

Anaphora in the African Languages

Questionnaire Response for Tuki

AQR Version 1.2

1. Name of the language: **Tuki**
2. Ethnologue code : A60
3. Dialects and/or area

Dialects Tungoro	Area Ngoro subdivision
Tukombe	Kombe Bialangena Village, Mbangassina
Tutsingo	Dinga (Tsinga) villages in the Mbangassina Subdivision
Tutsenga	Ntui Subdivision

4.
 - (a)

1.2.

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3. I am willing to be identified
4. Post Ph.D.
5. (a) Syntax: Familiar with GB
(b) typological linguistics: some
(c) Formal semantics: some
(d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: Little

6.

- a. Tuki
- b. Tuki
- c. French and English
- d. Since birth
- e. Tukombe
- f. none

PART 2

2.1. Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1. “Primary” reflexive strategy

“Pronoun – MATE” strategy

A1)

(1) a. Mbáraà a muéna omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- én- a omwá-máte

Mbara SM- P1- see- FV c1-MATE

“Mbara saw himself/herself”

Comment: *Oàmwaàmaàte* is a contraction of two independent morphemes:

oàmweàneà “him/her; he/she” and *mate* which does not appear to have independent meaning but appears to enforce local coreference. The following sentence exhibits the use of these two independent morphemes:

(1) b. Mbáraà amuéna oàmweàneàmate

Mbáraà a- mu- én- a oàmweàneà mate

Mbara SM P1 see FV c1.pron MATE

“Mbara saw him/herself”

2.1.2. Strategy B

There us another way to express coreference in A1:

(2) Mbáraà amuavéna

Mbáraà a- mu- a- v- én- a

Mbara SM- P1- RFM- Cons see FV

“Mbara saw him/herself”

Comment: In (2), the incorporated vowel *-a-* is the reflexive marker'. To break the sequence of two vowels [a] and [e], an epenthetic consonant [V] is inserted between the two Vs.

2.1.4. Obliques and other arguments types

A3 a) Mbáraà amusáki na Putá

Mbáraà a- mu- sák- i na Putá

Mbara SM- P1- chat- FV with Puta

“Mbara chatted with Puta”

A3 b) Mbáraà amudzára na omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- dzár- a na omwá-máte

Mbara SM- P1- talk- FV to c1-MATE

“Mbara talked to himself” (subject/pp argument)

A3 c) */? Mbáraà amudzãna Putá na wúčo omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- dzãn- a Putá na wúčo omwá-máte;
Mbara SM- P1- tell- FV Puta in front-of c1-MATE
“Mbara told Puta about himself/herself”

A3 d) Mbáraà amufá Putá moni na wúčo waamate

Mbáraà a- mu- fá Putá moni na wúčo waa-mate;
Mbara SM- P1- give Puta Money in front-of c1-MATE
“Mbara gave aPuta Money for herself”

A3e) Mbáraà a- mu- su- báman- a vitsú na wúčo itsúmáte

Mbáraà a- mu- su- báman- a vitsú na wúčo itsú-máte
Mbara SM- P1- OM- shout- FV us in front-of 1pl-MATE
“Mbara shouted at us about ourselves”.

A3 f) Putá amufá vãdzu vamwámáte

Putá a- mu- fá vãdzu vamwá-máte
Putá SM- P1- give children c2-MATE
“Putá gave the children themselves”
(indirect object/object)

A3g) Putá amuéna karate na nyíma ràámáte

Putá a- mu- én- a karate na nyíma ràá-máte
Putá SM- P1- see- FV book in back-of c??-MATE
“Putá saw a book behind herself” (subject/locative)

A3 h) Mbáraà amukúsa karate na wúčo waámáte

Mbáraà a-mu-kús-a karate na wúčo waá-máte
Mbara SM-P1-buy-FV book in front-of POSS.c1-MATE
“Mbara bought a book for himself” (Benefactive)

A3i) Mbáraà amukúsa karate na wúčo omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- kús- a karate na wúčo omwá-máte
Mbara SM- P1- buy- FV book in front-of c1.MATE
“Mbara bought a book for himself/herself” (benefactive)

A3j) Mbeke amuéna náoà bëbe na omwámáte

Mbeke a- mu- én- a náoà bëbe na omwá-máte
Mbeke SM- P1- see- FV snake near of c1-MATE
“Mbeke saw a snake near herself”

A4a) Ndjimi aadingamù

Ndjimi a-a-ding-a-m

Ndjimi SM-RFM-love-FV-Inc
“Ndjimi loves herself”

A4b) Ndjími adingǎm oàmwaàmaàte

Ndjími a- ding- ã- m ómwá-máte
Ndjimi SM- loves-FV- Inc c1.MATE
“Ndjimi loves herself”

2.1.5. Person and number

a5ai) Nu ngumuéna numáte
Nu ngu- mu- én- a nu-máte
I SM- P1- see- FV 1s-MATE
“I saw myself”

a5aii) pro ngumuéna numáte
ngu- mu- én- a nu-máte
SM- P1- see- FV 1s-MATE
“I saw myself”

a5bi) Nu ngumuawén a
Nu ngu- mu- a- w- én- a
I SM- P1- RFM-C- see- FV
“I saw myself”

a5bii) ngumuawéna
ngu- mu- a- w- én- a
SM- P1- RFM-C- see- FV
“I saw myself”

A5ci) mámu omusúmba maámáte /mamúmate
mámu o- mu- súmb- a maá-máte /mamú-mate
You SM- P1- cut- FV 2s-MATE/2s-MATE
“you cut yourself”

a5cii) mámu omuasúmba
mámu o- mu- a- súmb- a
You SM- P1- RFM-cut- FV
“you cut yourself”

a5ciii) omusúmba maàmaàte/mamúmate
o- mu- súmb- a maàmaàte/mamú-máte
SM- P1- cut- FV 2s-MATE/2s-MATE
“You cut yourself”

a5civ) amuasímba
a- mu- a- símb- a
SM- P1- RFM- cut- FV
“you cut yourself”

- a5di) Vitsú tunusúwam vitsúmate
vitsú tu- nu- súw- a- m vitsú-mate
We SM- fl- wash- FV- Inc 1pl-MATE
‘‘We will wash ourselves’’
- a5dii) Vitsú tunuasúwam
vitsú tu- nu- a- súw- a- m
we SM- fl- RFM- wash- FV- Inc
- a5diii) Tunusúwam vitsúmate
tu- nu- súw- a- m vitsú-mate
SM- fl- wash- FV- inc 1pl-MATE
‘‘We will wash ourselves’’
- a5div) Tumuasúwam
tu- mu- a- súw- a- m
SM- fl- RFM- wash- FV- Inc
‘‘We will wash ourselves’’
- a5ei) Vínu unyánam wáka viànúmate
vínu un- yán- a- m w- ák- a viànú-mate
you SM- must- FV- Inc INF- help- FV 2pl-MATE
‘‘You must help yourselves’’
- a5eii) Vínu nuyánam waáka
vínu nu- yán- a- m w- a- ák- a
you SM- must- FV- incomplete INF- RFM help FV
‘‘You must help yourselves’’
- a5eiii) nuyánam waka viànumate
nu- yán- a- m w- ak- a viànu-mate
SM- must- FV-incomplete INF- help- FV 2pl-MATE
‘‘Your must help yourselves’’
- a5 eiv) nuyánam waáka
nu- yán- a- m w- a- ák- a
SM- must- FV incomplete INF RFM- help- FV
‘‘You must help yourselves’’
- a5fi) Nu ngumudzára na Putá
Nu ngu- mu- dzár- a na Putá
I SM- P1- talk- FV to Puta
‘‘I talked to Puta’’
- a5 fii) Mamu omudzára na Puta
Mamu o- mu- dzár- a na Puta
You SM- P1- talk- FV to Puta
‘‘You talked to Puta’’

- a5gi) Nu ngumudzára na wúčo amémáte
 nu ngu- mu- dzár- a na wúčo amé-máte
 I SM- P1- talk- FV in front of.1s-MATE
 “I talked about myself”
- a5gii) Nu ngumudzára na wúčo a numáte
 nu ngu- mu- dzár- a na wúčo a nu-máte
 I SM- P1- talk- FV in front of 1s-MATE
 “I talked about myself”
- a5giii) Mamu omudzára na wúčo woomáte
 mamu o- mu- dzár- a na wúčo woo-máte
 You SM- P1- talk- FV in front of.2s-MATE
 “You talked about yourself”
- a5giv) Mamu omudzárã na wúčo a mamúmáte/maámáte
 mamu o-mu-dzár-ã na wúčo a mamú-máte/maá-máte
 You SM-P1-talk-FV in front of 2s-MATE/ xx-MATE
 “you talked about yourself”
- a5hi) Nu ngumudzãna Putá na wúčo
 nu ngu- mu- dzãn- a Putá na wúčo amé-máte
 I SM- P1- tell- FV Puta in front of.1s-MATE
 “I told Puta about myself”
- a5hii) Nu ngumudzãna Putá na wúčo a numáte
 nu ngu- mu- dzãn- a Putá na wúčo a nu-máte
 I SM- P1- tell- FV Puta in front of 1s-MATE
 “I told Puta about myself”
- a5ii) Nu ngumunudzãna vínu na wúčo inumáte
 nu ngu- mu- nu- dzãn- a vínu na wúčo inu-máte
 I SM- P1- OM- tell- FV you in front of.2pl-MATE
 “I told you about yourselves”
- a5iii) Nu ngumuundzaãna viùnu na wúčo a vínúmáte
 nu ngu- mu- un- dzar- a vinu na wúčo a vínu-máte
 I SM- P1- OM- tell- FV you in front of 2pl-MATE
 “I told you about yourselves”
- a5j) Nu ngumufa vaèèdzu vamwámáte /vamwenémáte
 nu ngu- mu- f- a vaèèdzu vamwá-máte /vamwené-máte
 I SM- P1- give- FV children c2-MATE/c2-pron-MATE
 “I gave the children themselves”
- a5k) Nu ngumuéna karata na nyima ramemáte

nu ngu-mu-én-a karata na nyima rame-máte
 I SM-P1-see-FV book in back ??1s-MATE
 “I saw a book behind me”

a5li) Nu ngumukúsa karate na wúčo amemaàte
 nu ngu- mu- kús- a karate na wúčo ame-maàte
 I SM- P1- buy- FV book in front of.1s-MATE
 “I bought the book for myself”

A5lii) Nu ngumukúsa karate na wúčo a numáte
 nu ngu- mu- kús- a karate na wúčo a nu-máte
 I SM- P1- buy- FV book in front of 1s-MATE
 “I bought the book for myself”

2.1.6. Strategies for other clausemate environments

(a) Some verbs allow only the use of the incorporated reflexive:

a6 ai) Dima aawidzímam
 Dima a- a- w- idzím- a- m
 Dima SM- RFM- Cons- know- FV- Inc
 “Dima knows himself”

A6ii)? Díma idzímam omwámáte
 Díma idzím- a- m omwá-máte
 Dima know- FV- Inc c1-MATE
 “Dima knows himself”

a6 bi) Dima afuakósim
 Dima a- fu- a- kós- i- m
 Dima SM- hab- self- criticize- FV- Inc
 “Dima habitually criticizes himself”

a6bii)? Dima afukósim omwámáte
 Dima a- fu- kós- i- m omwá-máte
 Dima SM- hab- criticize FV- Inc c1-MATE
 “Dima habitually criticizes

a6 ci) Dima aarúkyam
 Dima a- a- rúky- a- m
 Dima SM- RFM-praise- FV- Inc
 “Dima praises himself”

a6cii)? Dima arúkyam omwamáte
 Dima a- rúky- a- m omwa-máte
 Dima SM- praise- FV- Inc c1-MATE
 “Dima praises himself”

(b) Quantificational constructions do not involve a separate strategy:

A7ai) Mángadzu ongíma amuena omwamáte
 mángadzu orgíma a- mu- en- a omwa-máte
 Child all SM- P1- see- FV c1-MATE
 “Every child saw himself”

7aii) Mangádzu orgíma amuwéna

mangádzu orgíma a- mu- a- W- én- a
child all SM- P1- RFM-Cons-see FV
“Every child saw himself”

7bi) Vakútu vima vmutírina Mbaàraà na wúčo abumáte

vakútu vima va-mu-tír-in-a Mbaàraà na wúčo abu-máte
women all SM-P1-write-APPL-FV Mbara in front of.c2.MATE
“All the women wrote to Mbara about themselves”

7bii) Vakútu vima vmutírín a Mbára na wúčo vamwámáte

vakútu vima va-mu-tír-in-a Mbára na wúčo vamwá-máte
women all SM-P1-write-APPL-FV Mbara in front of.c2.MATE
“All the women wrote to Mbara about themselves”

7ci) Iyére ongíma amutífiya omwámáte na Mbáraà

iyére ongíma a-mu-tífiy-a omwá-máte na Mbáraà
teacher all SM-P1-show-FV c1-MATE to
Mbara
“Every teacher introduced himself to Mbara”

7cii) Iyére ongíma amuatífiyana Mbáraà

iyére ongíma a-mu-a-tífiy-a na Mbáraà
teacher all SM-P1-RFM-show-FV to Mbara
“Every teacher introduced himself to Mbara”

7di) Vǎdzu vamo vakám mbeng vamwámáte

vǎdzu vamo va- ká- m mbeng vamwá-máte
children some SM- help- Incomplete only c2-MATE
“Some children only help themselves”

7dii) Vǎdzu vamo vaakám mbeng vamwamáte

vǎdzu vamo va-a-ká-m mbeng vamwa-máte
children some SM-RFM-help-Inc only c2-MATE
“Some children only help themselves”

(d) Anaphora in several types of clauses

a9ai) Putá adzarám ee Ndúma adingám omwámáte

Putá a- dzar- á- m ee Ndúma a-dingám omwá-máte
Putá SM- says- FV- Inc. that Nduma SM-loves c1-MATE
“Putá says that Nduma loves herself”

a9aii) Putá adzárám ee Ndúma aadingám

Putá a- dzár- á- m ee Ndúma a- a- dín- g- a- m
Putá SM- say- FV- inc. that Nduma SM-RFM-love- FV- inc.
“Putá says that Nduma loves herself”

a9bi) Putá amusésa ee Ndúma arúkya omwááte
 Putá a- mu- sés- a ee Ndúma a- rúky- a omwááte
 Puta SM- P1- ask- FV that Nduàma SM-praises-FV c1-
 MATE?

“Putá asked that Nduma praises herself”

a9bii) Putá amusésa ee Nduàma aarúkya
 Putá a- mu- sés- a ee Nduàma a- a- rúky- a
 Puta SM- P1- ask- FV that Nduma SM- RFM-praises- FV
 “Putá asked that nduma praises herself”

a9ci) Putá abunganǎm ee Nduma ayánam orúkya omwámáte
 Putá a-bungan-ǎ- m ee Nduma a-yán-a-m
 Puta SM-think-FV-inc. that Nduma SM-must-FV-Inc
 o-rúky-a omwá-máte
 INF-praise-FV 1c-MATE
 “Putá asked that Nduma praises herself”

a9cii) Putá abunganǎm ee Ndúma ayánam warúkya
 Putá a- bungan- ǎ- m ee Ndúma a- yán-
 Puta SM- think- FV- Inc that Nduma SM- must-
 a- m w- a- rúky- a
 FV- Inc. inf. RFM-praise FV
 “Putá thinks that Nduma must praise herself”

a9 di) Putá amuénga na Nduma ee pro arúkya omwámáte
 Putá a- mu-éng- a na Nduma ee pro a- rúky-
 Puta SM-P1- do-FV to Nduma that SM- praise-
 a omwá-máte
 FV c1-MATE
 “Putá required that Nduma praise herself”

a9dii) Putá amuénga na Nduma ee pro aarúkya
 Putá a- mu- éng- a na Nduma ee pro a- a-
 Puta SM- P1- do- FV to Nduma that SM- RFM-
 rúky- a
 praise FV
 “Putá required that Nduma praise herself”

a9ei) Putá adángam orúkya omwámáte
 Putá a- dáng- a- m o- rúky- a omwá-máte
 Puta SM- love- FV- Inc INF- praise- FV c1-MATE
 “Putá wantes to praise herself”

a9eii) Putá adíngam warúkya
 Putá a- díng- a- m w- a- rúky- a
 Puta SM- love- FV- Inc INF- RFM-praise- FV

“Putá wants to praise herself”

a9fi) Putá agíram ee Ndúma arúkyá omwámáte
 Putá a-gír-a-m ee Ndúma a-rúky-a omwá-máte
 Puta SM-want-FV-Inc that Nduma SM-praise-FV c1-MATE
 “Putá expects Nduma to praise herself”

a9 fii) Putá agíram ee Ndúma aarúkyá
 Putá a- gír- a- m ee Ndúma a- a- rúky- a
 Puta SM- wait- FV- Inc- that Nduma SM- RFM- praise- FV
 “Putá expects Nduma to praise herself”

a9gi) Putá amuuba Ndúma arúkyá omwamáte
 Putá a-mu-ub-a Ndúma a-rúky-a omwa-máte
 Puta SM-P1-hear-FV Nduma SM-praise-FV c1-MATE
 “Putá heard Nduma praising herself”

a9gii) Putá amuubá Nduma aarukya
 Putá a- mu- ub- á Nduma a- a- rúky- a
 Puta SM- P1- hear- FV Nduma SM- RFM- praise- FV
 “Putá heard Nduma praising herself”

2.2. Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1.

a10a) Nu pro nga- má- sák- i na Varingá idzó. omwéné/pro
 I SM- P2- chat- FV with Varinga yesterday c2.pron/pro
 a- má- én- a Ndzúri
 SM- P2- see- FV Ndzuri
 “J/pro spoke with Varinga yesterday. He/pro saw Ndzuri”

a10b) Tãne owú Varingá a- mu? Nu/pro nga- má- mu-
 Where foc Varinga SM- is I SM- P2- OM-
 en- a pro/omwéné na mboó
 see- FV pro/c2.pron in market
 “I/pro saw pro/him in the market”

a10c) Vitsú/pro tu- má- nu- én- a pro/vinu yee vinu/pro
 We SM- P2- OM- see- FV pro/you QM you/pro
 un- má- su- én- a vitsú/pro?
 SM- P2- OM- see- FV 1pl.pron/pro.
 “We saw you. Did you see us?”

a10d) Yee vínu/pro nu- má- ng- én- a nu/pro?
 QM you/pro SM- P2- OM- see- FV 1s.pron/pro
 “Did you see me?”

