



Puzzle 5: Word order

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Puzzle 5: Outline

1. Teke overview
2. Rukiga overview
3. Tunen overview
4. Copi overview
5. Changana overview
6. Makhuwa overview
7. Discussion

1. Teke

Teke overview



- ex-situ IBV focus for subject (?), object and adjunct, while in-situ focus is also allowed
- Postverbal subject is not allowed in matrix clause, subject inversion is only seen in non-subject relative clause and adverbial clause
- OSV structure as an equivalent of passive
- Subject prefers to be focused in pseudo-cleft

Basic word order SVO:

“neutral” context andthetic sentence

(1) Ma-shwâ má-yíí ku nzáli.
6-boat 6-come.PST PREP 9.river
Some boats came in the river.

(2) Kí-má kí-sî?
7-what 7-do.PST
What happened?

Mpúku súruk-i kulá nzó.
1.rat fall-PST PREP.on 9.house
A rat fell from the roof.

Basic word order SVO:

- **in-situ focus**

(3) Me m-péen-i wúna téme.

1SG.PRN 1SG-lose-PST only 5.hoe

I lost only a hoe.

(4) Ná ndé á-kún-i mu-tí wǔ?

who 3SG.PRN 3SG-plant-PST 3.tree 3.DEM.I

Who planted this tree?

SOV word order:

- **wh-question (object/adjunct)**

- (5) -Maria kí-má ká-swaak-í matsíka mu nkunkólo?
Maria 7-what 3SG-wash-PST yesterday PREP 9.evening
-Ndé ali ma-sáni ká-swaak-í.
3SG.PRN AUX.PST 6-plate 3SG-wash-PST
-What did Maria wash yesterday?
-She washed the plates.

IBV

(6) Maamá ka-bíra konío kukí Kinsasa.
1.mother 3SG.PRS-drive 5.truck PREP Kinshasa
Mother drives to Kinshasa.

Ndé konío ku Kampala ká-bíra.
3SG.PRN 5.truck PREP Kampala 3SG.PRS-drive.
No, she drives to Kampala.

OSV word order:

- **passive reading/subject focus**

(7) Mbă taará a-dzíib-i.
3.fire 1.father 3SG-extinguish-PST
The fire was extinguished by father.

(8) *answer to “who attacked the hunter?”*
Mu-bhií kí-mbúlí kí-siim-i.
1-hunter 7-lion 7-attack-PST
The lion attacked the hunter .

OSV word order:



- **object focus (cleft)**

(9) Ndé ka-tsuomó ndíri mbuká taará ká-fúúm-i
3SG.PRN 3SG.PRS-think 3SG.say 5.bed 1.father 3SG-buy-PST
ku dzáandu.
PREP 9.market
He thinks that it was a bed that father bought in the market.

subject inversion:

•not possible in matrix clause

(10) *Kí-súruk-i mpúku kulá nzó.
7-fall-PST 1.rat PREP.on 9.house
A rat fell from the roof.

(11) *Á-súruk-i mpúku kulá nzó.
1SM-fall-PST 1.rat PREP.on 9.house
A rat fell from the roof.

subject inversion:



- **adverbial clause**

(12) Me n-kála tíí ku kâ-ya ndé.
1SG.PRN 1SG.PRS-stay until PREP 3SG.FUT-come 3SG.PRN
I stay here until he arrives.

(13) ña kí-bvúrik-i mu-káli aa me, me yi-n-yéme tolo.
PREP 7-return-PST 1-wife 1.CONN 1SG.PRN 1SG.PRN IMPF-1SG-sleep 5.sleep
When my wife returned, I was sleeping.

2. Rukiga

- Rukiga is SVO but flexible

- (1) a. Paméla aryátéeka muhógo SVO
 Paméla a-ryá-téeka muhógo
 1.Pamela 1SM-FUT-cook 9.cassava
 Pamela will cook cassava.
- b. Paméla muhógo aryágitéeka SOV
 Paméla muhógo a-ryá-gi-téeka
 1.Pamela 9.cassava 1SM-FUT-9OM-cook
 'Pamela will cook cassava.'

- SVO does not express focus on the subject

- (2) a. *O-guzir' émigaati óha?
 O-gur-ire e-mi-gaati o-ha?
 1SG.SM-buy-PFV AUG-4-bread 1-who
 'Who bout bread?'
- b. Ogúzir' émigaati nóóha?
 O-gur-ire e-mi-gaati ni o-ha?
 1SG.SM-buy-PFV AUG-4-bread COP 1-who
 'Who is it that bought bread?'

