

Some Grammatical Notes on Dholuo: A Review of What We've Seen So Far

March 9, 2009

So far this semester, we've been able to glimpse a number of structures in the Dholuo language.

These notes offer a summary of what we've seen, as well as a few suggestions as to how they might be further explored, either by students or in class (or in class by students).

1. Subjects

(1) Subject Order

Subjects must precede the verb.

- a. Ochieng' miel
Ochieng dances
Ochieng is dancing. 2/2/09; Part 4
- b. *Miel Ochieng'
dances Ochieng
(Can't mean 'Ochieng is dancing')
(Can mean "Dance, Ochieng!") 2/2/09; Part 4

(2) Possible Future Questions / Projects

- a. How are subjects ordered with respect to other pre-verbal material (negation, adverbs, fronted wh-words)?
- b. Given the answer to (2a), can we develop a structural model of the 'pre-verbal field' in Dholuo?

(3) Subject 'Markers'

Whenever the subject is 'local person' (1st or 2nd) or a third-person pronoun (*he, she, it, they*), the verbal root is preceded by one of the following 'markers'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	a-	wa-
2 nd	i-	u-
3 rd	o-	gi-

(4) **Question 1: Are These Markers ‘Agreement’ or ‘Pronouns’?**

What is the right analysis of these markers: are they simply subject *agreement*, or are they actually *the subjects themselves* (i.e. are they pronouns)?

a. Background: Agreement vs. Pronouns

(i) *Agreement*

Agreement markers are, almost by definition, **not** in complementary distribution with full DP arguments.

i. John dances s * John dance.

(ii) *Pronouns*

Since they are separate arguments of the verb, pronouns **are** in complementary distribution with full DP arguments.

i. He dances. *John he dances.

b. The Facts in Dholuo

(i) *Third Person Markers Behave Like Pronoun (Sometimes)*

i. **Ochíeng' míel.**

Ochieng is dancing. 2/2/09; Part 4

ii. **Omíel.**

S/he is dancing. 2/4/09; Part 2

iii. **Ochíeng' gi Pamba míel.**

Ochieng and Pamba are dancing. 2/13/09; Part 4

iv. **Gimíel.**

They are dancing. 2/4/09; Part 3

(ii) *Third Person Singular Marker Behaves Like Agreement (Sometimes)*

i. **Ochíeng' ochúng'**

Ochieng is standing. 2/2/09; Part 4

ii. **Gírá ma duóng' .ofúo.**

thing-my MA big stupid
My big thing is stupid. 2/6/09; Part 1

iii. **Ochíeng' ohéro Pamba.**

Ochieng loves Pamba. 2/13/09; Part 1

(iii) *Local Person Plural Marker Behaves Like Agreement*

- i. An gi chiéga *(wa)míel.
1sg and wife-my 1pl-dance
My wife and I are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 1
- ii. In gi Ochieng' *(u)míel.
2sg and Ochieng (2pl)-dance
You and Ochieng are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 2

(5) **Possible Future Questions**

- a. How do local person singular markers behave? (We never asked about those!)
- b. What distinguishes *míel* ‘dance’ (as well as *e.g. chámo* ‘eat’) from predicates like *chúng* ‘stand’, *fúo* ‘stupid’, and *héro* ‘love’? (Hypothesis: ‘being an event’ vs. ‘being a state’)

(6) **Question 2: Are These Markers ‘Affixes’ or ‘Separate Words’?**

- a. What Do We Mean by This Question?
- (i) *Should we write the markers as separate words in the orthography?*
Answer: YES (because, according to Martina, that’s what they do)
- (ii) *Would it be ‘more linguistically accurate’ to write the markers as separate words in the orthography?*
- Why should we write the subject marker and the verbal root as a single word rather than as separate words? What motivates that choice?*

The question in (6aii) is an incredibly difficult one, and would take an entire semester to answer.

Basically, in some ways the decision over whether to ‘write things as separate words’ is entirely arbitrary, while in other ways it isn’t...

Some of the issues here will be sketched in our special ‘linguistic theory lectures’.

However, we’ve also already seen some grammatical facts that (intuitively, pre-theoretically) suggest one convention or the other...

b. ATR Harmony

As pointed out by Bern, we started off our study of Dholuo by taking for granted certain statements regarding its phonology. One of those was the following generalization:

- (i) *ATR Harmony Rule:*
In a Dholuo *word*, all vowels have the same value for ATR.

Thus, if the rule above is correct, and the subject markers *do* form a word with the verbal root, the prediction is the following:

- (ii) *Evidence for 'Affixal' Status of Subject Marker*
If the subject markers are truly 'affixes' – and form a *word* with the verbal root – then their ATR value can never differ from that of the verbal root.

- (iii) *Question: Is the Prediction in (ii) Correct?*

i. Maybe Not:

In our first classes, we agreed that certain forms sounded as if the subject marker differed in ATR from the root.

/ ɨ mɨɛl /	<i>you are dancing</i>	2/4/09; Part 1
/ ɔ mɨɛl /	<i>he is dancing</i>	2/4/09; Part 2
/ ɨ tʃuŋ /	<i>he is standing</i>	2/4/09; Part 2

ii. Maybe So:

In our first classes we were still just getting used to the ATR contrasts. Some of the forms above we also later heard as having the ATR harmony.

/ ɨ mɨɛl /	<i>you are dancing</i>	2/4/09; Part 2
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c. Syntactic 'Non-interruptability'

One of the classic tests for whether 'X and Y form a word' is whether the two can be separated by any other phrasal material in the sentence.

For example, we don't write *I'm* as a prefix to the verb in English sentences like (i) below because full phrases can come between it and the verb, as in (ii).

- (i) I'm dancing.
(ii) I'm **not** dancing.

We know that certain phrasal material can come in between the subject and the verb in Dholuo. The following sentences illustrate:

(iii) Pám̄ba .ok míel.
Pambda not dance
Pambda isn't dancing. 2/13/09; Part 4

(iv) Pám̄ba mbende míel.
Pamba also dance
Pamba is also dancing. 2/13/09; Part 4

So far, however, we've not seen anything coming in between a subject marker and the verbal root, suggesting that they *aren't* separate words.

(v) .ok amíel. 2/9/09; Part 3
I'm not dancing.

(vi) * a .ok míel. 2/9/09; Part 3

d. Hiatus Resolution

'Hiatus' is the term for when two vowels are next to each other. We've seen examples that suggest that when 'hiatus' occurs inside a word, one either (i) *deletes* one of the vowels, or (ii) forms a *diphthong*.