2.2.2. Various types of pronouns

So called human subject pronouns

Nuèà “I”

Maèmuà “you “(singular)

Omwéné “he/she”

Vitsú “we”

Viènuà “you “

Vaàmwene “they”

Subject Markers (S/M)

There seem to be no non-human subject pronouns, except for the 3rd persons singular and plural. In the latter case, these subject pronouns would agree in noun class with the noun (phrase) they stand for:

Non-human subject pronouns

Noun classes	Word list	Pronoun
1	Mútú “man”	N/A
2	Vátú “men, people”	N/A
3	Ongúrú “foot”	Omwene
4	Íngúrú “feet”	Imwéne
3a	Nkúkúma “chef”	N/A
4a	Vánkúkúma	N/A
5	Ísútú “belly”	Imwéne
6	Músútú	Mumwéne
5/6a	Máti “saliva”	Mamwéne
7	Íkúnda “bed”	Imwéne
8	Víkúnda “beds”	Vimwéne
9/10	Ndóné “cow”	imwéne
11	Pándú “place”	imwene

6a	Pándú “places”	imwene
11	None “leaf” núgná “death”	numwene
13	Tone “leafs” Túgwá “deaths”	tumwene
14	Wúsí “day”	wumwene
6a	Másí “days”	mamwene
18	Íkára “mat”	imwéne
19	Múkára “mats”	mumwéné
3	Ó résé “riz” Óngúna “sun”	omwéné
6a	Mánónó “work”	mamwéné
8	Vító “war(s)” Víbúfá “vegetables”	vimwéné
9	Nútú “body”	imwéné
10	Inwíí “smoke”	imwéné
18	Mánó “diseases”	mamwéné
5	Átókí “throat”	imwéné
13	Vítókí “throats”	Vimwéné
3	Ótsó “er”	omwéné
6	Átsó “ears”	Imwéné
10	Ífóó “pot”	Imwéné
9/13	Ngímá “back(s)”	imwéné
16/16a	Fúmú “place”	omwéné

The reader should be warned about the fact that in some descriptive grammars of African languages, the verb prefixes (or subject Markers (SM)) are called subject pronouns (cf. Tamanji 2009:52). In fact, these so called subject pronouns are concord prefixes on the verb that mark /encode the agreement relationship between the subject and the verb.

- a) Mbaàrà a- ny- á- m ndzámbu
Mbara SM- eat- FV- Inc meat
“Mbara eats meat”
- aii) a- ny- ã- m ndzámbu
SM- eat- FV- Inc meat
“he/she eats meat”

bi) Mbwa i- ny- ǎ - m ndzámbu
 Dog SM- eat- FV- Inc meat
 “the dog eats meat”

bii) i ny- ǎ- m ndzámbu
 SM- eat- FV- Inc meat
 “it eats meat”

The examples above show that the verb carries a prefix that agrees in noun class with the subject. Bantuists call this prefix a verb prefix or a subject marker. And as (aii) and bii) show, the latter appears on the verb even when the subject is not phonologically realized.

This can explain why descriptivists tend to believe that this concord prefix is a subject pronoun, especially in those languages that are devoid of full fledged pronouns (cf. Tamanji 2009: 52, for a descriptive grammar of Bafut, a grassfields Bantu language spoken in the north-western region of Cameroon). In Tuki, pronouns can substitute for the NPs in the above examples:

a iii) omwéné a- ny- ǎ- m ndzámbu
 He/she SM- eat- FV- Inc meat
 “he/she eats meat”

biii) imwéné i- ny- ǎ- m ndzámbu
 it SM- eat- FV- Inc meat
 “It eats meat”

These facts seem to indicate that verb prefixes (or subject markers) are not subject pronouns, oàmwene and iàmweàne being precisely those. When the grammatical subjects NPs are not physically present, the thematic subject position is occupied by pro. We will come back to this issue in the next subsection.

Subject Markers (or verb Prefixes)

P. 18, Biloa (1995)

The subject marker accompanying subjects are the following in Tuki:

N- 1st pers. Singular

o- 2nd

a- 3rd

tu- 1st pers. Pl.

nu- 2nd

va- 3rd

since Tuki is a noun class language, subject markers agree in noun class with the subject (be it nominal NP or a personal pronoun).

The following subject markers for all noun classes are used in expressions of the form: “X+V...” where X is the logical subject and V the conjugated verb accompanying it. In each case, we provide to the left the 3rd personal singular

and 3rd person plural of subject markers, and to the right the singular and plural form of nouns that the subject may stand for.

class 1/2

3rd sg. a- mutu “man”

3rd pl. va vatu “men”

class 3/4

3rd sg. o- onguru “foot”

3rd pl. f- inguru “feet”

class 3a/4a

3rd sg. a- nkuàkuàma “chief”

3rd pl. va- vankuàkuàma “chiefs”

class 5/6

3rd sg. nu- isutu “belly”

3rd pl. mu- musutu “bellies”

class 5/6a

3rd sg. and pl. ma!- mati “saliva”

class 7/8

3rd sg. i- ikunda “bed”

3rd pl. vi- vikunda “beds”

class 9/10

3rd sg. i- ndone “cow”

3rd pl. i- ndone “cows”

class 11/6a

3rd sg. i- pandu “place”

3rd pl. i- pandu “places”

class 11/13

3rd sg. nu-, na- none “leaf”/nugwa “death”

3rd pl. to-, tu- tone “leafs”/tugwa “deaths”

class 14/6a

3rd sg. o- wusi “day”

3rd pl. ma- masi “days”

class 19/18

3rd sg. i- ikara “mat”

3rd pl. mu- mukara “mats”

class 3

3rd sg. a- or o- oreàseà “rice”

onguna “sun”

class 6a

3rd sg. ma- manono “work”

class 8

vi- vita “war(s)”

vibufa “vegetable(s)”

class 9	i-	nutu	“body”
class 10	i-	inwii	“smoke”
class 18	ma-	mano	“disease(s)”

Exceptional genders

class 5/13			
3 rd sg.	i-	atoki	“throat”
3 rd pl.	vi-	vitoki	“throats”
class 3/6			
3 rd sg.	o-	otso	“ear”
3 rd pl.	i-	atso	“ears”
class 10/6a			
3 rd sg.	i-	ifoo	“pot”
3 rd pl.	mu-	mufoo	“pots”
class 9/13			
	i-	njimaà	“back(s)”
class 5/13			
	o-	fumu	“place”

Object markers

Object markers in Tuki are only applicable to humans. Object markers for inanimate are expressed by zero morpheme. Object markers are given below with the corresponding English translation:

O	“me”
O	“you” (sg.)
mu	“him/her”
su	“us”
nu	“you” (pl.)
wu	“them”

let us use the above object markers with the verb “otuma” “to send”:

a. altumam	“he/she sends me”
b. otumam	“he/she sends you (sg.)”
c. amutumam	“he/she sends him/her”
d. asutumam	“he/she sends us”
e. anutumam	“he/she sends you (pl.)”
f. awutumam	“he/she sends them”

notice that we have assumed that the first person singular object marker (translate as *me*) is a low floating tone. This low floating tone lowers the floating high tone in / a: tumam/e/she sends me that is how we get the downstep in the construction.

Now consider the following verbs and their uses in the constructions exhibited in (52): to marry, to beat, to kill:

- (52) a. à! mbaànaêm he/she marries me
 b. à! ndumaên he/she beats me
 c. à! nguànaêm he/she kills me

Comment: In (52), the low floating tone now has a tone bearing unit which is a nasal. It seems to be the case that the nasal appears only before voiced consonants as evidenced in (52). Elsewhere, the low floating tone has no TBU (tone bearing unit) and therefore stands for the object marker, except in cases like/osúwá/ “to wash”, where we have:

- (53) àtsúwaèàm he/she washes me

Comment: In (53), we can plausibly say that the first person singular object marker is /t/. Recall that in cses where the nasal /n/ functions as object marker, it can also function as a subject marker. For instance, let us transform (52) into (54):

- (54) a. mbanam ‘I marry’
 b. ndúmãm ‘I beat’
 c. ndunam ‘I kill’

We can see that the nasal that functions as subject marker functions also as object marker. Similarly, if we compare (53) with (55):

- (53) atsuàwaèèàm ‘he/she washes me’
 (55) tsuàwaèèàm ‘I wash’

We notice that the segment which is the object marker is also the subject marker /t-/

In sum, there are two positions, both of them are arguable. First, that the first person singular subject marker and the first person singular object: N-; that this nasal disappears before another nasal or a voiceless consonant. Second, that the object marker is a low floating tone which gets a tone bearing unit, namely a nasal before a voiced consonant. It therefore makes little sense to posit a nasal insertion. So we have to go for the first position.

Object of preposition pronouns

These pronouns can refer only to humans. The following table contains the Tuki object preposition pronouns:

Person	Singular	Plural
1	amɛ	itsú
2	Oo	inú
3	Aa	abú/vámwéné

The following paradigm illustrates the exemplification of the object of preposition pronouns in sentences:

- ai) Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- dzár- a
Mbara SM- P1- Prog- talk- FV
n(a) amε na tsúmbá
to me in bedroom
“Mbara was talking to me in the bedroom”
- aii) Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- dzár- a noo (=na + oo) na tsúmba
Mbara SM- P1- prog- tal- FV to you in bedroom
“Mbara was talking to you in the bedroom”
- aiii) Mbáraà a- má- kutu- dzár- a n(a) àá na tsúmba
Mbara SM- P2- prog- talk- FV to him/her” in bedroom
“Mbara was talking to him/her in the bedroom”
- bi) vǎdzu va- mu- kutu- sák- i n(a) itsú (nítsú) na tsúmba
Children SM- P1- prog- chat- FV with us in bedroom
“Children were chatting with us in the bedroom”
- bii) Vǎdzu va- mu- kutu- sák- i n(a) inu(ninú) na tsúmbá
Children SM- P1- prog- chat- FV with you in bedroom
“Children were chatting with you in the bedroom”
- biii) Vǎdzu va- mu- kutu- sak- i n(a) ábú(nábú) na tsúmbá
children SM- P1- prog- chat- FV with them in bedroom
“children were chatting with them in the bedroom”
- biv) Vǎdzu va- mu- kutu- sak- i ná vǎmwéné ná tsúmbá
Children SM- P1- prog- chat- FV with them in bedroom
“children were chatting with them in the bedroom”

The possessive determiner (pronoun)

In Tuki, what we call the possessive determiner accompanies a noun or a noun phrase. When the substantive is recoverable from the (discourse) context, the determiner can be used alone and it refers to the precedingly used noun (phrase), in this case, it functions like a pronoun:

- a) Putá a- má- námb- a cwí
Putá SM- P2- cook- FV fish
raa ídzo veda nu nga- ta- námb- a raame
her yesterday but I SM- Neg- cook- FV my/mine
“Putá cooked her fish yesterday. But I did not cook mine”

The form of the possessive determiner is in agreement with the morphological class of the noun (phrase). What we have said above of the possessive determiner is also valid for the demonstrative determiner. In the following table, Tuki noun classes are illustrated with a few examples of nouns,

possessive (1st pers. Sg) and demonstrative determiners (pronouns) (near speaker) (NS, and far from speaker and listener (FSL):

		Possessive determiners					
Noun class	Word list	1 st Sg	2 nd Sg	3 rd Sg	1 st Pl	2 nd Pl	3 rd Pl
1	muètuè “man”	aàmEè	Woèò à	waèa à	lèiàtsu à	ièiànu à	wièiànu à
2	vaètuè “men, people”	vaàmEè	Voèò à	vaèa à	Vièiàts uà	vièiàn uà	vaèaàb uè
3	oènguèruè “foot”	raèaàmE è	Roèò à	raèaà	Rièiàt suà	rièiàn uà	raèaàbu è
4	iènguèruè “feet”	raàmEè	Roèò à	raèaà	Riàtsu à	riànuà	raàbuè
3a	nkuàkuàm aè “chief”	waèaàm Eè	Woèò à	waèa à	Wièiàt suà	wièià nuà	raèaàbu è
4a	vaènkuàku àmaè “chiefs”	vaèaàm Eè	Voèò à	vaèa à	Viàtsu à	viànu à	vaàbuè
5	ièsuàtuè “belly”	raèaàmE è	Roèò à	raèaà	Nièiàt suà	nièiàn uà	naèaàb uè
6	muèsuàtuè “bellies”	mwaèaà mEè	Mwo èoà	mwa èaà	Miàtsu à	miànu à	mwaàbu
5/6a	maètià “saliva”	maèaàm Eè	Moèò à	maèa à	Mièiàt suà	mièià nuà	mwaèaà buè
7	ièkuàndaà “bed”	yaèaàm Eè	Yoèò à	yaèa à	Yièiàts uà	yièiàn uà	yaèaàb uè
8	vièkuànda à “beds”	vyaèaàm Eè	Vyoèò oà	vyaè aà	viàtsu à	viànu à	vyaàbuè

9/10	ndoèneè “cow”	raàmEè(Sg) raèaàmE à(pl)	roèòè roàòè	raèaè raàaè	rièiàts uà ritsuè	rièiàn uè riànuà	raèaàbu è raàbuè
11	paènduà “place”	raàmEè	Roào è	raàaè	rièiàts uà	rièiàn uè	raàbuè
6a	paènduà “places”	raèaàmE è	Roào è	raàaè	ritsuè	riànuà	raèaàbu è
11	noèneà “leaf” nuègwaà “death”	naèaàm Eè naèaàm Eè	noào è noào è	naàa è naàa è	nièiàts uà nièiàts uà	nièiàn uè nièiàn uè	naèaàb uè naèaàb uè
13	toèneà “leafs” tuègwaà “deaths”	taèaàmE è taèaàmE è	toàoè toàoè	taàaè taàaè	tiàtsuè tiàtsuè	tiànuà tiànuà	taàbuè taàbuè
14	wuèsià “day”	waèaàm Eè	woào è	waàa è	wiàtsu è	wiànu à	waàbuè
6a	maèsià “days”	maèaàm Eè	moào è	maàa è	miàtsu è	miànu à	maàbuè
18	ièkaèraè “mat”	yaèaàm Eè	yoào è	yaàa è	yiàtsu è	yiànu à	yaàbuè
19	muèkaèraè	mwaèaà	mwo	mwa	Mwiàt	mwià	mwaàbu

	“mats”	mEè	àoè	àaè	su	nu	è
3	oèrEèsEè “rice” oènguànaà “ sun”	aèaàmE è raèaàmE è	woào è roàoè	waàa è raàaè	wièiàt su riàtsuè	wièià nuè riànuà	waèaàb uè raàbuè
6a	maènoèno è “work”	maèaàm Eè	moào è	maàa è	mièiàt su	mièià nuè	maèaàb uè
8	viètaà “war(s)” vièbuèfaè “vegetables”	vyaèaàm Eè	vyoà oè	vyaà aè	vièiàts u	vièiàn uè	vyaàbuè
9	nuàtuà “body”	raèaàme	roo	raa	riitsu	riinu	raabu
10	iènwiaà “smoke”	raèaàmE è	roàoè	raàaè	rièiàts u	rièiàn uè	raèaàbu è
18	maènoà “disease”	maèaàm Eè	moào è	maàa è	mièiàt su	mièià nuè	maèaàb uè
5	aètoèkiè “throat”	yaèaàm Eè	yoào è	yaàa è	yièiàts u	yièiàn uè	yaèaàb uè
13	viètoèkiè “throats”	vyaèaàm Eè	vyoà oè	vyaà aè	Vièiàts uè	vièiàn uè	vyaèaàb uè
3	oètsoà “ear”	raèaàmE è	roàoè	raàaè	rièiàts uè	rièiàn uè	raèaàbu è

6	aètsoà “ears”	raàmEè	roàoè	raàaè	riàtsuè	riànuà	raàbuè
10	ièfoàòà “pot”	raèaàmE è	roàoè	raàaè	riàtsuè	riànuà	raàbuè
9/13	nyièmaà “baks”	raèaàmE è (sg) raàmEè (pl)	roàoè (sg) roàoè (pl)	raàaè (sg) raàaè (pl)	rièiàts u (sg) riàtsuè (pl)	riànuà (sg) riànuà (pl)	raèaàbu è (sg) raàbuè (pl)
16/1 6a	fuèmuà “place”	waèaàm Eè	woào è	waàa è	Wièiàt su	wièià nuè	waèaàb uè

2.2.3. Null arguments

Tuki allows argument drop as a pronominalization strategy in simple (single clause) sentences. In the following paradigm, subject pronouns are optional:

Verb: o- báng- a
 INF- cry FV
 “to cry”

The verbs below are conjugated in the past tense one (P1) that describes an action that occurred earlier the same day:

- (Nu) ngu- mu- báng- a
 I SM- P1- cry- FV
 “I cried”

- (mamu) o- mu- báng- a
 You SM- P1- cry- FV
 “you cried”

- (omwéné) a- mu- báng- a
 He/she SM- P1- cry- FV
 “He/she cried”

- (vítsu) tu- mu- báng- a
 We SM- P1- cry- FV
 “We cried”

- (vínu) nu- mu- báng- a

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----|-----|------|-------|---|
| You | SM- | P1- | cry- | FV | |
| “you cried” | | | | | |
| • (vamwéné) | va- | | mu- | báng- | a |
| They | SM- | P1- | cry- | FV | |
| “they cried” | | | | | |

Subject pronouns or thematic subjects are optional in Tuki. That is why it can be claimed that Tuki is a null subject language (cf. Biloa 1991 a, 1992, 1995). In the above paradigm, the SM encodes the agreement relationship between the subject position and the verb. In traditional Bantu linguistics terminology, it is said the verb prefix (or the SM) agrees in noun class with the subject noun (phrase). Presumably, this agreement makes it possible for the language to drop its thematic subject, although it has been argued by Jaeggli and Safir (1989) that it is not agreement per se that licenses null subjecthood, it depends on whether a given exhibits a morphologically uniform paradigm (for details on the Tuki facts, see Biloa 1998:261-263).

