Anaphora in the African Languages - Questionnaire for language consultants

Anaphora Questionnaire 2.2 response for Bafut
Version 1.0

PART 1 General information

1.1
1. Name of the language: Bafut
2. Ethnologue code (if you know it):
3. Dialect and/or area:
4. What is the information you are providing based on? We assume all our participants are relying on their own judgments, but if you answer (b) in addition to (a), please explain with an attached note.
   (a) My own judgements ( X )
   (b) Judgements by one or more consultants ( )

1.2 Identify yourself

1. Name: Pius N. TAMANJI

2a. Your address: The University of Yaounde 1
   Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences
   Department of African Languages and Linguistics
   P.O. Box 8029 Yaounde 8
   Yaounde
   Cameroon

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

3. Do you want the database to reveal your name and contact information? (You still must fill out a consent form, however you answer this question.)
   ( X ) I am willing to be identified
   ( ) I wish to remain anonymous

4. Your level of training in linguistics (circle accordingly).
   1
   ( X ) Post Ph. D.
   ( ) Ph.D or M.A. student
   ( ) Undergraduate linguistics
   ( ) some courses
   ( ) linguistics major
   ( ) Training in related discipline
   ( ) philology
   ( ) language pedagogy
   ( ) other (please specify)
   ( ) related discipline (please specify)
   ( ) no linguistic training

5. If you are a linguist, please indicate the extent of your exposure to the following subfields. Also specify the broad school (e.g., GB or LFG syntax) if appropriate. Your background might be relevant to your choice of terminology in morphological and syntactic descriptions, etc.
Scale: little or none / some / intimately familiar.

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

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

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Tanda, V. Coordinate constructions in Bafut. PhD dissertation, University of Manchester

PART 2    An Inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

2.1. Coreference in a single clause
2.1.1 Primary reflexive strategy

A. Bare noun stem

(A1) bì jì’ì nô.  
bì h á jì’ì nô  
Bih Prog SM wash body  
“Bih is washing/bathing herself”.

(A1ii) bì jì’ì nô jì.  
bì h á jì’ì nô jì  
Bih Prog SM wash body 3rd.s.POSS  
“Bih is washing/bathing herself”.

B. “Body” noun plus possessive pronoun

(A2) mò kì jô biĩnô yá mùm ǹkì’i.  
mò kì jô biĩnô yá mùm ǹkì’i  
I P2 see body 1st.s.POSS in mirror  
“I saw myself in the mirror.”

C. “Owner” noun strategy

(A3i) a. mò kì wè’ë yá sìginì  
mò kì wè’ë yá sìginì  
I P2 wear 1st.s.Obj nice  
“I dressed myself nicely.”

(A3ii) mò kì yà’asò yá mòmbọ̀ sìginì.  
mò kì yà’asò yá mòmbọ̀ sìginì  
I P2 praise 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner well  
“I praised myself well.”

Comments

1. In the *Bare Noun Stem* strategy, a possessive pronoun, which is co-referential with the subject NP, is often used along with the bare noun to avoid ambiguity. Thus in example (A1) for instance, if the verb jó’ás “to apply lotion to the body” is used, this possessive pronoun is obligatory. Without the pronoun, it could be interpreted as saying that Bih is applying lotion to someone else’s body.
2. In the “owner” noun strategy, the complex word pron-mbHô is used especially for clarity and emphasis. Thus, the example in (A3ii) could be used without mô-mbHô (Literally “I myself”) to still mean “I praised myself”.

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

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

2.1.4. Obliques and other argument types

(A5i)  
\[ \text{John kiyáá mbì’í ṣgáá jì júmbô} \]
John à kì yàâ mbf’ì ṣgâå jì jú mbô
John SM P2 speak because sake 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL owner
“John spoke about himself.”

(A5ii)  
\[ \text{John kiyáá mbó Mary mbì’í ṣgáá jì júmbô} \]
John à kì yàâ mbó Mary mbf’ì ṣgâå jì jú mbô
John SM P2 speak to Mary because sake 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL owner
“John spoke to Mary about himself.”

(A5iii)  
\[ \text{John kì jà ṣwà’ànó mbèé jú} \]
John à kì jô ṣwà’ànî á mbèè jú
John SM P2 see book at side 3rd.s.OBL
“John saw a book near him.”

(A5iv)  
\[ \text{John kì jùù ṣgwà’ànó mbó jú júmbô} \]
John à kì jùù ṣgwà’ànî á mbó jú jú mbô
John SM P2 buy book to hands 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL owner
“John bought a book for himself.”

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

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

2.1.6 Strategies for other clausemate environments
There are no other strategies that I can think of, at least not now. The following examples make use of the same strategies that I have listed.

A6a. Peter jì bìnnú jì
Peter know body 3rd.s.Poss
“Peter knows himself”

b. No verb for criticize in Bafut
c. Peter ɣá’ásì biì nú jì
   Peter praise body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Peter praises/honours himself”
Quantificational constructions do not involve a separate strategy. Again the following examples make use of
the same strategies that we have listed already.

