

African Anaphora Project: Rutgers University

Questionnaire Response for Ibibio Language: Nsit/Uyo Dialect

PART 1 General Information

The subject Language is Ibibio language the Nsit/Uyo dialect which is spoken in Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria by about 5.000,000 people.

My name is Willie U. Willie. I am presently a graduate student at Rutgers with focus on syntax and typological linguistics. I also have interest in phonology, morphology and sociolinguistics. My parents are native Ibibio speakers and they speak the language at home. I was educated in English and Ibibio languages. I am a native speaker of Ibibio too and I am reporting on my own judgement.

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PART 2: Inventory of Reflexive and Reciprocal Strategies

2.1 Coreference in Simple clause

2.1.1 primary reflexive strategy:

(A1) The primary reflexive strategy is the combination of a noun and a genitive pronoun. I call this strategy **Idem X strategy or strategy A**

Okon á-má ídém ómò
Okon Agrs love boby his
Okon love his body
Okon loves himself

Agrs = agreement of subject

Agro= agreement of object

This strategy is very productive in the language. Idem means body and it is constant while X is a variable and represents the genitive pronouns which may vary according to number and person.

NOTE: This strategy can also be used to connote reciprocal reading as in this example:

(b). Ibáán ódó é-nwàm ídém ǒmmò
Women the Agrs help body them
The women help their body
The women help themselves/ the women help each other/the women help one another

2.1.2 There is no other way that this strategy may be used except that the genitive pronouns may be dropped and the reflexive reading is not affected as this examples show:

- (a). okon á-má ídém
Okon Agrs loves/likes body
Okon loves/likes body
Okon loves/likes himself
- (b). Ibáán ódó é-má ídém
Women the Agrs love/like body
The women love/like body
The women love/like themselves

2.1.3 Other Types of Verbs:

Some verbs take a special suffix to denote reflexivization. The suffix always have a **CV** structure consisting of a geminate consonant with the root coda and an harmonising vowel with the root vowel if the root ends in a consonant or it may be a consonant weakening as in the (b) example. This is **strategy B. Example;**

- (a). èté ódó á-nyàn-ná
man the Agrs stretch Ref
the man stretch
the man stretch himself
- (b). àmì ñ-đíbé
I Agrs hide
I hide
I hide myself
- (c) èté ódó á-nlghó
Man the Agrs bend
Man the bend
The man bend himself

However the verb **dip** can be used with the **Body X (Strategy A)** while the verb **nyanna** cannot. This may show that the two verbs are of different kinds. The **CV strategy** or **strategy B** is not as productive as the **Body X strategy** or **strategy A**.

NOTE: The phonetic representation in dibe: hide yourself is di□e

- (c). àmì ñ-đíp ídém m̀m̀

I Agrs hide body mine
I hide body mine
I hide myself

(d). *àmì ñ-nyànná ídém

I Agrs stretch body mine
I stretch my body
I stretch myself

2.1.4 A3a) okon á-táng-íkò ọ-nọ mary

okon Agrs talk-word Agrs give mary
okon talk-word give mary
okon spoke to mary

b) okon á-má-táng-íkó ábángá ídém (ọmọ)

okon Agrs Tns talk-word about body his
okon talked word about his body
okon spoke about himself

c) okon á-má-táng-íkò ọ-nọ mary ábáná ídém (ọmọ)

okon Agrs Tns talk-word Agrs give mary about body his
okon talked-word give mary about his body
okon spoke to mary about himself

d) okon á-má-táng-íkò é-nọ ñnyìn ábáná ídém ñnyìn

okon Agrs Tns talk-word Agrs give us about body us
okon talked-word give us about our body
okon told us about ourself

e) *mary á-má-nọ òtòkáyìn ídém ọmọ

mary Agrs Tns give children body their
mary gave children their body
mary gave the children themself

f) mary á-má-kít ñwèd ké èdém ọmọ

okon Agrs Tns see book Loc body his
okon saw book at his back
okon saw a book behind him

g) okon á-má-dép ñwèd ọnọ ídém (ọmọ)

okon Agrs Tns buy book Agrs give body his
okon bought book give his body
okon bought a book for himself

A4a) ènò á-má ídém (òmò)
eno Agrs love body her
eno loves her body
eno loves herself

b) ènò á-nám ídém (òmò)
eno Agrs do body her
eno hurt her body
eno hurt herself

c) ènò á-ńńá ídém (òmò)
eno Agrs worry body her
eno worries her body
eno worries herself

A5a) àmí m-má-kít ídém (mímí)
I Agrs Tns saw body my
I saw my body
I saw myself

b) àfò à-kpì idém (m̀fò)
you Agrs cut body your
you cut your body
you cut yourself

c) ñnyìn ì-yà-í-yie ídém (nnyin)
we Agrs will Agrs wash body us
we will wash our body
we will wash ourselves

d) (afò) áná á-nwám ídém (m̀fò)
you must Agrs help body your
you must help your body
you must help your self

2.1.6

(a) Is there any strategy which is only possible with some special aspectual class of a verb?

Some examples:

No.

A6a) okon á-diònnó ídém(òmò)

okon Agrs knows body his
okon knows his body
okon knows himself

b) okon á-sùá ídem (òmò)

okon Agrs hate body his
okon hates his body
okon hates himself

c) á-bà-nté okon á-yá-tòró ídém (òmò)

Agrs be-like okon Agrs will praise body his
It be like okon will praise his body
okon is likely to praise himself

OR

c') okon á-bà-ntè á-yá-tòró ídém (òmò)

okon Agrs be-like Agrs will praise body his
okon be-like will praise his body
okon is likely to praise himself

(b) Do quantificational constructions involve a separate strategy?

NO.

A7a) àfitówò é-mà-é-sé ídém òmmò

All person/everybody Agrs Tns Agrs look body their
All person looked body their
Everybody looked at himself

b) àfit íbáán ódó é-kóót okon ké idém òmmò

all women the agrs call okon by body them
all women the call okon by them body
All the women called okon by themselves

c) àfit m̀m̀e tísá é-yàrá ídém (òmmò) è-nó okon

all pl teacher Agrs reveal body their give okon
all teachers reveal thier body give okon
Every teacher introduce himself to okon

(c) There is no grammaticalized honorific

(d)) Tensed complement clauses, subjunctive clauses, infinitivals, purpose clauses etc. **Strategy A** still applies.

A9a) emem á-bò ké Alice á-má ídém (òmò)

emem Agrs say that Alice Agrs like/love body her
emem says that Alice loves her body
emem says that Alice loves herself

b) emem á-yém yàk Alice ó-tóró ídém (òmò)

emem Agrs want that Alice Agrs praise body her
emem wants that Alice praise her body
emem wants Alice to praise herself

c) emem á-kékèré ké Alice á-kpá-tòró ídém (òmò)

emem Agrs thought that Alice should praise body her
emem thought that Alice should praise her body
emem thought that Alice should praise herself

d) emem á-má-bó (yàk) Alice ó-tòró ídém (òmò)

emem Agrs Tns say Alice Agrs praise body her
emem told Alice to praise her body
emem told Alice to praise herself

e) emem á-yém (yak) Alice ó-tòró ídém (òmò)

emem Agrs want Alice Agrs praise body her
emem want Alice to praise her body
emem wants Alice to praise herself

f) emem á-má-kóp náná Alice ó-tòró ídém (òmò)

emem Agrs Tns hear how Alice Agrs praise body her
emem heard Alice praise her body
emem heard Alice praise herself

2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

A10a) (ami) ní-má-tán-íkó mmé Abraham òkpón

I Agrs Tns talk word with Abraham yesterday
I talked-word with Abraham yesterday
I spoke with Abraham yesterday

b) Abraham á-bá ké òmò? (ami) mí-má-kít ànyé ké úrùá
 Abraham Agrs be at where. I Agrs Tns see him at market
 Abraham be at where? I saw him at market
 Where is Abraham? I saw him at the market

c) ònyìn ì-mà-ú-kít fí:n. àfò a-mà-í-kít ònyìn?
 We Agrs Tns see you. You Agrs Tns Agrs see us
 We saw you. You saw us?
 We saw you. Did you see us?

2.2.2 If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g. null, clitic and non-clitic pronouns, strong, or streeable pronouns, etc.) list each type with examples:

	Nom	Accu	Gen
1 st per singular	àmí	mí:n	mmí
2 nd per singular	àfò	fí:n	m̀fò
3 rd per singular	ànyé	ànyé	òmò
1 st per plural	ònyìn	ònyìn	ònyìn
2 nd per plural	̀d̀fò	̀d̀fò	̀d̀fò
3 rd per plural	òm̀m̀	òm̀m̀	òm̀m̀
logophoric	im̀	im̀	im̀

2.2.3 Null Arguments

A10d) okon i-kí-kà-ghá

Okon Agrs Tns go Neg

Okon went not

Okon did not go

d') í-kí-kà-ghá

Agrs Tns go Neg

He went not

He did not go

e) àmí ñ-yá-ká

I Agrs Tns go

I will go

I will go

e') ñ-yá-ká

Agrs Tns go

Will go

I will go

2.2.4 The use of otherwise independent pronouns for clausemate anaphora is not possible in Ibibio.

A10g) okon á-má-tòró ànyé (him = okon not possible)

okon Agrs Tns praise him

okon praised him

okon praised him

h) okon á-má-má ànyé (him = okon not possible)

okon Agrs Tns like/love him

okon liked him

okon liked him

i) okon á-má-kít ànyé (him = okon not possible)

okon Agrs Tns see him

okon saw him

okon saw him

j) okon á-má-dép òwèd ọ̀nọ̀ ànyé (him = okon not possible)

okon Agrs Tns buy book Agrs give him

okon bought book give him

okon bought book for him

2.3.1 If you have already listed a reflexive strategy that can also have reciprocal meaning, provide an example here with a reciprocal translation.

Ànwáán ìmè èbé é-má ídém (ọmmò)
wife and husband Agrs love body their
wife and husband love their body
husband and wife love themselves

ọmmò é-ma ídém (ọmmò)
they Agrs like/love body their
they love their body
they love themselves

2.3.2 If a new strategy is involved (a special reciprocal form, or affix, or clitic or argument drop, or verb form, etc.), name it and give an example.

The new strategy is the **Du-Cv strategy (strategy C)** This strategy uses a prefix which is constantly du- and a suffix which is of CV form which varies according to the morphological structure of the root.

A11a) ìbáan ódó é-dú-kít-té
women the Agrs RCM see RCM
women the see each other
The women see each other

b) ìkparáwà ódó é-dú-má-ká
boys the Agrs RCM love RCM
boys the love each other
The boys love each other

c) ọmmò é-dú-tàn-nà
they Agrs RCM talk RCM
they argue with each other
they argue with each other

d) ọmmò é-dú-sùá-rà
they Agrs RCM hate RCM
they hate each other

they hate each other

NOTE: This strategy is not very productive. Its like it can only co-occur with a particular class of verbs which I don't know right now how to classify. But the verbs that this strategy can work with include: kit: "see", ma: "like or love", tan: "talk or quarell", sua: "hate", tuak: "hit", se: "look", nwam: "help".

The verbs that cannot work with this strategy include: tie: "sit", da: "stand", yet: "wash", "laugh", tua: "cry", mia: "beat" etc.

2.3.3 Continue looking for new reciprocal strategies

A12a) ídém ódó é-bén okon é-wót ídém ọmmô

Men the Agrs take okon Agrs show body their
Men the take okon show their body
The men introduce okon to themselves

b) m̀m̀ è à-kà-ìsàn é-tán íkọ é-nò ídém (ọmmô)

Plu Agrs go journey Agrs give body their
Travelers talk-word give their body
The travelers spoke to each other

c) ọmmô é-ma é-kóp m̀b̀l̀k ébána ídém (ọmmô)

they Agrs Tns Agrs hear story about body their
they heard stories about their body
they heard stories about themselves

2.3.4 Other persons and number:

A13a) ñnyìn ì-mà-ì-kít ídém (ñnyìn)

We Agrs Tns Agrs see body ours
We saw our body
We saw ourselves

b) (̀nd̀ùf̀) áná é-nwám ídém (̀nd̀ùf̀)

you(pl) must Agrs help body your
you(pl) must help your bodies
you(pl) must help each other

c) Nnyìn ì-yàiyié ídém (ñnyìn)

we Agrs will wash body ours
we will wash our body

we will wash ourselves

- d) ọmmọ́ é-sí-sùá ídém (ọmmọ́)
they Agrs Asp hate body their
they always hate their body
they always hate each other

2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies: Use the following sentences as models, but if there is nothing new to be found this way, do not bother to translate them and move on.

There is nothing new.

