

**DP Positions in African Languages**  
**Questionnaire Response for Lubukusu -Version 1.0**  
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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.

**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.  
Lububi lwaruka lububi mumusaala  
Lu-bubi lu-a-ruk-a lu-bubi mu-mu-saala  
C11-spider SM.c11-PST-spin-fv c11-web c18-c3-tree
2. The women showed the children the baskets.  
Bákhasi bookesya babaana bikapu  
Ba-khasi ba-a-okesy-a ba-ba-ana bi-kapu  
C2-woman SM.c2-PST-show-fv c2-c2-child c8-basket
3. The sun has warmed the water.  
Enyanga yakhakhasya kameechi  
E-n-yanga ya-kha-khasy-a ka-ma-echi  
C9-c9-sun SM.c9-ASP-warm-fv c6-c6-water
4. Mary said that these girls will be working tomorrow.  
Marya áalóma ali bakhaana bano bakhakholenge ekasi muchuli  
Marya á-a-lóm-a a-li ba-khaana ba-no ba-kha-khol-eng-e e-kasi muchuli  
Mary SM.c1-PST-say-fv c1-that c2-girl c2-these SM-FUT-work-ASP-fv c9-work tomorrow
5. We asked the men to plant the maize.  
Efwe khwareeba basaani khubyaala kamahindi  
Efwe khu-a-reeb-a ba-saani khu-byaala ka-ma-hindi  
We SM.1pl-PST-ask-fv c2-man c15-plant c6-c6-maize

### 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,

6. a. It is believed [that John likes Mary].  
Lyasubilwa bali Yohana asiima Mary  
Li-a-subil-w-a ba-li Yohana a-a-siim-a Mary  
C5-PST-believe-PASS-fv Agr-that Yohana SM.c1-PST-like-fv Mary
- b. It is believed [John to like Mary].  
\*Lyasubilwa Yohana khusiima Mary  
Li-a-subil-w-a Yohana khu-siim-a Mary  
C5-PST-believe-PASS-fv Yohana c15-like-fv Mary
7. a. It is possible [that Mary sees John].  
??Kanyalikha bali Marya abonaanga Yohana  
Ka-nyal-ikh-a ba-li Marya a-bon-aang-a Yohana  
Expl-possible-STAT-fv Agr-that Mary SM.c1-see-HAB-fv John
- b. It is possible [Mary to see John].  
Kanyalikha Marya khubona Yohana  
Ka-nyal-ikh-a Marya khu-bon-a Yohana  
Expl-possible-STAT-fv Mary c15-see-fv John
8. a. [That Mary saw John ] surprises me.  
?Bali Marya abona Yohana Lyaasindusya (ese)  
Bali Marya a-a-bon-a Yohana li-a-n-sindusya (ese)  
That Mary SM.c1-PST-see-fv John c5-PST-1<sup>st</sup>-surprise (me)
- b. [Mary to see John] would surprise me.  
Marya khubona Yohana khunyala khwaasindusya (ese)  
Mary khu-bon-a Yohana khu-nyal-a khu-a-n-sindusya (ese)  
Mary c15-see-fv John c15-can-fv c15-PRES-1<sup>st</sup>-surprise (me)
- bi. Marya khubona Yohana linyala lyaasindusya (ese)  
Mary khu-bon-a Yohana li-nyal-a li-a-n-sindusya (ese)

Mary c15-see-fv John c5-can-fv c5-PRES-1<sup>st</sup>-surprise (me)

9. a. [That our friends heard this] is embarrassing.  
?Bali basaale befwe baahulila lino lili lye chisoni (khuli khwe chisoni)  
Bali ba-saale ba-efwe ba-a-hulil-a li-no li-li li-e chi-soni (khu-li  
That c2-friend c2-us SM.c2-PST-hear-fv c5-this c5-be c5-ASS c10-ambarrassing  
(c15-be  
khu-e chi-soni)  
c15-ASS c10-embarrassing)
- b. [Our friends to hear this] would be embarrassing.  
Basaale befwe khuhulila lino khunyala khwaba khwe chisoni (linyala lyaba lye  
chisoni)  
ba-saale ba-efwe khu-hulil-a li-no khu-nyal-a khu-a-b-a khu-e chi-soni  
c2-friend c2-us c15-hear-fv c5-this c15-can-fv c15-PRES-be-fv c15-ASS c10-  
ambarrassing  
(li-nyal-a li-a-b-a li-e chi-soni)  
C5-can-fv c5-PRES-be-fv c5-ASS c10-embarrassing)
10. a. There is a rumor [that Mary likes beer].  
Kaliho ke mbeho bali Marya asiima kamalwa  
Ka-li-o k-a e-mbeho bali Marya a-a-siim-a ka-ma-lwa  
Expl-be-there Agr-ASS c9-wind that Mary SM.c1-PST-like-fv c6-c6-beer
- b. There is a rumor [Mary to like beer].  
\*Kaliho ke mbeho Marya khusiima kamalwa  
Ka-li-o k-a e-mbeho Marya khu-siim-a ka-ma-lwa  
Expl-be-there Agr-ASS c9-wind Mary c15-like-fv c6-c6-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.