(i) *Hiatus Resolved with Vowel Ellipsis*
ni + a = na
for 1sg for me 2/18/09; Part 3

(ii) *Hiatus Creates a Diphthong*
Omíel.
S/he is dancing. 2/4/09; Part 2

Interestingly, though, when a subject marker precedes a verb root that begins in a vowel – which creates a 'hiatus environment' – neither of the rules above apply. Rather, it seems that a glottal stop is inserted between the vowels.

(iii) *Subject Marker Preceding Vowel-Initial Root*
ia kánye?
/iʔa kaje/
Where are you from? 3/4/09; Part 1

This suggests that the boundary between the subject marker and the verbal root might *not* be a word-internal environment

(7) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Is the subject marker a target for ATR harmony with the verbal root? If there is variation, what is the nature of this variation?
- b. Show, using a variety of pre-verbal elements, that *nothing* can come between the 'subject marker' and the verb, though some elements *can* come between a full DP subject and the verb.
- c. Try to find other verbal roots that begin in vowels (the one above looks somewhat 'exceptional'), and test whether insertion of glottal stop still occurs there.

2. **The Structure of the DP**

(8) **Order of Elements in the DP**

NOUN POSSESSOR RELATIVE-CLAUSE/ADJECTIVE DEMONSTRATIVE

a. NOUN < POSSESSOR

- (i) Osíep Pám̄ba
friend Pamba
Pamba's friend. 2/9/9; Part 1
- (ii) * Pamba Osíep 2/9/9; Part 1

b. POSSESSOR < RELATIVE CLAUSE/ADJECTIVE

- (i) osíep Ochiéng' motí
friend Ochieng that.is.old
Ochieng's elderly friend 2/9/9; Part 2
- (ii) * osíep moti Ochiéng' 2/9/9; Part 2

c. RELATIVE-CLAUSE/ADJECTIVE < DEMONSTRATIVE

- (i) Guók ma .mór ní
dog MA happy this
This happy dog 2/9/9; Part 1
- (ii) * Guók ni ma .mór 2/9/09; Part 2

(9) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

What are some other things that can appear within the DP, and how are they ordered with respect to one another?

- Numerals?
- Quantifiers?
(*duto* ‘all’, *.moro* ‘some’... what about ‘most’, ‘many’, ‘no’, ‘few’, ‘each’?)

(10) **Possessive ‘Markers’**

Whenever the possessor is ‘local person’ (1st or 2nd) or a third-person pronoun (*he, she, it, they*), the noun root is followed by one of the following ‘markers’.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	-a	-wa
2 nd	-i	-u
3 rd	-e	-gi

(11) **Question 1: Are These Markers ‘Agreement’ or ‘Pronouns’?**

What is the right analysis of these markers: are they simply possessive *agreement*, or are they actually *the possessors themselves* (i.e. are they pronouns)?

a. The Facts in Dholuo (So Far)

Third person singular possessive ‘markers’ do not co-occur with full possessive phrases.

- (i) guóg Pám̐ba
dog Pamba
Pamba’s dog. 2/6/09; Part 2

(12) **Question 2: Are These Markers ‘Affixes’ or ‘Separate Words’?**

The same question we asked earlier about the subject markers could be applied to the possessive markers...

... so far, though, it appears as if we have no evidence either way as to the ‘morpho-phonological’ status of the possessive markers...

Ways to Explore the Question:

- Do the possessive markers have to agree in ATR with the Ns?
- Can anything intervene between the possessive marker and the N?
- Is there any ‘hiatus resolution’ that occurs when the possessed N ends in a vowel?

(13) Possible Future Questions / Projects

- a. Regarding 'Question 1' above, investigate:
- How local person singular possessive markers behave.
 - How plural possessive markers behave (particularly 3rd plurals).
- b. Regarding 'Question 2' above, investigate:
- ATR harmony with the possessed nouns
 - Whether glottal stop is inserted when the possessed N ends in a vowel.

(14) Relative Clauses

a. Structure

Relative clauses have the same form as a main clause, except that:

- (i) They are preceded by the particle "ma".
(ii) They must contain a 'gap' (as in English and other languages).
(iii) *Dholuo Examples*

Main Clauses

- i. Amíe ng'ech
I.gave.her monitor.lizard
I gave her a monitor lizard. 3/4/09; Part 3
- ii. * Amíó ng'ech
I.gave monitor.lizard 3/4/09; Part 3

Relative Clauses

- i. Nyáko ma amíó ___ ng'ech
girl MA I.give monitor.lizard
The girl I gave a monitor lizard 3/4/09; Part 3
- ii. * Nyáko amíó ___ ng'ech. 3/4/09; Part 3
- iii. * Nyáko ma amíe ng'ech.
girl that I.gave.her monitor.lizard
**The girl that I gave her a monitor lizard.* 3/4/09; Part 3

(iv) *Parallels from English*

- i. I gave **her** a monitor lizard.
ii. * I gave ___ a monitor lizard.
iii. The girl that I gave ___ a monitor lizard.
iv. * The girl that I gave **her** a monitor lizard.

b. Function

It appears that relative clauses are also used in those cases where English uses simple adjectival modification.

- (i) **Gírá ma duóng'** néndo.
thing.my MA big sleeps
My big thing is sleeping.
(*My thing that is big is sleeping.*)

2/6/09; Part 1

It also appears that relative clauses are used in some cases where English uses simple (*manner*) *adverbial* modification.

- (ii) **Adhí ma .bér**
I.go MA good
I am doing well.

2/13/09; Part 1

There were other cases, though, where (manner) *adverbials* didn't appear with *ma*, but rather were reduplicated forms.

- (iii) **Aduáro míel mos-mos.**
I.want dance slowly
I want to dance slowly.

2/23/09; Part 2

- (iv) **Aduáro míel pío-pío**
I.want dance quickly
I want to dance quickly.

2/23/09; Part 3

(15) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

What is the difference between the *adverbial* modification in (14bii) and that in (14biii)?
Hypothesis: in (14bii), the *adverb* describes the *subject*, while in (14biii, iv), it describes the *activity*?

(16) **Demonstratives**

- a. ní *this*
b. chá *that*

(17) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

Are there any other *demonstratives*? (We only asked about 'this' and 'that')?
Is there any way in the language of encoding 'definiteness' vs. 'indefiniteness'?