- A14a) Sol says that the girls love each other.
b) Sol required that the girls praise each other.
c) Sol thought the girls should praise each other.
d) Sol asked the girls to praise each other.
e) The girls want to praise each other.
f) Sol expects the girls to praise each other.
g) Sol heard the girls praising each other.

2.4 Other types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable

Strategy A can be used here but this time its not about the body as a whole but parts of the body as possessed by the antecedent in (b, c and d) but a property possessed by the antecedent in (a). Also in (b, c and d) null pronoun can be used. That is, the pronouns may be dropped.

- A15a) okon ọ̀dùọ̀k íkpàúkót ọ̀mọ̀
Okon Agrs lost shoes his
Okon lost shoes his
Okon lost his shoes

- b) okon á-đípé úbọ̀k ọ̀mọ̀
okon Agrs lift up hand his
okon raise hand his
okon raise his hand

- b') okon á-đípé úbọ̀k

okon Agrs lift up hand
okon raise hand
okon raised his hand

c) okon á-kpí úbòk òmò
okon Agrs cut hand his
okon cut his hand
okon cut his hand

c') okon á-kpí úbòk
okon Agrs cut hand
okon cut hand
okon cut his hand

d) okon á-sé úbòk òmò
okon Agrs look hand his
okon look his hand
okon examines his hand

The cases where the pronouns are not dropped seem to be used with intentional actions and the cases where the pronoun are dropped seem to be used with accidental actions but I am not very sure.

2.4.2 Reflexives in nominals

A16) úwòt ìdém okon á-yát áfitówò
Kill body okon Agrs annoy all person
Kill body okon annoys all person
Okon's self destruction annoys everybody

A17) úyàrá ìdém okon à-nèm àtítíá ódó ésít
Reveal body okon Agrs sweet teacher the heart
Reveal body okon sweet teacher the heart
Okon's introduction of himself pleases the teacher

2.4.3 Something we haven't thought of? Please bring to our attention any other sort of local coconstrual between arguments of a predicate that you think is relevant.

None.

2.4.4 It would be useful to us if you provide a list of the different strategies so we are both clear as to which ones you distinguish. This you may revise on the basis of new ones you come across in filling out the form, if there are any.

The strategies identified include:

Strategy A or idem X strategy (already identified)

Strategy B or CV suffix strategy (already identified)

Strategy C or DU-CV strategy (already identified)

Strategy D or logophoric pro strategy (identified below)

Strategy E or independent pro strategy (identified below)

The two strategies for reciprocal co-construal namely **Strategy A and strategy C** are used interchangeably in all context of usage in the verbs that permit both. What we suspect is that reciprocal co-construal historically used strategy C but that the language is in the process of change in the strategy to strategy A. (see Essien 1990:115 for details).

Part 3 General details about the strategies

It may be easier for you to answer part three of the questionnaire for one strategy at a time. Begin with the first strategy that you have identified and answer all these questions for it first. For example answer all the questions for strategy A first and then over and answer for strategy B etc. Some questions refer to the current strategy meaning whichever strategy you are dealing with at that point in time.

3.1 Marking

3.1.1 So far we have identified 3 strategies namely **strategy A or idem x strategy, strategy B or CV suffix strategy and strategy C or DU-CV strategy**. Strategy A can be used for both reflexive co-construal and reciprocal co-construal. So far, there is no special morphology to differentiate when Strategy A is used as reflexive from when it is used as reciprocal. Special morphology-CV suffix on the verb-is required for strategy B and it is only used for reflexive co-construal. Special morphology-DU prefix and CV suffix on the verb-is required for strategy C and it is only used for reciprocal co-construal.

Only a close class of verbs that can allow strategy B for reflexive reading. Also, there is no drop of arguments to making reflexive in Ibibio.

3.2 Productivity

3.2.1 How productive is this strategy?

Strategy A is very productive and can be used with almost all the verbs in the language. Strategy B is very unproductive as only a few verbs can be used with this strategy. Verbs like “nyanna: “stretch”, “dibe: “hide”, nλgho: “bend”, soro: “squat”. Strategy C is more productive than strategy B but not as productive as strategy A.

3.2.2 Is this strategy lexically restricted to a certain classes of verbs, or is it unrestricted (applies across all classes of verbs)?

Strategy A applies to all the verbs in the language. Strategy B is lexically restrictive to certain verbs (we don’t know how to classify the verbs for now). Strategy C is also restrictive.

3.3 Context of use

3.3.1 How marked or natural is this strategy

Strategy A is very natural and can be used in any context. Strategy B is not restrictive in terms of social context but in terms of the verb/s it can be used with and so for strategy C.

3.3.2 Is special intonation or emphasis necessary?

There is no special intonation or emphasis needed for any of the strategies.

3.3.3 Is a particular discourse context (e.g., contradicting) necessary?

No.

B1) If Marsha admires just one person, then I suspect that she admires just HER.

None of the pronouns in Ibibio can be used in place of HER to have co-construal reading rather the reflexive noun phrase (ie strategy A) is used.

Akpédó Marsha á-má ówó ñdòmòkèet, áná ódó ídém ómò

If it be Marsha Agrs love person even one, must be body hers/his

If Marsha loves person even one, must be her body

If Marsha loves any person, It must be herself

Note that Ibibio does not use stress in this way.

3.3.4 Do you have any other comments on the use of this strategy, or on how it differs from other strategies you have identified? (Before you answer, take a look at the questions asked in the following sections).

3.4 Morphology

3.4.1 Does the reflexive element, in its entirety, have a stateable lexical translation?

Yes. The reflexive element in strategy A has a lexical meaning: (body my, body his/hers, body yours, body theirs). The element used for strategy B does not have any independent lexical meaning. It is just a suffix of CV structure attached to a closed class of verbs. The element used for strategy C to mark reciprocal co-construal too does not have independent lexical meaning. They do not have any morpheme that means ‘others’.

3.4.2 If the term used as reflexive or reciprocal can be used for a non-reflexive/non-reciprocal meaning, is it an ordinary noun that can be possessed by other pronouns? Is it some form of prepositional phrase or adjective? Is there any further comments about its meaning in such cases?

The genitive pronoun part of strategy A can be used in other cases that are non-reflexive and non-reciprocal:

- a) okon á-nyám ñwéd ọmò
 okon Agrs sell book his
 okon sell his book
 okon sells his book

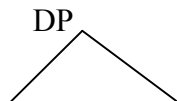
- b) okon á-sùá ídém ọmò
 okon Agrs hate body his
 okon hate his body
 okon hates himself

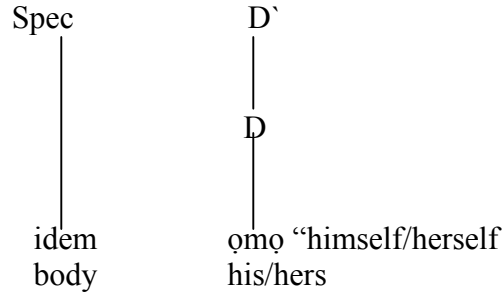
Actually, there is no structural difference in the pronoun when they are used as genitives in non-reflexive cases from when they are used in reflexives or reciprocal cases. However, only the plural genitives can be used in reciprocal cases. The forms have reflexive and reciprocal meaning only when have “body” as the object that they possess. So the reflexive and reciprocal genitives can be regarded as a subset of the entire genitive pronouns in the language.

Elements in strategies B and C cannot be used on non-reflexive or non-reciprocal contexts that I know of.

3.4.3 If the reflexive element has clear syntactic and part-of-speech sub-structure (e.g., head and modifiers, determiners, possessives) show it here.

Yes. The elements in strategy A consists a possessed object at the Spec-DP position and the possessor genitive pronoun at the Head of the DP:





(a) Agreement features etc.

The genitive pronoun must agree in person and number with the NP that it is cocontrued with.

Strategies B and C do not have any distinct syntactic parts of their own; they are affixes on the verbs.

(b) Does this morpheme have a lexical meaning? Is it clearly or pluasibly related to a lexically contentful word or morpheme? Give details as necessary.

The elements in strategy A are separate words with lexical meanings. The possessed noun (constant element) idem: ‘body’ is a common word in the language and the possessor pronouns (the variables) are also used in other contexts.

3.4 The agreement paradigm

3.5.1 Give the morphological paradigm of each reflexive strategy.

Ibibio language doesnot have any case or gendar markings on either the verbs or the NPs. Eg:

Ukót omọ: leg it/her/his “its/her/his leg

Ibibio does not have a special plural morpheme used with the reflexives. The number specification is marked by varying the genitive pronouns in relation to the binding NP antecedent. E.g:

- B2) The first person singular pronoun is mmi as in **idem mmi** “myself”
- The second person singular pronoun is mfo as in **idem mfo** “yourself”
- The third person singular pronoun is omọ as in **idem omọ** “herself/himself”
- The first person plural pronoun is nnyin as in **idem nnyin** “ourself”
- The second person plural pronoun is ndufo as in **idem ndufo** “yourselves”
- The third person plural pronoun is ommọ as in **idem ommọ** “themselves”

The relexive strategy B is a suffix attached to the verb. They do noy vary for number or

case or gender. The number (which is optional) is marked on the Verb itself. E.g:

(a) Amĩ n-díbé

I Agrs hide

I hide myself

(a') ñnyĩn í-díbé

We Agrs hide

We hide ourselves

(a'') ñnyĩn í-díbè

We Agrs hide

We hide ourselves

3.6 Interaction with verb morphology-Incompatibilities

3.6.1 If there is any sign that coconstrual for some strategy is blocked or peculiar for a given tense (e.g., simple past, habitual, generic), mood (such as subjunctive, if your language marks it), or aspect, Please comment and provide examples. Check with at least the verbs meaning *see, praise, help, know, and wash*.

There are no restrictions on the morphemes that can co-occur with the reflexive strategies. They can occur with all tenses, aspect and mood. E.g.

Tense: okon á-yíé ídém (ómò) (present tense on visible marker on third person)

okon Agrs wash body his

okon wash his body

okon washes himself

okon á-màá-yíé ídém (ómò) (past tense)

okon Agrs Tns wash body his

okon washed his body

okon washed himself

okon á-yàa-yíé ídém (ómò) (future tense)

okon Agrs Tns wash body his

okon will wash his body

okon will wash himself

Aspect: okon á-sí-yíé ídém (ómò) (habitual aspect)

okon Agrs Asp wash body his

okon usually wash his body

okon usually wash himself

okon á-sÁk-á-yíé ídém (ómò) (continuous aspect)

okon Agrs Asp Agrs wash body his
okon is washing his body
okon is washing himself

Mood: okon á-kpàá-yié ídém (ómò) (conditional)

okon Agrs mood wash body
okon would wash his body
okon would wash himself

okon áná-yiě ídém (ómò) (necessity)
okon mood wash body his
okon must wash his body
okon must wash himself

Note: All the above cases are also compatible with strategies B and C.

3.6.2 Grammatical Function (GF)-changing-Consider GF-changing constructions or operations in your language that affect the argument structure of a verb, adding, promoting, or demoting arguments. For example, passive, antipassive, stative, benefactive, applicative, etc.

Ibibio does not have passives, antipassives and applicatives. There is no special morpheme marking benefactive and I am not aware of any way that stative verbs can affect argument structure in construction with any of the strategies.

3.6.3 If you are aware of operations or morphemes that cannot co-occur with this strategy, list them here providing examples and a brief statement of what the incompatible morphemes or constructions are.

None that I know of.

3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

Reflexives in Ibibio are used for coreference purposes only.

3.7.1 Idiosyncratic or inherent. Some languages have verbs that lexically require a reflexive which does not appear to correspond to an argument.

Not applicable.

3.7.2 Emphasis or intensifier.

President ké ídém ómò á-ké-bòró foon
President by body his Agrs Tns answer phone
President by his body answered the phone
The president himself answered the phone

3.7.3 Middles: Ibibio seems not to have middles that may be reflexive in meaning.

3.7.4 Distributive, sociative, etc. Some strategies (reciprocal most frequently) can also be used to mean that some action was performed separately, or jointly or repeatedly, etc. You should only report uses that do not involve coreference between two logical argument

Strategy C can be used in a non-reciprocal way. E.g.

- (a) okon á-dú-táák-kò
okon Agrs try
okon tried repeatedly
- (b) ọmmọ é-dú-nyàk-ká
they Agrs scramble
they scramble jointly

3.7.5 Dietic use-If the current involves a nominal form (e.g., English himself) can this form be used when the antecedent is physically present or otherwise prominent, but has not been mentioned (such that X does not refer to Bill or Mary)? (suggest a context if necessary).

No. idem ọmọ must refer to Bill or Mary in B5.

