

Anaphora Questionnaire 2.2 response for Bafut Version 1.0

PART 1 General information

1.1

1. Name of the language: *Bafut*

2. Ethnologue code (if you know it):

3. Dialect and/or area:

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

1. Name: *Pius N. TAMANJI*

2a. Your address: *The University of Yaounde 1
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2b. E-mail address, if you have one: *tamanjip@yahoo.fr*

3. Do you want the database to reveal your name and contact information?
(You still must fill out a consent form, however you answer this question.)

(*X*) I am willing to be identified

() I wish to remain anonymous

4. Your level of training in linguistics (circle accordingly).

1

(*X*) Post Ph. D.

() Ph.D or M.A. student

() Undergraduate linguistics

() some courses

() linguistics major

() Training in related discipline

() philology

() language pedagogy

() other (please specify)

() related discipline (please specify)

() no linguistic training

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: **(GB) A little above some exposure**
- (b) Typological linguistics: **some**
- (c) Formal semantics: **none**
- (d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: **little**
- (e) Other relevant subfield: **Phonology (Structural (some exposure and OT little exposure))**

6. Your language biography

- a. What language(s) did your parents speak at home? **Bafut only**
- b. What language(s) do/did your parents speak natively? **Bafut**
- c. What language (languages) did you receive school instruction in? **English and later French**
- d. How old were you when you learned the subject language? **Acquired from birth**
- e. Do you speak an identifiable subdialect of this language? What is it called? **No**
- f. Do you speak other dialects of the same language? Which ones? **No major dialects**

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PART 2 An Inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

2.1. Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 Primary reflexive strategy

A. Bare noun stem

(A1) *bĩ fĩ'í nŭ.*
 bĩ H á fĩ'í nŭ
 Bih Prog SM wash body
 "Bih is washing/bathing herself".

(A1ii) *bĩ fĩ'í nŭ jì.*
 bĩ H á fĩ'í nŭ jì
 Bih Prog SM wash body 3rd.s.POSS
 "Bih is washing/bathing herself".

B. "Body" noun plus possessive pronoun

(A2) *mə kì jə bìnŭ yá mŭm ŋkì'ì.*
 mə kì jə ìbìnŭ yà mŭm ŋkì'ì
 I P2 see body 1st.s.POSS in mirror
 "I saw myself in the mirror."

C. "Owner" noun strategy

(A3i) a. *mə kì wè'é yá sîgìnì*
 mə kì wé'ê yà sîgìnì
 I P2 wear 1st.s.Obj nice
 "I dressed myself nicely."

(A3ii) *mə kì yà'ásó yá məmbôŋ sîgìnì.*
 mə kì yá'ásô yà mə-mbôŋ sîgìnì
 I P2 praise 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner well
 "I praised myself well."

Comments

1. In the *Bare Noun Stem* strategy, a possessive pronoun, which is co-referential with the subject NP, is often used along with the bare noun to avoid ambiguity. Thus in example (A1) for instance, if the verb *jó'ô* "to apply lotion to the body" is used, this possessive pronoun is obligatory. Without the pronoun, it could be interpreted as saying that Bih is applying lotion to someone else's body.

2. In the “owner” noun strategy, the complex word *pron-mbôŋ* is used especially for clarity and emphasis. Thus, the example in (A3ii) could be used without *mə-mbôŋ* (Literally “I myself”) to still mean “I praised myself”.

2.1.2

There is no other way of expressing this that I can think of in Bafut.

2.1.3 Other verb types

Neither the verbs in A2a nor any other verb in the language involve a strategy that I have not yet thought of (at least as far as my knowledge of Bafut goes).

2.1.4. Obliques and other argument types

(A5i) *John kîyàá mbî'í ηgáá jì júmbôŋ*

John à kî yàâ mbî'í ηgàâ jì jú mbôŋ
 John SM P2 speak because sake 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL owner
 “John spoke about himself.”

(A5ii) *John kîyàá mbó Mary mbî'í ηgáá jì júmbôŋ*

John à kî yàâ mbó Mary mbî'í ηgàâ jì jú mbôŋ
 John SM P2 speak to Mary because sake 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL owner
 “John spoke to Mary about himself.”

(A5iii) *John kî jô ηwà' ànó mbèé jú*

John à kî jô àηwà' ànì á mbèè jú
 John SM P2 see book at side 3rd.s.OBL
 “John saw a book near him.”

(A5iv) *John kî jùú ηgwà' ànó mbó jú júmbôŋ*

John à kî júú àηwà' ànì á mbó jú jú mbôŋ
 John SM P2 buy book to hands 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL owner
 “John bought a book for himself.”

The first pronoun is A5i, ii is different from that in A5iv because of the element that immediately precedes. In A5iv, the pronoun is preceded by a preposition. This is not the case in A5i and A5ii.

2.1.5 Person and number

Bafut does not use strategies, different from the ones I have listed, which depend on person and number.

2.1.6 Strategies for other clausemate environments

There are no other strategies that I can think of, at least not now.

The following examples make use of the same strategies that I have listed.

A6a. Peter jî bînú jî

Peter know body 3rd.s.POSS

“Peter knows himself”

b. No verb for criticize in Bafut

c. Peter yá'ásí bìnú jî

Peter praise body 3rd.s.POSS

“Peter praises/honours himself”

Quantificational constructions do not involve a separate strategy. Again the following examples make use of the same strategies that we have listed already.

A7a. ñù ntsìm kî lintí bìnú jî

Person every P2 look body 3rd.s.POSS

“Every person looked at himself”

C. tsítsá ntsìm kî mîtí bìnú jí mbó Bôb

Teacher every P2 show body-3rd.s.POSS to Bob

“Every teacher introduced himself to Bob”

d. bós biímó'ó kwétáá tsí'í bìnú wáá

children some help only body 3rd.p.POSS

“Some children only help themselves”

e. bángyè byá btsìm kî mîté John mbó bó bó-mbôn

women the all P2 show John to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“The women described John to themselves”

The examples in (A9) reveal no new strategy

A9a. Sol fwoŋ mó Alice kōŋ bìnú jî

Sol say that Alice like body 3rd.s.POSS

“Sol says that Alice loves herself”

b. Sol kî lóó mó tá Alice yá'ásí bìnú jî

Sol P2 want should Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS

“Sol required that Alice praise herself”

c. Sol kî wá'átí mó mbó Alice yá'ásí bìnú jî

Sol P2 think that cond. Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS

“Sol thought Alice should praise herself”

d. Sol kî fwoŋ mó tá Alice yá'ásí bìnú jî

Sol P2 say that should Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS

« Sol asked Alice to praise herself »

e. Sol lóó ñyá'ásí bìnú jî

Sol want to praise body 3rd.s.POSS

“Sol wants to praise himself”

f. Sol wá'átə mó Alice ká yá'ásí bìnú jî

Sol think that Alice F0 praise body 3rd.s.POSS

“Sol expects Alice to praise herself”

- g. Sol k̀ì jú'ú dzǎŋm̀é Alice yá'ásí bíńú j̀ì
 Sol P2 hear how Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS
 “Sol heard Alice praising herself”

2.2. Ordinary (potential independent) pronouns

- (A10a) à k̀ì j̀é Lela
 à k̀ì j̀ê Lela
 he P2 see Lela
 “He saw Lela.”
- (A10b) m̀è k̀ì j̀é jí m̀ítàà
 m̀è k̀ì j̀ê jí á m̀ítàà
 I P2 see 3rd.s.Obj at market
 “I saw him at the market.”
- (A10c) ò l̀í ǹj̀é jí'í?
 ò l̀í ǹj̀ê jí'í
 you P1 see 1st.P.Obj
 “Did you see us?”

A10i: Simple human subject pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	m̀è	b̀ì'ì
2	ò	ǹì/b̀ù
3	à	b̀ó

- (A10i) a. m̀é nó m̀l̀ù'ù
 m̀é' nó m̀ì-l̀ù'ù
 I+Asp drink Palm wine
 “I am drinking palm wine”.

A10ii: Simple non-human subject pronouns

Noun class	Pronoun
1	à
2	b̀í
3	í
5	ǹí
6	m̀í
7	á
8	d̀z̀í
9	j̀ì
10	d̀z̀í
19	f̀í

(A10ii) a. *à kî wòó ñfê.*
 à kî wòô á ñ-fê
 it P2 fall on ground
 “It fell on the ground.”

A10iii: Compound Human Subject Pronouns

Persons	Singular	Plural
1 + 2	sì/bì'ò	bì'ínà
1 + 3	bì'íjú	bì'íbó
2 + 3	bǔjú	bùbó

(A10iii) a. *bì'íbó ká yèé ndânwì.*
 bì'íbó ká yèê á ñ-dânwì
 we (1 + 3) F0 go to church
 “We (I/we and them) will go to church.”

A10iv: Simple verb object pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	yà	jì'ì
2	yò	yùù
3	jì	wàà

(A10iv) a. *àmbé kî fèé yá.*
 àmbé à kî fèê yà
 Ambe SM P2 slap 1st
 .s.Obj
 “Ambe slapped me.”

A10v: Compound verb object pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1+2	jí'ò	jì'ínà
1+3	jì'íjú	jì'íbó
2+3	yùújú	yùúbó
3+3	wàájú	wàábó

(A10v) a. *àmbé kî wà'áté jí'ò*
 àmbé à kî wá'átê jì'ó
 Ambe SM P2 remember 1st.p.Obj
 “Ambe remembered us (i.e. speaker and listener).”

A10vi: Simple object preposition pronouns

person	singular	plural
1	mè	bì'ì

2	γò	bù
3	jú	bó

- (A10vi) a. *àmbê kî fá mìlù'ù mbó mè.*
 àmbé à kî fâ mì-lù'ù á ìn-bô mè
 Ambe SM P2 give Palmwine to hands 1st.s.OBL
 “Ambe gave palmwine to me.”

A10vii: Compound object preposition pronouns

person	singular	plural
1+2	bì'ô	bì'ínè
1+3	bì'jú	bì'íbó
2+3	bǔjú	bǔbó

- (A10vii) *àmbê kî lèô mìlù'ù mbó bǔbó.*
 àmbé à kî lèô mì-lù'ù á ìn-bô bǔbó
 Ambe SM P2 keep Palmwine to hands 2nd.p.OBL
 “Ambe reserved palmwine for you (i.e. groups of listeners and 3rd party).”

2.2.4 The use of otherwise independent pronouns for clausemate anaphora

- (A10g) *Ali lí ηγά'ásó jí*
 Ali à lí ηγά'ásô jí
 Ali SM P1 praise 3rd.s.Obj
 “Ali praised him.”
- (A10h) *Ali lí ηκδηό jí*
 Ali à lí ηκδηô jí
 Ali SM P1 like 3rd.s.Obj
 “Ali liked him.”
- (A10j) *Ali lí ηγàà mbó jú*
 Ali à lí ηγàâ á mbô jú
 Ali SM P1 talk to hands 3rd.s.OBL
 “Ali talked to him.”
- (A10n) *Ali lí ηjúú ηwà'ànè yú mbô*
 Ali à lí ηjúù àηwà'ànè yú mbô
 Ali SM P1 buy book him hands
 “Ali bought a book for him.”
- (A10o) *Ali lí ntwóηó ηwà'ànè mbí'í ηgáá jì*
 Ali à lí ntwóηô àηwà'ànè mbí'í ηgàâ jì
 Ali SM P1 read book because sake 3rd.s.POSS
 “Ali read a book about him.”

This reading is ambiguous: the book was about Ali / the book was about a 3rd party.

To clear ambiguity to an extent, add *jú mbôḡ* so that book is about Ali.

(A10o¹) *Ali lí ntwóḡḡ ḡwà' ànè mbí'í ḡgáá jì jú mbôḡ*
 Ali à lí ntwóḡḡ àḡwà' ànè mbí'í ḡgàâ jì jú mbôḡ
 Ali SM P2 read book because sake 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL owner
 “Ali read about a book himself (book was about Ali).”

(A10p) *Ali kî jḡ ḡwà' ànḡ mbèè jú*
 Ali à kî jḡ àḡwà' ànì á mbèè jú
 Ali SM P2 see book at side 3rd.s.OBL
 “Ali found a book near him.”

Same kind of ambiguity as above. Book is either near Ali or near a third party. To specify that book is near Ali, we add *jú mbôḡ* as above.

(A10p¹) *Ali kî jḡ ḡwà' ànḡ mbèè jú jú mbôḡ*
 Ali à kî jḡ àḡwà' ànì á mbèè jú jú mbôḡ
 Ali SM P2 see book at side 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL owner
 “Ali found a book near him (i.e. near Ali himself).”

□

2.3. Reciprocal Readings

2.3.1 Reflexive strategy with reciprocal meaning

bóó bjá ká ḡá'ásí bínú wáâ
 children F0 praise body 3rd.s.POSS
 “The children will praise each other”
 “The children will praise themselves”

2.3.2. A. The *nó* Reciprocal strategy

(A11ai) *bàḡḡjè bjá kḡḡnḡ*
 bàḡḡjè bjá bí kḡḡnḡ-nó
 women the SM like-RCM
 “The women like each other.”

(A11aii) *bàḡḡjè bjá kḡḡnḡ wáá.*
 bàḡḡjè bjá bí kḡḡnḡ-nó wáá
 women the SM like-RCM 3rd.p.Obj
 “The women like each other.”

(A11aiii) *sì káló jḡnḡ jḡḡ.*
 sì káló jḡ-nḡ á jḡḡ
 We (you + I) F2 See-RCM on tomorrow
 “We will see each other tomorrow.”

(A11aiv) *sì káló jḡnḡ jì'ó jḡḡ.*
 sì káló jḡ-nḡ jì'ó á jḡḡ

We (you + I) F2 see-RCM 1st.p.Obj on tomorrow
“We will see each other tomorrow.”

2.3.3. Oblique complements

There are no new reciprocal strategies. The following examples show the same strategies already listed.

A12a. ñbáññì dǒá kì m̀tí Bill mbó bó bó-mbôñ
Men the P2 show Bill to them 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.p.OBL -owner
« The men introduced Bill each other/themselves »

b. ñgàñ níṣáá dǒá kì ṣàà-nè títí bó
persons visit the P2 speak-RCM among 3rd.p.OBL
“The visitors spoke among themselves”

c. b̀fárè bjá kì kwèré fífwóñ mbí’í ngáá jàà
priests the P2 receive gossip about sake 3rd.p.POSS
“The priests heard gossips about themselves”

d. Bó kì tètí ìlèñ á ñfí bó
they P2 place chairs in face 3rd.p.OBL
« They placed chairs in front of each other »

2.3.4 Other persons and numbers

No new strategy is used for persons and number. Observe the following examples which use the same strategies already listed.

A13a. b̀’ì kì jè-nê
We P2 see-RCM
“We saw each other”

b. ñì tsínì ñkwétê yúú
You have help 3rd.p.Obj
“You have to help yourselves”

c. b̀’ì ká fí’ínú jì’ì
We F0 wash body 1st.p.POSS
“We will wash ourselves”

d.

e. b́ó b̀yà’àtì kì tàtí b̀ínú wáâ
children P2 kick body 3rd.p.POSS
“Many boys kicked themselves”

2.3.5 Other clause types

No new strategy in reciprocal embedded clauses

A14

a. Sol ʃwǒŋ mə bós bjá kón-nó (wáá)

Sol say that children the love-RCM (3rd.p.Obj)

“Sol says that the children love each other”

b. Sol lí nlòs mə tá bós bjá kón-nó (wáâ)

Sol P1 want that should children love-RCM (3rd.p.Obj)

« Sol wanted that the children love each other »

c. Sol kî wá’átí mə bóŋ bós bjá ɣá’ásó wáâ

Sol P2 think that cond. children praise 3rd.p.Obj

“Sol thought the children should praise themselves”

d. Sol kî ʃwôŋ mə tá bós bjá ɣá’ásí bìnnu wáâ

Sol P2 say that should children praise body 3rd.p.POSS

« Sol asked the children to praise themselves »

e. bós bjá lós ŋɣá’ásí bìnnú wáâ

children want praise body 3rd.p.POSS

“The children want to praise themselves”

f. Sol wá’átə mə bós bjá ká ɣá’ásí bínnú wáâ

Sol think that children F0 praise body 3rd.p.POSS

“Sol expects the children to praise themselves”

g. Sol kî jú’ú dzǎŋmə bós bjá ɣá’ásí bínnú wáâ

Sol P2 hear how children praise body 3rd.p.POSS

“Sol heard the children praising themselves”

2.4. Other Types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable

(A15a) *Paul kî bə’ɔ ntâm dzì.*

Paul à kî bə’ɔ ntâm dzì

Paul SM P2 lose shoes 3rd.s.POSS

“Paul lost his shoes.”

(A15b) *Paul kî kə’ɔsɔ bó jí.*

Paul à kî kə’ɔsɔ àbô jì

Paul SM P2 raise hand 3rd.s.POSS

“Paul raised his hand.”

(A15c) *Paul kî ʃə bó jí.*

Paul à kî ʃə àbô jì

Paul SM P2 cut hand 3rd.s.POSS

“Paul cut his hand.”

(A15d) *Paul kî lîntô bó jí.*
 Paul à kî lîntô àbô jì
 Paul SM P2 examine hand 3rd.s.POSS
 “Paul examined his hand.”

2.4.2 Reflexives in nominals

A16. àdʒǎŋ jìí mó andrew bìí bìnú jí láá á lwísí ntòŋ Mary
 The way that Andrew believe body 3rd.s.POSS Def. it bitter neck Mary
 “That fact that Andrew believes in himself annoyed Mary”
 “John’s self confidence annoyed Mary”

A17. ádzáŋ jìí mó Andrew kî mètí bìnú jí làá á kî bòŋó nú tsítsà wâ
 The way which that Andrew p2 show body 3rd.s.POSS Def. it P2 nice body teacher the
 “The way Andrew introduced himself pleased the teacher”
 “Andrew’s introduction of himself pleased the teacher”

2.4.3

I can’t think of anything else for now.

2.4.4 Summary list of strategies

Reflexives

- A. Bare noun stem strategy
- B. “Body” noun plus possessive pronoun
- C. “Owner” noun strategy

Reciprocals

- A. The *nó* Reciprocal strategy
- B. “Body” noun plus possessive pronoun

PART 3 General Details about the strategies

First it is difficult to say which of the strategies is the ‘principal’ strategy in Bafut. The discourse context and verb category determine which strategy is used.

