Optionally obligatory object marking
in Tigrinya

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1 Background on Tigrinya

1.1 Ethnographic

- **Classification.** Tigrinya is an Ethio-Semitic language in the Afro-Asiatic branch. It is closely related to Tigré and Amharic and more distantly to Arabic and Hebrew.

- **Population.** There are approximately 7 million speakers world-wide. Tigrinya is not currently endangered.

- **Distribution.** Tigrinya is is spoken predominantly in central highland Eritrea and the Tigray region of Northern Ethiopia on the Horn of Africa. Large immigrant populations exist world-wide.

1.2 Basic Verbal Morphosyntax

- **Nonconcatenative Root Morphology.** Tri-consonantal roots with a base meaning acquire their category and TAM information through transfixed vowel templates

  (1) *Gerundive verb form*   (2) *Perfect verb form*
      səbir-u   səbər-ə
      GER.break-S.3MS   PRF.break-S.3MS
      'It broke.'   'It had broken.'

- **Agglutinating Synthetic Morphology.** Verbs commonly carry morphology marking finiteness, valency alternations, and agreement with the subject, objects, and applied arguments.

  (3) Yonas n-ət-a   t'ɨrmuz səbir-u-wa
      Yonas N-that-FS bottle   GER.break-S.3MS-O.3FS
      'Yonas broke the bottle.'   (Nazareth 2011:56, (55a))

  (4) Ɂət-a   t'ɨrmuz tə-səbir-a
      that-FS bottle   DT-GER.break-S.3FS
      'The bottle broke.'   (Nazareth 2011:56, (55b))

- **Basic Word Order.** The default word order is SOV with a strongly head final verbal domain.

- **Prepositions.** Adpositions precede their nominal complements.

  (5) Ɂət-i   məmħr n-ət-a   mətsħaf $\boxed{\textbf{bɨ}}$ -biro tsɨħif-u-wa
      that-MS teacher N-that-FS book   by-pen   GER.write-S.3MS-O.3FS
      'The teacher wrote the book with a pen.'   (adapted from Nazareth 2011:187, (189a))

- **Nominative-Accusative Alignment.** Subjects of transitive and intransitive predicates are morphologically aligned.

1.3 Differential Object Marking

- **The Prefix *N*.** Object DPs may surface with the prefix [n(ɨ)-], identified as case in recent literature on Tigrinya (Weldeyesus 2004, Nazareth 2007, 2011, Kievit & Kievit 2009).

    (6) Ɂit-i   səbaj **n** -ət-a   dəbdabe tsɨħif-u-wa
         that-MS man   N-that-FS letter   GER.write-S.3MS-O.3FS
         'The man wrote the letter.'

- **Differential Object Marker (DOM).** *N* is descriptively a differential object marker (e.g., Aissen 2003). It obligatorily appears on definite DPs, including definite descriptions, proper names, pronouns.

- **DOM Indefinites.** *N* on quantified DPs provides a specific (i.e., epistemically familiar) interpretation.

    (7) **nɨ**-hadə səbaj ki-ħɨgiz-ə-ni   ħatit-ə-jo
         N-one.M man   INFIN-IMPRF.help-S.3MS-O.1S PRF.ask-S.1S-O.3MS
         'I asked a certain man to help me.'   (adapted from Nazareth 2007:9, (4a))

    N cannot appear on a bare nominal Theme regardless of the interpretation.

    (8) * Ɂit-i   səbaj **nɨ**-dəbdabe tsɨħif-u-wa
         that-MS man   N-letter   GER.write-S.3MS-O.3FS
         'The man wrote a (certain) letter.'

- **DOM and Object Shift.** Object with DOM undergo Object Shift.

    (9) Ɂit-i   səbɁaj [**n**-ət-a   dəbdabe]₁ sənuj   x₁ tsɨħif-u-wa
         that-MS man   N-that-FS letter   Monday   write-GER-S.3MS-O.3FS
         'The man wrote the letter on Monday.'

1.4 Verbal Object Marking

- **Cross-referencing with Object Marking (OM).** Objects of transitive predicates with DOM are obligatorily cross-referenced by OM.

    (10) a. Ɂit-i   səbaj **n**-ət-a   dəbdabe tsɨħif-u- **wa**
             that-MS man N-that-FS letter   GER.write-S.3MS-O.3FS
             'The man wrote the letter.'

         b. * Ɂit-i   səbaj **n**-ət-a   dəbdabe tsɨħif-u
             that-MS man N-that-FS letter   GER.write-S.3MS
             'The man wrote the letter.'

