

## Situating the Subject in Bantu

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### I. Introduction.

This questionnaire is part of an attempt to understand the patterns of placement and interpretation of subjects of sentences in Bantu languages.

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-i-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 latinized alphabet that is typically used for your language with tone marked accordingly. If your language has no latinized 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.

The Fe’efe’e alphabet follows the prescriptions of the General Alphabet of Cameroonian Languages (GACL) (see Tadadjeu & Sadembouo 1984). Therefore, the following correspondences will be considered as represented in the following table.

Phonetic representation	Orthographic representation
ɒɒ	ɑ
ɒ	ɑ
ɛ, e	e
ɣ	gh
tʃ	c
ʃ	sh
ʔ	'
dʒ	j

The low tone is not marked. Syllabic nasals bear a mid tone.

## II. Base line sentences.

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.

- Ok Tɑ' m̄ɑ̄ mvhī kɑzɑ tok no' t̄ɑ̄.  
Tɑ' m̄ɑ̄ mvhī kɑ-zɑ tok no' t̄ɑ̄  
One big goat PST2-eat banana chiefdom three  
“A big goat ate three bananas.”
- Ok Fɥ kɑh̄ɑ ndiī p̄ɑ-ōp̄ɔ̄nzhwīē.  
Fɥ kɑ-h̄ɑ ndiī p̄ɑ-ōp̄ɔ̄nzhwīē  
Chief PST2-give present c2-girl  
“The chief gave the girls presents.”
- Ok Pɑ' njə kh̄ɑ̄' nshwī bê pɑ' nehe li.  
Pɑ' njəkh̄ɑ̄' nshwī bê pɑ' nehe li.  
Can axe cut firewood this as nothing ADV  
“The axe can easily cut this firewood.”

4. Ok Siāni nkwa' má pōō bê ghē lah mbá' njīi nō.  
Siāni nkwa' má pa-ōō bê le ghē lah mbá' njīi nō.  
Siāni thing that c2-child this ADV has to NEG see you  
“Siāni believes that these children should not meet you.”

5. Ok Pǎh ka ghē pōōmbā' sō ncāt fi zǎ' ηwa'ni.  
Pǎh ka-ghē pa-ōōmbā' sō ø-ncāt fi zǎ' ηwa'ni.  
We PST2-make c2-boy wear c4-shoe new place school  
“We made the boys wear new shoes to school.”

### III. Indefinite subjects with non-specific readings.

Please translate the following literally, without altering word order. We would like the sentences to include subject markers on the verb, so if our choices of sentences happen to have translations in your language that involve uninflecting copulas or tenses that do not inflect for subject agreement (such as the Swahili habitual) please indicate that you are avoiding these and use another tense. Provide a judgment of acceptability for the reading described or for appropriateness for the context described in (a-c) under the examples.

**Note:** There is no subject marker in Fe'efe'e.

1. Ok Tǎ'wen kacwī nzhindūā.  
Tǎ'wen ka-cwī nzhindūā.  
Somebody PST2-knock door  
“Somebody knocked on the door.”

a) Is this sentence appropriate if the one who utters it does not know who it is who knocked on the door? **Appropriate**

b) Is this sentence appropriate if the one who utters it knows who is at the door and wants the addressee to go to the door to see for himself? **Also appropriate**

c) Is this sentence an appropriate response to the question, “Did anything happen while I was out?” Yes

2. Thǎ' wáha, tǎ' mfak ndǎ' tūse' kasá' ncāk ō.  
Thǎ' wáha, tǎ' mfak ndǎ' tūse' ka-sá' ncāk ō.  
Night yesterday one driver car town PST2-came look you

“Last night a cab driver came looking for you.”

- a) Is this sentence appropriate if the speaker has a particular cab driver in mind (e.g., the one who was wearing a yellow t-shirt)? **No**
- b) Is this sentence appropriate if the speaker knows that some cab driver came looking, but he doesn't know who or why? **Yes appropriate**

3. Ok Tα' wěn ghǎ lah m̄fǎ'. Wā mǎngū lah m̄fǎ' yāā?  
Tα' wěn ghǎ lah m̄fǎ'. Wā mǎ-ŋgū lah m̄fǎ' yāā?  
One person must work who be-do to do it  
“One person must work. Who should do it?”