- | | | | | | | |
|------------------|-------|-----|------|-----|-----|---------|
| (a) va- | kutu | va- | nya- | ã- | m | ndzámbu |
| Cl2 | women | SM- | eat- | FV- | Inc | meat |
| “women eat meat” | | | | | | |
| (b) m- | bwá | ì- | ny- | á- | m | ndzámbu |
| cl1 | dog | SM- | eat- | FV- | Inc | meat |
| “dogs eat meat” | | | | | | |

In the above sentences, the SMs *va* and *i* agree in noun class with the NPs *vakútu* and *mbwa* respectively. If the SMs that do not agree in noun class with the subject NPs are affixed to the verb one obtains ungrammatical sentences such as the following:

- | | | | | | |
|------------|-----|------|-----|-----|---------|
| a. * mbwá | va- | ny- | á- | m | ndzámbu |
| dogs | SM- | eat- | FV- | Inc | meat |
| b.* vakútu | i- | ny- | á- | m | ndzámbu |
| women | SM- | eat- | FV- | Inc | meat |

When the two NPs *vakútu* and *mbwa* are not phonetically realized in the sentence but they are semantically recoverable in discourse, one obtains empty categories in subject position, as illustrated by the following grammatical sentences (where e = empty):

- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|------|-----|-----|---------|
| • [e] | va- | ny- | á- | m | ndzámbu |
| | SM- | eat- | FV- | Inc | meat |
| “they eat meat” | | | | | |
| • [e] | i- | ny- | á- | m | ndzámbu |
| | SM- | eat- | FV- | Inc | meat |
| “They eat meat” | | | | | |

In Biloa (1995, 1998), it is argued that empty categories can be generated in subject position because the latter is properly governed by Agr-S.

Similarly, Tuki licenses empty categories in object position (cf. Biloa 1992, 1995). For illustration, consider the following sentences (cited for other purposes in Biloa 1998: 256):

a. Mbáraà a- tá- ma- (mu)- bang- ey- a Putá
 Mbara SM- Neg- P2- OM- cry- CAUS- FV Puta
 “Mbara dit not cause Puta to cry”

b. Mbáraà a- tá- ma- (mu)- báng- ey- a omwéné
 Mbara SM- Neg- P2- OM- cry- CAUS- FV him/her
 “Mbara did not cause her to cry”

c. Mbáraà a- tá- má- mu- báng- ey- a
 Mbara SM- Neg- P2- OM- cry- CAUS- FV
 “Mbara did not cause her to cry”

In the (a-b) sentences, the DPs *Putá* and *omwéné* occur in object position. In the (c) sentence, the object position is empty. It is this sort of data that prompted Biloa (1992, 1995) to argue that Tuki allows *pro* in subject and object positions. When the object is [+ human], it agrees with an object marker (OM) that is infixes to the verb in Tuki. The OM occurs between the TM (tense marker), if there is any, and the verb stem. Presumably, on the basis of Rizzi (1986), Jaeggli and Safir (1989), it is the OM that licenses and identifies *pro* in object position in Tuki.

[KS: The alternative position is that the object is not dropped when the OM is present, but instead the OM counts as the object.]

Recall that it was said above that the OM agrees in noun class with the DP in object position, be it phonetically realized or not, provided it be [+ human]:

a. Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- n- dín- a (nu)
 Mbara SM- P1- Prog- OM- love- FV I/me
 “Mbara was loving (me)”

b. Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- o- dín- a (mamu)
 Mbara SM- P1- prog- OM- love- FV you
 “Mbara was loving you”

c. Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- mu- dín- a (omwéné)
 Mbara SM- P1- prog- OM- love- FV him/her
 “Mbara was loving her”

d. Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- su- dín- a (vítsu)
 Mbara SM- P1- prog- OM- love- FV we/us
 “Mbara was loving us”

e. Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- un- dín- a (vínu)
 Mbara SM- P1- prog- OM- love- FV you

“Mbara was loving you”

f. Mbáraà a- mu- kutu- wu- díng- a (vamwéné)
 Mbara SM- P1- prog- OM- love- FV they/them

“Mbara was loving then”

In Tuki, when the direct object DP is [-human], there is no correspondingly agreeing OM affixed to the verb:

a. Putá a- mu- kutu- námb- a cwí
 Puta SM- P1- prog- cook- FV fesh

“Puta was cooking fish”

b. Putá a- mu- kutu- námb- a imwéné
 Puta SM- P1- prog- cook- FV it

“Puta was cooking it”

c. Putá a- mu- kutu- námb- a
 Puta SM- P1- prog- cook- FV

“Puta was cooking (it)”

Sentence (c) is grammatical despite the fact that the direct object DP is missing. Its grammaticality status seems to imply that an empty object marker slot can license and identify an empty category in object position.

N.B. Object of prepositions positions cannot be empty in Tuki. There are, as shown above, specific pronouns for prepositional object positions.

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

Clausemate anaphora is impossible with simple pronouns. In other words, a simple pronoun cannot be used to form a reflexive reading:

A (og) * Mbáraà a- mu- rúky- a omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- praise- FV him
 “Mbara praised him”

h) * Mbáraà a- mu- díng- a omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- love- FV him
 “Mbara liked him”

i) * Mbáraà a- mu- én- a omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- see- FV him
 “Mbara saw him”

j) * Mbáraà a- mu- dzár- a- na omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- talk- FV to him
 “Mbara talked to him”

k) * Mbáraà a- mu- tóm- en- a omwéné káráte
 Mbara SM P1 send APPL FV him book/ letter
 “Mbara sent a book to him”

- l)* Mbáraà a- mu- ák- a omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- help- FV him
 “Mbara helped him”
- m) *
- n)* Mbáraà a- mu- kós- én- a omwéné káráte
 Mbara SM- P1- buy- APPL- FV him book/letter
 “Mbara bought a book for him”
- o)* Mbáraà a- mu- ráng- a karate na wúčo omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- read- FV book in front (of) him
 “Mbara read a book about him”
- p)* Mbáraà a- mu- bóng- o bëbe na omwéné
 Mbara SM- P1- find- FV near of him
 “Mbara found a book near him”

2.3. Reciprocal readings

2.3.1. Until now, we have not listed a reflexive strategy that can also have reciprocal meaning.

2.3.2.

- Aii a) vakútu va- mu- én- aan- a
 women SM- P1- see- RCM- FV
 “The women saw each other”
- b) vǎdzu vánumutú va- mu- suw- aan - a
 children men SM- P1- wash- RCM- FV
 “The boys washed each other”
- c) vánumutú va- mu- pás- íin- i kító
 men SM- P1- comb- RCM- FV hair
 “The men combed each other’s hair”
- d) vamwéné/pro va- mu- pét- aan- a
 They /pro SM- P1- discuss- RCM- FV
 “They discussed with each other”
- e) vǎdzu vánumutú va- mu- nob- àán- a
 Children men SM- P1- beat- RCM- FV
 “The boys beat each other”
- f) vamwéné /pro va- bén- àán- a- m
 They /pro SM- hate- RCM- FV- Inc
 “They hate each other”

2.3.3. Oblique arguments

In Tuki, the one reciprocal strategy attested is such that the reciprocal morpheme is always suffixed to the verb stem. The reciprocal therefore cannot

literally embedded in prepositional phrases. The close counterparts of the English A(12a-d) would be the following:

- A 12a) vátu va- mu- tífiy- iin- a- na Isomo
 men SM- P1- show-RCM- FV to Isomo
 “The men introduced each other to Isomo”
- b) viyére va- mu- dzár- àán- a
 Teachers SM P1- speak- RCM- FV
 “The teachers spoke to each other”
- c) vapára va- mu- aban- èén- a maru
 Priests SM- P1- hear- RCM- FV stories
 “the priests heard stories about each other”
- d) vamwéné va- mu- San- èén- a daasi na wúso abu-máte
 they SM- P1- leave- RCM-FV gifts in front (of themselves)
 “they each other left gifts for themselves”

2.3.4. Other persons and numbers

- A13a) Vitsú tu- mu- én- àán- a
 We SM- P1- see- RCM- FV
 “we saw each other”
- b) vinu nu- yán- a- m w- ak- aan- a
 you SM- must- FV- Inc INF- help RCM- FV
 “you must help each other”
- c) vítzu tu- mu- a- súw- aan- a- m
 We SM- F2- RFM- wash- RCM- FV Inc
 “We will wash ourselves”
- d) vamwéné/pro va- a- kós- iin- i- m táma ngíma
 they /pro SM- RFM-criticize- RCM-FV Inc time all
 “they always criticize each other”.

2.3.5. Other clause types and other strategies

Comment: There is nothing new to be found here.

2.4. Other types of local coreference

2.4.1. Possessives, alienable and inalienable

- A15a) Dima a- maà- dáng- y- a ngúù raa
 Dima SM- P2- loose- CAUS- FV shoes his
 “Dima lost his shoes”
- b) Dima a- ma- tífiy- a ómboro raa
 Dima SM- P1- show- FV hand his
 “Dima showed his hand”
- c) Dima a- mu- a- súmb - a nútu raa
 Dima SM- P1- RFM- cut- FV body his
 “Dima cut his body (accidentally)”

- d) Dima a- mu- mw- á nutóngo naa
 Dima SM- P1- shave- FV beard his
 “Dima shaved his beard”
- e) Dima a- mu- kooken- a inõno ra ónguru raa
 Dima SM- P1- stub- FV finger of foot his
 “Dima stubbed his toe”

2.4.2. Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals

- a16) Waa tiàfiy-a- wa Isomo o- sásey- a- m
 Self show- FV- of Isomo SM- bother FV Inc
 vatu ifúndu
 men many

“Isomo’s self-show bothers many people”

JP: Is “wa” “of” a separate word? Or a suffix on the verb?

- a17a) Waa rúky- a- wa Isomo máte
 Self praise- FV of Isomo MATE
 o- mu ósya wanda
 SM- is good thing

“Isomo’s praise of himself is a good thing”.

- a17b) waa- dǐng- a wa Isomo máte o- fu- gwán-
 Self- love- FV of Isomo MATE SM- hab- chase-
 a- m vatu
 FV- Inc men

“Isomo’s love of himself usually puts off people”

a17c) Their instructions to each other were not clear

a17d) Their evaluations of each other were too generous

Comment: a17c-d) Have no counterparts in Tuki. In other words, it does not seem possible to have reciprocals in nominals.

2.4.4. List of the different strategies coreference in a single clause

Strategy A

Pronoun-MATE

- Mbáraà a- dǐng- a- m omwá-máte
 Mbara SM- loves-FV- Inc c2-MATE
 “Mbara loves himself”

Strategy B - RFM

Incorporated vowel = RFM

- Mbáraà a- a- dǐng- a- m
 Mbara SM- RFM-1 oves- FV Inc

“Mbara loves himself”

Strategy C RCM

vákutu	va-	díng-	aan-	ǎ-	m
Women	SM-	love-	RCM-	FV-	INC

“the women love each other”

Strategy D

Null object interpreted reflexively – We only have explicit discussion of *otofa*, but it appears that *saman* may also be such a verb (database 4575, AQR C17g). I realize the strategy is very limited, but it is still significant, since this strategy is rare in every language that evidences it.

Strategy E

Waa - confined to nominal

Strategy F

Independent pronoun (overt) (does not permit local anaphora)

Combination strategies

Strategy G RFM + MATE

We only have one example of this, where it appears to be interpreted emphatically (database 4101, AQR A7d). We would like to see more examples of this kind.

Strategy H RFM + POSS PRN

We only have one example of this (database 4533, AQR A15c) and we would like to see more examples of this kind.

Strategy I RFM + zero.POSS

We have only one example of this (AQR C13bii). We need more examples of this kind with other body parts, possessums that are not body parts (to see if any work) and natural gestures (“to raise the hand”, e.g., in class) and we need to see if the OM is possible when the possessum does not belong to the subject.

Strategy J? RCM + MATE

We only have one example of this, and it probably is not properly indicative of a strategy, because it looks like the RCM and the MATE correspond to different thematic arguments (database 4526, AQR A12d). Please consider whether or not this combination ever arises.

Strategy K? RFM + RCM

See database 4529, AQR A13c. We would like to know more about this example and if there are other examples of this kind.

PART 3 GENERAL DETAILS ABOUT THE STRATEGIES

3.1. Marking

Marking strategies for coconstrued interpretations

As shown above, two marking strategies for coconstrued interpretations are attested in Tuki:

(Ma) Marking on a coconstrued argument (pronoun-MATE):

Putá adíngam omwa-àmaàte

Putá a- díng- a- m omwaà-maàte

Putá SM loves FV Inc herself.

“Putá loves herself”

(Mb) Marking on the verb (by an incorporated morphemic vowel indicates a reflexive interpretation):

Putá aadíngam

Putá a- a- díng- a- m

Putá SM- RFM- loves- FV Inc

“Putá loves herself”

In Tuki, the reflexive marker /a/ occurs between the aspectual marker and the verb root:

Putá atámákútuadínga

Putá a- tá- má- kútu- a- díng- a

Putá SM Neg P2 prog. RFM love FV

“Putá was not loving herself”

Comment: While the reflexive marker /a/ precedes (or dominates) the verb root, it can be preceded either by an agreement marker or a negation maker, or a tense marker or an aspectual marker (see the data above and the following ones):

Putá atáadinga

Putá a- tá- a- díng- a

Putá SM- Neg- RFM- love- FV

“Putá does not love herself”

Putá à atamáadinga

Putá à a- ta- má- a- díng- a

Putá SM- Neg- P2- RFM-love- FV

“Putá did not love herself”

Comment: It appears that the reflexive marker occupies the spot that can also be occupied by the object marker (OM). But both items are in complementary distribution.

Putá à a- ta- má- kútu- mu- díng- a (omwéné)

Putá SM- Neg- P2- prog- OM- love- FV him/her

"Putá was not loving him/her"

In Tuki, as in many Bantu languages, the OM agrees in noun class with the direct object complement. Since the object marker seems to be (is) coreferential with an NP in object position, traditional grammairians or descriptive linguists tend to treat it as a pronoun.

In the following sentence, the reflexive marker has substituted for the OM:

Putá	atámá kutuadínga						
Putá	a-	tá-	má	kutu-	a-	díng -	a
Putá	SM-	Neg-	P2-	Prog-	RFM-	love-	FV

"Putá was not loving herself"

Mc) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument.

