DP Positions in African Languages - version 3

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I. Introduction.

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

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

* Unacceptable either at all or at least under the interpretation that you have been asked about.

*? Very marginally possible, perhaps only by comparison with an example or interpretation that is clearly *

?? Very odd. You probably would not say this sentence this way or would not say it this way for the interpretation you have been asked about.

? Just a little off. Something not quite right about it.

OK This sounds like a natural sentence and is an appropriate sentence to use for the interpretation that you have been asked about.

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

1.   Yòháná   éésònyá   ómwèènè

                Yòháná   á-á-í-sòní-á   ó-mù-èènè

                Yohana   SM.c1-PST-RFM-shame-fv   c1-c1-own

John shamed himself.

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

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

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

II.   Base line questions.

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

1. A spider spun a web in the tree.

    Gallirong gueçe ni bununuxen babu

    Ga-llirong gu-eç-e   ni   bu-nunuxen babu

    CL-spider   SM-spin-PFV   PREP   CL-tree CL.DEF

2. The women showed the children the baskets.

Waare wawu guggittene uññil wawu utegel wawu.

W-aare   wawu   gu-ggitten-e   u-ññil   wawu   u-tegel   wawu.

CL-woman CL.DEF SM-show-PFV   CL-child   CL.DEF   CL-basket CL.DEF

3. The sun has warmed the water.

Bunaa babu búwulene mal mamu

Bu-naa babu   bú-wul-en-e   m-al   mamu

CL-sun CL.DEF   CL-warm-CAUS-PFV   CL-water   CL.DEF

4. We asked the men to plant the maize.

(Woli) Juoge áine ahu arox suggub sasu

(Woli)   Ju-og-e   w-áine   wawu   a-rox   su-ggub   sasu

(PRN.1st.PL)   SM-tell-PFV   CL-man   CL.DEF   SM-plant   CL-maize   CL.DEF

'We told the men to plant the maize.'

The Eegimaa word for 'ask' which is *eroren* cannot be used here since it's only used in the sense of 'requesting information' and in Eegimaa you don't 'ask' people to do things but you tell/beg them to do things.

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

Mary said that these girls will be working tomorrow.

Mari naage sú-jur sause pan gurokk gajem.

Mari   na-ag-e   sú-jur   sause   pan   gu-rokk   gajem.

Mary SM-tell-PFV   CL-girl   CL.DEM   FUT   SM-work   tomorrow

3

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

III.   Checking for DP subjects of infinitives.

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

1.   a. It is believed [that John likes Mary].

Íneniinen bouox Jon namange Mary.

Ínen-i-inen   bouox Jon na-mang-e   Mary.

believe-PASS-believe COMP   Jon SM-like-PFV Mary

b. It is believed [John to like Mary].

*Íneniinen   Jon namange Mary.

Ínen-i-inen   Jon   na-mang-e Mary.

believe-PASS-believe Jon SM-like-PFV Mary

2.   a. It is possible [that Mary sees John].

4

Júe kan búox   Mari najuge Jon

Jú-e   kan   búox   Mari   na-jug-e   Jon

able-PFV make COMP   Mary SM-see-PFV   Jon

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

*Júe kan Mari ejux Jon.

Jú-e   kan   Mari   e-jux   Jon.

able-PFV make Mary SM-see-PFV   Jon

3.   a. [That Mary saw John] surprises me.

Búox   Mari najuge Jon kanom gajaxali.

Búox   Mari   na-jug-e   Jon   kan-om   ga-jaxali.

COMP Mary SM-see-PFV   Jon   make-OM   CL-surprise

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

Mari ejux Jon pan kanom gajaxali.

Mari   e-jux   Jon   pan   kan-om   ga-jaxali.

Mary SM-see-PFV   Jon   FUT   make-OM   CL-surprise

4.   a. [That our friends heard this] is embarrassing.

Búox   guppalolal guune dáure sunenie.

Búox   gu-ppal-olal   gu-un-e   dáure   su-n-en-i-e.

COMP   CL-friend-POSS   SM-hear-PFV   DEM   shame-?-CAUS-?-PFV

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

Guppalolal eun daure pan suneni.

Gu-ppal-olal   e-un   dáure   pan   su-n-en-i.

CL-friend-POSS   SM-hear-PFV   DEM   FUT   shame-?-CAUS-?

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

Baje guoge yápullo búox   Mari naminge bier.

Baj-e   gu-og-e y-á-pul-l-o   búox   Mari
na-ming-e   bier.

have-PFV CL-tell-PFV CL-SM-exit-?-RFM   COMP Mary   SM-like-PFV   beer

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

*Baje guoge Mari namange bier

Baj-e   gu-og-e   Mari   na-mang-e   bier

have-PFV   CL-tell-PFV   Mary   SM-like-PFV   beer

IV.   Testing for NP-movement from embedded clauses.

IV. A. Raising.

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

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

1.   It seems [that Mary fell here].

Nogore ti Mari nah'alo me tale.

Nogor-e		ti	Mari	nah' a-lo		me	tale.
resemble-PFV	COMP	Mary	?		SM-fall	DEP	here

2.   Mary seems [fell here].

*Mari nanogore na-lo me tale.

Mari	na-nogor-e		na-lo	me	tale.
Mary	SM-resemble-PFV	SM-fall	DEP	here

3.   Mary seems [that fell here].

*Mari nanogore ti nalo me tale.

Mari	na-nogor-e		ti	na-lo		me	tale.
Mary	SM-resemble-PFV	COMP	SM-fall	DEP	here

4.   Mary seems [to have fallen here].

Mari nanogore ti nah'alo me tale.

