

Anaphora in the African Languages - Questionnaire for language consultants

NSF grant BCS-0303447: Principal Investigator - Ken Safir, Rutgers University

PART 1 General information

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

1. Name of the language: Bemba (also Icibemba)
2. Ethnologue code (if you know it):
3. Dialect and/or area: Northern Province/Copperbelt Province
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 (✓)
 - (b) Judgements by one or more consultants (✓)

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

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

1. Name: Nancy C. Kula
- 2a. Your address: Department of Language and Linguistics, University of Essex
- 2b. E-mail address, if you have one: ncula@essex.ac.uk
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.)
 - (✓) I am willing to be identified
 - () I wish to remain anonymous
4. Your level of training in linguistics (circle accordingly).
 - (✓) 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: familiar (GB)
- (b) Typological linguistics: little
- (c) Formal semantics: some
- (d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: some
- (e) Other relevant subfield:

6. Your language biography

- a. What language(s) did your parents speak at home? Bemba, English
- b. What language(s) do/did your parents speak natively? Bemba
- c. What language (languages) did you receive school instruction in? English
- d. How old were you when you learned the subject language? Infant
- 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

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

1.4 References: to follow

PART 2

2.1 Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 Primary strategy

- 1) Yòàní à-áíí-í-món-à
c1.John SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv
'John saw himself'

Strategy A(A1)

The past tense *-alii-* is used in most of the examples because it lends itself easily to many contexts. The presence of the reflexive *-i-* can easily be detected in pronunciation because a long vowel and a short vowel never fuse in Bemba. If they did fuse then only a long *-i-* would be heard but in this case the meaning would be 'John saw' without a reflexive meaning.

2.1.2 Other strategies

2.1.3 Other verb types

- 2) Yòàní á-á-sàmb-à Strategy B_ no marking (A2)
c1.John SM.c1-TAM-wash-fv
'John has just washed (himself)' (ID 4994)
- 3) Yòàní á-á-í-sàmb-à
c1.John SM.c1-TAM-RFM-wash-fv (ID 4995)
'John has just washed himself'

Comment: In the first 'himself' is understood/assumed while in the second when the reflexive marker is used it is more explicit.

- 4) Yòàní à-áíí-fwáál-à (ID 4996)
c1.John SM.c1-PST-dress-fv
'John dressed (himself)'
- 5) Yòàní à-áíí-í-fwîk-à (ID 4997)
c1.John SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fv
'John dressed himself'

Comment: *fwaala* is the intransitive 'dress' while *fwiika* is transitive. The intransitive with the reflexive is ungrammatical meaning something like 'he dressed his body onto himself'. 'Dress/undress' used with reflexive *-i-* would be in a context where this was somehow regarded as exceptional. Adding 'own' in each case adds emphasis.

- 6) Yòàní à-áíí-fúúl-à (ID 4998)
c1.John SM.c1-PST-undress-fv
'John undressed (himself)'
- 7) Yòàní à-áíí-í-fúúl-à

- c1.John SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fv (ID 4999)
‘John undressed himself’
- 8) Yòàní á-á-sàmb-à úmwíínè Strategy C_own (5000)
c1.John SM.c1-TNS-wash-fvc1.own
‘John has just washed himself’
- 9) Yòàní á-á-í-sàmb-à úmwíínè (5001)
c1.John SM.c1-TNS-RFM-wash-fv c1.own
‘John has just washed himself’
- 10) Mùtálé à-álí-í-cén-à (A2b) (5002)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-RFM-hurt-fv
‘Mutale cut herself’ (accidentally)
- 11) Yòàní à-álí-ùmfw-ù ínsóni (A2c) (5003)
c1.John SM.c1-PST-feel-fv c10.shyness
‘John felt ashamed of himself’
- 12) Yòàní à-álí-í-ónáùl-á [aliyonaula] (A2d) (5004)
c1.John SM.c1-PST-RFM-destroy-fv
‘John destroyed himself’

Comment: Part in square brackets gives the actual pronunciation with gliding (i > y)

- 13) Yòàní à-álí-í-ónáùl-á úmwíínè (5005)
c1.John SM.c1-PST-RFM-destroy-fv c1.own
‘John destroyed himself, himself’
- 14) tù-álí-í-pát-à (A2e) (5006)
SM.1PL-HAB-RFM-hate-fv
‘We hate ourselves’
- 15) bá-lá-í-tásh-à (A2f) (5007)
SM.2PL-HAB-RFM-praise-fv
‘They praise themselves’

2.1.4 Obliques and other argument types

- 16) Yòàní à-álí-lánd-à ná Mùtálé (A3a) (5008)
c1.YoaniSM.c1-PST-speak-fv CONJc1.Mutale
‘John spoke to/with Mutale’
- 17) Yòàní à-álé-lánd-à pàlí éénà úmwíínè (A3b) (5009)
c1.YoaniSM.c1-PROG-speak-fv c16.about PRN.c1.M c1.own
‘John spoke about himself’ (subject/PP argument)
- 18) Yòàní à-álí-éb-à Mùtálé pàlí éénà úmwíínè (A3c)
c1.YoaniSM.c1-PST-tell-fv c1.Mutale c16.about PRN.c1.M c1.own
‘John told Mutale about himself’ (same, with intervening NP) (5010)

- 19) Kàbwé à-álíí-tù-éb-à pàlí ifwé (A3d) (5011)
 c1.Kabwe SM.c1-PST-2nd.pl-tell-fv c16.about PRN.c1.1st
 ‘Kabwe told us about us’ (object/argument)
- 20) Kàbwé à-álíí-tù-éb-à pàlí ifwé fwébéénè (5012)
 c1.Kabwe SM.c1-past-2nd.pl-tell-fv c16.about PRN.c2.1st c2.1st.own
 ‘Kabwe told us about us ourselves’ (object/argument)
- 21) ?? Mùtálé à-álíí-péél-à àbáánà àbéénè (A3e) (5013)
 c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-give-fv c2.child c2.own
 ‘Mutale gave the children themselves’ (ind.object/object)
- 22) Mùtálé à-álíí-món-à icítábó kùùnùmà yàkwé (A3f) (5014)
 c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.book behind c1.POSS
 ‘Mutale saw a book behind her’ (subject/locative)
- 23) Yóàní à-álíí-í-shít-íl-à icítábó (A3g) (5015)
 c1.YoaniSM.c1-PST-RFM-buy-APPL-fv c7.book
 ‘John bought the book for himself’ (benefactive)
- 24) Mùtálé à-álíí-í-témw-à (A4a) (5016)
 c1.Mutale SM.c1-HAB-RFM-like-fv
 ‘Mutale likes herself’
- 25) Mùtálé à-álíí-í- témw-à úmwíínè (5017)
 c1.Mutale SM.c1-HAB-RFM-like-fv c1.self
 ‘Mutale likes herself’
- 26) Mùtálé à-lá-í-tííny-à (úmwíínè) (A4b) (5018)
 c1.Mutale SM.c1-HAB-RFM-scare-fv (c1.own)
 ‘Mutale scares herself’
- 27) Mùtálé à-lá-í-sàkàmik-à (úmwíínè) (A4c) (5019)
 c1.Mutale SM.c1-HAB-RFM-make.worry-fv (c1.own)
 ‘Mutale worries herself’

2.1.5 Strategy A always keep the form -i-
 Strategy C which must be used in combination with A regularly changes its form in
 agreement with its referent following noun class system:

- 28) Nà-álíí-í-món-à néémwíínè (A5a) (5078)
 SM.1st.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv 1st.c1.own
 ‘I saw myself’
- 29) ù-álíí-í-cén-à wémwíínè (A5b) (5079)
 SM.2nd.c1-past-RFM-hurt-FV2nd.c1.own
 ‘You cut yourself’ (accidentally)

- 30) Tù- álíí-í-sàmb-à fwébéénè (A5c) (5080)
SM.1st.c2-PST-RFM-wash-fv 1st.c2.own
'We will wash ourselves'
- 31) Mù-álíí-í-áf-w-à mwébéénè (A5d) (5081)
3pl-PST-RFM-help-fv 3pl.own
'You must help yourselves'

a-d: No

2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1

- 32) Ná-áci-lànd-à ná Mùtálé léélò. á-áci-mónà Kàbwé(A10a)(5082)
SM.1st.c1-PST-speak-fv CONJ c1.Mutale today SM.c1-PST-see c1.Kabwe
'I spoke with Mutale yesterday. He saw Kabwe'
- 33) éénà ná-álíí-mú-món-à (5083)
PRN.c1 SM.1st.c1-PST-OM.c1-see-fv
'As for him, I saw him'
- 34) Mùtálé á-lí-kwí? ná-á-cá-mú-món-à kù.màlíkééti (A10b) (5084)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-AUX(be)-where? SM.1st.c1-PST-OM.c1-see-fv c17.market
'Where is Mutale? I saw him in the market'
- 35) Tú-áci-kú-món-à. Bùshé ù-áci-tú-món-à? (A10c) (5085)
SM.1st.c2-PST-2sg.SM-see-fv. Q SM.2nd.c1-PST-OM.1st.c2-see-fv
'We saw you. Did you see me/us?'

2.2.2 pronouns

Subject: Subject agreement marker varies according to class of noun (clitics)

Objects: object agreement marker varies according to noun class (clitics)

Possessive (also referred to as associative): non-clitic

Emphatic pronouns: non-clitic

There are also demonstrative pronouns (4-way distinction) with common endings (e.g. class 7: ici, cino, ico, cilia)

Noun Class	SM	OM	possessive	emphatic	prep_ <i>with</i>
1 st sg	na	ndi	-andi	ine	na ine
2 nd Sg	u	ku	-oobe	iwe	na iwe /neewe
1 st Pl	tu	tu	-eesu	ifwe	na ifwe /neefwe
2 nd Pl	mu	mu	-eenu	imwe	naimwe /neemwe
1a	a	mu	wa	eena	nao
1 umu	a	mu	wa	eena	nao
2 aba	ba	ba	ba	beena	nabo
3 umu	u	u	wa	weena	nao

4 imi	i	i	ya	yeena	nayo
5 ili	li	li	lya	lyeena	nalyo
6 ama	ya	ya	ya	yeena	nayo
7 ici	ci	ci	ca	ceena	naco
8 ifi	fi	fi	fya	fyeena	nafyo
9 i	i	i	ya	yeena	nayo
10 i	shi	shi	sha	sheena	nasho
11 ulu	lu	lu	lwa	lweena	nalo
12 aka	ka	ka	ka	keena	nako
13 utu	tu	tu	twa	tweena	nato
14 ubu	bu	bu	bwa	bweena	nabo
15 uku	ku	ku	kwa	kweena	nako
16 pa	pa	pa	pa	peena	napo
17 ku	ku	ku	kwa	kweena	nako
18 mu	mu	mu	mwa	mweena	namo

Comment: There are no independent ‘with’ prepositional forms in the different persons although they can be fused/contracted as shown. Possessive forms take the noun class of the relevant noun

Emphatic pronouns:

36) tà-á-lée-fwáày-à (5086)
NEG-SM.c1-PROG-want-fv
‘he doesn’t want’

37) éénà tà-á-lée-fwáày-à (5087)
PRN.c1 NEG-SM.c1-PROG-want-fv
‘as for him, he doesn’t want’

	sg.	pl.
1 st per	íné I	ífwé we
2 nd per	íwé you	ímwé you
3 rd per	éénà him/her	béénà them

‘emphatic’ pronouns do not function as emphatic when used with the preposition *pali* ‘about’ where they regularly mean ‘about him, it...’

2.2.3

pro-drop; subjects and objects may be dropped

Subject agreement marker (clitic pronoun) can never be dropped subject may be dropped, when not dropped co-occurs with SM.

Object agreement marker may be dropped and generally does not co-occur with overt object in non-emphatic contexts.

Generally only one object may be marked on the verb with a clitic.

38) Chísàngà á-àlíí-mú-shít-íl-à icítábó (Mùtálé) (5096)
c1.Chisanga SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-buy-APPL-fv c7.book (c1.Mutale)
‘Chisanga bought a book for M’

- 39) á-àlíí-mú-shít-íl-à ìcítàbó (5097)
SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-buy-APPL-fv c7.book
'He bought him a book'
- 40) Chísàngà á-àlíí-shít-íl-à Mùtálé ìcítàbó (5098)
c1.Chisanga SM.c1-PST-buy-APPL-fv c1.Mutale c7.book
'Chisanga bought M. a book'
- 41) Chísàngà á-àlíí-ípík-íl-à in-sòfù ifi-àkùlyà (5099)
c1.Chisanga SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-fv c9-elephant c8-food
'Chisanga cooked food for the elephants'
- 42) Chísàngà á-àlíí-shí- ípík-íl-à in-sòfù ifi-àkùlyà (5100)
c1.Chisanga SM.c1-PST-OM.c10-cook-APPL-fv c9-elephant c8-food
'Chisanga cooked food for them, the elephants'

2.2.4: ungrammatical where subject is co-referential with object marker or emphatic pronoun BUT (o) and (p) possible (prep + pronoun)

- 43) *Kàbwé á-àlíí-mú-tásh-à (A10g) (5101)
c1.Kabwe SM.c1-past-OM.c1-praise-fv
'Kabwe praised him'
- 44) *éénà Kàbwé á-àlíí-tásh-à (5102)
PRN.c1 c1.Kabwe SM.c1-PST-praise-fv
- 45) *Mùtálé á-àlíí-mú-témw-à (A10h) (5106)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-like-fv
'Mutale liked him'
- i) Ali saw him
j) Ali talked to him
k) Ali sent a book to him.
l) Ali helped him
- 46) * Mùtálé á-àlíí-mú-pápúsh-à (A10m) (5103)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-surprise-fv
'Mutale surprised him'
- n) Ali bought a book for him
- 47) Mùtálé á-àlíí-béléng-à ìcítàbó pàlí éénà (A10o) (5104)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-read-fv c7.book about PRN.c1
'Mutale read a book about him'
- 48) Bàrànyò bá-àlíí-béléng-à ìcítàbó pàlí béénà (5105)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-read-fv c7.book about PRN.c2
'The women read the book about them'

Comment: Pronouns in (47) and (48) do not seem to have an emphatic use as seen

above. To express emphasis the -ine ‘own’ form must be used:

- 49) Mùtálé á-àlí-bé léng-à ìcítàbó pàlí éénà úmwíínè (5107)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-read-fv c7.book about PRN.c1 c1.own
‘Mutale read a book about him himself’
- 50) Bànàmàyó bá-àlí-bé léng-à ìcítàbó pàlí béénà àbéénè (5108)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-read-fv c7.book about PRN.c2 c2.own
‘The women read the book about them themselves’
- 51) Mùtálé á-àlí-sáng-à ìcítàbó mùpéépì náo (A10p) (5109)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-find-fv c7.book c18.near with.PRN.c1
‘Mutale found a book near him’
- 52) Bànàmàyó bá-àlí-sáng-à ìcítàbó mùpéépì nábò (5110)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-find-fv c7.book near with.PRN.c2
‘The women found a book near them’

2.3 Reciprocal Readings

2.3.2

- 53) Bànàmàyó bá-àlí-món-án-à Strategy D_recip (A11a) (5111)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-see-RCM-fv
‘The women see each other’
- 54) àbálùméndò bá-àlí-sám-b-án-á (A11b) (5112)
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-wash-RCM-fv
‘The boys washed each other’
- 55) àbálùméndò bá-àlí-sákál-án-à imíshíshí (A11c) (5113)
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-comb-RCM-fv c4.hair
‘The men combed each other’s hair’
- 56) bá-àlí-úm-án-à (A11d) (5114)
SM.c2-PST-argue-RCM-fv
‘They argued with each other’
- 57) àbálùméndò bàlyá bàbìlì bá-àlí-lw-à (5115)
c2.boy c2.DEM c2.two SM.c2-PST-fight-fv
‘Those two boys fought (each other)’
- 58) bá-àlí-pánt-án-à (A11e) (5116)
SM.c2-PST-kick-RCM-fv
‘The boys kicked each other’

2.3.3

A12 a) The men introduced Bill to each other.

- 59) àbálèèndó bá-àlí-sósh-ány-à (A12b) (5117)
c2.traveller SM.c2-PST-speak-RCM-fv
‘The travelers spoke to each other’

- 60) àbápààtilí bá-àlìí-úmfw-à ìlì-lyàshí pàlì béénà (A12c) (5118)
c2.priest SM.c2-PST-hear-fv c5-news about PRN.c2
'The priests heard stories about them/themselves'

Comment: *Beena* 'them' in (c) above can refer to either the priests or other unmentioned but known people.

d) They left presents in front of each other.

Are (A12a,d) missing because they do not add new information to what *has* been presented?

Section 2.3.4 is missing – I assume this is because there are no other reciprocal strategies not yet listed.

2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies: NONE but it seems reflexive may have an 'each other' interpretation??

- 61) Mùtálé á-léé-fwáày-à àbá-káshààná bá-í-tásh-é (A14b) (5119)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-TNS-want-fv c2-girl SM.c1-RFM-thank-SBJV
'Mutale required/wanted that the girls should praise each other/themselves'

Comment: Meaning here allows both reciprocal and reflexive readings, although reciprocal –*an* can also be used independently:

- 62) Mùtálé á-léé-fwáày-à àbá-káshààná bá-tásh-ány-é (5120)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-TNS-want-fv c2-girl SM.c2-RFM-thank-RCM-SBJV.
'Mutale wanted the girls to thank each other'

2.4 Other types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable

- 63) Mùtálé á-àlìí-lúfy-à ìnsàpátó (shààkwé) (A15a) (5121)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-lose-fv c10.shoe (c10.POSS)
'Mutale lost his shoes'
- 64) Mùtálé á-àlìí-ímy-à ùkú-bòkò (A15b) (5122)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-lift-fv c15-arm
'Mutale raised his hand' (e.g., in class)
- 65) Mùtálé á-àlìí-í-ímy-à ùkú-bòkò (5123)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-RFM-lift-fv c15-arm
'Mutale literally lifted his arm: held his own arm to lift it'
- 66) Mùtálé á-àlìí-í-fún-à ùkú-bòkò (A15c) Strategy A
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-RFM-dislocate-fv c15-arm (5124)
'Mutale cut his hand' (e.g., accidentally)
- 67) Mùtálé á-àlìí-í-éléngàny-à ùkú-bòkò [yelenganya] (A15d) (5125)

c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-RFM-examine-fv c15-arm
'Mutale examined his hand'

Comment: If reflexive -i- is absent in (d) then the arm he examined need not be his own i.e. interpretation would be 'Mutale examined a hand'

68) Mùtálé á-àlí -(i)-fyúútúl-à ùkú-úlù (A15e) (5126)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-(RFM)-twist-fv c15-leg
'Mutale twisted his ankle'

Comment: When reflexive -i- is used Mutale has more direct responsibility for twisting the leg/ankle either intentionally or not'

2.4.2 Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals: Strategy (A) for both but Strategy D also possible for reciprocals

69) úkù-yúmfw-à kwá kwá Mùtálé kù-àlí-kálífy-à (A16) (5127)
SM.c15-RFM.boast-fv c15.POSS c1.POSS c1.Mutale SM.c15 -PST-annoy.CAUS-fv
Chándà
c1.Chanda
'The boastfulness/pompousness of Mutale annoyed Chanda'

70) * úkù-i-yúmfw-à kwá kwá Mùtálé kù-àlí-kálífy-à Chándà (5128)

Comment: The word for boast *uku-yumfwa* seems to consist of the reflexive marker as part of the verb stem as phonologically i+u would give /yu/ to result in *yumfwa* where *umfwa* means *hear* or *feel*. Overtly adding the reflexive -i- to *yumfwa* as shown above is ungrammatical. I am not at all sure that the *y* in *boast* is the reflexive but comparing with Swahili seems to also reveal an internal reflexive: Swahili *jiringa* 'boast, be arrogant' *ji* = reflexive although it is not clear what the semantics of *ringa* is independently.

