

## The stolen ball story – Kamiraka Surinapi thëri

- 19 clauses: 5 main and 15 subordinate; 14 transitive and 5 intransitive
- Absolutive argument (S or P) is marked in the verb with 3SG (10x), 3DU (2x), DIF.PART (2x), CLN.GNR(1x), body part (1x).
- In transitive clauses, verb index for A is  $\emptyset$  (x10) and 3DU (x4)
- 6 full NPs outside the verb: ‘white person’ (x1), ‘ball’ (x3), child (x1), other child (x1)
- 3 instances of (+reverential) - 8 instances of (+aff.diminutive)

1 *hapai =naha napë =a =ni thë= tha =ma .*

CAT =thereby white person =SG =ERG CLN.GNR= to do =PST

The white person did the following.

O-Vt-A $\emptyset$

2.1 *pora a= mai mai =ma =ima =në ,§*

ball 3SG= bounce bounce =TRZ =VEN =REL.PST

[He] came bouncing the ball repeatedly,

O-Vt-A $\emptyset$

2.2 *ihî =tëhë a= ha= mai mai =ma =ima =në ,§*

ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= REL.PST= bounce bounce =TRZ =VEN =REL.PST

then, after [him] coming bouncing the ball repeatedly,

O-Vt-A $\emptyset$

2.3 *ihî =tëhë a= ni= mii pra =ta =a =i xoa =a =tëhë ,§*

ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= V.PTCL= not to be to lie =PUNCT =TRS.VWL =DYN to remain =STV =REL.PRS

while [he] was still laying it [on the floor],

O-Vt-A $\emptyset$

2.4 *ai uhuru kipë= i= rërë =ki =wei =ni ,§*

other child 3DU= DIM= to\_run =PFV2 =NMZ =ERG

the two children came running, (+aff.diminutive)

S-Vi

2.5 *ihî =tëhë pora a= të =pi =re =ma .*

ANA =REL.PRS ball 3SG= take =3DU =PRS =PST

and they two took the ball.

O-Vt-A

3.1 *kohosi= në= rî= mii huru =tu =u =tëhë ,§*

back= V.PTCL= REV= not to be to pass =PUNCT =DYN =REL.PRS

When [he] was distracted, (+reverential)

S-Vi

3.2 *a= të =pi =ri ,§*

3SG= take =3DU =PFV1

they two took it [the ball].

O-Vt-A

3.3 *a= të =pi =ri =wei ,§*

3SG= take =3DU =PFV1 =NMZ

They two taking it,

O-Vt-A

- 3.4 *a= rĩ= rërë =ki =wei ,§*  
 3SG= REV= to\_run =PFV2 =NMZ  
 [He] running [after them], **(+reverential)** S-Vi
- 3.5 *ihã e= i= xee =a nomihĩ nomihĩ =ma =pĩ*  
 there DIF.PART= DIM= to\_throw =PRF exchange exchange =TRZ =3DU  
*ku =ikĩ =ni ,§*  
 to begin =PFV2 =REL.PST  
 they two began exchanging it [the ball] [with each other], **(+aff.diminutive)** O-Vt-A
- 3.6 *pihi= rĩ= hëtë =mo =ma =i ku =ke =ma .*  
 V.PTCL:thought= REV= to look for =INTRZ =CAUS =DYN to begin =PFV2 =PST  
 and began to confuse him. **(+reverential)** O-Vt-AØ
- 4.1 *ihĩ =tëhë eha aĩ uhuru a= i= huwë =ri =ni ,§*  
 ANA =REL.PRS here other child 3SG DIM= to grab =PFV1 =REL.PST  
 Then, when [he] grabbed one of the children, **(+aff.diminutive)** O-Vt-AØ
- 4.2 *ihĩ =tëhë a= i= pra =a =tëhë ,§*  
 ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= DIM= to lie =STV =REL.PRS  
 when [he] was holding down him, **(+aff.diminutive)** O-Vt-AØ
- 4.3 *ihĩ =tëhë a= i= katëtë =ri =wei ,§*  
 ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= DIM= step =PFV1 =NMZ  
 then, when [he] was holding him down (with his foot), **(+aff.diminutive)** O-Vt-AØ
- 4.4 *ihĩ =tëhë a= na= =i mii yoapra =i =tëhë ,§*  
 ANA =REL.PRS 3SG= V.PTCL= =DYN not to be cover =DYN =REL.PRS  
 then, when [he] was still holding him down, **(+aff.diminutive)** O-Vt-AØ
- 4.5 *ihĩ =tëhë pora e= kō =a kō =ma =kĩ =ni ,§*  
 ANA =REL.PRS ball DIF.PART= to take =PRF again =CAUS =PFV2 =REL.PST  
 then, the other one giving back the ball, O-Vt-AØ
- 4.6 *ihĩ =tëhë kipë= i= tokĩ =a xoa =rayo =ma .*  
 ANA =REL.PRS DU= DIM= flee =PRF afterwards =PFV1 =PST  
 then, they two fled away afterwards. **(+aff.diminutive)** S-Vi
- 5 *inaha =tha*  
 thereby =PTC.INT  
 Is that OK? S-(Vi)