In Tuki, a verb like *otofá* "to bath, to wash" selects a null argument that is necessarily coconstrued with a coargument subject that is its antecedent:

Mci)	Mbáraà	atófam					
	Mbáraà	a-	tóf-	a-	m		
	Mbara	SM-	bath-	FV-	Inc		

"Mbara bathes"

ii)	Mbáraà	amudzukútutófa					
	Mbáraà	a-	mu-	dzu-	kútu-	tóf-	a- ??
	Mbara	SM-	P1-	semefrep.-	Prog -	bath-	FV-again

"Mbara was bathing again"

Comment: The same verb can select a phonetically realized coargument when it is applicativized (i. e. when it carries an applicative morpheme):

iii)	Mbáraà	atúfiyam		mwána			
	Mbáraà	a-	túf-	iy-	a-	m	mwána
	Mbara	SM-	bath-	CAUS-	FV-	Inc	child

"Mbara bathes/washes his/her child"

Comment: The causative morpheme is /ey/. The vowel of the verb root is changed from [o] to [u] due to vowel harmony with one of the variants of the applicative morpheme [iy].

iv)	*Mbáraà	atúfam		omwaùmáte			
	Mbáraà	a-	túf-	a-	m	omwa-ùmáte/Putá	
	Mbara	SM-	bath-	FV-	Inc	c1-MATE/Putá	

"Mbara bathes/washes himself"

Comment: The (iv) sentence is ungrammatical because the verb *otofa* can not select a phonetically realized coargument. But when the said verb is applicativized, it can select either an NP or a reflexive, or it can be reflexivized (it can carry a reflexive marker).

iv) edit A: * Mbárá a- tóf- a- m Puta
 Mbara SM bath FV Inc. Puta
 "Mbara bathes Puta"

The sentence is ungrammatical with a non-reflexive direct object (a name). But the sentence is grammatical. If a causative morpheme is inserted into the verb:

iv) edit B: Mbárá a- túf- iy a- m Puta
 Mbara SM bath CAUS FV Inc. Puta

JP: Can we have original text and translation for this?

iv) edit C: - Mbárá a- túf- iy- a- m mwána
 Mbara SM bath CAUS FV Inc. child
 "Mbara bathes/washes his/her child"

JP: Original text missing

/iy/ is a causative morpheme, not an applicative morpheme.

JP: Is this true of all the examples in this subsection? Or only of the edits in iv ?

v) Mbáraà atúfiyam omwá-máte
 Mbáraà a-túf-iy-a-m omwá-máte
 Mbara SM-bath-CAUS-FV-Inc c1-MATE
 "Mbara bathes himself"

vi) Mbáraà aatúfiyam
 Mbáraà a-a-túf-iy-a-m
 Mbara SM-RFM- bath-Appl- FV-Inc
 "Mbara bathes himself"

3.2. Productivity

So far it has been argued that there are three strategies for coconstructed interpretations in Tuki (setting aside the reciprocal interpretation):

- i) Marking on a coconstructed argument (pronoun-MATE);
- ii. Marking on the verb by an incorporated morphemic vowel that marks reflexivity
- iii. Coconstruction is marked by dropping an argument.

The question now is how productive are these 3 strategies. While the first two are extremely productive, the third one seems to be restricted to a verb (*otofa* "to wash, to bathe").

3.3. Context of Use

The second strategy appears more natural, while the first strategy, even though it is as productive as the second one, seems to be used for emphasis purposes sometimes. While the first two strategies appear to be freely

interchangeable, more often than not, the second one seems to be less marked. The following table captures the behavior of the 3 strategies with respect to productivity and context of use:

Strategies	Productivity	Context of use
1 Pronoun + MATE	extremely productive	emphasis purposes (sometimes)
2 vocalic infix = RFM	extremely productive	more natural than strategy 1
argument dropping	lexically restricted	unrestricted

3.4. Morphology

Strategies 2 and 3 are not concerned with this section about morphology: strategy 3 is not phonetically realized since the argument is dropped; strategy 2 does not vary its realization (it is always the infix /a/ that appears on the verb).

As far as strategy 1 is concerned, the internal make up of the reflexive is: Pronoun-MATE. For illustration, consider the following sentence:

Nkúkúma adingaùmù omwaàmaàte

Nkúkúma a- ding- aù- mù omwaàmaàte

Chief SM- love- FV- Inc c1-MATE

“the chief loves himself”

The reflexive *omwaàmaàte* is derived from the pronoun *omwéné* “he/she” + *mate* where *mate* has not translation independent of anaphoric contexts. This is evidenced by the fact that the semantic content of the above sentence can be enunciated as follows:

Nkúkúma adingaùmù omwéné máte

Nkúkúma a- ding- a- m omwéné máte

Chief SM- love- FV- Inc him MATE

“The chief loves himself”.

The previous and the latter sentence mean exactly the same thing. It can therefore be established that *omwámáte* is derived from *omwéné* + *mate*.

3.5. The agreement paradigm

Consider the following sentence:

Mbwá imunúma imwámáte

Mbwá i- mu- núm- a imwá-máte

dog SM- P1- bite- FV c??-MATE

“the dog bit itself”

In Tuki, as the above sentence shows, the reflexive agrees in noun class with its antecedent. In the above sentence, the prefix of the reflexive /i/ agrees in

noun class with *mbwá* (a class 10 noun). This is indicative of the fact the reflexives will always carry a prefix that agrees in noun class with its antecedent.

The following table contains a list of pronouns and reflexives, the antecedents of which or the beings from which they draw their reference are humans:

	Pronouns	Reflexives
1 Sing	Nu	Numáte
2 Sg	Mámú	Mámúmáte
3 sg	Omwéné	Omwámáte
1 Pl	Vítsu	Vítsumáte
2 Pl	Vínu	Vinúmáte
3 pl	Vamwéné	Vamwámáte

3.6. Interaction with verb morphology-Incompatibilities

3.6.1. Tense, Mood, Aspect

Coconstrual for some strategy does not seem to be blocked or does not seem to be peculiar for a given tense, mood, or aspect.

Strategy 1

B 3a) Mbáraà asúwam omwámáte
 Mbáraà a- súw- a- m omwámáte
 Mbara SM- wash-FV Inc c1-MATE
 “Mbara washes himself”

B3a’)

B3b) Mbáraà amusúwa omwámáte
 Mbáraà a- mu- súw- a omwámáte
 Mbara SM- P1- wash-FV c1-MATE
 “Mbara washed himself”

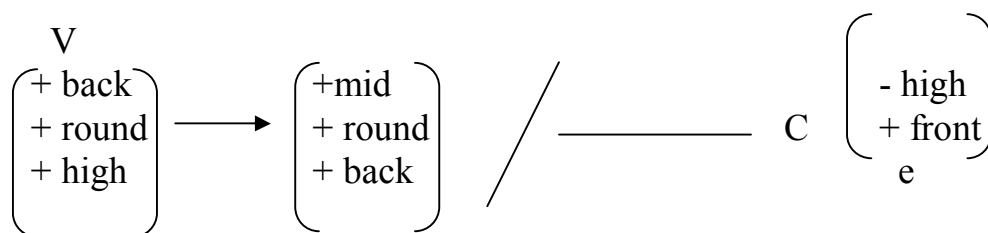
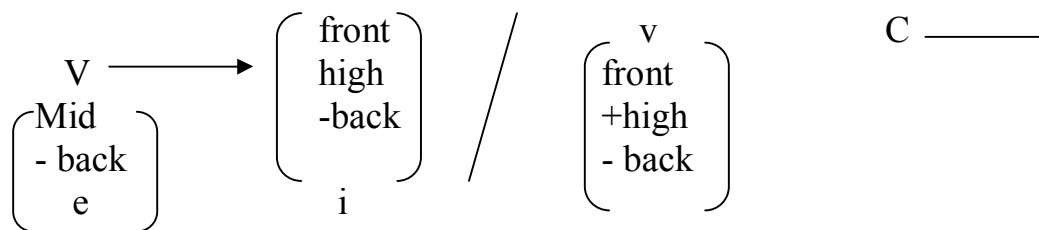
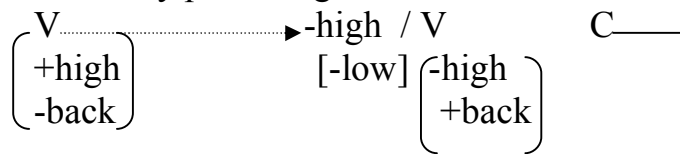
B3c) Mbáraà a nú suwa omwámáte
 Mbáraà a- nuù- súw- a omwámáte
 Mbara SM F1 wash FV c1-MATE
 “Mbara will wash himself”

Strategy 2

N3a')	Mbáraà	aasúwa				
	Mbáraà	a-	a-	súw-	a	
	Mbara	SM-	RFM-	wash-	FV	
		“Mbara washes himself”				
B3b')	Mbáraà	amuasúwa				
	Mbáraà	a-	mu-	a-	súw-	a
	Mbara	SM-	P1-	RFM-	wash-	FV
		“Mbara washed himself”				
B3c')	Mbáraà	anuasúwa				
	Mbáraà	a-	nu-	a-	súw-	a
	Mbara	SM-	F1-	RFM-	wash-	FV
		“Mbara will wash himself”				

3.6.2. Grammatical Function (GF) – changing

Tuki has a suffix which triggers causative formation: /iy/. The suffix /iy/, when attached to the root of a verb (before the final vowel) makes the latter causative. After the morphology has applied, there is a phonological rule which lowers /i/ when it is preceded by a non-high vowel: /o/ or /a/. /i/ becomes [e] when the immediately preceding vowel is /a/ or /o/. This is the rule.



“Mbara is causing himself to cry”

b) Mbáraà akútunámběna omwámáte súbu
 Mbáraà a- kútu- námb- ěn- a omwámáte súbu
 Mbara SM- prog- cook- APPL- FV c1-MATE sauce
 “Mbara is cooking for himself sauce”

Strategy II

a) Mbáraà akútuabángeya
 Mbáraà a- kutu- a- báng- ey- a
 Mbara SM prog RFM- cry- CAUS- FV
 “Mbara is causing himself to cry”
 b) Mbáraà akútuanámběna súbu
 Mbáraà a- kútu- a- námb- en- a súbu
 Mbara SM- Prog- RFM-cook- APPL- FV sauce
 “Mbara is cooking sauce for himself”

3.7. Uses that are not quite coreference

In Tuki, use of reflexive morphology does not always imply coreference between two logical arguments of a clause. For instance, to express location or directionality, a reflexive is sometimes appealed to in order to modify or emphasize the locative or the directional:

a) Bísobo amutúma pára na yěndze yame-máte
 Bísobo a- mu- túm- a pára na yěndze yame-máte
 Bishop SM- P1- send- FV Priest to house c1.1st-self
 “the bishop sent the priest to my own house”
 b) Pɛ adzemáte adze vííbi vamábyõno
 Pɛ adze-máte adze vííbi va- má- byõn - o
 path this-MATE Foc thieves SM- P2- follow- FV
 “It is this same path that thieves followed”

3.7.2. Emphatic or intensifier

In the following Tuki sentences, a reflexive takes a local antecedent that indicates how a particular participant related to an event:

B1 c) Putá amunámba cwí omwámáte
 Putá a- mu- námb- a cwí omwámáte
 Puta SM- P1- cook- FV fish herself
 “Puta cooked fish herself”
 d) Putá (omwá)máte amunámba cwià
 Putá (omwá)-máte a- mu- námb- a cwià

Putá (c1)-MATE SM- P1- cook- FV fish
 “Putá herself cooked fish”

For (B1 c, d), the readings A and C below are permitted:

A) John alone did this -i.e., only John and no other individuals did this

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

On the other hand, *mate* can appear alone in cases of emphasis. For example, in the following conversational exchange:

A; - andzu a-ma-ny-a manya mame
 who SM -P2-eat -FV food my
 "who ate my food?"

B. - Numate
 1st-MATE
 "It is ME"

The answer by B is intended to mean "It is ME, not somebody else".

3.7.5. Deictic use

Tuki reflexives can be used to refer to an antecedent that is not mentioned in the same clause, but that was previously mentioned (in the preceding discourse). In the following conversation, *onwamate* refers to an absent antecedent in the clause in which it occurs:

B5a) Yee Mbáraà amuéna bísobo
 Yee Mbáraà a- mu- én- a bísobo
 QM Mbara SM- P1- see- FV bishop
 “Did Mbara see the bishop?”

b) Mbéndo, Mbáraà atoomumuéna omwámáte
 Mbéndo, Mbáraà a- too- mu- mu- én- a omwámáte
 no Mbara SM- Neg- P1- OM- see- FV c1-MATE
 “No, Mbara did not see himself”

Comment: In 35b), *omwámáte* does not refer to *Mbára*. Instead, it refers to *bísobo* in (B5a). Anénga, omwámáte amubéeraana Mbáraà

Anénga, omwámáte a - mu- béeraan- a Mbáraà
 evening c1-MATE SM- P1- call- FV Mbara
 “In the evening, himself called Mbara”

Comment: Similarly in (B5c), *onwamate* does not refer to *Mbara* (it is impossible any way). It refers to *biàsobo* in (B5a).

This reflexive can be used to refer to one of the participants in the conversation who is not otherwise mentioned in the sentence:

(B6a) Putá amuséya omwámáte
 Putá a- mu- séy- a omwámáte
 Puta SM- P1- insult- FV c1-MATE
 “Puta insulted herself/himself”

b) Vatu infúndu vatafudínga víbúfa, veda omwámáte awudingam
 Vatu infúndu va- taù- fu- díng- a víbúfa, veda omwámáte
 men many SM- neg- xx love- FV vegetables but c1-MATE
 a- wu- ding- a- m
 SM- OM- love- FV- Inc
 “Many people do not like vegetables, but himself likes them”

In the above two sentences, the reflexive *omwámáte* can refer either to the speaker or to the addressee.

3.7.6. Focus

B15) Áne ódzu visimbi vimuéna
 Áne ódzu visimbi vi- mu- én- a
 Who FOC soldiers SM- P1- see- FV
 “who did the soldier see?”
 “They saw him”

vamwéné/pro vamuéna omwéné/pro
 vamwéné/pro va- mu- én- a omwéné/pro
 they /pro SM- P1- see- FV him/pro

B16) Visimbi vitamumuéna Puta Vamwéné/pro va mu mu(OM)en a
 omwéné/pro

Visimbi vi- taù- mu- mu- én- a
 Soldiers SM Neg P1 OM see FV
 Puta Vamwéné/pro va mu mu -en a omwéné/pro
 Puta they/pro SM P1 OM see FV him
 “Soldiers did not see Puta. They saw him”

3.8. Proxy readings

Proxy readings are possible to get in Tuki, given the appropriate context. Imagine that pictures (portraits) of the president of the republic, Paul Biya, are being sold in the bookstore. The President could pass by and take a look at his own portrait:

B8a) Víya amuéna omwámáte n(a) ipátira ra vakáráte
 Víya a- mu- én- a omwámáte
 Víya SM- P1- see- FV c1-MATE
 n(a) ipátira ra vakáráte

In shop of books
 “Viya saw himself in the bookstore”

b) Moto Pera akutuúbana omwámáte na bar
 Moto Pera a- kutu- úban- a omwámáte na bar
 Moto Pera SM- prog- listen- FV c1-MATE in snack bar
 “Moto Pera is listening to himself in a snack bar”

Comment: Moto Pera is a famous Tuki musician who happens to listen to his own musical tunes in a snack bar.

Comment: Proxy readings are, however, difficult to get with the null strategy such as the one attested in the following English sentences:

B9b) Casto washed carefully, so as not to damage the wax.

d) The movie star dressed carefully, so as not to damage the wax.

B9a) Viya a- mu- túf- iy- a omwámáte ígeree weree énga
 Viya SM P1 wash CAUS FV himself slowly while makes
 ee matéya kǒ otímbit- a Putá
 that water without touch FV Picture/portrait

“Viya washed himself slowly while making sure that the water does not touch the portrait”

This is a proxy reading. If the causative extension is removed, and the reflexive /omwámáte/ is absent, the sentence is still grammatical because the clause *Mbaàraà a-mu-toàf-a* means *Mbara took a bath* or *Mbara took a shower* or *Mbara washed himself* (his person).

Comment: The other English readings illustrated in B9 are possible in Tuki (given the appropriate context):

B9a) Viya amutúfya omwámáte ígeree weree énga ee
 matéya kǒ otímbita Putá
 Viya a- mu- túfy- a omwámáte ígeree weree énga
 Viya SM- P1- wash-FV- c1-MATE slowly while makes
 ee matéya kǒ otímbit- a Putá
 that water without touch FV Picture/portrait

“Viya washed himself slowly while making sure that the water does not touch the portrait”

Comment: It is not possible to obtain proxy readings with reciprocals in Tuki.