- 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?*

11. It seems [that Mary fell here].  
\*Kalolekhana bali Marya aakwa ano (\*for intended interpretation)  
Ka-lol-ekhan-a bali Marya a-a-kw-a ano

Expl-see-STAT-fv that Mary SM.c1-PST-fv here

12. Mary seems [fell here].

Kalolekhana Marya aakwa ano  
Ka-lol-ekhan-a Marya a-a-kw-a ano  
Expl-see-STAT-fv Mary SM.c1-PST-fv here

13. Mary seems [that fell here].

\*Marya Kalolekhana bali aakwa ano (\*for intended meaning)  
Marya Ka-lol-ekhan-a bali a-a-kw-a ano  
Mary Expl-see-STAT-fv that SM.c1-PST-fv here

14. Mary seems [to have fallen here].

Marya Kalolekhana khuba ne aakwile ano  
Marya Ka-lol-ekhan-a khu-b-a ne aa-kw-il-e ano  
Mary Expl-see-STAT-fv c15-be-fv as- SM.c1-fall-PST-fv here

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

15. Rain will fall tomorrow.

Efula ekhakwe muchuli  
E-fula e-kha-kw-e muchuli  
C9-rain SM.c9-FUT-fall-fv tomorrow

16. It seems that rain will fall tomorrow.

Kalolekhana bali efula ekhakwe muchuli  
Ka-lolekhan-a e-fula e-kha-kw-e muchuli  
Expl-seem-fv C9-rain SM.c9-FUT-fall-fv tomorrow

17. Rain seems [will fall tomorrow].

Efula Kalolekhana ekhakwe muchuli  
E-fula Ka-lolekhan-a e-kha-kw-e muchuli  
C9-rain Expl-seem-fv SM.c9-FUT-fall-fv tomorrow

18. Rain seems [that will fall tomorrow].

Efula kalolekhana bali ekhakwe muchuli  
E-fula Ka-lolekhan-a bali e-kha-kw-e muchuli  
C9-rain Expl-seem-fv that SM.c9-FUT-fall-fv tomorrow

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

Efula kalolekhana khuba neekheche khukwa muchuli  
E-fula Ka-lolekhan-a khu-b-a ne e-kha-ich-e khu-kw-a muchuli  
C9-rain Expl-seem-fv c15-be-fv as SM.c9-FUT-come-fv c15-fall-fv tomorrow

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

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

\*Kalolekhana bali chikhaafu chanyweele kameechi koosi  
Ka-lolekhan-a bali chi-khaafu chi-a-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
Expl-seem-fv that c10-cow SM.c10-MOD-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-all

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

Chikhaafu kalolekhana khuba ne chinyweele kameechi koosi  
Chi-khaafu Ka-lolekhan-a khu-b-a ne chi-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
C10-cw Expl-seem-fv c15-be-fv as SM.c10-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-all

\*Chikhaafu chilolekhana khuba ne chinyweele kameechi koosi (\*if one has not seen the cows)

Chi-khaafu chi-lolekhan-a khu-b-a ne chi-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
C10-cw c10-seem-fv c15-be-fv as SM.c10-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-all

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

Chikhaafu kalolekhana chanyweele kameechi koosi  
Chi-khaafu Ka-lolekhan-a chi-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
C10-cw Expl-seem-fv SM.c10-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-all

\* Chikhaafu chilolekhana chanyweele kameechi koosi  
Chi-khaafu chi-lolekhan-a chi-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
C10-cw c10-seem-fv SM.c10-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-all

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

\*Chikhaafu kalolekhana bali chanyweele kameechi koosi  
Chi-khaafu Ka-lolekhan-a bali chi-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
C10-cw Expl-seem-fv that SM.c10-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-all

\*Chikhaafu chilolekhana bali chanyweele kameechi koosi  
Chi-khaafu chi-lolekhan-a bali chi-nyw-eel-e ka-ma-echi ka-osi  
C10-cw c10-seem-fv that SM.c10-drink-PST-fv c6-c6-water c6-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.).

D. Below we test verbs that indicate inception/duration/cessation of events. This test only works if these semantic notions are represented in your language as separate verbs (some languages just treat them as affixes). Compare the translation of the paradigm below to

otherwise identical sentences with other such verbs, particularly translations of verbs like *begin*, and *continue*. See if they take the same sort of complement as your *start* translation. (In English, *stop* takes a gerundive complement, but still acts like a raising predicate, e.g., ‘John stopped eating/\*to eat’, and we are interested in knowing about cases like these, if your language has them)

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

24. a) It is starting to rain now  
 (Efula) kherakikha khukwa sayi  
 (E-fula) kha-e-rakikh-a khu-kwa sayi  
 C9-rain TNS-c9-start-fv c15-fall now
- b) It has stopped raining now  
 Yakhema khukwa sayi  
 Ya-kha-im-a khu-kwa sayi  
 C9-TNS-stop-fv c15-fall now
25. a) It is starting (that) it rains.  
 ?eli kherakikha bali ekwa  
 E-li kha-e-rakikh-a bali e-kw-a  
 C9-be TNS-c9-start-fv that SM.c9-fall-fv
- Eli kherakikha bali ekwe  
 E-li kha-e-rakikh-a bali e-kw-e  
 C9-be TNS-c9-start-fv that SM.c9-fall-SUBJ.fv
- b) It has stopped (that) it rains.  
 \*Yakhema bali ekwa  
 Ya-kha-im-a bali e-kwa  
 C9-TNS-stop-fv that c15-fall
26. a) The cow is starting to eat the grass.  
 Ekhaafu eli kherakikha khulya bunyaasi  
 E-khaafu e-li kha-e-rakikha khu-lya bu-nyaasi  
 C9-cow c9-be TNS-c9-start c15-eat-fv c14-grass
- b) The cow has stopped eating the grass.  
 Ekhaafu yakhema khulya bunyaasi  
 E-khaafu ya- kha-ima khu-lya bu-nyaasi  
 C9-cow SM.c9- TNS-stop c15-eat-fv c14-grass

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

1. The cat is out of the bag (meaning the secret has been revealed).
2. All hell broke loose (meaning suddenly there was a big commotion or chaos ensued).
3. The shit hit the fan (meaning there was trouble)

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

28) Chingokho chaamala buulo (exposed ones nakedness)

It is believed [that the hens finished the millet].

