Afranaph Questionnaire on Clausal Complementation
Version 1.0, January 15, 2012
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This questionnaire (which we will call the CCQ) is designed to explore the relationship between predicates and the clausal arguments they are compatible with. For example, the verbs *want*, *demand, hope* and *believe* select different sorts of complements.

X1a) John wants to eat fish
Ok Yohánɛs aŋ́gwés dʒέ tʃɔ̂βí

Yohánɛs	a-	ŋ́-	gwés	dʒέ	tʃɔ̂βí
John.c1	SM.c1-PRS-want			eat	fish.c12

'John wants to eat fish'

b)*?John wants that Mary eat fish
Ok Yohánɛs aŋ́gwés lɛ́ Maríja ádʒέ tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs	a-	ŋ́-	gwés	lɛ́	Maríja	á-	dʒέ	tʃɔβí
John.c1	SM.C1-PRS-want			that	Mary.c1	SM.c1.SBJV-eat		fish.12

'*John wants that Mary eat fish'

c)*John wants that Mary eats fish
* Yohánɛs aŋ́gwés lɛ́ Maríja a**ń**dʒέ tʃɔ̂βí

Yohánɛs	a-	ŋ́-	gwés	lɛ́	Maríja	a-	**ń**-dʒέ	tʃɔ̂βí
John.c1	SM.C1-PRS-want			that	Mary.c1	SM.1-PRS-eat		fish.12

'*John wants that Mary eats fish'

d) John wants for Mary to eat fish
* Yohánɛs aŋ́gwés ínyuú Maríja lídʒê tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs	a-	ŋ́-	gwés	ínjuú	Maríja	lí-dʒê	tʃɔβí
John.c1	SM.c1-PRS-want		for	Mary.c1	INF.c5-eat	fish.12

Lit: 'John wants for Mary to eat fish'

Comments: Note that as compared to sentence (X1b), sentence (X1c) is ungrammatical because the desiderative predicate *gwés* 'want' is incompatible with the indicative. Given that the embedded verb *dʒέ* 'eat' in (X1c) is inflected for present as shown by the presence of the nasal *-ŋ́*, the sentence becomes illicit. On the contrary, (X1b) is fine because the embedded verb *dʒέ* 'eat'is in the subjunctive form as shown by the presence of the high tone on the subject marker *á-* (as compared to *a-* in X1c).

X2a) John demanded to eat fish
OkYohánɛs abíɓat lídʒê tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs	a-	bí-	ɓat	lí-	dʒê	tʃɔβí
John.c1	SM.cl-PST2-demand/ask			INF.c5-eat		fish.12

'John demanded to eat fish'

b) John demanded that Mary eat fish
Ok Yohánɛs abíɓat lɛ́ Maríja ádʒέ tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs	a-	bí-	ɓat	lɛ́	Maríja	á-	dʒέ	tʃɔβí
John.c1	SM.cl-PST2-demand/ask			that	Mary.c1	SM.c1.SBJV-eat		fish.12

'John demanded that Mary eat fish'

c)*John demanded that Mary eats fish
* Yohánɛs abíɓat lɛ́ Maríja a**ń**dʒέ tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs	a-	bí-	ɓat	lɛ́	Maríja	a-	**ń-**	dʒέ	tʃɔβí
John.c1	SM.cl-PST2-demand/ask			that	Mary.c1	SM.c1-PRS-eat			fish.12

'*John demanded that Mary eats fish'

d)?John demanded for Mary to eat fish
Comment: Comments on the main predicate in (x1b-c) also apply to (x2b-c) above on the selection of the

* Yohánɛs abíɓat ínjuú Maríja lídʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí

    Yohánɛs a-   bí- ɓat   ínjuú Maríja   lí-   dʒɛ̂   tʃɔβí

    John.c1 SM.cl-PST2-demand/ask for   Mary.c1 INF.c5-eat   fish.12

    '?John demanded for Mary to eat fish'

    X3a) John hopes to eat fish

Ok Yohánɛs aḿɓɔ́tŋɛm lídʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs a-   ḿ- ɓɔ́tŋɛm lí-   dʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí

John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-hope   INF.c5-eat fish.c12

    'John hopes to eat fish'

    b)*John hopes that Mary eat fish

*Yohánɛs aḿɓɔ́tŋɛm lɛ́ Maríja **á**dʒɛ́ tʃɔβí   *Subjunctive

Yohánɛs a-   ḿ- ɓɔ́tŋɛm lɛ́ Maríja **á**-   dʒɛ́ tʃɔβí

John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-hope   that Mary.c1 SM.c1.SBJV-eat fish.c12

    '*John hopes that Mary eat fish'

    c) John hopes that Mary eats fish

Ok Yohánɛs aḿɓɔ́tŋɛm lɛ́ Maríja ańdʒɛ́ tʃɔ́βî

Yohánɛs a-   ḿ- ɓɔ́tŋɛm lɛ́ Maríja a-   ń- dʒɛ́ tʃɔβí

 John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-hope   that Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-eat fish.12

'John hopes that Mary eats fish'

    d) John hopes for Mary to eat fish

Yohánɛs aḿɓɔ́tŋɛ̂m ínjuú Maríja lídʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí   (see translations)

Yohánɛs a-   ḿ- ɓɔ́tŋɛ̂m ínjuú Maríja lí-   dʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí

 John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-hope   for   Mary.c1 INF.c5-eat fish.12

'John hopes for Mary to eat fish'/'John hopes that thanks to Mary he will eat fish'

    X4a)*John believed to eat fish.

OkYohánɛs abíhɔ́ŋɔ̂l lídʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí

Yohánɛs a-   bí-hɔ́ŋɔ̂l   lí-dʒɛ́   tʃɔβí

 John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remember INF.c5-eat   fish.12

'John remembered to eat fish'

Comment: The verb *-hɔ́ŋɔ̂l* is associated with different meanings in English. It can mean 'believe', 'think' or 'remember'. In the context of (X4a), it means 'John remembered eating to eat fish (he had that in mind)'. Last sentence unclear – is 'he remembered eating fish' a possible translation for X4a? Like in English, the meaning '*John believed to eat fish' is not possible here'.

Note: Some might accept *Since he believes to be eating fish, don't tell him it's tofu*. The French counterpart of this sentence is acceptable.

    b)*John believes that Mary eat fish

*Yohánɛs ańhɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ Maríja **á**dʒɛ́ tʃɔβí

 Yohánɛs a-   ń- hɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ Maríja **á**-   dʒɛ́ tʃɔβí

 John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-believe that Mary.c1 SM.c1.SBJV-eat   fish.12

    c) John believes that Mary eats fish

Ok Yohánɛs ańhɔ́ŋɔ̂l lɛ́ Maríja ańdʒɛ́ tʃɔ́βî

 Yohánɛs a-   ń- hɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ Maríja a-   ń   dʒɛ́ tʃɔ́βî

 John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-believe that Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-eat fish.12

'John believes that Mary eats fish'

    d)*John believes for Mary to eat fish

*Yohánɛs ańhɔ́ŋɔ̂l ínjuú Maríja lídʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí

 Yohánɛs a-   ń- hɔ́ŋɔl injuú Maríja lí-   dʒɛ́ tʃɔβí

 John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-believe for   Mary.c1 INF.c5-eat fish.12

'*John believes for Mary to eat fish'

The complement clauses illustrated in X1-4 are not all the ones that are possible in English, but even for this small set, we can see that each of the verbs illustrated is acceptable only with a different subset of the types of clausal complements.

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) The press has claimed that the president demanded an apology.
Ok bikééhɛ́nɛ́ bíŋkâl lɛ́ ŋkɛ́na abíɓat mwéhel
  bikééhɛ́nɛ bí- ŋ- kâl lɛ́ ŋkɛ́na á- bí ɓât mwéhel
  court.c8   SM.c1-PST1-claim/say that leader.c1 SM.c1-PST2-demand 9.apology
    'The court has claimed that the leader demanded apology'
   b) The secretary claimed to know the answer.
A1b') *matila abíkâl líjî ndímbhɛ
        matila   a- bí- kâl lí- jî ndímbhɛ
secretary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-claim   INF.c5-know answer.c7
A1b'') matila   a- bí- kâl lí- jî ndímbhɛ
       secretary.c1-SM.c1-PST2-say/claim INF.c5-know answer.c7
 The secretary said (something, maybe she denounced a secret for instance) in order to know (something).
A1b''') Ok matila abíkâl lɛ́ ańjí ndímbhɛ
    matilaᵢ   aᵢ- bí- kâl lɛ́ proᵢ aᵢ- ń- jí ndímbhɛ
    secretary.c1 SM.cl-PST2-claim that pro SM-cl-PRS-know answer.c7
  'The secretary claimed to know the answer' Lit: 'The secretary claimed that s/he knew the answer.'
Comment: Note that although sentences (A1b') and (A1b'') have the same internal organization, they do not convey the same meaning. (A1b') cannot be ruled in as a direct equivalent to the English (A1b) sample sentence. Taken as such, it is ruled out. For instance, it cannot be a felicitous answer to a 'what's new?' question. However, the same sentence is true under (A1b'') if it is a direct reply to a previously mentioned question (e.g. what did the secretary said (delivered) in order for her to know the answer to some specific question in the context. For instance, if we consider that the secretary knows something about what happened some days ago, she could deliver the message in order to know what would happen (e.g. the fallouts). Sentence (A1b''') is the normal equivalent to the English sample sentence (A1b) although the former makes use of a declarative embedded as opposed to the later whereby the embedded clause is infinitive.
   c) Spies claimed Bill to know the answer. (* or ?* in English)
Ok Ac') dikɔkɔ̂ŋ díbíkâl lɛ́ mudaá ańjí ndímhɛ
dikɔkɔ̂ŋ dí- bí- kâl lɛ́ mudaá a- ń- jí ndímhɛ
spies.c12 SM.12-PST2-say that woman.c1 SM.c1-PRS-know answer.c7
'The spies claimed the woman to know the answer'. Lit; 'The spies claimed that the woman knew the answer.'
Ac'') Ok dikɔkɔ̂ŋ díbíkâl mudaá líjî   ndímhɛ
       dikɔkɔ́ŋ dí- bí- kâl   mudaá lí- jî   ndímhɛ
       spies.c12 SM.c12-PST2-tell/inform woman.c1 INF.c5-know answer.c7
    'The spies informed the woman in order to know the answer'
* 'The spies claimed the woman to know the answer'
Comments: As can be seen above, only the embedded declarative (i.e. Ac') corresponds to the English embedded infinitive clause. The Basaá embedded infinitive (Ac'') rather conveys a different meaning.
A2a) The reporters say that the president will claim his rights.
OK ɓatʃammiŋáŋ ɓáńkâl lɛ́ ŋkɛna agáɓat í ní í íyé iyéé
ɓatʃammiŋáŋ ɓá- ń- kâl lɛ́ ŋkɛna   a- gá- ɓat   í ni í

3

reporters.c2　　SM.c2-PRS-say　that　president.c1-SM.c1-FUT2-claim/ask DEM CONN　DEM

í-　　yé　　　iyéé

SM.c9-be.PRS　his.c9

'The reporters say that the president will claim his rights.'

　　b) Orlando said to go to the store.

A2b') Ok Tɔnjɛ́ abíkâl lɛ́ aŋ́kɛ í sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́ᵢ　aᵢ-　　bí-　kâl **lɛ́**　proᵢ aᵢ-　　ŋ́-　kɛ í　　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́.c1 SM.c1-PST2-say that pro SM.c1-PRS-go LOC store/shop.c7

　'Tɔnjɛ́ said to go to the store.'

A2b'') * Tɔnjɛ́ abíkâl líkɛ í sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́ᵢ　aᵢ-　　bí-　kâl **lí-**　　kɛ í　　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́.c1 SM.c1-PST2-say INF.c5-go　LOC store/shop.c7

　　c) Orlando said for us to go to the store.

　*Tɔnjɛ́　　abíkâl **ínjuú** jês líkɛ í　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́　　a　　bí-　kâl **ínjuú** jês lí-　　kɛ í　　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́.c1 SM.c1-PST2-say for　　us　INF.c5-go　LOC store/shop.c7

　　d) Orlando said that we [should] go to the store.

A2d') Ok Tɔnjɛ́ abíkâl lɛ́ di ŋ́lámá kɛ́ í sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́　　a-　　bí-　kâl lɛ́ di ŋ́-　lámá kɛ́ í　　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́.c1 SM.c1-PST2-say that　we PRS-should　go　LOC　store/shop

　　'Tɔnjɛ́ said that we should go to the store'

A2d'') Ok Tɔnjɛ́ abíkâl lɛ́ dí kɛ́ɛ̂ í　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́　　a-　　bí-　kâl lɛ́ dí　　　kɛ́-ɛ̂　　　í　　sáβɛ̂

　　Tɔnjɛ́.c1 SM.c1-PST2-say that　we.EMPH　go-SBJV　LOC　store/shop

　　'Tɔnjɛ́ said that we [should] go to the store'

Note: (A2d) is not acceptable in English without *should*).

A3a) The president confessed that he had seen the ceremony.

Ok ŋkena abínêɓɛ́ lɛ́ abítɛ́hɛ́ líkɔdá

ŋkenaᵢ　aᵢ-　bí-　nêɓɛ́　　　　lɛ́　proᵢ aᵢ-　bí-　tɛ́hɛ́ líkɔdá

leader.c1 SM.c1-PST2-confess/accept that pro SM.cl-PST2-see　ceremony/gathering.c3

'The leader confessed that he had seen the ceremony.'

　　b) The president admitted that he had heard the speech.

Ok ŋkena abínêɓɛ́ lɛ́ abínɔ̂g nsebla

ŋkenaᵢ　aᵢ-　bí-　nêɓɛ́　　　　lɛ́　proᵢ aᵢ-　bí-　nɔ̂g nsebla

leader.c1 SM.c1-PST2-confess/accept　that pro SM.cl-PST2-hear　call.c3

'The leader confessed that he had heard the call'.

　　c) We will say that Alice confessed her sins.

Ok di gákâl lɛ́ mudaá abínêɓɛ́ βíɓéβá gwéé

di gá-　kâl lɛ́ mudaá　a-　bí-　nêɓɛ́　　βíɓéβá gwéé

we FUT2-say that woman.c1 SM.c1-PST2-confess sins.c8　her.c8

'We will say that the woman confessed her sins.'

A4a) The baboons believe that the rocks prevent predators from attacking the young.

Ok mbêp íŋhɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ maá máŋ́kéŋ bínugá biɓɛ́

mbêp　　　　í-　ŋ́-　hɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ maá　　má-　ŋ́-　kéŋ　bínugá　　biɓɛ́

hedghogs.c10 SM.c10-PRS-think　that rocks.c6 SM.c6-PRS-prevent animals.c8　fierce.c8

í-　　suu　ɓɔ̌n

INF.c5-attack younger ones.c2

Is the INF marker only *i-* here, or should this be *li-*? If it is *i-*, is there any reason that this is the only verb we have so far that does not take *li-*infinitives? Is it a noun class difference?

'The hedghogs believe that the rocks prevent fierce animals from attacking the younger ones'

　　b) The birds expect that the thorns will stop bigger birds from eating their young.

A4b') *dinuní dímɓɛm lɛ́ βilɔɔ́ bígákêŋ dínuní dikɛŋí ídʒɛ́ ɓɔ̌n

  dinuní dí-   **ḿ-** ɓɛm lɛ́ βilɔɔ́ bí- **gá-** kêŋ   dínuní dikɛŋí

  birds.12 SM.c12-PRS-expect that thorns.c8 SM.c8-FUT2-stop/prevent birds.12 big.c12

  í-   dʒɛ́ ɓɔ̌n

  INF.c5-eat younger ones

A4b'') Ok dinuní dímɓɛm lɛ́ βilɔɔ́ bíkéŋ dinuní dikɛŋí ídʒɛ́ ɓɔ̌n

  dinuní dí- ḿ- ɓɛm **lɛ́** **βilɔɔ́** bí-   kéŋ   dinuní dikɛŋí

  birds.12 SM.c12-PRS-expect that thorns.c8 SM.c8-SBJV-stop/prevent birds.12 big.c12

  í-   dʒɛ́ ɓɔ̌n

  INF.c5-eat younger ones

Lit: 'The birds expect that the thorns should stop the bigger birds from eating the younger ones.'

OR 'The birds expect the thorns to stop bigger birds from eating their young'

Ab''') Ok dinuní dímɓɛm βilɔɔ́ lɛ́ bíkéŋ dinuní dikɛŋí ídʒɛ́ ɓɔ̌n

dinuní dí-   ḿ- ɓɛm **βilɔɔ́**ᵢ **lɛ́** proᵢ bí-   kéŋ   dinuní dikɛŋí

birds.12 SM.c12-PRS-expect thorns.c8 that pro SM.c8-SBJV-stop/prevent birds.12 big.c12

  í-   dʒɛ́ ɓɔ̌n

  INF.c5-eat younger ones

Comment: The ungrammaticality of (A4b') above is due to the incompatibility attested between the main verb *ɓɛm* 'expect' and the embedded tense which is 'future'. In other words, the main verb requires a subjunctive embedded form and not a tensed verb, hence the grammaticality of (A4b'') and (A4b''').

'The birds expect the thorns to stop bigger birds from eating their young'

  c) The scientists consider snakes to be beneficial.

Ok A4c') ɓajéŋmam ɓáɲ́jɔŋ ɲɔɔ́ kikií jɔm mahɛ́ɛ́

ɓajéŋmam   ɓá- ɲ́- jɔŋ   ɲɔɔ́   kikií jɔm   máhɛ́ɛ́

researchers.c2 SM.c2-PRS-consider snakes.c10 as   thing.c7 importance.c6

'The scientists consider snakes to be beneficial/important'.

OR A4c'') Ok ɓajéŋmam ɓáɲ́hɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ ɲɔɔ́ í yé mahɛ́ɛ́

ɓajéŋmam   ɓá- ɲ́- hɔ́ŋɔl   lɛ́ ɲɔɔ́   í   yé   mahɛ́ɛ́

researchers.c2 SM.c2-PRS-consider/think that snakes.c10 SM.c10-be.PRS importance.c6

'The scientists consider that snakes are beneficial/important'.

  d) The dog suspects that the cat wants its toy.

A4d') Ok ŋgwɔ́ íɲ́hɔ́ŋɔl lɛ́ síŋgí íńsomból túɣûl yéé

ŋgwɔ́ í- ɲ́- hɔ́ŋɔl   lɛ́ síŋgí í-   ń- somból túɣûl yéé

dog.c9 SM.c9-PRS-think/suspect that cat.c9 SM.c9-PRS-want   toy.c7 his.c7

'The dog suspects/thinks that the cat wants its toys.'

A4d'') Ok ŋgwɔ́ íɲ́hegdá lɛ́ síŋgí íńsomból túɣûl yéé

ŋgwɔ́ í- ɲ́- hegdá   lɛ́ síŋgí í-   ń- somból túɣûl yéé

dog.c9 SM.c9-PRS-guess/suspect that cat.c9 SM.c9-PRS-want   toy.c7 his.c7

'The dog is guessing/thinks that the cat wants its toys.'

  e) The boss understood that Bill was capable of doing the work.

A4e') Ok ŋanɛ abínôɣ lɛ́ Ntɔ́ɔgɛ ańla ɓɔ̂ŋ ńsôn

        ŋanɛ   a- bí- nôɣ   lɛ́ Ntɔ́ɔgɛ   a-   ń- la ɓɔ̂ŋ ńsôn

        boss.c1 SM.c1-PST2-understand that Ntɔ́ɔgɛ.c1 SM.c1-PRS-can do work.c3

'The boss understood that Ntɔ́ɔgɛ was capable of doing the work.' OR 'The boos understood that Ntɔ́ɔgɛ could do the work.'

A4e'') Ok ŋanɛ abítɛ́hɛ̂ lɛ́ Ntɔ́ɔgɛ ańla ɓɔ̂ŋ ńsôn

      ŋanɛ   a-   bí- tɛ́hɛ́ lɛ́ Ntɔ́ɔgɛ   a-   ń- la ɓɔ́ŋ ńsôn

      boss.c1   SM.c1-PST2-see that Ntɔ́ɔgɛ.c1 SM.c1-PRS-can do work.c3

'The bos saw that Ntɔ́ɔgɛ was capable of doing the work.' OR 'The boos saw that Ntɔ́ɔgɛ could do the work.'

f) The student saw that the answer would require math skills.

A4f') Ok ŋúdú abítɛ́hê lɛ́ ndimbhɛ ígála ɓât yí mínsɔŋgí

ŋúdú   a-   bí- tɛ́hê lɛ́ ndimbhɛ í-   gá-   la ɓât yí   mínsɔŋgí
student.c1 SM.c1-PST2-see   that answer.c7 SM.c7-FUT2-can ask   knowledge.7   math.c4
'The student saw that the answer would require math skills'

A4f'') Ok ŋúdú abínôg lɛ́ ndimbhɛ ígála ɓât yí mínsɔŋgí

ŋúdú   a-   bí- nôg   lɛ́ ndimbhɛ í-   gá-   la ɓât yí   mínsɔŋgí
student.c1 SM.c1-PST2-undestand that answer.c7 SM.c7-FUT2-can ask   knowledge.7   math.c4
'The student understood that the answer would require math skills'

Comment: (A4f') and (A4f'') are both acceptable translations for the sample sentence 'The student saw that the answer would require math skills'.

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

Ok ɓaúdú ɓáŋjí lɛ́ malêt wǎp ańtéédá mátôl mǎp

ɓaúdú   ɓá- ŋ- jí lɛ́ malêt wǎp a- ń- téédá mátôl   mǎp
students.c2   SM.c2-PRS-know that teacher.c1 their.c1 SM.c1-PRS-keep   absence.c6   their.c6
'The students know that their teacher keeps a record of their absences'.

h) The newspapers have revealed that the president knew the actress.

Ok mapɛ́pmámíŋân mábíundá lɛ́ ŋkɛna aɓé yí mudaá mintuk

mapɛ́pmámíŋân má-   ŋ- undá lɛ́ ŋkɛna a-   ɓé   yí   mudaá   mintuk
newspapers.c6   SM.c6-PST1-reveal that president SM.c1-be.PST3 know   woman.c1 games.c4
'The newspapers have revealed that the president knew the actress.'