3.1. Marking

A. Bare noun stem strategy

Marking is on a construed argument. This strategy is used with so-called verbs of grooming only (verbs that deal with taking care of the body e.g. bathing, applying lotion, dressing, shaving, etc.).

A possessive determiner can also optionally be used along with the bare noun stem. This usage is common with the verbs of grooming but can also marginally extend to a few psyche verbs like ‘hate’, and ‘like/love’. With the psyche verbs, the possessive determiner is obligatory.

John kî jò’ó nú (jì)
 John P2 rub body (3rd.s.POSS)

“John rubbed himself/applied lotion to his body”

? John bàá nú jì

John hate body 3rd.s.POSS

“John hates himself”

B. The “Body” noun strategy

Marking is via construed argument: The noun ‘body/trunk’ plus a possessive pronoun that refers back to the subject NP are placed in object NP position. When plural, this strategy is possible with a reciprocal interpretation.

C. The “Owner” noun strategy

I really don’t know. This seems to be a case of marking via a special adjunct. It generally occurs in constructions like “*I slapped me myself*” where me is in object position followed by the reflexive form.

NB/

There is the possibility that a full NP such as *the house* can occur in object position followed by the *myself form*. This is what we find in English constructions such as *John built the house himself*.

The “Owner” noun strategy” in C is compatible with a reciprocal reading.

D. The *nó* Reciprocal strategy

Marking is on the verb via use of a verb extension.

3.2. Productivity

A. Bare noun strategy

Not productive. Used with so-called verbs of grooming only (verbs that deal with taking care of the body e.g. bathing, applying lotion, dressing, shaving, etc.). Also marginally used with a few psyche verbs like ‘hate’, and ‘like’.

Ai. Ambe kì jò’ó nû (jì)

Ambe P2 rub body (3rd.s.POSS)

“Ambe rubbed himself/applied lotion to his body”

ii. ? Ambe bàá nû jì

Ambe hate body 3rd.s.POSS

“Ambe hates himself”

iii. * Ambe kì fêé nû (jì)

Ambe P2 slap body (3rd.s.POSS)

“Ambe slapped himself”

B. “Body” noun strategy

Averagely productive. Used with vision verbs such as ‘see’, ‘look’, verbs of grooming such as ‘take care’, ‘wash’, ‘dress’, ‘apply lotion’, verbs that deal with doing harm to the body such as ‘cut’, ‘torment’, psyche verbs such as ‘hate’, ‘like/love’, ‘know’, etc.

Bi. Ambe kî jê bînú jí múm ŋkî`ì

Ambe P2 see trunk 3rd.s.POSS in glass

“Ambe saw himself in the mirror”

ii. Ambe kî wè`é bînú jí

Ambe P2 dress trunk 3rd.s.POSS

“Ambe dressed himself up”

iii. Ambe kî lè̀nsî bînú jí

Ambe P2 wound trunk 3rd.s.POSS

“Ambe wounded himself”

iv. Ambe bàâ bînú jí

Ambe hate trunk 3rd.s.POSS

“Ambe hates himself”

v. * Ambe kî jè`â bînú jí

Ambe P2 cry trunk 3rd.s.POSS

C. The “Owner” noun strategy

Averagely productive: Used with same category of verbs as the “Body” noun strategy.

Ci. Ambe kî jê jí jú-mbôŋ múm ŋkî`ì

Ambe P2 see 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner in glass

“Ambe saw himself in the mirror”

ii. Ambe kî nàŋsó jí jú-mbôŋ

Ambe P2 fix 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“Ambe took care of himself/his appearance”

iii. Ambe kî lè̀nsó jí jú-mbôŋ

Ambe P2 wound 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“Ambe wounded himself”

iv. Ambe bàâ jí jú-mbôŋ

Ambe P2 hate 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“Ambe hates himself”

v. * Ambe kî bìnó jí jú-mbôŋ

Ambe P2 dance 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

D. The *nó* Reciprocal strategy

Used only with what I call reciprocal verbs such as ‘like/love’, ‘hate’, ‘insult’, ‘quarrel’, ‘fight’, ‘resemble’, ‘greet’, etc.

3.3. Context of use

A. Bare noun stem strategy

Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

B. “Body” noun strategy

Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

C. The “owner” noun strategy

Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

D. The *nó* Reciprocal strategy

Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

3.4. Morphology

A. Bare noun stem

No special morphology. The marker is an ordinary noun which means ‘body’. The noun belongs to class 1 with a zero morphological prefix. This noun can serve elsewhere as head of a genitive construction. When an ordinary pronoun is involved, the marker is an ordinary verb-object person marker. Any of the pronouns from the following group can be used depending on person of subject NP.

Table I. Simple verb object pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1	ɣà	ji'ì
2	ɣò	ɣùù
3	ji	wàà

Table II: Compound verb object pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1+2	ji'ò	ji'ínè
1+3	ji'íjú	ji'íbó
2+3	ɣùújú	ɣùúbó
3+3	wàájú	wàábó

Each compound object pronoun is bimorphemic consisting of two simple pronominal forms that are clearly segmentable.

Singular	jì'ó	1st person plural simple object pron. + 2nd person singular simple subject p
	jì'í-jú	1st person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person singular simple oblique P
	γùú-jú	2nd person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person singular simple oblique
	wàá-jú	3rd person plural simple object pron + 3rd person singular simple oblique p
Plural	jì'í-nè	1st person plural simple object pron. + 2nd person plural simple subject pro
	jì'í-bó	1st person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person plural simple oblique pro
	γùú-ó	2nd person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person plural simple oblique pr
	wàá-bó	3rd person plural simple object pron + 3rd person plural simple oblique pron

Interpretation of complex pronouns

jì'ó “You and I” (speaker +addressee)

jì'í-jú “He/she and I” (speaker +third party)

γùú-jú “You and him/her (addressee + 3rdparty)”

wàá-jú “They and him/her”

jì'í-nè “You people and I (speaker +addressee (a group of people))”

jì'í-bó “They and I (speaker+3rd party (a group))”

γùú-bó “You and they (addressee and (group of 3rd party))”

wàá-bó “They and they (3rd party (sing) + (group) of 3rd party)”

Aia. s̀ì ká fí'í nũ jì'ò

We F0 wash body you+I

« We (you and I) will bathe ourselves »

b) * jì' ò ká fí'í nũ jì'ò
We F0 wash body you+I

iiia. bì' ì ká fí'í nũ jì'ì

We F0 wash body him+I

« We (he and I) will bathe ourselves »

b. * jì'ì ká fí'í nũ jì'ì

our (him + I) F0 wash body him + I

iiia. bì'ìnè ká fí'í nũ jì'ìnè

We (all of us) F0 wash body you(pl) + I

« We (all of you and I) will bathe ourselves »

b. * jì'ìnè ká fí'í nũ jì'ìnè

our (all of us) F0 wash body you(pl) + I

« We (all of you and I) will bathe ourselves »

NB/ There are no agreement markers in these forms.

B. “Body” noun strategy

The noun is used elsewhere to mean “(trunk of) body/torso”. This is a class 3 noun with the morphological prefix $\underline{\text{ì}}$. The root itself is a compound comprising $\underline{\text{bìí}}$ “trunk” and $\underline{\text{n}}$ “body”. The following possessive determiner is construed with the subject NP. The determiner agrees in person with the subject NP and in class/gender with $\underline{\text{ì-bìín}}$. This determiner is used elsewhere as an ordinary possessive determiner used with any other class 3 noun. The various determiners and their agreement markers are given below. The agreement/concord consonant is separated from the root vowel by a hyphen.

Possessive determiners

1st person singular	ɣ-â
2 nd person singular	ɣ-ô
3 rd person singular	j-í
1 st person plural	j-ì'ô
2 nd person plural	ɣ-úú
3 rd person plural	w-áá

Following are examples where the bare noun stem $nû$ and the body/trunk ìbìínû nouns are used as independent nouns in a non-anaphoric context.

(i) $nû \etaù \text{ ní } \eta\text{gò}'\text{ò}$

body person is stone

“The human body is as hard as a rock”

(ii) $\text{ìbìínú Bih } \text{nó}\eta\hat{\text{ô}} \text{ ntá'á}$

trunk Bih lie outside

“Bih’s torso is exposed”

In the following example where the body/trunk ìbìínû noun is used as an anaphor, the interpretation is ambiguous.

(iii) $\text{Bih } \text{kì } \text{jê } \text{bìínú } \text{jí } \text{múm } \eta\text{kì}'\text{ì}$

Bih P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS in mirror

(a) “Bih saw her torso in the mirror”

(b) “Bih saw herself in the mirror”

To a native speaker, the meaning in (a) is more commonplace than the one in (b).

C. The “Owner” noun strategy

Two elements are actually involved here:

(i) An ordinary person verb-object pronoun referring back to the subject NP.

This verb-object pronoun agrees in person with the subject NP. Bafut person verb-object pronouns include:

Person verb-object pronouns

1st person singular	ɣ-â
2 nd person singular	ɣ-ô
3 rd person singular	j-í

1 st person plural	j-ì'ô
2 nd person plural	ɣ-úú
3 rd person plural	w-áá

Incidentally, the forms of the person verb-object pronoun are identical to those of the possessive determiners.

- (ii) The reflexive form which is itself made up of two elements:
- an oblique pronoun which still refers back to the subject NP
 - an ordinary noun *mbôŋ* which elsewhere means 'owner'.

The oblique pronoun also agrees in person with the subject NP. Its different forms are presented in the table below.

Oblique person pronouns

1st person singular	mè
2 nd person singular	ɣò
3 rd person singular	jú
1 st person plural	bì'ô
2 nd person plural	bú
3 rd person plural	bó

The noun *m-bôŋ* is a class 1 noun with the morphological prefix N- (a homorganic nasal which takes the place features of the following oral consonant).

Following are sentences in which the "owner" part of the reflexive is used with the meaning of "owner" in a non-anaphoric context.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(i) <i>mè kì jé mbôŋ ajóô</i>
 I P2 see owner yesterday
 "I saw the owner yesterday"</p> | <p>(iv) <i>mbôŋ ndá fê'è-mê</i>
 Owner house go out-compl.
 "The family head (owner of the house) has gone out"</p> |
|---|---|

The complex reflective (oblique + owner) cannot be intervened by an adverb or any other word for that matter. An adverb or some other word can however occur between the first (Object pronoun) and the second (Oblique) pronoun.

- (i) * *mè kì ɣà'ásé ɣá mè sígìnì mbôŋ*
I P2 praise 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL nice owner
"I praised myself well"
- (ii) *mè kì ɣà'ásé ɣá sígìnì mè-mbôŋ*
I P2 praise 1st.s.Obj nice 1st.s.OBL-owner
"I praised myself well"

In the "owner" noun strategy, the form/meaning of the first pronoun is determined by its thematic position in the utterance. In the examples above, the form *ɣá* in *ɣá mè-mbôŋ* is determined by the fact that it is in object of verb position. The pronouns that occur in this position are pronouns that are normally used in ordinary transitive sentences in this position.

e.g. John k̀ì f̀éé yá
 John p2 slap me
 “John slapped me”.

D. The *nó* Reciprocal strategy

The reciprocal marker is not a word. It might possibly have developed historically from a word but I do not have any evidence in support of this. There is no agreement. It is used elsewhere as a verb extension expressing either association/collectivity (action done by many people as a group or severally at the same time) or the mediopassive (action suggested by the verb is capable of taking place without the intervention of any discernible agentive force).

D i. *̀nlẁìn wá b́o nd̀ìgà wá j̀è’`̀ǹǹ.*
 ̀nlẁìn wá b́o nd̀ìgà wá b́í j̀è’`̀ǹǹ
 old the and woman the SM cry-COLL/ASS
 “The old man and the woman are both crying.”

ii. *b̀ì b́o mb́é líg̀íní (m̀íns̀ò̀).*
 b̀ì b́o àmb́é b́í líg̀íní-ǹ (m̀íns̀ò̀)
 Bih and Ambe they Cultivate-COLL/ASS farms
 “Bih and Ambe are cultivating (together as a group).”

3.5 The agreement paradigm

A. The Bare Noun Stem Strategy

The bare noun stem always remains invariable irrespective of person, number or noun class. The optional ordinary determiner which follows however agrees (obligatorily) with the other elements in the construction in two ways: (i) it agrees with the antecedent in person/number. This agreement is marked by the root vowel. (ii) it agrees with the preceding bare noun stem *nô* in noun class. In Bafut, *nû* is a class 9 noun. If it were possible, for instance, to have a noun from a different class in the place of *nû*, the initial consonant of the pronoun would change. Compare the initial consonant of the possessive determiner in the (a) and (b) examples immediately below. In (a) we use *ǹìk̀éè* “arm” a class 5 noun and in (b) we use our usual bare noun stem *nû* “body”.

(a) m̀è ká f̀ì’í ǹìkwéè ǹ	(b) m̀è ká f̀ì’í nû jà
I F0 wash arm 1 st .s.POSS	I F0 wash body 1 st .s.POSS
“I will wash my arm”	“I will bathe myself”

The rest of the examples illustrate agreement between the root (of the possessive determiner) and the antecedent in person and number.

m̀è ká f̀ì’í nû jà
 I F0 wash body 1st.s.POSS
 “I will bathe myself”

ò ká f̀ì’í nû j̀ò
 You (sg) F0 wash body 2nd.s.POSS
 “You will bathe yourself”

à ká fí'í nú jì
s/he F0 wash body 3rd.s.POSS
“S/he will bathe himself/herself”

bì'ì ká fí'í nú jì'ì
We F0 wash body 1st.p.POSS
“We will bathe ourselves (each person bathes himself)”

bù ká fí'í nú jùù
You(pl) F0 wash body 2nd.p.POSS
“You will bathe yourselves (each person bathes himself)”

bó ká fí'í nú jàà
they F0 wash body 3rd.p.POSS
“They will bathe themselves (each person bathing himself)”

B. The Body noun strategy

The “body” noun remains invariable. The possessive determiner that follows agrees (obligatorily) with the antecedent in person and number.

mè kì jé bìnú yá múm ñkì'ì
I P2 see body 1st.s.POSS in mirror
“I saw myself in the mirror”

ò kì jé bìnú yó múm ñkì'ì
you(sg) P2 see body 2nd.s.POSS in mirror
“You saw yourself in the mirror”

à kì jé bìnú jí múm ñkì'ì
s/he P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS in mirror
“He saw himself/herself in the mirror”

bì'ì kì jé bìnú jí'í múm ñkì'ì
We P2 see body 1st.p.POSS in mirror
“We saw ourselves in the mirror”

bù kì jé bìnú yúù múm ñkì'ì
you(pl) P2 see body 2nd.p.POSS in mirror
“You(pl) saw yourselves in the mirror”

bó kì jé bìnú wáâ múm ñkì'ì
they P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
“They saw themselves in the mirror”

C. The “owner” noun strategy

The “owner” noun remains invariable. The two pronominal forms that precede the “owner” noun agree (obligatorily) with the antecedent in person and number.

mè kì lè̀̀nsó yá m̀̀-mbôŋ
I P2 wound 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I hurt/wounded myself”

ò kì lè̀̀nsó yó ỳ̀-mbôŋ
you(sg) P2 wound 2nd.s.Obj 2nd.s.OBL-owner
“You hurt/wounded yourself”

à kì lè̀̀nsó jí jú-mbôŋ
s/he P2 wound 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“S/he hurt/wounded himself/herself”

bì`ì kì lè̀̀nsó jí`í bì`ì-mbôŋ
we P2 wound 1st.p.Obj 1st.p.OBL-owner
“We hurt/wounded ourselves/each other”

bù kì lè̀̀nsó yú̀̀ bù-mbôŋ
you(pl) P2 wound 2nd.p.Obj 2nd.p.OBL-owner
“You hurt/wounded yourselves/each other”

bó kì lè̀̀nsó wáá bó-mbôŋ
they P2 wound 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“They hurt/wounded themselves/each other”

The first pronominal form in each case is the object of verb pronoun form while the second is the object of preposition form. Both forms however refer back to the antecedent.

The **nó** reciprocal strategy

There is no agreement

3.6 Interaction with verb morphology

Reflexives in Bafut are not attached to verbs and they are compatible with morphological operations applied to the verb.

The reciprocal morpheme can co-occur with the “owner” noun anaphor.

(i) bì`ì kì twòŋ-nó jí`í bì`ì-mbôŋ
we P2 call-RCM 1st.p.Obj 1st.p.OBL-owner
“We greeted each other (no other person greeted us)”

(iii) Ambé bó Sù̀̀ bó kì b̀̀ŋ-nó wáá bo-mbôŋ
Ambe and suh SM p2 agree-RCM 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“Ambe and Suh reconciled with each other on their own (no one influenced the reconciliation)”

The reciprocal morpheme does not co-occur with the other anaphors.

(i)*Sù̀̀ bó bì kì fì`ì-nó nù
Suh and Bih sm P2 wash-RCM body

(ii)*bì bó Sùù fì'ì-nó nú jàà
 Bih and Suh wash-RCM body 3rd.p.POSS

(iii)*bì bó Sùù kì wè'é-nó wáá sígígnì
 Bih and Suh P2 wear-RCM 3rd.p.OBL nice

(iv)* bì bó Sùù kì jè-nô bìnú wáá mûm ñkì'ì
 Bih and Suh P2 see-RCM body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror

3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

The “owner” noun strategy is used elsewhere for emphasis.

Peter jú-mbôŋ kì ñìŋó gôl
 Peter 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 put goal
 “Peter himself/even Peter too scored a goal”

3.7.1. Idiosyncratic forms

As far as I know, Bafut does not have inherently reflexive verbs.

3.7.2. Emphatic

The “Body” noun strategy can be used for emphasis without a reflexive meaning intended. This is what we find in English expressions such as “John cleaned the house himself.”

(1) *John kì jè'é ndá já júmbôŋ*
 John à kì jè'ê ndá já jú-mbôŋ
 John SM P2 sweep house the 3rd.s.OBL-owner
 “John swept the house himself.”

The *nó* Reciprocal marker is also used elsewhere as a verb extension to express either association/collectivity (action done by many people as a group or severally at the same time) or the mediopassive (action suggested by verb is capable of taking place without the intervention of any discernible agentive force).