Lyasubilwa bali chingokho chaamala buulo

Li-a-subil-w-a bali chi-ngokho chi-a-mal-a bu-lo

C5-PST-believe-PASS-fv that c10-hen SM.c10-PST-finish-fv c14-millet

29) Embwa emali yamukhomba mubikele (never stays in one place, always on the move)

It is believed [that the black dog licked his feet].

Lyasubilwa bali embwa emali yamukhomba mubikele

Li-a-subil-w-a bali e-mbwa e-mali ya-a-mu-khomb-a mu-bi-kele

C7-PST-believe-PAS-fv that c9-dog c9-black SM.c9-PST-OM.c1-lick-fv c18-c8-foot

30) Anyoola embichi musipwondi (caught him red-handed)

It is believed [that he found the jackal in the potato field]

Lyasubilwa bali anyola embichi musipwondi

Li-a-subil-w-a bali a-a-nyol-a e-mbichi mu-sipwondi

C5-PST-believe-PASS-fv that SM.c1-PST-find-fv c9-jackal c18-potato

31) The hens seem [to have finished (eating) the millet]

Chingokho kalolekhana khuba ne chamala buulo

Chi-ngokho ka-lolekhana khu-ba ne chi-a-mal-a bu-ulo

C10-hen Expl-seem c15-be as SM.c10-PST-finish-c14-millet

32) The black dog seem [to have licked his feet]

Embwa emali kalolekhana khuba neyamukhomba mubikele

E-mbwa e-mali ka-lolekhana khu-ba ne yi-a-mu-khomb-a mu-bikele

C9-dog c9-black Expl-seem c15-be as SM.c9-PST-OM.c1-lick-c14-c8-foot

33) He seems[ to have found the jackal in the potato field]

Niye kalolekhana khuba ne anyola embich musipwondi

Ni-ye ka-lolekhana khu-ba ne a-a-nyol-a e-mbichi mu-sipwondi

Foc-c1 Expl-seem c15-be as SM.c1-PST-find-fv c9-jackal c18-potato

34) The black dog started to lick his feet

Embwa emali yarakikha khumukhomba mubikele  
E-mbwa e-mali yi-a-rakikh-a khu-mu-khomba mu-bi-kele  
C9-dog c9-black SM.c9-PST-begin-fv c15-OM.c1-lick c18-c8-foot

#### **Part IV.B Passive raising.**

Please provide literal translations and grammaticality judgments.

- 35) It is known that Mary likes coffee.  
Kamanyikhe bali Marya asiima ekawa  
Ka-many-ikh-e bali Marya a-a-siim-a e-kawa  
Expl-know-STAT-fv that Mary SM.c1-PRES-fv c9-coffee
- 36) Mary is known [likes coffee].  
Marya amanyikhe asiima ekawa  
Mary a-many-ikh-e a-a-siim-a e-kawa  
Mary SM.c1-know-STAT-fv SM.c1-PRES-fv c9-coffee
- 37) Mary is known that [likes coffee].  
Marya amanyikhe bali asiima ekawa  
Mary a-many-ikh-e bali a-a-siim-a e-kawa  
Mary SM.c1-know-STAT-fv that SM.c1-PRES-fv c9-coffee
- 38) Mary is known [to like coffee]  
Marya amanyikhe khusiima ekawa  
Mary a-many-ikh-e khu-siim-a e-kawa  
Mary SM.c1-know-STAT-fv c15-fv c9-coffee
- 39) We know that Mary likes coffee  
Khumanyile khuli Marya asiima ekawa  
Khu-many-il-e khu-li Marya a-a-siim-a e-kawa  
1pl-know-TNS-fv 1pl-that Mary SM.c1-PST-fv c9-coffee
- 40) It is known that John will leave.  
Kamanyikhe bali Yohana akhache  
Ka-many-ikh-e bali Yohana a-kha-ch-e  
Expl-know-STAT-fv that John- SM.c1-FUT-go-fv
- 41) John is known [will leave].  
Yohana amanyikhe akhache  
Yohana a-many-ikh-e a-kha-ch-e  
John SM.c1-know-STAT-fv SM.c1-FUT-go-fv
- 42) John is known [that will leave].