A5a) Ruth asked the servants to make the children eat.

A5a') Ok Rûth abíɓat ɓágwelel lɛ́ ɓádʒés ɓɔɔŋgɛ́

      Rûth   a-   bí- ɓat ɓágwelel$_i$ lɛ́ pro$_i$ ɓá-   dʒé-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
   Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST2-ask servants.c2 that pro SM.c2-eat-CAUS.SBJV   children.c2
    'Ruth asked the servants (she ordered them directly) to make the children eat.'

A5a'') Ok Rûth abíɓat lɛ́ ɓágwelel ɓádʒés ɓɔɔŋgɛ́

      Rûth   a-   bí- ɓat lɛ́   ɓágwelel ɓá-   dʒé-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
   Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST2-ask that   servants.c2 SM.c2-eat-CAUS.SBJV   children.c2
    'Ruth asked the servants to make the children eat.'

   Or 'Ruth gave somebody else instructions that the servant should make the children eat'

Comments: Note that in (A5a') where the main verb -ɓat ask/order precedes the lexical complementizer lɛ́ 'that' and directly selects the direct object ɓágwelel 'servants', only one subjunctive reading is possible. On the contrary, in (A5a'') where the same verb directly select the whole embedded declarative clause containing the direct object of the main verb, two readings are possible.

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

Ok Rûth amɓât ɓágwelel lɛ́láá ɓáńsek malêp lipel

    Rûth   a-   m- ɓât ɓágwelel lɛ́láá ɓá ń- sek malêp li-   pel
    Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST1-ask servants.c2 how   INDF PRS-stop   water.c6 INF.c5-boil
    ntandáá ŋgéda
    7.long   7.time
    'Ruth asked the servants how to stop the water from boiling for a long time'

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

A5c') Ok Rûth abíɓat ɓágwelel (lɛ́) **kɛ̂lkíí** ɓágâɓéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ ŋgeda

    Rûth   a-   bí- ɓat ɓágwelel$_i$ (**lɛ́**) **kɛ̂lkíí** pro$_i$ ɓá-   gâ-   ɓéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ   ŋgeda
    Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST2-ask   servants.c2 that when   pro   SM.c2-FUT2-warn tourists.c2   time.c7
    'Ruth asked the servants when they would warn the tourists about the weather.'

A5c'') Ok Rûth amɓât ɓágwelel íkɛ̂l ɓágâɓéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ́ ŋgeda

    Rûth   a-   bí- ɓât ɓágwelel$_i$ **í**   **kɛ̂l** pro$_i$ ɓá-   gâ-   ɓéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ́   ŋgeda

Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST2-ask servants.c2 LOC day pro SM.c2-FUT2-warn tourists.c2 time.c7

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

 d) Ruth is asking that the boys say a few words at the ceremony.

Ok Rûth amɓât lɛ́ ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓápɔ̂t ndek βíɓûg í likɔdá

Rûth a-   ḿ- ɓât lɛ́ ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá-   pɔ̂t   ndek βíɓûg   líkɔdá

Ruth SM.c1-PRS-ask that children.c2 SM.c2-speak.SBJV few words.c8 ceremony.c5

'Ruth is asking that the boys say a few words at the ceremony'

A6a) Ruth will tell the women to make the children eat.

A6a') Ok Rûth agákǎl múdaá lɛ́ ádʒés ɓɔɔŋgɛ́

 Rûth   a-   gá-   **kǎl múdaá**ᵢ   **lɛ́** proᵢ á-   dʒé-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́

 Ruth.c1 SM.c1-FUT2-tell woman.c1 that pro SM.c1.SBJV-eat-CAUS children.c2

  'Ruth will tell the woman to make the children eat.'

A6a'') Rûth agákǎl lɛ́ múdaà ádʒés ɓɔɔŋgɛ́

 Rûth   a-   gá-   **kǎl lɛ́ múdaá**   á-   dʒé-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́

 Ruth.c1 SM.c1-FUT2-tell that woman.c1 SM.c1-eat-CAUS.SBJV children.c2

'Ruth will tell the woman to make the children eat.' OR 'Ruth will speak to someone else that the woman should make the children eat.'

Comment: As with (A5a') and (A5a'') above, three different readings are attested for (A6a') and (A6a'').
In the first case i.e. in (A6a') where the root verb *kǎl* 'tell'directly selects its direct object DP/NP, *múdaà* 'woman', only one reading is possible. In (A6a'') on the contrary where the same root verb selects an embedded clause containing the subject of the embedded clause (which acts as the direct object of the root verb in (A6a'), two readings are possible.

 b) Ruth has told the women how to stop the water from boiling too long.

Ok Rûth aŋkâl ɓódaá lɛ́láá ɓáńsek malêp lipel ntandáá ŋgéda

 Rûth   a-   ŋ-   kǎl ɓódaá   lɛ́láá ɓá ń-   sek malêp li-   pel ntandáá

 Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST1-tell women.c2 how INDF PRS-stop water.c6 INF.c5-boil long.c7

 ŋgéda

 7.time

 'Ruth has told the women how to stop the water from boiling too long'.

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

A6c') Ok Rûth aŋkâl ɓódaá kɛ̌lkíí ańlámá βéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ́ ŋgeda

 Rûthᵢ a-   ɲ́-   kâl ɓódaá   **kɛ̌lkíí** proᵢ a-   ń-   lámá βéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ́   ínjuú ŋgeda

 Ruth SM.c1-PRS-tell women.c2 when pro SM.c1-PRS-would warn tourists.c2 PREP time.c7

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

A6c'') Ok Rûth aŋkâl ɓódaá kɛ̌lkíí ańlámá βéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ́ ŋgeda

Rûthᵢ a-   ɲ́-   kâl ɓódaá   **í ŋgeda** proᵢ a-   ń-   lámá βéhɛ́ ɓákɛkɛ́   ínjuú

Ruth SM.c1-PRS-tell women.c2 LOC 7.time pro SM.c1-PRS-would warn tourists.c2 PREP ŋgeda

time.c7

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

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

Ok Rûth abíkâl ɓódaá lɛ́ wadá wâp aɓélámá pɔ̂t ndêk βíɓûg líkɔdá

Rûthᵢ aᵢ-   bí-   kâl ɓódaá   lɛ́ wadá wâp pro a-   ɓé   lámá pɔ̂t

Ruth.c1 SM.c1-PST2-tell women.c2 that one   their pro SM.c1-be.PST should speak

ndêk βíɓûg   líkɔdá

few   word.c8 ceremony.c5

A7a) Orlando persuaded the boys that Bill liked the book.

Ok ŋgân abínééɓáhá dílɔ́ɣá lɛ́ Hjɔl ańgwês káat

ŋgân   a-   bí-   nééɓá- há   dílɔ́ɣá lɛ́ Hjɔl   a-   ɲ́-   gwês káat

Ngan.c1 SM.c1-PST2-accept-CAUS boys.12 that Hiol.c1 SM.c1-ASP-like   book.7

'Ngan persuaded the boys that Hiol liked the book.'

  b) Orlando persuaded the boys to watch the ceremony.

A7b') Ok ŋgân abínééɓáhá dílɔ́ɣá **lí**ɓeeŋɛ masák   EMBEDDED INFINITIVE

ŋgân   a-   bí-   nééɓá- há   dílɔ́ɣá   **lí-**   ɓeeŋɛ masák
Ngan.c1 SM.c1-PST2-accept-CAUS boys.12 INF.c5-watch dance.c6

'Ngan persuaded the boys to watch the dance.'

A7b'') Ok ŋgân abínééɓáhá dílɔ́ɣá **lɛ́** ɓá ɓéeŋɛ́ masák   EMBEDDED DECLARATIVE

*ŋgân*ᵢ   a-   bí-   nééɓá- há   *dílɔ́ɣá*ᵢ   **lɛ́**   proᵢ **ɓá**ᵢ   ɓéeŋɛ́   masák
Ngan.c1 SM.c1-PST2-accept-CAUS boys.12 that pro SM.c2-watch.SBJV dance.c6

'Ngan persuaded the boys that they (Ngan and the boys) should watch the dance.'

A7b''') Ok ŋgân abínééɓáhá dílɔ́ɣá **lɛ́** ɓá ɓéeŋɛ́ likɔdá   EMBEDDED DECLARATIVE

ŋgân   a-   bí-   nééɓá- há   **dílɔ́ɣá**ᵢ   **lɛ́**   proᵢ **dí**-   ɓéeŋɛ́ likɔdá
Ngan.c1 SM.c1-PST2-accept-CAUS boys.12 that pro SM.c12.SBJV-watch ceremony.c5

'Ngan persuaded the boys that they (only the boys) should watch the ceremony.'

A8a) We promised the boys that we would yell at the donkeys.

  b) We promised the boys to yell at the donkeys.

Comment: Although (A7b'') and (A7b''') have the same embedded clause, they differ at the level of the embedded subject. In the first case i.e. in (A7b''), the plural subject marker *ɓá-* is all-inclusive in that it includes both the subject of the main clause *Ngan* and the subject of the embedded clause *dílɔ́ɣá* 'the boys'. Recall that when two different subjects (nouns from two different noun classes) bear the semantic value [+human] agreement is won by noun class two (which is realized as *ɓá-*), whether there is a subject bearing class two features or not. In (A7b'''), the embedded *pro*ᵢ subject which is co-indexed with the subject marker *dí-* includes only the closest/lowest subject *dílɔ́ɣá*ᵢ 'the boys'.

A9a) The boys demanded that we watch them playing.

A9a') Ok dilɔ́gá díbíɓat lɛ́ díɓéŋgɛ̂ tʃɔ́ (kikií) díńtog

dilɔ́gáᵢ dí-   bí-   ɓat lɛ́ dí   ɓéŋgɛ̂   tʃɔ̂   (**kikií**) proᵢ dí-   ́ń-   tog
boys.12 SM.c12-PST2-ask that we watch.SBJV them.c12 as   pro SM.c12-ASP-play

'The boys demanded that we watch them playing/the boys demanded that we watch as they played.'

A9a'') Ok dilɔ́gá díbíɓat **ɓês** lɛ́ díɓéŋgɛ̂ tʃɔ́ (kikií) díńtog

dilɔ́gáᵢ dí-   bí-   ɓat **ɓês** lɛ́ dí   ɓéŋgɛ̂   tʃ̂ɔ   (**kikií**) proᵢ dí-   ́ń-   tog
boys.12 SM.c12-PST2-ask us   that we watch.SBJV them.c12 as   pro SM.c12-PRS-play

'The boys demanded us to watch them playing/the boys demanded us to watch as they played.'

A9a''') Ok dilɔ́gá díbíɓat lɛ́ **ɓês** díɓéŋgɛ̂ tʃɔ́ (kikií) díńtog

dilɔ́gáᵢ dí-   bí-   ɓat lɛ́ **ɓês** dí   ɓéŋgɛ̂   tʃ̂ɔ   (**kikií**) proᵢ dí-   ́ń-   tog
boys.12 SM.c12-PST2-ask that us   we watch.SBJV them.c12 as   pro SM.c12-PRS-play

'The boys demanded us to watch them playing/the boys demanded us to watch as they play.'

Comments: In (A9a'''), two interpretations are possible: (i) either 'the boys demanded us (directly to us) to watch them playing' or (ii) 'the boys asked (somebody else/not us directly) that we should watch them playing'.

  b) The boys demanded to watch us playing.

A9b') Ok dilɔ́gá díbíɓat **lɛ́** díbéŋgɛ̂ ɓĕs (kikií) díńtog   **Embedded declarative**

dilɔ́gá dí-   bí-   ɓat **lɛ́** dí   béŋgɛ̂   ɓĕs (kikií) dí ́ń-   tog
boys.c12 SM.c12-PST2-demand that they watch.SBJV us   as   we ASP-play

'The boys demanded to watch us playing'/the boys demanded to watch as we played'

A9b'') Ok dilɔ́gá díbíɓat **lí**béŋgɛ́ ɓĕs (kikií) díńtog   **Embedded infinitive**

dilɔ́gá dí-   bí-   ɓat **lí** béŋgɛ ɓĕs (kikií) dí ́ń- tog
boys.c12 SM.c12-PST2-demand INF.c5 watch us   as   we ASP-play

'The boys demanded to watch us playing.'

A10a) The boss requires that we wear these shirts.

Ok ŋanɛ ámɓat lɛ́ díháβá βíkítîgbíŋgíi βíní

ŋanɛ   a-   ́ḿ-   ɓat   lɛ́ dí háβá   βíkítîg bí   ŋgíi βíní
boss.c1 SM.c1-PRS-ask/require that we wear.SBJV short.c8 CONN.c8 up   these.c8

'The boss requires that we wear these shirts.'

b) The boss requires us to wear these shirts.

A10a') Ok ŋanɛ amɓat lɛ́ díháɓá ɓíkítîgbíŋɡíi ɓíní

    ŋanɛ   a-   ḿ- ɓat   lɛ́ dí háɓá   ɓíkítîg bí   ŋɡíi ɓíní

    boss.c1 SM.c1-PRS-ask/require that we wear.SBJV short.c8 CONN.c8 up these.c8

'The boss requires that we wear these shirts.'   OR

A10a'') Ok ŋanɛ amɓat **ɓês** lɛ́ díháɓá ɓíkítîgbíŋɡíi ɓíní

 ŋanɛ   a-   ḿ- ɓat   **ɓês** lɛ́ dí háɓá   ɓíkítîg bí   ŋɡíi ɓíní

 boss.c1 SM.c1-PRS-ask/require us that we wear.SBJV short.c8 CONN.c8 up these.c8

'The boss requires that we wear these shirts.'

A10a''') Ok ŋanɛ amɓat lɛ́ **ɓěs** díháɓá ɓíkítîgbíŋɡíi ɓíní   **Focus reading on** *ɓês* '**us**'

ŋanɛ   a-   ḿ- ɓat   lɛ́ **ɓěs** dí háɓá   ɓíkítîg bí   ŋɡíi ɓíní

boss.c1 SM.c1-PRS-ask/require that us   we wear.SBJV short.c8 CONN.c8 up these.c8

'The boss requires that **WE** (as opposed to you/them etc.) wear these shirts.'

Comments: Note that in (A10''') where the direct object pronoun *ɓěs* 'us' is embedded, it conveys a contrastive interpretation.

A11a) Our wives prefer that we stop smoking.

Ok ɓaá ɓês ɓáŋ́gwês lɛ́ díŋwâs ŋudá

    ɓaá   ɓês   ɓá- ŋ́- gwês   lɛ́ dí ŋwâs   ŋudá

    wives.c2 our.c2 SM.c2-PRS-prefer/want that we stop/abandon.SBJV smoking.c3

  'Our wives prefer that we stop smoking.'

  b) Our wives would prefer for us to continue smoking.

Ok ɓaá ɓês ɓáńla gwês lɛ́ díkɛ́nâ ŋudá ni ɓisú

 ɓaá   ɓês   ɓá- ń- la   gwês   lɛ́ dí kɛ́-nâ   ŋudá   ni   ɓisú

 wives.c2 our.c2 SM-PRS-would prefer/like that we go-APPL.SBJV smoking.c3 CONN front.c8

'Our wives would prefer for us to continue smoking.' Lit: 'Our wives would prefer that we continue smoking.'

Comments: Note that the verb *kɛ ni ɓisú* 'continue' or 'keep on/continue' literally means 'go/walk with front'. When it selects for a direct object like in (A11b) above, it is associated with a comitative applicative (here the morpheme *-nâ* 'with/along with' and the direct object *ŋudá* 'smoking' intervenes in between the complex verb *kɛ́-nâ* (literally 'go with') and its inherent/intrinsic object *ɓisú* 'front'.

  c) Our wives would prefer to keep smoking.

A11c') Ok ɓaá ɓês ɓáńla gwês líkɛna ŋudá ni ɓisú

 ɓaá   ɓês   ɓá- ń- la   gwês (lí)- kɛ-na   ŋudá   ni   ɓisú

 wives.c2 our.c2 SM.c2-PRS-would prefer INF.c5-go-APPL smoking.c3 CONN front.c8

'Our wives would prefer to keep smoking'

A11c'') ɓaá ɓês ɓáńla gwês lɛ́ ɓáŋ́kɛná ŋudá ni ɓisú **Anaphoric and non-anaphoric readings**

 [ɓaá   ɓês]$_i$ ɓá$_i$- ń- la   gwês **lɛ́** pro$_{i/j}$ ɓá$_{i/j}$- ŋ́- kɛ-na   ŋudá

wives.c2 our.c2 SM.c2-PRS-would prefer that pro   SM.c2 PRS-go-APPL.SBJV smoking.c3

ni   ɓisu

CONN front.c8

'Our wives would prefer **themselves** to keep smoking' Lit: '[Our wives]$_i$ would prefer that they$_j$ (other persons) keep smoking'

Comments: Note that coreference is also possible between the embedded subject marker *ɓá*- SM and any other known discourse referent. So, sentence (A11c'') can have anaphoric reading without an overt reflexive marker. Sentence (A11c''') below shows that an anaphoric and a non-anaphoric one reading are also possible with an overt reflexive marker. Here again, a non-anaphoric reading is attested if the coreferent is given in the discourse.

A11c''') ɓaá ɓês ɓáńla gwês lɛ́ ɓómɛdé ɓáŋ́kɛná ŋudá ni ɓisú

[ɓaá   ɓês]$_i$ ɓá$_i$- ń- la   gwês **lɛ́** ɓɔ́-mɛdɛ́$_{i/j}$ ɓá$_{i/j}$- ŋ́- kɛ-na

wives.c2 our.c2 SM.c2-PRS-would prefer that PRN-RFM SM.c2 PRS-go-APPL.SBJV

ŋudá   ni   ɓisu

smoking.c3 CONN front.c8

'Our wives would prefer **themselves** to keep smoking' Lit: '[Our wives]ᵢ would prefer that themⱼ (other persons) to keep smoking'

A12a) We will hope that the nurses will let the boys eat.

Ok A12a') di gáɓɔ́t ŋέm lέ ɓodaáɓámátíɓlá ɓágáŋwàs dílɔ́gá díjê

di gá-   ɓɔ́tŋέm lέ ɓodaá   ɓá   mátíɓlá   ɓá- gá- ŋwàs dílɔ́gáᵢ (lέ) proᵢ díᵢ-

we FUT2-hope   that women.c2 PREP healing.c6 SM.c2-FUT2-let boys.12 that pro SM.12-

dʒέ

eat.SBJV

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

A12a'') Ok di gáɓɔ́tŋέm lέ ɓodaáɓámátíɓlá ɓágáŋwàs **lέ** dílɔ́gá dídʒέ

di gá-   ɓɔ́tŋέm lέ ɓodaá   ɓá   mátíɓlá   ɓá- gá-ŋwàs **lέ** dílɔ́gá dí- dʒέ

we FUT2-hope that women.c2 PREP healing.c6 SM.c2-FUT2-let that boys.12 SM.12-eat.SBJV

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

   b) We hoped for Mary to be the winner.

A12b')? di bíɓɔ́tŋέm ínjuú Maríja líkɔmɔl

di bí-   ɓɔ́tŋέm **ínjuú** Maríja lí-kɔmɔl

we PST2-hope   for   Mary INF.c5-win

'We hoped for Mary to win'

A12b'') Ok di bíɓɔ́tŋέm lέ Maríja aŋ́kɔmɔl

     di bí-   ɓɔ́tŋέm lέ Maríja a-   ŋ́- kɔmɔl

      we PST2-hope   that Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-win

   'We hoped that Mary would win.'

A12''') Ok di bíɓódôl Maríja ŋέm lέ aŋ́kɔmɔl

   di bí-   ɓódôl Maríja ŋέm   lέ   pro a-   ŋ́-kɔmɔl

  we PST2-hope Mary.c1 heart.c3 that pro SM.c1-PRS-win

We hoped that Mary would win.'

Comments: Note that the verbs *ɓɔ́tŋêm* 'hope'/have hope' (in (A12b' and A12b'') and *ɓódôl mut   ŋέm* 'set one's hope on somebody' (literally) in (A12''') are almost the same.

c) We hope to see Mary win.

A12c') Ok di ḿɓɔ́tŋέm lítéhέ Maríja aŋ́kɔmɔl

     di ḿ-   ɓɔ́tŋέm lí-   téhέ Maríja a-   ŋ́-kɔmɔl

     we PRS-hope   INF.c5-see Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-win

      'We hope to see Mary win'

A12c'') Ok di ḿɓɔ́tŋέm lέ dígátéhê Mâríja aŋ́kɔmɔl

     di ḿ-   ɓɔ́tŋέm lέ dí-gá- téhê Máríja a-   ŋ́-kɔmɔl

     we PRS-hope   that we FUT2-see Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-win

      'We hope that we will see Mary win'

A13a) We want that our son be the winner. (?? in English)

A13a') Ok díŋ́gwês lέ lôg yés íkɔ́môl

     dí ŋ́- gwês lέ lôg   yés   í-   kɔ́môl

     we PRS-want that son.c7 our.c7 SM.c7-win.SBJV

 Lit: 'We want that our son [should] win'

A13a'') ok díŋ́gwês lέ lôg yés íɓá ŋkɔ́môl

     dí ŋ́- gwês lέ lôg   yés   í-   ɓá   ŋkɔmɔl

     we PRS-want that son.c7 our.c7 SM.c7-be.SBJV winner.c1

     'We want that our son be the winner'

Comments: Note that both (A13a'') sentence and its (A13a'') counterpart are correct.

   b) We want the visitors to let their children play.

Ok díŋ́gwês lέ ɓaken ɓáŋwâs ɓɔn ɓâp ɓátôg

di-ŋ́- gwês lέ ɓaken ɓá- ŋwâs   ɓɔn   ɓâp   ɓá-   tôg

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we PRS-want that guests.c2 SM.c2-let.SBJV children.c2 their.c2 SM.c2-play.SBJV
'We want the guests /visitors to let their children play'.
   c) We want to show our goods to the visitors.