A7a. ñù ntsì̀ m ƙì lintì biì nú jì
   Person every P2 look body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Every person looked at himself”

C. tsìtsà ntsì̀ m ƙì mîtì biì nú jì mbó Bôb
   Teacher every P2 show body-3rd.s.POSS to Bob
   “Every teacher introduced himself to Bob”

d. bóó biì mó’ó kwétàá tsì’í biì nú wáà
   children some help only body 3rd.p.POSS
   “Some children only help themselves”

e. bângyè byá bitsì̀ m ƙì mîtì John mbó bó bó-mbôŋ
   women the  all P2 show John to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “The women described John to themselves”

The examples in (A9) reveal no new strategy

A9a. Sol ɭwǒn mà Alice kɔŋ biì nú jì
   Sol say that Alice like body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Sol says that Alice loves herself”

b. Sol ƙì lɔó mà tá Alice ɣá’ásì biì nú jì
   Sol P2 want should Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Sol required that Alice praise herself”

c. Sol ƙì wá’áttì mà mbà Alice ɣá’ásì biì nú jì
   Sol P2 think that cond. Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Sol thought Alice should praise herself”

d. Sol ƙì ɭwǒn mà tá Alice ɣá’ásì biì nú jì
   Sol P2 say that should Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS
   «Sol asked Alice to praise herself»

e. Sol lɔó ñyá’ásì biì nú jì
   Sol want to praise body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Sol wants to praise himself”

f. Sol wá’áta mà Alice kà ɣá’ásì biì nú jì
   Sol think that Alice F0 praise body 3rd.s.POSS
“Sol expects Alice to praise herself”

g. Sol kì jù’ú dzǎŋmó Alice yá’ásì bǐǹú jì
   Sol P2 hear how Alice praise body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Sol heard Alice praising herself”

2.2. Ordinary (potential independent) pronouns

(A10a) à kì jó Lela
   à kì jó Lela
   he P2 see Lela
   “He saw Lela.”

(A10b) mò kì jó jí mútàà
   mò kì jó jí á mútàà
   I P2 see 3rd.s.Obj at market
   “I saw him at the market.”

(A10c) ò If njó jì’í?
   ò If njó jì’í
   you P1 see 1st.P.Obj
   “Did you see us?.”

A10i: Simple human subject pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mò</td>
<td>bī’î</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ò</td>
<td>nì/bù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>bó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A10i) a. mò nó mìlù’ù
   mò’ nó mì-lù’ù
   I+Asp drink Palm wine
   “I am drinking palm wine”.

A10ii: Simple non-human subject pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>à</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bî’í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mí’í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>á</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>dʒí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>jì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>dʒí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>fí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(A10ii) a. à kì wòó një.
à kì wòó á ñ-ñë
it P2 fall on ground
“It fell on the ground.”

A10iii: Compound Human Subject Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 + 2</td>
<td>si/bi’ò</td>
<td>bi’ínì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 + 3</td>
<td>bi’íjú</td>
<td>bi’íbó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 + 3</td>
<td>bújú</td>
<td>búbó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A10iii) a. bi’íbó ká yëë ndànwi.
bí’íbó ká yëë á ñ-dànñì
we (1 + 3) F0 go to church
“We (I/we and them) will go to church.”

A10iv: Simple verb object pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yà</td>
<td>ji’ì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yò</td>
<td>yùù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>jì</td>
<td>wàà</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A10iv) a. ìmbè kì fëë yà.
ìmbè à kì fëë yà
Ambe SM P2 slap 1st.s.Obj
“Ambe slapped me.”

A10v: Compound verb object pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>jì’ò</td>
<td>jì’ínì</td>
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<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
<td>jì’íjú</td>
<td>jì’íbó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
<td>yùùjú</td>
<td>yùùbó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
<td>wàájú</td>
<td>wàábó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A10v) a. ìmbè kì wà’átì jì’ò
ìmbè à kì wà’átì jì’ò
Ambe SM P2 remember 1st.p.Obj
“Ambe remembered us (i.e. speaker and listener).”

A10vi: Simple object preposition pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mò</td>
<td>bì’ì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.4 The use of otherwise independent pronouns for clausemate anaphora

(A10g) *Ali lì ñyá’ásò jí*
Ali à lí ñyá’ásò jí
Ali SM P1 praise 3rd.s.Obj
“Ali praised him.”

(A10h) *Ali lí ñkènù jí*
Ali à lí ñkènù jí
Ali SM P1 like 3rd.s.Obj
“Ali liked him.”

(A10j) *Ali lí ñyáá mbó jú*
Ali à lí ñyáá á mbó jú
Ali SM P1 talk to hands 3rd.s.OBL
“Ali talked to him.”

(A10n) *Ali lí njúú ñwà’ànù yú mbó*
Ali à lí njúú ñgwà’ànù yú mbó
Ali SM P1 buy book him hands
“Ali bought a book for him.”

(A10o) *Ali lí ntwóñò ñwà’ànù mbi’í ñgáá jí*
Ali à lí ntwóñò ñgwà’ànù mbi’í ñgáá jí
Ali SM P1 read book because sake 3rd.s.POSS
“Ali read a book about him.”