- B5a) Bill í-kí-kít-té ídém ọmọ
Bill Agrs Tns see Neg body his
Bill did not see his body
Bill did not see himself
- b) Bill á-má ídém ọmọ?
Bill Agrs like body his?
Bill likes his body?
Does Bill like himself?
- c) *ídém ọmọ á-màá-ká ùruá mkpón
Body his Agrs Tns go market yesterday
His body went to market yesterday
Himself went to market yesterday

Can this form be used to refer to one of the participant in the conversation who is not otherwise mentioned in the sentence?

No. idem ọmọ will have to refer to Bill in B6

- B6a) Bill á-má ídém ọmọ. (*x=speaker, *x=addressee)
Bill Agrs like body his
Bill likes his body
Bill likes himself

- b) *ùwák ówó í-maághá okon ódó ídém ọmọ á-má ànyé
 many people Agrs like not okon but body his like him
 many people like not okon but his body likes him
 many people do not like okon but himself likes him
 (*x=speaker, *x=addressee)

Can the form in question be used in a sense like that of English generic *one* (which is not evenly acceptable for English speakers in non-subject environments). Or is there a meaning that means “arbitrary person”. There are otherwise local anaphors in Hindi, for example, that can have the latter usage.

NO. None of the strategies identified can be used in this way. Idem ọmọ for example, must refer to the local subject (that is **He** in B7a).

- B7a) àmì mí-maá-ghá úsáng nángá ànyé á-táng íkọ̀ nìmè ídém ọmọ̀
 I Agrs like not way how he Agrs talk word with body his
 I like not the way how he talk word with his body
 I don't like the way he talks to himself

- b) *ídém ọmọ̀ í-kémé-ké à-dínéké nting-ányín
 body his Agrs can not Agrs really fix-eye
 body his cannot really fix-eye
 his body cannot be very careful

3.7.6 Other. Are there other ways to use the strategy that do not express coreference (or reciprocal coreference) between two arguments? If so, give examples and a brief explanation here.

None.

3.8 Proxy reading

One that the choice of coreference strategies is sometimes sensitive to is proxy interpretation. Proxy reading is one where the coreferent argument is understood as a representation of or a “stand in” for the reference of the antecedent. This is often the case with statues, for example, authors and their works.

The closest usage in this context I can think of is when someone looks at himself in a mirror as in B8a. Otherwise Ibibio does not permit the use of idem ọmọ in a context like B8b rather a possessive noun phrase is used (this would constitute a possessed noun and a genitive pronoun)

- B8a) okon á-sé ídém ọmọ̀ ké úkít-ísó
 okon Agrs look body his in see-face
 okon looks his body in mirror

okon looks at himself in the mirror

- b) okon í-koót-tó ñwèd ómò ké Swahili, ódó ànyé á-koót ñwèd ómò ké Spanish
okon Agrs read not book his in Swahili, but he Agrs read book his in Spanish
okon not read his book in Swahili, but he read his book in Spanish
okon has not read his book in Swahili, but he has read his book in Spanish
(his = okon)

The difference emerge in English for cases like those in (B9). Imagine that the wax museum is having a special event, which the wax stutues of each celebrity will be washed and dressed by the celebrity they represent.

- B9a) ?okon á-yét ídém ómò úsák-úsák m̀baák à-dí-biát ñdòm ódó
okon Agrs wash body his slowly comp Agrs not damage clay the
okon wash his body slowly so not to damage the clay
okon wash himself slowly so not to damage the clay
- 9b) *okon á-yét úsák-úsák m̀baák à-dí-biát ñdòm ódó
Okon Agrs wash slowly comp Agrs not damage clay the
Okon wash slowly so not to damage clay the
Okon wash slowly so not to damage the clay
- 9c) ?Alice á-sín ídém ómò òfõng úsák-úsák m̀baák à-dí-biát ñdóm ódó
Alice Agrs wear body her cloth slowly comp Agrs not damage clay the
Alice wear her body cloth slowly so not to damage clay the
Alice dress herself carefully so not to damage the clay
- 9d) *Alice á-síné òfõng úsák-úsák m̀baák à-dí-biát ñdóm ódó
Alice Agrs wear cloth slowly comp Agrs not damage clay the
Alice wear cloth slowly so not to damage clay the
Alice dress carefully so not to damage the clay

Test for proxy reading in your language and see if there are instances where they are possible and others where they are not. Proxy readings do not require locality, so cases like B10a are possible

- B19a) okon ó-bó ké ñwèd ìmò á-ném í-koót ké ùsèm Swahili
okon Agrs say comp book his Agrs sweet Agrs read in-language Swahili
okon says that his book sweet read in Swahili labguage
okon says that his book souds better in Swahili
- b) Castro á-ké-kéré ké ìmò ì-mí-yaiyá (imo= logophoric and = Castro)
Castro Agrs Tns think comp he Agrs Tns handsome
Castro thought that he is handsome

Castro thought that he is handsome

Note B11 not applicable in Ibibio

3.9 Ellipsis

Consider the following examples, which all have ellipsis of one sort or another.

B12a) Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill

b) Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill does

English permits both of these, though I suspect (B12b) may not be as widely available as (B12a). If not, then concentrate on (B12a). The following readings are possible for (12a) in English:

- i. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Sherman likes Bill.
- ii. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill likes him (=Sherman)
- iii. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill likes himself.

Only (B12a) is possible in Ibibio and only with strategy A.

B12a) okon ó-tóró ídém ómò àkàn edem

okon Agrs praise body his Agrs surpass edem

okon praises his body more than edem

okon praises himself more than edem

B12a can have all three readings in Ibibio:

- i. Okon praises himself more than okon praise edem
- ii. Okon praises himself more than edem praises him (him=okon)
- iii. Okon praises himself more than edem praises himself.

PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

Use the following symbols for grammaticality judgements. You do not have to employ all of them for any given paradigm.

Ok = perfect

? = A bit odd, but acceptable

?* = pretty bad

* = Unacceptable

** = Word jumble

X1a) *okon á-tuàk

okon Agrs hit

okon hit

- b) okon á-tuak ídém (ọ̀m̀ò)
 okon Agrs hit body ọ̀m̀ò
 okon hit his body
 okon hit himself
- c) ñ̀d̀it̀ò-ìdeén ódó é-tuàk
 children-male the Agrs hit
 children-male the hit
 the boys hit
- d) ñ̀d̀it̀ò-ìdeén ódó é-tuak ídém ọ̀mm̀ò
 children-male Agrs hit body their
 children-male the thier body
 the boys hit each other/one another
- d') ñ̀d̀it̀ò-ìdeén ódó é-dú-tuà-yà
 children-male the Agrs Rec hit Rec
 children-male the hit each other/one another
 the boys hit each other/one another
- e) *John á-tuàk ànyé
 John Agrs hit him
 John hit him

Remarks: Example (X1a) is not possible with either reflexive or reciprocal meaning. (X1b) is possible with reflexive meaning. (X1c) is not possible with either reflexive or reciprocal meaning. (X1d) is possible with both reflexive and reciprocal meaning. (x1d') is possible with “only” reciprocal meaning; it uses strategy C.

Now suppose that the verb chosen had been **wash**. As a native Ibibio speaker, I might respond as follows.

- X2a) *John á-maá-yié
 John Agrs Tns wash
 John washed
- b) john á-maá-yié ídém (ọ̀m̀ò)
 john Agrs Tns wash body his
 john washed his body
 john washed himself
- c) ñ̀d̀it̀ò-ìdeén ódó é-mà-é-yié
 children-male the Agrs Tns Agrs wash
 children-male the washed

the boys washed

- d) ñdītò-ídeén ódó é-ma-é-yié ídém ọmò
children-male the Agrs Tns Agrs wash body their
children-male the wash their body
the boys washed themselves
- e) John á-maá-yét ànyé (anye=John not possible)
John Agrs Tns wash him/her
John washed him/her

Remarks: Example X2a is not possible with reflexive meaning in Ibibio. (X2b) is possible reflexive meaning. (X2c) is not possible with either reflexive or reciprocal reading. (X2d) is possible “only” with reflexive reading. In (X2e) “anye” must not refer to “John”.

Also, strategies B and C do not work with this verb, i.e. “wash”

Can an argument of the main predicate (verb in this case) be represented by one of the coreference strategies that we have identified as holding between coarguments?

- X3a *John á-màá-kít èkà ídém ọmò
John Agrs Tns see mother body his
John saw mother body his
- b) *John á-màá-yét èkà
John Agrs Tns wash mother
John washed mother
- c) okon òmò effiong é-mà-é-kít èkà ọmmò
okon and effiong Agrs Tns Agrs see mother theirs
okon and effiong saw their mother
okon and effiong saw their mother
- c') okon òmò effiong é-mà-é-kít òmò-èkà ọmmò
okon and effiong Agrs Tns Agrs see plu mother their
okon and effiong saw mothers theirs
okon and effiong saw each other/one another's mother

Ibibio does not have any morpheme or word for ‘each other or one another’. The example in X3c means that **eka** is possessed by **ommo** and **ommo** refers to **okon** and **effiong**. The example in X3c' can mean that **okon** and **effiong** saw each other's mother or each person saw his mother.

4.1 Cluasmate coconstruction

The following questions will provide a broad outline of the types of predicates that allow the use of each strategy.

4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

4.1.1.1 Cononical transitives-Can this strategy be used with ordinary transitive verbs, such as the verb meaning ‘see’. Give examples, including the following.

Yes.

- C1a) okon á-màá-kít ídém ọmò
Okon Agrs Tns see body his
Okon saw his body
Okon saw himself (probably in a mirror)
- b) íbaán ódó é-tóró ídém (ọmmò)
women the Agrs praise body their
the women praise thier body
the women praise themselves
- c) òdùfò é-ma-é-tíghá ídém òdùfò
you(pl) Agrs Tns Agrs kick body yours
you(pl) kicked your bodies
you kicked yourselves
- d) ọmmò é-tóró ídém (ọmmò)
they Agrs praise body their
they praise their bodies
they praise themselves

Remarks: Only strategies A and C can be used with these transitive verbs. Strategy B does not work with transitive verbs. Examples for strategy C are:

- C1e) íbaán ódó é-mà-é-dú-kí-té
Women the Agrs Tns Agrs Rec see Rec
The women saw
The women saw each other/one another
- 1f) òdùfò é-mà-é-dú-kít-té
You(pl) Agrs Tns Agrs Rec see Rec
You (pl) saw
You saw each other/one another

4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates-Can this strategy be used with verbs of grooming.

Inalienable-possession objects, etc? Give judgement on the following. Provide some additional examples of your own.

C3a) emem á-màá-yié ídém (ómò)

Emem Agrs Tns wash body hers

Emem wash her body

Emem washed herself

b) okon á-fát ídém ómò ídèt

okon Agrs cut body his hair

okon cut his body hair

okon cut his hair

c) áyín-ówónwaán ódó á-kpí ídém (ómò)

child-female the Agrs cut body hers

girl the cut body hers

the girl cut herself

Remarks: strategies B and C cannot be used with these verbs in these contexts.

4.1.1.3 Psychological predicates. Please provide examples for verbs like those below, even if nothing seems appropriate for the current strategy, marking them according to the level of their acceptability based on the scale given above.

C4a) *okon á-suá

Okon hates

a) okon á-suá ídém (ómò)

okon Agrs hates body his

okon hates his body

okon hates himself

b) *okon ódó abuút

okon is shame

b) ábuút á-mám okon

shame Agrs catch okon

shame catch okon

okon is ashamed

c) okon á-finá ábángá ídém ómò (ok)

okon Agrs worry about body his

okon worries about his body

okon is worried about himself

d)*okon ódó nwát-ídém
okon is show-body

d') okon á-wát ídém (omọ)
okon Agrs show body his
okon shows his body
okon is proud of himself

e) okon á-fíná idém (omọ) (ok)
okon Agrs worries body his
okon worries his body
okon worries himself

Remarks: neither strategy B nor C can be used with these verbs (Psychological predicates).

4.1.1.4 Creation and destruction predicates. Provide examples in addition to (C5) using verbs of creation (e.g., “sew”, “make”, “form”) or destruction (e.g “kill”, “eliminate”, “make disappear”).

C5a) íbaán ódó é-yà-é-wót ídém (ommọ)
Women the Agrs Tns Agrs kill body theirs
The women will kill their bodies
The women will kill themselves/each other/one another

a`) íbaán odó é-yà-é-dú-wót-tó
women the Agrs Tns Agrs Rec kill Rec
the women will kill
the women will kill each other/one another

b) màsín ódó é-bọp ídém ommọ
machine the Agrs build body theirs
the machine build body theirs
the machines build themselves

Remarks: Strategy A can be used with many verbs of creation and destruction. Strategy B cannot be used with this verbs. Strategy C can be used with some of these verbs as in (C5a`).

