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.  Ochíeng’ mîel
Ochieng  dances
Ochieng is dancing.  2/2/09; Part 4

b.  * Mîel Ochíeng’
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’.

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<thead>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>wa-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
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<td>3rd</td>
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<td>gi-</td>
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</table>
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 * 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. Ochieng’ miel.
   Ochieng is dancing. 2/2/09; Part 4

   ii. Omíel.
   s/he is dancing. 2/4/09; Part 2

   iii. Ochieng’ gi Pamba miel.
   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. Ochieng’ ochúng’
   Ochieng is standing. 2/2/09; Part 4

   ii. Gíra ma duóng’ .ofúo.
   thing-my MA big stupid
   My big thing is stupid. 2/6/09; Part 1

   iii. Ochieng’ ohéro Pamba.
   Ochieng loves Pamba. 2/13/09; Part 1
Local Person Plural Marker Behaves Like Agreement

i. An gi chiéga *(wa)mìel.
   1sg and wife-my 1pl-dance
   My wife and I are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 1

ii. In gi Ochïeng’ *(u)mìel.
    2sg and Ochieng (2pl)-dance
    You and Ochieng are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 2

Possible Future Questions

a. How do local person singular markers behave? (We never asked about those!)

b. What distinguishes mìel ‘dance’ (as well as e.g. chámø ‘eat’) from predicates like chúng ‘stand’, fúø ‘stupid’, and héro ‘love’? (Hypothesis: ‘being an event’ vs. ‘being a state’)

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 miɛl / you are dancing 2/4/09; Part 1
     / o miɛl / he is dancing   2/4/09; Part 2
     / ɨ tʃuŋ / he is standing 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.
     
     / ɨmɛl / you are dancing 2/4/09; Part 2

   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) Pámba .ok mìel.
    Pambda not dance
    *Pambda isn’t dancing.* 2/13/09; Part 4

(iv) Pámba mbende mìel.
    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 amìel.
    *I’m not dancing.* 2/9/09; Part 3

(vi) * a .ok mìel.
    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**
    Omìel.
    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 kape/
    *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
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.

The Structure of the DP

Order of Elements in the DP

NOUN POSSESSOR RELATIVE-CLAUSE/ADJECTIVE DEMONSTRATIVE

a. NOUN < POSSESSOR

(i) Osiep Pamba
    friend Pamba
    *Pamba’s friend.*
    2/9/9; Part 1

(ii) * Pamba Osiep
    2/9/9; Part 1

b. POSSESSOR < RELATIVE CLAUSE/ADJECTIVE

(i) osiep Ochieng’ moti
    friend Ochieng that.is.old
    *Ochieng’s elderly friend*
    2/9/9; Part 2

(ii) * osiep moti Ochieng’
    2/9/9; Part 2

c. RELATIVE-CLAUSE/ADJECTIVE < DEMONSTRATIVE

(i) Guok ma .mör ní
    dog MA happy this
    *This happy dog*
    2/9/9; Part 1

(ii) * Guok ní ma .mör
    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’ (1\(^{\text{st}}\) or 2\(^{\text{nd}}\)) or a third-person pronoun (*he, she, it, they*), the noun root is followed by one of the following ‘markers’.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{\text{nd}})</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(^{\text{rd}})</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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 Pámба
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.  Amĩe  ng’eč
       I.gave.her  monitor.lizard
       I gave her a monitor lizard.  3/4/09; Part 3
   ii. * Amĩo  ng’eč
       I.gave  monitor.lizard
       3/4/09; Part 3

   Relative Clauses
   i.  Nyáko ma  amĩo  ___  ng’eč
       girl MA I.give  monitor.lizard
       The girl I gave a monitor lizard  3/4/09; Part 3
   ii. * Nyáko amĩo  ___  ng’eč.
       3/4/09; Part 3
   iii. * Nyáko ma  amĩe  ng’eč.
       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)  

Girá *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 *pio-pío*

I.want dance quickly

*I want to dance quickly.* 2/23/09; Part 3

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(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?

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(16) **Demonstratives**

a. *nǐ*  *this*

b. *chá*  *that*

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(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’?
‘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:

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

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?

(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’.

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<td>3rd</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-gi</td>
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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 ‘morphophonological’ 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?

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(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) Ahérorá *I love myself* 2/11/09; Part 1
   (ii) Ihéroti *You love yourself* 2/11/09; Part 2
   (iii) Ohéroré *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) Wahérore 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 achámoréchéch-á
NEG I.eat fish RED-fish-RED
I didn’t eat any fish. 2/13/09; Part 2

b. Ok achámogimor(o)amor(o)-á
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 ahéró Pámbo 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”?

14
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 omiya 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 Ochieng'
       NEG  I.love Pamba or Ochieng
       I don’t love Pamba or Ochieng. 2/11/09; Part 4

   (ii) ahéro Pamba kátá Ochieng'
       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) Ochieng' .gi / .kod Pamba miel.
       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

   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) * Ochieng' .to Pamba miel. 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?
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.

