

# **Anaphora Questionnaire Response Fe'efe'e**

## **Consultant: Gabriel Djomeni**

### **AQR version 1.1**

#### **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: **Fe'efe'e**

2. Ethnologue code (if you know it):

3. Dialect and/or area: Fe'efe'e is a Grassfield language spoken in the Upper Nkam Division, Western Region, Cameroon. The language is divided into two linguistic areas: the Fe'efe'e North (made up of dialects such as: Mkwèt, Njǎǎ, Túni', Ntíi, Lá'fí ), the Fe'efe'e Central-South ( Nká', Fā', Ne, Kū, Kūko, etc). Beyond this natural linguistic area, the Fe'efe'e language is vehucular in the Mungo, Littoral Region of Cameroon and in some other majors cities.

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

(a) My own judgements ( **X** )

(b) Judgements by one or more consultants ( )

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

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

1. Name: **DJOMENI Gabriel Delmon**

2a. Your address: P O. Box:

2b. E-mail address, if you have one: **djogadel@yahoo.fr**

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

( **X** ) I am willing to be identified

( ) I wish to remain anonymous

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

( ) 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:**Some**

(b) Typological linguistics:**some**

(c) Formal semantics:**little**

(d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: **little**

(e) Other relevant subfield:**phonology (structural phonology: some exposure), sociolinguistics**

6. Your language biography

a. What language(s) did your parents speak at home?:**Fe'efe'e only**

b. What language(s) do/did your parents speak natively?**Fe'efe'e**

c. What language (languages) did you receive school instruction in?**French then English (with Spanish as Foreign language at the secondary school)**

d. How old were you when you learned the subject language? **I acquired the language from birth (L1)**

e. Do you speak an identifiable subdialect of this language? No

f. Do you speak other dialects of the same language? **I have a broad knowledge of some aspects of most of the dialects that make up the language.**

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

choose to be identified.

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

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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Nufi, (ed). 1980. *Qu'est-ce que Nufi.* SOPECAM, Yaoundé.

**Sadembouo, E & B.S. Chumbow. 1990.** “Standardisation et modernisation de la langue fe'efe'e”. in JWAL N °XX/2 :47-69.

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

## PART 2 An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

### 2.1 Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 "Primary" reflexive strategy - Translate the following example to your language, and indicate the element (if any) that expresses the reflexive relationship.

- A1) Ngǎ'də jī túnā ī.  
Ngǎ'də Ø-jī túnā ī.  
John PST0-see body POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
"John saw himself"

KS: In independent context, *túnā* has the meaning of "individual" which introduces the notion of reflexivity indeed. In fact, it is made up of *tū* "head" and *nā* "body". This justifies this glossing choice.

- A2a) Ngǎ'də m̄nsōh nā ī  
Ngǎ'də m̄-nsōh nā ī  
Ngǎ'də PROG-wash body POSS.DET.c1  
"John washes his body."

Comment: In the language, it is not grammatically correct to use *túnā* in (A2). In fact, some people who are just learning the language might make such constructions, but they will be finally laughed at. The point to raise here is that in (A1), we are dealing with a verb of natural perception what is not the case in (A2), still, this remains to be verified all through the data. Why is *túnā* the form in (A1), but just *nā* in (A2)? Is it because the verb in (A1) ends in a vowel?

- b) Sīānī k<sup>h</sup>ūp' nā ī.  
Sīānī Ø-k<sup>h</sup>ūp' nā ī  
Sīānī PST0-cut body POSS.PRON.c1  
"Sīānī cut herself." . [accidentally]

KS: There is no need to repeat the elicitation sentence, but here the original sentence line is missing.

- c) Túf<sup>h</sup> John m̄nkō k̄n' túnā ī.  
Túf<sup>h</sup> John m̄-nkō k̄n' túnā ī.  
Shame John PROG-feel FOC body POSS.PRON.c1  
"John is ashamed of himself."
- d) Ngǎ'də pōpsī túnā ī  
Ngǎ'də ø - pōp - sī túnā ī.  
Ngǎ'də PST0-destroy-RFM body POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
"John destroyed himself."
- e) Pōh m̄bēē.  
Pōh ø-m̄bēē.  
PRON.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PRS-hate.  
"We hate ourselves."

**Comment:** The verb *m̄bēē* has an inherent meaning of reflexivity. Therefore, it does not require any additional element to express it. So also, internally, the verb introduces and action which occurs without stopping.

KS: From here I will not keep adjusting the glosses, in ways I did for those above. Most examples below lack the ‘original text’ line and many repeat the elicitation sentence first.

?f) Pó ndōō nā yòò.  
 Pó ø-ndōō nā yòò.  
 PRON.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PRS-praise body 3<sup>rd</sup>.pl.POSS.PRN  
 “They praise themselves.”

A3a) Ngǎ’ dè yāē nù mbí Siāni  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-yāē nù mbí Siāni  
 Ngǎ’ dè PST0-speak thing PREP Siāni  
 “Ngǎ’ dè spoke to Siāni.”

b) Ngǎ’ dè yāē nū ndóm Siāni  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-yāē nū ndóm Siāni  
 Ngǎ’ dè PST0-say thing PREP Siāni  
 “Ngǎ’ dè spoke about Siāni Mary.” John spoke about himself. (subject/PP argument)

ci) Ngǎ’ dè sók nū ndóm mī mbí Siāni . / Ngǎ’ dè sók nù ná ī mbí Siāni .  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-sók nū ndóm i mbí Siāni . / Ngǎ’ dè ø-sók nù ná ī mbí Siāni  
 Ngǎ’ dè P0-tell thing on OBJ.PRON.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg to Siāni / Ngǎ’ dè P0-tell thing on OBJ.PRON.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg to Siāni  
 “Ngǎ’ dè told Mary about himself.”

cii) Ngǎ’ dè sók nū ná ī mbí Siāni.  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-sók nù ná i mbí Siāni  
 Ngǎ’ dè PST0-tell thing on OBJ.PRON.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg to Siāni  
 “John told about him to Siāni.”

d) Ngǎ’ dè sók yōh nù mò yáá ndóm pòh mbí pòh.  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-sók yōh nù mò yáá ndóm pòh mbí pòh.  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-tell OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.PL thing which it on PRN.PL.3<sup>rd</sup> to PRN.PL.3<sup>rd</sup>  
 “Ngǎ’ dè told us about ourselves.”

\*\*e) Mary gave the children themselves. (ind.object/object)  
 There is no way to attempt the translation of this construction since its awkwardness will be beyond any other consideration.

f) Siāni jíi ηwò’ njǎm i  
 Siāni ø-jíi ηwò’ njǎm i  
 Siāni PST0- see book LOC OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siāni saw book behind her.”

g) Ngǎ’ dè jwén ηwò’ ni kwò’ mbú ī  
 Ngǎ’ dè ø-jwén ηwò’ ni kwò’ mbú ī  
 Ngǎ’ dè PST0-buy book FOC for/to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ’ dè bought the book for himself.”

**Comment:** It is possible for this construction to have three readings. The first one is that used in the translation. The second and third ones could mean that *Ngǎ'dà* bought the book for a third person or from a third person.

A4ai) Etta kwè' túnā ì  
 Etta ø-kwè' túnā ì  
 Etta HAB-like body OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Etta likes herself.”

A4ii) Etta kwè' ī (regular)  
 Etta ø-kwè' ī  
 Etta HAB-like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Etta likes herself.”

**Comment:** This second example is polysemic because it can mean at the same time that Etta loves herself or somebody else.

b). Etta ñhā'sī nā ì.  
 Etta ø-ñhā'sī nā ì.  
 Etta HAB-scare body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Etta scares herself.”

**Comment:** The reading here could also be polysemic. In addition to the meaning indicated here, it could also mean that Etta scares a third person. Therefore, only the context here will help to point out the right meaning.

c) Etta ñgāsī nā ì.  
 Etta ø- ñgā- sī nā ì.  
 Etta PRS-worry-RFM body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Etta worries herself.”

A5a) Ngǎ jí nā  
 Ngǎ ø-jí nā  
 PRON.1<sup>st</sup>.sg PST0-see OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
 “I saw myself.”

**Comment:** Here, *nā* does not stand for “body”. It is a pronoun referring back to *Ngǎ*. It might be worth mentioning that here; the underlying form of the pronoun is *ā*. When used with some verbs, an epenthetic nasal consonant “N” is inserted to the left of the pronoun. This is also true of the of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> singular object pronouns as we can observe in the example below.

b) Ŏ lūū mō  
 Ŏ ø-lūū mō  
 PRON.2<sup>nd</sup>.sg PST0-cut accidentally OBJ.PRN.2<sup>nd</sup>.sg  
 “You accidentally cut yourself.”

c) Pǎh isōh nā yòh  
 Pǎh ì-sōh nā yòh

PRON.1<sup>st</sup>.pl F1-wash body POSS.DET.c1  
 “We will wash ourselves.”

d) Pě̃n yǔ làh ñkōsī nā yìi  
 Pě̃n yǔ làh ø-ñkōsī nā yìi.  
 PRON.2<sup>nd</sup>.pl do manner HAB-help body POSS.PRN.c1  
 “You must help yourselves.”

A6a) Ngǎ’də zí kùò’ túnā ī.  
 Ngǎ’də ø-zí kwɔ’ túnā i.  
 Ngǎ’də PRS-know FOC body POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Peter knows himself.”

b) Ngǎ’də ñgú ñtʃiāā mbiàà ndǒm mī.  
 Ngǎ’də ñgū ñtʃiāā mbiàà ndǒm mī.  
 Ngǎ’də HAB select dirt on OBL.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Peter habitually criticises himself.”

c) Mǒ’ntiè’ Ngǎ’də bō ñtʃiāā mbiàà ndǒm mī  
 Mǒ’ntiè’ Ngǎ’də bō ñtʃiāā mbiàà ndǒm mī  
 perhaps Ngǎ’də be select dirt LOC OBL.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>  
 “Peter is likely to praise himself.”

**Comment:** This construction is ambiguous in that it can mean “on Peter” or “on somebody else”.

A7a) Mbòtò yāā mūumbā’ ló kòlòh ná ī  
 Mbòtò yāā mūumbā’ ló kò-lòh ná í  
 Each each child-boy FOC PST2-look on POSS.PRN.c1  
 “Every boy looked at himself.

b) ñkwèè pǔ-ñz<sup>wi</sup>ēwà’ kòlò’si nā ì mbí Ngǎ’də  
 ñkwèè pǔ-ñz<sup>wi</sup>ē wà’ kò-lò’si nā ì mbí Ngǎ’də  
 All CL2-woman all PST2- show body POSS.DET.c1 to Ngǎ’də  
 “All the women described Ngǎ’də to themselves.”

**Commentary:** Fe’efe’e has a limited number of noun classes whose identification is strictly based on the agreement between the noun and the possessive determiner. Unlike in many other Bantu languages and Fe’efe’e neighbouring languages, agreement in Fe’efe’e does not go beyond the possessive determiner. This is why most often, glossing is not really affected by the presence of the noun prefix and concord prefixes like in most of the language where they do occur. Following is a table illustrating the functioning of these noun classes.

Class	examples
CL1	sēn ø- à friend AP-POSS “my friend”
	mvī ø- à goat AP-POSS “my goat”

<b>CL2</b>	nsēn mb-ǎ friend AP-POSS “my friends”
	pōō mb-ǎ child AP-POSS “my children”
<b>CL3</b>	pō ø- ā hand AP-POSS “my hand”
	khù ø- ā foot AP-POSS “my foot”
<b>CL4</b>	mbō m-ǎ hand AP-POSS “my hands”
	ŋkhù m-ǎ foot AP-POSS “my foot”
<b>CL4a</b>	ndù’ m-ǎ wine AP-POSS “my wine (s)”
<b>CL5</b>	ka’ z-ǎ plate AP-POSS “my plate”
<b>CL6</b>	mvī z-ǎ goat AP-POSS “my goats”

NB: AP= agreement prefix/marker .Tone also plays a prominent role in the language. It is also observable that Bantu noun prefixes have considerably disappeared in Fe’efe’e (and are still doing so).

- c) Mbòtò yāā nsiēsì lólò’sì nā ì mbí Ngǎ’dà  
 Mbòtò yāā nsiēsì lō lō - lò’sì nā ì mbí Ngǎ’dà  
 Each which teacher FOC PST3-show body POSS.DET.c1 to Ngǎ’dà  
 “Every teacher introduced himself to Ngǎ’dà.”
- d) Mó’ púúŋk<sup>h</sup>ūā ŋkōsī ndò’ túnā yōō  
 Mó’ púúŋk<sup>h</sup>ūā ø-ŋkōsī ndò’ túnā yōō  
 some children HAB-help only body POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Some children only help themselves.”

The example in (9) does not reveal any new strategy.



- A9a) Siānī m̀ndēn m̀ Ntũkò kwè' t́nà ì  
 Siānī m̀-ndēn m̀ Ntũkò ø-kwè' t́nà ì  
 Siānī PROG-say that Ntũkò PRS-love body POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siānī says that Ntũkò loves herself.”
- b) Siānī t̄fāk m̀ Ntũkò ĺó nā ì.  
 Siānī ø-t̄fāk m̀ Ntũkò ĺó nā ì.  
 Siānī PST0-search that Ntũkò praise body 3<sup>rd</sup> POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siānī required that Ntũkò praise herself.”
- c) Siānī kwà' m̀ Ntũkò ỳ l̀h nd́ó nā ì  
 Siānī ø-kwà' m̀ Ntũkò ỳ l̀h ø-nd́ó nā ì  
 Siānī PST0-think that Ntũkò do manner HAB-praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siānī thought that Ntũkò should praise herself.”
- d) Siānī lén mbí Ntũkò m̀ á l̄ó nā ì  
 Siānī ø-lén mbí Ntũkò m̀ á l̄ó nā ì  
 Siānī PST0-tell to Ntũkò that she praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siānī asked Ntũkò to praise herself.”
- e) Siānī ø-kwē' mb̀̀ l̀ó nā ì  
 Siānī ø-kwē' mb̀̀ l̀ó nā ì  
 Siānī PRS-like manner praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siānī wants to praise himself.”
- f) Siānī m̀mbì̀̀ m̀ Ntũkò ĺó nā ì  
 Siānī m̀-mbì̀̀ m̀ Ntũkò ø-ĺó nā ì  
 Siānī PROG-wait that Ntũkò PRS-praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siānī expects Ntũkò to praise herself.”
- g) Siānī jū' m̀ Ntũkò m̀nd́ó nā ì  
 Siānī ø-jū' m̀ Ntũkò m̀-nd́ó nā ì  
 Siānī PST0-hear that Ntũkò PROG-praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 Siānī heard Ntũkò praising herself.

## 2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

Even if pronouns are never used as reflexives, we want to apply the tests of this questionnaire to them as well, since knowing what is not possible is also useful to us. Please test them now in all the local environments, even if they fail, unless you have already named them as a strategy because they succeed in local coreference environments. For this section, please translate all the sentences, indicating the acceptability of the results.

- A10. Ñ k̀ȳ ǹ pí Nd̄ēnt̀ wāhà  
 Ñ k̀-γ̄ ǹ pí Nd̄ēnt̀ wāhà  
 I PST2-speak think with Nd̄ēnt̀ yesterday  
 “I spoke with Nd̄ēnt̀ yesterday”.

- a) À k̀jí Siānī

À kò-jíí Siāni  
 He PST2-see Siāni  
 “He saw Siāni.”

b) Ndōōntù m̀ h̄.                      Ñ kòjíí ní ntēē  
 Ndōōntù m̀ h̄.                      Ñ kò-jíí ní ntēē  
 Ndōōntù be where                  I PST2-see him market  
 “Where is Ndōōntù?”              “I saw him in the market.”

c) P̀h kòjíí n̄                                      T̀ ò kòjíí nā?  
 P̀h kò-jíí n̄                                      T̀ ò kò-jíí nā?  
 PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl PST2-see OBJ.PRN.2<sup>nd</sup>.sg      QM you P2-see OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
 “We saw you.”                              “Did you see me?”

2.2.2. If your language has more than one type of pronouns (e.g., null, clitic and non-clitic pronouns, strong, or stressable pronouns, etc.), list each type with examples.

**A10i) Simple human subject pronouns**

person	singular	plural
1	N, Ngǔ, m̄	P̀h
2	Ō, wò	p̄n
3	À, j̄ū	pó

Ngǔ m̄-nz̄ l̄'                                      Ñ kòzò l̄'  
 Ngǔ m̄-nz̄ l̄'                                      Ñ kò-zò l̄'  
 I PROG-eat yam                              I PST2 eat yam  
 “I am eating yam.”                      “I ate yam.”

**A10ii) Non-human subject pronoun**

Jáá t̄j̄ siē.  
 Jáá ø-t̄j̄ siē.  
 It PST0-fall down  
 “It fell down.”

