBJ c5.room AM.c5-POSS

Mary tried to tell her son to clean his/her room.

A18a) *Kâm nàámà wùsà jǎlè mwán jé ìdîŋ*

*kâm nâ-ámà wùsà jâ-Hlà m-uân j-é ì-dîŋ*

monkey PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 forget give-INF c1-child AM.c1-POSS c8-food

The baboon failed/neglected to feed her child.

b) *Mwá sǐkùl nàámà kàg jǎlá fwámé jàlàn*

*m-uân sǐkùl nâ-ámà kàg jâ-Hlà fwámé jàlàn*

C1-child school PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 try give-INF real answer

<sup>3</sup> The possessif adjective *dé* can refer either to Mary or her son.

The student tried to provide the right answer.

Comment: KS: The English elicitation sentence has an ‘implicative’ verb, which entails that the speaker takes it as true that the student provided the right answer, whereas *The student tried to provide the right answer* does not entail that the student succeeded in that attempt. Does the Makaa sentence really have the ‘manage’ reading or does it have the ‘try’ reading? NI: The Makaa sentences in (A118b) have the ‘try’ reading, that is, he tried but did not succeed to give the right answer. For (A18b) to really have the ‘manage’ reading, it should be translated as in A18bi:

b) *Mwá fìkùl nàámà kwìg jǎlá fwámé jàlán*  
*m-uân fìkùl nà-ámà kwìg jà-Hlǎ fwámé jàlán*  
c1-child school PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 be.able give-INF real answer  
The student managed to provide the right answer.

c) *Mìbùùg mí dǝǎlà nà mpù léfà nà mìsǎndílé mìbùùg fúl ná bwá kwádǎlǎg bwà ìdín*  
*mì-bùùg mí dǝǎlà nà mpù lás-à nà mì-sǎndílé mì-bùùg fúl ná bwá kwádǎlǎ-g bwà ì-dín*  
c4-prisoner SM.c4 ought to know talk-RCM with c4-guard AM.c4-prison for that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl add-SUBJ PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl c8-food  
The prisoners need to convince the guards to give them more food.

d) *Wàmádí bwàámà tǎl ná bwá ká lúmbìlǎ nà mízízín*  
*w-àmádí bwà-ámà tǎl né bwá ká lúmbìlǎ nà mí-zízín*  
c2-leader PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 state/decide that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl go attack.RCM with c4-enemy  
The leaders decided to go and battle with the enemy.

e) *Ndǝów má dǝǎlà nà bà fúbán fúfwógú nà ná òndǝón ó wóósǎg*  
*ndǝów má dǝǎlà nà bà fúbán fúfwógú nà ná ò-ndǝón ó wóós-ǎg*  
house COP.PRS ought to be clean prior with that c2-guest SM.c2 arrive-SUBJ  
The house needs to be clean prior to the guests’ arrival.

f) *Séé kwàmsà tíjlǎ dǝà ó ndǝón bwá fín dà mpwókùgù jí jí*  
*Sê-é kwàmsà tíj-Hlǎ dǝà ò-ndǝón bwà fín dà mpwókùgù jí jí*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 prepare leave-INF when c2-guest PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl finish eat evening dawn REL  
We will prepare to leave when the guests have eaten dinner.

g) *Sá ngà kwàmsà níngǎlǎlǎ mwànè sǎdí ndǝów ífǎjíf*  
*sǎ ngà kwàmsà níngǎl-Hlǎ mwànè sǎ-dí ndǝów ì-fǎj-íf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PROG prepare introduce-INF money PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-LOC house c8-work-LOC  
We are planning to make money for our company.

A19a) *dǝísǎ<sup>4</sup> ndà òzwoòg ó tǝjèl dǎlǎ kǎ fàmbá ífwáníf*  
*dǝí=sà ndà ò-zwoòg ó tǝjèl dǎ-Hlǎ kǎ fàmbá ì-fwán-íf*  
PRES=COP as.if c2-elephant SM.c2 like HAB-INF go field c8-corn-LOC  
It seems like the elephant like going to the cornfield.

b) *dǝísǎ ndà nùùnú nǎámà dà ìbùmá*  
*dǝí=sà ndà nùùnú nà-ámà dà ì-bùmá*

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<sup>4</sup> *dǝí* is a presentatif, I gloss it PRES while waiting for an appropriate gloss from you. It is equivalent to the English ‘it’. In the absence of *sǎ*, it also functions as a copula (see 20c-g).



PRES=COP as.if bird PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 eat c8-seed  
It appears/seems/looks like a bird have eaten the seeds.

c) *Ìnùùnú í nìngǎ ɔzjě tǰèl ìbùmá*

*ì-nùùnú í nìngǎ ɔzjě tǰèl ì-bùmá*

c8-bird SM.c8 again likely want c8-seed

The birds are likely to want more seeds.

d) *Ònǰwámá ó ɔzàlá nà jà ìtǣn sá má dá*

*ò-nǰwámá ó ɔzàlá nà jà ì-tǣn sá má dá*

c2-boy SM.c2 ought to give c8-cow thing for eat

The boys ought to feed the cattle/The boys ought to give something to eat to the cows.

e) *Mpúú jé ɔzjě ntámàn mǎmpàg*

*mpúú i-é ɔzjě ntámàn mǎ-mpàg*

c1.rain SM.c1-F1 certainly ruin/destroy c6-crop

The rain will certainly ruin the crops

f) *Mpúú já tééd ntámánílǎ mǎmpàg*

*Mpúú i-à tééd ntámàn-Hlǎ mǎ-mpàg*

c1.rain SM.c1-P3 begin ruin/destroy-INF c6-crop

The rain began to ruin the crops.

g) *Mùùd nǰzów áfǎf mú bǎdǎbǎdǎ tǰiljè òkálàd*

*m-ùùd nǰzów áfǎf mú bǎdǎ-bǎdǎ tǰiljè ò-kálàd*

c2-person house beside become great-great writer c2-book

Our neighbor has turned out to be a famous writer.

(I.e., we learned of his fame sometime after we had met him)

A20a) *John nǎámǎ jǎg ná mìngùljè mísǎ nǰfǰdǎ*

*John nǎ-ámǎ jǎg ná mì-ngùljè mí-sǎ N-tǰdǎ-jǎ*

John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 be.certain/think that c4-light SM.c4-COP PART-light-PART.

John was certain that the lights were switched on.

b) *Jé tǰigjòw ná àɔzù sǎ nǎ mǎbǣǣ*

*í-é tǰigǎ-jòw ná àɔzù sǎ nǎ mǎbǣǣ*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 hold-PASS that defendant COP with c6.guilt

It will appear that the defendant is guilty. (Even if he is not)

c) *ɔzǐ ndǎ mǎnǰwámá méé kǎ sǐsǎ*

*ɔzǐ ndǎ mǎ-nǰwámá mǎ-é kǎ sǐsǎ*

PRES.COP as.if c6-boy SM.c6-F1 go fishing

It is likely that the boys will go fishing.

d) *ɔzǐ ndǎ mǎnǰwámá méé ɔzjě kǎ sǐsǎ*

*ɔzǐ ndǎ mǎ-nǰwámá mǎ-é ɔzjě kǎ sǐsǎ*

PRES.COP as.if c6-boy SM.c6-F1 likely/probably go fishing

It is as if the boys will probably go fishing. (I.e., it is more likely than not)

e) *ɔzǐ bíbǎlé ná kǰě ngǎ gwô*

*dʒí bíbálé ná kjě ngà gwô*  
PRES.COP true that south PROG warm  
It is true that the south is warmer.

f) *dʒí nɔwǎlà ndǎ Mary ó náámà tâw fɔwóóg*  
*dʒí nɔwà-Hlà ndà Mary ó nà-ámà tâw fɔwóóg*  
PRES.COP be.good-INF as Mary FOC PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 stand ahead  
It is good as it is Mary that won/is the winner.

g) *dʒí bíbálé ná mántɔwámá máámà sá ná bwán ó dâg ìkwàànd*  
*dʒí bíbálé ná mà-ntɔwámá mà-ámà sà ná b-uân ó dâ-g ì-kwàànd*  
PRES.COP true that c6-boy SM.c6-P2 do that c2-child SM.c2 eat-SUBJ c8-plantain  
It is true that the boys made (make do) the children eat the plantains.

