

## Anaphora in the African Languages Questionnaire Response for Kinande – version 1.5

The language reported on is Kinande, spoken in Butembo, in Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo. Its alternate name is Nande. (Ethnologue code NNB).

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### **PART 2 An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies**

A1) John saw himself.

Yohani mo-a-a-yi-langir-e [mwâyílangire]

John PST-SMC1-TM-RFM-see-FV

John saw himself.

2.1.2 Is there another way, or are there other ways, to express coreference in A1 (that is, with the verb see held constant)?

No other way

2.1.3 Other verb types

A2a) Yohani akánabâ

Yohani a-ka-nab-a

John SMC1-TM-wash-FV

John is washing. (meaning that John is washing himself)

b) Marya mwâyikéńzíre

Marya mo-a-a-yi-kenz-ir-e

Mary TM- SMC1-TM-RFM-cut-TM-FV

Mary cut herself

c) Johani akwíre esísóni

Johani a-ku-ire esísóni

John SMC1-kill-TM shame

John is ashamed (meaning of himself or of other people)

d) Yohani mo-a-a-yi-tsand-ir-i-e

John TM- SMC1-TM-RFM-destroy-TM-CAUS-FV

John destroyed himself  
e) tuyípciónire  
tu-yi-pon-ire  
SMc1-RFM-hate-TM  
We hate ourselves

2.1.4 Obliques and other argument types - In the preceding examples, the coindexed arguments were subject and object. Many languages use a different coreference strategy for oblique arguments. Does yours?

A3a) Johani ákánáya na Marya  
Johani a-a-kan-a-i-a na Marya  
John SMC1-TM-speak-a-CAUS-FV with Mary  
John spoke with Mary

Comment: -a- is inserted for phonological reasons

b) Yohani ákánáya okó bimúlólerékô  
Yohani a-a-kan-a-i-a okó bi-mú-lól-er-ire-ko  
John SMC1-TM-speak-a-CAUS-FV on c7-SMC1-look-TM-on  
John spoke about things that concern him (

Comment: Where him = primarily John, c7 is the SM for class 7; here bi- refers to things.

bi) Yoháni álángira esanámu yíwe  
John saw picture PRN3SG  
John saw his Picture (not possible to say John saw a Picture of him)

c) Yohani a-a-kani-ir-a-i-a [ákániráya] Marya okó bimúlólerékô  
John SMC1-TM-talk-APPL-a-CAUS-FV Mary on things that concern him  
John talked to Mary on things that concern him (but him may also refer to Mary)

d) Bill a-a-tu-kaniraya okó bi-tú-lóleré-kô [atúkániráya]  
Bill SMC1-TM-us-talked on c7-us-concern-on  
Bill told us about the things that concern us

e) Marya mo-a-ha-ir-e [mwáhére] abana omo byala by-a-bo  
Mary TM- SMC1-give-TM-FV children in hands c7-CONN-them  
Mary gave children in their own hands

Comment: Here CONN is connective, c7=class 7 marker.

f) Yohani a-yí-gúl-ir-a ekitábu  
John SMC1-RFM-buy-APPL-fv book  
John bought the book for himself

A4a) Etta a-yi-ánz-ire  
Etta SMC1-RFM-like-TM  
Etta likes herself

b) Etta akáyísayisayâ  
Etta a-ka-yi-sag-is-a-i-a  
Etta SMC1-TM-RFM-scare-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV  
Etta scares herself

Comment: Here, -sag- means "be afraid", is..i- is the causative with -a- inserted for phonological reasons.

c) Etta a-ká-yí-bul-á m' omútíma  
Etta SMC1-TM-RFM-miss-FV in heart  
Etta misses the heart inside herself

"Etta worries herself"

Comment: Etta RFM-miss x in heart, where x is the object of "in". 'Heart' is still perceived as an object of *erí-yi-bulá mô* (to-RFM-miss in). The two alternatives that [Ken Safir] proposed for the translation (i.e. RFM-miss x in the heart and RFM-miss in x's heart) do not reflect my intuition. The sentence could be translated as Etta RFM-misses in (him) the heart (where him is RFM). In very slow speech, the sentence would be

ci) Etta a-ká-yi-bulá-mó omútíma  
Etta SMc1-TM-RFM-miss-in heart

To better understand this, examine the following similar example

c') Etta a-ká-yi-bulá k' omútwé n' omugóngo  
Etta SMc1-TM-RFM-miss on head and back  
Etta does not know what to do

Now, you notice that it is not the particle *mo* that is used after the verb, rather the particle *ko* that I translated as "on". The sentence can thus be translated as Etta RFM-miss on (him) the head and the back (where him = RFM).

Note that the reflexive sentence is uniquely reflexive, that is, to use Ken Safir's words, the reflexive used in the examples in (A4c) is an inherently reflexive idiom; The transitive verb meaning "worry" is different.

c") Etta worries Bill =  
Etá a-ka-handabuk-a-i-a [akáhandabukaya] Bill  
Etta SMc1-TM-trouble-a-CAUS-FV Bill  
Etta worries Bill

2.1.5 Person and number - Some languages use different strategies depending on person or number.

A5a) nayílangira

n-a-yi-langir-a  
SM1SGc1-TM-RFM-see-fv  
I saw myself

b) wáyíhotaláyâ  
u-a-yi-hutali-a-i-a  
SM2SGc1-TM-RFM-hurt-a-CAUS-FV (-a- is inserted for phonological reasons)  
you hurt yourself

c) tukándiyinabyâ  
tu-kandi-yi-nab-i-a  
SM1PLc2-TM-RFM-wash-CAUS-FV  
we will wash ourselves

d) tu-némundi-náb-a  
SM1PLc2-TM-wash-FV  
we will wash (meaning we will wash ourselves)

e) mú-lu-é b' erí-yi-watiki-â  
SM2SGc1-be-TM c2 INF-RFM-help-FV  
you should help yourselves (lit. you are (people) to help yourselves)

Comment: c2 is a noun class marker that replaces 'people' as the subject of the infinitive. Literally, the sentence is *mú-lu-e bandú ba erí-yi-watikyâ*. Since 'people'=*bandu*, *ba* is the c2 here and there could be no overt subject corresponding to the c2 other than the matrix subject (as also shown in example (A14f)). (A5e) might also have been translated 'you are people to help themselves', which indicates

that Principle A is not challenged here. Consider further:

- e) á-lu-é w' erí-yi-watiki-â (i.e. á-lu-e mundú w' erí-yi-watiki-â)  
SMc1-be-TM C1-INF-yi-help-FV (SMc1-be-TM-person C1-INF-yi-help-FV)  
"He should help himself." (lit. He is a person to help himself.)

Of course, the subject marker of the infinitive can be either *w-* (for person cf. *omúndu*) and *b-* (for people cf. *abándu*). The first, second, third person singular in *-lu-e* will thus use *w-* whereas the first, second, and third person plural in *-lu-e* will use *b-*.

2.1.6 Strategies for other clausemate environments - If there are any additional reflexive strategies known to you (from grammars, or from your linguistic knowledge), list them now.

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

- A6a) Mukosa anáyasî  
Mukosa a-na-yi-asi  
Mukosa SMC1-TM-RFM-know  
Mukosa knows himself
- b) Mukosa á-béger-e erí-yi-tsámb-a  
Mukosa SMC1-use-TM INF-RFM-criticize-FV  
Mukosa usually criticizes himself
- c) Mukosa alíng' angayítapa  
Mukosa a-ling-a a-nga-yi-tap-a [alíng' angayítapa]  
Mukosa SMC1-seem-FV SMC1-TM-RFM-praise-FV  
Mukosa is likely to praise himself  
(lit. Mukosa seems to be a person to praise himself)

(b) Do quantificational constructions involve a separate strategy?

- A7a) obuli mu-lwana a-yi-keber-a [áyikebérâ]  
Every c1-boy SMC1-RFM-look-FV  
Every boy looked at himself
- b) abákali bosí ba-yí-kángirir-a Yoháni  
women all SMC2-RFM-indicate-FV John  
all the women indicated John to themselves (i.e. described John to themselves)

Comment: Here, the verb *eri-kangirir-a* has no applicative and it can take an OM and an object complement.

- c) abaná ba-ná-byá-kó á-ba-ká-yi-watik-a-i-â  
children SMC1-TM-be-on those c2-TM-RFM-help-a-CAUS-FV (-a- is inserted)  
there were among children those who help themselves

Comment: It means 'some of the children did help themselves' (not some children)

(c) If your language has a system of grammaticized honorifics, do some types of honorific allow a strategy that has not been listed yet?

No grammaticized honorifics

(d) Experiment with placing both coreferring arguments in various types of

subordinate clauses, as your language allows.

A9a) Kambale ati Alice a-yi-ánz-ire

Kambale says Alice SMC1-RFM-like-TM

Kambale says that Alice likes herself

b) Kambale ábyá ánzire ati Alíce í-n-a-yí-píp-a

Kambale was liked SMC1-say Alice that-SMC1-TM-RFM-praise-FV

Kambale wished that Alice praise herself

c) Kambale aléngekanáya ati Alíce anga-yí-píp-ire

Kambale thought that Alice should-RFM-praise-TM

Kambale thought that Alice should praise herself

d) Kambale abwírá Alíce atí í-na-yí-píp-a

Kambale told Alice that SBJ-SMC1-RFM-praise-FV

Kambale told Alice to praise herself (lit. that she praise herself)

e) Kambale ásondire eri-yi-píp-a

Kambale SMC1-want INF-RFM-praise-FV

Kambale wants to praise himself

f) Kambale abúgá ati Alíce álwé w' eri-yi-píp-a

Kambale said that Alice SMC1-was c1 INF-RFM-praise-FV

Kambale said that Alice was to praise herself

f') Kambale a-ká-hingan-á n'eri-yi-pípa

Kambale SMC1-TM-be-guilty-fv and to-RFM-praise

Kambale is guilty of praising himself

Comment: I have introduced (f') to try to take Kambale the subject of the infinitive.

f'') \*Kambale a-ká-lind-a Alice eri-yi-píp-a

Kambale SMC1-TM-wait-FV Alice to-RFM-praise-FV

Kambale expects Alice to praise herself

g) Kambale mó-a-owíre Alíce á-ka-yi-píp-a [mówire]

Kambale TM-SMC1-heard Alice SMC1-TM-RFM-praise-FV

Kambale heard Alice praising herself

gi) Marya mó-á-yí-hulikir-íré á-ká-humúla

Mary TM-SMC1-RFM-hear-TM SM1-TM-breathe

Mary heard herself breathing

gii) Marya mo-a-yi-tungerer-ire [mwáyítúngerere] á-ka-lu-á mo musási

Mary TM-SMC1-RFM-look-TM

SMC1-TM- leave in blood

Mary saw herself bleeding

giii) Kambale mó-a-bandan-ire (mwábándene) a-bá-lwaná bá-ka-yi-pípa

K TM-SMC1-meet-TM

Aug- c2-boy SMC2-TM-yi-praise

Kambale met the boys as they were praising themselves

giv) Kambale mó-a-bandan-ire (mwábándene) a-bá-lwaná í-ba-nému-yi-pípa

K TM-SMC1-meet-TM

Aug- c2-boy that SMC2-TM-yi-praise

Kambale met the boys as they were praising themselves

gv) Kambale mó-owíre Alíce i-n-a-nému-yi-pípa)

K TM hear Alice that he –TM-yi-praise

Comment: With perception verbs, the complementizer is not used with the *ka*-tense marker. It sounds a bit odd if I were to insert a complementizer as in gv, where the *n* in *i-n-a* is inserted. I have introduced the complementizer in (A9gv) with the *nemu* tense and the sentence is perfect. Here I could not say: *Kambale mw-á-bándene abálwana bá-ka-yi-pípa* (It is not that it is completely out ; it is just that I prefer to use the *nemu* tense with the complementizer)

## 2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

Even if pronouns are never used as reflexives, we want to apply the tests of this questionnaire to them as well, since knowing what is not possible is also useful to us.

2.2.1 First, show that the pronouns can be independent by using them in a sentence where they do not have an antecedent.

- A10a) Nákánáya na Mukosá muligólo. Mw-á-lángire Másika  
SM1SGc1-spoke with Mukosa yesterday TM-SMc1-saw Masika  
I spoke with Mukosa yesterday. He saw Masika  
b) Mukosa alí hayi ? Na-mú-lángira omo-sóko  
Mukosa is where SM1SGc1-SMc1-saw in-market  
Where is Mukosa ? I saw him in the market  
c) mó-tu-a-kú-lángire. Mo-u-ana-tu-langire ? [mówanatúlángire]  
TM-SM1PLc2-TM-you (obj)-saw TM-you (subj)-saw  
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 stressable pronouns, etc.), list each type with examples.

### 1. pronouns in Kinande

ingye me  
iwe you (sg)  
iye him/her  
itwe us  
inywe you (pl)  
ibo them

### 2. weak and strong pronouns

In Bantu linguistics, I believe that what the syntacticians call weak pronouns are what is generally referred to as subject or object markers. The forms in (1) are thus the strong pronouns. These pronouns are exemplified in the following forms. (I have indicated the weak pronoun by separating it from the rest of the verb with a hyphen.)

#### a. Subject markers as weak pronouns

ingyé n-gándigénda	I am going (lit. me, I am going)
iwé u-kándigénda	you are going (lit. you, you are going)
iyé a-kándigénda	he is going (lit. him, he is going)
itwé tu-kándigénda	we are going (lit. us, we are going)
inywé mu-kándigénda	you are going (lit. you, you are going)
ibó ba-kándigénda	they are going (lit. them, they are going)

Notice that it is not necessary to use the strong pronoun unless one wants to emphasize it. So, these sentences are naturally rendered as:

n-gándigénda /N-ká-ndi-gend-a/ I am going  
u-kándigénda you are going

a-kándigénda	he/she is going
tu-kándigénda	we are going
mu-kándigénda	you are going
ba-kándigénda	they are going

b. Object markers as weak pronouns

ukáandi-nyi-rónda	you will look for me
ngáandi-ku-rónda	I will look for you
ngáandi-mu-rónda	I will look for him
ukáandi-tu-rónda	you will look for us
tukáandi-ba-rónda	we will look for you (pl)
tukáandi-ba-rónda	we will look for them

Notice that the “you” (pl) and “them” are rendered by the same OM -ba-.

3. pronouns used in special contexts

One remark about the above examples is that the pronouns refer to people. They show that the SM (or weak SM pronoun) has 6 different forms whereas the OM (or weak OM pronoun) has 5 different forms. There are also pronouns that refer to non-personal beings which are not as varied. There is also the question of the position of the OM in the word. In the above examples, the OM weak pronoun is inside the verb. But only one form, the “them” pronoun may appear at the end of the verb as illustrated in the following example.

ngándirondá-bô “I will look for them” (cf. ngándibarónda)

- \*ukándironda ingye
- \*ngándironda iwe
- \*ukándironda iye
- \*ukándironda itwe
- \*tukándironda inywe

(The pronouns have to appear inside the verb. That is why they qualify as weak personal pronouns)

As for the pronoun representing a non-personal object, the preferred position is post verbal as in:

a. ngandirondya ekitábu	I will look for a book
ngándirondyá-kyô	I will look for it
ngáandi-ki-rondyâ	I will look for it

b. ngandirondya ebitábu	I will look for books
ngándirondyá-byô	I will look for them
ngáandi-bi-rondyâ	I will look for them

c. ngándirondya émbene	I will look for a goat
?ngáandi-yi-rondyâ	

d. ngándirondya esyómbene	I will look for goats
ngáandi-si-rondyâ	I will look for them

Comment: the reason the form in (c) is bad is probably because the -yi- pronoun would be confused with the reflexive (myself, himself, etc. See reflexive -yi- in (4). Also note that these weak pronouns behave as agreement markers whose form

depends upon the noun class this noun belongs to. Thus, ki- is class 7 whereas bi- is class 8 and si- is class 10.)