3.9. Ellipsis

The following Tuki sentence has only one interpretation:

B12a) Víró adíngam omwámáte otúmba Isomo
 Víró a- díng- a- m omwámáte o- túmb- a Isomo
 Viroo SM- loves- FV- Inc c1-MATE inf. bypass FV Isomo

“Viroo likes himself more than Viroo likes Isomo”

The following two readings are not available:

ii. Viroó likes himself more than Isomo likes him (=Viroó).

iii. Viroó likes himself more than Isomo likes himself

However, the above two readings are obtainable if more information is added to the constituent structure of the sentence (B12a) above:

B12a') Viroó adíngam omwámáte otúmba omu Isomo amudingam omwéné(=Viroo)

Viroó a- díng- a- m omwámáte o- túmb- a omu Isomo
 Viroo SM- love- FV- Inc c1-MATE Inf- bypass- FV as Isomo
 a- mu- díng- a m omwéné(=Viroo)
 SM- OM- love- FV- Inc him

“Viroo likes himself more than Isomo likes him (= Viroo)”

B12a") Viroó adíngam omwámáte otúmba omu Isomo ading-
 am omwámáte

Viroó a- díng- a- m omwámáte o- túmb- a omu
 Viroo SM- love- FV- Inc c1-MATE inf. bypass FV as
 Isomo a- díng- a- m omwámáte
 Isomo SM- love- FV- Inc c1-MATE

“Viroo likes himself more than Isomo likes himself”

What is valid for the argument anaphor strategy is also valid for the affixal anaphor strategy:

B13a) Viroó aadíngam otúmba Isomo

Viroó a- a- díng- a- m o- túmb- a Isomo
 Viroo SM- RFM- love- FV- Inc Inf- bypass- FV Isomo

“Viroo likes himself more than Viroo likes Isomo”

B13a') Viroó aadíngam otúmba omu Isomo amudiàngam omwéné
 (=Viroo)

Viroó a- a- díng- a- m o- túmb- a omu Isomo
 Viroo SM- RFM- love- FV- Inc Inf. bypass FV as Isomo
 a- mu- diàng- a- m omwéné (=Viroo)
 SM- OM- love- FV Inc him

“Viroo likes himself more than Isomo likes him (=Víròó)”

B13a") Víròó aadíngam otúmba ómu Isomo aadingam

Víròó a- a- díng- a- m o- túmb- a ómu
 Viroo SM- RFM- love- FV Inc Inf. bypass FV as
 Isomo a- a- díng- a- m
 Isomo SM- RFM- love- FV Inc

“Viroo likes himself more than Isomo likes himself”

PART 4 Exploration of Syntactic domains

X) a. John amáwúba Bill
 John a- má- wúb- a Bill
 SM- P2- hit- FV

“John hit Bill”

b. John amááwúba
 John a- má- á- wúb- a
 SM- P2- RFM-hit- FV

“John hit himself” (reflexive)

c. John amawúba omwámáte
 John a- maù- wúb- a omwámáte
 SM- P2- hit- FV c1-MATE

“John hit himself” (reflexive)

d. John na Bill vámawúbana
 John na Bill vá- ma- wúb- an- a
 and SM- p2- hit- REC- FV

John and Bill hit each other” (Reciprocal)

XI)

a. * John amawúba
 John a- ma- wúb- a
 SM P2 hit FV
 “John hit” (no reflexive reading)

b.* vǎdzu vámawúba
 vǎdzu vá ma wúb a
 children SM- P2- hit- FV
 “Children hit” (no reflexive reading)

c. Vǎdzu vámawúbana
 Vǎdzu vá- má- wúb- an- a
 Children SM- P2- hit- REC- FV
 “children hiteach other or children hit one another”

(Reciprocal reading)

d. John amáwúba omwéné
 John a- má- wúb- a omwéné
 John SM- P2- hit- FV him

“John hit him” (no reflexive reading, the sentence is grammatical if *John* and *him* do not corefer).

X3a) John amuéna nõsi wáa mate
 John a- mu- én- a nõsi wáa mate
 John SM- P1- see- FV mother his MATE
 “John saw his oron mother”

b) John amuéna nōsi
 John a- mu- én- a nōsi
 John SM- P1- see- FV mother
 “John saw his mother” (sentence is ok! Inalienable possession reading)

c) John na Bill vamuénana nōsi ábu
 John na Bill va- mu- én- an- a nōsi ábu
 John and Bill SM- P1- see- REC- FV mothers their
 “John and Bill saw each other’s mother or saw one another’s mother”

d) John na Bill vamuéna nōsi ábu
 John na Bill va- mu- én- a nōsi ábu
 John and Bill SM- P1- see- FV mother their
 “John and Bill saw their mother”

e) John amusúwa nōsi wáá
 John a- mu- súw- a nōsi wáá
 John SM- P1- wash- FV mother his
 “John washed his mother”

4.1. Clausemate coconstrual

4.1.1.1. Canonical transitives

C 1a) Mbaàraà amuéna omwamate
 Mbaàraà a- mu- én- a omwamate
 Mbara SM- P1- see- FV c1-MATE
 “Mbara saw himself”

b) Vákútu vamuséya vamwamate
 Vákútu va- mu- séy- a vamwa-mate
 women SM P1 insult FV c2-MATE
 “Women insulted themselves”

c) Vínu numunóba vinumate
 Vínu nu- mu- nób- a vinu-mate
 you SM- P1- beat- FV c2.1st-MATE
 “You beat yourselves”

d) Vamwéné vamárúkyá vamwamate
 Vamwéné va- má- rúky- a vamwa-mate
 they SM- P2- praise- FV c2-MATE
 “they praised themselves”

4.1.1.2. Commonly reflexive predicates

C3a) * * Donna amusúwa Donna
 Donna a- mu- súw- a Donna
 SM- P1- wash- FV

b) * Don amusumbá kito ra Don
 Don a- mu- sumb-á kito ra Don
 SM- P1- cut- FV hair of Don

c) * Mangádzu okútu amusumb á mangádzu okútu
 Mangádzu okútu a- mu- Sumb- á mangádzu okútu
 child woman SM- P1- cut- FV child woman

4.1.1.3. Psychological predicates

C4ai) Mbaàrà à abenǎm/atsinǎm omwamate

Mbaàrà à a- ben- ǎ- m /a- tsin- ǎ - m omwa-mate
 Mbara SM-hate- FV- Inc /SM-fear-FV- Inc c1-MATE
 “Mbara hates fears himself”

C4aii) Mbaàrà à a- a- ben- ǎ- m
 Mbara SM- RFM-hate- FV- Inc
 “Mbara hates himself”

C4aiii) Mbara a- a- tsin- ǎ - m
 Mbara SM- RFM-fear- FV- Inc
 “Mbara fears himself”

b) Mbaàrà à Øúbam wúsoyi na wúčo a omwamate

Mbaàrà à Ø- úb- a- m wúsoyi na wúčo a omwa-mate
 Mbara SM- hears- FV-Inc shame in front of c1-MATE
 “Mbara is ashamed of himself”

4.1.1.4. Creation and destruction predicates

C5a) vakútu vanudírim vamwamate
 vakútu va- nu- dí- i- m vamwa-mate
 Women SM- F1- destroy- FV- Inc c2-MATE
 “Women will destroy themselves”

b) Ntsína inuafówam
 Ntsína i- nu- a- fów- a- m
 machines SM- F1- RFM-build- FV Inc
 “The machines will build themselves”

4.1.1.5. Verbs of representation

C6a)

b) Mbaàrà à amudzára na wúčo wa omwamate
 Mbaàrà à a- mu- dzár- a na wúčo wa omwamate
 Mbara SM- P1- speak - FV in front of c1-MATE

“Mbara spoke for himself”

c) Mbaàràà amudzàrana wúčo wáámáte

Mbaàràà a- mu- dzár- a- na wúčo wáámáte
Mbara SM- P1- speak- FV in front c1-MATE
“Mbara spoke for himself”

4.1.2. Argument position pairings

4.1.2.1. Subject – indirect object

C7a) Putá amáfá dáasi

Putá a- má- a- f- á dáasi
Putá SM- P2- RFM-give- FV gift
“Putá gave herself a gift”

b) Mbaàràà amátífiya yëndze

Mbaàràà a- má- a- tífi- iy- a yeândze
Mbara SM- P2- RFM-show-CAUS-FV house
“Mbara showed himself a house”

C8a) Putá amáfá omwámáte daasi

Putá a- má- f- á omwámáte daasi
Putá SM- P2- give- FV c1-MATE gift
“Putá gave herself a gift”

b) Mbaàràà amatífiya omwámáte vǎdzu

Mbaàràà a-ma- tífi-y-a omwá-máte vǎdzu
Mbara SM-P1-show-CAUS-FV c1-MATE children
“Mbara showed himself to the children”

4.1.2.2. Oblique arguments

C9a) Dima amáadzaáréna

Dima a- má- a- dzaár- én- a
Dima SM- P2- RFM-talk- Appl- FV
“Dima talked to himself”

C9a’) Dima amádzáréna omwámáte

Dima a- má- dzár- én- a omwámáte
Dima SM- P2- talk- Appl- FV c1-MATE
“Dima talked to himself”

C9b) Dima amáfá kárate

Dima a- má- a- f- á kárate
Dima SM- P2- RFM-give- FV book

“Dima gave himself a book”
 C9b’) Dima amáfá omwámáte kárate
 Dima a- má- f- á omwámáte kárate
 Dima SM- P2- give- FV c1-MATE book
 “Dima gave himself a book”

4.1.2.3. Subject – adjunct

C10a) Putá amuéna noó na nyíma raá-máte
 Putá a- mu- én- a noó na nyíma raá-máte
 Puta SM- P1- see- FV snake in behind c1-MATE?
 “Puta a snake behind herself”

C10b) Mbaàràà amuséya Putá na wúčo waá-máte
 Mbaàràà a- mu- séy- a Putá na wúčo waámáte
 Mbara SM- P1- insult- FV Puta in front c1-MATE
 “Mbara insulted Puta because of himself”

4.1.2.4. Ditransitives and double complements

c11a) Putá amutífiya omwámáte na Orangena
 Putá a- mu- tífiy- a omwámáte na Orangena
 Puta SM- P1- show- FV c1-MATE to Orangena
 “Puta showed herself to Orangena”

a’) Putá amuatífiya na orangena
 Putá a- mu-a-tífiy-a na orangena
 Puta SM-P1-RFM-show-FV to Orangena
 “Puta showed herself to Orangena”

b) Mbaàràà amufá Orangena Omwámáte
 Mbaàràà a- mu- f- á Orangena omwámáte
 Mbara SM- P1- give- FV Orangena c1-MATE
 “Mbara gave orangena himself”

b’) Mbaàràà amuafá Orangena
 Mbaàràà a- mu- a- f- á Orangena
 Mbara SM- P1- RFM-give- FV Orangena
 “Mbara gave orangena himself”

4.1.2.5. Two internal arguments or adjuncts

C12a) Mbaàràà amudzáréna Orangena

- Mbaàraà a- mu- dzár- én- a Orangena
Mbara SM- P1- talk- Appl- FV Orangena
Orangena na wúzo wa omwá-máte
Orangena in front of c1-MATE
“Mbara talked about orangena to himself”
- a') *Mbaàraà amuadzáréna Orangena
Mbaàraà a- mu- a- dzár- én- a Orangena
Mbara SM- P1- RFM- talk Appl- FV Orangena
“Mbara talked about orangena to himself”
- b) Mbára amudzára na Orangena na wúčo omwá-máte
Mbára a- mu- dzár- a na
Mbara SM- P1- talk- FV to
Orangena na wúčo omwá-máte
Orangena in front c1-MATE
“Mbara talked to Orangena about himself”
- c) Mbára amuadzáréna na wúčo Orangena
Mbára a- mu- a- dzár- én- a na wúčo Orangena
Mbara SM- P1- RFM-talk- Appl- FV in front Orangena
“Mbara talked to himself about Orangena”

4.1.2.6. Clausemate noncoarguments

- C13a) Víròó amubéaraana nõsi waámáte
Víròó a- mu- béaraan- a nõsi waá-máte
Viroo SM- P1- call- FV mother POSS.c1-MATE
“Viroo called his own mother”
- bi) Víròó amupási kító raámáte
Víròó a- mu- pás- i kító raá-máte
Viroo SM- P1- comb- FV hair POSS.c1-MATE
“Viroo combed his own hair”
- bii) Viàrooà a- mu- a- paàs- i kiàto
Viroo SM P1 RFM- comb- FV hair
“Viroo combed his own hair”
- c) Víròó amudzára na mása waámáte
Víròó a- mu- dzár- a na mása waá-máte
Viroo SM- P1- talk- FV to boss POSS.c1-MATE
“Viroo talked to his own boss”
- d) Víròó amuwaa karate waámáte na tévere
Víròó a- mu- wa- a karate waá-máte na tévere

- Viroo SM- P1- put- FV book POSS.c1-self on table
 “Viroo put his own book on the table”
- e) Nkúnkúma amáfá Viroo daasi na adángo yaámáte
 Nkúnkúma a- má- f- á
 Chief SM- P2- give- FV
 Viroo daasi na adángo yaá-máte
 Viroo gift in village POSS.c1-MATE
 “The chief gave Viroo a gift in his own village”
- f) Vădzu vamusúwa mačo maabúmáte
 vădzu va- mu- súw- a mačo maabú-máte
 children SM- P1- wash - FV faces POSS.c2-MATE
 “The children washed their own faces”
- F’) Vădzu vamua súwa mačo
 vădzu va- mu- a- súw- a mačo
 children SM- P1- RFM-wash- FV faces
 “The children washed their own faces”
 (same meaning as (f) above)
- C14a) Isa Víròó aarúkyá
 Isa Víròó a- a- rúky- a
 Father Viroo SM- RFM-praise- FV
 “Viroo’s father praises himself”
- a’) Ísa Víròó arúkyá omwámáte
 Ísa Víròó a- rúky- a omwá-máte
 father Viroo SM- praise- FV c1-MATE
 “Viroo’s father praises himself”
- b)* Wuseε wa Mbára amándíri omwámáte
 wuseε wa Mbára a- má- ndír- i omwá-máte
 incompetence of Mbara SM- P2- damage- FV c1-MATE
 “Mbara saw kwardness damaged himself”
- c) nōsi Mbárá amáséra mátuwa waámáte
 nōsi Mbárá a- má- sér- a mátuwa waá-máte
 mother Mbara SM- P2- sell- FV car POSS.c1-MATE
 “Mbara’s mother sold her own car”
- X20a) vădzu vamuéna putá ra abu
 vădzu va- mu- én- a putá ra abu
 children SM P1 see FV pictures of them
 “The children saw their pictures “
- b) Putá amuúdzá na vădzu na wúčo putá ra abu Putá
 a- mu- údz -a na vădzu na wúčo putá ra abu

Putá SM- P1- tell- FV to children in front pictures of them
 “Putá told the children about their pictures”

4.1.2.7. Demoted arguments

No passive (or impositive) construction in the language.