**(A10iii) Emphatic Human subject pronouns**

person	singular	plural
1	m̄	p̀h
2	wò	p̄n
3	j̄ū	Pó

M̄ m̄ nz̄ wúz̄  
 M̄ m̄ ø-nz̄ wúz̄  
 I FOC PST0-eat food  
 “It is me who ate the food.”

#### (10iv) Compound Human subject pronouns

person	singular	Plural
1	jõhpõh ò	Jíí píá pó
2	jíí pí juḃ	Jõh pí juḃ
3	Jõhpõhjuḃ	Jõhpíá pó

jõh põh ò muḃgén zēn n̄i  
 jõh põh ò mu-ḃgén zēn n̄i  
 we with you PROG- go dance water  
 “We are going to dance.”

#### (10vi) Object pronouns

person	singular	plural
1	ā	jõh
2	ō	jĩ
3	ī	jḃ

Ngǎdè zàb mī  
 Ngǎdè ø-zàb mī  
 Ngǎdè PST0-beat OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ’ dǎ beat him.”

Ngǎdè tām<sup>h</sup>ù tén ī  
 Ngǎdè ø-tām k<sup>h</sup>ù tén ī  
 Ngǎdè PST0-kick foot buttock POSS.DET.c3  
 “Ngǎ’ dǎ kicked him (on his buttock).”

**Comment:** In Fe’efe’e the singular form (a, o, i) can alternate with nā /mā/lā for the first person, nō /mō/lō for the second, nī /mī/lī for the third according to the nature of the final consonant or vowel of the main verb.

A10d) \*kḃfātmbiè  
 kḃ-fāt mbiè  
 PST2-eat fish  
 “Ate fish. (meaning *he/she/they/it/we/you/I ate fish*)”

e) \*Ngǎ’ dǎ t̄fām  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ ø-t̄fām  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ STP0-t̄fām  
 “Ngǎ’ dǎ hit (meaning *Hal hit him/her/them/it/us/you/me*)”

f) \*Ngǎ’ dǎ yǎ nù mbí  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ ø-yǎ nù mbí  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ PST0-say thing to  
 “Ngǎ’ dǎ talked to (meaning *Hal talked to him/her/them/it/us/you/me*)”

The symbol (\*) means that the constructions are not acceptable in the language.

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

A10g) Ngǎ’ dǎ lòò mī.  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ ø-lòò mī.  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ PST0-praise OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ’ dǎ praised him.”

This construction can only be understood as Ngǎ’ dǎ praised somebody else and not himself.

h) Ngǎ’ dǎ kḃkwē’ ī.  
 Ngǎ’ dǎ kḃ-kwē’ ī.

Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ liked him.”

**Comment:** To some speakers, this reading is ambiguous: it can mean “self” or a different person. This is also true of (A10Ag).

i) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒjǐí nī  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-jǐí nī  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-see OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ saw him.”

j) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒγǎē nù mbí ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-γǎē nù mbí ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-talk thing to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ talked to him.”

k) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒtǫh tà' ηwǒ'ni mbí ī  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-tǫh tà' ηwǒ'ni mbí ī  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-send one book to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ sent a book to him.”

l) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒkǒsī ī  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-kǒsī ī  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-help OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ helped him.”

m) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒsǎ' nī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-sǎ' nī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-surprise OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ surprised him.”

n) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒjwéntǒ' ηwǒ'ni mbí ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-jwén tǒ' ηwǒ'ni mbí ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-buy one book to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ bought a book for him.”

**Comment:** In Fe'efe'e, the reading in (n) is ambiguous: it can mean the book is bought for a third person or from a third person.

o) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒtǫhtǒ' ηwǒ'ni nā ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-tǫh tǒ' ηwǒ'ni nā ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST0-read one book on OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ read a book about him.”

p) Ngǎ'dǎ kǒjǐí tǒ' ηwǒ'ni ηgāk ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ kǒ-jǐí tǒ' ηwǒ'ni ηgāk ī.  
Ngǎ'dǎ PST2-see one book near OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'dǎ found a book near him.”

**Comment:** The reading in (10p) is also ambiguous in that it can either mean “near himself”

or “near another person”.

## 2.3 Reciprocal Readings

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

2.3.1 If you have already listed a reflexive strategy that can also have reciprocal meaning, provide an example here with a reciprocal translation.

Pūūnkhuā̀ kòsōhnā̀ jò̀ò  
Pūūnkhuā̀ kò-sōh nā̀ jò̀ò.  
Children PST2-wash body POSS.DET.c1  
“The children washed each other.”

The following interpretations could also be possible.

“The children washed themselves.”  
“The children washed them.”

2.3.2 As a means of assessing what sorts of reciprocal strategies your language contains, consider these typical sorts of reciprocal sentences in English.

A11a) Pū̀nzwiḕ jī̀sī.  
Pū̀-nzwiḕ ø-jī̀- sī.  
CL2-woman PRS-see REC  
“ The women see each other.”

**Comment:** This cannot have any non-reciprocal reading over all because of the use of the verb “see”, verb of natural perception.

b) Púúsò̀m kòsōh nā̀ yò̀ò  
Púúsò̀m kò-sōh nā̀ yò̀ò.  
Boys PST2-wash body POSS-DET.c1  
“The boys washed each other.”

Comment: This construction is also ambiguous with reflexive reading.

c) Pūūmbā́ kòkò́ tū̀ jò̀ò.  
Pūūmbā́ kò-kò́ tū̀ jò̀ò  
men PST2-climb head POSS.DET.c1  
“The men combed each other's hair.”

Comment: This construction could mean that the men combed the hair of third persons. However, it cannot mean that the men each combed their own hair.

d) Pòkòfāk̀ nù.  
Pò kò-fāk̀ nù.  
they PST2-drag problem  
“They argued with each other.”

- e) Púúsòm kòtám k<sup>h</sup>ũ tèn pō.  
 Púúsòm kò-tám k<sup>h</sup>ũ tèn pō.  
 Boys PST2-kick foot buttock POSS.DET.c1  
 “The boys kicked each other.”

The constructions in (b, c & d) are similar to the one in (2.3.1.).

**Comment:** most often, such constructions have ambiguous readings. It could mean that the boys kicked other people.

- f) Pó mbéé  
 Pó ø-mbéé  
 They HAB- hate (each other)  
 “They hate each other.”

**Comment:** The verb *mbéé* here is inherently reciprocal.

### 2.3.3 Oblique arguments

Oblique arguments - Continue looking for new reciprocal strategies by translating sentences like those in (A12), which involve reciprocals embedded in prepositional phrases.

- A12a) Pūūmbā' kòlō'sī Ngădô mbí mbòwōlō  
 Pūūmbā' kò-lō'sī Ngădô mbí mbòwōlō  
 Men PST2-show Ngădô to REC  
 “The men introduced Ngădô to each other.”

- b) Pòngèntóm kòyōō nù  
 Pò-ngèntóm kò-yōō nù.  
 CL2-traveller PST2-talk problem  
 “The travelers spoke to each other.”

**Comment:** Here again, reciprocity is verb inherent-included. On the other hand, this construction could just mean that the travelers talked to anybody.

- c) ñkămsiē kòjū' nù ndôm mbòwōlō  
 ñkămsiē kò-jū' nù ndôm mbòwōlō  
 priest PST2-hear thing on REC  
 “The priest heard stories about each other.”

- d. Pó kòjūō ndii mb<sup>h</sup>ī mbòwōlō  
 Pó kò-jūō ndii mb<sup>h</sup>ī mbòwōlō  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PST2-leave present in front of REC  
 “They left presents in front of each other.”

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

- A13a) Pòh kòjísī  
 Pòh kò-jíí-sī  
 We PST2 see REC  
 “We saw each other.”

- b) Pènyà làh ñkōsī  
 Pèn yà làh ñkō-sī  
 you do manner help-REC  
 “You(pl.) must help each other.”
- c) Pǎh ìnsōh nā jòh  
 Pǎh ì-ñsōh nā jòh  
 We FUT0-wash body POSS.DET.c1  
 “We will wash ourselves.”
- d) Pó ñtǎm mbiàà ndòm pó ndiàndià.  
 Pó ø-ñtǎm mbiàà ndòm pó ndiàndià.  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl HAB-select error on PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl regularly  
 “They always criticize each other.”
- e) Púúsòm tònjǎē kòtām khū tèn pō.  
 Púúsòm tònjǎē kò-tām khū tèn pō.  
 Boy many PST2-kick foot buttock PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 “Many boys kicked each other.”

**Comment:** Like in the afore-mentioned cases, the readings in (d & e) are ambiguous. They can either introduce reciprocity or refer to other persons.

### 2.3.5. Other clause types, and other strategies

Other clause types, and other strategies: Briefly consider various types of reciprocal embedded clauses; if a new coreference strategy can be used with some of them, name it here. There is nothing new to be mentioned here.

## 2.4. Other types of local coreference

### 2.4.1. Possessives, alienable and inalienable

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

- A15a) Ngǎ’ dè kòwǎ’ ñtǎt mǐ.  
 Ngǎ’ dè kò-wǎ’ ñtǎt mǐ.  
 Ngǎ’ dè P2-throw shoes POSS.DET.c4  
 “Ngǎ’ dè lost his shoes.”
- b) Ngǎ’ dè kòjǎ pō ī thā.  
 Ngǎ’ dè kò-jǎ pō ī thā.  
 Ngǎ’ dè PST2-raise hand POSS.DET.c3 up  
 “Ngǎ’ dè raised his hand. (e.g., in class)”
- c) Ngǎ’ dè kòk<sup>h</sup>ǎ pō ī.  
 Ngǎ’ dè kò-k<sup>h</sup>ǎ pō ī.  
 Ngǎ’ dè PST2-cut hand POSS.DET.c3  
 “Paul cut his hand. (e.g., accidentally)”

- d) Ngǎ'də kɔ̃tʃã' sī pō ī.  
 Ngǎ'də kɔ̃-tʃã' sī pō ī.  
 Ngǎ'də PST2-examine hand POSS.DET.c3  
 “Ngǎ'də examined his hand.”

**Comment:** It is worth noting that “sī” can be part of some verb roots. In such cases, it is not an affix.

- e) Ngǎ'də kɔ̃tɔ̃ kʰù ī.  
 Ngǎ'də kɔ̃-tɔ̃ kʰù ī.  
 Ngǎ'də PST2-twist foot POSS.DET.c3  
 “Paul twisted his ankle (or ‘stubbed his toe’)”

#### 2.4.2. Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals

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

A16) Mvɔ̃k jì Ngǎ'də ndáh ŋɔ̃'nā ī lɔ̃kɔ̃ pɔ̃h Siāni.  
 Mvɔ̃k jì Ngǎ'də ndáh ŋɔ̃'nā ī lɔ̃ kɔ̃-pɔ̃h Siāni.  
 Quantity way Ngǎ'də take carry body POSS.DET.c3 ADV P2-annoy Siāni  
 “Andrew's self-confidence annoyed Mary.”

A17a) Mbùɔ̃ Ngǎ'də kɔ̃lɔ̃'sì nā ì lɔ̃ kɔ̃pɛ́'nsièsi.  
 Mbùɔ̃ Ngǎ'də kɔ̃-lɔ̃'sì nā ì lɔ̃ kɔ̃-pɛ́'nsièsi.  
 manner Ngǎ'də PST2-show body POSS.DET.c3 ADV PST2-please teacher  
 “Andrew's introduction of himself impressed the teacher.”

#### 2.4.3 Something we haven't thought of?

For now, I cannot think of something else.

#### 2.4.4 : Summary of the different strategies

It would be useful to us if you could provide a list of the different strategies so we are both clear as to which ones you distinguish.

##### Reflexives:

- The word nā / túnā “body” noun + possessive determiner/pronoun
- The preposition + object pronoun strategy
- The possessive pronoun strategy
- Independent pronoun strategy (e.g., for long distances)

##### Reciprocals:

- The “sì” reciprocal strategy
- The nā/ “body” noun + possessive determiner
- The possessive pronoun /determiner strategy
- The preposition + Mbùwɔ̃lɔ̃ reciprocal strategy



- Marking by the internal nature of the verb.

KS: Good list.

### Part 3 General details about the strategies

What is evident from the data presented so far is that it is difficult to say which of the strategies is principal in Fe'efe'e. Like in discourse analysis, the context and the inner nature of the verb or its semantic category help to determine which strategy is being used.

#### 3.3.1 How marked or natural is this strategy?

Some strategies are manifested as involving special nominal (NP) form (an "anaphor" if it must have a configurational antecedent) (e.g., *himself* in English or *lui-même* in French) which appear where a full nominal otherwise would.

- **The word *nā/túnā* “body” noun + possessive determiner/pronoun**

Marking is done here through construe argument made up of *nā* “body” plus a possessive determiner/pronoun which refers back to the subject (NP). The possessive determiner occurs at object NP position in the construction while the possessive pronoun occurs immediate before the noun it modifies (*nā*: body). When the construction is in the plural, this strategy has a reciprocal reading.

- **The preposition+ object pronoun strategy**

Marking is through construe argument made up of a preposition+ an object pronoun which refers back to the subject (NP). The object pronoun occurs at object NP position in the construction, notably at sentence final position. The reciprocal reading occurs in such constructions with the use of the personal pronoun in the plural (**pəh** (1<sup>st</sup> PL), **pən** (2<sup>nd</sup> PL), **pō** (3<sup>rd</sup> PL).

- **The possessive determiner/pronoun strategy**

This strategy makes use of the possessive determiner. This strategy makes use of the sentiment verbs (love, hate, like, etc.) and the so-called grooming verbs (verbs referring to the taking care of the body). The possessive determiner is preceded by a noun that refers to a “body”. On the contrary, when marking is operated through a pronoun; the noun “body” follows it.

a. Siāni kòsí' nǚ ì.  
 Siāni kò-sí' nǚ ì.  
 Siāni PST2-paint mouth POSS.DET.c3  
 "Siāni painted her lips."

b. Ngǎ mǎngǎ nǚ ā  
 Ngǎ mǎ-ngǎ nǚ ā  
 I PROG-do mouth POSS-DET.c3  
 "I am eating."

c. Ngǎ mǎngǎ jà nǚ  
 Ngǎ mǎ-ngǎ jà nǚ  
 I PROG-do POSS.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg mouth  
 "I am eating"

d. Siāni kò sí'jì nǚ  
 Siāni kò-sí' jì nǚ  
 Siāni PST2-paint POSS.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg mouth  
 "Siāni painted her (own) lips."

**Comment:** Semantically, this sentence could also portray the meaning that, since she wanted to imitate me (a given speaker), she also painted her lips.

- **The "sì" strategy**

Here, marking is on the verb through the use of verb extension.

- **The Preposition+ mbòwòlò**

This is a kind of "adjunct" where the preposition always precedes mbòwòlò "each other"

- **The verb inner nature strategy**

This strategy is marked by the semantic of the verb itself. In fact, these types of verb internally express reciprocity in some constructions. They include verbs such as, mǎk "discuss, argue", ñgǎ "talk, say".

### 3.2. Productivity

3.2.1 How productive is this strategy, with respect to which verbs or predicates allow it? When you write up this section, indicate that the strategy in question is either *extremely productive*, *fairly productive*, or *I am not sure*.

#### A. The word nā/túnā + possessive determiner/pronoun strategy

This strategy could be said to be fairly productive in that it requires verbs of grooming (clean, wash, dress, etc.) some verbs of natural perception such as see, look, hear, etc., verbs of sentiment (love, hate, like). As could be observed through the data below, this strategy could make either use of the possessive determiner or pronoun.

(i) Ngǎ'də̀ pèè túnā̀ ì  
 Ngǎ'də̀ ø-pèè túnā̀ ì  
 Ngǎ'də̀ PRS-hate body POSS.PRON.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'də̀ hates himself.”

(ii) Ngǎ'də̀ kəsóh nā̀ ì.  
 Ngǎ'də̀ kà-sóh nā̀ ì.  
 Ngǎ'də̀ PST2-wash body POSS.DET.c3  
 “Ngǎ'də̀ washed himself.”

(iii) Mvák jì Ngǎ'də̀ ndáh ηṵ' nā̀ ī lú kòpòh Sìāni.  
 Mvák jì Ngǎ'də̀ ndáh ηṵ' nā̀ ì lú kò-pòh Sìāni  
 Quantity way Ngǎ'də̀ take carry body POSS.DET.c3 FOC PST2-annoy Sìāni  
 “Andrew's self-confidence annoyed Mary.”

(iv) À kṵjī nā̀ ī ntām jī̀sì  
 À kṵ-jī nā̀ ì ntām jī̀sì  
 He PST2-see body POSS.DET.c3 inside mirror  
 “He saw himself in the mirror.”

(v) Ngǎ'də̀ pèè jì nā̀  
 Ngǎ'də̀ ø-pèè jì nā̀  
 Ngǎ'də̀ PRS-hate POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg body  
 “Ngǎ'də̀ hates himself.”