    Objects of transitive predicates without DOM cannot be cross-referenced by OM.

    (11) a. * Ɂit-i   səbaj dəbdabe tsɨħif-u- **wa**
             that-MS man letter   GER.write-S.3MS-O.3FS
             'The man wrote a letter.'

         b. Ɂit-i   səbaj dəbdabe tsɨħif-u
             that-MS man letter   GER.write-S.3MS
             'The man wrote a letter.'

- **Uniqueness.** Only one object per clause can be cross-referenced by OM, regardless of order.

  (12) a. * ʔɨt-i   gʷal **n**-ət-a   dəbdabe **n**-ət-i   wədi hib-a-**ta-to**
           that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-that-MS boy give-GER-S.3FS-O.3FS-O.3MS
           'The girl gave the boy the letter.'

        b. * ʔɨt-i   gʷal **n**-ət-a   dəbdabe **n**-ət-i   wədi hib-a-**to-ta**
           that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-that-MS boy give-GER-S.3FS-O.3MS-O.3FS
           'The girl gave the boy the letter.'

- **Restricted Affixation.** The OM morpheme is realized only on the verb and cannot be realized on auxiliaries.

  (13) a. ʔɨt-i   səbʔaj **n**-ət-a   dəbdabe tsɨħif-u-**wa**   ʔal-o
           that-MS man-s N-that-FS letter   write-GER-S.3MS-O.3FS Aux-S.3MS
           'The man has written the letter.'

        b. * ʔɨt-i   səbʔaj **n**-ət-a   dəbdabe tsɨħif-u-**wa**   ʔal-o-**wa**
           that-MS man-s N-that-FS letter   write-GER-S.3MS-O.3MS Aux-S.3MS-O.3FS
           'The man has written the letter.'

- **Agreement.** OM is the obligatory realization of the AGREE relationship established between a verbal functional head μ^0 that probes for a DP and triggers Object Shift (e.g., Chomsky 2001).

  (14) a. ʔɨt-i   səbʔaj [**n**-ət-a   dəbdabe]$_1$ sənuj x_1 tsɨħif-u-**wa**
           that-MS man   N-that-FS letter   Monday   write-GER-S.3MS-O.3FS
           'The man wrote the letter on Monday.'

        b.
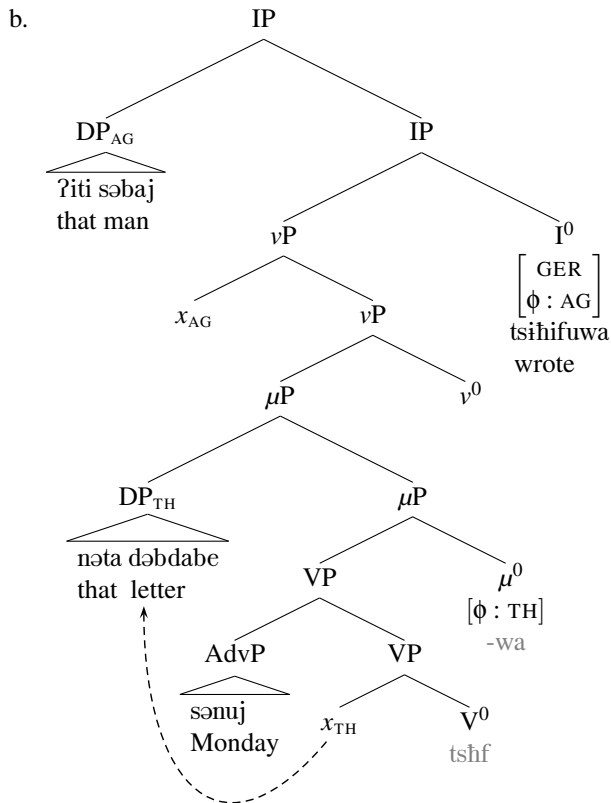
2   Setting up the Puzzle

2.1   The Issue: (A)symmetrical Objects

- **Bantu (A)symmetricality.** Bantu languages famously come in two flavors on the basis of the behavior of objects in ditransitive constructions (e.g., Bresnan & Moshi 1990, van der Wal 2018).

- **Asymmetrical Object Languages.** Only the Goal/Recipient argument of ditransitive predicates can surface as an OM on the verb.

  (15)   *Swahili asymmetric object marking*

  a.   A-li-**m**-pa   kitabu
        S.1-PAST-O.1-give 7.book
        'She gave him a book.'

  b.   * A-li-**ki**-pa   Juma
        S.1-PAST-O.7-give 1.Juma
        'She gave it to Juma.'   (van der Wal 2018:123, (18))

- **Symmetrical Object Languages.** Either of the internal arguments of ditransitive predicates can surface as an OM on the verb.