Comment: A20g is true in the situation where the boys instruct the children to eat the plantains. It can also be true for the situation where the boys got the children to eat plantains by simply making sure there was nothing else to eat (i.e., they never actually make a request). For A20g to render the meaning ‘they physically force the children to swallow plantains by stuffing them in their mouths, it should be written as follows:

gi) *dʒí bíbálé ná mántɔwámá máámà ngà nàsìlè bwán ìkwààndí mpùf*  
*dʒí bíbálé ná mà-ntɔwámá mà-ámà ngà nàsìlè b-uân ì-kwàànd mpù-f*  
PRES.COP true that c6-boy SM.c6-P2 PROG stuff c2-child c8-plantain mouth-LOC  
It is true that the boys were stuffing plantains in the the children’s mouths.

h) *Mà sà nà mìnɔààg ndǎ múúú jééf jéé mpù bíbálá ná*  
*mà sà nà mìnɔààg ndà m-úúú j-ééf nà-é mpù bíbálá ná*  
I COP with C4.joy/happiness as c1-person AM.C1-QUANT PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 know truth REL  
I am happy as everyone will know the truth.

A21a) *Sáámà bàn gùsǎlá mǎtwá*  
*sâ-ámà bàn gùsà-Hlá mǎtwá*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 deny wash-INF car  
We denied washing the car.

b) *Bwán ó má fín gùsà mǎtwá*  
*b-uân ó má fín gùsà mǎtwá*  
c2-child SM.c2 P1 finish wash car  
The children have finished washing the car.

c) *Sáá ngà tǔjà díg ndǎ sáá nkúl dʒígìlì sámbá ná*  
*Sâ-á ngà tǔjà díg ndà sâ=á nkùl dʒígìlì sámbá ná*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P3 PROG try look as PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl=P3 can teach together REL  
We discussed teaching a course together.

d) *Bùùd mìndʒów mǎfàf bwáá kwànz lásìlè nà ìzìmbì*  
*b-ùùd mì-ndʒów mì-áfàf bwà-á kwànz lás-Hlà nà ì-zìmbì*  
c2-person c4-house AM.c4-beside PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P3 avoid talk-INF with c8-soldier  
The neighbors avoided talking to the soldiers.

- A22a) *Alice jí mpù ná bwán bwéé mpǔ jàlàn*  
*Alice jí mpù ná b-uân bwà-é mpù jàlàn*  
 Alice EVID know that c2-child PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 know answer  
 Alice did know that the children would know the answer.
- b) *Alice mà mpú dʒà bwán bwéé lwá jígìlì kálàd jí*  
*Alice mà mpú dʒà b-uân bwà-é lwá jígìlì kálàd jí*  
 Alice COP.PRS know when c2-child PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 show teacher book REL  
 Alice knows when the children will show the book to the teacher.
- c) *Alice mà mpú sá bwán bwá mpú jí*  
*Alice mà mpú sá b-uân bwà mpú jí*  
 Alice COP.PRS know c7.thing c2-child PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl know REL.c7  
 Alice knows what the children know.
- A23a) *Màñtʒwámá máámà mpú ná Alice ñéé mpù jàlàn*  
*mà-ñtʒwámá mà-ámà mpù ná Alice ñà-é mpù jàlàn*  
 c6-boy SM.c6-P2 know that Alice PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 answer  
 The boys knew that Alice will know the answer.
- b) *Màñtʒwámá máá mpù wàlǎ Alice ñáá tēñ kúkúamá lòm lán jí*  
*mà-ñtʒwámá mà-á mpù wàlǎ Alice ñà-á tēñ kúkúamá lòm lán jí*  
 c6-boy SM.c6-P3 know C5.time Alice PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 tell chief country story REL.c5  
 The boys knew when Alice told the story to the president.
- c) *Alice ñàámà bwèj mpù mìjálàn bwán bwéé kwèj mjá*  
*Alice ñà-ámà bwèj mpù mì-jàlàn b-uân bwà-é kwèj mjá*  
 Alice PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 since know c4-answer c2-child PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 guess REL.c4  
 Alice knew already which answers the children would guess.
- A24a) *Màámà díg ná màtî má ñgà wú Mary ñúlíj*  
*mà-ámà díg ná màtî má ñgà wú Mary ñùl-íj*  
 PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P2 see that c6.blood SM.c6 PROG get.out Mary body-LOC  
 I saw that Mary was bleeding.
- b) *Màámà díg kwógú í ñgá dád mbímbíñ*  
*Mà-ámà díg kwógú ì ñgà dád mbímbíñ*  
 PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P2 see c5.rock SM.c5 PROG roll hill  
 I saw the rock roll(ing) down the hill.
- c) *Kwógú jámà dígjòw í ñgá dád mbímbíñ*  
*kwógú í-ámà díg-jòw ì ñgà dád mbímbíñ*  
 c5.rock SM.c5-P2 see-PASS PRN.c5 PROG roll hill  
 The rock was seen rolling down the hill.
- A25a) *Màámà gwág ná bwán ó fíkùl ó dí gwág míntààg dʒá mánègìlé máá lálé má*  
*mà-ámà gwág ná b-uân ó fíkùl ó dí gwág míntààg dʒà mánègìlé mà-á làl-é má*  
 PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P2 hear that c2-child ASS.c2 school SM.c2 HAB hear c4.joy when c6.examination SM.c6-P3 strong-NEG REL.c6

I heard that students are happy when exams are not difficult.

b) *Màámà gwág mádzwó má ngá ƚwâ lùngáf*  
*mà-ámà gwág màdzwó mà ngà ƚwâ lùngá-f*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P2 hear c6.water SM.c6 PROG drip bucket-LOC  
I heard water dropping in the bucket.

c) *Mádzwó màámà gwágjòw má ngá ƚwâ lùngáf*  
*màdzwó mà-ámà gwág-jòw mà ngà ƚwâ lùngá-f*  
c6.water SM.c6-P2 hear-PASS PRN.c6 PROG drop bucket-LOC  
The water was heard dropping in the bucket.

A26a) *ndzi mà nà mà Mary mbâm sílè idzùgá*  
*ndzi mà nà mà Mary mbâm sílè idzùgá*  
only PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg with PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg Mary HYP ask c8.apology  
As for me, Mary should have apologized/asked for forgiveness.

b) *Màámà gwág ndă mísìsàgá mjám mjámà ngà wògà ná*  
*mà-ámà gwág ndă mì-sìsàgá mì-ám mì-ámà ngà wògà ná*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P2 hear as c4-muscle c4.AM-POSS SM.c4-P2 PROG rest/relax REL  
I felt as my muscles were relaxing.

c) *mpísà nà ndùndù náámá lúm-jà jí, mbál náámá gwág ndă sísàgá jé jámà ngà wògà ná*  
*mpísà nà ndùndù nà-ámá lúm-jà jí, mbál nà-ámá gwág ndă sísàgá j-é*  
behind with c3.injection PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 inject-CAUS REL.c3 patient PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 hear as c3.muscle AM.C3-POSS  
*í-ámà ngà wògà ná*  
SM.c3-P2 PROG relax REL  
After he made himself injected, the patient's felt as his muscles was relaxing.

A27a) *Mùùd jéf nàámà káám ná John sà nà màbèé*  
*m-ùùd j-éf nà-ámà káám ná John sà nà màbèé*  
C1-person AM.C1-QUANT PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 surprise that John COP with C6.guilt  
Everyone was surprised that John was guilty.