4.1.1.5 Verbs of representation. Reflexive version of these verbs include instances where individuals act on their own behalf, rather than have someone act in their name or for them.

C6a) ñdítò-ídeén ódó é-ké-dá é-nó ídém ọmmò
Children-male the Agrs Tns stand Agrs give body their
The boys stood for their bodies
The boys represented themselves

a') nditò-ídeén ódó é-ké-ká ké ídém ọmmò
children-male the Agrs Tns go by body their
the boys went by body their
the boys went by themselves

b) okon á-ké-táng íkọ ídém ọmò
okon Agrs Tns talk-word body his
okon spoke for his body
okon spoke for himself

Remarks: Strategy B seems not to work with any of the classes of verbs so far discussed in this section. It seems to co-occur with a special class of intransitive verbs that the action involve movement of the whole body. Verbs like nyanna “stretch”, dibe “hide” sọrọ “squat”. We have given examples in section (2).

4.1.2 Argument position pairings

4.1.2.1 Subject-indirect object-The preceding questions asked mostly about subject-object coreference. Can this strategy be used to express coreference between a subject and an indirect object? Choose verbs that have an indirect object in your language.

C7a) Emem á-dép ékpát ọnọ ídém (ọmò)
Emem Agrs buy bag give body hers
Emem buys bag give her body
Emem buys a bag for herself

b) okon á-bọp úfọk ọnọ ídém (ọmò)
okon Agrs build house give body his
okon build house give his body
okon builds a house for himself

For Comparison, also provide judgement for the following:

C8a) Mary á-maá-nó ídém ọmò éno
Mary Agrs Tns give body hers gift
Mary gave her body gift
Mary gave a gift to herself

b) okon á-bén ídém (ọmò) ọwọt m̀m̀ è ìsénówó
okon Agrs take body his show plu visitors

okon take his body show visitors
okon introduced himself to the visitors

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

- C9a) okon á-ké-táng-íkò yé ídém ọ̀mò
okon Agrs Tns talk-word with body his
okon talked-word with his body
okon talked with himself
- b) okon á-táng-íkò ọ̀nọ emem ábángá ídém ọ̀mò
okon Agrs talk-word give emem about body his
okon talk to emem about his body
okon talks to emem about himself
- c) okon á-maá-nọ́ ídém (ọ̀mò) òwèt
okon Agrs Tns give body his book
okon gave his body book
okon gave himself a book

Remarks: My intuition is that this strategy (strategy A) works for coconstrual relation with subject both as indirect objects and as oblique argument even though Ibibio does not have morphological case.

4.1.2.3 Subject-adjunct-provide some examples of coreference between a subject and an adjunct, e.g., a locative PP. If appropriate translation are not prepositional object, try to construct appropriate examples.

- C10a) okon á-ké-bọ́p úfọk ódó ké ídém ọ̀mò
okon Agrs Tns build house the by body his
okon built the house by his body
okon built the house by himself (he didn't hire workers)
- b) Mary a-ké-dí ke ídém (ọ̀mọ)
Mary Agrs Tns come by body hers
Mary came by her body
Mary came by herself (she didn't send a representative)

Remarks: (C10 a and b) are examples of the use of strategy A as an adjunct in coconstrual with the subject.

4.1.2.4 Ditransitive and double complements-Can the strategy be used to indicate coreference between the two non-subject arguments of a verb?. If there is more than one way to express the two non-subject arguments of a verb like “give”, give examples of each type of construction. In English for example, we would want examples both of the type “show Hal the book” and “show the book to Hal.” (where X = Hal for C11a-d). For

example, for (C11c), Bill gave Hal himself, which is admittedly pragmatically awkward, but imagine for (C11a) that Mary is showing Hal his image in the mirror- imagine Hal had never seen a mirror before.

C11a) okon á-maá-wọt emem idém ọmọ (idem ọmọ = okon/emem)

Okon Agrs Tns show emem body her/his

Okon showed emem her/his body

Okon showed his own body to emem/okon showed emem her own body

b) *okon á-maa-wọt idém ọmọ emem

okon Agrs Tns show body her emem

okon showed her body emem

okon showed herself to emem (herself= emem)

c)**emem á-maá-nọ okon idém ọmọ (*idem ọmọ = okon)

emem Agrs Tns give okon body his

emem gave okon his body

emem gave okon himself

More naturally:

c`) emem á-maá-nọ okon idém ọmọ (idem ọmọ = emem)

emem Agrs Tns give okon body hers

emem gave okon her body

emem gave herself to okon

d) **effịng á-maá-nọ idém ọmọ okon (*idem ọmọ = okon)

effịng Agrs Tns give body his okon

effịng gave his body okon

effịng gave okon his body

4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts-Consider coreference between two arguments or adjunct NPs in the same clause, neither of which is a subject and neither of which is a direct object(if your language has such constructions-if not just say so and move on).

C12c) okon á-ke-táng-íkọ ọnọ effịng ábánga idém ọmọ (idem ọmọ = okon/effịng)

okon Agrs Tns talk-word give effịng about body his

okon talked to effịng about his body

okon talked to effịng about okon/effịng

Remarks: Strategy A succeeds with (C12c) but the coreference is ambiguous between the subject of the matrix clause and the co-adjunct. None of the other strategies can succeed

here.

4.1.2.6 Cluasemate noncoarguments

Possessives-Give examples based on the following sentences, and/or by constructing analogous examples from reflexive sentences from previous sections. For each of (C13) and (C14), X = Nick.

C13a) **Okon á-foón idém ọ̀mọ̀ èkà

Okon Agrs foon body his mother

Okon foon his body mother

Okon foon himself's mother

a) okon á-foon èkà ọ̀mọ̀

okon Agrs foon mother his

okon foons his mother

b) okon á-maá-sára idém ọ̀mọ̀ idèt

okon Agrs Tns comb body his hair

okon combed his body hair

okon combed his hair

c) **okon á-ké-táng-íkọ̀ ọ̀nọ̀ idém ọ̀mọ̀ èteufọ̀k

okon Agrs Tns talk word give body his master

okon talked to him self's master

okon talked to his master

c') okon á-ké-táng-íkọ̀ ọ̀nọ̀ eteufọ̀k ọ̀mọ̀

okon Agrs Tns talk-word give master his

okon talked to master his

okon talked to his master.

d) **okon á-ké-dót idem ọ̀mọ̀ ònwèt ke òkpókóró

Okon Agrs Tns put body his book on table

Okon put his body book on table

Okon put himself's book on the table

d') okon á-ke-dót ònwèt ọ̀mọ̀ ke òkpókóró

okon Agrs Tns put book his on table

okon put his book on the table

e) **èdidèm ódó á-ké-nọ̀ okon éno ke idém ọ̀mọ̀ ídang

King the Agrs Tns give okon gift in body his village

The king gave okon gift in his body village

The king gave okon gift in himself's village

e) edidem ódó á-ké-nọ okon enọ ké idang ọmọ (ọmọ = edidem)
king the Agrs Tns give okon gift in village his
the king gave okon gift in his village (his = king)

f) **nditọ-idèen ódó é-ma-e-yié idém ọmmọ isó
children-male the Agrs Tns Agrs wash body their face
the boys washed their body face
the boys washed themselves face

f) nditọ-ideén ódó é-ma-é-yié iso ọmmọ
children-male the Agrs Tns Agrs wash face theirs
boys the washed their face
the boys washed their face

C14a) ètè okon á-má ànyé (anye can refer to okon or someone else mentioned in discourse)

Father okon Agrs like him
Father okon likes him
Okon's father likes him

b) ìdiọk-itóng okon á-maa-wót ànyé (anye refers to okon)
bad-neck okon Agrs Tns kill him
greed okon killed him
okon's greed destroyed him

c). èkà okon á-maá-nyàm mótó ọmọ (ọmọ refers to either okon's mather or okon)
mother okon Agrs Tns sell car his/her
mother okon sold car his/her
okon's mother sold his/her car

Remarks: In all cases in (C13) **Strategy A idem x** cannot be used except in (C13b) rather only the genitive pronouns are used together with the nouns they possess.

Please provide translation and judgement for the following examples where the plural pronouns is coconstructed with **the boys** or **the politicians**.

X20a) ? nditọ-ideén ódó é-ma-e-kit ndise idém ọmmọ (ọmmọ = ok)
Children-male the Agrs Tns Agrs see picture body their
Boys the saw picture body theirs
The boys saw picture of themselves

b) *Mary á-maá-dọkọ nditọ-ideén ódo abánga ndise idém ọmmọ (ọmmọ = ok)

mary Agrs Tns tell children-male the about pictures body their
mary told the boys about picture their body
mary told the boys about pictures of themselves

- c) òmbiò-mbre-úkára ódó é-diómo ánwán ábanga idém (òmò)
- people-play-rule the Agrs plan fight about body theirs
the politicians plan fight about their body
the politicians plan fight about themselves/each other/one another

4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments - Refer back to the list of grammatical function-changing operations (such as passive, antipassive, applicative, possessor ascension, dative alternation) that you constructed for section 3.6 (if you did that). For each one, construct some representative non-reflexive examples. Then apply each coreference strategy to various pairs of arguments and report their grammaticality status.

Example: The following sentences have been passivized. If your language has passive, construct reflexive and non-reflexive versions of each one as above.

- C15a) Polly was praised by X
b) Polly was helped by X
c) Little is known by Polly about X (X = Polly)

Not applicable

4.1.3 Properties of antecedents

4.1.3.1

C16a) àmì mí-má idém-(m̀m̀)

I Agrs like body my
I like my body
I like myself

b) ònyìn í-má idém (ònyìn)

we Agrs like body ours
we like our body
we like ourselves

c).àfò á-ma idém (mfo)

you(sg) Agrs like body yours
you like your body
your like yourself

d).òdùfò é-má idém (òdùfò)

you(pl) Agrs like body yours
you like your bodies
you like yourselves

e). ànyé á-ma idém (ómò)
s/he Agrs like body hers/his
s/he likes her/his body
s/he likes herself/himself

f). ọmmò é-má idém (ọmmò)
they Agrs like body theirs
they like their bodies
they like themselves

Remarks: Strategy A works for all persons and number combination. **Strategy C** can only work for plural antecedents as in this examples;

g) òdùfò é-dú-mák-ká
you(pl) Agrs Rec like Rec
you like yourselves

h). ònyìn í-dú-mák-ká
we Agrs Rec like Rec
we like ourselves

i) ọmmò é-dú-mák-ká
they Agrs Rec like Rec
they like themselves

Repeat with the following sentences, or other suitable examples from section 4.1.1.

C17a). àmí mí-má-yié idém (m̀m̀i)
I Agrs Tns wash body my
I washed my body
I washed myself

b). àmí ñ-sua idém (m̀m̀ì)
I Agrs hate body my
I hate my body
I hate myself

c). àm̀ì ñ-ké-táng ikò nnò John mbánga idém (m̀m̀ì)
I Agrs Tns talk-word give john about body my
I talk-word give John about my body
I told John about myself

d). àmĩ n̄-ké-kit údák-ikót ké-nbèn idém (m̄mĩ)

I Agrs Tns see rope-bush near body my

I saw snake near my body

I saw a snake myself

e). * idém m̄mĩ á-m-má mí:n

body my Agrs Agro like me

body my like me

I am like by my body

f). **àmí n̄-foón idém m̄mĩ é-ka

I Agrs phone body my mother

I phone my body's mother

I phone myself's mother

g). *ete m̄mĩ á-má idém m̄mĩ

father my Agrs likes body my

father my likes my body

my father likes myself.

4.1.3.2 Animacy or humanity- If animacy plays a role in choice of strategy or if a strategy is restricted to human (or metaphorically human) entities, please give examples showing both success and failure of the strategy in a way that illustrates the difference.

C18a). m̄bak ó-bak idém (ómò)

Story Agrs tell body its

Story tell its body

Story tells itself

Remarks: This example should not be taken literally; it is idiomatic. It means that the story was so clearly told that every detail was understood.

b). ekóng á-nwána idém (ómò)

war Agrs fight body its

war fight its body

war fights itself

Remarks: This example should not be taken literally; it is idiomatic. It means that the war was so simple that the warriors didn't need much effort to wind it.

In all, Ibibio does not mark animacy.

4.1.3.2 Pronoun types - If your language has more than one class of subject pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic), repeat the tests of the previous section for each type. Also repeat for null pronouns, if applicable.