Preverbal position

Locative inversion

- (3) Aha rutindó haarabáhó emótóka nyîngi
a-ha ru-tindo ha-a-raba=ho e-motokany-ingi/
AUG-16 11-bridge 16SM-N.PST-pass=16 AUG-9.car-9-many
'On the bridge have passed many cars.'

Locative fronting

- (4) Bunyonyi tituraahíkéyo
Bunyonyi ti-tu-raa-hik-e-yo
Bunyonyi NEG-1PL.SG-FUT-reach-FV-23
'We will not go as far as Bunyonyi.'

Focused phrases do not appear in the preverbal domain: No IBV focus position

- (5) a. Wh
*oh' ógyenzire?
o-ha ogyend-ire
1-who 1SM-go-PFV
- b. answer to wh
#Píta agyenzíre
Píta a-gyend-íre
1.Peter 1SG.SM-go-PFV
'Peter left.'

Focus particle -onka 'only'

The focus particle -nka 'only' is not allowed in the IBV

(6) *Táátá **wenká** yíija

taata w-enka a-a-ija

1.father 1-only 1SM-N.PST-come

'Only father came.'

(7) *A-ba-hará **bo-nká** bá-á-sheka

AUG-2-girl 2-only 2PL.SM-N.PST-laugh

'Only girls laughed.'

- Ungrammatical to position the wh word for focus on (time) adverb in IBV

- (8) a. *Píta ryarí naagyenda?
Peter ryari na-a-gyenda
1.Peter when PROG-1SG.SM-go
'When is Peter leaving?'
- b. Píta naagyendá ryari?
Peter na-a-gyenda ryari
1.Peter PROG-1SG.SM-go when
'When is Peter leaving?'

- The subject is detopicalised in a Default agreement inversion construction (DAI) and receives a narrow focus interpretation (Marten & van der Wal 2014)

- (9)
- a. Haashohor' **óóha**?
 ha-á-shohora o-ha
 1₆SM-N.PST-move.out 1-who
 'Who has gone out?'
- b. Haashohora **Píta**
 ha-á-shohora Píta
 1₆SM-N.PST-move.out 1.Peter
 'Peter has left.'
 'It is Peter who has moved out.'

IAV is the focus position

- (10) a. A-bé-egi beegire **kí** nyómwébazo?
AUG-2-learner 2PL.SM-learn-PFV what yesterday?
'What did the learners learn yesterday?'
- b. A-bé-egi beegir' **Ókubara** nyómwébázo
A-be-egi beegire o-ku-bara nyomwebazo
AUG-2-learner 2PL.SM-learn-PFV AUG-15-count yesterday?
'The learners learnt Mathematics yesterday.'

Double object constructions

- (11) a. Omukám' aguriire **ky'** ábeegi?
o-mu-kám' a-guri-ire ki á-be-egi
AUG-1-king 1SG.SM-buy-APPL.PFV what AUG-2-student
'What did the king buy for the students?'
- b. Omukáma aguriir' ábéég' **émigaati**
omukámá a-guri-iré a-be-egi e-mi-gaatí
AUG-1-king 1SM-buy-APPL-PFV AUG-2-student AUG-4-bread
'The king bought loaves of bread for the students.'
- c. Omukáma ábéégy' abaguriir' **émigaati**
omukámá abe-egi a-ba-guri-iré e-mi-gaatí
AUG-1-king AUG-2-student 1SM-2OM-buy-APPL-PFV AUG-4-bread
'The king bought for the students loaves of bread.'

Focus on (time) adverbs

- (12) a. Píta na-a-zá Kampalá **ryari**?
1.Peter PROG-1SM-GO 23.Kampala when
'When is Peter going to Kampala?'
- b. Píta naazá **ryarí** Kampala?
1.Peter PROG-1SM-GO when 23.Kampala
'When is Peter going to Kampala?'
- c. *Píta naazá **nyénsákaré** Kampala
1.Peter PROG-1SM-GO when 23.Kampala
'Peter is going to Kampala tomorrow'

- Postposed objects take an optional OM

- (13) a. Kááka ya**ba**ha ky' ábáána?
 kaaka a-a-ba-ha ki a-ba-ana
 1.grandmother 1SM-N.PST-2OM-give what AUG-2-child
 'What has grandmother given the children?'
- b. kááka yaaha ky' ábáána?
 kaaka ya-a-ha ki a-ba-ana
 1.grandmother 1SM-N.PST-give what AUG-2-child
 'What has grandmother given the children?'