4.1.3. Properties of antecedents

C16a) Nu ngumuawéna

Nu ngu- mu- a- wén- a
 I SM- P1- RFM-see- FV
 “I saw myself”

a’) Nu ngumuéna numáte
 Nu ngu- mu- én- a nu-máte
 I SM- P1- see- FV c1.1st-self
 “I saw myself”

b) Mamu omuawéna

Mamu o- mu- a- wén- a
 You SM- P1- RFM-see- FV
 “you saw yourself”

b’) Mamu omuéna mamu- máte (maámáte)
 Mamu o- mu- én- a mamu-máte (maámáte)
 You SM- P1- see- FV c1.2nd-MATE
 “you saw yourself”

C17a) Nu ngumuasúwa

Nu ngu- mu- a- súw- a
 I SM- P1- RFM-wash FV
 “I washed myself”

a’) Nu ngumusúwa numáte
 Nu ngu- mu- súw- a nu-máte
 I SM- P1- wash- FV c1.1st-MATE
 “I washed myself”

b) Nu ngaabénam

Nu nga- a- bén- a- m
 I SM- RFM-hate- FV Inc
 “I hate myself”

b’) Nu mbénam numáte
 Nu m- bén- a- m nu-máte
 I SM- hate- FV- Inc c1.1st-MATE
 “I hate myself”

c) nu ngumudzána Mbaàràà na wúčo a numáte
 nu ngu- mu- dzán- a Mbaàràà na wúčo a numáte
 I SM- P1- tell- FV Mbara in front of c1.1st-MATE
 “I told Mbara about myself”

d) Nu ngumuéna nòó bēbe na numáte (memáte)
 Nu ngu- mu- én- a nòó bēbe na un-máte (memáte)
 I SM- P1- see- FV snake near of c1.1st-MATE
 “I saw a snake near myself”

e) no passive

f) Nu ngumubéraána nōsi wamemáte
 Nu ngu- mu- béraán- a nōsi wamemáte
 I SM- P1- call- FV Mother of-c1.1st-MATE
 “I called my own mother”

g) bāba wáme aasamánam
 bāba wáme a- a- samán- a- m
 Father my SM- RFM- admire- FV- Inc
 “My father admires himself”

g') Bāba wáme asamánam
 bāba wáme a- samán- a- m
 father my SM- admire- FV- Inc
 “My father admires himself”

4.1.3.4. Quantifiers

C19a) Okútu ongíma amáawéna
 okútu ongíma a- má- a- wén- a
 woman all SM- P2- RFM- see- Fv
 “Every woman saw herself”

a') Okútu ongíma amáéna omwámáte
 okútu ongíma a- má- én- a omwá-máte
 woman all SM- P2- see- FV c1-MATE
 “Every woman saw herself”

b) Mangádzu ongíma amáasúwa
 Mangádzu ongíma a- má- a- súw- a
 Child all SM- P2- RFM- wash- FV
 “Every child washed himself”

b') Mangádzu ongíma amásúwa omwámáte
 mangádzu ongíma a- má- súw- a omwá-máte
 child all SM- P2- wash- FV c1-MATE
 “Every child washed himself”

c) Mangádzu a sukúru ongíma aabénam
 Mangádzu a sukúru ongíma a- a- bén- a- m
 Child of school all SM- RFM-hate- FV- Inc
 “Every student hates himself”

c) Mangádzu a sukúru ongíma abénam omwá-máte
 Mangádzu a sukúru ongíma a- bén- a-m omwá-máte
 Child of school all SM- hate- FV-Inc c1-MATE

“Every student hates himself”

d) Mangádzu ongíma amaéna noó bëbe naámáte
 Mangádzu ongíma a- ma- én- a noó bëbe naá-máte
 child every SM- P2- see- FV snake near of-c1-
 MATE

“Every child saw a snake near himself”

e) Mangádzu ongíma amubéraana nۆsi waámáte
 Mangádzu ongíma a-mu-béeraan-a nۆsi waá-máte
 child all SM-P1-call-FV mother POSS.c1-MATE
 "Every child called his own mother"

f) Ísa mwánaù ongíma aasámanăm
 Ísa mwána ongíma a- a- sáman-ă-m
 father son all SM- RFM-admire-FV- Inc
 "Every son's father admires himself"

f') Isa mwaùnaù ongíma asámanăm omwámáte
 Isa mwaùnaù ongíma a- sáman -ă- m omwá-máte
 Father son all SM- admire- FV- Inc c1-MATE
 "Every son's father admires himself"

4.1.3.5. Questioned antecedents

C20a) ăndzu amáawéna
 ăndzu a- má- a- wén- a
 Who SM P2 SELF see FV
 "Who saw himself?"

a') ăndzu amuéna omwámáte
 andzu a- mu- én- a omwámáte
 who SM P1 see FV c1-MATE
 "Who saw himself?"

b) ăndzu amuasúwa
 ăndzu a- mu- a- súw- a
 who SM P1 SELF wash FV
 "Who washed himself?"

b') ăndzu amusúwa omwámáte
 ăndzu a- mu- súw- a omwámáte
 who SM P1 wash FV c1-MATE
 "who washed himself?"

c) *ǎndzu amuéna noó bëbe naámáte*
ǎndzu a- mu- én- a noó bëbe naá-máte
 Who SM p1 see FV snake near of.c1-MATE
 "Who saw a snake near himself"

d) *ǎndzu amubéaraana nõsi waámáte*
ǎndzu a- mu- béaraan- a nõsi waá-máte
 who SM P1 call FV mother his-MATE
 "Who called his own mother?"

e) *ísa ane odzu asámanãm omwámáte*
ísa ane odzu a- sáman- ǎ- m omwámáte
 father who FOC SM admires FV I c1-MATE
 "whose father admires himself"

4.1.3.6. Reverse binding

C21a) * *omwámáte amuéna Mbaàraà*
omwámáte a- mu- én- a Mbaàraà
 c1-MATE SM P1 see FV Mbara
 "Himself saw Mbara"

b) *Vítsumate tumusuéna vítsu*
vítsumate tu- mu- su- én- a vítsu
 c2.1st -MATE SM- P1- OM- see- FV us
 "Ourselves saw us"

c)* *omwámáte amuéna noó na nyima na Mbaàraà*
omwámáte a- mu- én- a noó na nyima na
 Mbaàraà
 c1-MATE SM- P1- see- FV snake in back of Mbara

d)* *omwámáte amubwíya Mbaàraà*
omwámáte a- mu- bwíy- a Mbaàraà
 c1-MATE SM- P1- frighten- FV Mbara

e) *Dima amudzáréna na wúčo a Mbaàraà*
 Dima a- mu- a- dzár- én- a na wúčo a
 Mbaàraà
 Dima SM- P1- RFM- speak- Appl- FV in front of Mbara
 "Dima spoke to himself about Mbara"

Comment: Binding is not possible between the reflexive and Mbara. It is mandatory between Dima and the reflexive.

e') *Díma amudzára na omwámáte na wúčo a Mbaàraà*

Díma a- mu- dzár- a na omwámáte na wúčo
 Dima SM- P1- speak- FV to c1-MATE in front
 a Mbaàràà
 of Mbara

"Dima spoke to himself about Mbara"

Comment: Binding is not possible between the reflexive and Mbara. It is mandatory between Dima and the reflexive.

f) Dima amuudzána na wúčo a Mbaàràà
 Dima a- mu- a- udzán- a na wúčo a
 Mbaàràà

Dima SM- P1- RFM- tell- FV in front of Mbara

"Dima told himself about Mbara"

Comment: Binding is not possible between the reflexive and Mbara. It is mandatory between Dima and the reflexive.

f') Dima amuudzána omwámáte na wúčo a Mbaàràà

Dima a- mu- udzán- a omwámáte na wúčo a Mbaàràà
 Dima SM- P1- tell- FV c1-MATE in front of Mbara

"Dima told himself about Mbara"

Comment: Binding is not possible between the reflexive and Mbara. It is mandatory between Dima and the reflexive.

g)N/A

h)N/A

c22a)*)* omwámáte /omwéné amáberaána nõsi Mbaàràà

omwámáte /omwéné a- má- beraán- a nõsi Mbaàràà
 c1-MATE he/she SM- P2- call- FV mother Mbara

"himself/he /she telephoned Mbara's mother"

b)* nõsi waámáte amasinga ee pro amúkós i Mbaàràà

nõsi waámáte a- maù-sing-a ee pro a- mú- kós-
 mother his-self SM- P2-love-FV that pro SM- P2- criticize-

i Mbaàràà

FV Mbara

"His own mother wanted to criticize Mbara"

c)* nõsi waámáte amábwiya Mbaàràà

nõsi waá-máte a- má- bwíy- a Mbaàràà
 Mother his-MATE SM- P2- frighten- FV Mbara

"His own mother frightened Mbara"

d)* Putá amuudzána nōsi waá-máte na nōsi a Mbaàràà
 Putá a- mu- udzán- a nōsi waá-máte na nōsi a
 Mbaàràà

Putá SM- P1- tell- FV mother his-MATE in front of Mbara
 "Putá told his own mother about Mbara"

e) Putá ra nōsi waámáte amuadómena Mbaàràà

Putá ra nōsi waámáte a- mu- adóm- en- a Mbaàràà
 Picture of mother his-MATE SM- P1- fall- Appl- FV Mbara
 "A picture of his own mother fell on Mbara"

f) Putá na nōsi waámáte ima séména Mbára

Putá na nōsi waámáte i- ma sém-én-a Mbáraù
 Picture of mother his-self SM- P2- be.sweet-App1-FV Mbara
 "A picture of his own mother pleased Mbara"

Word order and weak crossover

Mbáraù, nōsi Waá(mate) amudíngam

Mbáraù, nōsi Waá(mate) a- mu- díng- aù- mù

Mbara mother his (self) SM- OM- love- FV- Inc

"Mbara, his(own) mother loves"

Comment: The above sentence is grammatical.

4.1.4. Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1. Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

c23) vakútu vamuaváka

vakútu va- mu- a- vák- a
 women SM- P1- RFM- help- FV

"The women helped themselves"

c23') vakútu vamuáka vamwámáte

vakútu va- mu- ák- a vamwá-máte
 women SM- P1- help- FV c2-MATE

"The women helped themselves"

Comment: This example can have the meanings c24b and c24e).

c25a) vakútu vamuárúkyá

vakútu va- mu- a- rúky- a
 Women SM- P1- RFM- praise - FV

"The women praised themselves"

a') vakútu vamuárúkyá vamwámáte

vakútu va- mu- rúky- a vamwá-máte
 women SM- P1- praise- FV c2-MATE

"The women praised themselves"

b) Vakútu vamuaúna

Vakútu va- mu- a- ún- a
 women SM- P1- RFM- kill FV

"The women killed themselves"

b') Vakútu vamuúna vamwámáte

vakútu va- mu- ún- a vamwá-máte
 women SM- P1- kill- FV c2-MATE

"The women killed themselves"

4.1.4.2. Reciprocal readings

c26a) vakútu vamabarúmana

vakútu va- ma- barúm- an- a
 Women SM- P2- meet- RCM- FV

"The women meet with each other"

c26b) vakútu vamuénana

vakútu va- mu- én- an- a
 Women SM- P1- see- RCM- FV

"The women saw each other"

c) vakútu vamunafénana

vakútu va- mu- nafén-an- a
 women SM- P1- fight- RCM-FV

"The women fought each other"

c27/N/A

28a) Mbáraà na Putá vamarúkyá

Mbáraà na Putá va- mu- a- rúky- a
 Mbara and Puta SM- P1- RFM- praise- FV

" Mbara and Puta praised themselves"

28a') Mbáraà na Putá vamarúkyá vamwámáte

Mbáraà na Putá va- mu- rúky- a vamwámáte
 Mbara and Puta SM- P1- praise- FV themselves

"Mbara and Puta praised themselves"

28b) Vakútu vamarúkyá

Vakútu va- mu- a- rúky- a
 women SM- P1- RFM-praise -FV

"The women praised themselves"

b') Vakútu vamarúkyá vamwámáte

vakútu va- mu- rúky- a- vamwá-máte
 Women SM- P1- praise-FV c2-MATE

"The women praised themselves"

- c 29a) N/A
 b) N/A
 c) N/A

c30) Mbáraà ra Putá vabúnganam ee pro/vamwéné
 vadínganam

Mbáraà ra Putá va- búngan- a- m ee pro/vamwéné
 Mbara and Puta SM- think- FV- Inc that pro/they
 va- díng an- á- m
 SM- love- RCM-FV- Inc

"Mbara and Puta think that they love each other"

4.1.4.3. Sociative readings

C31a) Kánda imuénda oróngo
 Kánda i- mu- énd- a- oróngo
 Monkeys SM- P1- go- FV together
 "The monkeys left together"

b) Kánda imunya cwí oróngo
 Kánda i- mu- ny- a- cwí oróngo
 Monkeys SM- P1- eat- FV fish together
 "Monkeys ate fish together"

4.1.4.4. Antipassive readings

C32a) Ngo imunúma vatu
 Ngo i- mu- núm- a vatu
 Panther SM- P1- bite- FV people
 "The panther bit people"

b) Yomanε Øumbaanam vatu
 Yomanε Ø- umbaan- aù- mù vatu
 government arrest- FV- inc people
 "The government arrests people"

c) Mbáraà arúkyam vátu
 Mbáraà a- rúky- a- m vátu
 Mbara SM- praise- FV- Inc People
 "Mbara praises people"

4.2. Cross- clausal binding

X4) N/A

X5) Mbáraà amususésa ee ini tumáa osesa osáki na a/
 omwéné yεkεε

Mbáraà a- mu- su- sés- a ee ini tu- má- a o-
 Mbara SM- P1- OM- ask- FV that so SM- try- FV inf
 sés- a o- sák- i na a/ *omwéné* yεkεε
 ask FV Inf- chat- FV with him / he quietly
 “Mbara asked us to try to ask you to talk to him quietly”

X6) Mbáraà amudza ee Dima adíngam mangádzu okútu
 ódzu amámubátiya *omwéné*

Mbáraà a-b ee Dima a- díng- a- m mangádzu
 Mbara xx that Dima SM- love- FV- Inc girl

okútu ódzu a- má- mu- bátiy - a *omwéné*
 woman rel- SM- P2- OM- greet- FV him
 "Mbara said that Dima loves the girl who kissed *him*"

X7) Mbára a-b ee Dima afumukósim *omwéné*/**omwámáte*
 Mbára a-b? ee Dima a-fu-mu-kós-i-m
 SM says that Dima SM-HAB-OM-criticize- FV-Inc
omwéné/**omwá-máte*
 him /*c1-MATE
 "Mbara says that Dima usually criticizes him/*himself"

4.2.1. Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

X8a) Mbáraà amuúdzá ee *Putá* aadingam

Mbáraà a- mu- údzá ee *Putá* a- a
 Mbara SM- P1- say that *Putá* SM- RFM-
 díng- a- m
 love- FV- Inc
 “Mbara said that Puta loves herself”

X8a’) Mbáraà amuúdzá ee *Putá* aa dingam
omwaàmaàte

Mbáraà a- mu- údzá ee *Putá* a- a
 Mbara SM- P1- say that *Putá* SM- RFM--
 díng- a- m *omwaà-maàte*
 love- FV- Inc c1-MATE
 “Mbara said that Puta loves himself”

X9) N/A

d)* Mbáraà abúnganam ee Putá Øidzímam ee Nduma adíngam
omwámáte

Mbáraà	a-	búngan-	a-	m	ee	Putá	Ø-	idzím-	aù-
Mbara	SM-	thinks-	FV-	Inc	that	Putá	SM-	knows	FV-
ím	ee	Nduma	a-	díng-		a-	m	<i>omwámáte</i>	
Inc	that	Nduma	SM	loves		FV	Inc	c1-MATE	

e)* Mbáraà abúnganam ee Putá Øidzímam ee omwámáte adíngám Aróbo

Mbáraà	a-	búngan-	a-	m	ee	Putá	Ø-	idzím-	a-	m
Mbara	SM-	thinks-	FV-	Inc	that	Putá		know-	FV-	Inc
ee	<i>omwámáte</i>	a-	díng-		aù-	mù	Aróbo			
That	himself	SM-	love-		FV-	Inc	Arobo			

f)* Masína amudzǎna Mbáraà ee Puta adíngam
omwámáte

Masína	a-	mu-	dzǎn-	a	Mbáraà
Masina	SM-	P1-	tell-	FV	Mbara
ee Puta	a-	díng-	a-	m	<i>omwámáte</i>
that Puta	SM-	love-	FV-	Inc	c1-MATE

g)* Masína amudzán a Mbára ee *omwámáte* adíngam ongendo

Masína	a	mu	dzán	a	Mbára
Masina	SM-	P1-	tell-	FV	Mbara
ee	<i>omwámáte</i>	a-	díng-	a-	m
that	c1-MATE	SM	loves	FV	Inc
ongendo					
ongendo					

D2a)* Mbáraù amuotó ee Putá amudínga *omwámáte*

Mbáraù	a-	mu-	ot-	ó	ee	Putá	a-
Mbara	SM-	P1-	accept	FV	that	Putá	SM-
mu-	díng-	a		<i>omwámáte</i>			
P1-	love-	FV		c1-MATE			

D3b)* Mbáraù amuwánda na Yéndze ará *omwámáte* amutóo

Mbáraù	a-	mu-	wánd-	a	na		
Mbara	SM-	P1-	return -	FV	in		
yéndze	ará		<i>omwá-máte</i>	a-	mu-	tó-	o
house when		c1-MATE	SM-	P1-	tire-	FV	

c)* Ara Putá amutírina omwámáte, Mbáraà amuwánda na yéendze
 Ara Putá a- mu- tír- in- a
 Ara Puta SM- P1- write- Appl- FV
 omwá-máte, Mbáraà a- mu- wánd- a na yéendze
 c1-MATE Mbara SM- P1- return - FV in house

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

X12a) Nu ndíngam ee pro ngénda

Nu n- díng- a- m ee ng- énd- a
 I SM- love- FV- Inc that SM- go- FV
 "I want [to leave]"

a') Nu ndíngam ee Mbáraù eùnd a

Nu n- díng- a- m ee Mbáraù énd a
 I SM- love- FV- Inc that Mbara go- FV
 " I want [Mbara to leave]"

a") Nu ngumuénga na Mbáraà ee pro énda

Nu ngu- mu- éng- a- na Mbáraà ee pro énd- a
 I SM- P1- make-FV in Mbara that pro go- FV
 "I told Mbara [to leave]"

b) N/A

c) Nu ngumuéna mútu énda

Nu ngu- mu- én- a- mútu énd- a
 I SM- P1- see- FV man go- FV
 "I saw [someone leaving]"

d) N/A

e) N/A

D4a)* Mbáraà amusésaDima ee pro amurúkyá omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- sés- a- Dima ee pro a- mu- rúky- a
 Mbara SM -P1- ask- FV Dima that pro SM- P1- praise- FV
 omwá-máte
 c1-MATE
 "Mbara asked Dima to praise himself"

b)* Mbáraù amusésa Dima ee pro amufá omwámáte kárate

Mbáraù a- mu- sés- a- Dima ee pro a- mu- f- á
 Mbara SM- P1- ask- FV Dima that pro SM- P1- give- FV

Omwá-máte kárate
c1-MATE book

"Mbara asked Dima to give a book to himself"

c)* Mbáraà amusésa Dima ee pro adzára na

Mbáraà a- mu- sés- a Dima ee a- dzár- a na

Mbara SM- P1- ask- FV Dima that SM- talk- FV to

omwá-máte

c1-MATE

"Mbara asked Dima to talk to himself"

d)* Mbáraà amusésa Dima ee pro adzár a na wúčo a

omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- sés- a Dima ee pro a- dzár- a na

Mbara SM- P1- ask- FV Dima that pro SM talk FV in

wúčo a omwá-máte

front of c1-MATE

"Mbara asked Dima to talk about himself"

e)N/A

f)* Mbáraà amuénga na Dima ee pro ayáana

omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- éng- a na Dima

Mbara SM- P1- make- FV in Dima

ee pro a- yáan- a omwá-máte

that pro SM- pay FV c1-MATE

"Mbara ordered Dima to pay himself"

g)* Mbáraà amuénga na Dima pro udzán ee Omwámáte

amatímba peyó

Mbáraà a- mu- éng- a na Dima

Mbara SM- P1- make- FV in Dima

ee pro udzán ee omwá-máte

that pro tell that c1-MATE

a- ma- tím- a peyó

SM- P2- possess- FV intelligence

"Mbara ordered Dima to say that himself was smart"

h)* Mbáraà amuénga na Dima ee pro udzá ee Putá amadínga

omwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- éng- a na

Mbara SM- P1- make- FV in

Dima ee udz- á ee Putá

Dima that tell- FV that Puta
a- maù- díng- a omwá-máte
SM- P2- love- FV c1-MATE
"Mbara ordered Dima to say that Puta loved himself"

Infinitives in Tuki do not permit Lexical subjects:

- D5 a) N/A
b) N/A
D6 a) N/A
b) N/A
D7 a) N/A
b) N/A
c) N/A
d) N/A
D5 c) N/A
d) N/A
D6 c) N/A
d)N/A

Tuki does not seem to permit small clauses

- D8 a) N/A
b)N/A
c)N/A

4.2.3. Backwards anaphora

Coreference is possible where X is an anaphor coconstructed with Oliver (Mbára).