- Yohana amanyikhe bali akhache  
 Yohana a-many-ikh-e bali a-kha-ch-e  
 John SM.c1-know-STAT.fv that SM.c1-FUT-go-fv
- 43) John is known [to be going to leave].  
 Yohana amanyikhe khuba nakhacha khurekukha  
 Yohana a-many-ikh-e khu-ba ne-a-kha-ch-a khu-rekukh-a  
 John SM.c1-know-STAT-fv c15-be REL-SM.c1-FUT-go-fv c15- leave-fv
- 44) We know that John will leave.  
 Khumanyile khuli Yohana akhache  
 Khu-many-il-e khu-li Yohana a-kha-ch-e  
 1<sup>st</sup>.pl-know-STAT-fv 1<sup>st</sup>.pl-that John SM.c1-go-fv
- 45) It is believed that the rabbit is hiding in the forest.  
 Kasubilwa bali enduyu yekisile mumusiru  
 Ka-subil-w-a bali e-nduyu ye-kis-il-e mu-mu-siru  
 3<sup>rd</sup>.sg-believe-PASS-fv that c9-rabbit SM.c9-hide-STAT-fv c18-c3-forest
- 46) The rabbit is believed is hiding in the forest.  
 ?Enduyu yasubilwa yekisile mumusiru  
 E-nduyu ya-subil-w-a ye-kis-il-e mu-mu-siru  
 c9-rabbit SM.c9-believe-PASS-fv SM.c9-hide-STAT-fv c18-c3-forest
- 47) The rabbit is believed that is hiding in the forest.  
 Enduyu yasubilwa bali yekisile mumusiru  
 E-nduyu ya-subil-w-a bali ye-kis-il-e mu-mu-siru  
 c9-rabbit SM.c9-believe-PASS-fv that SM.c9-hide-STAT-fv c18-c3-forest
- 48) The rabbit is believed to be hiding in the forest.  
 Enduyu yasubilwa khuba neyikisile mumusiru  
 E-nduyu ya-subil-w-a khu-ba ne-yi-kis-il-e mu-mu-siru  
 c9-rabbit SM.c9-believe-PASS-fv c15-be REL-SM.c9-hide-STAT-fv c18-c3-forest
- 49) We believe that the rabbit is hiding in the forest.  
 Khwasubila khuli enduyu yekisile mumusiru  
 Khu-a-subil-a khu-li e-nduyu ye-kis-il-e mu-mu-siru  
 1<sup>st</sup>.pl-PST-believe 1<sup>st</sup>.pl-that c9-rabbit SM.c9- c18-c3-forest

#### **Part V. Objects of passive verbs.**

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

- 50a). (There) was seen a car here yesterday.  
 \*Kabonekha litoka ano likoloba  
 Ka-bon-ekh-a li-toka a-no likoloba  
 Exp-see-PASS-fv c5-car c16-here yesterday
- Lyabonekha litoka ano likoloba  
 Lya-bon-ekh-a li-toka a-no likoloba  
 Sm.c-see-PASS-fv c5-car c16-here yesterday
- b). Mary saw a car here yesterday  
 Marya abona litoka ano likoloba  
 Marya a-bon-a li-toka a-no likoloba  
 Mary SM.c1-see-fv c5-car c16-here yesterday
- 51a). (There) was built a house in the field.  
 Kombakhwa enju musikuri  
 Ko-mbakh-w-a e-nju mu-si-kuri  
 Exp-built-PASS-fv c9-house c18-c7-field
- Yombakhwa enju musikuri  
 Yo-mbakh-w-a e-nju mu-si-kuri  
 Exp- built-PASS-fv c9-house c18-c7-field
- b). We built a new house in the field.  
 Khwombakha enju musikuri  
 Khu-a-mbakh-a e-nju mu-si-kuri  
 1<sup>st</sup>.pl-PST-built-fv c9-house c18-c7-field
- 52a). (There) will be given the students a test tomorrow.  
 \*Kakhahebwe basoomi likela muchuli  
 Ka-kha-h-ebw-e ba-soomi li-kela muchuli  
 Exp-FUT-give-PASS-fv c2-students c5-test tomorrow
- Likhahebwe basoomi likela muchuli  
 Li-kha-h-ebw-e ba-soomi li-kela muchuli  
 c5- FUT-give-PASS-fv c2-students c5-test tomorrow
- b. We will give the students a test tomorrow.  
 Khukhahe basoomi likela muchuli  
 Khu-kha-h-e ba-soomi li-kela muchuli  
 1<sup>st</sup>.pl- FUT-give-PASS-fv c2-students c5-test tomorrow
- 53a). (There) fell a tree.  
 \*Kakwa kumusaala

Ka-ku-a ku-mu-saala  
Exp-fall-fv c3-c3-tree

Kwakwa kumusaala  
Ku-a-ku-a ku-mu-saala  
C3-PST-fall-fv c3-c3-tree

- b. A tree fell  
Kumusaala kwakwa  
Ku-mu-saala ku-a-ku-a  
C3-c3-tree SM.c3-PST-fall-fv
- 54a). (There) spoke two women at the conference.  
\*Kalomaloma bakhasi babili mumukhung'ano  
Ka-a-lomalom-a ba-khasi ba-bili mu-mu-khung'ano  
Exp-PST-speak-fv c2-woman c2-two c18-c3-conference
- Balomaloma bakhasi babili mumukhung'ano  
Ba-a-lomalom-a ba-khasi ba-bili mu-mu-khung'ano  
C2-PST-speak-fv c2-woman c2-two c18-c3-conference
- b. Two women spoke at the conference.  
Bakhasi babili balomaloma mumukhung'ano  
Ba-khasi ba-bili ba-a-lomalom-a mu-mu-khung'ano  
C2-woman c2-two SM.c2-PST-speak c18-c3-conference

## **Part VI. Multiple subject agreement**

- 55) The farmers will be harvesting the maize tomorrow.  
Balimi bakhafune kamahindi muchuli  
Ba-limi ba-kha-fun-e ka-ma-hindi muchuli  
C2-farmer SM.c2-FUT-harvest-fv c6-c6-maize tomorrow
- 56) The farmer will be harvesting the maize tomorrow.  
Omulimi akhafune kamahindi muchuli  
O-mu-limi a-kha-fun-e ka-ma-hindi muchuli  
C1-farmer SM.c1-FUT-harvest-fv c6-c6-maize tomorrow
- 57) The bird was singing in the tree yesterday  
Enyuni yaba yimba khumusaala likolooba  
E-n-yuni y-a-ba y-imb-a khu-mu-saala likolooba  
C9-c9-bird SM.c9-PST-be SM.c9-sing-fv c17-c3-tree yesterday
- 58) The birds were singing in the tree yesterday.  
Chinyuni chaba chiimba khumusaala likolooba  
Chi-n-yuni cha-ba chi-imb-a khu-mu-saala likolooba

