2017.05.10 Honolulu voice elicitation with Glo
GAMEPLAN
   X Reflexive Binding
   quantifier-pronoun
   Wh-questions
   Relativization

Quantifier-pronoun
Initial sentences: (check dist and non-dist reading available)
   Every boss loves her worker
   Every girl helps her friend.
   Every girl punches her enemy.

PV   UQ-A
   na hopeke tataru nia ari barikaleqe si keke koburu
   Each mother loves one child.
   non-distri

   na hopeke tataru nia ari barikaleqe sa koburu
   Every mother loves the child
   non-distr

AV   BINDING
   ari barikaleqe tataru ni sari hopeke dia koburu
   The mothers love for their own child
   A. Distr

PV
   taturu ni ari barikaleqe sari hopeke dia koburu
   The mothers lover their own child.
   A. distr

PV
   UQ-A PRO-P
   tataru  beto ni ari barikaleqe sari dia koburu
   Each mother loves her child.
   distr

   tataru  beto ni ari barikaleqe sari (hopeke) dia koburu
   Each mother loves her own child.
Every mother loves her child

PRO-P UQ-A her
tataru beto ni Susan sari koburu
tataru beto ni sa sari koburu "she loves every child"
tataru beto ni tinana sari koburu

A. distr

AV UQ-A
ari doduru barikaleqe tataru ni sari dia koburu
The mothers love for their own child
Preferred: A. Distr

non-distr

PV UQ-A
taturu ni ari doduru barikaleqe sari dia koburu
ALl the mothers lover their own child.
A. distr

tataru nia ari doduru barikaleqe sa dia koburu
All the mothers love their own child.
B. non-distr

AV UQ-P
sa tinana tataru ni sari doduru koburu
Her mother loves all the children
C. non-distr

PV UQ-P
tataru ni tinana sari doduru koburu
her mother loves all the children
C. non-distr
PASSIVE
UQ-A
sa dia koburu ta-tataru-e koa ri doduru barikaleqe
Her child is loved by all the mothers.
non-distr

*sari dia koburu ta-tataru-e koa ri doduru barikaleqe
?Her child is loved by every mother
?distr
NOTE: glo says is weird/bad! MUST HAVE SI

sari dia koburu si ta-tataru-e koa ri doduru barikaleqe
her child is loved by everymother
Readings: distr
NOTE: must be topicalized/si-introduced

UQ-P
sari doduru ta-tataru-e koa ri tinadia
all the children are loved by her mother.
distr

UQ-P
sari doduru ta-tataru-e koa sa tinana
All the children are loved by her mother
non-distr

SCHEMATIZED ELICITATION
AV
UQ-A PRO-P

Every mother loves her child.
Readings:

PRO-A UQ-P
Her mother loves every child.
Readings:

PV
UQ-A PRO-P
Every mother loves her child.
Readings:
PRO-A UQ-P
   Her mother loves every child.
   Readings:
PASSIVE
UQ-A PRO-P
   Her child is loved by every mother.
   Readings:

PRO-A UQ-P
   Every child is loved by her mother.
   Readings:

Wh-questions
WH-A AV/PV
   esei hena ia sa rereke
   Who ate the mango?

   koe-esei avoso nia agoi hena ia sa rereke
   esei avoso nia agoi hena ia sa rereke
   Who did you hear ate the mango?

   esei balabala nia agoi hena ia sa rereke
   Who do you think ate the mango?

   ta-hena sa rereke
   sa rereke si ta-hena "The mango was eaten"

   esei sa tie hena ia sa rereke?
   Who was the one who ate the mango?

   *koe-esei sa rereke te-hena?
   *Who was the mango eaten by

   esei taka ia sa tasina koreo?
   Who kicked his brother?

   esei balabala nia agoi takaia sa tasina koreo.
   Who do you think kicked his brother?

   ta-taka sa tasina koreo (koe Bili)
   koe Bili si ta-taka sa tasina koreo
His brother was kicked (by Bill).

koesei  ta-taka sa tasina koreo
Who was his brother kicked by?

koesei balabala nia goi tataka sa tasina koreo?
Who do you think his brother was kicked by?

WH-P PV
(na)sa si ele hena ia Bili
What did Bill eat?

nasa si hena ia Bili?
What is Bill eating?