(vi) Ngǎ'də̀ kəsòh jì nā̀  
 Ngǎ'də̀ kà-sòh jì nā̀  
 Ngǎ'də̀ PST2-wash POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg body  
 “Ngǎ'də̀ washed himself.”

**Note:** When the marking include the possessive pronoun, it sounds like having a special force than with the possessive determiner.

## B. Preposition + object pronoun strategy

This strategy is not productive because it is limited to verbs such as “tell, talk”.

B. i. Pó sòk yòh nǔ ndòm pòh  
 Pó ø-sòk yòh nǔ ndòm pòh  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PST0-tell OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl thing on OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.pl  
 “They told us things about us.”

ii. Sìāni yē nǔ ndòm pòh mbi pòh  
 Sìāni ø-yē nǔ ndòm pòh mbí pòh  
 Sìāni PST0-say thing PREP OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg PREP OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
 “Siani talked to us about us.”

## C. The possessive determiner strategy

This strategy is restricted to the verbs of sentiments such as love, hate, like, etc; and the so-called grooming verbs (verbs referring to the taking care of the body)..

- Ci. Siāni k<sup>h</sup>ūb̄' k<sup>h</sup>ū ī  
 Siāni ø-k<sup>h</sup>ūb̄' k<sup>h</sup>ū ī  
 Siāni PST0-cut foot POSS.DET.c3  
 “Siāni cut her foot (herself).”

This reading could be polysemic. It can mean exactly what is mentioned above or ‘Siani the foot of a third person.’”

- Cii. Ā ŋkwé' ī.  
 Ā ø-ŋkwé' ī.  
 He HAB-love POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “ He loves him (himself)”

This reading could also mean he loves somebody else.

- Ciii. Nsömsȫm sōh nā yòò  
 Nsömsȫm ø-sōh nā yòò  
 young men PST0-wash body POSS.DET.c3  
 “The young men washed themselves.”

This construction has at the same time reflexive and reciprocal reading.

#### D. The “sī” strategy

First of all, it is worth mentioning that “sī” is not a word per se. It is a verbal extension. Therefore, it can only occur with those verbs known as reciprocal in the language.

- Di. Jáá pè' má pèn bā ŋkōsī  
 jáá ø-pè' m̄ pèn bā ŋkō-sī  
 It PRS- be good that PRN.2<sup>nd</sup>.sg be help.REC  
 “You should help each other.”

- ii. Pō kòyòòsī ntó'ngì  
 Pō kò-yòò - sī ntó'ngì  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PST2-share REC crossroads  
 “They separated (one another) at the crossroads.”

- iii. ŋgùūŋgùū ñjīī-sī zǎ' cà'sì  
 ŋgùūŋgùū ñ-ñjīī-sī zǎ' cà'sì  
 girls FUT1-see-REC place feast  
 “Girls and girls will meet at the ceremony place.”

**Comment:** As already mentioned, “sī” with mid tone, when preceded by verb root, could be an affix, bringing about a new meaning to the existing verb (like in iii just above) or a simple unproductive extension. Two verb affixes cannot co-occur in Fe'efe'e. There is not a possibility to insert an item between the verb and the affix in the language. This affix should not be confused with the “sì”, noun derivational suffix with a low tone as observable in (iii) with cà'sì.

#### E. The preposition + mbòwòlò strategy

This strategy is productive. It is possible to use it with a limited number of verbs which could be immediately preceded by prepositions such as.

Ei. À kòjḡḡ pò ndòm mbòwḡlḡ  
 À kò-jḡḡ pò ndòm mbòwḡlḡ  
 He PST2-put hand on REC  
 “He put his hand on each other.”

ii. ḡkǎmsiē kòjū’ nù ndòm mbòwḡlḡ  
 ḡkǎmsiē kò-jū’ nù ndòm mbòwḡlḡ  
 priest PST2- hear thing PREP REC  
 “The priest heard stories about each other.”

iii. Pó kò jḡḡ ndii mb<sup>h</sup>ī mbòwḡlḡ  
 Pó kò-jḡḡ ndii mb<sup>h</sup>ī mbòwḡlḡ  
 they PST2-leave present in front of REC  
 “They left presents in front of each other.”

### F. The inherent nature of the verb strategy

This strategy is not really very productive in that it is limited to those verbs whose semantics evolve reciprocity when used in some syntactic constructions. They concern verbs such as m̄fāk “discuss, argue”, ḡḡḡ/ḡḡḡḡ “talk, say”, nsōk “tell”.

Fi. Pó mḡ mfāk nù.  
 Pó mḡ-mfāk nù.  
 They PROG- draw thing  
 “They are discussing.

ii. Siāni pí sēn ī insōk nù.  
 Siāni pí sēn ī i-nsōk nù.  
 Siāni and friend POSS.DET.c1 FUT1-tell thing  
 “Siāni and her friend will tell (each other) stories.”

iii. t̄f̄ḡt̄ḡ’ sḡ pàh ḡ ḡḡḡ.  
 t̄f̄ḡt̄ḡ’ ḡ-sḡ pàh ḡ ḡḡḡ.  
 Please PRES-come we you talk  
 “let’s talk.”

## 3.4 Morphology

### 3.4.1

It shall be pointed out here that there is no special morphology. The marker is a common noun (class 3) that means “body” or “head-body” either followed by a possessive determiner (adjective) or preceded by a possessive pronoun. It can also be the head of an associative construction. Any of the following possessive determiner (table 1) or possessive pronoun (table 2) could be used to mark reflexive with or without the word for “body”. On the other hand, in (table 3), is presented the object pronouns being used for a different marking.

**Table 1 : possessive determiners**

persons	singular	plural
1	ā	jōh
2	ō	jì
3	ī	jḡḡ

**Table 2: Possessive pronouns**

persons	singular	plural
1	jā	jōh
2	jō	jì
3	jī	jòò

**Tableau 3: simple object pronouns**

persons	singular	plural
	ā	pōh
	ō	pō
	ī	pēn

The object pronouns can be complex. This means that (table 3 ) presents simple object pronouns.

**Tableau 4: compound object pronouns**

singular	plural
pōh ō: we (I)+ you (2 <sup>nd</sup> SG)	pōh ā pō : we and they
pōh yūō: we (I) + s/he	pēn píá pō: you and they
pī yūā: you +s/he	píá pō:s/he and they

Note: The pronouns mū (1<sup>st</sup> SG), wò (2<sup>nd</sup> SG) and jūō (3<sup>rd</sup> SG) are singular oblique pronouns. The plural forms are identical to those in the simple object pronouns. These pronouns are also usable in subject positions. The first two examples illustrate the use of the pronoun at object position while the third and the fourth illustrate its use at subject position.

- i) À kò ñhō wūzō mbí pōh ā pō.  
À kò-ñhō wūzō mbí pōh ā pō.  
He PST2-give food to we and they.  
“He gave us food.”

- ii) Ngǎ'də lònñhō ñkōōmbí pōhyūō.  
Ngǎ'də lò-ñhō ñkōō mbí pōh yūō.  
Ngǎ'də PST2-give money PREP we s/he  
“Ngǎ'də gave money to we and s/he/ gave us money.”

**Comment:** lò / kò are interchangeable PST2 markers.

- iii) pōh yūō ìnsōh nā jōh.  
pōh yūō ì-nsōh nā jōh.  
we him/she FUT-wash body POSS.DT.c1  
“We and s/he (we) shall bath (ourselves).”  
The example in (iii) has both reflexive and reciprocal readings.

- iv) pōh āpō mū ñgén sī' nā jōh  
pōh ā pō mū-ñgén sī' nā jōh

we and they PROG-go rub body POSS.DET.c1  
 “We and they (we) are going to rub our body.”

In the preposition +mbòwòlò strategy, there is not agreement. Mbòwòlò can be used as an independent word, notably as a quantifier (indefinite pronoun). In this case, it occupies the subject (NP) position. In such cases, it is immediately followed by the tense marker.

i) Mbòwòlò lòsò' pí lùò'.  
 Mbòwòlò lò-sò' pí lùò'.  
 QT P2ST-come PREP yam  
 “Everyone came with yam.”

ii) Mbòwòlò kòlí' k<sup>h</sup>ùò tō k<sup>w</sup>én m̀bèè nī m̀ mbāk hà' ī.  
 Mbòwòlò kò-lí' k<sup>h</sup>ùò tō k<sup>w</sup>én m̀bèè nī m̀ mbāk hà' ī.  
 QT P3-run until arrive home POSS.PRN.3rd.sg then rain stare OBJ.PRN.3rd.sg  
 “Before each one ran until his house, s/he was completely wet (hit by rain).”

As far as the marking by the inherent nature of the verb is considered, there is not also any special morphology as the strategy itself could reveal. Since it has already been described so far, this strategy does not require any special comment.

### 3.5. The agreement paradigm

The word nā “body” always remains invariable. The possessive determiner or pronoun that precedes or follows the word “body” varies according to the person (antecedent) of the possessive in person and number.

i. Pūūṅk<sup>h</sup>ùò mù nsòh nā jòò.  
 Pūūṅk<sup>h</sup>ùò mù-nsòh nā jòò.  
 CL2-child PROG-wash body POSS.DET.c1  
 “The children are bathing (themselves).”

ii. Sīānì kò sí' mvát mbă' nā ī.  
 Sīānì kò-sí' mvát mbă' ná ī.  
 Sīānì PST2-rub oil kernel PREP.OBJ.PRN.1st.sg  
 “Sīānì rubbed himself with kernel oil.”

iii. Sīānì kò sí' jì nā pí mvát mbă'  
 Sīānì kò-sí' jì nā pí mvát mbă'  
 Sīānì PST2-rub POSS.PRN.3rd.sg body with oil kernel  
 “Sīānì rubbed (his own body) himself with kernel oil.”

**The “sì” reciprocal strategy:** There is no agreement since the “sì” is just a verbal extension.

**The preposition+mbòwòlò strategy:** All the constituents of the construction remain invariable, be the preposition or “mbòwòlò”.

Morphologically, marking by the inherent nature of the verb does not exhibit any other special form or provoke any other comment.

### 3.6 Interaction with verb morphology - Incompatibilities

First of all, it is to be noted that reflexives in Fe'efe'e are not attached to the verb. They do not hinder morphological operations.

#### 3.6.1. Tense, Mood, Aspect

#### 3.7. Uses that are not quite coreference

Although this has not been pointed out in the reflexive strategies above, the verbs  $\gamma\grave{a}s\bar{i}/l\bar{e}n\bar{s}\bar{i}$ , “talk, speak (alone)” also has a reflexive reading. It is used to refer to somebody who is speaking alone, maybe because has so many problems or because he is becoming mad. As far as I know, only this verb exhibit this property in Fe'efe'e.

i.  $\grave{A} k\grave{o} \gamma\grave{a}s\bar{i}$

$\grave{A} k\grave{o} \gamma\grave{a}s\bar{i}$

He PST2-talk-RFM

“He spoke (alone as a mad man).”

ii.  $\grave{A} k\grave{o}l\bar{e}n\bar{s}\bar{i}$

$\grave{A} k\grave{o}l\bar{e}n\bar{s}\bar{i}$

He FUT2-speak-RFM

“He will speak (alone a mad person).”

#### 3.7.2 Emphatic or intensifier.

B1c)  $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} f\grave{a}t mbi\grave{e} nd\acute{o}k \bar{i}$

$Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} \emptyset-f\grave{a}t mbi\grave{e} nd\acute{o}k \bar{i}$

$Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  PRS-eat fish alone OBJ.PRON.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“ $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  ate fish himself.”

d)  $Kw\grave{o}' Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} m\bar{o} k\grave{o} f\grave{a}t mbi\grave{e}$

$Kw\grave{o}' Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} m\bar{o} k\grave{o} f\grave{a}t mbi\grave{e}$

FOC  $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  who PST2-eat fish

“ $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  himself ate fish.”

A)  $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} nd\acute{o}k \bar{i} m\bar{o}ng\bar{u} y\bar{a}\bar{a} l\grave{e}$

$Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} nd\acute{o}k \bar{i} m\bar{o}ng\bar{u} y\bar{a}\bar{a} l\grave{e}$

$Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  alone OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg who do this this

“ $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  alone did this.” - i.e., only John and no other individuals did this.

B)  $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} k\grave{o}\gamma\bar{u} j\bar{a}\bar{a} l\grave{e} kw\grave{o}' nd\acute{o}k \bar{i}$

$Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} k\grave{o}\gamma\bar{u} j\bar{a}\bar{a} kw\grave{o}' nd\acute{o}k \bar{i}$

$Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  PST2-do this FOC alone OBJ-PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“John did this alone” - John was unaccompanied when he did this.

C)  $Kw\grave{o}' Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} m\bar{o} k\grave{o}\gamma\bar{u} j\bar{a}\bar{a}$ .

$Kw\grave{o}' Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} m\bar{o} k\grave{o}\gamma\bar{u} j\bar{a}\bar{a}$ .

FOC  $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  who PST2-do this

“ $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  himself did this” - John appearing in person did this (no one did it for him)

D)  $Kw\grave{o}' Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} m\bar{a} k\grave{o}\gamma\bar{u} j\bar{a}\bar{a}$ .

$Kw\grave{o}' Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e} m\bar{a} k\grave{o}\gamma\bar{u} j\bar{a}\bar{a}$ .

FOC  $Ng\grave{a}'d\grave{e}$  who PST2-do this



“Ngǎ’ dǎ himself did this”- Even John did this (e.g. although you would not have thought he would, John also ate the crispy jellyfish)

**Comment:** It is noticeable that the constructions in (C) and (D) are alike. Only their context of usage is useful in the capturing of their real meaning in such cases.

### 3.7.3 Middle.

Nothing to mention

### 3.7.4 Distributive, sociative, etc.

Nothing to mention

### 3.7.5 Deictic use

### 3.7.6 Focus.

B15)i. Wō tó ø-nzǎ’ nǎǎ kǎ-jǐ  
Wō tó ø-nzǎ’ nǎǎ kǎ-jǐ  
Who that c1-farmer PST2-SEE  
“Who did the farmers see?”

ii. Pō kǎjǐ nǐ  
Pō kǎ-jǐ nǐ  
PRN-3rd-pl PST2-see OBJ-PRN-3<sup>rd</sup>-sg  
“They saw *him*.”

B16) i. Pǎnzǎ’ nǎǎ kǎ sǐ jǐ Siǎnǐ  
Pǎ-nzǎ’ nǎǎ kǎ sǐ jǐ Siǎnǐ  
c2-farmer PST2 NEG see Siǎnǐ  
“The farmers didn’t see Mary.”

ii. Pō kǎjǐ nǐ  
Pō kǎ-jǐ nǐ  
PRN-3<sup>rd</sup>-pl PST2-see OBJ-PRN-3<sup>rd</sup>-sg  
“They saw *him*.”

### 3.7.7 Other. Are there other ways to use the strategy that do not express coreference (or reciprocal coreference) between two arguments?

To my knowledge, no other way to use this strategy exists in the language.

### 3.8 Proxy readings

This is not possible in Fe’efe’e. This idea which is seen as the expression of egocentrism does appear in the identification of artists’ works, which are considered as the expression of the community, the result of God’s inspiration. Consequently, the culture does not allow individualistic identification.

### 3.9 Ellipsis

#### A12 (i)

##### A. The word *túnā* + Possessive determiner / pronoun

Ngǎ'dò kwē' túnā ī nǎfúó Siāni  
 Ngǎ'dò ø-kwē' túnā ī nǎfúó Siāni  
 Ngǎ'dò PRS-like body POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg more Siāni  
 “Ngǎ'dò likes himself than he likes Siāni.”

#### A12 (ii)

Ngǎ'dò kwē' túnā ī nǎfúó mvàk Siāni kwē' ī ló  
 Ngǎ'dò ø-kwē' túnā ī nǎfúó mvàk Siāni ø-kwē' ī ló  
 Ngǎ'dò PRS-like body POSS-DET-3<sup>rd</sup>-sg more than Siāni PRS-like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV  
 “Ngǎ'dò likes himself more than Siāni *likes him* (Ngǎ'dò).”

#### A12 (iii)

Ngǎ'dò kwē' túnā ī nǎfúó mvàk Siāni kwē' ī ló  
 Ngǎ'dò ø-kwē' túnā ī nǎfúó mvàk Siāni ø-kwē' túnā ī ló  
 Ngǎ'dò PRS-like body POSS-DET-3<sup>rd</sup>-sg more than Siāni PRS-like body POSS-DET-3<sup>rd</sup>-sg ADV  
 “Ngǎ'dò likes himself more than Siāni *likes himself*.”

## PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

### 4.1 Clausemate coconstrual

#### 4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

##### 4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives

##### A. The word *nā* / *túnā* + possessive pronoun / determiner

\*C1a) Ngǎdò kǎjī nā nā ī.  
 Ngǎdò kǎ-jī nā ī.  
 Ngǎdò PST2-see body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Ngǎdò saw his body.”