#### 4. anaphors like myself, himself, herself, themselves

ingyówenewene	myself
iwúwenewene	yourself
iyówenewene	himself/herself
itwíbenebene	ourselves
inywíbenebene	yourselves
ibíbenebene	themselves

Notice that these forms are related to the word that can be translated in English by “alone” or “only.” Thus:

ingyówene	me alone/only
iwúwene	you alone/only
iyówene	him alone/only
itwíbene	us alone/only
inyíwíbene	you alone/only
ibíbene	them alone/only

Maybe the right translation could be me alone, you alone, him alone, us alone, you (pl) alone, them alone

The preferred position for these anaphors is in the postverbal position as in

ngándigendáyo	ingyówenewene	I will go there myself
tukándigendáyo	itwíbenebene	we will go there ourselves

They are also acceptable in initial position as in

ingyówenewene	ngándigendáyô	myself, I will go there
itwíbenebene	tukándigendáyô	ourselves, we will go there

Notice also that these anaphors could be reinforced by the strong pronouns as in

ingyówenewene	ingyé nyinamundigendáyô	I am the one to go there
myself	me I-will- go-there	

itwíbenebene	itwé tunámundigendáyô	we are the ones to go there
ourselves	us SM1PLc2-will-go-there	

Notice also that the words standing for myself, yourself, himself, ourselves, yourselves, themselves can be rendered by a single morpheme -yi-, a reflexive, that appears inside the verb form as in the examples I have been giving. Here are other examples:

ngándí-yi-twála	I will bring myself
ukándí-yi-twála	you will bring yourself
akándí-yi-twála	he will bring himself
tukándí-yi-twála	we will bring ourselves
mukándí-yi-twála	you (pl) will bring yourselves
bakándí-yi-twála	they will bring themselves

#### 5. Pronouns for the non-animate noun classes.

(Here, I copy a table from the Kinande-English dictionary where relevant examples



are given. The reader should note that classes 1 and 2 are the classes for humans. The word pronoun is rendered in this table by verbal prefix. The pronoun for the non-humans is rendered as a suffix (cf. column 4 in the table).

Table of class affixes in Kinande

Class Number	nominal prefix	verbal prefix	Suffixed pronoun	example with augment before the prefix
1	mu-	a-	--	omuãàkaliõ akaàgendaê 'the woman is leaving'
2	ba-	Ba-	-bo	abaàkaliõ bakaàgendaê 'the women are leaving'
3	mu-	a-	-go	omuàti akaàteraê 'the tree is falling down'
4	mi-	yi-	-yo	emüiti yikaàteraê 'the trees are falling down'
5	ri- <sup>1</sup>	ri- li-	-ryo	erituàndaà rikaàtogaê 'the fruit is dropping'
6	ma-	a-	-go	amatuàndaà akaàtogaê 'the fruits are falling'
7	ki-	ki-	-kyo	ekitirü kikaàteraê 'the basket is falling down'
8	bi-	bi-	-byo	ebitirü bikaàteraê 'the baskets are falling down'
9	N-  yi- ø-	yi-	-yo	endeà yikaêmaê 'the cow is bleating' eàmbene yikaêmaê 'the goat is bleating' eyiõusuãakuã yikaàtibitaê 'the antelope is running' esuluà yikaàlumaê 'the penis is hurting'
10	N- sioN- si-	si-	-syo	esyondeà sikaêmaê 'the cows are bleating' esyòambene sikaêmaê 'the goats are bleating' esiõusuãakuã sikaàtibitaê 'the antelopes are running' esyosuluà sikaàlumaê 'the penises are hurting'
11	lu-	lu-	-lo	oluãhoatiõ lukaàberaê 'the bean is boiling'
12	ka-	Ka-	-ko	akaàhuàka kakaàlakaê 'the insect is screaming'
13	tu-	tu-	-to	otuàhuàka tukaàlakaê 'the insects are screaming'
14	bu-	Bu-	-bo	oàbwabuã buãkaàliõure 'the drink is expensive'
15	ku-	Ku	-ko	okuàbokoà kukaàlumaê 'the arm is hurting'
16	ha-	Ha-	-ho	halyaà halü kiüsuki 'there is a bush over there'
17	ko-	Ku-	-ko	okonyuãamba kuli kanyuãanyuã 'there is a bird on the house'
18	mo-	Mu-	-mo	omonyuãamba muli muãàlwana 'there is a young boy in the house'
19	hi-	hi-	-hyo	ehühuàka hikaàlakaê 'the insects are screaming'
24	e-	yi-	-yo	eBuàtembo yiri luàhi 'there is a war in Butembo'

To obtain the suffixal pronoun, one can use the frame "I saw --" and replace the noun in the examples by this suffixal pronoun (e.g. I saw Butembo in class 24 : *mónálángire eBútembo* → *mónálángiré-yô*)

2.2.3 Null arguments - If your language allows argument drop (null pronouns, or pro-drop) as a pronominalization strategy in simple (single clause) sentences, then name it here as an additional pronominalization option.

Kinande does not allow null arguments as in Japanese. The SM (subject marker) is always present and it represents the argument in subject position. In the following A10d sentence, the subject must be a person. It could not stand for we, you, and they.

A10d) Ate fish. (meaning *he/she/they/it/we/you/I ate fish*)

e) Hal hit (meaning *Hal hit him/her/them/it/us/you/me*)

f) Hal talked to (meaning *Hal talked to him/her/them/it/us/you/me*)

<sup>1</sup> The class 5 prefix ri- is both for infinitives and nouns. However, one should notice that, when the augment is absent, ri- is replaced by i- in verbs as can be seen in these examples: okw' igeànda (oko rigeànda) 'about going' vs. oko rituànda 'on the fruit'. I am grateful to Larry Hyman for this observation.

If your language does not allow null arguments, then just translate these sentences, star them, and move on.

A10d) a-lyá esyo-samáki  
SMC1-eat c10-fish  
He-ate fish

e) \*Mukosa á-húma  
Mukosa SMC1-hit  
Mukosa hit

f) \*Mukosa á-kán-ir-á-i-a  
Mukosa SMC1-converse-APPL-a-CAUS-fv  
Mukosa talked to

#### 2.2.4 The use of otherwise independent pronouns for clausemate anaphora

Even if your language has a special strategy for local anaphora, as English does (e.g., the use of pronoun-*self*), we still need to know whether or not a simple pronoun, a pronoun that could be used in contexts like those in (A10a-c), could also be used to form a reflexive reading.

The pronoun cannot have a reflexive reading. This is shown in the following examples.

A10g) Kambale mó-á-mú-pípire  
Kambale TM-SMC1-OMc1-praised  
Kambale praised him

h) Kambale mo-a-mu-anzire [mwâmwánzire]  
Kambale TM-SMC1-liked  
Kambale liked him

i) Kambale mo-a-mu-langire [mwámúlángire]  
Kambale TM-TM-OMc1-saw  
Kambale saw him

j) Kambale mó-á-káníryé náye  
Kambale TM-SMC1-talked with PRN3SG  
Kambale talked to him

k) Kambale mó-á-mú-túm-ir-e ekitábu  
Kambale TM-SMC1-OMc1-send-APPL-TM a book  
Kambale sent him a book /Kambale sent a book to him

l) Kambale mó-á-mú-watíkyâ  
Kambale TM-SMC1-OMc1-helped  
Kambale helped him

m) Kambale mó-á-mu-eyíryê  
Kambale TM-SMC1-OMc1-found  
Kambale found him (i.e. surprised him)

n) Kambale mó-á-mú-gúl-ir-a ekitábu  
Kambale TM-SMC1-OMc1-buy-APPL-TM  
Kambale bought a book for him

o) Kambale mó-á-sómire ekitábú éki-mú-lóleré-kô  
Kambale TM-SMC1-read book which-OMc1-concern-to  
Kambale read a book about him

p) Kambale mó-á-súngíre ekitábú kyó hákuhí ná-ye

Kambale TM-SMC1-found book LINK near with PRN3SG (LINK = linker)  
Kambale found a book near him

Comment: Note that (A10o,p) are not bad for coreference with the subject.

### 2.3 Reciprocal Readings

The previous sections asked about strategies for reflexive coreference. We now consider reciprocals.

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.

No reflexive strategy with a reciprocal meaning in Kinande

2.3.2 As a means of assessing what sorts of reciprocal strategies your language contains, consider these typical sorts of reciprocal sentences in English.

- A11a) abá-kali ba-a-langir-an-a [bálángirana]  
c2-woman SMC2-TM-see-RCM-FV (c2= class 2, which is a plural class)  
The women saw each other
- b) abá-lwana mo-ba-a-nab-an-i-a [móbánábaniâ]  
c2-boy TM-SMC2-TM-wash-RCM-CAUS-a  
The boys washed each other
- c) abá-lumé mo-ba-a-peny-an-ire [móbápényene] esyónzwíri  
c2-man TM-SMC2-TM-comb-RCM-TM hair  
The men combed each other's hair
- c') tú-lyá-kul-ir-an-a omu-hóko  
SM1PLc2-TM-pull-APPL-RCM-FV cassava  
We pulled the cassava for each other
- c'i) \*tu-ly-a-kul-an-a omuhoko  
We pulled each other cassava
- c'') Kambale na Mukosa bá-kábi-hek-er-an-á óbwabu  
K and M SMC2-TM-carry-APPL-RCM-FV drink  
Kambale and Mukosa carried drink for each other.
- c''i)\*Kambale na Mukosa bá-lya-hek-an-á óbwabu  
K and M carried each other beer .

Comment: (A11c''i) is completely out. The 'pull cassava' and 'carry drink' constructions require applicatives for readings like (A11c), where, in contrast, no applicative is necessary.

ciii) Kambale na Mukosa mó-bá-lus-en-i-e mo musási (cf. mó-bá-lús-an-ir-i-e mo o-mu-sási)

K and M TM-they-take-RCM-CAUS-TM in blood  
Kambale and Mukosa caused blood to come from each other

(meaning : they fought in such a way that K made M bleed and M made K bleed)

The *-ir-* in the full form (i.e. before the phonological imbrication process) between parentheses is not the APPL, it is the TM *-ire* in which the CAUS *-i-* is inserted (cf. *ir-i-e*). Here, we use the particle *mo* that could be translated as 'in' or 'from.' I do not know how you will interpret blood : is it still the syntactic object of *-lus-* (i.e. take) ? If the *-an-* is not used, the *mo* particle cannot be used. Cf.

ciii') Kambale na Mukosa mó-bá-lus-ír-i-e omusási w' omó mbene  
K and M TM-SMc2-take-TM-CAUS-TM blood LK in goat

- K and M took the blood from the goat
- civ) abá-lumé móbápényerene obwéya b'okó mbene  
 abá-lumé mo-ba-a-peny-er-an-ire obwéya b'okó mbene  
 c2-man TM-SMC2-TM-comb-APPL-RCM-TM hair of on goat  
 The men combed the hairs of the goat for each other
- cv) \*abá-lumé móbápényene obwéya b'okó mbene  
 abá-lumé mo-ba-a-peny-an-ire obwéya b'okó mbene  
 c2-man TM-SMC2-TM-comb-RCM-TM hair of on goat  
 The men combed the hairs of the goat for each other
- cvi) abá-lumé móbápényene  
 abá-lumé mo-ba-a-peny-an-ire  
 c2-man TM-SMC2-TM-comb-APPL-RCM-TM  
 The men combed (the hair) to each other

The reason I add the last sentence (A11cvi) is that, it is possible that *esyonzwiri* is not necessarily the syntactic object of *-peny-*. It is an object that is understood when the verb *eri-peny-a* is used. (A11civ) shows that the APPL would be used if we are to introduce an object. The same use of *esyonzwiri* would be understood with the use of the verb *erí-sís-a* 'to cut' when referring to hair only. Here, hair can be omitted but the sentence would still have the same meaning. Cf.

- cvii) abá-lumé móbasiséne (esyonzwiri)  
 abá-lumé mó-ba-a-sis-an-ir-e (esyonzwiri)  
 c2-man TM-SMC2-TM-cut-RCM-TM (hairs)  
 The men cut hair to each other
- d) móbá-tómbokerene  
 mo-ba-a-tombok-ir-an-ire  
 TM-SMC2-TM-argue-APPL-RCM-TM  
 They argued with each other/ they shouted with each other
- e) abá-lwana mo-ba-a-twang-an-ire [móbátwángene]  
 c2-boys TM-SMc2-TM-kick-RCM-TM  
 The boys kicked each other
- f) ba-a-pon-an-ire [bápónene]  
 SMc2-TM-hate-RCM-TM  
 they hate each other

2.3.3 Oblique arguments - Continue looking for new reciprocal strategies with the following sentences:

- A12a) abá-lumé mó-ba-lét-íre Mukosá ba-a-mu-kangan-is-an-i-a  
 c2-man TM-SMc2-bring-TM Mukosa SMc2-TM-OMc1-show-CAUS-RCM-CAUS-FV

The men brought Mukosa (and then) they showed him to each other

Comment: in (A12a), the causative morpheme *-i-* is a frozen morpheme on show. The verb is *eri-kangan-i-a*. The root *-kangan-* does not exist. The *-is-* is the causative morpheme. But it happens that it is never used without the pre-final *-i-* causative morpheme. One could consider *-is-i-* as a discontinuous morpheme, discontinuous because a reciprocal morpheme *-an-* can interrupt it as is the case in (A12a). Like you suggested, there is a "cause to meet" analysis in *ba-a-mu-kangan-is-an-i-a*. Just in case we need a verb without a causative morpheme, we could have such a sentence like (A12ai):

- ai) Abá-lumé mó-ba-lét-íre Mukosá bá-mú-herer-án-a

c2-man TM-SMc2-carry-TM Mukosa SMc2-OMc1-offer-RCM-FV

The men brought Mukosa (and then) they offered him to each other

The *-is-* causative morpheme is not always in verbs with a causative meaning. Only the causative *-i-* may appear in such verbs; e.g. *eri-hek-a* 'to carry', *eri-hek-i-a* 'to make carry'; *eri-hek-es-i-a* 'to cause (someone) to carry.'

