

## Anaphora Questionnaire Response for Tupuri

Consultant: Djakode Noumga

Based on Anaphora in the African Languages – Questionnaire Version 2.3 - July, 2012

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### Section 1: General information

1. Tupuri
2. ISO 639-2 nic ISO 639-3 tui, IETF tui
3. Dialects

Dialect Varieties	Far North of Cameroon
The <b>bãŋ-liŋ</b> (to one's house)	Mayo danay : Gaiga ; Tengring ; Guna ; Danlao ; Bindiryel ; Doudoula ; Mandjakma ; Werfeo ; Konkoron ; Tibalé ; Baiga ; Gané ; Lara ; Douaye ; Zouaye.
The <b>bãŋ-gö</b> (to the completing)	Mayo-Kani in the Far North of Cameroon
The <b>bãŋ-wére</b> (to -founding)	Datchéka, in the South of Yagoua
The <b>pödökgè</b>	Mbourao, Tulao, Sumkaya, Longko, Gongong, Peuls, Mundang, Mbanbai
<b>Bãŋ faale-piyew</b> (beyond the waterway)	Mayo Kebbi in Tchad: Tikem, Manra, KissamsiMbissee, Mokaye, Bissi, Saïka, Dblak, Gumuye

As for our work, we describe the **bãŋ-liŋ** variety (to one's house)

Consultant details (answers to questions in former section 1).

4. (a)
5. 1.2 identification
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12. 5 Syntax (LFG)
13. 6 a) Tupuri
14. b) Tupuri
15. c) French
16. d) Five years
17. e)

## 2.1 Coreferences in a single clause

### 2.1.1 Reflexive strategy “primary”

Let’s translate the following sentence into Tupuri and show the element expressing the reflexive relation.

A1)

a) Noumga yog se be

Noumga wash **BODY HIS**

Comment: KS : Should *se* be translated “body”, a literal translation? In that case, the gloss for *se* should be BODY Poss.Prn in English, and CORPS Poss.PRN in French. As there is no digital marking on *se*, and no open morphology for anyone on the verb, don’t mark them in the gloss. Could you provide with a context where *se* literally means “body” but is not anaphoric? For example, “They saw his body” or “The woman decorated her body”?

*A1a’) Se bi jon me de bay wore*  
*BODY POSS.PRN.1st.s do me with ill beautiful*  
*My body hurts*

*1a’’) Saara kò wo se be*  
*PRN.3rd.pl.s see pl BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s*  
*They saw my body*

*1a’’’) Waÿgrag se be*  
*Woman decorate BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s*  
*The woman decorated her body*

KS : Are there morphemes with the pass or future meaning ? It seems that these morphemes are not morphologically present.

*DN : In Tupuri, the present or the ongoing action or event coincides with the moment of sentence enunciation, which is ‘now’.*

*The present progressive is signaled by the morpheme ‘dè’, which means ‘in progress’.*

*To illustrate, consider the following example:*

*ndi dè jo bi*

*1SG PROG to drink water*  
*'I am drinking water'*

*The habitual aspect, unlike the progressive present, marks an action that repeats or happens frequently. It is indicated by the morpheme 'tum', which means each.*

*Example: ndi yog tum nin naw*  
*1SG wash each eyes day*  
*'I shower everyday'*

*The past is marked with a mid tone in Tupuri.*

*Example: naa dùu coore*  
*1PL pound millet*  
*'We pounded the millet'*

*The recent past is marked with the morpheme 'hay'.*

*Examples: ndi hay rege*  
*1SG PST eat*  
*'I just ate'*

*The far past is marked with the morpheme 'mba', which means 'since'.*

*Example: ndi tao jege go mba*  
*1SG finish farm already since*  
*'I finished farming a long time ago'*

b) Noumga ko se be de se be tu  
Noumga see **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole  
Noumga saw himself.

Comment: KS: What is the literal translation of *trou*? In English, literally it is "hole", but is there an idiomatic sense here beyond the emphatic reflexive sense? DN: **You is not used in an idiomatic sense, but rather in an emphatic reflexive sense.**

Noumga saw himself.

c) Noumga lan dij Djaowe ko wo se bara  
Noumga and it is Djaowe see PL body their

Noumga and Djaowe saw themselves

Comment: KS: In the long run, we will need to know more about the *dij*, but that can wait.

Comment: In Tupuri, the element that indicates reflexivity is the term **se be** (BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s), and **de se be tu** which indicates emphasis on the subject. **se bara** (BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.p). We call this strategy body+pronoun).

The co-reference expressed by the strategy “self+personal pronoun” to convey a reflexive meaning may be extended to convey a reciprocal meaning as in the German examples below.

A’)

a) Hans uns Maria sehen sich

b) Hans und Maria sehen einander

c) Noumga ko se be de se be tu

Noumga see SELF POSS.3RD with SELF POSS.3RD trou

Noumga saw himself

There will be a section that is dedicated to reciprocals below.

### 2.1.3 Other verb types

Verbs form one of the most important grammatical categories in every language. They express the actions of the subject, its state, etc. Some languages use a special reflexive strategy with certain verbs, especially "commonly reflexive" verbs of grooming such as "wash", "shave", "bathe", "dress", etc. In Tupuri, those verbs are : voge se, ceege se, heege òòbe se, tange se.

Those verbs are used in the examples below.

### 2.1.2 Strategy T

A2)

a) Djaowe dè yoge se be

Djaowe PROG wash. BODY HIS

Djaowe is washing himself

b) Djaowe dè yoge se be de se be tu

Djaowe PROG wash BODY HIS with BODY HIS hole

Djaowe is washing himself by himself

Comment: DM: In example (b) the element *de se be tu* indicates an emphasis on the person speaking. It could be that he/she is being washed by another person. This element therefore specifies that it is Djaowe himself who is doing the washing.

c) Welba càa se be

Welba cut BODY HIS

Welba cut himself

d) Welba càa se be de se be tu

Welba cut BODY HIS with BODY HIS hole

Welba cut himself by himself

e) Senga de sòòre do se be tu

Senga be ashamed.PST, hand BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s hole

Senga is ashamed of himself.

Comment: KS: Is *se be tu* the possessor of *do*? And is *sěg* independent of *se be tu*? That is, can we use *sěg* in the sentence "John went out the house himself". DN: ***Se be tu refers to Senga, it is not the possessor of do. KS: I do not understand the role of do in this sentence – does it refer to “hand” or does it have some other meaning? If it means “hand”, how does it contribute to the meaning of the sentence? [Data entry: Cross-reference (C-r) database number for A2e with that of A2e’.]***

A2e’) *Jean kalego lin de se be tu*

*Jean go out house with BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s hole*

*Jean went out of the house himself*

f) Naa de hee se kaara

PRN.1st.pl.s with hate body them

We hate each other

Comment: For example f) we have *kaara* instead which marks reciprocity

g) Mai pa òò ti jen jak tiŋ

Mai pa hold.PST head side mouth house

Mai pa stood by the door

Comment: ***in Tupuri Mai pa is a female name that means “one more girl”.***

f) Maï pa mbed se be

Mai pa stretch BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S

Maï pa stretched her body

#### 2.1.4 Obliques and other argument types

Unlike the direct cases that express the grammatical functions of subject and complement (nominative, ergative and acusative), the oblique case either expresses a dative function or genitive one. In this section, we will explore how prepositional arguments and adjuncts are used in the Tupuri syntax.

A3)

a) Noumga wa re ne Marie

Noumga speak speech to Mary

Noumga spoke to Mary

b) Noumga wa ti se be de se be tu

Noumga speak head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole

Noumga spoke about himself. (subject/PP argument)

c) Noumga wà ne Marie ti se be de se be tu

Noumga speak past to Mary head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole

Noumga told Mary about himself. (same, with intervening NP)

d) Noumga wà re ne naa ti naa

Noumga tell.PST speech to PRN.1st.pl.ICV head PRN.1st.pl.ICV

Noumga told us about ourselves. (object/argument)

e) Bahane kò kefder faale be.

Bahane see.PST paper behind her

Bahane saw a book behind her. (subject/locative)

f) Noumga yeè kefder ma be

Noumga buy.PST paper for him

Noumga bought the book for himself. (benefactive)

g) Mai pa da se be de se be tu

Mai pa love **BODY BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** with **BODY BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** hole

Mai pa loves herself.

Comment: These examples show that prepositional adjuncts ('adjoints prépositionnels') occur between the name and the reflexive.

A4)

a) Dané da se be de se be tu

Dané love **BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** with **BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** hole

Dané likes herself.

b) Dane joŋ heene do se be de se be tu

Dane scare hand **BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** with **BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** hole

Dane scares herself.

c) Dané dik ti se be de se be tu

Dané think head **BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** with **BODY POSS.PRN.3RD.S** hole

### 2.1.5. Person and Number

Dubois and al (2001:355) define person as a grammatical category based on the reference to participants in a communication act and to the sentences they produced, and they define number as a grammatical category based on the presentation of people, animals or objects, designated by names, as countable entities capable of being isolated and grouped together in groups as opposed to the representation of objects as indivisible masses. Different languages use different strategies to express person and number. Let's explore how Tupuri does this.

A5)

a) Ndi ko se mbi

I see body me

I saw myself

b) Ndo càa se mbo (accidentellement)

PRN.2st.s cut.PST body POSS.PRN.2nd.s

PRN.2st.s cut yourself

c) Naa yog se naa

PRN.1st.pl.ICV wash. **BODY** PRN.1st.pl.ICV

We will wash ourselves

d) Nday dè kay se mbay

PRN.2nd.pl PROG help POSS.PRN.2ND.S

You must help yourselves.

In the syntax of Tupuri, subject pronouns (Naa, Nday) occur at the beginning of the sentence while their reflexive counterparts (naa, mday) occur at the end of the sentence. It's important to mention that, just like in French, verbs agree in number with the subject.