\* b) Pǎ-nǎwīē kò ló'sí nā jǎò  
 Pǎ-nǎwīē kò-ló'sí nā jǎò  
 c1-woman PST2-show body POSS.DET c1  
 “The women described X.”

\*c) Pèn kòtám nā jì  
 Pèn kò-tám nā jì  
 PRN.2<sup>nd</sup>.pl PST-kick body POSS.DET.c1  
 “You kicked your body”

**Comment** : The above construction could have a reflexive reading in a different context. This will be true if it described for instance somebody who refuses for instance to eat because he simplifies the quantity of his food.

d) pō kòlǎō nā jǎò  
 pō kò-lǎō nā jǎò  
 PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl PST2-praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 “They praised themselves.”

Only the example in “d” exhibits reflexive interpretation. If the case evoked in the comment above is excluded.

### B. The preposition + object pronoun strategy

This strategy cannot be used with ordinary reflexives.

\*C1a) Ngǎ'də̀ kə̀jii ntám pə̀h  
 Ngǎ'də̀ kə̀-jii ntám pə̀h  
 Ngǎ'də̀ PST-see PREP PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl

The rest of the constructions do not also have reflexive readings like the following.

\*b) pǎnɰwīe kə̀ lə̀'si ndəm pə̀  
 pǎ-nɰwīe kə̀-lə̀'si ndəm pə̀  
 c2-woman PST-show PREP PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 The women described X.  
 c) You(pl.) kicked X.  
 d) They praised X

### C. The possessive determiner strategy

The possessive determiner

\*C1a) Siāni kə̀- jii i.  
 Siāni kə̀-jii khù i.  
 Siāni PST2-see foot POSS.DET.c3

None of such constructions is grammatically correct. Consequently, they cannot also have reflexive readings.

Bob saw X.

\*b) Pǎnɰwīe kə̀lə̀'si jə̀və̀  
 Pǎ-nɰwīe kə̀-lə̀'si jə̀və̀  
 c2-woman PST2-show POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*c) pən kə̀tám jii  
 pən kə̀-tám jii  
 you PST2-kick POSS.DET.2<sup>nd</sup>.sg

d) Pə̀ kə̀tám jə̀və̀  
 Pə̀ kə̀-tám jə̀və̀  
 They PST2-kick POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl

### D. The “si” reciprocal strategy

\*C1a) Ngǎ'də̀ kə̀jii si  
 Ngǎ'də̀ kə̀-jii-si  
 Ngǎ'də̀ PST2-see-REC

\* b) Pǎnɰwīe kə̀lə̀'si  
 Pǎ-nɰwīe kə̀-lə̀'si  
 c2-woman PST2-see

It is worth noting that the “si” in the verb in (b) is not a reciprocal marker. It is part of the verb root. In fact, its tones clearly indicates that it is different from the reciprocal marker.

The women described X.

\* c) Pèn kòtámsī  
Pèn kò-tám-sī  
You PST2-kick-REC

\*d) Pō kòlōōsī  
Pō kò-lōō-sī  
They PST2-praise-REC

#### E. the preposition + mbòwōlō

\*C1a) Ngǎ'də kòjíí mbòwōlō.  
Ngǎ'də kò-jíí mbòwōlō  
Ngǎ'də PST2-see REC

\*b) Pǎnzwiē kòlō'sī mbòwōlō  
Pǎ-nzwiē kò-lō'sī mbòwōlō  
c2-woman PST2-show REC

\*c) pèn kòtám mbòwōlō  
pèn kò-tám mbòwōlō  
you PST2-kick REC

\*d) Pō kòlōō mbòwōlō  
Pō kò-lōō mbòwōlō  
They PST2-praise REC

Although none of these constructions bear a reciprocal reading, all of them are grammatically acceptable when consider in a non-reciprocal perspective meaning respectively: a) Ngǎ'də saw each person.” b) The women showed each person.” c) You kicked any person.” d) The praised each person.”

#### 4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates

Following are the only possible reflexives that can be gotten from the constructions.

##### A. The word nā + possessive determiner strategy

C3a) Siāni kòsōh nā ī  
Siāni kò-sōh nā ī  
Siāni PST2-wash body POSS.DET.c3  
“Siāni washed herself.”

##### B. The possessive determiner strategy

b) Ngǎ'də kòkúú tū ī  
Ngǎ'də kò-kúú tū ī  
Ngǎ'də PST2-shave head POSS.DET.c3  
“Ngǎ'də shaved himself.”

##### C. The inherent nature of the verb

c) Mēngùù kòlúú  
Mēngùù kò-lúú  
Girl PST2-cut incidentally  
“The girl cut herself.”



**Comment:** Although this construction in (d) does not have a reflexive reading, a Fe'efe'e speaker will understand it as “Ngǎ'ndə̀ is suffering from malaria.”

\*e) Ngǎ'ndə̀ p̄ōh ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-p̄ōh ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-be afraid OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

**Comment:** This construction could mean Ngǎ'ndə̀ is afraid of a third person.

**- Possessive determiner strategy**

C4a) Ngǎ'ndə̀ pèè khù ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-pèè k<sup>h</sup>ù ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-hate foot POSS.DET. c3  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ hates his foot.”

\* b) John is ashamed of X

c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò nt̄f̄ō khù ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò nt̄f̄ō khù ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ be worry foot POSS.DET. c3  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ worries about his foot.”

\*d) Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò nk̄ó' khù ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò nk̄ó' khù ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ be proud foot POSS-DET. c3”

e) see (c)

**- The “sī” reciprocal strategy**

This strategy cannot work in any of the cases. Therefore, it will not be useful wasting time on.

**-The preposition + mb̄w̄ōl̄ō strategy**

\*C4a) Ngǎ'ndə̀ pèè nd̄ōm mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-pèè nd̄ōm mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-hate REC

\* b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò túfh̄ū ŋk̄ō mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò túfh̄ū ŋk̄ō mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ be shame feel REC

\* c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ k̄p̄ōh mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ k̄p̄ōh mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-worry REC

d) Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò n̄tw̄ō mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̄ò n̄tw̄ō mb̄w̄ōl̄ō  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ be proud REC

e) Ngǎ'ndə vá'sī mbəwə́lɔ̃  
 Ngǎ'ndə ɔ-vá'sī mbəwə́lɔ̃  
 Ngǎ'ndə PRS-trouble REC

**Comment:** If taken from a non reciprocal perspective, the construction would mean “Ngǎ'ndə troubles each of the persons.

**4.1.1.4. Creation and destruction predicates:** Provide examples in addition to (C5) using verbs of creation (e.g., "sew", "make", "form") or destruction (e.g. "kill", "eliminate", "make disappear").

- **word nā “body”+possessive determiner**

C5ai) Pǔ-nzwiē imbōpsī nā jòò  
 Pǔnzwiē ì- mbōp-sī nā jòò  
 c2-woman F0-destroy body c3.POSS.DET  
 “The women will destroy their body (with hard work)”

aii) Pǔ-nzwiē inzī nā jòò  
 Pǔnzwiē ì- nzī nā jòò  
 c2-woman F0-kill body POSS.DET. c3  
 “The women will kill their body (with hard work)”

\* b) mə́fɪŋ lək-wát nā jòò  
 mə́fɪŋ lək-kwát nā jòò  
 machine PST2-build body POSS.DET. c3

- **the preposition + object pronoun strategy**

\*C5a) pǔ-nzwiē insī ndǔm pō  
 pǔ-nzwiē ì-nsī ndǔm pō  
 c2-woman FUT0-spoil PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl

\*b) Mə́fɪŋ kək-wát ndǔm ì  
 Mə́fɪŋ kək-kwát ndǔm ì  
 Machine PST2-build PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

- the “sī” strategy

\*C5a) Mǔnzwiē ló isīsī  
 Mǔ-nzwiē ló ì-sīsī  
 c2-woman FOC FUT0-destroy-REC

\*b) Mə́fɪŋ kək-wát-sī  
 Mə́fɪŋ kək-kwát-sī  
 Machine PST2-build-REC

**- the preposition + mbòwòlò strategy**

\*C5a) m̀ǹz̀wìē isī mbòwòlò  
m̀ǹz̀wìē i-sī ndòm mbòwòlò  
c1-woman FUT-destroy PREP REC

\* b) m̀j̀f̀iŋ inkwātndòm mbòwòlò  
m̀j̀f̀iŋ i-nkwāt ndòm mbòwòlò  
machine FUT0-build PREP REC

4.1.1.5 Verbs of representation: Reflexive versions of these verbs include instances where individuals act on their own behalf, rather than have someone act in their name or for them.

**-The word nā +possessive determiner**

\*C6a) p̀ṑm̀bá' l̀kwá' nā j̀ṑ  
p̀ṑm̀bá' l̀kwá' nā j̀ṑ  
boy PST-think body POSS.DET.c1  
“The boys represented themselves.”

a) \*Ngǎ'ndə̀ ɣə̀ə̀ nũ nā ī  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ɣə̀ə̀ nũ nā ī  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST0-speak thing body POSS-DET.c1

**Comment:** This construction could rather mean that the subject spoke about a third person.

**- the preposition + object pronoun strategy**

\*C6a) p̀ū̀m̀bá' l̀kwá' ndòm p̀ō  
p̀ū̀m̀bá' l̀kwá' ndòm p̀ō  
boy PST2-think PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

**Comment:** This construction could only be meaningful if it supposes that the speaker has already mentioned what he is talking about in a previous sentence. However, even in this case, it cannot have a reflexive reading.

b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ ɣə̀ə̀ nũ mbí í  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ɣə̀ə̀ nũ mbí í  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST0-talk thing PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀ spoke for a him.”

“Him“ here refers to a different person than Ngǎ'ndə̀. Therefore, the construction cannot have a reflexive reading.

**- The possessive pronoun strategy**

\*C6a) p̀ū̀m̀bá' l̀kwá' ỳṑ  
p̀ū̀m̀bá' l̀kwá' ỳṑ  
boy PST2-think POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl



\* b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ lɔ̀yɛ̀ jī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ lɔ̀-yɛ̀ jī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-speak POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

#### 4.1.2 Argument position pairings

##### 4.1.2.1 Subject-indirect object

##### - word nā + possessive determiner

\*C7a) Siāni kɔ̀hɔ̀ njɔ̀' nā ī  
 Siāni kɔ̀-hɔ̀ njɔ̀' nā ī  
 Siāni PST2-give potatoe body POSS.DET.c3

\* b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀lɔ̀'sí pɛ̀'ɛ̀ nā ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-lɔ̀'sí pɛ̀'ɛ̀ nā ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-show house body POSS.DET.c3

##### - The preposition + object pronoun strategy

C7a) Siāni kɔ̀hɔ̀ njɔ̀' mbí í  
 Siāni kɔ̀-hɔ̀ njɔ̀' mbí í  
 Siāni PST2-give potatoe PREP OBJ-PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siāni gave potatoes to him.”

b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀lɔ̀'sí pɛ̀'ɛ̀ mbí í  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-lɔ̀'sí pɛ̀'ɛ̀ mbí í  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-show house to OBJ-PRN-3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ showed the house to him.”

**Comment:** As we can notice, these constructions do not have reflexive reading.

##### - the possessive pronoun strategy

\*C7a) Siāni kɔ̀hɔ̀ ndīī jī  
 Siāni kɔ̀-hɔ̀ ndīī jī  
 Siāni PST2-give gift POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀lɔ̀'sí pɛ̀'ɛ̀ jī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-lɔ̀'sí pɛ̀'ɛ̀ jī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-show house POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

None of the strategies could give reflexive nor reciprocal readings.

For comparison, also provide judgements for the following:

C8a)

##### - word nā + possessive determiner

\*C7a) Siāni kɔ̀hɔ̀ nā ī njɔ̀'  
 Siāni kɔ̀-hɔ̀ nā ī njɔ̀'  
 Siāni PST2-give body POSS.DET.c1 potatoe

\* b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kòlò'sí nā ī pè'ē  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kò-lò'sí nā ī pè'ē  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-show body POSS.DET.c1 house

- **The preposition + object pronoun strategy**

\*C7a) Siāni kòhó mbí í njö'  
 Siāni kò-hó mbí í njö'  
 Siāni PST2-give PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg patatöe  
 "Siāni gave potatoes to him."

\*b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kòlò'sí mbí í pè'ē  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kò-lò'sí mbí í pè'ē  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-show PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg house  
 "Ngǎ'ndə̀ showed the house to him."

**Comment:** As we can notice, these constructions do not have reflexive reading.

- **the possessive pronoun strategy**

\*C7a) Siāni kòhó zī ndii  
 Siāni kò-hó zī ndii  
 Siāni PST2-give POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg gift

\*b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kòlò'sí jī pè'ē  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kò-lò'sí jī pè'ē  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-show POSS.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg house  
 None of the strategies could give reflexive nor reciprocal readings.

**4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments - Give some examples with oblique arguments, in whatever forms your language allows.**

- **the word nā + possessive determiner**

C9a) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kòyö nū nā ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kò-yö nū nā ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-talk think body POSS.DET.c1  
 "Ngǎ'ndə̀ talked about himself."

b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kòsók Siāni nū nā ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kò-sók Siāni nū nā ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-tell Siāni thing body POSS.DET.c1  
 "Ngǎ'ndə̀ told Siāni about him."

**Comment:** This sentence could be polysemic. The "him" here could either refer to the subject with a reflexive meaning or to a third person. In the second case, it does not exhibit reflexivity.

- \* c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀hə̀ nā̀ ɪ̀ ɲwə̀'ni  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-hə̀ nā̀ ɪ̀ ɲwə̀'ni  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-give body POSS.DET.c1 book

**- the preposition + object pronoun strategy**

- C9a) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀yə̀ nǔ ndəm̀ ɪ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-yə̀ nǔ ndəm̀ ɪ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-talk thing PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ talked about himself.”

**Comment:** This strategy does not allow the obtaining of the initial meaning of the sentence. Although it has a reflexive reading, it rather means. The sentence could also mean the subject talked about a third person.

- b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀sək̀ Siāni nǔ ndəm̀ ɪ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-sək̀ Siāni nǔ ndəm̀ ɪ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-tell Siāni thing PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ told Siāni about him.”

It could be about Ngǎ'ndə̀ or Siāni.

- \* c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀hə̀ ndəm̀ ɪ̀ ɲwə̀'ni  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-hə̀ ndəm̀ ɪ̀ ɲwə̀'ni  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-give PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 - **The preposition + mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀**

- \*C9a) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀yə̀ nǔ mbí mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-yə̀ nǔ mbí mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-talk thing PREP REC  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ talked to each one.”

**Comment:** Although the construction is grammatical, it does not express the expected meaning since mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀ here does not refer to the Ngǎ'ndə̀

Dan talked to X.

- \* b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀sək̀ Siāni nǔ ndəm̀ mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-sək̀ Siāni nǔ ndəm̀ mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2.tell Siāni thing PREP REC  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ told Siāni about each one.”

The same observation made above is also valid here.

- \* c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀hə̀ ndəm̀ mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀ ɲwə̀'ni  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kə̀-hə̀ ndəm̀ mbə̀wə̀lɔ̀ ɲwə̀'ni  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-give PREP REC book

**4.1.2.3 Subject-adjunct - Provide some examples of coreference between a subject and an adjunct, e.g., a locative PP**

**- the word nā̀ + possessive pronoun**

\*C10a) Siāni kòjǐí nú njám nā ì  
 Siāni kò-jǐí nú njám nā ì  
 Siāni PST2-see snake Behind body POSS.DET.c1

b) Siāni kòtǝh ā nò nǔ tǝhwú nā ì  
 Siāni kò-tǝh ā nò nǔ tǝhwú nā ì  
 Siāni PST2-call me on thing reading body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siāni called me about a book on herself.”

\*c) Ngǎ’ndə kòlók Siāni nā ì  
 Ngǎ’ndə kò-lók Siāni nā ì  
 Ngǎ’ndə PST2-offend Siāni

\*d) Pòh kòzǐē mbòtò pò nā ì’  
 Pòh kò-zǐē mbòtò pò’ nā ì  
 We PST2-laugh inspite of body POSS.DET.c1

- **The preposition + object pronoun strategy**

C10a) Siāni kòjǐí nú njám ī  
 Siāni kò-jǐí nú njám ī  
 Siāni PST2-see thing PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siāni saw a snake behind her.”

b) Siāni kòtǝh ā nò nǔ tǝhwú ndòm ì  
 Siāni kò-tǝh ā nò nǔ tǝhwú ndòm ì  
 Siāni PST2-call me on thing reading PREP POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siāni called me about a book on herself.”

