

Anaphora in the African Languages - Questionnaire

NSF grants: BCS-0303447, BCS-0523102

Principal Investigator - Ken Safir, Rutgers University

Consultant – Ongaye Oda

PART 1 General information

1.1 Language: In this section you are asked to identify your language or dialect (the subject language) and the information we ask of you will help make this identification more precise. We will fill in the Ethnologue code if you do not know it.

1. Name of the language: **Konso** (natives call it **afaa a xonso**)

2. Ethnologue code (if you know it):

3. Dialect and/or area: **Faashe**

4. What is the information you are providing based on? We assume all our participants are relying on their own judgments, but if you answer (b) in addition to (a), please explain with an attached note.

(a) My own judgements (X)

(b) Judgements by one or more consultants ()

1.2 Identify yourself: In order to make full use of the information you provide, some information about your linguistic background is necessary. If you wish, your name and contact information will be excluded from the public version of this database. However, if you are a fellow linguist we encourage you to make this information available; this will make it possible to properly acknowledge your role in creating this database, and will also (if you wish) allow other linguists interested in this language to contact you.

Please provide the following information about yourself (the person completing the survey).

1. Name: **Ongaye Oda Orkaydo**

2a. Your address: **Dilla University,
Department of English
P.O.Box: 419
Dilla, Ethiopia**

2b. E-mail address, if you have one: ongayeoda@yahoo.com

3. Do you want the database to reveal your name and contact information?

I am willing to be identified

4. Your level of training in linguistics

BA/MA in General Linguistics from Addis Ababa University

Currently a PhD student at Leiden University

5. If you are a linguist, please indicate the extent of your exposure to the following subfields.

Also specify the broad school (e.g., GB or LFG syntax) if appropriate. Your background might be relevant to your choice of terminology in morphological and syntactic descriptions, etc.

Scale: little or none / some / intimately familiar.

- (a) Syntax: intimately familiar
- (b) Typological linguistics: some
- (c) Formal semantics: little
- (d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: some
- (e) Other relevant subfield: General (descriptive) linguistics

6. Your language biography

a. What language(s) did your parents speak at home?

Konso

b. What language(s) do/did your parents speak natively?

Konso

c. What language (languages) did you receive school instruction in?

Amharic (grades 1-6) and English (grade 7 and upwards)

d. How old were you when you learned the subject language?

Not sure; maybe, eight or nine for Amharic, and fourteen or fifteen for English

e. Do you speak an identifiable subdialect of this language? What is it called?

Standard Amharic; standard English (American or British variety not clear)

f. Do you speak other dialects of the same language? Which ones?

No

1.3 Additional Consultants: If you are relying on the intuitions of additional language consultants (secondary informants), please collect the same information about those you consult, if that is possible. Your secondary informants will be anonymous participants (with all of their personal information confidential) unless they also complete a consent form and choose to be identified.

1.4 References: If it is convenient for you to do so, please inform us of any descriptive grammar or other references that you believe would be useful for us to know about which would assist us in putting the anaphora data in the context of a broader understanding of the grammar of your language. If you have a bibliography of work of this kind that you can inform us of or make available to us, that would be enormously helpful.

So far, there is no comprehensive descriptive grammar of Konso but currently I am writing my PhD dissertation on Konso grammar. Hopefully, I will defend my thesis in June 2012. The linguistic works conducted so far on the language are mainly unpublished BA/MA theses. The list is attached herewith.

IMPORTANT NOTE: In order for us to use your questionnaire at all, we must have from you a signed copy of the consent form that we provide to you which insures (a) that you have had the opportunity to evaluate any risk or disadvantage to you in choosing to participate in this study, and (b) that you have made an informed decision on whether or not you want your role in our project to be publically known. If you choose to remain an anonymous participant, all of the personal information your report to us will remain confidential.

PART 2 An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

In this section, we compile an inventory of strategies for coreference in your language. At this point we are only attempting to get a brief overview of the strategies and so we only want from you a few exemplars of each strategy. The properties of each strategy will be investigated in more detail in the following sections.

By the end of this section you should have a small number of sentences, each of which uses a different way to express a reflexive relationship. For English, for example, we might get John saw himself, and John washes as two forms of the reflexive strategy (where the second is more lexically restricted) and one form for the reciprocal strategy The children like each other.

Pay special attention to parts of a strategy that appear to be optional. In such cases you should list two strategies, one with and one without the "optional" element.