(Just provide a translation modeled as closely as possible on the English).

4. Ok Tα' ŋwǎ'ni fhǎnkwēn mfǎhnzǎ e.  
Tα' ŋwǎ'ni fhǎ-ŋkwēn mfǎhnzǎ e.  
A letter PST1-arrive morning this  
“ A letter arrived this morning.”

a) Could this be an appropriate response to “Did anything happen while I was out?” (Assume the letter is not in view; you are just reporting the morning's events). It could rather be an adequate answer to Did anything happen when I was away. That answer could also be acceptable.

b) Could this be appropriate in addressing a person who was only expecting to receive parcels while he was out? **Yes it is appropriate in this context.**

See if it works in this context as a continuation of the sentence, “You didn't receive any parcels but...” (As in (a), assume no letter is in view; you are just reporting the morning's events).

c) Could this be an appropriate response if someone asks “Did the governor send his reply?” and you respond with (4) while placing the letter in the questioner's hand. **Yes it could be appropriate.**

5. Please translate the following. We are interested to know how ‘somebody’ is expressed and whether it can appear in preverbal position. Assume the intent of the speaker is that there are lots of unknown but friendly people around who would be likely to help you.

Ok O bāta mbīē, o tē’ ndā’ pənok. Tā’wěn iñkōsī ō.

O bāta mbīē, o tē’ ndā’ pənok. Tā’wěn i-ñkōsī ō.

You be loose you ask just people. One FUT0-help you

“If you get lost, just ask people. Somebody will help you.”

#### IV. Preverbal subjects and left-dislocation.

##### IV.a Left-dislocation diagnostics.

Please translate and judge the following:

1. Ok ŋwα’ni bê le, n kacēh wāha.

ŋwα’ni bê le, n kα-cēh wāha.

Book this ADV I PST2-read yesterday

“This book, I read yesterday.”

2. Ok ŋwα’ni bê le, n kacēh yāā wāha.

ŋwα’ni bê le, n kα-cēh yāā wāha.

Book this ADV I PST2-read it yesterday

“This book, I read it yesterday (with object marking).”

\* 3. Siāni, n dαyí zǎ’ ŋwα’ni.

Siāni, n dα-yí zǎ’ ŋwα’ni.

Siāni, I PST2-see place school

“Mary, I see at school.”

Ok 4. Siāni, n dαyí nī zǎ’ ŋwα’ni.

Siāni, n dα-yí nī zǎ’ ŋwα’ni.

Siāni, I PST2-see her place school

“Mary, I see her at school.” (with OM)

Ok 5. Tα’ ŋwα’ni, ngǎ iñjwēn ndūāntē.

Tα' ηwα'ni, ngǎ i-n̄jwēn ndūāntē.

One book I FUT0-buy store

“A book, I will buy at the store.”

6. Tα' ηwα'ni, ngǎ i-n̄jwēn yāā ndūāntē.

Tα' ηwα'ni, ngǎ i-n̄jwēn yāā ndūāntē.

One book I FUT0-buy it store

“A book, I will buy it at the store.”

For examples (7-10), please indicate whether or not each sentence permits a bound variable reading, that is, a reading where the choice of book owners always corresponds to the choice of student (7-8), or the choice of boy corresponds to the choice of dog owner (9-10). In 7, for example, the bound variable reading would imply that ‘*John* should read the schoolbook that is *his*, *Sam* should read the schoolbook that is *his*, etc.’). Readings like these are known as ‘bound variable readings’ because, as semanticists put it, the choice of owner must covary with each choice of a member of the set denoted by the quantifier.

Ok 7. ηwα'ni zǐ, nkwe ghǎ'ηwα'nǐ gh̄ lah n̄cēh. (with as an emphasis on the possessor)

ηwα'ni zǐ, nkwe ghǎ'ηwα'nǐ gh̄ lah n̄cēh

Book his, every student has to read

“His book, every student should read.” (with bound variable reading, no OM)

??8. ηwα'ni zǐ, nkwe ghǎ'ηwα'nǐ gh̄ lah n̄cēh yāā.