\*c) Ngǎ’ndə kòlók Siāni ndòm ì  
 Ngǎ’ndə kò-lók Siāni ndòm ì  
 Ngǎ’ndə PST2-offend Siāni PREP POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*d) Pòh kòzǐē mbòtò pò ndòm ì’  
 Pòh kò-zǐē mbòtò pò’ ndòm ì  
 We PST2-laugh inspite of body POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

-**The possessive pronoun strategy**

There is no way to translate any of these constructions in Fe’efe’e. Their translation is excessively awkward.

-**The “sī” strategy**

\*C10a) Siāni kòjǐísī nú njám ī  
 Siāni kò-jǐí-sī nú njám ī  
 Siāni PST2-see RECthing PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*b) Siāni kɔtʃɛhsī ā nɔ̄ nũ tʃɛhwú ndǒm ì  
 Siāni kɔ-tʃɛh-sī ā nɔ̄ nũ tʃɛhwú ndǒm ì  
 Siāni PST2-call REC me on thing reading PREP POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀lɔ̀ksī Siāni ndǒm ì  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-lɔ̀k-sī Siāni ndǒm ì  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-offend REC Siāni PREP POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*d) Pɔ̀h kɔ̀zìē-si mbɔ̀tò pɔ̀ ndǒm ì'  
 Pɔ̀h kɔ̀-zìē REC mbɔ̀tò pɔ̀' ndǒm ì  
 We PST2-laugh in spite of body PREP POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

**-The preposition + mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀**

\*C10a) Siāni kɔ̀jìí nũ njǎm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Siāni kɔ̀-jìí nũ njǎm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Siāni PST2-see thing PREP REC

\*b) Siāni kɔtʃɛh ā nɔ̄ nũ tʃɛhwú ndǒm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Siāni kɔ-tʃɛh ā nɔ̄ nũ tʃɛhwú ndǒm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Siāni PST2-call me on thing reading PREP REC

**Comment:** If taken from a different non reciprocal and reflexive reading, the constructions in (a) and (b) could be grammatically acceptable, meaning respectively “Siāni saw a snake behind everybody” and “Siāni called me about an article on everybody.”

\*c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀lɔ̀k Siāni ndǒm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-lɔ̀k Siāni ndǒm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-offend Siāni PREP REC

\*d) Pɔ̀h kɔ̀zìē mbɔ̀tò pɔ̀ ndǒm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 Pɔ̀h kɔ̀-zìē mbɔ̀tò pɔ̀' ndǒm mbòwɔ̀lɔ̀  
 We PST2-laugh even if body REC

**4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements- Can the strategy be used to indicate coreference between the two non-subject arguments of a verb?.**

**- the word nā + possessive determiner**

C11a) Siāni kɔ̀lɔ̀' sí Púáni nā ì  
 Siāni kɔ̀-lɔ̀' sí Púáni nā ì  
 Siāni PST2-show Púáni body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siāni showed Púáni her body.”

b) Siāni kɔ̀lɔ̀' sí nā ì mbí Púáni  
 Siāni kɔ̀-lɔ̀' sí nā ì mbí Púáni  
 Siāni PST2-show body POSS.DET.c1 PREP Púáni  
 “Siāni showed Púáni her body.”

\*c) Ngǎ'ndə kəhō Púáni nā ì  
 Ngǎ'ndə kə-hō Púáni nā ì  
 Ngǎ'ndə PST2-give Púáni body c1. POSS.DET.c1

\* d) Ngǎ'ndə kəhō nā ì Púáni  
 Ngǎ'ndə kə-hō nā ì Púáni  
 Ngǎ'ndə PST2-give body POSS.DET.c1 Púáni

\*e) Siānī kəté'sī pūmbá' nū nā jòò  
 Siānī kə-té'sī pūmbá' nū nā jòò  
 Siānī PST2-ask boy thing body POSS.DET.c1

f) Siānī kəló'sī pūmbá' nā jòò  
 Siānī kə-ló'sī pūmbá' nā jòò  
 Siānī PST2.show boy body POSS.DET.c1

### - the preposition + object pronoun strategy

\*C11a) Siānī kəlō'sí Púáni mbí í.  
 Siānī kə-lō'sí Púáni mbí í.  
 Siānī PST2-show Púáni OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siānī showed Púáni to himself.”

**Comment:** The construction in (c11a) could be acceptable if it meant that “Siānī showed Púáni to a different person.”

\* b) Siānī kəlō'sí mbí í Púáni.  
 Siānī kə-lō'sí mbí í Púáni.  
 Siānī PST2-show PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg Púáni

\* c) Ngǎ'ndə kəhō Siānī mbí í  
 Ngǎ'ndə kə-hō Siānī mbí í  
 Ngǎ'ndə PST2-give Siānī PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*d) Ngǎ'ndə kəhō mbí í Siānī  
 Ngǎ'ndə kə-hō mbí í Siānī  
 Ngǎ'ndə PST2-give PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg Siānī

e) Siānī kəté' pūmbā' nū ndöm pó  
 Siānī kə-té' pūmbā' nū ndöm pó  
 Siānī PST2-ask boy thing PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siānī asked the boys about themselves/each other.”

f) Siānī kəló'sí pūmbā' mbí pó  
 Siānī kə-ló'sí pūmbā' mbí pó  
 Siānī PST2-show boy PREP OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Siānī showed the boys to them.”

### - The possessive pronoun strategy

There is even no way to sketch out the translation of the constructions with this strategy.

- **the preposition + mbòwòlò strategy**

\*C11a) Sìānì kòlò'sí Púání mbí mbòwòlò  
Sìānì kò-lò'sí Púání mbí mbòwòlò  
Sìānì PST2-show Púání PREP REC  
Sìānì showed Púání to each one

**Comment:** Although the construction is grammatically correct, it does not exhibit reciprocal reading. It goes alike with the sentence in (b).

b) Sìānì kòlò'sí Púání mbí mbòwòlò  
Sìānì kò-lò'sí Púání mbí mbòwòlò  
Sìānì PST2-show Púání PREP REC  
“Sìānì showed Púání to each one.”

\* c) Ngǎ'ndè kòhò Púání mbí mbòwòlò  
Ngǎ'ndè kò-hò Púání mbí mbòwòlò  
Ngǎ'ndè PST2-give Púání PREP REC

\* d) Ngǎ'ndè kòhò mbí mbòwòlò Púání  
Ngǎ'ndè kò-hò mbí mbòwòlò Púání  
Ngǎ'ndè PST2-give PREP REC Púání

e) Ngǎ'ndè kòsók pūmbá' nǔ ndòm mbòwòlò  
Ngǎ'ndè kò-sók pūmbá' nǔ ndòm mbòwòlò  
Ngǎ'ndè PST2-tell boys thing PREP REC  
“Ngǎ'ndè told the boys about themselves.”

f) Ngǎ'ndè kòlò'sí pūmbá' mbí mbòwòlò  
Ngǎ'ndè kò-lò'sí pūmbá' mbí mbòwòlò  
Ngǎ'ndè PST2-show boy PREP REC  
“Sìānì showed the boys to each other.”

**4.1.2.5. Two internal arguments or adjuncts –**

The word *nā* +possessive determiner strategy works well for C12b and C12c. Other strategies are not productive here i.e, they fail.

b) Sìānì kòsók nǔ nā ī mbí Púání  
Sìānì kò-sók nǔ nā ī mbí Púání  
Sìānì PST2 problem body c1.POSS-DET PREP Púání  
“Sìānì talked about her to Púání”

b) Sìānì kòsók Púání nǔ nā ī  
Sìānì kò-sók Púání nǔ nā ī  
Sìānì PST2-tell Púání problem body POSS.DET.c1  
“Sìānì talked to Púání about her.”

#### 4.1.2.6. Clausemate noncoarguments

Possessives - Give examples based on the following sentences, and/or by constructing analogous examples from reflexive sentences from the previous sections. For each of (C13) and (C14), X = Nick.

The sole strategy that works for C13 is the possessive determiner strategy which also works with C14a. For C14a & b make use of the object pronoun strategy.

C13a) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀tʃɛh mɔ̄ ā

Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-tʃɛh mɔ̄ ā  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-call mother POSS-DET.c1  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀ called his mother.”

b) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀kó' tū ī

Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-kó' tū ī  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-climb head POSS-DET.c3  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀ combed his hair.”

c) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀ɣə̀ nǔ mbí nsɔ̄' ì

Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-ɣə̀ nǔ mbí nsɔ̄' ì  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-speak problem PREP boss POSS-DET.c1  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀ told to his boss.”

d) Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀jɔ̄ɔ̄ ɲwɔ̀'ɲì ī ndò ɲkò'

Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-jɔ̄ɔ̄ ɲwɔ̀'ɲì ī ndòm ɲkò'  
Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-put book POSS.DET.c3 PREP table  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀ put his book on the table.”

e) Fù kɔ̀hɔ̄ ndì mbí Ngǎ'ndə̀ ntám lɔ̄' zǐ

Fù kɔ̀-hɔ̄ ndì mbí Ngǎ'ndə̀ ntám lɔ̄' zǐ  
Fù PST2-give prize PREP Ngǎ'ndə̀ in village POSS.DET.c5  
“The king gave Ngǎ'ndə̀ a prize in Ngǎ'ndə̀' s village.”

**Comment** : The sentence in Fe'efe'e might be polysemic. It could either mean the chief's village or Ngǎ'ndə̀' s village.

f) Pūumbā' kɔ̀sɔ́h sī jɔ̄ɔ̄

Pūumbā' kɔ̀-ɔ́h sī jɔ̄ɔ̄  
Boy PST2-wash face POSS-DET.c3  
“The boys washed their face.”

C14a) Mbɔ̄' Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ɲkwé' ī

Mbɔ̄' Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ɲkwé' ī  
Father Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-love OBJ-PRN  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀' s father admires him.”

b) Kwā'sì Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀pɔ̄psī ī

Kwā'sì Ngǎ'ndə̀ kɔ̀-pɔ̄psī ī  
Thought Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-destroy OBJ-PRN  
“Ngǎ'ndə̀' s ambition destroyed him.”



- c) M̄ Ngǎ'ndə̀ kòfén ndū̀' ì  
 M̄ Ngǎ'ndə̀ kò-fén ndū̀' ì  
 Mother Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-sell car POSS.DET.c1  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀' s mother sold his car.”

**Comment:** This construction could also mean that the mother sold her own car.

Only the possessive determiner strategy works with the data in X20

- X20a) pūumbā' kɔ̀jiì ninì jɔ̀ɔ̀  
 pūumbā' kɔ̀-jiì ninì jɔ̀ɔ̀  
 boys PST2-see picture POSS.DET.c1  
 “The boys saw their picture.”

- b) Siāni kòsók pūumbā' nù nò ninì jɔ̀ɔ̀  
 Siāni kò-sók pūumbā' nù nò ninì jɔ̀ɔ̀  
 Siāni PST2-tell boy problem PREP picture POSS.DET.c1  
 “Siāni told the boys about pictures of them”

- c) P̄ngèè kòníóó sí làh ñkám  
 P̄-ngèè kò-níóó sí làh ñkám  
 c2-politician PST2-arrange manner attack  
 “The politicians planned attacks against each other.”

**Comment:** The inherent nature of the verb ñkám, expresses reciprocity in (X20c). It goes alike with (X20d)

- d) P̄ngèè kòkú' sí làh ñkám  
 P̄-ngèè kò-kú' sí làh ñkám  
 c2.politician PST2-show manner attack  
 “The politicians simulated attacks against themselves/them.

#### 4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments

Passivisation is not possible in Fe'efe'e.

#### 4.1.3. Properties of antecedents

##### 4.1.3.1. Pronouns, person and number

Note: It is worth mentioning here that the sole strategies that work with these examples is the object pronoun strategy.

- C16a) N kɔ̀jiì nā à  
 N kɔ̀-jiì nā à  
 I PST2-see body POSS.DET.c1  
 “I saw my body.”

- b) Ò kɔ̀jiì nā ò  
 Ò kɔ̀-jiì nā ò  
 You PST2-see body POSS.DET.c1  
 “You saw your body.”

You saw X. (etc.)

Repeat with the following sentences, or other suitable examples from section 4.1.1.  
I shall immediately apply the strategy (ies) that work(s) with each example on.

C17a) N kòsòh nā à

N kò-sòh nā à  
I P2-wash body POSS.DET.c1  
“I washed my body.”

b) Ngǔ pèè túnā à

Ngǔ ø-pèè túnā à  
I PRS-hate body POSS.DET.c1  
“I hate myself.”

c) N kòsók Ngǎ’ndè nǔ nā à

N kò-sók Ngǎ’ndè nǔ nā à  
I PST2-tell Ngǎ’ndè problem body OBJ.PRN.1<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“I told Ngǎ’ndè about me.”

d) N kɔjɪ nū púh nkàk à

N kɔ-jɪ nū ɲgàk à  
I PST2-see snake near OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
“I saw a snake near me.”

e) Ngǔ ø-kwè’ ā

Ngǔ ø-kwè’ ā  
I PRS-like OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
“I am liked by myself.”

f) N kòtʃɛh mōvō ò

N kò-tʃɛh mōvō ò  
I PST2-call mother POSS.DET.c1  
“I telephoned my mother.”

g) Mbō’ ò ɲwāmsī nā ì

Mbō’ ò ø-ɲwāmsī nā ì  
Father c1.POSS-DET PRS-admire body POSS.DET.c1  
“My father admires himself.”

#### 4.1.3.2 Animacy or humanity-

This does not work in Fe’efe’e.

#### 4.1.3.3 Pronoun types -

Not applicable in Fe’efe’e

#### 4.1.3.4 Quantifiers -

The strategy that works with each of the example will be directly applied on that example.

? C19a) Mbò jǎā mǎnzwiē lǒ kǒjǐ nǐ

Mbò jǎā mǎnzwiē lǒ kǒjǐ nǐ

“Every woman saw herself (in the mirror).”

C19a sounds awkward because the culture does not accept that one sees himself.

b) Mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kǒsǒh nǎ ì

Mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kǒ-sǒh nǎ ì

Every child FOC PST2-wash body POSS.DET.c1

“Every child washed himself (his body)”.

c) Mbòtò jǎā yà’ηwǒjǐ lǒ ø-pèè nǐ

Mbòtò jǎā yà’ηwǒjǐ lǒ ø-pèè nǎ ì

Every student FOC PRS-hate body POSS.DET.c1

“Every student hates his body.

d) Mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kǒjǐí nū ηgāk ī

Mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kǒ-jǐí nū ηgāk ī

Every child FOC PST2-see snake near OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“ Every child saw a snake near him.”

e) Mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kǒtǒfǐh mǒ ā

Mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kǒ-tǒfǐh mǒ ā

Every child FOC PST2-call mother POSS.DET.c1

“Every child telephoned his mother.”

f) Mbǒ’ mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ kwē

Mbǒ’ mbòtò jǎā mūū lǒ ø-kwē mǒ ā

Father every child FOC PRS-call mother POSS-DET.c1

“Every child's father admires him.”

Repeat, replacing the quantifier "Every N" with "No N", and if any quantified antecedents behave differently from these, please provide the same paradigm.

? C19a) Mbò jǎā mǎnzwiē lǒ kǒjǐ nǐ

Mbò jǎā mǎnzwiē lǒ kǒjǐ nǐ

“Every woman saw herself (in the mirror).”

C19a sounds awkward because the culture does not accept that one sees himself.

b) Sǒ mūū kǒsǒh nǎ ì

Sǒ mūū kǒ-sǒh nǎ ì

no child PST2-wash body POSS.DET. c1

“No child washed himself (his body)”.

c) Sə ʔà'ŋwòŋi lɔ̃ ø-pèè nī  
 Sə ʔà'ŋwòŋi ø-pèè nā i  
 No student PRS-hate body POSS.DET.c1  
 “No student hates his body.”

d) Sə mūū kòjii nū ŋgāk ī  
 Sə mūū kò-jii nū ŋgāk ī  
 Nochild PST2-see snake near OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “No child saw a snake near him.”

e) Sə mūū lɔ̃ kòtʃeh mō ā  
 Sə mūū kò-tʃeh mō ā  
 No child PST2-call mother POSS.DET.c1  
 “No child telephoned his mother.”

f) Mbɔ̃' sə mūū lɔ̃ kwē  
 Mbɔ̃' sə mūū lɔ̃ ø-kwē mō ā  
 Father no child ADV PRS-call mother POSS.DET.c1  
 “No child's father admires him.”

#### 4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents

There is no way to translate C20 in Fe'efe'e.

#### 4.1.3.6 Reverse binding -

The examples in C21 are awkward and translating them into Fe'efe'e will be impossible. This is also true of C22.

#### 4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

##### 4.1.4.1 Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

C23) Pǎnzīē ŋkōsī nā jɔ̃ɔ̃  
 Pǎ-nzīē ø-ŋkōsī nā jɔ̃ɔ̃  
 c2-woman PRS-help body POSS.DET.c1  
 “The women help themselves.”

C24a,b,e & f are not possible.