Comment: With the clauses order kept constant, the sentence 'The news that John was guilty was surprising' cannot be translated in Makaa, reason why it has to be modified as illustrated in A27a.

b) *Í ngà nà sá ƚúŋ mpŭlâ ná náá ntágìlâ Mary*  
*í ngà nà sâ ƚúŋ mpù-Hlâ ná nà-á ntágìlâ Mary*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PROG PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg do worry know-INF that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 make.uncomfortable Mary  
He is bothered knowing that he had made Mary uncomfortable.

c) *Jígìlì má dzàlá nà màgìlâ ná náámá vùf nà mànvègìlé*  
*Jígìlì má dzàlá nà màgìlâ ná nà-ámá vùf nà mànvègìlé*  
teacher COP.PRS ought to accept that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 make.a.mistake with C6.exam  
The teacher has to accept that he made (a) mistake(s) at the exams.

d) *Màkál má bùm má Mary ó máámà sá ná John wóósìg mpísà nà wàlà*  
*màkâl má bùm má Mary ó mà-ámà sâ ná John wóós-ìg mpísà nà wàlà*

c6.announcement ASS.c6 pregnancy Mary FOC SM-P2 do that John arrive-SUBJ behind with time  
IT is the announcement of Mary's pregnancy that caused John to arrive late/late around the clock.

KS: This use of the hortative for a non-intentional cause suggests what the answer to one of my questions about A20g will be.

NI: I have change HORT to SUBJ in the whole CCQR as the meaning, request or requirement, is not completely consistent. I remember this same remark occurred in the AQ. Coming to think about it, I have never attempted an explanation to why the subjunctive is used in constructions where it is less expected in Makaa. Could it be that it marks a grammatical function not yet identified? Food for thought.

e) *Ì sà ndà fimbá mpǔlà ná tò mùùd nàá mpújé sá jámà tǒh jí*  
*Ì sà ndà fimbá mpù-Hlè ná tò m-ùùd nà-á mpù-é sà í-ámà tǒh jí*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg COP like mystery know-INF that NEG c1-person PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 know-NEG c7.thing SM.c7-P2 happen REL.c7  
It looks like a mystery knowing that no one knows about what happened.

f) *Sá ngúdiǵà í sá ná sé mpúg fêj jí dǵí ná sám tǵjèl kwànz míbùùg*  
*sá ngúdiǵà í sá ná sé mpù-g fêj jí dǵí ná sé=má tǵjèl kwànz mí-bùùg*  
c7.thing one SM.c7 do that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl know-SUBJ work REL.c7 PRES.COP that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl=COP like avoid c4-prison  
The only reason to do this properly is that we wish to avoid prison.

g) *John ó náámà tǵí ná sá kág dǵúwà*  
*John ó nà-ámà tǵí ná sá kà-g dǵúwà*  
John FOC PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl go-SUBJ rob  
John was the one who proposed to us to go rob/It is John who proposed to us to go rob

h) *John náámà fááǵìlè mùùd Bill náámà díg jé*  
*John nà-ámà fááǵìlè m-ùùd Bill nà-ámà díg jé*  
John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 reward c1-person Bill PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 see REL.c3  
John rewarded the man whom Bill saw.

A28a) *Òzimbi ó ngà fúndà ná bwéé sá kúkúamá lòm fwôn*  
*ò-zimbi ò ngà fúndà ná bwè-é sá kúkúamá lòm fwôn*  
c2-soldier SM.c2 PROG be.afraid that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 do chief country ashamed  
The soldiers are afraid that the president will be ashamed of them.

b) *Òzimbi ó ngà fúndà màǵìlè ná bwáámà túp*  
*ò-zimbi ò ngà fúndà màǵìlè-Hlè ná bwè-ámà túp*  
c2-soldier SM.c2 PROG be.afraid admit-INF that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 run  
The soldiers are afraid to admit that they ran.

A29a) *Cleopatra ngà fǵh nà tǵjé nà dǵí náámà jà Caesar búgá dǵé dǵéf*  
*Cleopatra ngà fǵh nà tǵjé nà dǵí nà-ámà jà Caesar búgá dǵ-é dǵ-éf*  
Cleopatra PROG regret with why with what PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 give c7.Caesar trust AM.C7-POSS AM.c7-QUANT  
Cleopatra regrets that she trusted Caesar.

b) *Cleopatra ngà fǵh nà tǵjé nà dǵí náámà kàlàn Caesar ìbâwbâw ímákêl*  
*Cleopatra ngà fǵh nà tǵjé nà dǵí nà-ámà kàlàn Caesar ì-bâw-bâw í-màkêl*  
Cleopatra PROG regret with why with what PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 transmit Caesar c8-bad-bad AM.c8-c6.news

Cleopatra is regretting why she transmitted bad news to Caesar. (?? for many English speakers)

A30a) *fíngà nàá dī tǝjèl ná māsà jé díg dī jǎ nà ísá má dá*  
*fíngà nà-á dī tǝjèl ná māsà j-é dī-g dī jǎ nà ì-sá má dá*  
cat PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 HAB like that c1.master AM.c1-POSS HAB-SUBJ HAB give PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg c8-thing ASS eat  
The cat liked that his master always gave him treats to eat.

b) *fíngà nàá dī tǝjèl dòk*  
*fíngà nà-á dī tǝjèl dòk*  
cat PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 HAB like food  
The cat liked to eat treats.

c) *fíngà má dī tǝjèl ná māsà jé fǝjèlǎg nà*  
*fíngà má dī tǝjèl ná māsà j-é fǝjèlǎ-g nà*  
cat COP HAB like that c1.master AM.c1-POSS pet-SUBJ PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
The cat likes his master to usually pet him.

A31a) *Sá ngà bèmb ná òzimbì bwáá ngénà símsà nà tǝjé nà dzí bwá má vùf*  
*sá ngà bèmb ná ò-zimbì bwà-á ngà-ε-nà símsà nà tǝjé nà dzí bwà má vùf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PROG doubt that c2-soldier PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl=NEG PROG-NEG-?? think with why with what PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl P1 make.a.mistake  
We fear that the soldiers do not regret their mistake.

b) *Òzùlòdímlòòm ó ngà fúndà lásíá nà òzimbì*  
*ò-zùlòdímlòòm ò ngà fúndà lás-Híá nà ò-zimbì*  
c2-refugee SM.c2 PROG fear speak-INF with c2-soldier  
Refugees are afraid to speak to the soldiers. (\* in English)

A32a) *Sá ngà gwóg fwôn nà tǝjé sá jígé kwíid bwán dzà bwáámà ngè tǝj wá*  
*sá ngà gwóg fwôn nà tǝjé sá jígé kwíid b-uân dzà bwà-ámà ngè tǝj wá*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PROG hear shame with why PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl COP.PAST.NEG help c2-child when PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 PROG leave REL.c2  
We are ashamed because we did not help the children when they were leaving.

b) *Kúkú má náámà gwóg fwôn lásíá nà òkwííndjè bé*  
*Kúkú má nà-ámà gwóg fwôn lás-Híá nà ò-kwííndjè b-é*  
chief PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 hear shame talk-INF with c2-helper AM.c2-POSS  
The Chief was ashamed to talk to his helpers.

A33a) *Í ngà sá sá fwôn ná kúkú má lòòm ífè*  
*í ngà sá sá fwôn ná kúkú má lòòm í-fè*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PROG do PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl shame that chief c3.country AM.c3- PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl.INCL

*náámà kǎ sǎsà dzǎ dòòm b jámà tèèd jí*  
*nà-ámà kà sǎsà dzà dòòm b í-ámà tèèd jí*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 go fishing when c5.war SM.c5-P2 begin REL.c5

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

b) *Í ngà sá sá fwôn sílálá ná bwá kwíídìg sá*  
*í ngà sá sá fwôn sílǎ-Híá ná bwà kwíid-ìg sá*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PROG do us shame ask-INF that they help-SUBJ us  
We feel embarrassed to ask to be help.