Onéndó kósé omìel.
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’ mìel .to Pάmba mbénde mìel.
Ochieng dance and Pamba also dance
Ochieng is dancing, and Pambda is also dancing. 2/13/09; Part 4

(ii) Ochieng’ mìel .to Pάmba .ok mìel.
Ochieng dance and Pamba NEG dance
Ochieng is dancing, but Pambda 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’ mìel .gi Pάmba .ok mìel. 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’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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…
Possible Future Questions / Projects

- Regarding ‘Question 1’ above, investigate:
  - How local person singular indirect object markers behave.
  - How plural indirect object markers behave (particularly 3rd plurals).
- 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

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

- Ochieng' ókéto buk  i mesa
  - Ochieng put book on table
  - Ochieng ‘put the book on the table.’

- * Ochieng’ ókéto i mesa buk.

9.3 Benefactive Adjuncts

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.

- 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.

  (ii) Ochieng’ onyéwo buk ni Pamba.

- 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.

  (ii) * Ochieng’ onyéwo buk na
10. Adpositions

(48) **Order in Adpositional Phrases**
    As illustrated above, the adposition precedes its DP complement. That is Dholuo has *prepositions*, rather than *post-positions*.

(49) **Some Prepositions We Have Collected**
    a. ni *for* 2/18/09; Part 2
    b. i / e *in, on, at* 2/18/09; Part 2
    c. wi *on top of* 2/18/09; Part 3
    d. but *next to* 2/18/09; Part 4
    e. .gi *with* 2/23/09; Part 4
    f. .kod *with* 2/25/09; Part 1

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

    ![Table](attachment:image.png)

(51) **Possible Future Questions / Projects**
    We didn’t really elicit the full paradigm of markers above. We’ve only seen the forms for 1<sup>sg</sup> and 2<sup>sg</sup>. 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 ‘morphophonological’ 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 = *for me* = ni + a 2/18/09; Part 3
    ni = *for you* = 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 3\(^{rd}\) 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 \textit{wu}-
   (i) \textit{wuoro} \textit{father} 2/20/09; Part 2
   (ii) \textit{wuoi} \textit{boy} 2/20/09; Part 2
   (iii) \textit{wuod} \textit{son} 2/20/09; Part 2
   [iv) \textit{owadua} \textit{brother} 2/20/09; Part 2]

b. **Female Relations**
   A number of the terms for female relations contain the sub-morpheme \textit{nya}-
   (i) \textit{nyar} \textit{daughter} 2/20/09; Part 2
   (ii) \textit{nyako} \textit{girl} 2/20/09; Part 2
   (iii) \textit{nyamenua} \textit{sister} 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) \textit{nera} \textit{the brother of your mother}
   (ii) \textit{waya} \textit{the sister of your father}

b. All other individuals of the same generation as your parents are referred to as either \textit{wuoro} ‘father’ or \textit{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 you ‘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.

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

(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.

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

._RAch ka  ibiro.
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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>gin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(67) **Sentences Illustrating These Forms**

a. **An gi chiéga wamiel.**
   I and wife.my we.dance
   Me and my wife are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 1

b. **In gi Ochieng’ umiel.**
   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. **Ochieng’ *(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
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.

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”.

Dholuo Comitative Construction

a. Wamíel gi chíéga.
   we.dance with wife.my
   My wife and I are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 1

b. Umiel gi Ochieng’.
   you(pl).dance with Ochieng
   You(sg) and Ochieng are dancing. 2/25/09; Part 2

16. Questions

Yes/No Questions

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

a. Imiél?
   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’.

ång’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) ång’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. Ômiel náde? ii. * Náde ma ômiel?
she.dance how
How did she dance? 2/27/09; Part 3

(ii) Kar Àng’o ‘when’
i. Imièl kar ång’o? ii. * Kar ång’o ma imièl?
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. Imièl sadi? ii. Sadi ma imièl?
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’?
‘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) .Wúóí máne ma inéño?
   boy which MA you.see
   *Which boy did you see?* 2/25/09; Part 4

(ii) * Máne ma inéño .wuóí? 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) .Wúón ng’a ma miél?
   father who MA dance
   *Whose father is dancing?* 3/4/09; Part 2

(ii) Ng’a ma .wuón (-gi/mare) miél?
   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.

---

**Possible Future Questions / Projects**

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

---

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

b. * .wuóí ma nénnde anyéwo buk ni
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. …Ngéch .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

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’**

* * * .Wuo 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’**

Ówacho 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) **Nyáká 'Must’**

Dholuo has a verb *nyáká* 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. Nyáká achám .réch.
   must I eat fish
   *I must eat fish.* 3/6/09; Part 2

b. *Anyáká chám .réch.
   3/6/09; Part 2

(97) **Kík ‘Should Not’**

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

a. Ochieng' kík chám .réch.
   Ochieng should not eat fish
   *Ochieng should not eat fish.* 3/6/09; Part 3

b. Kík ichám .réch
   Should not you eat fish
   *You shouldn’t eat fish. (Don’t eat fish!)* 3/6/09; Part 2
(98) .Ônego ‘Should’

Dholuo has a verb .ônego 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' .ônego chám .réch.
   Ochieng should eat fish
   *Ochieng should eat fish.*
   3/6/09; Part 3

b. .Ônego 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 .ônego)?

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…