[KS: I suggest a similar analysis later where the RCM is potentially blocked by a lexicalized affix, although the analysis I mention for Lubukusu may not be right for Bemba. In any case, we can see later on if we can find examples of the analysis you suggest in some of the other languages in the Afranaph Project.](#)

71) úkù-i-táshà kwá kwá Mùtálé kù-àlí-kálífy-à (5146)
SM.c15-RFM-praise c15.POSS c1.POSS c1.Mutale SM.c15-PST-annoy.caus-fv
Chándà
c1.Chanda

(Translation: 'Mutale's self praising annoyed Chanda'? –MB)

72) úkù-i-lóndólólà kwá kwá Mùtálé kù-àlí-sànsàmùsh-à
SM.c15-RFM-introduce c15.POSS c1.POSS c1.Mutale SM.c15-PST-happy.CAUS-fv
bàKàfúndíshà
c2.teacher
'Mutale's introduction of himself impressed the teacher' (A17a) (5147)

b) Andrew's evaluation of himself was too critical

- 73) àmáfúndé bá-í-péélè tà-yà-àlíí bwíinò (A17c)
c6.teaching SM.c2-RFM-give-PFV NEG-OM.c6-PST good
'the teachings/instructions they gave each other were not good' (5148)

Comment: KS: Does (ci) also allow the (pragmatically odd) "the instructions they gave themselves" (suppose they were hypnotized and told to write instructions for themselves that they no longer remembered when they awoke). Ans. Yes indeed (ci) does allow a 'themselves' reading.

KS: [Any suggestion as to why the reflexive can be used to represent this reading?](#)

- 74) àmáfúndé bá-péél-één-è tà-yà-àlíí bwíinò (5149)
c6.teaching SM.c2-give-RCM-PFV NEG-OM.c6-PST good

Comment: This has only a reciprocal reading.

- 75) úkù-í-ééléngány-à kwàbó tà-kù-àlíí bwíinò (A17d)
SM.c15-RFM-evaluate-fv c2.POSS NEG-SM.c15-PST good
'Their evaluations of each other were not good' (5150)

There is gliding in the pronunciation of 'evaluate': [úkúyéénléngányà].

2.4.4 Different strategies

Strategy A: clitic reflexive marker –i-

Strategy B: null marking (verb type restrictions)

Strategy C: -ine *own* form (emphatic?)

Strategy D: reciprocal suffix -an-

Part 3 General details about the strategies

3.1 Marking

M a) Marking on a coconstrued argument or adjunct. (E.g., English *himself*):
strategy C

b) Marking on the verb or an auxiliary. (French clitic *se*, the Bantu reflexive marker): Strategy A, Strategy D

c) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument. (as in English *John washed*):
Strategy B

d) Coconstrual is signaled by a specialized adjunct. (Such as *l'un l'autre* in (Y1) [in the questionnaire]).

3.2 Productivity

3.2.1

A: extremely productive

B: not productive

C: extremely productive

D: extremely productive

3.2.2 Is the Use of this strategy lexically restricted to certain verb classes or is it unrestricted (applies across all verb classes)? If the strategy is restricted in its use,

please describe, if you can, what you think the restriction is. Please give a few examples where it is possible to use it, and a few examples where it is not possible to use it. (e.g. used only with verbs of motion).

A: unrestricted

B: restricted

C: unrestricted

D: unrestricted

3.3. Context of use

3.3.1

A: unmarked

B: unmarked in the restricted context used

C: used more in emphatic contexts (mere speculation)

D: unmarked

3.3.2

A, B, C, D: no special intonation

3.3.3

A, B, D: none

C: used more in emphatic contexts (mere speculation)

3.3.4: Other comments

3.4 Morphology

3.4.1

A: no translation

C: the consistent –ine part with noun class agreement as ‘own’ or ‘own self’

For evidence of this meaning, see 3.7.5, examples in B5.

D no translation

3.4.2: N/A

3.4.3: C: has the shape of a noun in having a **nonclass (nounclass?)** prefix of VCV and a stem:

umu-ine (umwiine) aba-ine (abeene) ici-ine (iciine) so the first part is the noun class prefix and the second part the stem that means ‘own’

3.5. Agreement paradigm

3.5.1

C: agreement follows the noun class system generating 18 forms with noun class prefixes as given in table above so I am guessing the form is a noun. There are some coherent meanings for some classes but none for others. From cl 1-10 (except 5/6) even numbered classes are plurals and odd numbers are singular forms (see table above).

Class 1a: kinship terms, honorifics, names of professions

1/2: humans

3/4, 5: no clear semantics

6: mainly mass nouns

7/8: augmentatives

9,10,11: no clear semantics

12,13: diminutives

14: abstract

15: infinitives

16, 17, 18: locatives

None of these classifications are to be taken very seriously as there are exceptions in each case (e.g., c15 allows body parts too) apart from the very clear augmentative and diminutive meanings.

3.5.2

C: obligatory agreement with antecedent

3.6 Interaction with verb morphology – Incompatibilities

3.6.1 Tense Aspect Mood

A, B, C, D: no interaction

3.6.2 GF

A: does not co-occur with object markers, takes position of OM. Can co-occur with valency changing extensions

B, C: no apparent restrictions

D: if OM is used it must be plural and causative suffix must also be present

76) bá-àlí-témw-án-à (5151)

SM.c2-HAB-like-RCM-fv

‘They love each other’

77) bákáfùndíshà bá-àlí-bá-sànk-àn-y-à (5152)

c2.teacher SM.c2-PST-OM.c2-mix-RCM-CAUS-fv

‘The teachers mixed them’

Comment: The translation may be more like ‘made them be mixed’. It seems that ‘with’ adds another dimension? The idea here is that the result is a mixed group of, say, males and females or young and old and not so much that they were made to mingle/interact. But the ‘made’ part indeed follows from the causative –y-
KS: Is it possible to have something like ‘The colors mixed’ using –sank- without an object or RCM? I would like to see if there is a null object strategy for reciprocals here as you have noted for A11dii. Let me know if any other verbs that allow it.
ANS. No, not without the RCM. There is no term for colours since there aren’t really any colour terms. You can say something like ‘the beer/alcohol mixed’ where beer is understood as a plural generic term referring to different beers but –an- must be present:

77’) ubu-alwa bu-àlí-sànk-àn-à (5153)

c14-alcohol c14-past-mix-RCM-FV

‘the beer/alcohol mixed.’

But interestingly the verb stem *sanka* does not seem to have a current independent use.

It's translated as 'cut up into small pieces' in the dictionary but I have found no such use.

KS: There are a number of causative sentences I would like you to provide please. (Some of these are like some you provide in 4.1.2, but I want a full paradigm)

Criticize is not a good verb as in it doesn't exist. I thought of 'admonish/scold' (=kalipila).

- 78) 'I made them scold each other'
* na-ali-ba-kalipil-an-a
SM.1st.c1-PST-OM.c2-scold-RCM-fv
- 79) * na-ali-ba-kalipil-ish-an-a
SM.1st.c1-PST-OM.c2-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv
- 80) na-ali-lenga ba-i-kalipil-a
SM.1st.c1-PST-make SM.c2-RCM-scold-RCM-fv
- 81) 'I made the boys scold each other'
*na-ali-ba-kalipil-ish-an-a abalumendo
SM.1st.c1-past-OM.c2-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv c2.boy
- 82) 'They made me scold each other'
*ba-ali-n-kalipil-ish-an-a
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv
- 83) *ba-ali-n-kalipil-an-a
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-scold-CAUSE-RCM-fv
- 84) 'They made Alice scold each other'
*ba-ali-kalipil-ish-an-a Chisanga
SM.c2-PST-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv Chisanga
- 85) 'They made me scold myself'
*ba-ali-n-kalipil-ish-an-a
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv
- 86) ba-ali-lenga na-i-kalipila
SM.1st.c1-PST-make SM.1st.c1-RCM-scold-fv
- 87) 'They made me scold themselves'
*ba-ali-ba-n-kalipil-ish-an-a
SM.c2-PST-OM.c2-OM.1st.c1-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv
- 88) 'They made Alice scold themselves'
*ba-ali-mu-ba-kalipil-ish-an-a Alice
SM.c2-PST-OM.c1-OM.c2-scold-CAUS-RCM-fv
- 89) 'They made me wash'
*ba-ali-n-samb-ish-a
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-wash-CAUS-fv

- 90) ba-ali-ng-ow-esh-a
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-wash-CAUS-fv
'they made me bath/wash'
- 91) 'They made Alice wash'
*ba-ali-samb-ish-a Chisanga
SM.c2-PST-wash-CAUS-fv c1.Chisanga
- 92) ba-ali-ow-esh-a Chisanga
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-wash-CAUS-fv c1.Chisanga
'they made Chisanga bath/wash'

Could not mean Chisanga washes them.

- 93) ba-ali-ow-esh-a Chisanga abeene
SM.c2-PST-OM.1st.c1-wash-CAUS-fv c1.Chisanga c2.own
'they, themselves, made Chisanga bath/wash'

Comment: Could not mean 'Chisanga washes them.' It simply emphasizes that they did this themselves and did not have someone else do it on their behalf.

Comment: 'Owa' is a verb that means *wash* but only in the sense of *bath* so you cannot use it for dishes in contrast to *samba* which can be used for any kind of washing, people or objects.

Some restrictions in ordering with other extensions.

3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

3.7.1: idosyncratic uses: ABCD: not aware of any

3.7.2: ABD: none

C: adds emphasis as in English examples

- 94) Chàndá á-àlí-ly-á isàbí ùmwíínè (B1c) (5154)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-eat-fv c5.fish c1.own
'Chanda ate the fish himself' (unaided)
- 95) Chàndá ùmwíínè á-àlí-ly-á isàbí (B1d) (5155)
c1.Chanda c1.own SM.c1-PST-eat-fv c5.fish
'As for Chanda he ate fish'

Comment: Possible interpretations: (should we get Bemba translations of these?)

C) John himself did this - John appearing in person did this (no one did it for him)

D) John himself did this - Even John did this (e.g. Although you would not have thought he would, John also ate the crispy jellyfish)

But also:

- 96) mù-péél-é ùmwíínè (5823)
SM.c1-give-IMP c1.own

‘give it to him to whom it belongs/who is the owner’

- 97) àbéénè bá-lée-sùùbíl-à àti fyònsé filí fyè bwiinó (5824)
 c2.own SM.c2-TNS-expect-fv COMP c8.all c8.COP just good
 ‘As for they themselves they think that everything is fine.’

3.7.3 Middle: not sure for all ABCD

3.7.4 Distributive: ABC: none

D: some distributive use specific to certain a (small?) closed set of verbs (mainly accompanied by causative –y-)

- úkù-fúlúng-án-à ‘to be through each other (of some items)
 úkù-búlúng-án-à ‘to be round’
 úkù-púlúng-án-à ‘to be unruffled’

3.7.5: deictic use: ABD: no

C: yes but form then refers to some unknown owner (losing self reading)

- 98) Bill did not see X (B5a) (5825)
 Chàndá á-àlíí-món-à ùmwíínè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv c1.own
 ‘Chanda saw the owner’

- 99) Chàndá á-àlíí-mù-món-à ùmwíínè (5826)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-OM.c3-see-fv c1.own
 ‘Chanda saw him the owner’

Analytical issue: Is Object Marking pronominal incorporation or agreement? This example is translated with a pronoun, followed by an appositive-like DP “the owner”. Is this DP a right adjunct or the direct object? Should we take the translation to be indicative of the presence of an incorporated argument?

- 100) Bùshé Chàndá á-àlíí-témw-à abéénè (B5b) (5827)
 Q c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-like-fv c2.own
 ‘Does Chanda like the owners’

- 101) Bùshé Chàndá á-àlíí-bá-témw-à abéénè (5828)
 Q c1.Chanda SM.c1-past-OM.c2-like-fv c2.own
 ‘Does Chanda like them the owners’

- 102) ilíínè lí-ká-y-á kàBànkì máílóóó (B5c) (5829) (#87.)
 c5.self SM.c5-FUT-go-fv c17.bank tomorrow
 ‘(as for itself) it will go to the bank tomorrow’

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

ABCD: no but I’m not sure I understand

Comment: KS: This is obscure here because the form always has agreement on it.

Could you use the Agr-OWN form with, say 1ps morphology but no 1ps antecedent in

the sentence? It would be something like

103) Chàndá á-àlíí-mù-món-à

“Chàndá á-àlíí-mù-món-à” where Chanda saw a chap who is not mentioned (but clearly indicated by *mu*) is yes fine.

104) “Chàndá á-àlíí-mù-món-à umwiine” where Chanda, himself and not someone else saw a person not mentioned (but referred to by *mu*). Chanda is here the referent of *umwiine*.

Same with -i- RCM:

105) Chàndá á-àlíí-i-món-à (umwiine)

‘Chanda saw himself or some unknown class i object.’

[I am not sure what is happening here – is this Ken’s data or Nancy’s?]

Can the form in question be used in a sense like that of English generic one (which is not evenly acceptable for English speakers in non-subject environments). Or is there a meaning that means "arbitrary person". There are otherwise local anaphors in Hindi, for example, that can have the latter usage.

ABCD: No

3.7.6 Focus

106) Nì-bààní àbálími bá-mwéénè? (B15) (6222)

COP-WH.PRN.who c2.farmer SM.c2-see.PFV

‘Who did the farmers see?’

107) bá-mwééné Yòàní (6223)

SM.c2-see.PFV c1.John

‘They saw John’

108) *bá-mú-mwéénè / bá-mwééné èèná

SM.c2-OM.c3-see.PFV/ SM.c2-see.PFV PRN.c1

It’s not clear whether both options are ungrammatical or just the first.

Comment: For example, the children are playing hide and seek in the yard, four girls and one boy, John. The farmers entered the yard but they only saw John.

109) àbálími tà-bá-mwééné Chàndá, bá-mwééné Yòàní (B16)

c2.farmersneg-SM.c2-see.PFV c1.Chanda SM.2-see.PFV c1.Yoani

‘The farmers didn’t see CHanda. They saw John’ (6224)

110) * àbálími tà-bá-mwééné Chàndá, bá-mù-mwééné

c2.farmers NEG-SM.c2-see.PFV c1.Chanda SM.c2-OM.c3-see.PFV (6225)

111) * àbálími tà-bá-mwééné Chàndá, bá-mwééné èèná

c2.farmers NEG-SM.c2-see.PFV c1.Chanda SM.c2-see.PFV PRN.c1 (6226)

Emphatic pronoun can be used in response to ‘Is it John they saw?’

112) éé, èèò bá-mwééné (6227)

Affirmative, 3sg.COP SM.c2-see.PFV

‘Yes its him they saw’

3.7.7 Other

3.8 Proxy readings

ABCD: none possible as below shows

Strategy A

- 113) ??Castro á-àlíí-í-témw-à mù-Museum (B8a) (6228)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-like-fv c18-Museum
‘Castro liked himself in the museum’

Comment: Above could be understood in the context but one would more correctly have to say the ‘statue of himself’ (without the reflexive marker). *Museum* here would be a loan word:

- 114) Castro á-àlíí-témw-à ici-bùmbwà chàkwé mù-Museum (6229)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-like-fv c7.statue c7.POSS c18-Museum
‘Castro liked the statue of him in the museum’

- 115) ??Bá-Mpàshí tà-bá-í-béléng-à mù-chí-Swàhili (6230)
c2.HON-Mpashi NEG-c2.SM-RFM-read-fv c18-c7-Swahili
‘Mpashi has not read himself in Swahili’

Comment: Above could be understood as referring to his books but one would more correctly have to mention the books (without the reflexive marker). Subject marker ‘Ba’ here is honorific:

- 116) bá-Mpàshí tà-bá-béléng-à ifi-tàbó fyàbó (6231)
c2.HON-Mpashi NEG-SM.c2-read-fv c8-book c18.c2.POSS

ífi-á-lémb-w-à mù-chí-Swàhili
c18.COMP-TNS-write-PASS-fv c18-c7-Swahili

‘Mpashi does not read his books that are written in Swahili’

Strategy B is totally bad.

Strategies C and D get parallel readings to that in A where the sentence could be understood but is extremely marked and is best when the statue or the books are mentioned.

Strategy A

- 117) *Castro á-àlíí-í-sàmb-à bwìinó bwìinó (B9a) (6232)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-wash-fvwell well
‘Castro washed himself carefully/nicely’

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 118) *Castro á-àlíí-í-fwíík-à bwìinó bwìinó (B9c)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fvwell well

‘Castro dressed himself carefully/nicely’ (6233)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 119) *Castro á-àlíí-í-món-à, nómbá tà-à-téménwé ifyó (B9e)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv but NEG-SM.c1-like.PFV c8.what
à-mwéénè
SM.c1-see.PFV
‘Castro saw himself but he didn’t like what he saw’ (6324)

Comment: all are [-NK (in the hard copy)] Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

Strategy B

- 120) *Castro á-àlíí-sàmb-à bwìinó bwìinó (6325)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-wash-fv well well
‘Castro washed himself carefully/nicely’

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 121) *Castro á-àlíí-fwíík-à bwìinó bwìinó (6236)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-dress-fv well well
‘Castro dressed himself carefully/nicely’

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 122) *Castro á-àlíí-mónà, nómbá tà-à-téménwé ifyó
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-see-fv but NEG-SM.c1-like.PFV c8.what
à-mwéénè
SM.c1-see.PFV
‘Castro saw himself but he didn’t like what he saw’ (6238)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

Strategy C

- 123) *Castro á-àlíí-sàmb-à ùmwíínè bwìinó bwìinó (6237)
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-wash-fv c1.own well well
‘Castro washed himself carefully/nicely’

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 124) *Castro á-àlíí-fwíík-à ùmwíínè bwìinó bwìinó
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fvc1.own well well
‘Castro dressed himself carefully/nicely’ (6239)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 125) *Castro á-àlíí-món-à ùmwíínè, nómbá tà-à-téménwé ifyó
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-see-fv c1.own but NEG-SM.c1-like.PFV c8.what
à-mwéénè

SM.c1-see.PFV

‘Castro saw himself but he didn’t like what he saw’ (6240)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 126) *Castro á-àlíí-í-sàmb-à ùmwíínè bwiinó bwiinó
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-wash-fvc1.own well well
‘Castro washed himself carefully/nicely’ (6241)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 127) *Castro á-àlíí-í-fwíík-à ùmwíínè bwiinó bwiinó
c1.Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fvc1.own well well
‘Castro dressed himself carefully/nicely’ (6242)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 128) *Castro á-àlíí-í-mónà ùmwíínè, nómbà tà-à-téménwé
c1, Castro SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fvc1.own but NEG-SM.c1-like.PFV ifyò
à-mwéénè
WH.c8.what SM.c1-see.PFV
‘Castro saw himself but he didn’t like what he saw’ (6243)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

Strategy D

- 129) *bà-kàlìshá wá filímbà bà-àlíí-sàmb-àn-à bwiinó bwiinó
c2.player c2.ASSOC c8-instrument SM.c2-PST-wash-RCM-fv well well
‘The musicians washed each other/themselves carefully/nicely’ (6244)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 130) *bàkàlìshá wá filímbà bà-àlíí-fwíík-àn-à bwiinó bwiinó
c2.player c2.ASSOC c8.instrument SM.c2-PST-dress-RCM-fv well well
‘The musicians dressed each other/themselves carefully/nicely’ (6245)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 131) *bàkàlìshá wá filímbà bà-àlíí-món-àn-à , nómbà
c2.player c2.ASSOC c8.instrument SM.c2-PST-see-RCM-fv but
tà-bà-téménwè ifyò bà-mwéénè
NEG-SM.c1-like.PFV c8.what SM.c2-see.PFV
‘The musicians saw each other/themselves but they didn’t like what they
saw’ (6246)

Comment: Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

- 132) *bá-Mpàshí bá-lànd-à àtí bá-lá-úmfw-ík-à-pó bwiinó(B10a)
c2.HON-Mpashi SM.c2-say-fv COMP SM.c2-HAB-hear-stat-fv-c16 well
mù-chì-swáhíli

c18-c7-Swahili

‘Mpashi says that he sounds better in Swahili’ (6247)

Comment: Cannot refer to his writings but only to himself (as speaker of Swahili)

- 133) *Castro á-tóntónkéènyè àtí á-àlíí-món-ék-à bwìinó
 c1.Castro SM.c1-think.PFV COMP SM.c1-PST-see-stat-fv well
 ‘Mpashi thought that he looked nice/beautiful’ (6248)

Unacceptable in the context of a statue.