This reading is ambiguous: the book was about Ali / the book was about a 3rd party.
To clear ambiguity to an extent, add *jú mbɔŋ* so that book is about Ali.

\[(A10^{o})\quad Ali \li nt\text{wùŋ} \ŋ \wa’\text{ànɔ} \ mb\text{bì}’ \ŋ \text{gàá} \ jí \ jú \ mbɔŋ\]
\[\quad \text{Ali SM P2 read book because 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL owner} \]
\[\quad \text{“Ali read about a book himself (book was about Ali).”}\]

\[(A10^{p})\quad Ali \ kí jō \ŋ \wa’\text{ànɔ} \ mb\text{bè} \ jú\]
\[\quad \text{Ali SM P2 see book at side 3rd.s.OBL} \]
\[\quad \text{“Ali found a book near him.”} \]

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

\[(A10^{p})\quad Ali \ kí jō \ŋ \wa’\text{ànɔ} \ mb\text{bè} \ jú \ jú \ mbɔŋ\]
\[\quad \text{Ali SM P2 see book at side 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL owner} \]
\[\quad \text{“Ali found a book near him (i.e. near Ali himself).”}\]

### 2.3. Reciprocal Readings

#### 2.3.1 Reflexive strategy with reciprocal meaning

bɔŋ bjá ká yá’ásí bínú wáá
children F0 praise body 3rd.s.POSS
“The children will praise each other”
“ The children will praise themselves”

#### 2.3.2. A. The nó Reciprocal strategy

\[(A11\text{ai})\quad \text{bàngjè bjá kòñh-no}\]
\[\quad \text{women the SM like-RCM} \]
\[\quad \text{“The women like each other.”} \]

\[(A11\text{aii})\quad \text{bàngjè bjá kòñh wáá.}\]
\[\quad \text{women the SM like-RCM 3rd.p.Obj} \]
\[\quad \text{“The women like each other.”} \]

\[(A11\text{iii})\quad \text{sì kálò jònọ jọọ.}\]
\[\quad \text{We (you + I) F2 See-RCM on tomorrow} \]
\[\quad \text{“We will see each other tomorrow.”} \]

\[(A11\text{iv})\quad \text{sì kálò jònọ jí’ọ jọọ.}\]
\[\quad \text{“We will see each other tomorrow.”} \]
We (you + I) F2 see-RCM 1st.p.Obj on tomorrow
“We will see each other tomorrow.”

2.3.3. Oblique complements

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

A12a. mbàñi dzá kì màtì Bill mbó bó-bó-mbëŋ
Men the P2 show Bill to them 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.p.OBL -owner
« The men introduced Bill each other/themselves »

b. ñgàñ nỳáá dzá kì yàà-nò tìti bó
persons visit the P2 speak-RCM among 3rd.p.OBL
“The visitors spoke among themselves”

c. bìfàrì bjá kì kwèrò fìswóŋ mbì’ë ngáá jàà
priests the P2 receive gossip about sake 3rd.p.POSS
“The priests heard gossips about themselves”

d. Bó kì tètì ilàñ à nší bó
they P2 place chairs in face 3rd.p.OBL
« They placed chairs in front of each other »

2.3.4 Other persons and numbers

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

A13a. bî’ì kì jà-nò
We P2 see-RCM
“We saw each other”

b. nì tsíñì ñkwétë yúú
You have help 3rd.p.Obj
“You have to help yourselves”

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

d. e. bóó bìyà’àtì kì tìtì bìǹú wàà
children P2 kick body 3rd-p.POSS
“Many boys kicked themselves”

2.3.5 Other clause types
No new strategy in reciprocal embedded clauses

A14

a. Sol ṣwōŋ má bóó bjá kōŋ-nó (wáá)
   Sol say that children the love-RCM (3rd.p.Obj)
   “Sol says that the children love each other”

b. Sol lí niŋó má tá bóó bjá kōŋ-nó (wáá)
   Sol P1 want that should children love-RCM (3rd.p.Obj)
   « Sol wanted that the children love each other »

c. Sol kí wá’áttí má bóó bjá ṣá’ásó wáá
   Sol P2 think that cond. children praise 3rd.p.Obj
   “Sol thought the children should praise themselves”

d. Sol kí ṣwōŋ má tá bóó bjá ṣá?áṣí bínú wáá
   Sol P2 say that should children praise body 3rd.p.POSS
   « Sol asked the children to praise themselves »

e. bóó bjá lóó ṣá’áṣí bínú wáá
   children want praise body 3rd.p.POSS
   “The children want to praise themselves”

f. Sol wá’áta má bóó bjá ká ṣá’áṣí bínú wáá
   Sol think that children F0 praise body 3rd.p.POSS
   “Sol expects the children to praise themselves”

g. Sol kí jú’ú dzāŋmá bóó bjá ṣá’áṣí bínú wáá
   Sol P2 hear how children praise body 3rd.p.POSS
   “Sol heard the children praising themselves”

2.4. Other Types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable

(A15a) Paul kí bō’ó ntâm dʒì.
   Paul à kí bō’ó ntâm dʒì
   Paul SM P2 lose shoes 3rd.s.POSS
   “Paul lost his shoes.”

