

Journal 4

?ani. This form appeared early on in the first or second session. At that time there seemed no reason to assume it wasn't a simple conjunction ('and'), but later forms have made this untenable. These are the relevant forms.

ɲegɪr **ɲani** rowem
'stick and fruit'

pah^{wi} rowep **ɲani** ah^{wi} aropa **hani** pah^{wi} cup
'red berries and red cloth and red paper' (stacked on top of each other)

hanah k^wap^we urupat **k^wani** eli
'Hannah and Eli are home'

cato **gani** mihig
'up on the hill'

cato **gani** weimog
'up on the ridge'

lise **k^w-ani** ira **c-ani** nəgacɪc yopugi ɲɪɾɪk
(Mary 3sg.f-and John 3pl.common_gender-and children good family)
'Mary and John and children are a good family'

Nothing is especially troubling in the first two forms. The most difficult phenomenon to wrestle with in those two forms (apparently) is the conditioning of the ? by noun class and number. The next form is where the trouble begins.

Wanting to be consistent with the 'and' interpretation of *?ani*, I first glossed the form as 'hanah sit at.home and eli', meaning 'Hannah and Eli are at home'. But that's a remarkably uncommon way to order the subjects, which made me wonder whether it might “actually mean” something like 'hanah sit at.home *with* eli'. I found a reference that told me that Guianese French Creole has a similar situation. For example, the sentence

“Mo wè Jan ké Mari could be either 'I saw John and Mary' or 'I saw John with Mary’”.

Now we know that both interpretations are at least not impossible—it's just a question of which one fits the data better. The third utterance has a *k^w*, in favor of the 'with' interpretation, but look at the last utterance! There's a common-gender plural *c-*, referring to Lise and Ira.