(Wed. Jan 11th)

3.9 Ellipsis

B, D: N/A

Strategy A

- 134) Chándà á-àlíí-í-témw-à ùkúcilà Mùtálè (B12A)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-SPT-RFM-like-fv more.than c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda likes himself more than Mutale’ (6249)

Comment: Possible interpretations

- i. Sherman likes himself more than *Sherman likes* Bill.
- iii. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill *likes himself*.

Strategy B

- 135) Chándà á-àlíí-í-témw-à ùmwíínè ùkú-cilà Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-like c1.own c15-exceed c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda likes himself more than Mutale’ (6250)

MB: Why is this not Strategy C ‘own’? Do they always go together?

Comment: Possible interpretations

- i. Sherman likes himself more than *Sherman likes* Bill.

Strategy D

- 136) *Chándà a-alii-temw-an-a ùkú-cilà Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-like c15-exceed c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda likes himself more than Mutale’

KS: Please provide examples that test the RCM. We need this one with a plural antecedent, not singular.

PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

4.1 Clausemate coconstruction

4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives –

Strategy A

- 137) Chándà á-àlíí-í-món-à (C1a)

- c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv
'Chanda saw himself' (6251)
- 138) bánàmà yó bá-àlì-í-lóndólól-a (C1b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-fv
'The women described themselves' (6252)
- 139) mú-àlì-í-pànt-à (C1c)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-RFM-kick-fv
'You(pl.) kicked yourselves' (6253)
- 140) bá-àlì-í-tàsh-à (C1d)
SM.c2-PST-RFM-praise-fv
'They praised themselves' (6254)
- Strategy B
- 141) *Chàndà á-àlì-í-món-à (C1a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv
'Chanda saw himself' (6255)
- 142) *bánàmà yó bá-àlì-í-món-à (C1b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-see-fv
'The women described themselves' (6256)
- 143) *mú-àlì-í-món-à (C1c)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-see-fv
'You(pl.) kicked yourselves' (6257)
- 144) *bá-àlì-í-tàsh-à (C1d)
SM.c2-PST-praise-fv
'They praised themselves' (6258)
- Strategy C
- 145) *Chàndà á-àlì-í-món-à ùmwíínè (C1a)
c1.ChandaSM.c1-PST-see-fv c1.own
'Chanda saw himself' (6259)
- 146) Chàndà á-àlì-í-món-à ùmwíínè (C1a)
c1.ChandaSM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv c1.own
'Chanda saw himself' (6260)
- 147) *bánàmà yó bá-àlì-í-lóndólól-à àbéénè (C1b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-explain-fv c2.own
'The women described themselves' (6261)
- 148) bánàmà yó bá-àlì-í-lóndólól-à àbéénè (C1b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-fv c2.own
'The women described themselves' (6262)
- 149) *mú-àlì-í-pànt-à mwèèbéénè (C1c)

- SM.2nd.c2-PST-kick-fv 2nd.c2.own
'You(pl.) kicked yourselves' (6263)
- 150) mú-àlìí-í-pánt-à mwèèbéénè (C1c)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-RFM-kick-fv 2nd.c2.own
'You(pl.) kicked yourselves' (6264)
- 151) *bá-àlìí-tásh-à àbéénè (6265) (C1d)
SM.c2-PST-praise-fvc2.own
'They praised themselves'
- 152) bá-àlìí-í-tásh-à àbéénè (6266) (C1d)
SM.c2-PST-RFM-praise-fv c2.own
'They praised themselves'

Strategy D:

- 153) Chàndà nà Mùtálè bá-àlìí-món-án-à (C1a)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Mutale SM.c2-PST-see-RCM-fv
'Chanda and Mutale saw each other' (6267)
- 154) bàmàyó bá-àlìí-lóndólól-án-à (C1b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-explain-RCM-fv
'The women explained/introduced each other' (6268)
- 155) mú-àlìí-pánt-án-à (C1c)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-kick-RCM-fv
'You(pl.) kicked yourselves' (6269)
- 156) bá-àlìí-tásh-án-à (C1d)
SM.c2-PST-praise-RCM-fv
'They praised themselves' (6270)

4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates

Strategy A

- 157) Chàndà á-àlìí-í-sàmb-à (C3ai)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-wash-fv
'Chanda washed himself' (6271)
- 158) Chàndà á-àlìí-í-fwíík-à (C3aii)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fv
'Chanda dressed herself' (6272)

Comment: *Dress* 'fwíika' must be used with the reflexive marker to have a reflexive reading unlike *wash* 'samba'

- 159) Chàndà á-àlìí-í-pútúl-à imishíshí (C3b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-cut-fv c10.hair
'Chanda cut his hair' (6273)

- 160) Chàndà á-àlí-í-béy-à imishíshí (C3b)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-shave-fv c10.hair
 ‘Chanda shaved his hair’ (6274)
- 161) Chàndà á-àlí-í-cén-à (C3c)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-hurt-fv
 ‘Chanda (unintentionally) hurt himself’ (6275)

Strategy B

- 162) Chàndà á-àlí-sàmb-à (C3a)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-wash/bath-fv
 ‘Chanda washed’ (himself understood) (6276)
- 163) Chàndà á-àlí-pútúl-à imishíshí (C3b)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-cut-fv c10.hair
 ‘Chanda cut his hair’ (6277)
- 164) Chàndà á-àlí-béy-à imishíshí (C3b)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-shave-fv c10.hair
 ‘Chanda shaved his hair’ (6278)

Comment: Could be that he did it himself or could also be that someone else did it.

- 165) * Chàndà á-àlí-cén-à (C3c)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-hurt-fv
 ‘Chanda (unintentionally) hurt herself’ (6279)

Strategy C

- 166) * Chàndà á-àlí-sàmb-à ùmwíínè (C3a)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-wash-fv c1.own
 ‘Chanda washed himself’ (6280)

Comment: KS: Is this possible if it is understood emphatically or contrastively?

Ans. Yes, it is possible, but the preferred option for the emphatic use is with RFM. This said, this sentence is indeed grammatical in some restricted use; it is surprising that he managed to do it himself, say.

- 167) Chàndà á-àlí-í-sàmb-à ùmwíínè (C3av)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-wash-fv c1.own
 ‘Chanda washed himself’ (6281)
- 168) *Chàndà á-àlí-fwíík-à ùmwíínè (C3a)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-dress-fv c1.own
 ‘Chanda dressed himself’ (6282)
- 169) Chàndà á-àlí-í-fwíík-à ùmwíínè (C3a)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fvc1.own
 ‘Chanda dressed himself’ (6283)
- 170) Chàndà á-àlí-í-pútúl-à imishíshí ùmwíínè (C3b)

c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-cut-fv c10.hair c1.own
'Chanda cut his hair himself' (6284)

ciii) The girl cut X [unintentionally] (X = the girl)

Strategy D

171) àbáánà bá-àlìí-sàmb-àn-à (C3a)
c2.child SM.c1-PST-wash-RCM-fv
'The children washed each other' (6285)

172) àbáánà bá-àlìí-pútùl-án-à ìmìshìshì (C3b)
c2.child SM.c2-PST-cut-RCM-fv c10.hair
'The children cut each other's hair' (6286)

173) àbáánà bá-àlìí-béy-án-à ìmìshìshì (C3b)
c2.child SM.c2-PST-shave-RCM-fv c10.hair
'The children shaved each other's hair' (6287)

174) àbálùmèndó bá-àlìí-cén-án-à (C3c)
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-hurt-RCM-fv
'The boys (unintentionally) hurt each other' (6288)

4.1.1.3

Strategy A

175) Chàndà á-àlìí-í-pát-à (C4a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-hate-fv
'Chanda hates himself' (6289)

b) John is ashamed of X

176) *Chàndà á-àlìí-í-sákámán-à (C4c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-worry-fv
'Chanda is worried about himself' (6290)

Comment: Ungrammatical sentence means: 'Chanda cares about himself'.

177) Chàndà á-àlìí-í-kwáát-íl-à ìcílùmbà (C4d)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-have-APPL-fv c7.pride
'Chanda has pride in himself' (6291)

178) Chàndà á-lá-í-cúúsh-à (C4e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-RFM-trouble-fv
'Chanda troubles himself' (6292)

179) Chàndà á-lá-í-tásh-à (C4d)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-RFM-praise-fv
'Chanda praises himself' (6293)

Strategy B

- 180) *Chàndà á-àlí-pát-à (C4a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-hate-fv
'Chanda hates himself' (6294)

b) John is ashamed of X

- 181) *Chàndà á-àlí-sákámán-à (C4c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-worry-fv
'Chanda is worried about himself' (6295)

- 182) *Chàndà á-àlí-kwát-à icílùmbà (C4d)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-have-fv c7.pride
'Chanda is proud of himself' (6296)

- 183) *Chàndà á-lá-sákámàn-à (C4e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-worry-fv
'Chanda worries himself' (6297)

Comment: Sentence means 'Chanda worries' i.e. he does the worrying.

- 184) *Chàndà á-lá-tásh-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-praise-fv
'Chanda praises himself' (6298)

Strategy C

- 185) *Chàndà á-àlí-pát-à ùmwíinè (C4a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-hate-fvc1.own
'Chanda hates himself' (6299)

- 186) Chàndà á-àlí-í-pát-à ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-hate-fv c1.own
'Chanda hates himself' (6300)

b) John is ashamed of X

- 187) *Chàndà á-àlí-sákámàn-à ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-worry-fvc1.own
'Chanda is worried about himself' (6301)

- 188) ?Chàndà á-àlí-sákámàn-à pà ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-worry-fvabout c1.own
'Chanda is worried about himself' (6302)

Comment: C4cii with preposition *pa* 'about' is an improvement over C4ci (187-MB).

- 189) *Chàndà á-àlí-kwáát-à icílùmbà ùmwíiné (C4d)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-have-fv c7.pride c1.own
'Chanda is proud of himself' (6303)

- 190) ?Chàndà á-àlí-kwáát-à ìcílùmbà pà mwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-have-fv c7.pride about c1.own
'Chanda is proud of himself/has pride about himself' (6304)

Improves with preposition *pa* 'about'

- 191) *Chàndà á-lá-sákámàn-à ùmwíínè (C4e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-worry-fv c1.own
'Chanda worries himself' (6305)

- 192) Chàndà á-lá-í-sákámàn-à ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-RFM-worry-fv c1.own
'Chanda worries himself' (6306)

Comment: Has positive reading of *worry*: cares about himself so worries about himself in a positive way

- 193) ?Chàndà á-lá-sákámàn-à pà mwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-worry-fv about c1.own
Improves with *pa* 'about' (6307)

Strategy D

- 194) àbálùméndó bá-àlí-pát-án-à (C4a)
c2.boy SM.c2-remote.PST-hate-RCM-fv
'The boys hate each other' (6308)

- 195) àbálùméndó bá-lá-tiìn-àn-à
c2.boy SM.c2-HAB-scare-RCM-fv
'The boys are afraid of each other' (6309)

b) John is ashamed of X

- 196) *àbálùméndó bá-lá-sákámàn-àn-à (C4c)
c2.boy SM.c2-HAB-worry-RCM-fv
'The boys worry about each other' (6310)

- 197) àbálùméndó bá-àlí-kwát-íl-àn-à ìcílùmbà (C4d)
c2.boy SM.c2-remote.PST-have-APPL-RCM-fv c7.pride
'The boys have pride in each other' (6311)

- 198) *àbálùméndó bá-lá-sákámàn-àn-à (C4e)
c2.boy SM.c2-HAB-worry-RCM-fv
'The boys worry about each other' (6312)

Comment: May be simply a phonological block with double *an-an*, *praise-an* possible below.

- 199) àbálùméndó bá-lá-tásh-án-à

c2.boy SM.c2-HAB-praise-RCM-fv
 ‘The boys praise each other’ (6313)

KS: How would you convey this meaning ('worry about each other')? If one of the /an/ pieces is elided, is this sayable?

Without the RCM *-an-* it is fine to say ‘*sakamana*’ to mean ‘worry’. For ‘worry about each other’ this is not exactly expressible you would just say ‘don’t worry’ or use with a preposition ‘about’ *pali* to specify what but in the case of each other nothing works. Are there any other verb stems ending in /an/? If so, we should test them similarly. I have noticed that in some Bantu languages, the RCM has been lexicalized to some verbs, such that they attach to a stem that has no independent meaning, and in these cases, I seem to recall that it is not possible to add the RCM even if the verb is transitive (I think Lubukusu ‘meet’ has this property, but I would have to look it up). In that case, the blocking is affix-specific, but the verb retains a lexically specific reciprocal meaning. Is there any possibility that the /an/ of *sakaman* has this sort of origin, now obscure?

Yes indeed totally. It is considered an ‘expansion’ in Bantu studies (Meeussen 1967), infact both *-am-* and *-an-* would be treated as historically suffixes in this form. There are a number of verbs with final *-an-* which has lost the reciprocal use and in some cases the /a/ has been lengthened. In the examples below, the meaning of the root is kind of transparent and the extensive meaning creating the new verb by adding the reciprocal construtabe:

kuman-a ‘meet’ [kuma limited use as ‘affect’ ‘touch’]
 longaan-a ‘gather’ [longa still in use as ‘pack’]
 lubaan-a ‘go wrong/become unrecognizable’ [luba in use as ‘be lost’]
 nyonga-an-a ‘be twisted’ [nyonga as ‘twist’]

In all these cases adding a reciprocal is not good, but neither is adding an applicative followed by a reciprocal any good.

4.1.1.4 Creation and destruction predicates.

Strategy A

- 200) *bánàmàyó bá-ká-í-ónáùl-à* (C5a)
 c2.woman SM.c2-FUT-RFM-destroy/spoil-fv
 ‘The women will destroy themselves’ (6314)
- 201) *íngàndà shá-àlí-í-kúúl-à* (C5b)
 c10.house SM.c10-PST-RFM-build-fv
 ‘The houses built themselves’ (6315)
- 202) *àmáláyà yá-ká-í-bíl-à* (C5c)
 c6.dress SM.c6-FUT-RFM-sew-fv
 ‘The dresses will sew themselves’ (6316)
- 203) *ínòngó yá-alí-í-bùmb-à* (C5d)
 c9.clay.pot SM.c9-PST-RFM-mould-fv
 ‘The pot moulded itself’ (6317)

Strategy B

- 204) *bánàmàyó bá-ká-ónáùl-à (C5a)
 c2.woman SM.c2-FUT-destroy-fv
 ‘The women will destroy themselves’ (6318)
- 205) *íngàndà shá-àlìí-kúúl-à (C5b)
 c10.house SM.c10-PST-build-fv
 ‘The houses built themselves’ (6319)
-
- 206) *àmáláyà yá-ká-bíl-à (C5b)
 c6.dress SM.c6-FUT-sew-fv
 ‘The dresses will sew themselves’ (6320)
- 207) *ínòngó yá-àlìí-bùmb-à (C5b)
 c9.clay.pot SM.c9-PST-mould-fv
 ‘The pot moulded itself’ (6321)

Strategy C

- 208) *bánàmàyó bá-ká-ónáùl-à àbéénè (C5a)
 c2.woman SM.c2-FUT-destroy-fv c2.own
 ‘The women will destroy themselves’ (6322)
- 209) bánàmàyó bá-ká-í-ónáùl-à àbéénè
 c2.woman SM.c2-FUT-RFM-destroy-fv c2.own
 ‘The women will destroy themselves’ (6323)
- 210) *íngàndà shá-àlìí-kúúl-à ishíínè (C5b)
 c10.house SM.c10-PST-build-fv c10.own
 ‘The houses built themselves’ (6324)
- 211) íngàndà shá-àlìí-í-kúúl-à ishíínè
 c10.house SM.c10-PST-RFM-build-fv c10.own
 ‘The houses built themselves’ (6325)
- 212) *àmáláyà yá-ká-bíl-à àyéénè (C5b)
 c6.dress SM.c6-FUT-sew-fv c6.own
 ‘The dresses will sew themselves’ (6326)
- 213) àmáláyà yá-ká-í-bíl-à àyéénè
 c6.dress SM.c6-FUT-RFM-sew-fv c6.own
 ‘The dresses will sew themselves’ (6327)

Comment: Could be used in a context where a dressmaker has been frustrated and refuses to continue with the dressmaking declaring ‘the dresses will sew themselves (because I certainly won’t sew them)’. ‘own’ can be left out with no change in meaning since the reflexive -i- is present.

- 214) *ínòngó yá-àlìí-bùmb-á íínè (C5b)
 c9.clay.pot SM.c9-PST-mould-fv c9.own
 ‘The pot moulded itself’ (6328)

- 215) ínòòngó yá-àlìí-búmb-à ínnè
c9.clay.pot SM.c9-PST-mould-fv c9.own
'The pot moulded itself' (6329)

Comment: Could be used in a context where it is a mystery as to how the clay pot was made, no-one agrees to having made it and so one can say in some frustration: '(well then), the pot made itself'.

Strategy D

- 216) bánàmàyó bá-ká-ónáùl-àn-à (C5a)
c2.woman SM.c2-FUT-destroy-RCM-fv
'The women will destroy each other' (6330)
- 217) íngàndà shá-àlìí-kúúìl-àn-à (C5b)
c10.house SM.c10-PST-build-RCM-fv
'The houses built themselves' (6331)

Comment: A reciprocal reading is also possible in some appropriate possible world.

- 218) àmáláyà yá-àlìí-bíl-àn-à (C5c)
c6.dress SM.c6-PST-sew-RCM-fv
'The dresses sewed themselves' (6332)

Comment: A reciprocal reading is also possible in some appropriate possible world.

- 219) ínòòngó shá-àlìí-búmb-án-à (C5d)
c9.clay.pot SM.c9-PST-mould-RCM-fv
'The pots moulded themselves' (6333)

Comment: A reciprocal reading is also possible in some appropriate possible world.

4.1.1.5 Verbs of representation.

Strategy A

- 220) àbálùméndó bá-àlìí-í-lúbúlùl-à (C6a)
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-fv
'The boys explained themselves' (6334)
- 221) àbálùmèndó bá-àlìí-í-lúbúlwí-ìl-à
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-APPL-fv
'The boys explained for themselves (represented themselves in the proceedings)' (6335)
- 222) *Chàndà á-àlìí-í-sós-à (C6bi)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-speak-fv
'Chanda spoke for himself' (6336)

- 223) Chàndà á-àlí-í-sós-él-à (C6bii)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-speak-APPL-fv
 ‘Chanda spoke for himself’ (6337)

Strategy B

- 224) *àbálùmèndó bá-àlí-lúbúlùl-à (C6a)
 c2.boy SM.c2-PST-explain-fv
 ‘The boys explained themselves’ (6338)
- 225) Chàndà á-àlí-sós-à (C6biii)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-speak-fv
 ‘Chanda spoke’ (6339)

Comment: C6biii) really means ‘Chanda spoke’ and only by extension possibly on his own behalf.

- 226) Fi) Chàndà spoke for Mary
 Chàndà á-àlí-sós-él-à-ko Mutale
 Chanda 1SM-(remote?-MB)past-speak-appl-FV-behalf.clitic Mutale
 (should ‘ali’ be ‘alii’? what is the tone on the ‘behalf.clitic’?)

- 227) Chanda spoke for the children (ii)
 Chàndà á-àlí-sós-él-à-ko abaana
 Chanda 1SM-past-speak-appl-FV-behalf.clitic 2children

- 228) Chanda spoke for her/them (iii)
 Chàndà á-àlí-mu-sós-él-à-ko
 Chanda 1SM-past-1OM-speak-appl-FV-behalf.clitic

Comment: Without the post-verbal clitic *ko* in all instances the meaning changes to ‘tell on’ as in more laefactive. From above (6bii) can also have this meaning:

(what is the tone on ‘abaana’, 1OM, and ‘ko’?)

