

## Abbreviations

1	1 <sup>st</sup> person
2	2 <sup>nd</sup> person
3	3 <sup>rd</sup> person
acc	accusative
benenef	benefactive
Comp(comp)	complemen5
conj	conjunction
det	determiner(definite marker)
F	Feminine
Imperf	imperfective form
M	Masculine
malf	malffective
not(neg)	negative morpheme(it is a discontinuousmorpheme)
obj	object
Pass	Passive
Perf	perfective form
pl(plu)	plural
question	question word
Ref	reflexive marker
Sg(sg)	singular
subj	subject

## IPA symbols used

tʃ	voceless palatoalveolar affricate	as in church
dʒ	voiced palatoalveolar affricate	as in judge
ʃ	voceless palatoalveolar fricative	as in shine
ɲ	platal nasal	as in pinch (in the phonetic transcription of the word)
j	voice palatal approximant	as in yes
pʼ	voceless bilabial ejective	
tʼ	voceless alveolar ejective	
tʃʼ	voceless palatoalveolar ejective	
kʼ	voceless velar ejective	
sʼ	voceless alveolar fricative ejective	

- ɨ high central unrounded
- ə mid central unrounded
- a low central unrounded

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## **Anaphora in the African Languages - Questionnaire**

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### **PART 1 General information**

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

1. Name of the language: **Amharic**
2. Ethnologue code (if you know it): **[amh]**
3. Dialect and/or area: **Addis Ababa**
4. What is the information you are providing based on? We assume all our participants are relying on their own judgments, but if you answer (b) in addition to (a), please explain with an attached note.
  - (a) My own judgements ( **YES** )
  - (b) Judgements by one or more consultants ( )

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

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

1. Name: **Derib Ado Jekale**
- 2a. Your address: **Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**
- 2b. E-mail address, if you have one : **bergbbi@yahoo.com**
3. Do you want the database to reveal your name and contact information?  
(You still must fill out a consent form, however you answer this question.)

- ( YES ) I am willing to be identified  
 ( ) I wish to remain anonymous

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

- Post Ph. D.  
 ( YES ) Ph.D or M.A. student                      **MA, completed**  
 Undergraduate linguistics  
     some courses  
     linguistics major  
     Training in related discipline  
     philology  
     language pedagogy  
     other (please specify)  
 related discipline (please specify)  
 no linguistic training

5. If you are a linguist, please indicate the extent of your exposure to the following subfields. Also specify the broad school (e.g., GB or LFG syntax) if appropriate. Your background might be relevant to your choice of terminology in morphological and syntactic descriptions, etc.

Scale: little or none / some / intimately familiar.

- (a) Syntax: **Intimately familiar**  
(b) Typological linguistics: **Some**  
(c) Formal semantics: **Some**  
(d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: **some**  
(e) Other relevant subfield:

6. Your language biography

- a. What language(s) did your parents speak at home? **Amharic**  
b. What language(s) do/did your parents speak natively? **Amharic**  
c. What language (languages) did you receive school instruction in? **Amharic** and **English**  
d. How old were you when you learned the subject language? **Since childhood**  
e. Do you speak an identifiable subdialect of this language? What is it called? **I better say I speak the standard Amharic, that is spoken in Addis Ababa.**  
f. Do you speak other dialects of the same language? Which ones? **The Amharic of Yifat or Menz. (Note that the areas Yifat and Menz are two neighbouring districts found north of Addis.)**

## PART 2 An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

### 2.1 Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 "Primary" reflexive strategy - Translate the following example to your language, and indicate the element (if any) that expresses the reflexive relationship. If the verb see is somehow unusual in your language, use a more typical transitive verb instead.

A1) John saw himself.

*dʒon ras-u-n aj-t-o nəbər*  
John self-3sg-acc saw-Ref-3Msg be<sub>past</sub>  
'John saw himself.'

Comment: It is also possible to say

*dʒon ras-u-n aj-t-o-all*  
John self-3Msg-Acc saw-Ref-3Msg-be(past)

'John saw himself.'

The name of the strategy is the **ras-person** strategy.

2.1.2 Is there another way, or are there other ways, to express coreference in A1 (that is, with the verb see held constant)?

2.1.3 Other verb types - Some languages use a special reflexive strategy with certain verbs, especially "commonly reflexive" verbs of grooming such as "wash", "shave", "bathe", "dress", etc.

Do any of the following (or any other verbs you can think of) involve a strategy that you have not listed already? If so, give an example now and label it with a new name (or letter).

A2a) John washes himself.

a1. *dʒon ras-u-n j-at'b-all*  
John self-3sg-acc 3Msg-wash<sub>imprt</sub>-be  
'John washes himself.'

a2. *dʒon ras-u-n j-it-at't'əb-all*  
John head-3sg-acc 1Msg-pass-wash<sub>imprt</sub>-be  
'John washes his head(hair)'

a3. *dʒon ras-u j-it-at't'əb-all*  
John self-3Msg 1Msg-REF-wash<sub>imprt</sub>-be  
'John washes himself' or 'John, himself, will wash (himself).'

Comment on a3: Page: 3

This has both reflexive and emphatic reading.

a4. *dʒon ras-u-nbə-ras-u j-at'b-all*  
John self-3sg-acc by-head-3sg 1Msg-wash<sub>imprt</sub>-be  
'John washes himself by himself'

b) Mary cut herself. [accidentally]

meri ras- u-a-n k'orətt'-a nəbər  
 Mary self -3sg-3Fsg-acc cut<sub>perf</sub> - 3Fsg be<sub>past</sub>  
 'Mary cut herself.'

meri ras- u-a-n bə-ras- u-a k'orətt'-a nəbər  
 Mary self -3sg-3Fsg-acc by-self -3sg-3Fsg-acc cut<sub>perf</sub> - 3Fsg be<sub>past</sub>  
 'Mary cut herself by herself.'

c) John is ashamed of himself.

dʒon bə-ras-u j-afr-al  
 John of- self -3sg 3Msg-ashame<sub>perref</sub>-be  
 'John is ashamed of himself.'

Comment: It is not common (usual) to use the **ras-by- ras** strategy for this verb.

d) John destroyed himself.

dʒon ras-u-n at'f-t-o-al  
 John self -3Msg-acc destroy(perf)- Ref-3Msg-be(past)  
 'John destroyed himself.' Also 'John was to commit suicide.'

dʒon ras-u-n bə-ras-u at'f -t-o-al  
 John self-3sg-acc by-self-3sg destroy(perf)-Ref-1Msg-past  
 'John destroyed himself by himself' (literal)

e) We hate ourselves.

ɪŋna ras- atʃtʃ-ɪn -n ɪn -t'əla-all -ən  
 we self-pl-1 -acc 1pl-hate(perf)-be-1pl  
 'We hate ourselves.'

ɪŋna ras- atʃtʃɪn -n bə-ras- atʃtʃɪn -n ɪn -t'əla-all -ən  
 we head-1pl -acc by- head-1pl -acc 1pl-hate(perf)-be-1pl  
 'We hate ourselves by ourselves.' (literal)

**In all the examples, the second strategy used is the **ras-by-ras strategy** in addition to the **ras-person strategy**.**

2.1.4 Obliques and other argument types - In the preceding examples, the coindexed arguments were subject and object. Many languages use a different coreference strategy for oblique arguments. Does yours? Consider a variety of oblique objects (dative, genitive, etc., as appropriate for your language), as well subcategorized prepositional arguments (e.g., English Karl counted on himself) and finally prepositional adjuncts (e.g., Sally saw a snake near

her/herself).

A3 a) John spoke to Mary.

Comment: This does not have any reflexive reading in Amharic.

b) John spoke about himself. (subject/PP argument)

**If uses the same strategy. Look at the translation.**

dʒon sɪlə ras-u tə-naggər-ə  
John about head-3sg REF- speak(perf) -3sg

c) John told Mary about himself. (same, with intervening NP) **No reflexive reading.**

d) Bill told us about ourselves. (object/argument) **No reflexive reading.**

e) Mary gave the children themselves. (ind.object/object) **No reflexive reading.**

f) Mary saw a book behind her. (subject/locative)

**Comment: This can have two interpretations. One of them implies the sense of emphasis**

a. meri kə -h<sup>w</sup>ala-u-aa məs'haf aj-t-a nəbər  
Meri from-behind-3sg-3Fsg book see-Ref-3Fsg be(past)  
'Mary saw a book behind her.' **No emphatic meaning**

b. meri Kə -ras-u-a h<sup>w</sup>ala məs'haf aj-t-a nəbər  
Meri from-self-3sg-3Fsg behind book see-1Fsg be(past)  
'Mary saw a book behind herself.' (literal) **Emphatic: Mary did not expect to find the book behind her, herself, but she found it there.**

g) John bought the book for himself. (benefactive)

**Only the benefactive marker (preposition) will be introduced. The rest will remain the same.**

dʒon məs'haf - u- n lə- ras-u gəzz-a  
John book -det-acc for (benef)- self-3sg buy-3sg

Also consider things like experiencer-subject verbs, non-nominative subjects, etc., which have unusual argument structures in many languages. Some verb meanings you might try:

A4a) Etta likes herself.

b) Etta scares herself.

c) Etta worries herself.

**This also uses the same strategy- the ras-person strategy.**

2.1.5 Person and number - Some languages use different strategies depending on person or number. Do any of these allow the use of a strategy we have not yet seen? If so, name each new strategy and give an example here.

- A5a) I saw myself.
- b) You cut yourself [accidentally].
- c) We will wash ourselves.
- d) You must help yourselves.

2.1.6 Strategies for other clausemate environments - If there are any additional reflexive strategies known to you (from grammars, or from your linguistic knowledge), list them now. Name each new strategy with a short name or label, and give one example.

Take a few minutes to consider other variations on the sentence types which might involve a special strategy. Some possibilities:

(a) Is there any strategy which is only possible with some special aspectual class of a verb? Some examples:

**No other strategy for different aspects. Only the adverbials and the verb forms change, not the reflexive.**

- A6a) Peter knows himself.
- b) Peter (habitually) criticizes himself.
- c) Peter is likely to praise himself.

(b) Do quantificational constructions involve a separate strategy?

**No other strategy for quantificational constructions. Only the adverbials and the verb forms change, not the reflexive.**

- A7a) Every boy looked at himself.
- b) All the women described John to themselves.
- c) Every teacher introduced himself to Bob.
- d) Some children only help themselves.

(c) If your language has a system of grammaticized honorifics, do some types of honorific allow a strategy that has not been listed yet? The Yoruba example below allows several plural interpretations, as given below, but it can also mean "He (honorific) saw himself", although it is not otherwise singular.

- A8) Wón rí ara won.  
       they see body them  
       *"They saw themselves."* or *"They saw each other."* or *"They saw their bodies."*

There really are honorific constructions, but the reflexive construction uses the ras-person strategy already explained. The difference here is only on the agreement

suffixes for different persons.

ɪrsɪwo	ras-wo-n	ajj-u
you(sing, honorific)	self-2sg(honorific)-acc	see (perf)–2 sing(honorific)
‘You(honorific) saw yourself.’		

ɪssatʃtəw	ras-atʃtə-əu-n	ajj-u
he/she(honorific)	head-pl-3pl-acc	see(perf) -3pl
‘He/she saw himself/herself.’		

(d) The above were all tensed main clauses. Experiment with placing both coreferring arguments in various types of subordinate clauses, as your language allows. For example, consider tensed complements, subjunctives, infinitivals, purpose clauses, or any other embedding construction your language provides. (But keep both coreferent arguments in the same clause). Only provide examples corresponding to the sentences in A9 if any translation reveals a new strategy (which you should name).

**No other strategy.**

- A9a) Sol says that Alice loves herself.
- b) Sol required that Alice praise herself.
- c) Sol thought Alice should praise herself.
- d) Sol asked Alice to praise herself.
- e) Sol wants to praise himself.
- f) Sol expects Alice to praise herself.
- g) Sol heard Alice praising herself.

## 2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1 First, show that the pronouns can be independent by using them in a sentence where they do not have an antecedent. In the paradigms below, for example, the first sentence provides a context, and, for A10a,b the pronoun appears in the second sentence without an antecedent in that sentence, but referring to Abraham. The same test is made with first and second person pronouns in (A10c). If it is more convenient for you to construct your own sentences, feel free to do so.

A10a) I spoke with Abraham yesterday. He saw Lela.

ɪne	tɪnantɪnna	kə	abraham	gar	aworra-hu.
I	yesterday	with	Abraham	with	speak(perf)-1sg.
‘I spoke with Abraham yesterday’					

ɪsu	lela-n	ajt-o-at	nəbər
he	Lela-acc	see(perf)-3Msg-3Fsg	be(past)
‘He saw Lela.’			

b) Where is Abraham? I saw him in the market.

abraham      jet                      all-ə  
 Abraham      where                      be-3sg  
 ‘Where is Abraham?’

ine    issu-n                      gəbəja -u      wust’t’ aj-tʃtʃ-əu                      nəbər  
 I      he-acc                      market - det    in      see(perf)-1sg(subj)-3sg(obj)    be (past)  
 ‘I saw him in the market.’

c) We saw you. Did you see me/us?

ijna    inantə-n                      aj-t-ən-atʃtʃ-hu                      nəbər  
 we      you pl -acc      see (perf)-Ref-1pl(subj)-pl-2pl                      be(perf)  
 ‘We saw you.’

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

2.2.3 Null arguments - If your language allows argument drop (null pronouns, or pro-drop) as a pronominalization strategy in simple (single clause) sentences, then name it here as an additional pronominalization option.

**Arguments, both subject and object, can be dropped in Amharic as there are agreement suffixes in the verb .**

A10d) Ate fish. (meaning *he/she/they/it/we/you/I ate fish*)

d1	asa	bəlt-o	nəbər	
	fish	eat(perf) -3Msg	be (perf)	‘he ate fish’
d2	asa bəlt-a	nəbər		‘She ate fish.’
d3	asa bəl-tʃtʃe	nəbər		‘I ate fish.’ (-tʃtʃe is an assimilated form from -t-e)
d4	asa bəlt-əw	nəbər		‘They ate fish.’
d5	asa bəlt-o	nəbər		‘It ate fish.’
d6	asa bəlt-ən	nəbər		‘We ate fish.’
d7	asa bəlt-əh	nəbər		‘You(Msg) ate fish.’
d8	asa bəlt-əʃ	nəbər		‘You(Fsg) ate fish.’
d9	asa bəlt-atʃtʃhu	nəbər		‘You(pl) ate fish.’

e) Hal hit (meaning Hal hit him/her/them/it/us/you/me)

e1	hal	mətt-o-t	nəbər	
	Hal	hit <sub>perf</sub> -3ssg(subj)-3Msg(obj)	be <sub>past</sub>	‘Hal hit him.’
e2	hal	mətt-o-at	nəbər	‘Hal hit her.’
e3	hal	mətt-o-atʃtʃəwnəbər	nəbər	‘Hal hit them.’
e4	hal	mətt-0-t	nəbər	‘Hal hit it.’
e5	hal	mətt-o-n	nəbər	‘Hal hit us.’
e6	hal	mətt-o-h	nəbər	‘Hal hit you(Msg).’

e7	hal	mətt-o-ʃ	nəbər	‘Hal hit you(Fsg).’
e8	hal	mətt-o-atʃtʃiɦu	nəbər	‘Hal hit you(pl).’
e9	hal	mətt-o-ɲɲ	nəbər	‘Hal hit me.’

f) Hal talked to (meaning Hal talked to him/her/them/it/us/you/me)

f1	hal	anəgagr-o-t	nəbər	
	Hal	talk <sub>perf</sub> -3Msg(subj)-3Msg(obj)	be <sub>past</sub>	‘Hal talked him.’
f2	hal	annəgagr-o-at nəbər		‘Hal talked to her.’
f3	hal	annəgagr-o-atʃtʃəw nəbər		‘Hal talked to them.’
f4	hal	annəgagr-o-t nəbər		‘Hal talked to it.’
F5	hal	annəgagr-o-n nəbər		‘Hal talked to us.’
F6	hal	annəgagr-o-h nəbər		‘Hal talked to you(Msg).’
F7	hal	annəgagr-o-ʃ nəbər		‘Hal talked to you(Fsg).’
F8	hal	annəgagr-o- atʃtʃ-ɦu nəbər		‘Hal talked to you (pl).’
F9	hal	annəgagr-o-ɲ nəbər		‘Hal talked to me.’

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

Even if your language has a special strategy for local anaphora, as English does (e.g., the use of pronoun-*self*), we still need to know whether or not a simple pronoun, a pronoun that could be used in contexts like those in (A10a-c), could also be used to form a reflexive reading.

A10g) Ali praised him.

ali	(iʃsu-n)	amoggis-o-t	nəbbər
Ali	(he-acc)	praise(perf)-3Ms(Subj)-3Ms(Obj)	be(past)

Comment: This NP can be omitted as the object can be read from the object suffix in the verb.

h) Ali liked him.

ali	(iʃsu-n)	wədd-o-t	nəbbər
Ali	(he-acc)	like <sub>perf</sub> -3Msg(Subj)-3Msg(Obj)	be(past)

i) Ali saw him

ali	(iʃsu-n)	ajt-o-t	nəbbər
Ali	(he-acc)	see <sub>perf</sub> -3Msg(Subj)-3Msg(Obj)	be(past)

j) Ali talked to him

ali	(iʃsu-n)	annəgagr-o-t	nəbbər
Ali	(he-acc)	talk(perf) -3Ms(Subj)-3Ms(Obj)	be(past) <sub>t</sub>

k) Ali sent a book to him.

ali	(lə-iʃsu)	məs'ɦaf	lɪk- o-ll-ət	nəbbər
Ali	(to he)	book	send (perf)-3Ms (Subj)- ben-3Msg (Obj)	
				be(past)

l) Ali helped him

ali	(iʃsu-n)	radt-o-t	nəbbər
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Ali (he-acc) help(perf)-3Msg(Subj)-3Msg(Obj) be(past)

m) Ali surprised him

ali (iʃsu-n) as-gərrim-o-t nəbbər  
 Ali (he-acc) cause-surprise(perf) -3Msg(Subj)-3Msg(Obj)  
 be(past)

n) Ali bought a book for him

ali (lə-iʃsu) məs'haf gəz-to-ll-ət nəbbər  
 Ali (to he) book send(perf)-3Msg (Subj)- ben-3Msg (Obj)  
 be(past)

o) Ali read a book about him

ali sɪlə iʃsu məs'haf anɪb-o nəbbər  
 Ali about he book read(perf)<sub>r</sub>-3Msg (Subj) be(past)

p) Ali found a book near him

ali bə- iʃsu ak'rabija məs'haf aɟɪŋt-o nəbbər  
 Ali prep he near book find<sub>perf</sub>-3Ms (Subj) be(past)

In English, none of (A10g-n) are acceptable if *him* = Ali, rather all speakers find that *him* must refer to someone other than Ali. Most English speakers, though not all, accept (A10l, m) with *him* = Ali. Try to use verbs close to these and use pronouns corresponding to the direct object (or object markers, if that is what your language uses for direct object pronouns) and determine if the pronoun you use can form a reflexive reading (=Ali) or not in these cases or not. It is especially important to keep in mind that we also need translated examples that show what is not possible, when that is the case.

## 2.3 Reciprocal Readings

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

2.3.2 As a means of assessing what sorts of reciprocal strategies your language contains, consider these typical sorts of reciprocal sentences in English. If a new strategy is involved (a special reciprocal form, or affix, or clitic or argument drop, or verb form, etc.), name it and give an example.

**The strategy is similar to the ras-by- ras with some minor change for the plurals. So we may call it just ras-by ras 2 or (rs by rs). Note that accusative marker –n is dropped.**

A11a) The women see each other.

set- otʃtʃ-u iʃrs-bə-rs-atʃtʃ-əu jɪ-tə-jajj-all-u  
 women-plu-det self -conj-self-plu-3pl 3-REFs-see(imperf)-be-3pl

b) The boys washed each other.

lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u      ɪrs-bə- rs-atʃtʃ-əu      tə-t'at't'əb-u  
child-plu-det      self-conj-self-plu-3plu      REF-wash(perf)-3pl

c) The men combed each other's hair.

səw-otʃtʃ-u      ɪrs-bə-rs-atʃtʃ-əu      s'əgur-atʃtʃəw-u-n      tə-bət'at't'tər-u  
man-plu- det      self-conj-self-plu-3pl      hair-plu-det-acc      REF-comb(perf)-3plu

d) They argued with each other.

ɪnnəssu      ɪrs-bə- rs -atʃtʃ-əu      tə-kəɾakkər-u  
they      self-conj-self-plu-3plu      REF-argue(perf)-3plu

e) The boys kicked each other.

lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u      ɪrs-bə- rs -atʃtʃ-əu      tə-məttat-u  
child-plu-det      self-conj-self-plu-3plu      REF-hit(perf)-  
3pl

f) They hate each other.