Rukiga



- Head-marking language
- Word order is influenced by information structure to a greater degree
- Topics are primarily marked in the preverbal position
- No IBV focus position in Rukiga
- Has an IAV focus position although the wh word for focus on time adverbs does not necessarily be in this position.
- Syntactic rule of ordering of semantic roles takes primacy (e.g., in DOC)

3. Tunen

Base word order

- S(IO)OV(X) across tenses
- Non-rigid SOV language
 - VP is head-final; DP, PP, CP are head-initial

Base word order

- S(IO)OV(X)

(1) Context: Hot newsthetic

mènó

/mɛ-nɔ

SM.1SG-PAST1

`Je viens de voir un éléphant!'

`I just saw an elephant!'

mìsəkù

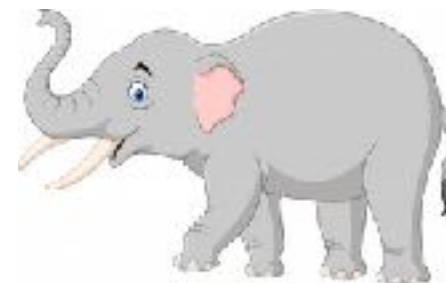
mi-səku

3-elephant

sìəkìn(ə)!

siəkinə/

see



Subject focus

- Ex-situ; cleft with *á* (*á-S-(O)-V*)

Q:

(2) *éyáné álà nà hìòsò?*

eyane a-ɛa na he-oso
who SM.1-be with 19-spoon

'Who has a spoon?'

A:

(3) *á mùèndú (áléá nà hìòs)*

á mɔ-ɛndu á-ɛa na he-oso
FOC 1-woman REL.SM.1-be with 19-spoon

'The woman (has the spoon)'

[EO, 1433-4]

Object focus



- In-situ (S-O-V)
- Ex-situ (O-á-S-V)
- Postverbal (S-V-O)
- Discontinuous (S-O-V-Mod)

(see Puzzle 2 handout for data)

Non-argument focus

- In-situ (S-(O)-V-X)
- Ex-situ (X-á-S-(O)-V)
- Fragment (X)



Non-argument focus

Context:

(4) Q: ó yəníé ìkúílí á èmóá yéna bòmòk(ò) èé?

ɔ yəniə ɛ-kuili á ɛ-mɔa yɛ-na bɔmɔ-aka ee
PREP which 7-time FOC 7-dog SM.7-PAST2 bark-DUR Q
'When did the dog bark?'



Topics



Topics in left periphery:

(7) Nóà, yéndò kèà òwá ándò nà

Noah	ye-ndo	kea	owa	a-ndo	na
Noah	SM.7-PRES	do	REL.1	SM.1-PRES	be_sick

'As for Noah, it seems that he is sick'

[JO, 1306]

'Passives'

- No passive extension on verb, instead a middle prefix *bé-* (Mous 2008)
- If agent unknown, use impersonal class 2 subject *bá-*
- The *bé-* prefix also appears in data in reflexive contexts (e.g. I see myself)

Tunen overview

- SOVX base word order
- In-situ focus, ex-situ cleft strategy, fragments, discontinuous
- Weak evidence for IAV position for objects (Puzzle 2)
- Topics in left periphery, no morphological topic marking
- No subject inversion found
- Middle voice prefix *bé-* as equivalent of passive, class 2 *bá-* used as subject marker if agent not known
- Prefers ex-situ wh-questions, but most speakers allow in-situ

4. Changana

Changana generalisations

Changana

- Does not allow preverbal focus
- Prefers to omit or front given information
- Prefers for focus to be in IAV position
- Uses 2 subject inversion constructions forthetic sentences and subject focus

Preverbal restriction

- (1) *mani a-heetshemul-ile no wh
 who 1SM-sneeze-PFV.DJ
 int. 'Who sneezed?'
- (2) #Xjosé a-heétshémul-î:le no answer
 1.Jose 1SM-sneeze-PFV.DJ
 'José sneezed.'
- (3) *ntsena kokwana a-luz-ile no 'only'
 only 1.grandparent 1SM-lose-PFV.DJ
 int. 'Only grandpa died.'

Preverbal restriction



(4) (And so he told me the following:)

na wena[a ntirho] u-wu-kum-ile,

and 2sg.pro A 3.work 2sg.sm-3om-find-pfv.dj

'You too have found work.'

(Tomorrow you will come and continue work with the others)

Subject inversion



- No locative, instrument, or patient inversion
- Default agreement inversion
 - Ku- subject marker
 - Conjoint verb form
 - VS: subject focus orthetic
 - VSO: subject focus only
- Agreeing inversion
 - Subject marker agrees with postverbal logical subject
 - Disjoint verb form
 - VS:thetic only
 - No transitive predicates

(Draft paper on subject inversion in Changana
JvdW and Aurélio Simang

Subject inversion

(5) (you shouldn't have sprayed the water on the road, it's muddy now and...)