- 229) Chàndà á-àlí-í-sós-él-à
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-speak-APPL-fv
 ‘Chanda spoke for himself’ (6340)

Also ‘told on himself (that he had broken the vase, for example)

Strategy C

- 230) àbálùèndó bá-àlí-lúbúlùl-à àbéénè (C6a)
 c2.boy SM.c2-PST-explain-fv c2.own
 ‘The boys represented/explained themselves’ (6341)
- 231) àbálùmèndó bá-àlí-í-lúbúlwí-il-à àbéénè
 c2.boy SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-APPL-fv c2.own
 ‘The boys represented/explained for themselves’ (6342)

- 232) **Chàndà** á-àlí-sós-à ùmwíínè (C6biv)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-speak-fv c1.own
'Chanda spoke for himself' (6343)
- 233) **Chàndà** á-àlí-í-sós-él-à ùmwíínè (C6bv)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-speak-APPL-fv c1.own
'Chanda spoke for himself' (6344)

Comment: There is a difference between C6biv and C6bv in that C6bv can have the additional 'told on himself' meaning.

Strategy D

- 234) àbálùmèndó bá-àlí-lúbúlùl-àn-à (C6a)
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-explain-RCM-fv
'The boys explained each other' (6345)
- 235) àbálùmèndó bá-àlí-lúbúlwí-il-àn-à
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-APPL-RCM-fv
'The boys explained for each other' (6346)
- 236) bánàmàyó bá-àlí-sós-él-án-à (C6b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-speak-APPL-RCM-fv
'The spoke for each other' (6347)

4.1.2 Argument position pairings

4.1.2.1 subject-indirect object

Strategy A

- 237) **Chàndà** á-àlí-í-péél-à ùbúpé (C7a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c14.gift
'Chanda gave the gift to herself' (6348)
- 238) **Chàndà** á-àlí-í-làng-à íngàndà (C7b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv c9.house
'Chanda showed the house to himself' (6349)
- 239) **Chàndà** á-àlí-í-ípík-il-à ífyákùlyà (C7c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-cook-APPL-fv c8.food
'Chanda cooked food for himself' (6350)
- 240) **Chàndà** á-àlí-í-péél-à ùbúpé (C8a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c14.gift
'Chanda gave himself the gift' (6351)
- 241) **Chàndà** á-àlí-í-làng-à kùbáána (C8b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv c17.c2.child
'Chanda showed himself to the children' (6352)

Strategy B

- 242) *Chàndà á-àlí-péél-à ùbúpé (C7a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c14.gift
'Chanda gave the gift to himself' (6353)
- 243) *Chàndà á-àlí-làng-à íngàndà (C7b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c9.house
'Chanda showed the house to himself' (6354)
- 244) *Chàndà á-àlí-ípík-íl-à ífyákùlyà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-fv c8.food
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6355)
- 245) *Chàndà á-àlí-péél-à ùbúpé (C8a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c14.gift
'Chanda gave himself the gift' (6356)
- 246) *Chàndà á-àlí-làng-à kùbáánà (C8b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c17.c2.child
'Chanda showed himself to the children' (6357)

Strategy C

- 247) *Chàndà á-àlí-péél-à ùbúpé (éénà) ùmwíinè (C7a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c14.gift (PRN.c1) c1.own
'Chanda gave the gift to himself' (6358)
- 248) Chàndà á-àlí-í-péél-à ùbúpé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c14.gift c1.own
'Chanda gave the gift to himself' (6359)
- 249) *Chàndà á-àlí-làng-à íngàndà ùmwíinè (C7b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fvc9.house c1.own
'Chanda showed the house to himself' (6360)
- 250) Chàndà á-àlí-í-làng-à íngàndà ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv c9.house c1.own
'Chanda showed the house to himself' (6361)
- 251) *Chàndà á-àlí-ípík-íl-à ífyákùlyà ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-fv c8.food c1.own
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6362)
- 252) Chàndà á-àlí-í-ípík-íl-à ífyákùlyà ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-cook-APPL-fv c8.food c1.own
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6363)
- 253) *Chàndà á-àlí-péél-à ùbúpé ùmwíinè (C8a)

- c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c14.gift c1.own
Chanda gave himself the gift' (6364)
- 254) Chàndà á-àlí-í-péél-à ùbúpé ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c14.gift c1.own
Chanda gave himself the gift' (6365)
- 255) *Chàndà á-àlí-làng-à kùbáánà ùmwíinè (C8b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c17.c2.child c1.own
'Chanda showed himself to the children' (6366)
- 256) Chàndà á-àlí-í-làng-à kùbáánà ùmwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv c17.c2.child c1.own
'Chanda showed himself to the children' (6367)

Comment: KS: It appears that the relevant generalization is that the Agr-OWN form cannot correspond to an argument of the sentence unless that argument is overt, or, in the interesting case of *-sos-*, effectively implied. Does this seem right?

Ans. Yes, this seems correct, the argument must be implied in some way.

KS: Actually, this reminds me of a control we need. Can we have a sentence of the form 'Chanda fixed the machine himself' where the emphatic agrees with the subject, not with the overt object, and the emphatic appears finally? Probably (C17f) makes the point, but one more sentence would not hurt.

- 257) Chanda a-ali-lungish-a iceela ùmwíinè
Chanda SM.c1-PST-fix-fv c7.machine c1-own
'Chanda fixed the machine himself'

Strategy D

- 258) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-péél-án-à ùbúpé (C7a)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-give-RCM-fv c14.gift
'Chanda and Kalaba gave the gift to each other' (6368)
- 259) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-làng-àn-à íngàndà (C7b)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-show-RCM-fv c9.house
'Chanda and Kalaba showed the house to each other' (6369)
- 260) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-ípík-il-àn-à ífýákùlyà
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-cook-APPL-RCM-fv c8.food
'Chanda and Kalaba cooked food for each other' (6370)
- 261) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-péél-àn-à ùbúpé (C8a)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-give-RCM-fv c14.gift
'Chanda gave himself the gift' (6371)

Translation issue.

- 262) *Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-làng-àn-à kùbáánà (C8b)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-show-RCM-fv c17.c2.child
'Chanda showed himself to the children' (6372)

4.1.2.2 oblique arguments

Strategy A

- 263) *Chàndà á-àléé-í-lánd-à (C9a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-RFM-speak-fv
'Chanda was talking to himself' (6373)
- 264) Chàndà á-àléé-í-sósh-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-RFM-talk.CAUS-fv
'Chanda was talking to himself' (6374)
- 265) *Chàndà á-àlí-í-éb-à kùlí Mùtálè (C9b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-tell-fvto c1.Mutale
'Chanda told Mutale about himself' (6375)
- 266) Chàndà á-àlí-í-lóndólól-à kùlí Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-introduce/explain-fvto c1.Mutale
'Chanda introduced himself to Mutale' (6376)
- 267) Chàndà á-àlí-í-péél-à ìcítàbó (C9c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c7.book
'Chanda gave himself a book' (6377)

Strategy B

- 268) *Chàndà á-àléé-lánd-à (C9a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-speak-fv
'Chanda talked to himself' (6378)
- 269) *Chàndà á-àléé-sós-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-talk-fv
'Chanda talked to himself' (6379)
- 270) *Chàndà á-àlí-lóndólól-à kùlí Mùtálè (C9b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-introduce/explain-fv to c1.Mutale
'Chanda told Mutale about himself' (6380)
- 271) *Chàndà á-àlí-péél-à ìcítàbó (C9c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c7.book
'Chanda gave himself a book' (6381)

Strategy C

- 272) *Chàndà á-àléé-lánd-à nà ùmwíínè (C9a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-speak-fv with c1.own

‘Chanda talked to himself’ (6382)

273) Chàndà á-àlí-í-lóndólól-à ùmwíinè kùlí Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-introduce/explain-fvc1.own to c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda told Mutale about himself’ (6383)

274) Chàndà á-àlí-í-péél-à icítábó ùmwíinè (C9c)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c7.book c1.own
 ‘Chanda gave himself a book’ (6384)

Strategy D

275) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àléé-sósh-ány-à (C9a)
 c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PROG-speak.CAUS-RCM-fv
 ‘Chanda and Kalaba talked to each other’ (6385)

KS: I am not so clear about the morphology and gloss here. Are you using 'sh' for the palatal sibilant the way it is spelled in English? That's ok, but I want to be clear. If this is the same verb you used in C6, then perhaps there is some sort of spirantization when this verb is causativized, but the /y/ after the RCM seems also to be a bit of causative or causative-like morpho-phonology. All of this becomes clearer in light of the comments related to C6. In many Bantu languages, this sort of morphology shows up when a verb like *samb* has a transitive use, that is, there is apparent causativization, though the meaning of the verb does not change, and it is necessary when that verb is used with an RCM. There are also consonant deformations of the stem when the affix is used (e.g., in Ikalanga), but there are two causative forms in Ikalanga and only the one that is less compositional in meaning is used. Anyway, this is something I will be looking into later, in case you have some thoughts about it. Yes this is the same verb as in (6) ‘sosa’ but here the final /s/ becomes /sh/ by the causative. So yes there is spirantization going on here from /s/ to /sh/ (indeed with English spelling). The spirantization driven by the causative in Bemba affects all suffixes in a multiple suffix case (have a chapter on this in my thesis! But really did not investigate the syntactic aspects but yes there are also two causatives in Bemba but the distinction between transitive and intransitive use is less clear). This would indeed be something nice to probe further in future.

It occurs to me that you could try adding the APPL to see if the stem reverts to non-palatalized consonants and if the /y/ on *an* then disappears. That assumes that the sentence is possible and has the same or a similar meaning. Please comment on the result.

Nope! Beautiful spirantization in all suffixes! Sosh-esh-any-a ‘speak for e.o’. Don’t you just love phonology! Ah!

276) ??Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-í-lóndólól-àn-à kùlí Mùtálè (C9b)
 c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-introduce-RCM-fv to c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda and Kalaba explained themselves/introduced themselves to Mutale’

277) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-í-péél-àn-à icítábó (C9c)
 c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-give-RCM-fv c7.book
 ‘Chanda and Kalaba gave each other a book’

4.1.2.3 Subject-adjunct

Strategy A

- 278) *Chàndà á-àlí-i-món-à icípùnà kùnùmà (C10a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv c7.chair c17.behind
'Chanda saw a chair behind her' (6387)
- 279) Chàndà á-áci-n-tùm-in-à làmiá pàmúlándù wá
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-1st.SM.c1-call-APPL-fv phone on.cause c1.POSS
(C10b)
cítàbó bá-léemb-à pàlí éná
c7.book SM.c2-write-fv c16.about PRN.c1
'Chanda called me (on the phone) because of/about a book that is written
about her' (6386)
- 280) *Chàndà á-áci-n-tùm-in-à làmiá pàmúlándù wá
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-SM.c1-call-APPL-fv phone on.cause c1.POSS
cítàbó bá-í-léemb-à pàlí ééna
c7.book SM.c2-RFM-write-fv c16.about PRN.c1
'Chanda called me (on the phone) because of/about a book that is written
about her' (6424)
- 281) Chàndà á-áci-kálífy-à kálábà pàmúlándù wàkwá
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause c1.POSS
Mùtálè
c1.Mutale
'Chanda upset Kalaba because of Mutale' (C10c) (6425)
- 282) *Chàndà á-áci-í-kálífy-à kálábà pàmúlándù wàkwé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-RFM-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause c1.POSS
'Chanda upset Kalaba because of Mutale' (6426)

Strategy B

- 283) *Chàndà á-àlí-món-à icípùnà kùnùmà (C10a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.chair c17.behind
'Chanda saw a chair behind her' (6429)
- 284) Chàndà á-àlí-món-à icípùnà kùnùmà yàkwé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.chair c17.behind of.PRN.c1
'Chanda saw a chair behind her' (6430)
- 285) Chàndà á-àlí-n-tùm-in-à làmiá pàmúlándù wà cítàbó
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-1st.SM.c1-call-APPL-fv phone on.cause of c7.book
bá-lémbélè pàlí ééna

3pl.SM-write.PFV c7.about PRN.c1
'Mary called me because of an article about X' (X = Mary) (C10b) (6427)

- 286) Chàndà á-áci-kálify-à kálábà pàmúlándù wàkwé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-RFM-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause c1.POSS
'Chanda offended/upset Kalaba because of himself' (6428)

I wasn't at all clear how does one apply strategy B to this.

Strategy C

- 287) *Chàndà á-àlíí-món-à ícípùnà kùnùmà ùmwíínè (C10a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.chair c17.behind c1.own
'Chanda saw a chair behind her' (6431)
- 288) Chàndà á-àlíí-món-à ícípùnà kùnùmà yàkwé ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.chair c17.behind of.PRN.c1 c1.own
'Chanda saw a chair behind her herself' (6432)
- 289) *Chàndà á-áci-n-tùm-in-à làmiá pàmúlándù wá
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-1st.SM.c1-call-APPL-fv phone on.cause c1.POSS
(C10b)

cítàbó bá-léemb-à pà mwíínè
c7.book SM.c2-write-fv c16.about c1.own
'Chanda called me (on the phone) because of a book written about her'
(6441)

- 290) ... cítàbó bá-léemb-à pàlí éénà ùmwíínè (C10b')
... c7.book SM.c2-write-fv c16.about PRN.c1 c1.own
'Chanda called me (on the phone) because of a book written about her
herself' (6442)
- 291) *Chàndà á-áci-kálify-á Kálábà pàmúlándù wá
c1.Chanda SM.c1-RFM-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause c1.POSS
mwíínè
c1.own
'Chanda offended Kalaba because of himself (Chanda)' (C10c) (6443)
- 292) Chàndà á-áci-kálify-á Kálábà pàmúlándù wàkwé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-RFM-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause c1.POSS
ùmwíínè
c1.own
'Chanda offended Kalaba because of him himself (Chanda)' (6444)

Strategy D

- 293) *Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlíí-món-án-à ícípùnà kùnùmà
c1.Chanda na c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-see-RCM-fv c7.chair c17.behind

‘Chanda and Kalaba saw a snake behind them’ (C10a) (6445)

- 294) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlìí-món-án-à icípùnà kùnùmà
c1.Chanda na c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-see-RCM-fv c7.chair c17.behind
yàbó
of.PRN.c2

‘Chanda and Kalaba saw a snake behind them’ (6446)

- 295) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-áci-tùm-in-àn-à lamiá (C10b)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST2-call-APPL-fv phone

pàmúlándù wá cítàbó bá-léemb-à pàlì béénà
on.cause c1.POSS c7.book SM.c2-write-fv c16.about PRN.c2
‘Chanda called me because of an article about her’ (6447)

- 296) *Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-áci- kálífy-ány-à Kálábà pàmúlándù
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause
wá mwíínè
c1.POSS c1.own

‘Chanda offended Kalaba because of himself’ (C10c) (6448)

- 297) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-áci- kálífy-ány-à Kálábà pàmúlándù wàkwé
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-upset.CAUS-fv c1.Kalaba on.cause
c1.POSS
ùmwíínè
c1.own

‘Chanda offended Kalaba because of him himself’ (6449)

4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements

Strategy A

- 298) Chàndà á-àlìí-làng-à Kálábà icikópé (C11a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c1.Kalaba c7.picture
‘Chanda showed Kalaba the picture’ (6450)

- 299) ?Chàndà á-àlìí-í-làng-à mù.cikópé kùlì Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv c18.c7.picture by c1.Kalaba
‘Chanda showed himself to Kalaba in the picture’ (6451)

- 300) ?Chàndà á-àlìí-í-làng-à kùlì Kálábà mù.cikópé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv by c1.Kalaba c18.c7.picture
‘Chanda showed himself to Kalaba in the picture’ (6452)

Mary showed X to Hal (C11b missing, not in hard copy)

- 301) Chàndà á-àlìí-í-péél-à Kálábà (C11c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c1.Kalaba
‘Chanda gave himself Kalaba’ (6453)

- 302) Chàndà á-àlíí-í-péél-à íngàndà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv C9.house
'Chanda gave himself a house' (6454)
- d) Bill gave X Hal (C11d missing, not in hard copy)
- 303) *Chàndà á-àlíí-í-ípúsh-à àbálùmèndó pàlí béénà (C11e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-ask-fvc2.boy c16.about PRN.c2
'Chanda asked the boys about themselves' (6455)
- 304) *Chàndà á-áci-í-bá-láng-à àbálùmèndó (C11f)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-OM.c2-show-fv c2.boy
'Chanda showed the boys to each other' (6456)

Strategy B

- 305) *Chàndà á-àlíí-làng-à mù.cikópé kùlí Kálábà (C11a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c18.c7.picture c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda showed himself to Kalaba in the picture' (6457)
- 306) *Chàndà á-àlíí-làng-à kùlí Kálábà mù.cikópé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c17.by c1.Kalaba c18.c7.picture
'Chanda showed himself to Kalaba in the picture' (6458)

Mary showed X to Hal. (C11b missing, not in hard copy)

- 307) *Chàndà á-àlíí-péél-à Kálábà (C11c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c1.Kalaba
'Chanda gave himself Kalaba' (6459)
- 308) *Chàndà á-àlíí-péél-à íngàndà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c9.house
'Chanda gave himself a house' (6460)
- d) Bill gave X Hal
- 309) *Chàndà á-àlíí-ípúsh-à àbálùmèndó pàlí béénà (C11e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-ask-fv c2.boy c16.about PRN.c2
'Chanda asked the boys about each other' (6461)
- 310) *Chàndà á-áci-bá-láng-à àbálùmèndó (C11f)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-OM.c2-show-fv c2.boy
'Chanda showed the boys to each other' (6462)

Strategy C

- 311) *Chàndà á-àlíí-í-láng-à mù.cikópé ùmwíínè kùlí Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-show-fv c18.c7.picture c1.own c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda showed Kalaba to himself' (C11a) (6463)

Comment: Ungrammatical sentence as it stands means: ‘Chanda showed himself in the picture to Kalaba himself’ i.e. Chanda did the showing himself.

312) *Chàndà á-àlíí-láng-à ùmwíínè mù.cikópé kùlí Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-show-fv c1.own c18.c7.picture c17.by c1.Kalaba
(6464)

b) Mary showed X to Hal

313) Chàndà á-àlíí-í-péél-à Kálábà (C11c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c1.Kalaba
‘Chanda gave himself Kalaba’ (6465)

Comment: The only reading that holds is where Chanda is the recipient and not Kalaba being the recipient.

314) *Chàndà á-àlíí-péél-à Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c1.Kalaba
‘Chanda gave Kalaba himself’ (6466)

315) Chàndà á-àlíí-í-péél-à íngàndà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-fv c9.house
‘Chanda gave himself a house’ (6467)

316) *Chàndà á-àlíí-péél-à íngàndà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-fv c9.house (6468)

d) Bill gave X Hal

317) Chàndà á-àlíí-ípúsh-à àbálùmèndó pàlí béénà àbéénè (C11e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-ask-fv c2.boy c16.about PRN.c2 c2.own
‘Chanda asked the boys about them, themselves’ (6469)

Comment: Meaning that spontaneously springs to mind is not ‘each other’ although in a context where she was asking them about each other this could probably be used as I see no other construction that could be used in that scenario.