#### 2.1.6. Strategies for other clausemate environments

##### a) Some verbs only allow the use of incorporated reflexives

A6)

a) Manwe dè ko se be de se be tu

Manwe PROG.see **BODY** POSS.PRN.3RD.S with **BODY** POSS.PRN.3RD.S hole

Manwe knows himself.

b) Manwe wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu

Manwe speak with net beautiful head **BODY** POSS.PRN.3RD.S with **BODY** POSS.PRN.3RD.S hole

Manwe (habitually) criticizes himself

c) a go gous ma ga Manwe wa ti se be

It already easy for that Manwe speak heady **BODY** POSS.PRN.3rd.s

Manwe is likely to praise himself

A7) a) wereŋ ko wɔ se bara de se bara tu

Children vo pl body POSS.PRN.3rd.p with body POSS.PRN.3rd.p hole

Children looked at themselves

b) naaren ngab wɔ se bara ne Daiwe de se bara tu

The women describe PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p to Daiwe with body POSS.PRN.3rd.p hole

All the women described Daiwe to themselves

c) jar hadgen ngab wɔ se bara ne Senga bwy de se bara tu

People teacher introduce PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p to Senga all with body POSS.PRN.3rd.p hole

Every teacher introduced himself to Senga.

d) were ma paapowo kai wə se bara de se bara tu

Children for some help PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p with body POSS.PRN.3rd.p hole  
Some children only help themselves.

Comment: In constructions with quantifiers, *le se be* or *le se be tu* become *le se bara* or *se bara tu*. Note that the quantifier *wə se* occurs between the subject and the verb.

All the main clauses were under tension. Let's try to use the two co-reference arguments in the different types of subordinate clauses.

A8a) Daiwe dig ga Mai pa dè yog se be

Daiwe think that Mai pa PROG wash body his  
Daiwe thinks that Mai pa wash himself

b) Daiwe desay wage ti se be de bay wore de se be tu

Daiwe fog speak head BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s with evil beautiful with body his hole  
Daiwe would like to criticize himself

Comment: KS: An adverb intervene here: *de se be de ADV se be tu*. Are there other adverbs/adPRN.punctifs that can intervene in this position?

c) Daiwe la Mai pa w'a sin ti en be

Daiwe hear. Mai pa sing. Song head side his  
Daiwe hears Mai pa singing next to him.

A9)

a) Daiwe wa ga Mai pa da se be de se be tu

Daiwe speak that Mai pa love body her with body her hole  
Daiwe says that Mai pa loves herself

Comment: The reflexive pronoun's antecedent is in the subordinate as can be seen with *se be*, whose antecedent is *Mai pa*, the subject of the object CP.

b) Daiwe wi ga Mai pa mo wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu  
Daiwe require that Mai pa must speak with net beautiful head body his with body his hole

Daiwe required that Mai pa criticize herself

c) Daiwe dik ga Mai pa dè wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu

Daiwe think that Mai pa, being speak with evil beautiful head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole

Comment: The reflexive pronoun's antecedent is in the subordinate as can be seen with *se be*, whose antecedent is *Mai pa*, the subject of the object CP.

d) \* Daiwe wi Mai pa wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu

Daiwe require Mai pa speak with evil beautiful head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole  
Daiwe required Mai pa to criticize herself

Comment: The sentence in d) is ungrammatical because it requires the presence of a relative pronoun like 'que'.

e) Daiwe desay wage de bay wore ti se be de se be tu

Daiwe like tell with evil beautiful head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole



Daiwe wants to criticize himself

- f) Daiwe degorge ga Mai pa mo wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu  
 Daiwe wait that Mai pa, must speak with evil beautiful head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole  
 Daiwe expects Mai pa to criticize herself
- g) Daiwe la Mai pa wage de bay wore ti se be de se be tu  
 Daiwe hear Mai pa speak with evil beautiful head **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole  
 Daiwe heard Mai pa criticizing herself

Comment: The reflexive pronoun's antecedent is in the subordinate as can be seen with *se be*, whose antecedent is *Mai pa*, the subject of the object CP.

- h) Daiwe kò se be de se be tu bo egre  
 Daiwe see.PST **BODY HIS** with **BODY HIS** hole PRN.1st.ster strength  
 Daiwe could feel herself breathe

**2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns:** Ordinary pronouns are variable words that can replace nouns. We will show in this section that pronouns are not used as reflexives. However, it's worth mentioning that pronouns may be independent in utterances where they have no antecedent.

A10)

- a) Ndi wà de Boulga sùu. A kò Mai pa  
 I speak past with Boulga yesterday. He see.PST Mai pa  
 I spoke with Boulga yesterday. He (pro) saw Mai pa

- b) Boulga genla ndi kon le ti lumo  
 Boulga where I see lhim head market  
 Where is Boulga? I saw him at the market

- c) Wur hay kò mo Ndo hay kò me bowe? Ndo hay kò wuri?  
 PRN.1st.pl.s have see PST you. PRN.2st.s were see PST me Mint? PRN.2st.s were  
 see.PST PRN.1st.pl.EXCL?  
 We saw you. Did you see me? Did you see us?

Comment: The personal pronoun in subject position is not to be confounded with the object pronoun, which is used in reflexive constructions. In example (b), we note that regular pronouns do not associate with the verb *ko*, which is a repetition of suPRN.1<sup>st</sup>.st Boulga in the first sentence.

**Tableau 1: Tupuri personal pronouns**

Les pronoms personnels singuliers	Les pronoms personnels pluriels
Ndi	Naa (inclusif) wuri (exclusif)
Ndo	Nday
Se/a	A wo/ saara

A11)

a) Ndi jo bi  
I drink water

I drink water

b) Ndo raw genla ?  
PRN.2st.s go where

Where do you go?

c) Naa see liŋ  
PRN.1st.pl.s.ICV walk home

We go home

Data Entry : We will probably introduce this chart elsewhere, but if it fits into the commentary on A11c), include it.

**Tableau 2: Pronoms personnels compléments**

Pronoms singuliers	Pronoms pluriels
Me	Naa
Mo	Nday
Hen/ne	Haara

Source : Wabe Thérèse (2017 : 57) *la soujassance en tupuri*

A12) a) A man wăy ne hen sùu de suŋ  
We take past Woman to him yesterday with night

A woman was taken for him yesterday night

Comment: In example a), object pronouns like *hen* do not occur right after the subject pronouns like in French, but rather, occur between GN COD *wăy ne* and the GP adverbial complement *sùu de suŋ*.

b) Ndi ware ne nday  
I talk to PRN.2nd.pl.ACC

I talk to you

c) ndi srog mo  
I push you

I push you

d) Mai pas ma'a me  
Mai pa fight me

Mai pa fights me

e) Mai pas ma'a mo  
Mai pa fight you

Mai pa fights you

f) Mai pas ma'a nè  
Mai pa fight the/him

Mai pa fights him

g) Mai pas ma'a naa

Mai pas fight PRN.1st.pl.ICV

Mai pa fights us

H) Mai pas ma'a nday

Mai pa fight you

Mai pa fights you

A13)

a) A diŋ ma mbay, waŋ hãn we

It It is for you king give.PST you

It is yours, the King gave it to you

b) õõbe ma kay diŋ ma wuri

Outfit for this it is for PRN.1st.pl.EXCL

This outfit is ours

c) fii ma kay diŋ ma naa

Goat for this it is for PRN.1st.pl.ICV

This goat is ours.

Comment: The only difference between the possessive pronouns *ma wuri* (his/her) and *ma naais* that the former is exclusive while the latter is inclusive.

Data entry : We will find another spot for tableau 3 in the database.

### Tableau 3: Possessif pronouns

Singular Possessif pronouns	Plural Possessif pronouns
Ma bi	Ma naa/ wuri
Ma bo	Ma bay
Ma be	Ma bara

Source : Wabe Thérèse (2017 :59) *la soujacence en tupuri*

### 2.2.3 Null arguments

These are pronouns that lack morphological content, but may be inferred from the sentence. The idea of Null arguments belongs to the grammar.

**KS: I am not sure I understand what is intended here. Can the subject be omitted or not – especially for 3rd person ?**

Naa la siŋ

1PL to listen song

‘We listen to music’

In this case, *siŋ* is a noun although it does not function as the subject. This is because it does not vary with the person or number. The pronoun in this case is null and may be inferred from the morphology of the verb. Since ‘lage’ is the conjugated verb form in the first person plural, the subject pronoun must also be in the first person plural.

Tupuri allows for null arguments as a pronominalisation strategy (simple clauses). Object pronouns are optional.

A13) a) Rage

cry

The following verbs are in past tense and denote an action that happened earlier the same day.

b) Ndi hay rà

1SG PST cry

‘I cried’

c) Ndo hay rà

2SG PST cry

‘You cried’

d) a hay rà

3SG PST cry

‘He cried’

e) Naa hay rà jo

1PL PST cry dance

‘We danced’

f) Nday hay rà

2PL PST cry.

You cried

g) Sara hay rà

3PL PST cry

‘they cried’

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

Comment: Local Anaphora is impossible with a simple pronoun. In other words, a simple pronoun cannot be used to express a reflexive meaning.

A10)

a) Noumga kò nee

Noumga see past him

Noumga saw him

Comment: Local anaphora is impossible with regular pronouns. In other words, with a regular pronoun, one cannot get a reflexive reading.

b) Noumga hò nin be

Noumga collect.PST eyes him

Noumga surprised him

Comment: Local anaphora is possible with *be*.

c) Noumga gon nee

Noumga hire past him

Noumga hired him

Comment: Local anaphora is impossible with regular pronouns. In other words, with a regular pronoun, one cannot get a reflexive reading.

d) Noumga da nee

Noumga aimer lui

Noumga loves him

Comment: Local anaphora is impossible with regular pronouns. In other words, with a regular pronoun, one cannot get a reflexive reading.

e) Noumga ware ne hene

Noumga parler à lui

Noumga talked to him

f) Noumga jan kefter ti be

Noumga read paper head him

Noumga read a book about him

Comment: The pronoun *be* is interpreted reflexively, i.e with Noumga as its antecedent.

g) Noumga hay jeè kefter ma be

Noumga was buy paper for him

Noumga bought the book for himself. (benefactive)

Comment: The pronoun *be* is interpreted reflexively, i.e with Noumga as its antecedent.

h) Noumga da'a kefter ti en be

Noumga find paper head side him

Noumga found a book near him

*Comment: Le be* refers back to Noumga in examples g) and h).