D9a) ee omwámáte amáfúmana nyima omásaséya Mbáraà
ee omwámáte a-má-fúm- a na nyima o- má- saséy- a
that c1-MATE SM-P2-arrive- FV in back SM-P2-bother-FV
Mbáraà
Mbara
"That himself was late bothered Mbara"

b) ee omwámáte amáfúma na nyíma omátífiy a ee Mbára
ubám wube
ee omwámáte a- má- fúm- a na nyíma o- má- tífiy-
that c1-MATE SM- P2- arrive- FV in back SM- P2- show-
a ee Mbára ub- á- m wube
FV that Mbara hear- FV- Inc bad
"That himself was late showed that Mbara was feeling bad"

c) ee omwámáte amafúma na nyíma omáénga
 ee Mbára uba wube
 ee omwámáte a- ma- fúm- a
 that c1-MATE SM- P2- arrive- FV
 na nyíma o- má- éng- a ee
 in back SM- P2- make- FV that
 Mbára uba wube
 Mbara hear bad
 "That himself was late made Mbara feel bad"

d)N/A

Section 4.3. Principle C- type effects

E1a)* omwéné amukósi Mbáraà
 omwéné a- mu- kós- i Mbáraà
 he/she SM- P1- criticize- FV Mbara
 "He criticized Mbara"

b)* omwéné amuuàdza ee Putá amákósi Mbáraà
 omwéné a- mu- uàdz- a ee Putá
 he SM- P1- say- FV that Puta
 a- má- kós- i Mbáraà
 SM- P2- criticize FV Mbara
 "he said that Puta criticized Mbara"

c)* omwéné amukósi mangádzu ómbwene
 omwéné a- mu- kós- i mangádzu ómbwene
 he SM- P1- criticize- FV child young
 "he criticized the boy"

d)* omwéné amuódza ee Puta amákósi mangádzu ómbwene
 omwéné a- mu- ódz- a ee Puta
 he SM- P1- say- FV that Puta
 a- má- kós- i mangádzu ómbwene
 SM P2 criticize FV child young
 "he said Puta criticized the boy"

E2a)* nōsi waa amákósi Mbáraà
 nōsi waa a- má- kós- i Mbáraà
 mother his SM- P2- criticize - FV Mbara
 "his mother criticized Mbara"

b)* nōsi waa amúódza ee Puta amákósi Mbáraà
 nōsi waa a- mú- ódz- a

Mother his SM- P2- say- FV
 ee Puta a- má- kós- i Mbáraà
 that Puta SM- P2- criticize- FV Mbara

"His mother said Puta criticized Mbara"

c)* nōsi waa amúkósi mangádzu ómbwene
 nōsi waa a- mú- kós- i mangádzu ómbwene
 Mother his SM- P2- criticize- FV child young

"His mother criticized the boy"

c)* nōsi waa amuúza ee Puta amakósi mangádzu
 oàmbwene

nōsi waa a- mu- údz- a
 Mother his SM- P1- say - FV
 ee Puta a- ma- kós- i mangádzu

oàmbweùneù

that Puta SM- P2- criticize FV child young

"his mother said Puta criticized the boy"

E3a)* mútu odzu omwéné amádinga amákósi mangádzu ómbwene

mútu odzu omwéné a- má- dǐng- a a- má- kós- i
 man rel. he SM- P2- love- FV SM- P2- criticize- FV
 mangádzu ómbwene

child young

"The man who he liked criticized the boy"

b) mútu oàdzu omwéné amádinga amakósi Mbaàràà

mútu oàdzu omwéné a- má- dǐng- a a- ma kós- i Mbaàràà
 man rel. he SM- P2- love- FV SM- P2- criticize- FV Mbara

"The man who he liked criticized Mbara"

c)* mútu ódzu amámudinga omwéné amákoàsi
 mangádzu ómbwene

mútu ódzu a- má- mu- dǐng- a
 man REL- SM- P2- OM- love- FV

omwéné a- má- koàs- i
 him SM- P2- criticize- FV

mangádzu ómbwene

Child young

"The man who liked him criticized the boy"

E4a)* Mbaàràà amukósi Mbaàràà

Mbaàràà a- mu- kós- i Mbaàràà

Mbara SM- P1- criticize- FV Mbara
 "Mbara criticized Mbara"

b)* Mbaàràà amuúdzá ee Putá amakósi Mbaàràà

Mbaàràà a- mu- údz- a ee Putá
 Mbara SM P1 say FV that Puta

a- ma- kós- i Mbaàràà

SM- P2- criticize- FV Mbara

"Mbara said Puta criticized Mbara"

c)* Mangádzu ómbwene amudza ee Putá amákósi mangádzu ómbwene
 mangádzu ómbwene a- mu- dza ee Putá a-má- kós-i
 child young SM- P1- say that Puta SM- P2- criticize-FV
 mangádzu ómbwene
 child young

"The boy said Puta criticized the boy"

E5a) nõsi Mbaàràà amukósi Mbaàràà

nõsi Mbaàràà a- mu- kós- i Mbaàràà
 Mother Mbara SM- P1- criticize- FV Mbara

"Mbara's mother criticized Mbara"

b) nõsi mbaàràà amuúdzá ee Puta amákósi mbaàràà

nõsi mbaàràà a- mu- údz- a ee Puta a-má- kós-
 Mother Mbara SM- P1- say- FV that Puta SM-P2- criticize-
 i mbaàràà
 FV Mbara

"Mbara's mother said Puta criticized Mbara"

c) nõsi mángádzu ómbwene amukósi mángádzu ómbwene
 nõsi mángádzu ómbwene a- mu- kós- i mángádzu ómbwene
 mother child young SM- P1- criticize- FV child young

"The boy's mother criticized the boy"

d) nõsi mángádzu ómbwene amuúdzá ee Putaà amakoàsi
 mángádzu ómbwene

nõsi mángádzu ómbwene a- mu-údz- a
 mother child young SM- P1-say-FV

ee Putaà a-maù- koàs-i mángádzu
 ómbwene

that Puta SM-P2-criticize-FV child young

"The boy's mother said Puta criticized the boy" Check translation and gloss

E6a) mútu ódzu Mbaàràà amádíngá amakósi Mbaàràà

mútu ódzu Mbaàràà a- má- díng- a

Man REL Mbara SM- P2- love- FV
 a- ma- kós- i Mbaàràà
 SM- P2- criticize- FV Mbara
 "The man who Mbara liked criticized Mbara"

b) mútu ódzu mangádzu ómbweùneù amádinga
 amákósi mángádzu ómbwene
 mútu ódzu mangádzu ómbwene a- má- díng-
 man REL child young SM- P2- love-
 a a- má- kós- i mángádzu ómbwene
 FV SM P2 criticize FV child young
 "The man who the boy liked criticized the boy"

c) mútu ódzu amádinga mángádzu ómbwene amákósi
 mángádzu ómbwene
 mútu ódzu a- má- díng- a
 man REL SM- P2- love- FV
 mángádzu ómbwene a- má- kós-
 child young SM P2 criticize
 i mángádzu ómbwene
 FV child young
 "The man who liked the boy criticized the boy"

d)* Mbaàràà amuúdzá ee Putá amákósi mángádzu ombwene
 Mbaàràà a- mu- údz- a ee
 Mbara SM- P1- say- FV that
 Putá a- má- kós- i mángádzu ombwene
 Puta SM- P2- criticize- FV child young
 "Mbara said Puta criticizes the boy"

E8a)* nōsi mángádzu ómbwene a- má- kós- i Mbaàràà
 Mother child young SM- P2- criticize- FV Mbara
 "The boy's mother criticized Mbara"

b) * nōsi mángádzu ómbwene amuudza Putaà amakósi Mbaàràà
 nōsi mángádzu ómbwene a- mu- udz- a Putaà a-maà-kós-i
 mother child young SM-P1-say-FV Puta SM-P2-criticize-FV
 Mbaàràà
 Mbara
 "The boy's mother said Puta criticized Mbara"

c)* nōsi Mbaàràà amákósi mángádzu ómbwene

nōsi Mbaàraà a- má- kós- i mángádzu ómbwene
 mother Mbara SM- P2- criticize- FV child young
 "Mbara's mother criticized the boy"

d)* nōsi Mbaàraà amuudza ee Putaà amákósi mangádzu
 ombwene

nōsi Mbaàraà a- mu- udz- a ee Putaà a- má-
 kós-
 Mother Mbara SM- P1- say- FV that Puta SM- P2- criticize-
 i mánzádzu oúmbweùne
 FV child Young
 "Mbara's mother said Puta criticized the boy"

E9a)* mútu ódzu mánzádzu ómbweùne amádínga amákósi Mbaàraà
 mútu ódzu mánzádzu ómbwene a- má- díng- a a- má-
 Man rel. child young SM- P2- love- FV SM- P2 -
 kós- i Mbaàraà
 criticize- FV Mbara
 "The man who the boy liked criticized the boy"

b)* mútu ódzu Mbara amádínga amákósi mánzádzu Ómbwene
 mútu ódzu Mbara a- má- díng- a a- má- kós-
 man rel. Mbara SM- P2- love- FV SM- P2- criticize-
 i mánzádzu Ómbwene
 FV child young
 "The man who Mbara liked criticized the boy"

c)* mútu ódzu amádínga Mbára amákósi mánzádzu ombwene
 mútu ódzu a- má- díng- a
 man rel. SM- P2- love- FV
 Mbára a- má- kós- i mánzádzu ombwene
 Mbaàraà SM P2 criticize FV child young
 "The man who criticized Mbara like the child"

d)* mútu ódzu amádínga mánzádzu ómbwene amákósi Mbaàraà
 mútu ódzu a- má- díng- a mánzádzu ómbwene a- má-
 man REL SM- P2- love- FV child young SM- P2-
 kós- i Mbaàraà
 criticize- FV Mbara
 "The man who liked the boy criticized Mbara"

4.4. More on long distance anaphor strategies

D10) Mbaàraà abunganam ee ómwene/ pro atímb am péyo
 Mbaàraà a- bungan- a- m ee ómwene/pro a-
 Mbara SM- think- FV- Inc that he/pro SM
 tímb- a- m péyo
 possess- FV- Inc intelligence
 "Mbara thinks that he is intelligent"

4.4.1. Position of the antecedent

D11a)* Onana amuudzăna Ombòó ee Mvogo atamudínga omwámáte

Onana a- mu- udzăn- a Ombòó ee Mvogo
 Onana SM- P1- tell - FV Omboo that Mvogo
 a- ta- mu- dín- a omwámáte
 SM- Neg- OM- love- FV c1-MATE
 "Onana told Omboo that Mvogo does not like himself"

b)* Onana amuudzăna ombooà ee Mvogo atamudínga omwámáte

Onana a- mu- udzăn- a Ombooà ee Mvogo a-
 Onana SM- P1- tell- FV Omboo that Mvogo SM-
 ta- mu- dín- a omwámáte
 Neg- OM- love- FV c1-MATE
 "Onana told Omboo that Mvogo does not like himself"

c) Onana amuudzăna Ombòó ee omwámáte atadínga Mvogo

Onana a- mu- udzăn- a Ombòó ee omwámáte a- ta-
 Onana SM- P1- tell- FV Omboo that c1-MATE SM-
 Neg
 dín- a Mvogo
 love- FV Mvogo
 "Onana told Omboo that himself does not like Mvogo"

"Onana told Omboo that himself does not like Mvogo"

d)* Ombòó amuudzăna Onana ee omwámáte atadínga Mvogo

Ombòó a- mu- udzăn- a Onana ee omwámáte a- ta-
 Omboo SM- P1- tell- FV Onana that c1-MATE SM- Neg-
 dín- a Mvogo
 love- FV Mvogo
 "Omboo told Onana that himself does not like Mvogo"

e)* Ombòó Øidzímam ee Onana abunganam ee Onana
 atamudínga omwámáte

Ombòó Ø- idzím-a-m ee Onana a-bungan-a-m

Omboo SM- know-FV-Inc that Onana SM-think- FV-Inc
 ee Onana a- taù- mu- dǐng- a omwámáte
 that Mvogo SM- Neg- OM- love- FV c1-MATE
 "Omboo knows that Onana thinks that Mvogo does not like himself"

b) nõsi Onana abunganam ee omwámáte atama dǐnga
 Mvogo
 nõsi Onana a- bungan- aù- mù ee omwá-máte a-
 taù- mother Onana SM- think- FV- Inc that c1-MATE
 SM- Neg- ma- dǐng- a Mvogo
 OM- love- FV Mvogo
 "Onana's mother thinks that herself does not like Mvogo"

c)* Onana abunganam ee Mvogo atamudǐnga omwámáte
 Onana- a- bungan- aù- mù- ee Mvogo a- taù- mu-
 Onana SM- think- FV- Inc that Mvogo SM- Neg- OM-
 dǐng- a omwá-máte
 love FV c1-MATE
 "Onana thinks that Mvogo does not like himself"

d)* kárate wa Onana amuúdzá ee Mvogo atamá dǐnga
 omwámáte
 kárate wa Onana a- mu- údzá ee Mvogo a- taù-
 letter of Onana SM P1 say that Mvogo SM- Neg-
 má- dǐng- a omwá-máte
 P2- love - FV c1-MATE
 "Onana's letter said that Mvogo does not like himself"

e)* Onana amuubá ee Putá atamudǐnga omwámáte
 Onana a- mu- ub- á ee Putá a- taù- mu- dǐng- a
 Onana SM- P1- hear- FV that Puta SM- Neg- OM- love- FV
 Omwá-máte
 c1-MATE
 "Onana heard that Puta does not like himself"

f) N/A (no passive in Tuki)
 D13a)* Onana amuúdzá ee omwámáte amáwaa omwámáte tsóno
 Onana a- mu- údz- a ee omwá-máte a- má- wa- a
 Onana SM- P1- say- FV that c1-MATE SM- P2- put- FV
 omwámáte tsóno
 c1-MATE clothes
 "Onana said that himself had dressed himself"

b)* Onana amuúdzá ee omwámáte amuobeta omwámáte
 Onana a- mu- údzá- ee omwámáte a- mu- obet- a
 Onana SM- P1- say- that c1-MATE SM- P1- wound- FV
 omwá-máte
 c1-MATE

"Onana said that himself wounded himself"

c)N/A

4.4.2. Antecedent properties

4.4.2.1. Person

D13a')* nu ngumuúdzá ee omwámáte amáwaa omwámáte tsoàno
 nu ngu- mu- údz- a ee omwá-máte a- má- wa- a
 I SM- P1- say- FV that c1-MATE SM- P2- wound- FV
 omwá-máte tsoàno
 c1-MATE clothes

"I said that himself had dressed himself"

a'')* manu omuúdzá ee omwámáte amáwaa omwá-máte tsoàno
 manu o- mu- údz- a ee omwámáte a- má- wa- a
 you SM- P1- say- FV that c1-MATE SM- P2- wound - FV
 omwá-máte tsoàno
 c1-MATE clothes