A13c') Ok di ŋ́gwês úndâ ɓaken masaŋgó mês
di- ŋ́- gwês úndâ ɓaken   masaŋgó   mês
we PRS-want show guests.c2 belongings.c6 our.c6
'We want to show our belongings to the guests/visitors'
A13c'') diŋ́gwês lέ dí úndâ ɓaken masaŋgó mês
di- ŋ́- gwês **lέ** dí úndâ ɓaken   masaŋgó   mês
we PRS-want that we show guests.c2 belongings.c6 our.c6
'We want to show our belongings to the guests/visitors'
   d) John wants to meet at three o'clock.
A13d') Ok Johánɛs aŋ́gwês ɓɔ́mâ *(ŋgim mût) í ŋgêŋ áa
         Johánɛs a- ŋ́- gwês ɓɔ́mâ *(ŋgim mût) í   ŋgêŋ   áa
         John.c1 SM.c1-PRS-want meet   INDF man.c1 LOC hour.9 three.c9
   'John wants to meets [somebody] at three o'clock'
A13d') Ok Johánɛs agwě liɓɔmá í ŋgêŋ áa
          Johánɛs a-   gwě liɓɔmá   í   ŋgêŋ   áa
          John.c1 SM.c1-have meeting.c5 LOC hour.c9 three.c9
      'John has a meeting at three o'clock'
Note: For (A13b) try to preserve the meaning of 'to meet at three o'clock' as best you can in the translation.
Comments: Sentence (A13d') is ungrammatical without the indefinite direct object *ŋgim mût* 'somebody'.
A14a) We will show the visitors that the baboons fear the hyenas.
Ok A14a') di gáundá ɓáken lέ gwoj bíŋ́kɔn ndʒéê wɔŋí
di gá- undá ɓáken   lέ gwoj bí- ŋ́- kɔn ndʒéê   wɔŋí
we FUT2-show guests/visitors that hyenas.c8 SM.c8-PRS-be ill lions.c10 fright.c3
'We will show the visitors that the baboons fear the hyenas'.
Comments: In Basa'a, taken alone, the verb *kɔn* means 'be ill', but when conveying the meaning of 'fearing/scaring' it is associated with an inherent complement which is *wɔŋí* 'fear' giving the compound *kɔn wɔŋí* 'to scare/fear'. When the verb *kɔn wɔŋí* 'to scare/fear' is used transitively, it gives rise to a discontinuous verbal structure (*kɔn* 'be ill')-direct object-inherent complement (*wɔŋí* 'fear/fright (noun) like *kɔn ndʒéê wɔŋí* 'fear lions' in (A14a').
   b) The visitors were shown that the baboons do not like the hyenas.
A14b') Ok ɓá bíundá ɓáken lέ gwoj bíŋ́gwês ɓé ndʒéê   **Most expected**
 ɓá bí- undá ɓáken   lέ gwoj bí- ŋ́- gwês ɓé ndʒéê
 IND PST2-show guests/visitors that hyenas.c8 SM.c8-PRS-like NEG lions.c10
 'They (indefinite) showed the visitors that hyenas do not like lions.'
A14b'') ?? ɓá bíund-ɓá-há ɓáken lέ gwoj bíŋ́gwês ɓé ndʒéê **Passive: only rarely or even never**
  ɓá bí- und- **ɓá- há** ɓáken lέ gwoj   bí- ŋ́- gwês ɓé ndʒéê
  IND PST2-show-PASS-CAUS guests.c2 that hyenas.c8 SM.c8-PRS-like NEG lions.c10
  'The visitors were shown that the hyenas do not like the lions'
A15a) We will prove to the visitors that the baboons are worried about the hyenas.
OK di gáundá ɓáken lέ gwoj bíŋ́kɔn ndʒéê wɔŋí
 di gá- undá ɓáken   lέ gwoj bí- ŋ́- kɔn ndʒéê wɔŋí
 we FUT2-show guests/visitors.c2 that heynas.c8 SM.c8-PRS-be ill lions.c10 fear.c3
 'We will show to the visitors that hyenas worried about lions.'
   b) The visitors were proved (to) that the hyenas hate the baboons. (* in English)
A15b') Ok ɓá bíundá ɓáken lέ gwoj bíŋ́ɔɔ ndʒéê   **Most expected**

ɓá   bí-   undá ɓáken   lɛ́   gwoj   bí-   ŋ́-ɔɔ   ndʒéê
     IND PST2-show guests.c2 that hyenas.c8 SM.c8-PRS-hate lions.c10
   'They (indefinite) showed the visitors that the hyenas hate the lions'

A15'') ?? ɓá bíund**ɓáhá** ɓáken lɛ́ gwoj bíŋ́ɔɔ ndʒéê   **Passive: only rarely or even never**

   ɓá   bí-   und- **ɓá-   há**   ɓáken   lɛ́ gwoj   bí-   ŋ́-   ɔɔ ndʒéê
    IND PST2-show-PASS-CAUS guests/visitors.c2 that heynas.c8 SM.c8-PRS-hate lions.c10
   'The visitors were shown that the hyenas hate the lions.'

A16a) The evidence suggests (to me) that the students are willing to work hard.

 Ok βiɓoŋôl bíundá mê lɛ́ ɓaúdú ɓágwée ŋgǒŋ lísâl ni ŋguj

 βiɓoŋôl   bí-   undá   (mɛ́) lɛ̂   ɓaúdú   ɓá-   gwée   ŋgǒŋ
evidence/facts.c8 SM.c8-show/suggest me that students.c2 SM.c2-have.PRS will.c9

lí-sâl   ni   ŋguj
INF.c5-work CONN determination.c9
'The facts suggest (to me) that the students are willing to work hard'

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

A16b'') Ok ɓá ŋkâl mê lɛ́ mutmɔg aŋkwɔ́ ŋkáá   **Active**

       ɓá   ŋ-   kâl mê lɛ́   mut   mɔg   a-   ŋ-   kwɔ́ ŋkáá
        IND PST1-tell me that person.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-PST1-fail trial.c3

'I have been told that the prisoner is guilty.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) told me that the prisoner is guilty.'

A16b'') Ok í ŋkélâ mê lɛ́ mutmɔg aŋkwɔ́ ŋ́káá   **Passive**

        í   ŋ-   **kél-â**   mê lɛ́   mut   mɔg   a-   ŋ-   kwɔ́ ŋ́káá
       EXPL PST1-tell-PASS me that person.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-PST1-fail trial.c3
          'I have been told that the prisoner is guilty.'

A16b''') ɓá ŋkâl mê lɛ́ mutmɔg aye líhoha

        ɓá   ŋ-   kâl (mê) lɛ́ mut   mɔg   a-   ye   líhoha **Active**
         IND PST1-tell me   that person.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-be.PRS fault.c19

'I have been told that the prisoner is guilty.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) told me that the prisoner is guilty.'

A16b'''') Ok í ŋkélá mê lɛ mutmɔg aye líhoha   **Passive: only rarely**

    í   ŋ-   kél-â   mê lɛ́   mut   mɔg   a-   ye   líhoha
    EXPL PST1-tell-PASS me that person.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-be.PRS fault.c19
     'It has been suggested/told to me that the prisoner is guilty.'

NB: Note that all the four sentences above correspond to the sample English sentence 'It has been suggested (to me) that the prisoner is guilty'.

A17a) The giraffe tried to reach the treetops.

Ok ŋgolôŋ íbínɔɔdɛ́ pâm mándʒóŋ máβíɛ́

     ŋgolôŋ   í-   bí-   nɔɔdɛ́ pâm mándʒóŋ   má   βíɛ́
     giraffe.c9 SM.c9-PST2-try   reach tops.c6   CONN   trees.c8
        'The giraffe tried to reach the treetops'

Is this possible?

   ŋgolôŋ íbínɔɔdɛ́ lipâm mándʒóŋ máβíɛ́

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

A17b') Ok Maríja abínɔɔdɛ́ lɛ́ lɔ́g yéé ídʒôwá tǔn jéé

   Maríja   a-   bí-   nɔɔdɛ́ lɛ́   [lɔ́g yéé]ᵢ í   ɓóŋgôl   tǔn   jééᵢ
   Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-try   that son.c7 her.c7 SM.c7-clean.SBJV room.c7 his.c7

Lit: 'Mary tried that her son clean his room.'

A17b'') * Maríja abínɔɔdɛ́ ínjuú lɔ́g yéé lídʒowa tǔn jéé

Maríja   a-   bí-   nɔɔdɛ́ ínjuú [lɔ́g   yéé]ᵢ lí-   dʒowa tǔn   jééᵢ
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-try   for   son.c7 her.c7 INF.c5-clean room.c7 his.c7

*Mary tried for her son to clean his room.'

  c) Mary tried to get her son to clean his room.

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A17c') Ok Maríja abínɔɔdɛ́ lébâ lɔ́g yéé líbóŋgôl tŭn jéé   **Embedded infinitive**

Maríja a-   bí- nɔɔdɛ́ lébâ   lɔ́g   yéé lí-   bóŋgôl tŭn   jéé
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-try   find/get son.c7 her.c7 INF.c5-clean   room.c7 his.c7
'Mary tried to get her son to clean his room.'

A17c'') Ok Maríja abínɔɔdɛ́ lébâ lɔ́g yéé **lɛ́** íbóŋgôl tŭn jéé   **Embedded that-clause**

Maríja a-   bí- nɔɔdɛ́ lébâ [lɔ́g   yéé]ᵢ **lɛ́** proᵢ í-   bóŋgôl tŭn   jéé
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-try   find/get son.c7 her.c7 that pro SM.c7-clean room.c7 his.c7
'Mary tried to get her son to clean his room.'

A17c''') Ok Maríja a-bí-nɔɔdɛ́ lébâ lɔ́g yéé **ínjuú** li-bóŋgôl tŭn jéé **Embedded for-clause**

  Maríja a-   bí-   nɔɔdɛ́ lébâ lɔ́g   yéé   **ínjuú** li-   bóŋgôl tŭn   jéé
  Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-try   find/get son.c7 her.c7 for   INF.c5-clean room.c7 his.c7
'Mary tried to get her son to clean his room.'

NB: All the sentences above are acceptable under the English sentence 'Mary tried to get her son to clean his room'notewithstanding the variety of the complement clauses.

A18a) The baboon failed/neglected to feed her child.

Ok joj íbíjendés líjês măn wéê

joj   í-   bí- jendés lí-   jês   măn   wée
hyena.c9 SM.c9-PST2-neglect INF.c5-feed child.c1 his.c1
 'The hyena neglected to feed her child.'

  b) The machine managed to predict the right answer.

Ok kɛj íbínɔɔdɛ́ hêgdá bâŋgá ndímbhɛ

   kɛj   í-   bí- nɔɔdɛ́ hêgdá bâŋgá   ndímbhɛ
   machine.c7 SM.c7-PST2-try   predict right.c7 answer.c7
   'The machine managed/tried to predict the right answer.'

  c) The prisoners need to convince the guards to give them more food.

A18c') Ok botbámôg báńlámá néébáhá bátât lítí bɔ́ ŋgandag βidʒɛ́k

bot   bá   môg   bá-ń-lámá   néébá-há   bátât   lí-   tí   bɔ́
persons.c2 PREP prison.4 SM.c4-PRS-need accept-CAUS guards.c2 INF.c5-give them.c2
ŋgandag βidʒɛ́k
a lot of   food.c8
'The prisoners need to convince the guards to give them more food'

A18c'') Ok botbámôg báńlámá bôŋ lɛ́ bátât báńɛ́ɛbɛ́ lítí bɔ́ ŋgandag βidʒɛ́k

bot   bá   môg   bá-   ń- lámá bôŋ lɛ́ bátât   bá- nɛ́ɛbɛ́   lí-   tî
persons.c2 CONN prison.4 SM.c4-PRS-need do   that guards.c2 SMc2-accept.SBJV INF.c5-give
bɔ́   ŋgandag βidʒɛ́k
them.c2 a lot of   food.c8
'The prisoners need to convince the guards to give them more food'

  d) The leaders decided to attack the enemy.

A18d') Ok bakɛná bábíkît lɛ́ bánsuú ŋ́ŋɔɔ

        bakɛná bá-   bí- kît lɛ́ proᵢ báᵢ- ń- suú   ŋ́ŋɔɔ
        leaders.c2 SM.c2-PST2-decide that pro   SM.c2-PRS-attack enemy.c1
     'The leaders decided to attack the enemy.'

A18d'') Ok bakɛná bábíjɔŋ mákídîg lɛ́ bánsuú ŋ́ŋɔɔ

        bakɛnáᵢ bá- bí- jɔŋ mákídîg   lɛ́ proᵢ báᵢ- ń- suú   ŋ́ŋɔɔ
        leaders.c2 SM.c2-PST2-take decisions.c6 that pro   SM.c2-PRS-attack enemy.c1
   'The leaders decided to attack the enemy.'/The leaders made a decision to attack the enemy.'

  e) The house needs to be clean before the guests come.

A18e') Ok ndâp íńlámá bóóŋglana ilɔlɛ́ baken báńlɔ

ndâp   i-   ń- lámá bóóŋgl-a-na   ilɔlɛ́ baken bá- ń- lɔ
house.c7 SM.c7-PRS-need clean-PASS-CAUS before guests.c2 SM.c2-PRS-come.SBJV
'The house needs to be clean before the guests come'.

A18e'') Ok ndâp ińlámá lɛ́ íɓóóŋgláná ilɔlɛ́ ɓaken ɓáńlɔ

ndâp_i   i-   ń- lámá   **lɛ́** pro_i í   mɓóóŋgl-á-ná   ilɔlɛ́ ɓaken
house.c7 SM.c7-PRS-need that pro SM.c7 clean-PASS-CAUS.SBJV before guests.c2

ɓá-   ń-   lɔ
SM.c2-PRS-come.SBJV

'The house needs to be cleaned before the guests come'.

   f) We will prepare to leave when the guests have eaten dinner.

A18f') Ok dígákooɓá línjɔdi íŋgên ɓaken ɓáḿmal dʒɛ́

 dí gá- kooɓá lí-   njɔdi í   ŋgên ɓaken ɓá- ḿ- mal dʒɛ́
 we FUT2-prepare INF.c5-leave LOC moment guests SM.c2-FUT1-finish eat

'We will prepare to leave when the guests have eaten dinner'.

A18f'') Ok dígákooɓá mánjɔdi íŋgên ɓaken ɓáḿmal dʒɛ́

 dí gá- kooɓá manjɔdi í   ŋgên ɓáken ɓá- ḿ- mal dʒɛ́
 we FUT2-prepare departure.c6 LOC moment guests SM.c2-FUT2-finish eat

'We will prepare for departure when the guests have eaten dinner'.

A18f''') Ok dígákooɓá línjɔdi ɓaken ɓámámal dʒɛ́

dí gá- kooɓá lí-njɔdi   ɓáken ɓá- má   mal dʒɛ́
 we FUT2-prepare INF.c5-leave guests SM.c2-ASP_{COMPL} finish eat

'We will prepare to leave when the guests have eaten dinner'. We will prepare to leave after the guests
have eaten dinner.'

A18f'''') Ok dígákooɓá mánjɔdi ɓaken ɓámámal dʒɛ́

 dí gá- kooɓá manjɔdi ɓaken ɓá- má- mal dʒɛ́
 we FUT2-prepare departure.c6 guests SM.c2-ASP_{COMPL} finish eat

'We will prepare for departure after the guests have eaten dinner'.

   g) We plan to succeed in making money for company.

Ok dińkooɓá líla kúhûl ndâp jês ŋkus

di ń- kooɓá lí-   la kúhûl   ndâp   nsɔ̂n ŋkus
we PRS-plan   INF.c5-can make-BEN house.c7 work.c3 money.c3

'We plan to succeed in making money for the company.'

A19a) The elephant seemed to like to go to the cornfield.

A19a') ndʒɔk ibípooná wɛɛ́ iɓégwês likɛ í wɔ̌m ú mɓáha   **Raising**

ndʒɔk_i   i-   bí- poóná wɛɛ́ pro_i i_i-   ɓé   gwês li- kɛ í   wɔ̌m elephant.c9
SM.c9-PST2-seem as if   pro SM.c9-be.PST like INF.c5-go LOC farm.c3

ú   mɓáha
PREP corn.c7

Is *i-ɓé gwês* two words or one?

(A19a'') Ok í bípooná wɛɛ́ ndʒɔk iɓégwês likɛ í wɔ̌m ú mɓáha

í   bí- pooná wɛɛ́ ndʒɔk   i- ɓé   gwês li- kɛ í wɔ̌m ú   mɓáha EXPL
PST2-seem as if elephant.c9 SM.c9-be.PST like INF.c5-go LOC farm.c3 CONN corn.c3

'It seemed as if the elephant liked to go to the cornfield.'

b) A bird appears to have eaten the seeds.

(A19b') Ok hinuní híḿpooná wɛɛ́ híndʒɛ́ mbóó   **Raising**

      hinuní_i   hí-   ḿ- pooná wɛɛ́ pro_i hí_i-   n- dʒɛ́ mbóó
      bird.c19 SM.c19-PRS-appear as if pro SM.c19.PST1-eat seeds.c10

      'A bird appears to have eaten the seeds.'

A19b'') Ok í ḿpooná wɛɛ́ hinuní híndʒɛ́ mbóó

      í   ḿ- pooná wɛɛ́ hinuní hí-   n- dʒɛ́ mbóó
      EXPL PRS-appear as if bird.c19 SM.c19-PST1-eat seeds.c10

       'It appears that the bird has eaten the seeds.'

  c) The birds are likely to want more seeds.

 Ok dinuní dí yé ɓɛɓɛɛ ni ɓat ŋgándak mbóó

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dinuní   dí-   yé   ɓɛɓɛɛ   ni   ɓat ŋgándak mbóó
   birds.12 SM.c12-be.PRS about to/likely INF ask more   seeds.c10
  'The birds are likely to ask more seeds.'
  d) The boys ought to feed the cattle.
Ok dilɔ́gá díńlámá jês ɓémɓâ
  dilɔ́gá dí- ń- lámá jê-s   ɓémɓâ
  boys.c12 SM.c12-PRS-ought to eat-CAUS cattle.c9
  'The boys ought to feed the cattle.'
  e) The rain is certain to ruin the crops.
  Ok nǒp aŋóβôs βídʒɛ́k ŋgi peena
  nǒp   a-   ŋ́- óβôs βídʒɛ́k ŋgi   peena
  rain.c1-SM.c1-PRS-ruin crops.c8 without doubt
  'The rain certainly ruins the crops.'
  f) The rain began to ruin the crops.
  Ok nǒp abíɓodól óβôs βídʒɛ́k
   nǒp   a-   bí- ɓodól óβôs βídʒɛ́k
   rain.c1 SM.c1-PST2-begin ruin crops.c8
   'The rain began to ruin the crops'.
  g) Our neighbor turned out to be a famous writer.
A19g') Ok mut wěs liɓôg abíhjíɛlɓa (mut) matila ŋkɛ́ŋí
 mut   wěs   liɓôg   a-   bí- hjíɛl-ɓá (mut)   matila   ŋkɛ́ŋí
 person.c1 our.c1 neighborhood.c5 SM.c1-PST2-turn-RES (person.c1) writing.c6 big.c1
  'Our neighbor turned out to be a famous writer'.
A19g'') Ok mut wěs liɓog abíyíɣâ hjíɛlɓá (mut) matila ŋkɛ́ŋí
mut   wěs   liɓôg   a- bí-**yíɣâ-** hjíɛl-ɓá (mut)   matila   ŋkɛ́ŋí
person.c1 our.c1 neighborhood.c5 SM.c1-PST2-**ASP**-turn-RES (person.c1) writing.c6 big.c1
'Our neighbor turned out to be a famous writer (i.e., we learned of his fame sometime after we had met him)

(Comment: As can be seen above, the morpheme *-yíɣá-* denotes an aspectual interpretation whose role is to denote an event that takes occurs just after a given event has taken place. The morpheme *-yíɣá* derives from the lexical verb *yéglé* which means 'remain/stay behind'. Literally, when associated with a verb, the morpheme *-yíɣá-* conveys the meaning of an action that takes place after another one has occured.

A20a) John was certain that the lights were out.
Ok Johánɛs abíjî ni tój lɛ́ mapúβí máɓee í mbédgé
Johánɛs a-   bí- jî   ni   tój   lɛ́   mapúβí má- ɓee   í   mbédgé
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-know with certainly that lights.c6 SM.c6-be.PST LOC outside.c7
'John certainly knew that the lights were out.'
  b) It will appear that the defendant is guilty. (Even if he is not)
A20a') Ok í gánênɛ́ lɛ́ ŋkée i ye líhoha
  í   gá- nênɛ́ lɛ́   ŋkée   i-   ye   líhoha
  EXPL FUT2-appear that defendant.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS fault.c5
  'It will appear that the defendant is guilty.'
A20a'') í gánênɛ́ lɛ́ ŋkée aŋkwɔ́ ŋkáá
  í   gá- nênɛ́ lɛ́   ŋkée   a   ŋ- kwɔ́ ŋkáá
  EXPL FUT2-appear that defendant.c1 SM.c1-PRS-fail   trial.c3
  'It will appear that the defendant is guilty.'

  c) It is likely that the boys will go fishing.
Ok í ńnênɛ́ ni tɔj lɛ́ dilɔ́gá dígá kɛɛ́ lɔ̂p

    í   ń-   nênɛ́   lɛ́   dilɔ́gá   dí-   gá-   kɛɛ́ lɔ̂p
  EXPL PRS-appear that boys.c12 SM.12-FUT2-go   fishing.c3

'It is likely that the boys will go fishing.'

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

Ok í ńla ɓá mbálɛ lɛ́ dilɔ́gá dígá kɛ í lɔ̂p

    í   ń-   la ɓá mbálɛ lɛ́ dilɔ́gá dí-   gá-   kɛ í   lɔ̂p
   EXPL PRS-can be truth.c7 that boys.c12 SM.c12-FUT2-go LOC fishing.c3

  'It is probable that the boys will go fishing.'

  e) It is true that the south is warmer.