318) ??Chàndà á-áci-bá-láng-à àbálùmèndó àbéénè (C11f)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-OM.c2-show-fv c2.boy c2.own
‘Chanda showed the boys themselves’ (6470)

Strategy D

319) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlíí-láng-án-à Mùtálè mù.cikópé
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-show-RCM-fv c1.Mutale c18.c7.picture
‘Chanda and Kalaba showed Mutale to each other in the picture’ (C11a)
(6471)

b) Mary showed X to Hal

- 320) *Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-péél-án-à Mùtálè
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-give-RCM-fv c1.Mutale
'Chanda and Kalaba gave Mutale themselves' (C11c) (6472)

Meaning is: 'C & K gave each other Mutale' in same sense as in below

- 321) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-péél-án-à íngàndà
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalab SM.c2-PST-give-RCM-fv c9.house
'Chanda and Kalaba gave each other a house' (6473)

d) Bill gave X Hal

- 322) *Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlí-ípúsh-án-à àbálùmèndó
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-ask-RCM-fv c2.boy
pàlí béénà
c16.about PRN.c2

'Chanda and Kalaba asked the boys about themselves' (C11e) (6474)

- 323) *Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-áci-bá-láng-án-à àbálùmèndó (C11f)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-show-RCM-fv c2.boy
'Chanda and Kalaba showed the boys to each other' (C&K = each other)
(6475)

- 324) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-áci-láng-án-à àbálùmèndó
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-show-RCM-fv c2.boy
'Chanda and Kalaba showed the boys to each other' (C&K = each
other)(6476)

4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts

Strategy A

- 325) Chàndà á-áci-lánd-à pàlí Mùtálè kùlí Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-speak-fv c16.about c1.Mutale c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda talked about Mutale to Kalaba' (C12a) (6477)

- 326) *Chàndà á-áci-í-lánd-à kùlí Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-RFM-speak-fv c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda spoke about himself to Kalaba' (6478)

Comment: Only possibility is to use post-final locative clitic 'po' meaning 'about':

- 327) Chàndà á-áci-í-lánd-à-pó kùlí Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-RFM-speak-fv-loc.c16 c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda spoke about himself to Kalaba' (6479)

Comment: I think it's that the *kuli* relates to the NP of the PP and this is what it must agree with, here the relation is 'to' expressed by class 17. Whereas the semantic object of *po* refers to Chanda. Not sure if this makes any sense, but that is my understanding of it.

Strategy B

- 328) *Chàndà á-áci-lánd-à kùlí Kálábà (C12a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-speak-fv c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda talked about himself to Kalaba' (6480)

Strategy C

- 329) *Chàndà á-áci-lánd-à kùlí Kálábà pá mwíinè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-speak-fv c17.by c1.Kalaba c16.about c1.own
'Chanda talked about himself to Kalaba' (C12a) (6481)
- 330) *Chàndà á-áci-lánd-à pá mwíinè kùlí Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-speak-fv c16.about c1.own c17.by c1.Kalaba
'Chanda talked about himself to Kalaba' (6482)

Strategy D

- 331) *Chàndà ná Kálábà bá-áci-sósh-ány-à kùlí
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST2-speak.CAUS-RCM-rv c17.by

Kálábà (C12a)
c1.Kalaba
'Chanda and Kalaba talked about themselves to Kalaba' (6483)

Comment: Using locative clitic doesn't help as it does not seem to go with the reciprocal but rather with the reflexive marker:

- 332) *Chàndà ná Kálábà bá-áci-sósh-ány-à-pó kùlí
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST2-speak.CAUS-RCM-fv c17.by

Kálábà
c1.Kalaba
'Chanda and Kalaba talked about themselves to Kalaba' (6484)

4.1.2.6 Clausemate noncoarguments

Strategy A

C13 a) Nick telephoned X's mother

- 333) Chàndà á-áci-í-sákúl-à imìshíshí (C13b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-RFM-comb-fv c10.hair
'Chanda combed his hair' (6485)
- 334) *Chàndà á-áci-í-sósh-à ná bàbòòsì (C13c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-RFM-speak-fv with c2.boss
'Chanda spoke to his boss' (6486)

335) *Chàndà á-áci-í-bíík-à icítàbó pétéébùló (C13d)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST2-RFM-put-fv c7.book c16.table
 ‘Chanda put his book on the table’ (6487)

e) The king gave Nick a prize in X's village

336) àbálùmèndó bá-áci-í-sàmb-à pà.méénsò (C13f)
 c2.boy SM.c2-PST2-RFM-wash-fv c16.c6.face
 ‘The boys washed their faces’ (6488)

C14 a) Nick's father admires X

337) *ùbúfí bwa kwá Chàndà bú-àlí-í-mù-ónáùl-à
 c14.lie c14.POSS c1.of c1.Chanda SM.c14-PST-RFM-OM.c1-destroy-fv
 ‘The lies of Chanda destroyed him’ (C14b) (6489)

338) *bánàKálábà bá-àlí-í-shít-ísh-à mótókà (yà kwá Kálábà)
 c2.mother.of.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-RFM-buy-CAUS-fv c9.car
 (POSS.c9 POSS.c1 c1.Kalaba)
 ‘Kalaba’s mother sold Kalaba’s car’ (C14c) (6490)

Comment: (c) would rather mean ‘Kalaba’s mother sold herself Kalaba’s car’

Strategy B: will only automatically have a reflexive meaning with the relevant verbs

a) Nick telephoned X's mother

Chàndà á-áci-sákùl-à imishíshí (are these tones correct?)
 339) Chanda a-aci-sakul-a imishishi (C13b)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-recent.PST-comb-fv c10.hair
 ‘Chanda combed his hair’

Chàndà á-áci-sósh-à bàbòòsì (are these tones correct?)
 340) Chanda a-aci-sosh-a baboosi (C13c)
 c1.Chanda c1.SM-recent.PST-speak-fv c2.boss
 ‘Chanda spoke to the boss’

Comment: It could be his boss but need not be.

Chàndà á-áci-bíík-à icítàbó pétéébùló
 341) *Chanda a-aci-biik-a icitabo peteebulo
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-recent.PST-put-fv c7.book c16.table
 ‘Chanda put his book on the table’ (Are these tones correct?) (C13d)

Comment: It could be his book but need not be.

e) The king gave Nick a prize in X's village

àbálùmèndó bá-áci-sàmb-à pà.méénsò (Are these tones correct?)

- 342) Abalumendo ba-aci-samb-a pa.meenso
c2.boy SM.c2-recent.PST-wash-fv 16.6face
'The boys washed their faces' (C13f)

Comment: Has to be their own faces, each washes his own face.

C14 a) Nick's father admires X

ùbúfíbwá kwá Chàndà bú-àlí-mù-ónáùl-à (are these tones correct?)

- 343) Ubufi bwa kwa Chanda bu-alii-mu-onaul-a (C14b)
c14.lie c14.POSS c1.of c1.Chanda SM.c14-PST-OM.c3-destroy-fv
'The lies of Chanda destroyed him'

- bánàKálábà bá-àlí-shít-ísh-à mótókà (yà kwá Kálábà)
344) BanaKalaba ba-alii-shit-ish-a motoka (ya kwa Kalaba)
2mother.of.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-buy-CAUS-fvc9.car (c9.POSS c1.POSS
c1.Kalaba)
'Kalaba's mother sold Kalaba's car' (C14c) Are these tones correct?

Strategy C

a) Nick telephoned X's mother

- 345) Chanda a-aci-(i)-sakul-a imishishi umwiine
c1.Chanda SM.c1-recent.PST-(RFM)-comb-fvc10.hair c1-own
'Chanda combed his hair himself'

With interpretation that it is surprising that he did it himself.

- 346) Chanda a-aci-sosh-a baboosi umwiine
c1.Chanda SM.c1-recent.PST-speak-fv c2.boss c1-own
'Chanda spoke to his boss himself'

With interpretation that it is surprising that he did it himself.

- 347) Chanda a-aci-biik-a icitabo peteebulo umwiine
c1.Chanda SM.c1-recent.PST-put-fv c7.book c16.table c1-own
'Chanda put his book on the table'

With interpretation that it is surprising that he did it himself.

e) The king gave Nick a prize in X's village

- 348) Abalumendo ba-aci-(i)-samb-a pa.meenso abeene (f)
c2.boy SM.c2-recent.PST-(RFM)-wash-fv 16.6face c2-own
'The boys washed their faces themselves'

Comment: With interpretation that it is surprising that he did it themselves.

C14 a) Nick's father admires X

- 349) Ubufi bwa kwa Chanda bu-alii-mu-onaul-a umwiine

c14.lie c14.POSS c1.of c1.Chanda SM.c14-PST-OM.c3-destroy-fv c1-own
'The lies of Chanda destroyed him himself' (C14b)

Comment: With interpretation that it is surprising that he did it himself.

350) BanaKalaba ba-alii-shit-ish-a motoka (ya kwa
2mother.of.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-RFM-buy-CAUS-fv c9.car (c9.POSS c1.POSS
Kalaba abeene
c1.Kalaba) c2-own
'Kalaba's mother sold Kalaba's car herself' (C14c)

Comment: With interpretation that it is surprising that **he** did it **herself** (is this a typo-MB).

Strategy D

a) Nick telephoned X's mother

351) Chanda na Kalaba ba-aci-sakul-an-a imishishi
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Chanda SM.c2-recent.PST-comb-RCM-fv c10.hair
'Chanda and Kalaba combed each other's hair' (b)

352) *Chanda na Kalaba ba-aci-sosh-an-a na baboosi
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Chanda SM.c2-recent.PST-speak-RCM-fv with c2.boss
'Chanda and Kalaba spoke to their boss' / 'Chanda and Kalaba spoke to each other's boss' (c)

353) *Chanda na Kalaba ba-aci-biik-an-a icitabo peteebulo
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Chanda SM.c2-recent.PST-put-RCM-fv c7.book c16.book
'Chanda and Kalaba put their book on the table' / 'Chanda and Kalaba put each other's books on the table' (d)

e) The king gave Nick a prize in X's village

354) Abalumendo ba-aci-samb-an-a pa.meenso
c2.boy SM.c2-recent.PST-wash-RCM-fv 16.6face
'The boys washed each other's faces' (f)

Please provide translations and judgments for the following examples where the plural pronoun is coconstrued with the boys or the politicians.

355) àbálùmèndó bá-àlìí-món-à ìfikópé fyàbó (X20a)
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-see-fv c8.picture c8.of.c2
'The boys saw their pictures' (6491)

This can mean both that the pictures are of the boys or that they are not but they belong to the boys.

356) Chàndà á-àlìí-éb-à àbálùmèndó pá fikópé fyàbó
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-tell-fv c2.boy c16.about c8.picture c8.of.c2
'Chanda told the boys about their pictures' (could be of them or not) (6492)

(X20b)

- c) The politicians planned attacks against each other.
- d) The politicians faked/simulated attacks against themselves/them.

4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments

For each one, construct some representative non-reflexive examples.

Then apply each coreference strategy to various pairs of arguments and report their grammaticality status.

- 357) Chàndà á-àlí-ípík-íl-à Kálábà ifyákúlyà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-fv c1.Kalaba c8.food
'Chanda cooked food for Kalaba' (6493)
- 358) Chàndà á-àlí-cén-w-à mù.lúbúli
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-hurt-PASS-fv c18.c11.fight
'Chanda was hurt in a fight' (6494)
- 359) Chàndà á-àlí-péél-w-à indálámà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-PASS-fv c9.money
'Chanda was given money' (6495)
- 360) Chàndà á-àlí-íngísh-à inkókó mù.cítélé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-enter.CAUS-fv c9.chicken c18.c7.chicken.run
'Chanda put the chickens into the chicken ran' (Chicken run?) (6496)

Strategy A

- 361) Chàndà á-àlí-í-ípík-íl-à ifyákúlyà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-cook-APPL-fv c8.food
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6497)
- 362) *Chàndà á-àlí-í-cén-w-à mù.lúbúli
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-hurt-PASS-fv c18.c11.fight
'Chanda hurt himself in the fight' (6498)
- 363) *Chàndà á-àlí-í-péél-w-à indálámà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-give-PASS-fv c9.money
'Chanda himself was given money' (6499)
- 364) Chàndà á-àlí-í-íngísh-à mùcítélé
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-enter.CAUS c18.c7.chicken.run
'Chanda made himself enter the chicken ran' (6500)

Strategy B

- 365) *Chàndà á-àlí-ípík-íl-à ifyákúlyà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-fv c8.food
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6501)

- 366) Chàndà á-àlíí-cén-w-à mù.lúbúli
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-hurt-PASS-fv c18.c11.fight
'Chanda hurt himself in the fight' (6502)
- 367) Chàndà á-àlíí-péél-w-à indálámà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-PASS-fv c9.money
'Chanda himself was given money' (6503)
- 368) *Chàndà á-àlíí-íngísh-à mù.cítélè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-enter.CAUS-fv c18.c7chicken.run
'Chanda made himself enter the chicken ran' (6504)

Strategy C

- 369) *Chàndà á-àlíí-ípík-íl-à ifyákúlyà ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-fv c8.food c1.own
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6505)
- 370) Chàndà á-àlíí-í-ípík-íl-à ifyákúlyà ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-cook-APPL-fv c8.food c1.own
'Chanda cooked the food for himself' (6506)
- 371) Chàndà á-àlíí-cén-w-à mù.lúbúli ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-hurt-PASS-fv c18.c11.fight c1.own
'Chanda himself hurt in the fight' (6507)
- 372) Chàndà á-àlíí-péél-w-à indálámà ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-give-PASS-fv c9.money c1.own
'Chanda himself was given money' (6508)
- 373) *Chàndà á-àlíí-íngísh-à mù.cítélè ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-enter.CAUS-fv c18.c7.chicken.run c1.own
'Chanda made himself enter the chicken ran' (6509)
- 374) Chàndà á-àlíí-í-íngísh-à mù.cítélè ùmwíínè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-enter.CAUS-fv c18.c7.chicken.run c1.own
'Chanda made himself enter the chicken run' (6510)

Strategy D

- 375) àbálùmèndó bá-àlíí-ípík-íl-àn-à ifyákúlyà
c2.boy SM.c1-PST-cook-APPL-RCM-fv c8.food
'The boys cooked each other food/ cooked food for each other' (6511)
- 376) *àbálùmèndó bá-àlíí-cén-àn-w-à mù.lúbúli
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-hurt-RCM-PASS-fv c18.c11.fight
'The boys (were) hurt each other in a fight' (6512)
- 377) *àbálùmèndó bá-àlíí-péél-àn-w-à indálámà

c2.boy SM.c2-PST-give-PASS-fv c9.money
'The boys gave each other money' (6513)

- 378) àbálùmèndó bá-àlíí-íngish-àn-à mù.cítélé
c2.boy SM.c2-PST-enter.CAUS-RCM-fv c18.c7.chicken.run
'The boys made each other enter the chicken run' (6514)

4.1.3 Properties of antecedents

4.1.3.1 Pronouns, person and number

Strategy A

- 379) Néa-àlíí-í-món-à (C16a)
SM.1st.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv
'I saw myself' (6515)
- 380) ú-àlíí-í-món-à (C16b)
SM.2nd.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv
'You saw yourself' (6516)
- 381) á-àlíí-í-món-à (C16c)
SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv
'He saw himself' (6517)
- 382) tú-àlíí-í-món-à (C16d)
SM.1st.c2-PST-RFM-see-fv
'We saw ourselves' (6518)
- 383) mú-àlíí-í-món-à (C16e)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-RFM-see-fv
'You(pl) saw yourselves' (6519)
- 384) bá-àlíí-í-món-à (C16f)
SM.3rd.c2-PST-RFM-see-fv
'They saw thmselves' (6520)

Strategy B

- 385) Ná-àlíí-sàmb-à (a)
SM.1st.c1-PST-wash-fv
'I washed myself' (6521)
- 386) Tú-àlíí-sàmb-à (b)
SM.1st.c2-PST-wash-fv
'We washed ourselves' (6522)

All persons are grammatical.

Strategy C

- 387) ná-àlíí-sàmb-à nèmwíínè (a)
SM.1st.c1-PST-wash-fv 1st.c1.own
'I washed myself' (6523)

Comment: Can really only be said if you were otherwise unable to bathe yourself, otherwise with bathing it is more preferably to leave out the 'own' part.

- 388) mú-àlíí-sàmb-à mwebeene (b)
3pl.SM-past-wash-FV 3pl.own
'You (pl) washed yourselves' (6524)

Comment: Can really only be said if you were otherwise unable to bathe yourself, otherwise with bathing it is more preferably to leave out the 'own' part.

All work

Strategy D

- 389) tú-àlíí-sàmb-àn-à (a)
SM.1st.c2-PST-was-RCM-fv
'We washed ourselves' (6525)

- 390) mú-àlíí-sàmb-àn-à (b)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-was-RCM-fv
'You (pl) washed ourselves' (6526)

- 391) bá-àlíí-sàmb-àn-à (c)
SM.c2-PST-was-RCM-fv
'They washed themselves' (6527)

C17 a) I washed X

Strategy A

- 392) ná-àlíí-í-pát-à (b)
SM.1st.c1-PST-RFM-hate-fv
'I hated myself' (6528)

- 393) tú-àlíí-í-pát-à
SM.1st.c2-PST-RFM-hate-fv
'We hated ourselves' (6529)

All persons are grammatical.

- 394) *Ná-àlíí-í-éb-à Chàndà (pàlí iné)
SM.1st.c1-PST-RFM-tell-fv c1.Chanda (c16.about PRN.1st.c1)

‘I told John about myself’ (c) (6530)

All persons ungrammatical

- 395) *tú-àlíí-í-món-à ìcípùnà m̀péépi
SM.1st.c2-PST-RFM-see-fv c7.chair c18.near
‘We saw a chair near us’ (d) (6531)

All persons ungrammatical

- 396) *m̀ú-àlíí-í-témw-ík-w-à (e)
SM.2nd.c2-PST-RFM-PST-like-stat-PASS-fv
‘You are liked by yourselves’ (6532)

All persons ungrammatical

- 397) I telephoned X’s mother (f)
??á-àlíí-í-túm-ín-à báng’ìnà l̀míà
SM.c1-PST-RFM-call-APPL-fv c1.mother phone (6533)

- 398) ??ú-àlíí-í-túm-ín-ç b́ánókó l̀míà
SM.2nd.c1-PST-RFM-call-APPL-fv 2sg.mother phone (6534)

All not very bad but more with ‘he managed to do it by himself meaning’

- 399) b́átàtà b́á-lá-í-kúmbw-à (g)
c2.father SM.c2-HAB-RFM-admire-fv
‘(My) father admires himself’ (6566)

- 400) ú-lá-í-kúmbw-à
SM.2nd.c1-HAB-RFM-admire-fv
‘You admire yourself’ (6567)

- 401) tú-lá-í-kúmbw-à
SM.1st.c2-HAB-RFM-admire-fv
‘We admire ourselves’ (6568)

Grammatical in all persons/numbers

Strategy B

- 402) *ná-àlíí-pát-à (b)
SM.1st.c1-PST-hate-fv
‘I hate myself’ (6569)

- 403) *tú-àlíí-pát-à
SM.1st.c2-PST-hate-fv
‘We hate ourselves’ (6570)

All persons ungrammatical

- 404) *ná-àlí-éb-à Chàndà (pàlí iné) (c)
SM.1st.c1-PST-tell-fv c1.Chanda (c16.about PRN.1st.c1)
'I told John about myself' (6571)

All persons ungrammatical

- 405) *tú-àlí-món-à icípùnà mùpéépi (d)
SM.1st.c2-past-past-see-fv c7.chair c18.near
'We saw a chair near ourselves' (6572)

All persons ungrammatical

- 406) *mú-àlí-témw-ík-w-à (e)
SM.2nd.c2-past-past-like-stat-PASS-fv
'You (pl) are liked by yourselves' (6573)

All persons ungrammatical

- 407) á-àlí-túm-ín-à báng'iná làmíà (f)
SM.c1-PST-call-APPL-fv c1.mother phone
'I telephoned her/his mother' (6574)

- 408) ú-àlí-túm-ín-à bánókó làmíà
SM.2nd.c1-PST-call-APPL-fv 2nd.c1.mother phone
'You telephoned your mother' (6575)

All grammatical (? As in subject called subject's mother) but probably also aided by the different form of 'mother'

- 409) *bátàtà bá-lá-kúúmbw-à (g)
c2.father SM.c2-HAB-admire-fv
'father admires himself' (6576)

- 410) *ú-lá-kúúmbw-à Chàndà
SM.2nd.c1-HAB-admire-fv
'you admire yourself' (6577)

- 411) *tú-lá-kúúmbw-à
SM.1st.c1-HAB-admire-fv
'we admire ourselves' (6578)

All persons/numbers ungrammatical

Strategy C

- 412) *ná-àlí-pát-à nèmwíinè (b)
SM.c1.1st-PST-hate-fv c1.1st.own
'I hate myself' (6579)

413) ná-àlí-í-pát-à (nèwíínè)
SM.c1.1st-PST-RFM-hate-fv c1.1st.own
'I hate myself' (6580)

414) *tú-àlí-pát-à fwèbéénè
SM.c2.1st-PST-RFM-hate-fv c2.1st.own
'We hate ourselves' (6581)

415) tú-àlí-í-pát-à fwèbéénè
SM.c2.1st-PST-RFM-hate-fv c2.1st.own
'We hate ourselves' (6582)

All ungrammatical without RFM but all grammatical with RFM

416) *ná-àlí-éb-à Chàndà nèmwíínè (c)
SM.c1.1st-PST-RFM-tell-fv c1.Chanda c1.1st.own
'I told Chanda about X' (6583)

All ungrammatical

417) *tú-àlí-món-à ícípúná mùpéépì fwèbéénè (d)
SM.c2.1st-PST-see-fv c7.chair c18.near c2.1st.own
'we saw a chair near us' (6584)

418) tú-àlí-món-à ícípúná mùpéépì nà ifwé
SM.c2.1st-PST-see-fv c7.chair c18.near withus
'we saw a chair near us' (6585)

All ungrammatical

419) *mú-àlí-témw-ík-w-à mwèbéénè (e)
2pl.SM-past-like-stat-pass-FV 2pl.own
'I am liked by you' (6586)

All ungrammatical

420) á-àlí-túm-ín-à báng'íná làmíá ùmwíínè (f)
SM.c1-PST-call-APPL-fv 3sg.mother phone c1.own
'he telephoned his mother himself' (6587)

Comment: The context for this is that he was able to do it when he is otherwise not expected to.