ɪnnəssu      ɪrs-bə- rs -atʃtʃ-əu      jɪ-t'əlallal-u  
they      self-conj-self-plu-3plu      3pl-hate(imperf) – 3plu

In **ɪrs-bə- rs -atʃtʃ-əu** u becomes w in speech to avoid the impermissible sequence of two vowels

Comment: All the verbs that are used in the reflexive readings in the above sentences have a different form. The middle consonant of the verb stem is geminated to show that the action is a repeated action. In addition, the status of /tə-/ seems to be that of a reflexive marker. The same morpheme is used as a passivizer in the language.

Eg. A. tə-gəddəl-ə

Pass-kill(perf)-3sg 'He was killed'

B. tə-dəssət-ə

REF-delight(perf)-3sg 'He was delighted'

2.3.3 Oblique arguments - Continue looking for new reciprocal strategies with the following sentences:

A12a) The men introduced Bill to each other.

səw-otʃtʃ-u      bil -ɪn and-u      lə -ləla-u      as-tə-wawək'-u-t  
men-plu-det      Bill-acc one-3sg      to-other-3Msg      cause-pass-introduce(perf)-3pl(subj)-3sg(obj)

c) The priests heard stories about each other.

k'es -otʃtʃ-u      and-u      jə -ləla-u-ɪn      tarik      səmm-u  
priest-plu -det      one-3sg      of-other-3Msg -acc      story      hear(perf)-3pl

d They left presents in front of each other.

<b>ɪnnəssu</b>	<b>and-u</b>	<b>bə-ləla-u</b>	<b>fit</b>	<b>sɪt'ota</b>	<b>as-k'əmət'-u</b>
they	one-3sg	of – other-3Msg	front(face)	gift	cause-put-3plu (subj)

In **ləla-u**, u becomes w in speech to avoid the impermissible sequence of two vowels

This strategy can be named **one –another**. There is also another strategy that can work for c and d

<b>k'es -otʃtʃ-u</b>	<b>and-u</b>	<b>jə –and-u-n</b>	<b>tarik</b>	<b>səmm-u</b>
priest-plu -det	one-3sg	of-one-3sg -acc	story	hear(perf)-3pl

d They left presents in front of each other.

<b>ɪnnəssu</b>	<b>and-u</b>	<b>bə-and-u</b>	<b>fit</b>	<b>sɪt'ota</b>	<b>as-k'əmət'-u</b>
they	one-3sg	of – one-3sg	front(face)	gift	cause-put-3plu (subj)

This could be called the **one-one** strategy.

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

**No other strategy.**

A13a) We saw each other.

- b) You(pl.) must help each other.
- c) We will wash ourselves.
- d) They always criticize each other.
- e) Many boys kicked each other.

2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies: Briefly consider various types of reciprocal embedded clauses; if a new coreference strategy can be used with some of them, name it here.

**Nothing new!**

A14a) Sol says that the girls love each other.

- b) Sol required that the girls praise each other.
- c) Sol thought the girls should praise each other.
- d) Sol asked the girls to praise each other.
- e) The girls want to praise each other.
- f) Sol expects the girls to praise each other.
- g) Sol heard the girls praising each other.

## 2.4 Other types of local coreference

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

A15a) Paul lost his shoes.

<b>pəwul</b>	<b>tʃ'ama-u-n</b>	<b>t'al-ə</b>
Paul	shoes-3sg-acc	lose(perf) 3Msg

(u becomes w in speech to avoid the impermissible sequence of two vowels.)

**Comment: This sentence can have two meanings**

**1. Paul lost the shoes (any shoes that is definite)**

**2. Paul lost his shoes.**

b) Paul raised his hand. (e.g., in class)

**pəwul ɪdʒdʒ-u-n                      awət't'-a**  
**Paul    hand-3sg-acc                      raise(perf)-3sg**

c) Paul cut his hand. (e.g., accidentally)

**pəwul ɪdʒdʒ-u-n                      k'orrət'-ə**  
**Paul    hand-3Msg-acc                      cut(perf)-3sg**

d) Paul examined his hand.

**pəwul ɪdʒdʒ-u-n                      ajj -ə**  
**Paul    hand-3sg-acc                      see(perf)-3sg**

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

A16) Andrew's self-confidence annoyed Mary.

**jə- andriw    bə-ras                      mətəmamən    meri -n                      a-nnaddəd-at**  
**of-Andrew    of-head(self)    confidence    Mary-acc                      cause-angry(perf)-3Fsg**

A17) Andrew's introduction of himself impressed the teacher.

**jə- andriw    ras -u-n                      mastəwawok    məmmhɪrun -n                      as-gərrəm-ə-u**  
**of-Andrew    of-head(self)    confidence    teacher-acc                      cause-surprise(perf)-3sg-3Msg**

### **Part 3 General details about the strategies**

#### **3.1 Marking**

3.1.1 Some strategies are manifested as involving special nominal (NP) form (an "anaphor" if it must have a configurational antecedent) or a (potentially independent) pronoun; others by means of a morpheme that attaches to the verb or auxiliary; yet others by a change in verb form without an identifiable "reflexive" morpheme, e.g., by passivization ("verbal reflexives"). Occasionally, a strategy will even involve both a special NP and marking on the verb. We would like to focus for part of this section on the way strategies are marked

Marking Strategies for coconstrued interpretations

Ma) Marking on a coconstrued argument or adjunct.

b) Marking on the verb or an auxiliary.

c) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument.

d) Coconstrual is signaled by a specialized adjunct.

**The marking for all the strategies is coconstrual. There is an independent element serving as the reflexive or reciprocal.**

#### **3.2 Productivity**

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

The ras-person strategy is extremely productive; it can be used with almost all verbs that can have a reciprocal or reflexive effect. Both types of the ras-by-ras strategy are extremely productive. The one- another and the one-one strategies are fairly productive.

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

A strategy is "restricted to a specific class" if you are aware of some class of verbs which are the only ones, or nearly the only ones, that allow its use. If the strategy is restricted in its use, please describe, if you can, what you think the restriction is. Please give a few examples where it is possible to use it, and a few examples where it is not possible to use it. (e.g., "used only with verbs of motion"). Use the following scale: (a) Has (almost) no exceptions, (b) Has few exceptions, (c) Is only a general tendency, (d) Can't tell.

Comment: It seems that the ras-person strategy has almost no exception.

H1a.            *issu ras-u-n                      gəddəl-ə*  
                  *he     self-3sg-acc kill(perf)-3sg*  
                  'He killed himself.'

Comment: In using the **ras-by-ras** strategy, again there seems to be no exception except for verbs like ashamed(may be that is because of semantic grounds)

H1b. *ras-atʃtʃ-əu-n     bə-ras-atʃtʃ-əu     gəddəl-u*  
                  *self-plu.-3plu -acc by -self-plu.- 3plu     kill (perf)-3pl*  
                  'They killed themselves by themselves.' (literal)

H1c. *ras-atʃtʃ-əu bə-ras-atʃtʃ-əu     tə-gədadəl-u*  
                  *self-plu.3plu by -self-plu-3pl            pass-kill kill (perf)-3pl*  
                  'They killed themselves by themselves.' (literal)

(They killed each other/They killed each other by each other)

Comment: In the latter sentence the accusative marker is dropped!

Again, note that the dropping of the pro forms is necessary to avoid awkwardness.

Comment: In using the **ras-by-ras 2** strategy, the verbs that are used are the ones that show repetition by reduplicating the verb stems. So it can be said that it has few exceptions.

H1d. *irs-bə-irs-atʃtʃ-əu                      tə-gədadəl-u*  
                  *self-by- self-plu-3sg-3pl     pass-kill kill (perf)-3pl*  
                  'They killed each other.'

Comment:The one-another strategy has almost no exceptions as far as the verbs are concerned. All the verbs that can be used in the ras-person can be used with one – another. Nevertheless, we do not normally make sentences like 'They hit one another. '

The subject pronouns should be dropped. If the subjects are nouns, then they are separated off from the rest of the sentence by a pause.

H2a. *innæssu and-u lela-u-n mætt-a*  
they one-det. another-def-acc hit(perf)-3Msg  
'They hit one another.'

H2b. *and-u lela-u-n mætt-a*  
one-det. another-def-acc hit(perf)-3Msg  
'They hit one another.'

Note: in *lela-u-n* **u** becomes **w** to avoid the impermissible sequence.

### 3.3 Context of Use

3.3.1 How marked or natural is this strategy? For example, is this strategy typical of a particular social style or literary style, or does it sound old-fashioned? Is it considered formal or casual or is it used in any of these contexts?

All the strategies can be used. It is just a matter of preference of the verb forms.

3.3.2 Is special intonation or emphasis necessary, and if so, where (e.g., is it on the morpheme that constitutes the marker for the strategy or is it a contour on the verb, or perhaps a special contour for the whole sentence).

No special prosody.

3.3.3 Is a particular discourse context (e.g., contradicting) necessary? For example, it is possible to get coconstrual of subject and object in English with an object pronoun in special circumstances, as in B1.

B1a) If Marsha admires just one person, then I suspect that she admires just HER.

b) Marsha thinks I should trust no one but herSELF.

Consider whether or not one of the strategies you have named may be described as only possible in such a specially stressed or marked environment.

No such stress or intonation needed. There is an emphatic word that is used with the ras- person strategy. It is *bitʃtʃa* which means only.

H3. *issu rasu-n bitʃtʃa godd-a*  
he head-acc only hurt(perf)-3sg  
'He hurt only himself.'

### 3.4 Morphology

In this section we explore the internal structure or lexical properties of the form that supports a reflexive or reciprocal reading or any other form that is involved in the strategy (so, for example, if a given strategy involves both an affix on the verb and a special form of NP argument, answer

for both parts).

3.4.1 Does the reflexive element, in its entirety, have a stateable lexical translation?

Yes it has. **ras** means 'head'. So if we take the accusative marker –n out there will be ras-person. In addition to the reflexive meaning of the construction, thus, we can get the following meanings.

ras-e (head-1sg) means my head like bet-e (house-1sg) my house

ras-u 'his head'

ras-u-a 'her head' (u-a becomes w-a)

ras-h 'your head'(masc)(sing)

ras-f 'your head' (fem) (plu)

ras-atʃtʃ-in 'our head' (ʃ is an epenthetic vowel)

ras-otʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-in 'our heads'

ras-atʃtʃ-hu 'your head' (plu)

ras-otʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-hu 'your heads' (plu)

3.4.2 If the term used as a reflexive or reciprocal can be used for a non-reflexive/non-reciprocal meaning, is it an ordinary noun that can be possessed by other pronouns?

It is a noun that can be possessed. Look at the examples given in 3.4.1. In addition, independent possessive pronouns can come before the word 'ras'.

**jə-ine**

poss-I

'my head'

jə-issu ras

jə-isswa ras

jə-antə ras

jə antʃi ras

jə-ɪŋŋa ras

jə-innant ras

**ras**

head

'his head'

'her head'

'your head'(masc)(sing)

'your head' (fem) (plu)

'our head'

'your head' (plu)

Note: in pronunciation, **j-ine** becomes **jəne/** the same is true for all other persons

**ʃ is deleted in speech to avoid the impermissible sequence of two vowels.**

3.4.3 If the reflexive element has clear syntactic and part-of-speech sub-structure (e.g., head and modifiers, determiners, possessives) show it here.

(a) Agreement features etc.

All the following words could be used as possessive NPs to indicate possession of a 'head'. They, at the same time, can be used in emphatic constructions.

**ras-e 'my head'**

**head-1sg**

**ras-h 'my head'**

**head-2Msg**

ras- iʃ            ‘your (F)head’            (ʃ is epenthetic)  
head-2Fsg

ras-u            ‘his head’  
head-3Msg

ras -u-a        ‘her head’ (w is an assimilated form from u)  
head-3sg-3Fsg

ras-atʃtʃ-iŋ    ‘our head’            (ʃ is epenthetic)  
head-plu-1plu

rasa -atʃtʃ-hu        ‘your(plu) head’  
head-pl-2pl

ras -atʃtʃ -ə-u        ‘their head’  
head-pl-3-3pl

(b) Does this morpheme have a lexical meaning? Is it clearly or plausibly related to a lexically contentful word or morpheme? Give details as necessary.

Yes. /ras/ means head, just as other parts of our body like eye or hand etc. So it has the property of nouns.

### 3.5 The agreement paradigm

3.5.1 Give the morphological paradigm of each reflexive strategy. Be sure to vary all features that could cause the form of the reflexive to vary, even if some feature is only relevant in combination with a single combination of other feature values (e.g., include gender even if it is only relevant in nominative uses of the reflexive).

#### a. For the ras-person strategy

ras-e            ‘myself’  
self-1sg

ras-h            ‘yourself’ (M)  
self-2Msg

ras- iʃ            ‘yourself’(F)  
self-2Fsg

ras-u            ‘himself’  
self-3sg

ras -u-a        ‘herself’ (w is an assimilated form from u)  
self-3sg-3Fsg

ras-atʃtʃ-ɪn    ‘ourselves’    † is an epenthetic vowel.  
self-plu-1plu

ras -atʃtʃ-h u    ‘yourselves’  
self-2sg

ras -atʃtʃ -əu    ‘themselves’  
self-pl-3plu

### b. the ras-by- ras strategy

ras-e-n            bə-ras-e            ‘myself by myself’  
self-1sg-acc        by-self-1sg

ras-h-n            bə-ras-h            ‘yourself by yourself’ (M)  
self-2Msg-acc      by-self-2Msg

ras-f-ɪn            bə- ras-f            ‘yourself by yourself’ (F)  
self-2Fsg-acc        by-self-2Fsg

ras-atʃtʃ-hu-n     bə- ras-atʃtʃ-hu     ‘yourselves by yourselves’  
self-pl-3sg-acc      by- self-pl-3sg

ras-atʃtʃ-n-ɪn     bə- ras-atʃtʃ-ɪn     ‘ourselves by ourselves’  
self-pl-1pl-acc      by- self-pl-1pl  
Comment :/ †/ is an epenthetic vowel

ras-atʃtʃ-əu-n     bə- ras-atʃtʃ-əu     ‘themselves by themselves’  
self-pl-3pl-acc        by- self-pl-pl-3pl

Comment: The accusative marker can be dropped in all cases.

### c. the ras-by- ras 2 strategy (used with the plural pronouns or in the sense of the plural nouns only)

ɪrs-bə- rs-atʃtʃ-ɪn ‘ourselves’ † is an epenthetic vowel  
self-by-self-pl-1pl

ɪrs-bə- rs-atʃtʃ-hu ‘yourselves’  
self-by-self-pl-2pl

ɪrs-bə- rs-atʃtʃ-əu ‘themselves’ əu becomes əw  
self-by-self-pl-3pl

#### d. the one-another strategy

and-u lela-u-n ‘one(M)to the other(M)’ a-u becomes a-w  
one-3sg other-3-3M-acc

and-u lela-u-a-n ‘one(M)to the other(F)’ u-a becomes wa  
one-3sg other-3sg-3Fsg-acc

wa = u-a, u represents 3sg, a represents 3Fsg

and-u lel-otʃtʃ-u-n ‘one(M)to the others’  
one-3sg other-3pl-acc

and-u-a lela-u-n ‘one(F)to the other(M)’ u-a becomes wa  
one-3-3Fsg other-3sg-3M-acc

and-u-a lela-u-a-n ‘one(F)to the other(F)’ a-u becomes a-w  
one-3-3Fsg other-3sg-3Fsg-acc

and-wa lel-otʃtʃ-u-n ‘one(M)to the other(others)’  
one-3Fsg other-3plu-acc

#### e. one-one strategy (not used with the plural forms)

and-u and-u-n ‘one(M)to the other(M)’  
one-3sg other-3M-acc

and-u and-u-a-n ‘one(M)to the other(F)’ u-a becomes w-a  
one-3sg other-3-3Fsg-acc

and-wa and-u-n ‘one(F)to the other(M)’  
one-3M-acc other-3M-acc

and-wa and-u-a-n ‘one(F)to the other(F)’ u-a becomes w-a

one-3Fsg      other-3-3Fsg-acc

3.5.2 For each morphological feature, what determines its value? (For example, agreement with the antecedent, or agreement, in the case of possessives in some languages, with the possessed N.)

### 3.6 Interaction with verb morphology - Incompatibilities

3.6.1 Tense, Mood, Aspect.

Check with at least the verbs meaning *see, praise, help, like, know, and wash*.

- B3a) Gina (generally) washes herself
- b) Gina has washed/was washing herself.
- c) Gina should wash herself.

Tense, aspect and mood are expressed by bound morphemes attached to the verbs, The anaphors are not affected .

3.6.2 Grammatical Function (GF)-changing - Consider GF-changing constructions or operations in your language that affect the argument structure of a verb, adding, promoting, or demoting arguments. For example, passive, antipassive, stative, benefactive, applicative, etc. Sometimes Grammatical-Function Changing ("GF-changing") morphemes, such as passive, inverse, middle, dative alternation, causative, applicative affixes or markers etc. are incompatible with a given coconstrual strategy.

3.6.3 (formerly 3.6.1) If you are aware of operations or morphemes that cannot co-occur with this strategy, then list them here, providing an example and a brief statement of what the incompatible morphemes or constructions are.

### 3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

3.7.1 Idiosyncratic or inherent. Some languages have verbs that lexically require a reflexive which does not appear to correspond to an argument. The uses are typically special idioms. [Example: English has a few such verbs, for example, perjure oneself. For this verb, \*John perjured Bill is not possible. German has many more, such as sich erinnern, "to remember", as does French, such as s'évanouir, "to faint"] Are there such uses for the current strategy? If so, give examples of as many as possible. It may turn out that not all reflexive idioms you find make use of the same strategy . Martin Evereart has noted that most idiosyncratic (sometimes called 'inherent') reflexives in Dutch are formed with zich, but a small set of others are formed with zichzelf. Please be on the look-out for such contrasts.

3.7.2 Emphatic or intensifier. As in the English, The president himself answered the phone.

**Emphatic meaning is possible when the ras-person pronoun is used next to the noun or pronoun in the sentence**

Eg.    **kasa**            **ras-u**            **hed- o**            **nəbbər**

**Kasa**            **self-3sg**            **go-3Msg**            **be(past)**  
**‘Kasa himself went’**

**aster**            **ras-u-a**            **hed-a**            **nəbbər**  
**Aster**            **self-3sg-3Fsg** **go-3Fsg**            **be(past)**  
**‘Aster herself went’**

3.7.3 Middle. The argument structure of the verb is changed into a form that has an explicit patient, but no agent is present and an agent may or may not be implied. In English, this construction is not marked by any overt morphology, e.g., The tires on this car change easily. However, middles are associated with reflexivization in many languages.

3.7.4 Distributive, sociative, etc. Some strategies (reciprocal markers most frequently) can also be used to mean that some action was performed separately, or jointly, or repeatedly, etc. You should only report uses that do not involve coreference between two logical arguments.

3.7.5 Deictic use - If the current strategy involves a nominal form (e.g., English himself) Can this form be used when the antecedent is physically present or otherwise prominent, but has not been mentioned (such that X does not refer to Bill or Mary)? (Suggest a context if necessary).

B5a) Bill did not see X

bil    ras-u-n            al-ajj-ə-u-m  
bill    self-3sg-acc            neg-see(perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)-neg  
‘Bill did not see himself’ (This could mean Bill did not see Bill himself or Bill did not see the person he wanted to see. Perhaps he saw his representative, secretary or somebody else.)

b) Does Mary like X?

mery    ras-u-a-n -u            t-wodd-at-all- əʃtʃ            wəj  
Mary    self-3sg-3Fsg-acc-det            3Fsg-like(imperf)-3Fsg(Obj)be-3Fsg Question  
‘Does Mary like herself?’ (Herself referring to somebody else , not Mary)

**Note: Question= question word**

c) X went to the bank yesterday.

t̪n̪ant̪t̪na    ras-u            wədə    bank    hed-ə  
yesterday    self-3sg            to    bank    go(perf)-3sg  
‘Himself went to the bank yesterday’ (This could be uttered for a question which asks who went to the bank yesterday, may be because the person was busy or sick or did not want to go the bank. The statement shows an emphasis that tells it is the same person, himself, that went to the bank.)

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

B6a) Bill insulted X. (X = speaker, X = addressee)

bil ras-u-n səddəb- ə-u

Bill self-3sg-acc insult(perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)

‘Bill insulted himself’ (Bill insulted the person he was talking to, not another person)

b) Many people do not like anchovies, but X likes them.

(X = speaker, X = addressee)

bɪzu	səww-otʃtʃ	asa	aj-wədd-u-m,	ras-e	gɪn
many	man-plu	fish	neg-like(imperf)-3pl-neg	self-1sg	but

ɪ-wədd-all-əhu

1sg-like(imperf)-be-1sg

ə epenthetic vowel

‘Many people do not like fish, but myself like’

‘Many people do not like fish, but I do’

bɪzu	səww-otʃtʃ	asa	aj-wədd-u-m,	ras-h	gɪn
many	man-plu	fish	neg-like(imperf)-3pl-neg	self-2sg	but

t-wədd-all-əh

2sg-like(imperf)-be-2sg

‘Many people do not like fish, but yourself like’

‘Many people do not like fish, but you do’

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

B7a) I don't like the way he speaks to one.

b) One cannot be too careful

c) Bill insults one before one can say a word.