For example, Javanese has two reflexive constructions, awak+pronoun+dewe and awak+pronoun. It would be incorrect to treat them as a single construction in which dewe is optional: on close inspection the two forms turn out to have very different properties. Hence, any "optional" elements in your language should be studied under the assumption that we are dealing with different strategies.

2.1 Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 "Primary" reflexive strategy - Translate the following example to your language, and indicate the element (if any) that expresses the reflexive relationship. If the verb see is somehow unusual in your language, use a more typical transitive verb instead.

A1) yohannisi? ?isi ?i?akkay
yohannisi-? ?isi ?i=?akk-ay
John-NOM self 3=see-PF
'John saw himself.'

Choose a short name (label) for this strategy. It will be used to refer to this strategy in the remainder of the questionnaire. You can label it Strategy A, or you may choose a more descriptive name. For example, in English, we might call the strategy in A1 "x-SELF" or "pronoun-SELF" since the pronoun varies and the SELF form is constant. In Dutch, one might use the label ZICHZELF since the form that is used to translate English sentences like A1, but there is also a form zich, which can be used with the verb meaning "wash" but not with the verb meaning see under normal circumstances, hence we would want to label that strategy the ZICH strategy, or Strategy B. Whatever label you choose, please use it consistently.

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)? If so, give examples of their use now, and label them (use Strategy B, C, or choose your own labels). For example, in German both Hans und Maria sehen sich and Hans und Maria sehen einander are possible with a reciprocal reading (although the sich strategy also allows a reflexive reading). Hold off on presenting reciprocal strategies - we have a special section for that.

yohannisim mattaadi? ?isi ?i?akkay
yohannisi-? matta-adi-? ?isi ?i=?akk-ay
John-NOM head-3.POSS.M/F-DAT self 3=see-PF

'John saw himself.'
(lit.: John saw himself for his head.)

2.1.3 Other verb types- Some languages use a special reflexive strategy with certain verbs, especially "commonly reflexive" verbs of grooming such as "wash", "shave", "bathe", "dress", etc. For example, in English one can say John washes as well as John washes himself, both meaning "X washes X" where X = John, and that strategy might be called OBJECT-NULL. As noted above, a Dutch speaker might note that the ZICH strategy as well as the ZICHZELF strategy be used for verbs like wash.

Do any of the following (or any other verbs you can think of) involve a strategy that you have not listed already? If so, give an example now and label it with a new name (or letter). Here we are just trying to see if there are other strategies besides the ones you have named, so if the examples above do not uncover a new strategy, (e.g., in English, John washed can only be understood reflexively) then just translate them and move on. At this point, we are just making an inventory of strategies.

- A2a) John washes himself.
b) Mary cut herself. [accidentally]
c) John is ashamed of himself.
d) John destroyed himself.
e) We hate ourselves.
f) They praise themselves

There is no equivalent version of the example in A2c in Konso, though I know that is possible in Amharic. The Konso version would require the causative as in A2c) below. The verb for destroy is derived from the verb root **pat-** 'to disappear'.

A2a) yohannisi-ʔ ʔisi ʔi=faɕ-ni
John-NOM self 3=wash-IPF.PRES
'John washes himself.'

b) maariyaami-ʔ ʔisi ʔi=mur-t-i
Mary-NOM self 3=cut-3F-PF
'Mary cut herself.'

c) yohannisiʔ ʔisi ʔifeerinni
yohannisi-ʔ ʔisi ʔi=feer-f-ni
John-NOM self 3=shame-CAUS-IPF.PRES
'John makes himself ashamed.'

d) yohannisiʔ ʔisi ʔipaffay
yohannisi-ʔ ʔisi ʔi=pat-f-ay
John-NOM self 3=disappear-CAUS-PF
'John destroyed himself.'
(lit. John made himself disappear.)

e) ʔinuʔ ʔisi ʔin=need-n-a
we-NOM self 1=hate-1PL-IPF.FUT
'We hate ourselves.'

f) ?i?oonna-? ?isi ?i=peep-ni
 they-NOM self 3=praise-IPF.PRES
 'They praise themselves'

It is worth pointing out that there are certain verb roots, such as **need-** 'to hate', in Konso that occur with the future imperfective aspect marker **-a** rather than the present imperfective aspect marker **-ni** in the present imperfect aspect.