  (16)   *KiLuguru symmetric object marking*

  a.   Chibua   ko-**w**-eng'-a   iwana   ipfitabu
        1.Chibua S.1-O.2-give-FV 2.children 8.books
        'Chibua is giving children books.'

  b.   Chibua   ko-**pf**-eng'-a   iwana   ipfitabu
        1.Chibua S.1-O.8-give-FV 2.children 8.books
        'Chibua is giving children books.'   (van der Wal 2018:122, (15))

2.2   The Empirical Domain: Tigrinya Ditransitives

- **Apparent Symmetry in Tigrinya.** When the conditions for OM are met by both arguments, either the Goal or Theme can be cross-referenced by OM.

- **Cross-referenced Goal.** OM is able to cross-reference the **Goal** of lexically ditransitive predicates.

  (17)   ʔit-a   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-ət-i   wədi hib-a-**to**
         that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
         'The girl gave the letter to the boy.'

- **Cross-referenced Theme.** OM is able to cross-reference the **Theme** of lexically ditransitive predicates.

  (18)   ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-ət-i   wədi hib-a-**ta**
         that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
         'The girl gave the boy the letter.'

- **Superficially Symmetrical.** With respect to the distribution of OM Tigrinya superficially behaves like a symmetrical object language.

2.3   The Puzzle: Unexpected Optionality in Ditransitives

- **Optional Object Marking of Ditransitive Goal.** When only the conditions for cross-referencing the **Goal** with OM are met, it is *optionally* cross-referenced by OM.

    (19)   a.   ʔɨt-a   gʷal   n-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a-**to**
               that-FS girl   N-that-MS boy   letter   GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
               'The girl gave the boy a letter.'

           b.   ʔɨt-a   gʷal   n-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a
               that-FS girl   N-that-MS boy   letter   GER.give-S.3FS
               'The girl gave a letter to the boy.'

- **Obligatory Object Marking of Ditransitive Theme.** When only the conditions for cross-referencing the **Theme** with OM are met, it is *obligatorily* cross-referenced by OM.

    (20)   a.   ʔɨt-i   gʷal   n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-wədi hib-a-**ta**
               that-FS girl   N-that-FS letter   N-boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
               'The girl gave the letter to a boy.'

           b.   * ʔɨt-i   gʷal   n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-wədi hib-a
               that-FS girl   N-that-FS letter   N-boy GER.give-S.3FS
               'The girl gave the letter to a boy.'

- **The Question. Why does otherwise obligatory OM become optional on Goals in lexical ditransitive constructions?**

2.4   The Idea: Masked Asymmetry

- **Tigrinya is Asymmetric.** The apparent optionality betrays the availability of two asymmetric ditransitive frames.

- **The Status of the Goal.** The goal varies across the two argument structures as a direct or indirect argument.

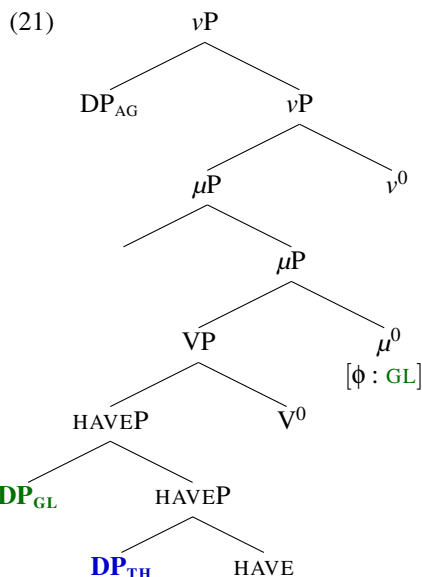- **OM is Obligatory.** μ^0 obligatorily probes and realizes the φ-features of the highest *direct* argument.

- **The Answer. Obligatory OM cross-references the Goal as a function of the "choice" between the two ditransitive frames.**

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3   Hidden Argument Structure Alternations
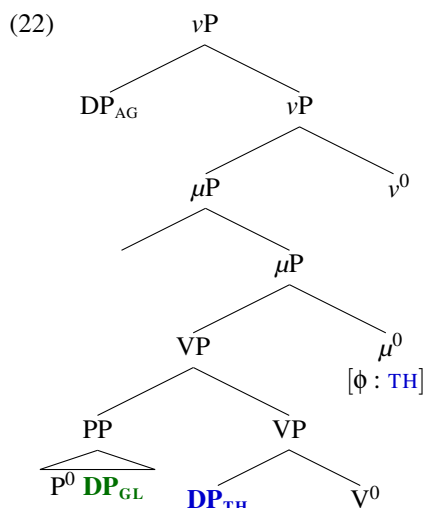
3.1   Asymmetric Ditransitive Frames

- **Multiple Ns.** The two ditransitive frames are masked by a surface ambiguity of the *N*-marker.
    - *Differential Object Marker.* The *N*-marker is DOM on direct arguments (N_K).
    - *Preposition.* The *N*-marker is a preposition introducing indirect arguments (N_P).