(2) a. *ñlwìn tàá wá bó ndìgà wá jè'è-nè.*
 ñlwìn øtàá wá bó ñdìgà wá bí jè'è-nè
 old man the and woman the 2-SM cry-COLL/ASS
 “The old man and the woman are both crying.”

b. *mó'ó wá kì bwènô.*
 mó'ó w-á í kì bwè-nô
 1-fire 1-the SM P2 extinguish-SPON
 “The fire died out.”

3.7.5 Deictic use

In the “owner” noun strategy, the reflexive form OBL-mbôŋ “Pro-self” can be used in a context where the antecedent had been mentioned earlier on in the discourse but is not present in the sentence.

- a. *mə kɔŋ ŋkxi lá júmbôŋ kɔŋ mi-lù'ù*
 məŋ kôŋô ŋkxi lá júmbôŋ à kôŋô mi-lù'ù
 I like water but himself he like Palm wine
 “I like water but he likes palm wine.”

3.8 Proxy readings

Not available in Bafut. Artists generally shy away from doing works that represent them (in fact this is a cultural taboo) and so expressions like ‘a statue of himself’ do not exist in the language. The culture is still oral so authors do not exist. The author of a song, poem, story, etc. is the community and not an individual.

3.9. Ellipsis

A. Bare noun stem

- (A12) (i) *John kɔŋ ŋfi'ínú ntʃă mbé*
 John à kôŋô n-ʃí'í nô n-tʃă àmbé
 John SM like N-wash body N-more than Ambe
 “John likes washing/bathing himself more than Ambe likes washing himself.”
 “John likes bathing himself than he likes Ambe”

B. “Body” noun strategy

- (A12) (ii) *John kɔŋ bìnú jí ntʃă mbé*
 John à kôŋô ìbìnú jí n-tʃă àmbé
 John SM like trunk his N-more than Ambe
 “John likes himself more than Ambe likes himself.”
 “John likes himself more than he likes Ambe”

C. The “owner” noun strategy

- (A12) (iii) *mə kɪ ɣá'ásô ɣà məmbôŋ ntʃă mbé.*
 mə kɪ ɣá'ásô ɣà mə-mbôŋ n-tʃă àmbé
 I P2 praise 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner More than Ambe
 “I praised myself more than I praised Ambe.”
 “I praised myself more than Ambe praised me.”
 “I praised myself more than Ambe praised himself.”

PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

4.1 Clausemate construal

4.1.1 verb class restrictions

4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives

Bare noun strategy

The bare noun strategy cannot be used with ordinary reflexive verbs.

C1a * Bob kî jǒ nû (jì)
Bob P2 see body (3rd.s.POSS)

Sentence would be acceptable if reflexive interpretation were not intended. In this case it would mean that Bob saw his own body. Interpretation is the same for the rest of the sentences in this group.

C1b. * bàṅgǐè bjá kî mìtí nû (jàà)
Women the P2 describe body (3rd.p.POSS)

C1c. * nì kî tâ nû (jùù)
You(p) P2 kick body (2nd.p.POSS)

C1d. * bó kî wo'ró nû (jàà)
They P2 praise body (3rd.p.POSS)

Body noun strategy

The body noun strategy can be used with ordinary transitives like “see”. The result is only marginally acceptable with other transitives that involve physical action such as “kick”

C1a Bob kî jǒ bìnnú jí mûm ḡkì`ì
Bob P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS in mirror
“Bob saw himself”

C1b. bàṅgǐè bjá kî jê bìnnú wáá múm ḡkì`ì
Women the P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
“The women saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

C1c. ? nì kî tâ bìnnú yúú
You(p) P2 kick body 2nd.p.POSS
“You(pl) kicked yourselves”

C1d. bó kî wo'rê bìnnú wáá
They P2 praise body 3rd.p.POSS
“They praised themselves/each other”

The Owner noun strategy

The owner noun strategy can be used with canonical transitives like “see”, “praise”, etc. Again with “kick, the results are only marginally acceptable.

C1a Bob kî jí jí jú-mbón mûm ñkì'ì
 Bob P2 see 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner in mirror
 “Bob saw himself in a mirror”

C1b. bàñgjà bjá kî jê wáá bó-mbôn mûm ñkì'ì
 Women the P2 see 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner in mirror
 “The women saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

C1c. ? nî kî tâ yúú bú-mbôn
 You(p) P2 kick 2nd.p.Obj 2nd.p.OBL-owner
 “You(pl) kicked yourselves”

C1d. bó kî wo'rê wáá bó-mbôn
 They P2 praise 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
 “They praised themselves/each other”

The nê Reciprocal strategy

The nê reciprocal strategy works only with a very restricted class of verbs in the language in general. The transitive verbs that accept this strategy in Bafut include: “see”, “love”, “greet”, “hate”, and “call”.

C1a Bob bo Peter kî jè-nê
 Bob and Peter P2 see-RCM
 “Bob and Peter saw each other”

C1b. bàñgjà bjá kî jè-nê
 Women the P2 see-RCM
 “The women saw each other”

C1c. * nî kî tà-nê
 You(p) P2 kick-RCM

C1d. bó kî wo'rê-nê
 They P2 praise-RCM

4.1.1.2 Commonly Reflexive predicates

Bare noun stem

The strategy can be used, very successfully, with the verb “wash” and “apply lotion”. Exceptionally with the verb “dress up” results are best if we obligatorily include a possessive determiner after the bare noun. The possessive determiner can also simply take the place of the bare noun. With inalienable possessed objects, the possessive determiner is optional after the possessed noun.

C 3ai Dona kî jí'í nû (jì)
 Dona P2 wash body 3rd.s.POSS
 “Dona washed herself”

aii. Dona k̀ì j̀ò'ó nú j̀ì
Dona P2 rub body her
“Dona rubbed herself/applied lotion to her boddy”

aiii. Dona k̀ì wè'é nú j̀ì mfé'ê
Dona P2 dress body 3rd.s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

aiv. Dona k̀ì wè'é j̀ì mfé'ê
Dona P2 dress 3rd.s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

av. Dona k̀ì wè'é nú mfé'ê
Dona P2 dress body go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

avi. Dona k̀ì k̀òó tú (jí) ɲyèê ndánwì
Dona P2 shave head (3rd.s.POSS) go to church
“Dona shaved her hair and went to church”

C3c. * mú wá k̀ì l̀ònsî nú j̀ì
Child the P2 wound body 3rd.s.POSS Poss. Pron
“The child wounded herself”

Body noun strategy

The strategy can only be marginally used with the verbs of grooming. With these verbs, the reflexive interpretation is not very available. Rather, the interpretation is one in which the subject did some action to the torso. The strategy simply does not work with cases of inalienable possession. The strategy works perfectly well with verbs that involve doing harm to oneself.

C 3ai ? Dona k̀ì j̀í'í b̀ìnú jí
Dona P2 wash body 3rd.s.POSS
“Dona washed herself”

aii. ? Dona k̀ì j̀ò'ó b̀ìnú jí
Dona P2 rub body 3rd.s.POSS
“Dona rubbed herself/applied lotion to her body”

aiii. ? Dona k̀ì wè'ê b̀ìnú jí mfé'ê
Dona P2 dress body 3rd.s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

aiv. Dona k̀ì wè'é j̀ì mfé'ê
Dona P2 dress 3rd.s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

av. Dona k̀ì wè'ê b̀ìnú mfé'ê
Dona P2 dress body go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

John sorry about body 3rd.s.POSS
“John is ashamed of himself”

d. ? John dórító mbí’í bìnú jí
John happy about body 3rd.s.POSS
“John is pleased about himself”

e. **OK** John fǎngí’í bìnú jû
John trouble body 3rd.s.POSS
“John troubles himself”

Owner noun strategy

C4a **OK** John bàâ jí jú-mbôñ
John hate 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“John hates himself”

b. ** John ðírátû jí jú-mbôñ
John ashamed 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

c. **OK** John dzóñné mbí’í jí jú-mbôñ
John sorry about 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“John is ashamed of himself”

d. **OK** John dórító mbí’í jí jú-mbôñ
John happy about 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“John is pleased about himself”

e. * John fǎngí’í jí jú-mbôñ
John trouble 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

4.1.1.4 Creation and Destruction Predicates

Bare noun stem

C5ai.* bàñgjà bjá ká zhwítí nû
Women the Fo kill body

ii. **OK** bàñgjà bjá ká zhwítí nú jàà
Women the Fo kill body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women will destroy themselves (with a lot of work).”

bi. * * ndá dzá ká wùrí nû
houses the F0 build body

ii. * * ndá dzá ká wùrí nû jàà
houses the F0 build body 3rd.p.POSS

Body noun strategy

C5a. **OK** bàñgjà bjá ká zhwítí bìnû wáá

Women the Fo kill body 3rd.p.POSS

“The women will destroy themselves (with a lot of work).”

- b. * ndá dzá ká wùrí bìnnû wáá
houses the F0 build body 3rd.p.POSS

Owner noun strategy

C5a. **OK** bàngjiè bjá ká zhwítí wáá bó-mbôn

Women the Fo kill 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.POSS-owner

“The women will destroy themselves (with a lot of work).”

- b. * ndá dzá ká wùrí wáá bó-mbôn
houses the F0 build 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.POSS

4.1.2. Argument Position Pairings

4.1.2.1. Subject-indirect object

Bare noun strategy

C7a. * * Mary kî fâ tsè’è já mbo nû
Mary P2 give dress to body

- b. * * John kî dî’í ndá já mbo nû
John P2 show house the to body

C8a. * * Mary kî fá mbó nú atsè’è já
Mary P2 give to body dress the

- b. * * John kî dî’í mbó nú ndá já
John P2 show to body house the

Body noun strategy

C7a. ? Mary kî fâ tsè’è já mbô bìnnú jí
Mary P2 give dress to body 3rd.s.POSS
“Mary gave the dress to herself”

- b. * * John kî dî’í ndá já mbô bìnnú jí
John P2 show house the to body

C8a. * * Mary kî fá mbô bìnnú jí atsè’è já
Mary P2 give to body 3rd.s.POSS dress the

- b. * * John kî dî’í mbô bìnnú jí ndá já
John P2 show to body 3rd.s.POSS house the

Owner noun strategy

C7a. **OK** Mary kî fâ tsè’è já mbô jú jú-mbôn
Mary P2 give dress the to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Mary gave the dress to herself”

- b. **OK** John kî dî’í ndá já mbô jú jú-mbôn

John P2 show house the to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
 “Jhon showed the house to himself”

C8ai. * * Mary kî fá mbô jú jú-mbôŋ atsə’ə jâ
 Mary P2 give to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.POSS dress the

But watch the following construction in which the reverse order is acceptable. Notice insertion of the particle *nó* (whose menaing/function I cannot say). Notice the disappearance of the preposition *mbô* “to”.

8aii. **OK** Mary kî fá jí jú-mbôŋ nó tsə’ə jâ
 Mary P2 give 3rd.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner particledress the
 “Mary gave herself the dress”

bi. * John kî dî’í mbô jú jú-mbôŋ ndá jâ
 John P2 show to 3rd.OBL. 3rd.s.OBL house the

bii. **OK** John kî dî’í jí jú-mbôŋ nó mîtʃè
 John P2 show 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL part. Intelligence
 “John taught himself a lesson”

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

Bare noun stem

C9a. ** Dan kî yàá mbó nû (jì)
 Dan P2 talk to body (3rd.s.POSS)
 “Dan talked to himself”

b. * Dan kî yàánsó Mary mbí’í nû (jì)
 Dan P2 disturb Mary about (3rd.s.POSS)
 “Dan disturbed Mary about himself”

c. ** Dan kî fá nú (jì) àtì
 Dan P2 give body (3r.s.POSS) a stick
 “Dan gave himself a stick”

The strategy does not just work with oblique objects; not even when we insert the *nó* particle which usually improves the acceptability of double object constructions as the example below shows.

d. * Dan kî fá nú jì nê tì
 Dan P2 give body 3rd.s.POSS Part. Stick
 “Dan gave himself a stick”

Body noun strategy

C9a. * Dan kî yàá mbó bìnû jì
 Dan P2 talk to body (3rd.s.POSS)
 “Dan talked to himself”

b. * Dan kî yàánsó Mary mbí’í bìnû jí
 Dan P2 disturb Mary about (3rd.s.POSS)
 “Dan disturbed Mary about himself”

c. ** Dan kî fá bìnû jí àtì

Dan P2 give body (3rd.s.POSS) a stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

The strategy does not just work with oblique objects; not even when we insert the *nɔ* particle which usually improves the acceptability of double object constructions as the example below shows.

- d. ** Dan kɛ fá bìnú jí nê tì
Dan P2 give body 3rd.s.POSS Part. Stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

Owner noun strategy

- C9a. **OK** Dan kɛ ɣàá mbó jú jú-mbôŋ
Dan P2 talk to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Dan talked to himself”
- b. ? Dan kɛ ɣàánsó Mary mbí’í jú jú-mbôŋ
Dan P2 disturb Mary about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Dan disturbed Mary about himself”
- c. * Dan kɛ fá jí jú-mbôŋ àtì
Dan P2 give 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner a stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

Once the *nó* particle is included, the construction becomes perfectly okay as the example below shows.

- d. **OK** Dan kɛ fá jí jú-mbôŋ nê tì
Dan P2 give 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner Part. Stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

4.1.2.3. Subject-adjunct

Bare noun stem

- C10a. * Mary kɛ jɔ́ nó mbèé nû (jì)
Mary P2 see snake near body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Mary saw a snake near herself”
- b. * Mary kɛ twòŋɔ́ ɣá nlón ɲgàn mbí’í nú (jì)
Mary P2 call me because story about body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Mary called me because of a story about herself”
- c. * John kɛ lànsó Mary mbí’í nû (jì)
John P2 provoke Mary because body (3rd.s.POSS)
“John provoked mary because of himself”
- d. * bì’ì kɛ wjè kíká nú (jì’ì)
we P2 laugh in spite body (1st.p.POSS)
“We laughed in spite of ourselves”

Body noun strategy

- C10a. * Mary k̀ì j́ó nó mbèé b̀h̀nú j̀ì
Mary P2 see snake near body 3rd.s.POSS
“Mary saw a snake near herself”
- b. * Mary k̀ì twòṅṅó yá nlóṅ ṅgàṅ mbí‘í b̀h̀nú j̀ì
Mary P2 call me because story about body 3rd.s.POSS
“Mary called me because of a story about herself”
- c. * John k̀ì lànsó Mary mbí‘í b̀h̀nú j̀ì
John P2 provoke Mary because body 3rd.s.POSS
“John provoked mary because of himself”
- d. * b̀ì‘ì k̀ì wjè ḱkáká b̀h̀nú j̀ì‘ì
we P2 laugh in spite body 1st.p.POSS
“We laughed in spite of ourselves”

Owner noun strategy

- C10a. * Mary k̀ì j́ó nó mbèé j́ú j́ú-mbòṅ
Mary P2 see snake near 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Mary saw a snake near herself”
- b. ** Mary k̀ì twòṅṅó yá nlóṅ ṅgàṅ mbí‘í jí j́ú-mbòṅ
Mary P2 call me because story about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Mary called me because of a story about herself”
- c. * John k̀ì lànsó Mary mbí‘í jí j́ú-mbòṅ
John P2 provoke Mary because 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“John provoked mary because of himself”
Acceptability of above sentence will improve if anaphor is construed with Mary.
- d. * b̀ì‘ì k̀ì wjè ḱkáká b̀ì‘ì bí-mbòṅ
we P2 laugh in spite 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“We laughed in spite of ourselves”

4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements

Bare noun stem

- C11a. * Mary k̀ì d̀í‘í Hal mbó nú (j̀ì)
Mary P2 show Hal to body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Mary showed Hal to herself”
- b. * Mary k̀ì d̀í‘í nú (j̀ì) mbó Hal
Mary P2 show body (3rd.s.POSS) to hal
“Mary shpwed herself to hal”

This sentence would be perfectly okay if intended meaning were that Mary exposed her body to Hal.

- c. * Bill k̀ì fá Hal nú (j̀ì)

Bill P2 give Hal body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Bill gave Hal himself”

- d. * Bill k̀i fá nú (jì) Hal
Bill P2 give body (3rd.s.POSS) Hal
“Bill gave Hal himself”
- e. * Mary k̀i b̀it́ b́́́́ b́́́́ b́́́́ mbí’í nú (jàà)
Mary P2 ask boys the about body (3rd.p.POSS)
“Mary asked the boys about themselves”
- f. * Mary k̀i d̀i’í b́́́́ b́́́́ b́́́́ mbó nú (jàà)
Mary P2 show boys the to body (3rd.p.POSS)
“Mary showed the boys to each other”

Body noun strategy

- C11a. * Mary k̀i d̀i’í Hal mbó b̀ì̀̀̀̀nú jí
Mary P2 show Hal to body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Mary showed Hal to herself”
- b. * Mary k̀i d̀i’í b̀ì̀̀̀̀nú jí mbó Hal
Mary P2 show body (3rd.s.POSS) to hal
“Mary shpwed herself to hal”

This sentence would be perfectly okay if intended meaning were that Mary exposed her body to Hal.

- c. * Bill k̀i fá Hal b̀ì̀̀̀̀nú jí
Bill P2 give Hal body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Bill gave Hal himself”
- d. * Bill k̀i fá b̀ì̀̀̀̀nú jí Hal
Bill P2 give body (3rd.s.POSS) Hal
“Bill gave Hal himself”
- e. * Mary k̀i b̀it́ b́́́́ b́́́́ b́́́́ mbí’í b̀ì̀̀̀̀nú wáâ
Mary P2 ask boys the about body (3rd.p.POSS)
“Mary asked the boys about themselves”
- f. * Mary k̀i d̀i’í b́́́́ b́́́́ b́́́́ mbó b̀ì̀̀̀̀nú wáâ
Mary P2 show boys the to body (3rd.p.POSS)
“Mary showed the boys to each other”

Owner noun strategy

- C11a. ? Mary k̀i d̀i’í Hal mbó jú jú-mbôŋ
Mary P2 show Hal to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Mary showed Hal to herself”

This sentence sounds grammatically okay but it is hard to see the context in which it can ever be used.