"you said that himself had dressed himself"

b')* nu ngumuúdzá ee omwámáte amáobéta I omwámáte
 nu ngu- mu- údz- a ee omwá-máte a- má- obét- a I
 I SM- P1- say- FV that c1-MATE SM- P2- wound- FV
 omwá-máte
 c1-MATE

"I said that himself had wounded himself"

b'')*Mamu omuúdzá ee omwámáte amáobéta omwámáte
 Mamu o-mu-údz- a ee omwá-máte a- má- obét- a
 you SM-P1-say- FV that c1-MATE SM P2 wound FV
 omwá-máte
 c1-MATE

"You said that himself had wounded himself"

b''')*un ngu-mu-údz-a ee numáte nga-má-obét-a un-mate
 I SM-P1-say-FV that myself SM-P2-wound- FV myself

"I said that himself had wounded himself"

JP: The original text is missing here and below. What conditions the difference between numáte and un-mate? Can you provide a morpheme breakdown for the words in the gloss please? (here & below)

b''')*Mamu o- mu- údz- a ee mámáte o- má- obét- a

you SM P1 say FV that yourself SM P2 wound FV
 má-máte
 yourself
 "You said that himself had wounded himself"

4.4.2.2. Quantified antecedents

D12a')* nōsi mangádzu ongíma abungánam ee Mvogo atamudínga
 omwámáte

nōsi mangádzu ongíma a- bungán- a- m ee Mvogo
 Mother child all SM thinks FV Inc that Mvogo
 a- ta- mu- díng- a omwámáte
 SM- Neg- OM- love- FV c1-MATE

"Every child's mother thinks that Mvogo does not like himself"

b') nōsi mangádzu ongíma abungánam ee Mvogo atamudínga
 omwámáte

nōsi mangádzu ongíma a- bungán- a- m ee Mvogo
 mother child all SM- think- FV-Inc that Mvogo
 a- taù- mu- ding- a omwá máte
 SM- Neg- OM- love- FV c1-MATE

"Every child's mother thinks that herself does not love Mvogo"

D12a")* Vanōsi va vǎdzu ifundu vabungánam ee Mvogo atavudínga
 vamwámáte

va-nōsi va vǎdzu ifundu va- bungán- a-
 cl2-mothers of children many SM think FV
 m ee Mvogo a- ta- vu- díng- a vamwá-máte
 Inc that Mvogo SM- Neg- OM- love- FV c2-MATE

"Many children's mothers think that Mvogo does not like themselves"

b") Vanō si va vǎdzu ifundu vabungánam ee vamwaàmaàte
 vatadínga Mvogo

Va-nō si va vǎdzu ifundu va- bungán- a- m ee
 Cl2-mothers of children many SM- think- FV- Inc that
 vamwa-àmaàte va- ta- díng- a Mvogo
 c2-MATE SM- Neg- love- FV Mvogo

"Many children's mothers think that themselves love Mvogo"

D13á)* mangádzu óngíma amuuàdza ee omwámáte amáwaa
 omwámáte tsono

mangádzu óngíma a- mu-
 child all SM- P1-
 uàdz- a ee omwámáte a-
 má-

say-	FV	that	c1-MATE	SM-	P2-
wa-	a	omwámáte	tsono		
put-	FV	c1-MATE	clothes		

"Every child said that himself had dressed himself"

B')* Vǎdzu ifundu vamuúdzá ee vamwámáte vamáobeta vamwámáte

Vǎdzu ifundu va- mu- údz- a ee vamwá-máte

Children many SM- P1- say- FV that c2-MATE

va- má- obet- a vamwá-máte

SM- P2- wound- FV c2-MATE

"many children said that themselves had wounded themselves"

4.4.2.3. Split antecedents

D14 a)N/A

b)N/A

c) Mbáraà amuúdzana Putá ee vamwámáte vagánam wénda

Mbáraà a- mu- údzan- a Putá ee vamwá-máte

Mbara SM p1 tell FV Puta that c2-MATE

xx-vagán- a- m w- énd- a

SM-must- FV- Inc Inf- go- FV

"Mbara told Puta that themselves must go"

d)* Mbáraà amuúdzana Putá ee Mvogo atawadínga vamwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- údzan-a- Putá ee Mvogo a- ta-

Mbara SM- P1- tell- FV Puta that Mvogo SM- Neg-

wa- díng- a vamwá-máte

OM- love- FV c2-MATE

"Mbara told Puta that Mvogo dislikes themselves"

Comment: The example is also * if the OM is omitted.

e)* Mbáraà amuúdzá ee Putá abunganam ee Mvogo atamudínga
vamwámáte

Mbáraà a- mu- údz- a- ee Putá a- bungan- aù- mù

Mbara SM- P1- say- FV that Puta SM think- FV- Inc

ee Mvogo a- taù- mu- díng- a vamwá-máte

that Mvogo SM- Neg- OM- love- FV c2-MATE

"Mbara said that Puta thinks that Mvogo dislikes themselves"

Comment: The example is also * if the OM is omitted.

4.4.2.4. Discourse antecedents

In the following examples (from (D15) to (D17)), only the independent pronoun strategy is used:

(D15) Mbáraà amatsina ee mwán atamuwūsi omwéne pro
amáuba wusoi ee pro atamáfití okamana na yëndze
yaa a watu. Va nabene váamáénga ee pro vamuworo amu ate?
Mbáraà a- ma- tsin- a ee mwán a- ta- mu-
Mbara SM- P2- fear- FV that son SM- nea- Inc
wūsi omwéne pro a- má- ub- a wusoi ee pro
well c1-MATE SM- P2- hear- FV shame that
a- ta- má- fit- í o- kaman- a na yëndze yaa
SM- Neg- P2- can- FV Inf- defend- FV in house his
a watu. vanabene vá- má- éng- a ee pro va-
of people cl2 brothers SM- P2- naked- FV that SM-
mu- wor- o amu ate?
P1- take-FV as what

“Mbara feared that his son was not feeling fine. He was ashamed that he could not defend his closest relatives. His brothers would consider him as what?”

D16) Mbáraà amakambí ara pro amáéna putá raa na
opépé. Va mbere vaa viima vanamubónon om. Twĩ owu
pro a nu
údzǎn a m nōsi waa
Mbáraà a- ma- kamb- í ara a- má- én- a
Mbara SM- P2- surprise- FV when SM- P2- see-FV
putá raa na opépé. va mbere vaa viima
picture his in paper cl2 friends his all
va- na- mu- bónon- o- m. Twĩ owu pro a nu
SM- F1- OM- run.away- FV- Inc how Foc Pro SM- fl-
údzǎn a m nōsi waa
tell- FV- Inc mother his

“Mbara was surprised to see his picture in the paper. All his friends will run away from him. How will he tell his mother?”

D17) Díma amuúdzá ee imádzíí ombé wúsi a Mbára. Díma
amámuúdzana ee Pro vamáiba matúwa waa. Pro amáyāna weng ana
Taxi ee andu mu siráána na mánoo Díma amá búngana
ee aunúbām wube
Díma a- mu- údz- a ee i- má- dzí- í ombé
Dima SM- P1- say- FV that SM- P2- be- FV bad
wúsi a Mbaàrà. Díma a- má mu- údzan- a ee
day of Mbara Dima SM- P2- OM- tell- FV that
va- má- ib- a matúwa waa. Pro a- má- yǎn- a
SM- P2- steal- FV car his SM- P2- must- FV

w- eng- a na Taxi ee a- ndu mu
 inf- make- FV in Taxi that SM- go- OM-
 siráán- a na mánoo Díma a- má búnga- n- a
 accompany- FV in work Dima SM- P2- think- FV
 ee pro a- un- úb- ã- m wube
 that SM- F1- hear- FV- Inc bad

“Dima said that it was a bad day for Mbara. Dima told him that they stole his car. He had to take a taxi to accompany him to work. Dima thought he would be angry.”

D18) A: Ena, Mbaàraà ódzu!

Look Mbara Foc

“Look, this is Mbara”

B: Anyemem ífúndu
 a- nyem- e- m ífúndu
 SM-handsome- FV- Inc much

“He is very handsome”

A: Nu ngatafíti odínga ee pro dzii ágee. Vákutu
 viima vamudingam

Nu nga- ta- fít- i o- dín- a ee pro dzi-
 I SM- neg- can- FV inf- love- FV that pro be-
 i ágee. Vákutu viima va- mu- dín- a- m
 FV wife women all SM- OM- love- FV- Inc

“I would not want to be his wife. All the women love him.”

B: mbúnganam tunu ee pro arúkyá omwámáte ífundu
 m- búngan- a- m tunu ee a- rúky- a
 SM think FV Inc also that SM- praise- FV
 omwá-máte ífundu
 c1-MATE much

“I also think that he praises himself too much”

4.4.3. Blocking effects

4.4.3.1. features of intervening subjects

D19a)* Isomó abúnganã ee Mbáraà amubénam omwámáte

Isomó a- búngan- ã- m ee Mbáraà a- mu
 somo SM thinks FV Inc That Mbara SM- P1-
 bén- a- m omwámáte
 hate- FV- Inc c1-MATE

“Isomo thinks that Mbara hates himself”

B)* Isomo abúnganã ee nu ngumubénam omwámáte
 Isomo a- búngan- ã- m ee nu ngu- mu- bén-
 Isomo SM- think- FV- Inc that I SM- OM- hate-

a- m omwámáte
 FV- Inc c1-MATE
 “Isomo thinks that I hate himself”

c)* Isomo abúnganã ee Putá amubéna m omwámáte
 Isomo a- búngan- ã- m ee Putá a- mu- bén- a
 Isomo SM- think- FV- Inc tat Puta SM- OM- hate- FV-
 m omwámáte
 Inc c1-MATE

“Isomo thinks that Puta hates himself”

d)* Isomo abúnganã ee vadzu vamubénam omwámáte
 Isomo a- búngan- ã- m ee vadzu va- mu- bén-
 Isomo SM thinks FV Inc that children SM OM hate
 a- m omwámáte
 FV Inc c1-MATE.

“Isomo thinks that the children hate himself”

e)* Vatu vabúnganã ee vǎdzu vawubénam vamwámáte
 Vatu va- búngan- ã- m ee vǎdzu va- wu- bén
 Men SM- think- FV- Inc that Children SM- OM- hate-
 a- m vamwá-máte
 FV Inc c2-MATE

“The men think that the children hate themselves”

D20a) Isomo abúnganã m ee Abo □ idzímam ee Iduwa
 abéna m omwámáte
 Isomo a- búngan- ã- m ee Abo □- idzím-a- m
 Isomo SM-think- FV- Inc that Abo SM- know-FV- Inc
 ee Iduwa a- bén- a- m omwámáte
 that Iduma SM- hate- FV- Inc c1-MATE

“Isomo thinks that Abo knows that Iduma hates himself”

b)* Isomo abúnganã ee unngidzímam ee Iduwa abénam omwámáte
 Isomo a- búngan- ã- m ee un- ng- idzím-a- m
 Isomo SM- think- FV- Inc that I SM- know-FV- Inc
 ee Iduwa a- bén- a- m omwámáte
 that Iduma SM- hate- FV- Inc c1-MATE

“Isomo thinks that I know that Iduma hates himself”

c)* Isomo abúnganã ee Puta Øidzímam omwámáte
 Isomo a- búngan- ã- m ee Puta Ø- idzím- a
 Isomo SM- think- FV- Inc That Puta SM- know- FV-
 m omwámáte
 Inc c1-MATE

“Isomo thinks that Puta knows that Iduwa hates himself”

d)* Isomo abúnganām ee vǎdzu vidzímam ee Iduwa abénam omwámáte

Isomo a- búngan- ǎ- m ee vǎdzu v- idzím-
Isomo SM-think- FV- Inc that Children SM Know

a- m ee Iduwa a- bén- a- m omwámáte
FV Inc that Iduwa SM hates FV Inc c1-MATE

“Isomo thinks that the children know that Iduwa hates himself”

e)* Vatu vabúnganām ee vǎdzu vidzímam ee Iduwa abénam vamwámáte

Vatu va- búngan- ǎ- m ee vǎdzu v- idzím- a-
Men SM think FV Inc that Children SM know FV

m ee Iduwa a- bén- a- m vamwá-máte

Inc that Iduwa SM hates FV Inc c2-MATE

“The men think that the children know that Iduwa hates themselves”

4.4.3.2. Positions of the intervener

D21ia)* Mbaàrà a búnganām ee Díma amudzǎna Abo ee kána arúkyá omwámáte

Mbaàrà a búngan- ǎ- m ee Díma a- mu- dzǎn-
Mbara SM thinks FV Inc that Dima SM p1 tell

a Abo ee kána a- rúky- a omwámáte
FV Abo that Kana SM praises FV c1-MATE

“Mbara thinks that Dima told Abo that Kana Praises himself”

b)* Mbaàrà abúnganām ee Dimá amángúdzana ee Abo arúkyá omwámáte

Mbaàrà a- búngan- ǎ- m ee Dimá a- má- ng- údzan-

Mbara SM- think- FV- Inc that Dima SM- P2- me- tell-

a ee Abo a- rúky- a omwámáte

FV that Abo SM- praise- FV c1-MATE

“Mbara thinks that Dima told me that Abo praises himself”

c)* Mbaàrà amángúdzana ee Abo arúkyá omwámáte

Mbaàrà a- má- ng- údzan- a ee Abo a- rúky- a

Mbara SM- P2- me- tell- FV that Abo SM- praise- FV

omwámáte

c1-MATE

“Mbara told me that Abo praises himself”

d)* Mbaàrà amúdzá ee Abo áamá Pa Kárate na wúčo a omwámáte

Mbaàra a- mu- údz- a ee Abo á- má- ã P- a
Mbara Sm P1 say FV that Abo SM- P2- me- give- FV
Káráte na wúčo a omwámáte
Book in front of c1-MATE
“Mbara said that Abo gave me a book about himself”

4.4.4. Islands

D22a)* Mapúri anutãm maru ama ee Putá abénam omwá-máte
Mapúri a- nut- ã- m maru ama ee Putá a- bèn-
Mapuri SM- vomit- FV- Inc Story this that Puta SM- hate-
a- m omwámáte
FV- Inc c1-MATE

“Mapuri resents the fact that Puta hates herself”

b)* Mapúri arúkyá mutu odzú adíngam omwámáte
Mapúri a- rúky - a mutu odzú a- díng- a- m
omwá-máte
Mapuri SM- praise- FV man REL SM- love- FV- Inc
c1-MATE

“Mapuri praises the man who loves herself”

c)* Mapúri Øúdzam ee mutu odzú adíngam omwámáte atímbam
péyo
Mapúri Ø- údz- a- m ee mutu odzú a- díng- a- m
Mapuri SM- say- FV- Inc that man REL SM- love- FV- Inc
omwá-máte a- tímb- a- m péyo
c1-MATE SM possess FV Inc intelligence

“Mapuri says that the man who likes herself is intelligent”

d)* Mapúri amusésa ngi Numongo amáena omwámáte
apúri a- mu- sés- a ngi Numongo a- má- en- a
Mapuri SM- P1- ask- FV whether Numongo SM- P2- see- FV
omwá-máte
c1-MATE

“Mapuri asked whether Numongo saw herself”

e)* Mapúri a mu sésa ee ni ówu Numongo amáena omwámáte
Mapúri a mu sés a ee ni ówu Numongo a má
Mapuri SM- P1- ask- FV that when Foc Numongo SM- P2-
én- a omwámáte
see- FV c1-MATE

“mapuri asked when Numongo saw herself”

f)* Mapúri atamáena ee Isondo amábyõno omwámáte
Mapúri a- ta- má- én- a ee Isondo a- má-byõn-
Mapuri SM Neg p2 see FV that Isondo SM- P2- follow-
o omwámáte
FV c1-MATE

“Mapuri did not see that Isondo followed herself”

g)* Mapúri amúúza ee Putá amányéme ku pro amábăna omwámáte
Mapúri a- mu- údz- a ee Putá a- má- nyém-e ku
Mapuri SM- P1- say- FV that Puta SM- P2- beauty- FV then
a- má- băn- a omwámáte
SM- P2- marry-FV c1-MATE

“Mapuri said that Puta was beautiful and she would marry herself”

4.4.5. De se reading

D23a) Mbaàràù abúnganăm ee nŏsi wáá anyémem púró

Mbaàràù a- búngan- aù- mù ee nŏsi wáá a- nyém-
Mbara SM-think- FV- Inc that mother his SM beauty
e- m púró
FV Inc behavior

“Mbara thinks that his mother is nice”

b) Mbárá abúnganáń ee nŏsi wáá abéyam púró
Mbárá a- búngan- ă- m ee nŏsi wáá a- béy- a
Mbara SM- think- FV- Inc that mother his SM- bad- FV
m púró
Inc behavior

“Mbara thinks that his mother is mean”.

Tuki is like English in that there is no morphological distinction between the pronouns in (D23).