## 2.3 Reciprocal Readings

### 2.3.1 Types of reciprocal strategies

The previous sections focused on reflexive strategies; and now we turn to reciprocal strategies.

A15)

a) naaren kò wɔ se bara ti wlan kaara

The women see.PST PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p head between them

The women saw each other

b) ma twerpiri yog wɔ kaara ti wlan kaara

For boys wash.PST PL them head between them

The boys washed each other

Comment: ***Ti wlan kaara has a reciprocal meaning and can never be reflexive.***

c) ma twerpiri fa wɔ kaara ti wlan kaara

For boys argue PL them head between them

The boys argued with each other

d) blɔren ceè wɔ ti kaara go ne kaara

The men shave.PST PL head them already to them

The men shaved each other

e) ma twerpiri ma'a wɔ kaara

For boys fight.PST. PL them  
 The boys kicked each other  
 f) a wo de hé se kaara  
 PRN.3rd.s PL with hate body them  
 They hate each other

Comment: In the Tupuri dialect reported here, there are two strategies to encode reciprocity. That is, in addition to using the reciprocal morpheme *se be*, it also uses the special marker *kaara ti wlan kaara*.

### 2.3.3 Oblique Arguments

Unlike the direct cases that express the grammatical functions of subject and complement (nominative, ergative and accusative), the oblique case either expresses a dative function or genitive one. In this section, we will explore whether Tupuri allows for other prepositional arguments not covered in the previous sections.

A12)

- a) Jar twar là wɔ ware ti se baara ti wlan kaara  
 People evil hear.PST PL speech head body POSS.PRN.3rd.p head between them  
 The men heard stories about each other
- b) Jar twar ngab wɔ se baara ne Boulga ti wlan kaara  
 People evil show.PST PL body their to Boulga head between them  
 The men introduced Boulga to each other.
- c) saara mè wɔ feere ne kaara ti wlan kaara  
 PRN.3rd.pl.s leave.PRS PL things to them head between them  
 They left things to each other
- i) a men wɔ feere kaaran pel kaara  
 PRN.3rd.pl.s leave.PST PL presents them front them  
 They left presents in front of each other

### 2.3.4. Other person and number

In this section, we will see if other strategies are possible with regards to the use of person and/or number.

A17)

- a) Naa kò se naa ti wlan naa  
 PRN.1st.pl.s see.PST POSS.PRN.1st.ICV head between PRN.1st.pl.ICV  
 We PRN.1st.pl were seen
- b) Ndai hay kai se mbay ti wlan mbay  
 PRN.2nd.pl help.PST POSS.PRN.2nd.s head between PRN.2nd.pl.ACC  
 You(pl.) must help each other.
- c) Naa yog se naa yan ti wlan naa  
 PRN.1st.pl wash.FUT POSS.PRN.1st.ICV FUT head between PRN.1st.pl.ICV  
 We will wash ourselves.
- d) a wa wɔ de bay wore ti kaara tum

PRN.3rd.pl.s talk PL with evil beautiful head them always

They always criticize each other.

e) Ma twerpiri puri dognòg wə se baara ti wlan kaara

For males many kick.PST PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p head between them

Many boys kicked each other.

Comment: In these sentences, please note the agreement between the subject pronoun *naa* and the reciprocals *ti wlan naa*, *ti wlan mbay*, *ti wlan mbaara*. Note also that in Tupuri, a reciprocal construction is impossible unless the verb is in the past. **KS: I don't understand this last sentence in light of (A14c).**

### 2.3.5 Other clause types

There are no other clause types.

### 2.4 Other types of local coreference

#### 2.4.1 Possessives, alienable, inalienable

According to Claudine Chamoreau (1996 :71), inalienable possessives refer to cases where it is impossible to (physically) separate the possessor from the possessed. This type of relation and association can be described as inherent, natural, permanent, and essential. On the other hand, the alienable possessive is one that is acquired, accidental, temporal, or optional. Those kind of possessives are attested in Tupuri.

A18a) kefter sen dij maa bi

Paper this it is for me

The book is mine

Comment : A18a and A18b are similar as frames for stating possession. [C-r A181/b)]

b) Dij maa bo

It is yours

It is mine

c) Dij kefter bi

This paper is mine

It is my book

d) A ha ma ben me

He give for his me

He gives me his

Comment: Plural possessives are obligatorily in plural due to them being alone and not within a nominal phrase.

#### 2.4.2. Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals

A19)

a) Hage bil Douryang ti se be ngid jili ne Dango

Give belly Douryang head body his reverse heart to Dango

Douryang's self-confidence annoyed Dango

- b) Ngabge se mani Douryang gel ge hadge no  
 Show body for Douryang impress.PST the one teach this one  
 Douryang's introduction of himself impressed the teacher.
- c) Keege se be de se be mani Douryang bay ti gel be wa  
 Count body his with body his for Douryang net head location his not  
 Douryang's evaluation of himself was too critical.
- d) Keege se baran hay ti gel be  
 Count body their be.PST 1 head location his  
 Their evaluations of each other were too generous.

#### 2.4.4 The list of the co-referential strategies in simple clauses

Strategy A

A20) a) Noumga da se be de se be tu  
 Noumga like body his with body his hole  
 Noumga likes himself

b) Mai pas ko se be ti fenkonin  
 Mais pa see body his head mirror  
 Mai pa see herself in the mirror

Reciprocal reading : the pronoun *kaara*

A21)

a) Weren yòg wɔ kaara ti wlan kaara  
 Children wash.PST PL them head between them  
 The children washed each other

b) Keège kaara baran hay ti gel be  
 Count their be.PST head location his  
 Their evaluations of each other were too generous.

A22)

a) Ndai hay kai se mbay ti wlan mbay  
 PRN.2nd.pl be help PST POSS.PRN.2nd.s head between PRN.2nd.pl.ACC  
 You(pl.) must help each other.

b) Naa yog se naa yan ti wlan naa  
 PRN.1st.pl.ICV wash.FUT POSS.PRN.1st.ICV FUT head between PRN.1st.pl.ICV  
 We will wash ourselves.

Comment: Note that the reciprocal reading comes from the double pronominalization. [This is based on the null object.](#)

### Part 3: General details about the strategies

#### 3.1. Marking

Y) a wa wɔ de bay wore ti kaara ti wlan kaara  
 PRN.3rd.pl.ICV talk PL with evil beautiful head them head between them  
 They criticize each other

a) Marquage par le pronom be

a) Daiwe ko se be  
 Daiwe see body his  
 Daiwe sees himself

b) Daiwe da se be



Daiwe love body his

Daiwe loves himself

c) Marking with a null argument

a) Noumga dè yoge

Noumga PROG wash

Noumga washes himself

c) Marking with an argument or co-referring adjunct

a) Noumga yog se be

Noumga wash body his

Noumga washes himself

d) marking with a special adjunct

b) a gab wɔ Daiwe ne kaara ti wlan kaara

PRN.3rd.pl.s introduce pl Daiwe to them head between them

They showed/introduced/presented Daiwe to each other.

### 3.4 Morphology

#### 3.4.1 The meaning of the reflexive element

Some languages use a reflexive that is made of a pronoun and a word denoting a body part. In Tupuri, it is the morpheme '*se be*' (*one's body*) that is used. As far as reciprocals are concerned, they are associated with other morphemes. In Tupuri, these morphemes *se bara* (*one's body*) and *kaara ti wlan kaara* (*their head between them*) and express reciprocity.

A28)

a) a go gous ma ga Manwe wa ti se be

It already easy for that Manwe speak heady body his

Manwe is likely to praise himself

b) Saara dè yoge se bara

PRN.3rd.pl.s PROG wash body POSS.PRN.3rd.p

They wash themselves

a) Weren kò wɔ kaara ti wlan kaara

Children see PL them head between them

The children saw each other

#### 3.5 The agreement paradigm

In Tupuri, reflexive morphemes agree in person with the subject pronoun.

Data entry : These will be entered in the database for the relevant analytic entity.

Se bi = corps moi (me)

Se bo = corps toi (te)

Se be = corps son (se)

Se naa = corps nous (nous)

Se bay = corps vous (vous)

Se bara = corps leurs (se)

A29)

- a) Ndi ko se bi  
I see body me  
I see myself
- b) Ndo ko se bo  
PRN.2st.s see Body you  
You see yourself
- c) A ko se be  
il voir corps son  
He is seeing himself
- d) Naa ko se naa  
PRN.1st.pl.s.ICV see POSS.PRN.1st.ICV  
We see ourselves
- e) Nday dè ko se mbay  
PRN.2nd.pl see PROG body PRN.2nd.pl.ACC  
You must see yourselves
- f) Saara de ko se bara  
PRN.3rd.pl.s see PROG body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
They are seeing themselves”.

The above sentences show that in Tupuri, the pronouns agrees with the reflexive. Gender is not marked for each morphological form of the reflexive in Tupuri.

### 3.6.1 Tense, Mood and Aspect

Co-referential strategies are affected by the tense, aspect, and mood of the clause they occur in, especially when the aspect (events' telicity) has other syntactic effects.

A30)

- a) Noumga yog se be  
Noumga wash body his  
Noumga washes himself
- b) Noumga yòg se be  
Noumga wash.PST body his  
Noumga washed himself

KS : There's no gloss for *hay* – is it a perfect marker? Also, *yog* does not seem to be inflected for tense. Is this correct? Otherwise, please delete the gloss PST.

DN: *hay* associates to a verb to convey a perfective meaning.