ηwα'ni zǐ, nkwe ghǎ'ηwα'nǐ gh̄ lah n̄cēh yāā

Book his, every student has to read it

“His book, every student should read it.” (with OM, with bound variable reading) (with as an emphasis on the possessor and the book)

?9. Mvūā i, mbata yāā mōōmbā' lá gh̄ lah n̄cī.

Mvūā i, mbata yāā mα-ōōmbā' lá gh̄ lah n̄cī.

Dog his every each c1-booyboy ADV has to heed

“His dog, every boy should feed.” (with bound variable reading but no OM)

Ok 10. Mvūā i, mbatα yāā mōōmbā' lα ghū lah n̄cī mī.

Mvūā i, mbatα yāā mα-ōōmbā' lα ghū lah n̄cī mī.

Dog his every each c1-booyboy ADV has to heed him

“His dog, every boy should feed him.” (with OM, with bound variable reading)

#### IVb. Negative Polarity Items.

A. Does your language have words like “anybody” or “anything”? If nouns have augment vowels that can be dropped, the augmentless nouns may fulfill this function. Here are some Xhosa examples to illustrate the general pattern that’s been found in languages where augmentless nouns function as NPIs:

(a) Ndibona into  
Ndi- bona i-nto  
SM.ISG-see c9-thing  
‘I saw a/the thing’

(b) Andibonanga nto  
A-ndi-bon-anga nto  
NEG-SM.1SG-see-PAST thing  
‘I didn’t see anything’

For purposes of comparison, please start by translating the following:

1. Ok Ngǎ kwē' tα'wen.

Ngǎ kwē' tα'wen.

I like somebody

“I like somebody.”

2. Ok N kayí tα'wū.

N kα-yí tα'wū

I PST2-see something

“I saw something.”

3. Ok N kαghēn tα'zα'.

N kα-ghě̃n tǎ'zɰ'.  
I PST2-go somewhere  
“I went somewhere.”

Now translate (4-6) and indicate whether the result is acceptable.

**Ok 4.** N kǎ'kwé' mbawālā.  
N kǎ'-kwé' mbawālā.  
I NEG-like anybody  
“I don't like anybody.”

**Ok 5.** N dα si yīi sǎwū.  
N dα-si-yīi sǎwū.  
I PST2-NEG-see anything  
“I didn't see anything.”

**OK 6.** N dα si ghě̃n sǎzɰ'.  
N dα-si-ghě̃n sǎzɰ'.  
I PST2-NEG-go anywhere  
“I didn't go anywhere.”

B. If your language does have words like “anybody” or “anything” or such meanings can be achieved only in the absence of augment vowels, we would like to know if these forms can be licensed by negation in a higher clause. Translate the following and indicate if they are acceptable.

**Ok 7.** Tǔko sī mǎñkwá' má ngǎ kwe' mbawālā bā.  
Tǔko sī mǎ-ñkwá' má ngǎ kwe' mbawālā bā  
Tǔko NEG do-thing that I like mbawālā NEG  
“Tǔko doesn't think I like anybody.”

**Ok 8.** Tǔko si mǎmbē̃n má ngā yíi mbakālā bā.  
Tǔko si mǎ-mbē̃n má ngā yíi mbakālā bā.  
Tǔko NEG do-believe that I see anything NEG  
“Tǔko doesn't believe I saw anything.”

**Ok 9.** Pōonkhǎ̃ sī mǎñkwē' lah ñgén mbahālā bā.

Pα-ōōnkhā sī-mα-nkwē lah n̄gén mbāhālā bā.  
C2-kid NEG-do-like to go anywhere NEG  
“The kids don’t like to go anywhere.”

Ok 10. Pāh pāh lālēn mā Siāni ghēn mbāhālā bā.  
Pāh sī i-n̄dēn má Siāni ghēn mbāhālā bā  
We NEG FUT-say that Siāni go anywhere NEG  
“We won’t say that Siāni went anywhere.”

#### **IVc. Combining NPIs and left-dislocation.**

If there are negative polarity items, this section tests whether they can left-dislocate. Please give translated examples without object marking and then please give examples with object marking (marking them (a) and (b) corresponding to each example given below and in all similar cases in this section).

Ok 11. A kα’ kwē’ mbawālā.  
A kα’ kwē’ mbawālā  
She NEG-like mbawālā  
“She doesn’t like anybody.”