Kú-tá-w-á mû:nhu.

17SM-FUT-fall-FV 1-person

'Someone will fall.'

(6) (announcement, indicating we have to get up)

W-á-r'íngá nku:ku.

3SM-DJ-crow-FV 3.rooster

'The rooster crows.'

VSO subject focus

(7) Kú-khav-é vá-yí:ví párá:ti.
 17SM-kick-PFV.CJ 2-thieves 5.plate

idiomatic: '(the) Thieves died.'

non-idiomatic: '(the) Thieves kicked the plate.'

(8) Kú-phukw-é kondlo nce:le.
 17SM-fail-PFV.CJ 5.mouse 9.hole

idiomatic: *'The thief was caught.'

non-idiomatic: 'The mouse failed (to reach) the hole.'

(9) A-ku-phús-áng-á mpfúndlá mâ:ti
 PST-17SM-drink-NEG-FV 3.hare 6.water

'It wasn't only the hare who drank water.' (other animals drank too)

'It wasn't the hare who drank water.'

IAV position

	only	even	idiom	wh	answer wh	indefinite	universal	correction
O post-cj	✓146,174	✓292,324	✓181	✓27,80,132	✓29	✓239	✓306	✓
R post-cj	✓176	✓298			✓250			✓
O post-excl	✓661	x296	✓184,194 x200	✓160,162		✓532	✓307,317	✓52,153
R post-excl								
O post-dj	x525	✓282	✓186,245	x526	x652	✓240	x527	x649
R post-dj								
O 2 nd	✓177			x20,131 ✓475	?175			
R 2 nd	✓173			x269				

IAV preference

- (10) a. u-xav-é kwĩĩ a huku
2sg.sm-buy-pfv.cj where A chicken
- b. *u-xav-é a huku kwĩĩ?
2sg.sm-buy-pfv.cj A chicken where
'Where did you buy the chicken?'

IAV preference?

- (11) mu-jónzí:sí á-ník-é sví-tsá:ló vá-tsóngwa:na Th-R
1-teacher 1sm-give-pfv.cj 8-writing.things 2-children
'The teacher gave pencils to the children.'
- (12) Q for 37
mu-jónzí:sí á-vá-nyíké yî:ní va-tsóngwa:na? Th_{wh}-R
1-teacher 1sm-2om-give-pfv.cj 9-what 2-children
'What did the teacher give to the children?'
- (13) A to 38
mu-jónzí:sí á-ník-é vá-tsóngwáná sví-tsa:lo R-Th_{loc}
1-teacher 1sm-give-pfv.cj 2-children 8-writing.things
'The teacher gave the children pencils.'

I/V preference

- (14) mu-jónzí:sí á-ník-!é sví-tsá:ló ntsé:ná vá-tsóngwa:na
1-teacher 1sm-give-pfv.cj 8-writing.things only 2-children
'The teacher gave pencils only to the children.'
"Maybe there were adults too."
- (15) Tombá:sí á-kel-á mbú:tí má-:tí ntsena
1.Tombasi 1sm-scoop-appl-fv 6-water 9.goat only
'Tombasi scooped water only for the goats.'
answers 'Did she get water for the goats and the cows?'

5. Copi

Copi generalisations

- Disallows preverbal wh and answer, but seems to allow preverbal 'only' for subjects (not objects)
- Prefers to omit or front given information
- Has no dedicated focus position
- Uses 2 subject inversion constructions forthetic sentences and subject focus
- Allows multiple wh, but NOT multiple 'only' postverbally

Preverbal restriction

(1) *mani a-w-ite?

who 1SM-fall-PFV

'Who fell?'

(2) Who is cooking rice?

#Luiza abhika mpunga

1.Luisa 1SM-cook-FV 3.rice

'Luisa is cooking rice.'

(3) Gomes a-tutúm-í:lé dwé

1.Gomes 1SM-run-PFV only

'Only Gomes ran.' (nobody else ran)

'Gomes only ran.' (he didn't do anything else)

Preverbal non-subjects

- (4) (How can I split a coconut?)
ku-fá:y-a k-a di-khòkhò,
15-break-FV 15-conn 5-coconuts
ku-ni ma-mahelo ma-mbí:dí
17SM-with 6-way 6-two
'There are two ways to break coconuts.'
- (5) Ka mi-céló ñ-dhundh-a ma-dî:mwa
LOC 4-fruit 1SG.SM-like-FV 6-orange
'Of/between fruits I like oranges.'
- (6) mpu:nga (*dwé) Luiza ó-bhĩ:k-a
3.rice only 1.Luisa 1SM.PROG-cook-FV
'Only the rice Luisa is cooking.'