Ok í yé mbálɛ lɛ́ wɛlmɓɔ́g ú ńléég

    í   yé   mbálɛ lɛ́   wɛlmɓɔ́g ú   ń-   léég
   EXPL be.PRS truth.c7 that south.c3 SM.c3-PRS-heat up

  'It is true that the south is warmer.'

  f) It is good that Mary is the winner.

A20f') Ok í yé lɔ́ngê lɛ́ Maríja áɓá ŋkɔmɔl

       í   yé   lɔ́ngê lɛ́   Maríja á-   ɓá   ŋkɔmɔl
     EXPL be.PRS good that Mary.c1 SM.c1-be.SBJV winner.c1

  'It is good that Mary is the winner.' Lit: It is good that should be the winner.'

A20f') Ok í yé lɔ́ngê lɛ́ Maríja áɓá ŋkɔmɔl

       hála a   yé   lɔ́ngê lɛ́ Maríja á-   ye   ŋkɔmɔl
       that.c1 SM be.PRS good that Mary.c1 SM.c1-be.SBJV winner.c1

  'It is good that Mary is the winner.'

A20f''') í yé lɔ́ngê lɛ́ Maríja ákɔ́mɔ̂l

    í   yé   lɔ́ngê lɛ́   Maríja á-   kɔ́mɔ̂l
   EXPL be.PRS good that Mary.c1 SM.c1-win.SBJV

  'It is good that Mary is the winner.' Lit: It is good that Mary should win.'

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

A20g') Ok) íntééɓá í mis má ɓôt ɓɔ́ɓásô lɛ́ dilɔ́gá díbídʒês ɓɔ́ɔ́ŋgɛ́ makɔndɔ

í   ń- téé-ɓá   í   mis má   ɓôt   ɓɔ́ɓásô lɛ́ dilɔ́gá   dí-
EXPL PRS-see-PASS LOC eyes CONN persons.c2 all.c2   that boys.c12 SM.c12-
ɓí-   dʒê-s   ɓɔ́ɔ́ŋgɛ́   makɔndɔ
PST2-eat-CAUS children.c2 plantains.c6

Lit: 'It is seen by everyone that the boys made the children eat plantains.'

A20g'') Ok ɓôt ɓɔ́ɓásô ɓántɛ́hɛ́ lɛ́ dilɔ́gá díbídʒês ɓɔ́ɔ́ŋgɛ́ makɔndɔ

ɓôt   ɓɔ́ɓásô ɓá- ń-   tɛ́hɛ́ lɛ́ dilɔ́gá dí-   ɓí-   dʒê-s   ɓɔ́ɔ́ŋgɛ́
persons.c2 all.c2   SM.c2-PRS-see that boys.c2-SM.c12-PST2-eat-CAUS children.c2
makɔndɔ
plantains.c6

'Everybody can see that the boys made the children eat plantains.'

  h) I am happy that everyone will know the truth.

Ok mɛ ye maséé lɛ́ híkií mut agájí máligá

mɛ ye   maséé   lɛ́ híkií mut   a-   gá- jí   máligá
I   be.PRS happiness.c6   that each person.c1 SM.c1-FUT-know truth.c6

'I am happy that everyone will know the truth.'

A21a) We resisted washing the car.

A21a') Ok di bítʃel dʒówâ lítówa

   di bí-   tʃel   dʒówâ lítówa
   we PST2-refuse wash   car.c5

  'We refused to wash the car.'

A21a'') Ok di bítʃel lídʒowa litówa

   di bí- tʃel   lí-   dʒowa litówa

we PST2-refuse INF.c5-wash   car.c5
'We refused to wash the car.'
b) The children have finished washing the car.

A21b') Ok ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓámmâl dʒówâ lítówa

     ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá-   m-   mâl   dʒówâ   lítówa
     children.c2 SM.c2-PST1-finish wash   car.c5
 'The children have finished washing the car.'

A21b'') Ok ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓámmâl lídʒowa litówa

     ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá-   m-   mâl   lí-dʒowa   litówa
     children.c2 SM.c2-PST1-finish INF.c5-wash car.c5
  'The children have finished washing the car.'

c) We discussed teaching a course together.

  Ok di bí-kwelél (ínjuú) línííga minsɔŋgí loŋ

      di bí-   kwel-él   (ínjuú)   lí-   nííga   minsɔŋgí loŋ
       we PST2-talk-APPL about/for INF.c5-teach   mathematics.c4
   'We talked about teaching mathematics together.'

d) The neighbors avoided talking to the police.

Ok ɓotɓálíɓóg ɓábíkêŋglɛ́ lípódôs ŋgɔ́mîn

   ɓot   ɓá   líɓóg   ɓá-   bí- kɛ́ŋglê lí-   pód-ôs   ŋgɔ́mîn
  persons.c2 PREP neighborhood.c5 SM.c2-PST2-avoid INF.c5-talk-APPL authority.c1
'The neighbors avoided talking to the authority.'

A22a) Alice guessed that the children would know the answer.

Ok Lóki abíhegdá lɛ́ ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓánla jí ndímbhɛ

   Lóki   a-   bí-   hegdá lɛ́ ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá- ń-   la   jí   ndímbhɛ
   Loki.c1 SM.c1-PST2-guess that children.c2 SM.c2-PRS-would know answer.c7
 'Lóki guessed that the children would know the answer'

b) Alice guessed when the children would show the book to the teacher.

Ok Lóki abíhegdá lɛ́ ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓánla ûndá málêt kaat

Lóki   a-   bí-   hegdá lɛ́ ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓá- ń- la   ûndá málêt   kaat
Loki.c1 SM.c1-PST2-guess that children SM.c2-PRS-would show teacher.c1 book.c7
'Loki guessed when the children would show the book to the teacher.'

c) Alice guessed what the children knew.

A22c') Ok Lóki abíhegdá kíí/í jôm ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓábíjî

   Lóki   a-   bí-   hegdá kíí/ í   jôm   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá- bí- jî
   Lóki.c1 SM.c1-PST2-guess what/ AUG thing.7 children.c2 SM.c2-PST2-know
    'Lokí guessed what the children knew'

A22c'') Ok Lóki abíhegdá kíí/í jôm ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓáɓéjí

Lóki   a-   bí-   hegdá kíí/ í   jôm   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá- ɓé- jí
Lóki.c1 SM.c1-PST2-guess what/ AUG thing.7 children.c2 SM.c2-be.PST-know
    'Lokí guessed what the children knew'

A23a) The boys knew that Alice would know the answer.

Ok dilɔ́gá díbíjî lɛ́ Lokí ańla jí ndímbhɛ

 dilɔ́gá   dí-   bí-   jî   lɛ́ Lokí   a-   ń-   la   jí   ndímbhɛ
 boys.c12 SM.c12-PST2-know that Lokí.c1 SM.c1-PRS-would know answer.c7
'The boys knew that Lokí would know the answer.'

b) The boys knew when Alice would tell the story to the president.

Ok dilɔ́gá díbíjî kêlkíí/íŋgêŋ Lokí ańla áŋlé ŋkɛna ŋáŋ

dilɔ́gá   dí-   bí-   jî   kêlkíí/ í   ŋgêŋ Lokí a- ń- la áŋl-ɛ́   ŋanɛ
 boys.c12 SM.c12-PST2-know when/ LOC time Lokí.c1 SM.c1-PRS-can tell-APPL leader.c1
ŋáŋ
story.c3

'The boys knew when Lokí would tell the story to the president'.
  c) Alice knew which answers the children would be able to guess.
Ok   Lokí abíjî ímbɛ́ɛ́ mábadga ɓɔɔŋgɛ́ ɓáńla hégda
Lokí   a-   jî   ímbɛ́ɛ́   mábadga   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ɓá-   ń-   la   hégda
Lokí.c1 SM.c1-PST2-know which.10 answers.c10 children.c2 SM.c2-PRS-be able guess
'Lokí knew which answers the children would be able to guess'.
A24a) I saw that Mary was bleeding.
Ok mɛ bítɛ́hɛ́ Mâríja ańjô
 mɛ bí-   tɛ́hɛ́ Mâríja   a-   ń-   jô
 I   PST2-see Mary.c1 SM.c1-PROG-bleed
  'I saw Mary bleeding'
  b) I saw the rock roll(ing) down the hill..
Ok Mɛ bítɛ́hɛ́ ŋgôk íńkúndí híkowá
    Mɛ bí-   tɛ́hɛ́ ŋgôk   í-   ń-   kúdí   hikowá
    I   PST2-see rock.c9 SM.c9-PROG-roll down hill.c19
   'I saw the rock roll(ing) down the hill
  c) The rock was seen rolling down the hill.
A24c') Ok ɓot ɓábítɛ́hɛ́ ŋgôk ìŋkúndí híkowá   Active: Mostly used among the speakers
    ɓot   ɓá-   bí-   tɛ́hɛ́ ŋgôk   ì-   ń-   kúndí   híkowá
    persons.c2 SM.c2-PST2-see rock.c9 SM.c9-PROG-roll down   hill.c19
   'People saw the rock rolling down the hill'
 A24c'') Ok   ŋgôk ibítééɓá íńkúndí híkowá   Passive: Acceptable, but might be less used
          ŋgôk$_i$ i-   bí-   téé- ɓá pro$_i$ í-   ń-   kúndí   híkowá
          rock.c9 SM.c9-PST2-see-PASS pro SM.c9-PROG-roll.down hill.c19
           'The rock was seen rolling down the hill.'
A25a) I hear that students are happier when their homework is interesting.
Ok Mɛ ńnôg lɛ́ ɓaúdú ɓáyé maséé ŋgandak íŋgéŋ nsɔ́n wâp ú yé nlâm
Mɛ ń-   nôg lɛ́   ɓaúdú   ɓá-   yé   maséé ŋgandak í-ŋgéŋ   nsɔ́n   wâp
I   PRS-hear that students.c2 SM.c2-be.PRS joy.c6   a lot   LOC time.c9 work.c3 their.c3

ú-   yé   nlâm
SM.c3-be.PRS nice.c3
'I hear that the students are happier when their work is interesting.'
  b) I heard water drip (ping) from the faucet.
Ok mɛ bínôg málêp máŋkwel í ŋkôŋ
    mɛ bí-   nôg málêp má-   ń-   kw-el   í   ŋkôŋ
    I   PST2-hear water.c6 SM.c6-PROG-drip-APPL LOC pipe.c3
  'I heard water drip (ping) from the pipe.'
  c) The water was heard dripping from the faucet.
A25c') Ok ɓot ɓábínôg málêp máŋkwel í ŋkôŋ   Active: Mostly used
ɓot   ɓá   bí-   nôg málêp má-   ń-kw-el   í   ŋkôŋ
 person.c2 SM.c2- PST2-hear water.c6 SM.c6-PROG-drip-APPL LOC pipe.c3
  'I heard water drip (ping) from the pipe.'
A25c'') *málêp mábínógá máńkwel í   ŋkôŋ   Passive: Unacceptable
          málêp má-   **bí**- nóg-á   má-   ń-kw-el   í   ŋkôŋ
          water.c6 SM.c6-PST2-hear-PASS SM.c6-PROG-drip-APPL LOC pipe.c3
          'The water was heard dripping from the faucet.'
A25c''') Ok málêp máɓé nógá (kikií) máńkwel í   ŋkôŋ   **Passive: Acceptable**
  málêp má- **ɓé**- nóg-á   **kikií**   má-   ń-kw-el   í   ŋkôŋ
  water.c6 SM.c6-PST2-hear-PASS as/while SM.c6-PROG-drip-APPL LOC pipe.c3
   Lit: '*The water was being heard dripping from the faucet.'

   (The example is ? for many English speakers, but with just *drip*, it is * for most, but many
   accept it with *to drip.* If there are variations of this kind in your language, please add
   commentary and illustrative examples)

A26a) I felt that Mary should have apologized.

  Ok mɛ bínógdâ lɛ́ Maríja aɓéeakolí liɓat ŋwehel   **Embedded infinitive**

  mɛ bí-   nógdâ lɛ́ Maríja a-   ɓé   pro$_i$ a-   kolí (**li**)-   ɓat ŋwehel

  I   PST2-feel   that Mary.c1 SM.c1-be.PST pro SM.c1-should INF.c5-ask apology.c9

  'I felt that Mary should have apologized'

A26a') Ok mɛ bínógdâ lɛ́ Maríja aɓéeakolí liɓat ŋwehel   **Embedded declarative**

mɛ bí-   nógdâ lɛ́ Maríja a-   ɓé   pro$_i$ a-   kolí **lɛ́** pro á$_i$-   ɓât

I   PST2-feel   that Mary.c1 SM.c1-be.PST pro SM.c1-should that pro SM.c1-ask.SBJV

ŋwehel

apology.c9

 'I felt that Mary should have apologized'

 b) I felt my muscles relax(ing).

A26b') Ok mɛ bínógdâ mínson mí ńnimblá mê̂

  mɛ bí-   nógdâ mínson   mí   ń-nimblá   mê̂

  I   PST2-feel   muscles.c4 SM.c4-PROG-relax/strech me

  'I felft my muscles relax(ing).

A26b'') Ok mɛ bínógdâ **kikií** mínson mí ńnimblá mê̂

  mɛ bí-   nógdâ **kikií** mínson   mí   ń-nimblá   mê̂

  I   PST2-feel   as   muscles.c4 SM.c4-PROG-relax/strech me

  'I felft my muscles relax(ing). Lit: 'I felt as my muscles were relaxing'

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

Ok ímbûs ndɔndɔɣ minson mí ŋkɔkɔ̂n míɓée míńnimbla

ímbûs ndɔndɔɣ   minson   mí   ŋkɔkɔ̂n   mí-   ɓée   mí-   ń-   nimbla

 after   injection.c7 muscles.c4 CONN patient.c1 SM.c1-be.PST SM.c4-PROG-relax

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

Note: (A26c) is ? for many English speakers, but with just *relax*, it is * for most, but many
  accept it with *to relax.* If there are variations of this kind in your language, please add
  commentary and illustrative examples).

A27a) The news that John was guilty was surprising.

A27a') í ŋâŋ únú lɛ́ Johaǹɛs abíkwɔ ŋ́káá úɓée hélhá

í   ŋâŋ   únú lɛ́   Johaǹɛs a-   bí-   kwɔ ŋ́káá ú-   ɓée   hélhá

AUG news.c3 that.c3 that John.c1 SMc1-PST2-fail   trial.c3 SM.c3-be.PST surprise.c1

'The news that John was guilty was surprising (Lit: was a surprise)'

A27a'') ŋ́âŋ únú lɛ́ Johaǹɛs aɓée híhoha úɓée hélhá

í   ŋâŋ   únú   lɛ́   Johaǹɛs a-   ɓée   híhoha   ú-   ɓée   hélhá

AUG news.c3 that.c3 that John.c1 SMc1-be.PST fault.c19 SM.c3-be.PST surprise.c1

'The news that John was guilty was surprising (Lit: was a surprise)'

A27a''') ŋ́âŋ únú lɛ́ Johaǹɛs aɓée híhoha úɓée úŋ́hélhá

í   ŋâŋ   únú   lɛ́   Johaǹɛs a-   ɓée   híhoha   ú-   ɓée   ú   **ŋ́-**

 AUG news.c3 that.c3 that John.c1 SMc1-be.PST fault.c19 SM.c3-be.PST SM.c3-PROG-

hélhá

surprise

'The news that John was guilty was surprising (Lit: was surprising)'

b) The knowledge that he had made Mary uncomfortable bothered him.

A27b') líní lɛ́ abíhóthá Mâríja ŋêm líbíteeŋgá nyɛ́

líní   lɛ́   pro$_i$ a$_i$-   bí- hót-6á   Mâríja ŋêm lí-   bí- teeŋgá nyɛ́
this.c5 that pro SM.c1-PST2-afflict-CAUS Mary.c1 heart.c3 SM.c5 PST2-bother him.c1
'The fact that he made Mary uncomfortable (made Mary afflicted) bothered him.'

A27b'')* ínî jí lɛ́ abíhóthá Mâríja ŋêm líbíteeŋgá nyɛ́

ínî   jí   lɛ́   pro$_i$ a$_i$-   bí- hót-há   Mâríja ŋêm   í-   bí- teeŋgá
this.c7 knowledge.c7 that pro SM.c1-PST2-afflict-CAUS Mary.c1 heart.c3 SM.c7-PST2-bother
nyɛ́
him.c1

c) The scientists had to accept the fact their prediction was wrong.

A27c') Ok 6ajéŋmam 6á6é lámá nê6ɛ́ lɛ́ mahɛgɛk mâp má6ée 6é m6álɛ

6ajéŋ   mam   6á-   6é   lámá nê6ɛ́ **lɛ́** mahɛgɛk   mâp   má-
 researchers.c2 things.c6 SM.c2-be.PST have to accept that predictions.c6 their.c6 SM.c6-
6ée   6é   m6álɛ
be.PST NEG truth.c9
'The scientists had to accept that their prediction was wrong'.

A27c'') Ok 6ajéŋmam 6á6é lámá nê6ɛ́ líní lɛ́ mahɛgɛk mâp má 6ée 6é m6álɛ

6ajéŋ   mam   6á-   6é   lámá nê6ɛ́ **líní (dʒam)** lɛ́   mahɛgɛk
researchers.c2 things.c6 SM.c2-be.PST have to accept this.c5 fact.c5 that predictions.c6
mâp   má-   6ée   6é   m6álɛ
their.c5 SM.c6-be.PST NEG truth.c9
'The scientists had to accept (the fact) that their prediction was wrong'.

d) Mary's announcement that she was pregnant was the reason that John was late.

A27d') Ok ŋgǎn Maríja lɛ́ a6ée dʒěm í-6é kɔbla lɛ́ Johánɛs a-bí-sôg   Not ambiguous

ŋgǎn (i)   Maríja$_i$ lɛ́ pro$_i$ a- 6ée   dʒěm   í-   6é   kɔbla lɛ́ Johánɛs news.c7
PREP Mary.c1 that pro SM-c1-be.PST pregnancy.c6 SM.c7-be.PST mean that John.c1
a-   bí- sôg
SM.c1-PST2-be late/come late
'Mary's announcement that she was pregnant was the reason that John was late'.

A27d'') Ok ŋgǎn (i) dʒěm (i) Maríja í-6é kɔbla lɛ́ Johánɛs a-bí-sôg

ŋgǎn (i) dʒěm   (i)   Maríja$_i$ lɛ́ pro$_i$ a-   6ée í-   6é   kɔbla lɛ́
news.c7 PREP pregnancy.c6 PREP Mary.c1 that pro SM-c1-be.PST SM.c7-be.PST mean that
Johánɛs a-   bí- sôg
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-be late/come late
e) The claim that no one knew about the scandal is difficult to believe.

Ok líní (dʒam) lɛ́ tɔmut abíjî 6é í mbuɣɛ dʒam íbítâ6ɛ línlɛd línôg

líní (dʒam) lɛ́ tɔmut   a-   bí- jî   6é í   mbuɣɛ   dʒam i-
this.c5 thing.c5 that nobody.c1 SM.c1-PST2-know NEG AUG incredible.c7 thing.c7 SM.c9-
bí- tâ6ɛ   lí- ń-   lɛd   (lí)- nê6ɛ
PST2-happen SM.c5-PRS-be difficult INF.c5-believe
 'The claim that no one knew about the scandal is difficult to believe'
    f) The only reason to do this properly is so that we can avoid a lawsuit.

Ok pɔ̌m dʒɛ̌l (ínjuú) (lí)jî liɓɔŋ hála i ye lɛ́ dí ńla sɛ́mbɓá ŋkáá

pɔ̌m   dʒɛ̌l (ínjuú) lí-   jî   (li)- ɓɔŋ hala i-   ye   lɛ́ dí ń- la sɛ́mbɓá
unique.c7 way.c7   for   INF.c5-know INF.c5-do   so   SM.c5-be. PRS that we PRS-can avoid

ŋkáá

lawsuit.c3

'The only way to do this properly is that we can avoid a suitcase'

g) John was the one who proposed the plan to rob the bank.

A27a') Ok Joháns **nyɛ́n** abítí mahɔ́ŋɔ̂l lɛ́ ɓá níɓîl litéédáná lí ŋkus   **Focus**

 Johánɛsᵢ **nyɛ́- n**   proᵢ a-   bí tí   mahɔ́ŋɔ̂l   lɛ́ ɓá   níɓ-îl   litéédáná lí ŋkus
 John.c1 AGR.c1-FOC pro SM.c1-PST2-give proposals.c6 that INDF rob-APPL bank

'John is the one who proposed that they should rob the bank/It is John who proposed that they should rob the bank.'

A27a'') Ok Johánɛs a ye ŋ́wɛ̂t (**nú**) abítí mahɔ́ŋɔ̂l lɛ́ ɓá níɓîl litéédáná lí ŋkus   **Relative**

Johánɛsᵢ a-   ye   ŋ́wɛ̂t   (**nú**)   proᵢ a-   bí- tí   mahɔ́ŋɔ̂l   lɛ́ ɓá
John.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS the one.c1 REL.c1 pro SM.c1-PST2-give proposals.c6 that INDF

níɓ-îl   litéédáná lí ŋkus

rob-APPL bank

'John is the one who proposed that they should rob the bank'

 h) John rewarded the man who Bill saw.

A27h') Ok Johánɛs abítî **í mut** (**nú**) Bilóŋ abítɛ́hɛ̂ nsáa

Johánɛs a-   bí- tî   **í**   **mut**   (**nú**)   Bilóŋ   a-   bí- tɛ́hɛ̂ nsáa
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-give AUG person.c1 REL.c1 Bilóŋ.c1 SM.c1-PST2-see   reward.c3

'John rewarded the man who Bilóŋ saw' Lit: 'John gave a reward to the man who Biloŋ saw'

A27h'') Ok Johánɛs abísâ **í mut** (**nú**) Bilóŋ abítɛ́hɛ̂

Johánɛs a-   bí- sâ   **í**   **mut**   (**nú**)   Bilóŋ   a-   bí- tɛ́hɛ̂
John.c1   SM.c1-PST2-reward AUG person.c1 REL.c1 Bilóŋ.c1 SM.c1-PST2-see

 'John rewarded the man who Bill saw'

A28a) The soldiers are afraid that the president will be ashamed of them.

