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).

The consultant, Professor Ngessimo Mutaka, is reporting his own judgments. He is familiar with syntax and semantics and typological linguistics, and has studied lexical and generative phonology. His parents spoke Kinande at home, which they spoke natively. He learned Kinande natively and received schooling in English and French.

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PART 2  An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

A1) John saw himself.
   Yohani mo-a-a-yi-langir-e [mwâyiîângire]
   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 mwâyikénzîre
   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 destroyed himself
e) tuyiponire
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.
   b) Yohání álángira esanámu yiwe
      John saw picture PRN3SG
      John saw his Picture (not possible to say John saw a Picture of him)
   c) Yohani a-a-kan-i-a-ir-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 he may also refer to Mary)
   d) Bill a-a-tu-kaniraya okó bi-tú-lólé-rê-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 saw picture PRN3SG
      John bought the book for himself

A4a) Etta a-yi-ánz-ire
   Etta SMc1-RFM-like-TM
   Etta likes herself
   b) Etta akáyisayisayâ
      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 mó (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

1) Etta a-ká-yi-bulá-mó omútíma
   Etta SMc1-TM-RFM-miss-in heart
To better understand this, examine the following similar example
2) 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.

3) 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) wáyíhutaláyâ
   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'=bandú, 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:

\[
e') á-lu-é w' erí-yi-watiki-â (i.e. á-lu-e mundú w' erí-yi-watiki-â)
\]
\[
\text{SMc1-be-TM c1-INF-yi-help-FV (SMc1-be-TM-person c1-INF-yi-help-FV)}
\]
"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. \(omùndu\)) and \(b\)- (for people cf. \(aβándu\)). 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?

A\(6\)a) 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' angayítápa
Mukosa a-ling-a a-nga-yi-tap-a [alíng' angayítápa]
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?

A\(7\)a) 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-ânz-ire
   Kambale says Alice SMC1-RFM-like-TM
   Kambale says that Alice likes herself
b) Kambale ábyá ánzire ati Alicé i-n-a-yi-píp-a
   Kambale was liked SMC1-say Alice that-SMC1-TM-RFM-praise-FV
   Kambale wished that Alice praise herself
c) Kambale aléngékanáya ati Alice anga-yi-píp-ire
   Kambale thought that Alice should-RFM-praise-TM
   Kambale thought that Alice should praise herself
d) Kambale abwírá Alice atí í-na-yi-píp-a
   Kambale told Alice that SBJ-SMC1-TM-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 Alice álwe 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
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 Alicé á-ka-yi-píp-a [mówire]
   Kambale TM-SMC1-heard Alice SMc1-TM-RFM-praise-FV
   Kambale heard Alice praising herself
h) Marya mó-á-yí-hulikir-íré á-ká-humúla
   Mary SMc1-RFM-hear-TM SM1-TM-leave in blood
   Mary heard herself bleeding
   Mary SMc1-RFM-look-TM SM1-TM-leave in blood
   Mary saw herself bleeding
   gii) Kambale mó-a-bandan-ire (mwábándene) a-bá-lwaná bá-ka-yi-pípa
   Kambale met the boys as they were praising themselves
   giv) Kambale mó-a-bandan-ire (mwábándene) a-bá-lwaná í-ba-nému-yi-pípa
   Kambale met the boys as they were praising themselves
   gv) Kambale mó-owíre Alice i-n-a-nému-yi-pípa)
   Kambale 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 mulígólo. Mw-á-lángire Másika
SM1SGc1-spoke with Mukosa yesterday TM-SMc1-saw Masika
I spoke with Mukosa yesterday. He saw Masika
b) Mukosa ali 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)
   ibó 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
ukándi-nyi-rónda  you will look for me
ngándi-ku-rónda  I will look for you
ngándi-mu-rónda  I will look for him
ukándi-tu-rónda  you will look for us
tukándi-ba-rónda  we will look for you (pl)
tukándi-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
ngándi-ki-rondyâ  I will look for it