Subject inversion

- No locative, instrument, or patient inversion
- Default agreement inversion
 - Ku- subject marker
 - VS: subject focus orthetic
 - VSO/VOS: subject focus only
- Agreeing inversion
 - Subject marker agrees with postverbal logical subject
 - VS:thetic

Subject inversion: WH differs from focus

- (7) a. kúr!éká mâ:tí Nê:lsa
17SM-draw-FV 6.water 1.Nelsa
- b. kúr!ékáNélsá ma:ti
17SM-draw-FV 1.Nelsa 6.water
'Nelsa is drawing water.'
- (8) a. kubhiká mâ:ni mpû:nga?
17SM-cook-FV who 3.rice
'Who is cooking rice?'
- b. *kubhiká mpû:nga mâ:ni
17SM-cook-FV 3.rice who
'Who is cooking rice?'

No IAV (?)

(9)

vánáningá **mábho:mú** **dwé** | tshándza:na
2SM-FUT-give-FV 6-lemons only 1.niece
They will give only lemons to the niece...

vánáningá mábho:mú tshándza:na **dwé**
2SM-FUT-give-FV 6-lemons 1.niece only
They will only give lemons to the niece...

vánáningá **tshándzá:na** **dwé** | mábho:mu
2SM-FUT-give-FV 1.niece only 6-lemons
They will give only the niece lemons...

vánambímún'íngá cíkê:ta
2SM-FUT-NEG-1OM-give-FV 7-pineapple
...they didn't give her pineapple.

vánambíningá ndíyâ:we
2SM-FUT-NEG-1OM-give-FV 1.sister-CONN-1.PRO
... they didn't give to her sister.

WH words differ from focus

- (10) a. Vhalério áxávheté cá:ní mâ:ni?
 Vhalerio a-xavh-el-ile cani mani
 1.Valerio 1_{SM}-buy-APPL-PFV what who
- b. Vhalério áxávheté mâ:ni câ:ni?
 Vhalerio a-xavh-el-ile mani cani
 1.Valerio 1_{SM}-buy-APPL-PFV who what
 ‘Who did Valerio buy what?’

WH words differ from focus



- (11) a. *nigöndísilé vanána dwé cíco:pi dwé
ni-gond-is-ile va-nana dwe ci-copi dwe
1SG.SM-read-CAUS-PFV 2-children only 7-copi only
- b. *nigöndísilé cíco:pi dwé vanána dwé
ni-gond-is-ile ci-copi dwe va-nana dwe
1SG.SM-read-CAUS-PFV 7-copi only 2-children only
'I taught only the children only Cicopi.'

6. Makhuwa

Generalisations Makhuwa

- Disallows preverbal focus
- Prefers to omit or front given information
- Seems to loosen up the IAV requirement in ditransitives
- Agreeing inversion VS and VOS express theticity
- Subject can only be focused in cleft

Scene-setting & shift topics

(12) áthw' úúlúpale íyó
2-people 2-big 9.DEM.MED

etthw' íyu
9.thing 9.DEM.MED

anámwáne ntokó híyáánó
2.children like 1PL.PRO

khiívó entsúwéléehu
NEG-9SM-16.DEM.MED 9RM-PRS-know-POSS.1PL

'old people; those things, children like us don't know anything about.'
(lit. there is not that we know)

Afterthought



- (13) ...wiírá mwiiréké mpántta wa prógram' _ééhu
COMP 2PL.SM-do-DUR-SBJV 3.part 3-CONN 9.programme 9.POSS.1PL
yoolá wa séntu trés ponto nóove
9-DEM.PROX.EMPH ?-CONN hundred three point nine
'...so that you can be part of our programme, this one on 103.9.'

IAV difference wh and 'only'



- (14) a. Saára o-n-thum-enl-é páni | ekolár' íile?
1.Sara 1SM-1OM-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ 1.who 9.necklace 9.DEM.DIST
'Who did Sara buy the necklace for?'
- b. Saára o-n-thum-enl-é ekolár' íile *(para) páni?
1.Sara 1SM-1OM-buy-APPL-PFV.CJ 9.necklace 9.DEM.DIST for 1.who
'Who did Sara buy the necklace for?'
- (15) Aputúli elélo omvahalé eyoocá kwaátú paáhi
1.Abdul today 1SM-give-PFV 9.food 1.cat only
'Abdul today gave food only to the cat.'

7. Discussion

East: Non-focus | V | non-topic

All can use one or more type of clefts.

All have in-situ focus for objects (apart from Teke??)