C10-c10-bird SM.c10-PST-be SM.c10-sing-fv c17-c3-tree yesterday

- 59) We will have eaten already when you get home.  
Khulaba khwaliile khale ne woola engo  
Khu-la-ba khu-a-li-il-e khale ne wo-ol-a e-ngo  
1<sup>st</sup>.pl-FUT-be 1<sup>st</sup>.pl-TNS-eat-TNS-fv already when you-get-fv c9-home
- 60) She had been working for 2 hours.  
Abeele akhalaabane khu saa chibili  
A-be-el-e a-khalaaban-e khu saa chi-bili  
C1-PST-have-fv SM.c1-work-fv for hour c10-two

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

Please translate as many of these as possible, (~~with full gloss, etc.~~) even if they are very unacceptable.

- 61) I want John to leave  
?Nenya Yohana khurekukha  
N-eny-a Yohana khu-rekukh-a  
1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv John c15-leave-fv
- 62) I want that John to leave.  
\*Nenya bali/ndi Yohana khurekukha  
N-eny-a bali/ndi Yohana khu-rekukha  
1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv that John c15-leave-fv
- 63) I want that John should leave.  
\*Nenya bali/ndi Yohana yenyekha arekukhe  
N-eny-a bali/ndi Yohana yenyekha a-rekukh-e  
1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv that John should c1-leave-fv
- 64) I want very much John to leave  
Nenya lukali paka yohana khurekukha  
N-eny-a lukali paka yohana khu-rekukh-a  
1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv much very that John c15-leave-fv
- 65) I want John very much to leave  
?Nenya yohana lukali paka khurekukha  
N-eny-a yohana lukali paka khu-rekukh-a  
1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv John much very that c15-leave-fv
- 66) I want very much that John should leave.  
Nenya lukali paka bali/ndi yohana (?yenyekha) arekukhe  
N-eny-a lukali paka bali/ndi yohana (?yenyekha) a-rekukh-e  
1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv much very that John should c1-leave-fv

- 67) I want John very much (that) should leave.  
 Nenya Yohana lukali paka bali (??ye-nyekha) arekukhe  
 N-eny-a Yohana lukali paka bali (??yenyekha) a-rekukh-e  
 1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv John much very that should c1-leave-fv
- 68) I want very much that John to leave  
 ??Nenya lukali paka bali Yohana khurekukha  
 N-eny-a lukali paka bali Yohana khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv much very that John c15-leave-fv
- 69) I want John very much that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]  
 \*Nenya Yohana lukali paka bali khurekukha  
 N-eny-a Yohana lukali paka bali khu-crekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.Sg-want-fv John much very that c15-leave-fv
- 70) I want-him to leave [OM on matrix verb]  
 Emwenya khurekukha  
 E-mu-eny-a khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-OM-want c15-leave-fv
- 71) I want-him that to leave [OM on matrix verb]  
 \*Emwenya bali khurekukha  
 E-mu-eny-a bali khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-OM-want that c15-leave-fv
- 72) I want-him very much that to leave [OM on matrix verb]  
 \*Emwenya lukali paka bali khurekukha  
 E-mu-eny-a lukali paka bali khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-OM-want much very that c15-leave-fv
- 73) I want-him very much that should leave. [OM on matrix verb, subordinate verb SM=him]  
 Emwenya lukali paka bali (\*yenyekha) arekukhe  
 E-mu-eny-a lukali paka bali (\*yenyekha) a-rekukh-e  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-OM-want-fv much very that should c1-leave-fv
- 74) I want him that he should leave  
 Emwenya bali (\*enyekha) arekukhe  
 E-mu-eny-a bali (\*e-nyekha) a-rekukh-e  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-OM-want-fv that c1-should c1-leave-fv
- 75) John wants to leave

- Yohana enya khurekukha  
 Yohana e-ny-a khu-rekukha  
 John SM.c1-want-fv c15-leave
- 76) I saw John to leave  
 \*Nabona Yohana khurekukha  
 N-a-bon-a Yohana khu-rekukha  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv John c15-leave
- 77) I saw that John to leave.  
 \*Nabona bali/ndi Yohana khurekukha  
 N-a-bon-a bali/ndi Yohana khu-rekukha  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv that John c15-leave
- 78) I saw that John would leave.  
 Nabona bali/ndi Yohana anyala arekukha  
 N-a-bon-a bali/ndi Yohana a-nyal-a a-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv that John SM.c1-would-fv SM.c1-leave-fv
- 79) I saw clearly John to leave  
 \*Nabona bulayi Yohana khurekukha  
 N-a-bon-a bulayi Yohana khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv clearly John c15-leave
- 80) I saw John clearly to leave  
 \*Nabona Yohana bulayi khurekukha  
 N-a-bon-a Yohana bulayi khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv John clearly c15-leave
- 81) I saw clearly that John would leave.  
 Nabona bulayi bali/ndi Yohana anyala arekukha ( 'I was happy that John would  
 leave' )  
 N-a-bon-a bulayi bali/ndi Yohana a-nyal-a a-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv clearly that John SM.c1-would-fv SM.c1-leave-fv
- 82) I saw John clearly (that) would leave.  
 ?Nabona Yohana bulayi bali/ndi anyala arekukha  
 N-a-bon-a Yohana bulayi bali/ndi a-nyal-a a-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv John clearly that SM.c1-would-fv SM.c1-leave-fv
- 83) I saw clearly that John to leave  
 \*Nabona bulayi bali Yohana khurekukha (ok with 'happy' interpretation)  
 N-a-bon-a bulayi bali Yohana khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv clearly that John c15-leave-fv