Mari   na-nogor-e   ti   nah'   a-lo   me   tale.

Mary resemble-PFV   COMP   ?   SM-fall   DEP   here

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

1.   Rain will fall tomorrow.

? Émit pan elub gajem.

É-mit   pan   e-lub   gajem.

CL-sky   FUT   CL-rain   tomorrow

Émit yai pan elub gajem.

É-mit   yai   pan   e-lub   gajem.

CL-sky   CL.DEF   FUT   CL-rain   tomorrow

2.   It seems that rain will fall tomorrow.

?Nogore ti émit pan elub gajem.

Nogor-e   ti   é-mit   pan   e-lub   gajem.

 resemble-PFV COMP   CL-sky   FUT   CL-rain   tomorrow

Nogore ti émit yai pan elub gajem.

Nogor-e   ti   é-mit   yai   pan   e-lub gajem.

8

resemble-PFV COMP   CL-sky   CL.DEF   FUT   CL-rain   tomorrow

3.   Rain seems [will fall tomorrow].

*Émit enogore pan lub gajem.

É-mit   e-nogor-e   pan   lub   gajem.

  CL-sky   CL-resemble-PFV FUT   rain   tomorrow

4.   Rain seems [that will fall tomorrow].

Émit enogore ti pan elub gajem.

É-mit   e-nogor-e   ti   pan lub   gajem.

CL-sky   CL-resemble-PFV COMP   FUT   rain   tomorrow

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

*Émit enogore ti pan ekk' elub gajem.

É-mit   e-nogor-e   ti   pan e-kk'   e-lub gajem.

CL-sky   CL-resemble-PFV COMP   FUT   CL-COP   CL-rain   tomorrow

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

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

Nogore ti síbe sasu ni sirendem mal mamu pe.

Nogor-e   ti   sí-be   sasu   ni   si-rendem m-al mamu   pe.

resemble-PFV COMP   CL-cow   CL.DEF   ?   CL-drink   CL-water   CL.DEF
all

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

Síbe sasu sunogore ti ni sirem me mal maum pe.

Sí-be   sasu   su-nogore   ti   ni   si-rem   me
m-al   maum   pe.

CL-cow   CL.DEF   CL-resemble-PFV COMP   ?   CL-drink   MOOD   CL-water
CL.DEF   all

3.   The cows seem [have drunk all the water].

*Síbe sasu sunogore ni sirem me mal mamu pe.

Sí-be   sasu   su-nogor-e   ni si-rem   me   m-al
mamu   pe.

CL-cow   CL.DEF   CL-resemble-PFV ?   CL-drink   MOOD   CL-water   CL.DEF
all

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

Síbe sasu sunogore ti /*búox /*min ni sirem me mal mamu pe.

Sí-be   sasu   su-nogor-e   ti   ni   si-rem   me
m-al   mamu   pe.

CL-cow   CL.DEF   CL-resemble-PFV COMP ?   CL-drink   MOOD   CL-water
CL.DEF   all

Síbe sasu sunogore ti /*búox   ni sirem me mal mamu pe.

Sí-be   sasu   su-nogor-e   ti/*búox   ni si-rem   me
m-al   mamu   pe.

CL-cow CL.DEF CL-resemble-PFV COMP ? CL-drink MOOD CL-water CL.DEF all

Síbe sasu sunogore ti /*min ni sirem me mal mamu pe.

Sí-be sasu su-nogor-e ti/*min ni si-rem me m-al mamu pe.

CL-cow CL.DEF CL-resemble-PFV COMP ? CL-drink MOOD CL-water CL.DEF all

In English, *seem* is the verb most often used to illustrate raising constructions, but you might also try verbs like *appear*, your closest equivalent to English *be likely*, if there is no easy translation for *seem*. If any of these verbs take something other than what you would normally think of as an infinitive, but permit the paradigm in (B) or (C), then please provide the paradigm for that verb (i.e., provide sentences with the verb in question corresponding to each of the examples in B.). If there are complementizer options (with or without differences in meaning) please provide some representative examples.

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

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

1a.   It is starting to rain now

?Maer uyu ni ejju galub.

Maer uyu ni e-jju ga-lub.

now CL.COP CONJ CL-start CL-rain

b.   It has stopped raining now

11

Maer exale ga-lub.

Maer e-xal-e   ga-lub.

now   CL-stop-PFV   CL-rain

2a.   It is starting (that) it rains.

*Uyu ni ejju búox /min elub

Uyu   ni   e-jju   búox /min e-lub

CL.COP   CONJ   CL.start COMP   CL-rain

b. It has stopped (that) it rains.

*Exale búox /min elub.

E-xal-e   búox /min e-lub.

CL-stop-PFV COMP   CL-rain

3a. The cow is starting to eat the grass.

Ébe yai uyu ni ejju etiñ essel yai.

É-be   yai   uyu   ni   e-jju   e-tiñ   e-ssel yai.

CL-cow   CL.DEF   CL.COP   CONJ   CL-start   CL-eat CL-grass CL.DEF

b. The cow has stopped eating the grass.

Ébe yai exale fitiñ essel yai.

É-be   yai   e-xal-e   fi-tiñ   e-ssel   yai.

CL-cow   CL.DEF   CL-stop-PFV   CL-eat   CL-grass CL.DEF

12

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

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

       Áine ahu umu ni gakko.

       Áine   ahu   umu   ni   ga-kko.