b) aba-gendí mó-bá-a-kán-ir-án-ír-í-e [móbákániréniê]

c2-traveller-TM-SMc2-TM-converse-RCM-APPL-TM-CAUS-TM

The travelers talked to each other

Comment: Sentence A12b) has a lot of phonological imbrication. The applicative *-ir-* is before the reciprocal *-an-*; the *-ir-* that appears after the reciprocal is the TM *ire* which the causative morpheme *-i-* appears inside of. Again, the infinitive of this verb is *eri-kan-i-a* where the causative *-i-* is a frozen morpheme and has become part of the root. The verb *\*eri-kan-a* does not exist.

c) abá-kara mó-ba-ow-íre emy-átsi é-yi-bá-lóleré kó ówundi okó wundi

c2-priest TM-SMc2-hear-TM c4-story which-SMc2-concern on other on other  
the priests heard stories concerning each other

(lit. the priests heard stories which concern them, one about the other)

d) mó-ba-síg-an-íre amakadó embere sy-owundi okó wundi

TM-SMc2-leave-RCM-TM presents before LINK other on other

They left each other presents in front of each other

e) \*mó-ba-síg-íre amakadó embere sy-owundi okó wundi

TM-SMc2-leave-TM presents before LINK other on other

They left presents in front of each other

Comment: this last sentence is bad. The idea of translating each other by *owundi oko wundi* is a translation that I am forcing. We do not usually speak Kinande that way. We cannot use *-an-* because, if we did so, that is, if we said *mó-ba-sig-ir-an-ir-i-e amakado embere syowundu oko wundi*, although the sentence is better, but it means that they left the presents to each other, it no longer means that they left the presents (not necessarily to each other) but in front of each other. (A12d) is perfect when we simply say *mó-ba-sig-an-íre amakado* (they left gifts to each other). A more natural translation would be

i. mó-ba-sig-an-íre amakado embere sy' óbuli mundú ng'okó ba-byá hô

TM-SMc2-leave-an-TM gifts before c9linker every man that SMc2-be there

They left gifts before everybody present

We cannot really translate the English form *in front of each other*

#### 2.3.4 Other persons and numbers, etc.

A13a) tu-á-lángir-an-a

1PL-TM-see-RCM-FV

We saw each other

b) mú-lwé b' erí-watik-an-i-a

2PL are c2 INF-help-RCM-CAUS-FV

you must help each other (lit. you are people to help each other)

c) tu-kándi-nab-an-i-a

1PL-TM-wash-RCM-CAUS-FV

"We will wash each other."

c') tu-kándi-yi-nab-i-a

1PL-TM-yi-wash-CAUS-FV

"We will wash ourselves."

d) bábégere erí-tsamb-án-a

SMc2-are used INF-criticize-RCM-FV

"They usually criticize each other."

e) abá-lwaná bánéné mo-ba-a-twang-an-ire [móbátwángene]

c2-boys many TM-SMc2-TM-kick-RCM-TM

"Many boys kicked each other."

Comment: The causative *-i-* attached to other verbs has a more typical causative meaning.

i. n-ka-titir-a-i-a omwana [ngátitiraya]

SM1SGc1-TM-dance-a-CAUS-FV child

I make a child dance frenetically

The idea is that I am holding the child and I am making him dance. With the use of *-is..i-* causative, the sense will be a bit different

ii. n-ka-titir-is-a-i-a omwana [ngátitirisaya]

SM1SGC1-TM-dance-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV child

I cause a child to dance frenetically

Here, I do not have to hold him. I can give him a gift that will cause him to dance frenetically.

### 2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies:

A14a) Sol says that the girls love each other.

Kambale ati abasíká bánzene

Kambale a-ti aba-síká ba-a-anz-an-ire

Kambale SMC1-say c2-girl SMC2-TM-like-RCM-TM

Kambale says that girls like each other

b) Sol required that the girls praise each other.

Kambale ábyá ánzire ati abasíká íbápípana

Kambale ábyá ánzire ati abasíká i-ba-a-pip-RCM-a

Kambale was liked SMC1-says girls that-SMc2-TM-praise-RCM-FV

Kambale wished that girls praise each other

c) Sol thought the girls should praise each other

Kambale áléngekanáya ati abasíká ba-angá-pip-an-a

Kambale thought that girls SMC2-TM-praise-RCM-FV

Kambale thought that girls should praise each other

d) Sol asked the girls to praise each other.

Kambale abwírá abasíká atí í-bá-píp-RCM-a

Kambale told girls that SBJ-SMC2-praise-RCM-FV

Kambale told the girls to praise each other (lit. that they praise each other)

e) The girls want to praise each other.

Aba-síká bá-sóndire eri-pip-án-a

c2-girls SMC2-want INF-praise-RCM-FV

the girls want to praise each other

f) Sol expects the girls to praise each other.

Kambale abúgá ati abasíká bálwé b' eri-pip-án-a

Kambale said that girls SMC2-were c2 INF-praise-RCM-FV

Kambale said that the girls were to praise each other

g) Sol heard the girls praising each other

Kambale mo-a-owire aba-síká bá-ka-pip-án-a [mówire]

Kambale TM-SMC1-heard c2-girl SMC2-TM-praise-RCM-FV

Kambale heard the girls praising each other

## 2.4 Other types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable - Please translate these sentences and provide the best gloss that you can. Is one of the strategies described above used?

A15a) Paul lost his shoes.

Kambale mo-a-a-OMc1-ir-i-e [mwáherírye] ebi-riató b-íwe  
Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-lose-TM-CAUS-FV c8-shoe CONN-his  
Kambale lost his shoes (lit. Kambale lost shoes of his)

b) Paul raised his hand. (e.g., in class)

Kambale mo-a-a-sumb-ire [mwásúmbíre] éby-ala b-íwe  
Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-raise-TM c8-hand CONN-his  
Kambale raised his hand

c) Paul cut his hand. (e.g., accidentally)

Kambale mo-a-a-kenz-ire éby-ala b-íwe [mwákénzíré]  
Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-cut-TM c8-hand CONN-his  
Kambale cut his hand

Comment: Ken Safir asks me if the use of the causative determines an intentional reading (Kambale wants to have a scar on his hand and so he intentionally cuts it) versus a cut happened on his hand (without the causative). The causative does not bring about such a contrast. If we were to force such a meaning, we would still use the reflexive as shown in these examples (where I use a different verb)

ci) Kambale mó-a-ká-hutal-a okó byála  
K TM-SMc1-TM-hurt-FV on hand  
Kambale got hurt on the hand

cii) Kambale mó-a-ká-yí-hutal-a-i-a okó byála  
K TM-SMc1-TM-yi-hurt-(a)-CAUS-FV on hand  
Kambale hurt himself on the hand

d) Paul examined his hand  
Kambale mo-a-a-yitegerer-i-e eby-ala biwe [mwáyitégeréry ébyala bíwe]  
Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-scrutinize-CAUS-fv c8-hand CONN-his  
Kambale examined his hand (lit. Kambale scrutinized his hand)

Comment: *eby-ala* is in class 8 although the translation makes it look singular. The word has no singular. We thus say : *ebyala bi-guma* = one hand, *ebyala bi-biri* two hands.

## 2.4.2 Reflexives in nominals

A16) obú-yi-tondiatondia bwa Kámbale bu-ká-hitan-a-i-a Marya  
c14-RFM-odd behavior of Kambale SMC14-TM-annoy-a-CAUS-FV Mary  
"Kambale's strange behavior annoys Mary."  
(lit. the behavior of himself of K annoys M)

Comment: Note that *bwa Kambale* could never precede the nominalized verb.

A17) omwalimu mwásángere Kambale á-ka-yi-tondol-er-a ókw' iyê  
teacher SMC1-was surprised Kambale SM4SGC1-TM-yi-cite-APPL-FV on  
PRN3SG

The teacher was surprised about as Kambale introduced himself to him  
Comment: The verb *eri-tondol-a* literally means to remove things from a pile one by one. Here, it is used as if Kambale is revealing (citing) the different features of his character. I fail to translate the original sentence ("Andrew's introduction of himself

impressed the teacher"). It sounds odd in Kinande. It would be something like:

A17') ? eri-yi-tondola rya Kambale mo-rya-sangalisirye omwalimu  
INF-RFM-cite of Kambale TM-SM-surprised teacher  
"Kambale's introduction of himself surprised the teacher "

#### 2.4.3 Something we haven't thought of?

G1a) Ingyé tu-na Kámbale, sí-tu-línywa tába

PRN1SG *us-with* Kambale NEG-SM1PLc2-drink tobacco

"Kambale and I, we do not smoke."

b) Iwé mu-na Kámbale, sí-mu-línywa tába

PRN2SG *SM2SGc1-with* Kambale NEG-SM2SGc1-drink tobacco

"Kambale and you, you do not smoke."

c) Iyé ba-na Kámbale, sí-ba-línywa tába

PRN3SG *they-with* Kambale NEG-they-drink tobacco

"Kambale and he, they do not smoke."

These same sentences can be said by putting Kambale in the first position. In this case, the pronoun in the word pronoun-with changes. Nonetheless, this pronoun still refers to a subject that seems to follow it. The following are the examples.

d) Kámbalé tú-ná-ye, sí-tu-línywa tába

Kambale *us-with-him* NEG-SM1PLc2-drink tobacco

"Kambale and I, we do not smoke."

We cannot leave out Kámbale and say only: *tú-ná-ye sí-tu-línywa tába* ; but we could replace Kambale by a full pronoun

d') iyé tú-ná-ye sí-tu-línywa tába

PRN3SG 1PL-with-3SG NEG-1PL-drink tobacco

he and I, we do not smoke)

e) Kámbalé mú-ná-ye, sí-mu-línywa tába

Kambale *SM2SGc1-with-3sg* NEG-SM2SGc1-drink tobacco

"Kambale and you, you do not smoke."

f) Kámbalé bá-ná-ye, sí-ba-línywa tába

Kambale *SMc2-with-3sg* NEG-SMc2-drink tobacco

"Kambale and he, they do not smoke."

gi) Kambale ba-na Paluku bá-li-asâ

K *SMc2-with* Paluku SMc2-TM-come

Kambale came with Paluku

gii) Kambale bá-li-asá ba-na Palúku

K *SMc2-TM-come* SMc2-with Paluku

Kambale came with Paluku

2.4.4 It would be useful to us if you could provide a list of the different strategies so we are both clear as to which ones you distinguish.

- Reflexive strategies :

-The RFM –yi-

- Null object, limited to certain verbs of grooming

- Alone Strategy : pronoun –ene

Pronoun -ene-ene

- The RFM and body part with null possessor (see A4c)) Other examples :

G2a) Kámbale a-kábí-yi-luma okó lúlími

Kambale SMc1-TM-RFM-bite on c11-tongue



- Kambale bit himself on the tongue
- b) Kámbale á-amá-yi-tonika oko ri-inô  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-stumble on c5-toe  
Kambale stumbles (himself) on the toe
- c) Kámbale a-ká-yi-buhirirá kô  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-blow on  
Kambale is well dressed (lit. K. blows on himself)

#### Reciprocal strategies

- RCM *-an-*. It is an infix inside the verb root.
- Null object with reciprocal meanings

#### G3a) a-bá-lumé bá-a-lwa

Aug-c2-man SMC2-TM-fight  
The men fought

#### b) a-bá-lumé mó-bá-a-buga.búg-ire

Aug-c2-man TM-SMc2-TM-speak.speak-TM  
The men quarreled

These verbs, although they do not have an *-an-* reciprocal can be interpreted with reciprocal meaning. The verb for to embrace is *erí-kumbatán-a*. Although *-an-* seems to be part of the root as a frozen affix, it is nonetheless the reciprocal affix. \**erí-kumbat-a* without *-an-* does not exist.

### Part 3 General details about the strategies

#### 3.1. Marking

##### 3.1.a. Marking of the reflexives

3.1.1 About the marking strategies for coconstrued interpretations, Kinande uses the following :

- M a) Marking on a coconstrued argument or adjunct : not used
- b) Marking on the verb or an auxiliary : *yi-*strategy
- c) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument : (limited use with certain verbs)
- d) Coconstrual is signaled by a specialized adjunct : *iyowene* strategy

#### *Yi-*strategy

##### T1) Kámbale á-mábi-yi-húma

Kambale SMC1-TM-yi-hit  
Kambale has hit himself

The reflexive *-yi-* comes after the tense marker and immediately before the verb root. This position is usually occupied by the Object marker as in

##### T2) Kámbale á-mábi-mu-húma

K SMC1-TM-OMC1-hit  
Kambale has hit him

#### Agr-ene strategy T3) Kámbale á-li-asa iyówene

Kambale SMC1-TM-come alone  
Kambale came alone.

The reason *iyowene* should be considered an anaphor is that the word must refer to the argument in the subject position and its shape changes according to the class of this subject. Other examples will make this clear.

- T4a) Omúti mw-á-ká-tera iwúwene  
 Tree TM-SM-TM-fall alone  
 The tree fell alone
- b) Emíti mó-yi-ká-tera iyíyene  
 Trees TM-SM-TM fall alone  
 The trees fell alone
- c) Abandú bá-li-asa ibíbene  
 People SMC2-TM-come alone  
 The people came alone

The *yi*-strategy is not a substitute for the *iyowene* strategy as shown in the examples below

- T5a) Kámbale á-lyá-yi-let-â  
 K SMC1-TM-RFM-bring-FV  
 Kambale brought himself
- b) Kámbale á-lyá-yi-let-a iyówene  
 K SMC1-TM-RFM-bring-FV alone  
 Kambale brought himself alone (he was not helped by someone else)
- c) Kámbale á-lyá-yi-let-a iyówenewene  
 K SMC1-TM-RFM-bring-FV himself  
 Kambale brought himself (with insistence on "himself")
- d)\*Kámbale á-lyá-let-a iyówene (sentence is out because it has no direct object)
- e) Kámbale á-lyá-let-a ekirí ky' iyówene/iyówenewene  
 K SMC1-TM-bring-fv potato LK alone/himself  
 Kambale brought the potato alone/it is Kambale himself who brought the potato
- f) \*Kambale mó-á-a-pip-ire (cf. Kámbale mó-á-yí-píp-ire)  
 Kambale praised (cf. Kambale praised himself)
- g) Kámbale mó-á-a-mú-píp-ire iyówene  
 Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-OMc1-praise-TM alone  
 Kambale praised him alone
- Comment: "Alone" is ambiguous in (T5g) as it can refer to "Kambale" or "him."
- h) Kámbale mó-á-a-yí-píp-ire iyówene  
 Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-yi-praise-TM alone  
 Kambale praised himself alone

### 3.2. Productivity

#### a. The *yi*-strategy

3.2.1 The *yi*-strategy is extremely productive as it can be used with any transitive verb where the second argument in the object position can be coconstrued with the one in the subject position. Notice that, in Kinande as in many Bantu languages, an intransitive verb can be rendered transitive with the use of the causative morpheme. And if that is the case, such an intransitive verb becomes transitive and it can accept the RFM, e.g. *erí-búg-a* INF-speak-FV 'to talk'.

- T6a) Erí-yi-bug-ang-is-i-a to make oneself speak  
 INF-RFM-speak-ang-CAUS-CAUS-FV

To make oneself speak without a definite purpose.

Comment: *-ang-* is a pre-final extension as in *erí-yi-sun-áng-a* to scratch oneself without a definite purpose; the root *-sun-* means 'scratch'.