- 84) I saw John clearly that to leave [where it is understood that John is the leaver]  
 \*Nabona Yohana bulayi bali khurekukha  
 N-a-bon-a Yohana bulayi bali khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-see-fv John clearly that c15-leave-fv
- 85) I saw-him to leave [OM on matrix verb]  
 \*Namubona khurekukha  
 N-a-mu-bon-a khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-OM-see-fv c15-leave-fv
- 86) I saw-him that to leave [OM on matrix verb]  
 \*Namubona bali khurekukha  
 N-a-mu-bon-a bali khu-rekukha  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-OM-see-fv that c15-leave-fv
- 87) I saw-him clearly that to leave [OM on matrix verb]  
 \*Namubona bulayi bali khurekukha  
 Na-a-mu-bon-a bulayi bali khu-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-OM-see-fv clearly that c15-leave-fv
- 88) I saw-him clearly that would leave. [OM on matrix verb, subordinate verb  
 SM=him]  
 Namubona bulayi bali anyala arekukha  
 N-a-mu-bon-a bulayi bali a-nyal-a a-rekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-OM-see-fv clearly that SM.c1-would-fv SM.c1-leave-fv
- 89) I saw him that he would leave  
 Namubona bali anyala arekukha  
 N-a-mu-bon-a bali a-nyal-a a-crekukh-a  
 1<sup>st</sup>.sg-PST-OM-see-fv that SM.c1-would-fv SM.c1-leave-fv

### 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.

- 90) John cooked the chicken.  
 Yohana atekha engokho  
 Yohana a-a-tekh-a e-ngokho  
 John SM.c1-cook-fv c9-chicken
- 91) Who cooked the chicken?  
 Nanu watekha engokho?  
 Nanu o-a-tekh-a e-ngokho?

Who SM.c1-PST-cook-fv c9-chicken

92) The student read the book.

Omusomi asoma sitabu

O-mu-somi a-a-som-a si-tabu

C1-c1-student SM.c1-PST-read-fv c7-book

93) Who read the book?

Nanu wasoma sitabu?

Na-nu o-a-som-a si-tabu?

Who SM.c1-PST-read-fv c7-book

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.

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

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

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

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

a) Who seems fell here?

?Naanu ololekha akwa ano?

N-anu o-lol-ekh-a a-a-kw-a ano?

Who SM.c1-seem-fv SM.c1-PST-fall-fv here

b) Who seems that fell here?

Naanu olelekha bali akwa ano?

Na-anu o-lol-ekh-a bali a-a-kw-a a-no?

Who SM.c1-seem-fv that SM.c1-PST-fall-fv 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.

c) Who was arrested?

Naanu watiilwa?

Naanu o-a-tiil-w-a?

Who SM.c1-PST-arrest- PASS-fv

d) Who did the police arrest?

- Naanu niye basikari batiila?  
 Naanu ni-ye ba-sikari ba-a-tiil-a?  
 Who FOC-Pron c2-police SM.c2-PST-arrest-fv
- e) Who did you see leaving?  
 Naanu niye wabona naarekukha?  
 Naanu ni-ye o-a-bon-a ne-a-rekukh-a?  
 Who FOC-Pron SM. c1-see-fv when SM.c1-leaving-fv
- f) Who made the children eat fish?  
 Naanu wakhola babaana balya eng'eni?  
 Naanu o-a-khol-a ba-ba-ana ba-ly-a e-ng'eni?  
 Who SM.c1-PST-make-fv c2-c2-child SM.c2-eat-fv c9-fish
- Naanu walisya babaana eng'eni?  
 Naanu o-a-li-isya ba-ba-ana e-ng'eni?  
 Who SM.c1-PST-eat-CAUS-fv c2-c2-child c9-fish
- g) Which children did John make eat fish?  
 Baana siina nibo Yohana akhola balya eng'eni?  
 Ba-ana si-ina ni-bo Yohana a-li-isya eng'eni?  
 C2-child which FOC-c2.Pron John SM.c1-eat-CAUS-fv c9-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?

- 94) It seems like the students know that the teacher is sick.  
 Kalolekha (\*nge) basomi bamanyile bali omwaaalimu ali omulwale (you don't have to be looking at the teacher)  
 Ka-lolekh-a (\*nge) ba-somi ba-many-il-e bali o-mu-alimu a-li o-mu-lwale  
 Exp-seem-fv like c2-student SM.c2-know-TNS-fv that c1-c1-teacher SM.c1-be c1-c1-sick

- 95) The teacher seems like the students know he is sick.  
 ??Omwaaalimu alolekha (\*nge) basomi bamanyile ali omulwaale (you need to be looking at the teacher)  
 O-mu-alimu a-lolekh-a (\*nge) ba-somi ba-many-il-e a-li o-mu-lwaale  
 C1-c1-teacher SM.c1-seem-fv like c2-student SM.c2-know-TNS-fv SM.c1-be c1-c1-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?