       CL.man CL.DEF   CL.COP   CONJ   CL-incubate

       Lit: 'The man is incubating.' = 'The man is having sexual intercourse.'

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

       Ebamburungol esallosar.

       E-bamburung-ol   e-sal-l-o-sar.

       CL-wrap.baby.carrier-POSS CL-break-DER-RFM-break

       Lit: 'His/her wrap baby carrier broke' = 'S/he pooped his clothes.'

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

       Acce abelene gaserol.

       A-cce   a-belen-e   ga-ser-ol.

       CL-INDEF   3rd.SG.SM-throw-PFV   CL-spoon-3rd.SG.POSS

       Lit: 'Someone threw (away) his/her spoon' = 'someone died.'

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

13

Part IV.B   Passive raising.

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

1.   It is known that Mary likes coffee.

Jamoe búox   Mari namange ekkafe.

Jam-o-e   búox   Mari   na-mang-e   e-kkafe.

hear-RFM-PFV COMP Mary SM-like-PFV CL-coffee

2.   Mary is known [likes coffee].

*Mari najamoe namange ekkafe.

Mari na-jam-o-e   na-mang-e   e-kkafe.

Mary sm-hear-RFM-PFV SM-like-PFV CL-coffee

3.   Mary is known that [likes coffee].

*Mari najamoe búox   mange ekkafe.

Mari na-jam-o-e   búox   mang-e   e-kkafe.

Mary SM-hear-RFM-PFV COMP   like-PFV CL-coffee

4.   Mary is known [to like coffee]

*Mari najamoe emang ekkafe.

Mari   na-jam-o-e   e-mang e-kkafe.

Mary SM-hear-RFM-PFV   CL- like CL-coffee

14

5.   We know that Mary likes coffee

Jiffase búox   Mari namange ekkafe.

Ji-ffas-e   búox   Mari na-mang-e   e-kkafe.

CL-know   COMP   Mari SM-like-PFV CL-coffee

1.   It is known that John will leave.

Jamoe búox   Jon pan ekkay.

Jam-o-e   búox   Jon   pan   a-kkay.

hear-RFM-PFV   COMP   John FUT   SM-leave

2.   John is known [will leave].

*Jon najamoe pan kay.

Jon   na-jam-o-e   pan kay.

John SM-hear-RFM-PFV   FUT leave

3.   John is known [that will leave].

*Jon najamoe búox   pan kay.

Jon   na-jam-o-e   búox   pan kay.

John SM-hear-RFM-PFV   COMP   FUT leave

15

4.   John is known [to be going to leave].

Jon najamoe búox   umu n'ejaw bi ekkay.

Jon   na-jam-o-e   búox   umu   n'   e-jaw   bi
e-kkay.

John SM-hear-RFM-PFV COMP   CL.COP   CONJ   CL-go   COMP   CL-leave

5.   We know that John will leave.

Jiffase búox   jon pan akkay

Ji-ffas-e   búox   jon   pan   a-kkay

SM-know-PFV   COMP   John   FUT   SM-leave

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

Ineniinen búox   gamen gagu ugu ni baxa babu ni gukkope.

Inen-i-inen   búox   ga-men   gagu   ugu   ni
ba-xa   babu

believe-PASS-believe COMP   CL-rabbit CL.DEF   CL.COP   PREP   CL-forest   CL.DEF

ni   gu-kkop-e.

CONJ   SM-hide-PFV

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

*Gamen gagu guineniinen ugu ni baxa babu ni gukkope.

Ga-men   gagu   gu-inen-i-inen   ugu   ni
ba-xa   babu

16

CL-rabbit CL.DEF   SM-believe-PASS-believe CL.COP   PREP   CL-forest   CL.DEF

ni   gu-kkop-e.

CONJ   SM-hide-PFV

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

Gamen gagu guineniinen búox   ugu ni baxa babu ni gukkope.

Ga-men   gagu   gu-ineni-i-nen   búox   ugu   ni
ba-xa   babu

CL-rabbit CL.DEF   SM-believe-PASS-believe COMP CL.COP   PREP   CL-forest
CL.DEF

 ni   gu-kkop-e.

CONJ   SM-hide-PFV

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

*Gamen gagu guineniinen enu ni baxa babu ni gukkope.

Ga-men   gagu   gu-ineni-i-nen   e-ni   ni
ba-xa   babu

CL-rabbit CL.DEF   SM-believe-PASS-believe CL-COP   PREP   CL-forest   CL.DEF

ni   gu-kkop-e.

CONJ   SM-hide-PFV

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

Jiineninen búox   gamen gagu ugu ni baxa babu ni gukkope.

17

Ji-inen-e búox ga-men gagu ugu ni ba-xa babu

SM-believe-PFV COMP CL-rabbit CL.DEF CL.COP PREP CL-forest CL.DEF

ni gu-kkop-e.

CONJ SM-hide-PFV

Part V. Objects of passive verbs.

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

Contrary to English, Eegimaa does not have a 'dummy subject' like 'there', as exemplified in the examples (1-5) and the subject of the sentence always has to be known for concord purposes.

1a.   (There) was seen a car here yesterday.

Éotor ejugenijux tale figen

É-otor e-jug-en-i-jux tale figen

CL-car CL-see-PAST-PFV-see LOC yesterday

  b.   Mary saw a car here yesterday

Mari najugene éotor tale figen.

Mari na-jug-en-e é-otor tale figen.

Mary SM-see-PAST-PFV CL-car LOC yesterday

2a.   (There) was built a house in the field.

18

Yang ettepenittep ni ettam yai.