(na)sa si balabala nia goi si hena ia Bili?
What do you think Bill ate?

(na)sa si ta-hena
What was eaten?

(na)sa si ta-hena koe Bili?
What was eaten by Bill?
GLO: grammatical but not common usage

(na)sasi balabala nia agoi si ta-hena koe Bili
What do you think was eaten by Bill?

esei si taka is Bili?
Who did Bill kick?

esei balabala nia agoi si taka ia Bili?
Who do you think Bill kicked?

esei si tataka?
Who was kicked?

esei si tataka koe Bili?
Who was kicked by Bill?

esei balabala nia goi si tataka koe Bili?
Who do you think was kicked by Bill?
WH-S AV/PV
esei si korapa puta?
Who is sleeping?

esei balabala (n)ia agoi si korapa puta?
Who do you think is sleeping?
NOTE: no si!!!!!!! NOTE: yes, SI before embedded clause

esei si hoqa?
Who fell down?

esei balabala (n)ia agoi si hoqa?
Who do you think fell down?

esei si taloa?
Who left?

esei balabala nia agoi si taloa?
Who do you think left?

Relativization
REL-A
This is the dog that bit Bill
This is the dog that Bill was bitten by.
This is the dog that I heard bit Bill.
This is the dog that I heard was bitten by.

REL-P
This is the dog that Bill kicked.
This is the dog that was kicked by Bill.
This is the dog that I heard Bill kicked.
This is the dog that I heard was kicked by Bill.

REL-S
This is the dog that was sleeping.
This is the dog that I think was sleeping.

This is the child that fell down.
The is the child that I think fell down.
I. Apparent! REFLEXIVE BINDING

(YY) PV

a. V REFL NP
   *hiva pule=n=ia telena se Bili.
   like return=APPL=3SG.OBJ delf=3SG.GEN ABS Bill
   Himself likes Bill.
   Q: TR-PV or PNI?

b. V NP
   hiva pule=n=ia Bili.
   like return=APPL=3SG.OBJ Bill
   Bill likes (himself).
   Q: PNI with SUBJ drop, or TR-PV with OBJ-drop?

c. *V NP REFL
   *hiva pule=n=ia Bili sa telena.
   like return=APPL=3SG.OBJ Bill DEF self-3SG.GEN
   *Bill likes himself.

(YY) AV

a. REFL V NP
   telena hiva pule=n=ia si asa.
   self-3SG.GEN like return=APPL=3SG.OBJ ABS 3SG
   Himself likes him.

b. Bili hiva pule=n=ia telena
   Bill like return=APPL=3SG.OBJ self-3SG.GEN
   Bill likes himself.
   NOTE: PNI?
   Q: why no article with Bili?
   Q: is telena pseudo noun incorporatede?

PASSIVE:
   *ta-hiva pule se Bili koa sa telena
   *ta-hiva pule

COMMENTS
• Both orders available in AV
• Unclear
• Cannot passivize

II. QUANTIFIER-PRONOUN READINGS
Figure YY. Schematized distributed and non-distributed readings:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad M & \rightarrow & \text{B} & \quad \text{b.} & \quad M & \rightarrow & \text{B} & \quad \text{c.} & \quad M & \rightarrow & \text{B} \\
\text{M} & \rightarrow & \text{B} & \quad M & \rightarrow & \text{B} & \quad M & \rightarrow & \text{B} & & \text{M} & \rightarrow & \text{B} & \quad \text{B} \\
\end{align*}
\]

AV
(YY) UQ-A PRO-P

a. SG-P
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ari} & \quad \text{doruru} & \quad \text{barikaleqe} & \quad \text{tataru}=\text{n}=\text{ia} \\
\text{PL} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{woman} & \quad \text{love}=\text{APPL}=\text{3SG.OBJ} \\
\text{sa} & \quad \text{dia} & \quad \text{koburu}. \\
\text{DEF} & \quad \text{3PL.GEN} & \quad \text{child}.
\end{align*}
\]
All the mothers lover their child.