Not applicable

4.1.3.4 Quantifiers- Provide judgement for the following sentences.

C19a). àfit íbaán é-ma-é-kit idém (ǝmmò)

All women Agrs Tns Agrs see body their

All women saw thier bodies

All women saw themselves/every woman saw herself

a`). *afit ówónwaán á-maa-kít idém ǝmò

all woman Agrs Tns see body hers

all woman saw her body

all woman saw herself

b). àfit ntòk-àyìn á-ma-é-yié idém (ǝmmò)

all children Agrs Tns Agrs wash body theirs

all children washed their bodies

all children wased themselves/every child washed himself

b`). *afit étók-áyin á-maa-yié idém ǝmò

all child Agrs Tns wash body his

all child wased his body

all child wased himself

c) àfit ñdītò-úfòk-ñwèt é-sua idém (ǝmmò)

all students Agrs hate body theirs

all students hate their bodies

all students hate themselves/every student hates himself

c`) *afit ayin-ufòk-nwet a-sua idem ǝmò

all student Agrs hate body his

all student hates his body

all student hates himself

d). àfit ntòk-àyìn é-mà-e-kít údak-ikòt ke-mben idém ǝmmò

all children Agrs Tns Agrs see rope-bush near body theirs

all children saw snake near their bodies

all children saw a snake near themselves/every child saw a snake near himself

d`) *àfit étók-áyin á-maa-kít údak-ikòt ke mben idém ǝmò

All child Agrs Tns see rope-bush near body his

All child saw snake near his body

All child saw a snake near himself

- e). *àfit étok-áyin á-foón idém ọmọ eka
all child Agrs phone body his mother
all child phone his body's mother
all child phone himself's mother
- e') àfit òtók-áyin é-foón èkà ọmmò
all children Agrs phone mother theirs
all children phone their mothers
all children phone their mothers/every child phones his mother
- f). **afit ete é-tok-áyin á-ma idém ọmọ (idem ọmọ = child)
all father Agrs child Agrs like body his
all father child like his body
all child's father likes himself (himself = child)

Repeat, replacing the quantifier “Every N” with “No N”

- g) ówónwáán òdòmòkéét í-ki-kít-te idém (ọmọ)
woman not-one Agrs Tns see Neg body hers
woman not-one saw her body
No woman saw herself
- b) ètòk-áyin òdòmòkéét í-ki-yié-ghe idém (ọmọ)
child not-one Agrs Tns wash not body his
child not-one washed his body
no child washed himself
- c) áyin úfọk-ńwet òdòmò-keét í-suá-ghá idém (ọmọ)
student not-one Agrs hate body his
student not-one hate his body
no student hates himself
- d). ètòk-ayin òdòmòkéét í-ki-kít-té údák-ikót ke m̀bèn idém ọmọ
child not-one Agrs Tns see Neg snake naer body his
child not-one saw snake near his body
no child saw a snake near himself
- e). **ètòk-ayin òdòmòkéét í-ki-koót-to idém ọmọ èkà
child not-one Agrs Tns call Neg body his mother
child not-one called his body's mother
not child called his body's mother

e') ètòk ayin òdòmòkeet i-ki-koót-to èkà ọmọ
child not-one Agrs Tns call Neg mother his
child not-one callede his mother
no child called his mother

f). **èté ètòk-ayin òdòmòkeét î-maá-gha idém ọmọ (idem ọmọ = child)
father child not-one Agrs like Neg body his
father child not-one like not his body
no child's father like himself (himself= child)

4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents

C20a). ànié î-ki-kít idém (ọmọ)?
Who Agrs Tns see body his
Who saw his body
Who saw himself

b) àniè ì-ki-yiè idém (ọmọ)
who Agrs Tns wash body his
who washed his body
who washed himself

c) ànié î-ki-kít údàk-ikót ké mbén idém ọmọ
who Agrs Tns see snake near body his
who saw snake near his body
who saw a snake near himself

d). **ànié i-ki-foón idém ọmọ èkà
Who Agrs Tns phone body his mother
Who phoned his body mother
Who phoned himself mother

e). **ète ànié î-má idém ọmọ (idem ọmọ = anie)
father who Agrs like body his
father who like his body
whose father likes himself (himself = wh-word)

4.1.3.6 Reverse binding.

C21a) **idém ọmọ á-ma-kít okon
Body his Agrs Tns see okon
His body saw okon

Himself saw okon (okon = himself)

- b). **idém ònyin á-ma-i-kít ònyìn
body ours Agrs Tns Agro see us
body ours saw us
ourselves saw us
- c). **idém ọmọ á-ma-kít údák-ikọt ké-mbèn okon (okon = idem ọmọ)
body his Agrs Tns see snake near okon
body his saw snake near okon
himself saw a snake near okon
- d). **idém ọmọ á-má okon
body his Agrs Tns like okon
body his like okon
himself like okon
- e). **effiọng á-ké-tàng íkọ ọnọ idém ọmọ ábángá okon (idem ọmọ = okon)
effiọng Agrs Tns talk-word give body his about okon
effiọng talk-word give his body about okon
effiọng spoke to himself about okon (okon = himself)
- f). **effiọng á-ma-dókkọ idém ọmọ ábángá okon
effiọng Agrs Tns tell body his about okon
effiọng told his body about okon
effiọng told himself about okon (himself = okon)
- g). **idém ọmọ á-maa-tóró okon (No passivization in Ibibio)
body his Agrs Tns praise okon
his body praised okon
himself praised okon
- h). **idém m̀fò á-ma-ú-ma fi:n (No passivization)
body yours Agrs Tns Agro like you
body yours liked you
himself liked you

If the current strategy permits a possessive position to be coreferent with its antecedent, please indicate if an anaphor or a pronoun is possible in the position of X, which should correspond to George in all of these examples.

- C22a) **idém ọmọ á-maa-foón èkà okon
body his Agrs Tns phone mother okon
body his phoned mother okon

himself phoned okon's mother (himself = okon)

- b) **idém ómò èkà á-maá-yém àdikoót okon
body his mother Agrs Tns want to-call okon
body his mother wanted to call okon
himself's mother wanted to call okon (okon = himself)
- c) **idém ómò èka afina okon
body his mother worries okon
his body's mother worries okon
himself's mother worries okon
- d) **mary á-tang-ìkò ọno idém ómò èkà ábangá okon
mary Agrs talk-word give body his mother about okon
mary talked to his body's mother about okon
mary talked to himself's mother about okon
- e) **ndise idém ómò eka ọtọ okon
picture body his mother hit okon
picture his body's mother hit okon
a picture of himself's mother hit okon (okon = himself)

4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1 Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

C23a) íbaán ódó é-nwàm idèm ọmmò (strategy A)

Women the Agrs help body theirs

The women help their body

The women help themselves/the women help each other/one another

a) íbaán ódó é-dú-nwám-má (strategy C)

women the Agrs Rec help Rec

the women help each other/one another

Which of the following meanings can this example have? Say which it can have and which it can't have.

- C24a) Each woman helps all (or almost all) of the women, excluding herself.
b) Each woman helps all of the women, including herself.
c) Each woman helps at least some of the other women.
d) Each woman helps herself.
e) The women together as a group help the women together as a group.
f) Each woman helps one of the women other than herself, such that all of

the women are helped by one of the others

Remarks: For **strategy A** (C24 b,c, e and f) are possible with both reflexive and reciprocal reading. (C24a and d) are not possible.

For **Strategy C** (C24e and f) are possible

Translate each of the following examples, which are compatible with collective action, and state their possible interpretations as above.

C25a) íbaán ódó é-ma-é-tóro idém (ǝmmô)

Women the Agrs Tns Agrs praise body their
The women praised their body
The women praise themselves

Every member of the group praised other members of the group including herself

b) íbaán ódó é-ya-é-nwám idém (ǝmmô)

women the Agrs Tns Agrs help body their
the women will help their body
the women will help themselves

The women would help themselves as a group and each member would help each other or one another including herself

c) íbaán ódó é-ma-é-sio idém (ǝmmô) ndíse

women the Agrs Tns Agrs take body their picture
the women photographed their body
the women photographed themselves

Each member was given a shot by another member and all the members were photographed as a group probably by a photographer.

d) íbaán ódó é-ma-é-táp idém (ǝmmô)

women the Agrs Tns Agrs betray body their
the women betrayed their body
the women betrayed themselves

Each member was betrayed by another member and they betrayed themselves as a group.

Remarks: Strategy A permits both reflexive and reciprocal readings

It is ambiguous with predicates like “help”, “like”, “praise” etc.

Strategy B permits only reflexive reading and is very restrictive; co-occurring with a small number of verbs.

Strategy C permits only reciprocal reading but is not as restrictive as Strategy B: co-occurs with more verbs.

.1.4.2 Reciprocal readings - Complete this section only if your strategy allows a reciprocal reading. If the strategy is ambiguous, make sure to use verbs that allow the reciprocal interpretation.

a) Which of the following verbs can the strategy be applied to?

C26) "meet", "see", "fight", "speak", "hit"

(Strategy A permits all the Verbs. Strategy C permit All the verbs but “fight”)

Examples:

Ibaán ódó é-kít idém (ǝmmò)

Women the Agrs see body their

The women see their body

The women see themselves/each other/one another

Ibaán ódó é-dú-kít-té

Women the Agrs Rec see Rec

The women see each other/one another

b) Does the strategy allow the following constructions?

C27) okon á-maá-sóbo idém (ǝmò) yé effiṅg

Okon Agrs Tns join body his with effiṅg

Okon met his body with effiṅg

Okon met with effiṅg (meaning okon and effiṅg met themselves/each other)

(Okon saw X with effiṅg is not possible)

c) Is there any contrast between C28a and C28b with respect to the acceptability of reciprocal interpretation? If so, tell us what you think the problem is and provide pairs like these for subsequent tests in this section (and let us know if male/female gender pairings introduce any complications).

No

Gendar does not contribute to interpretation in this case.

d) Can the strategy express reciprocity between a subject and an indirect object?

C29a). okon yè emem é-táng íkọ éno idém (ǝmmò)

Okon and emem Agrs talk-word give body theirs

Okon and emem talk to their body

Okon and emem talk to themselves/each other

b) okon ye emem é-ma-é-sòbo yè idém (ǝmmò)
okon and emem Agrs Tns Agrs meet with body theirs
okon and emem met with their body
okon and emem met with themselves/each other

c) okon ye emem é-ké-nó idém (ǝmmò) ñwèt áni
okon and emem Agrs Tns give body their book this
okon and emem gave body theirs this book
okon and emem gave this book to themselves/each other

e) Long-distance reciprocal readings - For any of the strategies that permit a reciprocal reading, can the following sentence be translated to mean "Bill thinks he likes Mary, and Mary thinks she likes Bill"? **YES**

C30a) okon ye emem é-kèrè ké ñmímò ì-mi-má idém (mímímò)
Okon and emem Agrs think that they like body their
Okon and emem think that they like their body
Okon and emem think that they like themselves/each other

a') okon ye emem é-kèrè ké ñmimò ì-mi-dú-màk-kà
okon and emem Agrs think that they Agrs Tns Rec like Rec
okon and emem think that they like each other

Remarks: Strategies A and C permit long distance reciprocal readings.

4.2 Cross-clausal binding

In languages like English, the X-SELF strategy can be used to relate the thematic subject of a subordinate clause to the subject of the immediately higher one, as in X4.

X4) John expects himself to win.

Not possible with a reflexive

Okon ó-dót-ányín ànyé ádíkan
Okon Agrs put-eye him to win
Okon expects him to win
Okon expects himself to win/Okon expects another person to win

X5) okon á-kí-dòng nnyin ádinwáná ádínam àfò à-tang eti ikò ábángá ímò
okon Agrs Tns send us to try to make you Agrs talk good-word about him
okon sent us to try to make you to say good words about him
okon asked us to try to get you to talk nicely about him

Note: Not possible with reflexive but possible with logophoric and bare pronoun but it ambiguous with bare pronoun "anye" ie "anye in place of him in X5 refer to

either okon or another person”

X6) okon á-ké-bó ke edem á-ma ówónwán á-ki-tám-mó ìmò ìnuá
Okon Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs likes woman Agrs Tns kiss Rel him
mouth
okon said that edem likes woman kiss that him mouth
okon said that edem likes the woman that kissed him (him=logophoric=okon)

X7) Other languages have forms that appear to require an antecedent can find their antecedent across almost any sort of higher tensed clause, as in Chinese.