Y-ang   e-ttep-en-i-ttep   ni   e-ttam   yai.

CL-house SM-build-PAST-PASS-build PREP   CL-field   CL.DEF

b.   We built a new house in the field.

Jittepe yang ni ettam yai.

Ji-ttep-e   y-ang   ni   e-ttam   yai.

SM-build-PFV   CL-house   PREP   CL-field   CL.DEF

3a.   (There) will be given the students a test tomorrow.

Bu-rokk pan biseni ulekkola wawu gajem.

Bu-rokk   pan   bi-sen-i   u-lekkol-a   wawu   gajem

CL-work   FUT   CL-give-PASS   CL-school-AGT   CL.DEF   tomorrow

OR

Gajem Burokk pan biseni ulekkola wawu.

Gajem   Bu-rokk   pan bi-sen-i   u-lekkol-a   wawu

tomorrow CL-work   FUT   CL-give-pass   CL-school-AGT   CL.DEF

b.   We will give the students a test tomorrow.

Gajem pan jisen ulekkola wawu burokk.

Gajem   pan   ji-sen   u-lekkol-a   wawu   bu-rokk.

tomorrow FUT SM-give   CL-school-AGT   CL.DEF   CL-work

4a.   (There) fell a tree.

Bununuxen buloe

Bu-nunuxen   bu-lo-e

CL-tree   CL-fall-PFV

   b.   A tree fell

Bununuxen buloe

Bu-nunuxen   bu-lo-e

CL-tree   CL-fall-PFV

5a.   (There) spoke two women at the conference.

Waare gúuba gulobe ni fujoj fafu.

W-aare   g-úuba   gu-lob-e   ni   fu-joj   fafu.

CL-woman   CL-two   SM-speak-PFV   PREP   CL-meet CL.DEF

   b.   Two women spoke at the conference.

Waare gúuba gulobe ni fujoj fafu.

W-aare   g-úuba   gu-lob-e   ni   fu-joj   fafu.

CL-woman   CL-two   SM-speak-PFV   PREP   CL-meet CL.DEF

Part VI.   Multiple subject agreement

1.	The farmers will be harvesting the maize tomorrow.

	Uwaña wawu pan gupit suggub sasu gajem.

	U-wañ-a			wawu	pan gu-pit		su-ggub		sasu gajem.

	CL-cultivate-AGT CL.DEF	FUT SM-harvest CL-maize	CL.DEF	tomorrow

2.	The farmer will be harvesting the maize tomorrow.

	Awaña ahu pan apit suggub sasu gajem.

	A-wañ-a			ahu		pan a-pit		su-ggub		sasu gajem.

	CL-cultivate-AGT CL.DEF	FUT SM-harvest CL-maize CL.DEF	tomorrow

3.	The bird was singing in the tree yesterday.

	Figen juppu jaju ujuen n'eox ni bunuxen babu.

	Figen		ju-ppu	jaju		uju-en			n'	e-ox	ni	bu-nunuxen babu.

	yesterday CL-bird CL.DEF	CL.COP-PAST	CONJ	CL-sing	PREP	CL-tree CL.DEF

4.	The birds were singing in the tree yesterday.

	Figen muppu mamu umuen muoge ni bunuxwn babu.

	Figen		mu-ppu	mamu umu-en			n'	e-ox		ni	bu-nuxwn babu.

	yesterday	CL-bird	CL.DEF	CL.COP-PAST	CONJ	CL-sing	PREP	CL-tree CL.DEF

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

Au n'ecigul pan uttogoli jititin jiban.

Au	n'	e-cig-ul[1]		pan	u-ttog-oli	ji-tin
ji-ban.						
PRN.2nd.SG	CONJ	CL-arrive-DER	FUT	SM-find-OM	SM-eat	SM-finish

6.　She had been working for 2 days[2].

O ni barokker botum gunax guuba.

| O | ni | barokker | bu-tum | gu-nax | g-uuba. |
| PRN.3rd.SG | CONJ | PFV.work | CL-amount | CL-day | CL-two |

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

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

1a.　I want John to leave

?Nimange Jon min ajaw.

| Ni-mang-e | Jon | min | a-jaw. |
| SM-want-PFV | John | COMP | SM-go |

---

[1] Devrives verbs which indicate some action toward the speaker.

[2] Hours replaced by days.

2a.　　I want that John to leave.

Nimange min Jon ajaw.

Ni-mang-e　　　　min　　　Jon　a-jaw.

SM-want-PFV　COMP　John SM-go

3a.　　I want that John should leave.

*Nimange min Jon nawaro ajow.

Ni-mang-e　　　　min　　Jon　　na-war-o　　　　　　　a-jow.

SM-want-PFV　COMP　John SM-should-RFM　SM-go

4a.　　I want very much John to leave

Nimange fangfang min Jon ajow.

Ni-mang-e　　　fang-fang　　min　　　Jon　　a-jow.

SM-want-PFV　much-much COMP　John SM-go

5b.　　I want John very much to leave

*Nimange Jon fangfang min ajow.

Ni-mang-e　　　　Jon　fang-fang　　　min　　　a-jow.

SM-want-PFV　John much-much COMP　　SM-go

6a.　　I want very much that John should leave.

Nimange fangfang min Jon ajow.

23

Ni-mang-e   fang-fang   min   Jon   a-jow.

SM-want-PFV   much-much COMP   John SM-go

7a.   I want John very much (that) should leave.

*Nimange Jon fangfang min nawaro ajow.

Ni-mang-e   Jon   fang-fang   min   na-war-o   a-jow.