- **Double-Object Construction.** The verb embeds a small clause with possessive semantics (Green 1974, Kayne 1984, Beck & Johnson 2004).

(21)

vP
- DP$_{AG}$
- vP
  - μP
    - μP
      - VP
        - HAVEP
          - **DP$_{GL}$**
          - HAVEP
            - **DP$_{TH}$**
            - HAVE
        - V^0
      - μ^0
        $[\phi : \text{GL}]$
  - v^0

– N-marking is DOM (N_K) on the Goal and Theme.

– The Goal and Theme arguments are both direct arguments.

– The Goal, as the highest direct argument, is probed first by μ.

– The Goal is cross-referenced by OM.

- **PP-Object Construction.** The verb takes the DP-Theme and PP-Goal as arguments (Miyagawa & Tsujioka 2004).

(22)

vP
- DP$_{AG}$
- vP
  - μP
    - μP
      - VP
        - PP
          - P^0 **DP$_{GL}$**
        - VP
          - **DP$_{TH}$**
          - V^0
      - μ^0
        $[\phi : \text{TH}]$
  - v^0

– N-marking is a preposition (N_P) on the Goal and DOM (N_K) on the Theme.

– The Goal is an indirect argument and the Theme is a direct argument.

– The Theme, as the highest direct argument, is probed by μ.

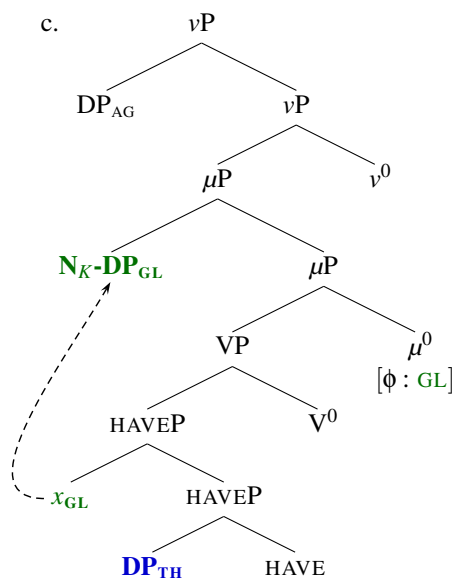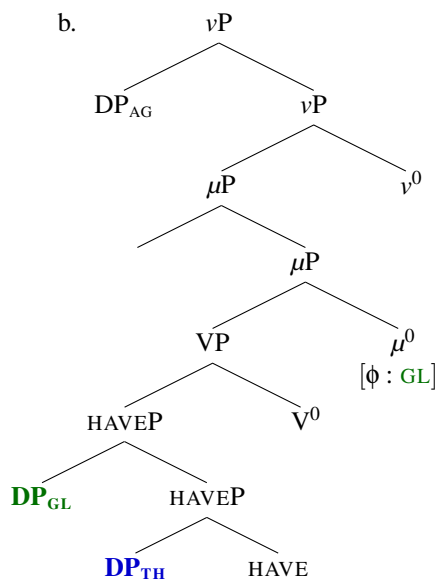– The Theme is cross-referenced by OM.

3.2   Predicting OM Patterns

- **Apparent Optionality of the Goal**. Whether the Goal is cross-referenced by OM is a function of the underlying argument structure.

(23) a. ʔɨt-a   gʷal n-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a-**to**
          that-FS girl N-that-MS boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
          'The girl gave the boy a letter.'

     b. ʔɨt-a   gʷal n-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a
          that-FS girl N-that-MS boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS
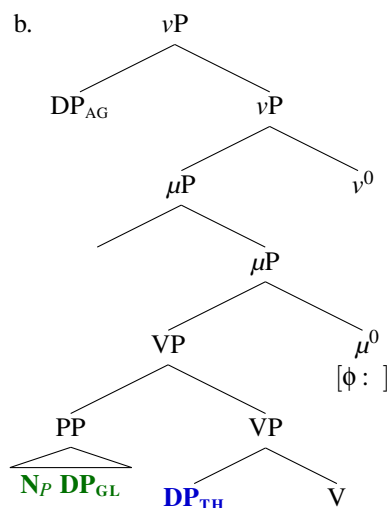   'The girl gave a letter to the boy.'