- b. **OK** Mary k̀ì d̀ì'í jí jú-mb̀ôŋ mbó Hal
 Mary P2 show 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner to hal
 “Mary shpwed herself to hal”
- c. * Bill k̀ì fá Hal jí jú-mb̀ôŋ
 Bill P2 give Hal 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
 “Bill gave Hal himself”
- d. * Bill k̀ì fá jí jú-mb̀ôŋ Hal
 Bill P2 give 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner Hal
 “Bill gave Hal himself”
- e. * Mary k̀ì b̀ìt́ b́ś b́j́ mbí'í wáá b́o-mb̀ôŋ
 Mary P2 ask boys the about 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
 “Mary asked the boys about themselves”
- f. * Mary k̀ì d̀ì'í b́ś b́j́ mbó b́o b́o- mb̀ôŋ
 Mary P2 show boys the to 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.p.OBL-owner
 “Mary showed the boys to each other”

4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts

The owner-noun strategy works for C12a. No other strategy works for this example. For C12b, both the body noun and the owner noun strategies are successful. The bare noun stem strategy fails. For C12c, both body noun and owner noun strategies are again successful but there is ambiguity as anaphor could be construed with Hal or with Mary. The Bare noun stem strategy fails. Only the owner noun strategy works in the last example (C12d). The body noun strategy produces very marginal results. The bare noun stem fails totally. I provide examples of acceptable utterances only.

Bill k̀ì ʎ̀àá mb̀ì'ì Hal mbó jí jumb̀ôŋ
 Bill P2 talk about Hal to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
 “Bill talked about Hal to himself”

Mary k̀ì ʎ̀àá mb̀ì'ì ŋgáá j̀ì jú-mb̀ôŋ mbó Hal
 Mary P2 talk about sake 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner to Hal
 “Mary talked about herself to Hal”

Mary k̀ì ʎ̀àá mb̀ì'ì b̀ìñú jí mbó Hal
 Mary P2 talk about body 3rd.s.POSS to Hal
 “Mary talked about herself to Hal”

Mary k̀ì ʎ̀àá mbó Hal mb̀ì'í jí jú-mb̀ôŋ
 Mary P2 talk to Hal about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
 “Mary talked to Hal about herself”

Mary k̀ì ʎ̀àá mbó Hal mb̀ì'í b̀ìñú jí
 Mary P2 talk to Hal about body 3rd.s.POSS
 “Mary talked to Hal about herself”

Mary k̀ì ʎ̀àá mbó jí jú-mb́ôŋ mb̀ì'í Hal

e. * mfó kè fá àdàsì mbó Nick á lá'á bìnú jì
Chief P2 give present to Nick in village body 3rd.s.POSS
“The chief gave Nick a present in Nick’s village”

f. * mú wá kè jì'í njí bìnú jì
boy the P2 wash face body 3rd.s.POSS
“The boy washed his (own) face”

Owner noun strategy

C13a. **OK** Nick kè bú'ú ñdi jì jú-mbôñ
Nick P2 telephone mother 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Nick telephoned his (own) mother”

b. **OK** Nick kè kyâ tú jí jú-mbôñ
Nick P2 comb head 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Nick combed his hair”

c. **OK** Nick kè vâá mbó táfâ'â jì jú-mbôñ
Nick P2 talk to boss 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Nick talked to his boss himself”

d. **OK** Nick kè ñòñsó ñwà'àní jí jú-mbôñ á tú tétì.
Nick P2 put book body 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner on head table
“Nick put his (own) book on the table”

e. **OK** mfó kè fá àdàsì mbó Nick á lá'á jú jú-mbôñ
Chief P2 give present to Nick in village 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“The chief gave Nick a present in Nick’s village”

f. **OK** mú wá kè jì'í njí jí jú-mbôñ
boy the P2 wash face 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“The boy washed his (own) face”

C14a. Bare noun strategy

C14a. * tá bì Nick kóñê nú (jî)
Father of Nick like body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Nick’s father likes him”

b. * ñìlì'í ní ntóñ nó Nick kè zwiñtê nú (jî)
eye of neck of Nick P2 kill body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Nick’s ambition destroyed him”

c. * ndì bì Nick kè fíí mítù nú jì
mother of Nick P2 sell car body (3rd.s.POSS)
Nick’s mother sold Nick’s car”

Owner noun strategy

C14a. * tá b̀̀ Nick ḱ́gê b̀̀nù j̀̀
Father of Nick like body 3rd.s.POSS
“Nick’s father likes him”

Sentence would be okay if anaphor is construed with Nick’s father.

b. * ǹ̀l̀́í́ ǹ̀ nt́́g ń́ Nick k̀̀ z̀̀wítá b̀̀nù j̀̀
eye of neck of Nick P2 kill body 3rd.s.POSS
“Nick’s ambition destroyed him”

c. * nd̀̀ b̀̀ Nick k̀̀ f̀̀í m̀̀tù b̀̀nù j̀̀
mother of Nick P2 sell car body 3rd.s.POSS
Nick’s mother sold Nick’s car”

Owner noun strategy

C14a. * tá b̀̀ Nick ḱ́gê jí jú-mb̀̀g
Father of Nick like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Nick’s father likes him”

Sentence would be okay if anaphor is construed with Nick’s father.

b. **OK** ǹ̀l̀́í́ ǹ̀ nt́́g ń́ Nick k̀̀ z̀̀wítá jí jú-mb̀̀g
eye of neck of Nick P2 kill 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Nick’s ambition destroyed him”

c. * nd̀̀ b̀̀ Nick k̀̀ f̀̀í m̀̀tù j̀̀ jú-mb̀̀g
mother of Nick P2 sell car 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner
Nick’s mother sold Nick’s car”

Sentence would be perfectly okay if anaphor is construed with Nick’s mother.

X20a. **OK** b́́s b̀̀á k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀fú̀tò b̀̀áá b́́-mb̀̀g
Children the P2 see pictures 3rd.p.POSS 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The children saw pictures of themselves/each other”

b. ? Mary k̀̀ f̀̀wò̀g mb́́ b́́s b̀̀á mb̀̀`̀ b̀̀fú̀tò b̀̀áá
Mary P2 talk to children the about pictures their
“Mary talked to the children about their pictures”

c. * * b̀̀f̀ð byá k̀̀ kà`̀à f̀̀k̀̀r̀̀ mb́́ b́́
Chiefs the P2 plan fight to them (unacceptable)

d. * b̀̀f̀ð byá k̀̀ t̀̀nsí f̀̀k̀̀r̀̀ mb́́ b́́
Chiefs the P2 fake fight to them (unacceptable)

C15a-c

No Passive in Bafut.

4.1.3. Properties of antecedents

4.1.3.1. Pronouns, person and number

Bare noun stem strategy

In the bare noun stem strategy, addition of a relevant possessive determiner (construed with the subject) as in the (ii) sentences makes the utterance acceptable. However, the reflexive meaning is lost and the meaning we get is that of someone seeing a “body” as an object.

- | | |
|---|--|
| C16ai. * m̀̀ k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀
I P2 see body | ii. m̀̀ k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀
I P2 see body 1 st .s.POSS
“I saw my body” |
| bi. * ò k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀
you P2 see body | ii. ò k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀
you P2 see body 2 nd .s.POSS
“you saw your body” |
| ci. * à k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀
s/he P2 see body | ii. à k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀
s/he P2 see body
“S/he saw his/her body” |
| di. * bì'ì k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀
We P2 body | ii. bì'ì k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀
we P2 see body 3 rd .p.POSS
“We saw our body” |
| ei. * bù k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀
you P2 see body | ii. bù k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀
you P2 see body 2 nd .p.POSS
“you saw your body” |
| fi. * bó k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀
they P2 see body | ii. bó k̀̀ j̀̀ ǹ̀ j̀̀
they P2 see body their
“They saw their body” |

Body noun strategy

With the body noun strategy, the utterances sound a little odd but are generally acceptable. The ‘oddness’ results from the worldview of the Bafut people. It is hard for one to conceive of a situation where he/she sees himself/herself. Acceptability will however improve if we add *m̀̀m ǹ̀k̀̀'ì* “in a mirror”

- C16a. ? m̀̀ k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀ǹú ỳ̀
I P2 see body 1st.s.POSS
“I saw myself”
- b. ? ò k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀ǹú ỳ̀
you P2 see body 2nd.s.POSS
“you saw your self”
- c. ? à k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀ǹú j̀̀
s/he P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS
“S/he saw himself/herself”
- d. ? bì'ì k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀ǹú j̀̀
we P2 see body 1st.p.POSS
“We saw ourselves”
- e. ? bù k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀ǹú ỳ̀
you P2 see body 2nd.p.POSS
“you saw yourselves”
- f. ? bó k̀̀ j̀̀ b̀̀ǹú ẁ̀
they P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS
“They saw themselves”

“Owner” Noun strategy

C16a. m̀̀ k̀̀ j̀̀ ǵá m̀̀-mb̀̀

I P2 see 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner

“I saw myself”

b. ò k̀̀ j̀̀ ǵó ǵ̀̀-mb̀̀

you P2 see 2nd.s.Obj 2nd.s.OBL-owner

“you saw yourself”

c. à k̀̀ j̀̀ jí jú-mb̀̀

s/he P2 see 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“S/he saw himself/herself”

d. bì'ì k̀̀ j̀̀ jí'ì bì'ì-mb̀̀

we P2 see 1st.p.Obj 1st.p.OBL-owner

“We saw ourselves”

e. bù k̀̀ j̀̀ ǵúú bù-mb̀̀

you P2 see 2nd.p.Obj 2nd.p.OBL-owner

“you saw yourselves”

f. bó k̀̀ j̀̀ wáá bó-mb̀̀

they P2 see 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner

“They saw themselves”

Bare noun stem

In the (b) to (g) examples, acceptability improves a little if we add a relevant possessive determiner after the bare noun stem. Even then, the interpretation will be one in which ‘body’ is considered an object. In other words, the reflexive reading is not possible even with this inclusion of the possessive determiner.

C17a. m̀̀ k̀̀ ʃíí ǹ̀

I P2 wash body

“I washed myself”

b. * m̀̀ bàâ ǹ̀

I hate body

“I hate myself”

c. * m̀̀ k̀̀ ǵáá mbó John mbí'í ǹ̀

I P2 talk to John about body

“I talked to John about myself”

d. * m̀̀ k̀̀ j̀̀ nó mbèé ǹ̀

I P2 see snake side body

“I saw a snake near me”

e. No passive in Bafut

f. * m̀̀ k̀̀ bù'ú ndì ǹ̀

I P2 telephone mother body
“I telephoned my mother”

- g. * tàá yà kòṅó nù
Father my like body
“My father likes me”

Body noun strategy

C17a. m̀è k̀ì ʃìʔí bìnnú yâ

I P2 wash body 1st.s.POSS
“I washed myself”

- b. m̀è bàâ bìnnú yâ
I hate body 1st.s.POSS
“I hate myself”

- c. ? m̀è k̀ì yáá mbó John mbíʔí bìnnú yâ
I P2 talk to John about body 1st.s.POSS
“I talked to John about myself”

- d. * m̀è k̀ì j́ó nó mbèé bìnnú yâ
I P2 see snake side body 1st.s.POSS
“I saw a snake near myself”

e. No passive in Bafut

- f. * m̀è k̀ì bùʔú ndì bìnnú yâ
I P2 telephone mother body 1st.s.POSS
“I telephoned my mother”

- g. * tàá yà kòṅó bìnnú yâ
Father my like body 1st.s.POSS
“My father likes me”

Owner noun strategy

C17a. m̀è k̀ì ʃìʔí yá m̀è-mbôṅ

I P2 wash 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I washed myself”

- b. m̀è bàâ yá m̀è-mbôṅ
I hate 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I hate myself”

- c. m̀è k̀ì yáá mbó John mbíʔí yá m̀è-mbôṅ
I P2 talk to John about 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I talked to John about myself”

- d. * m̀è k̀ì j́ó nó mbèé yá m̀è-mbôṅ

I P2 see snake side 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I saw a snake near myself”

e. No passive in Bafut

f. * m̀̀ k̀̀ b̀̀ú nd̀̀ ɣ́́ m̀̀-mb̀̀

I P2 telephone mother 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I telephoned my mother”

Sentence would be okay if interpretation were “I myself, and no one else, rang my mother”

g. ? t̀̀á ɣ̀̀ k̀̀ɔ́́ ɣ́́ m̀̀-mb̀̀

Father my like body 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“My father likes me”

More of an emphatic interpretation

4.1.3.2. Animacy or humanity

Animacy or humanity does not play a role in choice of strategy.

4.1.3.2 Pronoun types

The Bafut language does not have different classes of subject pronouns.

4.1.3.4. Quantifiers

C19a. Bare noun stem strategy

This example sounds odd only because of worldview.

? m̀̀ngjé nts̀̀m k̀̀ j́́ nú j̀̀

Woman every P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS

“Every woman saw herself (in the mirror)”

C19a Body noun strategy

OK. m̀̀ngjé nts̀̀m k̀̀ j́́ b̀̀nú jí

Woman every P2 see body her

“Every woman saw herself (in the mirror)”

C19a. Owner noun strategy

OK. m̀̀ngjé nts̀̀m k̀̀ j́́ jí jú-mb̀̀

Woman every P2 see her pron-owner

“Every woman saw herself”

C19b. Bare noun strategy

OK. mú nts̀̀m k̀̀ ʃ̀̀í ǹ̀ j̀̀

Child every P2 wash body 3rd.s.POSS

“Every child washed himself/herself”

Owner noun strategy

OK. mú nts̀̀m k̀̀ ʃ̀̀í jí jú-mb̀̀

Child every P2 wash him/her pron-owner

Body noun strategy

? mú nts̀̀m k̀̀ ʃ̀̀í b̀̀nú jí

Child every P2 wash body his/her

“Every child washed herself/himself”

Acceptability would improve if intended meaning were that every child washed his body as an object (i.e. there is no reflexive meaning intended)

C19c. Bare noun stem strategy

* ðìróbà ntsìm bàá nù jì

Driver every hate body 3rd.s.POSS

“Every driver hates himself”

Utterance would be perfectly okay if ‘body’ is considered an object (i.e. reflexive meaning is not intended)

Body noun strategy

Ok. ðìróbà ntsìm bàâ bìnú jí

Driver every hate body 3rd.s.POSS

“Every driver hates himself”

Owner noun strategy

Ok. ðìróbà ntsìm bàá jí jú-mbôŋ

Driver every hate 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“Every driver hates himself”

C19d. Bare noun stem strategy

* mú ntsìm kè jò nó mbèê nú

Child every P2 see snake side body

Body noun strategy

*mú ntsìm kè jò nó mbèê bìnú jí

Child every P2 see snake side body 3rd.s.POSS

Owner noun strategy

OK. mú ntsìm kè jò nó mbèé jú jú-mbôŋ

Child every P2 see snake side 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“Every child saw a snake near him”

C19e. Bare noun stem strategy

*mú ntsìm kè bù?ú ndì nú

Child every P2 telephone mother body

Owner noun strategy

OK. mú ntsìm kè bù?ú ndì jí jú-mbôŋ

Child every P2 telephone mother 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

“Every child telephoned his mother”

Body noun strategy

*mú ntsìm kè bù?ú ndì bìnú jí

Child every P2 telephone mother body 3rd.s.POSS

C19f. Bare noun stem strategy

* tá bì mú ntsìm kôŋê nú
Father of child every like body

Owner noun strategy

? tá bì mú ntsìm kôŋê jí jú-mbôŋ
Father of child every like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

NB/Sentence odd because of ambiguity. This sentence is most likely to be interpreted as correct with reflexive form referring to some other person.

Body noun strategy

* tá bì mú ntsìm kôŋê bìnú jí
Father of child every like body 3rd.s.POSS
NB/sentence is acceptable if the reflexive is construed with “father”.

Constituent negation is not available in Bafut. “No woman eats” for instance will translate as

káá màŋgje jítsù sí dzî
Neg woman certain Neg eat.

4.1.3.5. Questioned antecedents

C20e is not possible in Bafut

4.1.3.6. Reverse binding

C21a. Bare noun stem strategy

* nú kî jô Fred
body P2 see Fred

Body noun strategy

* ìbìnú jí kî jô Fred
body 3rd.s.POSS P2 see Fred

Owner noun strategy

jú jú-mbôŋ kî jô Fred
3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 see Fred
“He himself saw Fred”

C21b

Bare noun stem strategy

* nú kî jô jíî
body P2 see 3rd.p.Obj

Body noun strategy

* ìbìnú jíí kî jô jíí
body 1st.p.POSS P2 see us

owner noun strategy

? bìî bí-mbôŋ kî jô jíí

1st.p.Subj-owner P2 see 1st.p.Obj
“We saw ourselves”

C21c Bare noun stem strategy

* * nú kî jó nò mbèé Fred
body P2 see snake near Fred

Body noun strategy

* ìbìnú jí kî jó nó mbèé Fred
body 3rd.s.POSS P2 see snake near Fred

Owner noun strategy

* jú jú-mbón kî jó nó mbèé Fred
3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 see snake near Fred

d. No word for impress in Bafut

C21e

Bare noun stem strategy

Bill kî yàá mbó jú jú-mbón mbìíí Fred i
Bill P2 speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner about Fred

Body noun strategy

* Bill kî yàá mbô bìnú jí; mbìíí Fred;
Bill P2 tell he pron-owner about Fred

Owner-noun strategy

* Bill kî yàá mbó jú jú-mbón mbìíí Fred i
Bill P2 speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner about Fred

C21f

Bare noun stem strategy

* * Bill kî f̀wòŋ nú mbìíí Fred
Bill P2 tell body about Fred

Body noun

* Bill kî f̀wòŋ ìbìnú jí mbìíí Fred
Bill P2 tell body 3rd.s.POSS about Fred

Owner noun

* Bill kî f̀wòŋ jí jú-mbôn mbìíí Fred
Bill P2 tell 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner about Fred

G. No Passive in Bafut

h. No passive in Bafut

C22a.

* à_i kî bùú ndì b̀ George;
He P2 telephone mother of George

NB/This construction will be perfectly ok if the pronoun à “he” is construed with someone else and not with George.