C24 c) Mbɔ̃tò jāā mǎnzīē lɔ̃ ø-kōsī mbɔ̃ndò' mō' mɔ̃k mō' pǎnzīē  
 Mbɔ̃tò jāā mǎ-nzīē lɔ̃ ø-kōsī mbɔ̃ndò' mō' mɔ̃k mō' pǎ-nzīē  
 Each c1-woman ADV PRS-help at least some other c2.woman  
 “Each woman helps at least some of the other women.”

d) Mbɔ̃tò jāā mǎnzīē lɔ̃ ø-kōsī tūnā i  
 Mbɔ̃tò jāā mǎ-nzīē lɔ̃ ø-kōsī tūnā i  
 Each c1-woman ADV PRS-held body POSS.DET.c1  
 “Each woman helps herself.”

C25a) pǎnzwīē kòlōō nā jòò  
 pǎ-nzwīē kò-lōō nā jòò  
 c2-woman PST2-praise body POSS.DET.c1  
 “The women praised themselves.”

b) pǎnzwīē intūsī nā jòò  
 pǎ-nzwīē i-ntūsī nā jòò  
 c2-woman FUT-support body POSS.DET.c1  
 “The women will support themselves.”

c) pǎnzwīē kòláh nìni jòò  
 pǎ-nzwīē kò-láh nìni jòò  
 c2-woman PST2-take image POSS.DET.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “The women photographed themselves/ each other.”

d) pǎnzwīē lòfén nā jòò  
 pǎ-nzwīē lò-fén nā jòò  
 c2-woman PST2-sell body POSS.DET.c1  
 “The women betrayed each other/ themselves.”

#### 4.1.4.2 Reciprocal readings

a) Which of the following verbs can the strategy be applied to?  
 The the verb “see” works well with the “sī” reciprocal strategy.

C26a. Pǎnzwīē kòjísī  
 Pǎ-nzwīē kò-jíi-sī  
 c1-woman PST2-see REC  
 “The women saw each other.”

The verb “see” still works very well with the “sī” strategy for 26b.

C27. Ndǎntù pí Ngǎ’ndò kòjísī  
 Ndǎntù pí Ngǎ’ndò kò-jíi-sī  
 Ndǎntù and Ngǎ’ndò PST2-see-REC  
 “Ndǎntù and Ngǎ’ndò saw each other.”

There is no difference in the range of interpretations permitted for (C28a) as opposed to (C28b), nor any difference in reciprocal strategies that support these interpretations.

Remarks: *In some languages, a different reciprocal is favored or required when the antecedent phrase refers to pairs (or perhaps distributed groups) rather than large pluralities.*

d) Can the strategy express reciprocity between a subject and an indirect object?  
 This is only possible Fe’efe’e with C29b.

C29 b) Ngǎ’ndò pí Siáni kòjīisī  
 Ngǎ’ndò pí Siáni kò-jīi- sī  
 Ngǎ’ndò and Siáni PST2-see- REC  
 “Ngǎ’ndò and Siáni met with each other.”

c) Long-distance reciprocal readings - For any of the strategies that permit a reciprocal reading, can the following sentence be translated to mean "Bill thinks he likes Mary, and Mary thinks she likes Bill"?

The verb used in the following (c30) corresponds to the strategy marked by the internal nature of the verb in Fe'efe'e. consequently, it provides us with reciprocal reading in the constructions.

C30) Ngǎ'ndə́ pí Siáni ñká' mɔ́ pɔ́ ñkwé'ní  
 Ngǎ'ndə́ pí Siáni ø-ñkwá' mɔ́ pɔ́ ñkwé'ní  
 Ngǎ'ndə́ and Siáni HAB-think that they like  
 “Ngǎ'ndə́ Siáni think that they like each other.”

#### 4.1.4.3 Sociative readings

*Please translate these sentences, more than one way, if possible. Please be sure to let us know if an of the reciprocal or reflexive strategies can be used to achieve these readings.*

The sentences could only be translated in one possible way. Neither the reflexive nor the reciprocal strategy could be used to achieve the readings.

C31a) ɔ́kē kɔ́ kwéé ndɔ́  
 ɔ́kē kɔ́ kwéé ndɔ́  
 Baboon PST2 together leave  
 “The baboons left together.”

b) ɔ́kē kɔ́ kwéé m̄fāt mbiè  
 ɔ́kē kɔ́ kwéé m̄fāt mbiè  
 Baboon PST2 together eat fish  
 “The baboons ate fish together.”

#### 4.1.4.4 Antipassive readings

C32a) Nɔ́wiè bāā lɔ́ nsíá pù.  
 Nɔ́wiè bāā lɔ́ ø-nsíá pù.  
 Panther that ADV HAB-eat people  
 “That panther bites people.”

b) Ngǔmnə́ ñgúú pù  
 Ngǔmnə́ ø-ñgúú pù  
 Government HAB-arrest people  
 “The government arrests people.”

c) Ngǎ'ndə́ n̄dɔ́ pù  
 Ngǎ'ndə́ ø-n̄dɔ́ pù  
 Ngǎ'ndə́ HAB-praise people  
 “Ngǎ'ndə́ praises people.”

## 4.2 Cross-clausal binding

### 4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

#### 4.2.1.1 Tensed complement, long distance relations, anaphor in situ - Please provide

translations for all of these sentences where X is Jack.

D1a) **Subject pronoun**

Ngǎ'ndə̀ k̀lén m̀ó á z̄ĩnù  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ k̀-łén m̀ó á z̄ĩnù  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PST2-say that he be inteeligent  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ said that he is smart.”

b) **object pronoun**

Ngǎ'ndə̀ z̄ĩ m̀ó Ndǎntù kwě' ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-z̄ĩ m̀ó Ndǎntù kwě' ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-know that Ndǎntù like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ knows that Ndǎntù likes him.”

c) **Subject pronoun**

Ngǎ'ndə̀ z̄ĩ m̀ó Ndǎntù lén m̀ó á á z̄ĩnù  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-z̄ĩ m̀ó Ndǎntù ø-lén m̀ó á z̄ĩnù  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-know that Ndǎntù PST0-say that he be smart  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ knows that Ndǎntù said that he is smart.”

d) **Object pronoun**

Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ŋkwá' m̀ó Siāni z̄ĩ m̀ó Ngǎnkám kwě' ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ŋkwá' m̀ó Siāni ø-z̄ĩ m̀ó Ngǎnkám ø-kwě' ī  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-think that Siāni PRS-know that Ngǎnkám PRS-like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ thinks that Siāni knows that Ngǎnkám likes him.”

e) **Subject pronoun**

Ngǎ'ndə̀ ŋkwá' m̀ó Siāni z̄ĩ m̀ó kwě' ă Ngǎnkām  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ ø-ŋkwá' m̀ó Siāni ø-z̄ĩ m̀ó ă ø-kwě' Ngǎnkām  
 Ngǎ'ndə̀ PRS-think that Siāni PRS-know that he PRS-like Ngǎnkām  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ thinks that Siāni knows that he likes Ngǎnkām.”

f) **Object Pronoun**

Púáni k̀sók Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̀ó Siāni kwě' ī  
 Púáni k̀-łók Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̀ó Siāni ø-kwě' ī  
 Púáni PST2-tell Ngǎ'ndə̀ that Siāni PRS-like  
 “Púáni told Ngǎ'ndə̀ that Lisa loves her.

g) **Subject pronoun**

Púáni k̀sók Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̀ó á kwě' Siāni  
 Púáni k̀-łók Ngǎ'ndə̀ m̀ó á ø-kwě' Siāni  
 Púáni PST2-tell Ngǎ'ndə̀ that he PRS-like Siāni  
 “Púáni told Ngǎ'ndə̀ that he loves Siāni.”

There is no semantic distinction.

D2a) Ngǎndə̀ k̀pén m̀ó Siāni ló'ŋkwé' ī  
 Ngǎndə̀ k̀-łén m̀ó Siāni ló'ŋkwé' ī  
 Ngǎndə̀ PST2-asmit that Siāni PST3-love OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndə̀ admitted that Siāni loved him.”

b) Ngǎndè kòkwásí mɔ́ Siāni lɔ́-ɲkwé' ɪ  
 Ngǎndè kò-kwásí mɔ́ Siāni lɔ́-ɲkwé' ɪ  
 Ngǎndè PST2-think that Siāni PST3-love OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndè suspected that Siāni loved him.”

D3a) Ngǎndè kɔ́lɔ́' Siāni ntiē' Ngǎ'kò lɔ́ kàh lí lɔ́  
 Ngǎndè kɔ́-lɔ́' Siāni ntiē' Ngǎ'kò lɔ́-kàh lí lɔ́  
 Ngǎndè PST2-complain Siāni when Ngǎ'kò PST2-blame OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV  
 “Ngǎ'ndè complained about Siāni when Ngǎ'kò blamed her.”

b) Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́pánjám bèè ntiē' à lɔ́pwɔ́ lɔ́  
 Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́-pánjám bèè ntiē' à lɔ́-pwɔ́ lɔ́  
 Ngǎ'ndè PST2-return home when he PST2-became tired ADV  
 “Ngǎ'ndè returned home when he became tired.”

?c) Ntiē' Siāni lɔ́-ɲwɔ́' mbí í lɔ́, Ngǎ'kò kɔ́pánjám bèè  
 Ntiē' Siāni lɔ́-ɲwɔ́' mbí í lɔ́, Ngǎ'kò kɔ́-pánjám bèè  
 When Siāni PST2-write to him ADV Ngǎ'kò PST2-return home  
 “When Siāni wrote to him, Ngǎ'kò returned home.”

d) Ngǎ'kò kɔ́lɔ́ sɪ Siāni jɪ nɪ  
 Ngǎ'kò kɔ́-lɔ́ sɪ Siāni jɪ nɪ  
 Ngǎ'kò PST2-leave without Siāni see him  
 “Ngǎ'kò left without Siāni seeing him.”

e) Siāni kɔ́pɔ́sɪ Ngǎ'ndè sɪ jɪ nɪ  
 Siāni kɔ́-pɔ́sɪ Ngǎ'ndè sɪ jɪ nɪ  
 Siāni PST2-condemn Ngǎ'ndè without see him  
 “Siāni condemned Ngǎ'ndè without meeting him.”

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

##### D4a) Subject pronoun

Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́lén mbí Ndǎntù mɔ́ á pēn jì nù.  
 Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́-lén mbí Ndǎntù mɔ́ á pēn jì nù.  
 Ngǎ'ndè PST2-say to Ndǎntù that SUBJ-PRN accept his problem.  
 “Ngǎ'ndè asked Ngǎ'ndè to trust him.”

##### b) Object / Independent pronoun

Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́lén mbí Ndǎntù mɔ́ á hɔ́ ɲwɔ́'ni mbí ɪ.  
 Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́-lén mbí Ndǎntù mɔ́ á hɔ́ ɲwɔ́'ni mbí ɪ.  
 Ngǎ'ndè PST2-stell to Ndǎntù that he give book to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndè asked Ndǎntù to give a book to him.”

##### c) Object pronoun

Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù mɔ́ nù mbí ɪ.  
 Ngǎ'ndè kɔ́-lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù yě nù mbí ɪ.  
 Ngǎ'ndè PST2-say that Ndǎntù talk problem to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ngǎ'ndè asked Ndǎntù to talk to him.”



d) **word nā + possessive determiner**

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù mɔ́ nù nā ì.

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀-lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù mɔ́ nù nā ì

Ngǎ'ndə PST2-tell that Ndǎntù that problem body POSS.DET.c1

“Ngǎ'ndə asked Ndǎntù to talk about him.”

e) Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀píɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù pēn jì nù

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀-píɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù pēn jì nù

Ngǎ'ndə PST2-expect that Ndǎntù accept his problem

“Ngǎ'ndə expected Ndǎntù to trust him.”

f) **possessive determiner**

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù tʃɔ́ ɲkhù mǐ

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀-lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù tʃɔ́ ɲkhù mǐ

Ngǎ'ndə PST2-tell that Ndǎntù root up feet POSS.DET.c6

“Ngǎ'ndə ordered Ndǎntù to pay him.”

g) **Subject pronoun**

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù lēn mɔ́ á ló' nɔ́ɪnù

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀-lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù lēn mɔ́ á ló' nɔ́ɪnù

Ngǎ'ndə PST2-tell that Ndǎntù say that he PST3-be smart

“Ngǎ'ndə ordered Ndǎntù to say that he was smart.”

h) Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù lēn mɔ́ Siāni ló' nkwé' ī

Ngǎ'ndə kɔ̀-lén mɔ́ Ndǎntù lēn mɔ́ Siāni ló' nkwé' ī

Ngǎ'ndə PST2-tell that ndǎntù say that Siāni PST3-love OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“Ngǎ'ndə ordered Ndǎntù to say that Siāni loved him.”

\*D5a) Ngǎ'ndə m̀mbìɔ́ mǐ làh zɔ́

Ngǎ'ndə m̀-mbìɔ́ mǐ làh zɔ́

Ngǎ'ndə PRS-wait OBJ.PRN manner win

b) Ngǎ'ndə m̀mbìɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī

Ngǎ'ndə m̀-mbìɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī

Ngǎ'ndə PROG-expect that Ndǎntù beat IND/OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“Ngǎ'ndə expects Ndǎntù to defeat him.”

\*D6a) m̀mbìɔ́ mǐ làh zɔ́

Éngà' m̀-mbìɔ́ mǐ làh zɔ́

Éngà' PRS-wait OBJ.PRN manner win

b) Éngà' m̀mbìɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī

Éngà' m̀-mbìɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī

Éngà' PROG-expect that Ndǎntù beat IND/OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“Éngà' expects Ndǎntù to defeat him.”

#### D8a) Subject pronoun

Ngǎndè ñkwásí mǒ á zīnù

Ngǎndè ø-ñkwásí mǒ á zīnù

Ngǎndè HAB-think that SUB/IND.PRN be intelligent

“Ngǎndè considers him intelligent.”

#### b) object pronoun

Ngǎndè ñkwásí mǒ Siāni kwē' ī

Ngǎndè ø-ñkwásí mǒ Siāni kwē' ī

Ngǎndè HAB-think that Siāni love OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“Ngǎ'ndè considers Mary fond of him.”

#### c) object pronoun

Ngǎ'ndè ø-ñkwásí mǒ Siāni ñdzā' nthú mbí ī

Ngǎ'ndè ø-ñkwásí mǒ Siāni ñdzā' nthú mbí ī

Ngǎ'ndè HAB-think that Siāni be angry to OBJ-PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“Ngǎ'ndè considers Mary angry at him.”

### 4.2.3 Backwards anaphora

The independent pronoun or subject pronoun “a” used here does not refer to Éngà'. Therefore, backward anaphora is not possible in Fe'efe'e.

\* D9a) Mvák à kòtǵh ló lǒvá'sí Éngà'

Mvák à kò-tǵh ló lǒ-vá'sí Éngà'

That he PST-be late ADV PST2-upset Éngà'

“That he was late upset Éngà'.”

\* b) Mvák à kòtǵh ló kòlǒ'sí mǒ Éngà' tǵó ntǵà'

Mvák à kòtǵh ló kò-lǒ'sí mǒ Éngà' tǵó ntǵà'

That he PST2-be late ADV PST2-show that Éngà' fall problem

“That he was late suggested that Éngà' was guilty.”

\*c) Mvák à kòtǵh ló kòyú Éngà' lǒh pǒ' á tǵó ntǵà' ló

Mvák à kò-tǵh ló kò-yú Éngà' lǒh pǒ' á tǵó ntǵà' ló

That he PST2-be late ADV PST2-make Éngà' look as if he fall problem

“That he was late made Éngà' look guilty.”

\*d) Mvák Éngà' kòtǵh ló kònh Éngà' ntám nù

Mvák Éngà' kò-tǵh ló kò-nh í ntám nù

That Éngà' PST2-be late PST2-put him inside problem

“That he was late implicated Éngà'.”

### Section 4.3 Principle C-type effects

In none of the sentences, the pronoun refers to Malik or to the boy.

\*E1a) À kòtǵiáá mbià ndǒm Malik.

À kò-tǵiáá mbià ndǒm Malik.

He PST2-select filth on Malik

“He criticized Malik.”

\* b) À kòlén mǒ Mariam tǵiáá mbià ndǒm Malik.

À kò-lén mǒ Mariam tǵiáá mbià ndǒm Malik.

He PST2-say that Mariam select filth on Malik  
“He said Mariam criticized Malik”.

\*c) À kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā'  
À kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā'  
He PST2-select filth on boys  
“He criticized the boy.”

\*d) À kòlén mɔ́ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
À kò-lén mɔ́ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
He PST2-say that Mariam PST2-select filth on boy  
“He said Mariam criticized the boy.”

The possessive adjective here does not refer to Malik.

\*E2a) M̄ à kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik.  
M̄ à kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik.  
Mother his PST2-select filth on Malik  
“His mother criticized Malik.”