b. non-distributed

b. PL-P
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ari} & \quad \text{doruru} & \quad \text{barikaleqe} & \quad \text{tataru}=\text{n}=\text{i} \\
\text{PL} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{woman} & \quad \text{love}=\text{APPL}=\text{3PL.OBJ} \\
\text{sa} & \quad \text{dia} & \quad \text{koburu}. \\
\text{DEF.PL} & \quad \text{3PL.GEN} & \quad \text{child}.
\end{align*}
\]
The mothers love for their own child

a. distributed

(YY) PRO-A UQ-P

a. SG-A
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sa} & \quad \text{tinana} & \quad \text{tataru}=\text{n}=\text{i} \\
\text{DEF} & \quad \text{mom-3SG.GEN} & \quad \text{love}=\text{APPL}=\text{3PL.OBJ} \\
\text{sari} & \quad \text{doduru} & \quad \text{koburu} \\
\text{DEF.PL} & \quad \text{all} & \quad \text{child}.
\end{align*}
\]
Her mother loves all the children

c. non-distr
*c. distributed

b. CHECKED: PL.ART PL.PRO-A
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sari} & \quad \text{tinadja} & \quad \text{tataru} & \quad\text{ni} & \quad\text{sari} & \quad\text{doduru} & \quad\text{koburu}
\end{align*}
\]
NEEDED: SG.ART PL PRO-A

NOTE:

c. **sa tinana tataru=nia sa doduru koburu.  
   - doduru object must have 3PL object agreement  
   - doduru must occur with plural article or ungrammatical

PV (YY) UQ-A PRO-P
a. SG-P  
tataru nia ari doduru barikaleqe sa dia koburu  
   All the mothers love their own child.  
b. non-distr

b. PL-P  
taturu ni ari doduru barikaleqe sari dia koburu  
   All the mothers lover their own child.  
a. distr

(YY) PRO-A UQ-P
a. SG-A  
tataru ni tinana sari doduru koburu  
   her mother loves all the children  
c. non-distr  
   *a. distributed

b. NEEDED: PL-A  
tataru ni tinadi sari doduru koburu  
   Their  
   readings: distributed/?both  
   GLO (fb): “It is grammmatical though not having the 'hopeke' makes it ambiguous because the doduru koburu can be read as all the children... not having the word 'hopeke' makes it seem ambiguous.”

NOTE:

c. **tataru=nia tinana sa doduru koburu
• *doduru* object must have 3PL object agreement
• *doduru* must occur with plural article or ungrammatical

PASSIVE

(YY) PASS: UQ-A PRO-P
a. SG-P
   sa dia koburu ta-tataru-e koa ri doduru barikaleqe
   Her child is loved by all the mothers.
b. non-distr

b. *?PL-P
*?sari dia koburu ta-tataru-e koa ri doduru barikaleqe
*?Her child is loved by every mother.
*?a. distr
NOTE: Glo says is weird/bad! CAN BE REPAIRED WITH SI-introduction

NOTE: PL-P *si*-introduced

c. sari dia koburu *si* ta-tataru-e koa ri doduru barikaleqe
   her child is loved by all mothers
   Readings: distr
   NOTE: need diagnostics to investigate *si*-introduction

(YY) PASS: PRO-A UQ-P
a. SG-A
   sari doduru ta-tataru-e koa sa tinana
   All the children are loved by her mother
c. non-distributed

b. PL-A
   sari doduru ta-tataru-e koa ri tinadia
   all the children are loved by her mother.
a. distributed

Figure YYa. Available Quantifier-Pronoun Readings in Roviana Actor Voice, Patient Voice, and Passive Voices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Arrangement</th>
<th>Reading(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>UQ-A PRO-P</td>
<td>distributed and non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>PRO-A UQ-P</td>
<td>non-distributed</td>
</tr>
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<td>PV</td>
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<td>distributed and non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
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<td>non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>UQ-A PRO-P</td>
<td>non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>PRO-A UQ-P</td>
<td>distributed and non-distributed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure YYb. Available Quantifier-Pronoun Readings in Roviana Actor Voice, Patient Voice, and Passive Voices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUTED</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-DISTRIBUTED</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Which table is more clear?
- What improvements can be made?