(18) ‘Special Phonology’ Inside the DP

We’ve seen that phonological changes take place to the N when its followed by a possessor or *directly* followed by a demonstrative. The following table partially summarizes the alternations we’ve seen take place:

Bare Form	Possessed Form	Followed by Demonstrative	Date
gí <i>thing</i>	gir-	gi	2/6/09
guók <i>dog</i>	guóg-	guóg	2/6/09
osíep <i>friend</i>	osíepn-	osíep	2/6/09
bur <i>hole</i>	bur-	----	2/6/09
chák <i>milk</i>	cha(g)	----	2/6/09
ot <i>house</i>	od-	od	2/6/09
lep <i>tongue</i>	lew-	lep	2/6/09
chi <i>wife</i>	chiég-	----	2/25/09
ji <i>people</i>	jo(g)	----	2/20/09
.wuoro <i>father</i>	.wuon-	----	3/4/09

(19) Possible Future Questions / Projects

Take a much bigger set of nouns, and get the possessed and ‘demonstrative’ forms. See if any generalizations start to come into view!

3. Negation

(20) Structure

a. *Form of Negative Marker*

- (i) In Declarative Sentences: .ok
- (ii) In Imperative Sentences: kik (?)

b. *Word Order*

SUBJECT NEG-MARKER SUBJECT-MARKER V

(21) Possible Future Questions / Projects

- a. How is the negative marker ordered with respect to other pre-verbal material (adverbs, fronted wh-words)?
- b. Given the answer to (21a), can we develop a structural model of the ‘pre-verbal field’ in Dholuo?

(22) **Special Morphological Rule**

If the **verb** ends in /-o/, drop the final /-o/ when the verb is preceded by negation.

a. Illustration

(i) Dhé cha .ok nénd.
cow that NEG sleep
That cow is not sleeping. 2/9/09; Part2

(ii) * Dhé cha .ok néndo. 2/9/09; Part 3

b. Evidence That This Rule Applies Only to Verbs

(i) Ochieng' .ok ofúo.
Ochieng NEG stupid
Ochieng is not stupid. 2/9/09; part 3

(ii) Ochieng' .ok lándo.
Ochieng NEG light.skinned
Ochieng is not light-skinned. 2/9/09; Part 4

(23) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

A similar rule takes place in the imperative. Is there a relationship there?

4. **Personal Names**

(24) **Gender Affects the Form of Personal Names**

- a. Female names begin in 'a-'
- b. Male names begin in 'o-'
- c. The 'root' of the name often describes the time of the day the person was born (or some aspect of their birth.)

d. Illustration:

(i) Achíeng' Name for girl born around 10AM

(ii) Ochieng' Name for boy born around 10AM

5. Direct Objects

(25) Direct Object Order

Direct objects must follow the verb.

- a. Ahéro Pamba.
I.love Pamba
I love Pamba. 2/11/09; Part 2
- b. * Pamba ahéro. 2/11/09; Part 2

(26) No Case

There is no morphological marking that distinguishes Ns functioning as subjects, direct objects or possessors.

(27) Direct Object ‘Markers’

- a. The Markers
Whenever the direct object is ‘local person’ (1st or 2nd) or a third-person pronoun (*he, she, it, they*), the verbal root is followed by one of the following ‘markers’.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	-a	-wa
2 nd	-i	-u
3 rd	-e	-gi

- b. Special Phonology
When the object is singular, the ‘final vowel’ of the verb is replaced by the object marker. When the object is plural, the ‘final vowel’ of the verb remains.

- (i) Illustration
- i. Ahére
I love her. 2/11/09; Part 2
- ii. Ohérowa
She loves us. 2/13/09; Part 3
- iii. Ahérou
I love you (pl.) 2/13/09; Part 3
- iv. Ahérogi
I love them. 2/13/09; Part 3

(28) **Question 1: Are These Markers ‘Agreement’ or ‘Pronouns’?**

What is the right analysis of these markers: are they simply object *agreement*, or are they actually *the objects themselves* (i.e. are they pronouns)?

a. The Facts in Dholuo (So Far)

Third person singular object ‘markers’ do not co-occur with full DP objects.

(i) *Ahére Pamba

I.love.her Pamba

2/11/09; Part 2

(29) **Question 2: Are These Markers ‘Affixes’ or ‘Separate Words’?**

The same question we asked earlier about the subject and possessive markers could be applied to the object markers...

... so far, though, it appears as if we have no evidence either way as to the ‘morpho-phonological’ status of the object markers...

Ways to Explore the Question:

- Do the object markers have to agree in ATR with the Vs?
- Can anything intervene between the object marker and the V?
- Is there any ‘hiatus resolution’ that occurs when the V ends in a vowel?

(30) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

a. Regarding ‘Question 1’ above, investigate:

- How local person singular object markers behave.
- How plural object markers behave (particularly 3rd plurals).

b. Regarding ‘Question 2’ above, investigate:

- ATR harmony with the object markers
- Whether glottal stop is inserted when the V ends in a vowel.

(31) **Reflexives and Reciprocals**

a. Singular Reflexives

Singular reflexives are formed by inserting the morpheme *-or* before the object agreement marker that matches the subject in person and number.

(i) Ahérora *I love myself* 2/11/09; Part 1

(ii) Ihérori *You love yourself* 2/11/09; Part 2

(iii) Ohéroro *She loves herself* 2/11/09; Part 2

b. Plural Reflexives

We've only encountered one form, but it appears that plural reflexives are formed by inserting the morpheme *-or* before the third person object marker.

- (i) **Wahéore** *We love ourselves; we love each other* 2/11/09; Part 4

As indicated in the gloss above, these plural forms can be interpreted either as *reflexives* or as *reciprocals*.

(32) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

What do the other plural reflexives look like? Are they all systematically ambiguous between reflexive and reciprocal interpretations?

6. **Reduplication**

(33) **Reduplication in 'Negative Polarity Items'**

Some negative polarity items (e.g. 'anyone', 'anything' 'any N') can be expressed via a reduplicated form.

- a. .Ok achámo .réch a-.réch-a
NEG I.eat fish RED-fish-RED
I didn't eat any fish. 2/13/09; Part 2
- b. .Ok achámo gi .mor(o) a-.mor(o)-a
NEG I.ate thing some RED-some-RED
I didn't eat anything. 2/13/09; Part 4

However, there's a word translatable as 'anymore' that doesn't have this reduplicated form. This word, *kéndo*, also can be used to mean 'again'.