96) It seems like her husband wants the woman to leave.  
 Kalolekha (\*nge) omusecha wewe enya omukhasi khurekukha (both interpretations are possible)  
 Ka-lolekh-a (\*nge) o-mu-secha o-wewe a-eny-a o-mu-khasi khu-rekukh-a  
 Exp-seem-fv like c1-c1-husband c1-his SM.c1-want-fv c1-c1-woman c15-leave-fv

97) The woman seems like her husband wants her to go.  
 Omukhasi alolekha (\*nge) omusecha wewe amwenya khurekukha (information gathered from woman)  
 O-mu-khasi a-lolekh-a (\*nge) o-mu-secha o-wewe a-mu-eny-a khu-rekukha  
 C1-c1-woman SM.c1-seem-fv like c1-c1-husband c1-hers SM.c1-OM-want-fv  
 c15-leave-fv

## B. Object super-raising

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

98) The food seems that Mary cooked (it).  
 ?Syakhulya silolekha (\*bali) Marya atekhile  
 Si-akhulya si-lol-ekh-a (\*bali) Marya a-tekh-il-e  
 C7-food SM.c7-seem-fv that Mary SM.c1-cook-TNS-fv

99) Syakhulya silolekha (\*bali) Marya asitekhile  
 Si-akhulya si-lol-ekh-a (\*bali) Marya a-si-tekh-il-e  
 C7-food SM.c7-seem-fv that Mary SM.c1-OM.c7-cook-TNS-fv

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. No

**Part XII. DP/CP Contrasts.** Are DPs licit in the same range of positions as CPs? Please translate and provide judgments.

100. The people believed that John left.  
 Babandu basubila bali Yohana arekukha  
 Ba-ba-ndu ba-a-subil-a bali Yohana a-a-rekukh-a  
 C2-c2-people SM.c2-PST-believe-fv that John SM.c1-PST-leave-fv
101. The people believed John's story.  
 Babandu basubila embakha ya Yohana  
 Ba-ba-ndu ba-a-subil-a e-embakha ya Yohana  
 C2-c2-people SM.c2-PST-believe-fv c9-story of John
102. It is believed that John left.  
 Kasubilwa bali Yohana arekukha  
 Ka-a-subil-w-a bali Yohana a-a-rekukh-a  
 Exp-PST-believe-PASS-fv that John SM.c1-PST-leave-fv
103. It is believed John's story.  
 \*Kasubilwa embakha ya Yohana  
 Ka-a-subil-w-a e-embakha ya Yohana  
 Exp-PST-believe-PASS-fv c9-story of John
104. John's story was believed (by the people).  
 Embakha ya Yohana yasubilwa ne babandu  
 E-embakha ya Yohana y-a-subil-w-a ne ba-ba-ndu  
 C9-story of John SM.c9-PST-belive-PASS-fv by c2-c2-people
105. That John left was believed (by the people).  
 Bali Yohana arekukha lyasubilwa ne babandu  
 Bali Yohana a-a-rekukh-a li-a-subil-w-a ne ba-ba-ndu  
 That John SM.c1-PST-leave-fv c5-PST- believe-PASS-fv by c2-c2-people
106. John ate the banana.  
 Yohana alya kamatoore  
 Yohana a-a-ly-a ka-ma-toore  
 John SM.c1-PST-eat-fv c6-c6-banana
107. The banana was eaten.  
 Litoore lyalibwa  
 Li-toore li-a-li-ibw-a  
 C5-banana SM.c5-PST-eat-PASS-fv
108. (there) was eaten a banana. (with or without overt 'dummy subject')  
 Lyalibwa litoore  
 Li-a-li-ibw-a li-toore  
 SM.c5-PST-eat-PASS-fv c5-banana

109. John said that the farmers harvested the maize  
 Yohana aloma ali baalimi bafuna kamahindi  
 Yohana a-a-lom-a a-li ba-alimi ba-a-fun-a ka-ma-hindi  
 John SM.c1-PST-say-fv c1-that c2-farmer SM.c2-PST-harvest-fv c6-c6-maize
110. That the farmers harvested the maize was said.  
 Bali balimi bafuna kamahindi lyalomekha  
 Bali ba-limi ba-a-fun-a ka-ma-hindi li-a-lom-ekh-a  
 That c2-farmer SM.c2-PST-harvest-fv c6-c6-maize SM.c5-PST-say-STAT-fv
111. John told Mary that the farmers harvested the maize yesterday.  
 Yohana aboolela Marya ali balimi bafunile kamahindi likoloba  
 Yohana a-bool-el-a Marya a-li ba-limi ba-fun-il-e ka-ma-hindi likoloba  
 John SM.c1-PST-tell-APPL-fv Mary c1-that c2-farmer SM.c2-harvest-TNS-fv  
 c6-c6-maize yesterday
112. Mary was told that the farmers harvested the maize.  
 Marya aboolelwa ali/bali balimi bafuna kamahindi  
 Marya a-a-bool-elw-a a-li/bali ba-limi ba-a-fun-a ka-ma-hindi  
 Mary SM.c1-PAST-tell-PASS-fv c1-that c2-farmer SM.c2-PST-harvest-fv c6-c6-  
 maize
113. That the farmers harvested the maize was told Mary.  
 Bali balimi bafuna kamahindi lyabolelwa Marya  
 Bali ba-limi ba-a-fun-a ka-ma-hindi li-a-bol-elw-a Marya  
 That c2-farmer SM.c2-PST-harvest-fv c6-c6-maize SM.c5-PST-tell-PASS-fv  
 Mary
114. That Lewis left seems.  
 ?Bali Lewis arekukha lilolekha  
 Bali Lewis a-a-rekukh-a li-lolekh-a  
 That Lewis SM.c1-PST-leave-fv c5-seem-fv
115. It seems that Lewis left.  
 Kalolekha bali Lewis arekukha  
 Ka-lolekh-a bali Lewis a-a-rekukh-a  
 Exp-seem-fv that Lewis SM.c1-PST-leave-fv
116. Lewis seems that (he) left.  
 Lewis alolekha bali arekukha  
 Lewis a-lolekh-a bali a-a-rekukh-a  
 Lewis SM.c1-seem-fv that SM.c1-PST-leave-fv
117. That Lewis left is possible  
 Bali Lewis arekukha linyalikha  
 Bali Lewis a-a-rekukh-a li-nyalikh-a  
 That Lewis SM.c1-PST-leave-fv c5-possible-fv