3.7.6 Other. Are there other ways to use the strategy that do not express coreference (or reciprocal coreference) between two arguments? If so, give examples and a brief explanation here.

### 3.8 Proxy readings

One interpretation that the choice of coreferent strategy is sometimes sensitive to is proxy interpretation. A proxy reading is one where the coreferent argument is understood as a representation of or a "stand in" for the reference of the antecedent. This is often the case with statues, for example, or authors (e.g., Grisham) and their work. Feel free to substitute your favorite national author for Grisham.

B8a) Castro admired himself in the wax museum. (himself = statue of Castro)

- b) Grisham has not read himself in Swahili, though he has read himself in Spanish. (himself = Grisham's writings)

The differences emerge in English for cases like those in (B9). Imagine that the wax museum is having a special event, which the wax statues of each celebrity will be washed and dressed by the celebrity they represent.

- B9a) Castro washed himself carefully, so as not to damage the wax.  
b) Castro washed carefully, so as not to damage the wax.  
c) The movie star dressed herself carefully, so as not to damage the wax.  
d) The movie star dressed carefully, so as not to damage the wax.  
e) Castro saw himself in the show, but he didn't like what he saw.

The judgments for English in these cases is that the null strategy in (B9b,d), possible for the verbs dress and wash normally, are not acceptable here, at least not in the intended sense. While (B9d) permits a reading that the movie star dressed her own person, not her statue, in a way that does not damage the wax, it does not mean that she dressed the statue, a reading possible for (B9c). In the case of (B9b), there is a reading for which Castro did some non-specific washing, perhaps of the statue, in a way that does not damage the wax, but it does not have the more specific reading that Castro washed the statue of him that (B9a) has. For (B9e), imagine a show where an actor is playing the part of Castro and Castro is in the audience watching his counterpart on stage.

Test for proxy readings in your language and see if there are instances where they are possible and others where they are not. Proxy readings do not require locality, so cases like B10a-c are also generally possible.

- B10a) Grisham says he sounds better in Swahili. (where he = Grisham's writings)

- b) Castro thought that he looked handsome. (he = statue of Castro)

Provide both local and long distance examples with gloss and translation of proxy readings. If proxy readings seem difficult for you to get just say so, and if you find that you need to transform the examples in some way to get the right interpretation, feel free to do so, but then be extra careful about gloss and translation.

Proxy readings are also possible for reciprocals in many languages. For (B11a), once again the antecedents are the authors and each other describes the works these authors have written, such that Mark Twain did not read Victor Hugo's novels in Swahili and Victor Hugo did not read Mark Twain's novels in Berber. For (B11b), imagine a show where there are actors masquerading as our two protagonists. The first each other refers to the person Marlene and Castro, but the second each other refers to the actors (or statues) representing them on the stage or in the show.

- B11a) Mark Twain and Victor Hugo did not read each other in Berber.  
b) Marlene and Castro did not see each other in the audience, but they did see each other on the stage/in the show.

### 3.9 Ellipsis

Consider the following examples, which all have an ellipsis of one sort or another.

- B12a) Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill  
b) Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill does

English permits both of these, though I suspect (B12b) may not be as widely available as (B12a). If not, then concentrate on (B12a). The following readings are possible for (B12a) in English:

- i. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Sherman likes Bill.
- ii. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill likes him (=Sherman).
- iii. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill likes himself.

Please try to formulate sentences like those in (B12a) (an/or B12b, if that is possible) trying out each of the non-reciprocal strategies in the first clause and determining for each strategy which of the readings i-iii. are possible. If you have several strategies in your language, then we expect you will have many examples as translations of (12a,b) for whatever verb works with the strategy in question. Please adjust the examples to use appropriate verbs for the strategy you are testing, and if there are generalizations about which verbs go with which strategies more successfully, that would be very interesting to know. Remember to try both affixal and argument anaphor strategies, if your language has both.

Ellipsis has the same effect on the readings because each sentence like (B12a) has two representations.

sherman      ras-u-n      kə-bil      jə-bəlləet'-ə      j-wodd-al  
 Sherman      self-3Msg-acc from-Bill      than-great-3sg      3Msg- like(Imperf)-be  
 'Sherman likes himself more than Bill'

- a. The meaning that comes to mind when one hears this sentence is that Sherman likes himself more than he likes Bill.
- b. But it is also possible to have the interpretation Sherman likes himself more than Bill likes himself, especially if two people have been talking about people's tendencies to like themselves.

#### PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

In this section you will be asked to construct a variety of sentence types and test their acceptability. In typical cases, an English sentence will be provided as a guide with one argument marked "X" and the X argument is to be construed as coreferent with some other designated argument (e.g., X = John).

Use the following symbols for grammaticality judgements. You do not have to employ all of them for any given paradigm.

- ok = Perfect
- ? = A bit odd, but acceptable
- ?\* = Pretty bad
- \* = Unacceptable
- \*\* = Word jumble

## 4.1 Clausemate coconstrual

### 4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives - Can this strategy be used with ordinary transitive verbs, such as the verb meaning "see"? Give some examples, including the following.

- C1a) Bob saw X.  
 b) The women described X.  
 c) You(pl.) kicked X.  
 d) They praised X

a.1. ok bob ras-u-n ajj-ə  
 Bob self-3Msg-acc see(perf)-3sg  
 'Bob saw himself'

The grammaticality and meaning would better improve if we add an adverbial here.

bob ras-u-n bə- məstəwat ajj-ə  
 Bob self-3Msg-acc by-mirror see(perf)-3sg  
 'Bob saw himself in the mirror'

a2. ?\* bob ras-u-n bə- ras-u ajj-ə  
 Bob self-3Msg-acc by- self-3Msg see (Perf) -3sg

This is a bit awkward.

b1. ok set-otʃʃ-u ras-atʃʃ-əu-n gəlləs'-u  
 woman-pl-det self-pl-3pl-acc see(Perf)-3Msg  
 'The women described themselves'

b2. ok set-otʃʃ-u ras-atʃʃ-əu-n ras-atʃʃ-əu gəlləs'-u  
 woman-pl-det self-pl-3pl-acc self-pl-3p see(Perf)-3Msg  
 'The women described themselves by themselves'

c1. ? ras-h-ɪn məta-h  
 self-2Msg-acc hit(perf)-2Msg  
 'You hit yourself'

c2. ? ras-h-ɪn bə-ras-ɪh məta-h  
 self-2Msg-acc by-self-2Msg hit(perf)-2Msg  
 'You hit yourself by yourself'

ɪ is an epenthetic vowel

c1 and c2 are grammatical but not logical in the language. They are used in a very specific condition that is not common.

d1. ok ras- atʃʃ-əu- n aməsəggən-u  
 self-plu-3pl-acc praise(perfec)-3pl  
 'They praised themselves'



4.1.1.3 Psychological predicates. Please provide examples for verbs like those below, even if nothing exact seems appropriate for the current strategy, marking them according to the level of their acceptability based on the scale given above.

C4a) John hates/fears X

**ok**    **dʒon ras-u-n**                      **j-t'əl- al**  
**John self-3Msg-acc**                      **3Msg-hate(imperf)-be**  
**'John fears himself'**

**?**        **dʒon ras-u-n**                      **j-fər-al**  
**John self-3Msg-acc**                      **3Msg-fear(imperf)-be**  
**'John fears himself'**

-

b) John is ashamed of X

**ok**        **dʒon bə-ras-u-n**                      **j-afr- al**  
**John by-self-3Msg-acc**                      **3Msg-ashamed(imperf)-be**  
**'John fears himself'**

c) John is worried about X

**Ok**        **dʒon sɪə-ras-u**                      **j-tʃ'ənnək'-al**  
**John about-self-3Msg**                      **3Msg-worry(imperf)-be**  
**'John worries about himself'**

d) John is proud of X

**Ok**        **dʒon bə-ras-u**                      **j-kor-al**  
**John by-self-3Msg**                      **3Msg-get proud(imperf)-be**  
**'John is proud of himself'**

e) John worries/troubles/pleases X

**Ok**        **dʒon ras-u-n**                      **j-as-tʃ'tʃ'ənnək'-al**  
**John self-3Msg-acc**                      **3Msg-cause-worry(imperf)-be**  
**'John worries himself**    **'John makes himself worry'**

**Ok**        **dʒon ras-u-n**                      **j-as-tʃ'tʃəggɪr-al**  
**John self-3Msg-acc**                      **3Msg-cause-trouble(imperf)-be**  
**'John troubles himself**

**ok**        **dʒon ras-u-n**                      **j-as-dəst-al**  
**John self-3Msg-acc**                      **3Msg-cause-please(imperf)-be**  
**'John pleases himself**

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

C5a) The women will destroy X

**ok**    **set-otʃʃ-u**    **ras-atʃʃ-əu-n**    **j-at'əf-al-u**  
**woman-pl-det self-pl-3pl-acc**    **3Pl-destroy-(imperf)-be-3Pl**  
**'The women will destroy themselves'**

**Note: Thus may also mean the women will kill themselves(commit suicide).**

b) The machines built X (X = themselves)

**?**    **mafɪn-otʃʃ-u**    **ras-atʃʃ-əu-n**    **j-sər-al-u**  
**Machine-pl-det**    **self-pl-3pl-acc**    **3Pl-build(imperf)-be-3Pl**  
**'The machines will build themselves'**

**?**    **mafɪn-otʃʃ-u**    **ras-atʃʃ-əu-n**    **j-at'əf-al-u**  
**Machine-pl-det**    **self-pl-3pl-acc**    **3Pl-eliminate(imperf)-be-3Pl**  
**'The machines will destroy themselves'**

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

C6a) The boys represented X.

**ok**    **lɪdʒ-otʃʃ-u**    **ras-atʃʃ-əu-n**    **wəkkəl-u**  
**child-pl-det**    **self-pl-3pl-acc**    **represent(Perf)- 3Pl**  
**'The children represented themselves'**

b) John spoke for X.

**ok**    **dʒon lə-ras-u**    **tə-naggər-ə**  
**John for-self-3Msg**    **REF-speak(Perf)-3**  
**'John spoke for himself'**

#### 4.1.2 Argument position pairings

4.1.2.1 Subject-indirect object - The preceding questions asked mostly about subject-object coreference. Can this strategy be used to express coreference between a subject and an indirect object? Choose verbs that have an indirect object in your language.

C7a) Mary gave the gift to X (X = Mary)

**ok**    **meri st'ta -u-n**    **lə-ras-u-a**    **sət't'-ə-tʃ**  
**Meri gift-det-acc**    **for-self-3-3Fsg**    **give(Perf)-3 -3Fsg**  
**'Mary gave the gift to herself'**

b) John showed the house to X (X = John)

**?**    **dʒon bet-u-n**    **lə-ras-u**    **as-ajj-ə**  
**John house-det-acc**    **for-self-3Msg**    **cause-see(Perf)-3**  
**'John showed the house for himself'**

C8a) Mary gave X the gift (X = Mary)

ok     **meri**   **lə-ras-u-a**                   **st'ta -u-n**     **sət't'-ə-tʃ**  
**Meri**   **for-self-3-3Fsg**                   **gift-det-acc**   **give(Perf)-3 -3Fsg**  
**'Mary gave herself the gift'**

b) John showed X to the children (X = John)

?       **dʒon**   **lə-ras-u**     **bet-u-n**                   **as-ajj -ə**  
**John**   **for-self-3Msg**   **house-det-acc**       **cause-see(Perf)-3**  
**'John showed himself the house'**

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments - Give some examples with oblique arguments, in whatever forms your language allows. Choose verbs that take oblique arguments in your language and if your language has morphological case, look for arguments that are not in the normal case for objects (e.g., not in the Accusative).

C9a) Dan talked to X.

ok       **dan**   **kə-ras-u**                   **gar**   **awərr-a**  
**Dan**   **with-self-3Msg**                   **with**   **talk(Perf)-Sg**  
**'Dan talked to himself'**

**Note kə-gar is a discontinuous morpheme that means 'with' or 'together with'**

b) Dan told Mary about X (X = Dan)

ok       **dan**   **lə-meri sɪlə-ras-u**                   **nəggər-a-t**  
**Dan**   **to-Mary about-self-3Msg**           **talk(Perf)-3Msg-3Fsg**  
**'Dan told Mary about himself'**

c) Dan gave X a book.

?       **dan**   **lə-ras-u**     **məs'haf**                   **sət't' -ə-u**  
**Dan**   **to-self-3Msg**   **book**                   **give(Perf)-3MSg-3Msg**  
**'Dan gave himself an book'**

**It is the same form if Dan gave a book to John and we want to emphasize the receiver is John himself.**

**Note: -ə-u becomes w as a result of assimilation.**

4.1.2.3 Subject-adjunct - Provide some examples of coreference between a subject and an adjunct, e.g., a locative PP. If appropriate translations are not prepositional objects, try to construct appropriate examples.

C10a) Mary saw a snake behind X (X = Mary)

ok       **meri**   **kə-ras-u -a**                   **h<sup>w</sup>ala**           **ɪbab**   **ajj-ə-tʃ**  
**Meri**   **from-self-3sg-3Fsg**                   **behind**       **snake**   **see(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg**  
**'Mary saw a snake behind herself'**

OK       **meri**   **kə-ɪss-u -a**                   **h<sup>w</sup>ala**           **ɪbab**   **ajj-ə-tʃ**  
**Meri**   **from-her-3sg-3Fsg**                   **behind**       **snake**   **see(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg**

**‘Mary saw a snake behind herself’**

b) Mary called me because of an article about X (X = Mary)

**OK** meri sɪlə-ras-u -a bə-tə-s’af-ə s’ihuf mɪknjat t’ərr-atʃ-n  
 Meri about-self-3sg-3Fsg by-Pass-write(Perf)-3sg article because call(Perf)-3Fsg-1sg  
 ‘Mary called me because of an article about herself’

**OK** meri sɪlə-iss-u -a bə-tə-s’af-ə s’ihuf mɪknjat t’ərr-atʃ-n  
 Meri about-self-3sg-3Fsg by-Pass-write(Perf)-3sg article reason call(Perf)-3Fsg-1sg  
 ‘Mary called me because of an article about herself’

c) John offended Mary because of X (X = John)

\* dʒon meri-n bə-ras-u mɪknjat a-nnaddəd-at  
 John Mary-acc by-selsf-3sg reason cause-anger(perf)-3Fsg

d) We laughed in spite of X

\*\* ɪŋnə ras-atʃʃ-n bihon-m sak’-ɪn  
 we self-plu-1pl if-even laugh(perf)-1pl

4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements- Can the strategy be used to indicate coreference between the two non-subject arguments of a verb?. If there is more than one way to express the two non-subject arguments of a verb like "give", give examples for each type of construction. In English, for example, we would want examples both of the type "show Hal the book" and "show the book to Hal." (where X = Hal for C11a-d). For example, for (C11c), Bill gave Hal himself, which is admittedly pragmatically awkward, but imagine for (C11a) that Mary is showing Hal his image in the mirror - imagine Hal had never seen a mirror before.

C11a) Mary showed Hal to X.

**OK** meri hal-n lə- ras-u (bə məstəwat) as-ajj-ə-tʃ-u  
 Meri Hal-acc to- self-3sg (with-mirror) cause-see-3sg-3Fsg-3Msg  
 ‘Mary showed Hal to himself (in the mirror)’

Note: 1. hal-n will be read as hal-ɪn by inserting the epenthetic vowel to avoid impermissible sequence.

2. The use of an instrument (bə məstəwat) will make the sentence look familiar.

b) Mary showed X to Hal.

meri hal-ɪn lə- ras-u (bə məstəwat) as-ajj-ətʃ-u  
 Meri Hal-acc to- self-3sg (with-mirror) cause-see-3Fsg-3Msg  
 ‘Mary showed Hal to himself (in the mirror)’

c) Bill gave Hal X.

?\* bil lə-hal ras-u-n sət’t’ə-u  
 Bill to-Hal self-3sg-acc give(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Bill gave Hal himself.’

d) Bill gave X Hal.

?\* bil ras-u-n lə-hal sət't'ə-u  
 Bill self-3sg-acc to-Hal give(perf)-3sg  
 'Bill gave himself to Hal.'

e) Mary told/asked the boys about themselves/each other.

OK meri lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u-n silə-ras-atʃtʃ-əu t'əjjək'-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary child-plu-det-acc about-self-plu-3plu ask(perf)-3sg- 3Fsg - plu – 3pl  
 'Mary asked the boys about themselves'

? meri lɪdʒotʃtʃ-u-n silə-irs-bə-rs -atʃtʃ-əu t'əjjək'-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary -child-plu-det-acc about-self-by- self-plu-3plu ask(perf)-3sg- 3Fsg - plu – 3pl  
 'Mary asked the boys about each other'

OK meri lə-lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u silə -ras-atʃtʃ-əu nəggər-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary to -child-plu-det-acc about-self-plu-3plu tell(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg- plu-3pl  
 'Mary told the boys about themselves'

? meri lə-lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u silə-irs-bə-rs -atʃtʃ-əu nəggər-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary to -child-plu-det-acc about-self-by- self-plu-3plu tell(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg- plu-3pl  
 'Mary told the boys about each other'

f) Mary showed/introduced/presented the boys to each other.

?\* meri lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u-n ɪrs-bə-rs -atʃtʃ-əu a-k'ərrəb- ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary to -child-plu-det-acc self-by -self-plu-3plu cause-present(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg- plu-3pl  
 'Mary presented the boys to each other'

\* meri lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u-n ras-bə-rs -atʃtʃ-əu a-k'ərrəb-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary to -child-plu-det-acc about-self-plu-3plu cause-present(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg- plu-3pl  
 'Mary presented the boys to each other'

Note that it is possible to say the following by using a different stem that geminates the first consonant and reduplicates the middle consonant of the verb.

OK meri lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u-n ɪrs-bə-rs -atʃtʃ-əu a-k'k'ərarəb-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary to -child-plu-det-acc self-by -self-plu-3plu cause-present(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg- plu-3pl  
 'Mary made the boys present themselves to each other'

? meri lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u-n ras-bə-rs -atʃtʃ-əu a-k'k'ərarəb-ə-tʃtʃ-atʃtʃ-əu  
 Mary child-plu-det-acc self-by-self-plu-3plu cause-present(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg- plu-3pl  
 'Mary presented the boys to each other'

4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts - Consider coreference between two arguments of adjunct NPs in the same clause, neither of which is a subject and neither of which is a direct object (if your language has such constructions - if not just say so and move on). Consider

X=Hal in (C12).

C12a) Bill talked about Hal to X.

?\*      **bil sɪlə - hal      lə- ras-u                      awər-a-u**  
         **Bill about - Hal to-self-3sg talk(perf)--3sg-3Msg**  
         **‘Bill talked about Hal to himself’**

?\*      **bil sɪlə - hal      lə- ɪssu                      awər-a-u**  
         **Bill about - Hal to-he                      talk(perf)-3sg-3Msg**  
         **‘Bill talked about Hal to him’**

NOTE: It is possible to emphasize to make the sentence grammatical and acceptable.

**OK      bil      sɪlə - hal      lə- ɪssu      lə- ras-u      lə- hal      awər-a-u**  
**Bill      about - Hal      to-he      to-self-3sg      to-Hal      talk(perf)-3sg-3Msg**  
**‘Bill talked about Hal to Hal himself’**

b) Mary talked about X to Hal.

?\*      **meri      sɪlə- ras-u              lə- hal              awər-a-tʃtʃ-u**  
         **Mary      about-self-3sg      to- Hal              talk(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-3Msg**  
         **‘Mary talked about himself to Hal’**

?\*      **meri      sɪlə- ɪssu              lə- hal              awər-a-tʃtʃ-u**  
         **Mary      about-he              to- Hal              talk(perf)-3sg**  
         **‘Mary talked about him to Hal’**

NOTE : w is an assimilated form of – u and ɪ is an epenthetic vowel.

It is possible to say grammatical and acceptable sentences like the following .

**OK      meri      sɪlə- ɪssu      lə- hal      lə- ras-u              awər-atʃtʃ-ɪw**  
         **Mary      about-he      o- Hal      to-self-3sg              talk(perf)-3sg**  
         **‘Mary talked about him to Hal himself’**

c) Mary talked to Hal about X

**OK      meri                      lə- hal                      sɪlə- ras-u                      awər-a-tʃtʃ-u**  
         **Mary                      to- Hal                      about-self-3sg                      talk(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg-**  
**3Msg      ‘ Mary talked to Hal about himself’**

**OK      meri                      lə- hal                      sɪlə- ɪssu                      awər-a-tʃtʃ-u**  
         **Mary                      to- Hal                      about-him                      talk(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg-3Msg**  
         **‘ Mary talked to Hal about him’**

d) Mary talked to X about Hal.