Ok ɓadʒɔ gwet ɓáŋ́kon wɔ́ŋí lɛ́ ŋanɛ agá wɔ́ ɓɔ́ ɲuú

ɓadʒɔ   gwet ɓá- ŋ́- kon wɔ́ŋí lɛ́ ŋanɛ   a-   gá   **wɔ́** ɓɔ́   **ɲuú**
fighters.c2 war.c8 SM.c2-PRS-be ill fear   that president.c1 SM.c1-FUT2-die them.c2 body.c9

'The wariors are afraid that the president will be ashamed of them'

     b) The soldiers are afraid to admit that they ran.

Ok ɓadʒɔ gwet ɓáŋ́kon wɔ́ŋí línêɓɛ lɛ́ ɓábíkɛ ŋgwéé

[ɓadʒɔ   gwet]ᵢ ɓá- ŋ́- kon wɔ́ŋí lí- nêɓɛ lɛ́ proᵢ ɓá- bí- kɛ ŋgwéé
fighters.c2 war.c8 SM.c2-PRS-be ill fear.c3 INF.c5-admit that pro SM.c2-PST2-go race.c3

'The warriors are afraid to admit that they ran.'

A29a) Cleopatra regrets that she trusted Caesar.

A29a') Ok Maríja ańtâm kikií abíɓódôl Johánɛs ŋêm

Maríjaᵢ a-   ń- tâm **kikií** proᵢ a-   bí- ɓódôl Johánɛs ŋêm
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-regret as   pro SM.c1-PST2-trust   John.c1   heart.c3

'Mary regrets that she trusted John'Lit: 'Mary regrets as she trusted John.'

A29a'') Ok Maríja ańtâm lɛ́ abíɓódôl Johánɛs ŋêm

Maríjaᵢ a-   ń- tam   **lɛ́** proᵢ a-   bí- ɓódôl Johánɛs ŋêm
 Mary.c1 SM.c1-PRS-regret that pro SM.c1-PST2-trust   John.c1   heart.c3

'Mary regrets that she trusted John'Lit: 'Mary regrets as she trusted John.'

    b) Cleopatra regretted to tell Caesar the bad news. (?? for many English speakers)

A29a') Ok Maríja abítâm **lí**lɛɣɛl Johánɛs ŋwin imɓɛ́   **Ambiguous**

Maríja a-   bí- tâm **lí-** lɛɣɛl   Johánɛs ŋwin   imɓɛ́
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-regret INF.c5-announce John.c1   news.c3 bad.c3

Lit: 'Mary regretted to have told John the bad news (she did tell him the bad news)' OR 'Mary regretted

the fact that she did not tell John the bad news (so, she did not tell him the bad news)'

A29a'') Maríja abítâm **lɛ́/kikií** abílɛɣêl Jóhánɛs ŋwin imɓɛ́   **unambiguous**

Maríja_i a- bí- tâm **lɛ́ /kikií** pro_i a- bí- lɛɣêl Jóhánɛs ŋwin imɓɛ́
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-regret that/as pro SM.c1-PST2-announce John.c1 news.c3 dad.c3
  'Mary regretted that she told John the bad news.'

A30a) The cat liked (it) that his master always gave him treats to eat.

A30a') Ok) síŋî i**bí**gwês (hála) kikií nsáŋ wée aɓéeańtí nyɛ́ makénd líd☐ɛ̂ híkií ŋgeda

síŋî i- bí- gwês (hála) kikií [nsáŋ wée]_i a- ɓee pro_i a- ń- tí
cat.c9 SM.c9-PST2-like it as master.c1 its.c1 SM.c1-be.PST pro SM.c1-PROG-give
yɔ́ makénd lí-d☐ɛ́ híkií ŋgeda
it.c1 courage.c6 INF.c5-eat each time.c9
'The cat liked (it) that his master encourage him to eat each time.'

A30a'') Ok síŋî i**ɓée** ińgwês (hála) kikií nsáŋ wée aɓéeańtí nyɛ́ makénd líd☐ɛ̂ híkií ŋgeda

síŋî_i i- **ɓée-** pro_i i- ń- gwês (hála) kikií [nsáŋ wée]_i a- ɓee pro_i
cat.c9 SM.c9-be.PST pro SM.c9-PROG like it as master.c1 its.c1 SM.c1-be.PST pro
a- ń- tí yɔ́ makénd híkií ŋgeda
SM.c1-PROG-give it.c9 courage.c6 each time.c9
'The cat liked (it) that his master encouraged him to eat each time.'

   b) The cat liked to eat treats.

Ok síŋí ińgwês ińdʒɛ́ bídʒêk bilâm

síŋí_i i- ń- gwês pro i- ń- dʒɛ́ bídʒêk bilâm
cat.c9 SM.c9-PRS-like pro SM.c9-PROG-eat food.c8 nice.c8
  'The cat likes to eat/eating nice food'

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

A30b') *síŋî ińgwês ínjuú nsáŋ wéê lísíŋga yɔ

   síŋî i- ń- gwês ínjuú nsáŋ wéê lí- síŋga yɔ
   cat.c9 SM.c9-PRS-like for master.c1 its.c9 INF.c5-pet it.c9

A30b'') Ok síŋî ińgwês lɛ́ nsáŋ ásíŋgá yɔ

   síŋî i- ń- gwês lɛ́ nsáŋ wéê á- síŋgá yɔ
   cat.c9 SM.c9-PRS-like that master.c1 its.c9 SM.c1-pet.SBJ it.c9
  Lit: 'The cat likes that his father should pet him.'

A30b''') Ok síŋî ińgwês (í ŋgeda) nsáŋ wéê ańsíŋgá yô

   síŋî i- ń- gwês (í ŋgeda) nsáŋ wéê a- síŋgá yô
   cat.c9 SM.c9-PRS-like LOC time.c7 master.c1 its.c9 SM.c1-pet.SBJV it.c9
   'The cat likes when his father pets him.'

A31a) We fear that the police do not regret their mistake.

Ok di ńjɔ́dɔ̂p lɛ́ ŋgɔ́mîn ańtâm ɓée híhoha hjiéé

di ń- jɔ́dɔ̂p lɛ́ ŋgɔ́mîn a- ń- tâm ɓée híhoha hjiéé
we PRS-fear that authority.c1 SM.c1-PRS-regret NEG mistake.c19 his.c19
  'We fear that the police do not regret their mistake'

   b) Refugees fear to speak to the press. (* in English)

Ok) ɓakɛ ŋgwéé (ú) gwêt ɓáńkɔn wɔ́ńí lípódôs ɓátʃam miŋâŋ

ɓakɛ ŋgwéé (ú) gwêt ɓá- ń- kɔn wɔ́ńí lí-pód-ôs ɓátʃam miŋâŋ
goers.c2 race.c3 CONN war.c8 SM.c2-PRS-be ill fear.c3 INF.c5-speak-APPL journalists.c2
  'Refugees fear to speak to the journalists'

A32a) We are ashamed that we did not help the children to leave.

Ok) di ńwɔ́ ńjúú lɛ́ díbíhólá ɓée ɓɔ́ɔ́ŋgɛ́ líŋɔdi

di ń- wɔ́ ńjúú lɛ́ dí- bí- hólá ɓéé ɓɔ́ɔ́ŋgɛ́ lí- ɲɔdi
we PRS-die body.c9 that we PST2-help NEG children.c2 INF.c5-leave
'We are ashamed that we did not help the children to leave.'
    b) The businessman was ashamed to talk to his customers.
A32b') Ok mut ɲuŋgá abíwɔ̂ ɲúú (lí)pódós ɓasɔ̂mɓ
    mut ɲuŋgá a- bí- wɔ́ ɲúú (lí)- pód-ós ɓasɔ̂mɓ
    person.c1 trade.c9 SM.c1-PST2-die body.c9 INF.c5-speak-APPL buyers.c2
'The trader was ashamed to talk to his customers.'
A32b'') Ok mut ɲuŋgá aɓéwɔ́ ɲúú (lí)pódós ɓasɔ̂mɓ
    mut ɲuŋgá a- ɓé wɔ́ ɲuú (lí)- pód-ós ɓasɔ̂mɓ
    person.c1 trade.c9 SM.c1-be.PST-die body.c9 INF.c5-speak-APPL buyers.c2
'The trader was ashamed to talk to his customers.'
A33a) We are embarrassed that our president went fishing when the war began.
Ok) di bíhêl lɛ́ ŋanɛ wěs abíkɛ í lɔ̂p í ŋgeda gwet bíbíɓodol
di bí- hêl lɛ́ ŋanɛ wěs a- bí- kɛ í lɔ̂p í ŋgeda
we PST2-embarrass that president.c1 our.c1 SM.c1-PST2-go LOC fishing.c3 LOC time.c9
gwet bí- bí- ɓodol
war.c8 SM.c8-PST2-start
'We are embarrassed that our president went fishing when the war began'
    b) We are embarrassed to ask for a favor.
Ok di ye ŋhɛ́lêk líɓat wɛ mahólâ
    di ye ŋhɛ́lêk lí- ɓat wɛ mahólâ
    we be.PRS embarrassed INF.c5-ask you help/favor.c6
'We are embarrassed to ask you for a favor.'
A34a) The fans rejoiced that their team was successful.
A34a') Ok ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓáɓée maséé lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp úbíɓêp
ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓá- ɓée maséé lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp ú- bí- ɓêp
fans.c2 team.c3 CONN war.c8 SM.c2-be.PST happiness that team.c3 their.c3 SM.c3-PST2-win
gwêt
war.c8
'The fans rejoiced that their army was successful/won the war'
A34a'') Ok ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓábísée lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp úbíɓêp
ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓá- bí-séé lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp ú- bí- ɓêp
fans.c2 team.c3 CONN war.c8 SM.c2-PST2-celebrate that team.c3 their.c3 SM.c3-PST2-win
gwêt
war.c8
'The fans rejoiced/celebrated that their army was successful/won the war'
  b) The fans celebrated their team being successful.

A34b') Ok ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓáɓée maséé lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp úbíɓêp
ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓá- ɓée maséé lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp ú- bí- ɓêp
fans.c2 team.c3 CONN war.c8 SM.c2-be.PST happiness that team.c3 their.c3 SM.c3-PST2-win
gwêt
war.c8
'The fans celebrated their army being successful/winning the war'
A34b'') Ok ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓábísée lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp úbíɓêp
ɓasiŋgɛ ntóŋ (ú) gwêt ɓá- bí- séé lɛ́ ntóŋ wâp ú- bí- ɓêp
fans.c2 team.c3 CONN war.c8 SM.c2-PST2-celebrate that team.c3 their.c3 SM.c3-PST2-win
gwêt
war.c8
'The fans celebrated that their army was successful/celebrated their army winning the war'

23

A35a) The authorities were surprised that the new law was popular.

Ok) ɓaanɛ ɓábíhêl lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ iɲ́jíβá ŋgándak

ɓaanɛ   ɓá-   bí-   hêl   lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ i-   ŋ́-   jí   βá   ŋgándak
authorities.c2 SM.c2-PST2-surprise that law.c9 new.c9 SM.c9-COMPL-know-PASS much
'The authorities were surprised that the new law was popular' Lit: 'The authorities were surprised that the new law was widely known.'

    b) That the new law was popular was surprising.

A35b') Ok lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ iŋbíjíβá ŋgándak (hála) a-ɓée-hélhá

lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ i-   bí-   jí-   βá   ŋgándak,(hála) a-   ɓée-   hélhá   (dʒam)
that law.c9 new.c9 SM.c9-PST2-know-PASS much   (that) SM.c1-be.PST surprise.c1 thing.c5
'That /the fact that the new law became popular was surprising.'

A35b'') Ok lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ iŋbíjíβá ŋgándak (hála) a-ɓée-hélhá

líní   **(dʒam)** lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ i-   bí-   jí-   βá   ŋgándak, lí-   ɓée   hélhá
this.c5 thing.c5 that law.c9 new.c9 SM.c9-PST2-know-PASS much   SM.c5 be.PST surprise.c1
'That/the fact that the new law became popular was surprising.'

    c) It was surprising (to us) that the new law was popular.

A35c') Ok (hála aɓée) hélhá (dʒam) lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ ibíjíβá ŋgándak

(hála a-   ɓée)   hélhá   (dʒam) lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ i-   bí-   jí-   βá   ŋgándak
that.c1 SM.c1-be.PST surprise.c1 thing.c5 that law.c9 new.c9 SM.c9-PST2-know-PASS much
'It was surprising (to people) that the new law was popular'

A35c'') Ok hála abí hélês ɓôt/ɓês lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ ibíjíβá ŋgándak

hála   a-   bí-   hélês   ɓôt/ɓês   lɛ́ mbén jɔndɔ́ i-   bí-   jí-   βá
that.c1 SM.c1-PST2-surprise people.c2/us that law.c9 new.c9 SM.c9-PST2-know-PASS much
'It was surprising (to people) that the new law was popular'/That surprised people/us that the new law was popular'.

A36a) That the judge remembered the death sentences was upsetting (to us).

A36a') Ok lɛ́ ŋkês abíhɔ́ŋôl mbágî mpenâ (hála) abíkwénd-há ɓês

lɛ́   ŋkês   a-   bí-   hɔ́ŋôl   mbágî   mpenâ   (hála) a-   bí-kwénd-há
that judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remember verdict.c9 hanging.c3 that.c1 SM.c1-PST2-upset-CAUS

(ɓês)
 us
'That the judge remembered the death sentences was upsetting (to us)'.

A36a'') Ok líní dʒam lɛ́ ŋkês abíhɔ́ŋôl mbágî mpenâ líbíkwénd-há ɓês

líní   (dʒam) lɛ́   ŋkês   a-   bí-   hɔ́ŋôl   mbágî   mpenâ   lí-   bí-
this.c5 thing.c5 that judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remember verdict.c9 hanging.c3 SM.c5-PST2-
kwénd-há   (ɓês)
upset-CAUS   us
'That the judge remembered the death sentences was upsetting (to us)'.

    b) It was upsetting (to us) that the judge remembered the death sentences.

A36b') Ok halá aɓée dʒam lí/(lí)ŋkwéndhá lɛ́/kikií ŋkês abíhɔ́ŋôl mbágî mpenâ   *Relative clause*

hála   a-   ɓée   dʒam   (lí)   lí-   ŋ́-   kwénd-há   lɛ́/kikií ŋkês   a-   bí-
that.c1 SM.c1-be.PST thing.c5 REL.c5 SM.c5-PRS-upset-CAUS that/as judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2- hɔ́ŋôl
mbágî   mpenâ
remember verdict.c9 hanging.c3
'It was (something) upsetting (to us/people) that the judge remembered the death sentence.'

A36b'') Ok hála abíkwéndês ɓês lɛ́ ŋkês abíhɔ́ŋôl mbágî mpenâ

hála   a-   bí-   kwéndês ɓês lɛ́/kikií ŋkês   a-   bí-   hɔ́ŋôl   mbágî   mpenâ
that.c1 SM.c1-PST2-upset   us that/as judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remember verdict.c9 hanging.c3
  'It upset us that the judge remembered the death sentences.'

    c) It is upsetting to see poverty.

A36c') Ok (litɛ́hɛ́) liyêp líyé dʒam (lí) líŋkwéndha

      (li-tɛ́hɛ́)   liyêp   lí-   yé   dʒam (lí)   lí   ŋ́-kwénd-ha

       INF.c5-see poverty.c5 SM.c5-be.PRS thing.c5 REL.c5 SM.c5-PRS-upset-CAUS

    'To see poverty is something upsetting'Lit: To see poverty is something that upsets'

A36a'') Ok hála aye dʒam (lí) líŋkwéndhá lítɛhɛ́ liyêp

         hála   a-   ye   dʒam (lí)   lí-   ŋ́- kwénhá lí-tɛhɛ́   liyêp

         that.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS thing.c5 REL.c5 SM.c5-PRS-upset INFc-see poverty.c5

         'It is upsetting to see poverty'.

A36a'''') Ok hála aye dʒam (lí) líŋkwéndhá lítɛhɛ́ liyêp

      hála   a-   ye   dʒam (lí)   lí-   ŋ́- kwénhá **lɛ́**   lí-tɛhɛ́   liyêp

      that.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS thing.c5 REL.c5 SM.c5-PRS-upset that INFc-see poverty.c5

     'It is upsetting to see poverty'.Lit: It is something upsetting that to see poverty.'

A37a) Cats are hard to train.

Ok síŋgî íńlɛt línííɣa

   síŋgî   í-   ń- lɛt   lí-   nííɣa

   cats.c10 SM.c10-PRS-be.hard INF.c5-teach/train

   'Cats are hard to train'

  b) It is hard to train cats.

Ok linííɣa síŋgî líńlɛt

   li-   nííɣa   síŋgî   lí-   ń-   lɛt

   INF.c5-teach/train cats.c10 SM.c5-PRS-be hard

 'To train cats/training cats is hard.'

   c) It is hard for us to train cats.

Ok linííɣa síŋgî líńledél ɓês

   li-   nííɣa   síŋgî   lí-   ń-   led-él   ɓês

   INF.c5-teach/train cats.c10 SM.c5-PRS-be hard-APPL us

 'To train cats/training cats is hard for us.'

   d) Cats are hard for us to train.

Ok síŋgî íńledél ɓês linííɣa

 síŋgî   í-   ń-   led-él   ɓês li-nííɣa

 cats.c10 SM.c10-PRS-be hard-CAUS us INF.c5-train/teach

  'Cats are hard for us to train'.

A38a) This person is worth talking to.

A38') Ok í mut núnú akolí lɛ́ ɓá pódôs nyê

     í   mut   núnú a-kolí   lɛ́ ɓá pód-ôs   nyê

    AUG man.c1 this.c1 SM.c1-deserve.PRS that INDF talk.SBJV-APPL him.c1

     'This man is worth talking to.'

A38'') Ok í mut núnú akolí ni mapódha

       í   mut   núnú a-kolí   ni   mapódha

      AUG man.c1 this.c1 SM.c1-deserve.PRS CONN talk.c6

     'This man is worth talking to'

  b) It is worth talking to this person.

* í kólî lípódôs í mut núnú

   í   kólî   lí-pód- ôs   í   mut   núnú

  EXPL deserve/suffice.PRS INF.c5-talk-APPL AUG man.c1 this.c1

A39a) Paul was probably able to do this.

A39a') Ok) ɓɛ́ɓɛ̂k ŋúdú aɓée **lɛ́** a(lá)ɓɔŋ hála

   ɓɛ́ɓɛ̂k   ŋúdú$_i$ a- ɓée lɛ́ pro$_i$ a-   (lá)   ɓɔŋ hála

   probably student.c1 SM.c1-be.PST that pro SM.c1-(can)   do that

 'The student was probably able to do this'

A39a'') Ok) ɓέɓêk ŋúdú aɓée la aɓɔ̂ŋ hála

  ɓέɓêk   ŋúdúᵢ   a-   ɓée   lá ɓɔŋ hála

  probably student.c1 SM.c1-be.PST that do that

'The student was probably able to do this'

  b) Paul is probably capable of reading that'.

  A39b') Ok ɓέɓêk ŋúdú aye lέ a(lá) âŋ káat

    ɓέɓêk   ŋúdúᵢ   a-   ye   **lέ** pro a-   (lá) âŋ káat

    probably student.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS that pro SM.c1-can read book.c7

'The students is probably capable of reading the book.'

  A39'') * ŋúdú aye ɓέɓêk lέ   a(lá) âŋ káat

        ŋúdúᵢ   a-   ye   ɓέɓêk **lέ** pro a-   (lá) âŋ káat

        student.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS probably that pro SM.c1-can read book.c7

A39''') ŋúdú aye tɔ́j lέ   a(lá) âŋ káat

        ŋúdúᵢ   a-   ye   tɔ́j   **lέ** proᵢ a-   (lá) âŋ   káat

      student.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS certainly that pro SM.c1-can read book.c7

        'The student is certainly capable of reading the book.'

Comments: Note that the adverb *ɓέɓêk* 'probably' cannot occur in sentence medial position (A39''). On the contrary, its counterpart *tɔ́j* 'certainly' can occur in that position (A39''').

  c) Paul is proud of being able to do this.

A39c') Ok ŋúdú a ye maséé líɓɔŋ hála

        ŋúdú   a-   ye   maséé   lí-   ɓɔŋ hála

        student.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS pride/joy.c6 INF.c5-do that

      'The student is proud of doing that'

A39c'')Ok ŋúdú a ye maséé líɓɔŋ hála

        ŋúdú   a-   ye   maséé   lí-   la   ɓɔŋ hála

        student.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS pride/joy.c6 INF.c5-can   do that

  'The student is proud of being able to do that'

A40a) The judge denied that anyone had committed a crime.

A40a') OK ŋkês abítâŋ lέ tɔndʒέέ aɓéeaɓɔ̂ŋ ɓéβá dʒâm

    ŋkês a-   bí-   tâŋ lέ tɔndʒέέᵢ **a-**   **ɓ̂ɔŋ**   proᵢ **a-**   **ɓɔ̂ŋ** ɓéβá dʒâm

    Judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2-deny that anyone SM.c1-be.PST3 pro SM.c1-do evil thing.c5

     'The judge denied that anyone had commited a crime' Lit: The judge denied that anyone had done

evil'

A40a'') ŋkês abítâŋ lέ tɔndʒέέ aɓéeaɓɔ̂ŋ ɓéβá dʒâm

    ŋkês a-   bí-   tâŋ lέ tɔndʒέέ **a-**   **bí- ɓɔŋ** ɓéβá dʒâm

    judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2-deny that anyone SM.c1-PST-do evil thing.c5

     'The judge denied that anyone had commited a crime' Lit: The judge denied that anyone had done

evil'

    b) The judge denied anyone to commit a crime. (* in English)

* ŋkês abítâŋ tɔndʒέέ líɓɔŋ ɓéβá dʒâm

  ŋkês a-   bí-   tâŋ **tɔndʒέέ lí-**   **ɓɔŋ** ɓéβá dʒâm

  judge.c1 SM.c1-PST2-deny anyone.c1 INF.c5-do evil thing.c5

    c) It was denied that anyone had committed a crime.