- c. .ok ahéro Pámba kéndo.
NEG I.love Pamba ?? / again
I don't love Pamba anymore. 2/13/09; Part 1

(34) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Can the reduplicated forms in (33a) be used in non-negative sentences? If so, what do they mean?
- b. How productive is the reduplication process in (33)? How does it apply to very complex DPs like "any of my father's NP"?

7. Temporal Adverbials

(35) Preverbal Temporal Adverbs

We've seen some temporal adverbs which necessarily precede the verb.

a. Nyo *Yesterday*

- (i) Nyo anéni.
yesterday I.saw.you
I saw you yesterday.

2/18/09; Part 1

- (ii) * Anéni nyo.

2/18/09; Part 1

We've seen some other temporal adverbs which precede the verb, but for which we don't know yet whether this is obligatory.

- b. Buk ma **nénde** Ochieng' onyéwo na.
book MA *earlier?* Ochieng' bought for.me
The book that Ochieng bought for me.

2/18/09; Part 4

- c. Apáro ni Ochieng' **nene** omíya buk.
I.think that Ochieng' *earlier?* gave.me book
I think that Ochieng gave me a book.

2/18/09; Part 4

We've seen some other temporal adverbials that seem to always come *after* the verb.

- d. Pény ng'ich **.kawóno**.
weather cold today
The weather is cold today.

2/18/09; Part 1

(36) Possible Future Questions / Projects

- a. What other temporal adverbials are there in the language, and what position in the sentences do they occupy? Is there any clear generalization about when an adverbial precedes the verb and when it doesn't?
- b. How are the pre-verbal adverbials ordered with respect to other pre-verbal material (negation, subjects, fronted wh-words)?
- c. Given the answer to (36a), can we develop a structural model of the 'pre-verbal field' in Dholuo?

8. Coordination

(37) Conjunction and Disjunction of Nouns

a. Disjunction of Nouns

The element *kátá* - translatable as 'or' – forms a 'disjunction' from two nouns

- (i) .ok ahéro Pamba **kátá** Ochíeng'
NEG I.love Pamba or Ochieng
I don't love Pamba or Ochieng.

2/11/09; Part 4

- (ii) ahéro Pamba **kátá** Ochíeng'
I.love Pamba or Ochieng
I love Pamba or Ochieng.

2/11/09; Part 4

b. Conjunction of Nouns

The elements *gi* and *.kod* – translatable as 'and' – form conjunctions of two nouns.

- (i) Ochíeng' **.gi / .kod** Pám̄ba míel.
Ochieng and and Pamba dance
Ochieng and Pamba are dancing.

2/13/09; Part 4

Note, however, that both of these elements might also be translatable as *with*.

- (ii) An **.gi / .kod** buk.
I.am with with book
I am with a book. (I have a book.)

3/4/09; Part 1

c. Necessity of .Gi and .Kod

No other elements can be used to form conjunctions of Ns. For example, structures like (37bi) are ill-formed if the *verbal* coordinator *.to* is used.

- (iii) * Ochíeng' **.to** Pám̄ba míel.

2/13/09; Part 4

(38) Possible Future Questions / Projects

Is there a way of determining whether *gi* and *.kod* in sentences like (37b) are really just the preposition meaning 'with'?

For example, how might one describe a situation where Ochieng and Pamba are dancing, *but not with each other*?

(39) **Conjunction and Disjunction of Verbs, VPs and Sentences**

a. Disjunction of Verbs / VPs / Sentences

The element *kósé* - translatable as ‘or’ – forms a ‘disjunction’ from two sentences.

Onéndo **kósé** omíel.

he.is.sleeping or he.is.dancing

He is sleeping or he is dancing.

2/11/09; Part 4

b. Conjunction of Verbs / VPs / Sentences

The element *.to* – translatable as ‘and’ – forms a ‘conjunction’ from two sentences.

(i) Ochieng' míel **.to** Pámbe mbénde míel.

Ochieng dance and Pamba also dance

Ochieng is dancing, and Pamba is also dancing.

2/13/09; Part 4

(ii) Ochieng' míel **.to** Pámbe .ok míel.

Ochieng dance and Pamba NEG dance

Ochieng is dancing, but Pamba is not dancing.

2/13/09; Part 4

This element can also form a conjunction from two VPs.

(iii) Ochieng' chámo **.réch .to** mádho chak.

Ochieng eat fish and drink milk

Ochieng is eating fish and drinking milk.

2/13/09; Part 4

This elements can also form a conjunction from two Vs.

(iv) Ochieng' luóko **.to** móyo .lépe.

Ochieng wash and dry clothes.his

Ochieng is washing and drying his clothes

2/13/09; Part 4

d. The Element *Kendo*

The element *kendo* – translatable as ‘in addition to that’ – can also conjoin Ss.

Kéndo, **.ok** ahéri.

in.addition.to.that NEG I.love.you

In addition to that, I don't love you.

2/13/09; Part 1

c. The Necessity of *.To*

No other elements can be form conjunctions of Vs, VPs or Ss. For example, the structures in (37b) are ill-formed if the *nominal* coordinator *.gi* is used.

(i) * Ochieng' míel **.gi** Pámbe .ok míel.

2/13/09; Part 4

(ii) * Ochieng' chámo **.réch .gi** mádho chak.

2/13/09; Part 4

(iii) * Ochieng' luóko **.gi** móyo .lépe.

2/13/09; Part 4

9. Ditransitives

We briefly examined a number of structures where a verb seems to appear with more than just two NP arguments (the subject and the object).

9.1 Indirect Objects

(40) Indirect Object Order

Indirect objects must follow the verb and come before the direct object.

- a. Ochieng' ómiyo Pamba buk.
Ochieng gave Pamba book
Ochieng' gave Pamba a book. 2/18/09; Part 2
- b. * Ochieng' ómiyo buk Pamba. 2/18/09; Part 2
- c. * Ochieng' ómiyo buk ni Pamba. 2/18/09; Part 2

(41) Indirect Object 'Markers'

The Markers

Whenever the indirect object is 'local person' (1st or 2nd) or a third-person pronoun (*he, she, it, they*), the verbal root is followed by one of the following 'markers'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	-a	-wa
2 nd	-i	-u
3 rd	-e	-gi

(42) Possible Future Questions / Projects

We didn't really elicit the full paradigm of Indirect Object markers above. We've only seen the forms for 1sg and 3sg. *At some point, we should try to elicit the full paradigm (just to be sure).*

(43) Question 1: Are These Markers 'Agreement' or 'Pronouns'?