?\*      **meri                      lə- ras-u                      sɪlə- Hal                      awər-a-tʃtʃ-u**  
         **Mary                      to- self-3sg                      about-Hal                      talk(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg-3Msg**

?\*      **meri                      lə- ɪssu                      sɪlə- Hal                      awər-a-tʃtʃ-u**

Mary to- he about-Hal talk(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg-3Msg

NOTE: It is possible to say the following.

meri sɪlə - ɪssu lə- ras-u lə - Hal awər-a-tʃtʃ-u  
 Mary about- he to-self-3sg to-Hal I talk(perf)- 3sg-3Fsg-  
 3Msg

‘Mary talked about him to Hal himself’

Note: awər-a-tʃtʃ-u is the form in deep structure. The pronunciation is awər-a-tʃtʃ-ɪw, which shows the assimilation of u to w and the insertion of ɪ

#### 4.1.2.6 Clausemate noncoarguments

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

C13a) Nick telephoned X's mother.

?\* nik lə-ras-u ɪnnat sɪk dəwwəl-ə  
 Nick to-self-3sg mother telephone ring(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Nick rang telephone to his own mother’

?\* nik lə- ɪssu ɪnnat sɪk dəwwəl-ə  
 Nick to-he mother telephone ring(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Nick rang telephone to his mother’

OK nik lə- ɪnnat -u sɪk dəwwəl-ə  
 Nick to-mother-3Msg:poss telephone ring(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Nick rang telephone to his mother’

b) Nick combed X's hair.

OK nik jə- ras-u -n s'əgur abət't'ər-ə  
 Nick poss-self-3sg-acc hair comb(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Nick combed his hair’

? nik jə- ɪssu-n s'əgur abət't'ər-ə  
 Nick poss-he-acc hair comb(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Nick combed his hair’

OK nik jə- ɪssu-n jə- ras-u -n s'əgur abət't'ər-ə  
 Nick poss-he-acc poss-self-3sg-acc hair comb(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Nick combed his own hair’

NOTE: The most straightforward way to say this is the following

OK nik s'əgur -u-n abət't'ər-ə

Nick hair-3Msg:poss-acc comb(perf)-3sg  
'Nick combed his hair'

c) Nick spoke to X's boss.

OK nik kə-ras-u alək'a -gar tə-nəgagər-ə  
Nick with-self-3sg boss -with Ref-speak speak(perf)-3sg  
'Nick spoke to his boss'

OK nik jə-ras-u-n alək'a a-nəgagər-ə  
Nick with-self-3sg-acc boss cause -speak speak(perf)-3sg  
'Nick spoke to his boss'

? nik kə-issu alək'a -gar tə-nəgagər-ə  
Nick with-he boss -with Ref-speak speak(perf)-3sg  
'Nick spoke to his boss'

OK nik jə-issu-n alək'a a-nəgagər-ə  
Nick with-he-acc boss cause -speak speak(perf)-3sg  
'Nick spoke to his boss'

NOTE: The simplest and the straight forward way to say all this is the following.

OK nik alək'a-u-n a-nəgagər-ə  
Nick boss -3Mssg:poss-acc cause -speak speak(perf)-3sg  
'Nick spoke to his boss'

d) Nick put X's book on the table.

OK nik jə-ras-u-n məs'haf t'ərəp'p'eza-u laj as-k'əmmət'-ə  
Nick poss-self-3sg-acc book table-det on cause-put(perf)-3sg  
'Nick put his book on the table'

OK nik jə-issu-n məs'haf t'ərəp'p'eza-u laj as-k'əmmət'-ə  
Nick poss-he-acc book table-det on cause-put-  
3sg  
'Nick put his book on the table'

OK nik jə-issu-n jə-ras-u-n məs'haf t'ərəp'p'eza-u laj  
as-k'əmmət'-ə  
Nick poss-he-acc poss-self-3sg-acc book table-det on  
cause-put-(perf)-3sg  
'Nick put his own book on the table'

The most straight forward way to say the sentence is

OK    nik    məs'haf-u-n            t'ərəp'p'eza-u    laj    as-k'əmmət'-ə  
 Nick   book -3sg:-acc            table-det            on    cause-put(perf)-3sg  
 'Nick put his book on the table'

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

OK    nīgus-u    lə-    nik            bə-    ras-u    mändər    fɪllmat            sət't'-ə-u  
 king-det   to- Nick    in-self-village    prize            give(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'The king gave Nick a prize in his village'

Ok    nīgus-u    lə-    nik            bə-    ɪssu            mändər            fɪllmat            sət't'-ə-u  
 king-det   to- Nick    in-he            village            prize            give(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'The king gave Nick a prize in his village'

OK    nīgus-u    lə-    nik            bə-    ɪssu            bə-ras-u            mändər    fɪllmat    sət't'-ə-u  
 king-det   to- Nick    in-he            in self-3Msg:poss    village    prize    give(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'The king gave Nick a prize in his own village'

The most straight forward way to say it

OK    nīgus-u    lə-    nik            bə-    mändər -u            fɪllmat            sət't'-ə-u  
 king-det   to- Nick    in-village-3Msg: poss    prize            give(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'The king gave Nick a prize in his village'

e) The boys washed X's face.

?    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    jə-    ras-atʃtʃ-əu-n            fit            at't'əb -u  
 child-plu-3pl    poss- self-plu-3pl-acc    face    wash-3pl  
 'The children washed their face'

?    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    jə-    ɪnnəssu -n            fit            at't'əb -u  
 child-plu-3pl    poss- they -acc            face    wash-3pl  
 'The children washed their face'

Ok    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    fit-atʃtʃ-əu-n            at't'əb -u  
 child-plu-3pl    face-plu-3pl-acc    wash-3pl  
 'The children washed their face'

The most acceptable one is with a reflexive marker.

Ok    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    fit-atʃtʃ-əu-n            t-at't'əb -u  
 child-plu-3pl    face-plu-3pl-acc    Ref- wash-3pl  
 'The children washed their face'

C14a) Nick's father admires X.

?\*    jə-    nik            abbat    ras-u-n            j-adənk'-all  
 poss-Nick    father self-3sg-acc    Imperf-admire-be  
 'Nick's father admires himself'

\*\* jə- nik abbat ras-u-n j-adənk'-all  
 poss-Nick father self-3sg-acc Imperf-admire-be  
 'Nick's father admires himself'

b) Nick's ambition jealousy destroyed X. NOTE: ambition takes a phrase to translate.

OK jə- nik k'ɪnat ras-u-n at't'əf-a-u  
 Poss- Nick jealousy self-3sg-acc destroy(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'Nick's ambition destroyed himself'

OK jə- nik k'ɪnat ɪssu-n at't'əf-a-u  
 Poss- Nick jealousy he -acc destroy(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Nick's ambition destroyed himself'

OK jə- nik k'ɪnat ɪssu-n ras-u-n at't'əf-a-u  
 Poss- Nick jealousy he-acc self-3sg-acc destroy(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Nick's ambition destroyed himself'

OK nik-ɪn k'ɪnat -u at't'əf-a-u  
 Nick-acc jealousy-poss:3sg destroy(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Nick's ambition destroyed him'

c) Nick's mother sold X's car.

OK jə- nik ɪnnat jə-ras-u-n məkina ʃət't'-ə-tʃtʃ-u  
 Poss- Nick mother poss-self-3sg-acc car sell(Perf)-3sg-3Fsg-3Msg  
 'Nick's mother sold his car'

OK jə- nik ɪnnat jə- ɪssu-n məkina ʃət't'-ə-tʃtʃ-u  
 Poss- Nick mother poss-he-acc car sell(Perf)-3sg-3Fsg-3Msg  
 'Nick's mother sold his car'

OK jə- nik ɪnnat jə- ɪssu-n jə-ras-u-n məkina ʃət't'-ə-tʃtʃ-u  
 Poss- Nick mother poss-he-acc poss-self-3sg-acc car sell(Perf)-3sg-3Fsg-3Msg  
 'Nick's mother sold his car'

Note: ʃət't'-ə-tʃtʃ-u is in the deep structure. The surface form (pronunciation) is ʃət't'-ə-tʃtʃ-ɪw

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

X20a) The boys saw pictures of themselves/each other/them

OK lidʒ-otʃtʃ-u jə-ras-atʃtʃ-əu-n foto aʃj-u  
 child -plu-det poss-self-3pl-acc picture see(perf)-3pl  
 'The children saw pictures of their own'

OK lidʒ-otʃtʃ-u jə-jjə-ras-atʃtʃ-əu-n foto aʃj-u  
 child -plu-det poss-poss-self-3pl-acc picture see(perf)-3pl  
 'The children saw pictures of their own' (Each boy saw his own picture)

- ? lidɔ-otʃʃ-u and-u jə- lɛla-u-n foto ajj-u  
 child -plu-det one-detposs-another-det-acc picture see(perf)-3pl  
 'The children saw pictures of one another' (Each boy saw his own picture)
- ? lidɔ-otʃʃ-u and-u lə- lɛla-u foto-atʃʃ-əu-n as-ajj-u  
 child -plu-det one-detto-another-det picture-pl-3pl-acc cause-see(perf)-3pl  
 'The children saw pictures of one another' (Each boy showed his picture to the other boy)
- OK lidɔ-otʃʃ-u jə- ɪnnəs-u-n foto ajj-u  
 child -plu-det poss-they-3pl:poss-acct picture see(perf)-3pl  
 'The children saw pictures of themselves' (It may be each boy saw his own or all boys saw the picture they have in group or all boys saw all pictures of the boys displayed)
- OK lidɔ-otʃʃ-u foto-atʃʃ-əu-n ajj-u  
 child -plu-det picture-pl-3pl-acc see(perf)-3pl  
 'The children saw pictures of themselves'

b) Mary told the boys about pictures of themselves/each other/them

- OK meri lɛɔɔ-otʃʃ- u sɪlə ras-atʃʃ-əu foto nəggər-ə-tʃʃ-atʃʃ-əu  
 Mary to-child-plu-det about self-plu-3plu picture tell(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-pl-3pl  
 'Mary told the boys about pictures of their own'
- OK meri lɛɔɔ-otʃʃ- u sɪlə- ɪnnəs-u foto nəggər-ə-tʃʃ-atʃʃ-əu  
 Mary to-child-plu-det about- they picture tell(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-pl-3pl  
 'Mary told the boys about pictures of themselves'
- OK meri lɛɔɔ-otʃʃ- u sɪlə- ɪnnəs-u sɪlə ras-atʃʃ-əu foto nəggər-ə-tʃʃ-atʃʃ-əu  
 Mary to-child-plu-det about- they about self-plu-3pl picture tell(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-pl-3pl  
 'Mary told the boys about pictures of themselves'
- OK meri sɪlə foto-atʃʃ-əu nəggər-ə-tʃʃ-atʃʃ-əu  
 Mary about picture -pl-3pl tell(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-pl-3pl  
 'Mary told the boys about their picture'

**Note:** əu is pronounced as əw

c) The politicians planned attacks against each other.

Use of the infinitive form to attack is more familiar in Amharic than the use of the noun form of attack. Thus the interpretation is in the infinitive for.

- OK polətikəŋŋ-otʃʃ-u and-u lɛla-u-n lə-mat'k'at ak'k'əd-u  
 Politician-plu- one -det other-det-acc to-attckplan(perf)-3pl  
 'The politicians planned to attack one another.' 'The politicians planned to attack each other.'
- OK polətikəŋŋ-otʃʃ-u ɪrs bə-rs atʃʃ-u lə- mət'tt'ək'ak'at ak'k'əd-u  
 Politician-plu- self-by-self-one -det to-attack attack plan(perf)-3pl  
 'The politicians planned to attack each other.'

**NOTE: The verb in this sentence shows reduplication and it is considered as a different stem that shows a repeated action done by many people against each other.**

OK    polətikəŋŋ-otʃʃ-u    ras bə-ras atʃʃ-u    lə- mət't'ək'ak'at    ak'k'əd-u  
 Politician-plu-    self-by-self-one -det    to-attack attack    plan(perf)-3pl  
 'The politicians planned to attack each other.'

?    polətikəŋŋ-otʃʃ-u    ras atʃʃ-u-n    lə-mat'kat    ak'k'əd-u  
 Politician-plu-    self-by-self-one -det    to-attack    plan(perf)-3pl  
 'The politicians planned to attack themselves.'

**NOTE: This sentence is okay but has a different meaning. The interpretation is that all politicians as a group plan to attack themselves or each politician plans to attack himself or herself. It is reflexive.**

d) The politicians faked/simulated attacks against themselves/them.

OK    polətikəŋŋ-otʃʃ-u    irs--bə- rs -atʃʃ-u    jə-wufət    tə-'t'ək'ak' -u  
 Politician-plu-    self-by-self-plu -3plu    poss-false    Ref-attack(perf)-3pl  
 'The politicians made fake attack against each other'

?    polətikəŋŋ-otʃʃ-u    ras -atʃʃ-u -n    jə-wufət    tə-'t'ək'ak' -u  
 Politician-plu-    self-plu -3plu-acc    poss-false    Ref-attack(perf)-3pl  
 'The politicians made fake attack against themselves'

4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments - Refer back to the range of grammatical function-changing operations (such as passive, antipassive, applicative, possessor ascension, dative alternation) that you considered for section 3.6 (if you did that). For each one, construct some representative non-reflexive examples. Then apply each coreference strategy to various pairs of arguments and report their grammaticality status. It might be easier to go back to 3.6 to do what is asked there once you have done this section.

Example: (C15a-c) have been passivized. If your language has passive, construct reflexive and non-reflexive versions of each one as above. For English, the by-phrases in (C15a,b) are not interpretable as "alone" (see 3.6) and are not generally regarded as acceptable with by herself.

- C15a) Polly was praised by X
- b) Polly was helped by X
- c) Little is known by Polly about X (X = Polly)
- d) The wax melted itself

Like English, Amharic sentences are not acceptable in (C15a and b). (C15c) is not acceptable as well.

bə    poli    sɪlə    ras-u-a    jə-mi-tt-awwək'-ə-u    tɪnnɪf nəw  
 by    Polly    about    self-3sg-3Fsg    poss-what-pass-know(Perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)    little be  
 'What is known by Polly about her is little' But this type of sentence is not common in the language. It seems odd.



\* e **bə ras-e tə-wəddəd-hu**  
**by self-1sg pass-like(perf)-1sg**  
 ‘I was liked by myself’

? f **lə ras-e innat dəwwəl-hu-l-at**  
**to self-1sg mother phone(perf)-1sg(subj)3Fsg-benef-3Fsg**  
 ‘I phoned to my self’s mother’(I phoned to my own mother)

? g **abbat-e jə-ras-e-n innat j-adənk’-at-all**  
**father-1sg poss-self-1sg-acc mother 3sg-admire(imperf)-3Fsg-be**  
 ‘My father admires myself’s mother’ (My father admires my own mother)

NOTE: The addition of the personal pronouns before the reflexives improves the acceptability and makes the statements in f and g to be normal in speeches that need emphasis of the object.

**lə innə lə ras-e-n innat dəwwəl-hu-l-at**  
**to I to self-1sg-acc mother phone(perf)-1sg(subj)3Fsg-benef-3Fsg**  
 ‘I phoned to my, self’s mother’(I phoned to my own mother)

**abbat-e jə-ras-e-n innat j-adənk’-at-all**  
**father-1sg poss-self-1sg-acc mother 3sg-admire(imperf)-3Fsg-be**  
 ‘My father admires my, myself’s mother’ (My father admires my own mother)

RAS by RAS strategy: As far as this strategy is concerned, in Amharic C17a,b, are possible. C17ec,d,e,f,g are not totally acceptable. There is no problem with the different person and number paradigms. So I will just use the first person to illustrate the structure.

OK a **ras-e-n bə-ras- e at’tə’b-hu**  
**self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg wash(perf)-1sg**  
 ‘I washed myself by myself’ (I washed by myself)

OK b **ras-e-n bə-ras- e t’əlla-hu**  
**self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg hate(perf)-1sg**  
 ‘I hated myself by myself’(Myself hated myself)

4.1.3.2 Animacy or humanity- If animacy plays a role in choice of strategy or if a strategy is restricted to human (or metaphorically human) entities, please give examples showing both success and failure of the strategy in a way that illustrates the difference.

C18a) History repeats X

**Both strategies possible(ras person and ras by ras)**  
**tarik ras-u-n j-degm-all**

**history self-3sg-acc 3Msg-repeat(imperf)-be**  
'History repeats itself'

**tarik ras-u-n bə-ras-u j-dəgm-all**  
**history self-3sg-acc by-self-3sg 3Msg-repeat(imperf)-be**  
'History repeats itself by itself' (History repeats itself)

b) This type of fish cannibalizes X

Both strategies possible (ras person and ras by ras)

**jə-zih ajnət-u asa ras-u-n j-bəl-all**  
**poss-this kind-det(3sg) fish self-3sg-acc 3Msg-eat(perf)-be**  
'This kind of fish eats itself'

**jə-zih ajnət-u asa bə-ras-u bə-ras-u j-bəl-all**  
**poss-this kind-det(3sg) fish by-self-3sg by-self-3sg 3Msg-eat(perf)-be**  
'This kind of fish eats itself by itself' (this type of fish eats itself)

c) This machine destroys X (e.g., after you use it)

**j+h maf+n ras-u-n j-at'əf-all**  
**this machine self-3sg-acc 3Msg-destroy(imperf)-be**  
'This type of machine destroys itself'

**j+h maf+n ras-u-n bə-ras-u j-at'əf-all**  
**this machine self-3sg-acc by-self-3sg 3Msg-destroy(imperf)-be**  
'This type of machine destroys itself by itself'

NOTE: The above sentence is most likely to be interpreted in the context of turning itself off (in a positive sense) It is more common Amharic to talk about constructive things in sentences like this. The following is an example

**j+h maf+n ras-u-n j-as-nəs-all**  
**this machine self-3sg-acc 3Msg-cause-turon on(imperf)-be**  
'This type of machine turns itself on'

**j+h maf+n ras-u-n bə-ras-u j-as-nəs-all**  
**this machine self-3sg-acc by-self-3sg 3Msg-cause-turon on(imperf)-be**  
'This type of machine turns itself on'

4.1.3.2 Pronoun types - If your language has more than one class of subject pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic), repeat the tests of the previous section for each type. Also repeat for null pronouns, if applicable.

No effect in the discussions made in the previous section with the use of subject pronouns instead of the nouns. The same conclusions work.

#### 4.1.3.4 Quantifiers

- C19a) Every woman saw X.  
 b) Every child washed X.  
 c) Every student hates X.  
 d) Every child saw a snake near X.  
 e) Every child telephoned X's mother.  
 f) Every child's father admires X.

The use of distributive quantifiers (every, each) does not change the way the strategies are used in the previous section a lot. (C19 a,b,c,d,e) are quite acceptable in the ras person strategy. C19 f is not totally acceptable. In the ras by ras strategy only (C19a, b, c) are acceptable and the rest are not. C19a has been done to show the possible constructions.

OK    **†jjə-    and and-u-a                    set    ras-u-a-n                    ajj-ə-tʃtʃ**  
**each-    one one-3sg-3Fsg                    woman self-3sg-3Fsg                    see(perf)-3sg-3Fsg**  
 ‘Each one woman saw herself’ (Every woman saw herself)

OK    **†jjə-    and and-u-a                    set    ras-u-a-n                    bə-ras-u-a                    ajj-ə-tʃtʃ**  
**each-    one one-3sg-3Fsg                    woman self-3sg-3Fsg                    by-self-3sg-3Fsg see(perf)-3sg-3Fsg**  
 ‘Each one woman saw herself’ (Every woman saw herself)

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

No N isn't translated to Amharic in the way it is used in English. Using No N changes the statement from positive to negative. Thus the verb form also needs to change from positive to negative. Apart from this change, the strategies work in similar circumstances with that of the distributive quantifiers (each, every). The first one has been done to show the possible and acceptable construction.

OK    **mann-†m    set                    ras-u-a-n                    al-ajj-ə-tʃtʃ-†m**  
**who-    neg    woman                    self-3sg-3Fsg                    neg-see(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-neg**  
 ‘No woman saw herself’ (Every woman saw herself)

OK    **mann-†m    set                    ras-u-a-n                    bə-ras-u-a                    al-ə-tʃtʃ-†m**  
**who-    neg    woman self-3sg-3Fsg                    by-self-3sg-3Fsg                    neg-see(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-neg**  
 ‘Each one woman saw herself’ (Every woman saw herself)

**NOTE: † in †m - is just an epenthetic vowel**

4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents - X is coreferent with the wh-word in all of the following (if C20e is possible in your language). If your language leaves question words in situ, translate accordingly, and if your language allows both in situ and fronted questions, then provide

examples of both possibilities and judgments for each of the coreference strategies.

- C20a) Who saw X?
- b) Who washed X?
- c) Who saw a snake near X?
- d) Who telephoned X's mother?
- e) Whose father admires X?

RAS-PERSON strategy: C20 a,b,c,d are acceptable. C20e is not acceptable if X=the son(daughter) C20e is acceptable if X=the father

RAS by RAS strategy: C20a, b are acceptable. C20c,d are not acceptable. C20e is not acceptable if X=the son(daughter) C20e is acceptable if X=the father.

OK a.            **mann ras-u-n**            **ajj-ə**  
                   **who self-self-3sg**    **see(perf)-3sg**  
                   'Who saw himself?'