- c) Noumga dè yog se be de se be tu  
Noumga PROG wash BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s with body his hole  
Noumga is washing himself by himself
- d) Noumga dè kay se be  
Noumga PROG help body his  
Noumga is helping himself.

### 3.7.1 Idiosyncractic and inherent uses

In Tupuri, the verbs in question involve *ceege se*, *yoge se*. *Yeege oobe se* – See examples C3a-c.

KS : Note that the citation forms of these verbs typically end in *-ge*

Dage = aimer

dikge = souvenir

A31)

a) Daiwe da se be

Daiwe love body his

Daiwe loves himself

**KS: How is *dage* with *se be* idiomatic? Does it describe something other than self-love?**

b) Daiwe dik ti se be

Daiwe remember head body his

Daiwe remembers.

Comment: idiosyncractic or inherent use.

### 3.7.2 Emphatic or intensifier

According to Dubois (2001: p176) emphasis is a specific accent realized on a given sentence constituent. He added that emphasis (or the emphatic transformation) submits to structural analysis after the application of rewrite rules to a sentence containing the emphatic element. The emphatic transformation involves a displacement of the emphatic accent, realized on the immediately preceding constituent in order to form an emphatic phrase. Here, we focus on reflexive strategies in which phrases (reflexives) require a local antecedent.

B1)

a) Jan jo bii de se be tu

John drink water with body his hole

John drinks water himself

Comment: Emphatic interpretation or intensifier.

b) \*Jan de se be tu jo bii

John with body his hole drink water

John himself drinks water

Comment: Deviance arises from placement of reflexive before the verb.

c) Jan hay re ceé de se be tu

John be eat.PST fish with body his hole

John ate fish himself

Comment: Emphatic interpretation or intensifier.

d) \*Jan de se be tu re ceé

John with body his hole eat fish

John himself ate fish

Comment: Deviance arises from placement of reflexive before the verb. [French for the AQR, English for data entry]

### 3.7.5 Deictic Use

In Tupuri, reflexives can refer to an antecedent in a different clause ; though the antecedent has to have been introduced in the discourse.

A33)

a) Noumga ko Mai pa ?

Noumga see Mai pa

Did Noumga see Mai pa?

b) Noumga ko ne

Noumga see the/him

Noumga saw him

Comment: In this example, *ne* has *Mai pa* as antecedent, not Noumga. This reflexive is used in reference to a conversation participant who is otherwise not mentioned in the sentence. KS: I would not call this a reflexive use because there is no clause internal antecedent for *ne*.

B5

a) Noumga dar se be

Noumga insult body his

Noumga insulted himself

b) jar puri bay wɔ da ceé wa ama ma papu wɔ da wɔ ne deban

People many net PL like anchovies NEG but for some PL like pl soup a lot

Many people don't like anchovies but some like them

### 3.7.6 La focalisation

According to Caron (2000 :7), “Focalisation is an imbrication of two clauses within the same sentence: a predicative relation and the identification of a term of that predicative relation. It is the identification of that same focalized element that is asserted, since the predicative relation is a given (pre-constructed)”. According to Sylla (1993:105), focus is the part of the utterance that introduces a new information.

A34) A : Jar jegen kò wɔ wɔse ? B : a hay kò wɔ ne

A : People farmer see PST PL who B : PRN.3rd.pl.s be see PST PL him

A : Who did farmers see? B : They saw him

\*din sara ga ko ne

It's 3PL that see sauce  
'It was him that they saw'

KS : sauce ?

### 3.8 Interprétation par proxy

The use of a given co-reference strategy sometimes sensitive to the availability of the interpretation by proxy. Such interpretation is one where one of the co-referential arguments is a representation of the referent (a statue of the referent, for instant) rather than the referent himself.

Let's suppose some president's photo or portrait is on sale at an art gallery, that president could go see his own portrait.

B10)

a) Ayang dè ko se be  
Ayang PROG see body his

Ayang sees himself

Comment: KS: This appears to be a proxy reading, portrait=Ayang.

b) Yanmad la se be w'a sing ti radio

Yanmad listen body his sing song head radio

Yanmad hears herself singing on the radio.

Comment: KS: This is not a clear case of a proxy reading that that is what is tested here.

### 3.9 Ellipsis

Etymologically, ellipsis consists of removing a part of the discourse, which is still present in the meaning calculation of that sentence. It's a form of omission. This happens when a violent passion prevents us from saying everything we feel. The tongue becomes too slow to follow the quickness of the soul's movements. As such, we settle for half-uttered words, which better express the violence of our passion than a regular discourse. (Dictionnaire de Trévoux 1734.)

The etymology of that term allows us to characterize linguistic phenomena such as fragmented utterances (zut! Yes. What a catastrophe! First to the right), prepositions, reduced or truncated forms (metonymy), as ellipsis.

Ellipsis according to T. Shopen

With the generative grammar as the theoretical background, Shopen (1972) offers a general definition of ellipsis, based on a notion of completeness that he tried to formalize. An utterance is said to be elliptic if its internal form has both a structural and semantic completeness:

An utterance is structurally complete if it satisfies an acceptable sentential schema for the language in question. Consider the following Tupuri sentence:

(61) Djaryang jo wè han yii

Djaryang drink small calabash wine

“Djaryang drinks a cupful of wine”

(62) Wè han yii

small calabash wine

‘a cupfull of wine’

An utterance is semantically complete if all of the arguments that associate to each of its operators are lexically realized. So, if we assume that the verb *veege* is an operator with two argument slots (that is *agent* and *theme*)

(63) Yee {mota} din {pan bi}

{theme} {agent}

buy car it’s my father

“The car was bought by my father”

(64) {Mota} go de yeege (manque : agent)

“The car was bought”

Furthermore, Shopen distinguishes the linguistic notions of completeness and incompleteness. Completeness is an intrinsic property of sentences, whereas incompleteness is an external property of the sentence pertaining to their sequencing within the discourse. The sentences below illustrate that distinction:

(65) Daiwe jò bii (independent completeness)

Daiwe drink.PST water

Daiwe drank water

(66) Daiwe jò (independent incompleteness)

Daiwe drink.PST

Daiwe drank

Daiwe èkgo (dependent incompleteness)

Daiwe refuse.PST

Daiwe refused

(67) Daiwe jò ne (complétude dépendent)

Daiwe drink.PST sauce

Daiwe drank it

According to the typology cut out in the sentences above, b) differs from a) because its transitive operator *joge* only has one argument whereas a) has two, so it's incomplete. c) is also incomplete for the same reason, but differs from b) on its dependance to the enunciation context: the absent argument of c) is anaphorically restituted (from the discourse context) or deitically, which makes it look like a definite pronoun.

(68) Noumga bo Daiwe peelee ama se' ekgo

Noumga throw Daiwe send but he refuse

Noumga sent daiwe to run some errands but he refused to go.

Consider the examples below, which have different types of ellipsis.

(69) Welba wa ti se be dedan Bayang

Welba speak head body his more Bayang

Welba praises himself more than Bayang

Comment: In this example, the missing structure is parallel or identical to the expressed structure and is interpreted as if it were present. **KS: Does it mean that Bayang speaks of Bayang or that Bayang speaks of Welba ?**

(70) Welba wa ti se be dedan ma ga Bayang wa ne

Welba speak head body his more for that Bayang speak him

Welba praises himself more than Bayang does

Consider the following interpretations of the examples above. The parts in italics represent the missing parts from the sentences above (i.e the elided parts from the sentences above). **KS : The italics are missing here.** [data entry] **When it is clear what interpretations are possible for (70), c-r with (71) and (72).**

(71) Welba wa ti se be dedan ma ga se' wa ti Bayang

Welba speak head body his more for that he speak head Bayang

Welba1 praises himself more than he praises John

(72) Welba wa ti se be dedan ma ga Bayang wa ti be

Welba speak head body his more for that Bayang speak head his  
Welba praises himself more than Bayang praises him.

#### Section 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

A37) a) Noumga ma'a Bahane  
Noumga hit.PST Bahane

Noumga hit Bahane

Base du paradigme : noumga ma'a X

b) Noumga ma'a se be

Noumga hit body his

Noumga hit himself (reflexive sense)

c) Welba land diŋ Bayang ma'a wɔ kaara

Welba and it is Bayang hit pl them

Welba and Bayang hit one another (reciprocal sense)

d) Piyer ma'a ne

Piyer hit.PST.3 him

Piyer hit him (pronominal strategy – *is not Piyer ne?*)

e) Welba ma'a (implicite)

Welba hit

Welba hit [someone?]

Comment: Example A37e) is unattested because the reciprocal or reflexive interpretation is what's expected here. The implicit strategy is limited only to a few verbs mentioned in section 4.1.3.

f) weren ma'a wɔ

Children hit PL

The children hit

#### 4.1 Clausemate coconstrual

The following examples aim to establish a preliminary list of the predicate types that allow the use of a given strategy.

##### 4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

###### 4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives

Transitive verbs are those that require a nominal phrase within their verb phrase. Here we explore the strategies used with transitive verbs like 'to see'.



C1)

- a) Daiwe kò se be  
Daiwe see.PST body his  
Daiwe saw himself
- b) Naaren dar wɔ kaara  
Women insult.PST pl them  
The women insulted each other
- c) Nday kò se mbay  
PRN.2nd.pl see.PST body PRN.2nd.pl.ACC  
You saw each other
- d) Saara gon wɔ se bara  
PRN.3rd.pl.s praise PST PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
They praised X.