\*12. Mbawālā, a kα’ kwē’.  
Mbawālā, a kα’-kwē’.  
Anybody, she NEG-like  
“Anybody, she doesn’t like.”

??13. Mbawālā, a kα’ kwē’ i.  
Mbawālā, a kα’-kwē’ i.  
Anybody, she NEG-like him  
“Anybody, she doesn’t like him.”

Ok 14. N sī mān̄gén mbāhālā bā.  
N sī-mα-n̄gén mbāhālā bā.  
I NEG-do-go anywhere NEG  
“I don’t go anywhere.”

?? 15. Mbāhālā n sī mān̄gēn bā.

Mbahālā n sī-mα-ñgēn bā  
Anywhere I NEG-do-go NEG  
“Anywhere, I don’t go.”

\* 16. Mbahālā n sī mañgēn síewū bā.  
Mbahālā n sī-mα-ñgēn síewū bā  
Anywhere I NEG-do-go there NEG  
“Anywhere, I don’t go there.”

*In translating these examples, please use our glossing conventions for object markers, ‘OM’, should be accompanied by noun class affiliation, e.g., for the noun class marker for plural persons, the marker should be glossed ‘-OM.c2-’.*

#### **IVd. Polarity items licensed from higher clauses: trying left-dislocation.**

Please translate the following and provide grammaticality judgments.

\* 1. Tũko sī mañkwá’ má mbawālā, ngǎ kwe’ ī bā.  
Tũko sī mañkwá’ má mbawālā, ngǎ kwe’ ī bā.  
Tũko NEG-do-thing that anybody I like him NEG  
“Tũko doesn’t think that anybody, I like him.”

\* 2. Tũko sī mañkwá’ má mbakālā, n kayí bā.  
Tũko sī-mα-ñkwá’ má mbakālā, n kα-yí bā.  
Tũko NEG-do-thing that anything I PST2-see NEG  
“Tũko doesn’t think that anything, I saw it.”

\*3. Pαh sī iñdēn má mbahālā, Siāni kαghēn síewū bā.  
Pαh sī- i- ñdēn má mbahālā, Siāni kα-ghēn síewū bā  
We NEG-FUT0-say that anywhere Siāni PST2-go there NEG  
“We will not say that anywhere, Siāni went there.”

#### **IVe. Other quantificational NPs.**

For the sake of comparison, please translate the following and indicate whether they are grammatical (note that the presence or absence of a pronoun in the English sentences is intended to elicit sentences with and without object markers).

Ok 1. Pαh kacā’si mβ yāā mōōmbā’ lā.

Pah kacā'sī mbα yāā mα-ōōmbā' lā  
We PST2-greet each each c1-boy ADV  
“We greeted each boy.”

? 2. Mbα yāā mōōmbā' lā, n kacā'sī.  
Mbα yāā mα-ōōmbā' lā, n kα-cā'sī.  
Each each c1-boy ADV I PST2-greet  
“Each boy, we greeted.”

\* 3. Mbα yāā mōōmbā' lā, pah kacā'sī ī.  
Mbα yāā mα-ōōmbā' lā, pah kα-cā'sī ī  
Each each c1-boy ADV we PST2-greet him  
Each boy, we greeted him.

#### IVf. Trying subjects of embedded clauses.

Here the higher verb is negated. The quantifier or NPI is subject of the embedded clause which crucially is NOT negative. Please include a complementizer like ‘that’ preceding the embedded subject.

Ok 1. A sī nkwā' má mbawālā kwe' ā bā.  
A sī-nkwā' má mbawālā kwe' ā bā.  
She NEG-thing that anybody like me NEG  
“She doesn't think that anybody likes me.”

Ok 2. N ká' kwá' má mbayaāz# lā ghě nshi kuku'si.  
N ká' kwá' má mbayaāz# lā ghě nshi kuku'si.  
I NEG-think that anyplace ADV do water enough  
“I don't think that anyplace has enough water.”

? 3. N dα si yīi má mbakālā kacāt.  
N dα-si-yīi má mbakālā kα-cāt.  
I PST2-NEG-see that anything PST2-broke  
“I didn't see that anything broke.”