Bare noun stem strategy

* nú_i k̀ì bù?ú ndì bì George_i
body P2 telephone mother of George

Body noun strategy

* ìb̀ìnú jí k̀ì bù?ú ñdì bì George
body 3rd.s.POSS P2 telephone mother of George

Owner noun strategy

*jú jú-mbóŋ k̀ì bù?ú ñdì bì George
3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 telephone mother of George

C22c. Bare noun stem strategy

* ndì nú j̀ì k̀ì l̀òs náŋsí George_i
Mother body 3rd.s.POSS P2 wanted improve George

Body noun strategy

* ndì b̀ìnú j̀ì k̀ì l̀òs náŋsí George
Mother body 3rd.s.POSS P2 want improve George

Owner noun strategy

* ndì j̀ì jú-mbóŋ k̀ì l̀òs náŋsí George
Mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 want improve George

C (i) Verbs “to worry” and “to impress” not available.

C22d. Bare noun stem strategy

* Mary k̀ì ỳàànsó ndì bì nú mb̀ì?í George
Mary P2 talk mother of body about George

Body noun strategy

* Mary k̀ì ỳàànsè ndì bì b̀ìnú j̀ì mb̀ì?í George
Mary P2 talk mother of body 3rd.s.POSS about George

Owner noun strategy

* Mary k̀ì ỳàànsè ndì j̀ì jú-mbóŋ mb̀ì?í George
Mary P2 talk mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner about George
NB/sentence would have been perfectly ok if anaphor were construed with Mary.

C22e. Bare noun stem strategy

* fúto ndì nú k̀ì wó nú George
Picture mother body P2 fall body George

Body noun strategy

* fúto ndì bì b̀ìnú j̀ì k̀ì wó nú George
Picture mother of body 3rd.s.sPOSS P2 fall body George

Owner noun strategy

* fútò ndì jì jú-mbôη kî wó nú George
Picture mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 fall body George
NB/sentence ok if anaphor is construed with someone else and not George.

C22f. Bare noun stem strategy

fútò ndì nú kî bôηè George
Picture mother body P2 please George

Body noun strategy

* fútò ndì bînú jì kî bôηè George
Picture mother body 3rd.s.POSS P2 please George
*fútò ndì jì jú-mbôη kî bôηé George
Picture mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 please George

Word order in my language is fluid to an extent such that we can have the object nominal before the subject in topicalisation and cleft-focus:

g (i) George, ndì jì kôηé jí
George, mother 3rd.s.POSS love 3rd.s.Obj
“George, his mother loves him”

ii) ànì George má ndì jì kôηé
It is George that mother 3rd.s.POSS love
“It George that his mother loves”

The example in (ii) is ambiguous. “his mother” could be George’s mother or someone else’s mother.

4.1.4. Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1. Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

C23 (a) bàηgjà bjâ kî kwètê bînú wáâ
Women the P2 help body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women helped themselves”

(b) ? bàηgjà bjâ kî kwé-nó wáâ
Women the P2 help-RCM 3rd.p.POSS
“The women helped each other”

(c) ? bàηgjà bjâ kî kwétó wáá bô-mbôη
Women the P2 help 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women helped themselves”

C23a has the meaning in (d) where each woman helps herself. It could also have the meaning in (e) where the women as a group help the women as a group. This sentence does not have the meanings in (a), (b) (c) and (f) The example in C23b has the meanings in (e) “women as a group help women as a group” and in (f) “where each woman helps one of the women”. The other meanings in C24a, c24b and c24c are also possible but one needs to *think* before having these interpretations. C24d* is clearly not possible.

The example in C233 (c) has the same interpretations as in C23a.

C25a (i) ? bàηgjà bjâ kî yà?àsó wáá bô-mbôη
Women the P2 praise 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women praised themselves/each other”

(ii) **OK** bàηgjà bjâ kî yà?àsî bînú wáá

Women the P2 praise body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women ^praised themselves”

Possible Interpretations

In both (a i) and (a ii) the interpretation in C24d, C24e and C24f are possible. The other interpretations C24a, C24b and C24c are somehow possible but one needs to think so hard to come up with these interpretations.

C25b (i) ? bàṅgjà bjà ká ðìntó wáá bó-mbón

Women the Fo support 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women will support themselves/each other”

ii) **OK** bàṅgjà bjà ká ðìntí bìnú wáá

Women the Fo support body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women will support themselves”

Same interpretations as above

C25c (i) **OK** bàṅgjà bjà kó wáá bo-mbón

Women the P2 photograph them pron-owner
“The women photographed themselves/each other”

(ii) **OK** bàṅgjà bjà kì kô bìnú wáá

Women photograph body their
“The women photographed themselves”

In (i) C24d is clearly available. C24f and bC24b is also possible. The other interpretations are difficult to come by. In (ii) C24d is also clearly available. C24f is also available. The others are possible but difficult to imagine the scenario.

C25d (i) **OK** bàṅgjà bjà kì fī wáá bó-mbón

Women the P2 sell 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women betrayed themselves/ each other”

Again the interpretations in C24d, C24e and C24f are clearly available. The others are not clearly available but deep reflection will bring out the interpretation.

From these observations, I can say that the “owner” noun strategy allows a reciprocal reading. The “body” noun strategy allows a reciprocal reading only to an extent. Both strategies however allow reflexive readings. The Bare noun stem strategy allows only a reflexive reading.

There are a number of predicates in which the “owner” noun strategy and the “body” noun strategy yield ambiguity.

i. bàṅgjà bjà kì fī wáá bó-mbón

Women the P2 sell 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women betrayed themselves/ each other

ii. bàṅgjà bjà kì kwètó wáá bó-mbón

Women the P2 sell 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women betrayed themselves/ each other

iii. bàṅgjà bjà kì fī bìnú wáá

Women the P2 sell body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women betrayed themselves/ each other

iv. bàṅgjà bjà kì b̀̀gótí bìnú wáá

Women the P2 sell body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women insulted themselves/ each other

v. b̩̀ngjè bjá k̩̀ l̩̀è̀nsá wáá b́o-mb̩̀ŋ
Women the P2 wound 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women wounded themselves/ each other”

vi. b̩̀ngjè bjá k̩̀ l̩̀è̀nsá b̩̀̀ǹ̩nú wáá
Women the P2 wound body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women wounded themselves/ each other”

4.1.4.2. Reciprocal Readings

C26. The “body” noun strategy works with the verb “see”, while the “owner” noun strategy works with the verbs “see”, “hit” and “fight”.

i. b̩̀ bjá k̩̀ j́ b̩̀̀ǹ̩nú wáá múm ŋk̩̀`ì
men the P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
“The men saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

ii. b̩̀ bjá k̩̀ j́ wáá b́o-mb̩̀ŋ múm ŋk̩̀`ì
men the P2 see body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner in mirror
“The men saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

iii. b̩̀ bjá k̩̀ kẁ̩ǹ̩ wáá b́o-mb̩̀ŋ
men the P2 see body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
“The men saw themselves/each other”

iv. b̩̀ bjá k̩̀ j́ wáá b́o-mb̩̀ŋ múm ŋk̩̀`ì
men the P2 see body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner in mirror
“The men saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

v. b̩̀ bjá k̩̀ t̩̀ wáá b́o-mb̩̀ŋ
men the P2 fight body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
“The men saw themselves/each other”

b) C27 only the verb “see” is possible with the “owner” noun strategy.

Bill b́o John k̩̀ j̩̀-ń wáá b́o-mb̩̀ŋ
Bill and John P2 see-RCM them pron-owner
“Bill and John saw each other”

For the “body” noun strategy, “see” is possible while “meet” can barely be accepted.

Ok. Bill b́o John k̩̀ j́ b̩̀̀ǹ̩nú wáá múm ŋk̩̀`ì
Bill and John P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
“Bill and John saw each other in the mirror”

? Bill b́o John k̩̀ b́o b̩̀̀ǹ̩nú wáá
Bill and John P2 meet body their
“Bill and John met each other”

c) There is no difference in the range of interpretations.

d) The owner noun strategy can express reciprocity between a subject and an indirect object.
The body noun strategy does not:

C29ai John bó Mary ki yàá mbó bó bó-mbôŋ
John and Mary P2 speak to 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
“John and Mary spoke to themselves/each other”

C29a (ii) * John bó Mary kî yàá mbô bînú wáá
John and Mary P2 speak to body 3rd.p.POSS

C29b (i)* John bó Mary kî bòó bó bó-mbôŋ
John and Mary P2 meet 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner

(ii) * John bo Mary kî bóô bînú wáá
John and Mary P2 meet body 3rd.p.POSS

C29c (i) John bó Mary kî fá ñkábí já mbó bó bó-mbôŋ
John and Mary P2 give money the to 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
“John and Mary gave the money to each other”

(ii) * John bó Mary kî fá ñkábí já mbó ibînú wáá
John and Mary P2 give money to body 3rd.p.POSS

In the last example (C29c) the owner noun strategy expresses reciprocity between subject and indirect object but the body noun strategy does not.

e. Long distance reciprocal readings

Yes! The sentence in C30 means that Bill thinks he likes Mary and Mary thinks she likes Bill

C30 (i) Bill bó Mary wá?áté mǎ bó kóŋ-nâ
Bill and Mary think that they like-RCM
“Bill and Mary think that they like each other”

(ii) Bill bó Mary wá?tǎ mǎ bó kóŋ wáá bó-mbôŋ
Bill and Mary think that they like 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“Bill and Mary think that they like themselves/each other”

(iii) Bill bó Mary wá?tǎ mǎ bó kóŋ bînú wáá
Bill and Mary think that they like body 3rd.p.POSS
“Bill and Mary think that they like themselves/each other”

4.2 Cross Clausal Binding

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

D1a (i) Simple pronoun

Jack kî fwǒŋ mǎ jú tǎésâ
Jack P2 say that he intelligent
“Jack said that he is intelligent”

ii) owner noun strategy

? Jack kî fwǒŋ mâ jú jú-mbôŋ tǎésâ

Jack P2 say that he pron-owner intelligent

“Jack said that he is intelligent”

This is not a natural translation of the sentence in D1a. The sentence is used in a context where many people are intelligent and Jack is saying that he himself/even he too is intelligent.

D1b (i) **Simple pronoun**

Jack ʒí mə George kòŋə jí

Jack know the George like him

“Jack knows that George loves him

NB. Sentence could also mean that George loves another person (not Jack).

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**

*Jack ʒí mə George kòŋ jí jú-mbòŋ

Jack know that George like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

NB. Sentence would be perfectly ok if “George likes George”

iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

*Jack ʒí mə George kòŋ ìbìnú jí

Jack know George like body 3rd.s.POSS

NB. Sentence would be perfectly ok if “George loves George”

D1c (i) **Simple Pronoun**

Jack ʒí mə Bill kì fwǒŋ mə jú tʃésə

Jack know that Bill P2 say that he intelligent

“Jack knows that Bill said that he is intelligent

NB/Ambiguity: Could also mean that “Bill sad that Bill is intelligent

(ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**

*Jack ʒí mə Bill kì fwǒŋ mə jú jú-mboŋ tʃésə

Jack know that Bill P2 say that 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner smart

NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if meaning is that “Bill said that Bill is intelligent”

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

*Jack ʒí mə Bill kì fwǒŋ mə bìnu jí tʃésə

Jack know that Bill P2 said that body his smart

D1d.(i) **Simple Pronoun**

Jack wàʔàtí mə Lisa ʒí mə Wendy kòŋə jí

Jack think that Lisa know that Wendy like him

“Jack thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him”

NB/Ambiguity: Wendy could like Lisa or Jack. Anaphor can be construed with Lisa or Jack.

ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**

*Jack wàʔàtí mə Lisa ʒí mə Wendy kòŋə jí jú-mbòŋ

Jack think that Lisa know that Wendy like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

NB/sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Wendy.

(iii) Body Noun Strategy

*Jack wàʔátí mǎ Lisa zǐ mǎ Wendy kòŋ ìbìnú jí

Jack think that Lisa know that Wendy like body 3rd.s.POSS

NB/ sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Wendy.

D1e (i) Simple Pronoun

Jack wàʔátí mǎ Lisa zǐ mǎ jú kòŋǎ Alice

Jack think that Lisa know that he like Alice

“Jack thinks that Lisa knows that he likes Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok. No ambiguity.

(ii) Owner noun Strategy

Jack wàʔátí mǎ Lisa zǐ mǎ jú jú-mbóŋ kòŋǎ Alice

Jack think that Lisa know that 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Alice

“Jack thinks Lisa knows that he like Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok.

iii) Body Noun strategy

*Jack wàʔátí mǎ Lisa zǐ mǎ bìnú jí kòŋǎ Alice

Jack thinks that Lisa know that body 3rd.s.POSS like Alice

D1f (i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kì fwǒŋ mbó Jack mǎ Lisa kòŋǎ jí

Sarah P2 say to Jack that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obj

“Sarah told Jack that Lisa loves him”

NB: Ambiguity: Pronoun could also be construed with Sarah

iii) Owner noun Strategy

*Sarah kì fwǒŋ mbó Jack mǎ Lisa kòŋǎ jí jú-mbôŋ

Sarah P2 say to Jack that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner

Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa

iii) Body noun strategy

Sarah kì fwǒŋ mbó Jack mǎ Lisa kǒŋ bìnú jí

Sarah P2 say to Jack that Lisa like body 3rd.s.POSS

NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa.

D1g.(i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kì fwǒŋǎ mbó Jack mǎ à kòŋǎ Wendy

Sarah P2 say to jack that 3rd.s.Subj like Wendy

“Sarah told Jack that he loves Wendy”

Sentence is perfectly ok if the pronoun *á* is used instead of the *jú* in previous examples. The pronoun *á* is also acceptable in place of *jú* in D1c and D1e.

ii) Owner noun strategy

? Sarah kì fwǒŋǎ mbó Jack mǎ jú jú-mbóŋ kóŋǎ

Sarah P2 say to Jack that 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner like Wendy
“Sarah told Jack he/she loves Wendy”

Sentence is a bit odd but quite acceptable if anaphor is construed with Sarah.

iii) **Body noun strategy**

*Sarah k̀ì ƿwǒŋə mbó Jack m̂ê b̀h́nú jí k̀óŋé Wendy

Sarah P2 say to Jack that body 3rd.s.POSS like Wendy

The semantic distinction in the “Jack” sentences is not morphologically marked in Bafut.

4.2.2. Long Distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types

Simple Pronoun

D4a. (1) Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill júʔúná jí

Edgar P2 say that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj

“Edgar asked Bill to obey him”

ii) **Owner Noun**

*Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill júʔúnə jí jú-mb̂əŋ

Edgar P2 say that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner

NB/ Sentence would be grammatically ok (although pragmatically odd) if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

*Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill júʔúnə b̀h́nú jí

Edgar P2 say that Bill obey body 3rd.s.POSS

D4b. (1) **Simple Pronoun**

Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill fá ŋkábí mbó jú

Edgar P2 say that part Bill give money to 3rd.s.OBL

“Edgar asked Bill to give him money”

ii) **Owner Noun**

* Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill fá ŋkábí mbó jú jú-mb̂əŋ

Edgar P2 say that part Bill give money to 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner

NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

*Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill fá ŋkábí mbó b̀h́nú jí

Edgar P2 say that part Bill give money to body 3rd.s.POSS

D4c. (i) **Simple Pronoun**

Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill ɣáâ mbó jú

Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk to 3rd.s.OBL

“Edgar asked Bill to talk to him”

ii) **Owner Noun**

*Edgar k̀ì ƿwǒŋ m̂é tá Bill ɣáâ mbó jú jú-mb̂əŋ

Edgar P2 say that part Bill speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

*Edgar k̄i f̄wǒŋ mó tá Bill γάâ mbô b̄h̄nú jí
Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk to body 3rd.s.POSS

D4d. (i) **Simple Noun**

*Edgar k̄i f̄wǒŋ mó tá Bill γάâ mb̄i?i jí
Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.OBL
“Edgar asked Bill to talk about him”

ii) **Owner Noun**

*Edgar k̄i f̄wǒŋ mó tá Bill γάâ mb̄i?i jí jú-mbóŋ
Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

* Edgar k̄i f̄wǒŋ mó tá Bill γάâ mb̄i?i b̄h̄nú jí
Edgar P2 say that part bill speak about body 3rd.s.POSS
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4e. (i) **Simple Pronoun**

Edgar lí n̄l̄int̄i mó ta Bill jú?únó jí
Edgar P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj
“Edgar expected Bill to obey him”

ii) **Owner Noun**

*Edgar lí n̄l̄int̄i mó tá Bill jú?únó jí jú-mbôŋ
“Edgar P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

*Edgar lí n̄l̄int̄i mó tá Bill jú?úní b̄h̄nú jí
Edgar P1 look that Bill obey body 3rd.s.POSS
NB/ Again sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4f. (1) **Simple Pronoun**

Edgar lí ŋgáá Bill m̄ê tú jí
Edgar P1 force Bill that part pay him
“Edgar forced Bill to pay him”

ii) **Owner noun**

* Edgar lí ŋgáâ Bill mó tá tú jí jú-mbôŋ
Edgar P1 force Bill that part pay 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

*Edgar lí ngúá Bill mǎ tǎ bǐnú jí

Edgar P1 force bill that part pay body 3rd.s.POSS

NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4g.(i) **Simple Pronoun**

Edgar kǐ gǎá Bill mǎ tǎ fǔwǒng mǎ jú tǔsǎsǎ

Edgar P2 force Bill that part say that 3rd.s.Subj intelligent

“Edgar forced Bill to say that he is smart”

NB/ Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that “Edgar forced Bill to say that Bill is smart”.

ii) **Owner Noun**

*Edgar kǐ gǎá Bill mǎ tǎ fǔwǒng mǎ jú jú-mbǒng tǔsǎsǎ

Edgar P2 force Bill that part say that he 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner intelligent

NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

*Edgar kǐ gǎá Bill mǎ tǎ fǔwǒng mǎ bǐnú jí tǔsǎsǎ

Edgar P2 force Bill that part say that body his smart

D4h.(i) **Simple pronoun**

* Edgar kǐ gǎá Bill mǎ tǎ fǔwǒng mǎ Mary kǎngǎ jí

Edgar P2 force Bill that part say that Mary like him

“Edgar forced Bill to say that Mary loves him”

NB/ Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that Mary loves Bill.

ii) **Owner Noun**

*Edgar kǐ gǎá Bill mǎ tǎ fǔwǒng mǎ Mary kǎngǎ jí jú-mbǒng

Edgar P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner

NB/ Sentence is perfectly acceptable if Mary loves herself.

iii) **Body Noun**

* Edgar kǐ gǎá Bill mǎ tǎ fǔwǒng mǎ Mary kǎngǎ bǐnú jí

Edgar P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love body 3rd.s.POSS

NB/ Sentence is acceptable if Mary loves herself.