What is the right analysis of these markers: are they simply indirect object *agreement*, or are they actually *the indirect objects themselves* (*i.e.* are they pronouns)?

(44) Question 2: Are These Markers 'Affixes' or 'Separate Words'?

The same question we asked earlier about the subject, object, and possessive markers could be applied to the indirect object markers...

... so far, though, it appears as if we have no evidence either way as to the 'morpho-phonological' status of the indirect object markers...

(45) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Regarding 'Question 1' above, investigate:
 - How local person singular indirect object markers behave.
 - How plural indirect object markers behave (particularly 3rd plurals).
- b. Regarding 'Question 2' above, investigate:
 - ATR harmony with the indirect object markers
 - Whether glottal stop is inserted when the V ends in a vowel.

9.2 Locative Arguments

(46) **Locative Argument Order**

Locative arguments must follow the verb and come *after* the direct object.

- a. Ochieng' ókéto buk i mesa
Ochieng put book on table
Ochieng' put the book on the table. 2/18/09; Part 2
- b. * Ochieng' ókéto i mesa buk. 2/18/09; Part 2

9.3 Benefactive Adjuncts

(47) **Position of Benefactive Adjuncts**

Any benefactive adjunct must appear after the verb. In addition to this, however, there are certain word-order constraints that apply only when the benefactive is a pronoun.

a. Full DPs

If the benefactive is a full DP, such as a name, then the benefactive adjunct can appear either before or after the direct object.

- (i) Ochieng' onyéwo ni Pamba buk.
Ochieng bought for Pamba book
Ochieng bought Pamba a book. 2/18/09; Part 2
- (ii) Ochieng' onyéwo buk ni Pamba. 2/18/09; Part 2

b. Pronouns

If the benefactive is a pronoun, it can only occur directly after the verb.

- (i) Ochieng' onyéwo na buk.
Ochieng bought for.me book
Ochieng bought me a book. 2/18/09; Part 3
- (ii) * Ochieng' onyéwo buk na 2/18/09; Part 3

10. Adpositions

(48) Order in Adpositional Phrases

As illustrated above, the adposition precedes its DP complement. That is Dholuo has *prepositions*, rather than *post-prepositions*.

(49) Some Prepositions We Have Collected

a.	ni	<i>for</i>	2/18/09; Part 2
b.	i / e	<i>in, on, at</i>	2/18/09; Part 2
c.	wi	<i>on top of</i>	2/18/09; Part 3
d.	but	<i>next to</i>	2/18/09; Part 4
e.	.gi	<i>with</i>	2/23/09; Part 4
f.	.kod	<i>with</i>	2/25/09; Part 1

(50) Prepositional Object Markers

Whenever the preposition takes a ‘local person’ (1st or 2nd) or a third-person pronoun (*he, she, it, they*) as its object/complement, it is followed one of the following ‘markers’.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	-a	-wa
2 nd	-i	-u
3 rd	-e	-gi

(51) Possible Future Questions / Projects

We didn’t really elicit the full paradigm of markers above. We’ve only seen the forms for 1sg and 2sg. *At some point, we should try to elicit the full paradigm* (just to be sure).

(52) Question 1: Are These Markers ‘Agreement’ or ‘Pronouns’?

What is the right analysis of these markers: are they simply *agreement*, or are they actually *the prepositional objects themselves* (*i.e.* are they pronouns)?

(53) Question 2: Are These Markers ‘Affixes’ or ‘Separate Words’?

The same question we asked earlier about the subject, object, indirect object, and possessive markers could be applied to the prepositional object markers...

... so far, though, it appears as if we have no evidence either way as to the ‘morpho-phonological’ status of these markers...

Caveat: For the preposition *ni* ‘for’, we have some evidence that vowel-ellipsis takes place in hiatus environments (not insertion of glottal-stop).

na	=	<i>for me</i>	=	ni + a	2/18/09; Part 3
ni	=	<i>for you</i>	=	ni + i	3/4/09; Part 3

(54) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Regarding 'Question 1' above, investigate:
 - How local person singular markers behave.
 - How plural markers behave (particularly 3rd plurals).
- b. Regarding 'Question 2' above, investigate:
 - ATR harmony with the markers?

11. Familial Terms

(55) **Some Sub-Morphemic Regularities**

a. Male Relations

A number of the terms for male relations contain the sub-morpheme *.wuo-*

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| (i) | <i>.wuoro</i> | <i>father</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2 |
| (ii) | <i>.wuoi</i> | <i>boy</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2 |
| (iii) | <i>.wuod</i> | <i>son</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2 |
| [(iv) | <i>.owadua</i> | <i>brother</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2] |

b. Female Relations

A number of the terms for female relations contain the sub-morpheme *nya-*

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (i) | <i>nyar</i> | <i>daughter</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2 |
| (ii) | <i>nyako</i> | <i>girl</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2 |
| (iii) | <i>nyamenua</i> | <i>sister</i> | 2/20/09; Part 2 |

(56) **The Logic of Familial Terms in Dholuo**

- a. There are special terms for your parents' siblings of opposite sex
 - (i) *nera* *the brother of your mother*
 - (ii) *waya* *the sister of your father*
- b. All other individuals of the same generation as your parents are referred to as either *.wuoro* 'father' or *miyo* 'mother', depending on their gender (including those aunts & uncles of your to which the terms in (56a) do not apply).
- c. All people of your own generation (including your cousins) are referred to as your 'brothers' and 'sisters'. All people of a generation above your parents are referred to as your 'grandmothers' and 'grandfathers'.

12. Clausal Complementation

(57) Order of Clausal Complements

Clausal complements must follow the verb they are complement to.

- a. Apáro ni Ochieng' omíya buk.
I.think NI Ochieng gave.me book
I think that Ochieng gave me a book. 2/22/09; Part 2
- b. * Ni Ochieng' omíya buk apáro. 2/22/09; Part 2

(58) Clausal Types

Upon our first pass examination of subordinate clauses in Dholuo, it appears that there are a number of clausal ‘types’, each distinguished in terms of (i) the element that introduces the clause, and (ii) whether a ‘subject marker’ must also appear in the clause.