Ok 4. A kalén má mbα yāā mōōmbā' lā lāfā'.

A kα-lén má mbα yāā mα-ōōmbā' lā kα-fā'  
He PST2-say that each each c1-boy ADV PST2-work  
“He said that each boy worked.”

Ok 5. Pǎh nkwá' má nkwē ghǎ'ηwα'ni katōh laki.  
Pǎh nkwá' má nkwē ghǎ'ηwα'ni kα-tōh laki.  
We believe that every student PST2-pass exam  
“We believe that every student passed the exam.”

#### **IVg. As above, but without ‘that’.**

Now please translate and judge the same sentences but minus the complementizer ‘that’.

?? 1. A sī nkwā' mbαwālā kwe' ā bā.

A sī-nkwā' mbαwālā kwe' ā bā.  
She NEG-thing anybody like me NEG  
“She doesn’t think anybody likes me.”

? 2. N kα' kwá' mbαyaāzɥ' lā ghě nshi kuku'si.  
N kα' kwá' mbαyaāzɥ' lā ghě nshi kuku'si.  
I NEG-think anyplace ADV do water enough  
“I don’t think anyplace has enough water.”

\* 3. N dα si yīi mbαkālā kacāt.  
N dα-si-yīi mbαkālā kα-cāt.  
I PST2-NEG-see anything PST2-brake  
“I didn’t see that anything broke.”

? Ok 4. A kalén mbα yāā mōōmbā' lā lαfā'.  
A kα-lén mbα yāā mα-ōōmbā' lā kα-fā'  
He PST2-say each each c1-boy ADV PST2-work  
“He said that each boy worked.”

? 5. Pǎh nkwá' nkwē ghǎ'ηwα'ni katōh laki.  
Pǎh nkwá' nkwē ghǎ'ηwα'ni kα-tōh laki.  
We believe every student PST2-pass exam  
“We believe every student passed the exam.”

#### IVf. Raising to object of NPIs.

This section explores the possibility of raising an NPI from embedded subject position to matrix object position. When translating these sentences, please be careful to include the complementizer (the word corresponding to English *that*) and please comment about whether or not it can or should be missing). The sentences are translated with the appropriate finiteness (or non-finiteness) for English, please translate into the appropriate forms for your language.

\*1. A kɑ' kwé' mbawālā má ā kwe' ā.

A kɑ' kwé' mbawālā má ā kwe' ā

He NEG like anybody that he like me

“She doesn't think anybody that (he) likes me.”

2. \* Pɑh kɑ' kwā' mbɑhālā má yāā ghē nshi nkəku'si.

Pɑh kɑ' kwā' mbɑhālā má yāā ghē nshi nkəku'si

We NEG think anyplace that it make water enough

“We don't believe anyplace that (it) has enough water.”

Ok 3. Pō kɑ' kwē' má mbawālā shūā. (for the sentence to be correct, it must bear the complementizer)

Pō kɑ' kwē' má mbawālā shūā.

They NEG like that anybody leave

“They don't want anybody (that) to leave.”

Ok 4. A sī mām̄biāā mbawālā cēh nsienken bā.

A sī-mām̄biāā mbawālā cēh nsienken bā

He NEG do-wait anybody read newspaper NEG

“ He doesn't expect anybody (that) to read the newspaper.” ( the complementizer could not be used here).

#### IVg. Comparing with free choice any.

Can the same words that are used for 'any X' in negative contexts also be used outside of negative contexts to mean “anyone at all” or “whoever”? Please see if they are acceptable in translations of the following sentences.

Ok 1. Ngǎ iñcō' nkhē mbawālā ká m̄fā' cwītōk lá.

Ngǎ i-ñcō' nkhē mbawālā ká mǎfǎ' cwītōk lá.

I FUT0-move foot anyone who work hard ADV

“I will pay anyone who works hard.”

Ok 2. Ngǎ iñtēh mbawālā ká sī i-mǎfǎ' cwītōt lá bā nā.

Ngǎ i-ñtēh mbawālā ká sī i-mǎfǎ' cwītōt lá bā nā.

I FUT0-remove anyone who NEG FUT0-work hard ADV NEG on

“I will dismiss anyone who doesn't work hard.”