A34a) *Òbígámàmpóónz bwáámà gwág míntààg ndǎ fǝngǝjǎ wán jámà tǝw fwóóg ná*

*ò-bígámàmpóónz bwà-ámà gwág mìntààg ndă fàngjá w-àŋ í-ámà tâw fwóóg ná*  
c2-fan PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 hear c4.joy as c3.team AM.c3-POSS SM.c1-P2 place ahead REL  
The fans rejoiced as their team was successful/came first.

b) *fàngjá jámà sá zàŋ ndă jámà tâw fwóóg ná*  
*fàngjá í-ámà sâ zàŋ ndă ì-ámà tâw fwóóg ná*  
c3.team PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 do ceremony as PRN.c3-P2 place ahead REL  
The team celebrated as it came first/was successful

A35a) *Mìngwámìnà mí ngà káàm ná màmpándé máágúgwân má mpújòw*  
*mì-ngwámìnà mí ngà káàm ná mà-mpándé má-àgúgwân má mpù-jòw*  
c4-authority SM.c4 PROG surprise that c6-law c6-new COP know-PASS  
The authorities were surprised that the new laws were popular/known (by all).

b) *\*Ná màmpándé máágúgwân má mpújòw í ngà sá ná mùùd jěf káàmìg*  
*ná mà-mpándé má-àgúgwân má mpù-jòw í ngà sâ ná m-ùùd j-ěf káàm-ig*  
that c6-law AM.c6-new SM.c6 know-PASS PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PROG do that c1-person AM.c1-QUANT surprise-SUBJ  
That the new law was popular was surprising for everyone.

Comment: A35b is ungrammatical because sentences beginning with ‘that X...’ or ‘the fact that x’ are not allowed in Makaa.

c) *Sáámà káàm ná màmpándé máágúgwân má mpújòw*  
*sâ-ámà káàm ná mà-mpándé má-àgúgwân má mpù-jòw*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 surprise that c6-law AM.c6-new SM.c6 know-PASS  
We were surprised (knowing) that the new law was popular.

A36a) *\*Ná kàdjè mìkòòd náámà táđìgà kòòd áfúfwógú jámà tjàj sé mìlâm*  
*ná kàdjè mì-kòòd nà-ámà táđìgà kòòd à-fúfwógú í-ámà tjàj sé mì-lâm*  
that judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 remember sentence/case c1-prior PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 hurt PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl c4-heart  
That the judge remembered the prior sentence was upsetting to us.

b) *Jámà tjàj sé mìlâm ndă kàdjè mìkòòd náámá táđìgà kòòd áfúfwógú*  
*í-ámà tjàj sé mì-lâm ndă kàdjè mì-kòòd nà-ámá táđìgà kòòd à-fúfwógú*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 hurt PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl c4-heart as judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 remember sentence/case c1-prior  
It was upsetting to us as the judge remembered the prior sentences.

c) *Nà tjàjìlè lâm đìgìlè búúđ ó ngà tfigè mábúwàf*  
*nà tjàj-Hlè lâm đìg-Hlè b-ùùđ ò ngà tfigè màbúwà-f*  
with hurt-INF heart see-INF c2-person SM.c2 PROG live c6.poverty-LOC  
It is upsetting to see people living in poverty.

A37a) *Ìfíngà í làl ndzígíłáf*  
*ì-fíngà í làl ndzígíłáf*  
c8-cat SM.c8 hard training  
Cats are hard to train.

b) *Í sà làlìlè dzígíłìlè ífíngà*  
*í sà làl-Hlè dzígíłì-Hlè ì-fíngà*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg COP hard-INF train-INF c8-cat

It is hard to train cats.

c) *Í ʔǒ sá ñkùl dʒígííḽà íʒíngà*

*í ʔǒ sâ ñkùl dʒígíí-Hlâ ì-ʒíngà*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be.above PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl power train-INF c8-cat

It is hard for us to train cats.

d) \**íʒíngà í ʔǒ sá ñkùl dʒígííḽà*

*ì-ʒíngà í ʔǒ sâ ñkùl dʒígíí-Hlâ*

c8-cat SM.c8 be.above PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl power train-INF

Cats are hard for us to train.

Comment: A37d is ungrammatical because the structure of the aforementioned sentence strands the internal complement of the verb *dʒígííḽà* ‘to train’, i.e. *íʒíngà* ‘cats’. It thus renders a meaning not acceptable in Makaa. On the other hand, the sentence becomes grammatical if the entire verb phrase *dʒígííḽà íʒíngà* is moved to sentence-initial position as in A37e.

e) *dʒígííḽà íʒíngà í ʔǒ sá ñkùl*

*dʒígíí-Hlâ ì-ʒíngà í ʔǒ sâ ñkùl*

train-INF c8-cat PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be.above PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl power

To train cats is beyond our power.

A38a) \**Mùùd égà sà nà mfí léfálà nà né*

*m-ùùd é-gà sà nà mfí léfà-Hlâ nà né*

c1-person AM.c1-DEM COP with worth talk.to.each.other-INF with him

This person is worth talking to.

b) *Í sà nà mfí léfálà nà mùùd égà*

*í sà nà mfí léfà-Hlâ nà m-ùùd é-gà*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg is with worth talk.to.eo-INF with c1-person AM.c1-DEM

It is worth talking to this person.

Comment: *í* in A38b is clearly a pronoun (Impersonal pronoun, equivalent to the English ‘it’) and not a Subject marker. Yes it does remain independent from a tense marker. It devocalises to [j] in front of vowel-initial verb stems.

A39a) *Paul ñáámà dʒjè kwàg sálà sá gà*

*Paul ñà-ámà dʒjè kwàg sâ-Hlâ sâ gà*

Paul PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 probably/certainly be.able do-INF thing DEM

Paul was probably able to do this.

b) *Paul ñkùl dʒjè lʃ́ dʒígà*

*Paul ñkùl dʒjè lʃ́ dʒí-gà*

Paul be.able/capabe probably/certainly read AM.C7-DEM

Paul is probably capable of reading this.

c) *Paul ñgà gwág mìntààg ndă á ñkùl sá sá gà ná*

*Paul ñgà gwág mìntààg ndà à ñkùl sâ sâ gà ná*

Paul PROG hear c4.happiness as he be.able do thing DEM REL



Paul is proud as he is able to do this.

A40a) *kàdjè mìkòòd jíámà bàn ná mùùd jíámà gúú múúùd*  
*kàdjè mì-kòòd jà-ámà bàn ná m-ùùd jà-ámà gúú m-ùùd*  
judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 deny that c1-person PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 kill person  
The judge denied that anyone had committed a murder.

b) *kàdjè mìkòòd jíámà bàn ná mùùd kú gúú múúùd*  
*kàdjè mì-kòòd jà-ámà bàn ná m-ùùd kú gúú m-ùùd*  
judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 denie that c1-person NEG.SUBJ kill person  
The judge denied that anyone commits a murder

Comment: A40a has a generic meaning. It means that the judge has forbidden to any one to commit murder. It is an appeal, which is the reason why the subjunctive is used. For A40b to have a perfective reading, e.g., The judge denies that anyone has committed a murder (i.e., no murders have taken place), it should read as in A40b<sub>i</sub> or A40b<sub>ii</sub>.

b<sub>i</sub>) *kàdjè mìkòòd jíámà bàn ná mùùd jíámà gúú múúùd*  
*kàdjè mì-kòòd jà-ámà bàn ná m-ùùd jà-ámà gúú m-ùùd*  
judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 denie that c1-person PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 kill person  
The judge denied that anyone has committed a murder

or

b<sub>ii</sub>) *kàdjè mìkòòd jíámà bàn ná mùùd jí gúú múúùd*  
*kàdjè mì-kòòd jà-ámà bàn ná m-ùùd jí gúú m-ùùd*  
judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 denie that c1-person EVID.PAST kill person  
The judge denied that anyone has committed a murder

c) *Jámà bànjòw ná mùùd jíámà gúú múúùd*  
*í-ámà bàn-jòw ná m-ùùd jà-ámà gúú m-ùùd*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 denie-PASS that c1-person PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 kill person  
It was denied that anyone had committed a murder.