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? Consider a variety of oblique objects (dative, genitive, etc., as appropriate for your language), as well subcategorized prepositional arguments (e.g., English Karl counted on himself) and finally prepositional adjuncts (e.g., Sally saw a snake near her/herself). The following examples are models only and may not have the desired syntax in your language - in which case, please do your best to design appropriate sentences reflecting the relations in parentheses. Once again, translate them only if they involve a strategy that you have not yet identified.

A3a) John spoke to Mary.

- b) John spoke about himself. (subject/PP argument)
- c) John told Mary about himself. (same, with intervening NP)
- d) Bill told us about ourselves. (object/argument)
- e) Mary gave the children themselves. (ind.object/object)
- f) Mary saw a book behind her. (subject/locative)
- g) John bought the book for himself. (benefactive)

Also consider things like experiencer-subject verbs, non-nominative subjects, etc., which have unusual argument structures in many languages. Some verb meanings you might try:

A4a) Etta? ?isi ?ifaalanni
 Etta-? ?isi ?i=faalac?-ni
 Etta-NOM self 3=like-IPF.PRES
 'Etta likes herself.'

b) Etta? ?isi ?ifuurinni
 Etta-? ?isi ?i=fuur-f-ni
 Etta-NOM self 3=fear-CAUS-IPF.PRES
 'Etta scares herself.'

c) Etta? ?isi ?ifanna?sinni
 Etta-? ?isi ?i=fanna?-sis-ni
 Etta-NOM self 3=worry-CAUS-IPF.PRES
 'Etta worries herself.'

2.1.5 Person and number - Some languages use different strategies depending on person or number. For example, in Dutch, the special reflexive pronoun zich used with certain verbs is only used in the third person; first and second person coreference for these verbs is expressed with ordinary pronouns (pronouns that do not normally have to have an antecedent), which should therefore be considered a distinct local coreference strategy.

Consider the preceding sentences with first and second person subjects, and also with

plurals. Also check for differences between full NPs, overt third person pronouns, and null subjects/objects (if your language allows them). Some of you may speak a language that distinguishes singulars, plurals and duals, and if so, please check for the dual reading. Do any of these allow the use of a strategy we have not yet seen? If so, name each new strategy and give an example here.

- A5a) I saw myself.
 b) You cut yourself [accidentally].
 c) We will wash ourselves.
 d) You must help yourselves.

Konso does not use different strategies to distinguish person and number with regard to reflexive pronouns. In other words, the reflexive pronoun **?isi** is used for both singular and plural antecedent nouns. One thing that may be of some interest is that overt subjects can be left out in Konso. Covert subjects are recovered from the type of subject clitic and the gender markers on the verb. It is also worth pointing out that the subject clitics in Konso are flexible in the sense that they move around within a clause/sentence.

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. Name each new strategy with a short name or label, and give one example.

Take a few minutes to consider other variations on the sentence types which might involve a special strategy. Some possibilities:

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

- A6a) Peter knows himself.
 b) Peter (habitually) criticizes himself.
 c) Peter is likely to praise himself.

The verb 'to criticize' does not exist in Konso. The other examples do not show any other strategy than the ones I showed earlier.

A6a) peetroosi-? ?isi ?i=?up-a
 Peter-NOM self 3=know-IPF.FUT
 'Peter knows himself.'

A6c) peetroosi-? nama a ?isi peep-u ?i=pah-a
 Peter-NOM personGEN self praise-DP.FUT 3=look.like-IPF.FUT
 'Peter is likely to praise himself.'
 (lit. Peter looks like someone who will praise himself.)

(b) Do quantificational constructions involve a separate strategy?

- A7a) Every boy looked at himself.
 b) All the women described John to themselves.
 c) Every teacher introduced himself to Bob.
 d) Some children only help themselves.

A7a) hellaasinim matta mattan ?isi ĞuĞa ?itooyyin

hellaa-sini? matta matta-n ?isi ɔ́uɔ́a ?i=tooyy-i-n
 children-DEF.P head head-INST self at 3=look-PF-P
 ‘Every boy looked at himself.’
 (lit. The children looked at themselves head by head.)

b) iskattasip piisa yohannisi ?isi? ?ipunayfin
 iskatta-si? piisa yohannisi ?isi-? ?i=?up-nayf-i-n
 women-DEF.M/F all John self-DAT 3=know-CAUS-PF-P
 ‘All the women described John to themselves.’

c) kollissaampayaa piisa poopi? ?isi ?ikollifin
 kollif-taa-mpa-yaa piisa poopi-? ?isi ?i=kollif-i-n
 teach-VN-AGENT-P all Bop-DAT self 3=teach-PF-P
 ‘Every teacher introduced himself to Bop.’

d) hellaa dehnu olew ɔ́aarɔ́aarri
 hellaa dehnu ole-w ɔ́aarɔ́aar-ni
 children some each.other-only help-IPF.PRES
 ‘Some children only help each other.’