SM-want-PFV   John much-much COMP   SM-should-RFM   SM-go

8a.   I want very much that John to leave

Nimange fangfang min Jon ajow.

Ni-mang-e   fangfang   min   Jon *e/a-jow.

SM-want-PFV   much-much COMP   John   CL/SM-go

9a.   I want John very much that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]

*Nimange Jon fangfang min ajow.

Ni-mang-e   Jon   fang-fang   min   a-jow.

SM-want-PFV   John   much-much COMP   SM-go

10a.   I want-him to leave   [OM on matrix verb]

*Nimangol ajow

Ni-mang-ol   a-jow

SM-want-OM   SM-go

Nimange ajow

Ni-mang-e   a-jow

SM-want-PFV   SM-go

11a.   I want-him that to leave   [OM on matrix verb]

*Nimangol min ejow

Ni-mang-ol   min   e-jow

SM-want-OM   COMP   CL-go

12a.   I want-him very much that to leave   [OM on matrix verb]

*Nimangol fangfang min ejow.

Ni-mang-ol   fang-fang   min   e-jow.

SM-want-OM   much-much COMP   CL-go

13a.   I want-him very much that should leave. [OM on matrix verb, subordinate verb SM=him]

*Nimangol fangfang   min nawaro ajow

Ni-mang-ol   fang-fang   min   na-war-o   a-jow

SM-want-OM   much-much COMP   SM-should-RFM CL-go

14a.   I want him that he should leave

*Nimangol min nawaro ajow

Ni-mang-ol   min   na-war-o   a-jow

SM-want-OM   COMP   SM-should-RFM   CL-go

25

15.   John wants to leave

Jon namange ekkay.

Jon   na-mang-e   e-kkay.

Jonh SM-want-PFV CL-leave

1b.   I saw John to leave

*Nijuge Jon ejow.

Ni-jug-e   Jon   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV John CL-leave

Nijuge Jon n'ejow.

Ni-jug-e   Jon   n'   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV John CONJ   CL-leave

2b.   I saw that John to leave.

*Nijuge min Jon n'ejow.

Ni-jug-e   min   Jon   n'   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV   COMP John CONJ   CL-leave

3b.   I saw that John would leave.

Nijuge búox   Jon pan ajaw.

Ni-jug-e   búox   Jon   pan   a-jaw.

SM-see-PFV   COMP   John   FUT   CL-leave

4b.   I saw clearly John to leave

*Nijuge nganno Jon ejow.

Ni-jug-e   nganno Jon   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV   clear   John   CL-leave

5b.   I saw John clearly to leave

??Nijuge Jon nganno n'ejow.

Ni-jug-e   Jon   nganno   n'   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV   John   clear   CONJ   CL-leave

6b.   I saw clearly that John would leave.

Nijuge nganno búox   Jon pan ajow.

Ni-jug-e   nganno búox   Jon   pan   a-jow.

SM-see-PFV   clear   COMP   John   FUT   CL-leave

7b.   I saw John clearly (that) would leave.

Nijuge Jon nganno búox   pan ajow.

Ni-jug-e   Jon   nganno búox   pan   a-jow.

SM-see-PFV   John   clear   COMP   FUT   CL-leave

8b.   I saw clearly that John to leave

27

?Nijuge nganno búox   Jon ejow.

Ni-jug-e   nganno búox   Jon   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV   clear   COMP   John   CL-leave

9b.   I saw John clearly that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]

*Nijuge Jon nganno búox   e-jow.

Ni-jug-e   Jon   nganno búox   e-jow.

SM-see-PFV   John   clear   COMP   CL-leave

10b.   I saw-him to leave   [OM on matrix verb]

*Nijugol ejow.

Ni-jug-ol   e-jow.

SM-see-OM   CL-leave

11b.   I saw-him that to leave   [OM on matrix verb]

*Nijugol búox   ejow.

Ni-jug-ol   búox   e-jow.

SM-see-OM   COMP   CL-leave

12b.   I saw-him clearly that to leave   [OM on matrix verb]

*Nijugol nganno búox   ejow.

Ni-jug-ol   nganno búox   e-jow.

SM-see-OM   clear   COMP   CL-leave

13b.   I saw-him clearly that would leave. [OM on matrix verb, subordinate verb SM=him]

Nijugol nganno búox   pan ajow.

Ni-jug-ol   nganno búox   pan   a-jow.

SM-see-OM   clear   COMP   FUT   SM-leave

14b.   I saw him that he would leave

*Nijugol búox   pan ajow.

Ni-jug-ol   búox   pan a-jow.

SM-see-OM   COMP   FUT   SM-leave

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

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

1.   John cooked the chicken.

Jon nássile exulol yai.

Jon   ná-ssil-e   e-xulol   yai.

John SM-cook-PFV CL-chiken CL.DEF

2.   Who cooked the chicken?

29

Ai ássile exulol yai.

Ai   á-ssil-e   e-xulol   yai.

CL.who   SM-cook-PFV   CL-chiken CL.DEF

3.   The student read the book.

Ulekkola wawu gujangae éllibur yai.

U-lekkol-a wawu gu-janga-e é-llibur yai.

CL-school-AGT CL.DEF SM-read-PFV CL-book CL.DEF

4.   Who read the book?

Bugay gujangae éllibur yai.

Bug-ay gu-janga-e   é-llibur   yai.

CL-who   SM-read-PFV   CL-book   CL.DEF

Is there any special subject agreement form that appears in 2 and 4 that does not appear in 1 and 3? If not, move on to the next section.