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

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

d. ngándirondya esyómbene  I will look for goats
ngándi-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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ingyówenewene} & \quad \text{myself} \\
\text{iwüwenewene} & \quad \text{yourself} \\
\text{iyówenewene} & \quad \text{himself/herself} \\
\text{itwíbenebene} & \quad \text{ourselves} \\
\text{inyíwíbenebene} & \quad \text{yourselves} \\
\text{ibíbenebene} & \quad \text{themselves}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ingyówene} & \quad \text{me alone/only} \\
\text{iwüwene} & \quad \text{you alone/only} \\
\text{iyówene} & \quad \text{him alone/only} \\
\text{itwíbene} & \quad \text{us alone/only} \\
\text{inyíwíbene} & \quad \text{you alone/only} \\
\text{ibíbene} & \quad \text{them alone/only}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngándigendáyo ingyówenewene} & \quad \text{I will go there myself} \\
\text{tukándigendáyo itwíbenebene} & \quad \text{we will go there ourselves}
\end{align*}
\]

They are also acceptable in initial position as in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ingyówenewene ngándigendáyô} & \quad \text{myself, I will go there} \\
\text{itwíbenebene tukándigendáyô} & \quad \text{ourselves, we will go there}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ingyówenewene ingyé nyinamundigendáyô} & \quad \text{I am the one to go there} \\
\text{me} & \quad \text{me I-will- go-there}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{itwíbenebene itwé tunámundigendáyô} & \quad \text{we are the ones to go there} \\
\text{ourselves} & \quad \text{us SM1PLc2-will-go-there}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngándi-}yi-twála & \quad \text{I will bring myself} \\
\text{ukándi-}yi-twála & \quad \text{you will bring yourself} \\
\text{akándi-}yi-twála & \quad \text{he will bring himself} \\
\text{tukándi-}yi-twála & \quad \text{we will bring ourselves} \\
\text{mukándi-}yi-twála & \quad \text{you (pl) will bring yourselves} \\
\text{bakándi-}yi-twála & \quad \text{they will bring themselves}
\end{align*}
\]

5. Pronouns for the non-animate noun classes.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Number</th>
<th>nominal prefix</th>
<th>verbal prefix</th>
<th>Suffixed pronoun</th>
<th>example with augment before the prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>omuáakaliõ akaágendä ‘the woman is leaving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>Ba-</td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>abaákaliõ bakaágendä ‘the women are leaving’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>omuáti aakátera ‘the tree is falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>emüti yikaátera ‘the trees are falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ri-¹</td>
<td>ri- li-</td>
<td>-ryo</td>
<td>erituándää rikäätoga ‘the fruit is dropping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>amatuándää aakaátoga ‘the fruits are falling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-kyo</td>
<td>eküülikü kikaátera ‘the basket is falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>bi-</td>
<td>-byo</td>
<td>ekitüükü bikaátera ‘the baskets are falling down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>N-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>endëa yikaáma ‘the cow is bleating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>-syo</td>
<td>esyonde sikaáma ‘the crows are bleating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>si-</td>
<td>-syo</td>
<td>esyöombene sikaáma ‘the goats are bleating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>lu-</td>
<td>lu-</td>
<td>-lo</td>
<td>oluáhoátiõ lukábera ‘the bean is boiling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>Ka-</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>akaáhuáka kakaalaka ‘the insect is screaming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>-to</td>
<td>ouáhuáka tukaalaka ‘the insects are screaming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>bu-</td>
<td>Bu-</td>
<td>-bo</td>
<td>ouábwabuá buálaal ‘the drink is expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>Ku-</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>ouábokoá kukaalumä ‘the arm is hurting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>Ha-</td>
<td>-ho</td>
<td>halya háli kääsuki ‘there is a bush over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>Ku-</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>okonyuáamba kuli kanyuányu ‘there is a bird on the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>Mu-</td>
<td>-mo</td>
<td>omonyuáamba mülí mulláalwa ‘there is a young boy in the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>hi-</td>
<td>-hyo</td>
<td>ehiüüáka hikääalaka ‘the insects are screaming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>e-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>eBuátembo yiri luáhi ‘there is a war in Butembo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 eBuátembo → 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)