(A15b) Paul kí kō’óṣí bó jí.
   Paul à kí kō’óṣí àbó jí
   Paul SM P2 raise hand 3rd.s.POSS
   “Paul raised his hand.”

(A15c) Paul kí fō bó jí.
   Paul à kí fō àbó jí
   Paul SM P2 cut hand 3rd.s.POSS
   “Paul cut his hand.”

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2.4.2 Reflexives in nominals

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

A17. ádzǎŋ jǐí mó Andrew kì mìí bǐnú jí láá á kì bòŋò nú tsítsà wá
The way which that Andrew p2 show body 3rd.s.POSS Def. it P2 nice body teacher the
“The way Andrew introduced himself pleased the teacher”
“Andrew’s introduction of himself pleased the teacher”

2.4.3
I can’t think of anything else for now.

2.4.4 Summary list of strategies

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

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

PART 3 General Details about the strategies

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

3.1. Marking

A. Bare noun stem strategy

Marking is on a construed argument. This strategy is used with so-called verbs of grooming only (verbs that deal with taking care of the body e.g. bathing, applying lotion, dressing, shaving, etc.).
A possessive determiner can also optionally be used along with the bare noun stem. This usage is common with the verbs of grooming but can also marginally extend to a few psyche verbs like ‘hate’, and ‘like/love’. With the psyche verbs, the possessive determiner is obligatory.

John kì jì’á nú (jì)
John P2 rub body (3rd.s.POSS)
“John rubbed himself/applied lotion to his body”

? John bàá nù jì
    John hate body 3rd.s.POSS
    “John hates himself”

B. The “Body” noun strategy

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

C. The “Owner” noun strategy

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

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

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

D. The ná Reciprocal strategy

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

3.2. Productivity

A. Bare noun strategy

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

Ai. Ambe kì jɔ’ 5 nù (jì)
    Ambe P2 rub body (3rd.s.POSS)
    “Ambe rubbed himself/applied lotion to his body”

ii. ? Ambe bàá nù jì
    Ambe hate body 3rd.s.POSS
    “Ambe hates himself”

iii. * Ambe kì fèé nù (jì)
    Ambe P2 slap body (3rd.s.POSS)
    “Ambe slapped himself”
B. “Body” noun strategy
Averagely productive. Used with vision verbs such as ‘see’, ‘look’, verbs of grooming such as ‘take care’, ‘wash’, ‘dress’, ‘apply lotion’, verbs that deal with doing harm to the body such as ‘cut’, ‘torment’, psyche verbs such as ‘hate’, ‘like/love’, ‘know’, etc.

Bii. Ambe kù jɔ bìnú jí múm ẹjì’i
Ambe P2 see trunk 3rd.s.POSS in glass
“Ambe saw himself in the mirror”

ii. Ambe kù wè’ẹ bìnú jí
Ambe P2 dress trunk 3rd.s.POSS
“Ambe dressed himself up”

iii. Ambe kù lènṣì bìnú jí
Ambe P2 wound trunk 3rd.s.POSS
“Ambe wounded himself”

iv. Ambe báá bìnú jí
Ambe hate trunk 3rd.s.POSS
“Ambe hates himself”

v. * Ambe kì jò’ò bìnú jí
Ambe P2 cry trunk 3rd.s.POSS

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

Ci. Ambe kù jɔ jí jú-mbọ̀jẹ múm ẹjì’i
Ambe P2 see 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner in glass
“Ambe saw himself in the mirror”

ii. Ambe kì nàjùsọ jí jú-mbọ̀jẹ
Ambe P2 fix 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Ambe took care of himself/his appearance”

iii. Ambe kì lènṣọ jí jú-mbọ̀jẹ
Ambe P2 wound 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Ambe wounded himself”

iv. Ambe báá jí jú-mbọ̀jẹ
Ambe P2 hate 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Ambe hates himself”

v. * Ambe kì bìná jí jú-mbọ̀jẹ
Ambe P2 dance 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
D. The n各项 Reciprocal strategy
Used only with what I call reciprocal verbs such as ‘like/love’, ‘hate’, ‘insult’, ‘quarrel’, ‘fight’, ‘resemble’, ‘greet’, etc.