421) ú-àlí-túm-ín-à bánókó làmíá wèmwíínè
SM.c1.2nd-PST-call-APPL-fv 2sg.mother phone c1.2nd.own
'you telephoned your mother yourself' (6588)

All grammatical but with meaning 'he managed to do it by himself'

422) *bátàtà bá-lá-kúmbw-à àbéénè (g)

c2.father SM.c2-HAB-admire-fv c2.own
'my father admires himself' (6589)

423) bátàtà bá-là-í-kúmbw-à (àbéénè)
c2.father SM.c2-HAB-RFM-admire-fv c2.own
'my father admires himself' (6590)

424) *ú-lá-kúmbw-à wèmwíínè
SM.c1.2nd-HAB-admire-fv c1.2nd.own
'you admire yourself' (6591)

425) *tú-lá-kúmbw-à fwèbéénè
1pl.SM-HAB-admire-fv 1pl.own
'you admire us' (6592)

All possible with RFM:

426) ú-lá-í-kúmbw-à (wèmwíínè)
SM.c1.2nd-HAB-RFM-admire-fv c1.2nd.own
'you admire yourself' (6593)

427) tú-lá-í-kúmbw-à (fwèbéénè)
SM.c2.1st-HAB-RFM-admire-fv c2.1st.own
'we admire ourselves' (6594)

Strategy D

428) tú-álí-pát-án-à (b)
SM.c2.1st-PST-hate-RCM-fv
'we hate each other' (6595)

429) mú-álí-pát-án-à
SM.c2.2nd-PST-hate-RCM-fv
'you hate each other' (6596)

All grammatical

430) *tú-àlí-éb-án-à Chàndà (pàlí ifwé) (c)
1sg.SM-PST-tell-RCM-fv c1.Chanda (c16.about PRN.c2.1st)
'we told Chanda about us/ourselves' (6597)

All ungrammatical

431) *tú-àlí-món-án-à icípùnà mùpéépi (d)
SM.c2.1st-past-past-see-RCM-fv c7.chair c18.near
'we saw a chair near us/ourselves' (6598)

All ungrammatical

432) *mú-àlí-témw-ík-w-án-à (e)

SM.c2.2nd-PST-like-stat-PASS-RCM-fv
'you am liked by yourselves' (6599)

All ungrammatical

- 433) ?bá-àlíí-túm-ín-án-à báng'íná làmià (f)
SM.c2-PST-call-APPL-RCM-fv 3pl.mother phone
'they telephoned each other's mothers' (6600)
- 434) ?tú-àlíí-túm-ín-án-à bàmàyó làmià
SM.c2.1st-PST-call-APPL-RCM-fv 2sg.mother phone
'we telephoned each other's mothers' (6601)
- 435) ?mú-àlíí-túm-ín-án-à bànókó làmià
SM.c1.2nd-PST-call-APPL-RCM-fv 2sg.mother phone
'you telephoned each other's mothers' (6602)

The ones where 'mother' can be made to agree with the subject are better.

- 436) àbáfyàshí bà-lá-kùmbw-án-á
c2.parent SM.c2-HAB-admire-RCM-fv
'the parents admire each other' (6603)
- 437) mú-lá-kùmbw-án-à
SM.c2.2nd-HAB-RFM-admire-RCM-fv
'you(pl) admire yourselves' (6604)
- 438) tú-lá-kùmbw-án-à
SM.c2.1st-HAB-admire-RCM-fv
'we admire ourselves' (6605)

All grammatical with plural subjects

4.1.3.2 Animacy: animacy plays no role in the choice of strategy

Strategy A

- 439) bú.chìshìnkà bú-á-í-làng-à nàkábìlì (C18a)
c14.c7.truth SM.c14-TNS-RFM-show-fv again
'truthfulness shows itself again' (6606)
- 440) ilí ísábi lí-lá-í-ly-à (b)
DEM.c5 c5.fish SM.c5-HAB-RFM-eat-fv
'this fish eats itself' (6607)
- 441) ìcí cíbòmbèlò cí-lá-í-ónáúì-à
DEM.c7 c7.implement SM.c7-HAB-RFM-destroy-fv
'this implement destroys itself' (6608)

Strategy B

Both animates and inanimates ungrammatical

- 442) *ilí ísábì lí-lá-ly-à (a)
DEM.c5 c5.fish SM.c5-HAB-eat-fv
'this fish eats itself' (6609)
- 443) *bátàtá bá-lá-kúúmbw-à (b)
c2.father SM.c2-HAB-admire-fv
'father admires himself' (6610)

Strategy C

Shows same grammaticality patterns as animates, better when RFM is present.

- 444) ilí ísábì lí-lá-í-ly-à (iliine) (a)
DEM.c5 c5.fish SM.c5-HAB-RFM-eat-fv c5.own
'this fish eats itself' (6611)
- 445) ?ilí ísábì lí-lá-ly-à (iliine) (b)
DEM.c5 c5.fish SM.c5-HAB-eat-fv c5.own
'this fish eats itself' (6612)
- 446) ícì cíbòmbèlò cí-lá-í-ónáú-l-à (iciine) (c)
DEM.c7 c7.implement SM.c7-HAB-RFM-destroy-fv c7.own
'this implement destroys itself' (6613)
- 447) *íci cíbòmbèlò cí-lá-ónáú-l-à (iciine)
DEM.c7 c7.implement SM.c7-HAB-destroy-fv c7.own
'this implement destroys itself' (6614)

Strategy D

- 448) ilí ísábì lí-lá-ly-án-à (a)
DEM.c5 c5.fish SM.c5-HAB-eat-RCM-fv
'this fish eats each other' (6615)
- 449) àbáántù bá-lá-kúúmbw-àn-à
c2.person SM.c2-HAB-admire-RCM-fv
'people admire each others' (6616)

4.1.3.3 Pronoun types

Non-clitic subject pronouns are emphatic and co-occur with the clitics, nothing changes in grammaticality status.

4.1.3.4 Quantifiers

Strategy A used:

- 450) cìlà múúntù á-àlí-í-món-à (C19a)
each/every c1.person SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv
'each/every person saw himself/herself' (6617)
- 451) cìlà mwáánà á-àlí-í-sàmb-à (C19b)
each/every c1.person SM.c1-PST-RFM-wash-fv
'each/every child washed itself' (6618)
- 452) cìlà káfúúndíshàá-àlí-í-pát-à (C19c)
each/every c1.teacher SM.c1-PST-RFM-hate-fv
'each/every teacher hates himself/herself' (6619)

Pronouns used:

- 453) cìlà mwáánà á-àlí-món-à ìcípùnà mùpéépi nàò
each/every c1.child SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.chair c18.near
PREP.PRN.c1.1st
'each/every child saw a chair near him' (6620) (C19d)
- 454) cìlà mwáánà á-àlí-túm-ín-à báng'inà làmiá
each/every c1.child SM.c1-PST-call-APPL-fv 3sg.mother phone
'each/every child called his/her mother' (6621) (C19e)
- 455) bàwííshì bà.mwáánà ónsé bà-lá-mú-kúmbw-à (C19f)
3sg.father 2AM.1child every SM.c2-TNS-OM.c1-admire-fv
'the father of every child admires him' (6622)

Comment: 'No N' subjects behave the same as the above though use relative pronominal of verb. 'No' = ta-kwaba; neg-be; 'there is no'

- 456) tá-kwábà mwáánà ù-ù-í-sàmb-à (a)
NEG-COP c1.child REL.c1-SM.c1-RFM-wash-fv
'there is no child who washes himself' (6623)

4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents

Comment: All question words are clefts or in situ as give in (a-b) but applies to all the others.

- 457) nááni á-í-mwéénè (C20a)
WH.COP.c1who SM.c1-RFM-see.PFV
'who saw himself?' (6624)
- 458) ù-á-í-mwéénè nááni
REL.c1-SM.c1-RFM-see.PFV WH.1who
'who saw himself is who?' (6625)
- 459) ní-bááni bá-í-sàmb-ilè (b)

COP-WH.2who SM.c2-RFM-wash-PFV
 ‘who washed themselves?’ (6626)

- 460) àbá-í-sàmb-ilè ní-bááni
 REL.SM.c2-RFM-wash-PFV COP-WH.2who
 ‘who washed themselves is who?’ (6627)
- 461) níbááni bá-mwéénè icípùnà kùnùmà yààbó (C20c)
 COP.WH.2who SM.c2-see.PFV c7.chair c17.behind PREP.PRN.c2
 ‘who saw a chair behind them?’ (6628)
- 462) nááni á-túm-ín-à báng’íná làmiá (C20d)
 WH.c1who SM.c1-call-APPL-fv 3sg.mother phone
 ‘who telephones his mother’ (6629)
- 463) nááni uó báwííshì bá-mú-kúmbw-à (C20e)
 WH.c1who REL.c1 3sg.father SM.c2-OM.c1-admire-fv
 ‘whose father admires him?’ (6630)

4.1.3.6 Reverse binding

- 464) á-àlí-í-món-à Chàndà (C21a)
 SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv c1.Chanda
 ‘he saw himself, Chanda’ (6631)
- 465) ùmwíínè á-àlí-í-món-à Chàndà
 c1.own SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv c1.Chanda
 ‘(himself) he saw himself Chanda’ (6632)
- 466) fwèbéénè tú-àlí-í-món-à (C21b)
 c2.1st.own SM.c2.1st-PST-RFM-see-fv
 ‘(ourselves) we saw ourselves’ (6633)
- 467) ùmwíínè á-àlí-món-à icípùnà kùnùmà yàkwé Chàndà
 c1.own SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7.chair c17.behind of.him c1.Chanda
 ‘himself he saw a chair behind him Fred’ (seems to imply ‘by himself
 without anyone else helping him’) (6634) (C21c)
- 468) á-àlí-í-pápásh-à Chàndà
 SM.c1-PST-RFM-surprise-fv c1.Chanda
 ‘he surprised himself Fred’ (C21d) (6635)
- 469) *Chàndà á-àlí-lánd-à nà éna pàlí Kálábà
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-speak-fv with PRN.c1 c16.about c1.Kalaba
 ‘Chanda spoke to him about Kalaba’ (6636) (C21e)
- 470) *Chàndà á-àlí-mú-éb-à pàlí Kálábà
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-tell-fv c16.about c1.Kalaba
 ‘Chanda told him about Kalaba’ (6637) (C21f)

471) *á-àlìí-í-tásh-à kùlí Chàndà
SM.c1-PST-RFM-praise-fv by c1.Chanda
'he was praised by Chanda' (C21g) (6638)

472) *á-àlìí-í-témw-à kùlí Chàndà
SM.c1-PST-RFM-like-fv by c1.Chanda
'he is liked by himself' (6639)

C22 a)

4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

473) bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-í-áfww-à Strategy A (C23)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-RFM-help-fv
'the women helped themselves/each other' (6640)

474) bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-í-áfww-à
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-help-RCM-fv Strategy D
'the women helped each other' (6641)

- C24 a) Each woman helps all (or almost all) of the women, excluding herself
Strategy A: no
Strategy D: yes
- b) Each woman helps all of the women, including herself
Strategy A: yes
Strategy D: no
- c) Each woman helps at least some of the other women
Strategy A: yes
Strategy D: yes
- d) Each woman helps herself
Strategy A: yes
Strategy D: no
- e) The women together as a group help the women together as a group
Strategy A: no
Strategy D: yes
- f) Each woman helps one of the women other than herself, such that all of the women are helped by one of the others
Strategy A: no
Strategy D: yes

Strategy A

475) bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-í-tásh-à (C25a)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-RFM-praise-fv
'the women praised/thanked themselves' (6642)

476) bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-í-kóp-à (C25b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-RFM-photograph-fv
'the women photographed themselves' (6643)

- 477) bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-í-béép-à (C25c)
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-RFM-lie-fv
 'the women lied to themselves' (6644)

Interpretations: no to: a, e, f; yes to: b, c, d

Strategy D

- 478) bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-tásh-ány-à (C25a)
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-praise-RCM-fv
 'the women thanked each other' (6645)

Comment: The reason that the RCM appears as *-any-* may be because of an analogy to verbs ending in /sh/ induced by a CAUS affix. In fact the sentence sounds better without the *-y-*.

- 479) bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-kóp-án-à (C25b)
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-photograph-RCM-fv
 'the women photographed each other' (6646)

- 480) bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-béép-án-à (C25c)
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-lie-RCM-fv
 'the women lied to themselves' (6647)

Interpretations: no to: b, d; yes to: a, c, e, f

Strategy A: only reflexive

Strategy D: only reciprocal

4.1.4.2

a) Which of the following verbs can the strategy be applied to?

C26) Yes with: "meet", "see", "speak", "hit"

No with "fight" and the two verbs for "speak" (*landa*, *sosa*) but these work in causative form (well probably when any valency increasing extension is added. Applicative also allows reciprocal to apply):

- 481) *bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-lánd-án-à
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-fight-RCM-fv
 'the women spoke to each other' (6648)

- 482) *bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-sós-án-à
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-speak-RCM-fv
 'the women spoke to each other' (6649)

- 483) *bǎnàmà yó bǎ-àlǐ-lw-án-à
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-fight-RCM-fv

‘the women fought each other’ (6650)

- 484) *bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-lánsh-ány-à*
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-fight-RCM-fv
‘the women spoke to each other/exchanged ideas’ (6651)

Comment: Again I think the RCM appears as *-any-* here by analogy to other forms that end in a /sh/ that indicates the causative. There is no causative reading in this whatsoever.

- 485) *bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-sósh-ány-à*
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-speak-RCM-fv
‘the women spoke to each other’ (6652)

- 486) *bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-lw-ísh-ány-à*
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-fight-RCM-fv
‘the women struggled against each other’ (6653)

b) Does the strategy allow the constructions where X is understood to be a reciprocal which has a plural antecedent consisting of John and Bill (i.e., it would be understood as "John and Bill saw each other"): YES

- 487) *Chàndà á-àlìí-món-án-à* *nà Kálábà* (C27)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-RCM-fv with c1.Kalaba
‘Chanda and Kalaba see each other’ (6654)

- 488) *Chàndà á-àlìí-kúm-àn-á* *nà Kálábà*
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-meet-RCM-fv with c1.Kalaba
‘Chanda and Kalaba met each other’ (6655)

c) Is there any difference in the range of interpretations permitted?

(a) with two participants does not offer a range of interpretations while (b) with potentially more does. In (b) the interpretation holds as long as some women praise others, or one woman praises only one other woman, therefore not all the possible combinations must hold. No special requirements for pairs.

- 489) *Chàndà* *nà Kálábà* *bá-àlìí-tásh-ány-à* (C28a)
c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-praise-RCM-fv
‘Chanda and Kalaba praised each other’ (6679)

- 490) *bánàmàyó bá-àlìí-tásh-án-à* (C28b)
c2.woman SM.c2-PST-praise-RCM-fv
‘the women praised each other’ (6680)

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

- 491) *Chàndà* *nà Kálábà* *bá-àlìí-lánsh-ány-à* *nà Mùtálè*

c1.Chanda CONJc1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-speak.caus-RCM-fv CONJ c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda and Kalaba spoke to each other with Mutale’ (C29a) (6681)

492) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-àlìí-kúm-án-à nà Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda CONJ c1.Kalaba SM.c2-PST-meet-RCM-fv CONJ c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda and Kalaba met with Mutale’ (C29b) (6682)

493) ??bànàmàyó bá-àlìí-péél-án-à ìcítàbó ìcì nà Mùtálè
 c2.woman SM.c2-PST-give-RCM-fv c7.book DEM.c7 CONJ c1.Mutale
 ‘the women gave each other this book with Mutale’ (C29c) (6683)

e) Long-distance reciprocal readings

494) Chàndà nà Kálábà bá-tóntónkány-à átì bá-álí-témw-án-à (C30)
 c1.Chanda CONJc1.Kalaba SM.c2-think-fv that SM.c2-TNS-RCM-fv
 ‘Chanda thinks he likes Kalaba, and Kalaba thinks she likes Chanda’
 ‘Chanda thinks that he likes Kalaba and Kalaba likes him and Kalaba thinks
 that she likes Chanda and Chanda likes her’ (6684)

Comment: I don’t think the verb ‘think’ includes an RCM with causative morphology. This is (if at all) like in earlier cases, a case of a frozen *-an-*. The root **tontonk-* has no independent meaning so the root for ‘think’ is taken to be *tontonkany-* as glossed here. No known causative meaning and none I know of historically either.

4.1.4.3 Sociative readings: none of these can be translated with either the reflexive or the reciprocal.

495) ìngòmbé sh-àlìí-y-à pámò (C31a)
 c10.cow SM.c10-PST-go-fv together
 ‘the cows left together’ (6685)

496) ìngòmbé sh-àlìí-y-à isábì pámò (b)
 c10.cow SM.c10-PST-go-fv c5.fish together
 ‘the cows ate fish together’ (6686)

4.1.4.4 Antipassive readings: none of these can be translated with the reflexive or reciprocal.

497) ilyá ìmbwà í-lá-sùm-à àbántù (C32a)
 DEM.c9c9.dog SM.c9-HAB-bite-fv c2.person
 ‘That panther bites people’ (6687)

498) bákàpókòlà bá-lá-íkát-à àbántù (b)
 c2.police SM.c2-HAB-arrest-fv c2.person
 ‘The police arrests people’ (6688)

499) Chàndà á-lá-tàsh-á àbántù (c)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-HAB-praise-fv c2.person
 ‘Chanda praises people’ (6689)

4.2 Cross-clausal binding

500) Chàndà á-léé-sùbil-à ùkú-pààs-à (X4)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-expect-fv c15-pass-fv
'Chanda expects to pass' (6690)

501) Chàndà á-léé-í-sùbil-à ùkú-pààs-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PROG-RFM-expect-fv c15-PASS-fv
'Chanda expects himself to pass' (6691)

502) Chàndà á-àlí-ésh-à ùkú-shínínkíshà átì bòn sé bá-léé-lánd-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-try-fv c15-ensure that c2.all SM.c2-PROG-talk-fv

ìfisùmà pàlí éná (X5)
c8.nice c18.about PRN.c1
'Chanda tried to ensure that everyone was saying nice things about him'
(6692)

503) Chàndà á-lánd-ílè átì àbálùmèndó bà-témw-à ùmwànakáshì
c1.Chanda SM.c1-say-PFV that c2.boy SM.c2-like-fv c1.girl

ù-á-mú-tómwéénè (X6)
REL.c1-SM.c1-OM.c1-kiss.PFV (6693)

'Chanda said that the boys love the girl that kissed him'
Difficult to get the reading if both the lower and upper subject are of the same class and therefore use the same object marker.