X7) okon ó-bo ké edem á-sí-má áditáng-íkò yé ìmò
Okon Agrs say that edem Agrs often like to talk-word with him
Okon says that edem often like to talk word with him
Okon says that edem often speaks to him

4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

X8a) okon á-ké-bó ké ima é-ma ìmò
Okon Agrs Tns say that ima Agrs loves him
Okon said that ima loves him (him=logophoric=okon)

b) okon á-ké-bó ke ima á-ma ànyé
okon Agrs Tns say that ima Agrs love him
okon said that ima loves him (him=okon or him=someone else)

In what follows, please be careful to use verbs compatible with the strategy you are testing, as determined by your answers earlier in the questionnaire. If the strategy does not permit a subject argument to be marked, please try to formulate what it would look like and mark it unacceptable according to the strength of your judgment. It is as important to tell us which readings do not work as it is to tell us which readings do, so please pay particular attention to indicating which is which.

4.2.1.1 Tensed complement, long distance relations, anaphor in situ - Please provide translations for all of these sentences where X is Jack.

D1a) okon á-ké-bó ké ìmò í-mí-sòp idém
Okon Agrs Tns say that Agrs Tns fast body
Okon said that he fast body
Okon said that he is smart

a) ?okon á-ké-bó ké ànyé á-sòp idém

okon Agrs Tns say that he Agrs fast body
okon said that he fast body
oko said that he is smart

a``) **okon á-ké-bó ké idém ọmọ ọ-sọp-idém

okon Agrs Tns say that body his Agrs fast body
okon said that his body fast body
okon said that himself is smart

b) okon á-diọngọ ké edem é-ma ímọ

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs like him
okon knows that edem likes him

b') ?okon á-diọngọ ké edem á-má ànyé

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs like him
okon kows that edem likes him (him=okon or someone else)

b``) **okon á-diọngọ ké edem á-ma idém ọmọ (**idem ọmọ = okon)

Okon Agrs know that edem Agrs like body his
Okon knows that edem likes his body
Okon knows that edem like himself

c).okon á-diọngọ ké edem á-ké-bó ké **ímọ** í-mí-sọp idém (**imọ=okon or edem**)

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs Tns say that he Agrs Tns fast body
okon knows that edem said that he fast body
okon knows that edem said that he is smert

c') ?okon á-diọngọ ke edem á-ké-bó ké **anyé** á-sọp idém

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs Tns say that he Agrs fast body
okon knows that edem said that he fast body
okon knows that edem said that he is smart

c``)** okon á-diọngọ ke edem á-ké-bó ke **idém ọmọ** a-sọp idém

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs Tns say that body his Agrs fast body
okon knows that edem said that his body fast body
okon knows that edem said that himself is smart

d) okon á-kére ke edem á-diọngọ ké ima é-ma **ímọ** (imọ = okon or edem)

okon Agrs think that edem know that ima Agrs like him
okon thinks that edem knows that ima likes him

d') ?okon á-kéré ké edem á-diọngọ ke ima á-ma **anyé** (anye=okon, edem

or someone else)
okon Agrs think that edem know that ima Agrs like him
okon thinks that edem knows that ima likes him

d`) **okon á-kéré ké edem á-diòngó ké ima é-ma **idém ọmọ** (**idem ọmọ=okon

okon Agrs think that edem know that ima Agrs like body his
okon thinks that edem knows that ima likes himself

e).okon á-kéré ké edem á-diòngó ké ìmò ì-mí-má ima
okon Agrs think that edem Agrs know that he Agrs Tna like ima
okon thinks that edem knows that he likes ima

e`) ?okon á-kéré ké edem á-diòngó ké ànyé á-ma ima
okon Agrs think that edem Agrs know that he Agrs Tna like ima
okon thinks that edem knows that he likes ima

e`) ** okon á-kéré ké edem á-diòngó ké idém ọmò á-má ima
okon Agrs think that edem Agrs know that himself Agrs like ima
okon thinks that edem knows that himself likes ima

f) emem á-ké-dòkkò okon ké ima á-má ànyé (anye=okon or emem or someone else)
emem Agrs Tns tell okon that ima Agrs loves him/her
emem told okon that ima loves him/her

f) ** emem á-ké-dòkkò okon ké ima á-má imọ (**imọ=okon)
emem Agrs Tns tell okon that ima Agrs loves him (good in English)
emem told okon that ima loves him

f`) ** emem á-ké-dòkkò okon ké ima á-má idém ọmò (**idem ọmọ=okon)
emem Agrs Tns tell okon that ima Agrs loves body his
emem told okon that ima loves his body
emem told okon that ima loves himself

g) emem á-ké-dòkkò okon ké ànyé á-ma ima (anye=okon or emem)
emem Agrs Tns tell okon that he/she Agrs love ima
emem told okon that he/she loves ima

g`) **emem á-ké-dòkkò okon ké ìmò ì-mí-má ima (**imọ=okon)
emem Agrs Tns tell okon that he Agrs Tns love ima
emem told okon that he loves ima

g`) **emem á-ké-dòkkò okon ké idém ọ̀mò 1-mí-má ima (**idem ọ̀mọ̀=
 okon)
 emem Agrs Tns tell okon that body his Agrs Tns love ima
 emem told okon that his body loves ima
 emem told okon that himself loves ima

D2a) okon á-maá-nyímmé ké emem é-má ímò
 Okon Agrs Tns admit that emem Agrs love him
 Okon admitted that emem loves him

b) okon á-ké-kéré ké emem é-má ímò
 okon Agrs Tns think that Agrs love him
 okon thought that emem loves him

Please also test adjuncts, such as those in (D3), where X=Jef.

D3a) okon á-maá-táng-íkọ abánga Mary kını edem á-ké-yátta-ésit mmé ànyé
 (anye=okon or Mary)
 Okon Agrs Tns talk-word about Mary when edem Agrs Tns hot-heart with
 him/her
 Okon talk-word about Mary when edem hot-heart with him/her
 Okon complained about Mary when edem blamed him/her

b) okon á-maá-nyòng úfọk kını idém á-maá-ké-mèm ànyé (anye=okon or
 someone else)
 okon Agrs Tns return home when body Agrs Tns weak him
 okon returned home when his body was weak
 okon returned home when he was weak

c).?Kını Mary á-maá-ké-wet déta ọ̀nọ̀ anyé, okon á-maá-nyòng ufọk
 (anye=okon or someone else)
 After Mary Agrs Tns Asp write letter give him, okon Agrs Tns return home
 After Mary wrote a letter give him, okon returned home
 After Mary wrote to him, okon returned home

d). okon á-ké-nyòng kını emem m-mí-ki-kít-te ànyé (anye=okon)
 okon Agrs Tns left when emem Agrs Asp Tns see not him
 okon left at-time emem see not him
 okon left when emem did not see him

e). Mary á-maá-biat okon ányíng òndiòn ásóbó mèmè ànyé (anye=okon or
 someone else)
 mary Agrs Tns spoil okon name before meeting with him

mary spoilt okon name before meeting with him
mary condemned okon before meeting with him

Remarks: None of the coreference strategies can succeed here in (D3a-e) except the independent pronoun which is largely ambiguous in reference between the antecedent and someone else.

Also, there is no gender distinction in Ibibio.

The logophoric works in (D2a-b)

4.2.1.2 Climbing from tense complements

Okon á-dát [idém ọmọ ònìte ọbọng]

Okon Agrs take body his as king

Okon take his body as king

Okon considers himself to be king

Remarks: This is the closest to small clause I can think of in Ibibio

4.2.2 Long distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types

D4a). okon á-ké-yém edem é-trọs ímọ/**idem ọmọ

Okon Agrs Tns want edem Agrs trust him

Okon wanted edem trust him

Okon wanted edem to trust him

b) okon á-ké-bò edem é-nọ ímọ ònwèt (imọ = okon)

okon Agrs Tns say edem Agrs give him book

okon asked edem give him book

okon asked edem to give him book

c). okon á-ké-bò emem á-táng-ikọ yé ímọ/**idem ọmọ (imọ = okon)

okon Agrs Tns say emem Agrs talk-word with him

okon told emem talk-word with him

okon told emem to talk with him

d). okon á-ké-bò emem á-táng-íkọ é-bángá ímọ/**idem ọmọ (imọ = okon)

okon Agrs Tns say emem Agrs talk-word about him

okon say emem talk-word about him

okon told emem to talk about him

e). okon á-ké-yém emem é-trọs ímọ/**idem ọmọ (imọ = okon)

okon Agrs want emem Agrs trust him

okon wanted emem trust him

okon wanted emem to trust him

f). okon á-ké-yém edem é-kpè **ímò** òkálk (imò = okon)
 okon Agrs Tns want edem Agrs pay him money
 okon wanted edem pay him money
 okon wanted edem to pay him

g). okon á-yém edem ó-bó ké **ímò** ì-misóp-idém (imò = okon or edem)
 okon Agrs want edem Agrs say that him Agrs fast-body
 okon want edem sat that he fast-body
 okon wants edem to say that he is smart

h). okon á-yém edem ó-bó ké Mary é-má **ímò** (imò = okon or edem)
 okon Agrs want edem Agrs say that Mary Agrs love him
 okon wants edem say that Mary love him
 okon wants edem to say that mary loves him

D5a) okon á-yém **ímò** í-kán/**idem ọmọ
 Okon Agrs want him win
 Okon wants him him win
 Okon wants himself to win

b). okon á-má edem é-kán **ímò**/**idem ọmọ
 okon Agrs like edem win him
 okon likes edem win him
 okon likes edem to win him

D6a). Not applicable

If the coreference nominal can be a possessive, provide also examples like the following:

D7a). okon á-yém edem á-kan áyin-ékà ìmò
 Okon Agrs want edem Agrs win child-mother his
 Oko n wants edem win brother his
 Okon wants edem to win his brother

b). Not applicable

c). okon á-yímmé áyin-ékà ìmò é-kàn ímò
 okon Agrs agree child-mother his Agrs win him
 okon agrees brother his win him
 okon agrees for his brther to win him

- d). okon á-má edem á-kan áyin-ékà ìmò
 okon Agrs like edem Agrs win child-mother his
 okon likes edem defeat brother his
 okon likes edem to defeat his brother

Remarks: structures of D5 and D6 types not possible.

- D8a). okon á-dát ídém ọmọ̀ n̄tè ọbọ̀ng
 Okon Agrs take body his as king
 Okon take his body as king
 Okon considers himself king

- b). okon á-dát ké mary é-mà ímò/**idem ọmọ̀
 okon Agrs take that Mary Agrs love him
 okon considers that mary loves him
 okon considers mary fond of him

- c). okon á-dát ké Mary áyát-ésit yé ímò/**idem ọmọ̀
 okon Agrs take that mary hot-heart with him
 okon take that Mary hot-heart with him
 okon considers Mary angry with him

Note: Verb serialization is allowed in Ibibio.

If your language permits sentential subjects like those in D9, please indicate if coreference succeeds. Your language may not have a verb like implicate, but if so, try a verb that seems close, if possible.