118. It is possible that Lewis left  
Linyalikha bali Lewis arekukha  
Li-nyalikh-a bali Lewis a-a-rekukh-a  
c5-possible-fv that Lewis SM.c1-PST-leave-fv
119. The people discovered/found out that Lewis left  
Babaandu bamanya/?babuula bali Lewis arekukha  
Ba-ba-ndu ba-a-many-a/?ba-a-buul-a ba-li Lewis a-a-rekukh-a  
C2-c2-people SM.c2-PST-know/discover-fv c2-that Lewis SM.c1-PST-leave-fv
120. The people discovered/found out the truth  
Babaandu bamanya/?babuula bung'ali  
Ba-ba-ndu ba-a-many-a/?ba-a-buul-a bu-ng'ali  
C2-c2-people SM.c2-PST-know/discover-fv c12-truth
121. It was discovered/found out the truth  
Bwabuulwa/?bwamanywa bung'ali  
Bu-a-buul-w-a/?bu-a-many-w-a bu-ng'ali  
C12-PST-discover/know-PASS-fv c12-truth
122. That Lewis left was discovered/found out.  
Bali Lewis arekukha lyamanywa/lyabuulwa  
Bali Lewis a-a-rekukh-a li-a-many-w-a/lya-buul-w-a  
That Lewis SM.c2-PST-leave-fv SM.c5-PST-know/discover-PASS-fv

### **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.

- 121a. A tree fell in the forest.  
Kumusaala kwakwa mumusiru  
Ku-mu-saala ku-a-kw-a mu-mu-siru  
C3-c3-tree SM.c3-PST-fall-fv c18-c3-forest
- b. In the forest fell a tree.  
Mumusiru mwakwamo kumusaala  
Mu-mu-siru mu-a-a-kw-a-mo ku-mu-saala  
C18-c3-forest SM.c18-PST-fall-fv-c18 c3-c3-tree
- 122a. A child jumped into the field  
Omwaana asuna musikuuri  
O-mu-ana a-a-sun-a mu-si-kuuri  
C1-c1-child SM.c1-PST-jump-fv c18-c7-field

- b. Into the field jumped a child.  
Musikuuri omwaana asunamo  
Mu-si-kuuri o-mu-ana a-a-sun-a-mo  
C18-c7-field c1-c1-child SM.c1-PST-jump-fv-c18
- 123a. A bird sang on the tree.  
Enyuni yembela khumusaala  
E-nyuni ye-a-imb-el-a khu-mu-saala  
C9-bird SM.c9-PST-sing-APPL-fv c17-C3-tree
- b. On the tree sang a bird.  
Khumusaala enyuni yembelakho  
Khu-mu-saala e-nyuni ye-a-imb-el-a-kho  
c17-C3-tree C9-bird SM.c9-PST-sing-APPL-fv-c17
- Khumusaala khwembelakho enyuni  
Khu-mu-saala khu-a-imb-el-a-kho e-nyuni  
c17-C3-tree SM.c17-PST-sing-APPL-fv-c17 c9-bird
- 124a. Elephants trampled the crops in the field.  
Chinjofu chaswala bimela musikuri  
Chi-njofu chi-a-swal-a bi-mela mu-si-kuri  
C10-elephant SM.c10-PST-trample-fv c8-crop c18-c7-field
- b. In the field trampled elephants the crops.  
?Musikuri yaswala enjofu bimela  
Mu-si-kuri y-a-swal-a e-njofu bi-mela  
C18-c7-field SM.c9-PST-trample-fv c9-elephant c8-crop
- ?Musikuri mwaswalamo enjofu bimela  
Mu-si-kuri mu-a-swal-a-mo e-njofu bi-mela  
C18-c7-field SM.c18-PST-trample-fv-c18 c9-elephant c8-crop

*(Try 3-4 with and without an applicative morpheme)*

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

**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.

- 125) a. Children drank the milk.  
Babaana banywa kamabeele  
Ba-ba-ana ba-a-nyw-a ka-ma-beele  
C2-c2-child SM.c2-PST-drink-fv c6-c6-milk

- b. The milk drank the children (not the parents).  
 Kamebeele kanywa babaana OK  
 Ka-ma-beele ka-a-nyw-a ba-ba-ana  
 c6-c6-milk SM.c6-PST-drink-fv c2-c2-child
- 126) a. John read the books.  
 Yohana asoma bitabu  
 Yohana a-a-som-a bi-tabu  
 John SM.c2-PST-read-fv c8-book
- b. The books read **John** (not Peter).  
 Bi-tabu bi-a- soma Yohana OK  
 C8-book SM.c8-PST-read John