With the verb root **ɔ́aarɔ́aar-** ‘to help’ does not occur with self. The verb stem **ettanf-** ‘to be able to’ occurs with self.

(c) If your language has a system of grammaticized honorifics, do some types of honorific allow a strategy that has not been listed yet? The Yoruba example below allows several plural interpretations, as given below, but it can also mean "He (honorific) saw himself", although it is not otherwise singular.

A8) Wón rí ara won.
 they see body them

"They saw *themselves*." or "They saw *each other*." or "They saw *their* bodies."

Konso does not have special expressions or grammatical forms for honorifics.

(d) The above were all tensed main clauses. Experiment with placing both corefering arguments in various types of subordinate clauses, as your language allows. For example, consider tensed complements, subjunctives, infinitivals, purpose clauses, or any other embedding construction your language provides. (But keep both coreferent arguments in the same clause). Only provide examples corresponding to the sentences in A9 if any translation reveals a new strategy (which you should name).

- A9a) Sol says that Alice loves herself.
 b) Sol required that Alice praise herself.
 c) Sol thought Alice should praise herself.
 d) Sol asked Alice to praise herself.
 e) Sol wants to praise himself.
 f) Sol expects Alice to praise herself.
 g) Sol heard Alice praising herself.

A9a) Sooli? ?aliisi? ?isi ?ifaalanni ?iki?ni

| | | | | |
|----------|-----------|------|-----------------|----------------|
| Sooli-? | ?aliisi-? | ?isi | ?i=faalad-ni | ?i=kiɗ-ni |
| Sool-NOM | Alice-NOM | self | 3=like-IPF.PRES | 3=say-IPF.PRES |

‘Sol says that Alice loves herself.’

9b) Sooli? ?akkaa Aliisi? ?isi peeptu ?iheennaaday

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|------|----------------------|
| Sooli-? | ?akka=i | Aaliisi-? | ?isi | peep-t-u |
| Sol-NOM | that=3 | Alice-NOM | self | praise-3F-IPF.FUT.DP |

?i=heen-naad-ay

3=want-INCHOA-PF

‘Sol required that Alice praise herself.’

9c) Sooli? ?akkaa Aliisi? ?isi peeptu ?iheennaaday

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|------|----------------------|
| Sooli-? | ?akka=i | Aliisi-? | ?isi | peep-t-u |
| Sol-NOM | that=3 | Alice-NOM | self | praise-3F-IPF.FUT.DP |

?i=heen-naad-ay

3=want-INCHOA-PF

‘Sol required that Alice praise herself.’

9d) Sooli? ?akkaa Aliisi? ?isi peeptu ?ikaasaday

| | | | | |
|---------|---------|-----------|------|----------------------|
| Sooli-? | ?akka=i | Aliisi-? | ?isi | peep-t-u |
| Sol-NOM | that=3 | Alice-NOM | self | praise-3F-IPF.FUT.DP |

?i=kaasad-ay

3=ask-PF

‘Sol asked Alice to praise herself.’

9e) Sooli? ?isi peepiya ?iheena

| | | | |
|---------|------|-----------|----------------|
| Sooli-? | ?isi | peep-iy-a | ?i=heen-a |
| Sol-NOM | self | praise-VN | 3=want-IPF.FUT |

Sol wants to praise herself.’

9f)

9g) Sooli? Aliisi? a ?isi peepnittu ?idakay

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------|-----|------|------------------------------|
| Sooli-? | Aliisi-? | a | ?isi | peep-nitt-u |
| Sol-NOM | Alice-NOM | GEN | self | praise-3F.CONTINU-IPF.FUT.DP |

?i=ɗak-ay

3=hear-PF

‘Sol heard Alice praising herself.’