3.3. Context of use

A. Bare noun stem strategy
Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

B. “Body” noun strategy
Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

C. The “owner” noun strategy
Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

D. The n各项 Reciprocal strategy
Strategy is natural
No special intonation is required
No special discourse context is necessary

3.4. Morphology

A. Bare noun stem

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table I: Simple verb object pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table II: Compound verb object pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3+3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each compound object pronoun is bimorphemic consisting of two simple pronominal forms that are clearly segmentable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jì’-ô 1st person plural simple object pron. + 2nd person singular simple subject p</td>
<td>jì’-nà 1st person plural simple object pron. + 2nd person plural simple subject pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jì’-jú 1st person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person singular simple oblique P</td>
<td>jì’-bó 1st person plural simple object pron. + 2nd person plural simple subject pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yùú-jú 2nd person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person singular simple oblique P</td>
<td>yùú-ô 2nd person plural simple object pron. + 3rd person plural simple oblique pro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wáá-jú 3rd person plural simple object pron + 3rd person singular simple oblique p</td>
<td>wáá-bó 3rd person plural simple object pron + 3rd person plural simple oblique pron</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interpretation of complex pronouns**

jì’ó “You and I” (speaker +addressee)
jì’-jú “He/she and I” (speaker +third party)
yùú-jú “You and him/her (addressee + 3rd party)”
wáá-jú “They and him/her”
jì’-nà “You people and I (speaker +addressee (a group of people)”
jì’-bó “They and I (speaker+3rd party (a group)”
yùú-bó “You and they (addressee and (group of 3rd party)”
wáá-bó “They and they (3rd party (sing) + (group) of 3rd party)”

Aia. sì ká jì’í nù jì’ò
   We F0 wash body you+I
   « We (you and I) will bathe ourselves »

b) * jì’ ó ká jì’í nù jì’ò
   We F0 wash body you+I

iia. bì’ í ká jì’í nù jì’ì
   We F0 wash body him+I
   « We (he and I) will bathe ourselves »

b. * jì’í ká jì’í nù jì’ì
   our (him + I) F0 wash body him + I

iiiia. bì’ìnò ká jì’í nù jì’ìnò
   We (all of us) F0 wash body you(pl) + I
   « We (all of you and I) will bathe ourselves »

b. * jì’ìnò ká jì’í nù jì’ìnò
   our (all of us) F0 wash body you(pl) + I
   « We (all of you and I) will bathe ourselves »

**NB/** There are no agreement markers in these forms.
B. “Body” noun strategy

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

**Possessive determiners**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Type</th>
<th>Determiner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>γ-å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>γ-ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>j-í</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
<td>j-˚ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>γ-˚úú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>w-˚áá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(i) nû ɲù ni ɲgò’ò
    body person is stone
    “The human body is as hard as a rock”

(ii) ibînû Bih nòŋò ntá’á
    trunk Bih lie outside
    “Bih’s torso is exposed”

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

(iii) Bih kì jò biînû jí múm ɲkì’ì
    Bih P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS in morrir
    (a) “Bih saw her torso in the mirror”
    (b) “Bih saw herself in the mirror”

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

C. The “Owner” noun strategy

Two elements are actually involved here:

(i) An ordinary person verb-object pronoun referring back to the subject NP.
   This verb-object pronoun agrees in person with the subject NP. Bafut person verb-object pronouns include:

   **Person verb-object pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Type</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>γ-å</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>γ-ô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>j-í</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Incidentally, the forms of the person verb-object pronoun are identical to those of the possessive determiners.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oblique person pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(i) mò kî já mbôŋ ajî̀î
    I P2 see owner yesterday
    “I saw the owner yesterday”

(iv) mbôŋ ndá fè’e-mô
    Owner house go out-compl.
    “The family head (owner of the house) has gone out”

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

(i) * mò kî yà’ásô yá mò sîgî̀î mbôŋ
    I P2 praise 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL nice owner
    “I praised myself well”

(ii) mò kî yà’ásô yá sîgî̀î mò-mbôŋ
    I P2 praise 1st.s.Obj nice 1st.s.OBL-owner
    “I praised myself well”

In the “owner” noun strategy, the form/meaning of the first pronoun is determined by its thematic position in the utterance. In the examples above, the form yá in yá mò-mbôŋ is determined by the fact that it is in object of verb position. The pronouns that occur in this position are pronouns that are normally used in ordinary transitive sentences in this position.
e.g. John k’èè yá
John p2 slap me
“John slapped me”.

D. The ná Reciprocal strategy

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

D i. ǹlù̀n wá bò ndigà wá jò’ǹǹ.
ǹlù̀n wá bò ndigà wá bí jò’ǹǹ
old the and woman the SM cry-COLL/ASS
“The old man and the woman are both crying.”

ii. bì bò mbé lígíí (mínsò̀̀ò).  
bì bò àmbé bí lígíí-nâ (mínsò̀̀ò)  
Bih and Ambe they Cultivate-COLL/ASS farms  
“Bih and Ambe are cultivating (together as a group).”