#### 4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates

The predicate expresses what is said about the theme. In linguistics, the predicate is sometimes the attribute of a proposition or judgement. In other words, the predicate is related to the subject via the copula. The predicate is what attributes something to the subject. That strategy is generally used with grooming verbs, which are inalienable possessions. Consider the following sentences:

C3)

- a) Noumga yòg se be  
Noumga wash.PST body his  
Welba washed himself by himself
- b) Dinba chè ti be de se be tu  
Dinba shave.PST head body her with body her hole  
Dinba shaved himself by himself
- c) Dinba ceè ti be  
Dinba shave.PST head her  
Dinba cut X's hair

#### 4.1.1.3 Psychological predicates

The psychological predicate can be thought of as a member of a clause through which one expresses something about some object. The object in question is the theme. (Morier, 1975)

C4)

- a) Senga dè suère do se be  
Senga PRG shame hand body his  
Senga is ashamed of himself
- b) Senga lao se be  
Senga be worried body his  
Senga is worried
- c) Senga land diŋ Boulga lao wɔ se bara  
Senga and it is Boulga be worried pl body POSS.PRN.3rd.p

Senga and Boulgar were worried.

- d) Senga land diŋ Boulga lao wɔ kaara ti wlan kaara  
Senga and it is Boulga be worried pl them head between them  
Senga and Boulgar were worried each other.

Comment: Note that in examples (c) and (d), the reciprocal affix functions independently of and in combination with the augmentative reciprocal strategy.

Data Entry : C-r (C4b-d).

#### 4.1.1.4 Creation and destruction predicates

In this section, we explore how Tupuri uses creation and destruction verbs.

C5)

- a) Naaren blag wɔ se bara yaŋ  
Women destroy.FUT PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p FUT  
The women will destroy X

KS : What is the form of this verb in the present and in the past?:

DN: In the present tense, the verb form is *blage*, and *blàg* in the past.

- b) Maciŋ blag wɔ se bara yaŋ  
Machine destroy.FUT PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p FUT  
The machines will build X (X = themselves)

#### 4.1.1.5 Verbs of representation

The reflexive form of some verbs can be employed to describe a situation in which an individual acts on behalf of himself, rather than having someone else do something for him/her (e.g: a lawyer representing a client)

C6)

- a) Weren wòo wɔ ti tu se bara  
Children go PST PL head hole body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
The children represented X.

- b) Dango wà ti tu se be  
Dango speak.PST head hole body his  
Dango spoke for X.

Comment: Tupuri uses the morpheme *tu* to mark the representation.

#### 4.1.2 Argument position pairings

##### 4.1.2.1 Subjet - Indirect object

The preceding section are about subject-object coreference. However, we show below that the strategy under study can also express coreference between a subject and an indirect object.

C7)

- a) Mai pa hà bic ne se be  
Mai pa give PST pen to body his

- Mai pa gave X the gift (X = Mai pa)
- b) Mai pa yè èòobe ma be  
 Mai pa buy PST dress for her  
 Mai pa bought a dress for herself
- c) Mai pa land dij Boulga hà wò tarak ne kaara  
 Mai pa and it is Boulga give.PST pl shoe to them  
 Mai pa and Boulga gave shoes to X.

#### 4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

Borrowed from logic, the word argument refers to an entity to which a function is attributed. The word oblique refers to cases expressing the grammatical function of subject, complement, as well as attributive functions.

- C9a) Noumga ware ne se be  
 Noumga talk to body his  
 Noumga talks to herself
- b) Noumga ware ne se be de se be tu  
 Noumga talk to BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s with body his hole  
 Noumga talks himself to himself
- c) Noumga hà kefter ne se be  
 Noumga give PST paper to body his  
 Noumga gave himself a book.

#### 4.1.2.3 Subject - adjunct

Dubois & al (2001:18) define adjuncts as “any sentence constituent that is not structurally indispensable and that can be removed without the rest of the sentence (made up of a subject and predicate) becoming ungrammatical”. Below are examples of coreference between a subject and an adjunct.

- C10a) Tissebe kò chouè blam be  
 Tissebe see PST snake behind his  
 Tissebe saw a snake behind X (X = Tissebe)
- b) Tissebe wi me ti kefter ti se be  
 Tissebe ask.PST me head paper head body his  
 Tissebe called me because of a book about him (X = Tissebe)

- C11)
- a) Daiwe ngab se be ne Dango  
 Daiwe show PST body his to Dango  
 Daiwe showed X to Dango
- b) Daiwe ngàb weren ndag wò ne kaara  
 Daiwe show PST children these pl to them  
 Daiwe a showed the children to one another (X = children).

Comment: *ngab* is a ditransitive verb in this example due to there being three arguments.

#### 4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts

In this section, we evaluate coreference between two argument noun phrases or adjuncts of the same clause, such that none of the two is neither the subject nor the direct object. Let's first consider coreference between two arguments with adjunct NPs in the same clause, none of which is the subject.

C12a) Noumga wà            ne Daiwe ti    se        be  
      Noumga tell PST to    Daiwe head body his  
      Noumga told Daiwe about himself (X = Noumga)

b) Noumga wa        ti    se        be ne Daiwe  
      Noumga talk head body his to Daiwe  
      Noumga tells Daiwe about himself

Comment: Note that when the reflexive *se be* precedes the proper name *Daiwe*, *se be* refers to *Noumga*. However, when *se be* follows the proper name *Daiwe*, it refers to the latter. **KS: I would like to see the postposed example so we can see where *ti* is.**

#### 4.1.2.6 Clausemate non-coarguments

C13a) Noumga de'e        man be ma deera  
      Noumga call mother his for own  
      Noumga telephoned X's mother.

b) Noumga chrig        ti    be  
      Noumga comb head his  
      Noumga combed his hair

c) Noumga ware        ne waŋ be deera  
      Noumga speak to boss his own  
      Noumga spoke to X's boss

d) Weren ko    wɔ foto se    bara  
      Children see pl picture body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
      The boys saw pictures of themselves/each other/them

e) Noumga wì            weren wɔ ti    foto bara  
      Noumga require children pl head picture their  
      Noumga required the boys about pictures of themselves/each other/them

Comment: *Se bara*'s antecedent is *weren* in this example.

### 4.1.3 Properties of antecedent

#### 4.1.3.1 Pronouns, person and number

##### Pronoms: personne et nombre

Here we explore the possible person and number combinations for the subject of the following sentence. We note that the only strategy that works with these examples is the subject pronoun strategy.

C16a) Ndi ko    se        bi

I see body me

I saw X

b) Ndo ko se bo

PRN.2st.s see body PRN.2nd.sg.ACC

You see yourself

c) Naa yog se naa

PRN.1st.pl.ICV wash POSS.PRN.1st

We washed ourselves

#### 4.1.3.4 Quantifieurs

According to Dubois & al (2001:393), quantifiers are determiners that indicate the quantity of the noun they modify. Here, we explore how Tupuri uses quantifiers to refer back to the subject or the anaphorique strategies that allow a reflexive reading, i.e. ones that allow a coreferential reading between the subject and the object.

C19a) Naaren bwy ko wɔ se bara

Woman all see PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p

All the women saw each other

b) Weren bwy yog wɔ se bara

Children all wash PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p

All the children saw each other

c) were bogon wɔ dè hee se kaara

Children students PL PRG hate body them

Every student hates X.

d) weren bwy ko wɔ chouè ti en bara

Children all see pl snake head side their

Every child saw a snake near X.

e) weren bwy dee wɔ man bara

Children all call pl mother their

Every child telephoned their mother

f) pan weren wɔ bwy da se be

Father children PL all like BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s

Every child's father admires himself

Comment: In Tupuri, quantifiers occur after the noun and agree in number with the reflexive pronoun.

#### 4.1.3.5 Question antecedents

Data Entry : « Mint » means interrogative marker. Please use the appropriate gloss from our conventions.

C20)

a) wose ko se be la'

Who see body his Mint

Who saw himself?

Comment: *la'* is a question marker.

b) wose yog se be la'

Who wash CORPS POSS.PRN.3rd.s Mint

Who wash X?

c) wose ko chouè ti en be la'

Who see snake head side his Mint

Who saw a snake near X?

d) wose dee man be deera la'

Who call mother his Mint

Who telephoned X's mother?

e) pan wose da se be la'

Father who love body his Mint

Whose father admires X?

#### 4.1.3.6 Reverse binding

C21)\* a) ti se be ko Manwe

Head body his see Manwe

X saw Manwe

b) \* naa naa ko se

PRN.1st.pl.s.ICV PRN.1st.pl.ICV see body

X saw us. (X=us)

c)\*ti se be ko chouè blam Manwe

Head body his see Snake behind Manwe

X saw a snake behind Manwe

d)\* ti se be caa jili Manwe

Head REFL his cut heart Manwe

X frightened Manwe

e) \*Manwe ware ne se be ti Dango

Manwe speak to body his head Dango

Manwe spoke to X about Dango

f) \*Manwe wa ne se be ti Dango

Manwe speak to body his head Dango

Manwe told to X about Dango

g)\* ti se be caa jili Manwe

Head body his cut heart Manwe

X frightened Manwe

h)\* ndo ti se bo de dage de bi

you head body you with love with me

X was liked by me.

C22)

a) \*Ti se be dee man Djaowe

Head body his call mother Djaowe

X phoned Djaowe's mother

b) ;c) ;d)

e) foto man be deera le'é ne Djaowe ti  
Pictures mother his own fall to Djaowe head  
A picture of X's mother fell on Djaowe

f) foto man be deera wò nin Djaowe  
Picture mother his own please eyes Djaowe  
A picture of X's mother pleased Djaowe

#### 4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

##### 4.1.4.1 Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

C23) naaren kay wɔ se bara  
Women help pl body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
The women help X.

Comment: Example C23 can have the same meaning as C24a, C24b and C24e. [Data entry :  
Look up these readings in the AQ and enter them as part of the commentary.

C25)

a) naaren wa wɔ de bay wore ti se bara  
Women speak pl with evil beautiful head BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
The women criticized X.

Comment: KS: Is there a reflexive interpretation of this sentence ? **DN : Of course there's one, because *se bara* references *naaren*.**

b) naaren kay wɔ se bara  
Women help PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
Each woman helps all of the women, including herself.

