

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.

distributed

tataru beto nia ari barikaleqe sa koburu
non-distributed
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

ari doduru barikaleqe

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

ari doduru barikaleqe tataru nia sa dia koburu
All the mothers lover their own child.
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 Bill 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.

Issues in Roviana Syntax I:
 Reflexive Binding, Quantifier-Pronoun Readings, and WH-Questions in Dependent clauses
 FT and GLO

I. Apparent! REFLEXIVE BINDING

(YY) PV

a. V REFL NP

<i>hiva</i>	<i>pule=n=ia</i>	<i>tele-na</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>Bili.</i>
like	return=APPL=3SG.OBJ	delf-3SG.GEN	ABS	Bill

Himself likes Bill.
 Q: TR-PV or PNI?

b. V NP

<i>hiva</i>	<i>pule=n=ia</i>	<i>Bili.</i>
like	return=APPL=3SG.OBJ	Bill

Bill likes (himself).
 Q: PNI with SUBJ drop, or TR-PV with OBJ-drop?

c. *V NP REFL

<i>*hiva</i>	<i>pule=n=ia</i>	<i>Bili</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tele-na.</i>
like	return=APPL=3SG.OBJ	Bill	DEF	self-3SG.GEN

*Bill likes himself.

(YY) AV

a. REFL V NP

<i>telena</i>	<i>hiva</i>	<i>pule=nia</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>asa.</i>
self-3SG.GEN	like	return=APPL=3SG.OBJ	ABS	3SG

Himself likes him.

b. NP V REFL

<i>Bili</i>	<i>hiva</i>	<i>pule=n=ia</i>	<i>telena</i>
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 incorporated?

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:

- | | | | | | |
|----|--------|----|--------|----|--------|
| a. | M -> B | b. | M -> | c. | B |
| | M -> B | | M -> B | | M -> B |
| | M -> B | | M-> | | B |

AV

(YY) UQ-A PRO-P

a. SG-P

ari doruru barikaleqe tataru=n=ia
 PL all woman love=APPL=3SG.OBJ
sa dia koburu.
 DEF 3PL.GEN child

All the mothers lover their child.

b. non-distributed

b. PL-P

ari doruru barikaleqe tataru=n=i
 PL all woman love=APPL=3PL.OBJ
sari dia koburu.
 DEF.PL 3PL.GEN child.

The mothers love for their own child

a. distributed

(YY) PRO-A UQ-P

a. SG-A

sa tinana tataru=n=i
 DEF mom-3SG.GEN love=APPL=3PL.OBJ
sari doduru koburu
 DEF.PL all child.

Her mother loves all the children

c. non-distr

*a. distributed

b. CHECKED: PL.ART PL.PRO-A

sari tinadia tataru ni sari doduru koburu

readings: distributed/?both

GLO (fb): “It is grammatical though not having the 'hopeke' makes it ambiguous because the *doduru koburu* can be read as all the children.”

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

tataru 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 grammatical 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.

Voice	Arrangement	Reading(s)
AV	UQ-A PRO-P	distributed and non-distributed
AV	PRO-A UQ-P	non-distributed
PV	UQ-A PRO-P	distributed and non-distributed
PV	PRO-A UQ-P	non-distributed
PASS	UQ-A PRO-P	non-distributed
PASS	PRO-A UQ-P	distributed and non-distributed

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

	AV: UQ-A PRO-P	AV: PRO- P UQ-A	PV: UQ-A PRO-P	PV: PRO- A UQ-P	PASS: UQ: A PRO-P	PASS:UQ- A PRO-P
DISRIBUTED	+	-	+	-	-	+
NON- DISTRIBUTED	+	+	+	+	+	+

- 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?

WH-A from dependent clause

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
koe 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. *esei si korapa puta?*
Who is sleeping?
- b. *esei balabala (n)ia agoi si korapa puta?*
Who do you think is sleeping?
- c. *esei si hoqa?*
Who fell down?
- d. *esei balabala (n)ia agoi si hoqa?*
Who do you think fell down?
- e. *esei si taloa?*
Who left?
- f. *esei balabala nia agoi si taloa?*
Who do you think left?