III. WH-QUESTIONS

WH-A AV

- *esei*-A must occur in AV slot, unclear if *si*-introduction of *esei*-A is ungrammatical (not typical/not motivated)
- even in embedded clauses, NO *si*-introduction (b.)
- Wh-A extracted from embedded clause with gap (b.)
- NEEDED: Grammaticality judgement on *esei si hena ia sa rereke*?

(YY) AV

a. WH-A Main Clause

esei ____ hena ia sa rereke

Who ate the mango?

b. *esei balabala nia agoi ___ hena ia sa rereke*

Who do you think ate the mango?

WH-A resumptive pronoun/topicalization/focus?

c. *esei sa tie hena ia sa rereke?*

Who was the one who ate the mango?

WH-P PV
• *esei*-P must be *si*-introduced to be wh-question otherwise ungrammatical
• even in embedded clause, main clause must be “*si*-introduced”
• P extracted from embedded clause with gap (b.)

(YY) PV WH-P
a. *esei* si taka is Bili?
   Who did Bill kick?

b. *esei* balabala nia agoi si taka ia Bili?
   Who do you think Bill kicked?

(YY) WH- PASSIVES
a. PV PASSIVE
ta-taka sa tasina koreo (koe Bili)
   His brother was kicked (by Bill).

b. PASSIVE AGT *si*-INTRO
go Bili si ta-taka sa tasina koreo
   His brother was kicked (by Bill).

c. AV WH-A PASSIVE
koesei ta-taka sa tasina koreo
   Who was his brother kicked by?

d. AV WH-A DEP PASSIVE
koesei balabala nia goi tataka sa tasina koreo?
   Who do you think his brother was kicked by?

e. PV WH-P PASSIVE NO AGT
*esei* si tataka?
   Who was kicked?

f. PV WH-P PASSIVE WITH AGT
*esei* si tataka koe Bili?
   Who was kicked by Bill?

g. PV WH-P DEP PASSIVE WITH AGT
*esei* balabala nia goi si tataka koe Bili?
   Who do you think was kicked by Bill?

YY. NOTE:
   *koe-esei sa rereke te-hena?
   *Who was the mango eaten by
Wh-S
- WH-S extracted with gap
- WH-S must be si-introduced

(YY) PV WH-S
a. ese si korapa puta?
Who is sleeping?

b. ese balabala (n)ia agoi si korapa puta?
Who do you think is sleeping?

c. ese si hoqa?
Who fell down?

d. ese balabala (n)ia agoi si hoqa?
Who do you think fell down?

e. ese si taloa?
Who left?

f. ese balabala nia agoi si taloa?
Who do you think left?

Variable Binding in Roviana
Peter Schuelke & Frank Tuke
July 28, 2017

UQ hopeke ‘each’ + numeral karua ‘two’
Guide:
A. O > X  B. O > C. > X
   O > X   O > X   O > X
   O > X   O >   > X

UQ-A[NUM-P]
(YY) AV
   hopeke koreo  tiro=i      karua  buka.
each boy  read=3PL.OBJ   two book
Each boy read two books.
Reading: Distributed (A)

(YY) PV
Each boy read two books.
Reading: Distributed (A)

(YY) PASS

\[ tiro=i \quad \text{hopeke} \quad \text{koreo} \quad \text{karua} \quad \text{buka}. \]
\[ \text{read}=3\text{PL.OBJ} \quad \text{each} \quad \text{boy} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{book} \]
Two books were read by each boy.
Reading: Non-distributed (B)

UQ-P/NUM-A

(YY) AV

\[ \text{karua} \quad \text{koreo} \quad tiro=i \quad \text{hopeke} \quad \text{buka}. \]
\[ \text{two} \quad \text{boy} \quad \text{read}=3\text{PL.OBJ} \quad \text{each} \quad \text{book} \]
Two boys read each book.
Reading: Non-distributed (C)

(YY) PV

\[ tiro=i \quad \text{karua} \quad \text{koreo} \quad \text{hopeke} \quad \text{buka}. \]
\[ \text{read}=3\text{PL.OBJ} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{boy} \quad \text{each} \quad \text{book} \]
Two boys read each book.
Reading: Non-distributed (C)