\* b) M̄ à kòlén Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik.  
M̄ à kò-lén Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik.  
Mother his PST2-say Mariam PST2-select filth on Malik  
“His mother said Mariam criticized Malik.”

c) M̄ à kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
m̄ à kò-lén mɔ́ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
mother his He PST2-say that Mariam PST2-select filth on boy  
“His mother criticized the boy.”

d) M̄ à kòlén Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'.  
M̄ à kò-lén Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'.  
Mother his PST2-say Mariam PST2-select filth on mūumbā'  
“His mother said Mariam criticized the boy.”

E3\*a) Mbā' jì á kwè' ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
Mbā' jì á kwè' ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik.  
Man REL he like ADV PST2-select filth on Malik  
“The man who he liked criticized Malik”

\*b) Mbā' jì á kwè' ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
Mbā' jì á kwè' ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'.  
Man REL he like ADV PST2-select filth on mūumbā'  
“The man who he liked criticized the boy.”

\*c) Mbā' kó kwè' ī ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
Mbā' kó kwè' ī ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'.  
Man REL like him ADV PST2-select filth on mūumbā'  
“The man who liked him criticized the boy.”

In E3, the pronoun does refer to Malik.

- \*E4a) À kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
À kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
He PST2-select filth on Malik  
“He criticized Malik”
- \* b) À kòlén mɔ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
À kò-lén mɔ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
He PST2-say that Mariam PST2-select filth on Malik  
Malik said Mariam criticized Malik.  
“
- c) Pō kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā’  
Pō kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā’  
They PST2-select filth on boys  
“The boy criticized the boy.”
- \* d) pō kòlén mɔ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
they kò-lén mɔ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
He PST2-say that Mariam PST2-select filth on mūumbā’  
“The boy said Mariam criticized the boy.”

In E4, the pronoun does not refer to Malik or to the boy.

- \* E5a) Mō à kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
Mō à kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
He her PST2-select filth on Malik  
“Malik’s mother criticized Malik.”
- \* b) Mō à kòlén mɔ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
Mō à kò-lén mɔ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
He her PST2-say filth Mariam PST2-select filth on Malik  
“Malik’s mother said Mariam criticized Malik.”
- \*c) Mō jɔɔ kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā’  
Mō jɔɔ kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā’  
He their PST2-select filth on pūumbā’  
“The boy’s mother criticized the boy.”
- \* d) Mō jɔɔ kòlén mɔ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
Mō jɔɔ kò-lén mɔ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
He her PST2-say that Mariam PST2-select filth on mūumbā’  
“The boy’s mother said Mariam criticized the boy.”

In E5, the possessive does not refer to boy.

- E6a) Mbā’ jì ā kwē’ ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
Mbā’ jì ā kwē’ ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
Man REL he like ADV PST2-select filth on Malik  
“The man who he liked criticized Malik.”

b) Mbā' jì pò kwē' ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā'  
 Mbā' jì pò kwē' ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā'  
 Man REL they like ADV PST2-select filth on pūumbā'  
 "The man who the boy liked criticized the boy."

\*c) Mbā' kō kòkwē' jōō ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā'  
 Mbā' kō kò-kwē' jōō ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm pūumbā'  
 Man REL PST2-like them ADV PST2-select filth on pūumbā'  
 "The man who liked them criticized the boy."

In E6, the reference for the pronoun is neither Malik or the boy.

Now consider whether the boy = Malik for the following examples

E7a) mūumbá' kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mūumbá' kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 boy PST2-select filth on Malik  
 "the boy criticized Malik."

b) Mūumbá' kòlén mǒ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mūumbá' kòlén mǒ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Man PST2-select that Mariam PST2-filth filth on Malik  
 "The boy said Mariam criticized Malik."

\*c) Malik kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
 Malik kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
 Malik PST2-select filth on boy  
 "Malik criticized the boy."

\*d) Malik kòlén Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
 Malik kò-lén Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā'  
 Malik PST2-select Mariam PST-select filth on boy  
 "Malik said Mariam criticized the boy."

In the preceding constructions in (E7), Malik cannot work as

E8a) Mō à mūumbá' kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mō à mūumbá' kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mother his boy PST2-boy filth on Malik  
 "The boy's mother criticized Malik."

b) Mō à mūumbá' kòlén mǒ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mō à mūumbá' kò-lén mǒ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mother his boy PST2-boy that Mariam PST2-select filth on Malik  
 "The boy's mother said Mariam criticized Malik."

\*c) Mō à Malik kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mō à Malik kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mother his Malik PST2-select filth on Malik  
 “Malik’s mother criticized the boy.”

\* d) Mō Malik kòlén mǒ Mariam kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mō Malik kò-lén mǒ Mariam kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mother Malik PST2-say that Mariam PST2-select filth on Malik  
 “Malik’s mother said Mariam criticized the boy.”

**Comment:** In Fe’efe’e, in the preceding sentences (E8a-E8b), the boy can never be Malik in any discourse circumstance

E9a) Mbā’ jì mūumbā’ kwē’ ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mbā’ jì mūumbā’ kwē’ ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Man REL boy like ADV PST2-select filth on Malik  
 “The man who the boy liked criticized Malik.”

\* b) Mbā’ jì Malik kwē’ ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
 Mbā’ jì Malik kwē’ ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
 Man REL Malik like ADV PST2-select filth on boy  
 “The man who Malik liked criticized the boy.”

\* c) Mbā’ kó kwē’ Malik ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
 Mbā’ kó kwē’ Malik ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm mūumbā’  
 Man REL like Malik ADV PST2-select filth on boy  
 “The man who liked Malik criticized the boy.”

\*d) Mbā’ kó kwē’ mūumbā’ ló kòtʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Mbā’ kó kwē’ mūumbā’ ló kò-tʃiáá mbià ndòm Malik  
 Man REL like Malik ADV PST2-select filth on Malik  
 “The man who liked the boy criticized Malik.”

Even in (E9), whatever the discourse context, the boy can never be Malik.

#### 4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies

No special pronoun as logophor in Fe’efe’e.

##### 4.4.1 Position of the antecedent

D11a) Larry kòlén mbí Zeke mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
 Larry kò-lén mbí Zeke mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
 Larry PST2-tell to Zeke that Mike NEG like him  
 “Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like him.”

b) Zeke kòlén mbí Larry mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
 Zeke kò-lén mbí Larry mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
 Zeke PST2-tell to Larry that Mike NEG like him  
 “Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like him.”

c) Zeke kòlén mbí Larry mó à kò' kwé'  
 Zeke kò-lén mbí Larry mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Zeke PST2-tell to Larry that à NEG like Mike  
 "Zeke told Larry that he does not like Mike."

d) Larry kòlén mbí Zeke mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Larry kò-lén mbí Zeke mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Larry PST2-tell to Zeke that à NEG like Mike  
 "Larry told Zeke that X does not like Mike."

e) Larry zí mó Zeke kwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Larry ø-zí mó Zeke kwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Larry PRS-know that Zeke think that Mike NEG like him  
 "Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him."

f) Zeke zí mó Larry kwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Zeke ø-zí Larry mó kwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Zeke PRS-know Larry that think that Mike NEG like OBJ-PRN-3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Zeke knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him."

D12a) Mō à Zeke ñkwásí mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Mō à Zeke ø-ñkwásí mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Mother his Zeke PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ-PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Zeke's mother thinks that Mike does not like him."

b) Mō à Zeke ñkwásí mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Mō à Zeke ø-ñkwásí mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Mother his Zeke PRS-think that he NEG like Mike  
 "Zeke's mother thinks that X does not like Mike."

c) Zeke ñkwásí mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Zeke ø-ñkwásí mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Zeke PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him."

d) ñwò'ñí Zeke kòlén mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 ñwò'ñí Zeke kòlén mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 letter Zeke PST2-say that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Zeke's letter said that Mike does not like him."

e) Zeke kòjú' mó Mary kò' kwé' ī  
 Zeke kò-jú' mó Mary kò' kwé' ī  
 Zeke PST2-hear that Mary NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Zeke heard that Mary did not like him."

f) pō òsók Zeke mó Mary kò' kwé' ī  
 pō ò-sók Zeke mó Mary kò' kwé' ī  
 they PST2-tell Zeke that Mary NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

“Zeke was told that Mary did not like him.”

D13a) Zeke kòlén mǒ à kòsò ndhí nā ī  
Zeke kò-lén mǒ à kò-só ndhí nā ī  
Zeke PST2-tell that he PST2-dress body POSS.DET.c1  
“Zeke said that he had dressed himself.”

b) Zeke kòlén mǒ à kòkhūb’ khù ī  
Zeke kò-lén mǒ à kò-khūb’ khù ī  
Zeke PST2-tell that he PST2-wound foot POSS.DET.c1  
“Zeke said that he had wounded himself.”

c) Zeke kòlén mǒ à kòkhūb’ lèn nā ī  
Zeke kò-lén mǒ à kò-khūb’ lèn nā ī  
Zeke PST2-tell that he PST2-scarify mark body POSS.DET.c1  
“Zeke said that he had tatoed himself.”

#### 4.4.2 Antecedent properties

**4.4.2.1. Person** Please replace Zeke in the Zeke paradigm of 4.4.1 with first and second person pronouns, and report the results. Even if most of the examples pattern exactly as third person cases do, please be careful to include sentences corresponding to (D13) in the Zeke paradigm.

D11a) Larry kòlén mbí í mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
Larry kò-lén mbí í mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
Larry PST2-tell to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg that Mike NEG like him  
“Larry told him that Mike does not like him.”

b) À kòlén mbí larry mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
À kò-lén mbí larry mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PST2-tell to Larry that Mike NEG like him  
“He told Larry that Mike does not like him.”

c) À kòlén mbí larry mǒ à kò’ kwé’  
À kò-lén mbí larry mǒ à kò’ kwé’ Mike  
IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PST2-tell to Larry that à NEG like Mike  
“He told Larry that he does not like Mike.”

d) Larry kòlén mbí í mǒ à kò’ kwé’ Mike  
Larry kò-lén mbí í mǒ à kò’ kwé’ Mike  
Larry PST2-tell to OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg that à NEG like Mike  
“Larry told him that he does not like Mike.”

e) Larry zí mǒ á kwà’sì mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
Larry ø-zí mǒ á kwà’sì mǒ Mike kò’ kwé’ ī  
Larry PRS-know that IND.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg think that Mike NEG like him  
“Larry knows that he thinks that Mike does not like him.”



f) Ǻ zí mǒ Larry kwà'sì mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 Ǻ ø-zí Larry mǒ kwà'sì mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg PRS-know Larry that think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “He knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him.”

\* D12a) Mǒ à Zeke ŋkwási mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 Mǒ à Zeke ø-ŋkwási mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 Mother his Zeke PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

\*b) Mǒ à Zeke ŋkwási mǒ à kǒ' kwé' Mike  
 Mǒ à Zeke ø-ŋkwási mǒ à kǒ' kwé' Mike  
 Mother his Zeke PRS-think that he NEG like Mike

**Comment:** The replacement of Zeke by a pronoun in the constructions in (\*D12a & b) above will really sound awkward.

c) Ǻ ŋkwási mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 Ǻ ø-ŋkwási mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 IND.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “He thinks that Mike does not like him.”

\* d) ŋwǒ'ñí à kǒlén mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 ŋwǒ'ñí à kǒlén mǒ Mike kǒ' kwé' ī  
 letter à PST2-say that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg

**Comment:** The sentence in (\*d) is ungrammatical in Fe'efe'e

e) Ǻ kǒjú' mǒ Mary kǒ' kwé' ī  
 Ǻ kǒ-jú' mǒ Mary kǒ' kwé' ī  
 IND-PRN-1<sup>st</sup>.sg PST2-hear that Mary NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Hee heard that Mary did not like him.”

a) pǒ lǒsók í mǒ Mary kǒ' kwé' ī  
 pǒ lǒ-sók í mǒ Mary kǒ' kwé' ī  
 they PST2-tell OBJ-PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg that Mary NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “He was told that Mary did not like him.”

D13a) Ǻ kǒlén mǒ à kǒsǒ ndhí nā ī  
 Ǻ kǒ-lén mǒ à kǒ-sǒ ndhí nā ī  
 IND-PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg PST2-tell that he PST2-dress body POSS.DET.c1  
 “He said that he had dressed himself.”

b) Ǻ kǒlén mǒ à kǒkhǔǒ' khù ī  
 Ǻ kǒ-lén mǒ à kǒ-khǔǒ' khù ī  
 IND-PRN1<sup>st</sup>.sg that he PST2-wound foot POSS.DET.c3  
 “He said that he had wounded himself.”

c) Ǻ kǒlén mǒ à kǒkhǔǒ' lèn nā ī  
 Ǻ kǒ-lén mǒ à kǒ-khǔǒ' lèn nā ī  
 IND-PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg PST2-tell that he PST2-scarify mark body POSS.DET.c1

“He said that he had tattooed himself.”

Comment: In most of the examples presented above, except those with an asterisk (\*) the anaphor is to be construed with “he”.

#### 4.4.2.2 Quantified antecedents

##### A- Jack paradigm and “every child”

D1a) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kòlén mó á zīnù  
Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kò-lén mó á zīnù  
Every child ADV PST2-say that IND-PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg be intelligent  
“Every child said that he is smart.”

b) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō zī mó Georges kwě’ ī  
Mbòtòjāā mūū lō zī mó Georges kwě’ ī  
Every child ADV know that Georges like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Every child knows that George likes him.”

c) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō zī mó Bill ø-γə mó á zīnù  
Mbòtòjāā mūū lō zī mó Bill ø-γə mó á zīnù  
Every child ADV know that Bill PRS-say that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be smart  
“Every child knows that Bill said that he is smart.”

d) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kwà’sì mó Lisa z mó á zīnù  
Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kwà’sì mó Lisa ø-zí mó Wendy kwē’ ī  
Every child ADV think that Lisa PRS-know that Wendy like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Every child thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him.”

**Comment:** (d) is ambiguous as the pronoun “he” can either refer to the every child or to Lisa.

e) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kwà’sì mó Lisa z mó á zīnù  
Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kwà’sì mó Lisa ø-zí mó á kwē’ Alice  
Every child ADV think that Lisa PRS-know that á kwē’ Alice  
“Every child thinks that Lisa knows that he likes Alice.”

##### B- Jack paradigm with “many children”

D1a) pūū tònjē kòlén mó pó zīnù  
pūū tònjē kò-lén mó pó zīnù  
children many PST2-say that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl be intelligent  
“Many children said that they are smart.”

b) pūū tònjē zī mó Georges kwě’ jōō  
pūū tònjē zī mó Georges kwě’ jōō  
Every child know that Georges like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
“Many children know that George likes them.”

c) pūū tònjē zī mó Bill ø-γə mó pó zīnù  
pūū tònjē zī mó Bill ø-γə mó pó zīnù  
children many know that Bill PST0-say that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl be smart  
“Many children know that Bill said that they are smart.”

d) pūū tònjē kwà'sì m' Lisa zì m' Wendy kwē' jōō  
 pūū tònjē kwà'sì m' Lisa zì m' Wendy kwē' jōō  
 children many think that Lisa PRS-know that Wendy like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Many children think that Lisa knows that Wendy likes them."

#### D. Zeke Paradigme with "every children

D11a) Larry kòlén mbí Mbòtòjāā mūū lō m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Larry kò-lén mbí Mbòtòjāā mūū lō m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Larry PST2-tell to every child ADV that Mike NEG like him  
 "Larry told every child that Mike does not like him."

b) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kòlén mbí Larry m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kò-lén mbí Larry m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Every child ADV PST2-tell to Larry that Mike NEG like him  
 "Every child told Larry that Mike does not like him."

c) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kòlén mbí Larry m' à kò' kwé'  
 Mbòtòjāā mūū lō kò-lén mbí Larry m' à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Every child ADV PST2-tell to Larry that à NEG like Mike  
 "Every child told Larry that he does not like Mike."

d) Larry kòlén mbí Mbòtòjāā mūū lō m' à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Larry kò-lén mbí mbòtòjāā mūū lō m' à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Larry PST2-tell to every child ADV that he NEG like Mike  
 "Larry told every child that he does not like Mike."

This sentence is ambiguous in that the "he" could either refer to "Larry" or "every child".

e) Larry zì m' mbòtòjāā mūū lō kwà'sì m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Larry ø-zì m' mbòtòjāā mūū lō kwà'sì m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Larry PRS-know that every child think that Mike NEG like him  
 "Larry knows that every child thinks that Mike does not like him."

f) Mbòtòjāā mūū lō zì m' Larry kwà'sì m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Mbòtòjāā mūū lō ø-zì Larry m' kwà'sì m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Every child ADV PRS-know Larry that think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN. 3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Every child knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him."