– *Cross-referencing the Goal.* The Goal is the highest direct argument in the double-object frame and will be probed by μ^0.

(24) a. ʔɨt-a   gʷal n-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a-**to**
          that-FS girl N_K-that-MS boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
          'The girl gave the boy a letter.'

b.

```
                vP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
        DP_AG         vP
                 ┌─────┴─────┐
               μP            v⁰
            ┌───┴───┐
                   μP
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             VP          μ⁰
          ┌───┴───┐    [φ : GL]
       HAVEP      V⁰
     ┌───┴───┐
   DP_GL    HAVEP
         ┌───┴───┐
       DP_TH    HAVE
```

c.

```
                vP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
        DP_AG         vP
                 ┌─────┴─────┐
               μP            v⁰
          ┌──────┴──────┐
      N_K-DP_GL        μP
                  ┌─────┴─────┐
                 VP          μ⁰
              ┌───┴───┐    [φ : GL]
           HAVEP      V⁰
         ┌───┴───┐
        x_GL    HAVEP
             ┌───┴───┐
           DP_TH    HAVE
```

– *Not Cross-referencing the Goal.* The Goal is an indirect argument in the PP-object frame and will not be probed by μ^0.

(25) a. ʔɨt-a   gʷal n-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a
          that-FS girl N_P-that-MS boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS
          'The girl gave a letter to the boy.'

b.

```
                vP
          ┌─────┴─────┐
        DP_AG         vP
                 ┌─────┴─────┐
               μP            v⁰
            ┌───┴───┐
                   μP
              ┌─────┴─────┐
             VP          μ⁰
          ┌───┴───┐    [φ :  ]
         PP       VP
      ┌───┴──┐  ┌──┴──┐
   N_P DP_GL  DP_TH   V
```

- **Obligation of the Theme**. The Theme can only be cross-referenced in the PP-object configuration, in which case it will always be the highest direct argument.

    (26)   a.   ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-wədi hib-a-**ta**
                 that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
                 'The girl gave the letter to a boy.'

          b.   * ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-wədi hib-a
                 that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-boy GER.give-S.3FS
                 'The girl gave the letter to a boy.'

- *Cross-referencing the Theme.* The Theme is the highest direct argument in the PP-object frame and will be probed by μ^0.

    (27)   a. ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-wədi hib-a-**ta**
                 that-FS girl N_K-that-FS letter N_P-boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
                 'The girl gave the letter to a boy.'

- *Not Cross-referencing the Goal.* OM is obligatory realized on μ^0 when possible.
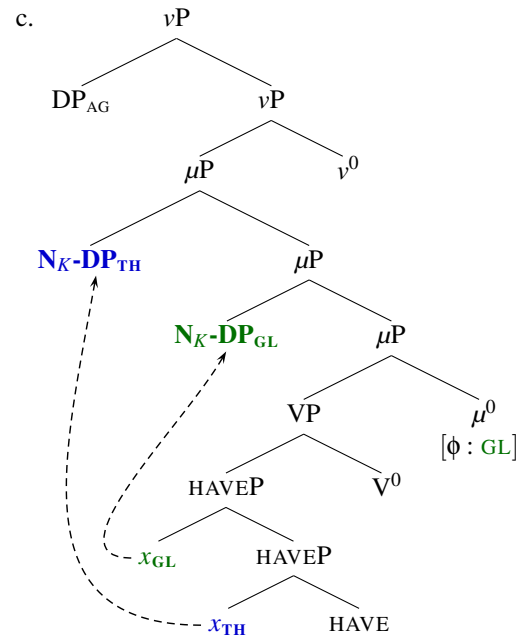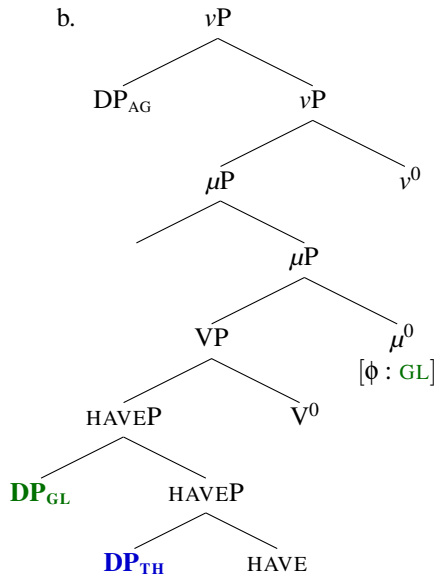
    (28)   * ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-wədi hib-a
                 that-FS girl N_K-that-FS letter N_P-boy GER.give-S.3FS
                 'The girl gave the letter to a boy.'