X7) *Zhangsan* says that *Lisi* often criticizes *him*.

4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

504) *Chàndà á-lánd-ílè átì Kálábà á-àlí-í-témw-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-say-PFV that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-PST-RFM-like-fv
'Chanda said that Kalaba likes himself'
Grammatical: Kalaba = Himself (X8) (6694)

505) Chàndà á-lánd-ílè átì Kálábà á-àlí-mú-témw-à
c1.Chanda a-say-PFV that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda said that Kalaba likes *him*' (6695)

4.2.1.1 Tensed complement, long distance relations, anaphor in situ

506) Chàndà á-lánd-ílè átì á-àlí-cénjél-à (D1a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-say-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-clever-fv
'Chanda said that he is clever' (6696)

507) Chàndà á-àlí-íshíb-à átì Kálábà á-àlí-mú-témw-à (D1b)

c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-know-fv that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda knows that Kalaba likes him' (6697)

- 508) Chàndà á-á-lí-ishíb-à áti Kálábà á-lánd-ìlè áti Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-know-fv that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-say-PFV that c1.Mutale

á-à-lí-mú-témw-à
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda knows that Kalaba said that Mutale likes him' (6698) (D1c)

- 509) Chàndà á-tóntónkány-à áti Kálábà á-á-lí-ishíb-à áti Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-know-fv that c1.Mutale

á-á-lí-mú-témw-à (D1d)
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda thinks that Kalaba knows that Mutale likes *him*' (6699)

- 510) Chàndà á-tóntónkány-à áti Kálábà á-á-lí-ishíb-à áti (D1e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-know-fv that

á-á-lí-mú-témw-à Mùtálè
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv c1.Mutale
'Chanda thinks that Kalaba knows that he likes him' (6700)

- 511) Chàndà á-à-lí-éb-à Kálábà áti Lisa á-á-lí-mú-témw-à (f)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-fv c1.Kalaba that c1.Lisa SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda told Kalaba that Lisa like *shim*' (6701)

- 512) Chàndà á-à-lí-éb-à Kálábà áti á-à-lí-mú-témw-à Lisa
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-fv c1.Kalaba that SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv c1.Lisa
'Chanda told Kalaba that Lisa likes him' (6702)

Only a few possible with the reciprocal or reflexives:

- 513) bánàmàyó bá-á-lí-ishíb-à áti Kálábà á-lánd-ìlè áti (D1c)
c2.woman SM.c2-TNS-know-fv that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-say-PFV that
bá-á-lí-témw-àn-à
SM.c2-TNS-like-RCM-fv
'the women know that Kalaba said that they like each other' (6703)

- 514) Chàndà á-í-ébélè áti á-à-lí-cénjél-à (D1a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-RFM-tell.PFV that SM.c1-PST-clever-fv
'Chanda told himself that he is clever' (6704)

D2 discrimination is not morphologically marked

- 515) Chàndà á-à-lí-í-líshány-à pàlì Kálábà ilyó Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-complain-fv c16.about c1.Kalaba when c1.Mutale
á-mú-tùngèènyè
SM.c1-OM.c1-supect.PFV (D3a)

‘Chanda complained about Kalaba when Mutale accused him’ (6705)

Comment: It is possible that 'complain', *lisha*, is ‘make cry’ derived from ‘lila’ ‘cry’, so some semantic shift to derive ‘complain’ is possible. What do you plan to do about these cases? My feeling is that even if they are kind of transparent I would be reluctant to gloss them with RCM-caus (as in this case for example), as we suppose this is not reconstructed by speakers, like in first language acquisition, say.

- 516) Chàndà á-á-bwéékéélè kúng’ándà ilyó á-á-nák-ílè (D3b)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-return.PFV c17.house when SM.c1-TNS-tire-PFV
‘Chanda returned home when he got tired’ (6706)
- 517) Pànùmá yà-kwá Kálábà ùkú-mú-lémb-él-à kàlátà Chàndà
c16.after c1.AM c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-write-APPL-fv c5.letter c1.Chanda
á-àlíí-bwéél-à kúng’ándà (D3c)
SM.c1-PST-return-fvc17.house
‘After Kalaba wrote to him, Chanda returned home’ (6707)
- 518) Chàndà á-á-ílè ùkwàábúlà Kálábà ùkú-mú-món-à (D3d)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-go.PFV without c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-see-fv
‘Chanda went without Kalaba seeing him’ (6708)
- 519) Kálábà á-àlíí-fúl-íl-w-à Chàndà ùkwàábúlà ùkú-mú-món-à
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-PST-upset-APPL-PASS-fv c1.Chanda without c15-OM.c1-see-fv
‘Kalaba was upset with Chanda without seeing him’ (D3e) (6709)

Only a few of the above are possible with reciprocal or reflexives:

- 520) bánàmáyó bá-á-ílè ùkwábúlà ùkú-mú-món-à (Strategy D)
c2.woman SM.c2-TNS-go.PFV without c15-see-RCM-fv
‘the women left without seeing each other’ (D3d) (6710)

4.2.2 Long distance relations

- 521) Chàndà á-á-ípwiíshè Kálábà ùkú-mú-súmín-à-mó (D4a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-ask.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-believe-fv-c18.LOC
‘Chanda asked Kalaba to believe in him’ (6711)
- 522) Chàndà á-á-ípwiíshè Kálábà ùkú-mú-péél-à ìcítàbó
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-ask.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-give-fv c7.book
‘Chanda asked Kalaba to give him the book’ (D4b) (6712)
- 523) Chàndà á-á-ípwiíshè Kálábà ùkú-mú-sósh-à (D4c)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-ask.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-talk-fv
‘Chanda asked Kalaba to talk to him’ (6713)
- 524) Chàndà á-á-ípwiíshè Kálábà ùkú-lánd-à pàlí éénà

c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-ask.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-talk-fv c16.about PRN.c1
'Chanda asked Kalaba to talk about him' (D4d) (6714)

Comment: KS: Is the OM missing from the gloss or should it not be there? Ans: It should not be here. There are some weird things going on with OMs in Bemba, they do not seem to be obligatory in some cases and even ungrammatical or certainly the form without the OM is preferred. Here having the OM is bad.

525) Chàndà á-á-lé-sùbil-à Kálábà úkù-mú-súmín-à-mó (D4e)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-expect-fv c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-believe-fv-c18.LOC
'Chanda expects Kalaba to believe in him' (6889)

526) Chàndà á-á-ébéle Kálábà úkù-mú-lípíl-à (D4f)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-pay-fv
'Chanda told Kalaba to pay him' (6890)

527) Chàndà á-á-ébéle Kálábà úkù-lánd-à áti á-á-lí-cénjél-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-talk-fv that SM.c1-TNS-clever-fv
'Chanda told Kalaba to say that he is clever' (D4g) (6891)

528) Chàndà á-á-ébéle Kálábà úkù-lánd-à áti Kálábà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell.PFV c1.Kalaba c15-say-fv that c1.Kalaba
á-á-lí-mú-témw-à
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda told Kalaba to say that Kalaba likes him' (D4h) (6892)

529) Chàndà á-á-lé-súbíl-à Kálábà úkù-pàsà-à (D5a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-expect-fv c1.Kalaba c15-pass-fv
'Chanda expects Kalaba to pass' (6893)

530) Chàndà á-á-lé-súbíl-à Kálábà úkù-mú-cìmfy-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-expect c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-defeat-fv
'Chanda expects Kalaba to defeat him' (D5b) (6894)

D6??

531) Chàndà á-á-lé-súbíl-à Kálábà úkù-mú-cìmfy-à ùmúkálàmbà
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-expect-fv c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-defeat-fv elder
wàkwé
POSS.c1
'Chanda expects Kalaba to defeat his brother' (D7a) (6895)

532) Chàndà kùtí á-á-témw-à Kálábà úkù-mú-cìmfy-à ùmúkálàmbà
c1.Chanda would SM.c1-TNS-like-fv c1.Kalaba c15-OM.c1-defeat-fv elder

wàkwé

POSS.c1

‘Chanda would like Kalaba to defeat his brother’ (D7b) (6896)

- 533) Chàndà á-léé-súbíl-à ùmúkálàmbà wàkwé úkù-mú-ciimfy-à
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-expect-fv elder POSS.c1 c15-OM.c1-defeat-fv
 ‘Chanda expects his elder brother to defeat him’ (D7c) (6897)

Climbing seems impossible.

No small clauses to do D8 I think.

- 534) Chàndà á-á-ishíb-à Kálábà úkù-bà ú-wá-mààno
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-know-fv c1.Kalaba c15-be REL.c1-AM-brains
 ‘Chanda knows Kalaba to be brainy’ (6898)

4.2.3

D9: no sentential subjects as given here.

4.3 Principle C-type effects

E1, 2, 3: ‘pronoun’ ≠ Malik/the boy ? on 3

E4-6: possible

E7-9: no ‘the boy’ ≠ Malik

4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies

- 535) Chàndà á-súmín-á áti à-bá ná ùmúlándù
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-believe-fv that SM.c1-be with c4.offence
 ‘Chanda believes that he has an offence/a case to answer’ (6899) (D10)

No special logophoric pronouns.

KS: Is it generally the case that the Agr-OWN strategy cannot be used across clauses?
 In other words, instead of using an SM or OM, is it possible to use Agr-OWN?

- 536) Chanda a-sumin-a ati a-ba na umulandu umwiine
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-believe-fvthat SM.c1-be with c4.offence c1.own
 ‘Chanda believes that he has an offence/a case to answer’

Possible but the own form cannot replace the SM or OM, just like in main clauses.

KS: Please provide examples that show matrix subject anteceding subordinate subject, and then subordinate object. Then please show matrix object, if there is one, anteceding subordinate subject or object. If it doesn't work that will be enough. If it does work, we will probe it further later to see if there are logophoric effects (where the success of anaphora depends on whether or not the anaphora implies the point of view of the antecedent).

John told bill that Mary hit Sue

- 537) Chanda a-a-eb-ele Kalaba ati Mutale a-ali-um-a
 Chishimba

c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that c1.Mutale SM.c1-TNS-hit-fv
c1.Chishamba
'Chanda told Kalaba that Mutale hit Chishimba' (6900)

Sue, John told bill that Mary hit her

538) Chishimba, Chanda a-eb-ele Kalaba ati Mutale a-ali-mu-
um-a

c1.Chishamba c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that c1.Mutale
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-hit-fv
'Chishimba, Chanda told Kalaba that Mutale hit her'

539) John told bill that Sue Mary hit her

Chanda a-a-eb-ele Kalaba ati Chishimba Mutale a-ali-mu-um-a
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that c1.Chishamba c1.Mutale
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-hit-fv
'Chanda told Kalaba that Chishimba Mutale hit her'

4.4.1 Position of antecedent

540) Chàndà á-á-éb-élè Kálábà áti Mùtálè tá-mú-témw-à (D10)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that c1.Mutale NEG-OM.c1-like-fv
'Chanda told Kalaba that Mutale does not like him' (6901)

541) Kálábà á-á-éb-élè Chàndà áti Mùtálè tá-mú-témw-à (b)
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Chanda that c1.Mutale NEG-OM.c1-like-fv
'Kalaba told Chanda that Mutale does not like him' (6902)

542) Kálábà á-á-éb-élè Chàndà áti tá-á-á-témw-à Mùtálè
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Chanda that NEG-SM.c1-TNS-like-fv c1.Mutale
'Kalaba told Chanda that he does not like Mutale' (c) (6903)

543) Chàndà á-á-éb-élè Kálábà áti tá-á-témw-à Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that NEG-SM.c1-like-fv c1.Mutale
'Chanda told Kalaba that he does not like Mutale' (d) (6904)

544) Chàndà á-á-lí-ishb-à áti Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-know-fv that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale

tá-mú-témw-à

NEG-OM.c1-like-fv

'Chanda knows that Kalaba thinks that Mutale doesn't like him' (6905) (e)

545) Kálábà á-á-lí-ishb-à áti Chàndà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-PST-know-fv that c1.Chanda SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale

tá-á-mú-témw-à

NEG-OM.c1-like-fv

‘Kalaba know that Chanda thinks that Mutale doesn’t like him’ (f) (6906)

In all cases SM.c1 can ambiguously agree with either nominal.

546) ?báng’iná Kálábà bá-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè tá-á-mú-témw-à
3sg.mother c1.Kalaba SM.c2-think-fv that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
‘Kalaba’s mother thinks that Mutale doesn’t like him’ (6907)

Comment: The c2 agreement here honorific.

547) *báng’iná Kálábà bá-tóntónkány-à áti tá-á-mú-témw-à Mùtálè
3sg.mother c1.Kalaba SM.c2-think-fv that NEG-SM.c1-OM.c1-like-fv c1.Mutale
‘Kalaba’s mother thinks that Mutale does not like him’ (b) (6908)

548) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè tá-á-mú-témw-à
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-thinks-fv that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c1-OM.c1-like-fv
‘Kalaba thinks that Mutale does not like him’ (c) (6909)

549) ?inkàlàtà yà kwá Kálábà yá-á-lánd-ílè áti Mùtálè
c9.letter c9.AM c1.AM c1.Kalaba SM.c9-TNS-speak-PFV that c1.Mutale
NEG-SM.c1-OM.c1-like-fv
tá-á-mú-témw-à

‘Kalaba’s letter said that Mutale does not like him’ (d) (6911)

550) Kálábà á-úmfw-ílè áti Mùtálè tá-á-mú-téménwè
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-hear-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c1-OM.c1-like.PFV
‘Kalaba heard that Mutale didn’t like him’ (e) (6912)

551) Kálábà bá –mú-éb-élè áti Mùtálè tá-á-mú-téménwè
c1.Kalaba PASS-OM.c1-tell-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c1-OM.c1-like.PFV
‘Kalaba was told that Mutale didn’t like him’ (6913)

552) Kálábà á-á-lánd-ílè áti á-á-lí-í-fwíík-à (D13a)
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-speak-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-RFM-dress-fv
‘Kalaba said that he dressed himself’ (6914)

553) Kálábà á-á-lánd-ílè áti á-á-lí-í-cén-à (b)
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-speak-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-RFM-hurt-fv
‘Kalaba said that he hurt himself’ (6915)

554) Kálábà á-á-lánd-ílè áti á-á-lí-í-kóm-à ínèembó
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-speak-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-RFM-cut-fv c10.tattoo
‘Kalaba said that he made tatoos himself’ (6916)

4.4.2 Antecedent properties

4.4.2.1

1st person:

- 555) Chàndà á-nj-éb-élè áti Mùtálè tà-n-témw-à (D11a)
c1.Chanda SM.c1-1sgSM-tell-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-1sgSM-like-fv
'Chanda told me that Mutale doesn't like me' (6917)
- 556) ná-á-éb-élè Chàndà áti Mùtálè tà-n-témw-à (b)
SM.c1.1st-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Chanda that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.1st.c1-like-fv
'I told Chanda that Mutale doesn't like me' (6918)
- 557) ná-á-éb-élè Chàndà áti tà-n-témw-à Mùtálè (c)
SM.c1.1st-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Chanda that NEG-SM.1st.c1-like-fv c1.Mutale
'I told Chanda that Mutale doesn't like me' (6919)
- 558) Chàndà á-nj-éb-élè áti n-shá-témw-à Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-SM.1st.c1-tell-PFV that SM.1st.c1-NEG-like-fv c1.Mutale
'Chanda told me that I don't like Mutale' (d) (6920)
- 559) Chàndà á-á-lí-íshb-à áti n-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-know-fv that SM.1st.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale
tà-n-témw-à
NEG-SM.1st.c1-like-fv
'Chanda knows that I think that Mutale does not like me' (6921) (e)
- 560) Ná-á-lí-íshb-à áti Chàndà n-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
SM.c1.1st-TNS-know-fv that c1.Chanda SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale
tà-à-n-témw-à
NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like-fv
'I know that Chanda thinks that Mutale does not like me' (f) (6922)
- 561) bàmàyó bá-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè tà-à-n-témw-à (D12a)
c2.woman SM.c2-think-fv that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like-fv
'the women think that Mutale does not like me' (6923)
- 562) bàmàyó bá-tóntónkány-à áti tà-à-n-témw-à Mùtálè
c2.woman SM.c2-think-fv that NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like-fv c1.Mutale
'the women think that Mutale does not like me' (b) (6924)
- 563) n-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè tà-à-n-témw-à (c)
SM.c1.1st-think-fv that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like-fv
'I think that Mutale does not like me' (6925)
- 564) ìnkàlàtà yàndí yá-á-lánd-ílè áti Mùtálè tà-à-n-témw-à
c9.letter POSS.c9 SM.c9-TNS-say-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like-fv
'my letter said that Mutale does not like me' (d) (6926)
- 565) ná-úmfw-ílè áti Mùtálè tà-à-n-téménwè (e)
SM.c1.1st-hear-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like.PFV

‘I heard that Mutale did not like me’ (6927)

- 566) bá-nj-éb-élé áti Mùtálè tà-à-n-téménwè
 PASS-SM.1st.c1-tell-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-SM.1st.c1-like.PFV
 ‘I was told that Mutale did not like me’ (f) (6928)
- 567) ná-á-lánd-ílè áti ná-á-lí-í-fwíík-à (D13a)
 SM.1st.c1-TNS-say-PFV that SM.1st.c1-PST-RFM-dress-fv
 ‘I said that I dressed myself’ (6929)
- 568) ná-á-lánd-ílè áti ná-á-lí-í-cén-à (b)
 SM.c1.1st-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1.1st-PST-RFM-hurt-fv
 ‘I said that I hurt myself’ (6930)
- 569) ná-á-lánd-ílè áti ná-á-lí-í-kóm-à ínèembó (c)
 SM.c1.1st-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1.1st-PST-RFM-cut-fv c9.tattoo
 ‘I said that I made tattoos myself’ (6931)

All forms in D13 can co-occur with the ‘own’ –ine form

2nd person:

- 570) Chàndà á-kú-éb-élé áti Mùtálè tà-à-kú-témw-à (D11a)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-2sgSM-tell-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-2sgSM-like-fv
 ‘Chanda told Mutale that he doesn’t like you’
- 571) ú-á-éb-élé Chàndà áti Mùtálè tà-kú-témw-à (b)
 SM.c1.2nd-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Chanda that c1.Mutale NEG-2sgSM-like-fv
 ‘You told Chanda that Mutale doesn’t like you’
- 572) ú-á-éb-élé Chàndà áti tà-kú-témw-à Mùtálè (c)
 SM.c1.2nd-TNS-tell-PFV c1.Chanda that NEG-2sgSM-like-fv c1.Mutale
 ‘You told Chanda that Mutale doesn’t like you’
- 573) Chàndà á-kú-éb-élé áti tà-ú-á-témw-à Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-2sgSM-tell-PFV that NEG-2sgSM-TNS-like-fv c1.Mutale
 ‘Chanda told you that you don’t like Mutale’ (d)
- 574) Chàndà á-á-lí-íshb-à áti ú-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-know-fv that SM.c1.2nd-think-fv that c1.Mutale
 tà-á-kú-témw-à
 NEG-SM.c1-2sgSM-like-fv
 ‘Chanda knows that you think that Mutale doesn’t like you’ (e)
- 575) ù-á-lí-íshìb-à áti Chàndà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
 SM.c1.2nd-TNS-know-fv that c1.Chanda SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale
 tà-á-kú-témw-à
 NEG-SM.c1-2sgSM-like-fv

‘You know that Chanda thinks that Mutale doesn’t like you’ (f)

In all cases 1SM can ambiguously agree with either nominal.