OKa.            **mann ras-u-n**            **bə- ras-u**            **ajj-ə**  
                   **who self-self-3sg**    **by- self-3sg**            **see(imperf)-3sg**  
                   'Who saw himself by himself?'

4.1.3.6 Reverse binding - In the following examples, the full NP ('antecedent') appears in the lower (prototypically, object) position. Try to translate these into your language. It is expected that many sentences constructed in this section, possibly all, will be unacceptable in many languages (as \*Himself saw Fred is in English). Naturally, any examples which are not ungrammatical are of particular interest. Assume X = Fred unless otherwise marked.

- C21a) X saw Fred.
- b) X saw us. (X = us)
- c) X saw a snake behind Fred.
- d) X impressed Fred
- e) Bill spoke to X about Fred.
- f) Bill told X about Fred
- g) X was praised by Fred.
- <ah) X is liked by you. (X = you)

RAS PERSON strategy: The construction is possible in a, b, d, but it is a matter of topicalization. The sov order changes into the osv order to show the topic is the object.

a. ok    **rasu-n**            **(fred)**            **ajj-ə**            **(Amharic is pro drop)**  
           **self-3sg-acc**    **(Fred)**            **see(perf)-3sg**

b. ok    **ras-atʃtʃ-n -in**            **ajj-ən**  
           **self-plu-1pl-acc**            **see(perf)-3plu**

c. \* ras-u kə- fred at'əgəb †bab †bab ajj -ə  
 self-3sg from- Fred near snake see(perf)-3sg

d ok ras-u-n as-dəmməm-ə(-u) (-u) is optional  
 self-3sg-acc cause-impress-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)

e. \* bill kə- ras-u gar sɪlə fred tə-nəggər-ə  
 Bill with- self-3sg with about Fred Ref-tell(perf)-3sg

f.? bill lə- ras-u sɪlə fred nəggər-ə-u  
 Bill to- self-3sg about Fred tell(perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)

NOTE: This statement confuses the hearer, is not as such acceptable, but nit totally unacceptable.

g. \* ras-u bə- fred tə-məsəggən-ə  
 sel-3sg by- Fred pass-praise(perf)-3sg

RAS by RAS strategy: a,b,d acceptable. The rest are not acceptable.

a. ok rasu-n bə-ras-u (fred ) ajj-ə (Amharic is pro drop)  
 self-3sg-acc by- self-3sg (Fred) see(perf)-3sg

b. ok ras-atʃtʃ-n -ɪn bə-ras-atʃtʃ-n ajj-ən  
 self-plu-1pl-acc by-sef-plu-1plu see(perf)-3plu

c. \* ras-u bə-ras-u kə- fred at'əgəb †bab †bab ajj  
 -ə  
 self-3sg by- self-3sg from- Fred near snake see(perf)-3sg

d ok ras-u-n bə-ras-u as-dəmməm-ə(-u) (-u) is optional  
 self-3sg-acc by- self-3sg cause-impress-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)

e. \* bill kə- ras-u bə-ras-u gar sɪlə fred tə-nəggər-ə  
 Bill with- self-3sg by- self-3sg with about Fred Ref-tell(perf)-3sg

f.? bill lə- ras-u bə-ras-u sɪlə fred nəggər-ə-u  
 Bill to- self-3sg by- self-3sg about Fred tell(perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)

NOTE: This statement( f) confuses the hearer, and is not as such acceptable, but isn't totally unacceptable.

g. \* ras-u bə-ras-u bə- fred tə-məsəggən-ə  
 sel-3sg by- self-3sg by- Fred pass-praise(perf)-3sg

If the current strategy permits a possessive position to be coreferent with its antecedent, please indicate if an anaphor or a pronoun is possible in the position of X, which should correspond to George in all of these examples.

C22a) X telephoned George's mother.

\*     **ras-u**           **lə- dʒordʒ**   **ɪnnat**           **dəwwəl-ə**  
        **self-3sg**       **to George**     **mother**           **call(perf)-3sg**

b) X's mother wanted to improve George.

**Ok**   **jə- ras-u**       **ɪnnat dʒordʒ-n**   **maffafal**       **fəllɪg -ə-u**           **nəbbər**  
        **Poss-self-3sg** **mother George-acc** **to improve**   **want-3-3pl(honorific)(perf)** **be(past)**  
        ‘Himself’s mother wanted to improve George.’  
        (His own mother wanted to improve George )

NOTE: The honorific form is optional. The speaker can use the third person feminine singular -əʃʃ if he or she is older than her(or not obliged to use the polite form). Though the marker is 3pl, it really shows 1sg honorific.

c) X's mother worried/impressed George.

**OK**   **jə- ras-u**       **ɪnnat dʒordʒ-n**   **maffafal**       **as-dəmməm-u-t**  
        **Poss-self-3sg** **mother George-acc** **to improve**   **want-3pl(honorific)(perf)** **be(past)**

d) Mary told X's mother about George.

?     **meri**   **lə- ras-u**       **ɪnnat**           **sɪlə**   **dʒordʒ**           **nəggər-ə-ʃʃ-at**  
        **Meri**   **to-self-3sg**   **mother**           **about** **George**           **tell-3Fsg(subj)-3sg-3Fsg(obj)**  
        ‘Mary told himself’s mother about George.’  
        (Mary told hi own mother about George.)

e) A picture of X's mother fell on George.

**OK**   **jə- ras-u**                   **ɪnnat**           **foto**   **dʒordʒ**           **ləj**   **wəddək'-ə**  
        **poss-self-3sg**           **mother**           **foto**   **George**           **on**   **fall(perf)-3sg**  
        ‘Himself’s mother fell on George.’(His own mother’s picture fell on George.)

f) A picture of X's mother pleased George.

**OK**   **jə- ras-u**       **ɪnnat**           **foto**   **dʒordʒ-n**       **as-dəssət-ə-u**  
        **poss-self-3sg** **mother**           **foto**   **George-acc**   **cause-please-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj)**

NOTE: The RAS by RAS strategy cannot be used to make any acceptable construction like the above ones.

In some languages, it is possible to scramble the positions of argument nominals so that objects can precede subjects, or perhaps the order of arguments in the VP is less fixed. In translating these cases we want you to preserve the linear order of X before its antecedent and providing a judgment accordingly, insofar as the unmarked word order of your language allows.

The word order in Amharic is SVO. Nevertheless, the word order could be VSO when there is a

need to emphasize the object. ( C22b,c,e,f ) would sound OK if the word order is changed.

#### 4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1 Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity - Select and translate a simple example illustrating the using a clausemate coreference strategy successfully, such as (C23).

C23) The women help X.

Ras-person strategy: the meaning is clearly that of (C24e) . However (C24 b,c,d ) are possible. C24a, f are not possible.

<b>set-otʃʃ-u</b>	<b>ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n</b>	<b>jʃ-rəd-all-u</b>
woman-plu-(det)	self-plu-3-3pl-acc	3pl-help(imperf)-be-3plu
‘The women help themselves.’		

Ras-by ras strategy: the meaning is clearly that of (C24e or d). C24b, is also possible, but not (C24a, f).

<b>set-otʃʃ-u</b>	<b>ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n</b>	<b>bə- ras-atʃʃ-ə-u</b>	<b>jʃ-rəd-all-u</b>
woman-plu-(det)	self-plu-3-3pl-acc	by- self-plu-3-3pl	3pl-help(imperf)-be-
3plu	‘The women help themselves by themselves.’		
(The women help themselves.)			

(ʃrs bə-rs) strategy: the interpretation is that of (C24e). (C24 f) may be possible.

<b>set-otʃʃ-u</b>	<b>ʃrs-bə-ʃrs-atʃʃ-ə-u</b>	<b>jʃ-rədad-all-u</b>
woman-plu-(det)	self-by-self-plu-3-3pl	3pl-help help(imperf)-be-3plu
‘The women help themselves by themselves.’		

Which of the following meanings can this example have? Say which it can have and which it can't have. We will say that if the form in place of X permits at least (C24a) or (C24f) as a reading, then the form in question permits a reciprocal interpretation.

- C24a) Each woman helps all (or almost all) of the women, excluding herself.
- b) Each woman helps all of the women, including herself.
- c) Each woman helps at least some of the other women.
- d) Each woman helps herself.
- e) The women together as a group help the women together as a group.
- f) Each woman helps one of the women other than herself, such that all of the women are helped by one of the others.

Translate each of the following examples, which are compatible with collective action, and state their possible interpretations as above.

C25a) The women praised X.

<b>set-otʃʃ-u</b>	<b>ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n</b>	<b>awəddəs-u</b>
woman-plu-(det)	self-plu-3-3pl-acc	praise(perf)-3plu
‘The women help themselves.’		

Interpretation: The interpretation is the women together as a group praised the women together as a group.

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n**                      **bə- bras-atʃʃ-ə-u**                      **awəddəs-u**  
woman-plu-(det)                      self-plu-3-3pl-acc                      by- self-plu-3-3pl                      praise(perf)-3plu  
‘The women help themselves.’

Interpretation: The interpretation is the women together as a group praised the women together as a group. Also (possible) each woman praised herself.

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ɪrs**                      **bə- rs-atʃʃ-ə-u**                      **tə-awdaddəs-u**  
woman-plu-(det)                      self                      by-self-plu-3-3pl-acc                      REF-praise                      praise(perf)-3plu  
‘The women help themselves.’

Interpretation: It means each woman praised some other woman in the group; or some women in the group praised some other women in the group (one subgroup praising the other). It seems not to mean the women together as a group praised the women together as a group.

b) The women will support X.

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n**                      **j-rəd-all-u**  
woman-plu-(det)                      self-plu-3-3pl-acc                      3pl-help(imperf)-be-3pl  
‘The women support themselves.’

Interpretation: Each woman supports herself; the women together as a group will support the women together as a group.

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n**                      **bə- ras-atʃʃ-ə-u**                      **j-rəd-all-u**  
woman-plu-(det)                      -acc                      by- self-plu-3-3pl                      3pl-help(imperf)-be-3pl  
‘The women will support themselves.’

Interpretation: Each woman supports herself; the women together as a group will support the women together as a group.

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ɪrs- bə- rs-atʃʃ-ə-u**                      **j-rrədad-all-u**  
woman-plu-(det)--acc                      self-by- self-plu-3-3pl                      3pl-help help (imperf)-be-3pl  
‘The women will support themselves.’ (The woman will support each other)

Interpretation: It means each woman will support some other woman in the group; or some women in the group will support some other women in the group (one subgroup supporting the other).

c) The women photographed X.

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n**                      **foto**                      **anəss-u**  
woman-plu-(det)--acc                      self-plu-3-3pl-acc                      photo                      take(perf)-3pl  
‘The women photographed themselves.’

Interpretation: the women together as a group photographed the women as a group. (Doubtful: each woman photographed herself)

**set-otʃʃ-u**                      **ɪrs- bə- rs-atʃʃ-ə-u**                      **foto**                      **anəss-u**  
woman-plu-(det)--acc                      self-by- self-plu-3-3pl                      photo                      take(perf)-3pl

‘The women photographed themselves.’

Interpretation: each woman photographed herself; some women as a subgroup photographed some other women as another subgroup.

set-otʃʃ-u                      ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n                      bə- ras-atʃʃ-ə-u                      foto                      anəʃʃ-u  
woman-plu-(det)--acc      self-plu-3-3pl-acc      by- self-plu-3-3pl      photo take(perf)-3pl  
‘The women photographed themselves.’

Interpretation: the women together as a group photographed the women as a group; each woman photographed herself.

d) The women betrayed X.

set-otʃʃ-u                      ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n                      kədd -u  
woman-plu-(det)--acc      self-plu-3-3pl-acc      betray(perf)-3pl  
‘The women betrayed themselves.’

Interpretation: the women together as a group betrayed the women as a group; (doubtful: ) each woman photographed herself; some women as a subgroup photographed some other women as another subgroup.

set-otʃʃ-u                      ras-atʃʃ-ə-u-n                      bə- ras-atʃʃ-ə-u                      kədd-u  
woman-plu-(det)--acc      self-plu-3-3pl-acc      by- self-plu-3-3pl      betray(perf)-3pl  
‘The women betrayed themselves.’

Interpretation: the women together as a group betrayed the women as a group; each woman photographed herself; some women as a subgroup photographed some other women as another subgroup

In light of these observations, which of the local coreference strategies in your language permit only reciprocal readings, which ones permit only reflexive readings, and which ones permit both?

Ras person strategy allows mainly a reflexive reading and to a less extent reciprocal reading  
Ras by ras strategy allows mainly reflexive reading and to a less extent reciprocal reading  
ras by ras 2(rs by rs) : allows only reciprocal reading

If this strategy can have both reflexive and reciprocal readings, can you think of some predicates in which it is ambiguous? For example, in German, Die Kinderen wassen sich can mean either "the children are washing themselves" or "the children are washing each other." Ambiguity: With verbs like wash there ras person and ras by ras strategy seem to have only reflexive reading. With verbs like help the two strategies in general may be ambiguous though the first interpretation that of a reflexive.

4.1.4.2 Reciprocal readings - Complete this section only if your strategy allows a reciprocal reading (i.e., permits a reading like those in (C24a) or (C24f). If the strategy is ambiguous, make sure to use verbs that allow the reciprocal interpretation.

a) Which of the following verbs can the strategy be applied to?  
C26) "meet", "see", "fight", "speak", "hit"

All the verbs can be applied to the ras by ras 2(rs by rs) strategy  
Only 'see' can have a reciprocal reading with ras person and ras by ras strategies.'

b) Does the strategy allow the constructions where X is understood to be a reciprocal which has a plural antecedent consisting of John and Bill (i.e., it would be understood as "John and Bill saw each other"). Are both "see" and "meet" possible in (C27), or is only one sort of verb acceptable?

C27) John met/saw X with Bill (Meaning: "John and Bill met/saw each other.")

No!

c) Is there any difference in the range of interpretations permitted for (C28a) as opposed to (C28b), or any difference in reciprocal strategies that support these interpretations? If so, tell us what you think the problem is and provide pairs like these for subsequent tests in this section (and let us know if male/female gender pairings introduce any complications).

C28a) John and Mary praised X.

b) The women praised X.

In (C28 a ) The interpretation of the ras person and ras by ras strategy could equally mean either John praised himself and Mary praised herself or both John and Mary as a group praised themselves as a group. The ras by ras 2(rs by rs) has the interpretation of a pure reciprocal reading :John praised Mary and Mary praised John.

In (C28 b) the interpretation of the ras person and ras by ras strategy is mainly that of a reflexive reading: The women as a group praised themselves (as a group). The reading; 'Each woman praised herself' is not a usual way of interpreting the sentences in these strategies. The ras by ras 2(rs by rs) strategy has a pure reciprocal reading: one woman praised the other woman in the group.

Gender does not make any complications.

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

C29a) John and Mary spoke to X.

b) John and Mary met with X.

c) John and Mary gave this book to X.

Only the ras by ras strategy allows the reciprocal reading in the sentences in C29.

a. **dʒon iɲna meri iɲs bə-rs-atʃʃ-ə-u tə-nəgaggər-u**  
John and Mary self-by-self-pl-3-3pl Ref-speak speak(perf)-3pl  
'John and Mary spoke to each other.'

b. **dʒon iɲna meri iɲs bə-rs-atʃʃ-ə-u tə-gənaŋŋ-u**  
John and Mary self-by-self-pl-3-3pl Ref-meet(perf)-3pl  
'John and Mary met each other.'

c.  $\text{dʒon}$   $\text{ʔnna}$   $\text{meri}$   $\text{jʔhʔn-n}$   $\text{məs'haf}$   $\text{ʔrs bə-rs-ʔtʃf-ə-u}$   $\text{tə-sət'at't'-u}$   
 John and Mary this-acc book self-by-self-pl-3-3pl Ref- give give(perf)-3pl  
 'John and Mary gave this book to each other.'

Note the anaphor can be taken out and still get the same interpretation. The duplicated verb stem shows that the action is reciprocal. Perhaps the prefix  $\text{tə-}$  could be renamed as reciprocal marker instead of a reflexive marker or something that comprises both.

$\text{dʒon}$   $\text{ʔnna}$   $\text{meri}$   $\text{jʔhʔn-n}$   $\text{məs'haf}$   $\text{tə-sət'at't'-u}$   
 John and Mary this-acc book Ref- give give(perf)-3pl  
 'John and Mary gave this book to each other.'

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

C30) Bill and Mary think that they like X.

$\text{dʒon}$   $\text{ʔnna}$   $\text{meri}$   $\text{ʔrs bə-rs-ʔtʃf-ə-u}$   $\text{ʔndə}$   $\text{m-j-waddəd-u}$   $\text{j-assʔb-all-u}$   
 John and Mary self-by-self-pl-3-3pl comp(as if) ?(comp)-3pl-like(perf)-3pl 3pl-think(perf)-be-3pl  
 'John and Mary gave this book to each other.'

I am not sure about the labeling of  $\text{ʔndə-m}$  in  $\text{ʔndə-m-j-waddəd-u}$ .  $\text{ʔndə}$  is a complementizer which means 'like' or 'as if' but in this context it appears with  $\text{-m-}$  whose status I can not explain at the moment.

## 4.2 Cross-clausal binding

Cases of coreference across clause boundaries fall into two major categories: in some cases, the coconstrual strategy permits relations between arguments in different clauses just in case the distance across clauses is determined by a relationship that is in principle local.

### 4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

4.2.1.1 Tensed complement, long distance relations, anaphor in situ - Please provide translations for all of these sentences where X is Jack.

D1a) Jack said that X is smart.

$\text{dʒak}$   $\text{ras-u}$   $\text{gobəz}$   $\text{nə-ʔʔ}$   $\text{bʔl-o-all}$   
 Jack self-3sg smart be-1sg say(perf)-3msg-be(past)

'Jack said that himself is smart.' The interpretation is : 'Jack himself said that he is smart.'

b) Jack knows that George likes X.

$\text{dʒak}$   $\text{dʒordʒ}$   $\text{ras-u-n}$   $\text{ʔnddə-m-j-wədd-ə-u}$   $\text{j-awk'-all}$   
 Jack George self-3sg-acc Comp-Comp-3msg-like(perf)-3sg-3msg 3msg-know(imperf)-be(past)  
 'Jack knows that George likes himself.'

NOTE: This is right in Amharic.

c) Jack knows that Bill said that X is smart.

$\text{dʒak}$   $\text{bil}$   $\text{ras-u-n}$   $\text{gobəz}$   $\text{nə-u}$   $\text{ʔnddə-al-ə-u}$   $\text{j-awk'-all}$   
 Jack Bill self-3sg-acc smart- be-3msg Comp-say-3sg 3msg-know(imperf)-be(past)

‘ Jack knows that Bill said that himself is smart.’

NOTE: The interpretation is “Jack knows that Bill said that he is smart.” where he = Jack.

d) Jack thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes X.

ɖʒak	wendi	ras-u-n		ɪnddə-mi-tti-wədd-ə -u
Jack	Wendy	self-3sg-acc		Comp-Comp-3fsg-like(perf)-3sg-3msg

liza	ɪnddə-mi-tti-awk’		j-assɪb-all
Lisa	Comp-Comp-3fsg-know (perf)		3msg-think(imperf)-be(past)

‘Jack thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes himself.’

NOTE: This is also right in the language.

e) Jack thinks that Lisa knows that X likes Alice.

ɖʒak	ras-u	alis-n		ɪnddə-mi-tti-wədd-ə -at
Jack	self-3sg-acc	Alice		Comp-Comp-3fsg-like(perf)-3sg-3msg

liza	ɪnddə-mi-tti-awk’		j-assɪb-all
Lisa	Comp-Comp-3fsg-know (perf)		3msg-think(imperf)-be(past)

‘Jack thinks that Lisa knows that himself likes Alice.’

NOTE: This sentence is ambiguous between an emphatic reading ‘ It is Jack himself that thinks that Lisa knows that he himself likes Alice’ and a reflexive reading ‘Jack thinks that Lisa knows that He likes Alice.’

f) Sarah told Jack that Lisa loves X.

sara	lə-ɖʒak	liza	ras-u-n	ɪnddə-mi-tti-wədd-ə -u	nəggər-ətʃtʃ-u
Sara	to- Jack	Lisa	self-3sg-acc	Comp-Comp-3fsg-like(perf)-3sg-3msg	tell(perf)-3fsg-3msg

‘Sarah told Jack that Lisa loves himself.’

Note: This is okay. The sentence would look improved if the anaphor(ras-u-n) is taken out if some emphasis is not required.

g) Sarah told Jack that X loves Wendy.

sara	lə-ɖʒak	ras-u	wendi -n	ɪnddə-m-j-wədd-at	nəggər-ətʃtʃ-u
Sara	to- John	self-3sg	Wendy-acc	Comp-Comp-3fsg-like(perf)-3fsg	tell(perf)-3fsg-3msg

‘Sarah told Jack that himself loves Wendy

Note: This is okay. The sentence would look improved if the anaphor(ras-u) is taken out if some emphasis is not required.

Although there is no morphological marking of the distinction in English, sometimes a difference in factivity makes a difference for what we are studying and we want you to consider this difference.