A40c') Ok íbítéŋâ lέ tɔndʒέέ aɓée aɓɔ̂ŋ ɓéβá dʒâm

í-   bí- téŋ- â   lέ tɔndʒέέ a-   ɓée   proᵢ a-   ɓɔŋ ɓéβá dʒâm

EXPL PST2-deny-PASS that anyone.c1 SM.c1-be.PST3 pro SM.c1-do evil thing.c5

'It was denied that anyone had committed a crime' Lit: It was denied that anyone had done evil'

A4c'') Ok íbítéŋâ lέ tɔndʒέέᵢ **a bí- ɓɔŋ** ɓéβá dʒâm

        í-   bí- téŋ-â   lέ tɔndʒέέᵢ **a bí- ɓɔŋ**   ɓéβá dʒâm

        EXPL PST2-deny-PASS that anyone.c1 SM.c1-PST2-do evil thing.c5

A41a) The prosecutor doubted that the prisoner had any money.

A41a') Ok ŋkês abípeená lɛ́ mut mɔɣ abéena mɔní

ŋkês   a-   bí-   peená lɛ́ mut   mɔɣ   a-   bée-na   mɔní
prosecutor.c1 SM.c1-PST2-doubt that man.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-have.PST3-ASP money
'The prosecutor doubted that the prisoner had any money.'
A41a'') Ok ŋkês abípeená lɛ́ mut mɔɣ aɓée agweé mɔní
ŋkês   a-   bí-   peená lɛ́ mut   mɔɣ   a-   ɓée pro a-gweé   mɔní
prosecutor.c1 SM.c1-PST2-doubt that man.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-be-PST3-have.ASP money.c4
'The prosecutor doubted that the prisoner had any money.' Lit: 'The prosecutor doubted that prisoner was having any money'
b) The prosecutor doubted the prisoner to have any money. (* in English)
 OK (see translation and comments below) ŋkês abípeená mut mɔɣ líɓânâ mɔní
ŋkês   a-   bí-   peená mut   mɔɣ   ínjuú lí-   ɓânâ mɔní
prosecutor.c1 SM.c1-PST2-doubt man.c1 prison.c4 for   INF.c5-have money.c4
Lit:'The prosecutor doubted the prisoner in order to have money.
Comments: Note that the preceding sentence does not convey the meaning of the sample English sentence as can be seen from the literal translation. The idea here is that 'in order to make money, the prosecutor had to doubt the prisoner'.
A42a) You remembered that I hate to eat fish.
A42a')Ok u bíhɔ́ŋôl lɛ́ mɛ ŋ́ɔɔ lídʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí
    u   bí-   hɔ́ŋôl   lɛ́ mɛ ŋ́- ŋɔɔ lí-   dʒɛ̂ tʃɔβí
   you.2SG PST2-remember that I   PRS-hate INF.c5-eat fish.c12
   'You remembered that I hate to eat fish'
  b) The girls remembered to get the cows ready.
A42b') Ok biŋgɔnd bíbíhɔ́ŋôl líkooɓa βiʒêk
    biŋgɔnd bí-   bí-   hɔ́ŋôl **lí-**   kooɓa   βiʒêk
    girls.c8 SM.c8-PST2-remember INF.c5-prepare/get ready food.c8
     'The girls remembered to get the food ready'
A42b'') Ok biŋgɔnd bíbíhɔ́ŋôl líɓánâ βiʒêk ɓɛɓɛɛ
    biŋgɔnd bí-   bí-   hɔ́ŋôl **lí-**líɓánâ   βiʒêk ɓɛɓɛɛ
    girls.c8 SM.c8-PST2-remember INF.c5-have/get food.c8 ready
     'The girls remembered to get the food ready'
  c) The men remember crossing the river when it was flooded.
A42c') ɓoolôm ɓáŋ́hɔ́ŋôl **líyap** lêp íŋgeda úɓée úhôl   **Embedded infinitive**
ɓoolôm ɓá-   ŋ́-   **hɔ́ŋôl**   **lí-**   **yap** lêp$_i$ í   ŋgeda pro$_i$ **ú-**   ɓée   pro$_i$
men.c2 SM.c2-PRS-think about INF.c5-cross river.c3 LOC time.c7 pro SM.c3-be.PST3-be pro
ú-   hôl
SM.c3-flood/raise
'The men remember crossing the river when it was flooded'
A42c'') ɓoolôm ɓáŋ́hɔ́ŋôl **máyap** má lêp íŋgeda ú ɓée úhôl **Nominalization of** *liyap* **'cross'**
ɓoolôm ɓá-   ŋ́-   **hɔ́ŋôl**   **máyap**   **má**   **lêp**$_i$ í   ŋgeda pro$_i$ ú-   ɓée
men.c2 SM.c2-PRS-remember crossing.c6 PREP river.c3 LOC time.c7 pro SM.c3-be.PST3
pro ú-   hôl
pro SM.c3-flood/raise
'The men remember **the crossing of the river** when it was flooded.'
A42c''') Ok ɓoolôm ɓáŋ́hɔ́ŋôl **kikií** ɓá ɓée ɓáŋyap lêp íŋgeda úɓée úhôl **Embedded declarative**
ɓoolôm ɓá-   ŋ́-   hɔ́ŋôl **kikií** ɓá-   ɓée   ɓá-   ń-   yap lêp$_i$ í   ŋgeda
men.c2 SM.c2-PRS-remember as   SM.c2-be.PST3-SM.c2-ASP-cross river.c3 LOC time.c7
pro$_i$ **ú-**   ɓée   pro$_i$ ú-   hôl
pro   SM.c3-be.PST3 pro SM.c3-flood/raise
'The men remember crossing the river when it was flooded' Lit: 'The men remember as they   were

crossing the river when it was flooded.'

d) The dog remembered what we taught him.

Ok ŋgwɔ́ ibíhɔ́ŋɔ̂l kíí/íyɔ̂m di bínííɣá yɔ̂

ŋgwɔ́ i- bí- hɔ́ŋɔ̂l kíí/ í yɔ̂m di bí- nííɣá yɔ̂
dog.c9 SM.c9-PST2-remember what.9/ AUG thing.c7 we PST2-teach it.c9

'The dog remembered what we taught it.'

  e) The girls will remember what to feed the cows

A42e') Ok biŋgɔnd bígáhɔ́ŋɔ̂l kíí/í yɔ̌m ɓágádʒês ɲjága   **declarative sentence**

biŋgɔnd$_i$ bí- gá- hɔ́ŋɔ̂l kíí/ í yɔ̌m pro$_i$ bí- gá- dʒê-s ɲjága
girls.c8 SM.c8-FUT2-remember what.c9 AUG thing.c7 pro SM.c8-FUT2-eat-CAUS cows.c10

'The girls will remember what to feed the cows.'

A42e'') Ok biŋgɔnd bígáhɔ́ŋɔ̂l kíí (injuú) líʒês ɲjága **In-situ wh-question followed by an infinitive**

biŋgɔnd bí- gá- hɔ́ŋɔ̂l **kíí** (ínjuú)lí dʒê-s ɲjága
girls.c8 SM.c8-FUT2-remember what.c9 for/in order to INF.c5-eat-CAUS cows.c10

'What will the girls remember in order to feed the cows?.'

Comments: Only (A42e') corresponds to the sample English sentence 'the girls will remember what to feed the cows.' Sentence (A42e'') on the contrary is an interrogative sentence which does not correspond to the sample sentence given above.

A43a) I imagined that I could do anything.

Ok mɛ bíhegdá lɛ́ mɛ ɓée lɛ́ mɛ (lá) ɓɔ̂ŋ tɔkíí

mɛ bí- hegdá lɛ́ mɛ ɓée lɛ́ mɛ (lá) ɓɔ̂ŋ tɔkíí
I PST2-imagine that I be.PST2 that I could/can do anything

'I imagined that I could do anything.'

  b) I imagined to be a millionaire. (* in English).

Ok mɛ bíhegdá líɓâ ŋwaŋ mût

  mɛ bí- hegdá lí-ɓâ ŋwaŋ mût
  I PST2-imagine INF.c5-be rich man.c1

 '*I imagined to be a rich man.'

Would 'I imagined being a rich man' be a better translation?

  c) I imagined winning the lottery.

Ok mɛ bíhegdá lídʒɛ́ pemsán

  mɛ bí- hegdá lí- dʒɛ́ pemsán
  I PST2-imagine INF.c5-eat competition.c9

 'I imagined winning the competition.'

NB: Note that the verb *dʒɛ́* in the preceding sentence is used idiomatically/metaphorically. In the language *lidʒɛ́ liɓondó* for instance means 'to win the cup'.

  d) I can imagine what they will ask me to do.

A403d') Ok mɛ ńla hêgdá kíí/íyɔ̌m ɓágáɓat mɛ́ líɓɔŋ

mɛ ń- la hêgdá kíí/ í yɔ̌m ɓá- gá- ɓat mɛ́ **lí-ɓɔŋ**
I PRS-can imagine what.c9/AUG thing.c7 they FUT2-ask me INF.c5-do

'I can imagine what they will ask me to do.'

A403d'') Ok mɛ ńla hêgdá kíí/íyɔ̌m ɓágáɓat (mɛ́) lɛ́ mɛ́ ɓɔ̂ŋ

mɛ ń- la hêgdá kíí/ í yɔ̌m ɓá- gá- ɓat mɛ́ lɛ́ mɛ́ ɓɔ̂ŋ
I PRS-can imagine what.c9/AUG thing.c7 they FUT2-ask me that I do.SBJV

'I can imagine what they will ask that I should me to do.'

A44a) John reminded the students that they should read chapter 2.

A44a') Ok Johánɛs abíhɔ́ŋláhá ɓáúdú lɛ́ ɓááŋ pɛs íɓáa

Johánɛs a- bí- hɔ́ŋlá-há ɓáúdú$_i$ lɛ́ pro **ɓá$_i$- áŋ** pɛs íɓáa
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 that pro SM.c2-read.SBJV chapter.c7 two.c7

'John reminded the students that they should read chapter 2'

A44a'') Ok Johánɛs abíhɔ́ŋláhá ɓáúdú lɛ́ ɓáńlámá áŋ pɛ̂s íɓáa

Johánɛs a   bí- hónlá-há   ɓáúdú   lɛ́ pro **ɓá- ń- lámá áŋ**   pɛs   íɓáa
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 that pro SM.c2-PRS-should read chap.c7 two.c7
'John reminded the students that they should read chapter 2'
    b) John reminded the students to read chapter 2.
A44b') Ok Johánɛs abíhóŋláhá ɓáúdú líâŋ pɛs íɓáa

Johánɛs a-   bí- hóŋlá- há   ɓáúdú   **lí-âŋ**   pɛs   íɓáa
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 INF.c5-read   chapter.c7 two.c7
'John reminded the students to read chapter 2'.

A44b'') Ok Johánɛs abíhóŋláhá ɓáúdú lɛ́ ɓááŋ pɛs íɓáa

Johánɛs a-   bí- hóŋlá-há   ɓáúdúᵢ   lɛ́ pro **ɓáᵢ- áŋ**   pɛs   íɓáa
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 that pro SM.c2-read.SBJV chapter.c7 two.c7
'John reminded the students that they should read chapter 2'
A44b''') Ok Johánɛs abíhóŋláhá ɓáúdú lɛ́ ɓáńlámá áŋ pɛ̂s íɓáa

Johánɛs a   bí- hóŋlá-há   ɓáúdúᵢ   lɛ́ proᵢ **ɓá- ń- lámá áŋ**   pɛ̂s   íɓáa
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 that pro SM.c2-PRS-should read chap.c7 two.c7
'John reminded the students that they should read chapter 2'
    c) John reminded to read chapter 2. (* in English)
OK Johánɛs abíhóŋôl líâŋ pɛs íɓáa

    Johánɛs a-   bí- hóŋôl lí- âŋ   pɛs   íɓáa
    John.c2 SM.c1-PST2-remind INF.c5-read   chapter.c7 two.c7
    'John remembered to read chapter 2.'

    d) The students were reminded that they should read chapter 2.
A44d') Ok ɓá bíhóŋláhá ɓáúdú lɛ́ ɓááŋ pɛs íɓáa

 ɓá bí- hóŋlá-há   ɓáúdúᵢ   lɛ́ proᵢ ɓá- áŋ   pɛs   íɓáa
 INDF PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 that pro SM.c2-read.SBJV chapter.c7 two.c7
'The students were reminded that they should read chapter 2.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) reminded the students that they should read chapter 2.'
A44d'') Ok ɓá bíhóŋláhá ɓáúdú lɛ́ ɓáńlámá âŋ pɛ̂s íɓáa

ɓá bí- hóŋlá-há   ɓáúdúᵢ   lɛ́ proᵢ ɓá- ń- lámá âŋ   pɛ̂s   íɓáa
INDF PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 that pro they PRS-should read chapter.c7   two.c7
'The students were reminded that they should read chapter 2.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) reminded
    e) The students were reminded to read chapter 2.
A44d'') Ok ɓá bíhóŋláhá ɓáúdú líâŋ pɛ̂s íɓáa

ɓá bí- hóŋlá-há   ɓáúdúᵢ   lí-âŋ   pɛ̂s   íɓáa
INDF PST2-remind-CAUS students.c2 INF.c5-read chapter.c7 two.c7
'The students were reminded to read chapter 2.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) reminded the students to read chapter 2.'
A45a) The students read that the scout was unwilling to leave the camp.
Ok ɓáúdú ɓábíâŋ lɛ́ mudaá aɓé gwês ɓéé ɲódî í lilémbél

ɓáúdú   ɓá- bí- âŋ   lɛ́ mudaá a-   ɓé   gwês ɓéé ɲódî í   lilémbél
students.c2 SM.c2-PST2-read that woman SM.c1-be.PST3 like   NEG leave LOC kitchen.c5
'The students read that the woman was unwilling to leave the kitchen.'
    b) Mary wrote that she would not consider leaving the school.
Ok Maríja abítilá lɛ́ ańlaɓée jôŋ líɲɔdi í sǔklu kikií ŋgim dʒam

Maríjaᵢ a-   bí- tilá lɛ́ proᵢ a-   ń- la ɓee jôŋ lí- ɲɔdi í   sǔklu   kikií
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-write that pro SM.c1-PRS-can NEG take INF.c5-leave LOC school.c9 as

ŋgim dʒam

some thing/issue/problem

'Mary wrote that she would not consider leaving the school'.

    c) The old man mumbled that the water tasted bad, but no one understood him.

Ok mmáŋ mût úbíhuŋɓɛ́ lɛ́ malêp máɓée mánlɔl, ndí tɔmut abínôgɓéé ɲɛ́

mmáŋ mût ú- bí- huŋɓɛ́ lɛ́ malêpᵢ má- ɓée proᵢ má- ń- lɔl,
old.c3 man.c1 SM.c3-PST2-whisper that water.c6-SM.c6-be.PST3 pro SM.c6-PROG-taste bad

ndí tɔmut a- bí- nôg- ɓéé wɔ́
but nobody.c1 SM.c1-PST2-understand NEG him.c3

'The old man whispered that the water tasted bad, but no one understood him'.

    d) The child whined that no one liked him, but we thought that he was just tired.

Ok maaŋgɛ́ abítʃɛ́lêl lɛ́ tɔmut aŋ́gwêsɓéé ɲɛ́, ndí dí bíhóɲôl lɛ́ a ɓee ndígí ŋwáág

maaŋgɛ́ₒ a- bí- tʃɛ́lêl lɛ́ tɔmut a- ń- gwês ɓéé ɲɛ́, ndí dí bí- hóɲôl
child.c1 SM.c1-PST2-whine that nobody.c1 SM.c1-PRS-like NEG him.c1 but we PST2-think

lɛ́ proᵢ a ɓée ndígí ŋwáág
that pro SM.c1-be.PST just/only tired.c1

'The child whined that nobody liked him, but we tought that he was just tired.'

A46a) The conductor yelled to us that we were in danger, but we knew the train was not coming.

Ok nlûg abíɓéglɛ́ ɓés lɛ́ di ɓéé í ɓéβâ, ndí di bíjí lɛ́ maʃîn aɓéeɓéé ańlɔ

nlûg a- bí- ɓégl-ɛ́ ɓés lɛ́ di ɓéé í ɓéβâ, ndí di bí- jí lɛ́
conductor.c1 SM.c1-PST2-yell-APPL us that we be.PST LOC danger but we PST2-know that

maʃînᵢ a- ɓee ɓéé proᵢ a- ń- lɔ
train.c1 SM.c1-be.PST NEG pro SM.c1-PROG-come

'The conductor yelled to us that we were in danger, but we knew the train was not coming'

 b) The guide yelled that we would have to leave, but no one seemed to hear what he said.

Ok ŋunda ndʒĕl abílônd lɛ́ di ɓé lámá ɲɔdi, ndí tɔmut abíɓɔŋ ɓéé wɛɛ́ ańnɔg íyɔ̌m aɓée ańkăl

ŋundandʒĕlᵢ a-bí-lônd lɛ́ di ɓé lámá ɲɔdi, ndí tɔmutᵢᵢ a- bí-ɓɔŋ
guide.c1 SM.c1-PST2-yell that we be.PST would leave but nobody.c1 SM.c1-PST2-do

ɓéé wɛɛ́ proᵢᵢ a- ń- nôg í yɔ̌m proᵢ a- ɓée proᵢ a- ń- kăl
NEG as if pro SM.c1-PRS-hear AUG thing.c7 pro SM.c1-be.PST pro SM.c1-PROG-say

'The guide yelled that we would have to leave, but nobody seemed to hear what he said'

   c) The conductor yelled to us to get off the tracks, but we were not ready to leave.

Ok ŋundandʒĕl abíɓéglɛ́ ɓês lɛ́ dí ɲɔ́dî í ndʒêl, ndí di ɓée ɓéé ɓɛɓɛɛ líɲɔdi

ŋundandʒĕlᵢ a-bí-ɓégl-ɛ́ ɓês lɛ́ dí ɲɔ́dî í ndʒêl, ndí di ɓée ɓéé
guide.c1 SM.c1-PST2-yell-APPL us that we leave.SBJV LOC way.c7 but we be.PST NEG

ɓɛɓɛɛ lí- ɲɔdi
ready INF.c5-leave

'The conductor yelled to us that they get off the tracks, but we were not ready to leave.'

 d) The conductor yelled to get off the tracks, but we didn't realize that he was yelling at us.

A47a) The weatherman warned us that it would rain, but we doubted that he was right.

Ok mɓeŋgɛ ŋgeda abíɓehɛ́ ɓês lɛ́ nɔ̌p aɓé lámá nô, ndí di bípeená lɛ́ aɓé pôt mbálɛ

mɓeŋgɛ ŋgedaᵢ a- bí- ɓéhɛ́ ɓês lɛ́ nɔ̌p a- ɓé lámá nô ndí di
observer.c1 time.c7 SM.c1-PST2-warn us that rain.c1 SM.c1-be.PST would rain but we

bí- peená lɛ́ proᵢ a- ɓé pôt mbálɛ
PST2-doubt that pro SM.c1 be.PST talk truth.c9

'The weatherman warned us that it would rain, but we doubted that he was right.'

 b) The weatherman warned that it would rain, but we assured fans that it would be sunny.

Ok mɓeŋgɛ ŋgeda abíɓéɲɛ́ lɛ́ nɔ̌p aɓé lámá nô, ndí di bíyîs ɓágwês

mɓeŋgɛ ŋgeda a- bí- ɓéhɛ́ lɛ́ nɔ̌p a- ɓé lámá nô, ndí di
weather.c1 time.c7 SM.c1-PST2-warn that rain.c1 SM.c1-be.PST would rain but we

bí- yîs ɓágwês ndamb ni hémlɛ lɛ́ hjaŋgáá hí- gá- ɓăj

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PST2-inform lovers.c2 ball.c9 with truth.c9 that sun.c19 SM.c19-FUT2-shine

'Theweatherman warned that it would rain, but we assured the fans that it would be sunny.'

  c) The doctor warned us to avoid the sun.

A47c') Ok mut matíɓlá abíɓéhɛ́ ɓês lɛ́ díkóŋɓá hjaŋgáá

mut   matíɓlá   a-   ɓí-   ɓéhɛ́ ɓês **lɛ́** dí kóŋɓá   hjaŋgáá   **that-clause**

person.c1 healing.c6 SM.c1-PST2-warn us that we avoid.SBJV sun.c19

'The doctor warned us to avoid the sun.'Lit: 'The doctor warned us that we should avoid the sun'

A47c'') Ok mut matíɓlá abíɓéhɛ́ ɓês likóŋɓá hjaŋgáá   **embedded infinitive**

  mut   matíɓlá   a-   ɓí-   ɓéhɛ́ ɓês li-   kóŋɓa hjaŋgáá

  person.c1 healing.c6 SM.c1-PST2-warn us INF.c5-avoid   sun.c19

  d) The doctor warned to avoid the sun.

* mut matíɓlá   abíɓéhɛ́ ɓês likóŋɓa hjaŋgáá

  mut   matíɓlá   a-   ɓí-   ɓéhɛ́ **li-   kóŋɓa hjaŋgáá**

  person.c1 healing.c6 SM.c1-PST2-warn INF.c5-avoid   sun.c19

A48a) That everyone was guilty was upsetting

A48a') Ok líní (dʒam) lɛ́ híkií mut aɓée líhoha líɓée líŋkwéndha

[líní (dʒam) lɛ́   híkií mut   a-   ɓee   líhoha]$_i$ lí-   ɓee   pro$_i$ lí-   ŋ́-

 this.c5 thing.c5 that every person.c1 SM.c1-be.PST fault.c5 SM.c5.be.PST pro SM.c5-PROG

kwénd-ha

upset-CAUS

'The fact that everyone was guilty was upsetting'

A48a') lɛ́ híkií mut aɓée líhoha líɓée líŋkwéndha

[lɛ́ híkií mut   a-   ɓee   líhoha]$_i$, hála$_i$ a-   ɓee   pro a   ŋ́-

that every person.c1 SM.c1-be.PST fault.c5   that.c1 SM.c1-be.PST pro SM.c1-PROG-

kwénd-ha

CAUS-upset

 'That everyone was guilty was upsetting'

  b) To eat meat would be upsetting.Ok J

A48b') Ok lidʒɛ́ nlâmb línla ɓá (lɛ́) líŋkwéndha

 [li-dʒɛ́   nlâmb]$_i$ lí-   ń-   la   ɓá (**lɛ́**) pro$_i$ lí-   ŋ́-   kwénd-ha

 INF.c5-eat meat.c3 SM.c5-PRS-would be that pro SM.c5-PROG upset-CAUS

  'To eat meat would be upsetting'.

  b) For important leaders to eat meat would upset the vegetarians.