Note that in (1), the subject agreement marker is **ná-** whereas in (2), it **is á-**. In the singular forms, declarative and interrogative sentences have different subject agreement markers. The interrogative takes the subject markers **i-**, **u-**, and **a-** for first, second and third person singular,respectively, whereas the declarative respectively takes **ni-**, **nu-**, and **na-** for first, second and third person singular. Note that vowel harmony is marked by an acute accent on the vowel.

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

IV. A. 2.   Mary seems [fell here].

*Mari nanogore na-lo me tale.

Mari   na-nogor-e   na-lo   me   tale.

Mary   SM-resemble-PFV SM-fall   DEP   here

IV.A.3.   Mary seems [that fell here].

*Mari nanogore ti nalo me tale.

Mari na-nogor-e   ti   na-lo   me   tale.

Mary   SM-resemble-PFV COMP   SM-fall   DEP   here

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

5.   Who seems fell here?

*Ai anogore nalo me tale.

Ai   a-nogor-e   na-lo   me   tale.

CL.who SM-resemble-PFV   SM-fall   DEP   here

6.   Who seems that fell here?

*Ai anogore ti nalo me tale.

Ai   a-nogor-e   ti   na-lo   me   tale.

CL.who SM-resemble-PFV COMP   SM-fall   DEP   here

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

31

7.   Who was arrested?

Ai ajogi'?

Ai a-jog-i'?

CL.who SM-arrest-PAS

Ai gujoge?

Ai   gu-jog-e?

CL.who SM-arrest-PFV

8.   Who did the police arrest?

Ai epolis yai gujoge?

Ai   e-polis   yai   gu-jog-e?

CL.who   CL-police CL.DEF   SM-arrest-PFV

9.   Who did you see leaving?

Ai nujuge n' ekkay.

Ai   nu-jug-e   n'   e-kkay.

CL.who   SM-see-PFV   CONJ   CL-leave

10.   Who made the children eat fish?

Ai akkane u-ññil wawu n' gutiñ suol?

Ai   a-kkan-e   u-ññil   wawu   n'   gu-tiñ su-ol?

CL.who   SM-make-PFV CL-child   CL.DEF   CONJ   SM-eat   CL-fish

32

11. Which children did John make eat fish?

Aññil ai o Jon akkane min atiñ suol?

A-ññil	ai	o	Jon	a-kkan-e
min	a-tiñ	su-ol?		

CL-child   CL.which   CL.PRN.3rd.SG   John   SM-make-PFV   COMP   SM-eat
CL-fish

Part XI.   Super-raising.

A.   Subject of deeply embedded clause.

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

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

Nogore ti ulekkola wawu ni guffas me búox   ámuse   ahu násomusomut.

Nogor-e	ti	u-lekkol-a	wawu	ni	gu-ffas
me					

resemble-PFV COMP   CL-school-AGT   CL.DEF   CONJ   SM-know   DEP

búox   á-muse   ahu   ná-somu-somut.

COMP   CL-teacher   CL.DEF   CL-sick-sick

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

*Ámuse ahu nanogore to ulekkola wawu ni guffas me búox   násomusomut

Á-muse	ahu	na-nogor-e	ti	u-lekkol-a
wawu				

CL-teacher   CL.DEF   SM- resemble-PFV COM   CL-school-AGT   CL.DEF

ni gu-ffas   me   búox   ná-somu-somut

CONJ   SM-know   DEP COMP   CL-sick-sick

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

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

??Nogore ti áinol nah' amnag me aare ahu apur.

Nogor-e   ti   áin-ol   nah' a-mang   me
aare   ahu   á-pur.

        resemble-PFV COM COMP CL.husband-POSS HAB SM-want DEP CL-woman CL.DEF
SM-leave

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

?Aare ahu nanogore ti áinol nah'amang me ápur.

Aare   ahu   na-nogor-e

CL.woman   CL.DEF   SM-resemble-PFV

ti áin-ol   nah'   a-mang   me   á-pur.

COMP CL-husband-POSS   HAB   SM-want   DEP   SM-leave

B.   Object super-raising

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

result is acceptable.

1. The food seems that Mary cooked (it).

Sinnang sasu sunogore ti nihi Mari ássil so me.

Si-nnang   sasu   su-nogor-e

CL-cooked.rice   CL.DEF   CL-resemble-PFV

ti   nihi Mari   á-ssil   s-o   me.

COMP   HAB Mary   SM-cook CL-PRN.3rd.SM   DEP

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

A. You taste the food and recognize her favorite ingredient. YES

B. You see Mary in an apron and deduce from this that she did the cooking. NO

C. Mary is an incredibly messy cook, and from the state of the kitchen you can't imagine anyone else being responsible. YES if only if the food itself or its container also bears the messy signature known to Mary.

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

1. The people believed that John left.

Ésux yai gúinene búox Jon nakkaye.

É-sux   yai   gú-inen-e   búox   Jon   na-kkay-e.

CL-crow CL.DEF   SM-believe-PFV   COMP   John SM-leave-PFV

35

2. The people believed John's story.

Ésux yai gúinene elob Jon.

É-sux yai gú-inen-e e-lob Jon.

CL-crow CL.DEF SM-believe-PFV CL-story John

3. It is believed that John left.

Íneniinen búox Jon nakkaye.

Ínen-i'-inen búox Jon na-kkay-e.

believe-PAS-believe COMP John SM-leave-PFV

4. It is believed John's story.

*Íneniinen elob Jon.