- b) eri-hék-a  
 'to carry'

- c) eri-yi-hek-i-â  
to cause oneself to carry

3.2.2 The use of this strategy has almost no exceptions as long as the argument in the object position can be coconstrued with the one in the subject position.

b. The alone-strategy.

3.2.1 This strategy is extremely productive

3.2.2 This strategy is unrestricted. It has almost no exceptions as long as the argument in the subject position is being referred to. The reason I use “almost” is because it is not used with locative classes. A locative class can be used in a subject position but it does not entail the use of “alone” as in the following example.

T7a) Omo-nyumba mú-lwe bandú babiri  
In-the-house SMC2-be people two  
There were two persons in the house.

b) Omo-nyumba mú-lwe bandú babiri ?omwímwene  
In-the-house SMC2-be people two alone  
There were two persons in the house.

The form *omwimwene* does not sound natural. Still it sounds acceptable. It is just that we do not usually use it. The fact that I am able to find its acceptable form shows that it could be used. I did not use a word such as *\*omwimene*, *\*omumene*, *\*omumwene*.

The alone strategy cannot modify an overt non-subject as shown by the following examples:

T8a) \*Kambale a-ká-himba enyumba eyi-yene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-build c9-house c9-ene  
Kambale builds the house alone

Comment: Here "alone" refers to the house.

b) Kambale á-hímb-ire oko mu-longó ko uwúwene  
Kambale SMC1-build-TM on c3-village on c3-ene  
Kambale stays on the village alone

Comment: Here "alone" refers to the village.

The alone-strategy (-ene) cannot be attached directly to a non-pronoun as shown in (T9a). Instead this is formed as in (T9b).

T9a) \*Kambale y-ene a-ka-himba  
Kambale c1-ene SMC1-TM-build  
Kambale builds

b) Kambale iyówenewene yúka-himbâ  
Kambale himself who-TM-build (who is also the SMC1 for the verb)  
It is Kambale himself who is building.

### 3.3 Context of use

a. *yi*-strategy

3.3.1 : The strategy is natural. It is not marked. It can be used in both formal and casual contexts.

3.3.2 : It does not require special intonation or emphasis in the sentence. However, for a H-tone verb, the phonology seems to treat it differently from a normal object marker in that, it is preferable that the H tone fail to anticipate onto it. Consider the

following examples:

T10a) erí-mú-tum-ír-a to send for him

b) erí-yi-tum-ír-a to send for oneself

c) \*erí-yí-tum-ír-a to send for oneself

In (T10a) the H is on both the OM and the Vowel preceding the OM. However, when the reflexive *-yi-* is used, it is more preferable not to put a H on it. In my speech, the use of a H tone on the reflexive *-yi-* as in (c) is simply not acceptable.

3.3.3 There is no particular discourse context that needs to be pointed out for its use.

3.3.4 No other comment

b. The alone-strategy

3.3.1 : The strategy is natural. It is not marked. It can be used in both formal and casual contexts.

3.3.2 : It does not require special intonation or emphasis in the sentence.

3.3.3 There is no particular discourse context that needs to be pointed out for its use.

3.3.4 Comment on the *-ene-ene* strategy

The *-ene-ene* strategy is used with personal pronouns. *-ene-ene* can be seen as a suffix to the personal pronoun as shown in the following forms:

Ingye me	→	ingyowenewene /ingyuwenewene	myself
Iwe you	→	iwuwenewene /iwowenewene	yourself
Iye him	→	iyuwenewene/iyowenewene	himself
Itwe us	→	itwibenebene	ourselves
Inywe you (pl)	→	inywibenebene	yourselves
Ibo them	→	ibibenebene	themselves

The *-ene-ene* strategy can be used with verbs without an intervening *-yi-* reflexive for people as shown in the following examples

T11a) Kambale mó-á-a-sá-ire iyúwenewene [mwásire]

Kambale TM-SMc1-TM-come himself

Kambale himself came

b)??Omú-ti mó-á-a-tér-ire iwúwenewene

c3-tree TM-SMc3-TM-fall-TM c3-self

The tree fell itself

c) Omú-ti mó-á-a-yí-ter-íre kó iwúwenewene

C3-tree TM-SMc3-TM-yi-fall-TM on c3-self

The tree fell by itself

Comment: The last sentence greatly improves when we use the *-yi-* strategy in the verb.

CommentThe *-ene-ene* strategy can be used with the noun in subject position as long as it is a person. Non-personal nouns are odd with its use. This is shown by the following examples

T12a) Kámbale iyówenewene mó-á-a-sa-ire [mwásire]

Kambale c1-self TM-SMc1-TM-come-TM

Kambale himself came

b) Omú-ti iwúwenewene mó-á-a-ter-ire

c3-tree c3-self TM-SMc3-TM-fall-TM

The tree itself fell.

Comment: The last sentence with 'tree' is not that bad. It simply gives the impression as if it became animate, more precisely, as if it had some will of itself. Notice that (T12d) becomes bad because the *-yi-* strategy is not used in the verb.

- c) émbene mó-yá-yi-kamúl-íre iyíyenyene  
 c9-goat TM-SMc9-yi-strangle-TM c9-self  
 The goat strangled itself
- d)\*Embene mó-ya-kamúl-íre iyíyenyene  
 c9-goat TM-SMc9-strangle-TM c9-self  
 The goat strangled itself
- e) Kambale mó-á-a-yí-hánik-ire iyówenewene  
 K TM-SMc1-TM-RFM-hang-TM –ene-ene  
 Kambale hanged himself
- f) é-N-hene mó-yi-a-yi-kamúl-ire iyíyenyene (émbene móyáyikamwíre)  
 Aug-c9-goat TM-c9-TM-RFM-strangle-TM –ene-ene  
 The goat strangled itself
- g) o-mú-likí a-bíri-landa.land-ir-a okó múti  
 Aug-c3-rope SMc3-TM-crawl-crawl-APPL-FV on tree  
 The rope has enrolled itself around the tree
- h) o-mú-likí a-bíri-yi-ling-ir-a okó múti  
 Aug-c3-rope SMc3-TM-enrol-APPL-FV on tree

Comment: For (T12h), the rope has enrolled itself around the tree (It is as if one attributes some animacy to the rope).

- i) o-mu-nzede a-bíri-son-okal-a  
 Aug-c3-pants SMc3-TM-sew(-un)-FV  
 "The pants have unsewn (by themselves)

Comment: The verb extension *-okal-* is reversative.

- j) o-mu-nzede a-bíri-yi-son-ól-a  
 Aug-c3-pants SMc3-TM-RFM-sew(-un)-FV  
 The pants have unsewn (by themselves)

Comment: It would be odd to say (T12j), again as animacy is attributed to the pants.

### 3.4 Morphology

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

3.4.1 The reflexive *-yi-* does not have a stateable lexical translation. However, the form *iyowene* can be translated as him alone. As for the reciprocal *-an-* it is just an infix that does not have a stateable lexical translation as well.

*Consider the following uses of English alone in comparison with English emphatic pronoun-self, which can have meanings B-D, but not A.*

- A) *John alone did this - i.e., only John and no other individuals did this.*  
 B) *John did this alone - John was unaccompanied when he did this.*  
 C) *John himself did this - John appearing in person did this (no one did it for him)*  
 D) *John himself did this - Even John did this (e.g. Although you would not have thought he would, John also ate the crispy jellyfish)*

As in other Bantu languages, this form is typically an emphatic, e.g. :

- T13a) Kámbale á-lya-as-a iyowene  
 Kambale SMc1-TM-come alone

Kambale came by himself (i.e. alone, not being helped by someone else)  
Comparing *iyowene* to English pronoun-*self* for readings A-D.

- A) John alone did this -i.e. only John and no other individuals did this  
b) Yoháni a-a-kól-a ky' iyówene  
John SMC1-TM-do it alone  
John did it alone (i.e. John and no other individuals did it)
- B. John did this alone – John was unaccompanied when he did this  
(In Kinande, the sentence would be similar to the one in A.i. and the B meaning would also be valid.)
- C. John himself did this – John appearing in person did this (no other did it for him)  
c) Yoháni yó w-a-ná-kí-kol-a iyówene  
John the one SMC1-TM-it-do alone  
John is the one who did it alone/himself (implying not someone else)
- D. John himself did this –Even John did this (e.g. although you would not have thought he would, John also ate the crispy jellyfish)  
(Kinande does not allow this reading. It would be rendered by something like  
d) Tami na Yoháni mó-á-a-kol-íre kí-ngaha  
Even with John TM-SMC1-TM-do-TM c7-this big  
Even John did something this big (that he should not have done)

The word *alone* in English does not adequately translate *iyowene*. When it is used, the statement appears to be contrasting with some other statement in previous discourse.

3.4.2 Nothing special to say about the reflexive or the reciprocal as they are merely affixes. As for *iyowene*, it can be used as a noun in a topic construction when it is reduplicated as in the following example

T14) Iyówenewene yu-na-lyasâ  
Himself who-TM-come  
He is the one who came (and not someone else)

Ken Safir proposes the following gloss: He-alone-alone who-TM-come. This is OK although another more literal gloss could be something like he-only-only-who-TM-come or he-self-self-who-TM-come The “who” in this translation is a focus element in this construction.

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.

The *iyowene* form probably consists of several morphemes. But it is difficult to separate these morphemes. Consider the following reflexives:

Ingyuwene /ingye u-w-ene/ myself  
Iwuwene /iwe u-w-ene/ yourself  
Iyowene /iye uw-ene/ himself (iyuwene sounds ok and it is synonymous with iyowene)  
Itwibene /itwe i-b-ene/ ourselves  
Inywibene /inywe i-b-ene/ yourselves  
Ibibene /ibo i-b-ene/ themselves

The first part of the word consists of the personal pronoun *ingye* “me”, *iwe* “you sg”, *iwe* “him”, *itwe* “us”, *inywe* “you pl.”, *ibo* “them”. The second part that means “alone”

certainly has *-ene* as the root. *-w-* is certainly the class one marker whereas *-b-* is the class 2 marker. Most probably the vowels *-u-* and *-i-* are the original forms of the initial vowel, also called “augment” in Kinande and which surfaces as /e/, /o/ in nouns. (Kinande has three augments: /e/, /o/, /a/ as in *embene* ‘goat’, *embuli* ‘sheep’, *embwa* ‘dog’, *o-mu-kali* ‘woman’, *a-ba-kali* ‘women’)

As to which part of speech *-ene* is, it could simply be called a formative if such a category should exist. It is just like status of *-mit* in *remit*, *permit*, *commit* where *-mit* is a morpheme (cf. *remissive*, *permissive*, *commissive* (vs. *vomit vomissive*) (cf. Aronoff 1976) Would you say that this *-mit* is a noun or a verb ? It is perhaps the same case for *-ene*. It is a formative that, when conjoined with a pronoun (e.g. *ibo* (them) *ibi-b-ene-b-ene* themselves).

Also, *-ene* never occurs in nominals (as would be in nouns like lonely man, solitary/lone man), cf.

T15) oyo ni mundu a-ká-sib-a iyówene  
that is man SMC1-TM-stays-fv c1-alone

That is a solitary man (i.e. a man who stays by himself)

The root *-ene* does not appear in other words. The only word I found where it could be argued to appear is *a-ka-bene* (of the other) as opposed to *a-ka-ghu/ a-ka-wu* (of you). The *a-* is the augment, *-ka-* is the Class 12 prefix. Could *a-ka-bene* be *a-ka-ba-ene* where *-ba-* is the pronoun “them” as in *a-ka-bo* “of them” This is only speculation. It is given here in answer to Ken Safir’s (personal communication) own speculation on what he calls “reified substantive” as he doubts that *-ene* really means “alone”, since if it meant alone, English *self* could also mean “alone.” In case someone is able to find the real meaning of *-ene*, this is the proverb in Kinande where the contrast appears:

T16a) áka-wu í-w-á-yi-muma  
c12-you that SMC1-TM-RFM-fold  
When it is yours, you fold yourself (meaning, you just keep quiet)

b) áká-bene í-w-a-yí-sánza  
c12-other that SMC1-TM-RFM-spread  
When it is for another or for other people, you spread yourself (meaning, you are joyful)

### 3.5 The agreement paradigm

#### 3.5.2 For each morphological feature, what determines its value?

The morphemes *iyó-* and *-w-* in *iyowene* agree with the subject. Thus, if we were to put the first sentence in plural by saying Kambale and Paluku came alone, this would be (T17c), where *ibi-* and *-b-* in *ibibene* must surely be related to class 2. But it is difficult to determine the exact shape of these morphemes as I said in 3.4.3. If we were to put (T17b) in class 19, we would have (T17d).

T17a) Kám-bale á-li-asa iyówene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-come c1-alone  
Kambale came alone

b) Omúti mw-á-ká-tera iwúwene  
Tree TM-SM-TM-fall c3-alone  
The tree fell alone

c) Kám-balé ba-na Palúku bá-li-asa ibí-b-ene  
Kambale and Paluku SMC2-TM-come c2-alone

Kambale and Paluku came alone.

- d) ehíti mó-hi-ká-tera      ihyóhyene  
Trees    TM-SM-TM-fall c19-alone  
The small trees fell alone

Again, *ihio-* and *-hi-* in *ihyohyene* must belong to class 19 because the noun in the subject position has been in class 19. The conclusion is that these agreement morphemes in the word that stands for "alone" (cf. *iyowene*, *ibibene*, *ihyohyene*) must obligatorily agree with the antecedent in subject position.

### 3.6 Interaction with verb morphology - Incompatibilities

#### 3.6.1 Tense, Mood, Aspect.

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 .

- B3a) Kámbale a-ká-nab-â  
Kambale SMC1-TM-wash  
Kambale washes himself  
b) Kámbale álwé á-ka-nába  
Kambale leaves SMC1-TM-wash  
Kambale was washing himself  
c) Kámbale a-angá-naba  
Kambale SMC1-TM-wash  
Kambale should wash himself

The verb for "wash" is certainly a verb that does not require the use of the reflexive *-yi-* . However, like any other verb, it may become transitive with the use of the causative *-i-*. In this case, it accepts also the reflexive *-yi-*. This is shown in the following examples.

- C3a) Kámbale a-ká-yi-naba-i-â  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-wash-CAUS-FV  
Kambale washes himself  
b) Kámbale álwé á-ka-yi-nab-i-â  
Kambale leaves SMC1-TM-RFM-wash-CAUS-FV  
Kambale was washing himself  
c) Kámbale a-anga-yí-náb-i-â  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-wash-CAUS-FV  
Kambale should wash himself

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.

Comment: The sentences in (T18) show that the reflexive *-yi-* can be used with the Applicative *-ir-* and the Causative *-is-i-*

- T18a) Kambale a-a-yi-ita [áyítâ]  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill



- Kambale killed himself
- b) Kámbale á-a-yi-it-ír-á omo muhána  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-APPL-FV in village  
Kambale killed himself in the village
- c) Kámbale á-lyá-yi-it-is-a-i-â  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV  
Kambale made himself get killed
- d) Kámbale á-lyá-yi-it-a iyówene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-FV alone  
Kambale has killed himself alone
- e) Kambale a-a-yi-it-ir-a omo muhanáa mw' iyówene (áyitírá)  
Kambale -TM-RFM-kill-APPL-FV in village LINK alone  
Kambale killed himself in the village alone
- f) Kambale a-lya-yi-it-is-a-i-a iyowene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV himself  
Kambale made himself get killed alone

Comment: (T18d-f) also show that the reflexive *iyowene* can be used in addition to the RFM in the same sentence.