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. Please test them now in all the local environments, even if they fail, unless you have already named them as a strategy because they succeed in local coreference environments. For this section, please translate all the sentences, indicating the acceptability of the results.

2.2.1 First, show that the pronouns can be independent by using them in a sentence where they do not have an antecedent. In the paradigms below, for example, the first sentence provides a context, and, for A10a,b the pronoun appears in the second sentence without an antecedent in that sentence, but referring to Abraham. The same test is made with first and second person pronouns in (A10c). If it is more convenient for you to construct your own sentences, feel free to do so.

- A10a) I spoke with Abraham yesterday. He saw Lela.
 b) Where is Abraham? I saw him in the market.
 c) We saw you. Did you see me/us?

a) ?antik keen χala ?akkay
 ?anti-? ke=in χala ?akk-ay
 I-NOM you.ACC yesterday see-PF
 ‘I saw you[SG] yesterday.’

b) ?atti? ?ayfaa? ?apittu ?akkiti?
 ?atti-? ?ayfaa=i? ?apittu ?akk-t-i
 Apitto-NOM where=2 ?apitto see-2-PF
 ‘Where did you see ?apitto?’

c) ?urmalaappa?in ?ifa ?akkay
 ?urmala-oppa-?=in ?ifa ?akk-ay
 market-in-LOC=1 him see-PF
 ‘I saw him in the market.’

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. It is helpful for us to have full paradigms for subject, object and indirect object pronouns (only if indirect object pronouns are different from object pronouns) as well as possessive pronouns and pronouns in prepositional phrases. Keep in mind that pronouns and agreement are not always easy to distinguish when the pronoun is mixed in with the verb morphology. Some languages will have an agreement morpheme that can cooccur with a pronoun in subject or object position, and in some cases the pronoun (or any full noun phrase) and the agreements are mutually exclusive. Please inform us as to the situation in your language for each argument position (subject, object, indirect object, possessive, prepositional object...)

Personal pronouns distinguish number for all persons, but gender only for third person singular. In the following table, I present the personal pronouns in Konso. Notice that third person singular feminine and third person plural have variant forms.

| | Nominative | | Accusative | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | singular | plural | singular | plural |
| 1 | ?anti | ?inu | ?ana | ?inu |
| 2 | ?atti | ?ifina | ke | ?ifin(a) |
| 3F | ?ifeenna ?ifeet(t)a ?ifeed(d)a | ?ifoonna ?ifoot(t)a ?ifood(d)a | ?ifeenna ?ifeet(t)a ?ifeed(d)a | ?ifoonna ?ifoot(t)a ?ifood(d)a |
| 3M | ?ifa | | ?ifa | |

Konso independent personal pronouns

Indirect object is marked by the dative case which is added to the accusative forms of the pronouns. The following is an example:

) ?antik ki?in lukkalitta piɖɖa
 ?anti-? ke-?=in lukkalitta piɖɖ-a
 I-NOM you.ACC-DAT=1 chicken buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
 'I will buy you[SG] a chicken.'

Independent possessive pronouns are formed from the noun space filler **χa** and the possessive suffixes. The noun space filler **χa** does not have any meaning.

| | | |
|---------|-----------------------|------------|
| 1SG | χayyu/χayya | 'mine' |
| 1PL | χannu | 'ours' |
| 2SG | χaayti/χatti | 'yours' |
| 2PL | χaayfin/χassin/χaffin | 'yours' |
| 3SG.M/F | χaadi | 'his/hers' |
| 3PL | χaayfu/χassu/χaffu | 'theirs' |

Konso independent possessive pronouns

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. This kind of argument drop does not have to be interpreted as reflexive (as in the case of English John washed), but rather it is the sort of argument drop that could be used where there is not necessarily an antecedent in the sentence, but the interpretation is like that of an independent pronoun. Provide an example for each grammatical function that can be dropped. In Japanese, for example, null arguments are possible for both subject and object arguments, but none of the examples in (A10e-f) are possible in English. If your language allows the pronouns to drop for any of these grammatical functions (subject, object, prepositional object), but the range of pronominal interpretations is limited, please comment. (If agreement plays a role with respect to when a pronoun can be missing, please say so, even though your answer to this may overlap with your answer to 2.2.2.)