- **Optionality between the Goal and the Theme**. Which argument is cross-referenced by OM is a function of the underlying argument structure.

    (29)   a.   ʔit-a   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-ət-i   wədi hib-a-**to**
                 that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
                 'The girl gave the letter to the boy.'

          b.   ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe n-ət-i   wədi hib-a-**ta**
                 that-FS girl N-that-FS letter   N-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
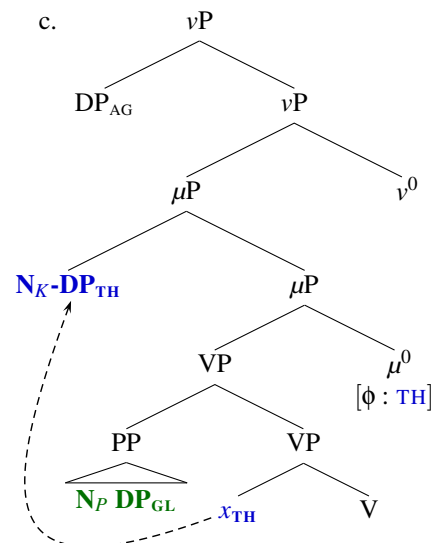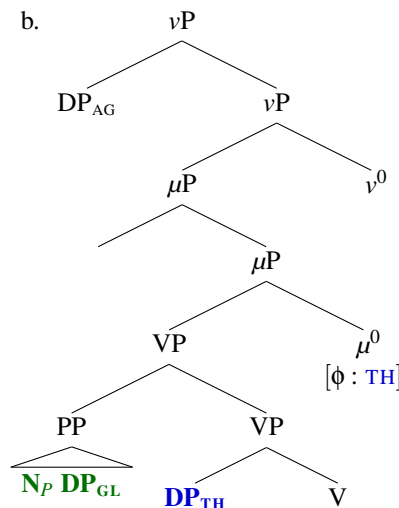   'The girl gave the boy the letter.'

– *Cross-referencing the Goal.* The Goal is the highest direct argument in the double-object construction and will be probed first by μ^0.

(30) a. ʔit-a gʷal n-ət-a dəbdabe n-ət-i wədi hib-a-**to**
          that-FS girl N_K-that-FS letter N_K-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
          'The girl gave the letter to the boy.'

b.

```
                vP
              /    \
          DP_AG     vP
                  /    \
                μP      v^0
              /    \
            μP      ...
          /    \
        VP      μ^0
      /    \    [φ : GL]
  HAVEP     V^0
  /    \
DP_GL   HAVEP
       /    \
    DP_TH   HAVE
```

c.

```
                    vP
                  /    \
              DP_AG     vP
                      /    \
                    μP      v^0
                  /    \
          N_K-DP_TH     μP
                      /    \
              N_K-DP_GL     μP
                          /    \
                        VP      μ^0
                      /    \    [φ : GL]
                  HAVEP     V^0
                  /    \
              x_GL      HAVEP
                      /    \
                  x_TH      HAVE
```
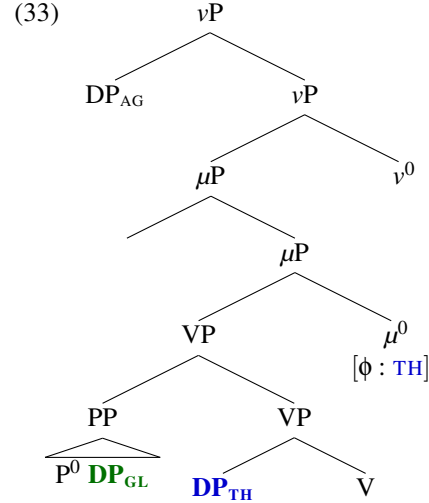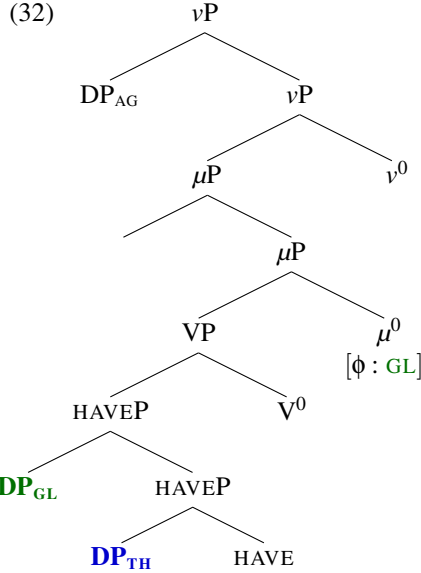
– *Cross-referencing the Theme.* The Theme is the highest direct argument in the PP-object construction and will be probed by μ^0.