Ínen-i'-inen e-lob Jon.

believe-PAS-believe CL-story John

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

Elob Jon éineni'inen.

E-lob Jon é-inen-i'-inen.

CL-story John CL-believe-PAS-believe

6.   That John left was believed (by the people).

Búox   Jon nakkaye íneniinen.

Búox   Jon   na-kkay-e   ínen-i'-inen.

COMP   John SM-leave-PFV   believe-PAS-believe

7.   John ate the banana.

Jon na-tiñ-e bannana babu

Jon   na-tiñ-e   ba-nnana   babu

John SM-eat-PFV   CL-banana   CL.DEF

8.   The banana was eaten.

Bannana babu bitiñi'tin.

Ba-nnana   babu   bi-tiñ-i'-tin.

CL-banana CL.DEF   CL-eat-PAS-eat

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

*Tiñitin bannana.

Tiñ-i'-tin   ba-nnana

eat-PAS-eat   CL-banana

10.   John said that the farmers harvested the maize

Jon naage uwaña wawu gupile suggub sasu.

Jon   na-ag-e   u-wañ-a   wawu   gu-pil-e
su-ggub   sasu.

37

John SM-say-PFV CL-cultivate-AGT   CL.DEF   SM-harvest   CL-maize   CL.DEF

11.   That the farmers harvested the maize was said.

Búox   uwaña wawu gupile suggub sasu lobi'lob.

Búox   u-wañ-a   wawu   gu-pil-e   su-ggub   sasu
lob-i'-lob.

COMP   CL-cultivate-AGT   CL.DEF   SM-harvest   CL-maize CL.DEF   say-PAS-say

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

Jon naage Mari uwaña wawu gupile suggub sasu figen.

Jon   na-ag-e   Mari   u-wañ-a   wawu   gu-pil-e
su-ggub   sasu.

John SM-say-PFV   Mary   CL-cultivate-AGT   CL.DEF   SM-harvest   CL-maize
CL.DEF

figen

yesterday

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

Mari nalobi'lob búox   uwaña wawu gupile suggub sasu.

Mari   na-lob-i'-lob   búox   u-wañ-a   wawu   gu-pil-e
su-ggub   sasu.

Mary SM-say-PAS-say COMP CL-cultivate-AGT CL.DEF   SM-harvest CL-maize
CL.DEF

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

Búox   uwaña wawu gupile suggub sasu lobilob Mari.

38

Búox   u-wañ-a   wawu   gu-pil-e   su-ggub   sasu
lob-i'-lob   Mari.

COMP CL-cultivate-AGT   CL.DEF   SM-harvest   CL-maize   CL.DEF   say-PAS-say
Mary

15.   That Lewis left seems.

*Búox   Lewis nakkaye nogor-e.

Búox   Lewis na-kkay-e   nogor-e.

COMP   Lewis SM-leave-PFV   resemble-PFV

16.   It seems that Lewis left.

Nogore ti nihi Lewis akkay me.

Nogor-e ti nihi Lewis a-kkay me.

resemble-PFV hab Lewis SM-leave DEP

17.   Lewis seems that (he) left.

?Lewis nanogore ti nah' akkay me.

Lewis na-nogor-e   ti   nah' a-kkay   me.

Lewis SM-resemble-PFV COMP   HAB   SM-leave DEP

18.   That Lewis left is possible

Búox   Lewis nakaye juju kan.

Búox   Lewis na-kay-e   ju-ju   kan.

COMP Lewis SM-leave-PFV   able-able MOD

19.   It is possible that Lewis left

Juju kan búox   Lewis nakkaye.

Ju-ju   kan   búox   Lewis   na-kkay-e.

able-able MOD   COMP   Lewis   SM-leave-PFV

20.   The people discovered/found out that Lewis left

Ésux yai gujuge búox Lewis nakaye.

É-sux   yai   gu-jug-e   búox Lewis   na-kay-e.

CL-people CL.DEF   SM-see-PFV COMP Lewis   SM-leave-PFV

21.   The people discovered/found out the truth

Ésux yai gujuge maagen mamu

É-sux   yai   gu-jug-e   ma-agen mamu

CL-people   CL.DEF   SM-see-PFV   CL-truth   CL.DEF

22.   It was discovered/found out the truth

Maagen mamu mujugijux

Ma-agen mamu   mu-jug-i-jux.

CL-truth   CL.DEF   CL-see-PASS-see

23.   That Lewis left was discovered/found out.

?Búox lewis nakaye jugijux.

Búox lewis   na-kay-e   jug-i-jux.

COMP Lewis   SM-leave-PFV   see-PASS-see

Part XIII.   Inversion Constructions.

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

1a. A tree fell in the forest.

Bununuxen buloe ni baxa babu.

Bu-nunuxen   bu-lo-e   ni   ba-xa   babu.

CL-tree   CL-fall-PFV   PREP   CL-forest   CL.DEF

b. In the forest fell a tree.

*Ni baxa babu buloe bununuxen.

Ni   ba-xa   babu   bu-lo-e   bu-nunuxen.

PREP   CL-forest   CL.DEF   CL-fall-PFV   CL-tree

41

2a. A child jumped into the pond[3]

Aññil ná-ñagge alo ni busun babu

A-ññil   ná-ñagg-e   a-lo   ni   bu-sun   babu

CL-child   SM-jump-PFV   SM-fall   PREP   CL-pond   CL.DEF

b. Into the pond jumped a child.

*Ni busun babu ná-ñagge alo aññil

Ni   bu-sun   babu   ná-ñagge   a-lo   a-ññil

PREP   CL-pond   CL.DEF   SM-jump-PFV   SM-fall   CL-child

3a. A bird sang on the tree.