Note that these same sentences can be used with the *-ene-ene* strategy. Here we see that *-ene-ene* can combine with the *-yi-* strategy. Although (T19b) is bad, (T19c) is improved.

- T19a) Kambale a-lya-yi-ita iyowenewene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill himself  
Kambale has killed himself (emphasizing the fact that he killed himself)
- b)??Kambale a-a-yi-it-ir-a omo muhana mw' iyowenewene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-APPL-FV in village LINK himself  
Kambale killed himself in the village (
- c)?Kambale a-a-yi-it-ir-a omo muhana iyowenewene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-APPL-FV in village himself  
Kambale killed himself in the village
- d) Kambale iyowenewene a-a-yi-it-ir-a omo muhana  
Kambale REFL SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-APPL-FV in village  
Kambale killed himself in the village
- e) Kambale ályáyitisaya iyówenewene  
Kambale a-lya-yi-it-is-a-i-a iyówenewene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV himself  
Kambale made himself get killed

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

The RFM occupies the position of the object marker. This means that the RFM and the object marker cannot co-occur in the same sentence, but OM can cooccur with *Agr-ene*.

- T20a) Kambale á-lyá-mu-ita iyówene  
Kambale SMC1-TM-OMc1-kill alone  
Kambale has killed him alone

Comment: Here alone could either refer to Kambale or to him

- b) Kambale á-a-mu-it-ír-á omo muhaná mw' iyówene  
 Kambale SMC1-TM-OMc1-kill-APPL-FV in village LINK alone  
 Kambale killed him in the village alone

Comment: Again, alone could either refer to Kambale or to him

- c) Kambale á-lyá-mu-it-is-a-i-a iyówene  
 Kambale SMC1-TM-yi-kill-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV REFL  
 Kambale made him get killed alone

Comment: Again, alone could either refer to Kambale or to him. If the object is overt, *Agr-ene* does not modify it as shown by the following example:

- d) Kambale á-lyá-it-a Maryá y' iyówene (álíta)  
 K SMC1-kill Mary LK c1-ene

Kambale killed Mary alone (where alone refers to Kambale, not to Mary)

Comment: To summarize, *Agr-ene* can modify the object marker if it is a weak pronoun, i.e. an object marker inside the verb, but not a full argument

Comment: Note that, with the use of a sentence such “Kambale gave it to him”, you cannot get two OMs inside the verb. The second object pronoun appears in postverbal position

- e) Kambale á-a-mú-há-kyô  
 Kambale SMC1-TM-OMC1-give-it  
 Kambale gave it to him  
 f) Kambale á-a-yí-há-kyô  
 Kambale SMC1-TM-yi-give-it  
 Kambale gave it to himself

Comment: Also, as (T20g,h) show, a full nominal direct object cannot be associated with *Agr-ene-ene*.

- g)\*Sí-buga ambu Kámbale álángirá tatá wa Maryá yo buyírá Kambale  
 not-say one-says Kambale saw father of Mary LK nothing Kambale  
 á-langir-a Maryá iyówenewene  
 SM1-see-FV Mary Agr-ene-ene  
 It is not simply to say that Kambale saw Mary's father, it is Mary that Kambale saw indeed. (OK where *iyowenewene* refers to Kambale)  
 h) Sí-buga ambu Kámbale álángirá tatá wa Maryá yo buyírá, Maryá yó Kámbale  
 Not-say one-says Kambale saw father of Mary LK nothing Mary that Kambale  
 análangira  
 saw  
 It is not simply to say that Kambale saw Mary's father, it is Mary that Kambale saw indeed.

### 3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

#### 3.7.1 Idiosyncratic or inherent.

Kinande does have a lot of verbs with-yi- as a prestem in forms that one could consider as underived lexical items. Please see Mutaka & Kavutirwaki's dictionary of Kinande (ms) (a preliminary electronic version is in the computer of Mark Baker at Rutgers University.) I will present the most recent version of this dictionary at the University of Turin on May11, 2006. Here are a few such examples:

T21) Eri-yi-butik-a 'to sit down' (-*butik-* is not a root with any identifiable meaning)

Eri-yi-fun-a ‘to boast’ (-*fun-* does not have an identifiable meaning per se)  
 Eri-yi-handik-a ‘to resist’ (-*handik-* means to write and has nothing to do with ‘resist’)

### 3.7.2 Emphatic or intensifier.

The reduplicated form of *iyowene* (alone) can be used as an intensifier (see 3.4.2). The contrasts below indicate some differences between sentences with *Agr-ene* and those with *Agr-ene-ene*

- T22a) Kambale iyówenewene yu-na-ly-asâ  
 Kambale REFL he TM TM come  
 It is Kambale himself who came
- b) Kambale iyówenewene mw-á-ká-asâ  
 Kambale REFL TM-SMc1-TM-come  
 Kambale himself came
- c) Kambale á-lyá hyâ  
 K SMc1-TM-burn  
 “Kambale burned”
- d) Kambale á-lyá-hi-a iyowene  
 K SMc1-TM-burn Agr-ene  
 Kambale burned alone
- e)??Kambale á-lyá-hi-a iyówenewene  
 K SMc1-TM-burn Agr-ene-ene
- f) Kambale á-lyá-yi-hi-is-a-i-a iyowene  
 K SMc1-TM-yi-burn-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV Agr-ene  
 Kambale burned himself alone (he did not burn any other person)
- g) Kambale á-lyá-yi-hi-is-a-i-a iyówenewene  
 K SMc1-TM-yi-burn-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV Agr-ene-ene  
 Kambale burned himself (it is not another person who burned him)

Comment: Please note the nuances in the translation of sentences (T22f,g) and also the fact that (T22e) is bad and that (T22e) expresses the true idea of “alone” The causative renders the verb transitive.

### 3.7.3 Middle.

The impositive *-ik-* that expresses the middle (see also *-ek-* in (B10) which is in fact *-ik-* (underlyingly for phonologists). As you look at the introduction of my dictionary, can you also look at the examples with the intransitive *-uka-* as it potentially translates the middle as well. Consider the following example from the verb *erí-yitulíra* ‘to stink’:

- T23) Omú-lwana a-námú-yi-tul-ir-a ahíkere  
 c1-boy SMc1-TM-yi-cut-APPL-FV where he sits  
 The boy stinks where he sits

3.7.5 Deictic use - If the current strategy 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)?

It is difficult to imagine such a situation but the speakers could assume that everybody is speaking about the same person and so use the subject marker in (c).

Let me translate the above sentences for such a context where X is rendered by “him” in (a,b) and “he” in (c).

- B5a) Bill mó-á-téta-mu-langíra  
Bill TM-SMc1-NEG-OMc1-see  
Bill did not see him
- b) Maryá mó-á-na-mú-ánz-ire  
Mary TM-SMc1-TM-OMc1-like-TM  
Did Mary like him?
- c) mó-á-génd-ire e-mulongó y’ ómuligólo  
TM-SMc1-go-TM at-village LK yesterday  
He went to the village yesterday

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

- B6a) Bill insulted X. (X = speaker, X = addressee)  
b) Many people do not like anchovies, but X likes them.  
(X = speaker, X = addressee)

Comment: The answer is no. In Kinande, we would have to say something like “but Kambale he likes them, literally, Kambale it is he likes them as in:

- B6b) abandú bánené sí-bánzire ebíkene, Kámbale áliyé áanziré byô  
people many not-like yams Kambale it-is-him likes them  
Many people do not like yams, but Kambale likes them

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.

- B7a) I don't like the way he speaks to one.  
b) One cannot be too careful  
c) Bill insults one before one can say a word.

Comment: Kinande does not use anaphors here. In B7a,b, one would be rendered by “a person” or “persons”. In B7c, one would be rendered by “you”, i.e. Bill insults you before you can say a word.

- B7a) sínyánzire emíbere yíwé ngokó akábugá nawu  
SM1SGc1-do-NEG-like manners of-OMc1 that SMc1-speaks with-you  
I do not like his way of speaking to you
- b) omundú sy-ánga-yi-landá ko kutsibutsíbu  
a-person he-cannot watch himself on very-much  
a person cannot be too careful
- c) Bill a-ká-kú-tsumá í-sí-wu-lí w-á-bugá n’ ekinywá n’ ekíyima  
Bill SMc1-TM-OM2SGc1-insult that-NEG-SM2SGc1-be SMc1-TM-speak with  
a-word with one  
Bill insults you before you even speak a word

### 3.8 Proxy readings

One interpretation that the choice of coreferent strategy is sometimes sensitive to is proxy interpretation. A proxy reading is one where the coreferent argument is understood as a representation of or a "stand in" for the reference of the antecedent.

- B8a) ómwami mw-á-yí-lángire oko fotô  
 chief TM-SMc1-yi-saw on photo  
 The chief saw himself on the photo (himself = his picture)
- b) ómwami mw-á-ká-yí-hulikirira omo radiyô  
 chief TM-SMc1-TM-yi-hear in radio  
 the chief heard himself in the radio (himself = his voice)

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

- B9a) ómwami abyá á-ká-yi-eryá ne ánge, ákasyátsandia eríbumbá éry' okólíso  
 Chief SMc1-was SMc1-TM-RFM-wash with attention, so that he does not spoil mould of eye  
 The chief washed himself carefully so as not to damage the mould on the eye
- b) ómwami mo-á-nábiré ndeké, ímwághanítsandia eríbumbá éry' okólíso  
 chief TM-SMc1-washed well so he does not damage mould of eye  
 the chief washed carefully, so as not to damage the wax on the eye
- c) ómwami mw-á-yí-ámbalíryé ndeké, ímwághanítsandia eríbumbá éry' okólíso  
 chief TM-SMc1-yi-dressed well, so he does not damage the mould of eye  
 the chief dressed himself carefully so as not to damage the mould on the eye
- d) ómwami mw-a-ámbalíré ndeké, ímwághanítsandia eríbumbá éry' okólíso  
 chief TM-SMc1-dressed well, so he does not damage the mould of eye  
 the chief dressed carefully so as not to damage the mould on the eye
- e) ómwami mw-á-yí-lángire kwéhi omo kiyô, mw-á-téta-yi-anzá kó na hákê  
 chief TM-SMc1-yi-saw oh boy in mirror, TM-SMc1-NEG-yi-like on with little

the chief happened to see himself in the mirror, he did not like himself at all

Comment: in (e) I added *kwehi* that I translate by *oh boy* to render the sentence more realistic. Notice that I wrote: *mw-ayi-langire* instead of *mw-a-yi-langir-ir-e*, that is, I do not use the applicative in the verb. My use of it would have given the impression that the chief was intentionally looking himself in the mirror.

Comment: The observations you make underneath in English also hold for Kinande. Notice that for the verb "wash" I used a different verb with the reflexive *-yi-* (cf. *eri-eria* 'to wash' and *eri-naba* 'to wash'. Note also that the verb *erinába* that takes a null object does not permit the proxy reading, but the one that uses *-yi-*, *erí-eri-a* allows it.)

Comment: With respect to proxy readings, Ken Safir thinks that part of the problem that arises with getting such readings is that the pronouns are animate, hence the proxy reading, which does not denote an animate thing, requires treating an animate in a special way. He probably got this idea as he looked at the forms in (C5) below. That is why he suggested that I look at the sentence "The chief thinks little-he is

handsome” (supposing that someone is making little statuettes of the chief.

ómw-ami a-ká-lengekanaya ati ka-gámb-íre (á-ká-hula aka-sanámu kíwe)  
c1-chief SMC1-TM-think that SMC12-be handsome-TM (SMc1-calls c12-picture of his)

The chief thinks it is beautiful (when talking about his picture)

From the translation, my reader notices that SMC12 that refers to the the statuette of the chief is rendered by “it” and not by “he” because it is not possible to have little-he referring to the chief. This little-he can only refer to the statuette.

B10a) Tatsopa a-ti a-ká-som-ek-á ndeke omo Kiswahíli  
Tatsopa SMC1-says SMC1-TM-read-ABLE-FV well in Swahili  
Tatsopa says that his writings read well in Swahili

Comment: The -ek- verb extension is the middle-like impositive translated here as ABLE - see 3.7.3.

b) ómwami mwáléngekaníry’ aty’ uwény’ oko fotô  
omu-ami mw-á-léngekanírye a-ti a-uwan-ire oko fotô  
chief TM-SMC1-thought SMC1-says SMC1-looknice-PST on photo  
The chief thought he was handsome on the photo

Comment: In order for the sentence to look realistic, I added on the photo.

Proxy readings are also possible for reciprocals in many languages. For (B11a), once again the antecedents are the authors and each other describes the works these authors have written, such that Mark Twain did not read Victor Hugo's novels in Swahili and Victor Hugo did not read Mark Twain's novels in Berber. For (B11b), imagine a show where there are actors masquerading as our two protagonists. The first each other refers to the person Marlene and Castro, but the second each other refers to the actors (or statues) representing them on the stage or in the show.

B11a) Tatsopa ná Kavutírwáki sí-ba-lí-bá-ta-som-an-a omo Kiswahíli  
Tatsopa and Kavutirwaki NEG-SMC2-be-OMc2-NEG-read-RCM-FV in Swahili  
Tatsopa and Kavutirwaki have never read each other in Swahili

Comment: Both Tatsopa and Kavutirwaki are known to have written Kinande dictionaries.

b) Kámbale na Kámaté mó-ba-ká-tsamb-an-á bá-sung-an-a  
Kambale and Kamate TM-SMC2-TM-insult-RCM-fv SMC2-find-RCM-FV  
omo nzolí syage  
in dreams of 1SG

Kambale and Kamate insulted each other when they met in my dreams  
Comment: it is difficult to obtain these proxy readings because they are unrealistic. You notice that I have been adding something to the sentence to tell the reader that they are proxy readings, e.g., in the dreams in (b) and in (a), people know that Tatsopa and Kavutirwaki have written Kinande dictionaries.

### 3.9 Ellipsis

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

B12a) Kámbele a-yí-ánzire / a-ká-yi-tapá kúlab' Kámatê  
Kambale SMC1-yi-likes/ SMC1-TM-yi-praise more Kamate  
Kambale likes/praises himself more than Kamate

The reading I obtain from B12a) is the following:

- i. Kambale likes/praises himself more than he likes/praises Kamate  
(I am not getting the other two readings you mention below)

“The boys praise each other more than the girls”

a) Each of the boys praises others of the boys more than each of the girls praises others of the girls.

b) Each of the boys praises others of the boys more than each of the boys praises the girls.

