Mundari agreement in ditransitive construction: Field data

(1) 1 > 2:

   a. hon-ko   aiɲ ke am ke-ko   ɛm-a-<u>iɲ</u>-ta-n-a
      children-PL 1SG EMP 2SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-<u>1SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'Children are giving me to you.'

   b. hon-ko   am ke aiɲ ke-ko   ɛm-a-<u>iɲ</u>-ta-n-a
      children-PL 2SG EMP 1SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-<u>1SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'Children are giving you to me.'

(2) 2 > 3:

   a. hon-ko   am ke Ravi ke-ko   ɛm-a-<u>m</u>-ta-n-a
      children-PL EMP 2SG Ravi EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-<u>2SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'Children are giving you to Ravi.'

   b. hon-ko   Ravi ke am ke-ko   ɛm-a-<u>m</u>-ta-n-a
      children-PL Ravi EMP 2SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-<u>2SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'Children are giving Ravi to you.'

(3) 1 > 3:

   a. hon-ko   aiɲ ke Ravi ke-ko ɛm-a-<u>iɲ</u>-ta-n-a
      children-PL 1SG EMP Ravi EMP- give-BEN-<u>1SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'Children are giving me to Ravi.'

   b. hon-ko   Ravi ke aiɲ ke-ko ɛm-a-<u>iɲ</u>-ta-n-a
      children-PL Ravi EMP 1SG EMP give-BEN-<u>1SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'Children are giving Ravi to me.'

(4) SG > PL:

   a. aiɲ e   Ravi ke hon-ko-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>i</u>-ta-n-a
      1SG EMP Ravi EMP children-PL-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'I am giving Ravi to children.'

   b. aiɲ hon-ko   ke Ravi ke-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>i</u>-ta-n-a
      1SG children-PL EMP Ravi EMP-1SG give-BEN-<u>3SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'I am giving children to Ravi.'

(5) PL > DL:

   a. aiɲ bhilai-kin hon-ko   ke-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>ko</u>-ta-n-a
      1SG cat-DL   children-PL EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'I am giving two cats to children.'

   b. aiɲ bilai-ko ke hon-kin-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>ko</u>-ta-n-a
      1SG cat-PL EMP childrenPL-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
      'I am giving cats to two children.'

(6) SG > DL

    a. aiɲ Ravi ke   hon-kin-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>i</u>-ta-n-a
       1SG Ravi EMP children-DL-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
       'I am giving Ravi to two children.'

    b. aiɲ hon-kin   Ravi ke-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>i</u>-ta-n-a
       1SG children-DL Ravi EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
       'I am giving two children to Ravi.'

(7) Number hierarchy scale: SG > PL > DL

(8) Animate > Inanimate:

    a. aiɲ bilai-ko ke   oɽak'-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>ko</u>-ta-n-a
       1SG cat-pl   EMP house-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
       'I am giving cats to the house.'

    b. aiɲ oɽak bilai-ko ke-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>ko</u>-ta-n-a
       1SG house cat-PL EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
       'I am giving a house to the cats.'

(9) aiɲ bhilai-kin hon-kin   ke-iɲ   ɛm-a-<u>kin</u>-ta-n-a
   1SG cat-DL   children-DL EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>3DL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
   'I am giving two cats to two children.'

(10) aiɲ oɽak daru ke-iɲ   ɛm-a-ta-n-a
    1SG house tree EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-PROG-ITR-IND
    'I am giving a house to the tree.'

(11) aiɲ hon-kin-iɲ   lel-ke-d-<u>kin</u>-a
    1SG child-DL-1SG.SM see-COMPL-TR-<u>3DL.OM</u>-IND
    'I saw two children.'

(12)
    a. aiɲ oɽak-iɲ   lel-ke-d-a
       1SG house-1SG.SM see-COMPL-TR-IND
       'I saw the house.'

    b. aiɲ oɽak-{ko/kin}-iɲ   lel-ke-d-a
       1SG house-{ -PL/DL}-1SG.SM see-COMPL-TR-IND
       'I saw (two) houses.'