D2a) Jack admitted that Mary loved X.

ɔʒæk	meri ras-u-n	afk'ɪr-a-u-	ɪndə nəbbər	amn - o - all
Jack	mary self-3sg-acc	love-3Fsg-3sg	Comp be(past)	admit(perf)-3Msg-be(past)

'Jack admitted that Mary loved himself.'

NOTE: This sentence would be more acceptable if there is a definite marker attached to the anaphor. The definite marker , then , will have the effect of making the sentence possess an emphatic ending as in the following sentence. The factivity case is similar to that of English .

ɔʒæk	meri ras-u-n-u	afk'ɪr-a-u-	ɪndə nəbbər	amn - o - all
Jack	mary self-3sg-acc-Det	love-3Fsg-3sg	Comp be(past)	admit(perf)-3Msg-be(past)

'Jack admitted that Mary loved him, himself.'

b) Jack suspected that Mary loved X.

ɔʒæk	meri ras-u-n	afk'ɪr-a-u-	ɪndə nəbbər	t'ərt'ɪr - o - all
Jack	mary self-3sg-acc	love-3Fsg-3sg	Comp be(past)	suspect(perf)-3Msg-be(past)

'Jack admitted that Mary loved himself.'

NOTE: This sentence would be more acceptable if there is a definite marker attached to the anaphor. The definite marker , then , will have the effect of making the sentence possess an emphatic reading as in the following sentence.

ɔʒæk	meri ras-u-n-u	afk'ɪr-a-u-	ɪndə nəbbər	t'ərt'ɪr - o - all
Jack	mary self-3sg-acc-Det	love-3Fsg-3sg	Comp be(past)	suspect(perf)-3Msg-be(past)

'Jack suspected that Mary loved him, himself.'

Please also test adjuncts, such as those in (D3), where X = Jeff.

D3a) Jeff complained about Mary when Ella blamed X

ɔʒef	meri-n	s-j-ammarrɪr	ela	ras-u-n	wək'k's-ə-tʃɪ-u
Jeff	Mary-acc	Comp-3Msg-complain	Ella	self-3sg-acc	blame(perf)-3sg-3Fsg-

'Jeff complained about Mary when Ella blamed himself'

This is OK

b) Jeff returned home when/before/after X became tired.

ɔʒef	ras-u	kə-mədkəm-u	bəfit	wədə	bet-u	təməlləs-ə
Jeff	self-3sg	from-tiredness-3sg	before	to	house-3sg	return-3sg

'Jeff returned home before himself became tired.'

This has an emphatic reading "Jeff himself returned before he himself became tired."

c) When/before/after Mary wrote to X, Jeff returned home.'

meri	lə- ras-u	kə-məs'af-u-a	bəfit	ɔʒef	wədə	bet-u	təməlləs-ə
Mary	to- self-3sg	from-writing-3sg-3Fsg	before	Jeff	to	house-3sg	return-3sg

Before Mary wrote to himself, Jeff returned home.'

This is okay in a circumstance where the conversation in question was about Jeff and he is emphasized.

d) Jeff left without Mary seeing X.

dʒef meri ras-u-n s-a-tt-aggəŋŋ -ə-u hed- ə  
 Jeff Mary self-acc Comp-Neg-3Fsg-meet(imperf)-3Msggo(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Jeff went without Mary meeting him.’

This is not common, but possible in conversations.

e) Mary condemned Jeff without meeting X.

meri dʒef-n s-a-tt-aggəŋŋ -ə-u ras-u-n wək'k'əs-ə-tʃtʃ-ɪw  
 Mary Jeff-acc Comp-Neg-3Fsg-meet(imperf)-3Msg self-3sg condemn-3sg-3Fsg-  
 3msg

‘Mary condemned Jeff without meeting himself’  
 This is not common, but has a possibility of being said.

NOTE: in wək'k'əs-ə-tʃtʃ-ɪw, the underlying form is wək'k'əs-ə-ttɪ-u.

Please do not forget to test reciprocal strategies in these long distance contexts (adjusting for plural antecedents), but if none of them work, it is not necessary to provide examples for all of them. **No reciprocal strategy can work here!**

Please also let us know if differences in gender, plurality or person make a difference for which strategy succeeds. For example, if you replace Jack in all of the Jack sentences with first person "I" or second person "you" does the pattern change in any way? If so, we will follow up about this in section 4.4, so set it aside for now.

4.2.1.2 Climbing from tensed complements - This test applies particularly to reflexives in close association with a verb, either as affixes or clitic pronouns, but there are some languages where a form of focus movement can place a more an argument-marked anaphor in a higher clause.

Change the examples in the previous section so that the higher verb is marked (but the sentence still expresses coreference with an argument of the embedded clause). For example, this sort of climbing is possible in French if the clause is of a very minimal type (a "small clause"), as in John se croix intelligent, interpreted as "John believes [himself (to be) intelligent.]"

I am not sure about the climbing here, but the anaphor in (D3e) could come before the adjunct and it gives an emphatic reading.

meri dʒef-n ras-u-n s-a-tt-aggəŋŋ -ə-u wək'k'əs-ə-tʃtʃ-u  
 Mary Jeff-acc self-3sg Comp-Neg-3Fsg-meet(imperf)-3Msg condemn-3sg-3Fsg-  
 3msg

‘Meri condemned Jeff without seeing/meeting him, himself.’

This sentence is OK.

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

Consider what a list of major clause embedding types in your language would include. In English, it would include, besides tensed complements like those in the last subsection, infinitives, bare infinitives, gerunds, subjunctives (a lexically restricted class) and small clauses, each of which are illustrated in brackets in (X12).

X12a) I hope [to leave]  
 I hope [for Bill to leave]

- I expect [Bill to be unpleasant]
- I persuaded Bill [to leave]
- b) I made [Bill leave]
- c) I saw [someone leaving]
- d) I require [that he speak softly]
- e) I consider [Bill unpleasant]

In this subsection, we want you to construct sentences along the lines of those presented for tensed clauses above adjusting for the different complement clause types allowed in your language (which may be radically fewer than those in English, or may involve types of complementation not found in English). Then test each clausal type for the success or failure of each coreference strategy.

For subjunctives, if your language permits them and if your language permits them to have lexical subjects, the tests can probably proceed on the model of tensed clause complements. However, some of these clausal types require some adjustments if they require null subjects. For example, in providing data for infinitives (if your language has infinitives), and where X = Edgar, we want you to give us a range of examples where the infinitive subject is not controlled by the matrix subject. In other words, the understood subject of the infinitive (the understood giver or talker) should never be Edgar, but Bill (or else we will actually testing just a clausemate strategy instead of a long distance one). Thus in (D4a), for example, Bill is understood to be the one trusting, and we want to test whether or not X could be Edgar, and if so, which form makes the possible (in English, it is the otherwise independent pronoun him).

- D4a) Edgar asked Bill to trust X.
- b) Edgar asked Bill to give a book to X.
- c) Edgar asked Bill to talk to X.
- d) Edgar asked Bill to talk about X.
- e) Edgar expected Bill to trust X.
- f) Edgar ordered Bill to pay X.
- g) Edgar ordered Bill to say that X was smart.
- h) Edgar ordered Bill to say that Mary loved X.

Personal pronouns and the ras-person strategy could be used.

Pronoun: In a,b,e,f,g, the pronoun(+ssu) refers to Edgar. In c and d, h the pronoun (+ssu) refers to either Edgar or Bill, and the referent is known either from context or through a follow up question.

Ras-Agr: In a, c,d,e,g,h ras= either Edgar or Bill (the meaning changes to become an emphatic one when X=Bill). In b,f X= Edgar(people are not expected to give to themselves or to pay to themselves).

a. edgar bil-n +ssu-n +nd-j-amn-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc he-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg ask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to trust he.' (Edgar asked Bill to trust him.)

edgar bil-n ras-u-n +nd-j-amn-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc self-3sg-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg ask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to trust himself.'(himself= Edgar or bill)

b. edgar bil-n lə-issu mäs'haf †nd-j-sət't'-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc to-he book Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msgask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to give a book to he.' (Edgar asked Bill to give a book to him.)

edgar bil-n lə-ras-u mäs'haf †nd-j-sət't'-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc to-self-3sg book Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msgask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to give a book to himself.' (Edgar asked Bill to give a book to hiself.)

c. edgar bil-n †ssu-n †nd-j-annəgagɣi-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc he-acc Comp-3Msg-talk(imperf)-3sg-3Msg ask(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to talk to he.' (Edgar asked Bill to talk to him.)

edgar bil-n ras-u-n †nd-j-annəgagɣi-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-n self-3sg-acc Comp-3Msg-talk(imperf)-3sg-3Msg ask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to talk to himself.'

d. edgar bil-n s†lə †ssu †nd-j-annəgagɣi-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc about he Comp-3Msg-talk(imperf)-3sg-3Msg ask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to talk about he.' (Edgar asked Bill to talk about him.)

edgar bil-n s†lə ras-u †nd-j-annəgagɣi-ə-u t'əjjək'-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc about self-3sg Comp-3Msg-talk(imperf)-3sg-3Msg ask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar asked Bill to talk about himself.'

e. edgar bil †ssu-n †nd-j-amn-ə-u t'əbbək'-ə  
 Edgar Bill he-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg expect(perf)- 3sg  
 'Edgar expected Bill to trust he.' (Edgar expected Bill to trust him.)

edgar bil ras-u-n †nd-j-amn-ə-u t'əbbək'-ə  
 Edgar Bill self-3sg-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg expect(perf)- 3sg  
 'Edgar expected Bill to trust himself.'

The absence of the accusative marker is due to the nature of the verb expect, t'əbbək', which needs a clausal complement.

f. edgar bil-n lə-issu †nd-j-kəfl-ə-u azzəz-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc to-he comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg order(perf)- 3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar ordered Bill to pay he.' (Edgar ordered Bill to pay him.)

edgar bil-n lə-ras-u †nd-j-kəfl-ə-u azzəz-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc to-self-3sg comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg order(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar ordered Bill to pay himself.'

g. edgar bil-n †ssu-n gobəz nəbbər †nd-j-il-ə-u azzəz-ə-u  
 Edgar Bill-acc he-acc clever be(past) Comp-3Msg-say(imperf)-3sg-3Msg order(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 'Edgar ordered Bill to say he is smart.'

edgar bil-n ras-u-n gobəz nəbbər †nd-j-il-ə-u azzəz-ə-u



edgar bill jə-ras-u-n wənddɪm ɪndə-m-j-afʃnɪf j-t'əbbɪk'-all  
 Edgar Bill poss-self-3sg-acc brother Comp-Comp-3Msg-win(imperf) 3Msg-expect(perf)- be  
 'Edgar expected himself's brother to win.'

b) Edgar hopes for Bill to defeat X's brother.

edgar bill jə-ras-u-n wənddɪm ɪndə-m-j-afʃnɪf təsfa  
 Edgar Bill poss-self-3sg-acc brother Comp-Comp-3Msg-win(imperf) hope

j-aderg-all  
 3Msg-do(imperf)- 3sg

'Edgar hopes Bill to win himself's brother.' (Edgar hopes Bill to win his brother )

c) Edgar expects X's brother to defeat him.

edgar jə-ras-u wənddɪm ras-u-n ɪndə-m-j-afʃnɪf-ə-u  
 Edgar poss-self-3sg brother self-3sg-acc Comp-Comp-3Msg-win(imperf)-3sg-3Msg

j-t'əbbɪk'-all  
 3Msg-expect(perf)- be

'Edgar expects himself's brother to defeat him'(Edgar expects his brother to defeat him).

d) Edgar hopes for Bill to defeat X's brother.

edgar bill jə-ras-u-n wənddɪm ɪndə-m-j-afʃnɪf təsfa  
 Edgar Bill poss-self-3sg-acc brother Comp-Comp-3Msg-win(imperf) hope

j-aderg-all  
 3Msg-do(imperf)- 3sg

'Edgar hopes Bill to win himself's brother.' (Edgar hopes that Bill win his (Edgar's)brother )  
 This could also mean that " Edgar hopes Bill to win his(Bill's) brother.)

**NOTE: In all the sentences the pronoun ɪssu can replace ras-u whereas the possessive marker and the accusative marker remain in their position.**

Now try all of these "Edgar" sentences with climbing, such that the X argument is raised into the matrix clause. If this is not possible at all, just say so and set the issue aside, but if it is possible for some sentence types and not others, please provide examples for each Edgar sentence. Such sentences might look something like (D5c,d) and (D6c,d), if they are possible at all (and abstracting away from VO/OV word order, etc.)

**This is not possible.**

- D5c) Edgar X-expects to win.
- d) Edgar X-expects Bill to defeat.
- D6c) Edgar X-hopes for to win.
- d) Edgar X-hopes for Bill to defeat.

If your language permits small clauses, such as English John considers Mary intelligent, where intelligent is thus predicated of Mary, then try the following tests, where X = Tom.

The sentences below are not different from the ones in D5a and b.

D8a) Tom considers X intelligent.

tom	ras-u	gobəz	ɪndə	hon-ə	j-assɪb-al
Tom	self-3sg	intelligent	Comp	be-3sg	3Msg-think(Imperf)-be

‘ Tom thinks himself to be intelligent ‘

b) Tom considers Mary fond of X.

tom	meri	ras-u-n	ɪndə-m-tt-wədd-ə-u	j-assɪb-al
Tom	Mary	self-3sg-acc	Comp-Comp-3Fsg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg	3Msg-think(Imperf)-be

‘ Tom thinks Mary to like him.’

c) Tom considers Mary angry at X.

tom	meri	bə-	ras-u	ɪndə-tə-naddəd-ə-tʃtʃ	j-assɪb-al
Tom	Mary	by-	self-3sg	Comp-Comp-Ref-angry(imperf)-3sg-3Msg	3Msg-think(Imperf)-be

‘ Tom thinks Mary to be angry at himself.’

NOTE: The pronoun ɪssu can replace ras-u in all the sentences above.

The other strategies(the ras by ras and all the reciprocal strategies do not work here.

### 4.2.3 Backwards anaphora

If your language permits sentential subjects like those in D9, please indicate if coreference succeeds where X is a pronoun or anaphor coconstructed with Oliver.

D9a) That X was late upset Oliver.

ras-u	m-arfəd-u	olivər-n	a-naddəd-ə-u
self-3sg	inf-late-3sg	Oliver-acc	cause-anger-3sg-3Msg

‘Himself’s coming late angered Oliver.’

ɪssu	m-arfəd-u	olivər-n	a-naddəd-ə-u
he	inf-late-3sg	Oliver-acc	cause-anger-3sg-3Msg

‘His coming late angered Oliver.’

NOTE: The interpretation of MISSING is either somebody other than Oliver pr Oliver himself. This would be cleared in a context or a subsequent question for clarification. It is also possible to use the possessive form with the anaphoras , but then the accusative marker will be dropped.

jə-ras-u	m-arfəd	olivər-n	a-naddəd-ə-u
Poss-self-3sg	inf-late-3sg	Oliver-acc	cause-anger-3sg-3Msg

‘Himself’s coming late angered Oliver.’

jə-ɪssu m-arfəd olivər-n a-naddəd-ə-u  
 Poss-he inf-late-3sg Oliver-acc cause-anger-3sg-3Msg  
 ‘His coming late angered Oliver.’

b) That X was late suggested that Oliver was guilty.

ras-u m-arfəd-u olivər t'ɪfatəŋŋa ɪndə nəbbər j-t'ək'um-all  
 self-3sg inf-late-3sg Oliver guilty Comp be(past) 3Msg-suggest-be(past)  
 ‘Himself’s coming late suggested that Oliver was guilty.’

ɪssu m-arfəd-u olivər t'ɪfatəŋŋa ɪndə nəbbər j-t'ək'um-all  
 he inf-late-3sg Oliver guilty Comp be(past) 3Msg-suggest-be(past)  
 ‘His coming late suggested that Oliver was guilty.’

NOTE: The interpretation of MISSING is either somebody other than Oliver pr Oliver himself. This would be cleared in a context or a subsequent question for clarification. It is also possible to use the possessive form with the anaphora, but then the accusative marker will be dropped.

c) That X was late made Oliver look guilty.

ras-u m-arfəd-u olivər t'ɪfatəŋŋa hon-o ɪnd-j-t-ajj a-dərrəg-ə-u  
 self-3sg inf-late-3sg Oliver guilty be-3MsgComp-3Msg-pass-see cause-do(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 ‘Himself’s coming late made Oliver look guilty.’

ɪssu m-arfəd-u olivər t'ɪfatəŋŋa hon-o ɪnd-j-t-ajj a-dərrəg-ə-u  
 he inf-late-3sg Oliver guilty be-3MsgComp-3Msg-pass-see cause-do(perf)-3sg-3Msg  
 ‘His coming late suggested that Oliver was guilty.’

NOTE: The interpretation of MISSING is either somebody other than Oliver pr Oliver himself. This would be cleared in a context or a subsequent question for clarification. It is also possible to use the possessive form with the anaphoras , but then the accusative marker will be dropped.

d) That X was late implicated Oliver.

### Section 4.3 Principle C-type effects

In English it is not possible to interpret he=Malik or he=the boy in (E1), except in some exceptional discourse circumstances such as extra stress and/or focus (and then not for everybody). For all of these examples, give judgments that indicate whether or not it is possible in normal discourse circumstances for the pronoun to be either Malik or the boy.

- E1a) He criticized Malik.
- b) He said Mariam criticized Malik.
- c) He criticized the boy.
- d) He said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E2a) His mother criticized Malik.
- b) His mother said Mariam criticized Malik.
- c) His mother criticized the boy.
- d) His mother said Mariam criticized the boy.

- E3a) The man who he liked criticized Malik
- b) The man who he liked criticized the boy.
- c) The man who liked him criticized the boy.

Now consider whether or not, in place of the pronoun, the name Malik could work as the antecedent for either Malik or the boy could work as the antecedent for the boy in the following sentences, again, paying attention to whether special discourse circumstances must be appealed to make the sentence sound natural (e.g., in English, (E4a) would sound natural if preceded by Everyone criticized Malik. Bill criticized Malik, Mary did, and even Malik criticized Malik, but this is one example of what I mean by a special discourse circumstance).

- E4a) Malik criticized Malik.
- b) Malik said Mariam criticized Malik.
- c) The boy criticized the boy.
- d) The boy said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E5a) Malik=s mother criticized Malik.
- b) Malik=s mother said Mariam criticized Malik.
- c) The boy=s mother criticized the boy.
- d) The boy=s mother said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E6a) The man who Malik liked criticized Malik
- b) The man who the boy liked criticized the boy.
- c) The man who liked the boy criticized the boy.

**NOT possible in Amharic as well.**

Now consider whether the boy = Malik for the following examples

- E7a) The boy criticized Malik.
- b) The boy said Mariam criticized Malik.
- c) Malik criticized the boy.
- d) Malik said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E8a) The boy=s mother criticized Malik.
- b) The boy=s mother said Mariam criticized Malik.
- c) Malik=s mother criticized the boy.
- d) Malik=s mother said Mariam criticized the boy.
- E9a) The man who the boy liked criticized Malik
- b) The man who Malik liked criticized the boy.
- c) The man who liked Malik criticized the boy.
- d) The man who liked the boy criticized Malik

**NOT possible in Amharic as well.**

#### **4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies**

Strategies that allow coreference across tensed clause boundaries, but where the marked argument is one that is not a typical pronoun, we will call "long distance anaphor strategies", hereafter, LDA strategies. In some languages a special pronoun of this type is particularly required when referring back to the reported speaker or believer (a logophoric antecedent), as in D10.

D10) *John* believes *he* is guilty.

In other words, a language with this strategy would have a special morphological form for he just in case he refers to John (but not if it refers to someone else). We will call this a "logophoric" pronoun strategy, and in some languages, this form of pronoun has only this use..

4.4.1 Position of the antecedent - Long-distance coreference is often constrained in ways that local coreference is not (especially: subject-orientation). Which possible syntactic positions can be occupied by a long-distance antecedent of the current strategy? Construct examples and give judgments where X = Zeke.. In English, the independent pronoun strategy is all that works for these (i.e., where X= he or him).

The strategies used are the **ras-person** and the **independent pronouns**. There is no special or logographic pronoun in Amharic. The reading of the anaphors is usually clarified through a subsequent question and answer in such cases.