A41a) *kàdjè mìkòòd jíá jígè búgìlà ná mwá mìbùùg jíá bà ná tó dwálà*  
*kàdjè mì-kòòd jà-á jí-gé búgìlà ná m-uân mì-bùùg jà-á bà ná tó dwálà*  
judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 EVID.PAST-NEG believe that c1-child c4-prison PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 be with NEG franc  
The judge doubted that the prisoner had any money.

b) *\*kàdjè mìkòòd jíá jígè búgìlà mwá mìbùùg bǎlà ná tó dwálà*  
*kàdjè mì-kòòd jà-á jí-gé búgìlà m-uân mì-bùùg bà-HIà ná tó dwálà*  
judge c4-case PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 EVID.PAST-NEG believe c1-child c4-prison be-INF with NEG franc  
The judge doubted the prisoner to have any money. (\* in English)

Comment: A41b is ungrammatical in Makaa because the verb *búgìlà* 'to believe' requires a completive introduced by the complementizer *ná* 'that'.

A42a) *Wáámà táđìgà ná má fɪm dǎlá ófú*  
*wà-ámà táđìgà ná mà fɪm dè-HIá ò-fú*  
PRN.2<sup>nd</sup>.sg-P2 remember that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg hate eat-INF c2-fish  
You remembered that I hate to eat fish.

b) *Màsás máámà táđìgà kwàmsǎlá ítɛɲ*  
*mà-sás mà-ámà táđìgà kwàmsà-HIá ì-tɛɲ*

c6-girl SM.c6-P2 remember get.ready-INF c8-cow  
The girls remembered to get the cows ready.

c) *Bùùdúm ó ñgà táđìgà ná bwáá ntǝǝ dzúwó wàlàlí mpìñ*  
*b-ùùdúm ó ñgà táđìgà ná bwà-á ntǝǝ dzúwó wàlà-lí mpìñ*  
c2-man SM.c2 PROG remember that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl -P3 cross river time-ASS flood  
The men remember crossing the river when it was flooded.

d) *Mpjâ náámà táđìgà sá sáá dzígìlì ñà jí*  
*mpjâ ñà-ámà táđìgà sâ sâ-á dzígìlì ñà jí*  
dog PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 remember c7.thing PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P3 teach it REL.c7  
The dog remembered what we taught him.

e) *Màsás méé táđìgà dzí bwéé jà ítěñ ná bwá dág*  
*mà-sás mà-é táđìgà dzí bwà-é jà ì-těñ ná bwà d-à-g*  
c6-girl SM.c6-F1 remember what PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 give c8-cow that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl eat-SUBJ  
The girls will remember what they will feed the cows with

Comment: KS: Hortative again – are the girls presumed to be remembering what they have been told to feed the cows with, or will the girls simply remember what cows eat, so that if someone else is to feed the cows, that person can ask the girls for the right information? NI: both readings hold. I think constructions whereby the subjunctive occurs should be given a particular attention in Makaa.

A43a) *Màá jímsà ná mà ñkùl sá sá dzíèf*  
*mà-á jímsà ná mà ñkùl sâ sâ dzí-èf*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P3 imagine that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg can do c7.thing AM.c7-QUANT  
I imagined that I could do anything.

b) \**Màá jímsà bǎlá kúkúm*  
*mà-á jímsà b-à-Hlǎ kúkúm*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P3 imagine be-INF rich  
I imagined to be a millionaire. (\* in English).

c) \**Màá jímsà kjàbílà mǎvàngìlé*  
*mà-á jímsà kjàb-Hlǎ mǎvàngìlé*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg-P3 imagine succeed-INF c6-exam  
I imagined succeeding in my exams.

Comment: Since the word lottery does not exist in Makaa, I have replaced the VP ‘winning the lottery’ by ‘succeeding in my exams’. A43b-c are ungrammatical in Makaa because the complement of the verb *jímsà* ‘to imagine’ is always introduced by the complementizer *ná* ‘that’.

d) *Má dzjě mpù sá bwéé fílà mà ná má ság jí*  
*mà dzjě mpù sâ bwà-é fílà mà ná má sâ-g jí*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg certainly know c7.thing PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 ask me that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg do-SUBJ REL.c7  
I know certainly what they will ask me to do.

A44a) *John náámà táđìgà íkágá ífúkùl ná bwá má dzàlá nà lǝ òkálàd bán*  
*John ñà-ámà táđìgà ì-kágá í-fúkùl ná bwà má dzàlá nà lǝ ò-kálàd b-án*  
John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 remember c8-kid AM.c8-school that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl COP ought to read c2-book AM.c2-POSS

John reminded the students that they should read their books.

- b) \**John náámà tádìgà íkágá ífùkùl lílà òkálàd báj*  
*John nà-ámà tádìgà ì-kágá ì-fùkùl líl-Hlè ò-kálàd b-áj*  
John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 remember c8-kid AM.c8-school read-INF c2-book AM.c2-POSS  
John reminded the students to read their books.

Comment: A44b is ungrammatical because the verb *tádìgà* ‘to remember’ requires a completive introduces by *ná* ‘that’.

- c) \**John náámà tádìgà lílà òkálàd*  
*John nà-ámà tádìgà ì-kágá ì-fùkùl líl-Hlè ò-kálàd*  
John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 remember c8-kid AM.c8-school read-INF c2-book AM.c2-POSS  
John reminded to read the books (\* in English)

Comment: A44c is ungrammatical because those to whom the action described by the main verb is addressed are absent (i.e. the complement of the verb remind). However, the sentence becomes grammatical if the gloss is modified to read ‘John remembered to read the books’.

- d) \**íkágá ífùkùl bwáámà tádìgjàw ná bwá má dʒàlá nà líl òkálàd báj*  
*ì-kágá ì-fùkùl bwà-ámà tádìgjà-w ná bwà má dʒàlá nà líl ò-kálàd b-áj*  
c8-kid AM.c8-school PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 remember-PASS that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl COP ought to read c2-book AM.c2-POSS  
The students were reminded that they should read chapter 2.

Comment: A44d is ungrammatical because the verb to remind in Makaa belongs to the group of verbs that cannot be passivized. Why? Does it have to do with the length of the verb stem? An attempt of answer demands a deep analysis. KS: Interesting question. NI: Indeed.

- e) \**íkágá ífùkùl bwáámà tádìgjàw lílà òkálàd báj*  
*ì-kágá ì-fùkùl bwà-ámà tádìgjà-w líl-Hlè ò-kálàd b-áj*  
c8-kid AM.c8-school PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 remember-PASS read-INF c2-book AM.c2-POSS  
The students were reminded to read their books.

A45a) *íkágá ífùkùl í ngà líl ná Maria fígè tʒjèl wóós mpáánzá fùkùl*  
*ì-kágá ì-fùkùl í ngà líl ná Maria jí-gè tʒjèl wóós mpáánzá fùkùl*  
c8-kid AM.c8-school SM.c8 PROG read Maria EVID.PAST-NEG like leave hall school  
The students read that Mary was unwilling to leave the classroom.

- b) *Mary náámà tʒfilà ná í tʒúgè nádi mítádígáf bídílà fùkùl*  
*Mary nà-ámà tʒfilà ná í tʒúgè nà-dí mì-tádígá-f bídí-Hlè fùkùl*  
mary PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 write that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg COP.NEG PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-LOC c4-thought-LOC leave-INF school  
Mary wrote that it is not her aim/intention leaving the school.

- c) *tʒúfúf m-ùùd nàámà ngà nímbìlà ná m̀dʒúwó máá ǹwájé mpùf,*  
*tʒúfúf m-ùùd nà-ámà ngà nímbìlà ná m̀dʒúwó m̀-á ǹwà-é mpù-f,*  
old c1-man PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 PROG mumble that c6.water SM.c6-NEG be.good-NEG mouth-LOC  
The old man mumbled that the water tasted bad,

*vàdá tò mùùd fígéè gwág*  
*vàdá tò m-ùùd jí-gé-è gwág*  
but NEG c1-man EVID.PAST-NEG-PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg understood  
but no one understood him.

- d) *Mwán náámà ngà sóóg ná tò mùùd náá tʒjélé nà,*

*m-uân nà-ámà ngà sóóg ná tò m-ùùd nà-á tjièl-é nà*  
c1-child PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 PROG whine that NEG c1-person PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-NEG like-NEG PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
The child whined that no one liked him,

*vàdá sáámà búgìlà ná nàámà ngà dzìdzìg*  
*vàdá sâ-ámà búgìlà ná nà-ámà ngà dzì-dzì-g*  
but PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 think that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 PROG cry-cry-CONT  
but we thought that he was just keeping crying.