Ok 3. Ngǎ iñgén mbahālā kā ghě mbe' mbūánzā lá.

Ngǎ iñgén mbahālā kā ghě mbe' mbūánzā lá

I FUT0-go anyplace that has good weather ADV

“I will go anyplace that has good weather.”

OK 4. Ngǎ iñdō ná mbα yāā zǎ' mbā' ñdō nā yē lá.

Ngǎ i-ñdō ná mbα yāā zǎ' mbā' ñdō nā yē lá

I FUT0-leave on any any place rain fall on much ADV

“I will leave anyplace that has too much rain.”

Ok 5. Ǻ iñjwēn mbakālā pō mǎmǎfén lá.

Ǻ i-ñjwēn mbakālā pō mǎ-mǎfén lá

She FUT0-buy anything they be-buy ADV

“She will buy anything that is on sale.”

Ok 6. Ǻ i-mǎbǎ' mbakālā mǎ yáá kǎ' kú'.

Ǻ i-mǎbǎ' mbakālā mǎ yáá kǎ' kú'.

She FUT0-return anything that it NEG fit

“She will return anything that doesn't fit.”

## V. Looking for negative NPs.

Are there words like ‘nobody’ and ‘nothing’? If so, they should be possible as stand-alone sentence fragment answers in exchanges like the following:

Ok 1. Wā tá o kajīi? Pǎ': Sǎwen

Wā tá o kα-jī

Who INT you PST2-see

“Who did you see? Ans: Nobody (or, no one).”

Ok 2. Kā tá o kαjwēn? Pα': Sǎwū.

Kā tá o kα-jwēn?

What INT you PST2-buy

“What did you buy?” Ans: Nothing.

If such words exist, please provide judgments for the following

Ok 3. Sǎwen kα si sǎ'.

Sǎwen kα-si-sǎ'

Sǎwen PST2-NEG-come

“Nobody came.”

Ok 4. Sǎwū kα sī bǎ.

Sǎwū kα-sī-bǎ.

Nothing PST2-NEG-happen

“Nothing happened.”

Ok 5. Pǎh kα si ywēn sǎwū.

Pǎh kα-si-ywēn sǎwū.

We PST2-NEG-buy nothing

“We bought nothing.”

Ok 6. Pǎh kα si yī sǎwen.

Pǎh kα-si-yī sǎwen

We PST2-NEG-see nobody

“We saw nobody.”

## VI. Scope interactions.

Please translate the sentences in this section and then answer if they are acceptable with the interpretation described. Please comment on how the interpretation would be rendered if the translations of these sentences do not permit the intended reading. In case English is not one of your first languages, we include some information about what native English speakers assume in these contexts about what interpretation these sentences allow.

Ok 1. Pōō tǎnjē kabá mēm̄m̄ā' ndōh ndom mfh̄' pe' wāha. Lōh kotám mbα yāā ntōh nzhi lā tū ī.  
Pα-ōō tǎnjē kα-bá m̄-m̄m̄ā' ndoh ndom mfh̄' pe' wāha. Lōh kα-tám mbα  
C2-kid many PST2-be PROG-thow rocks off wall house yesterday. rock PST2-hit each  
yāā ntōh nzhi lā tū ī.

each passer path ADV head his

“There were many kids throwing rocks off a wall yesterday. A rock hit every passerby on the head.”

Please be sure to translate the sentence such that ‘a rock’ is the subject of the sentence, as indicated by the subject marker (SM) on the verb. In English, this context favors the interpretation ‘Each passerby was hit by a rock’ (and not the same rock crushing every passerby!). Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one?

**-Our translation also drives to this interpretation and only this interpretation.**

OK 2. Thē' wáha, ná nam v̄'v̄ mōh kαpíé. Fa'ā lǎ, mv̄ā lī n̄tō' lah n̄kāá n̄tam n̄wkē mbē.

Thē' wáha ná nam v̄'v̄ mōh kα-píé. Fa'ā lǎ, mv̄ā lī n̄tō' lah n̄kāá n̄tam n̄kwē mbē.

Night last on hour nine light PST2-go off. Then-ADV dog ASP-start bark in every compound

“Last night at 9 pm a siren went off. Then a dog started to bark in every compound.”