T24a) a-bá-lwana ba-ká-pip-an-a kutsibú kúlaba a-ba-síkâ  
Aug-c2-boys SMC2-TM-praise-an-FV more to-pass Aug-c2-girl  
Boys praise one another more than girls

I do obtain reading (a) above but not reading (b). A reading that would be near (b) would be rendered thus :

T24b) a-bá-lwana ba-ká-pip-an-a kutsibú kúlaba ngokó ba-angá-píp-ire a-ba-síkâ  
Aug-c2-boys SMC2-TM-praise-RCM-FV more that SMC2-TM-praise-TM Aug-c2-girl

Boys praise one another more than they would praise girls

Of course (T24b) does have another reading, namely that, boys praise each other more than girls praise each other. This is the primary reading a naïve Nande speaker would probably give you if you were to interview him. The (a) reading is something one has to think hard about to realize that it is a possible reading. The reason is: *-an-* better translates as “one another” and not “each other” in that construction. But it remains wholly plausible that the reader could think about individual boys and girls, and see the praising being done between each pair of individuals. Then reading (a) is thus obtained.

## **PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains**

### **4.1 Clausemate coconstrual**

#### **4.1.1 Verb class restrictions**

##### **4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives**

- C1a) Kambale á-á-lángira Kámatê  
Kambale SMC1-TM-see Kamate  
Kambale saw Kamate
- b) Abákali ba-a-súngá Kámbele  
c2-woman SMC2-TM-find Kambale  
Women saw Kambale
- c) mw-á-nyambáya Kámbele  
SM2SGc1-TM-hit Kambale  
you hit Kambale
- d) Ba-a-pipa Kámbele  
SMc2-TM-praise Kambale  
they praised Kambale

#### 4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates

- C3a) Kámbale a-yí-nabáya  
K SMC1-yi-washed  
Kambale washed himself
- b) Kámbale atwá esyónzwiri síwe  
K cut hairs LK-his  
Kambale cut his hair (i.e. Kambale's hair)
- c) Omusíká á-lyá-yi-sarâ  
girl SMC1-TM-yi-cut  
the girl has cut herself

#### 4.1.1.3 Psychological predicates.

- C4a) Yoháni a-yí-pónire  
John SMC1-yi-hates  
John hates himself
- b) Yoháni a-ká-yí-kwa esí-sóni  
John SMC1-TM-yi-kill c10-shame  
John is ashamed of himself

Comment: Although esisoni is class 10, it means shame. Erí-kwa esísóni means to be ashamed, literally to kill (from) shame.

- c) \*Yoháni a-ká-hangayiká busaná náye  
John SMC1-TM-worry because of-him (him refers to John)  
John worries about himself
- d) Yoháni a-ká-yí-sumba ílúme  
John SMC1-TM-yi-lift like-a-man  
John is proud of himself
- e) ?\* Yoháni a-ká-yí-hangayikayâ  
John SMC1-TM-yi-worries  
John worries himself

#### 4.1.1.4 Creation and destruction predicates.

- C5a) ? abákali ba-kándisyá-yi-tsandyâ  
women SMC2-FUT-yi-spoil  
The women will spoil themselves
- b)? amasíní á-yi-kokotáyâ  
machine it-yi-makes  
the machine built itself
- c) ?olukímbe lú-lyá-yi-sonâ  
dress it TM-yi-sew  
the dress sewed itself
- d) ?\* erílega rí-ryá-yi-bumbâ  
pot it-TM-yi-mould  
the pot moulded itself
- e) Kámbale á-lyá-yi-itâ  
K SMC1-TM-kill  
Kambale killed himself



- f) \* abandú ba-bírí-yi-tingíta  
 people SMC2-TM-yi-eliminate  
 people have eliminated themselves

Comment: for C5f), we do not use the reflexive –yi-. C5c and C5d could be possible in fairy tales. But they are unlikely to occur in normal daily conversation.

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

- C6a) abálwana bá-a-yi-bug-ír-â  
 Boys SMC2-TM-yi-speak for  
 The boys spoke for themselves  
 b) Yoháni a-á-yi-bugírâ  
 John SMC1-TM-yi-speak-for  
 John spoke for himself

At this point you might want to reconsider your answer to section 3.7.1, where we asked you about idiosyncratic or inherent reflexives - perhaps some of the ones you looked at earlier belong to some pattern that you might alert us to here.

Here are examples from 3.7.1

Erí-yi-butíka to sit down. (-butik-a is not a stem with any identifiable meaning)  
 Eri-yi-fúna 'to boast' (-fun-a) does not have an identifiable meaning per se)  
 Eri-yi-hándika 'to resist' (-handik- means to write and has nothing to do with 'resist')

- i. Kámbale á-lyá-yi-butika ahísi  
 K SMC1-TM-yi-sit down  
 Kambale sat down  
 ii. Kámbale a-ká-yi-funâ  
 K SMC1-TM-yi-  
 Kambale is boastful  
 iii. Kámbale a-ká-yi-handikâ  
 K SMC1-TM-yi-write  
 Kambale is resisting

#### 4.1.2 Argument position pairings

##### 4.1.2.1 Subject-indirect object

- C7a) Maryá a-á-yí-ha akadô  
 Mary SMC1-TM-RFM-give gift  
 Mary gave a gift to herself  
 b) Yoháni a-a-yí-kánganáya enyúmba  
 John SMC1-TM-RFM-show house  
 John showed a house to himself

C8a) Maryá a-á-yí-ha akadô (same as C7a)

- b) Yoháni a-yí-kánganisáya okó bána  
 John SMC1-TM-RFM-show on children  
 John showed himself to the children

#### 4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

- C9a) \*Kámbale ákánáya náye  
 Kambale SMC1-talked with PRN3SG (=Kambale)  
 Kambale talked to him (where him = Kambale)
- a) i) Yoháni a-ká-yi-bugá-kô (Y akagenga akayibuga ko)  
 John SM1-TM-RFM-speak-on (Y walks he talks to himself)  
 John talks to himself (J walks while talking to himself)
- b) Kámbale abwírá Maryá y'okó bimúlólerékô  
 K told Mary LK on they-concern-him  
 Kambale told Mary about things that concern him (him = Kambale)
- c) Kámbale a-kábi-yi-ha ekitábu  
 K SMC1-TM-RFM-give book  
 Kambale gave a book to himself

#### 4.1.2.3 Subject-adjunct

- C10a) Maryá álángira énzoká y' enyumá óko iyê  
 Mary saw snake LK behind on PRN3SG (her= Mary)  
 Mary saw a snake behind her
- b) Maryá ányibirikirá busaná n'ekitábú ékiká-mú-bugá-kô  
 Mary called-1SG because with book which speaks about her (her = Mary)  
 Mary called me because of a book about her
- c) \*Yoháni ahitanáyá Maryá busaná náye  
 John offended Mary because with him (him = John)  
 John offended Mary because of him
- d) mótwásékiré butatsúmána Kámbale  
 SM1PLc2-laughed without-caring-about Kambale  
 we laughed in spite of Kambale

#### 4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements

- C11a) \*Maryá ákánganáya Kámbalé y'iye/iyówenewene  
 Mary showed Kambale to him/himself where him/himself refers to  
 Kambale
- b) \*Maryá a-a-yí-kánganisáya oko Kámbale  
 Mary SMC1-TM-yi-show on Kambale  
 Mary showed himself to Kambale (where himself refers to Kambale)
- c) \*Kámbale mwáhére Kámaté y'iye/iyówenewene  
 Kambale gave Kamate to him/himself where him/himself refers to  
 Kambale)
- d) \*Kambale mwá-yí-hére Kámatê  
 Kambale TM-SMC1-yi-gave Kamate  
 Kambale gave himself to Kamate (where himself refers to Kamate)

#### 4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts

Comment: Kinande does not have such constructions. Neither of the following translations works:

\*Kámbale ákánáya oko Kámaté oko iye/iyówenewene

K talked on Kamate on him/himself

Kambale talked about Kamate about him/himself (where him/himself refers to Kamate)

?\*Kámbale ákánáya oko Kámaté okó bimúlólerékô

Kambale talked on Kamate on-things-that-concern-him

Kambale talked about Kamate about things that concern him (him = Kamate)

Comment: Here one might force such a reading, but it is very difficult to get it.)

#### 4.1.2.6 Clausemate noncoarguments

##### Possessives

C13 a) Nick abirikírá mamá wíwe

Nick called mother his

Nick called his mother (where his refers to Nick)

b) Nick ápénýa esyónzwiri síwe

Nick combed hairs his

Nick combed his hair (where his refers to Nick)

b)i Nick a-a-yí-pénýa esyónzwiri (sí-we)

Nick SMC1-TM-yi-comb c10-hair (of-his)

Nick combed his hair

Comment: To make the sentence complete, I added 'of his'. Otherwise, the sentence sounds artificial. His refers to Nick. It cannot refer to a missing person. See also the following sentence.

b)ii Nick a-a-yí-pény-er-a esyónzwíri

Nick SMC1-TM-yi-comb c10-hair

Nick combed his hair

Comment: Here, his refers to a missing person. I wonder whether –yi- is still a full-fledged reflexive in this sentence. This is curious.

b)iii Nick a-a-yí-pény-es-a-i-a esyónzwíri

Nick SMC1-TM-yi-comb-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV c10-hair

Nick made (someone) comb his hair (where his must refer to Nick)

c) Nick abúgá n' omúkúlú wíwe

Nick spoke with old his

Nick spoke with his boss (old person) (his refers to Nick)

d) Nick ahírá ebitábu bíwé by' oko mézâ

Nick put books his LK on table

Nick put his books on the table

e) omúkama áhera Nick y' akadó k' okó wíwe

chief gave-to Nick LK prize LK on his

the chief gave Nick a prize in his village (lit. in his)

f) abálwana bánábáya obúsú bwíwe

boys washed face his

the boys washed his face (his refers to Nick)

C14 a) tatá wa Nick a-mw-ánzire

Father of Nick SMC1-OMc1-likes

- Nick's father likes him
- b) omúyikutyó wa Nick mo-á-mú-tsandíryê  
hypocrisy of Nick it-OMc1-destroyed  
Nick's hypocrisy (ambition) destroyed him (him refers to Nick)
- c) kóyó wa Nick mwágúlírye omútoka wíwe  
mother of Nick SMC1-sold car his  
Nick's mother sold his car (his refers to Nick)

X20a) abálwana móbálángire esyopítsá \*syabíbenebene /?syówundí n'ówundi/  
syábo

Boys saw pictures of REFL /of other and other/ of 3PL  
Boys saw pictures of themselves/ of each other/of them

b) Maryá abwírá abálwaná b' oko pítsá \*syabíbenebene / \*syówundí n'ówundi/  
syábo

Mary told boys LK on pictures of themselves/ of other and other/ of  
them

Mary told boys about pictures of themselves/ of each other/ of them

c) ábimanirí babyá bákasondekanya erí-tukan-án-a  
leaders SMC2-were SMC2-planned to criticize RECP-FV (-an- = reciprocal)  
the leaders were planning to criticize each other

d) ábimanirí babyá nga bakásondekanaya erítukan-án-a  
leaders they-were as-if they-planned to criticize RECP-FV (-an- =  
reciprocal)  
the leaders were as if they were planning to criticize each other

#### 4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments

C15a\* Kámbale ápipáwá n'iyówenewene

Kambale was praised by REFL

b.\*Kámbale awatikibáwá n'iyówenewene

Kambale was helped by REFL

c.\*ni bindú bíké ébyasíbwe na Kámbalé okw' iyówenewene

there are few things that are known by Kambale on REFL

d.\*amágutá a-yí-yéyuka

oil it-itself-melted

the oil melted itself

Comment: what renders sentences 15a,b,c unacceptable is the –by himself part of the sentence.

Comment: C15d is greatly improved and is perfect when the sentence is *amaguta a-yí-yéyuk-ir-a*, i.e. the oil melted by itself. *-ir-* is an applicative morpheme. I do not have an explanation for this improvement. Literally, the sentence could be translated as: oil melted for itself, i.e., without outside causation.

There are more subtle cases, like (C15d), where the interpretation is not equivalent to "the wax melted", but requires an odd agency for the subject such that it acted on itself to melt itself. The latter interpretation requires some sort of animacy for the subject, but the problem for C15d in this regard is can be mitigated, insofar as it is possible to imagine a fairy story in which an animate wax character Max commits suicide, hence Max melted himself.

#### 4.1.3 Properties of antecedents

#### 4.1.3.1 Pronouns, person and number

- C16a. na-yí-lángira  
1sg saw REFL  
b. wa-yí-lángira  
2sg saw REFL

- C17a. na-yí-nabáya  
1sg washed REFL  
b. nyi-yí-pón-ire  
SM1SGc1-REFL- hate-TM  
I hate myself  
c. ??nabwírá Kámbalé y' okw' ingyówenewene  
1sg told Kambale LK on REFL  
d. \*nálángira énzoká ahákuhí n'ingyówenewene  
1sg saw a snake near with REFL  
I saw a snake near myself  
e. \*nánzírwe n' ingyówenewene  
1sg am liked by REFL  
f. \*nabirikírá kóyó w'ingyówenewene  
1sg called myself's mother

#### 4.1.3.2 Animacy or humanity

- C18a. ?emyátsí y'ekíhugó yiká-yi-subá-mô  
News of world they –REFL-repeat on  
The news of the world repeat themselves  
b. ómwanyándá w' esamáki eyí yi-ká-yi-tâ  
this type of fish this it-TM-REFL-kill  
this type of fish kills itself  
c. amasíni ayá aká-yi-tsandaya iwówenewene  
machine this it-REFL-destroy REFL  
this machine destroys itself

Comment: in order for C18c to be a good sentence, it is crucial to use iwowenewene. If it is not used, then the sentence sounds strange. It is as if one was implying that the machine has some degree of animacy that makes it possible for it to destroy itself.

#### 4.1.3.4 Quantifier antecedents for pronouns

- C19a. óbulí múkali a-yí-lángira  
Every woman saw REFL  
b. óbulí mwaná a-yí-nabáya  
every child washed REFL  
c. óbuli mukoló a-yí-pónire  
every student hates REFL  
d. óbulímwaná álángira énzoká y' ahákuhí náye  
every child saw a snake near him  
e. óbulí mwaná abirikírá mamá w'íwe

- every child called his mother  
 f. óbulí tatá w' ómwaná akámútsemerâ  
 every father of a child SMC1-OMc1-be happy-for  
 every child's father admires him

Comment: No N would be translated by: there is no N who ...

#### 4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents

- C20a. iyóndi yó wayílangira?  
 Who that SMC1-REFL-saw?  
 Who saw himself
- b. iyóndi yó wayinabayâ  
 who that he washed REFL  
 who washed himself?
- c. iyóndi yó wálangira énzoká y' ahákuhí náye  
 who that he saw snake LK near with him  
 who saw the snake near him
- d. iyóndi yó wabirikirá mamá wíwe  
 who that he called mother of his  
 who called his mother?
- e. iyóndi yó tatá wíwe akátsemerâ  
 who that father of his he is happy for  
 whose father he admires?