A46a) *nɔzùljè jínà nàámà kîm sá málwáf ná sá bísà bâwbâw téf,*  
*nɔzùljè jínà nà-ámà kîm sâ mà-lwâ-f ná sá bísà bâw-bâw té-f*  
conductor train PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 shout PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl c6-ear-LOC that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl COP bad-bad position-LOC  
The conductor yelled to us that we were in danger,

*vàdá sáámà mpù ná jínà í jígè ngà zè*  
*vàdá sâ-ámà mpù ná jínà í jí-gè ngà zè*  
but PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 know that c5.train SM.c5 EVID.PAST-NEG PROG come  
but we knew the train was not coming.

b) *Táljè fwóg nàámà kîm sá málwáf ná sám dzàlá nà kjèj,*  
*táljè fwóg nà-ámà kîm sâ mà-lwâ-f ná sá=má dzàlá nà kjèj*  
person.place front PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 shout PRN.3<sup>st</sup>.pl c6-ear-LOC that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl=COP ought to leave  
The guide yelled that we have to leave,

*vàdá tò mùùd jígè sá ndà nàámà gwág sá nàámà tji jí*  
*vàdá tò m-ùùd jí-gè sâ ndà nà-ámà gwág sâ nà-ámà tji jí*  
but NEG C1-person EVID.PAST-NEG do as.if PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 hear c7.thing PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say REL.c7  
but no one made as if he/she heard what he said.

c) *nɔzùljè jínà nàámà kîm sá málwáf ná sá wúg zíif, vàdá sá jígè màgìlè wúlà*  
*nɔzùljè jínà nà-ámà kîm sâ mà-lwâ-f ná sâ wû-g zì-f*  
conductor train PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 shout PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl c6-ear-LOC that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl get.off-SUBJ track-LOC  
*vàdá sâ jí-gè màgìlè wû-Hlè*  
but PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl EVID.PAST-NEG accept leave-INF  
The conductor yelled to us to get off the tracks, but we refused to leave.

d) *nɔzùljè jínà nàámà kîm fúl ná bùùd ó wúg zíif, vàdá sá jígè mpù ná sádí málwáf*  
*ó nàámà ngà kîm má*  
*nɔzùljè jínà nà-ámà kîm fúl ná b-ùùd ó wû-g zì-f*  
conductor train PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 shout for that c2-person SM.c2 get.off-SUBJ track-LOC  
*vàdá sá jí-gè mpù ná sâ-dí mà-lwâ-f ó nà-ámà ngà kîm má*  
but PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl EVID.PAST-NEG know that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-LOC c6-ear-LOC FOC PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 PROG shout REL.c6  
The conductor yelled to get off the tracks, but we didn't realize that he was yelling at us.

A47a) *Jàá nàámà tji nà sá ná mpúú nèè nwôh,*  
*jàá nà-ámà tji nà sâ ná mpúú nè-è nwôh*  
mum PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 tell with PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl that rain PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 fall  
Mum warned us that it would rain,

*vàdá sá fígè tǰjèlé gwág*  
*vàdá sâ fí-gè tǰjèl-é gwág*  
 but we EVID.PAST-NEG like- PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg listen/hear  
 but we didn't listen to her.

b) *Jàá náámà tǰi ná mpúú nèé n̄wôη,*  
*Jàá nà-ámà tǰi ná mpúú nà-è n̄wôη*  
 mum PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 tell that rain PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 fall  
 Mum warned/said that it will rain,

*vàdá sáámà tǰi nà òbígámàmpóónz ná jásá jé fààn*  
*vàdá sâ-ámà tǰi nà ò-bígámàmpóónz ná jásá í-é fààn*  
 but PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 tell to c2-fan that c7.sun SM.c7-F1 shine  
 but we assured fans that it would be sunny/or that sun will shine.

c) *ǰzwówdà náámà kàmbìlè ná sá kú ǰzì jí jásá*  
*ǰzwówdà nà-ámà kàmbìlè ná sâ kú ǰzì jí jásá*  
 doctor PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 forbid that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl NEG.SUBJ stay under sun  
 The doctor warned us to avoid sitting under the sun.

d) *ǰzwówdà náámà kàmbìlè ǰzìjǎ jí jásá*  
*ǰzwówdà nà-ámà kàmbìlè ǰzìjǎ jí jásá*  
 doctor PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 forbid sitting under sun  
 The doctor warned to avoid sitting under the sun.

Comment:KS: Comparing with 47c, is 47c a request or directive vs. 47d providing information that one may choose to act on or not? NI: Both 47c and 47d can be considered either as a request or a directive. Both constructions provide information one may choose to respect or disrespect. The contrast between both constructions lies on the fact that, in 47c, the speaker, the listener and any third party are concerned are called upon to respect the directive. On the other hand, in 47d, the directive is generic and addressed to anyone, and not forced on the speaker, the listener(s), or any third party.

A48a) *\*Ná mùùd jéf náámà bà nà m̀àbèé́ ngà tǰàj lâm*  
*ná m-ùùd j-éf nà-ámà bà nà m̀àbèé́ ngà tǰàj lâm*  
 that c1-person AM.c1-QUANT PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 be with c6.guilt PROG hurt heart  
 That everyone was guilty was upsetting

Comment: A48a is ungrammatical because Makaa does not allow sentences beginning with 'that X.... or the fact that X....'

b) *Dǎlè ntěj jé tǰàj lâm*  
*dà-Hlè ntěj í-é tǰàj lâm*  
 eat-INF c7.meat SM.c7-F1 hurt heart  
 To eat meat would be upsetting.

c) *\*ful óbàdàbàdà wàmádí dálè ntěj jé tǰàj bùùd ó dí dǎ n̄zì iká wá mìlâm*  
*ful ò-bàdà-bàdà ò-àmádí dè-Hlè ntěj í-é tǰàj b-ùùd ó dí dǎ n̄zì ì-ká wá mì-lâm*  
 for c2-great-great AM.c2-leader eat-INF meat PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 hurt c2-person SM.c2 HAB eat only c8-vegetable REL.c2 c4-heart  
 For important leaders to eat meat would upset the vegetarians.

A48c is ungrammatical because its structure makes that the translation makes no sense in Makaa. For A48c to be grammatical it has to be written as in A48ci or A48cii.

c) *Òbàdàbàdà wámádí ó ká dǎ ntěj, jé tǎj búúd ó dǎ dǎ ndzi iká wá mìlâm*  
*ò-bàdà-bàda ò-àmádí ó ká dǎ ntěj, í-é tǎj b-ùùd ó dǎ dǎ ndzi ì-ká wá mì-lâm*  
 c2-great-great c2-leader SM.c2 HYP eat meat, PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg -F1 hurt c2-person SM.c2 HAB eat only c8-vegetable REL.c2 c4-heart  
 If important leaders eat meat, it will upset the vegetarians.

cii) *Mìlâm mí búúd ó dǎ dǎ ndzi iká wá mjé tǎj nà dígílà óbàdàbàdà wámádí ó ngà dǎ ntěj*  
*mì-lâm mí b-ùùd ó dǎ dǎ ndzi ì-ká wá mj-é tǎj*  
 c4-heart SM.c4 c2-person SM.c2 HAB eat only c8-vegetable REL.c2 SM.c4-F1 hurt  
*nà díg-Hlǎ ò-bàdà-bàda ò-àmádí ó ngà dǎ ntěj*  
 with see-INF c2-great-great AM.c2-leader SM.c2 PROG eat meat  
 Vegetarians will be upset looking at important leaders eating meat.

d) *Dǎlǎ ntěj jé tǎj mìlâm mí búúd ó dǎ dǎ ndzi iká wá*  
*dǎ-Hlǎ ntěj í-é tǎj mì-lâm mí b-ùùd ó dǎ dǎ ndzi ì-ká wá*  
 eat-INF meat PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 hurt c4-heart SM.c4 c2-person SM.c2 HAB eat only c8-vegetable REL.c2  
 To eat meat would upset the vegetarians.

e) *\*Ná kúkú má lǎm jéé dzóhà tǐj sà nà mfí*  
*ná kúkú má lǎm jǎ-é dzóhà tǐj sà nà mfí*  
 that chief country PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 be.early leave COP with importance/worth  
 That the president leave<sup>5</sup> early is important.

f) *\*Ná kúkú má lǎm jámà bwèj tǐj sà nà mfí*  
*ná kúkú má lǎm jǎ-ámà bwèj tǐj sà nà mfí*  
 that chief country PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 act.prior leave COP with importance/worth  
 That the president has already left is important.