¹The 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 ritaànda ‘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-pipire
   Kambale TM-SMC1-OMc1-praised
   Kambale praised him
h) Kambale mo-a-mu-anzire [mwâmwânzire]
   Kambale TM-SMC1-liked
   Kambale liked him
i) Kambale mo-a-mu-langire [mwâmúlángire]
   Kambale TM-TM-OMc1-saw
   Kambale saw him
j) Kambale mó-á-kániryé 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-mú-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-sómiire ekitábu éki-mú-lóleré-kô
   Kambale TM-SMC1-read book which-OMc1-concern-to
   Kambale read a book about him
p) Kambale mó-á-súngíre ekitábu kyó hákuhi ná-ye
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-Iwana mo-ba-a-nab-an-i-a [móbánábianå]
    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 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.
    c"ii) Kambale na Mukosa mó-bá-lus-ír-i-e omusási w’ omó mbene
    K and M TM-SM2c-take-TM-CAUS-TM blood LK in goat
K and M took the blood from the goat

civ) abálumé móbápényere 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) *abálumé 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) abálumé 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 esyónzwiri is not necessarily the syntactic object of -peny-. It is an object that is understood when the verb erí-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) abálumé 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) móba-tómbo kerene
    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-Iwana mo-ba-a-twang-an-ire [móbatwángene]
    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-mukan-sis-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 erí-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-mukan-sis-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
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-ir-i-e  [móbákániréniê]  

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-sig-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-sig-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 eri-tsamb-án-a
SMc2-are used INF-criticize-RCM-FV
"They usually criticize each other."
e) abá-íwaná bánené mo-ba-a-twáng-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 ab-asi-ká 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 ánźire ati abasíká ibápípana
   Kambale ábyá ánźire 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 i-ý-bá-ý-pip-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 ab-asi-ká ba-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 [mwáyítégeréry 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 tāba
   PRN1SG us-with Kambale NEG-SM1PLc2-drink tobacco
   "Kambale and I, we do not smoke."

b) lwé mu-na Kámbale, sí-mu-línywa tāba
   PRN2SG SM2SGc1-with Kambale NEG-SM2SGc1-drink tobacco
   "Kambale and you, you do not smoke."

c) iyé ba-na Kámbale, sí-ba-línywa tāba
   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 tāba
   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 tāba; but we could replace Kambale by a full pronoun

d') iyé tú-ná-ye sí-tu-línywa tāba
   PRN3SG 1PL-with-3SG NEG-1PL-drink tobacco
   he and I, we do not smoke)

e) Kámbalé mú-ná-ye, sí-mu-línywa tāba
   Kambale SM2SGc1-with-3SG NEG-SM2SGc1-drink tobacco
   "Kambale and you, you do not smoke."

f) Kámbalé bá-ná-ye, sí-ba-línywa tāba
   Kambale SMc2-with-3SG NEG-SMc2-drink tobacco
   "Kambale and he, they do not smoke."

The RFM and body part with null possessor (see A4c)) Other examples :
G2a) Kámbale a-kábl-yi-luma okó lúlimi
   Kambale SMc1-TM-RFM-bite on c11-tongue

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 :
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 eri-kumbatán-a. Although -an- seems to be part of the root as a frozen affix, it is nonetheless the reciprocal affix. *eri-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  
   KSMC1-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.
The yi-strategy is not a substitute for the iyowene strategy as shown in the examples below

T5a) Kambale á-lyá-yi-let-â
   K             SMC1-TM-RFM-bring-FV
   Kambale brought himself
b) Kambale á-lyá-yi-let-a iyowene
   K             SMC1-TM-RFM-bring-Fv alone
   Kambale brought himself alone (he was not helped by someone else)
c) Kambale á-lyá-yi-let-a iyowenewene
   K             SMC1-TM-RFM-bring-Fv himself
   Kambale brought himself (with insistence on “himself”)
d)*Kambale á-lyá-yi-let-a iyowene (sentence is out because it has no direct object)
e) Kambale á-lyá-let-a ekiri ky’ iyowene/iyowenewene
   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. Kambale mó-á-yi-pip-ire)
   Kambale praised (cf. Kambale praised himself)
g) Kambale mó-á-a-mú-pip-ire iyowene
   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) Kambale mó-á-a-yi-pip-ire iyowene
   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) Eri-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-nyúmba mú-lwe bandú babiri
   In-the-house   SMC2-be  people two
   There were two persons in the house.
   b) Omo-nyúmba mú-lwe bandú babiri  ?omwímwene
   In-the-house   SMC2-be  people two alone
   There were two persons in the house.

The form omwímwene 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 *omwímene, *omumene, *omumwene.