- conveyance of the same reading It is the only possible reading we can have unless we insert the word *ta'* meaning “how” before *mv̄ā* “dog” to obtain the meaning expressed in the following:

2'. Thē' wáha, ná nam v̄'v̄ mōh kαpíé. Fa'ā lǎ, ta' mv̄ā lī n̄tō' lah n̄kāá n̄tam n̄wkē mbē.

Thē' wáha ná nam v̄'v̄ mōh kα-píé. Fa'ā lǎ, ta' mv̄ā lī-n̄tō' lah n̄kāá n̄tam n̄kwē

Night last on hour nine light PST2-go off. Then-ADV one dog ASP-start bark in every

mbē.

compound

“Last night at 9 pm a siren went off. Then a dog started to bark in every compound.”

Please be sure to translate the sentence such that ‘a dog’ is the subject of the sentence. In English, the most plausible interpretation for this sentence is that in every compound, there was a different dog barking. Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one? Is there a special word for ‘some’? If so, does it make a difference to say, “Some dog started to bark in every compound”?

Ok 3. Mfǎnzā n̄jam f̄f̄α, mbαtα yāā ngwe' lā lαcáh nkēn yah nā.

Mfǎnzā n̄jam f̄f̄α, mbαtα yāā ngwe' lā lα-cáh nkēn yah nā

Morning after wind, each each country ADV PST2-send message light body

“The morning after the tsunami a message of sympathy was sent by each government.”

The translation means that only the message of sympathy was sent.

In English, this sentence is permitted to mean that each government that sent such a message sent a different one. Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one?

Ok 4. Yāā kαfōh pā' tα' te'sínu kαghě nkwe sáhnū tēn ndēā tǎánshu lá.

Yāā kα-fōh pā' tα' te'sínu kα-ghě nkwe sáhnū tēn ndēā tǎánshu lá.

It PST2-seem like a question PST2-make all talk stop room conference ADV

“ At the conference, it seemed like a question interrupted every talk.”

***-The translation means that as soon as a specific question was asked, every talk was interrupted and probably until the conference stopped.***

Please be sure to translate the sentence so that ‘a question’ is the subject of the clause. In English, this can mean that every talk was interrupted and when a question was asked, but that the question posed was not necessarily the same question at every talk. Is this an interpretation your translation allows? Is it the only one?

4. Here we put together quantifiers, locative inversion, and the raising verb ‘seem’. Please translate, matching the word order indicated.

a. \* Ntám mǎ' lǎ' kαfōh lah nkāá nkwe mvēā.

Ntám mǎ' lǎ' kα-fōh lah nkāá nkwe mvēā

In some villages PST2-seem to bark every dog

In some villages seemed to bark every dog. Is this an acceptable way of expressing the meaning that it seemed some villages were such that every dog in them barked?

-meaningless sentence

b. \* Ntám nkwe lǎ', kαfōh lah nkāá mó'mvāk mvēā. (**meaningless**)

Ntám nkwe lǎ', kα-fōh lah nkāá mó'mvāk mvēā.

In every villages PST2-seem to bark some dog

In every village seemed to bark some dog. Is this an acceptable way of expressing the meaning that every village seemed to be such that at least one dog in it barked? Could the dogs vary with the villages?

## VII. Clausal negation and scope over a subject quantifier.

1. Ok Pǎ' nkwe pē lǎ kwēn ntám ndē' bâ lǎ. Zimó' indáh mó' ndē tūse'.

Pá nkwe pã lã kwën ntám ndã' bâ lã. Zimó' i-ndáh má ndã' tuse'.

Not all people can fit into car that ADV some FUT0-take that car town

“Everybody can't fit into that car. Some will have to take a cab.”

Please be sure to translate the first sentence so that ‘everybody’ is the subject of the clause. Most speakers of English permit the first sentence to mean that although some people can fit into the car, not all of them can. Please translate both sentences and comment as to whether the first sentence permits either of the two readings below. Which statement is true? Are both meanings possible?

a) Sentence #1 has the ‘not all of them, but some’ reading. (possible: true)

b) Sentence #2 means that no one can fit into that car. (false)

***The second interpretation is not possible because the sentence clearly indicates that the car cannot contain all those who would like to get in but a cab would take those would not be able to fit into the car because of lack of space.***

Ok 2. Mámbã, ngã lén má ò nãh wúzã ntám nkwe kã'. Ndã'mã nkwe ka' si mã wúzã ntãm bã; zi bê pãá mã sãwũ si ntãm bã.