D5(c). Edgar jú-mbǒng wǎ?ǎí mǎ jú kǎ dzǐ

Edgar 3rd.s.OBL-owner think that 3rd.s.Subj F0 win

“Edgar himself thinks that he will win”

d) Edgar jú-mbǒng wǎ?ǎí mǎ Bill kǎ dzǐ

Edgar 3rd.s.OBL-owner thinks that Bill F0 win

“Edgar himself thinks that Bill will win”

Verb serialization is possible in my language but I do not see patterns that you might be interested in. May be follow up research will help.

4.2.3 Backwards Anaphora

D9 (a) *ǎdzǎng mǎ jú-mbǒng lí ntǐgǐ láá lí jǎngǎ Oliver

Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late Def P1 upset Oliver

b) * àdzǎŋ mə jú-mbóŋ lí ntìgì láá díŋí mə Oliver nì njèrě
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late Def show that Oliver is thief

c) * àdzǎŋ mə jú-mbóŋ lí ntìgì láá yírí Oliver bá tsòó njèrè
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late Def make Oliver be like thief

d) * àdzǎŋ mə jú-mbóŋ lí ntìgì láá lí níŋé Oliver á ngíŋí
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late def P1 put Oliver in trouble

Replacing jú-mbóŋ “3rd.s.OBL-owner” with the simple pronoun *jú* or with ìbìbú-pron “body pronoun” produces the same ungrammatical utterances.

4.3. Principle C-type effects

E1a. * à_i kì sèŋé Malik_i
He_i P2 count Malik
“He_i criticized Malik_i”

The pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * à_i kì fwoŋ mə Mariam kì sèŋé Malik_i
He P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik_i
“He said that Mariam criticized Malik”

The pronoun cannot be Malik

c. * à_i kì sèŋé mú wâ_i
He P2 say that Mariam P2 count child the
“He said Mariam criticized the child”

The pronoun cannot be the child

E2a. * ndì jì kì sèŋé Malik_i
Mother his_i P2 count Malik_i
“His mother criticized Malik”

The poss. pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * ndì jì kì fwoŋ mə mariam kì sèŋé Malik
Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
“His mother said Mariam criticized Malik

c. * ndì jì kì sèŋé mú wâ
Mother his P2 count the
“His mother criticized the child”

NB/ The poss pron cannot be the child

- d. * ndì jì kè ʃwǒŋ mǎ mariam kè sɛŋǎ Malik
Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
“His mother said that Mariam criticized Malik”

NB/ Poss pron cannot be Malik.

- E3a. * ŋú wá mǎ à kɛŋǎ kè sɛŋǎ Malik
Person the that he like P2 count Malik
“The man who he liked criticised Malik”
NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

- b. * ŋú wá mǎ à kɛŋǎ kè sɛŋǎ mú wâ
Person the that he like P2 count child the
“The man who he liked criticised the boy”

The pronoun cannot be the boy

- C. ? ŋú wá mǎ à kɛŋǎ jí láà kè sɛŋǎ mú wâ
Person the that he like Def P2 count child the
“The man who liked him criticized the boy”

The subordinate subject pronoun *à* cannot be the boy. The subordinate object pronoun *jí* can be the boy. There is however ambiguity as *jí* could also refer to a third party. This is the more natural interpretation.

- E4a. * à_i kè sɛŋǎ Malik_i
He_i P2 count Malik_i
“He_i criticized Malik”

The pronoun cannot be Malik

- b. * à_i kè ʃwǒŋ mǎ Mariam kè sɛŋǎ Malik_i
He_i P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik_i
“He said that Mariam criticized Malik”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

- c. * à_i kè sɛŋǎ mú wâ_i
He_i P2 count child the
“He criticized the child”

- E5a. * à_i kè sɛŋǎ Malik_i
He_i P2 count Malik_i
“He criticized Malik”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

b.* à; kî fwǒŋ mó Mariam kî sèŋó Maliki
He P2 say that Mariam P2 count Maliki
“He said that Mariam criticized Maliki”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Maliki

c. * à; kî sèŋó mú wâ;
He P2 say that Mariam P2 count child the
“He said Mariam criticized the child”

The pronoun cannot be the child

E6a. * ndî jî kî sèŋó Malik
Mother his P2 count Malik
“His mother criticized Malik”

NB/ The poss. pronoun cannot be Malik

b.* ndî jî kî fwǒŋ mó mariam kî sèŋó Malik
Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
“His mother said Mariam criticized Maliki

c. * ndî jî kî sèŋó mú wâ
Mother his P2 count the
“His mother criticized the child”

NB/ The poss pron cannot be the child

d.* ndî jî kî fwǒŋ mó Mariam kî sèŋó Malik
Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
“His mother said that Mariam criticized Malik

NB/ Poss pron cannot be Malik.

E6a. * ŋú wá mó à kòŋê kî sèŋó Malik
Person the that he like P2 count Malik
“The man who he liked criticised Malik”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * ŋú wá mó à kòŋê kî sèŋó mú wâ
Person the that he like P2 count child the
“The man who he liked criticised the boy”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be the boy

C. ? ŋù wá mó à kòŋé jí láà kî sèŋó mú wâ

Person the that he like Def P2 count child the
“The man who liked him criticized the boy”

In no circumstance can Malik work as the antecedent of Malik or “the boy” work as antecedent of “the boy”.

E7a. mú wá k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ Malík

Child the P2 criticize Malik

“The boy criticized Malik”

b. mú w̄ k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ m̄́ Mariam k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ Malík

Child the P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise Malik

“The child said that Mariam criticized Malik”

c. Malík k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ mú w̄

Malik P2 criticize child the

“The child criticised the child”

d. Malík k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ m̄́ Mariam k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ mú w̄

Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 criticize child the

“Malik said that Mariam criticised the boy”

E8a. nd̄̀ bì mú k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ Malík

Mother of child P2 criticise Malik

“The boy’s mother criticised Malik”

b. nd̄̀ bì mú wá k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ m̄́ Mariam k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ Malík

Mother of the child the P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise Malik

“The child’s mother said that Mariam criticized Malik”

c. nd̄̀ bì Malík k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ mú w̄

Mother of Malik P2 criticise child the

Malik’s mother criticized the child”

d. nd̄̀ bì Malík k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ m̄́ Mariam k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ mú w̄

Mother of Male P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise child the

“Malik’s mother said that Mariam criticized the child”

E9a. n̄̀ wá m̄́ mú w̄ k̀̀n̄́ k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ Malík

Person the that child the like P2 criticise Malik

“The man who the child liked criticized Malik

b. n̄̀ wá m̄́ Malík k̀̀n̄́ k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ mú wá

Person the that Malik like P2 criticise child the

“The man who Malik liked criticized the child”

c. n̄̀ wá m̄́ k̀̀n̄́ Malík l̄́ k̀̀ s̀̀n̄́ mú w̄

Person the that like Malik Def. P2 criticise child the

“The man who liked Malik criticized the boy”

d. ηù wá mē kòηê mú wâ láà kì sèηó Malik
Person that like child the Def P2 criticise Malik
“The man who likes the child criticized Malik”

In the preceding sentences (E7a-E9d), the boy can never be Malik in any discourse circumstance.

4.3 Principle C-type effects

E1a) à kì bə̀gító Malik
He P2 insult Malik
“He insulted Malik”

b) à kì fwõη mó Mariam kì bə̀gító Malik
He P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
“He said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) à kì bó̀gító mú wâ
He P2 insult child the
“He P2 insulted the child”

d) à kì fwõ η mó Mariam kì bə̀gító mú wâ
He P2 say that Mariam P2 insult child the
“He said that Mariam insulted the child”

E2a) ndì jì kì bə̀gító Malik
Mother his P2 insult Malik
“His mother insulted Malik”

b) ndì jì kì fwõη mó Mariam kì bə̀gító Malik
Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
His mother said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) ndì jì kì bə̀gító mú wâ
Mother his P2 insult child the
“His mother insulted the child”

d) ndì jì kì fwõη mó mariam kì bə̀gító mú wâ
Mother his P2 say that mariam P2 insult Malik
“His mother said that mariam insulted the child”

E3a) ηù wá mó à kòη láá à kì bə̀gító Malik
Person the that he like Def. he P2 insult Malik
“The man who he likes insulted Malik”

b) ηù wá mó à kòη láá à kì bə̀gító mú wâ
Person the that he like Def he P2 insult child the
“The man who he likes insulted the child”

c) ηù wá mó à kòη jí láá à kì bə̀gító mú wâ
Person the that he like him Def he P2 insult child the
“The man who likes him insulted the child”

In all of the above sentences, it is not possible, under any discourse circumstances, for à “he” to be interpreted as referring to “Malik” or “the child”

E4a) Malik kî bəgító Malik
Malik P2 insult Malik
“Malik insulted Malik”

b) Malik kî fwôŋ mó Mariam kî bəgító Malik
Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
“Malik said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) mú wá kî bəgító mú wâ
Child the P2 insult child the
“The child insulted the child”

d) mú wá kî fwǒŋ mó Mariam kî bəgító mú wâ
Child the P2 say that Mariam P2 insult child the
“The child said that Mariam insulted the child”

E5a) ndî bì Malik kî bəgító Malik
Mother of Malik P2 insult Malik
“Malik’s mother insulted Malik”

b) ndî bì Malik kî fwǒŋ mó Mariam kî bəgító Malik
Mother of Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
“Malik’s mother said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) ndî bì mú wá kî bəgító mú wâ
Mother of child the P2 insult child the
“The child’s mother insulted the child”

d) ndî bì mú wá kî fwǒŋ mó Mariam kî bəgító mú wâ
Mother of child P2 say that Mariam P2 insult the child
“The child’s mother said that Mariam insulted the child”

E6a) ñù wá mó Malik kǒŋ láá à kî bəgító Malik
Person the that Malik like Def he P2 insult Malik
“The man who Malik likes insulted Malik”

b) ñù wá mó mú wá kǒŋ láá à kî bəgító mú wâ
Man the that child the like Def he P2 insult child the
“The man who the child likes insulted the child”

c) ñù wá mó à kǒŋé mú wâ láá á kî bəgító mú wâ
Man the that he like child the def he P2 insult child
“The man who likes the child insulted the boy”

In no discourse circumstance can Malik work as the antecedent of Malik. “The child” Cannot also work as the antecedent of “the child”.

E7a) mú wá kî bəgító Malik

Child the P2 insult Malik

“The child insulted Malik”

b) mú wá k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mǎ Mariam k̀ì b̀ègítǎ Malik

Child the P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik

“The child said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) Malik k̀ì b̀ègítǎ mú wâ

Malik P2 insult child the

Malik insulted the child”

d) Malik k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mǎ Mariam k̀ì b̀ègítǎ mú wá

Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 insult child the

“Malik said that Mariam insulted the child”

E8a) ndì bì mú wá k̀ì b̀ègítǎ Malik

Mother of child the P2 insult Malik

“The boy’s mother insulted Malik”

b) ndì bì mú wá k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mǎ Mariam k̀ì b̀ègítǎ Malik

Mother of child the P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik

“The child’s mother said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) ndì bì Malik k̀ì b̀ègítǎ mú wâ

Mother of Malik P2 insult child the

“Malik’s mother insulted the child”

d) ndì bì Malik k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mǎ Mariam k̀ì b̀ègítǎ mú wâ

Mother of Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 insulted child the

“Malik’s mother said that Mariam insulted the child”

E9a) ñù wá mǎ mú wá k̀ŋ láá ù k̀ì b̀ègítǎ Malik

Man the that child the like Def he P2 insult Malik

“The man who the boy likes insulted Malik”

b) ñù wá mǎ Malik k̀ŋ láá ù k̀ì b̀ègítǎ mú wâ

Man the that Malik like Def he P2 insult child the

“The man who the boy likes insulted Malik”

c) ñù wá mǎ ù k̀ŋ láá ù k̀ì b̀ègítǎ mú wâ

Man the that he like Malik Def he P2 insult child the

“The man who likes Malik insulted the child”

d) ñù wá mǎ ù k̀ŋ mú wâ láá ù k̀ì b̀ègítǎ Malik

Man the that he like child the Def he P2 insult Malik

“The man who likes the boy insulted Malik”

Again, in these sentences, “the child” can never be interpreted as Malik.

4.4. More on long distance anaphor strategies

Bafut uses the LDA strategy. The logoric pronoun as in D10 is *jú*. This same form is used as object of preposition personal pronoun.

D10a) John_i bí mó jú_i tʃésê
John believe that he intelligent
“John believes that he is smart”

b) John_i kî ʃwǒŋ mó tá m̀ fá mbó jú_i
John P2 say that Imp I give to him
“John said that I should give it to him”

The different forms of the logophoric pronoun are:

I m̀

You.....ò

He/She jú

We.....bíʔi

Youbù

They.....bó

4.4.1 Position of the antecedent

D11a) Larry kî ʃwǒŋ mbó zeke mó Mike s̀ jí kóŋè
Larry P2 say to zeke that Mike Neg he like
“Larry told zeke that mike does not like him”

b) Zeke kî ʃwǒŋ mbó Larry mó Mike s̀ jí kóŋè
Zeke P2 say to Larry that mike Neg he like
“Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like him”

c) Zeke kî ʃwǒŋ mbó Larry mó jú s̀ Mike kóŋè
Zeke P2 say to Larry that he Neg Mike like
“Zeke told Larry that he (Zeke) does not like Mike”

d) Larry kî ʃwǒŋ mbo Zeke mó à s̀ Mike kóŋè
Larry P2 say to zeke that he Neg Mike like
“Larry told zeke that he (zeke) does not like Mike”

NB/ Ambiguity: The pronoun *à* “he” could refer to either Larry or Zeke

e) Larry źí mó zeke wàʔàt́ mó Mike s̀ jí kóŋè
Larry know that zeke think that Mike Neg him like
“Larry knows that zeke thinks that Mike does not like him”

f) Zeke źí mó Larry wàʔàt́ mó Mike s̀ jí kóŋè
Zeke know that Larry think that Mike Neg him like
“Zeke knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him”

D12a) ndì bí Zeke wàʔàt́ mó Mike s̀ jí kóŋè
Mother of Zeke thinks that he Neg Mike like

“Zeke’s mother thinks that Mike does not like him”

b) ndì bí Zeke wà?àtíá mǎ à sí Mike kǒhè
Mother of Zeke think that he Neg Mike like
“Zeke’s mother thinks that he does not Mike”

c) Zeke wà?àtí mǎ Mike sǐ jí kǒhè
Zeke think that mike Neg him like
“Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him”

d) àh wà?ànǎ Zeke f wǒh mǎ Mike sǐ jí kǒhè
Letter Zeke say that Mike Neg him like
“Zeke’s letter says Mike does not like him”

e) Zeke kǐ jù?ú mǎ Mary sǐ jí kǒhè
Zeke P2 hear that Mary Neg him like
“Zeke heard that Mary does not like him”

f) No passive

D13a(i) Zeke kǐ f wǒh mǎ jú wé?é jí (jú-mbǒh)
Zeke p2 say that he dress 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
“Zeke said that he dressed himself”

(ii) Zeke kǐ f wǒh mǎ jú wé?ê bǐh nù jǐ
Zeke P2 say that he dress body 3rd.s.POSS
“Zeke said he dressed himself”

b(i) Zeke kǐ f wǒh mǎ jú lǎh nsǎ jí (ju-mbǒh)
Zeke P2 says that he wound 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
“Zeke said he wounded himself”

ii) Zeke kǐ f wǒh mǎ jú lǎh nsǎ bǐh nù jí
Zeke P2 say that he wound body 3rd.s.POSS
“Zeke said he wounded himself”

C (i) Zeke kǐ f wǒh mǎ jú kǐ wǐntǐ jí (jú-mbǒh)
Zeke P2 say that he P2 scarify 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
Zeke said that he scarified himself”

ii) Zeke kǐ f wǒh mǎ jú kǐ wǐntǐ bǐh nù jǐ
Zeke P2 say that he P2 scarify body 3rd.s.POSS
“Zeke said that he scarified himself”

4.4.2 Antecedent Properties

4.4.2.1 Person

D11a) Larry kǐ f wǒh mbó jú mǎ Mike sǐ jí kǒhè
Larry P2 say to him that Mike Neg he like

“Larry told him that Mike does not like him”
Ambiguity: Anaphor could refer to *Larry* or *him*

b) à k̀ì ʃwǒ̀ḡ mbó Larry mǎ Mike s̀ì jí k̀óḡḡ
he P2 say to Larry that mike Neg he like
“He told Larry that Mike does not like him”

Ambiguity: Anaphor could refer to *Larry* or *him*

c) à k̀ì ʃwǒ̀ḡ mbó Larry mǎ jú s̀ì Mike k̀óḡḡ
he P2 say to Larry that he Neg Mike like
“He told Larry that he (Zeke) does not like Mike”

Anaphor can only refer to the subject pronoun *he*.

d) Larry k̀ì ʃwǒ̀ḡ mbo jú mǎ à s̀ì Mike k̀óḡḡ
Larry P2 say to him that he Neg Mike like
“Larry told him that he (zeke) does not like Mike”

Ambiguity: Anaphor can also refer to pronoun *he*.

e) Larry ʒí mǎ à wàʔàt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì jí k̀óḡḡ
Larry know that he think that Mike Neg him like
“Larry knows that he thinks that Mike does not like him”

Ambiguity: Anaphor could refer to *Larry* or to *he*

f) à ʒí mǎ Larry wàʔàt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì jí k̀óḡḡ
he know that Larry think that Mike Neg him like
“He knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him”

Same ambiguity as above

D12a) nd̀ì j̀ì wàʔàt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì jí k̀óḡḡ
Mother his think that he Neg Mike like
“His mother thinks that Mike does not like him”

Anaphor normally refers to *his mother*. However, after some reflection, another interpretation in which anaphor refers to *he* will also arise.

b) nd̀ì j̀ì wàʔàt́ mǎ à sí Mike k̀óḡḡ
Mother his think that he Neg Mike like
“His mother thinks that he does not like Mike”

Anaphor (pronoun à “he”) is construed with *he* (i.e. possessor in “his mother”)

c) à wàʔàt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì jí k̀óḡḡ
he think that mike Neg him like

“he thinks that Mike does not like him”

d) àηwàʔàné jí fwóη mǎ Mike sǐ jí kóηè

Letter his say that Mike Neg him like

“His letter says Mike does not like him”

Ambiguity: Anaphor could be construed with possessor or with a third party

e) à kǐ jùʔú mè Mary sǐ jí kóηè

he P2 hear that Mary Neg him like

“He heard that Mary does not like him”

Ambiguity: Anaphor could be construed with *he* or with a third party

f) No passive

D13a) (i) à kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú wéʔé jí (jú-mbôη)

he p2 say that he dress 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)

“He said that he dressed himself”

(ii) à kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú wéʔê bìnnú jí

he P2 say that he dress body 3rd.s.POSS

“He said he dressed himself”

b)i) à kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú làènsǎ jí (ju-mbôη)

he P2 says that he wound 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)

“He said he wounded himself”

ii) à kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú làènsê bìnnú jí

he P2 say that he wound body 3rd.s.POSS

“He said he wounded himself”

C (i) à kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú kǐ wǐntǎ jí (jú-mbôη)

he P2 say that he P2 scarify 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)

“He said that he scarified himself”

ii) à kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú kǐ wǐntê bìnnú jí

he P2 say that he P2 scarify body 3rd.s.POSS

“He said that he scarified himself”

In all these examples, the most natural case is for the anaphor to be construed with *he*.