	Type	Introduced By	Subject Markers?	Source
a.	Ni Clause	ni	YES	2/23/09; Part 2
b.	Mondo clause	mondo	YES	2/23/09; Part 3
c.	Ka Clause	ka	YES	2/27/09; Part 1
d.	Kuom Clause	kuom	NO	3/4/09; Part 1
e.	Bare Clause	<i>nothing</i>	NO	2/23/09; Part 2
f.	Imperative Clause	<i>nothing</i>	YES	3/6/09; Part 3

(60) The Predicates and the Type of Clauses they Take

The following chart lists, for every subordinating predicate we’ve encountered, the clause types that *we know* it can take as complement, and those *we know* it can’t take as complement.

	Predicate	Good With:	Bad With:	Source:
a.	páro <i>think</i>	ni	ka	2/23/09; Part 2
b.	wácho <i>say, tell to, tell that</i>	ni, mondo, imperative		2/23/09; Part 2
c.	ng'éyo <i>know</i>	ni		2/23/09; Part 2
d.	duáro <i>want, need</i>	ni, bare		2/23/09; Part 2
e.	kwéyo <i>ask-for</i>	ni, mondo bare		2/23/09; Part 3
f.	témo <i>try</i>	ni, bare		2/23/09; Part 4
g.	.mor <i>happy</i>	ni, ka		2/27/09; Part 1
h.	.buok <i>surprised</i>	ni		2/27/09; Part 1
i.	.rach <i>bad</i>	ka		2/27/09; Part 1
j.	erokamáno <i>thank you</i>	ni, kuom		3/4/09; Part 1
k.	nyálo <i>can</i>	imperative		3/6/09; Part 2
l.	nyáka <i>must</i>	imperative		3/6/09; Part 2
m.	kik <i>should not</i>	imperative		3/6/09; Part 3
n.	onega <i>should</i>	imperative		3/6/09; Part 3

(61) **Generalization 1**

The type of clause that follows the verb has no effect on the meaning of the verb.
(Possible exception: *erokamano*; see the data from 3/4/09; Part 1)

(62) **Generalization 2**

Any predicate can take a ‘Ni Clauses’. Any subordinate clause can be introduced by *ni*.
(Possibly falsified by the modals...)

(63) **A Quick Note on Purpose Clauses**

Purpose clauses are expressed via ‘Bare Clauses’ that follow the verb.

Adhi nyewo buk.

I.go buy book

I’m going to buy a book.

2/27/09; Part 1

(64) **A Quick Note on Clausal Subjects**

We’ve only seen one predicate for which the complement clause was its *only* argument. Interestingly, in this sentence, the complement clause surfaced in the position usually reserved for *objects* (and there was no subject marker on the predicate).

.Rách ka ibíro.

bad KA you.come

It’s bad that you’ve come.

2/27/09; Part 1

(65) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. What is the nature of the ‘introducing particles’ in (58)? Are we mis-analyzing some of them?
- b. Elicit many more different types of subordinate clauses, and then doing so further test the generalizations in (59), (61) and (62). Also, fill out the chart in (60).
- c. Elicit many more – and more complex – purpose clauses, as well as clausal subjects.

13. Independent Pronouns

We elicited the following as independent pronominal forms, possible answers to the question “Who danced?” In addition, we’ve seen that some of these forms can appear conjoined to other NPs with *gi*.

(66) The Independent Pronominals (2/25/09)

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1 st	an	wan
2 nd	in	un
3 rd	en	gin

(67) Sentences Illustrating These Forms

- a. **An gi** chiéga wamíel.
I and wife.my we.dance
Me and my wife are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 1
- b. **In gi** Ochíeng' umíel.
you and Ochieng you.dance
You and Ochieng' are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 2
- c. Anyéwo ni **in** buk.
I.bought for you book
I bought a book for you. 3/4/03; Part 3

14. Copula

The ‘independent pronouns’ in (66) bear a remarkable resemblance to the forms we have been analyzing as copular verbs (verb like *I am, you are, he is*).

(68) The (Inflected) Copula in Dholuo

- a. Ochíeng' *(en) ajúoga.
Ochieng is doctor
Ochieng is a doctor. 2/25/09; Part 2
- b. An ajúoga.
I.am doctor
I am a doctor. 2/25/09; Part 2
- c. In ajúoga.
you.are doctor
You are a doctor. 2/25/09; Part 2

(69) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. We didn't really elicit the full paradigm for the copula. We should do this to make sure that our generalization above is accurate.
- b. What accounts for the similarity between the copula and the independent pronoun? Are the putative 'pronominal forms' in (67) really copulas somehow? Are the putative copulas in (68) really pronouns?
- c. Related to the last question, are there any contexts where having a copula is optional (outside of the wh-questions, as discussed below).

15. Comitative Construction

We've seen that Dholuo possesses a comitative construction. This is a structure with the following general properties.

(70) **Comitative Construction**

The subject of the verb is plural, the verb appears with a phrase meaning "with NP", and the plural subject is understood to include the NP complement of "with".

(71) **Dholuo Comitative Construction**

- a. Wamíel gi chiéga.
we.dance with wife.my
My wife and I are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 1
- b. Umíel gi Ochieng'.
you(pl).dance with Ochieng
You(sg) and Ochieng are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 2

16. Questions

(72) **Yes/No Questions**

In Dholuo, so-called 'polar questions' or 'yes/no questions' have no special morpho-syntactic marking. They do, however, receive a distinctive intonation, where the all the vowels of the sentence are rather high, and the sentence ends with pitch-rise.

- a. Imíel?
you.dance
Are you dancing? 2/4/09; Part 1

(73) **Interrogative Pronouns ('Wh-Words')**

- a. áng'o *what*
- b. ng'a(no) *who*
- c. máne *which (follows the N, like other demonstratives)*
- d. náde *how (in what manner, by what means)*
- e. kánye *where*
- f. adi *how many (follows the N; applies to count nouns only)*
- g. ma rom nade *how much (follows the N; applies to mass nouns only)*
- h. sadi *when (borrowed from Swahili; 'sa' = watch)*
- i. kar áng'o *when (native form; kar = 'in the place of')*
- j. náng'o, ni áng'o *why*

(74) **Word Order in Wh-Questions**

In a wh-question, the wh-word may appear *in-situ* (in the position dictated by its grammatical function).

a. In-Situ Wh-Words in Dholuo

- (i) Ichámo áng'o?
you.eat what
What are you eating? 2/25/09; Part 3
- (ii) Inéno .wuói máne?
you.see boys which
Which boy did you see? 2/25/09; Part 4

Alternately, the wh-word may also appear at the beginning of the sentence.

b. Wh-Fronting in Dholuo

- (i) áng'o ma ichámo?
what MA you.eat
What are you eating? 2/25/09; Part 3
- (ii) .Wuói máne ma inéno?
boy which MA you.see
Which boy did you see? 2/25/09; Part 4

If the wh-word is a direct object, the choice between 'fronting' or 'in-situ' seems to be essentially free. *However, when the wh-word is **not** functioning as an object, special rules seem to come into play.*

(75) Special Rules Surrounding ‘Wh-Fronting’ in Dholuo

- a. Insertion of *Ma*
Whenever the wh-word is fronted (is at the left-edge of the clause), it must be followed by the particle ‘ma’.