Variable Binding in Roviana

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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

tiro=i *hopeke koreo karua buka.*
 read=3PL.OBJ each boy two book
 Each boy read two books.
 Reading: Distributed (A)

(YY) PASS
ta-tiro *sa-ri* *karua buka kao-ri* *hopeke koreo.*
 PASS-read ART-PL two book OBL-PL each boy
 Two books were read by each boy.
 Reading: Non-distributed (B)

UQ-P/NUM-A

(YY) AV
karua koreo tiro=i *hopeke* *buka.*
 two boy read=3PL.OBJ each book
 Two boys read each book.
 Reading: Non-distributed (C)

(YY) PV
tiro=i *karua koreo hopeke buka.*
 read=3PL.OBJ two boy each book
 Two boys read each book.
 Reading: Non-distributed (C)

(YY) PASS
ta-tiro *sa-ri* *hopeke buka koa-ri* *karua koreo.*
 PASS-read ART-PL each book OBL-PL two boy
 Each book was read by two boys.
 Reading: Non-distributed (C)

UQ *hopeke* ‘each’ + indefinite (singular article) *sa* ‘a’

Guide:

A.	O > X	B.	O >	C.	> X
	O > X		O > X		O > X
	O > X		O >		> X

UQ-A/ART-P

(YY) AV
hopeke koreo tiro=ia *sa* *buka.*
 each boy read=3SG.OBJ ART.SG book
 Each boy read a book.
 Reading: Distributed (A) + Non-Distributed (B)

(YY) PV
tiro=ia hopeke koreo sa buka.
 read=3SG.OBJ each boy ART.SG book.
 Each boy read a book.
 Reading: Distributed (A) + Non-Distributed (B)

(YY) PASS
ta-tiro sa buka koa-ri hopeke koreo.
 PASS-read ART.SG book OBL-PL each boy
 A book was read by each boy.
 Reading: Non-distributed (B)

UQ-P/ART-A

(YY) AV
sa koreo tiro=i sa-ri hopeke buka.
 ART.SG boy read=3PL.OBJ ART-PL each book
 A boy read each book.
 Reading: Non-distributed (C)

(YY) PV
tiro=i sa koreo sa-ri hopeke buka.
 read=3PL.OBJ ART.SG boy ART-PL each book
 A boy read each book.
 Reading: Non-distributed (C)

(YY) PASS
ta-tiro sa-ri hopeke buka koa-sa koreo.
 PASS-read ART-PL each book OBL-ART.SG boy
 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:

a.	M -> B	b.	M ->	c.	B
	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
ari doruru barikaleqe tataru=n=i
 PL all woman love=APPL=3PL.OBJ

sari dia koburu.
 ART.PL 3PL.GEN child.
 All the mothers love their children.
 Reading: Distributed (A)

b. PV: UQ-A/PRO-P

taturu=n=i ari doduru barikaleqe
 love=APPL=3PL.OBJ PL all woman
sari dia koburu.
 ART.PL 3PL.GEN child
 All the mothers lover their children.
 Reading: distributed (A)

c. PASS: UQ-A/PRO-P

sa dia koburu ta-tataru-e
 DEF 3PL.GEN child PASS-love-AP
koa ri doduru barikaleqe.
 OBL PL all woman
 Their child is loved by all the mothers.
 Reading: Non-distributed (B)

d. AV: UQ-P/PRO-A

sa tina-na tataru=n=i
 DEF mom-3SG.GEN love=APPL=3PL.OBJ
sari doduru koburu
 DEF.PL all child.
 Her mother loves all the children
 Readings: Non-distributed (C)

e. PV: UQ-P/PRO-A

tataru=n=i tina-na
 love=APPL=3PL.OBJ mother-3SG.GEN
sari doduru koburu.
 ART.PL all child
 Her mother loves all the children
 Reading: Non-distributed (C)

f. PASS: UQ-P/PRO-A

sari doduru koburu ta-tataru-e
 ART.PL all child PASS-love-AP
koa ri tina-dia.
 OBL PL mother-3PL.GEN
 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

Voice	Arrangement	Reading(s)
AV	UQ-A PRO-P	distributed
AV	PRO-A UQ-P	non-distributed
PV	UQ-A PRO-P	distributed
PV	PRO-A UQ-P	non-distributed
PASS	UQ-A PRO-P	non-distributed
PASS	PRO-A UQ-P	distributed