Comment: KS: Is there a reciprocal interpretation of this sentence ? **DN: it's rather a reflexive interpretation. For a reciprocal interpretation to arise, there must be *ti wlan kaara* in the sentence. *Data entry : C-r (C25b, b')***

*b') Naaren kay w<sup>P</sup> se bara ti wlan kaara*  
*Femmes aider corps leus tête entre eux*  
*Les femmes se sont aidé les unes les autres*

c) naaren man wɔ foto kaara  
Women take PL picture them  
femmes prendre PL photo eux

d) naaren gon wɔ se bara  
Women praise PL body POSS.PRN.3rd.p  
The women praised X.

##### 4.1.4.2 Reciprocal readings

C26)

a) Naaren yin wɔ

Women meet PL

The women meet X

Comment: This is an inherently reciprocal verb.

b) Naaren ko wɔ kaara

Women see PL them

The women saw X

c) Naaren ma' wɔ kaara

Women fight PL them

The women fought X

Comment: This is perhaps a partially inherent reciprocal verb, but compare (c26a,b). [C-r  
C26a,a', b,b',c, c']

C26 a')

Naaren da' wɔ kaara

Women find PL them

The women found X

b') naaren ko wɔ kaara

Women see PL them

The women saw X

c') Naaren ma'a wɔ kaara ti wlan kaara

Women fight PL them head between them

The women fought X-

C27

C28

a) Boulga lan din Manwe wa wɔ de bay wore ti kaara

Boulga and it is Manwe speak PL with evil beautiful head them

Boulga and Manwe criticized X

b) Naaren wa wɔ de bay wore ti kaara

Women speak PL with evil beautiful head them

The women criticized X.

C29

a) Boulga lan dij Manwe wa wɔ ware ne kaara

Boulga and it is Manwe speak PL speech to them

Boulga and Manwe spoke to X

b) Boulga lan dij Manwe jin wɔ

Boulga and it is Manwe meet PL

Boulga and Manwe met X

c) Boulga lan dij Manwe ha wɔ kefter sen ne kaara

Boulga and it is Manwe give PL paper this to them

Boulga and Manwegave this book to X.

C30

Djaowe lan dij Mai pa dik wɔ ga saara da kaara

Djaowe and it is Mai pa think PL that PRN.3rd.pl.s like them

Djaowe and Mai pa think that they like X

**Check elicitation sentences for English**



### 4.1.4.3 Sociative readings

C31

- a) timinin raw wɔ de kaara  
Cats go pl with them  
The cats left together
- b) timinin re wɔ cee de kaara  
Cats eat PL fish with them  
The cats ate fish together

### 4.1.4.4 Antipassive readings

- a) Way lon jar  
Dog bite people  
The dog bites people
- b) Wanrej bag wɔ jar  
leaders arrest PL people  
The leaders arrest people
- c) Djaowe ware de bay wore ti jar  
Djaowe speak with evil beautiful head people  
Djaowe criticizes people

## 4.2 Cross-clausal binding

X4 Manwe dè gorge ga se' mo bat ballon  
Manwe PROG, wait that he must win ball  
Manwe expects himself to win.

X5 Daiwe wi naa ga ndo liw wage de wore ti be  
Daiwe ask PRN.1st.pl.ICV that you try speak with beautiful head him  
Daiwe asked us to try to get you to talk nicely about him

Comment: KS: In this sentence, does *ndo* reference the person *Dawi* want us to get you to talk nicely about or is the use of the pronoun incorrect here?

X6 Daiwe land diŋ Mai pa dao wɔ kaara  
Daiwe and it is Mai pa stop PL them  
Daiwe said that Mai pa loves the girl that kissed him / Daiwe and Mai pa kissed X.

Comment : Note that in example X6, *kaara* is inherently reciprocal, meaning it refers to *Daiwe* and *Mai pa*.

X7 Boulga wa ga Tainé wa ti be de bay wore  
Boulga speak that Tainé speak head him with evil beautiful  
Boulga says that Tainé often criticize ZIII

### 4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

X8 Manwe wa ga Mai pa da se be

Manwe speak that Mai pa love body his  
Manwe has said that Mai pa SE loves

"Manwe said that Mai pa loves him."

X8i') Daiwe land din Mai da ga Noumga ga *kaara ti wlan kaara/si bara te wlan kaara/se kaara/se bara*

Daiwe and it is Mai love.PRS.3 that Noumga love xx

Diawe and Mai expect that Noumga Noumga love XX

Comment: KS: with the following meaning : "Each one of Daiwe and Mai expects Noumga to love the other".

X8i'') Daiwe land din Mai da ga a ga *kaara ti wlan kaara/si bara te wlan kaara/se kaara/se bara*

Daiwe and Mai expect that they love XX

Comment: KS: Does this mean "Daiwe expects that Mai loves him and Mai expects that Daiwe loves her" ?

**DN: Here's the interpretation of the sentence in Tupuri :**

*Daiwe land dij Mai pa da w<sup>p</sup> ga sara de da kaara ti wlan kaara*

*Daiwe and it is Mai pa love pl that they PRGr love they head between them*

*Daiwe and Mai expect that they loved XX*

KS: Apparently the « wide scope » interpretation is not possible.

X9 \*Manwe se wa ga Mai pa da  
Manwe body speak que Mai pa love  
Manwe SE has said that Mai pa loves

"Manwe said that Mai pa loves him."

X10 Manwe wa ga Mai pa da se  
Manwe speak that Mai pa love body  
Manwe has said that Mai pa him-loves

"Manwe has said that Mai loves him."

X11\* Manwe wa ne ga Mai pa da  
Manwe speak.PST.3 to that Mai pa love  
Manwe him-has said that Mai pa loves

"Manwe has said that Mai pa loves him."

Comment: Null object cannot be Manwe

#### 4.2.1.1 Prepositional complement with finite verb, long distance relations, anaphora in-situ

D1 a) Manwe wa ga se' de se be tu de ti  
Manwe speak that he with body his hole with head  
Manwe said that X is smart.

*Comment: Se'* is a personal pronoun in subject position, with Manwe as its antecedent. In this sentence, the verb of the subordinate clause is a silent copula.

b) Manwe dè koge ga Boulga da se be

Manwe PRG see that Boulga love body his

Manwe knows that Boulga likes X

**Comment: Here, se be refers to Boulga, not to Manwe. For the referent to be Manwe, the sentence will have to be like D1b.**

*Data entry: Make sure (D1b) and (D1b') are cross-referenced.*

D1b') Manwe dè koge ga Boulga da se'

Manwe PRG see that Boulga love him

Manwe knows that Boulga likes X / Manwe knows that Boulga likes him

c) Manwe dè koge ga Boulga wa ga se' de se be tu de ti

Manwe PRG see that Boulga speak that he with body his hole with head

Manwe knows that Boulga said that X is smart.

*Comment: KS: Does se' of se be tu refer to Manwe or Boulga? Or can it refer to either one.*

*KS: Will the sentence be acceptable if se' were absent but de se be tu were there?*

**DN: The se of se be tu refers to Manwe, not to Boulga**

**KS: It seems that se does not occur before se be tu when se be tu is anaphoric to an antecedent within the same clause. Is that a correct generalization?**

**DN: The se appears when the clause is a subordinate one, and it refers back to the subject of the verb**

d) Manwe dik ga Bahane dè koge ga Gorne da se be

Manwe think that Bahane PRG see that Gorne love body his

Manwe thinks that Bahane knows that Gorne likes X

*Comment: KS: Can se be refer to Manwe, Bahane or Gorne? Or is there one it cannot refer to?*

*Data entry: Make sure (D1d) and (D1d') are cross-referenced.*

d') Manwe dik ga Bahane dè koge ga Gorne da se'

Manwe think that Bahane PRG see that Gorne love him

Manwe thinks that Bahane knows that Gorne likes X / Manwe thinks that Bahane knows that Gorne likes him

f) Manwe dik ga Bahane dè koge ga se' de se be tu da Dango

Manwe think that Bahane PRG see that he with body his hole love Dango

Manwe thinks that Bahane knows that X likes Gorne

*Comment: KS: Can se be de se be tu refer to Manwe or Bahane?*

g) Tainé wa ne Manwe ga Bahane da se be de se be tu

Tainé speak to Manwe that Bahane love body his with body his hole

Tainé told Manwe that Bahane loves X

*Comment: KS: Again, who can be the reference/antecedent of se be de se be tu?*

*Data entry: Make sure (D1g) and (D1g') are cross-referenced.*

g') Tainé wa ne Manwe ga Bahane da ne  
Tainé speak to Manwe that Bahane love him

Tainé told Manwe that X loves Bahane / Tainé told Manwe that Bahane loves him  
Comment: Reference to Manwe is possible, but not to Bahane.

g) Tainé wa ne Manwe ga se' de se be tu da Dango  
Tainé speak to Manwe that he with body his hole love Dango  
Tainé told Manwe that X loves Dango

D2 a) Manwe ya ga Mai pa da se'  
Manwe admit that Mai pa love him  
Manwe admitted that Mai pa loved X

Comment: KS: Are Manwe et Mai both potential antecedents ?

b) Manwe ya ga Mai pa da se be  
Manwe admit that Mai pa love body his  
Manwe suspected that Mai pa loved X. / Manwe admitted that Mai pa loved him

D3

- a) Manwe ho ouin ti Tainé wer ma ga Senga ho wer be  
Manwe collect nose head Tainé behind for that Senga collect behind him  
Manwe complained about Tainé when Senga blamed X
- b) Manwe raw liŋ wer ma ga se' ko se be go degairi  
Manwe return Home behind for that he see body his already tired  
Manwe returned home when/before/after X became tired
- c) Wer ma ga Mai pa yer ne hen, Manwe raw liŋ  
Behind for that Mai pa write to him, Manwe return home  
When/before/after Mai pa wrote to X, Manwe returned home
- d) Manwe raw bay wɔ de ko kaara de Mai pa wa  
Manwe leave net PL see.PRS, them with Mai pa not  
Manwe left without Mai pa seeing X. / Manwe left without seeing Mai pa
- e) Mai pa ho wer Manwe bay dé yinge de be wa  
Mai pa collect behind Manwe net without meet with him not  
Mai pa condemned Manwe without meeting X