A49a) *\*Ná mùùd mìtǔndá jéé dzóhà wóós sà jwǎlǎ*  
*ná m-ùùd mì-tǔndá jǎ-é dzóhà wóós sà jwà-Hlǎ*  
 that c1-person c4-message PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 be.early leave COP be.good-INF  
 That the messenger arrive early is good.

b) *Í jwà ná mùùd mìtǔndá dzóhàg wóós*  
*í jwà ná m-ùùd mì-tǔndá dzóhà-g wóós*  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be.good that c1-person c4-message be.early-SUBJ arrive  
 It is good that the messenger arrive early.

c) *Í jwà fúl mùùd mìtǔndá ná à dzóhàg wóós*  
*í jwà fúl m-ùùd mì-tǔndá ná à dzóhà-g wóós*  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be.good for c1-person c4-message that he be.early-SUBJ arrive  
 It is good for the messenger to arrive early.

d) *Í jwà dzóhàlǎ wóós*  
*í jwà dzóhà-Hlǎ wóós*

<sup>5</sup> why not 'leaves'? This question holds for A49a, and b too.

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be.good be.early-INF arrive  
It is good to arrive early.

e) *ngwámìnà náámà tfi ná í nwà ná mùùd jéf kjéjìg*  
*ngwámìnà nà-ámà tfi ná í nwà ná m-ùùd j-éf kjèj-ìg*  
authority PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be.good that c1-person AM.c1-QUANT go/leave-SUBJ  
The authority stated that it would be good for everyone to leave.

A50a) *Sáámà kààmbìlè nà ìjígìlì ná bwá kú dí kîim bwán dí málwáf*  
*sâ-ámà kààmbìlè nà ì-jígìlì ná bwà kú dí kîim b-uân dí mà-lwâ-f*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 prevent to c8-teacher that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl NEG.SUBJ HAB yell c2-child LOC c6-ear-LOC  
We prevented the teacher from yelling at the children.

b) *Sáámà bíd ná mìsándíílá mí fjálìg mibùùg sîlè mákwǎ*  
*sâ-ámà bíd ná mì-sándíílá mí fjàl-ìg mì-bùùg ṣ̣-Hlè mà-kwǎ*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 allow that c4-guard SM.c4 search.for-SUBJ c4-prisoner look.for-INF c6-weapon  
We allowed the guards to search the prisoners looking for weapons.

c) *Sáámà jímb mìsándíílá ná bwá bwájìg dżàw míbùùg ná ìfjàl jé bà*  
*Sâ-ámà jímb mì-sándíílá ná bwà bwàj-ìg dżàw mì-bùùg ná ì-fjàl í-é bà*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 force c4-guard that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl act.prior-SUBJ tell c4-prisoner that c8-inspection SM.c8-F1 be  
We forced the guards to warn the prisoners about inspections.

d) *Sáámà màgìlè ná bwá dżóhàg fjàl bùùd mpímán*  
*Sâ-ámà màgìlè ná bwà dżóhà-g fjàl b-ùùd mpímán*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 accept that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl be.early-SUBJ search.for c2-person morning  
We permitted that inspection take place early in the morning. (?? For some in English).

A51a) *Sáámà láb John ná à láfàg nà dżwôwdà*  
*Sâ-ámà láb John ná à lás-jà-g nà dżwôwdà*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 advise John that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg talk-RCM-SUBJ with doctor  
We advised John to talk with the doctor.

b) *Sáámà láb John ná á dżàlá nà láfàg nà dżwôwdà*  
*Sâ-ámà láb John ná à dżàlá nà lás-a-g nà dżwôwdà*  
PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-P2 advise John that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ought to speak-RCM-SUBJ with doctor  
We advised John that he should talk with the doctor.

A52a) *Elsa náámà jàw lásílè nà Martin*  
*Elsa nà-ámà jàw lás-Hlè nà Martin*  
Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 stop talk-INF with Martin  
Elsa stopped talking to Martin.

b) *Elsa náámà kààmbìlè ná Martin lásìg nà Julia*  
*Elsa nà-ámà kààmbìlè ná Martin lás-ìg nà Julia*  
Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 stop that Martin speak-INF with Julia  
Elsa stopped Martin from talking to Julia.

- c) *Elsa náámà fìgìlà lásílà nà Martin*  
*Elsa nà-ámà fìgìlà lás-Hlè nà Martin*  
 Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 stop speak-INF with Martin  
 Elsa stopped to talk to Martin.

Comment: For A52c to mean ‘Elsa stopped talking to Martin’, it has to be translated as in A52a. A52c can only be understood as ‘Elsa stopped in order to talk to Martin.’ reason why the verb *jàw* ‘to stop to verb’ is replaced by the verb *fìgìlà* ‘to make a break during a walk or journey’ to avoid any ambiguity as A52c can also have the first reading depending on the speaker’s understanding of the sentence.

- d) *Elsa náámà kà nà lásílà nà Bill fwóg*  
*Elsa nà-ámà kà nà lás-Hlè nà Bill fwóg*  
 Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 go with talk-INF with Bill ahead  
 Elsa continued talking to Bill.

e) same as d  
 Elsa continued to talk to Bill.

- f) *Elsa náámà bà lás nà Bill, fìn lás, kwě lás*  
*Elsa nà-ámà bà lás nà Bill, fìn lás, kwě lás*  
 Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 be talk with Bill, finish talk, still talk  
 Elsa kept talking to Bill.

- g) *Elsa náá mpù dǎlè sá ná Bill gwágìg mǐntààg dǎ dǎéǎ*  
*Elsa nà-á mpù dǎ-Hlè sá ná Bill gwág-ìg mǐntààg dǎ dǎ-éǎ*  
 Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 know HAB-INF do that Bill hear-SUBJ c4.happiness c7-time AM.c7-QUANT  
 Elsa knew how to keep Bill happy all the time.

h) same as g (no other possible translation)  
 Elsa kept Bill to be happy (\* for English speakers if Bill is the one who is happy)

- i) *Elsa náá sá ná Bill dǎg dǎ dǎ ìká dǎ dǎéǎ*  
*Elsa nà-á sá ná Bill dǎ-g dǎ dǎ ì-ká dǎ dǎ-éǎ*  
 Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 do that Bill HAB-SUBJ HAB eat c8-vegetable c7.time AM.C7-QUANT  
 Elsa made Bill to eat vegetables all the time

- j) *Elsa náámà kààmǐlè ná Bill dǎg ìká*  
*Elsa nà-ámà kààmǐlè ná Bill dǎ-g ì-ká*  
 Elsa PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 stop that Bill ear-SUBJ c8-vegetable  
 Elsa kept Bill from eating vegetables.

Comment: KS: 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). Which of these meanings does 52j have? NI: (52j) has the meaning of ‘preventing Bill from verbing’

- A53a) *Í mpújòw ná í dǎ fǐjòw ná bwòdògú í sà búmà*  
*í mpù-jòw ná í dǎ fǐ-jòw ná bwòdògú í sà búmà*  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg know-PASS that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg HAB say-PASS that c5.melon SM.c5 COP fruit  
 It is known that melons are claimed to be fruits.