3.5 The agreement paradigm

A. The Bare Noun Stem Strategy

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

(a) mò́ ká fì’í nìkwéè nà
I F0 wash arm 1st.s.POSS
“I will wash my arm”

(b) mò́ ká fì’í nú já
I F0 wash body 1st.s.POSS
“I will bathe myself”

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

mò́ ká fì’í nú já
I F0 wash body 1st.s.POSS
“I will bathe myself”

ò ká fì’í nú jò
You (sg) F0 wash body 2nd.s.POSS
“You will bathe yourself”
à ká fí’í nú jì
s/he F0 wash body 3rd.s.POSS
“S/he will bathe himself/herself”

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

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

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

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

mè kì jó bǐnú yá múm ñkì’ì
I P2 see body 1st.s.POSS in mirror
“I saw myself in the mirror”

õ kì jó bǐnú yó múm ñkì’ì
you(sg) P2 see body 2nd.s.POSS in mirror
“You saw yourself in the mirror”

à kì jó bǐnú jì múm ñkì’ì
s/he P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS in mirror
“He saw himself/herself in the mirror”

bì’ì kì jó bǐnú jì’ì múm ñkì’ì
We P2 see body 1st.p.POSS in mirror
“We saw ourselves in the mirror”

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

bó kì jó bǐnú wáá múm ñkì’ì
they P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
“They saw themselves in the mirror”

C. The “owner” noun strategy
The “owner” noun remains invariable. The two pronominal forms that precede the “owner” noun agree (obligatorily) with the antecedent in person and number.
mà kì làdnsò yá mà-mbðŋ
I P2 wound 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I hurt/wounded myself”

ò kì làdnsò yò yò-mbðŋ
you(sg) P2 wound 2nd.s.Obj 2nd.s.OBL-owner
“You hurt/wounded yourself”

à kì làdnsò jí jú-mbðŋ
s/he P2 wound 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“S/he hurt/wounded himself/herself”

bì’ì kì làdnsò jì’í bì’í-mbðŋ
we P2 wound 1st.p.Obj 1st.p.OBL-owner
“We hurt/wounded ourselves/each other”

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

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

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

The ná reciprocal strategy
There is no agreement

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

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

(i) bì’ì kì twøŋ-ná jì’í bì’í-mbðŋ
we P2 call-RCM 1st.p.Obj 1st.p.OBL-owner
“We greeted each other (no other person greeted us)”

(iii) Ambé bó Sùù bó kì bøŋ-ná wáá bo-mbðŋ
“Ambe and Suh reconciled with each other on their own (no one influenced the reconciliation)”

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

(i)*Sùù bó bì kì jì’i-ná nù
Suh and Bih sm P2 wash-RCM body
Bih and Suh wash-RCM body 3rd.p.POSS

Bih and Suh P2 wear-RCM 3rd.p.OBL nice

Bih and Suh P2 see-RCM body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror

3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

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

Peter jú-mbōŋ kí níŋá gôl
Peter 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 put goal
“Peter himself/even Peter too scored a goal”

3.7.1. Idiosyncratic forms

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

3.7.2. Emphatic

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

(1)  
John kì jè’ê ndá já júmbōŋ
John à kì jè’ê ndá jà jú-mbōŋ
John SM P2 sweep house the 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“John swept the house himself.”

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

(2)  

a.  
ndlwin tàá wá bó ndigà wá jà ’ènà.
ndlwin òtâá wá bó ñdigà wá bí jè’ê-nà
old man the and woman the 2-SM cry-COLL/ASS
“The old man and the woman are both crying.”

b.  
mmó’á wá kì bwènô.
mmó’á w-á f kì bwè-nô
1-fire 1-the SM P2 extinguish-SPON
“The fire died out.”

3.7.5 Deictic use

In the “owner” noun strategy, the reflexive form OBL-mbōŋ “Pro-self” can be used in a context where the antecedent had been mentioned earlier on in the discourse but is not present in the sentence.
I. Like water but he likes palm wine.

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

3.9 Ellipsis

A. Bare noun stem

(A12) (i)  John  kɔŋ  ȹì  ’inù  ntfá  mbé
     John  à  kɔŋò  n-ì’í  nò  n-tfá  ìmbé
     “John likes washing/bathing himself more than Ambe likes washing himself.”
     “John likes bathing himself than he likes Ambe”

B. “Body’ noun strategy

(A12) (ii)  John  kɔŋ  bìnu’ji  ntfá  mbé
     John  à  kɔŋò  ìbìnu  jì  n-tfá  ìmbé
     “John likes himself more than Ambe likes himself.”
     “John likes himself more than he likes Ambe”

C. The “owner” noun strategy

(A12) (iii)  mɔ  kw’asò  yá  mböγ  ntfá  mbé.
     mɔ  kw’  yá’asò  yá  mɔ-mböγ  n-tfá  ìmbé
     “I praised myself more than I praised Ambe.”
     “I praised myself more than Ambe praised me.”
     “I praised myself more than Ambe praised himself.”
PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

4.1 Clausemate construal

4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

4.1.1.1 Canonical transitives

Bare noun strategy

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

C1a. * Bob kí jò nù (jì)
      Bob P2 see body (3rd.s.POSS)

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

C1b. * bàngjè bjá kí mítí nù (jàà)
       Women the P2 describe body (3rd.p.POSS)

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

C1d. * bó kì wo’rò nù (jàà)
       They P2 praise body (3rd.p.POSS)

Body noun strategy

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

C1a. Bob kí jò bìnnú jí múm ŋkì’ì
         Bob P2 see body 3rd.s.POSS in mirror
         “Bob saw himself”

C1b. bàngjè bjá kí jò bìnnú wáá múm ŋkì’ì
       Women the P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
       “The women saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