The alone strategy cannot modify an overt non-subject as shown by the following examples:
T8a) *Kambale a-ká-himba enyúmba 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-himbà
   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 /ingyuwenewenemyself
Iwe you → iwuwenewene /iwoweneweneyourself
Iye him → iyuwenewene/iyowenewene himself
Itwé 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-Scmc1-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-sá-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-ýa-ýi-kamúl-íre iyíyeneyene  
   The goat strangled itself

d)*Embene mó-ya-kamúl-íre iyíyeneyene  
   The goat strangled itself

e) Kambale mó-á-a-ýi-hánik-íre iyówenewene  
   Kambale hanged himself

f) é-N-hene mó-ýi-a-ýi-kamúl-íre iyíyeneyene (émbene móyáyikamwíre)  
   The goat strangled itself

g) o-mú-likí a-bíri-landa.land-ir-a okó múti  
   The rope has enrolled itself around the tree

h) o-mú-likí a-bíri-yi-ling-ir-a okó múti  
   The rope has enrolled itself around the 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-mú-nzede a-bíri-son-okal-a  
   The pants have unsewn (by themselves)

Comment: The verb extension -okal- is reversative.

j) o-mú-nzede a-bíri-ýi-son-ól-a  
   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 (implies 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-a-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
Iuwuwene /iwe u-w-ene/ yourself
Iywone /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.

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) oyonimundu 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-enë 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 i-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 i-w-a-yi-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 iyo- 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) Kámbale 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) Kámbalé ba-na Palúku bá-li-asa ibi-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-angá-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-ir-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-á
   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-á iyówene
   Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-CAUS-a-CAUS-FV himself
   Kambale made himself get killed alone

Comment: (T18d-f) also show that the reflexive iyówene 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 iyówenewene
   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’ iyówenewene
   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 iyówenewene
   Kambale SMC1-TM-RFM-kill-APPL-FV in village himself
   Kambale killed himself in the village
d) Kambale iyówenewene 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 ályáyítísaya 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-lya-it-a Maryá y’ iyówene (álíta)
   KSMc1-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
   ál-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
   análángira
   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 May 11, 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-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-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 (underlingly for phonologists). As you look at the introduction of my dictionary, you can also look at the examples with the intransitive -ukal- as it potentially translates the middle as well. Consider the following example from the verb eri-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 ebikene, Kámbale áliyé áanzírè 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-yí-eryá ne ánge, ákasyátsandia eribumbà 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 eribumbá 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 eribumbá 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-ámbáliré ndeké, ímwághanítsandia eribumbá 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-ería ‘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-, eri-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 th 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.

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.

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

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.

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

3.9 Ellipsis

Consider the following examples, which all have an ellipsis of one sort or another.
B12a) Kámbale a-yí-áńzire / a-ká-yi-tá-pá kúlab’ Kámatê
Kambale SMC1-yí-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-þungă Kámbale
   c2-woman SMC2-TM-find Kambale
   Women saw Kambale

c) mw-á-nyambáya Kámbale
   SM2SGc1-TM-hit Kambale
   you hit Kambale

d) Ba-a-pipa Kámbale
   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 esisóni 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 ilúme
   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) ?olukímba 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
  Eri-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-butíka 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-yi-ha akadô
    Mary SMC1-TM-RFM-give gift
    Mary gave a gift to herself
b) Yoháni a-á-yi-kánganâya enyúmba
    John  SMC1-TM-RFM-show house
    John showed a house to himself

C8a) Maryá a-á-yi-ha akadô (same as C7a)
b) Yoháni a-yí-kánganisáya okó báná
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) 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-yí-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 ányíbirikírá 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 Kámaté
     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/iyónewene
  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 ápénya esyónzwiri siwe
  Nick combed hairs        his
  Nick combed his hair (where his refers to Nick)
  b)i Nick a-a-yí-pény-er-a   esyónzwíri
     Nick SMC1-TM-yi-comb C10-hair
  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’ omúkulú 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 itsOMc1-destroyed
Nick’s hypocrisy (ambition) destroyed him (him refers to Nick)
c) kóyó wa Nick mwágúlírye omútoka wiwe
mother of Nick SMC1-sold his car
Nick’s mother sold his car (his refers to Nick)