(31) a. ʔit-i gʷal n-ət-a dəbdabe n-ət-i wədi hib-a-**ta**
          that-FS girl N_K-that-FS letter N_P-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
          'The girl gave the boy the letter.'

b.

```
              vP
            /    \
        DP_AG     vP
                /    \
              μP      v^0
            /    \
          μP
        /    \
      VP      μ^0
    /    \    [φ : TH]
  PP      VP
 / \     /  \
N_P DP_GL DP_TH  V
```

c.

```
                vP
              /    \
          DP_AG     vP
                  /    \
                μP      v^0
              /    \
      N_K-DP_TH     μP
                  /    \
                VP      μ^0
              /    \    [φ : TH]
            PP      VP
           / \     /  \
        N_P DP_GL x_TH  V
```

4   Structure Sensitive Predictions

- **Asymmetries Predicted.** This analysis correctly predicts interpretive and structural asymmetries that correlate with the observed OM pattern.

(32)

(33)

4.1   Goal-Marking Gates Theme-Marking

- **A Prediction.** The Theme cannot be *N*-marked and cross-referenced by OM unless the Goal is *N*-marked.

- **Demoting the Goal.** *N*-marking the Goal ensures it can be generated as an indirect PP argument.

    (34) a.   ʔit-i   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe **n**-ət-i   wədi hib-a-ta
            that-FS girl N$_K$-that-FS letter   N$_P$-that-MS boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
            'The girl gave the boy the letter.'

    b.   * ʔit-a   gʷal n-ət-a   dəbdabe wədi hib-a-ta
            that-FS girl N$_K$-that-FS letter   boy GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FS
            'The girl gave a boy the letter.'

4.2   Goal Specificity

- **A Prediction.** Only a Goal that is not cross-referenced by OM can be either definite or indefinite.

- **P^0 and Non-specificity.** A Goal that is not cross-referenced by OM is *N*-marked by a preposition, which does not enforce definiteness/specificity constraints.

    (35) a.   ʔit-a   gʷal **n**-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a
            that-FS girl N$_P$-that-MS boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS
            'The girl gave a letter to the boy.'

    b.   ʔit-a   gʷal **ni**-wədi dəbdabe hib-a
            that-FS girl N$_P$-boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS
            'The girl gave a letter to a boy.'

- **DOM and Definiteness.** A Goal that is cross-referenced by OM is necessarily *N*-marked with DOM, which enforces definiteness/specificity constraints.

  (36) a. ʔɨt-a   gʷal **n**-ət-i   wədi dəbdabe hib-a-**to**
            that-FS girl N_K-that-MS boy   letter   GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
            'The girl gave the boy a letter.'

        b. * ʔɨt-a   gʷal **nɨ**-wədi dəbdabe hib-a-**to**
            that-FS girl N_K-boy letter   GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
            'The girl gave a (certain) boy a letter.'

4.3 The CAUSE-HAVE Interpretation

- **Interpretive Asymmetry.** The English double-object constructions has a possessive component to its meaning that is not necessarily found in the PP-object construction (Green 1974, Beck & Johnson 2004).

  (37) *English PP-object construction*
        a. Sam sent the letters to Kim.
        b. Sam sent the letters to Minneapolis.

  (38) *English double-object construction*
        a. Sam sent Kim the letters.
        b. # Sam sent Minneapolis the letters.

- **A Prediction.** If the OM pattern betrays the proposed asymmetrical ditransitive constructions, an inanimate Goal cross-referenced by OM should be infelicitous.

- **CAUSE-HAVE in Tigrinya.** Inanimate Goals that are cross-referenced by OM lead to infelicity.