A48b') *ínjuú ɓaanɛ ɓakɛ́ŋí lidʒɛ́ nlâmb línla kwéndês ɓaŋgidʒɛ́ ńlâmb ***for-sentential subject**

ínjuú ɓaanɛ   ɓakɛ́ŋí li-   dʒɛ́ nlâmb lí-   ń-   la   kwéndês ɓaŋgidʒɛ́ ńlâmb

for   leaders.c2 great.c2 INF.c5-eat meat.c3 SM.c5-PRS-would upset   vegeterians.c2

'For important leaders to eat meat would upset vegetarians.'

A48b'') ínjuú ɓaanɛ ɓakɛ́ŋí**,** lidʒɛ́ nlâmb línla kwéndês ɓaŋgidʒɛ́ ńlâmb/wɔ́ **PP-topic reading**

ínjuú ɓaanɛ   ɓakɛ́ŋí, li-   dʒɛ́ nlâmb lí-   ń-   la   kwéndês ɓaŋgidʒɛ́ ńlâmb/wɔ́

for   leaders.c2 great.c2 INF.c5-eat meat.c3 SM.c5-PRS-would upset   vegeterians.c2/it.c3

'For important leaders, to eat meat would upset vegetarians.'

Comments: Only a topic reading is allowed as shown in (A48b'') above. The presence of the intonational break (represented here by a comma) triggers a PP topic reading while when dropped, the sentence becomes illicit because a CP headed by the preposition *ínjuú* 'for' (in this case) cannot be a sentential subject.

If the *ínjuú* clause is not the subject, why is the subject agreement c5?

  c) To eat meat would upset the vegetarians.

Ok lidʒɛ́ nlâmb línla kwéndês ɓaŋgidʒɛ́ ńlâmb/wɔ́   **Infinitive subject (ok)**

 li-   dʒɛ́ nlâmb lí-   ń-   la   kwéndês ɓaŋgidʒɛ́ ńlâmb/wɔ́

 INF.c5-eat meat.c3 SM.c5-PRS-would upset   vegeterians.c2/it.c3

  'To eat meat would upset vegetarians.'

d) That the president leave early is important.

Ok lέ ŋkɛna aḿpúlέ ɲɔ́dí (hála) aye sɛŋ

[lέ   ŋkɛna   a-   ḿ- púlέ   ɲɔ́dí]ᵢ (hálaᵢ) a-   ye   sɛŋ

 that president.c1 SM.c1-PRS-be early leave that.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS important

'That the president leave early is important'.

Are these really sentential subjects or another form of topic? The presence of SM.c1 seems odd here. Is hála demonstrative here? If so, is it a resumptive of some sort?

e) That the president has already left is important.

Ok lέ ŋkɛna aŋɲɔ́di (hála) aye nsɛŋ

lέ   ŋkɛna   a-   ŋ- ɲɔ́di (hála) a-   ye   nsɛŋ

that president.c1 SM.c1-PRS-leave that.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS important

'That the president has left is important'.

A49a) That the messenger arrive early is necessary.

Ok lέ nlɛɣɛl win ápúlέ lɔ (hála) aye nsɛŋ

lέ nlɛɣɛl   win   á-   púlέ   lɔ   (hála) a-   ye   nsɛŋ

that bearer.c1 news.c3 SM.c1-be early.SBJV arrive that.c1 SM.c1-be.PRS necessary

'That the messenger leave early is important'

b) It is necessary that the messenger arrive early.

Ok (í yé) nsɛŋ (**lέ**) nlɛɣɛl win ápúlέ lɔ

 (í   yé)   nsɛŋ   (**lέ**) nlɛɣɛl   win   á-   púlέ   lɔ

 EXPL be.PRS necessary that bearer.c1 news.c3 SM.c1-be early.SBJV arrive

 'It is necessary that the messenger arrive early'.

c) It is necessary for the messenger to arrive early.

Ok (í   yé)   nsɛŋ   **ínjuú** nlɛɣɛl   win   **lí**   **púlέ**   lɔ

 EXPL be.PRS necessary for   bearer.c1 news.c3 INF.c5-be early.SBJV arrive

 'It is necessary that the messenger arrive early'.

d) It is necessary to arrive early.

Ok Ok (í   yé)   nsɛŋ   **lí**   **púlέ**   lɔ

     EXPL be.PRS necessary INF.c5-be early.SBJV arrive

 'It is necessary to arrive early'

Is the SBJV marked on the predicate here and not on the verb, or is it a mistake that lí is treated like an independent word in this example and the one before it?

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

A49e') Ok ŋgɔmîn abíkăl lέ íɓee nsέŋ ínjuú hikií mut líɲɔdi

   ŋgɔmîn   a-   bí- kăl lέ í-   ɓee   nsέŋ   ínjuú hikií mut   lí-   ɲɔdi

  authority.c1 SM.c1-PST2-say that EXPL be.PST necessary for   every person.c1 INF.c5-leave

  'The authority stated that it would be necessary for everyone to leave'

A49e'') Ok ŋgɔmîn abíkăl lέ íɓee nsέŋ lέ hikií mut áɲɔ́dî

ŋgɔmîn   a-   bí- kăl lέ í-   ɓee   nsέŋ   lέ hikií mut   á-   authority.c1

SM.c1-PST2-say that EXPL be.PST necessary that every person.c1 SM.c1-

ɲɔ́dî

leave.SBJV

'The authority stated that it would be necessary that everyone leave'

Comment: In Basa'a, the same lexical item nsɛŋ means 'necessary/necessity' and 'important/importance'.

A50a) We prevented the teacher from yelling at the children.

Ok di bísoŋgá málêt líɓâm ɓɔɔŋgέ

   di bí-   soŋgá málêt   lí-   ɓâm ɓɔɔŋgέ

   we PST2-prevent teacher.c1 INF.c5-yell children.c2

'We prevented the teacher from yelling the children.'

b) We allowed the guards to search the prisoners for weapons.

A50b') Ok di bínéhnέ ɓátât ndʒěl líjêŋ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ínjuú ŋgâ

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di bí- néh-nɛ́ ɓátât ndʒɛl lí- jḛ̂ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ́njuú ŋgâ
we PST2-open-APPL guards.c2 way.c7 INF.c5-search persons.c2 CONN prison.c4 for arms.c10
'We allowed the guards to search the prisoners for weapons'.
A50b'') Ok di bínéhnɛ́ ɓátât ndʒɛl lɛ́ ɓájḛ̂ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ínjuú ŋgâ

di bí- néh-nɛ́ ɓátât$_i$ ndʒɛl **lɛ́** pro$_i$ ɓá- jḛ̂ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g we
PST2-open-APPL guards.c2 way.c7 that pro SM.c2-search.SBJV persons.c2 PREP prison.c4
ínjuú ŋgâ
for arms.c10
'We allowed the guards to search the prisoners for weapons'. Lit: 'We allowed that the guards should search the prisoners for weapons'
   c) We forced the guards to warn the prisoners about inspections.
A50c') Ok di bíhélês ɓátât líɓó̰ɛ́ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ínjuú ŋwanâ

   di bí- hélês ɓátât lí- ɓó̰ɛ́ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ínjuú ŋwanâ
   we PST2-force guards.c2 INF.c5-warn persons.c2 CONN prison.c4 for/about inspection.c3
    'We forced the guards to warn the prisoners about inspections'.
A50c'') Ok di bíhélês ɓátât lɛ́ ɓáɓó̰ɛ́ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ínjuú ŋwanâ

   di bí- hélês ɓátât$_i$ lɛ́ pro$_i$ ɓá- ɓó̰ɛ́ ɓot ɓá mɔ́g ínjuú
   we PST2-force guards.c2 that pro SM.c2-warn.SBJV persons.c2 CONN prison.c4 for/about
ŋwanâ
inspection.c3
  'We forced the guards to warn the prisoners about inspections'. Lit: '*We forced the guards that they should warn the prisoners about inspections.'
   d) We permitted that inspection take place early in the morning. (?? For some in English).
Ok dí bínḛ̂ɓɛ́ lɛ́ ŋwaná ú púlɛ́ tágɓɛ (βíkɛkla)

   dí bí- nḛ̂ɓɛ́ lɛ́ ŋwaná ú- púlɛ́ tágɓɛ (βíkɛkla)
   we PST2-accept/permit that inspections.c3 SM.c3-be early.SBJV pass/take place morning.c8
'We permitted that inspection take place early in the morning'.
A51a) We advised John to speak to a therapist.
Ok Ok di bítí Jóhánɛs maéβá (ínjuú) lipódôs mut matíɓlá

di bí- tí Jóhánɛs maéβá (ínjuú) li pód- ôs mut matíɓlá
we PST2-give John.c1 advice.c6 for/about INF.c5-speak-APPL person.c1 healing.c6
'We advised John to speak to a therapist/ a healer'.
   b) We advised John that he (should) speak to a therapist.
A51b') Ok di bítí Jóhánɛs maéβá lɛ́ á pódôs mut matíɓlá

di bí- tí Jóhánɛs$_i$ maéβá lɛ́ pro á$_i$- pód- ôs mut matíɓlá
we PST2-give John.c1 advice.c6 that pro SM.c1-speak-APPL person.c1 healing.c6
'We advised John that he speak to a therapist/ a healer'.
A51b'') Ok di bítí Jóhánɛs maéβá lɛ́ a ńlámá pódôs mut matíɓlá

di bí- tí Jóhánɛs$_i$ maéβá lɛ́ pro á$_i$- ń- lámá pód- ôs mut matíɓlá
we PST2-give John.c1 advice.c6 that pro SM.c1-PRS-should speak-APPL person.c1 healing.c6
'We advised John that he should speak to a therapist/ a healer'.
Note: (51b) is marginal without *should* in English for some speakers.
A52a) Elsa stopped talking to Martin.
A52a') Ok Maríja abíŋwas (lí) pódôs Jóhânɛs
Maríja a- bí- **ŋwas** (lí-) pód-ôs Jóhânɛs OR
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-stop (INF.c5-) talk-APPL John.c1
'Mary stopped talking to John.'
A52a'') Ok Maríja abítéé (lí) pódôs Jóhânɛs
Maríja a- bí- **téé** (lí-) pód-ôs Jóhânɛs
Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-stop (INF.c5-) talk-APPL John.c1
'Mary stopped talking to John.'

   b) Elsa stopped Martin from talking to Julia.

Ok Maríja abíŋweshá Jákop lipódôs Jóhânɛs

Maríja	a-	bí-	**ŋwes-há**	Jákop	li-	pód-ôs	Jóhânɛs
Mary.c1	SM.c1-PST2-stop-CAUS			Jacob.c1	INF.c5-talk-APPL		John.c1

'Mary stopped Jacob from talking to John.'

   c) Elsa stopped to talk to Martin.

A52c') Ok Maríja abíŋwas (lí) pódôs Jóhânɛs

Maríja	a-	bí-	**ŋwas**	(lí-)	pód-ôs	Jóhânɛs	OR
Mary.c1	SM.c1-PST2-stop			(INF.c5-)	talk-APPL	John.c1	

'Mary stopped to talk to John.'

A52c'') Ok Maríja abítéé (lí) pódôs Jóhânɛs

Maríja	a-	bí-	**téé**	(lí-)	pód-ôs	Jóhânɛs
Mary.c1	SM.c1-PST2-stop			(INF.c5-)	talk-APPL	John.c1

'Mary stopped to talk to John.'

Note: A52c is * for English speakers if it means 'Elsa stopped talking to Martin', but it also has an acceptable meaning, 'Elsa stopped in order to talk to Martin.' For A52c, we are interested in whether or not the first reading is possible, but if the second reading is possible for the same translation, please let us know.

   d) Elsa continued talking to Bill.

 A52d') Ok Maríja abíkê **ni** βisú ni pódôs Jóhânɛs

Maríja	a-	bí-	kê	**ni**	βisú	ni	pód-ôs	Jóhânɛs
Mary.c1	SM.c1-PST2-go			CONN	front	INF	talk-ASP	John.c1

'Mary   continued talking to John.

   e) Elsa continued to talk to Bill.

A52d'') Ok Maríja abíkê ni βisú lípódôs Jóhânɛs   (see comments below)

Maríja	a-	bí-	kê ni	βisú	**lí**	**pód-ôs**	**Jóhânɛs**
Mary.c1	SM.c1-PST2-go		CONN	front	INF.c5-talk-ASP		John.c1

'Mary   moved forward in order to talk to John'.

   f) Elsa kept talking to Bill.

Ok Maríja abíkê ni βisú ni pódôs Jóhânɛs

Maríja	a-	bí-	kê ni	βisú	ni	pód-ôs	Jóhânɛs
Mary.c1	SM.c1-PST2-go		CONN	front	INF	talk-APPL	John.c1

'Mary   continued talking to John. (see also A52d' above).

   g) Elsa kept Bill happy.

A52g') *Maríja abítéédá Bíkûn maséé

Maríja	a-	bí-	téédá	Bíkûn	maséé
Mary.c1-SM.c2-PST2-keep				Bikûn.c1	happiness.c6

A52g'') Ok Maríja abítéédá Bíkûn ni maséé

Maríja	a-	bí-	téédá	Bíkûn	ni	maséé
Mary.c1-SM.c2-PST2-keep/take care				Bikûn.c1	with	happiness.c6

 'Mary took care of Bikûn happily (here it is Mary who is happy).'

A52g''') Ok Maríja abítéédá Bíkûn lɔ́ŋgê

Maríja	a-	bí-	téédá	Bíkûn	lɔ́ŋgê
Mary.c1-SM.c2-PST2-keep/take.care				Bikûn.c1	good.c7

 'Mary took care of Bikûn well.'

The Basaá verb *téédá* handle/take care of/keep is incompatible with the nominal adjective *maséé* 'happy' as shown in (A52g').

  h) Elsa kept Bill to be happy (* for English speakers if Bill is the one who is happy)

Ok Maríja abítéédá Bikûn líɓâ maséé (see translation and comments)

   Maríja   a-   bí-   téédá   Bikûn   lí-   ɓâ maséé

   Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-keep/take.care.of Bikûn.c1 INF.c5-be happiness.c6

  'Mary took care of Bikûn in order to be happy'

Comments: Here the maintenance of Bikûn being happy is not possible. 'Mary took care of him because she wanted to be happy'.

  i) Elsa kept Bill eating vegetables. (?? For many English speakers where Bill is the eater)

* Maríja abítéédá Bikûn lídʒέ bikáj

  Maríja a-   bí-   téédá   Bikûn   lí-   dʒέ bikáj

  Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-keep/maintain Bikûn.c1 INF.c5-eat vegetables.c8

  j) Elsa kept Bill from eating vegetables.

A52j') * Maríja abítéédá Bikûn lídʒέ bikáj

  Maríja a-   bí-   téédá   Bikûn   lí-   dʒέ bikáj

  Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-keep/maintain Bikûn.c1 INF.c5-eat vegetables.c8

A52j'') Ok Maríja abísoŋgá Bikûn lídʒê bikáj

     Maríja a-   bí- **soŋgá**   Bikûn lí-   dʒê bikáj

     Mary.c1 SM.c1-PST2-prevent from Bikûn INF.c5-eat vegetables.c8

    'Mary prevented Bikûn from eating vegetables'

Comments: The sentence in (A52j'') is due to the replacement of the lexical verb *téédá* by   *soŋgá*.

Is it possible to tell if *Bikûn* is the direct object or if it is the structural subject of the *li*-infinitive?

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

A53a) It is known that melons are claimed to be fruits.

A53a')Ok hála a/ í ńjíβá lέ minlεˇεm míńkelá líɓâ binuɣá

hála a-/   í   ń- ji-   βá **lέ** minlεˇεm mí- ń- kel-á   lí-   ɓâ binuɣá

that.c1 SM.c1/ EXPL PRS-know-PASS that bats.c4 SM.c4-PRS-say-PASS INF.c5-be animal.c8

'It is known that the bats are claimed/said to be animals'

A53a'')Ok hála a / í ńjíβá lέ minlεˇεm míńkelá lέ mí yê binuɣá

hála   a /   í   ń- ji-   βá **lέ** minlεˇεm_i mí- ń- kel-á   **lέ** pro_i mí- yê

that.c1 SM.c1-/ EXPL PRS-know-PASS that bats.c4   SM.c4-PRS-say-PASS that pro SM.c4-be

binuɣá

animals.c8

'It is known that the bats are claimed/said to be animals'

Comments: Both (A53a') and (A53'') convey the same interpretation despite the fact that the latter contains two overt lexical complementizers that introduce each an embedded declarative clause.

  b) It is claimed that melons are fruits.

Ok   hála a / íńkelá **lέ** mbondó íyé βitátâm

  hála   a /   í   ń- kel-á   **lέ** mbondó   í-   yé βitátâm

  that.c1 SM.c1-/ EXPL PRS-say-PASS that coconuts.c10 SM.c10-be fruits.c8

 'It is known that coconuts are claimed/said to be fruits'

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

A53c') *hála a / í ŋhóŋlá lέ nŏp agákεέ ni βisú ni lihúlûs malêp

hála   a- /   í   ń- hóŋl- á   lέ nŏp a- gá- kεέ ni   βisú ni

that.c1 SM.c1-/ EXPL PRS-believe-PASS that rain.c1 SM.c1-FUT2-go CONN front CONN

li-   húl- ûs   malêp

INF.c5-raise-CAUS waters.c6

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

A53'') Ok ɓot ɓáɲ́hɔŋ ɔl lɛ́ nɔ̌p agákɛɛ́ ni βisú ni lihúlûs malêp

ɓot   ɓá-   ɲ́- hɔŋ ɔl   lɛ́   nɔ̌p   a-   gá- kɛɛ́ ni   βisú ni
people.c2 SM.c2-PRS-believe that rain.c1 SM.c1-FUT2-go CONN front CONN
li-   húl- ûs   malêp
INF.c5-raise-CAUS waters.c6

'People believe that the rain will continue to cause flooding'

Comments: Epistemic verbs in Basa'a disallow expletive constructions such as (A53') which is unacceptable.

   d) it is expected that the tourists will complain to the authorities.

A53d') *í ḿɓemá lɛ́ ɓaken ɓágá tʃɛ̂lɛ́ ŋgɔ́mîn

  í   ḿ- ɓem- á   lɛ́   ɓaken ɓá-   gá   tʃɛ̂l-   ɛ́   ŋgɔ́mîn
  EXPL PRS-expect-PASS that guests.c2 SM.c2-FUT2-complain-APPL authority.c1

A53d'') Ok ɓaken ɓágáɓemá lítʃɛ̂lɛ́ ŋgɔ́mîn

ɓaken   ɓá-   gá- ɓem- á   lí-   tʃɛ̂l-   ɛ   ŋgɔ́mîn
guests.c2 SM.c2-FUT2-expect-PASS INF.c5-complain-APPL authority.c1

'The guests will be expected to complain to the authority.'

A53d''') Ok ɓot ɓágá ɓêm ɓáken lítʃɛ̂lɛ ŋgɔ́mîn

ɓot   ɓá-   gá   ɓêm ɓáken lí-   tʃɛ̂l-   ɛ   ŋgɔ́mîn
people.c2 SM.c2-FUT2-expect guests.c2 INF.c5-complain-APPL authority.c1

'People will expect the guests to complain to the authority.'

A54a) That the inspection take place at 3 o'clock was required by the officers

Ok lɛ́ ŋwaná úɓáné í ŋgêŋ áâ (hála) abíɓedá ni ŋgɔ́mîn

lɛ́   ŋwaná   ú-   ɓá-né   í   ŋgêŋ áâ   (hála) a-   bí- ɓed-á
that insection.c3 SM.c3-be.SBJV-APPL LOC time.c7 three.c7 (that.c1) SM.c1-PST2-ask-PASS ni
ŋgɔ́mîn
CONN authority.c

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

  b) That precautions would be necessary was expected'

A54b') Ok lɛ́ matât máɓée lɛ́ máɓá nsɛ́ŋ (hála) aɓéé ɓéma

lɛ́ matâti   má- ɓee lɛ́   proi má- ɓá nsɛ́ŋ (hála) a-   ɓéé
that precautions.c6 SM.c6-be.PST that pro SM.c6-be necessary (that.c1) SM.c1-be.PST
ɓém-a
expect-APPL

'That precautions would be necessary was expected'

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

A54c') Ok lɛ́ mut mɔg aɓéénɛ líhoha ínjuú ŋgandak mâm (hála) abínɛ́nɛ̂ ɓéé tɔkɛ̂l

lɛ́ mut   mɔg   a-   ɓéé- nɛ   líhoha ínjuú ŋgandak mâm (hála) a-
that person.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-be.PST-APPL fault.c5 for   many   things.c6 that.c1 SM.c1-
bí- nɛ́nɛ̂   ɓéé   tɔ kɛ̂l
PST2-reveal/find NEG no day

'That the prisoner was guilty of many things was never revealed'

A54c'') Ok lɛ́ mut mɔg aɓééna ilɔɔ lihoha dʒádá (hála) abínɛ́nɛ̂ ɓéé tɔkɛ̂l

lɛ́ mut   mɔg   a-   ɓéé-na   ilɔɔ   lihoha dʒádá (hála) a-   bí-
that person.c1 prison.c4 SM.c1-have.PST-APPL more than fault.c5 one.c5 that.c1 SM.c1-PST2-
nɛ́nɛ̂   ɓée   tɔ kɛ̂l
reveal/find NEG no day

'That the prisoner was guilty of many things was never revealed'

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

Ok lɛ́ mintʃaŋgɓɛ́nɛ́ míɓee lɛ́ mígwélá (hála) abíkelá ɓéé ɓɛs tɔkɛ̂l

lɛ́ mintʃaŋgɓɛ́nɛ́i mí- ɓee lɛ́   proi mí- gwél-á   (hála) a-   bí- kel- á

that bandits.c4   SM.c4-be.PST almost pro SM.c4-arrest-PASS (that.c1)SM.c1-PST2-say-PASS
ɓéé   ɓɛs tɔ kêl

NEG us no day

'That the bandits would be arrested was never told to us'.

　　e) We were never told that the protestors would be arrested.

