Competing Babanki anaphors: Theoretical implications

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Abstract

This paper explores the anaphora strategies used in Babanki, a Grassfields language of Northwest Cameroon. It identifies up to six strategies, namely, Body-Part, Pronoun-Pronoun Self-Pronoun, Pronoun, Yì, and Null Object. It is illustrated in this paper that Body-Part anaphor is in complementary distribution with Pronoun-Pronoun for local reciprocal readings, with Self-Pronoun, and Pronoun for local reflexive readings. It is also shown that the Null Object is in fact the absence of Pronoun-Pronoun. This paper explores the similarities and differences between the contexts where the Body-Part anaphor and the Pronouns are acceptable bringing into focus the reflexive and/or reciprocal interpretations the strategies command. While the Body-Part anaphor can have both reflexive and reciprocal readings (1), the Pronoun-Pronoun strategy has only a reciprocal reading (2), while Self-Pronoun, and Pronoun can have only reflexive interpretations (3).

1a) dʒŏyn yì kòŋ èwén é wén

dʒŏyn yì kòŋ à-wén á wén John P2 admire c5-body AM 3s

'John admired himself.'

b) vàwá ná ghá?á tàwéntá vàwá(ná)

vàwá ná ghá?á tà-wén tá vàwá(ná) 3P always hold c13-body AM them

'They always criticize each other/They always criticize themselves.'

2a) kyĭ vyí né shìtò mónshí? à vòwó vòwó

kyǐ vyí né shìtà má-nshí? à vàwá vàwá c2.woman c2.the F2 arrange c6-oil for them them

'The women will make oil for each other.'

b) nshè?tèshìsé zhú lí mètǐtì byì vèwé vèwé

nshè?tè-shì-sé zhú lí mè-títì byì vèwé vèwé priest-the-c10 hear P1 c6-story about 3p 3p

'The priests heard stories about each other.'

3a) dʒŏyn yì gà? á zhí? ŋkà wén

dʒŏyn yì gà? á à-zhí? ŋkà wén John P2 speak for c5-name self 3s 'John spoke for himself.'

b) ják ó kílí lá jós kù ò wén

ják ó kílí lá jós kù ò wén Jack PRES know that George like PRES him 'Jack knows that George likes him.'

In (2 and 3) the Body-Part anaphor is either unnatural or will derive a different meaning. If used in (3b) for example it will rather mean that 'Jack knows that George likes himself'. This suggests that the rest of the strategies are used only when the Body-Part anaphor is not available, that is, when it loses the competition. This complementarity is viewed as the result of a competition of forms to represent an interpretation in a specific syntactic context, in keeping with the Competition-based theory (Safir, 2004).

The relationship between the anaphor and pronouns provides support for the Competition-based theory. For example where Body-Pronoun and Pronoun-Pronoun can be used in the same syntactic contexts they are given different interpretations, as expected within the theory. The body part strategy is possible if the interpretation is reflexive, but if the interpretation that is sought is reciprocal then only the pronoun-pronoun strategy is used as shown in (4).

4a) tàsó? tá váwá váwá kô yì lán

tà-só? tá vàwá vàwá kô yì lán c13-law AM 3p 3p NEG P2 clear

'Their instructions to each other were not clear.'

b) mèrí yì dʒì? vwú lyúmá vyí à vàwá váwá

mèrí yì dʒì? vwú lyúmá vyí à vàwá vàwá Mary P2 show c2.child c2.male c2.the to 3p 3p 'Mary introduced the boys to each other.'

The pronoun-pronoun strategy is prefered for reciprocal interpretations, but it is

only licensed in a small number of environments. The body part strategy appears only where the duplicate pronoun strategy is not available (and this is in most places). Therefore, the strategies have contexts where only they can appear as shown in (5).

- dʒŏyn tò nè vwú lyumó vyí shù tòwéntó vówó(nó) 5a) dʒŏyn tà nè vwú lyumá vyí shù tà-wén tá vàwá(ná) John P3 do c2.child c2.male c2.the wash c13-body AM 3ps 'John made the boys wash themselves.'
- b) dʒŏyn nɨ mèrí yì kù?sɨ tà vɨwé vɨwé dʒŏyn nɨ mèrí yì kù?sɨ tà vɨwé vɨwé John and Mary P2 praise only 3p 3p 'John and Mary praised only each other.'

However, instances where Body-Pronoun and other pronouns overlap by allowing the same reflexive reading have been found in violation of the prediction of the theory that there should be no domains where both anaphors and pronouns overlap, in keeping with their exclusivity. This situation is illustrated in (6) where Body-Part and Self-Pronoun are shown to have the same interpretation.

- dʒŏyn tə dʒì? ŋgəŋ yi à əwén ə wén 6a1) á à à-wén wén dʒŏyn tà dzì? ngàn vi John P3 show c9.house c9.the c5-body AM 3s to 'John showed the house to himself.'
- 6a2) dʒŏyn tə dʒìʔ ŋgəŋ yì à ŋkà wén
 dʒŏyn tə dʒìʔ ŋgəŋ yì à ŋkà wén
 John P3 show c9.house c9.the PREP self 3s
 'John showed the house to himself.'
- 6b1) lúmó vyí tò wù kòfó kyì à tòwéntó vòwé lúmá vyí tà wù à-fó vyí à tà-wén tá vàwé c8.the PREP c13-body men c2.the P3 keep c8-thing AM 3p 'The men kept the things for themselves.'
- 6b2) lúmó vyí tò wù kòfó kyì à ŋkà vòwé lúmó vyí tò wù ò-fó vyí à ŋkà vòwé

men c2.the P3 keep c8-thing c8.the PREP self 3p 'The men kept the things for themselves.'

This raises the question of why both strategies are coconstrued with the same antecedent whereas the theory assumes 'that a 'less anaphoric' form cannot be coconstrued with the antecedent if a 'more anaphoric' form is available (Burzio, 1989; Richards, 1997, Williams, 2003, and Safir, 2004, amongst others). The distribution of these morphemes points to a weakness in the Competition-based theory in that they can co-occur in some contexts with the same meaning, but they each have contexts where only they can appear.

The paper concludes that the one true anaphor that occurs in most contexts, and is capable of having both reflexive and reciprocal interpretations – the Body-Part anaphor can take many shapes which apparently compete with it.

Reference

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