D12a) Mō à mbòtòjāā mūū lō ñkwásì m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Mō à mbòtòjāā mūū lō ø-ñkwásì m' Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 Mother his every child ADV PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Every child's mother thinks that Mike does not like him."

b) Mō à mbòtòjāā mūū lō ñkwásì m' à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Mō à mbòtòjāā mūū lō ø-ñkwásì m' à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Mother his every child ADV PRS-think that he NEG like Mike  
 "Every child's mother thinks that he does not like Mike."



d) Larry kòlén mbí pūū tònjē mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Larry kò-lén mbí pūū tònjē mó pō kò' kwé' Mike  
 Larry PST2-tell to children many that pō NEG like Mike  
 "Larry told many children that they do not like Mike."

e) Larry zí mó pūū tònjē kwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 Larry ø-zí mō pūū tònjē kwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 Larry PRS-know that children many think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 "Larry knows that many children think that Mike does not like them."

f) pūū tònjē zí mó Larry ḡkwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' ī  
 pūū tònjē ø-zí mō Larry ø-ḡkwà'sì mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 children many PRS-know that Larry PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Zeke knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him."

D12a) Mḡ à pūū tònjē ḡkwásì mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 Mḡ à pūū tònjē ø-ḡkwásì mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 Mother his children many PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 "Many children's mother thinks that Mike does not like them."

b) Mḡ à pūū tònjē ḡkwásì mó à kò' kwé' Mike  
 Mḡ à pūū tònjē ø-ḡkwásì mō pō kò' kwé' Mike  
 Mother his children many PRS-think that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl NEG like Mike  
 "Many children's mother thinks that they do not like Mike."

c) pūū tònjē ḡkwásì mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 pūū tònjē ø-ḡkwásì mō Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 children many PRS-think that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 "Many children think that Mike does not like them."

d) ḡwḡ'ḡḡ pūū tònjē kòlén mó Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 ḡwḡ'ḡḡ pūū tònjē kòlén mō Mike kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 letter children many PST2-say that Mike NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 "Many children's letter said that Mike does not like him."

e) pūū tònjē kòjú' mó Mary kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 pūū tònjē kò-jú' mō Mary kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 children many PST2-hear that Mary NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 "Many children heard that Mary did not like them."

f) pō ḡsók pūū tònjē mó Mary kò' kwé' ī  
 pō ḡ-sók pūū tònjē mō Mary kò' kwé' jḡḡ  
 they PST2-tell children many that Mary NEG like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 "Many children were told that Mary did not like them."

D13a) pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ kɔ̀lɛ́n mɔ́ à kòsò ndhí nā ī  
 pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ kɔ̀-lɛ́n mɔ́ pō kò-só ndhí ndǒm pō  
 children many PST2-tell that they PST2-dress body OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 “Many children said that they had dressed themselves.”

b) pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ kɔ̀lɛ́n mɔ́ à kòkhǎ́b’ khù ī  
 pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ kɔ̀-lɛ́n mɔ́ pō kò-khǎ́b’ khù jǐǐ  
 children many PST2-tell that he PST2-wound foot POSS.DET.c3  
 “Many children said that they had wounded themselves.”

c) pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ kɔ̀lɛ́n mɔ́ à kòkhǎ́b’ lɛ́n nā ī  
 pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ kɔ̀-lɛ́n mɔ́ pō kò-khǎ́b’ lɛ́n ndǒm pō  
 children many PST2-tell that he PST2-scarify mark body OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 “Many children said that they had tatoored themselves.”

### F. Edgar paradigm with “ every child”

\*D5a) Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎmbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mī làh zō  
 Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎ-mbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mī làh zō  
 Every child ADV PROG-wait OBJ.PRN manner win

b) Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎmbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī  
 Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎ-mbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī  
 Every child ADV PROG-expect that Ndǎntù beat IND/OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
 “Every child expects Ndǎntù to defeat him.”

\*D6a) Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎmbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mī làh zō  
 Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎ-mbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mī làh zō  
 Every child ADV PRS-wait OBJ.PRN manner win

b) Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎmbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī  
 Mbɔ̀tɔ̀jǎǎ mūū lɔ́ mǎ-mbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī  
 Every child ADV PROG-expect that Ndǎntù beat IND/OBJ.PRN.1<sup>st</sup>.sg  
 “Every child expects Ndǎntù to defeat him.”

### G. Edgar paradigm with “ many children”

\*D5a) pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ mǎmbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ jǐǐ làh zō  
 pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ mǎ-mbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ jǐǐ làh zō  
 children many PROG-wait OBJ.PRN manner win

b) pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ mǎmbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb ī  
 pūū tɔ̀njɛ̀ mǎ-mbɪ̀ɔ̀ɔ́ mɔ́ Ndǎntù záb jǐǐ  
 children many PROG-expect that Ndǎntù beat IND/OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
 “Many children expect Ndǎntù to defeat them.”

4\*D6a) pūū tɔ̀njə̀m̀mbi̯ɔ̀ mī làh z̄  
 pūū tɔ̀njə̀' m̀mbi̯ɔ̀ j̄ɔ̀ làh z̄  
 children many PROG-wait OBJ.PRN manner win

b) pūū tɔ̀njə̀ m̀mbi̯ɔ̀ m̀ Ndə̀ntù záb ī  
 pūū tɔ̀njə̀ m̀mbi̯ɔ̀ m̀ Ndə̀ntù záb j̄ɔ̀  
 children many PROG-expect that Ndə̀ntù beat IND/OBJ.PRN  
 “Many children expects Ndə̀ntù to defeat him.”

#### 4.4.2.3. Split antecedents –

\*D14a) Ozzie k̀ɔ̀ȳə̀ n̄ ndõm Hariet mbí pó  
 Ozzie k̀ɔ̀ȳə̀ n̄ ndõm Hariet mbí pó  
 Ozzie PST2-talk problem on Harriet to them

b) Ozzie k̀ɔ̀ȳə̀ n̄ ndõm pó mbí Hariet  
 Ozzie k̀ɔ̀ȳə̀ n̄ ndõm pó mbí Hariet  
 Ozzie PST2-talk thing on IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl to Harriet  
 “Ozzie talked about them to Harriet.”

c) Ozzie k̀ɔ̀lén mbí Hariet m̀ jáá nt̄ʃák m̀ pō ȳénō  
 Ozzie k̀ɔ̀lén mbí Hariet m̀ jáá nt̄ʃák m̀ pō ȳénō  
 Ozzie PST2-tell to Harriet that it search that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ozzie told Harriet that they should leave.”

d) Ozzie k̀ɔ̀lén mbí Hariet m̀ jáá nt̄ʃák m̀ pō ȳénō  
 Ozzie k̀ɔ̀lén mbí Hariet m̀ jáá nt̄ʃák m̀ pō ȳénō  
 Ozzie PST2-tell to Harriet that it search that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes them.”

e) Ozzie k̀ɔ̀lén m̀ Hariet ñkwási m̀ Bill pèè j̄ɔ̀  
 Ozzie k̀ɔ̀lén m̀ Hariet ñkwási m̀ Bill pèè j̄ɔ̀  
 Ozzie PST2-tell that Harriet think that Bill dislike OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 “Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill dislikes them.”

#### 4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents –

D15) Mark k̀ɔ̀p̄ɔ̀h m̀ mén ì lɔ̀ si bɔ̀ mb̄ɔ̀p̄i̯ɔ̀  
 Mark k̀ɔ̀p̄ɔ̀h m̀ mén ì lɔ̀ si bɔ̀ mb̄ɔ̀p̄i̯ɔ̀  
 Mark PST2-fear that son POSS.DET.c1 PST2-NEG-be safe  
 “Mark feared that his son was not safe.”

Túfhù l̄ kó ī mvák à l̄ s̄ kùsì làh mbi̯ɔ̀ púúmō ā  
 Túfhù l̄-kó ī mvák à l̄ s̄ kù'sì  
 shame PST2-take OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg manner IND.PRN PST2-NEG-be able  
 làh mbi̯ɔ̀ púúmō ā  
 manner protect bother POSS.DET.c3

What would his cousins think of him?

K̀ɔ̀t̄ púúmō ā ì-ñkwási ná ì?  
 What brother POSS.DET.c3 FUT0-think body POSS.DET.c1

“He was ashamed that he could not protect his closest relative.”

D16) Mark l̥sák ntiè' à l̥ nini ì ndò ntʃè l̥  
Mark l̥-sák ntiè' à l̥-jī nini ì ndòm ntʃè l̥  
Mark PST2-shiver time He PST2-see image POSS.DET.c1 on paper ADV  
“Mark was shocked to see his picture in the paper.”

Mô'ntiè' ñkwě jì nkóntèn tòm njám mì  
Mô'ntiè' ñkwě jì ñkóntèn tòm njám mì  
Perhaps all POSS.DET supporter leave behind OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“All of his supporters would abandon him.”

Ǻ ìnsòk m̄ à làhā?  
Ǻ ì-nsòk m̄ à làhā?  
He FUT0-tell mother POSS.DET.c1 how  
“How would he tell his mother?”

D17) Morris k̥lén m̄ líenz̄ l̥ l̥ȳp' mbí Mark  
Morris k̥-lén m̄ líenz̄ l̥ l̥-ȳp' mbí Mark  
Morris PST2-say that day FOC PST2-be difficult to Mark  
“Morris said it was a difficult day for Mark.”

Làh tó', Morris k̥sok ī m̄ p̄ l̥-z̄úú ndū' ì  
Làh tó', Morris k̥-sok ī m̄ p̄ l̥-z̄úú ndū' ì  
For star, Morris PST2-tell OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg that they PST2-steal car POSS.DET.c1  
“First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen.”

Njām s̄āh, à l̥l̥ōō nt̄' t̄aksī t̄ à n̄p̄ ī z̄' mf̄'  
Njām s̄āh, à l̥-l̥ōō nt̄' t̄aksī t̄ à n̄p̄ ī z̄' mf̄'  
Behind that he PST2-aks for one taxi before it leave OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg workplace  
“Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work.”

Morris k̥kwásí m̄ m̄'ntiè' à j̄ā' nth̄  
Morris k̥-kwásí m̄ m̄'ntiè' à j̄ā' nth̄  
Morris PST2-think that perhaps IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be angry  
“Morris thought he might be angry.”

D18) A: j̄ī l̄, Mark b̄èè!  
j̄ī l̄, Mark b̄èè!  
See FOC Mark this  
“Look, there's Mark!”

B: Ǻ p̄è' mb̄  
Ǻ p̄è' mb̄  
IND-PRN-3<sup>rd</sup>.sg be handsome so  
“He is so handsome.”

A: N k̄'kwé' làh mb̄ n̄zwīè ì mb̄ mv̄àk ñkwè p̄ñzwīè m̄ntām njám ì l̄  
N k̄'kwé' làh mb̄ n̄zwīè ì mb̄ mv̄àk ñkwè p̄ñzwīè m̄-ntām njám  
I PST-like to be wife POSS.DET.c1 even if all women PROG-follow behind



ì                      lɔ́  
OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg      ADV

“I would not want to be his wife though all the women are chasing him.”

B: làh ñgɛ́n mbhì, ñgɔ́ kwà' mɔ́ à ñkɔ́ nā ì jɔ́ɔ́  
làh ñgɛ́n mbhì, ñgɔ́ kwà' mɔ́                      à                      ñkɔ́      nā                      ì                      jɔ́ɔ́  
to go    ahead, I    think that IND.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg praise body POSS.DET.c1 too much  
“Also, I think he praises himself too much.”

#### 4.4.3 Blocking Effects

##### 4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects

D19a) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ John ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ø-ñkásí      mɔ́ John ñkú'ní      ì  
Larry PRS-think that John respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that John respects “.

b) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ ñgɔ́ ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ø-ñkásí      mɔ́ ñgɔ́ ñkú'ní      ì  
Larry PRS-think that I respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that I respects him”.

c) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ Mary ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ø-ñkásí      mɔ́ Mary ñkú'ní      ì  
Larry PRS-think that Mary respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that Mary respects him”.

d) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ mūumbá' ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ø-ñkásí      mɔ́ mūumbá' ñkú'ní      ì  
Larry PRS-think that boy    respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that the boy respects him”.

e) pɔ́mbá' ñkásí mɔ́ pūumbá' ñkú'ní jɔ́ɔ́  
pɔ́mbá' ø-ñkásí      mɔ́ pūumbá' ñkú'ní      jɔ́ɔ́  
pɔ́mbá' PRS-think that boy    respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
“The men think that the boys respect them”.

D20a) ) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ Bill zī mɔ́ Dave ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ñkásí mɔ́ Bill    zī      mɔ́ Dave ñkú'ní      ì  
Larry think that Bill know that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects X.”

b) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ ñgɔ́ zī mɔ́ Dave ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ñkásí mɔ́ ñgɔ́    zī      mɔ́ Dave ñkú'ní      ì  
Larry think that ñgɔ́ know that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that I know that Dave respects him.”

c) Larry ñkásí mɔ́ Mary zī mɔ́ Dave ñkú'ní ì  
Larry ñkásí mɔ́ Mary    zī      mɔ́ Dave ñkú'ní      ì

Larry think that Mary know that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave respects him.”

d) Larry ñkásí m’ pūmbá’ zī m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Larry ñkásí m’ pūmbá’ zī m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Larry think that boys know that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Larry thinks that the boys know that Dave respects him.”

e) p’mbá’ ñkásí m’ pūmbá’ zī m’ Dave ñkú’ní j’ōō  
p’mbá’ ñkásí m’ pūmbá’ zī m’ Dave ñkú’ní j’ōō  
p’mbá’ think that the boys know that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.pl  
“The men think that the boys know that Dave respects them.”

**Comment:** The sentence in (e) is ambiguous in that the object pronoun can either refer to the men or th the boys.

#### 4.4.3.2 Positions of the intervener

D21a) Walter ñkásí m’ Bill k’ók Harry m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Walter ñkásí m’ Bill k’ók Harry m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Walter think that Bill PST2-tell Hary that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects him.”

b) Walter ñkásí m’ Bill k’ók á m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Walter ñkásí m’ Bill k’ók á m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Walter think that Bill PST2-tell me that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects him.”

c) Walter k’ók á m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Walter k’ók á m’ Dave ñkú’ní ī  
Walter PST2-tell me that Dave respect OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Walter told me that Dave respects him.”

d) Walter k’én m’ Dave k’-h’ ñw’ní mbú á ndóm mī  
Walter k’-én m’ Dave k’-h’ ñw’ní mbú á ndóm mī  
Walter PST2-say that Dave PST2-give book to me on OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
“Walter said that Dave gave me a book about him.”

#### 4.4.4 Islands

**Only the independent pronoun strategy or what I call here object pronoun works here.**

D22a) jáá m’vásí Ira mvàk Mary mbēē ī l’ó  
jáá m’-vásí Ira mvàk Mary mbēē ī l’ó  
It PROG-disturb Ira manner Mary hate OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV  
“Ira resents the fact that Mary hates him.”

b) Ira ṅkú'ṅī mbā' kó ṅkwé' í ló  
 Ira ṅkú'ṅī mbā' kó ṅkwé' í ló  
 Ira respect man who like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV  
 "Ira respects the man who likes him."

c) Ira lén mǎ mbá' kó kwè ī ló zīnù  
 Ira lén mǎ mbá' kó kwè ī ló zīnù  
 Ira say that man who like OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV be intelligent  
 "Ira says that the man who likes him is intelligent."

d) Ira fhūnté'sí jìmò Bill fhūnjī nī ló  
 Ira fhū-nté'sí jìmò Bill fhū-njī nī ló  
 Ira PST1-ask wether Bill PST1-see OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV  
 "Ira asked whether Bill saw her."

e) Ira fhūnté'sí ntìè' Bill fhūnjī nī ló  
 Ira fhū-nté'sí ntìè' Bill fhū-njī nī ló  
 Ira PST1-ask when Bill PST1-see OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg ADV  
 "Ira asked when Bill saw him."

f) Ira lǎsì zī mǎ George lǎtám njǎm mì  
 Ira lǎsì zī mǎ George lǎ-tám njǎm mì  
 Ira PST2-know that Georges PST2-kick behing OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg  
 "Ira did not realize that George followed him."

g) Ira kǎlén mǎ Mary pè' mǎ ǎ indō mí ndūō  
 Ira kǎlén mǎ Mary pè' mǎ ǎ ì-ndō mí ndūō  
 Ira PST2-say that Mary be pretty that he FUT0-cook OBJ.PRN.3<sup>rd</sup>.sg home  
 Ira said that Mary was pretty and that she would marry him."

#### 4.4.5 De se reading

There is no distinction in the morphological form of the possessives in 23a and 23b.

D23a) Oedipus ṅkwá'sí mǎ mō à pè'  
 Oedipus ṅkwá'sí mǎ mō à pè'  
 Oedipus think that mother POSS.DET.c1 be nice  
 "Oedipus thinks his mother is nice."

b) Oedipus ṅkwá'sí mǎ mō à mbíésí  
 Oedipus ṅkwá'sí mǎ mō à mbíésí  
 Oedipus think that mother POSS.DET.c1 be-mean  
 "Oedipus thinks *his* mother is mean."