Ju-ppu ju-og-e ni bu-nunuxen babu

Ju-ppu   ju-og-e   ni   bu-nunuxen babu

CL-bird   CL-sing-PFV   PREP   CL-tree   CL.DEF

b. On the tree sang a bird.

*Ni bununuxen babu juoge juppu

Ni   bu-nunuxen babu   ju-og-e   ju-ppu

PREP   CL-tree   CL.DEF   CL-sing-PFV   CL-bird

4a. Elephants trampled the rice[4] in the ricefield[5].

---

[3] 'field' replaced by pond

[4] 'crops' replace by 'rice'

Síññix sasu súllufe emmano yai ni ñixind ñañu.

Sí-ññix   sasu   sú-lluf-e   e-mmano yai   ni
ñi-xind   ñañu.

CL-elephant   CL.DEF   CL-tramp-PFV   CL-rice   CL.DEF   PREP   CL-ricefield
CL.DEF

b. In the ricefield trampled elephants the rice (perhaps as opposed to COWS trampling them).

*Ni ñixind ñañu súllufe Sí-ññix sasu emmano yai.

Ni   ñi-xind   ñañu   sú-lluf-e   Sí-ññix   sasu
e-mmano yai.

PREP   CL-ricefield   CL.DEF   CL-tramp-PFV   CL-elephant   CL.DEF   CL-rice
CL.DEF

5.   There taught the teacher English

*Baaba nalligene ámuse ahu Angale.

Baaba na-lligen-e   á-muse   ahu   Angale.

LOC   SM-teach-PFV   CL-teacher   CL.DEF   English

6.   There taught English the teacher.

*Baaba nalligene Angale ámuse ahu.

Baaba na-lligen-e   Angale   á-muse   ahu.

LOC   SM-TEACH-PFV   English   CL-teacher   CL.DEF

---

5 'field' replaced by 'ricefield'

7. There taught the students the teacher.

*Baaba nalligene ulekkola wawu ámuse ahu.

Baaba na-lligen-e   u-lekkol-a   wawu   á-muse   ahu.

LOC   SM-TEACH-PFV   CL-student-AGT   CL.DEF   CL-teacher   CL.DEF

8. There taught the teacher the students.

*Baaba nalligene ámuse ahu ulekkola wawu.

Baaba na-lligen-e   á-muse   ahu   u-lekkol-a
wawu.

LOC   SM-TEACH-PFV   CL-teacher   CL.DEF   CL-student-AGT   CL.DEF

9. There taught the teacher the children English.

*Baaba nalligene ámuse ahu uññil wawu Angale.

Baaba na-lligen-e   á-muse   ahu   u-ññil   wawu
Angale.

LOC   SM-teach-PFV   CL-teacher   CL.DEF   CL-child   CL.DEF   English

10. The child is eating with a spoon.

Áññil ahu umu ni fitiñ ni gaser.

Á-ññil   ahu   umu   ni   fi-tiñ   ni   ga-ser.

CL-child   CL.DEF   CL.COP   CONJ   CL-eat   PREP   CL-spoon

44

11. The spoon is eating the child.

*Gaser gagu uma ni fitiñ aññil ahu.

Ga-ser	gagu	uma	ni	fi-tiñ	a-ññil	ahu.
CL-spoon	CL.DEF	CL.COP	CONJ	CL-eat	CL-child	CL.DEF

(Try 9-11 with and without an applicative morpheme). N/A

(For all of these inversions, can the verb subject-agree with the fronted locative or expletive? Can it subject-agree with the postverbal logical subject?)

As can be seen, all the inversions yield ungrammaticality. There seems to be a fix order in which the subject and the verb have to occur.

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

1.a.   Children drank the milk.

Uññil gureme míi mamu.

U-ññil	gu-rem-e	mí-i	mamu.
CL-child	SM-drink-PFV	CL-milk	CL.DEF

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

*Míi mamu gureme uññil wawu.

Mí-i	mamu	gu-rem-e	u-ññil	wawu.
CL-milk	CL.DEF	SM-drink-PFV	CL-child	CL.DEF

2.a.   John read the books.

Jon najangae síllibur sasu.

Jon	na-janga-e	sí-llibur	sasu.
John	SM-read-PFV	CL-book	CL.DEF

45

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

*Síllibur sasu najangae Jon.

Sí-llibur sasu   na-janga-e   Jon.

CL-book CL.DEF   SM-read-PFV   John

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

*Uññil wawu najangae Jon síllibur sasu.

U-ññil   wawu   na-janga-e   Jon   sí-llibur   sasu.

CL-child   CL.DEF   SM-read-PFV   John   CL-book   CL.DEF

b. The children read the books John (not Peter; as above)

*Uññil wawu najangae síllibur sasu Jon.

U-ññil   wawu   na-janga-e   sí-llibur   sasu   Jon.

CL-child   CL.DEF   SM-read-PFV   CL-book   CL.DEF   John

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

*Síllibur sasu najangae Jon uññil wawu.

Sí-llibur   sasu   na-janga-e   Jon   u-ññil   wawu.

CL-book   CL.DEF   SM-read-PFV   John   CL-child   CL.DEF

d. The books read the children John, (not Peter; as above).

*Síllibur sasu najangae uññil wawu Jon.

Sí-llibur   sasu   na-janga-e   u-ññil   wawu   Jon   .

46

CL-book   CL.DEF   SM-read-PFV   CL-child   CL.DEF   John