Ok í bíkelá ɓéé ɓɛs tɔkêl lɛ́ mintʃaŋɓɛ́nɛ́ míɓéé lɛ́ mígwélá

í   bí- kel-á   ɓéé ɓɛs tɔ kêl lɛ́ mintʃaŋɓɛ́nɛ́ᵢ mí- ɓee lɛ́   proᵢ mí-
EXPL PST2-say-PASS NEG us   no day that bandits.c4   SM.c4-be.PST almost pro   SM.c4

gwél-á

arrest-PASS

'We were never told that the protestors would be arrested'

A55a) John was forced to eat the soup.

A55a') Ok Johánɛs aɓée ŋ́hélhak **lí**dʒê nsúgí

　　Johánɛs a-   ɓée   ŋ́hélhak   **lí**- dʒê nsúgí

　　John.c1 SM.c1-be.PST forced/obliged INF.c5-eat sauce.c3

We need a more complete gloss for 'forced'

　　'John was forced to eat the soup'.

A55a'') Ok Johánɛs aɓée ŋ́hélhak **lɛ́** ádʒê nsúgí

Johánɛsᵢ a-   ɓée   ŋ́hélhak   **lɛ́** proᵢ á-   dʒê   nsúgí

John.c1 SM.c1-be.PST forced/obliged that pro SM.c1-eat.SBJV sauce.c3

　　'John was forced to eat the soup'.

A55a''') Ok Johánɛs abíhélhá **lí**dʒê nsúgí

Johánɛs a-   bí- hél-há   **lí**   dʒê nsúgí

John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-force-CAUS INF.c5-eat sauce.c3

　　'John was forced to eat the soup'.

A55a'''') Ok Johánɛs abíhélhá **lɛ́** ádʒê nsúgí

Johánɛsᵢ a-   bí- hél-há   **lɛ́** proᵢ á-   dʒê   nsúgí

John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-force-CAUS that pro SM.c1-eat.SBJV sauce.c3

　　'John was forced to eat the soup'.

Comments: In (A55a') and (A55a''), it is the case that no direct cause (e.g. his father) had forced John to eat the soup. Maybe he was forced to eat under some compelling circumstances not involving other people. Conversely, in (A55a''') and (A55''''), there is a direct cause (e.g. his father) that forced him to eat the soup. Note however that a direct causation can also be possible for (A55a') and (A55a'').

　　b) John was advised to avoid the soup.

A55b') Ok Johánɛs abítíβá maéβá **lí**kɛ́ŋglɛ́ nsúgí

Johánɛs a-   bí- tí- βá   maéβá lí-   kɛ́ŋglɛ́ nsúgí

John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-give-PASS advice.c6 INF.c5-avoid sauce.c3

'John was advised to avoid the soup'

A55b'') Ok Johánɛs abítíβá maéβá lɛ́ ákɛ́ŋglɛ́ nsúgí

Johánɛsᵢ a-   bí- tí- βá   maéβá **lɛ́** proᵢ á-   kɛ́ŋglɛ́   nsúgí

John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-give-PASS advice.c6 that pro SM.c1-avoid.SBJV sauce.c3

'John was advised that he should avoid the soup'

　　c) John was expected to eat the soup.

Ok Johánɛs abíɓemá **lí**dʒɛ́ nsúgí

　　Johánɛs a-   bí- ɓem- á   lí-   dʒɛ́ nsúgí

　　John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-expect-PASS INF.c5-eat sauce.c3

　　'John was expected to eat soup.'

d) John was prevented from eating the soup.

Ok Johánɛs abísuŋhá **lí**dʒê nsúgí

　　Johánɛs a-   bí- suŋ- há   (ŋîm mut)   lí-   dʒê nsúgí

　　John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-prevent-CAUS some person.c1 INF.c5-eat sauce.c3

'John was prevented from eating the sauce'/ 'John prevented somebody from eating the soup'

Comments: As the translations clearly show, sentence (A55d) in Basaá has two different interpretations. (i) Either 'John was prevented from eating the soup' or (ii) it is rather the case that 'He prevented somebody else from eating it.'

   e) John was understood to be angry about the new law.

A55e') Ok Johánɛs abínógá líɓá ŋúnɓak ínjuú mɓên jɔndɔ́

Johánɛs a-   bí-nógá   lí-   ɓâ ŋúnɓak ínjuú mɓên   jɔndɔ́
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-hear/understand INF.c5-be angry   for   law.c9 new.c9
'John was understood/heard to be angry about the new law'

Is there a passive morpheme here?

A55e'') Ok Johánɛs abínógá lɛ́ aɓée ŋúnɓak ínjuú mɓên jɔndɔ́

Johánɛs$_i$ a-   nógá   **lɛ́**- pro$_i$ a ɓée ŋúnɓak ínjuú mɓên   jɔndɔ́
John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-hear/understand that pro SM.c1 angry   for   law.c9 new.c9
'John was understood/heard to be angry about the new law'

Comment: The verb *nɔ̂g* which becomes *nógá* in its passive form means 'hear' or 'understand' in English. In this case, each of the English verbs 'hear' and 'understand'obtains its interpretation in the preceding two sentences.

A56a) John was seen eating the soup.

Ok Johánɛs abítééjá (kikií) ańdʒɛ́ nsúgí

  Johánɛs$_i$ a-   bí-   téé-já   (kikií) pro$_i$ a-   ń-   dʒɛ́ nsúgí
  John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-see-PASS (as)   pro SM.c1-PROG-eat sauce.c3
   'John was seen eating the soup'./ Lit: John was seen as he was eating the soup'

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

OK Johánɛs abítééjá lídʒɛ́ ańdʒɛ́ nsúgí (see translation and interpretation below)

  Johánɛs a-   bí-   téé-já   lí   dʒɛ́ nsúgí
  John.c1 SM.c1-PST2-see-PASS INF.c5-eat sauce.c3

Lit: 'John was seen at the eating of the soup' OR Lit: John was seen inoder to eat the soup'

Comments: Sentence (A56b) above has two readings. Literally, it means 'John was seen at the eating of the soup' or 'He was seen (people got in touch) in order to eat the soup'.

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

Not applicable and difficult to process in Basa'a.

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

A57a) We were promised to leave (*for most English speakers).

A57')Ok ?dí bíɓóná líɲɔdi/máɲɔdi   ?Passive form

   dí bí-   ɓón-á   lí-ɲɔdi/   máɲɔdi
  we PST2-promise-PASS INF.c5-leave departure
   '*We were promised to leave' Lit: '*We were promised the departure.'

A57a'') Ok ɓá bíɓôn ɓês kundɛ li-ɲɔdi/maɲɔdi   Ok Active form
 ɓá   bí-   ɓôn   ɓês kundɛ   li-   ɲɔdi / maɲɔdi
 INDF PST2-promise us   permission.c7 INF.c5-leave/departure.c6
 '*We were promised to to leave'./ Lit: 'They (indefinite) promise us to leave/they promised us permission to leave'

b) We were promised to be allowed to leave. (OK for most English speakers)

A57b') ?di bí-ɓóná líɓáná kundɛ liɲɔdi/maɲɔdi   ?passive form
  di bí-   ɓón-á   lí-ɓáná   kundɛ   li-ɲɔdi/   maɲɔdi
  we PST2-promise-PASS INF.c5-have permission.c7 INF.c5-leave/departure.c6

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A57b'') Ok ɓá bíɓôn ɓês liɓáná kundɛ liɲɔdi/maɲɔdi   ok Active form

 ɓá   bí-   ɓôn   ɓês (li-ɓáná)   kundɛ   li-ɲɔdi/   maɲɔdi

 INDF PST2-promise us INF.c5-have permission.c7 INF.c5-leave/departure.c6

  'We were promised to be allowed to leave'./ Lit: 'They (indefinite) promise us to be allowed to leave/they promised us permission to leave'

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

A57c') Ok ɓá bíɓôn dílɔ́gá lɛ́ di ŋ́kwéndhá bísû bí ndʒɔ̌k   Ok Active form

ɓá   bí-   ɓôn   dílɔ́gá   lɛ́ di ɓée   lɛ́   di ŋ́- kwénd-há   bísû bí

INDF PST2-promise boys.c12 that we be.PST almost we PRS-upset-CAUS front CONN elephant.c10

ndʒɔ̌k

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

A57c'') ?dilɔ́gá dibíɓón-á lɛ́ di ɓée lɛ́ di kwénd-há bísú bí ndʒɔ̂k   ?Passive form

dilɔ́gá   di-   bí-   ɓón-á   lɛ́ di ɓée   lɛ́   di kwénd-há   bísú bí ndʒɔ̂k

boys.c12 SM.c12-PST2-promise-PASS that we be.PST almost we upset-CAUS front PREP ndʒɔ̂k

elephants.c10

'The boys were promised that we would be upset at elephants.'

A58a) The servants were asked to make the children eat.

A58a') Ok ɓá bíɓât ɓágwelel lidʒês ɓɔɔŋɛ́   Ok Active form

     ɓá   bí-   ɓât ɓágwelel   li-   dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋɛ́

     INDF PST2-ask servants.c5 INF.c5-eat-CAUS children.c2

'The servants were asked to make the children eat.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) asked the servants to make the children eat.'

A58a'') ɓá bíɓât (ɓágwelel) **lɛ́** (ɓagwelel) ɓádʒés ɓɔɔŋɛ́   Ok Subjunctive form

ɓá   bí-   ɓât (ɓágwelel)   lɛ́ (ɓagwelel)   ɓá-dʒé-s   ɓɔɔŋɛ́

INDF PST2-ask   servants.c2 that servants.c5 SM.c2-eat-CAUS.SBJV children.c2

'The servants were asked to make the children eat.' Lit: 'They (indefinite) asked the servants to make the children eat.'

A58a''') Ok ɓagewlel ɓábíbedá lídʒês ɓɔɔŋɛ́ Ok Passive (see comments and translation below)

   ɓagewlel ɓá-   bí-   bed-á   lí-   dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋɛ́

   servants.c2 SM.c2-PST2-ask/need-PASS INF.c5-eat-CAUS children.c2

  'The servants were needed to make the children eat/to feed the children.'

Comments: Note that in all the preceding examples (i.e. from A57a to A58a), the active form is accepted by all speakers while the passive might sound a little odd, but not completely unacceptable. As for (A58a''), the reading according to which 'the servants were asked to make the children eat' is not possible as attested in the sample sentence in English. The only reading possible is that 'there was a need for servants for the feeding of the children.'

Now, consider the following sentences and their translations:

A58a'''') í bíɓédá ɓágwelel lɛ́ ɓádʒês ɓɔɔŋɛ́

í   bí-   ɓéd-á$_i$ ɓágwelel   lɛ́ pro$_i$ ɓá-   dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋɛ́

EXPL PST2-ask/need-PASS servants.c2 that pro SM.c2-eat-CAUS.SBJV children.c2

Lit: 'It was asked to the servants to make the children eat'

A58a''''') í bíɓédá ɓágwelel lídʒê-s ɓɔɔŋɛ́

í   bí-   ɓéd-   á   ɓágwelel lí-   dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋɛ́

EXPL PST2-ask/need-PASS servants.c2 INF.c5-eat-CAUS children.c2

'There was a need for servants for the feeding of the children'

Comments: Sentences (A58a''), (A58a''') and (A58a''''') convey the same reading and (A58a') and (A58a'''') are the same.

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

A58b') Ok ɓá gákâl ɓágwelel (í) ŋgeda ɓáńlámá síɣîl málêp lípel ŋgandaɣ

ɓá   gá-   kâl ɓágwelel$_i$ (í)   ŋgeda pro$_i$ ɓá-   ń- lámá   síɣ-îl   málêp

INDF FUT2-tell servants.c2 LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-PRS-should bare-APPL water.c6

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li-   pel   ŋgandaɣ
INF.c5-boil too much
'They will ask the servants when to stop the water from boiling too much.'
A58a'')Ok í gákelá ɓagwelel í ŋgeda ɓágálâmná síɣîl málêp lipel
í   gá- kel-á   ɓagwelel_i (í) ŋgeda pro_i ɓá- gá- lâm- ná síɣ-îl
EXPL FUT2-tell-PASS servants.c2 LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-FUT2-should-APPL bare-APPL
málêp li-   pel   ŋgandaɣ
water.c6 INF.c5-boil too much
Lit: 'It will be told to the servants when they should stop the water from boiling.'
A58a''') ?ɓagwelel gákelá (í) ŋgeda ɓágálâmná síɣîl málêp lipel ŋgandaɣ   ?Passive form
ɓagwelel_i ɓá- gá- kel-á   (í) ŋgeda pro_i ɓá- gá- lâm- ná síɣ- îl
servants.c2 SM.c2-FUT2-tell-PASS LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-FUT2-should-APPL bare-APPL
málêp li-   pel   ŋgandaɣ
water.c6 INF.c5-boil too much
'The servants will be told when they will stop the water from boiling too much.'
   c) The servants have been asked when they will warn the tourists about the weather.
A58c') Ok ɓá ŋkâl ɓágwelel (í) ŋgeda ɓágáɓehnɛ́ ɓákɛɛkɛ́ ínjuú ŋgeda   Ok Active form
ɓá   ŋ- kâl ɓágwelel_i (í) ŋgeda pro_i ɓá- gá- ɓeh- nɛ́ ɓákɛɛkɛ́ ínjuú
INDF PST1-tell servants.c2 LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-FUT2-warn-APPL pilgrims.c2 for/about
ŋgeda
time/weather
 'They (indefinite) have told the servants when they will warn the pilgrims about the weather.'
A58c'') Ok í ŋkêlâ ɓágwelel (í) ŋgeda ɓágáɓehnɛ́ ɓákɛɛkɛ́ ínjuú ŋgeda   Ok Passive form
í   ŋ- kél-â   ɓágwelel_i (í) ŋgeda pro_i ɓá- gá- ɓeh- nɛ́ ɓákɛɛkɛ́ ínjuú
EXPL PST1-tell-PASS servants.c2 LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-FUT2-warn-APPL pilgrims.c2 for
ŋgeda
time/weather
'It has been told to the servants when they will warn the pilgrims about the weather.'
A58c''') ?ɓágwelel ɓáŋkélâ (í) ŋgeda ɓágáɓehnɛ́ ɓákɛɛkɛ́ ínjuú ŋgeda ?Passive form
ɓágwelel ɓá- ŋ- kél-â   (í) ŋgeda pro ɓá- gá- ɓeh-nɛ́   ɓákɛɛkɛ́ ínjuú
servants.c2 SM.c2-PST1-tell-PASS LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-FUT2-warn-APPL pilgrims.c2 for
ŋgeda
time/weather
'The servants have been told when they will warn the pilgrims about the weather.'
Comments:Recall that the passive form in (A58c''') might sound odd, but not unacceptable. But speakers
can only rarely use it in everyday speech.
A59a) The women will be told to make the children eat.
A59a') *ɓá gákal ɓódaá lídʒês ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
         ɓá   gá- kal ɓódaá lí- dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
         INDF FUT2-tell women.c2 INF.c5-eat-CAUS children.c2
A59a'') Ok ɓá gákal ɓódaá lɛ́ ɓádʒês ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
ɓá   gá- kal ɓódaá_i   lɛ́ pro_i ɓá- dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
INDF FUT2-tell women.c2 that pro SM.c2-eat-CAUS children.c2
'They will tell the women that they should make the children eat.'
A59a''')? í gákelá ɓódaá lídʒês ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   ? Passive form
         í   gá- kel-á   ɓódaá lí- dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
         EXPL FUT2-tell-PASS women.c2 INF.c5-eat-CAUS children.c2
Lit: 'It will be told to the women to make the children eat.'
A59a'''') Ok í gákelá ɓódaá lɛ́ ɓádʒês ɓɔɔŋgɛ́   Ok Subjunctive Passive form
   í   gá- kel-á   ɓódaá_i lɛ́ pro_i ɓá- dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋgɛ́
   EXPL FUT2-tell-PASS women.c2 that pro SM.c2-eat-CAUS children.c2

Lit: 'It will be told to the women that they should make the children eat.'
A59a'''')*ɓodaá ɓágá kelá lídʒês ɓɔɔŋgέ
       ɓodaá   ɓá-   gá   kel-á   lí-   dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋgέ
       women.c2 SM.c2-FUT2-tell-PASS INF.c5-eat-CAUS children.c2
A59a'''') Ok ɓodaá ɓágá kelá lέ ɓádʒês ɓɔɔŋgέ   Ok Subjunctive Passive form
   ɓodaá_i   ɓá-   gá   kel-á   lέ   pro_i ɓá-   dʒê-s   ɓɔɔŋgέ
   women.c2 SM.c2-FUT2-tell-PASS that pro SM.c2-eat-CAUS.SBJV children.c2
  'The women will be told to make the children eat.' Lit: 'The women will be told that they should make the children eat.'
 b) The women have been told when to stop the water from boiling too long.
A59a') *ɓodaá ɓáŋkélâ í ŋgeda lísiɣîl malêp lipel ŋgandaɣ
ɓodaá   ɓá-   ŋ-   kél-â   í   ŋgeda lí-   siɣ-   îl   malêp   li-   pel
women.c2 SM.c2-PST1-tell-PASS LOC time.c7 INF.c5-bare-APPL water.c6 INF.c5-boil
ŋgandaɣ
too much
A59a'') *í ŋkélâ ɓódaá í ŋgeda lísiɣîl malêp lipel ŋgandaɣ
í   ŋ-   kél-â   ɓódaá   í   ŋgeda lí-   siɣ-îl   malêp   li-   pel
EXPL PST1-tell-PASS women.c2 LOC time.c7 INF.c5-bare-APPL water.c6 INF.c5-boil
ŋgandaɣ
too much
  c) The women are told when they should warn the tourists about the weather.
A59c') Ok ɓodaá ɓáńkelâ í ŋgeda ɓáńlámá ɓéhnέ ɓákɛɛkέ ínjuú ŋgeda
ɓodaá_i   ɓá-   ń-   kel-â   í   ŋgeda pro_i ɓá-   ń-   lám-ná   ɓéh- nέ
women.c2 SM.c2-PRS-tell-PASS LOC time.c7 pro SM.c2-PRS-should-APPL warn-APPL
ɓákɛɛkέ   ínjuú   ŋgeda
pilgrims.c2 for/about time/weather
'The women are told when they should warn the tourists about the weather'.
A60a) The boys were persuaded that Bill liked the book.
A60a') Ok dilɔ́gá díbínééɓáhá lέ Tɔŋέ aɓé gwês kaat   See translations below
dilɔ́gá dí-   bí- nééɓá-há   lέ   Tɔŋέ   a-   ɓé   gwês kaat
boys.12 SM.12-PST2-accept-CAUS that Tɔŋέc1 SM.c1-be.PST like book.c7
'The boys were persuaded that Tɔŋέ liked the book'/ The boys accepted together that Tɔŋέ liked the book'
Comments: In Basa'a, the verb *nééɓέ* means 'accept' or 'agree'. When combined with the morpheme *-há*, it expresses causation in the sense of (causing/making somebody (to) accept/agree) or simultaneity in the sense of involving two entities at the same time as shown by the translations above (see also A60b below).
b) The boys were persuaded to watch the ceremony.
Ok dilɔ́gá dí bínééɓáhá líɓeŋgɛ maság   (See translations)
   dilɔ́gá dí-   bí-   nééɓá-há   lí-   ɓeŋgɛ maság
   boys.c12 SM.12-PST2-accept-CAUS INF.c5-watch dance.c6
 'The boys were persuaded to watch the dance.'/ 'The boys accepted to watch the dance together.'
A61a) Those remarks suggest to me that he is worried about our proposal.
Ok líní liɓâg líńundá mέ lê mudaá a ńjɔ́dɓέ ínjuú mambatga mês
líní   liɓâg   lí-   ń-   undá mέ lê mudaá   a-   ń- jɔ́dɓ- έ   ínjuú
this.c5 behaviour.c5 SM.c5-PRS-show me that woman.c1 SM.c1-PRS-worry-APPL about
mambatga   mês
questions.c6 our.c6
'This behavior shows that the woman is worried about our questions.'
 b) It has been shown that the students are capable of doing this problem.
A61b') Ok í ŋúndɓâ lέ ɓaúdú ɓáńla ɓɔ̂ŋ hála

í   ŋ-   únd- ɓâ   lɛ́ ɓaúdú   ɓá-   ń-   la ɓɔ̂ŋ hála

 EXPL PST1-show-PASS that students.c2 SM.c2-PRS-can do that

'It has been shown that the students can do/are capable of doing that.'

A61b'') Ok í nnɛ́nɛ́ lɛ́ ɓaúdú ɓáńla ɓɔ̂ŋ hála

í   n-   nɛ́nɛ́ lɛ́ ɓaúdú   ɓá-   ń- la ɓɔ̂ŋ hála

EXPL PST1-find that students.c2 SM.c2-PRS-can do that

'It has been shown that the students can do/are capable of doing that.'

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

Ok í ŋúndɓâ lɛ́ ɓaúdú ɓáyé maséé ilɔɔ hiheɣa í ŋgeda biníígáná bíyé bilâm

í   ŋ-   únd- ɓâ   lɛ́ ɓaúdú   ɓá-yé   maséé   i-lɔɔ   hiheɣa

EXPL PST1-show-PASS that students.c2 SM.c2-be.PRS happiness.c6 INF.c5-exceed limit.c19

í   ŋgeda biníígáná bí-   yé   bilâm

LOC   time.c7 lessons.c8 SM.c8-be.PRS nice/interestin.c8

'It has been shown that the students are extremely happy when the lessons are interesting.'