X20a) abálwana móbálángire esyopítsá *syabíbenebene /?syówundí n’ówundí/
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 pótsá *syabíbenebene / *syówundí n’ówundí/
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) abímanírí 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) abímanírí babyá nga bákasondekanya 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 ápípáwá 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. *nánzírwé 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’ekihugó 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 abirikirá mamá w’iwe
every child called his mother
f. óbuli 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 wayilángira?
    Who that SMc1-REFL-saw?
    Who saw himself
b. iyóndi yó wayinabayâ
    who that he washed REFL
    who washed himself?
c. iyóndi yó wálángira énzoká y’ ahákuhi 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 álángira Kámbale
    REFL saw Kambale
b. *iyówenewene atúlángira
    REFL saw us
c.*iyówenewene álángira 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 abugá náye oko Kámbale
    Bill spoke with him about Kambale (where him = Kambale)
f. *Bill á-mú-bwírírá oko Kámbale
    Bill told him about Kambale (where him = Kambale)
g. *iyówenewene ápipáwa 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 ásónga eriwatikya George
    mother his wanted to-help George
    his mother wanted to help George (his = George)
c.*mamá wíwe átitimanáya George
mother his frightened George
  his mother frightened George
d. *Maryá abwírá mamá wiwé y’oko George
  Mary told mother his LK on George
  Mary told his mother about George
e. *esanámu yá mamá wiwe yatogérá oko George
  a picture of mother his it fell on George
  a picture of his mother fell on George
f. *esanámu yá mamá wiwe móyánzísiyé 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-i-a
  Women SMC2-TM-help-RCM-a-CAUS-a
  Women help each other
C23b) abákali ba-ká-yí-watik-a-i-a
  Women SMC2-TM-help-RFM-CAUS-a
  Women help themselves
Comment: eríwatikya from e-ri-watik-i-a the –i- in the form is the causative but it is part of the root --watik- 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-i-a
  women SMC2-will-RFM-follow-RCM-CAUS-CAUS-a
  The women will accompany themselves.
c. abákali bá-yí-imáyá kw’ esyo pítsa
  women SMC2-RFM-take LK pictures
The women photographed themselves.

d. abákali bá-yi-tulukaliráya
   abákali bá-a-tulukal-ir-a-i-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 bá-kándisyá-kwam-an-is-an-i-a
   women SMc2-will- follow-RCM-CAUS-RCM-CAUS-a
   The women will accompany one another.

g. abákali b-ím-an-á-i-a kw’ esyo pítsâ
   women SMc2-take-RCM-a-CAUS-a LK pictures
   The women photographed one another.

h. ??abákali ba-tulukalir-an-á-i-a
   women SMC2-betray-RCM-a-CAUS-a
   women betrayed one another

i. abákali bá-yí-tulukalir-an-á-i-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-yitulukalirýá, 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. erí-kwam-an-is-i-a (erikwamanisyá) 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-a (erítulukalirýá) 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 b -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 basungáná 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 asungáná 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 erí-bandán-a means ‘to meet'. John asungáná 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. Yoháni 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-ânzire  
Jack knows that George SMC1-OMc1-likes  
Jack knows that George likes him  
c. Jack anâsí Lísá ng’oko ánâsí ng’oko Wéndy a-mú-ânzire  
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 Lísa anâasí ng’oko Wéndy a-mú-ânzire  
Jack thinks SMC1-says Lisa knows that that Wendy likes him  
Jack thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him  
e. Jack akálengekanaya ati Lísa anâasi ng’oko ânzire 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 Lísa a-mú-ânzire  
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 mwáyísíngiré ng'oko Maryá a-mú-ánzire
   Jack admitted that that Mary SMC1-OMc1-likes
   Jack admitted that Mary likes him
b. Jack álengemerawá 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 álûhe (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 abimuhandirá, Jeff mwásúbíré ékâ
   Mary SMC1-was SMC1 wrote him Jeff returned home
   After Mary wrote to him, Jeff returned home
d. Jeff mwágéndire Maryá i-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. nyisondire indí ínabugá bolóbolo
   SM1SGc1-want   SM1SGc1-say that-SMc1-speaks slowly
   I want that he speak slowly

e. ngálángira Bill nga ní múbì
   SM1SGc1-see   Bill as it-is bad
   I consider Bill bad