D11a) Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like X.

lari lə zek majk ʃssu-n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all  
 Lary to Zeke Mike he-acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-3Msg(obj)-  
 be(past)

‘Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like he(him).’

lari lə zek majk ras-u-n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all  
 Lary to Zeke Mike self-3sg-acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-  
 3Msg(obj)-be(past)

‘Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like he(him).’

b) Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like X.

zek lə lari majk ras-u-n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all  
 Zeke to Lary Mike self-3sg-acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-3Msg(obj)-be(past)

‘Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like he(him).’

c) Zeke told Larry that X does not like Mike.

zek lə lari ʃssu majk -n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all  
 Zeke to Lary he Mike- acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-3Msg(obj)-  
 be(past)

‘Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like he(him).’

zek lə lari ras-u majk -n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all  
 Zeke to Lary self-3sg Mike- acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-3Msg(obj)-  
 be(past)

‘Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like himself(him).’

d) Larry told Zeke that X does not like Mike.

lari lə zek ʃssu majk -n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all  
 Lary e to Zek he Mike- acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-3Msg(obj)-be(past)

‘Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like he(him).’

lari lə zek ras-u majk -n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u nəgr-o-t-all

Lary e to Zek self-3sg Mike- acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-3Msg(obg)-be(past)  
 ‘Larry told Zeke that Mike does not like he(him).’

e) Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like X.

lari zek majk ïssu-n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u ïndə -m-j-assɪb j-awk’-all  
 Lary Zek Mike he-acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Comp –Comp-3Msg-think(imperf) 3Msg-know(perf)-be(past)  
 ‘Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like he(him).’

lari zek majk ras-u -n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u ïndə -m-j-assɪb j-awk’-all  
 Lary Zek Mike self-3sg -acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Comp –Comp-3Msg-think(imperf) 3Msg-know(perf)-be(past)  
 ‘Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like he(him).’

f) Zeke knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like X.

zek lari majk ïssu-n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u ïndə -m-j-assɪb j-awk’-all  
 Zeke Lary Mike he-acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Comp –Comp-3Msg-think(imperf) 3Msg-know(perf)-be(past)  
 ‘Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like he(him).’

zek lari majk ras-u -n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u ïndə -m-j-assɪb j-awk’-all  
 Zeke Lary Mike self-3sg -acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Comp –Comp-3Msg-think(imperf) 3Msg-know(perf)-  
 be(past)  
 ‘Larry knows that Zeke thinks that Mike does not like he(him).’

D12a) Zeke's mother thinks that Mike does not like X.

jə - zek ïnnat majk ïssu-n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u t-assɪb-all-ə-tʃtʃ  
 Poss-Zeke mother Mike he-acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg 3Fsg--think(imperf)-be(past)-3sg-3Fsg  
 ‘Zek’s mother thinks that that Mike does not like he(him).’

jə - zek ïnnat majk ras-u -n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u t-assɪb-all-ə-tʃtʃ  
 Poss-Zeke mother Mike self-3sg -acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg 3Fsg--think(imperf)-be(past)-3sg-3Fsg  
 ‘Zek’s mother thinks that that Mike does not like himself(him).’

b) Zeke's mother thinks that X does not like Mike.

jə-zek ïnnat ïssu majk -n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u t-assɪb-all-ə-tʃtʃ  
 Poss-Zeke mother he Mike -acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg 3Fsg--think(imperf)-be(past)-3sg-3Fsg  
 ‘Zek’s mother thinks that that he does not like Mike.’

jə-zek ïnnat ras-u majk -n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u t-assɪb-all-ə-tʃtʃ  
 Poss-Zeke mother self-3sg Mike-acc Comp-Comp-neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg 3Fsg--think(imperf)-be(past)-3sg-3Fsg  
 ‘Zek’s mother thinks that that he does not like Mike.’

c) Zeke thinks that Mike does not like X.

zek majk ïssu-n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u j-assɪb-all  
 Zeke Mike he-acc Comp –Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg 3Msg--think(imperf)-be(past)  
 ‘Zek thinks that that Mike does not like he(him).’

zek majk ras-u -n ïndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u j-assɪb-all  
 Zeke Mike self-3sg -acc Comp-Comp-neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg 3Msg--think(imperf)-be(past)  
 ‘Zek thinks that that Mike does not like himself(him).’

d) Zeke's letter said that Mike does not like X.

jə-zek dəbdabbe majk ɪssu-n ɪndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u tə-nagr-o-all  
 Poss-Zek letter Mike he-acc Comp-Comp-neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Ref-tell-3Msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke's letter said that Mike does not like he(him).'

jə-zek dəbdabbe majk ras-u-n ɪndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-u tə-nagr-o-all  
 Poss-Zek letter Mike self-3sg-acc Comp-Comp-neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Ref-tell-3Msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke's letter said that Mike does not like himself (him).'

e) Zeke heard that Mary did not like X.

zek meri ɪssu -n ɪndə -m-a-t-wədd-ə-u səmm-to-all  
 Zeke Mary he -acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg hear-3Msg-be(past)  
 'Zek heard that that Mary does not like he(him).'

zek meri ras-u -n ɪndə -m-a-t-wədd-ə-u səmm-to-all  
 Zeke Mary self-3sg -acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg hear-3Msg-be(past)  
 'Zek heard that that Mary does not like himself(him).'

f) Zeke was told that Mary did not like X. (if your language permits passive)

zek meri ɪssu -n ɪndə -m-a-t-wədd-ə-u tə-nagr-o-t-all  
 Zeke Mary he -acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Pass-tell-hear-3Msg(Subj)-#Msg(Obj)-be(past)  
 'Zek was told that that Mary does not like he(him).'

zek meri ras-u -n ɪndə -m-a-t-wədd-ə-u tə-nagr-o-t-all  
 Zeke Mary self-3sg -acc Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg Pass-tell-hear-3Msg(Subj)-#Msg(Obj)-be(past)  
 'Zek was told that that Mary does not like he(him).'

D13a) Zeke said that X had dressed X.

zek ɪssu ras-u-n ɪndə- aləbbəs-ə tə-nagr-o-all  
 Zeke he self-3sg-acc Comp- dress-3sg Ref-tell(perf)-3msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke told that he (had) dressed himself.'

zek ɪssu ras-u-n bə-ras-u ɪndə- aləbbəs-ə tə-nagr-o-all  
 Zeke he self-3sg-acc by-self-3sg Comp- dress-3sg Ref-tell(perf)-3msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke told that he (had) dressed himself by himself.'

Note that the **ras- by- ras** strategy is more effective for D13 a, b,c.

b) Zeke said that X had wounded X.

zek ɪssu ras-u-n ɪndə- ak'ossəl-ə tə-nagr-o-all  
 Zeke he self-3sg-acc Comp- wound-3sg Ref-tell(perf)-3msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke told that he (had) wounded himself.'

zek ɪssu ras-u-n bə-ras-u ɪndə- ak'ossəl-ə tə-nagr-o-all  
 Zeke he self-3sg-acc by-self-3sg Comp- wound-3sg Ref-tell(perf)-3msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke told that he (had) wounded himself by himself.'

c) Zeke said that X had tattooed X.

zek    ʃssu    ras-u-n            ʃndə-    nək'k'əs-ə            tə-nagr-o-all  
 Zeke he    self-3sg-acc    Comp-    tatoo-3sg            Ref-tell(perf)-3msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke told that he (had) tatoo himself.'

zek    ʃssu            ras-u-n            bə-ras-u            ʃndə-    nək'k'əs-ə            tə-nagr-o-all  
 Zeke he            self-3sg-acc    by-self-3sg    Comp-    tatoo-3sg            Ref-tell(perf)-3msg-be(past)  
 'Zeke told that he (had) tattooed himself by himself.'

Consider potential antecedents in other non-subject syntactic positions, as allowed by your language (e.g., in English, John related to Bill that Mary had slandered him where Bill = him).

#### 4.4.2 Antecedent properties

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

a1) Larry told me that Mike does not like me.

lari    lə ʃne    majk    ʃne-n    ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ə-ŋ            nəgr-o-ŋŋ-all  
 Lary    to I        Mike    he-acc    Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-3sg-1sg            tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-1sg(obj)-be(past)  
 'Larry told me that Mike does not like me.'

a2) Larry told you that Mike does not like you.

lari    lə antə    majk    antə -n ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ʃh            nəgr-o-h-all  
 Lary    to you    Mike    he-acc    Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-2Msg            tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-2Msg(obj)-be(past)  
 'Larry told you (Msg) that Mike does not like you(Msg).'

a2) Larry told you that Mike does not like you.

lari    lə antʃʃi            majk    antʃʃi -n            ʃndə -m-a-j-wədd-ʃj  
 Lary    to you(Fsg)            Mike    he-acc            Comp -Comp -neg-like(imperf)-2Fsg

nəgr-o-ʃ-all  
 tell(perf)-3Msg(suj)-2Fsg(obj)-be(past)

'Larry told you (Msg) that Mike does not like you(Msg).'

This is just an example. It is possible to use the first and second person pronouns in the other sentences as well.

### For First Person (for D13 only)

D13a) I said that I had dressed myself.

ʃne    ras-e-n            ʃndə-aləbbəs-hu            tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
 I    self-1sg-acc    Comp-dress-1sg            Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg  
 'I said that I (had) dressed myself.'

ʃne    ras-e-n            bə-ras-e            ʃndə-    aləbbəs-hu            tə-nagr-e-all-əhu

I self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg Comp- dress-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I had dressed myself by myself.’

b) I said that I had wounded myself.

ine ras-e-n ində- ak’ossəl- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc Comp- wound-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) wounded myself.’

ine ras-e-n bə-ras-e ak’ossəl- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg Comp- wound-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) wounded myself by myself.’

c) I said that I had tattooed myself.

ine ras-e-n ində- nək’k’əs- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc Comp- tatoo-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) tattooed myself.’

ine ras-e-n bə-ras-e ində- nək’k’əs- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg Comp- tatoo-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) tattooed myself by myself.’

ine ras-e-n ində-aləbbəs- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc Comp-dress-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) dressed myself.’

ine ras-e-n bə-ras-e ində- aləbbəs- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg Comp- dress-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I had dressed myself by myself.’

b) I said that I had wounded myself.

ine ras-e-n ində- ak’ossəl- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc Comp- wound-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) wounded myself.’

ine ras-e-n bə-ras-e ak’ossəl- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg Comp- wound-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) wounded myself by myself.’

c) I said that I had tattooed myself.

ine ras-e-n ində- nək’k’əs- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu  
I self-1sg-acc Comp- tatoo-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg

‘I said that I (had) tattooed myself.’

ine ras-e-n bə-ras-e ində- nək’k’əs- hu tə-nagr-e-all-əhu

I self-1sg-acc by-self-1sg Comp- tatoo-1sg Ref-tell(perf)-1sg-be(past)-1sg  
 ‘I said that I (had) tattooed myself by myself.’

## For Second Person (for D13 only)

D13a) You said that you had dressed yourself.

antə ras-h-n ɪndə-aləbbəs-h tə-nagr-əh-all  
 you(M) self-2Msg-acc Comp-dress-2Msg Ref-tell(perf)-2Msg-be(past)  
 ‘You said that you had dressed yourself.’

antə ras-h-n bə-ras-h ɪndə-aləbbəs-h tə-nagr-əh-all  
 you(M) self-2Msg-acc by-self- 2Msg Comp-dress-2Msg Ref-tell(perf)-2Msg-be(past)  
 ‘You said that you had dressed yourself by yourself.’

antʃi ras-ʃ-n ɪndə-aləbbəs-ʃ tə-nagr-əʃ-all  
 you(F) self-2Fsg-acc Comp-dress-2Fsg Ref-tell(perf)-2Fsg-be(past)  
 ‘You(F) said that you had dressed yourself(F).’

antʃi ras-ʃ-n bə-ras-ʃ ɪndə-aləbbəs-ʃ tə-nagr-əʃ-all  
 you(F) self-2Msg-acc by-self- 2Fsg Comp-dress-2Fsg Ref-tell(perf)-2Fsg-be(past)  
 ‘You(F) said that you had dressed yourself by yourself (F).’

b) You said that you had wounded yourself.

antə ras-h-n ɪndə- ak’ossəl- h tə-nagr-əh-all  
 you(M) self-2Msg-acc Comp- wound-2Msg Ref-tell(perf)-2Msg-be(past)-1sg  
 ‘You said that you had wounded yourself.’

antə ras-h-n bə-ras-h ɪndə- ak’ossəl- h tə-nagr-əh-all  
 you(M) self-2Msg-acc by-self- 2Msg Comp- wound-2Msg Ref-tell(perf)-2Msg-be(past)-  
 1sg  
 ‘You said that you(M) had wounded yourself by yourself(M).’

antʃi ras-ʃ-n ɪndə- ak’ossəl - ʃ tə-nagr-əʃ-all  
 you(F) self-2Fsg-acc Comp- wound-2Fsg Ref-tell(perf)-2Fsg-be(past)  
 ‘You(F) said that you had wounded yourself(F).’

antʃi ras-ʃ-n bə-ras-ʃ ɪndə- ak’ossəl - ʃ tə-nagr-əʃ-all  
 you(F) self-2Fsg-acc by-self- 2Fsg Comp- wound-2Fsg Ref-tell(perf)-2Fsg-be(past)  
 ‘You(F) said that you had wounded yourself by yourself (F).’

c) You said that you had tattooed yourself.

antə ras-h-n ɪndə- nək’k’əs-h tə-nagr-əh-all  
 I self-1sg-acc Comp- tatoo-2Msg Ref-tell(perf)-2Msg-be(past)  
 ‘You said that you had tattooed yourself’



## Bill(a third person not stated)

bizu lɨdʒ -otʃtʃ bil-n ɨssu-n ɨnd-j-amn-ə-u  
many child -plu Bill-acc he-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg

t'əjjək' -ə-u  
ask(perf) 3sg-3Msg

‘Many children asked Bill to trust he.’ (Many children asked Bill to trust him.)  
him= Any child or bill

bizu lɨdʒ -otʃtʃ bil-n ras-u-n ɨnd-j-amn-ə-u  
many child -plu Child Bill-acc self-3sg-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-3sg-3Msg

t'əjjək' -ə-u  
ask(perf)- 3sg-3Msg

‘One child asked Bill to trust himself.’(himself= Any child or bill)

## B. When the children ask Bill to trust them

bizu lɨdʒ -otʃtʃ bil-n ɨnnəssu-n ɨnd-j-amn-atʃtʃ-ə-u  
many child -plu Bill-acc they-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-plu-3sg-3plu

t'əjjək' -u-t  
ask(perf) 3pl-3sg

‘Many children asked Bill to trust they.’ (Many children asked Bill to trust them.)

Note: in rare cases, in the sentence above, it is also possible for they to refer to third person plural(that is not mentioned ion the sentence).

bizu lɨdʒ -otʃtʃ bil-n ras-atʃtʃ - əu-n ɨnd-j-amn-atʃtʃ-ə-u  
many child -plu Bill-acc self-plu-3sg-acc Comp-3Msg-believe(imperf)-plu-3sg-3plu

t'əjjək' - u-t  
ask(perf)- 3pl-3sg

‘Many children asked Bill to trust them.’

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents - Sometimes coreference is permitted when the antecedents for the anaphor or pronoun are separate arguments. Please provide examples that correspond to those in the Ozzie (male) and Harriet (female) paradigm. In all cases, X = Ozzie and Harriet (together). For example, in English, (D14d) would be "Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes *them*," where them would be Ozzie and Harriet.

D14a) Ozzie talked about Harriet to X. **Not possible in Amharic**

b) Ozzie talked about X to Harriet.

oze kə- haret -gar sɪlə ɪnnəs-u awər-u  
Ozzie with Harriet with about they-3-3pl talk(perf)-3plu  
'Ozzie talked about they to Harriet.' (Ozzie talked about them to Harriet.)  
note: they most of the time refers to other 3plu than Ozzie and Harriet

oze kə- haret -gar sɪlə ras-atʃtʃ-ə-u awər-u  
Ozzie with Harriet with about self-plu-3-3pl talk(perf)-3plu  
'Ozzie talked about themselves to Harriet.'  
OK: this is the form selected at all times.

c) Ozzie told Harriet that X should leave.

oze lə- haret ɪnnəs-u mə-hed ɪndə-allə-b-atʃtʃ-ə-u nəggər-ətʃtʃ-at  
Ozzie to Harriet they Inf-go(perf) Comp-must-malf-plu-3-plu tell(perf)-3Fsg(subj)-3FSG(obj)  
'Ozzie told Harriet that they should go'  
Note: they= Harriet and Ozzie or other third person plural.

oze lə- haret ras- atʃtʃ-ə-u mə-hed ɪndə-allə-b-atʃtʃ-ə-u nəggər-ətʃtʃ-at  
Ozzie to Harriet self-pl-3-pl Inf-go(perf) Comp-must-benef-plu-3-plu tell(perf)-3Fsg(subj)-  
nəggər-ətʃtʃ-at  
tell(perf)-3Fsg(subj)- 3FSG(obj)

'Ozzie told Harriet that themselves should go'

Note: most of the time themselves=Harriet and Ozzie, but sometimes when Harriet and Ozzie have been discussing about other people, themselves= other third person plural)

d) Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes X.

oze lə- haret bil ɪnnəs-u-n ɪndə-m- a- j-wədd-atʃtʃ-ə-u nəggər-ətʃtʃ-at  
Ozzie to Harriet Bill they-acc Comp-must-benef-plu-3-plu talk(perf)-3plu  
'Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes(doesn't like) they.' (Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes(doesn't like) them.)

Note: they=Ozzie and Harriet or Other third person plural

oze lə- haret bil ras- atʃtʃ-ə-u -n ɪndə-m- a- j-wədd-atʃtʃ-ə-u nəggər-ətʃtʃ-  
at  
Ozzie to Harriet Bill self-pl-3-pl -acc Comp-must-benef-plu-3-plu talk(perf)-  
3plu  
'Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes (doesn't like) themselves.' (Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes(doesn't like) them.)

Note: most of the time themselves=Harriet and Ozzie, but sometimes when Harriet and Ozzie have been discussing about other people, themselves= other third person plural)

e) Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill dislikes X.

oze haret bil ðnnəsu-n      ðndə-m- a- j-wədd-atʃtʃ-ə-u      t-assɪb-all-ə-tʃtʃ      al- ə-tʃtʃ  
 Ozzie Harriet Bill they-acc      Comp-must-benef-plu-3-plu      3Fsg-think(perf)-3-3Fsg      say-3-3Fsg  
 ‘Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill dislikes them.’ (Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill dislikes them.)

oze haret bil ras- atʃtʃ-ə-u -n      ðndə-m- a- j-wədd-atʃtʃ-ə-u  
 Ozzie HarrietBill self-pl-3-pl -acc      Comp-must-benef-plu-3-plu

t-assɪb-all-ə-tʃtʃ      al- ə-tʃtʃ  
 3Fsg-think(perf)-3-3Fsg      say-3-3Fsg

‘Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill dislikes themselves.’ (Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill dislikes them.)

4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents - Suppose that in the following scenarios we are being told what was going on in Mark's mind.

D15) Mark feared that his son was not safe. He was ashamed that he could not protect his closest relative. What would his cousins think of him?

**pronoun strategy**

mark jə-ɪsu      lɪdʒ      dəhna      əjdəll-ə-m      jɪhən      bɪlo      fərr-a.  
 Mark poss-he child safe not-3sg-not      if      say      fear(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Mark feared that his son was not safe.’

jə-ɪsu-n      jə-k'ɪrb      zəməd-u      m-adan      b-alə-mə-tʃal-u      affər -ə  
 poss-he-acc      poss-close      relative-3sg      inf-save      Comp-malf-not-inf-able-3sg      ashame(perf)-3sg

‘He was ashamed that he could not protect his closest relative.’

jə-ɪsu      zəmd-otʃtʃ      mɪn      j-ɪll-u-t      jɪhən  
 poss-he      relative-pl      what      3-say (imperf)-3pl-3sg      be  
 ‘What would his cousins say to him?’

**ras-person strategy**

mark jə-ras-u      lɪdʒ      dəhna      əjdəll-ə-m      jɪhən      bɪlo      fərr-a.  
 Mark poss-self-3sg      child safe not-3sg-not      if      say      fear(perf)-3sg  
 ‘Mark feared that his son was not safe.’

jə-ras-u-n      jə-k'ɪrb      zəməd      m-adan      b-alə-mə-tʃal-u      affər -ə  
 poss-self-3sg      poss-close      relative      inf-save      Comp-not-inf-able-3sg      ashame(perf)-3sg  
 ‘He was ashamed that he could not protect his closest relative.’

jə-ras-u-n      zəmd-otʃtʃ      mɪn      j-ɪll-u-t      jɪhən  
 poss-self-3sg      relative-pl      what      3sg-say (imperf)-3pl-3sg      be

‘What would himself’s cousins say to him?’ (What would his own relatives think of him.)

Note; I am not sure on the labeling of **b-** as complementizer. Its meaning can roughly translated as **because I do this**. Eg **b-alə-mə-tʃal-u** ‘because he was not able to’

Note: Leaving the anaphors out and using person suffixes that show possession would be more acceptable and common in the above translations.

D16) Mark was shocked to see his picture in the paper. All of his supporters would abandon him. How would he tell his mother?

**pronoun strategy**

mark jə-ɪsu-n foto gaze'ta laj ajt-o dənəggət' -ə  
mark poss-he-acc picture newspaper on see-3Msg shock(perf)-3Sg  
‘Mark saw his picture in the paper and was shocked.’

jə-ɪsu dəggafi-otʃtʃ hulu j-təw-u-t-all  
poss-he supporter-plu all 3pl-abandon(imperf)-3pl-3sg-be  
‘All of his supporters will abandon him.’

lə-ɪsu ɪnnat ɪnddet bɪlo j- nəgr-at-all  
to- he mother how say 3sg-tell(imperf)-3Fsg-be  
‘How would he tell to he(his) mother?’