4.4.2.2 Quantified Antecedents

A. Jack paradigm and “every child”

D.1a (i) Simple Pronoun strategy

mú ntsím kǐ fwǒη mǎ jú tǎésê

child every P2 say that he intelligent

“Every child said that he is intelligent”

ii) **Owner noun strategy**

? mú ntsìm kà fwǒŋ mǎ jú jú-mbòŋ tʃésâ
child every P2 say that he pron-owner intelligent
“Every child said that he is intelligent”

This is not a natural translation of the sentence in D1a. The sentence is used in a context where many people are intelligent and each child is saying that he too/even he himself is intelligent.

iii) **Body noun strategy**

* mú ntsìm kà fwǒŋ mǎ bùínú jí tʃésâ
child every P2 say that body his intelligent.

D1b (i) **Simple pronoun**

mú ntsìm zí mǎ George kòŋǎ jí
child every know the George like him
“Every child knows that George loves him

NB. Sentence could also mean that George loves another person (not each child).

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**

* mú ntsìm zí mǎ George kòŋ jí jú-mbòŋ
child every know that George like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

NB. Sentence would be perfectly ok if George likes George.

iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

* mú ntsìm zí mǎ George kòŋ ìbìínú jí
child every know George like body his

NB. Sentence would be perfectly ok if George loves George.

D1c (i) **Simple Pronoun**

mú ntsìm zí mǎ Bill kà fwǒŋ mǎ jú tʃésâ
child every know that Bill P2 say that he intelligent
“Every child knows that Bill said that he is intelligent

NB/Ambiguity: Could also mean that “Bill sad that Bill is intelligent”

(ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**

* mú ntsìm zí mǎ Bill kà fwǒŋ mǎ jú jú-mboŋ tʃésâ
child every know that Bill P2 say that 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner smart

Sentence would be perfectly ok if meaning is that “Bill said that Bill is intelligent”

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

* mú ntsìm zí mǎ Bill kà fwǒŋ mǎ bìínu jí tʃésâ
child every know that Bill P2 said that body his smart

D1d.(i) **Simple Pronoun**

mú ntsìm wàʔàtí mǎ Lisa zí mǎ Wendy kòŋǎ jí
child every think that Lisa know that Wendy like him

“Every child thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him”

NB/Ambiguity: Wendy could like Lisa or Jack. Anaphor can be construed with Lisa or Jack.

ii) Owner Noun Strategy

* mú ntsìm wà?átí mǎ Lisa ʒí mǎ Wendy kòŋè jí jú-mbôŋ
child every think that Lisa know that Wendy like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

NB/sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Wendy

(iii) Body Noun Strategy

* mú ntsìm wà?átí mǎ Lisa ʒí mǎ Wendy kòŋ ìbìnú jí
child every think that Lisa know that Wendy like body her

NB/ sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Wendy.

D1e (i) Simple Pronoun

mú ntsìm wà?átí mǎ Lisa ʒí mǎ jú kòŋǎ Alice
child every think that Lisa know that he like Alice
“Every child thinks that Lisa knows that he like Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok. No ambiguity.

(ii) Owner noun Strategy

mú ntsìm wà?átí mǎ Lisa ʒí mǎ jú jú-mbóŋ kòŋǎ Alice
child every think that Lisa know that 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Alice
“Every child thinks Lisa knows that he like Alice”
Sentence is perfectly ok.

iii) Body Noun strategy

* mú ntsìm wà?átí mǎ Lisa ʒí mǎ bìnú jí kòŋǎ Alice
child every thinks that Lisa know that body 3rd.s.POSS like Alice

D1f (i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kè ʃwǒŋ mbó mú ntsìm mǎ Lisa kòŋǎ jí
Sarah P2 say to child every that Lisa love him
“Sarah told every child that Lisa loves him”

NB: Ambiguity: Pronoun could also be construed with Sarah

iii) Owner noun Strategy

*Sarah kè ʃwǒŋ mbó mú ntsìm mǎ Lisa kòŋǎ jí jú-mbôŋ
Sarah P2 say to child every that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa

iii) Body noun strategy

Sarah kè ʃwǒŋ mbó mú ntsìm mǎ Lisa kǒŋ bìnú jí

Sarah P2 say to child every that Lisa like body his
Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa.

D1g.(i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kɪ ʃwɔ̃ŋɔ́ mbó mú ntsim mɔ́ à kɔ̃ŋɔ́ Wendy

Sarah P2 say to child every that he like Wendy

“Sarah told every child that he loves Wendy”

Sentence is perfectly ok if the pronoun *a* is used instead of the *ju* in previous examples. The pronoun *á* is also acceptable in place of *jú* in D1c and D1e.

ii) **Owner noun strategy**

? Sarah kɪ ʃwɔ̃ŋɔ́ mbó mú ntsim mɔ́ jú jú-mbɔ́ŋ kɔ́ŋɔ́ Wendy

Sarah P2 say to child every that he 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Wendy

“Sarah told every child that he/she loves Wendy”

Sentence is a bit odd but would be perfectly okay if anaphor is construed with Sarah.

iii) **Body noun strategy**

*Sarah kɪ ʃwɔ̃ŋɔ́ mbó mú ntsim mɔ́ mɛ̀ bɪ́nú jí kɔ́ŋɔ́ Wendy

Sarah P2 say to child every that his body like Wendy

The semantic distinction in the “every child” sentences is not morphologically marked in Bafut.

B. Jack paradigm and “many children”

D.1a (i) Simple Pro-noun strategy

bɔ́ɔ́ bɪ̀yà’àtɪ̀ kɪ ʃwɔ̃ŋ mɔ́ bó tʃésɛ̀

children many P2 say that they intelligent

“Many children said that they are intelligent”

ii) **Owner noun strategy**

? bɔ́ɔ́ bɪ̀yà’àtɪ̀ kɪ ʃwɔ̃ŋ mɔ́ bó bí-mbɔ̀ŋ tʃésɛ̀

children many P2 say that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner intelligent

“Many children said that they are intelligent”

This is not a natural translation of the sentence in D1a. The sentence is used in a context where many people are intelligent and each child is saying that he too/even he himself is intelligent.

iii) **Body noun strategy**

* bɔ́ɔ́ bɪ̀yà’àtɪ̀ kɪ ʃwɔ̃ŋ mɔ́ mɛ̀ bɪ́nú wáâ tʃésɛ̀

children many P2 say that body their intelligent.

D1b (i) **Simple pronoun**

bɔ́ɔ́ bɪ̀yà’àtɪ̀ ʒí mɔ́ George kɔ̃ŋɔ́ wáâ

children many know the George like them

“Many children know that George loves them

NB. Sentence could also mean that George loves other children.

(ii) Owner noun Strategy

* bós bìyà' àtì zí mǎ George kòŋ wáá bó-mbôŋ
children many know that George like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) Body Noun Strategy

* bós bìyà' àtì zí mǎ George kòŋ ìbìnú wáâ
children many know George like body 3rd.p.POSS

D1c (i) Simple Pronoun

bós bìyà' àtì zí mǎ Bill kì f̄wǒŋ mǎ bó t̄fésê
children many know that Bill P2 say that they intelligent
“Many children know that Bill said that they are intelligent”

No Ambiguity as in the Jack example.

(ii) Owner Noun Strategy

bós bìyà' àtì zí mǎ Bill kì f̄wǒŋ mǎ bó bí-mboŋ t̄fésê
children many know that Bill P2 say that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner smart
“Many children know that Bill said that they are intelligent”

Sentence is perfectly ok.

(iii) Body Noun Strategy

* bós bìyà' àtì zí mǎ Bill kì f̄wǒŋ mǎ bìnu wáâ t̄fésê
children many know that Bill P2 said that body 3rd.p.Poss smart

D1d.(i) Simple Pronoun

bós bìyà' àtì wà?útí mǎ Lisa zí mǎ Wendy kòŋ wáâ
children many think that Lisa know that Wendy like them
“Many children think that Lisa knows that Wendy likes them”

No Ambiguity as in the Wendy, Lisa and Jack trio.

ii) Owner Noun Strategy

bós bìyà' àtì wà?útí mǎ Lisa zí mǎ Wendy kòŋ wáá bó-mbôŋ
children many think that Lisa know that Wendy like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

NB/sentence is a bit odd because bó-mbôŋ “3rd.p.OBL-owner” has been added. Without this addition, sentence would be perfectly ok.

(iii) Body Noun Strategy

* bós bìyà' àtì wà?útí mǎ Lisa zí mǎ Wendy kòŋ ìbìnú wáâ
children many think that Lisa know that Wendy like body their

D1e (i) Simple Pronoun

bós bìyà' àtì wà?útí mǎ Lisa zí mǎ bó kòŋ Alice

children many think that Lisa know that they like Alice
“Many children think that Lisa knows that they like Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok. No ambiguity.

(ii) Owner noun Strategy

bós bìyà' àtì wà?átí mǎ Lisa zǐ mǎ bó bí-mbón kòṅə Alice
children many think that Lisa know that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Alice
“Many children think Lisa knows that they like Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok.

iii) Body Noun strategy

* bós bìyà' àtì wà?átí mǎ Lisa zǐ mǎ bìfnú wáâ kòṅə Alice
children many think that Lisa know that body their like Alice

D1f (i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kì fwǒṅ mbó bós bìyà' àtì mǎ Lisa kòṅə wáâ
Sarah P2 say to children many that Lisa love them
“Sarah told many children that Lisa loves them”

NB: No ambiguity.

iii) Owner noun Strategy

‘Sarah kì fwǒṅ mbó bós bìyà' àtì mǎ Lisa kòṅə wáâ bó-mbón
Sarah P2 say to children many that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence is odd because of the addition of the 3rd.s.OBL-owner -owner.

iii) Body noun strategy

* Sarah kì fwǒṅ mbó bós bìyà' àtì mǎ Lisa kǒṅ bìfnú wáâ
Sarah P2 say to children many that Lisa like body 3rd.p.POSS
Sentence would be perfectly ok if meaning is that Lisa likes their body.

D1g.(i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kì fwǒṅ mbó bós bìyà' àtì mǎ bó kòṅə Wendy
Sarah P2 say to children many that they like Wendy
“Sarah told many children that they love Wendy”

ii) Owner noun strategy

Sarah kì fwǒṅ mbó bós bìyà' àtì mǎ bó bí-mbón kóṅə Wendy
Sarah P2 say to children many that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Wendy
“Sarah told Many children that they love Wendy”

Sentence is perfectly ok.

iii) Body noun strategy

*Sarah kì fwǒṅ mbó bós bìyà' àtì mǎ bìfnú wáâ kóṅə Wendy

Sarah P2 say to children many that body 3rd.p.POSS like Wendy
The semantic distinction in the “many children” sentences is not morphologically marked in Bafut.

Edgar Paradigm

A. with “every child”

Simple Pronoun

D4a. (1) mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill júʔúnǎ jí
child every P2 say that part Bill obey him
“Every child asked Bill to obey him”

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill júʔúnǎ jí jú-mbôŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
Sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill júʔúnǎ bìnú jí
child every P2 say that Bill obey body 3rd.s.POSS

D4b. (1) Simple Pronoun

mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill fá ñkábí mbó jú
child every P2 say that part Bill give money to him
“Every child asked Bill to give him money”

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill fá ñkábí mbó ju jú-mbôŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill give money to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be acceptable if the pron-owner part is removed.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill fá ñkábí mbó bìnú jí
child every P2 say that part Bill give money to body 3rd.s.POSS

D4c. (i) Simple Pronoun

mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill yáâ mbó jú
child every P2 say that part Bill talk to him
“Every child asked Bill to talk to him”

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill yaâ mbó jú jú-mbôŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mǎ tá Bill yáâ mbìʔi jí

child every P2 say that part Bill talk about body 3rd.s.POSS

D4d. (i) Simple Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mó tá Bill ɣáâ mbìʔì jí
child every P2 say that part Bill talk about him
“Every child asked Bill to talk about him”

Sentence could also mean that Bill will talk about himself.

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mó tá Bill ɣáâ mbìʔì jí jú-mbóŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm kè fwǒŋ mó tá Bill ɣáâ mbìʔì bìínú jí
child every P2 say that part bill speak about body 3rd.s.POSS
Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4e. (i) Simple Pronoun

mú ntsìm lǐ nlintì mó ta Bill júʔúnó jí
child every P1 look that part Bill obey him
“Every child expected Bill to obey him”

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm lǐ nlintì mó tá Bill júʔúnó jí jú-mbôŋ
child every P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm lǐ nlintì mó tá Bill júʔúní bìínú jí
child every P1 look that Bill obey body his

Again sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4f. (1) Simple Pronoun

mú ntsìm lǐ ngáá Bill mó tâ tú jí
child every P1 force Bill that part pay him
“Every child forced Bill to pay him”

ii) Owner noun

* mú ntsìm lǐ ngáá Bill mó tá tú jí jú-mbôŋ
child every P1 force Bill that part pay 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm lí ngáá Bill mǎ tú bìnú jí
child every P1 force bill that part pay body his

Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4g.(i) Simple Pronoun

mú ntsìm kè gǎá Bill mǎ tá fwónǵ mǎ jú tǵésǎ
child every P2 force Bill that part say that he intelligent
“Every child forced Bill to say that he is smart”

Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that “every child forced Bill to say that Bill is smart”.

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm kè gǎá Bill mǎ tá fwónǵ mǎ jú jú-mbónǵ tǵésǎ
child every P2 force Bill that part say that 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner intelligent
Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm kè gǎá Bill mǎ tá fwónǵ mǎ bìnú jí tǵésǎ
child every P2 force Bill that part say that body 3rd.s.POSS smart

D4h.(i) Simple pronoun

* mú ntsìm kè gǎá Bill mǎ tá fwónǵ mǎ Mary kǎǵ jí
child every P2 force Bill that part say that Mary like him
“Every child forced Bill to say that Mary loves him”

Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that Mary loves Bill.

ii) Owner Noun

* mú ntsìm kè gǎá Bill mǎ tá fwónǵ mǎ Mary kǎǵ jí jú-mbǎǵ
child every P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love he pron-owner
Sentence will be perfectly acceptable if Mary loves herself.

iii) Body Noun

* mú ntsìm kè gǎá Bill mǎ tá fwónǵ mǎ Mary kǎǵ bìnú jí
child every P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love body 3rd.s.POSS

Sentence will be acceptable if Mary loves herself.

D5(c). mú ntsìm jú-mbónǵ wǎʔǎí mǎ jú ká dzí
child every 3rd.s.OBL-owner think that he Fo win
“Every child himself thinks that he will win”

d) mú ntsìm jú-mbónǵ wǎʔǎí mǎ Bill ká dzí
child every 3rd.s.OBL-owner thinks that Bill Fo win
“Every child himself thinks that Bill will win”

Verb serialization is possible in my language but I do not see patterns that you might be interested in. May be follow up research will help.