áng'o *(ma) ichámo?
what MA you.eat
What are you eating? 2/25/09; Part 3

- b. Optional Insertion of the 3rd Singular Copula
When the wh-word is fronted, it can be optionally preceded by the 3rd singular form of the copula.

(en) áng'o ma ichámo?
is what MA you.eat
What are you eating? 2/25/09; Part 3

- c. Obligatory Fronting of the Subject
When the wh-word functions as subject, it *must* undergo fronting. That is, a wh-subject must always be followed by the particle *ma*.

Ng'a *(ma) chámo .réch?
Who MA eat fish
Who is eating fish. 2/25/09; Part 3

- d. Inability for Certain Words to Front
Some wh-words *can't* undergo fronting.

(i) *Náde* ‘how’
i. Ómiel náde? ii. * Náde ma ómiel?
she.dance how
How did she dance? 2/27/09; Part 3

(ii) *Kar Áng'o* ‘when’
i. Imíel kar áng'o? ii. * Kar áng'o ma imíel?
you.dance when
When did you dance? 2/27/09; Part 2

Interestingly, the borrowed form for ‘when’ can undergo fronting:

(iii) *Sadi* ‘when’
i. Imíel sadi? ii. Sadi ma imíel?
you.dance when
When did you dance? 2/27/09; Part 2

- e. 'Ghost Preposition' with Kanye
When the wh-word *kanye* 'when' undergoes fronting, a preposition must appear in the sentence that *doesn't* otherwise appear when *kanye* is left *in-situ*.
- (i) Ochieng' miel (*e) kanye?
Ochieng dance at where
Where is Ochieng dancing? 2/25/09; Part 4
- (ii) Kanye ma Ochieng' miel *(e)?
where MA Ochieng dance at
Where is Ochieng dancing? 2/25/04; Part 4

(76) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Elicit many more wh-questions, perhaps in the context of texts, to see whether the generalizations made above in (74) and (75) hold water.
- b. Develop a theory of the syntax of Dholuo wh-questions from which those generalizations follow (if correct).

(77) **Multiple Wh-Questions**

Dholuo seems to possess multiple wh-questions.

- a. Ng'a ma onéno ng'a?
who MA he.saw who
Who saw who? 2/25/09; Part 3

What suggests these are real multiple wh-questions (rather than questions translatable as "Who saw someone?") is that they can be answered by statement like the following.

- b. Pamba onéno Ochieng'.
Pamba saw Ochieng. 2/25/09; Part 3

(78) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. What would *really* show that the question in (77a) is a multiple wh-question is if it *couldn't* be answered with just the name *Pamba*. Can it?
- b. If Dholuo indeed has 'multiple wh-questions', do those questions get so-called 'pair-list readings', or do they get so-called 'single pair readings'?

(79) 'Left Branch Extractions' in Dholuo

Linguists use the term 'left branch extraction' to mean (at least) extraction of wh-possessors or wh-determiners. Famously, some languages allow these 'left-branch extractions' (e.g. Russian), while other languages don't (e.g. English).

a. Dholuo Doesn't Permit Extraction of Wh-Determiners

- (i) .Wuói máne ma inéno?
boy which MA you.see
Which boy did you see? 2/25/09; Part 4
- (ii) * Máne ma inéno .wuói? 2/25/09; Part 4

b. Dholuo Does Permit Extraction of Wh-Possessors

When the possessive pronoun is extracted as in (79b), Dholuo optionally permits the possessed noun to appear with one of the third person 'possessive markers'.

- (i) .Wuón ng'a ma míel?
father who MA dance
Whose father is dancing? 3/4/09; Part 2
- (ii) Ng'a ma .wuón (-gi/mare) míel?
father MA father their/his dance
Whose father is dancing? 3/4/09; Part 2

The possibility of extraction of possessors was also observed for relative clauses in class on 3/4/09.

(80) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

Is there any semantic or syntactic effect of including the possessive marker in (70bii)?

(81) **Preposition Stranding**

We observed so-called 'preposition stranding' in Dholuo relative clauses. There, we saw that when preposition stranding occurs, the stranded preposition must occur directly next to the verb (note that this can also be seen for the 'ghost preposition' in (75e)).

- a. .wuói ma nénde anyéwo ni buk
boy MA earlier(?) I.bought for book
The boy who I bought a book for. 3/4/09; Part 3
- b. * .wuói ma nénde anyéwo buk ni

(82) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Can we similarly test preposition stranding structures in wh-questions?
- b. If so, do they also require the stranded 'P' to be directly next to the verb?

17. The Marker .To Again

Back in (39), we saw that the marker *.to* 'and' functions to co-ordinate sentences, VPs and Vs. One other area where we've seen this *.to* is following phrases that have undergone fronting to the beginning of a declarative clause.

(83) **.To As a Marker of Fronting (or 'Focus')?**

- a. ...Ng'éch .to okéto e kitánda.
monitor.lizard TO he.put on bed
The monitor lizard, though, he put on the bed. 2/18/09; Part 3
- b. Ka ibíro .to .rách
that you.came TO bad
It's bad that you've come. 2/27/09; Part 1

(84) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

Elicit further examples of this use of *.to*, perhaps with an eye towards understanding how it related to its use as a co-ordinator.

18. Expressions of Possession

To state that an entity X is in possession of a given thing Y, Dholuo uses a locative expression equivalent to 'X is with Y'.

(85) **Possession in Dholuo**

- .an gi buk
I.am with book
I have a book. 3/4/09; Part 1

19. Imperatives

In Dholuo, there appear to be three key rules to forming an imperative.