No backward anaphora in Ibibio

- D9a) That X was late upset Oliver.
 b) That X was late suggested that Oliver was guilty.
 c) That X was late made Oliver look guilty.
 d) That X was late implicated Oliver

- D9a) **ítak ídem ọmọ̀ á-ké-díghé ké idiọk-iní áyát okon ésít
 Why body his Agrs Tns come at bad-time hot okon heart
 Why his body came at bad time upset okon
 The fact that himself came late upset okon

4.3 Principle C-type effects

- E1a). **ànyé á-suá okon (**anye=okon)
 He Agrs hates okon
 He hates okon

b). **ànyé á-ké-bó ké edem á-suá okon (**anye=okon)
he Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs hate okon
he said that edem hates okon

c). **anyé á-maá-suá áyin-ówódeén ódó (**anye=ayin-owodeen)
he Agrs Tns hate child-person-male the
he hated boy the
he hated the boy

d). ** ànyé á-ké-bó ké edem á-maá-suá áyin-ówódeén ódò (**anye=ayin-owodeen)
he Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs Tns hate child-person-male
he said that edem hated boy the
he said that edem hated the boy

E2a). **èkà ọmọ á-maá-suá okon (**ọmọ=okon)
Mother his Agrs Tns hate okon
Mother his hated okon
His mother hated okon

b). **èkà ọmọ á-ké-bó ké edem á-maá-suá okon (**ọmọ = okon)
mother his Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs Tns hate okon
mother his said that edem hated okon
his mother said that edem hated okon

c). **èkà ọmọ á-maá-suá áyin-ówódeén ódó (**ọmọ=ayin-owodeen)
mother his Agrs Tns hate child-person-male the
mother his hated the boy
his mother hated the boy

d). **èkà ọmọ á-ké-bó ké edem á-maá-suá áyin-ówódeén ódó
(**ọmọ=ayin-owodeen)
Mother his Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs Tns hate child-person-
male the
mother his said that edem hated boy the
his mother said that edem hated the boy

E3a). **èté ányé á-ké- maá-ghá á-maá-suá okon (**anye=okon)
man he Agrs Tns like Rel Agrs Tns hate okon
man he liked hated okon
the man who he liked hated okon

- b). **èté ànyé á-ké-maá-ghá á-maá-suá ayin-ówódeén ódó
 (**anye=ayin-owodeen)
 Man he Agrs Tns like Rel Agrs Tns hate child-person-male
 Man he liked hated boy the
 The man who he liked hated the boy
- c). **èté á-ké-maá-ghá anyé á-maá-suá áyin-ówódeén ódó(**anye=ayin
 -owodeen)
 man Agrs Tns like Rel him Agrs Tns hate child-person-male
 man liked him hated boy the
 the man who liked him hated the boy

Note: E4a-E9d not applicable

4.3 More on long distance anaphor strategies

- D10) okon á-kéré ké ìmò i-mí-dué
 Okon Agrs thinks that he Agrs Tns guilty
 Okon thinks that he guilty
 Okon thinks that he is guilty

4.4.1 Position of the antecedent

- D11a). okon á-ké-dòkkò edem ké emem í-maá-ghá ànyé (anye=okon or edem)
 Okon Agrs Tns tell edem that emem Agrs like not him
 Okon told edem that emem like not him
 Okon told edem that emem does not like him
- b). okon á-ké-dòkkò edem ké emem í-maá-ghá ìmò (**imò=okon only**)
 okon Agrs Tns tell edem that emem Agrs like not him
 okon told edem that emem like not him
 okon told edem that emem does not like him
- c). okon á-ké-dòkkò edem ké ìmò í-maá-ghá emem (**imò=okon only**)
 okon Agrs Tns tell edem that he Agrs like not emem
 okon told edem that he like not emem
 okon told edem that he does not like emem
- c'). okon á-ké-dòkkò edem ké ànyé í-maá-ghá emem (**anye=okon or edem**)
 okon Agrs Tns tell edem that he Agrs like not emem
 okon told edem that he like not emem
 okon told edem that he does not like emem
- d). okon á-ké-dòkkò edem ké ànyé í-maá-ghá emem (anye=okon or edem)

okon Agrs Tns tell edem that he Agrs like not emem
okon told edem that he like not emem
okon told edem that he does not like emem

e). okon á-diòngọ ké edem á-kéré ké emem í-maá-ghá ímò (**imọ=okon or edem**)

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs think that emem Agrs like not him
okon knows that edem thinks that emem like not him
okon knows that edem thinks that emem does not like him

f). okon á-diòngọ ké edem á-kéré ké emem í-maá-ghá ímò (**imọ=okon or edem**)

okon Agrs know that edem Agrs think that emem Agrs like not him
okon knows that edem thinks that emem like not him
okon knows that edem thinks that emem does not like him.

D12a). èkà okon á-kéré ké edem í-maá-ghá ànyé (**anye=okon or okon's mother**)

Mother okon Agrs think that edem Agrs like not him
Mother okon thinks that edem like not him
Okon's mother thinks that edem does not like him

b). èkà okon á-kéré ké ànyé í-maá-ghá edem (**anye=okon or okon's mother someone else**)

mother okon Agrs think that he Agrs like not edem
mother okon thinks that he like not edem
okon's mother thinks that he does not like edem

c). okon á-kéré ké edem í-maá-ghá ímò (**imọ=okon**)

okon Agrs think that edem Agrs like not him
okon thinks that edem like not him
okon thinks that edem does not like him

d). déta okon á-ké-bó ké edem í-maá-ghá ànyé (**anye=okon or someone else**)

letter okon Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs like not him
letter okon said that edem like not him
okon's letter said that edem does not like him

e). okon á-ké-kóp ké edem í-kí-maá-ghá ímò (**imọ=okon only**)

okon Agrs Tns hear that edem Agrs Tns like not him
okon heard that edem liked not him
okon heard that edem did not like him

f). No Passives in Ibibio

D13a). okon á-ké-bó ké ímò í-mí-kpí idém(imọ)
 Okon Agrs Tns say that he Agrs Tns cut body(his)
 Okon said that he has cut body(his)
 Okon said that he cut himself

b) okon á-ké-bó ké ímò í-mainò idém (imọ) únán
 okon Agrs Tns say that he Agrs Tns give body(his) wound
 okon said that he gave his body wound
 okon said that he had wounded himself

c). okon á-ké-bó ké ímọ í-máidéppé idém (imọ)
 okon Agrs Tns say that he Agrs Tns paint body(his)
 okon said that he painted his body
 okon said that he had painted himself

Remarks: strategy A; idem ọmọ is not allowed in position of X in D11a-D12f. However, idem X where X is the logophoric pronoun imọ is allowed in the second X positions in D13a-c. The logophoric pronoun is however optional in this position.

4.4.2 Antecedent Properties

4.4.2.1 Person - Please replace Zeke in the Zeke paradigm of 4.4.1 with first and second person pronouns, and report the results. Even if most of the examples pattern exactly as third person cases do, please be careful to include sentences corresponding to (D13) in the Zeke paradigm.

D11a). okon á-ké-ń-dòkkò mí:n ké edem í-máa-ghá mí:n
 Okon Agrs Tns Agro told me that edem Agrs like not me
 Okon told me that edem like not me
 Okon told me that edem does not like me

a`) okon á-kú-dòkkò fí:n ké edem ú-máa-ghá fí:n
 okon Agrs Tns tell you that edem Agro like not you
 okon told you that edem like you not
 okon told you that edem does not like you

b). Ami ń-ké-dòkkò edem ké emem í-máa-ghá mí:n
 I Agrs Tns tell edem that emem Agrs Agro like not me
 I told edem that emem like not me
 I told edem that emem does not like me

b`) Afo á-ké-dòkkò edem ké emem ú-máa-ghá fí:n
 you Agrs Tns tell edem that emem Agro like not you

you told edem that emem like not you
you told edem that emem does not like you

- c). Ami á-ké-dòkkò edem ké àmi mí-maá-ghá emem
I Agrs Tns tell edem that I Agrs like not emem
I told edem that I like not emem
I told edem that I do not like emem
- c') Afo á-ké-dòkkò edem ké àfo ú-maá-ghá emem
you Agrs Tns tell edem that you Agrs like not emem
you told edem that you like not emem
you told edem that you do not like emem
- d). okon á-ké-á-dòkkò mí:n ké àmi mí-maá-ghá emem
okon Agrs Agro tell me that I Agrs like not emem
okon told me that I like not emem
okon told me that I do not like emem
- d') okon á-kú-dòkkò fí:n ké àfò ú-maá-ghá emem
okon Afrs Tns tell you that you Agrs like not emem
okon told you that you like not emem
okon told you that you do not like emem
- e). okon á-diòngó ké àmì á-kére ké emem í-maá-ghá mí:n
okon Agrs knows that I think that emem Agrs like not me
okon knows that I think that emem like not me
okon knows that I think that emem does not like me
- e') okon á-diòngó ké àfò á-kéré ké emem ú-maá-ghá fí:n
okon Agrs know that you Agrs think that emem Agro like not you
okon knows that you think that emem like not you
okon knows that you think that emem does not like you
- f) Ami mí-mé-diòngó ké edem á-kére ké emem í-mí-maá-ghá mí:n
I Agrs Tnd know that edem Agrs think that emem Agrs Agro like not me
I know that edem thinks that emem like not me
I know that edem thinks that emem does not like me
- f') Afo á-mé-diòngó ké edem á-kére ké emem ú-maá-ghá fí:n
you Agrs Tns know that edem Agrs think that emem Agro like not you
you know that edem thinks that emem like not you
you know that edem thinks that emem does not like you

D12a). èkà m̀m̀i á-kére ké edem í-maá-ghá mí:n
Mother my Agrs think that edem like not me
Mother my thinks that edem like not me
My mother thinks that edem does not like me

a`). èkà m̀fò á-kére ké edem ú-maá-ghá fí:n
mother your Agrs think that edem Agro like not you
mother your thinks that edem like not you
youe mother thinks that edem does not like you

b). èkà m̀m̀i á-kére ké àm̀i ní-maá-ghá emem
mother my Agrs think that I like not emem
mother my think that I like not emem
my mother thinks that I do not like emem

b`). èkà m̀fò á-kére ké àfò ú-maá-ghá emem
mother your Agrs think that you Agrs like not emem
mother your thinks that you like not emem
your mother thinks that you do not like emem

c). Ami ní-kére ké edem í-m-maá-ghá mí:n
I Agrs think that edem Agrs Agro like not me
I think that edem like not me
I think that edem does not like me

D13a). Ami ní-ké-bó ké àm̀i ní-maá-síné òfòng
I Agrs Tns say that I Agrs Tns wear cloth
I said that I had dressed

a`) Afò à-ké-bó ké àfò à-maá-síne òfòng
you Agrs Tns say that you Agrs Tns wear cloth
you said that you had dressed

b). Ami ní-ké-bó ké àm̀i ní-maá-kpí idém(mmi)
I Agrs Tns say that I Agrs Tns cut body(my)
I said that I had cut myself

b`). Afò á-ké-bó ké àfò á-maá-kpí idém(mfo)
you Agrs Tns say that you Agrs Tns cut body(your)
you said that you had wounded yourself

Note: The logophoric pronoun tends to work distinctively only for the 3rd person. All other persons use cannical pronouns.

4.4.2.2 Quantified antecedents

D11a). okon á-ké-dòkkò àfitówó ké edem í-maá-ghá ọmmò
Okon Agrs Tns tell everybody that edem Agrs like not them
Okon told everybody that edem like not them
Okon told every body that edem does not like them

b). Afítówó é-ké-dòkkò edem ké emem í-maá-ghá òm̀m̀m̀m̀ò
Every body Agrs Tns tell edem that emem Agrs like not them
Every body told edem that emem like not them
Every body told edem that emem does not like them

c). ùsák ówó é-ké-dòkkò edem ké òm̀m̀m̀m̀ò i-maá-ghá emem
some people Agrs Tns tell edem that they Agrs like not emem
some people told edem that they like not emem
some people told edem that they do not like emem

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents:

D14a). **okon á-maá-táng íkò á-bángá emem ọnọ ọmmò (**ọmmọ=okon and emem)
Okon Agrs Tns talk-word give Agrs about emem give them
Okon talked-word give emem about them
Okon talked to emem about them

b). okon á-maá-táng íkò á-bángá ọmmò ọnọ emem (**ọmọ=okon and emem)
okon agrs Tns talk word Agrs about them give emem
okon talked-word about them give emem
okon talked about them to emem

c). okon á-ké-dòkkò emem ké á-kpéná òm̀m̀m̀m̀ò inyọngọ (mmimọ=okon and emem)
okon Agrs Tns tell emem that Agrs should they leave
okon told emem that should they leave
okon told emem that they should leave

d). okon á-ké-dòkkò emem ké edem é-suá òm̀m̀m̀m̀ò (mmimọ=okon and emem)
okon Agrs Tns tell emem that edem Agrs hate them
okon told emem that edem hates them

e). okon á-ké-bó ké emem á-kére ké edem é-suá òm̀m̀m̀m̀ò (mmimọ=okon

and emem or emem and someone else)

okon Agrs Tns say that emem Agrs think that edem Agrs hate them
okon said that emem thinks that edem hates them

4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents

D15) Okon á-ké-sèmmè ké únwám í-baghá í-nó áyin ọmò.

Okon Agrs Tns lament that help Agrs be-not Agrs give child his
Okon lamented that help be ont give child his
Okon lamented that there was no help for his son

Ọbuut á-maá-mám ànyé siá ànyé i-ki-kán-na í-kpéme áyin ọmò

Shame Agrs Tns hold him because he Agrs Tns able not Agrs protect
Child his
Shame catch him because he was able not protect child his
He was a shame because he could not protect his child

Nso ké m̀m̀f̀án ọm̀ò é-dí-kére ibángá ànyé?

What that friends his Agrs Tns think about him
What that friends his think about him
What will his friends think of him?

D16) idém á-maá-kpá okon á-dí-kit ndíse ọmò ké ñwèt ódó

Body Agrs Tns die okon Agrs to see picture his in book the
Body died okon to see picture his in book the
Okon was surprised to see his pictureb in the book

Afit m̀m̀f̀án ọm̀ò é-ya-é-féngé e-kp̀ng e-ànyé

All friends his Agrs Tns Agrs run Agrs leave him
All friends his will run leave him
All his firends would abandon him

Nsọ ké ànyé á-dí-dòkkò èkà ọmò

What that he Agrs Tns tell mother his
What will he tell mother his
What will he tell his mother

Note: Only independent pronouns can work as anaphors for discourse antecedents.