Edgar Paradigm

B. With “many children”

Simple Pronoun

D4a. (1) b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill jú?únó wáâ
children many P2 say that part Bill obey them
“Many children asked Bill to obey them”

ii) Owner Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill jú?únə wáá bó-mb̀ôŋ
children many P2 say that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) Body Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill jú?únê b̀ìnú wáâ
children many P2 say that Bill obey body 3rd.p.POSS

D4b. (1) Simple Pronoun

b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill fá ñkábí mbó b̀ô
children many P2 say that part Bill give money to them
“Many children asked Bill to give them money”

ii) Owner Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill fá ñkábí mbó bó bí-mb̀ôŋ
children many P2 say that part Bill give money to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) Body Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill fá ñkábí mbó b̀ìnú wáâ
children many P2 say that part Bill give money to body 3rd.p.POSS

D4c. (i) Simple Pronoun

b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill yáâ mbó b̀ô
children many P2 say that part Bill talk to them
“Many children asked Bill to talk to them”

ii) Owner Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill yaâ mbó bó bí-mb̀ôŋ
children many P2 say that part Bill speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

D4d. (i) Simple Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill yáâ mb̀ì?ì wáâ
children many P2 say that part Bill talk about them
“Many children asked Bill to talk about them”

ii) Owner Noun

* b́śs b̀ìyà'`àtì k̀ì f̀wǒŋ ḿó t́á Bill yáâ mb̀ì?ì wáâ bó-mb̀óŋ
children many P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) Body Noun

* bós bìyà' àtì kì ðwǒŋ mós tá Bill ɣáú mbìʔì bìńnú wáâ
children many P2 say that part bill speak about body 3rd.p.POSS

D4e. (i) **Simple Pronoun**

bós bìyà' àtì lí nlintì mós ta Bill júʔúnó wáâ
children many P1 look that part Bill obey them
“Many children expected Bill to obey them”

ii) **Owner Noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì lí nlintì mós tá Bill júʔúnó wáâ bó-mbôŋ
children many P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) **Body Noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì lí nlintì mós tá Bill júʔúní bìńnú wáâ
children many P1 look that Bill obey body 3rd.p.POSS

D4f. (1) **Simple Pronoun**

bós bìyà' àtì lí ŋgáú Bill mós tú wáâ
children many P1 force Bill that part pay them
“Many children forced Bill to pay them”

ii) **Owner noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì lí ŋgáú Bill mós tú tú wáâ bó-mbôŋ
children many P1 force Bill that part pay 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) **Body Noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì lí ŋgáú Bill mós tú bìńnú wáâ
children many P1 force bill that part pay body 3rd.p.POSS

D4g.(i) **Simple Pronoun**

bós bìyà' àtì kì gáú Bill mós tá ðwóŋ mós bó tʃésê
children many P2 force Bill that part say that they intelligent
“Many children forced Bill to say that they are smart”

ii) **Owner Noun**

bós bìyà' àtì kì gáú Bill mós tá ðwóŋ mós bó bí-mbón tʃésê
children many P2 force Bill that part say that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner intelligent
“many children forced Bill to say that they are smart”

Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì kì gáú Bill mós tá ðwóŋ mê bìńnú wáâ tʃésê
children many P2 force Bill that part say that body their smart

D4h.(i) **Simple pronoun**

bós bìyà' àtì kì gáú Bill mós tá ðwóŋ mós Mary kòŋé wáâ
children many P2 force Bill that part say that Mary like them

“Many children forced Bill to say that Mary loves them”

ii) **Owner Noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì kì gùá Bill mǎ tá fǔwǒŋ mǎ Mary kǒŋ wáá bó-mbôŋ
children many P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) **Body Noun**

* bós bìyà' àtì kì gùá Bill mǎ tá fǔwǒŋ mǎ Mary kòŋ bìnú wáâ
children many P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love body 3rd.p.POSS

D5(c). bós bìyà' àtì jú-mbóŋ wà?àí mǎ bó ká dǔí
children many pron owner think that they Fo win
“ Many children themselves think that they will win”

d) bós bìyà' àtì bó-mbóŋ wà?àí mǎ Bill ká dǔí
children many pron-owner think that Bill Fo win
“many children themselves think that Bill will win”

Zeke Paradigm

A. With “every child”

D11a) Larry kì fǔwǒŋ mbó mú ntsìm mǎ Mike sì jí kǒŋè
Larry P2 say to child every that Mike Neg he like
“Larry told every child that Mike does not like him”

Sentence is ambiguous as anaphor could be construed with “every child” or with Larry.

b) mú ntsìm kì fǔwǒŋé mbó Larry mǎ Mike sì jí kǒŋè
child every P2 say to Larry that mike Neg he like
“Every child told Larry that Mike does not like him”

Ambiguity: same ambiguity as above

c) mú ntsìm kì fǔwǒŋ mbó Larry mǎ jú sì Mike kǒŋè
child every P2 say to Larry that he Neg Mike like
“Every child told Larry that he (each child) does not like Mike”

d) Larry kì fǔwǒŋ mbo mú ntsìm mǎ à sì Mike kǒŋè
Larry P2 say to child every that he Neg Mike like
“Larry told every child that he (each child) does not like Mike”

e) Larry ǔí mǎ mú ntsìm wà?àtǎ mǎ Mike sì jí kǒŋè
Larry know that child every think that Mike Neg him like
“Larry knows that every child thinks that Mike does not like him”

Ambiguity: anaphor could also be construed with Larry

f) mú ntsìm zí mǎ Larry wàʔàtí mǎ Mike sì jí kǒḡè
child every know that Larry think that Mike Neg him like
“Every child knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him”

Same ambiguity as above.

D12a) ndì bí mú ntsìm wàʔàtí mǎ Mike sì jí kǒḡè
Mother of child every thinks that he Neg Mike like
“Every child’s mother thinks that Mike does not like him”

In normal circumstances, anaphor is construed with “mother”. After thinking long and hard however, listener could also construe anaphor with “child”.

b) ndì bí mú ntsìm wàʔàtí mǎ à sí Mike kǒḡè
Mother of child every think that he Neg Mike like
“Every child’s mother thinks that he does not Mike”

Under normal circumstances, anaphor is construed with a third party. After thinking hard however, listener could also construe anaphor with “mother” or “child”.

c) mú ntsìm wàʔàtí mǎ Mike sì jí kǒḡè
child every think that mike Neg him like
“Every child thinks that Mike does not like him”

d) àḡwàʔàḡ mǎ mú ntsìm ʃwǒḡ mǎ Mike sì jí kǒḡè
Letter child every say that Mike Neg him like
“Every child’s letter says Mike does not like him”

e) mú ntsìm kì jùʔú mǎ Mary sì jí kǒḡè
child every P2 hear that Mary Neg him like
“Every child heard that Mary does not like him”

f) No passive

D13a(i) mú ntsìm kì ʃwǒḡ mǎ jú kì wéʔé jí (jú-mbǒḡ)
child every P2 say that he P2 dress him (pron-owner)
“Every child said that he dressed himself”

(ii) mú ntsìm kì ʃwǒḡ mǎ jú kì wéʔé bìḡnú jí
child every P2 say that he P2 dress body his
“Every child said he dressed himself”

b) (i) mú ntsìm kì ʃwǒḡ mǎ jú lǎḡḡsǎ jí (ju-mbǒḡ)
child every P2 say that he wound him (pron-owner)
“Every child said he wounded himself”

ii) mú ntsìm kì ʃwǒḡ mǎ jú lǎḡḡsǎ bìḡnú jí

child every P2 say that he wound body his
“Every child said he wounded himself”

C (i) mú ntsìm k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mǎ jú k̀ì wìntí jí (jú-mbôŋ)
child every P2 say that he P2 scarify him (pron-owner)
Every child said that he scarified himself”

ii) mú ntsìm k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mǎ jú k̀ì wìntí b̀ìnnú jí
child every P2 say that he P2 scarify body his
“Every child said that he scarified himself”

A. With “many children”

D11a) Larry k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mbó b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì mǎ Mike s̀ì wáá ḱŋè
Larry P2 say to children many that Mike Neg them like
“Larry told many children that Mike does not like them”

b) b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mbó Larry mǎ Mike s̀ì wáá ḱŋè
children many P2 say to Larry that Mike Neg them like
“Many children told Larry that Mike does not like them”

c) b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mbó Larry mǎ b́ó s̀ì Mike ḱŋè
children many P2 say to Larry that they Neg Mike like
“Many children told Larry that they do not like Mike”

d) Larry k̀ì ʃwǒŋ mbo b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì mǎ b́ó s̀ì Mike ḱŋè
Larry P2 say to children many that they Neg Mike like
“Larry told many children that they do not like Mike”

e) Larry ʒí mǎ b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì wà?àt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì wáá ḱŋè
Larry know that children many think that Mike Neg them like
“Larry knows that many children think that Mike does not like them”

f) b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì ʒí mǎ Larry wà?àt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì wáá ḱŋè
children many know that Larry think that Mike Neg them like
“Many children know that Larry thinks that Mike does not like them”

D12a) ‘ ndì bí b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì wà?àt́ mǎ Mike s̀ì wáá ḱŋè
Mother of children many thinks that he Neg Mike like
“The mother of many children thinks that Mike does not like them”

After thinking long and hard, listener could construe anaphor with “child”.

b) ndì bí b́ós b̀ìyà’ àtì wà?àt́ mǎ b́ó sí Mike ḱŋè
Mother of children many think that they Neg Mike like
“The mother of many children thinks that they do not like Mike”

Under normal circumstances, anaphor is construed with a third party. After thinking for some time however, listener could also construe anaphor with “children”. Anaphor can never be construed with “mother”

c) bós bìyà' àtì wà?àtí mǎ Mike sì wáá kónhè
children many think that Mike Neg them like
“Many children think that Mike does not like them”

d) àṅwà?àns bós bìyà' àtì fṽwǒṅ mǎ Mike sì wáá kónhè
Letter children many say that Mike Neg them like
“Many children’s letters say Mike does not like them”

e) bós bìyà' àtì kì jù?ú mǎ Mary sì wáá kónhè
children many P2 hear that Mary Neg them like
“Many children heard that Mary does not like them”

f) No passive

D13a(i) bós bìyà' àtì kì fṽwǒṅ mǎ b́ kì wé?é wáá (b́-mb́hè)
children many P2 say that they P2 dress 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
“Many children said that they dressed themselves”

(ii) bós bìyà' àtì kì fṽwǒṅ mǎ b́ kì wé?é bìnnú wáâ
children many P2 say that they P2 dress body 3rd.p.POSS
“Many children said they dressed themselves”

b) (i) bós bìyà' àtì kì fṽwǒṅ mǎ b́ lèhnsǎ wáâ (b́-mb́hè)
children many P2 say that they wound 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
“Many children said they wounded themselves”

ii) bós bìyà' àtì kì fṽwǒṅ mǎ b́ lèhnsí bìnnú wáâ
children many P2 say that they wound body 3rd.p.POSS
“Many children said they wounded themselves”

C (i) bós bìyà' àtì kì fṽwǒṅ mǎ b́ kì wìntí wáá (b́-mb́hè)
children many P2 say that they P2 scarify 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
Many children said that they scarified themselves”

ii) bós bìyà' àtì kì fṽwǒṅ mǎ b́ kì wìntí bìnnú wáâ
children many P2 say that they P2 scarify body 3rd.p.POSS
“Many children said that they scarified themselves”

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents

D14a) ozzie kì yàá mbì?ì Harriet mb́ b́
Ozzie p2 talk about Harriet to them
“Ozzie talked about Harriet to them”

Sentence is rather odd as it is hard to conceive of a situation where ozzie is talking to himself.

b) Ozzie kì yàá mbì?ì wáá mb́ Harriet

Ozzie P2 talks about them to Harriet
“Ozzie talked about them to Harriet”

Ambiguity: anaphor could be referring to a group of people not involving ozzie and Harriet.

c) Ozzie kɛ ʃwɔ̃ŋɔ́ mbó Harriet mɔ́ bò ló
ozzie P2 talk to Harriet that they leave
“Ozzie told Harriet that they should leave”

Ambiguity: Anaphor bò “they” could refer to Harriet and someone else (not ozzie).

d). Ozzie kɛ ʃwɔ̃ŋɔ́ mbó Harriet mɔ́ Bill bàá wáá
Ozzie p2 talk to Harriet that Bill hates them
“Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes them”

Ambiguity: Anaphor wáá “them” could refer to Harriet and some other person (not ozzie) or to a group that involves neither Harriet nor ozzie

e) Ozzie kɛ ʃwɔ̃ŋ mɔ́ Harriet wàʔátí mɔ́ Bill bàá wáá
Ozzie P2 say that Harriet think that Bill hate them”
“Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill hates them”

Same ambiguity as in the (d) example

4.4.2.4. Discourse Antecedents

D15. Mark kɛ bɔ̃ʔó mɔ́ ànù ká jɔ́ mú jì
Mark P2 fear that thing Fo see child his
“Mark feared that something would happen to his child.

àtú jí kɛ ðírí mɔ́ kàá mbó jú wàʔá ɲú ɲgwèʔè jì líntê
Head his P2 heavy that Neg cond. he Neg person family his look.
“He was ashamed that he could not look after his relative”

bɔ́s bí máâ bí ká ʃwɔ́ŋ mɔ́kɔ́ mbìʔí jí?
Children of mother his Fo say what about him
“What would his relatives say of him”

D16. ànù kɛ tʃâ Mark ádzâŋ mɔ́ à kɛ jɔ́ fútò jì múm àŋwàʔànì
thing P2 pass Mark as that he P2 see photo his in book
“Mark was shocked to see his photography in a book

ɲgàŋê kórî dzí tsìm ká màʔàtè jî
People foot his all Fo leave him
“All his supporters would abandon him”

à ká ʃwɔ́ŋɔ́ mbó ndì jì mɔ́kɔ́?
He Fo say to mother his how
“How would he tell his mother’

D17. Morris kɛ ʃwɔŋ mə à kɛ bó ɲdzwí jímbì mbó Mark
Morris P2 say that it P2 be day bad for Mark
“Morris said that it was a bad day for Mark”

ntʃambì, Morris kɛ ʃwɔŋ yú mbó mə bí jórɔ́ mítù jì
First, Morris P2 say him to that they steal car his
“First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen”.

á tígè ntsnínè ntwóŋ tàksì tá lógó jí ɲyé nlèè á dífê fàʔà
He then had to call taxi so that take him go leave at place work
“Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work”.

Morris kɛ bɔʔɔ́ mə ntɔŋ jí lwì
Morris P2 fear that neck his bitter
“Morris feared that he was angry”

D18. A: jɔ́ Mark!
B: à fɔ́ bɔ́ɔ́
He shines very
“He is very handsome”

A: lá kàá mbɔ́ mɛ̀ kɛʔí kɔŋɔ́ mbɔ́ ɲgwé jì
but Neg Cond. I Neg like be wife his
“But I would not want to be his wife”

bàŋgè bítɛ̀m jòŋè níí
Women all follow him
“All the women are chasing him”

B: ɲkínjónɔ́, mɛ̀ wàʔàtí mə á yáʔásí bɛ̀ʔínú jíʃíʔí
following, I think that he praise body his a lot
“Also, I think he praises himself too much”

4.4.3. Blocking effects

4.4.3.1. Features of interviewing subjects

D19. Only the pronoun strategy is permitted

a) Larry wàʔàtí mə John wóʔórɔ́ nìí

Larry think that John honour him

“Larry thinks that John honours him”

b) Larry wàʔàtí mɛ̀ wóʔórɔ́ nìí

Larry think that I honour him

“Larry thinks that I honour him”

c) Larry wàʔàtí mɛ̀ Mary wóʔórɔ́ nìí

Larry think that Mary honour him

“Larry thinks that Mary honours him”

d) Larry wàʔàtí mɛ́ bɔ́s bjá wóʔóré nî
Larry think that children the honour him
“Larry thinks that the children honour him”

e) mbáŋnì dzá wáʔá mɛ́ bɔ́s bjá wóʔóré wáá
Men the think that children the honour them
“The men think that the boys honour them”

D2. Only pronoun strategy is permitted.
Ambiguity a, c, d, e as pronoun could refer to second subject.

a) Larry wàʔátí mɛ́ Bill zí mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré nî
Larry think that Bill know that Dave honour him
“Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave honours him”

b) Larry wàʔátí mɛ́ mɛ́ wóʔóré nî
Larry think that I honour him
“Larry thinks that I honour him”

c) Larry wàʔátí mɛ́ Mary zí mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré nî
Larry think that Mary know that Dave honour him
“Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave honours him”

d) Larry wàʔátí mɛ́ bɔ́s bjá zí mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré nî
Larry think that children the know that Dave honour him
“Larry thinks that the children know that Dave honours him

e) mbáŋnì dzá wàʔátí mɛ́ bɔ́s bjá zí mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré wáá
Men the think that children the know that Dave honour them
“The men think that the children know that Dave honours them”.

4.4.3.2 Positions of intervener

D21. Only the pronoun strategy is permitted

a) Walter wàʔátí mɛ́ Bill kî ʃwǒŋə mbó Harry mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré nî
Walter thinks that Bill P2 say to Harry that Dave honour him
Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave honours him”

b) Walter wàʔátí mɛ́ Bill kî ʃwǒŋə mbó mɛ́ mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré nî
Walter think that Bill P2 say to me that Dave honour him
“Walters thinks that Bill told me that Dave honours him”

Ambiguity: Pronoun could refer to *Bill*.

c) Walter kî ʃwǒŋə mbó mɛ́ mɛ́ Dave wóʔóré nî
Walter P2 say to me that Dave honour him
“Walter told me that Dave honours him”

d) Walter k̀i ʃwǒŋ m̀è Dave k̀i f̀u ɲwà‘ ànì mbó m̀è mbì‘ í j̀i
Walter P2 say that Dave P2 give book to me about him
“Walter said that Dave gave me a book about him”

Ambiguity in a, b, and d. In (a) pronoun could also refer to *Harry* or to *Bill*; In (b) pronoun could refer to *Bill*.
In (d) pronoun could refer to *Dave*.

4.4.4. Islands

D22. Only the independent pronoun strategy works

a) Ira bàá dzǎŋ m̀ó Mary bàá jí láâ
Ira hate as that Mary hate him Def
“Ira resents the fact that Mary hates him”

b) Ira wó‘ óŕé ɲú wá m̀ó à k̀òŋ́é jí láâ
Ira honour man who he like him Def
“Ira honours the man who likes him”

c) Ira ʃwǒŋ m̀ó ɲù wá m̀ê k̀òŋ́é jí láâ à ṭʃèsê
Ira say that man the that like him Def he smart
“Ira says that the man who likes him is smart”

d) Ira lí mbítí m̀ó Bill k̀i j́é jí lé
Ira P1 ask that Bill p2 See him Qm
“Ira asked whether Bill saw him”

e) Ira lí mbítí m̀ó Bill k̀i j́é jí láâ nóòk̀è
Ira P1 ask that Bill P2 see him Def. when
“Ira asked when Bill saw him”

f) Ira lí wá‘ á źí m̀ó George k̀i j̀òŋ́é j̀i
Ira P1 Neg know that George P2 follow him
“Ira did not realize that George followed him”

g) Ira k̀i ʃwǒŋ m̀ó Mary b̀òŋ́é; m̀ó à ká j́ó‘ ó j̀i
Ira P2 say that Mary beautiful that she Fo marry him
“Ira said that Mary is beautiful; that she will marry him”

4.4.5. De se reading

There is no distinction in the morphological form of the pronoun in 23a and 23b

D23a) Oedipus wà‘ átí m̀ó ndì j̀ì b̀òŋ́é
Oedipus thinks that mother his nice
“Oedipus thinks that his mother is nice”

b) Oedipus wà‘ átí m̀ó ndì j̀ì bì ‘ ɲ̀
Oedipus thinks that mother his bad
“Oedipus thinks that his mother is mean”