576) bánókó bá-tóntónkány-à átì Mùtálè tà-á-kú-témw-à (D12a)
2sg.mother SM.c2-think-fv that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c1-2sgSM-like-fv
‘Your mother thinks that Mutale doesn’t like you’

577) bánókó bá-tóntónkány-à átì tà-á-kú-témw-à Mùtálè
2sg.mother 2SM-think-fv that NEG-SM.c1-2sgSM-like-fv c1.Mutale
‘Your mother thinks that Mutale doesn’t like you’ (b)

578) ú-tóntónkány-à átì Mùtálè tà-á-kú-témw-à
SM.c1.2nd-think-fv that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c1-2sgSM-like-fv
‘You think that Mutale doesn’t like you’ (c)

579) ínkàlàtà yòòbé yá-á-lánd-ìlè átì Mùtálè tà-á-kú-témw-à
c9.letter POSS.c9 SM.c9-TNS-say-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c1-2sgSM-like-fv
‘Your letter said that Mutale doesn’t like you’ (d)

580) ú-á-úmfw-ìlè átì Mùtálè tà-á-kú-téménwè
SM.c1.2nd-TNS-hear-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-2sgSM-like.PFV
‘You heard that Mutale didn’t like you’ (e)

581) bá-á-kú-éb-élè átì Mùtálè tà-á-kú-téménwè
PASS-TNS-2sgSM-tell-PFV that c1.Mutale NEG-TNS-2sgSM-like.PFV
‘You were told that Mutale didn’t like you’ (f)

582) ú-á-lánd-ìlè átì ú-á-lí-í-fwíík-à (D13a)
SM.c1.2nd-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1.2nd-TNS-RFM-dress-fv
‘You said that you dressed yourself’

583) ú-á-lánd-ìlè átì ú-á-lí-í-cén-à (b)
SM.c1.2nd-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1.2nd-TNS-RFM-hurt-fv
‘You said that you hurt yourself’

584) ú-á-lánd-ìlè átì ú-á-lí-í-kóm-à inèembó (c)
SM.c1.2nd-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-RFM-cut-fv c9.tattoo
‘You said that you made tattoos yourself’

4.4.2.2 Quantified antecedents

No difference in judgment for on those given above, some examples here:

585) cìlà mwáánà á-á-lánd-ìlè átì á-á-lí-í-fwíík-à (D13a)
each c1.child SM.c1-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-RFM-dress-fv
‘each child said that he dressed himself’

586) tá-pàlì ùmwáánà ù-á-lánd-ìlè átì á-á-lí-í-cén-à (b)
NEG-c18.there c1.child REL.c1-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c1-TNS-RFM-hurt-fv
‘there is no child who said that he hurt himself’

587) àbáánà àbééngì bá-á-lánd-ilè áti bá-á-lí-í-kóm-à inèèmbó
 c2.child c2.many SM.c2-TNS-say-PFV that SM.c2-TNS-RFM-cut-fv c9.tattoo
 ‘many children said that they made tattoos themselves’ ©

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents

588) *Chàndà á-áléé-lánd-à pàlí Kálábà kùlí béénà (D14a)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-say-fv c16.about c1.Kalaba c17.to PRN.c2
 ‘Chanda talked about Kalaba to them’

589) *Chàndà á-áléé-lánd-à pàlí béénà kùlí Kálábà
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-say-fv c16.about PRN.c2 c17.to c1.Kalaba
 ‘Chanda asked about them to Kalaba’

Comment: The use of ‘to’ = ‘kuli’ seem to make this worse than if ‘and’ = ‘na’ is used:

590) Chàndà á-áléé-lánd-à pàlí béénà nà Kálábà
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-say-fv c16.about PRN.c2 c17.to c1.Kalaba
 ‘Chanda asked about them to Kalaba’

591) Chàndà á-éb-éle Kálábà áti bá-léé-y-à (c)
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that SM.c2-TNS-go-fv
 ‘Chanda told Kalaba that they should go’

592) Chàndà á-á-éb-éle Kálábà áti Mùtálè tá-bá-témw-à
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-tell-PFV c1.Kalaba that c1.Mutale NEG-SM.c2-like-fv
 ‘Chanda told Kalaba that utale does not like them’ (d)

593) Chàndà á-lánd-ilè áti Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè
 c1.Chanda SM.c1-say-PFV that c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale
 ta-ba-temw-a
 NEG-SM.c2-like-fv
 ‘Chanda said that he thinks that Mutale like them’ (e)

4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents

594) Kálábà á-á-lí-sákáméénè áti ùmwáánà wàkwé tà-á-lí ùmúténdè
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-worry.PFV that c1.child POSS.c1 NEG-TNS c1.well
 ‘Kalaba was worried that her child was not well’ (D15)

595) á-á-lí nà insónì áti á-á-lí-fíl-w-à ùkú-súng-à lùpwà
 SM.c1-TNS with c10.shyness that SM.c1-TNS-fail-fv c15-keep-fv c11.relative
 ‘he was ashamed that he failed to keep his relative’

596) wàkwé. bùshé àbéépwà bàkwé kùtì bá-tóntónkány-à-pó shààní?
 POSS.c1 Q c2.nephew POSS.c2 can SM.c2-think-fv-c16.LOC how
 ‘what would his nephews think about it?’

‘Kalaba was worried that his child was not well. He was ashamed that he failed to keep his relative. What would his nephews think (about it)?’

- 597) Kálábà á-á-lí-páp-à ùkú-món-à icíkópé càkwé mùlyàshì.
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-surprise-fv c15-see-fv c7.photo c7.POSS.c1 c18.c5news

bònsé àbá-mú-témw-à bá-ká-mú-bútúk-à.
c2.all REL.c2.SM.c2-OM.c1-like-fv SM.c2-FUT-OM.c1-run-fv

à-ká-éb-à shààní bángìnà?
SM.c1-FUT-tell-fv how 3sgmother (D16)

‘Kalaba was surprised to see his picture in the news. Everyone who likes him will run away from him. How will he tell his mother?’

- 598) Mùtálè á-lánd-ìlè áti Chàndà á-kwéètè ùbúshikù (D17)
c1.Mutale SM.c1-say-PFV that c1.Chanda SM.c1-see.PFV c14.day

ùbú-á-shùpà. Pàkùbálá Mùtálè á-má-éb-élè áti
SM.c14-TNS-difficult c16.begin c1.Mutale SM.c1-OM.c1-tell-PFV that

bá-á-lí-mú-ìb-ìl-à mótókà. èlyó á-fwááílè bààsi
SM.c2-TNS-OM.c1-steal-APPL-fv c9.car then SM.c1-want.PFV c9.bus

yá-kú-mú-twál-à kùnychító. Mùtálè á-álée-túngány-
SM.c9-c17.LOC-c18.LOC-take-fv c17.LOC.c9.work c1.Mutale SM.c1-TNS-suspect-
à áti
fv that

nàlimó nà-à-fúlw-à icínécínè .
perhaps TNS-SM.c1-upset-fv really

‘Mutale said that Chanda had a difficult day. Firstly Mutale told him that his car was stolen. Then he looked for a bus to take him to work. Mutale suspected that perhaps he is very upset’

Comment: In response to your usual question about verbs that show /any/ on the stem, have lexicalized RCM+Cause, it could be so (*tunga* means ‘pierce’) but again I wouldn’t gloss it differently.

- 599) A: mónéeni, Chàndà ùlyá! (D18)
see.2pl c1.Chanda DEM.c1
‘see, there is chanda’

- 600) B: àlá kwéénà mù-sùm-à
but really OM.c1-beautiful-fv
‘he is really handsome’

- 601) A: nàngùlinè téèti m-fwày-è ùkú-bà ùmúkàshì wàkwé
although NEG SM.c1.1st-want-SBJV c15-be c1.wife POSS.c1

bònsé àbànákáshí bá-léé-mú-fwày-à
c2.all c2.girl SM.c2-TNS-OM.c1-want-fv
'although I would not want to be his wife. All the girl want him'

- 602) B: èlyó kàbìliá-lá-á-lúmbány-à sáánà
and also SM.c1-TNS-RFM-praise-fv a lot
'and also he praises himself a lot'

Comment: In response to your usual question about verbs that show /any/ on the stem, have lexicalized RCM+Cause, it could be so (*lumba* means 'cheer on') but again I wouldn't gloss it differently.

4.4.3 Blocking effects

4.4.3.1

- 603) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Chàndà á-àlíí-mú-cíndík-à (D19a)
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-respect-fv
'Kalaba thinks that Chanda respects him'

- 604) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti n-àlíí-mú-cíndík-à (D19b)
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that SM.c1.1st-PST-OM.c1-respect-fv
'Kalaba thinks that I respect him'

- 605) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè á-àlíí-mú-cíndík-à (c)
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-OM.c1-respect-fv
'Kalaba thinks that Mutale respects him'

- 606) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti àbálùmèndó bá-àlíí-mú-cíndík-à
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c2.boy SM.c2-PST-OM.c1-respect-fv
'Kalaba thinks that the boys respect him' (d)

- 607) báshítàtà bá-tóntónkány-à áti àbálùmèndó bá-àlíí-bá-cíndík-à
1a.men SM.c2-think-fv that c2.boy SM.c2-PST-OM.c1-respect-fv
'the men think that they boys respect them' (e)

- 608) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè á-àlíí-íshíb-à áti (D20a)
Kalaba.c1 SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale SM.c1-TNS-know-fv that

Chàndà á-àlíí-mú-cíndík-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv
'Kalaba thinks that Mutale knows that Chanda respects him'

- 609) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti n-àlíí-íshíb-à áti Chàndà
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that SM.c1.1st-TNS-know-fv that c1.Chanda

á-àlíí-mú-cíndík-à
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv
'Kalaba thinks that I know that Chanda respects him' (b)

610) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti pùùlé-áí-íshíb-à áti Chàndà
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that 1Puule-TNS-know-fv that c1.Chanda
á-áí-mú-cíndík-à
SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv

‘Kalaba thinks that Puule knows that Chanda respects him’

611) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti àbálùmèndó bá-áí-íshíb-à áti
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c2.boy SM.c2-TNS-know-fv that

Chàndà á-áí-mú-cíndík-à
c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv

‘Kalaba thinks that the boys know that Chanda respects him’ (d)

612) báshítàtà bá-tóntónkány-à áti àbálùmèndó bá-áí-íshíb-à áti
c2.man SM.c2-think-fv that c2.boy SM.c2-TNS-know-fv that

Chàndà á-áí-mú-cíndík-à
c2.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv (e)

‘the men think that the boys know that Chanda respects them’

4.4.3.2

613) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè á-áí-éb-à Chàndà áti
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-tell-fv c1.Chanda that

Pùùlé á-áí-mú-cíndík-à
1Puule SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv

‘Kalaba thinks that Mutale told Chanda that Puule respects him’ (D21a)

614) Kálábà á-tóntónkány-à áti Mùtálè á-áí-nj-éb-à áti
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-think-fv that c1.Mutale SM.c1-PST-1sgSM-tell-fv that

Pùùlé á-áí-mú-cíndík-à
1Puule SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv (b)

‘Kalaba hinks that Mutale told me that Puule respects him’

615) Kálábà á-áí-nj-éb-à áti Pùùlé á-áí-mú-cíndík-à
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-PST-1sgSM-tell-fv that 1Puule SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-respect-fv

‘Kalaba told me that Puule respects him’ (c)

616) Kálábà á-lánd-ilè áti Pùùlé á-áí-m-péél-à icítàbó
c1.Kalaba SM.c1-say-PFV that 1Puule SM.c1-PST-1sgSM-give-fv c7.book

bá-léemb-à pàlí iné
PASS-write-fv c16.about PRN.c1.1st

‘Kalaba said that Puule had given me the book written about me’

4.4.4 Islands

Only clitic pronoun strategy possible here apart from the verb ‘to marry’ where there are differences in use; active for men and passive for women so 3sg.clitic cannot be used here though in principle grammatical with male agent.

- 617) Kálábà tà-é-témw-à áti Chàndà á-á-lí-mú-pát-à (D22a)
 c1.Kalaba NEG-TNS-like-fv that c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-hate-fv
 ‘Kalaba doesn’t like (the fact) that Chanda doesn’t like him’
- 618) Kálábà á-á-lí-cíndík-à ùmúntù ù-á-mú-témw-à (b)
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-respect-fv c1.person REL.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
 ‘Kalaba respects the person who like him’
- 619) Kálábà á-lánd-à áti ùmúntù ù-á-mú-témw-à (c)
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS that c1.person REL.c1-TNS-OM.c1-like-fv
 á-á-lí-cénjél-à
 SM.c1-TNS-clever-fv
 ‘Kalaba says that the person who likes her is clever’
- 620) Kálábà á-á-lí-ípúsh-à Chàndà ngà á-á-lí-mú-món-à (d)
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-ask-fv c1.Chanda if SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-see-fv
 ‘Kalaba asked Chanda whether he saw him’
- 621) Kálábà á-á-lí-ípúsh-à ilyó Chàndà á-á-mú-mwéénè (e)
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-ask-fv when c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-see.PFV
 ‘Kalaba asked when Chanda saw him’
- 622) Kálábà tà-á-íshííbè áti Chàndà á-á-lí-mú-kónk-à (f)
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-know.PFV that c1.Chanda SM.c1-TNS-OM.c1-follow-fv
 ‘Kalaba didn’t know that Chanda followed him’
- 623) Kálábà á-á-lánd-ilè áti Mùtálè múú-súm-à èlyó
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-TNS-say-PFV that c1.Mutale 3COM/cop-nice-fv when
 áti bá-ká-úp-án-à
 that SM.c2-FUT-marry-RCM-fv (g)
 ‘Kalaba said that Mutale is beautiful and that they will marry (each other)’

4.4.5 De se reading

The contrast does not seem to hold as both scenarios would be translated the same:

- 624) Kálábà á-lánd-à áti bá-ngííná bá-á-lì-bá bwíínò (D23)
 c1.Kalaba SM.c1-say-fv that SM.c2-3sgmother SM.c2-TNS-COP good
 ‘Kalaba says that his mother is good’

KS: Here are a few additional issues I would like you to comment on, please.

There is another phenomenon that our AQ does not test, since it is not so common, but it shows up in Bantu quite a bit because of the noun class system. I am interested

in the conflict when there is a conjunction of two nouns that do not have the same form in the plural. Most Bantu languages have some strategy for either default agreement(s) for a set of these mismatches or else a comitative construction, and I would like to know a little about how it goes in Bemba. I mean constructions that are used to get "The man and the elephant ran" with something like "The man ran with the elephant" with the SM corresponding to that of 'the man'. Many Bantu languages also allow "The man and the elephant saw each other" if it is structured as "The man c1-PAST-see-RCM with the elephant". If this is true of Bemba, then I would like to explore this a bit, also with respect to cases like "The man c1-PAST-RFM-see with the elephant". I would also like to know if you get c1 or c2 agreement for "John SM-past saw the book with Mary" and if so, is there a difference in the agreement for the acceptability of see with RCM or RFM instead of "the book".

Bemba has default agreement in class 8 for two inanimates. An animate and an inanimate are generally not good and conjunction may indeed take a 'with' rather than an 'and' meaning. Two animates from different classes take class 2.

625) umu-ntu na in-kalamu a-ali-butuk-a
c1-person CONJ c9-lion SM.c1-PST-run.away-fv
the man and the lion ran away (Lit: the man ran away with the lion)

626) ici-muti na umu-iko fi-ali-pon-a
c7-tree CONJ c3-wooden.spoon c8-past-fall-fv
the tree and the spoon fell down

627) umu-lumendo na im-fumu ba-ali-ya
c1-boy CONJ c9-chief c2-PST-go
the boy and the chief went away

The man c1-PAST-RFM-see with the elephant

628) umu-ntu a-ali-i-mon-a na in-kalamu
c1-person SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv CONJ c9-lion
context: saw himself and the lion in a picture or mirror for example.

629) umu-ntu a-ali-mon-an-a na in-kalamu
c1-person SM.c1-PST-see-RCM-fv CONJ c9-lion
context: had an appointment to meet with the lion

John SM-past saw the book with Mary

630) Chanda a-ali-mon-a ici-tabo na Mutale
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-fv c7-book CONJ c1.Mutale
'Chanda saw the book with Mutale'

Either saw the book in M's possession or both C&M saw the book. No ambiguity with something like 'read'.

631) Chanda a-ali-i-mon-a na Mutale
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv CONJ c1.Mutale
'Chanda saw himself with Mutale'

Context: in a picture, in his dreams, in a mirror

632) Chanda a-ali-mon-an-a na Mutale
c1.Chanda SM.c1-PST-see-RCM-fv CONJ c1.Mutale
'Chanda saw Mutale'

As in had a meeting with Mutale by which they met each other. Works well with the verb 'see' which can have this extensive 'meeting' meaning. Would require more imagination for other verbs.

I do not recall coming across cases where a perception verb takes some sort of clausal complement, as in English "I saw/heard John leaving" or "I saw/heard John leave" or "I could feel John shudder(ing)." I would like to know what sorts of clausal complements are possible here. If they take c15-verb, then I would like to know if they allow 'John SM-Tns-RFM-see c15-run' and/or 'The men SM-Tns-see-RCM c15-run', "The men saw each other run(ing)". If they only take *ati* complements I would like just to know that, and then if there is another special sort of complement (Kinande has something different for these verbs), then I would like to know about that and whether or not the matrix perception verb can have the RFM or RCM on it corresponding to the subordinate subject. Then finally I would like to test, if these other tests are possible for a non-*ati* complement, whether it is possible to get "The men heard Mary criticize each other/themselves" or "The men saw Mary stealing from themselves/each other".

633) Chisanga a-ali-i-mon-a uku-tump-a
c1.Chisanga SM.c1-PST-RFM-see-fv c15-stupid-fv
'C thought himself silly' Lit: C saw himself to be silly

634) Chisanga a-la-i-mona uku-chenjel-a
c1.Chisanga SM.c1-HAB-RFM-see-fv c15-clever-fv
C thought himself clever

635) n-ali-mona Chanda uku-tutum-a
SM.c1.1st-PST-see-fv c1.Chanda c15-shiver-fv
I saw chanda shivering

Context: for the first time I saw C shivering (from cold or afraid) in some situation where he had always been cool. This is just to say this is not the neutral way of saying 'I was C shivering' which would be with 1SM on shiver.

636) ?Aba-lumendo ba-la-mon-an-a ukuchenjela
c2-boy SM.c2-HAB-see-RCM-fv c15-clever-fv
The boys think themselves clever

637) ? na-ali-umfw-a Chanda uku-butuk-a
SM.c1.1st-PST-hear-fv c1.Chanda c15-run-fv
I heard/felt Chanda running
Again this is not the neutral way of saying this.

the verb for 'feel' (umfwa) means both 'hear' and 'feel'

One last thing - Can you think of any instances where both the RFM and the RCM

occur on the same verb? This seems to arise in two different ways when it arises at all in the languages I have looked at. Most typically, there are two internal arguments of the verb, one perhaps promoted by APPL, and there are readings like "The boys introduced themselves for each other" and so forth. In these cases, it is sometimes possible to get the OM and the reciprocal, though there are questions about what antecedes the reciprocal (subject or direct object).

"The boys introduced themselves for each other"

638) ??aba-lumendo ba-ali-i-londolw-el-an-a
c2-boy SM.c2-PST-RFM-explain-APPL-RCM-fv
'the boys explained to themselves for e.o.'

Then there is the question if you can get more than one OM in pre-root position. So all of these kinds of questions are about cases where the RFM, OM and the RCM cooccur, but are linked to different thematic arguments.

Highly unlikely since OMs are quite restricted anyway.

There are some cases I have seen, however, where the RFM and the RCM can occur on a verb that has only two arguments, the subject being the apparent antecedent for both forms. When this happens, there is usually something going on with the interpretation, or there is some odd lexicalization of the RCM, but I have only found one language in which it is productive. If you can come up with any cases of either sort of cooccurrence I would like to know.

Nothing immediately