C17) Morris said it was a difficult day for Mark. First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen. Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work. Morris thought he might be angry.

Okon á-ké-bó ké mfin á-ké-dó ídiók usén ọ-nọ edem
Okon Agrs Tns say that today Agrs Tns be bad day Agrs give edem
Okon said that today was bad day give edem
Okon said that today was a bad day for okon

Akpá, okon á-maá-dòkkò ànyé ké é-ma-é-yíp moto ọmọ
First, okon Agrs Tns tell him that Agrs Tns Agrs steal car his
First okon told him that his steal car his
First okon told him that his car had been stillen

Ndion, áná ànyé á-yém taksi sé ibén anyé íka útóm
Then, had he Agrs find taxi that take him go work
Then had he find taxi that take him go work
Then, he had to find a taxi to take him to work

Okon á-ké-kére ké ànyé á-kéme á-dí-yát ésit
Okon Agrs Tns think that he Agrs can Agrs to hot heart
Okon thought that he can hot heart
Okon tought that he might be angry.

D18) A. Sé okon ko!

Look okon there
Look at okon there

B. ànyé á-nékké áyaiyá
he Agrs very handsome
he is very handsome

A. Amì m-kpí-má-ghá i-dó anwaán ọmọ. Afit ibaán é-yem ànyé
I Agrs mood like not Agrs be wife his. All women Agrs find him
I would like not to be wife his. All women find him
I would not like to be his wife. All women want him

B. Amì ní-kére ké anyé á-tóro idém ọmọ ọbóghó
I Agrs think that he Agrs praise body his pass
I think that he praise body his pass
I think that he praises himself too much

4.4.3 Blocking Effects

4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects- The following examples test for intervening subjects that is mismatched for person, gender or number.

D19a) okon á-kére ké edem é-kpóno **ímò** (imò = okon only)

Okon Agrs think that edem Agrs respect him

Okon thinks that edem respects him

a`) okon á-kére ké edem ó-kpónó **anye** (anye = okon or someone else)

okon Agrs think that edem Agrs respect him

okon thinks that edem respect him

b) okon á-kére ké àmi mí-mí-kpóno **ímò** (imò = okon only)

okon Agrs think that I Agrs Tns respect him

okon thinks that I respect him

c) okon á-kére ké emem é-kpóno **ímò**

okon Agrs think that emem Agrs respect him

okon thinks that emem respects him

d) okon á-kére ké áyin ódó é-kpóno **ímò**

okon Agrs think that child the Agrs respect him

okon thinks that child the respect him

okon thinks that the child respects him

e) **ídeén** ódó é-kére ké **nditò** ódo é-kpono **mímímò**

men the Agrs think that children the Agrs respect them

men the think that children the respect them

the men think that the children respect them

Remarks: The independent pronoun **anye** and the logophoric pronoun **ímò** can be used in this context, but the used of the independent pronoun is ambiguous in reference as examples D19a and a` show.

D20a) okon á-kére ké edem á-diòngó ké emem é-kpóno **ímò** (imò = okon or

Edem)

Okon Agrs thinks that edem Agrs know that emem Agrs respects him

Okon thinks that edem knows that emem respects him

a`) okon á-kére ké edem á-diòngó ké emem ó-kpóno **ànyé** (anye =

okon or edem or someone else)

okon Agrs think that edem Agrs know that emem Agrs respect

him

okon thinks that edem knows that emem respects him

b) okon á-kére ké àmì ní-mmé-diòngó ké emem é-kpóno **ímò** (imò =

okon only)

okon Agrs think that I Agrs Tns know that emem Agrs respect him
okon thinks that I know that emem respects him

b) okon á-kére ké ami mí-mmé-diòngọ ké emem ó-kpóno **ànyé**
(anye=okon or someone else)
Okon Agrs think that I know that emem respect him
Okon thinks that I know that emem respects him

c) okon á-kére ké emem á-diòngọ ké edem é-kpóno **ímọ** (imọ=
okon or emem)
okon Agrs think that emem Agrs know that edem Agrs respect him
okon thinks that emem knows that edem respects him

d) okon á-kére ké òditò-ídeén ódó é-diòngọ ké edem é-kpóno **ímọ**
(imọ=okon only)
Okon Agrs think that children-male the Agrs know that edem Agrs respect him
Okon think that the male-children know that edem respects him
Okon thinks that the boys know that edem respects him

e) ídeén ódó é-kére ké òditò-ídeén ódó é-diòngọ ké edem é-kpóno **mmimọ** (mmimọ=ideen odo: mmimọ is the plural form of the logophoric pronoun **imọ**)
men the Agrs think that children-male the Agrs know that edem Agrs respect them
Men the think that the male-children know that edem respects them
The men think that the boys know that edem respects them

4.4.3.2 Positions of the intervener-The above interveners were subjects (the most common case). We now look for interveners in other positions.

D21a) okon á-kére ké edem á-ké-dòkkọ emem ké mfọn é-kpóno **ímọ** (imọ=okon or edem)
okon Agrs think that edem Agrs Tns tell emem that mfọn respect him
okon think that edem told emem that mfọn respects him

a) okon á-kére ké edem á-ké-dòkkọ emem ké mfọn á-kpóno **ànyé**
(anye=okon or edem or someone else)
okon Agrs think that edem Agrs Tns tell emem that mfọn Agrs respect him
okon thinks that edem told emem that mfọn respects him

- b) okon á-kére ké edem á-ké-ń-dòkkò mí:n ké mfọn é-kpóno **ímò** (imọ=okon or edem)
 okon Agrs think that edem Agrs Tns Agro tell me that mfọn Agrs respect him
 okon thinks that edem told me that mfọn respects him
- c) okon á-ké-ń-dòkkò mí:n ké edem é-kpóno **ímò** (imọ=okon only)
 okon Agrs Tns Agro tell me that edem respect him
 okon told me that edem respects him
- c') okon á-ké-ń-dòkkò mí:n ké edem á-kpóno **ànyé** (anye=okon or someone else)
 okon Agrs Tns Agro tell me that edem Agrs respect him
 okon told me that edem respects him
- d) okon á-ké-bó ké edem á-ké-n-nọ mí:n òwèt ábàngaké **ímò** (imọ=okon only)
 okon Agrs Tns say that edem Agrs Tns Agro give me book about him
 okon said that edem gave me a book about him

4.4.4 Islands

Do syntactic islands affect the acceptability of the current strategy? For all the examples in this section, Ira = X.

- D22a) Emem á-tóghọ síá Mary á-sásuá **ànyé** (anye=emem)
 Emem Agrs resent because Mary Agrs hate her
 Emem resents because mary hates her
 Emem is resents the fact that mary hates her
- b) Emem ó-kpóno ówó á-maá-ghá **ànye** (anye=emem)
 Emem Agrs respects person Agrs like Rel her
 Emem respects person like who her
 Emem respects the person who likes her
- c) Emem á-ké-bó ké ówo é-maá-gha **ímò** á-diòngò-ńkpọ (imọ=emem)
 Emem Agrs Tns say that person Agrs like Rel her Agrs know-thing
 Emem said that person like her who know-thing
 Emem said that the man who likes her is intelligent
- c') Emem á-ké-bó ké ówo á-maá-gha **ànyé** á-diòngò-ńkpọ (anye=emem or someone else)

Emem Agrs Tns say that person Agrs like Rel her Agrs know-thing
 Emem said that person like her who know-thing
 Emem said that the man who likes her is intelligent

d). Emem á-ké-bíp òmémé okon á-ma-í-kíd **ímò** (imò=emem)

Emem Agrs Tns ask whether okon Agrs Tns see her
 Emem asked whether okon saw her

d') Emem á-ké-bíp òmémé okon á-maá -kíd **ànyé** (anye=emem or someone else)

Emem Agrs Tns ask whether okon Agrs Tns see her
 Emem asked whether okon saw her

e) Emem á-ké-bíp òmémé ìni áké ké okon á-kí-kíd **ímò** (imò=emem)

Emem Agrs Tns ask whether time which that okon Agrs Tns see her
 Emem asked whether which time okon saw her
 Emem asked okon saw her

e') Emem á-ké-bíp òmémé ìni áké ké okon á-ké-kíd **ànyé** (anye=emem or someone else)

Emem Agrs Tns ask whether time which that okon Agrs Tns see her
 Emem asked whether which time okon saw her
 Emem asked okon saw her

f) Emem í-kí-diòngó-ke ké okon á-ma-í-keéne **ímò** (imò=emem)

Emem Agrs Tns know not that Agrs Tns Agro follow her
 Emem know not that okon followed her
 Emem did not know that okon followed her

f') Emem í-kí-diòngó-ke ké okon á-maá-keéne **ànyé** (anye=emem or someone else)

Emem Agrs Tns know not that Agrs Tns follow her
 Emem know not that okon followed her
 Emem did not know that okon followed her

g) Emem á-ké-bó ké Mary á-yaiyá ké ímò ì-kpáídó ànyé (imò=emem, anye=Mary)

Emem Agrs Tns say that Mary Agrs prety that she Agrs mood-marry her
 Emem said that Mary is prety that she would-marry her
 Emem said that Mary is prety and that she would marry her

Remarks: both the logophoric pronoun and the independent pronoun are used here but the use of independent pronoun is always ambiguous in reference.

4.4.5 De re reading

Sometimes an interpretation of identity with an antecedent is tinged by a different meaning distinction. There is a famous ambiguity in D23 depending on whether or not the subject of believe is aware that he is referring to himself. The distinction is between two readings where his=Oedipus, that is, we are not interested, for these cases, in readings where his is not Oedipus. Now imagine that Oedipus thinks his step-mother (Step) is his biological mother - he just calls her "mother", because Step is the only mother he has ever known. Now let us suppose that Oedipus is the only one in town who is unaware who his biological mother (Bio) is, perhaps because Bio is a notorious person of whom polite people do not normally speak. People in town, in spite of what they know, generally refer to Step as Oedipus' mother, since no one wants to bring up the subject of Bio. Then Bio, long out of town, makes a surprise visit to the town to see Oedipus, whom she finds scowling in his front yard, angry at Step because she has punished him. Bio spends some time with Oedipus, as others watch suspiciously, but Bio does not tell Oedipus who she is. Oedipus thinks Bio is nice. Then someone says D23a or D23b.

- D23a) *Oedipus* thinks/says *his* mother is nice.
b) *Oedipus* thinks/says *his* mother is mean.

- D23a) Okon á-kére ké èkà ọ̀mọ̀ ọ̀fọ̀n (ọ̀mọ̀=okon or someone else)
Okon Agrs think that mother his good
Okon thinks that mother his good
Okon thinks that his mother is nice

- b) Okon á-kére ké èkà ìmọ̀ ọ̀fọ̀n (ìmọ̀=okon only)
Okon Agrs think that mother his good
Okon thinks that mother his good
Okon thinks that his mother is nice

Now his in both examples is to be coconstrued with Oedipus, but his mother in (23a) refers to Bio, whom he does not know is his mother, while (D23b) refers to Step, who is the only one Oedipus thinks is his mother (though others know otherwise), and Oedipus is angry at her just now. In some languages, a different morphological form, a different pronoun for example, is used to distinguish the two readings. If your language is like English, then there is no morphological distinction between the pronouns in (D23a,b). Just say so and move on. However, other languages have such a morphological distinction (often it is like the logophoric distinction, discussed above, but not always), and if there is such a distinction in your language, then translate the examples indicating the difference in pronouns. If there is such a difference, we will ask you more about it after we get the questionnaire responses.

- D24a) okon á-kére ké úfọ̀k ọ̀mọ̀ ọ̀duọ̀ (ọ̀mọ̀=okon or someone else)

Okon Agrs think that house his fall
Okon thinks that house his fall
Okon thinks that his house has collapsed

b) okon á-kére ké úfòk ímò óduò (imò = okon only)

Okon Agrs think that house his fall
Okon thinks that house his fall
Okon thinks that his house has collapsed

Remarks: In Ibibio both independent pronoun and logophoric pronoun can be used, but I am not sure whether the use of the logophoric has De re reading.

PART 5 Final thoughts

5.1 - Having looked at the details of each strategy individually, do you have any general comments on differences in meaning between the various strategies, conditions that would cause one or another to be preferred or required, etc.?

5.2 - Are there any properties of the questionnaire that you think could be improved, made more relevant, or more flexible? Is there any part of the questionnaire that you thought was unsuccessful at addressing what seems to you an important class of phenomena for our anaphora project? Please make us aware of any way in which you think we could improve our data collection.