Mámbã, ngã lén má ò nãh wúzã ntám nkwe kã'. Ndã'mã nkwe ka' si mã wúzã

Hey, I say that you put food in every bowl but every bowl NEG be food

ntãm bã; zi bê pãá mã sãwũ si ntãm bã.

In NEG PL this two are nothing NEG in NEG

“Hey, I asked you to put food in every bowl. But every bowl doesn't contain food; these two are still empty.”

Please be sure to translate the second sentence with ‘every bowl’ as the subject of ‘contain’.

Ok 3. Nkwe ghã'ñwã'ni kã si sãk nu ndíndē.

Nkwe ghã'ñwã'ni kã si sãk nu ndíndē

All students PST2-NEG-tell thing true

“All the students didn't tell the truth.”

Please be sure to translate the sentence with ‘all the students’ as the subject. Answer whether both interpretations given below are possible, or if only one of them is:

a) I know that Mary, for example, was lying, even though Luke and many of the others might have indeed told the truth (= some students told the truth and some lied)

b) As usual, they all lied (= no student told the truth)

***Both interpretations are possible.***

## **IIX. Subjects and Focus.**

OK 1. Mα-ɯnzwiē lá kamá' lē'?

Mα-ɯnzwiē lá kα-má' lē'  
C1-woman ADV PST2-drop pot  
"The woman dropped the pot?"

2. Ok

Ká kabā?                      Nu kā kabā?  
Ká kα-bā?    Or    Nu    kā kα-bā?  
What PST2-be                      thing what PST2-be  
"What happened?"

Suppose what happened is that the woman dropped the pot. Does it sound reasonable to word this answer to the "What happened?" question as follows:

?\*3. Le', mɯnzhiē lá kamá'.

Le', mα-ɯnzhiē lá kα-má'  
Pot c1-woman ADV PST2-drop  
"The pot, the woman dropped (it)."

Please translate the answer and indicate whether it is an appropriate answer in the context (with the comment "This is/is not an appropriate answer to the question in this context".)

***It is the appropriate answer. But in Fe'efe'e you will seldom hear speakers emphasizing the object, although the kind of construction might be acceptable.***

4. Alternatively in response to the question "What happened?" can you answer felicitously with SVO word order "The woman dropped the pot"? Or does the word order need to be different?

OK Mɯnzhiē lá lamá' lē'. (word order maintained)

Mα-ɯnzhiē lá lα-má' lē'  
C1-woman ADV PST2-drop pot  
"The woman dropped the pot."

***This is an appropriate answer to the question in this context.***

5. What if the answer is "The pot broke". What word orders are acceptable in the exchange, "What happened?" "The pot broke". Please translate the answers that are appropriate.

Ok Lē' kasē.

Lē' kα-sē.

Pot PST2-brake

The pot broke.” (Appropriate answer).

**IX. Embedded wh-subjects in object relatives.**

How would you say the following:

1. \* Mbā' yi ngǎ zhī má wā kwe' lá bê. (meaningless)

Mbā' yi ngǎ zhī má wā kwe' lá bê.

Man that I know that who like ADV this

“This is the man that I know who likes.”

The intended reading of (1) is something like ‘I know who likes this man, and this is the man in question’ The sentence in (1), in case you are wondering, is typically judged unacceptable in English, but one thing we would like to understand is whether or not languages differ in this respect, and if so, how.

2. \* ŋwα'ni yi Tũko kayī wā kanjwēn lá bê. (*meaningless*)

ŋwα'ni yi Tũko kα-yī wā kα-njwēn lá bê.

Book that Tũko PST2-see who PST2-buy ADV this

“This is the book that John saw who bought.”

The intended reading of (2) is something like ‘John saw who it was that bought the book in question and this is the book (e.g., perhaps the speaker is holding the book up for the addressee to see). Once again, (2) is frequently judged unacceptable by many English speakers, but once again, we are interested in probing potential cross-linguistic differences.