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

C1d. bó kì wo’rò bìnnú wáá
       They P2 praise body 3rd.p.POSS
       “They praised themselves/each other”

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

C1a Bob kì jò jí jú-mbɔŋ mûm ŋkì’ì
Bob P2 see 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner in mirror
“Bob saw himself in a mirror”

C1b bàngjìe bjá kì jô wàá bó-mbɔŋ mûm ŋkì’ì
Women the P2 see 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner in mirror
“The women saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

C1c * nì kì tâ yúú bú-mbɔŋ
You(p) P2 kick 2nd.p.Obj 2nd.p.OBL-owner
“You(pl) kicked yourselves”

C1d bó kì wo’rɔ wàá bó-mbɔŋ
They P2 praise 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“They praised themselves/each other”

The nò Reciprocal strategy

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

C1a Bob bo Peter kì jò-nâ
Bob and Peter P2 see-RCM
“Bob and Peter saw each other”

C1b bàngjìe bjá kì jò-nâ
Women the P2 see-RCM
“The women saw each other”

C1c * nì kì tâ-nâ
You(p) P2 kick-RCM

C1d bó kì wo’rɔ-nâ
They P2 praise-RCM

4.1.1.2 Commonly Reflexive predicates

Bare noun stem

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

C 3ai Dona kì jﬁ’ì nû (ji)
Dona P2 wash body 3rd.s.POSS
“Dona washed herself”
ii. Dona kì jò’á nú jì
Dona P2 rub body her
“Dona rubbed herself/applied lotion to her body”

iii. Dona kì wè’ê nú jì mfé’ê
Dona P2 dress body 3rd. s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

iv. Dona kì wè’ê jì mfé’ê
Dona P2 dress 3rd. s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

av. Dona kì wè’ê nú mfé’ê
Dona P2 dress body go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

avi. Dona kì kò̀s tú (jì) ìgìì ndànwì
Dona P2 shave head (3rd. s.POSS) go to church
“Dona shaved her hair and went to church”

C3c. * mú wá kì lè̀nsì nú jì
c Child the P2 wound body 3rd. s.POSS Poss. Pron
“The child wounded herself”

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

C 3ai ? Dona kì jì’ì biì nú jì
Dona P2 wash body 3rd. s.POSS
“Dona washed herself”

a. Dona kì jò’á biì nú jì
Dona P2 rub body 3rd. s.POSS
“Dona rubbed herself/applied lotion to her body”

a. Dona kì wè’ê biì nú jì mfé’ê
Dona P2 dress body 3rd. s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

a. Dona kì wè’ê jì mfé’ê
Dona P2 dress 3rd. s.POSS go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”

a. Dona kì wè’ê biì nú mfé’ê
Dona P2 dress body go out
“Dona dressed herself up and went out”
avi. * Dona kò tò biñú jí ɲỳè ndánwì
Dona P2 shave head body 3rd.s.POSS go to church
“Dona shaved her hair and went to church”

C3c. mú wà kì lòànsì biñú jí
Child the P2 wound body 3rd.s.POSS Poss. Pron
“The child wounded herself”

4.1.1.3 Psychological Predicates

Bare noun stem
C4ai * John bàà nú
John hate body

ii. * John bàà nú jì
John hate body 3rd.s.POSS
“John hates himself”
A reflexive reading here is very bad. The only acceptable interpretation is where John hates his body (may be because it is filthy)

bi. ** John dìršú nú (jì)
John ashamed body (3rd.s.POSS)

bii. ** John dìršú jì
John ashamed 3rd.s.POSS

c. * John dzáñö mbi’í nú (jì)
John sorry about body (3rd.s.POSS)

d * John dóròtí mbi’í nú (jì)
John happy about body (3rd.s.POSS)

ei* John fàngi’í nú
John trouble body

eii. ? John fàngi’í nú jù
John trouble body pron
“John troubles himself”

Body noun strategy
C4ai * John bàà biñú
John hate body

ii. OK John bàà biñú jí
John hate body 3rd.s.POSS
“John hates himself”
A reflexive reading here is perfectly good.

b. ** John dìršú biñú jì
John ashamed body 3rd.s.POSS

c. ? John dzáñö mbi’í biñú jì
John sorry about body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.POSS
“John is ashamed of himself”

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

e. ** OK John fángí́í bìnú jí
John trouble body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.POSS
“John troubles himself”

**Owner noun strategy**

C4a **OK** John bàá jí jú-mbåŋ
John hate 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.Obj 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL-owner
“John hates himself”

b. ** OK** John dîrótú jí jú-mbåŋ
John ashamed 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.Obj 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL-owner

c. ** OK** John dzôŋné mbíí jí jú-mbåŋ
John sorry about 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.Obj 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL-owner
“John is ashamed of himself”

d. ** OK** John dórító mbíí jí jú-mbåŋ
John happy about 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.Obj 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL-owner
“John is pleased about himself”

e. ** OK** John fángí́í jí jú-mbåŋ
John trouble 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.Obj 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL-owner