- 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*)

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

It is possible in Konso to have null arguments. As I said earlier, personal pronouns can be left out in a sentence. In a context in which the speaker and the listener share some knowledge, object arguments can also be left out. Example:

a) ?in=ɖam-ay
 1=eat-PF
 'I ate.'

b) ?iɖɖamti
 ?i?=ɖam-t-i
 2=eat-2-PF

'You[SG] ate.'

In the above example, both the subject and object arguments are left out. The subject arguments of the sentences can, however, be understood from the type of the subject clitics. In a), the subject clitic **in=** for first person, and in b) it is **?i?** for second persons. Moreover, both sentences do not have overt object arguments. There is no marking on the verb for the null object arguments. Thus, null object arguments are understood only in the context of a discourse.

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.

- A10g) Ali praised him.
- h) Ali liked him.
- i) Ali saw him
- j) Ali talked to him
- k) Ali sent a book to him.
- l) Ali helped him
- m) Ali surprised him
- n) Ali bought a book for him
- o) Ali read a book about him
- p) Ali found a book near him

The translation of the above sentences is given after the following paragraph.

In English, none of (A10g-n) are acceptable if *him* = Ali, rather all speakers find that *him* must refer to someone other than Ali. Most English speakers, though not all, accept (A10l, m) with *him* = Ali. Try to use verbs close to these and use pronouns corresponding to the direct object (or object markers, if that is what your language uses for direct object pronouns) and determine if the pronoun you use can form a reflexive reading (=Ali) or not in these cases or not. It is especially important to keep in mind that we also need translated examples that show what is not possible, when that is the case.

A10g) Ali-? ?ifa ?i=peep-ay
Ali-NOM him 3=praise-PF
'Ali praised him.'

h) Ali-? ?ifa ?i=faalad-ay
Ali-NOM him 3=like-PF
'Ali liked him.'

i) Ali-? ?ifa ?i=?akk-ay
Ali-NOM him 3=see-PF
'Ali saw him.'

j) Ali-? ?ifa ?i=haasaaw-siis-ay
Ali-NOM him 3=talk-CAUS-PF
'Ali talked to him.'

k) Alim masaafa ?ifa? ?i?erkay
 Ali-? masaafa ?ifa-? ?i=?erk-ay
 Ali-NOM book him-DAT 3=send-PF
 'Ali sent a book to him.'

l) Ali-? ?ifa ?i=?aar?aar-ay
 Ali-NOM him 3=help-PF
 'Ali helped him.'

m) Ali-? ?ifa ?i=?aww-ayf-ay
 Ali-NOM him 3=surprise-CAUS-PF
 'Ali surprised him.'

n) Alim masaafa ?ifa? ?ipidday
 Ali-? masaafa ?ifa-? ?i=?idd-ay
 Ali-NOM book him-DAT 3=buy-PF
 'Ali bought a book for him.'

o) Ali read a book about him

p) Alim masaafa ?ifa kapa? ?iteyay
 Ali-? masaafa ?ifa kapa-? ?i=?ey-ay
 Ali-NOM book him near-LOC 3=find-PF
 'Ali found a book near him.'

2.3 Reciprocal Readings

The previous sections asked about strategies for reflexive coreference. We now consider reciprocals. Please keep in mind that we are still just compiling an inventory of strategies and we shall explore details later. As before, remember to treat "optional" morphemes as evidence of distinct strategies.

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.

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. If a new strategy is involved (a special reciprocal form, or affix, or clitic or argument drop, or verb form, etc.), name it and give an example. (For argument drop, consider English *They argued*, which can be understood to mean that 'they argued with each other').

- A11a) The women see each other.
- b) The boys washed each other.
- c) The men combed each other's hair.
- d) They argued with each other.
- e) The boys kicked each other.
- f) They hate each other.

The reciprocal pronoun in Konso is **?oli**. It becomes **?olli** when followed by derivational

suffixes, such as the dative and the instrumental.

A11a) ?iskattasi? ?oli ?i?akkini

| | | |
|-------------------|------------|----------------|
| ?iskatta-si-? | ?oli | ?i=?akk-ni |
| women-DEF.M/F-NOM | each.other | 3=see-IPF.PRES |

‘The women see each other.’

b) hellaa-sini? ?oli ?i=faɣ-i-n
 children-DEF.P each.other 3=wash-PF-P
 ‘The children washed each other.’

c) nammaasinim matta ?olli? ?ifilin
 nammaa-sini?matta ?olli-? ?i=fil-i-n
 men-DEF.P head each.other-DAT 3=comb-PF-P
 ‘The men combed each other’s hair.’

d) ?ifoonna-? ?oli ?i=ʃiiʃ-i-n
 they-NOM each.other 3=argue-PF-P
 ‘They argued with each other.’

e) hellaa-sini? ?oli ?i=leβ-i-n
 children-DEF.P each.other 3=kick[PL]-PF-P
 ‘The children kicked each other.’

f) ?ifoonna-? ?oli ?i=need-a-n
 they-NOM each.other 3=hate-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘They hate each other.’