#### 4.2.1.2 Climbing from tenses complements

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

X12 a) ndi da rawge  
I like go

I hope [to leave]

b) ndi da ga Boulga mo raw  
I like taht Boulga must go

I hope [for Boulga to leave]

I expect [Boulga to be unpleasant]

I persuaded Boulga [to leave]

c) ndi ko jobo rawge

I see someone go

I saw [someone leaving]

a) Ndi wi ne Boulga ga a mo raw

I require to Boulga that he must go

I require [that Boulga go]

b) Ndi jon ga Boulga mo raw

I make that Boulga must go

I made [Boulga leave]

c) Ndi ko jobo rawge

I see someone go

I saw [someone leaving]

d) Ndi dage ga a mo ware de say`

I like that he must speak with softness

I require [that he speak softly]

e) \*Ndi man Manwe de bay wore

I take Manwe with evil beautiful

I consider [Manwe unpleasant]

D4

a) Djaowe wi ne Noumga ga a mo kan dikgi ti se`

Djaowe ask to Noumga that he must put thought head him

Djaowe asked Noumga to trust X

b) Djaowe wi ne Noumga ga a mo ha kefter ne se`

Djaowe ask to Noumga that he must give paper to him

Djaowe asked Noumga to give a book to X

c) Djaowe wi ne Noumga ga a mo ware ne se`

Djaowe ask to Noumga that he must speak to him

Djaowe asked Noumga to talk to X.

d) Djaowe wi ne Noumga ga a mo wa ti se`

Djaowe ask to Noumga that he must speak head him

Djaowe asked Noumga to talk about X.

e) Djaowe ko Noumga kan dikgi ti be

Djaowe see Noumga put thought head his

Djaowe expected Noumga to trust X.

f) Djaowe ha fage ne Noumga ga a mo pot se`

Djaowe give road to Noumga that he must pay him

Djaowe ordered Noumga to pay X.

g) Djaowe ha fage ne Noumga ga a mo wa ga se` de ti

Djaowe give road to Noumga that he must speak that he with head

Djaowe ordered Noumga to say that X was smart.

h) Djaowe ha fage ne Noumga ga a mo wa ga Mai pa da se'  
Djaowe give road to Noumga that he must speak that Mai pa love him  
Djaowe ordered Noumga to say that Mai pa loved X.

D5

a) Djaowe ko se be batge

Djaowe see body his win

Djaowe expects X to win.

b) Djaowe ko Noumga ma'a se be

Djaowe see Noumga hit body his

Djaowe expects Noumga to defeat X.

D6

a) Djaowe da batge

Djaowe like fight

Djaowe hopes for X to win.

b) Djaowe da ga Noumga ma'a se be de se be tu

Djaowe like that Noumga fight BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s with BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s hole

Djaowe hopes for Noumga to defeat X

D7

a) Djaowe ko Noumga ma'a hen be

Djaowe see Noumga fight brother his

Djaowe expects Noumga to defeat X's brother.

b) Djaowe da ga Noumga mo ma'a hen be

Djaowe like that Noumga must fight brother his

Djaowe hopes for Noumga to defeat X's brother.

c) Djaowe ko hen be ma'ge be

Djaowe see brother his fight his

Djaowe expects X's brother to defeat him.

d) Djaowe da ga Noumga mo ma'a hen be

Djaowe like that Noumga must fight brother his

Djaowe hopes for Noumga to defeat X's brother.

D5

a) \*Djaowe se be ko batge

Djaowe body his see win

Djaowe X-expects to win.

b) \*Djaowe se be ko Noumga batge

Djaowe body his see Noumga win

Djaowe X-expects Noumga to defeat.

D6

a) Djaowe da batge

Djaowe like win

Djaowe X-hopes for to win.

b) Djaowe da ga Boulga mo bat se'

Djaowe like that Boulga must win him

Djaowe X-hopes for Boulga to defeat.

D8

- a) Yinyang ko se be de ti  
Yinyang see body his with head  
Yinyang considers X intelligent.
- b) \*Yinyang man Dané da se'  
Yinyang take Dané love him  
Yinyang considers Dané fond of X
- c) \*Yinyang man Dané de soo bil ne se ti  
Yinyang take Dané with angry belly to body head  
Yinyang considers Dané angry at X.

#### 4.2.3 Backward anaphora

These types of sentences are not possible in Tupuri.

#### 4.3 Principle C-type effects

E1

- a) A wa de bay wore ti Senga  
He speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
He criticized Senga
- b) a wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti Senga  
He speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
He said Dango criticized Senga
- c) a wa de bay wore ti wel no  
He speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
He criticized the boy.
- d) a wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti Dango  
He speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head Dango  
He said Dango criticized the boy

E2

- a) Man be wa de bay wore ti Senga  
Mother his speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
His mother criticized Senga
- b) Man be wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti Senga  
Mother his speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
His mother said Dango criticized Senga
- c) Man be wa de bay wore ti wel no  
Mother his speak with evil beautiful head boy  
His mother criticized the boy
- d) Man be wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti wel no  
Mother his speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
His mother said Dango criticized the boy

E3

- a) blo ma ga a hay dage be de'elle wa de bay wore ti Senga  
Man for that he be like PST his good speak with evil beautiful head Senga

The man who he liked criticized Senga

- b) blɔ ma ga a hay dage be de'elle wa de bay wore ti wel no  
Man for that he like his good speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
The man who he liked criticized the boy
- c) blɔ ma ga a hay dage be de'elle wa de bay wore ti wel no  
Man for that he like his good speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
The man who liked him criticized the boy.

E4

- a) Senga wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu  
Senga speak with evil beautiful head body his with body his hole  
Senga criticized Senga
- b) Senga wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti se'  
Senga speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head him  
Senga said Dango criticized Senga
- c) Wel wa de bay wore ti se be de se be tu  
Boy speak with evil beautiful head BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s with body his hole  
The boy criticized the boy.
- d) Wel wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti se'  
Boy speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head him  
The boy said Dango criticized the boy

E5

- a) Man Senga wa de bay wore ti be  
Mother Senga his speak with evil beautiful head his  
Senga's mother criticized Senga
- b) Man Senga wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti be  
Mother Senga speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head his  
Senga's mother said Dango criticized Senga
- c) Man wel wa de bay wore ti be  
Mother boy speak with evil beautiful head his  
The boy's mother criticized the boy.
- d) Man wel wa ga Dango wa de bay wore ti be  
Mother boy speak that Dango speak with evil beautiful head his  
The boy's mother said Dango criticized the boy.

E6

- a) blɔ ma ga Senga hay dage be de'elle wa de bay wore ti be  
Man for that Senga be like PST his good speak with evil beautiful head his  
The man who Senga liked criticized Senga
- b) blɔ ma ga wel hay dage be de'elle wa de bay wore ti be  
Man for that boy like his good speak with net beautiful head his  
The man who the boy liked criticized the boy.



- c) blo ma ga hay da wel de'elle wa de bay wore ti be  
 Man for that be like boy good speak with evil beautiful head his  
 The man who liked the boy criticized the boy.

E7

- a) wel wa de bay wore ti Senga  
 Boy speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
 The boy criticized Senga
- b) Wel hay wa ga Mai pa wa de bay wore ti Senga  
 Boy be speak PST that Mai pa speak with net beautiful head Senga  
 The boy said Mai pa criticized Senga
- c) Senga wa de bay wore ti wel no  
 Senga speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
 Senga criticized the boy.
- d) Senga hay wa ga Mai pa wa de bay wore ti wel no  
 Senga speak that Mai pa speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
 Senga said Mai pa criticized the boy.

E8

- a) Man wel wa de bay wore ti Senga  
 Mother boy speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
 The boy's mother criticized Senga
- b) Man wel wa ga Mai pa wa de bay wore ti Senga  
 Mother boy speak that Mai pa speak with evil beautiful head Senga  
 The boy's mother said Mai pa criticized Senga
- c) Man Senga wa de bay wore ti wel no  
 Mother Senga speak with evil beautiful Head boy this one  
 Senga's mother criticized the boy.
- d) Man Senga wa ga Mai pa wa de bay wore ti wel no  
 Mother Senga speak that Mai pa speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
 Senga's mother said Mai pa criticized the boy.

E9

- a) blo ma ga wel hay dage be de wore wa de bay wore ti wel no  
 Man for that boy be like his with beautiful speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
 The man who the boy liked criticized Malick / The man who the boy liked criticized the boy
- b) blo ma ga Senga hay dage be de wore wa de bay wore ti  
 wel no  
 Man for that Senga be like PST his with beautiful speak with evil beautiful head boy  
 this one  
 The man who Senga liked criticized the boy.
- c) blo ma ga hay da Senga wa de bay wore ti wel no  
 Man for that be like Senga speak with evil beautiful head boy this one  
 The man who liked Senga criticized the boy
- d) blo ma ga hay da wel wa de bay wore ti Senga  
 Man for that like boy speak with evil beautiful head Senga

The man who liked the boy criticized Senga.

#### 4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies

D10) jan dik ga se' de blakge

John think that he be mean

John believes he is guilty / John believes he is mean

##### 4.4.1 Position of the antecedent

D11a) Taiwe wa ne Boulga ga Bahane bay de say be ti wa

Taiwe speak to Boulga that Bahane net with fog his head not

Taiwe told Boulga that Bahane does not like X

b) Boulga wa ne Taiwe ga Bahane bay de say be ti wa

Boulga speak to Taiwe that Bahane net with fog his head not

Boulga told Taiwe that Bahane does not like X

c) Boulga wa ne Taiwe ga se' bay de say Bahane ti wa

Boulga speak to Taiwe that he net with fog Bahane head not

Boulga told Taiwe that X does not like Bahane

d) Taiwe wa ne Boulga ga se' de se be tu bay de say Bahane ti wa

Taiwe speak to Boulga that he with body his hole net with fog Bahane head not

Taiwe told Boulga that X does not like Bahane

e) Taiwe de koge ga Boulga dik ga Bahane bay de say se' ti wa

Taiwe PRG know that Boulga think that Bahane net with fog he head not

Taiwe knows that Boulga thinks that Bahane does not like X.

f) Boulga de koge ga Taiwe dik ga Bahane bay de say se' ti wa

Boulga know that Taiwe think that Bahane net with fog he head not

Boulga knows that Taiwe thinks that Bahane does not like X.