- b) *Í ngà fǐjòw ná bwòdògú í sà búmà*



*í ngà t̄fi-jòw ná bwòògú í sà búmà*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PROG say-PASS that c5.melon SM.c5 COP fruit  
It is claimed that melons are fruits.

c) *Bùùd ó ngà búgìlà ná òkwòngú bwéé b̄à n̄à ómpúú*

*b-ùùd ó ngà búgìlà ná ò-kwòngú bwà-é b̄à n̄à ó-mpúú*

c2-person SM.c2 PROG believe that c2-flood PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-F1 be with c2-rain  
People believe that there will be floods with the rain

d) *Mùùd j̄éf ngà búgìlà ná òd̄zòh bwéé l̄gjà wó ngwám̄nà dí*

*m-ùùd j-éf ngà búgìlà ná ò-d̄zòh bwà-é l̄gjà wó ngwám̄nà dí*

c1-person AM.c1-QUANT PROG expect that c2-visitors PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-F1 complain to authority LOC  
Everyone is expecting that the tourists will complain to the authority.

A54a) Impossible to translate in Makaa

That the inspection takes place at 3 o'clock was required by the officers

b) Impossible to translate in Makaa

That precautions would be necessary was expected.

c) Impossible to translate in Makaa

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

d) Impossible to translate in Makaa

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

e) *Bwáá jígè bwàlé d̄zàw sá ná bwéé bìì bwán kànd bwà mímbùùgìf*

*bwà-á jí-gé bwàlé d̄zàw sá ná bwà-é bìì b-uân kànd bwà mì-mbùùg-ìf*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P3 EVID.PAST-NEG never tell PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 arrest c2-child send PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl c4-prison-LOC  
We were never told that the children would be arrested and sent to prison.

A55a) *Bwáám̄à jímb John ná à d̄ág fjáŋ*

*bwà-ám̄à jímb John ná à d̄-g fjáŋ*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 force John that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg eat-SUBJ sauce  
John was forced to eat the sauce.

b) *Jean náám̄à l̄ábjòw ná à kú d̄à fjáŋ*

*Jean n̄à-ám̄à l̄á-b-jòw ná à kú d̄à fjáŋ*

Jean PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 advise-PASS that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg NEG-SUBJ sauce  
John was advised not to eat the sauce.

c) *Bwáám̄à búgìlà n̄à John néé d̄à fjáŋ*

*bwà-ám̄à búgìlà ná John n̄à-é d̄à fjáŋ*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 believe/think that John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-F1 eat sauce  
They believed that John will eat the sauce.

d) *Bwáám̄à kààm̄bìl̄à ná John d̄ág fjáŋ*

*bwà-ám̄à kààm̄bìl̄à ná John d̄-g fjáŋ*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 prevent that John eat-SUBJ sauce  
They prevented that John eats the sauce

e) *Jámà ngà bìngjòw ná John ngà gwág mpimbà nà tǽé nà mpándá ágúgwân*  
*í-ámà ngà bìng-jòw ná John ngà gwág mpimbà nà tǽé nà mpándá àgúgwân*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 PROG state-PASS that John PROG hear anger with why of because law new  
It was stated that John is angry because of the new law

A56a) *John náámà dígjòw à ngá dà fján*  
*John nà-ámà díg-jòw à ngà dà fján*  
John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 see-PASS PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PROG eat sauce  
John was seen eating the sauce.

b) \**John náámà dígjòw dǎlè fján*  
*John nà-ámà díg-jòw dǎ-Hlè fján*  
John PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 see-PASS eat-INF sauce  
John was seen to eat the sauce. (\*for English speakers)

c) Impossible to translate in Makaa  
John was seen to have been eating the soup (? or ?? for many English speakers).

A57a) *Jámà tǽjòw ná sá ñkùl kjàj*  
*í-ámà tǽ-jòw ná sǎ ñkùl kjàj*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 said-PASS that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl can leave/go  
It was said that we could leave

b) *Jámà tǽjòw ná bwéé bíd ná sá kjàjìg*  
*í-ámà tǽ-jòw ná bwà-é bíd ná sǎ kjàj-ìg*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 said-PASS that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 allow that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl leave-SUBJ  
It was said that they will allow us to leave

c) *Bwáámà dzàw mántǽwámá ná séé gwág mpimbà nà òdzàkàs*  
*bwà-ámà dzàw mà-ntǽwámá ná sǎ-é gwág mpimbà nà ò-dzàkàs*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 tell c6-boy that PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl-F1 hear anger with c2-donkey  
They told the boys that we will be upset at the donkeys.

A58a) *Já dzàwjòw óntàmbijè ná bwá jág bwân ìdǽñ*  
*í-á dzàw-jòw ò-ntàmbijè ná bwà jà-g b-uân ì-dǽñ*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 tell-PASS c2-servant that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl give-SUBJ c2-child c8-food  
It was said to the servants that they give food to the children.

b) *Bwéé fílà óntàmbijè wàlà múúd ñkùl ñi màdzwó súl ná má kú búl tǽwààg*  
*bwà-é fílà ò-ntàmbijè wàlà m-ùùd ñkùl ñi màdzwó súl ná má kú búl tǽwààg*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 ask c2-servant time c1-person can remove.from.fire c6.water for that SM.c6 NEG-SUBJ QUANT boil  
The servants will be asked when to stop the water from boiling too long.

c) *Bwáámà fílà óntàmbijè wàlà bwéé dzàw ódzòñ ná dzwòw í sà ñkí bǎw*  
*bwà-ámà fílà ó-ntàmbijè wàlà bwà-é dzàw ó-dzòñ ná dz-wòw í sà ñkí bǎw*  
PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 ask c2-servant time PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 tell c2-visitor that c5-day SM.c5 COP bad  
The servants have been asked when they will warn the tourists about the weather.

A59a) *Bwéé dzàw búúdá ná bwá jág bwân ìdǽñ*

*bwà-é dzàw b-ùúdá ná bwà jà-g b-uân ì-dîŋ*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-F1 tell c2-woman that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl give-SUBJ c2-child c8-food  
The women will be told to make the children eat.

b) *Bwáámè dzàw búúdá wàlà múúú ñkùl ñi mádzwó súl ná má kú búl tŋwààg*

*bwà-ámè dzàw b-ùúdá wàlà m-ùúú ñkùl ñi màdzwó súl ná má kú búl tŋwààg*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 tell c2-woman time c1-person can remove.from.fire c6.water for that SM.c6 NEG.SUBJ QUANT boil  
The women have been told when to stop the water from boiling too long.

c) *Bwáámè ñgè dzàw búúdá wàlà bwém dzálá ná dzàw ódzòŋ ná dzwôw í sè ñkí bâw*

*bwà-ámè ñgè dzàw b-ùúdá wàlà bwè=má dzálá ná dzàw ó-dzòŋ ná dz-wôw í sè ñkí bâw*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P2 PROG tell c2-woman time PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl=COP ought to tell c2-visitor that c5-day SM.C5 COP COP bad  
The women are told when they should warn the tourists about the weather.

A60a) *Bwáá tŋi nà máŋtŋwámá ná Bill ñáá tŋjèl kálàd*

*bwà-á tŋi nà mà-ŋtŋwámá ná Bill ñè-á tŋjèl kálàd*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P3 tell to c6-boy that Bill PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P3 like book

The boys were persuaded that Bill liked the book.

b) *Bwáá tŋi nà máŋtŋwámá ná bwá dígìg zàŋ*

*bwà-á tŋi nà mà-ŋtŋwámá ná bwè díg-ìg zàŋ*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl-P3 tell to c6-boy that PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl see-SUBJ ceremony

The boys were persuaded to watch the ceremony.

A61a) I could not find a possible translation in Makaa

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

b) *Jámè tŋjòw ná bwán ó ñikûl ó ñkùl kjàb mánvègìlé mágà*

*í-ámè tŋi-jòw ná b-uân ó ñikûl ó ñkùl kjàb mánvègìlé má-gà*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say-PASS that c2-child ASS school SM.c2 capable succeed c6.exam DEM.c6

It has been said that the students are capable of succeeding to these exams.

c) *Jámè tŋjòw ná bwán ó ñikûl ó dí gwág míntààg dzǎ mánvègìlé máá lálé má*

*í-ámè tŋi-jòw ná b-uân ó ñikûl ó dí gwág míntààg dzà mánvègìlé má-á làl-é má*

PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-P2 say-PASS that c2-child ASS.c2 school SM HAB hear c4.happiness when c6-exam SM-NEG strong-NEG REL

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