  (39) a. ʔɨt-a   gʷal nɨ-ʔasməra   dəbdabe sədid-a
            that-FS girl N_P-Asmara letter   GER.send-S.3FS
            'The girl sent a letter to Asmara.'   (No OM; PP-object frame)

        b. # ʔɨt-a   gʷal nɨ-ʔasməra   dəbdabe sədid-a-**ta**
            that-FS girl N_K-Asmara letter   GER.send-S.3FS-O.3FS
            Literally: 'The girl sent Asmara a letter.'   (Goal OM; Double-object frame)

  (40) a. ʔɨt-a   gʷal n-ət-ən   dəbdabe nɨ-ʔasməra sədid-a-**tən**
            that-FS girl N_K-that-FP letter N_P-Asmara GER.send-S.3FS-O.3FP
            'The girl sent the letters to Asmara.'   (Theme OM; PP-object frame)

        b. # ʔɨt-a   gʷal n-ət-ən   dəbdabe nɨ-ʔasməra sədid-a-**ta**
            that-FS girl N_K-that-FP letter N_K-Asmara GER.send-S.3FS-O.3FS
            Literally: 'The girl sent Asmara the letter.'   (Goal OM; Double-object frame)

- **HAVEP.** The asymmetry can be understood as an effect of the semantic contribution of the small clause headed by HAVE^0 in the double-object frame of both languages.

4.4 Condition A

- **Binding Asymmetry.** The Goal c-commands the Theme in the English double-object construction, but not in the PP-object construction (Barss & Lasnik 1986).

  (41) a.   Tom gave Sue_1 the pictures of $herself_1$.
        b. * Tom gave the pictures of $herself_1$ to Sue_1.

- **A Prediction.** If the OM pattern betrays the proposed asymmetrical ditransitive constructions, the Goal will not c-command the Theme when the Theme is cross-referenced by OM.

- **Condition A as a Function of OM.** The Goal fails to bind the Theme when the Theme is cross-referenced by OM, giving rise to Condition A effects.

  (42) * ʔit-a   gʷal nɨ-$kefi_1$ n-ət-ən   naj [gəzaʔ riʔisu]$_1$ siʔɨlt-at   hib-a-**tən**
         that-FS girl N_P-Keffy.M N_K-that-FP of   self-3MS   picture-P GER.give-S.3FS-O.3FP
         *'The girl gave the pictures of $himself_1$ to $Keffy_1$.'   (Theme OM; PP-object frame)

  (43) ʔit-a   gʷal **nɨ-$kefi_1$**   **n**-ət-ən   naj [gəzaʔ riʔisu]$_1$ siʔɨlt-at   hib-a-**to**
         that-FS girl N_K-Keffy.M N_K-that-FP of   self-3MS   picture-P GER.give-S.3FS-O.3MS
         ' The girl gave $Keffy_1$ the pictures of $himself_1$.'   (Goal OM; Double-object frame)

5 Conclusion

- **Tigrinya is Asymmetrical.** Tigrinya is an asymmetrical object language, despite superficial appearances.

- **A Masked Ambiguity.** The two ditransitive frames below are masked by the surface ambiguity between an DOM and a P^0.
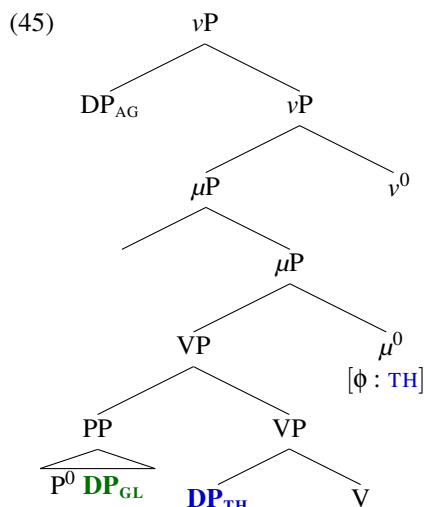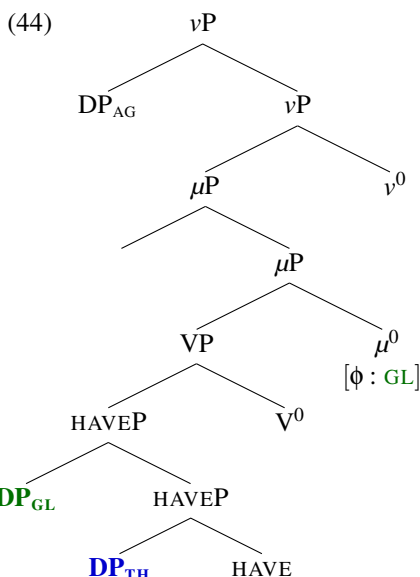
- **Obligatory OM.** OM is uniformly obligatory across the language.

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Acknowledgments

Glosses

1	1st person	N$_K$	differential object marker
3	3rd person	N$_P$	preposition
DT	detransitivizer	O	object marker
F	feminine	P	plural
GER	gerundive	PRF	perfect
IMPRF	imperfective	S	subject marker
M	masculine	S	singular
N	*N*-marker		