D12)

a) Man Boulga dik ga Bahane bay dage be wa

Mother Boulga think that Bahane net like his not

Boulga's mother thinks that Bahane does not like X.

b) Man Boulga dik ga se' de se be tu bay de say Bahane ti wa

Mother Boulga think that he with BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s hole net with fog Bahane head not

Boulga's mother thinks that X does not like Bahane

c) Boulga dik ga Bahane bay de say se' ti wa

Boulga think that Bahane net with fog the head not

Boulga thinks that Bahane does not like X.

d) Kefter ma Boulga hay wage ga Bahane bay de say se' ti wa

Paper for Boulga was speak that Bahane net with fog he head not

Boulga's letter said that Bahane does not like X.

e) Boulga la ga Bahane bay de say se' ti wa

Boulga hear that Bahane net with fog he head not

Boulga heard that Bahane does not like X.

- f) A hay de wage ne Boulga ga Bahane bay de say be ti wa  
He be speak PST to Boulga that Bahane net with fog his head not  
Boulga was told that Bahane did not like X. (if your language permits passive)

D13)

- a) Boulga dik ga se' de se be tu hay he oobe se be  
Boulga think that he with his hole be put outfit BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s  
Boulga said that X had dressed X.
- a) Boulga dik ga se' de se be tu caa se be  
Boulga think that he with his hole cut body his  
Boulga said that X had wounded X.
- b) Boulga dik ga se' de se be tu yer se be  
Boulga think that he with his hole write body his  
Boulga said that X had tatoored X.

#### 4.4.2 Antecedent properties

##### 4.4.2.1 Person

D11)

- a) Taiwe wa ne ndo ga Bahane bay de say bo ti wa  
Taiwe speak to you that Bahane net with fog you head not  
Taiwe told you Bahane does not like X
- b) Boulga wa ne ndi ga Bahane bay de say be ti wa  
Boulga speak to I that Bahane net with fog his head not  
Boulga told me Bahane does not like X.
- c) Boulga wa ne ndo ga se' bay de say Bahane ti wa  
Boulga speak to you that he net with fog Bahane head not  
Boulga told you that X does not like Bahane
- d) Taiwe wa ne ndi ga se' de se be tu bay de say Bahane ti wa  
Taiwe speak to I that he with body his hole fog with fog Bahane head not  
Taiwe told me that X does not like Bahane
- e) Taiwe de koge ga ndi dik ga Bahane bay de say bi ti wa  
Taiwe know that I think that Bahane net with fog me head not  
Taiwe knows that I think that Bahane does not like X.
- f) Boulga de koge ga ndo dik ga Bahane bay de say se' ti wa  
Boulga know that you think that Bahane net with fog he head not  
Boulga knows that you think that Bahane does not like X.

##### 4.4.2.2 Quantified antecedents

##### 4.4.2.3 Split antecedents

D14

- a) Djaowe wa ti Bahane de se be tu  
Djaowe speak head Bahane head BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s hole

Djaowe talked about Bahane to X / Djaowe talked about Bahane X

- b) Djaowe wa ti se be ne Bahane  
Djaowe talk head body his to Bahane  
Djaowe talked about X to Bahane
- c) Djaowe wa ne Bahane ga se' de se be tu de rawge  
Djaowe speak to Bahane that he with body his hole go  
Djaowe told Bahane that X should leave.
- d) Djaowe wa ne Bahane ga Senga bay de say bara ti wa  
Djaowe speak to Bahane that Senga net with fog their head not  
Djaowe told Bahane that Senga dislikes X.
- e) Djaowe wa ga Bahane dik ga Senga bay de say se' ti wa  
Djaowe speak that Bahane think that Senga net with fog il head not  
Djaowe said that Bahane thinks that Senga dislikes X.

#### 4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents

D15 Djaowe jon hene ga ti ga barga sen bay go jam wa. Soore hay jon ne werga se' gorti jar ma man ti feelé ma ben wɔ ga mono. Weren mani hen be hay de dik wɔ ti be ga hay la

Djaowe make fear that head that child this net already that go not. Shame make the because that he wait head people for close head classes for him PL that. Children for to brother think. PST PL head him that what?

Djaowe feared that his son was not safe. He was ashamed that he could not protect his closest relative. What would his cousins think of him?

D16 jili Djaowe hay ceene de ma ga ko foto be bil journal. Jar ma wage wer ben bwy men wɔ go. A de wa ne man be ga hay la

Heart Djaowe make evil to for that see picture him belly Newspaper. People for speak behind him all leave PL already he speak to mother him that what?

Djaowe was shocked to see his picture in the paper. All of his supporters would abandon him. How would he tell his mother?

D17 Djaowe wa ga wur sen hay de gali ma Senga. Tangu nda, Djaowe wa ne hen ga motoua ben hay go de mange frein. blam sen, se' kal man taxi ma rawge ti jonre. Djaowe hay dik ga a hay de soobil ne se' ti

Djaowe speak that sun this be difficult for Senga. All first, Djaowe speak to the that car him already take. PST.3 steal. Behind this, he enter take taxi for go head work. Djaowe think. PST.3 that he be angry belly to he head

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

D18

A ko ndala, diŋ Djaowe

See it is Djaowe

Look, there's Djaowe

B a de wore

He be handsome  
He is so handsome

A ndi bay de say       jonge diŋ wây be ti wa       ama naaren bwy       dee wɔ  
wer       be

I net fog make it is woman him head not though women all run PL behind him  
I would not want to be his wife though. All the women are chasing him.

B aa' ndi dik ga a da se be de se be tu deban

Yes I think that he like BODY POSS.PRN.3rd.s with body his hole many  
Also, I think he praises himself too much.

#### 4 .4.3 Blocking Effects

##### 4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects

D19)

a) Noumga dik ga Djaowe ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that Djaowe collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that Djaowe respects X.

b) Noumga dik ga ndi ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that I collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that I respect X.

c) Noumga dik ga Mai pa ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that Mai pa collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that Mai pa respects X.

d) Noumga dik ga weren ho wɔ suck ti se'

Noumga think that boy collect PL ear head him

Noumga thinks that the boys respect X.

e) blɔren dik wɔ ga weren ho wɔ suck ti bara

Men think PL that boys collect PL ear head their

The men think that the boys respect X. (X = the men)

D20)

a) Noumga dik ga Taiwen dè koge ga Senga ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that Taiwe PRG know that Senga collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that Taiwe knows that Senga respects X.

b) Noumga dik ga ndi dè koge ga Senga ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that I PRG know that Senga collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that I know that Senga respects X.

c) Noumga dik ga Mai pa de koge ga Senga ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that Mai pa PRG know that Senga collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that Mai pa knows that Senga respects X.

d) Noumga dik ga weren wɔ dè koge ga Senga ho suck ti se'

Noumga think that boys PL PRG know that Senga collect ear head him

Noumga thinks that the boys know that Senga respects X.

e) Blooren dik wɔ ga weren wɔ dè koge ga Senga ho suck ti bara

Men think PL that boys PL PRG know that Senga collect ear head them

The men think that the boys know that Senga respects X. (the men = X)

#### 4.4.3.2 Positions of the intervener

- a) Noumga dik ga Djaowe wa ne Manwe ga Senga ho suck ti be  
Noumga think that Djaowe speak to Manwe that Senga collect ear head him  
Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects X. / Noumga thinks that Djaowe said that Senga respects X.
- b) \*Noumga dik ga Djaowe wa me ga Senga ho suck ti be  
Noumga think that Djaowe speak me that Senga collect ear head him  
Noumga thinks that Djaowe told me that Senga respects X.
- c) Noumga wa me ga Taiwe ho suck ti be  
Noumga speak me that Taiwe collect ear head him  
Noumga told me that Taiwe respects X.
- d) Noumga wa ga Taiwe ha kefter me ti be  
Noumga speak that Taiwe give paper me head him  
Noumga said that Taiwe gave me a book about X.

#### 4.4.4 Islands

- a) Dango bay dedage ga Djaowe mo caa he de se wa  
Dango net like that Djaowe must cut hate with body not  
Dango resents the fact that Djaowe hates X.
- b) Dango ho suck ti blo ma ga dane de'elle  
Dango collect ear head man for that like good  
Dango respects the man who likes X.
- c) Dango wa ga blo ma ga se' dane de ti  
Dango speak that man for that he like with head  
Dango says that the man who likes X is intelligent.
- d) Dango wi ga Manwe ko se yaola  
Dango ask that Manwe see body Mint  
Mint signifie marqueur d'interrogation  
Dango asked whether Manwe saw X.
- e) Dango wi Manwe ga a ko se' ounla  
Dango ask Manwe that he see him when  
Dango asked when Manwe saw X.
- f) Dango bay de koge ga Manwe man blam se' wa  
Dango net PRG know that Manwe take behind him not  
Dango did not realize that Manwe followed X.
- g) Dango wa ga Dai ni de wore, se' de dane  
Dango speak that Dai ni be beautiful he PROG love  
Dango said that Dai ni was pretty and that she would marry X. / Dango said that Mary was pretty and that he would marry X.

#### 17.4.5 de se readings

- D23a) Dango dik ga man be de ti  
Dango think that mother his with head

Dango thinks/says his mother is nice.

b) Dango dik     ga man be de blakge

Dango think that mother his be mean

Dango thinks/says his mother is mean.