#### 4.1.3.6 Reverse binding

- C21a. \*iyówenewene álangira Kámbale  
 REFL saw Kambale
- b. \*iyówenewene atúlangira  
 REFL saw us
- c. \*iyówenewene álangira énzoká y' enyumá sya Kámbale  
 REFL saw a snake LK behind Kambale
- d. \*iyówenewene mwátítimanírye Kámbale  
 REFL made tremble Kambale (i.e. himself made Kambale tremble)
- e. \*Bill abúgá náye oko Kámbale  
 Bill spoke with him about Kambale (where him = Kambale)
- f. \*Bill á-mú-bwíirá oko Kámbale  
 Bill told him about Kambale (where him = Kambale)
- g. \*iyówenewene ápípáwa na Fred  
 REFL was praised by Fred (where himself = Fred)
- h. \*iyówenewene ánzirwé nagu  
 REFL is liked by you (himself = you)
- C22a. \*iyówenewene abirikirá mamá wa George  
 REFL called mother of George  
 Himself called George's mother
- b. \*mamá wíwe ásónnda eríwatikya George  
 mother his wanted to-help George  
 his mother wanted to help George (his = George)
- c. \*mamá wíwe átítimanáya George

- mother his frightened George  
 his mother frightened George
- d. \*Maryá abwirá mamá wíwé y'oko George  
 Mary told mother his LK on George  
 Mary told his mother about George
- e. \*esanámu yá mamá wíwe yatogérá oko George  
 picture of mother his it fell on George  
 a picture of his mother fell on George
- f.\* esanámu yá mamá wíwe móyánzísírye George  
 a picture of his mother pleased George

#### 4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1 Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity - Select and translate a simple example illustrating the using a clausemate coreference strategy successfully, such as (C23).

C23a) abákali ba-ká-watik-an-a-í-a  
 Women SMC2-TM-help-RCM-a-CAUS-a  
 Women help each other

C23b) abákali ba-ká-yí-watik-a-í-a  
 Women SMC2-TM-help-RFM-CAUS-a  
 Women help themselves

Comment: eríwátikya from e-ri-watik-i-a the –i- in the form is the causative but it is part of the root --watic- which has no meaning of its own without the causative –i-.)

Which of the following meanings can this example have? Say which it can have and which it can't have. We will say that if the form in place of X permits at least (C24a) or (C24f) as a reading, then the form in question permits a reciprocal interpretation.

- 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.

Comment: For the reciprocal (RCM, i.e. C23a), (C24c,e,f) are possible readings. For the reflexive (RFM, i.e. C23b), C24d is a possible reading.

- C25a. abákali ba-yí-pípa  
 Women SMC2-RFM-praise  
 The women praised themselves.
- b. abákali ba-kándisyá-yi-kwam-an-is-í-a  
 women SMC2-will-RFM-follow-RCM-CAUS-CAUS-a  
 The women will accompany themselves.
- c. abákali bá-yi-imáyá kw' esyo pítsa  
 women SMC2-RFM-take LK pictures

- The women photographed themselves.
- d. abákali bá-yitulukaliráya  
abákali bá-yi-tulukal-ir-a-í-a  
women SMC2-RFM-betray-APPL-a-CAUS-FV  
The women betrayed themselves.
- e. abákali bá-píp-an-a  
Women SMC2-praise-RCM-a  
The women praised one another.
- f. abákali ba-kándisyá-kwam-an-is-an-í-a  
women SMC2-will- follow-RCM-CAUS-RCM-CAUS-a  
The women will accompany one another.
- g. abákali b-ím-an-á-í-a kw' esyo pítsâ  
women SMC2-take-RCM-a-CAUS-a LK pictures  
The women photographed one another.
- h. ??abákali ba-tulukalir-an-á-í-a  
women SMC2-betray-RCM-a-CAUS-a  
women betrayed one another
- i. abákali bá-yí-tulukalir-an-á-í-a  
women SMC2-betray-RCM-a-CAUS-a  
women betrayed each other

Comment: Those which permit only reciprocal readings: (C25e,f,g) (h sounds a bit odd). Those which permit only reflexive readings: (C25a,b,c,d). Those which permit both (reciprocal and reflexive): (C25i). The reason (C25i) is correct is probably because the verb for betray can be: *erí-yitulukaliryâ*, i.e. to betray oneself.) In (C25b/f) *-an-* is a frozen RCM that has become part of the root. The causative morphemes in this verb are frozen affixes that have become part of the verb root as well. It is still possible to identify *kwam-* as the root which actually means “follow”. Cf. *eri-kwam-an-is-i-a* (*eríkwamanisyâ*) means to accompany.

Re : (C25c), the RFM *-yi-* is the direct object once we realize that *ko* plays the role of a preposition incorporation as you called it earlier (see comment on C9). Without the preposition incorporation, the sentence would be :

- c'. abákali bá-a-imáyá oko ibo esyo pítsa  
women SMC2-TM-take on them pictures

In (C25c') *ibo* refers to women. This is correctly rendered in Kinande, with preposition 'incorporation' as :

- c". abákali bá-yi-imáyá kw' esyo pítsa  
women SMC2-RFM-take LK pictures  
the women photographed themselves

(Would you have preferred me to write the sentence as

- abákali bá-yi-imáyá-kw' esyo pítsa

However, a pause may occur after *imaya*; so phonologically, and following the habit of writing Kinande, *kw'* seems to belong to the following word.

- c"". Abákali ba-a-imáyá epítsa ya Bill  
Women SMC2-TM-take picture of Bill  
Women photographed Bill.

Since there is no preposition incorporation in this sentence, the *kw-* does not appear here. Re: (C25d), the infinitive is *erí-tulukal-ir-í-a* (*erítulukaliryâ*) where the APPL *-ir-* as well as the CAUS *-i-* have become frozen (lexicalized) as part of the root.



4.1.4.2 Reciprocal readings - Complete this section only if your strategy allows a reciprocal reading (i.e., permits a reading like those in (C24a) or (C24f). 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"

C26) eribandana 'to meet'

erilol-an-a-ko 'to see each other'

erihum-an-a 'to hit each other'

Comment: for erilolanako, the –ko is a clitic that has to be -ko in erilolanákô should also be considered as an instance of preposition incorporation as I have learned from you. The verb is literally :

eri-lola (owundi) okó wundi

to see (other) on other

to see each other.

But the reciprocal is better rendered by the RCM –an-. Thus, *eri-lol-an-á-kô*.

b) Does the strategy allow the constructions where X is understood to be a reciprocal which has a plural antecedent consisting of John and Bill (i.e., it would be understood as "John and Bill saw each other"). Are both "see" and "meet" possible in (C27), or is only one sort of verb acceptable?

C27) John met/saw X with Bill (Meaning: "John and Bill met/saw each other.")

C27a. John basungána na Bill

John SMC2-saw-RCM-FV with Bill

John and Bill saw each other

b. John bá-bándana na Bill

John SMC2-met-RCM-FV with Bill

John and Bill met

Comment: Notice that, in these sentences, I am using the plural. One could say: *John asungána na Bill* i.e. 'John met with Bill,' but one could not say: \**John ábándana na Bill*, i.e. 'John met with Bill.' Note that *erí-súng-a* means 'to find' whereas *eri-bándán-a* means 'to meet'. *John asungána na Bill* could be translated literally as 'John found each other with Bill' to mean 'John met with Bill'.

c) Is there any difference in the range of interpretations permitted for (C28a) as opposed to (C28b), or any difference in reciprocal strategies that support these interpretations? 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).

C28a. Yohání bana Maryá bápíp-an-a

John and Mary SMC2-praise-RCM-FV

b. abákali bápíp-an-a

women 3pl praise RCM-a

The women praised each other.

Comment: There is no difference in interpretation, whether you are a pair or several people.

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

- C29a. Yohání bana Maryá bá-kán-ir-an-á-í-a  
John SMC2-and Mary 3PL speak-APPL-RCM-a-CAUS-a  
John and Mary spoke to each other
- b. Yohání na Maryá bá-bándana  
John and Mary 3PL met  
John and Mary met
- c. Yohání bana Maryá ba-h-án-á ekitábu eki  
John SMC2-and Mary 3PL gave-RCM-a book this  
John and Mary gave this book to each other

Comment: in C29a, it is the applicative –ir- (i.e. to) that makes it possible to have this structure.

e) Long-distance reciprocal readings

- C30 Bill bana Marya bakalengekanaya nga banzene (/ba-anz-an-ir-e)  
Bill SMC2-and Mary 3PL think that 3PL like RECP  
Bill and Mary think that they like each other.

The reciprocal reading is obtained.

## 4.2 Cross-clausal binding

### 4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

#### 4.2.1.1 Tensed complement, long distance relations, anaphor in situ

- D1a. Jack abúgá ati ni karanda  
Jack said that it is smart  
Jack said that he is smart (he = Jack)
- b. Jack anâsí ng' oko George a-mú-ánzire  
Jack knows that that George SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Jack knows that George likes him
- c. Jack anâsí Lísá ng' oko anâsí ng' oko Wéndy a-mú-ánzire  
Jack knows Lisa that that SMC1 knows that that Wendy SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Jack knows that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him
- d. Jack akálengekanaya ati Lísá anâsí ng' oko Wéndy a-mú-ánzire  
Jack thinks SMC1-says Lisa knows that that Wendy likes him  
Jack thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him
- e. Jack akálengekanaya ati Lísá anâsí ng' oko ánzire Alice  
Jack thinks SMC1-says Lisa knows that that he likes Alice  
Jack thinks that Lisa knows that he likes Alice
- f. Sarah abwírâ Jack ng' oko Lísá a-mú-ánzire  
Sarah told Jack that that Lisa SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Sarah told Jack that Lisa likes him

- g. Sarah abwíra Jack ati ánzire Wendy  
Sarah told Jack that SMC1 likes Wendy  
Sarah told Jack that he likes Wendy
- D2a. Jack mwáyísingiré ng'oko Maryá a-mú-ánzire  
Jack admitted that that Mary SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Jack admitted that Mary likes him
- b. Jack álengemeráwá Maryá ng' a-mú-ánzire  
Jack suspected Mary that SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Jack suspected that Mary likes him
- D3a. Jeff ayíhánáya oko Maryá esáha Ella á-mú-tsámbâ  
Jeff lamented on Mary the-time Elle SMC1-OMc1-blamed  
Jeff complained about Mary when Ella blamed him
- b. Jeff mwásúbíre éká esáha/emberé álúhe (ábilúha)  
Jeff returned home when/before 3SG got tired (after he got tired)  
Jeff returned home when/before he was tired (after he got tired)
- c. ? Maryá abéré ábimuhandikírá, Jeff mwásúbíre éká  
Mary SMC1-was SMC1 wrote him Jeff returned home  
After Mary wrote to him, Jeff returned home
- d. Jeff mwágéndire Maryá í-syáta-mú-súnga  
Jeff left Mary that SMC1-has-not-OMc1-find  
Jeff left without Mary seeing him
- e. Maryá mwákábeherawa Jéff ísyályá-mú-súnga  
Mary disliked Jeff that SMC1-not-OMc1-find  
Mary disliked Jeff without seeing him

#### 4.2.1.2 Climbing from tensed complements

John a-ká-yi-langirá mo ka-randa  
John SMC1-PRES-REFL-see LK c12-smart  
John considers himself smart

Comment: I am not sure how to translate *mo-*. It is not really a linker. It could be translated by 'it is'. *Karanda* is a word that is in class 12 with the prefix *ka-*.

John a-ká-langira Maryá ng' aka-randa  
John SMC1-TM-see Mary as smart  
John considers Mary smart  
Yoháni a-ká-mu-langirá mo ka-randa  
John SMC1-TM-OMc1-see LK c12-smart  
John considers her smart

#### 4.2.2 Long distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types

It is difficult to get these kinds of sentences. Here are the closest:

- X12b. mónálékire Bill ínagénda  
SM1SGc1-left Bill that-SMC1-goes  
I made Bill go
- c. mónálángire omundú ákagénda  
SM1SGc1-saw person SMC1-is-leaving  
I saw a person leaving

- d. nyísóndire indí ínabugá bolóbólo  
 SM1SGc1-want SM1SGc1-say that-SMc1-speaks slowly  
 I want that he speak slowly
- e. ngálangira BÍll nga ní múbî  
 SM1SGc1-see Bill as it-is bad  
 I consider Bill bad

D4a Edgar abuláya BÍll ng' angana-mú-síkyâ  
 Edgar asked Bill if SMc1 can-OMc1-respect  
 Edgar asked Bill if he can respect him

Comment: In all the sentences that use “asked”, the right verb would be “said” in Kinande. This no longer translates what you were hoping to test. Besides, the embedded clause is never in the infinitive as shown in this example:

- b. Edgar abwírâ BÍll ati á-mú-he ekitábu  
 Edgar told Bill SMc1-says SMc1-OMc1-give book  
 Edgar told Bill to give him the book/ that he give him the book

Comment: The “expected” verb would be rendered by “had thought” and the rest of the sentence is not what you probably wanted to test. Thus:

D4e. Edgar abyá ákalengekanya ati BÍll ana-mú-síkíryê  
 Edgar SMc1-was SMc1-thinks SMc1-says Bill SMc1-OMc1-respected  
 Edgar had thought that Bill respected him.

- f. Edgar abwírâ BÍll ati a-mú-líhe  
 Edgar told Bill SMc1-says SMc1-OMc1-pay  
 Edgar told Bill to pay him.

Comment: The “ordered” verb would also be rendered by “said”, so the translations do not test what you wanted.

Comment: in Kinande, we do not have structures similar to D5, D6, D7

- D5a) Edgar expects X to win.  
 b) Edgar expects Bill to defeat X.
- D6a) Edgar hopes for X to win.  
 b) Edgar hopes for Bill to defeat X.
- D7a) Edgar expects Bill to defeat X's brother.  
 b) Edgar hopes for Bill to defeat X's brother.  
 c) Edgar expects X's brother to defeat him.  
 d) Edgar hopes for Bill to defeat X's brother.

D8a. Tom aká-yi-langirá mo karanda  
 Tom SMc1-RFM-see mo intelligent  
 Tom considers himself intelligent.

Comment: I am not sure how to translate mo. Maybe, it can be translated as “it is”.

- b. Tom akálangira Maryá ng' a-má-ánzire  
 Tom SMc1-sees Mary as-if SMc1-OMc1-likes  
 Tom considers Mary fond of him
- c. Tom akálangira Maryá ng' á-mú-hiténé-kô  
 Tom SMc1-sees Mary as-if SMc1-OMc1-is-angry-on  
 Tom considers Mary angry at him

Note: the adjectives “fond” and “angry” are rather rendered by verbal forms.

#### 4.2.3 Backwards anaphora

- D9a. omwátsí w'eribuga ambu mwátátasá lúbá mwátátanzisya Oliver  
 The news of to-say SMC2-say SMC1-didn't-come early did-not-please Oliver  
 That he was late did not please Oliver
- b. omwátsí w'eribuga ambu mwátátasa lúbá mwákanganírye Oliver kw' asingírwê  
 The news of to-say SMC2-say SMC1-didn't-come early showed Oliver that  
 SMC1 lost  
 That he was late made Oliver look guilty
- d. omwátsí w'eribuga ambu mwátátasá lúbá mwálékire Oliver ínatógéra  
 omobuhyâ  
 The news of to-say SMC2-say SMC1-didn't-come early it-left Oliver that-SMC1-  
 fall in-the pit  
 That he was late implicated Oliver  
 That he was late showed that Oliver was guilty

### Section 4.3 Principle C-type effects

In English it is not possible to interpret he=Malik or he=the boy in (E1), except in some exceptional discourse circumstances such as extra stress and/or focus (and then not for everybody).