2.3.3 Oblique arguments - Continue looking for new reciprocal strategies by translating sentences like those in (A12), which involve reciprocals embedded in prepositional phrases. If your language has prepositions and these examples do not translate as having reciprocals embedded in prepositional phrases, then please provide examples from your language that do.

- A12a) The men introduced Bill to each other.
 b) The travelers spoke to each other.
 c) The priests heard stories about each other.
 d) They left presents in front of each other.

A12a) nammaasinip piilee ?isi? ?u??upnayfin
 nammaa-sini?piili=i ?isi-? ?u?-?up-nayf-i-n
 men-DEF.P Bill-3 self=DAT 3=RDP-know-CAUS-PF-P
 ‘The men introduced Bill to each other.’

b) ?antaa-mpay-aa-sini? ?olli-n torraa ?i=torriyaad-i-n
 going-AGENT-P-DEF.P each.other-INST speech 3=speak-PF-P
 ‘The travellers spoke to each other.’

c) ɣeesiwwaasinig ɣoota ?ollite desa ?idaddakayin
 ɣeesiwwaa-sini? ɣoota ?olli-te desa ?i=ɖad-ɖakay-i-n
 priests-DEF.P about each.other-? DIR 3=RDP-hear-PF-P

'The priests heard about each other.'

| | | | | |
|---------------|------------|-----------------|------------|-----------------|
| d) ?ifoonna-? | ?oli | tura-? | daassawwaa | ?i=χaχ-χaay-i-n |
| they-NOM | each.other | in.front.of-LOC | presents | 3=RDP-put-PF-P |

'They put presents in front of each other.'

Also consider other verbs that have unusual argument structures in your language.

2.3.4 Other persons and numbers, etc. If another, so-far unknown strategy is used in some persons or numbers, or special aspectual classes etc., name it here.

- A13a) We saw each other.
b) You(pl.) must help each other.
c) We will wash ourselves.
d) They always criticize each other.
e) Many boys kicked each other.

2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies: Briefly consider various types of reciprocal embedded clauses; if a new coreference strategy can be used with some of them, name it here. Also consider if there may be a reciprocal strategy not identified by the preceding questions. Use the following sentences as models, but if there is nothing new to be found this way, do not bother to translate them and move on.

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

2.4 Other types of local coreference

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

A15a) Pawloosiχ hokaadi ?ipaɸɸay
Pawloosi-? hoka-adi ?i=pat-f-ay
Paul-NOM shoes-3SG.POSS 3=disappear-CAUS-PF
'Paul lost his shoes.'

b) Pawloosih harkaadi ?ixa?ɸay
Pawloosi-? harka-adi ?i=χa?-f-ay
Paul-NOM hand-3SG.POSS 3=stand-CAUS-PF
'Paul raised his hand. (e.g., in class)'

c) Pawloosih harkaadi ?imuray
Pawloosi-? harka-adi ?i=mut-ay
Paul-NOM hand-3SG.POSS 3=cut-PF
'Paul cut his hand. (e.g., accidentally)'

d) Pawloosih harkaadi kara ?itooyay
Pawloosi-? harka-adi kara ?i=tooy-ay
Paul-NOM hand-3SG.POSS in 3=see-PF
'Paul examined his hand.'

e)

Paul twisted his ankle (or 'stubbed his toe')

2.4.2 Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals - Some languages use a different affix or form to establish a reflexive relationship inside of a nominal. Identify any strategies that can apply to nouns rather than verbs. (Other possibilities: self-destruction, self-help, etc.)

A16) Andrew's self-confidence annoyed Mary.

A17a) Andrew's introduction of himself impressed the teacher.

b) Andrew's evaluation of himself was too critical.

c) Their instructions to each other were not clear.

d) Their evaluations of each other were too generous.

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

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. This you may revise on the basis of new ones you come across in filling out the form, if there are any.