D4a Edgar abuláya Bill ng’ angana-mú-síkyà
   Edgar asked Bill if SMc1 can-OMc1-respect
   Edgar asked Bill if he can respect him
     b. Edgar abwírâ Bill ati á-mú-he ekitábu
       Edgar told Bill SMc1-says SMc1-OMc1-give book
       Edgar told Bill to give 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 Bill ati a-mú-lihe
       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
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 anzíré atóngá omúlwana
   The man who SMC1 was SMC1-likes criticized the-boy
   The man who he liked criticized the boy
c. omúlumé oyo'ábyá a-mu-anzíré 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 anzíré atóngá Malik
   The man who Malik SMc1-was SMc1-likes criticized Malik
   The man who Malik liked criticized Malik
b. omúlume oyo múlwana abyá anzíré atóngá omúlwana
   The man who boy SMc1-was SMc1-likes criticized the-boy
   The man who the boy liked criticized the boy
c. omúlume oyo' wabyá anzíre 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. Lárry abwírá Zeke ati Mike syâ-mú-ánzire
Larry told Zeke that Mike not SMc1-OMc1-likes
b. Zeke abwírá Larry ati Mike syâ-mú-ánzire
Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like him
c. Zeke abwírá Larry ati syánzire Mike
Zeke told Larry that he does not like Mike
d. Larry abwírá Zeke ati syáníze Mike
Larry told Zeke that he does not like Mike
e. Larry anâsí ng’oko Zeke akálengekanayá ng’oko Mike syâ-mú-ánzire
Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him
f. Zeke anâsí ng’oko Larry 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
Zeke’s mother thinks that Mike not-he-OMc1-likes
b. kóyó wa Zeke akálengekanaya ati syánzire Mike
Zeke’s mother 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 yabúgá yiti Mike syâ-mú-ánzire
Zeke’s letter said that Mike not-SM1-OMc1-likes
Zeke’s letter said that Mike does not like him
e. Zeke mwówíre ambu Maryá syâ-mú-ánzire
Zeke heard that Mary did not like him
f. Zeke abwiráwá ambu Maryá syâ-mú-ánzire
Zeke was told that Mary did not like him

D13a. Zeke abúgá ati a-mú-ámbaláya
Zeke said that SMc1-OMc1-dressed
b. Zeke abúgá ati á-mú-hutaláya
Zeke said that SMc1-OMc1-wounded
c. Zeke abúgá 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
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 Máriko 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
   LK-of to guard well person who-is LK on him. Perhaps relatives SMc2-could
   bangamúléengekanyáko batíki?
   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. Máriko mwálabíré mo músikí álángira epítsá yiwé yomo zurunáli. Abandú bosí
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.

Morris said that Mark passed the day badly. Morris told him that to start they stole his car. Then he had to pay a taxi to go to his work. Morris thought that he could be angry.

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.

Morris thought that Mark could be angry.

I would not want to be his wife. All the women must chase him. 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 respects him
b. Larry akálengekanaya ati nyi-mú-síkíryê
Larry thinks that I respect him
c. Larry akálengekanaya ati Maryá a-mú-síkíryê
Larry thinks that Mary respects him
d. Larry akálengekanaya ati abálwana ba-mú-síkíryê
Larry thinks that the boys respect him
e. abálumé bakálengekanaya bati abálwana ba-bá-síkíryê
The men think that the boys respect them

D20a. Larry akálengekanaya ati Bill anâsí ng’oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê
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 respects him
c. Larry akálengekanaya ati Maryá anâsí ng’oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê
Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave respects him
d. Larry akálengekanaya ati abálwana banâsí ng’oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê
Larry thinks that the boys know that Dave respects them
e. abálumé bakálengekanaya bati abálwana banâsí ng’oko Dave a-bá-síkíryê
The men think that the boys know that Dave respects them

D21a. Walter akálengekanaya ati Bill abwírá Harry ng’oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê
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 respects him
c. Walter ányíbwírá ng’oko Dave a-mú-síkíryê
Walter told me that Dave respects him
d. Walter abúgá ati Dave ámba ekitábu éki-mú-lólerékô
Walter said that Dave gave book which goes towards

50
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’eribuga 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 áskírye omúlume oyu-mu-anzíre
   Ira respects man who-OMc1-likes
   Ira respects the man who likes him
c. Ira akábuga ati omúlume oyu-mu-anzíre 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-tahyá
   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 wiwe 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 wiwe 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 rê ti wó.
   Olu believe that house he(w) ASP fall
b) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé oun ti wó.
   Olu believe that house he(s) ASP fall
   Both: "Olu believes that his house has collapsed."

D24a) Kámbale a-ti omw-iwe 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) Kámbale 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, omwiwe can only refer to Kambale’s house. Logically, it could be any other person’s house, but a Nande speaker would interpret omwiwe as Kambale’s house)