- E1a. atóngá Malik  
 SMC1-spoke-ill-of Malik  
 He criticized Malik
- b. abúgá ati Mariam atóngá Malik  
 SMC1 said that Mariam criticized Malik
- c. atóngá omúlwana  
 SMC1 criticized the boy
- d. abúgá ati Mariam atóngá omúlwana  
 SMC1 said that Mariam criticized the boy
- E2a. Kóyó wíwe atóngá Malik  
 Mother his criticized Malik  
 His mother criticized Malik
- b. kóyó wíwe abúgá ati Mariam atóngá Malik  
 mother his SMC1-said SMC1-says Mariam criticized Malik  
 his mother said that Mariam criticized Malik
- c. kóyó wíwe atóngá omúlwana  
 mother his criticized the boy  
 his mother criticized the boy
- d. kóyó wíwe abúgá ati Mariam atóngá omúlwana  
 mother his SMC1-said SMC1-says Mariam criticized boy  
 his mother said that Mariam criticized the boy
- E3a. omúlumé oyw'ábyá anzíré atóngá Malik  
 The man who SMC1 was SMC1-likes criticized Malik  
 The man who he liked criticized Malik
- b. omúlumé oyw'ábyá anzíre atóngá omúlwana  
 The man who SMC1 was SMC1-likes criticized the-boy  
 The man who he liked criticized the boy

- c. omúlumé oyw'ábyá a-mu-anzírè atóngá omúlwana  
The man who SMC1 was SMC1-OMc1-likes criticized the-boy  
The man who liked him criticized the boy
- E4a. Malik atóngá Malik  
Malik SMC1-spoke-ill-of Malik  
Malik criticized Malik
- b. Malik abúgá ati Mariam atóngá Malik  
Malik said that Mariam criticized Malik
- c. omúlwana atóngá omúlwana  
the boy criticized the boy
- d. omúlwana abúgá ati Mariam atóngá omúlwana  
the boy said that Mariam criticized the boy
- E5a. Kóyó wa Malik atóngá Malik  
Mother of Malik criticized Malik  
Malik's mother criticized Malik
- b. kóyó wa Malik abúgá ati Mariam atóngá Malik  
mother of Malik SMC1-said SMC1-says Mariam criticized Malik  
Malik's mother said that Mariam criticized Malik
- c. kóyó w' omúlwana atóngá omúlwana  
mother of the-boy criticized the-boy  
the boy's mother criticized the boy
- d. kóyó w' omúlwana abúgá ati Mariam atóngá omúlwana  
mother of the-boy SMC1-said SMC1-says Mariam criticized boy  
the boy's mother said that Mariam criticized the boy
- E6a. omúlume oyo Malik abyá anzírè atóngá Malik  
The man who Malik SMC1-was SMC1-likes criticized Malik  
The man who Malik liked criticized Malik
- b. omúlume oyo múlwana abyá anzírè atóngá omúlwana  
The man who boy SMC1-was SMC1-likes criticized the-boy  
The man who the boy liked criticized the boy
- c. omúlume oyó wabyá anzire omúwaná atóngá omúlwana  
The man who SMC1 was SMC1-likes the boy criticized the-boy  
The man who liked the boy criticized the boy

Now consider whether the boy = Malik for the following examples

- E7a) The boy criticized Malik.  
b) The boy said Mariam criticized Malik.  
c) Malik criticized the boy.  
d) Malik said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E8a) The boy's mother criticized Malik.  
b) The boy's mother said Mariam criticized Malik.  
c) Malik's mother criticized the boy.  
d) Malik's mother said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E9a) The man who the boy liked criticized Malik  
b) The man who Malik liked criticized the boy.  
c) The man who liked Malik criticized the boy.  
d) The man who liked the boy criticized Malik
- None of the sentences makes sense if the boy = Malik.

#### 4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies

- D10. Yoháni akálengekanaya ati alí kw'ekósâ  
John thinks that SMC1-is on mistake  
John thinks that he is guilty

##### 4.4.1 Position of the antecedent

- D11a. Lárý abwírâ Zeke ati Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
Larry told Zeke that Mike not SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like him
- b. Zeke abwíra Lárý ati Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like him
- c. Zeke abwíra Lárý ati syánzire Mike  
Zeke told Larry that he does not like Mike
- d. Lárý abwíra Zeke ati syánzire Mike  
Larry told Zeke that he does not like Mike
- e. Lárý anâsí ng'oko Zeke akálengekanayâ ng'oko Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him
- f. Zeke anâsí ng'oko Lárý akálengekanayáng' oko Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
Zeke knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him

- D12a. kóyó wa Zeke akálengekanaya ati Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
Mother of Zeke thinks that Mike not-he-OMc1-likes  
Zeke's mother thinks that Mike does not like him
- b. kóyó wa Zeke akálengekanaya ati syánzire Mike  
mother of Zeke thinks that SMC1 does not like Mike
- c. Zeke akálengekanaya ati Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him
- d. ebarúha ya Zeke yabúgâ yiti Mike syâ-mú-ánzire  
letter of Zeke said that Mike not-SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Zeke's letter said that Mike does not like him
- e. Zeke mwówíre ambu Maryâ syâ-mú-ánzire  
Zeke heard that Mary did not like him
- f. Zeke abwiráwâ ambu Maryâ syâ-mú-ánzire  
Zeke was told that Mary did not like him

- D13a. Zeke abúgâ ati a-mú-ámbaláya  
Zeke said that SMC1-OMc1-dressed  
Zeke said that he had dressed him
- b. Zeke abúgâ ati á-mú-hutaláya  
Zeke said that SMC1-OMc1-wounded  
Zeke said that he had wounded him
- c. Zeke abúgâ ati á-mú-sákâ  
Zeke said that SMC1-OMc1-tattooed  
Zeke said that he had tattooed him

As shown in these forms, there is no special long distance anaphor in Kinande.

#### Examples D10-D13 with pronoun –ene-ene strategy

D10. Yoháni akálengekanaya ati iyówenewene alí kw'ekósâ  
 John thinks that REFL SMC1-is on mistake  
 John thinks that he himself is guilty

#### 4.4.1 Position of the antecedent

- D13a. Zeke ábúga ati iyówenewene a-mu-ámbaláya  
 Zeke said that REFL SMC1-OMc1-dressed  
 Zeke said that he himself had dressed him
- b. Zeke ábúga ati iyówenewene á-mú-hutaláya  
 Zeke said that RELF SMC1-OMc1-wounded  
 Zeke said that he himself had wounded him
- c. Zeke ábúga ati iyówenewene á-mú-sákâ  
 Zeke said that REFL SMC1-OMc1-tattooed  
 Zeke said that he himself had tattooed him

#### 4.4.2 Antecedent properties

- D14a. Ozzie a-mú-kániráya oko Harriet  
 Ozzie SMC1-OMc1-told on Harriet  
 Ozzie talked to him about Harriet
- b. (same as above because of the use of the applicative –ir- in the verb talk)
- c. Ozzie abwír' Harriet ati abyá mundú w'erigénda  
 Ozzie told Harriet that SMC1-was person of to go  
 Ozzie told Harriet that he should leave
- d. Ozzie abwírá Harriet ati Bill syâ-mú-anzire  
 Ozzie told Harriet that Bill NEG-SMC1-OMc1-likes  
 Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes him
- e. Ozzie abúgá ati Harriet akálengekanaya ati Bill syâ-mú-anzire  
 Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill NEG-SMC1-OMc1-likes  
 Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill does not like him

#### 4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents

D15 Mária abyá ásagire ati ómwana wíwe syâlí ndeke. Esísoní syabyá  
 ísikámúbugá ákalengekanaya ati syâlí mó  
 Mark SMC1-was SMC1-feared that child his NEG-SMC1-is well. Shame it-was  
 that it-finishes-him SMC1-thinks that SMC1-is not in

bw' eritsungá ndeke omundú oyuné w'ókw' iyê. Twasi abálíkyabó  
 bangamúléngekanyáko batíki?

LK-of to guard well person who-is LK on him. Perhaps relatives SMC2-could  
 think-on SMC2-say-what

Translation: Mark feared that his child was not safe. He was ashamed as he thought  
 that he is not able to protect a close relative of his. We wonder what his relatives  
 would think of him!

D16. Mária mwálabiré mo músikí álangira epítsá yíwé yomo zurunáli. Abandú bosí



bábyá bákámúhir' embéré

Mark SMC1-passed in earthquake SMC1 saw picture his LK-in journal  
People all SMC2-were SMC2-him put before

Bakándimulwákô. Twasí ng'akándíbwira kóyó wíwé yátí?  
SMC2-will-OMc1leave on. Perhaps that SMC1-will-tell mother his how

Translation: Mark was shocked (it is as if an earthquake overtook him) when he saw his picture in the journal. All of the people who supported him would leave him. We wonder how he would tell his mother!

Again these sentences show that there is no special LDA used in Kinande.

D17. Morisi abúgá ati Mária mwálábíry' obútukú bó múhanda. Morisi mwámúbwíríre ati, okwísúká,

Morris said that Mark passed the day badly. Morris told him that to start

Móbibíre omútoka wíwe. Erilwahó, abyá mundúu w' eriliha e taksí y' erímútwala oko kási yíwe.

SMC2-stole car his To-leave-there SMC1-was person of to-pay a taxi of to-bring-him on work his

Morisi áléngekanáyá ati anganábyá ínahiténe

Moris thought that SMC1-could-be that-SMC1-is angry

Translation: Morris said that mark spent a bad day. Morris told him that, first they stole his car. Then he had to pay a taxi to go to his work. Morris thought that he could be angry.

D18. A. wanámálangíra kwéhi? Mária yôlyâ

Do-SM2SGc1-see really? Mark who-there

Look! There is Mark!

B. atángírí tá gámbá

SMC1-begins SMC1-is beautiful

He is so handsome

A. ingyé sínanganza ngábyá múkalí wíwe. Abákali bosí banapáswa erímúlembákô

PRN1SG SM1SGc1-cannot-like SM1SGc1-can-be wife his. Women all SMC1-must to-hang-on-him

I would not want to be his wife. All the women must chase him

B. ná kandi, ngálengekanaya eri-yi-pipá ríwé ngarilabiye muléngo

And also, SM1SGc1-think to-REFL-praise of-his that it-passes measure

Also, I think he praises himself too much

### 4.4.3 Blocking Effects

#### 4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects

- D19a. Larry akálengekanaya ati Yoháni a-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that John SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that John respects him
- b. Larry akálengekanaya ati nyi-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that SM1SGc1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that I respect him
- c. Larry akálengekanaya ati Maryá a-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that Mary SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that Mary respects him
- d. Larry akálengekanaya ati abálwana ba-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that boys SMC2-OMc1-respect  
 Larry thinks that the boys respect him
- e. abálumé bakálengekanaya bati abálwana ba-bá-síkíryê  
 men think that boys SMC2-OMc2-respect  
 The men think that the boys respect them

Same tests, with the intervening subject in an intermediate clause:

- D20a. Larry akálengekanaya ati Bill anâsí ng' oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects him
- b. Larry akálengekanaya ati nyinâsí ng' oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that I-know that Dave SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that I know that Dave respects him
- c. Larry akálengekanaya ati Maryá anâsí ng' oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that Marya knows that Dave SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave respects him
- d. Larry akálengekanaya ati abálwana banâsí ng' oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Larry thinks that boys know that Dave SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Larry thinks that the boys know that Dave respects him
- e. abálumé bakálengekanaya bati abálwana banâsí ng' oko Dave a-bá-síkíryê  
 men think that boys know that Dave SMC1-OMc2-  
 respects  
 The men think that the boys know that Dave 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. Walter akálengekanaya ati Bill abwírá Harry ng'oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave SMC1-OMc1-  
 respects  
 Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects him
- b. Walter akálengekanaya ati Bill ányíbwírá ng'oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Walter thinks that Bill told-me that Dave SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects him
- c. Walter ányíbwírá ng'oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê  
 Walter told-me that Dave SMC1-OMc1-respects  
 Walter told me that Dave respects him
- d. Walter abúgá ati Dave ámba ekitábu éki-mú-lólerékô  
 Walter said that Dave SMC1-me-gave book which-OMc1-goes-towards

Walter said that Dave gave me a book about him

#### 4.4.4 Islands

Do syntactic islands affect the acceptability of the current strategy?

- D22a. Ira syánzire akówa omwátsí w'eríbuga ambu Maryá a-mú-pónire  
Ira doesn't like to hear the news of to say that Mary SMC1-OMc1-hates  
Ira resents the fact that Mary hates him
- b. Ira ásíkírye omúlume oyu-mu-anzíre  
Ira respects man who-OMc1-likes  
Ira respects the man who likes him
- c. Ira akábuga ati omúlume oyu-mu-anzíré ni karanda  
Ira says that man who-OMc1-likes is intelligent  
Ira says that the man who likes him is intelligent
- d. Ira abuláya Bill nga mwána-mú-lángire  
Ira asked Bill if SMC1-OMc1-saw  
Ira asked Bill if he saw him
- e. Ira abuláya Bill ng' a-mú-lángira sáhá yáhi  
Ira asked Bill if SMC1-OMc1-saw time when  
Ira asked when Bill saw him
- f. Ira mwátátaminyá ng' oko George abyá á-mú-kwamíre  
Ira did-NEG-know that George was SMC1-OMc1-followed  
Ira did not know that George was following him
- g. Ira abúgá ati Maryá uwéné ná kandi ng'okó akándisya-mu-tahyâ  
Ira said that Mary was-pretty and also that SMC1-will-OMc1-marry  
Ira said that Mary was pretty and that she would marry him

Comment: culturally, I should have said "*ng'oko akandisyatahibwa naye*" i.e. that he will be married by him, that is, using the passive form. Women are married by men and men marry women.

#### 4.4.5 De se reading

- D23a. Oedipus akálengekanaya/akábuga ati mamá wíwe ni mundú uwéne  
Oedipus thinks/says that mother his is person nice  
Oedipus thinks/says that his mother is a nice person
- b. Oedipus akálengekanaya/akábuga ati mamá wíwe ni mundú múbî  
Oedipus thinks/says that mother his is person bad  
Oedipus thinks/says that his mother is a bad person

D24a) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé rẹ ti wó.

Olu believe that house he(w) ASP fall

b) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé òun ti wó.

Olu believe that house he(s) ASP fall

Both: "Olu believes that his house has collapsed."

- D24a) Kámbale a-ti omw-íwe mw-á-tér-ire  
Kambale SM1-say c18-his SMC18-TM-fall-TM  
Kambale says that his home has fallen

Comment: *omwiwe* means necessarily his home)

b) Kábale ati enyúmba yíwe yi-á-tér-ire.

Kambale says c9-house his SMC9-TM-fall-TM

Kambale says that his house has fallen

Comment: In D24a, omwíwe can only refer to Kambale's house. Logically, it could be any other person's house, but a Nande speaker would interpret omwíwe as Kambale's house)