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 iwaruka 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 khubyala kamahindi
   Efwe khu-a-reeb-a ba-saani khu-byala 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 Lyasindusya (ese)
   Bali Marya a-a-bon-a Yohana li-a-n-sindusya (ese)
   That Mary SM.c1-PST-see-fv John c5-PST-1st-surprise (me)

   b. [Mary to see John] would surprise me.
   Marya khubona Yohana kunyala 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-1st-surprise (me)

   bi. Marya khubona Yohana linyala lyaasindusya (ese)
   Mary khu-bon-a Yohana li-nyal-a li-a-n-sindusya (ese)
9. a. [That our friends heard this] is embarrassing.
   Bali basale befwe baahulila lino lili lye chisoni (khuli khwe chisoni)
   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
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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rain seems [to be going to fall tomorrow].
Efula kalolekhana khuwa 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].
   *Ka-lolekhan-a 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 ensured).
3. The shit hit the fan (meaning there was trouble)
If you can think of expressions like this, we would be very interested to know if they can participate in raising constructions. Please try to insert them in the paradigms in above, such as “All hell seemed to break lose,” and “all hell started to break lose,” “The cat seems to be out of the bag”, etc. Do they retain their idiomatic meaning, or has it changed in some way?

28) Chingokho chaamala buulo (exposed ones nakedness)

It is believed [that the hens finished the millet].
Lyasubilwa bali chingokho chaamala buolo
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
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
1st .pl-know-STAT-fv 1st.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
3rd.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 that 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
1st.pl-PST-believe 1st.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.e-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.
   Khombakha enju musikuri
   Khu-a-mbakh-a e-nju mu-si-kuri
   1st.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
   1st.pl- FUT-give-PASS-fv c2-students c5-test tomorrow

53a). (There) fell a tree.
   *Kakwa kumusaala
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

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
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
1st.pl-FUT-be 1st.pl-TNS-eat-TNS-fv already when you-get-fv c9-home

60) She had been working for 2 hours.
Abeele akhalabane khu saa chibili
A-be-el-e a-khalaa-ban-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
1st.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-rekukh-a
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
   1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.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
1st.sg-PST-OM-see-fv that SM.c1-would-fv SM.c1-leave-fv

Part IX. 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 watiiwa?
   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-isy-a 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-isy-a 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 omwaalimu 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.
   ??Omwaalimu 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-lwale
   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 cl-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 cl-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-mbakha 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-mbakha 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-mbakha 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-libw-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-libw-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-lolokh-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-nyalikha-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-sala
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

(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