**ras-person strategy**

mark jə-ras-u-n foto gaze'ta laj ajt-o dənəggət' -ə  
mark poss-self-3sg-acc picture newspaper on see-3Msg shock(perf)-3Sg  
‘Mark saw himself’s(his own) picture in the paper and was shocked.’

jə-ras-u dəggafi-otʃtʃ hulu j-təw-u-t-all  
poss-self-3sg supporter-plu all 3pl-abandon(imperf)-3pl-3sg-be  
‘All of himself’s(his own) supporters will abandon him.’

lə-ras-u ɪnnat ɪnddet bɪlo j- nəgr-at-all  
poss-self-3sg mother how say 3sg-tell(imperf)-3Fsg-be  
‘How would he tell to himself’s(his own) mother?’

The following scenario concerns what Morris is reporting to us about Mark, where all of the English pronouns are understood as referring to Mark, not to Morris. Please translate using any (or every) strategy for coreference with Mark that works (including the independent pronoun strategy). Then give please tell us which strategies do not work, providing a translation and gloss, if it is significantly different from your acceptable translations of (D17). If your language permits null subjects understood as pronouns, don=t forget to consider that strategy.

D17) Morris said it was a difficult day for Mark. First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen. Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work. Morris

thought he might be angry.

**pronoun strategy**

moris k'ən-u lə- mark kəbad nəbbər al-ə  
Morris day-det to- Mark difficult be(past) say(perf)-3sg  
'Morris said it was a difficult day for Mark.'

məɖzəmmərija moris lə- mark jə-ɪsu məkina ɪnddə-tə-sərrək'-ə  
first Morris to- Mark poss-he car comp-pass-  
steal(perf)-3sg

nəggr-ə-u.  
tell(perf)-3sg(subj)-3Msg(obj)

'First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen.'

kəzija ɪsu ɪsu-n wədə sɪra bota lə-m-adrəs taksi mə-kkərajət nəbbər-ə-bb-ət  
then he he-acc to work place to-inf-take taxi inf-hire(perf) be(past)-3sg-malf-3Msg  
'Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work.'

moris ɪsu jɪ-nnaddəd jihon-all bɪl-o assəb-ə  
morris he 3sg-get angered(perf) may-be say-3Msg think-3sg  
Morris thought he might be angry.

**ras-person strategy**

moris k'ən-u lə- mark kəbad nəbbər al-ə  
Morris day-det to- Mark difficult be(past) say(perf)-3sg  
'Morris said it was a difficult day for Mark.'

məɖzəmmərija moris lə- mark jə-ɪsu məkina ɪnddə-tə-sərrək'-ə  
first Morris to- Mark poss-he car comp-pass-  
steal(perf)-3sg

nəggr-ə-u.  
tell(perf)-3sg(subj)-3Msg(obj)

'First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen.'

kəzija ras-u ras-u-n wədə sɪra bota lə-m-adrəs taksi mə-kkərajət nəbbər-ə-bb-ət  
then self-3sg self-3sg-acc to work place to-inf-take taxi inf-hire(perf) be(past)-3sg-malf-  
3Msg

'Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work.'

This is not a common way of saying it. If this happens in conversation, there will be a lot of questions aimed at clarifying who took who to work!

moris ras-u                    j†-nnaddəd                    jihon-all                    b†l-o                    assəb-ə  
 morris self-3sg                    3sg-get angered(perf)                    may-be                    say-3Msg                    think-  
 3sg

Morris thought himself (he) might be angry. (this is Okay)!

Now suppose that Mark has recently been in the news and he is the topic of our conversation. Speakers A and B use pronouns to refer to him. Please translate using the strategy or strategies in your language that permit coreference with Mark. Once again, please tell us which strategies do not work, providing a translation and gloss, if it is significantly different from your acceptable translations of (D18).

D18) A: Look, there's Mark!

B: He is so handsome.

A: I would not want to be his wife though. All the women are chasing him.

B: Also, I think he praises himself too much.

It is not different.

#### 4.4.3 Blocking Effects

The agreement features of nominals intervening between an anaphor and its antecedent can sometimes affect the grammaticality of coconstrual in some languages.

4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects - The following examples test for an intervening subject that is mismatched for person, gender, or number. Construct more examples if you suspect that other feature combinations are relevant in your language. In each case in (D19), X = Larry, unless designated otherwise. If the only successful strategy permitted here is the independent pronoun strategy, then please indicate this.

Both strategies work.

D19a) Larry thinks that John respects X.

lari dʒon †ssu-n ində-m-j-akəb†r-ə-u                    j- ass†b-all  
 Lary John he-acc comp-comp-3Msg-respect (perf0-3sg(subj))-3Msg(obj) 3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 'Larry thinks that John respects he(him).'

†ssu = Larry or another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

lari dʒon ras-u-n                    ində-m-j-akəb†r-ə-u                    j- ass†b-all  
 Lary John self-3sg-acc                    comp-comp-3Msg respect (perf)-3sg(subj)-3Msg(obj) 3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 'Larry thinks that John respects himself.'

†ssu = most of the time Larry but sometimes another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

b) Larry thinks that I respect X.

lari †ne †ssu-n ində-m-akəb†r-əu                    j- ass†b-all  
 Lary I he-acc comp-comp-respect (perf0-3Msg(obj) 3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 'Larry thinks that I respect he(him).'

†ssu = Larry or another third person whom I was talking about.

lari    i<sup>ne</sup>    ras-u-n    ində-m- akəbɪr-ə-u    j- assɪb-all  
 Lary    I    self-3sg-acc    comp-comp-respect (perf)-3Msg(obj)    3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 ‘Larry thinks that I respect himself(him).’

ɪssu = most of the time Larry but sometimes another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

c) Larry thinks that Mary respects X.

lari    mery    ɪssu-n    ində-m-t-akəbɪr-əu    j- assɪb-all  
 Lary    Mary    he-acc    comp-comp-3Fsg-respect (perf)-3Msg(obj)    3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 ‘Larry thinks that Mary respects he(him).’

ɪssu = Larry or another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

lari    meri    ras-u-n    ində-m-t- akəbɪr-ə-u    j- assɪb-all  
 Lary    Mary    self-3sg-acc    comp-comp-respect (perf)-3Msg(obj)    3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 ‘Larry thinks that Mary respects himself(him).’

ɪssu = most of the time Larry but sometimes another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

d) Larry thinks that the boys respect X.

lari    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    ɪssu-n    ində-m-j-akəbɪr-u-t    j- assɪb-all  
 Lary    child-plu-det    he-acc    comp-comp-3plu-respect (perf)-3plu(subj)-3plu(Obj)    3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 ‘Larry thinks that the children respects he(him).’

ɪssu = Larry or another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

lari    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    ras-u-n    ində-m-j-akəbɪr-u-t    j- assɪb-all  
 Lary    child-plu-det    self-3sg-acc    comp-comp-3plu-respect (perf)-3plu(subj)-3plu(Obj)    3Msg-think(perf)-be  
 ‘Larry thinks that the children respects he(him).’

ɪssu = most of the time Larry but sometimes another third person whom the speaker was talking about.

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

səw- otʃtʃ-u    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    ɪnnəssu-n    ində-m-j-akəbɪr-u-atʃtʃ-əu  
 man-plu-det    child-plu-det    they-acc    comp-comp-3plu-respect (perf)-3plu(subj)- plu-3plu(Obj)

j- assɪb-all-u  
 3Msg-think(perf)-3plu

‘The men think that the boys respect them.’

ɪnnəssu = the men or people whom the speaker was talking about.

səw- otʃtʃ-u    lɪdʒ-otʃtʃ-u    ras- atʃtʃ-əu -n    ində-m-j-akəbɪr-u-atʃtʃ-əu  
 man-plu-det    child-plu-det    self-plu-3plu-acc    comp-comp-3plu-respect (perf)-3plu(subj)- plu-3plu(Obj)

j- assɪb-all-u

3Msg-think(perf)-3plu

‘The men think that the boys respect themselves (them).’

ɨssu = most of the time the men but sometimes other people whom the speaker was talking about.

Same tests, with the intervening subject in an intermediate clause:

- D20a) Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects X.
- b) Larry thinks that I know that Dave respects X.
- c) Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave respects X.
- d) Larry thinks that the boys know that Dave respects X.
- e) The men think that the boys know that Dave respects. (the men = X)

This is also similar. The change is just the presence of two complementizers. Look at the following.

D20a) Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects X.

lari bill dave ɨssu-n ində-m-j-akəbɨr-ə-u  
 Lari Bil Dave he-acc comp-comp-3Msg-respect (perf0-3sg(subj)-3Msg(obj))

ində-m-j-auk' j- assɨb-all  
 comp-comp-3Msg-respect (perf0 3Msg-think(perf)-be

‘Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects him.’

ɨssu = Larry most of the time

lari bill dave ras-u-n ində-m-j-akəbɨr-ə-u  
 Lari Bil Dave self-3sg-acc comp-comp-3Msg-respect (perf0-3sg(subj)-3Msg(obj))

ində-m-j-auk' j- assɨb-all  
 comp-comp-3Msg-respect (perf0 3Msg-think(perf)-be

‘Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects himself(him).’

ras-u = Larry most of the time

4.4.3.2 Positions of the intervener - The above interveners were subjects (the most common case). We now look for interveners in other positions.

The following examples rely only on person mismatches (where X = Walter). If you also found number or gender mismatches above, give some examples.

D21a) Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects X.

Pronoun strategy

wəltər bil lə- hari dev ɨssu-n ində-m-j-akəbr-ə-u  
 Walter Bill to Harry Dave he -acc comp-comp-3Msg-respect(perf)-3sg-3Msg

nəgr-o-t-all                      bɪl-o                      j-assɪb-all  
 tell-3Msg(subj)-3sg(obj)-be    say-3Msg                      3Msg-think(perf)-be

‘Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects he (him).’

Note: ɪssu= bill, Harry, Walter or any other third person

**Ras-person strategy**

wəltər bil lə hari    dev    ras-u-n                      ɪndə-m-j-akəbr-ə -u  
 Walter Bill to Harry    Dave    self-3sg-acc                      comp-comp-3Msg-respect(perf)-3sg-3Msg

nəgr-o-t-all                      bɪl-o                      j-assɪb-all  
 tell-3Msg(subj)-3sg(obj)-be    say-3Msg                      3Msg-think(perf)-be

‘Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects himself (him).’

Note: ras-u= bill, Harry, Walter or any other third person

NOTE: the PP(lə hari) can also come after ɪndə-m-j-akəbr-ə -u in both sentences.

b) Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects X.

**Pronoun strategy**

wəltər bil lə ɪnne    dev    ɪssu-n                      ɪndə-m-j-akəbr-ə -u  
 Walter Bill to I                      Dave    he -acc                      comp-comp-3Msg-respect(perf)-3sg-3Msg

nəgr-o-ŋŋ-all                      bɪl-o                      j-assɪb-all  
 tell-3Msg(subj)-1sg(obj)-be    say-3Msg                      3Msg-think(perf)-be

‘Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects he (him).’

Note: ɪssu= bill, Harry, Walter or any other third person

**Ras-person strategy**

wəltər bil lə ɪnne    dev    ras-u-n                      ɪndə-m-j-akəbr-ə -u  
 Walter Bill to I                      Dave    self-3sg-acc                      comp-comp-3Msg-respect(perf)-3sg-3Msg

nəgr-o-ŋŋ-all                      bɪl-o                      j-assɪb-all  
 tell-3Msg(subj)-1sg(obj)-be    say-3Msg                      3Msg-think(perf)-be

‘Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects himself (him).’

Note: ras-u= bill, Harry, Walter or any other third person

c) Walter told me that Dave respects X.

**Pronoun strategy**

wəltər lə                      ɪnne    dev    ɪssu-n                      ɪndə-m-j-akəbr-ə -u

Walter to I Dave he –acc comp-comp-3Msg-respect(perf)-3sg-3Msg

nəgr-o-ŋŋ-all  
tell-3Msg(subj)-1sg(obj)-be

‘Walter told me that Dave respects he (him).’

Note: †ssu= Walter or any other third person.

Ras-person strategy

wəltər lə †nne dev ras-u-n †ndə-m-j-akəbr-ə -u  
Walter to I Dave self-3sg-acc comp-comp-3Msg-respect(perf)-3sg-3Msg

nəgr-o-ŋŋ-all  
tell-3Msg(subj)-1sg(obj)-be

‘Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects himself (him).’

Note: ras-u= bill, Harry, walter or any other third person.

d) Walter said that Dave gave me a book about X.

Pronoun strategy

wlæter dev lə †nne s†lə †ssu jə-m-j-naggər məs’haf  
Walter Dave to I about I poss-comp-3Msg-tell (perf) book

sət’t-o- ŋŋ-all b†l-o-all  
give(perf)- 3Msg(subj)-1sg(obj)-behe(him)  
‘Walter said that Dave gave me a book about he (him).’

Note: †ssu= Walter or Dave or other third person

Ras-person strategy

wlæter dev lə †nne s†lə ras-u jə-m-j-naggər məs’haf  
Walter Dave to I about self-3sg poss-comp-3Msg-tell (perf) book

sət’t-o- ŋŋ-all b†l-o-all  
give(perf)- 3Msg(subj)-1sg(obj)-behe(him)  
‘Walter said that Dave gave me a book about himself (him).’

Note: †ssu= Walter or Dave or other third person

**4.4.4 Islands** - Do syntactic islands affect the acceptability of the current strategy? For all the examples in this section, Ira = X.

D22a) Ira resents the fact that Mary hates X.

Pronoun works well

ira meri †ssu-n mə-t'lat-u-a j-as-t'əlla-u-all  
 ira Mary he-acc inf-hate-3sg-3Fsg 3Msg-caus-not like-3sg-be  
 'Ira resents the fact that Mary hates he (him).'

ras-person not common and preferable, but possible with some discomfort.

ira meri ras-u-n mə-t'lat-u-a j-as-t'əlla-u-all  
 ira Mary self-3sg-acc inf-hate-3sg-3Fsg 3Msg-caus-hate-3sg-be  
 'Ira resents the fact that Mary hates himself (him).'

b) Ira respects the man who likes X.

Pronoun works well

ira †ssu-n jə-m-j-wdd-ə-u-n j-akəbr-all  
 ira he-acc inf-hate-3sg-3Fsg 3Msg-respect(imperf)-be  
 'Ira respects the man who likes he (him).'

ras-person works fairly .

ira ras-u-n jə-m-j-wdd-ə-u-n j-akəbr-all  
 ira self-3sg-acc inf-hate-3sg-3Fsg 3Msg-respect(imperf)-be  
 'Ira respects the man who likes he (him).'

c) Ira says that the man who likes X is intelligent.

ira †ssu-n jə-m-j-wədd-ə-u səw gobəz nəw j-†l-all  
 Ira he-acc poss-comp-3Msg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg man clever be 3Msg-say-be

'Ira says that the man who likes he(him) is intelligent.'

ira ras-u-n jə-m-j-wədd-ə-u səw gobəz nəw j-†l-all  
 Ira self-3sg-acc poss-comp-3Msg-like(imperf)-3sg-3Msg man clever be 3Msg-  
 say-be

'Ira says that the man who likes he (him) is intelligent.'

d) Ira asked whether Bill saw X.

ira bil †ssu-n ajt-o-t †ndə-nəbbərə t'əjjək'-ə  
 Ira Bill he-acc see-3sg(Subj)-3sg(Obj ) Comp-be(past) aske(perf)-3sg  
 'Ira asked whether Bill saw he(him).'

ira bil ras-u-n ajt-o-t †ndə-nəbbərə t'əjjək'-ə  
 Ira Bill self-3sg-acc see-3sg(Subj)-3sg(Obj ) Comp-be(past)  
 aske(perf)-3sg  
 'Ira asked whether Bill saw himself (him).'

e) Ira asked when Bill saw X.

ira bil †ssu-n mə†je ajt-o-t †ndə-nəbbərə t'əjjək'-ə  
 Ira Bill he-acc when see-3sg(Subj)-3sg(Obj ) Comp-be(past)  
 aske(perf)-3sg

‘Ira asked when Bill saw he(him).’

ira bil ras-u-n mətʃe ajt-o-t ɪndə-nəbbərə t’əjjək’-ə  
Ira Bill self-3sg-acc see-3sg(Subj)-3sg(Obj ) Comp-be(past)  
aske(perf)-3sg

‘Ira asked when Bill saw himself (him).’

f) Ira did not realize that George followed X.

ira gordʒ ɪssu-n tə-kəttɪl-o-t ɪndə-nəbbər al-awək’-ə-m  
Ira George he-acc pass-follow(perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj) Comp-be(past) neg-know(perf)-3sg-neg  
‘Ira did not realize that George followed he(him).’

ira gordʒ ras-u-n tə-kəttɪl-o-t ɪndə-nəbbər al-awək’-ə-m  
Ira George self-3sg-acc pass-follow(perf)-3sg(subj)-3sg(obj) Comp-be(past) neg-know(perf)-3sg-neg  
‘Ira did not realize that George followed he(him).’

g) Ira said that Mary was pretty and that she would marry X.

ira meri k’onjo ɪndə-hon-ətʃtʃ ɪnna ɪssu-n  
Ira Mary beautiful comp-be-3Fsg and he –acc

ɪndə-m-t-agb-a-u tə-naggr-o-all  
3Fsg-marry(perf)-3Fsg-1Msg-3Fsg ref-say(perf)-3sg-be

‘Ira said that Mary was pretty and that she would marry he (him).’

ira meri k’onjo ɪndə-hon-ətʃtʃ ɪnna ras-u-n  
Ira Mary beautiful comp-be-3Fsg and self-3sg –acc

ɪndə-m-t-agb-a-u tə-naggr-o-all  
3Fsg-marry(perf)-3Fsg-1Msg-3Fsg ref-say(perf)-3sg-be

‘Ira said that Mary was pretty and that she would marry himself (him).’

#### 4.4.5 De se reading

Sometimes an interpretation of identity with an antecedent is tinged by a different meaning distinction. There is a famous ambiguity in D23 depending on whether or not the subject of believe is aware that he is referring to himself. The distinction is between two readings where his=Oedipus, that is, we are not interested, for these cases, in readings where his is not Oedipus. Now imagine that Oedipus thinks his step-mother (Step) is his biological mother - he just calls her "mother", because Step is the only mother he has ever known. Now let us suppose that Oedipus is the only one in town who is unaware who his biological mother (Bio) is, perhaps because Bio is a notorious person of whom polite people do not normally speak. People in town, in spite of what they know, generally refer to Step as Oedipus' mother, since no one wants to bring up the subject of Bio. Then Bio, long out of town, makes a surprise visit to the town to see

Oedipus, whom she finds scowling in his front yard, angry at Step because she has punished him.. Bio spends some time with Oedipus, as others watch suspiciously, but Bio does not tell Oedipus who she is. Oedipus thinks Bio is nice. Then someone says D23a or D23b.

- D23a) *Oedipus* thinks/says *his* mother is nice.
- b) *Oedipus* thinks/says *his* mother is mean.

Now his in both examples is to be coconstrued with Oedipus, but his mother in (23a) refers to Bio, whom he does not know is his mother, while (D23b) refers to Step, who is the only one Oedipus thinks is his mother (though others know otherwise), and Oedipus is angry at her just now. In some languages, a different morphological form, a different pronoun for example, is used to distinguish the two readings. If your language is like English, then there is no morphological distinction between the pronouns in (D23a,b). Just say so and move on.

There is no morphological distinction like English. Both the pronoun and the ras-person are used together with a possessive marker.

However, other languages have such a morphological distinction (often it is like the logophoric distinction, discussed above, but not always). For example, Adésolá (2004) reports that Yoruba permits a non-logophoric pronoun (a weak pronoun) to be coconstrued with the matrix subject, but the logophoric marked one (the strong pronoun) is still distinguished insofar as it must be *de se*. The verb meaning 'believe' selects for the logophoric complementizer *pé* and the pronouns are distinguished as weak (w) and strong (s).

- D24a) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé rẹ̀ ti wó.  
Olu believe that house he(w) ASP fall
  - b) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé òun ti wó.  
Olu believe that house he(s) ASP fall
- Both: "Olu believes that his house has collapsed."

As Adésolá remarks, "...a strong pronoun [òun] is used when self-reference is intended by the reported speaker (or believer) [15b], while a weak pronoun [rẹ̀] is used when the reported speaker (or believer) does not know that he was in fact referring to his own house [15a]." The weak pronoun does not have to refer to Olu, but the strong one must.

In Amharic, the he strategy used to show that we are talking about the subjects belongings or deeds without any ambiguity is using pronoun and ras-person together (as I mentioned somewhere in the translations) .

Look at the following example.

olu jə-ɨssu jə ras-u bet ɨndə-fərrəs-ə j-amn-all  
 Olu poss-he poss-self-3sg house comp-collaps(perrf0-3sg 3Msg-believe(imperf)-be  
 "Olu believes that his , his own house has collapsed."

Compare this with just