(YY) PASS

\[ ta-tiro \quad sa-ri \quad \text{hopeke} \quad \text{buka} \quad \text{kao-ri} \quad \text{karua} \quad \text{koreo}. \]
\[ \text{PASS-read} \quad \text{ART-PL} \quad \text{two} \quad \text{book} \quad \text{OBL-PL} \quad \text{each} \quad \text{boy} \]
Each book was read by two boys.
Reading: Non-distributed (C)

UQ \text{hopeke} ‘each’ + indefinite (singular article) \text{sa} ‘a’

Guide:
A. \[ O > X \]
B. \[ O > X \]
C. \[ > X \]

UQ-A/ART-P

(YY) AV

\[ \text{hopeke} \quad \text{koreo} \quad tiro=ia \quad \text{sa} \quad \text{buka}. \]
\[ \text{each} \quad \text{boy} \quad \text{read}=3\text{SG.OBJ} \quad \text{ART.SG} \quad \text{book} \]
Each boy read a book.
Reading: Distributed (A) + Non-Distributed (B)
Each boy read a book.
Reading: Distributed (A) + Non-Distributed (B)

A book was read by each boy.
Reading: Non-distributed (B)

A boy read each book.
Reading: Non-distributed (C)

A boy read each book.
Reading: Non-distributed (C)

Each book was read by a boy.
Reading: Non-distributed (C)

UQ *doduru* ‘all’ + genitive pronoun *dia* ‘their’

Figure YY. Schematized distributed and non-distributed readings:

  M -> B    M -> B    M -> B
  M -> B    M ->      B

(YY) Quantifier *doduru* ‘all’ + Genitive Pronoun *nana/dia* ‘her/their’

a. AV: UQ-A/PRO-P

*doruru* PL all *woman* love=APPL=3PL.OBJ
All the mothers love their children.

Reading: Distributed (A)

b. PV: UQ-A/PRO-P

\[
\begin{array}{c}
taturu=n=i \quad ari \quad doduru \quad barikaleqe \\
love=APPL=3PL.OBJ \quad PL \quad all \quad woman \\
sari \quad dia \quad koburu. \\
\end{array}
\]

ART.PL 3PL.GEN child.

All the mothers love their children.

Reading: distributed (A)

c. PASS: UQ-A/PRO-P

\[
\begin{array}{c}
sa \quad dia \quad koburu \quad ta-tataru-e \\
DEF \quad 3PL.GEN \quad child \quad PASS-love-AP \\
koa \quad ri \quad doduru \quad barikaleqe. \\
OBL \quad PL \quad all \quad woman \\
\end{array}
\]

Their child is loved by all the mothers.

Reading: Non-distributed (B)

d. AV: UQ-P/PRO-A

\[
\begin{array}{c}
sa \quad tina-na \quad tataru=n=i \\
DEF \quad mom-3SG.GEN \quad love=APPL=3PL.OBJ \\
sari \quad doduru \quad koburu \\
DEF.PL \quad all \quad child. \\
\end{array}
\]

Her mother loves all the children

Readings: Non-distributed (C)

e. PV: UQ-P/PRO-A

\[
\begin{array}{c}
tataru=n=i \quad tina-na \\
love=APPL=3PL.OBJ \quad mother-3SG.GEN \\
sari \quad doduru \quad koburu. \\
\end{array}
\]

ART.PL all child

Her mother loves all the children

Reading: Non-distributed (C)

f. PASS: UQ-P/PRO-A

\[
\begin{array}{c}
sari \quad doduru \quad koburu \quad ta-tataru-e \\
ART.PL \quad all \quad child \quad PASS-love-AP \\
koa \quad ri \quad tina-dia. \\
OBL \quad PL \quad mother-3PL.GEN \\
\end{array}
\]

All the children are loved by their mother.
Reading: distributed (A)

The readings in AV and PV are equivalent and the readings in the passive are the opposite. Importantly, when the quantifier is with the agent both AV and PV produce the distributed reading, but when the quantifier is with the agent in the passive it produces the non-distributed reading.

Figure YY. UQ+Genitive Pronoun readings in Roviana

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV PRO-A UQ-P</td>
<td>non-distributed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV UQ-A PRO-P</td>
<td>distributed</td>
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<td>PV PRO-A UQ-P</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASS UQ-A PRO-P</td>
<td>non-distributed</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASS PRO-A UQ-P</td>
<td>distributed</td>
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