(13) Person:

Ex.no	DO	IO	OM
(1a)	1	2	1
(1b)	2	1	1
(2a)	2	3	2
(2b)	3	2	2
(3a)	1	3	1
(3b)	3	1	1

(14) Number:

Ex.no	DO	IO	OM
(4a)	SG	PL	SG
(4b)	PL	SG	SG
(5a)	PL	DL	PL
(5b)	DL	PL	PL
(6a)	SG	DL	SG
(6b)	DL	SG	SG

(15) Gender:

Ex.no	DO	IO	OM
(8a)	Animate	Inanimate	Animate
(8b)	Inanimate	Animate	Animate

(16) a. hon-ko   aiɲ ke ako ke-ko   ɛm-a-iɲ-ta-n-a
         children-PL 1SG EMP 3PL EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-1SG.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving me to them.'

     b. hon-ko   ako ke aiɲ ke-ko   ɛm-a-iɲ-ta-n-a
         children-PL 3PL EMP 1SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-1SG.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving them to me.'

(17) a. hon-ko   Ravi ke ape ke-ko   ɛm-a-pe-ta-n-a
         children-PL Ravi EMP 2PL EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-2PL.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving Ravi to you(PL).'

     b. hon-ko   ape ke Ravi ke-ko   ɛm-a-i-ta-n-a
         children-PL 2PL EMP 3SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-3SG.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving you(PL) to Ravi.'

(18) a. hon-ko   am ke abu ke-ko   ɛm-a-bu-ta-n-a
         children-PL 2SG EMP 1PL EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-1PL.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving you(SG) to us.'

     b. hon-ko   abu ke am ke-ko   ɛm-a-m-ta-n-a
         children-PL 1PL EMP 2SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-2SG.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving us to you(SG).'

(19) a. hon-ko   Ravi ke abu ke-ko   ɛm-a-bu-ta-n-a
         children-PL Ravi EMP 1PL EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-1PL.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving Ravi to us(PL).'

     b. hon-ko   abu ke Ravi ke-ko   ɛm-a-i-ta-n-a
         children-PL 1PL EMP Ravi EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-3SG.OM-PROG-ITR-IND
         'Children are giving us(PL) to Ravi.'

(20) a. hon-ko aiɲ ke ape ke-ko ɛm-a-<u>iɲ</u>-ta-n-a
children-PL 1SG EMP 2PL EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-<u>1SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
'Children are giving me to you(PL).'

b. hon-ko ape ke aiɲ ke-ko ɛm-a-<u>iɲ</u>-ta-n-a
children-PL 2PL EMP 1SG EMP-3PL.SM give-BEN-<u>1SG.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
'Children are giving you(PL) to me.'

(21) Person and Number:

Ex.no	DO	IO	OM
(16a)	1SG	3PL	1SG
(16b)	3PL	1SG	1SG
(17a)	3SG	2PL	2PL
(17b)	2PL	3SG	3SG
(18a)	2SG	1PL	1PL
(18b)	1PL	2SG	2SG
(19a)	3SG	1PL	1PL
(19b)	1PL	3SG	3SG
(20a)	1SG	2PL	1SG
(20b)	2PL	1SG	1SG

(22) a. Ravi ape ke alaŋ ke-i ɛm-a-<u>laŋ</u>-ta-n-a
Ravi 2PL EMP 1DL EMP-3SG.SM give-BEN-<u>1DL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
'Ravi is giving you(PL) to us(DL).'

b. Ravi alaŋ ke ape ke-iɲ ɛm-a-<u>pe</u>-ta-n-a
Ravi 1DL EMP 2PL EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>2PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
'Ravi is giving us(DL) to you(PL).'

(23) a. aiɲ ape ke akin ke-iɲ ɛm-a-<u>pe</u>-ta-n-a
1SG 2PL EMP 3DL EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>2PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
'I am giving you(PL) to them(DL).'

b. aiɲ akin ke ape ke-iɲ ɛm-a-<u>pe</u>-ta-n-a
1SG 3DL EMP 2PL EMP-1SG.SM give-BEN-<u>2PL.OM</u>-PROG-ITR-IND
'I am giving them(DL) to you(PL).'