(86) Rule 1: No Overt Subject Marker

a. Singular Imperatives

(i) Miel!
Dance! 3/4/09; Part 4

(ii) * Imiel!
(Cannot mean 'Dance!') 3/4/09; Part 4

b. Plural Imperatives

(i) Miel uru!
Dance (pl.)! 3/4/09; Part 4

(ii) * Umiel uru!
(Cannot mean 'Dance (pl.)!') 3/4/09; Part 4

(87) Rule 2: The Verb Must Drop its 'Final -O'

a. Chám .réyi.
eat fish.your
Eat your fish! 3/4/09; Part 4

b. * Chámo .réyi. 3/4/09; Part 4

(88) Rule 3: A Plural Imperative Must Contain *Uru*

a. Miel uru!
Dance (pl.)! 3/4/09; Part 4

b. * Miel!
(Cannot mean 'Dance (pl.)!') 3/4/09; Part 4

A form that's semantically related to the imperative is the 'hortative' (in English 'Let's dance'). These are formed by adding the 2nd plural subject marker to the imperative form.

(89) Dholuo 'Hortatives'

Wachám uru .réch!
We.eat ?? fish
Let's eat fish! 3/4/09; Part 4

The form of the ‘hortative’ expressions above raises the question of whether the ‘imperative form’ of the verb can freely take (non-second person) subjects. Or, to put it more precisely:

(90) **Question:**

Is it generally possible in Dholuo for the verb (of a non-negated sentence) to *lack* the ‘final –o’ (as in an imperative), but to also appear with an overt subject?

The answer to (90) appears to be complex. First of all, from the impossibility of sentences like the following, it seems like the answer is *no* for main clauses.

(91) **No Overt Subject for Main Clause ‘Imperatives’**

* .Wuón máre cham .réch!
father his eat fish

3/6/09; Part 1

Side-Note:

Notice the new Dholuo form for ‘his father’!
We should check up on this!

However, the *possibility* of the following sentences suggests that the answer is *yes* for subordinate clauses.

(92) **Overt Subjects Possible for Subordinate ‘Imperatives’**

Owacho ni ichám .réch.
he.said NI you.eat fish
He told you to eat fish!

3/5/09; part 1

On the basis of these facts, let’s leap to the following hypothesis.

(93) **‘Imperative Clauses’ in Dholuo**

Let’s use the term ‘imperative clause’ to mean a (non-negated) clause where the verb lacks the ‘final –o’.

- a. A *main* imperative clause cannot have an overt subject (other than *wa-*)
- b. A *subordinate* imperative clause can freely take any overt subject.

(94) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

Further probe the distribution of these ‘final-o-less’ clauses, and test whether the generalization in (93) is correct.

20. Modals in Dholuo

We've seen a few modal expressions in Dholuo. They all seem to make use of the subordinate 'imperative clauses' described above.

(95) **Nyálo** 'Can'

Dholuo has a verb *nyálo* which seems to express much of what is expressed by the English modal 'can'. As illustrated below, the verb must take an 'imperative clause', and can mean either 'is physically able to' or 'is permitted to'.

- a. Anyálo míel.
I.can dance
I can dance. (I am physically able to dance.) 2/27/09; Part 3
- b. *Anyálo ni amíel. 2/27/09; Part 3
- c. Anyálo cham .réch.
I.can eat fish
I can eat fish. (I am allowed to eat fish.) 3/6/09; Part 2

(96) **Nyáka** 'Must'

Dholuo has a verb *nyáka* which seems to express much of what is expressed by the English modal 'must'. As illustrated below, it also must take an 'imperative clause'. Interestingly, it differs from *nyálo* in that it doesn't take the 'subject markers' of the sentence.

- a. Nyáka achám .réch.
must I.eat fish
I must eat fish. 3/6/09; Part 2
- b. *Anyáka chám .réch. 3/6/09; Part 2

(97) **Kik** 'Should Not'

Dholuo has a verb *kik* which seems to be translatable as *should not*. As illustrated below, it must also take an 'imperative clause'. It is also like *nyaka* in that it doesn't take the 'subject markers' of the sentence.

- a. Ochieng' kik chám .réch.
Ochieng should.not eat fish
Ochieng should not eat fish. 3/6/09; Part 3
- b. Kik ichám .réch
Should.not you.eat fish
You shouldn't eat fish. (Don't eat fish!) 3/6/09; Part 2

(98) **.Ónego ‘Should’**

Dholuo has a verb *.ónego* which seems to be translatable as *should*. As illustrated below, it must also take an ‘imperative clause’. It is also like *nyaka* and *kik* in that it doesn’t take the ‘subject markers’ of the sentence.

- a. Ochieng' .ónego chám .réch.
Ochieng should eat fish
Ochieng should eat fish. 3/6/09; Part 3
- b. .Ónego achám .réch.
should I.eat fish
I should eat fish. 3/6/09; Part 3

(99) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**

- a. Further probe and explore the modal expressions of Dholuo.
b. Do they really all take these ‘imperative clauses’ (forms that lack the ‘final o’?)
c. Is there any generalization about when a modal takes the subject markers (like *nyalo*) and when it doesn’t (like *nyaka* and *kik* and *.onego*)?

21. Passives (?)

We only explored the existence of passives in the language for a brief moment. Nevertheless, a couple generalizations seem to come into view.

(100) **Passives are Not Simply Translated as Actives**

A tell-tale sign that a language lacks ‘passive-voice’ entirely is that English passive sentences are simply translated as active, transitive sentences.

Although forms like (100a) suggested that this might be the case for Dholuo, the forms in (100b,c,d) suggest that there is *something* in Dholuo like the English passive.

- a. Ne ohéra.
earlier(?) he.loves.me
I was loved. (S/he loved me.) 3/6/09; Part 4
- b. Ochám .réch dúto.
eaten(?) fish all
All the fish was eaten. 3/6/09; Part 4

- c. Ohér Ochieng'.
loved(?) Ochieng
Ochieng is loved. 3/6/09; Part 4
- d. Ochieng' ne ohér ahinye.
Ochieng earlier(?) loved(?) much
Ochieng was very much loved. 3/6/09; Part 4

As we can see above, the verbs in (100b,c,d) are not the forms we'd expect for a simple active, transitive sentence, *in that they lack the 'final -o'* (like our earlier 'imperative clauses').

Finally, note that in (100d), the 'theme' of the verb *ohér* 'love' (which is Ochieng) appears *before* the verb, where we'd expect the subject of the sentence to appear...