**4.1.1.4 Creation and Destruction Predicates**

**Bare noun stem**

C5ai. * bàŋgje bjá ká zhwítí nù
Women the Fo kill body

ii. ** OK** bàŋgje bjá ká zhwítí nù jàá
Women the Fo kill body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.p.POSS
“The women will destroy themselves (with a lot of work).”

bi. * * ndá dzá ká würí nù
houses the F0 build body

ii. * * ndá dzá ká würí nù jàá
houses the F0 build body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.p.POSS

**Body noun strategy**

C5a. ** OK** bàŋgje bjá ká zhwítí bìnú wáá
Women the Fo kill body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women will destroy themselves (with a lot of work).”

b. * ndá ñá ká wúrí biñù wáá
   houses the F0 build body 3rd.p.POSS

**Owner noun strategy**
C5a. **OK** bángié bjá ká zhwítí wáá bó-mbôŋ
   Women the Fo kill 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.POSS-owner
   “The women will destroy themselves (with a lot of work).”

b. * ndá ñá ká wúrí wáá bó-mbôŋ
   houses the F0 build 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.POSS

**4.1.2. Argument Position Pairings**

**4.1.2.1. Subject-indirect object**

**Bare noun strategy**
C7a. **Mary kì fà tsè’è já mbò nù**
   Mary P2 give dress to body
   b. **John kì dì’í ndá já mbò nù**
      John P2 show house the to body

C8a. **Mary kì fà mbò nù atsè’è já**
   Mary P2 give to body dress the
   b. **John kì dì’í mbò nù ndá já**
      John P2 show to body house the

**Body noun strategy**
C7a. ? Mary kì fà tsè’è já mbò biñú já
   Mary P2 give dress to body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Mary gave the dress to herself”
   b. **John kì dì’í ndá já mbò biñú já**
      John P2 show house the to body

C8a. **Mary kì fà mbò biñú já atsè’è já**
   Mary P2 give to body 3rd.s.POSS dress the
   b. **John kì dì’í mbò biñú já ndá já**
      John P2 show to body 3rd.s.POSS house the

**Owner noun strategy**
C7a. **OK** Mary kì fà tsè’è já mbò jú jú-mbôŋ
   Mary P2 give dress the to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Mary gave the dress to herself”
   b. **OK** John kì dì’í ndá já mbò jú jú-mbôŋ
John P2 show house the to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Jhon showed the house to himself”

C8ai. * * Mary kí fá mbô jú jú-mbôŋ atsâ’ô jâ
Mary P2 give to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.POSS dress the

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

8aii. OK Mary kí fá jí jú-mbôŋ nô tsô’ô jâ
Mary P2 give 3rd.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner particle dress the
“Mary gave herself the dress”

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

bii. OK John kí dî’í jí jú-mbôŋ nô mîtjê
John P2 show 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL part. Intelligence
“John taught himself a lesson”

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

Bare noun stem

C9a. ** Dan kí yâá mbô nû (jî)
Dan P2 talk to body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Dan talked to himself”

b. * Dan kí yâánsô Mary mbî’î nû (jî)
Dan P2 disturb Mary about (3rd.s.POSS)
“Dan disturbed Mary about himself”

c. ** Dan kí fâ nû (jî) âtì
Dan P2 give body (3r.s.POSS) a stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

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

d. * Dan kí fâ nû jî nô tî
Dan P2 give body 3rd.s.POSS Part. Stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

Body noun strategy

C9a. * Dan kí yâá mbô bînû jî
Dan P2 talk to body (3rd.s.POSS)
“Dan talked to himself”

b. * Dan kí yâánsô Mary mbî’î bînû jî
Dan P2 disturb Mary about (3rd.s.POSS)
“Dan disturbed Mary about himself”

c. ** Dan kí fâ bînû jî âtì
Dan P2 give body (3rd.s.POSS) a stick
“Dan gave himself a stick”

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

d. ** Dan kà fà bìnú jí nọ tì
   Dan P2 give body 3rd.s.POSS Part. Stick
   “Dan gave himself a stick”

Owner noun strategy
C9a. ** Dan kì yàá mbó jú jú-mbọ̀j
   Dan P2 talk to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Dan talked to himself”

b. ? Dan kì yàánsó Mary mbf’í jú jú-mbọ̀j
   Dan P2 disturb Mary about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Dan disturbed Mary about himself”

c. * Dan kì fà jí jú-mbọ̀j àtì
   Dan P2 give 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner a stick
   “Dan gave himself a stick”

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

d. ** Dan kì fà jí jú-mbọ̀j nọ tì
   Dan P2 give 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner Part. Stick
   “Dan gave himself a stick”

4.1.2.3. Subject-adjunct
Bare noun stem
C10a. * Mary kì jó nó mbèé nù (jì)
      Mary P2 see snake near body (3rd.s.POSS)
      “Mary saw a snake near herself”

b. * Mary kì twònà yá nlọ́j ọn gà̀n mbí’í nù (jì)
      Mary P2 call me because story about body (3rd.s.POSS)
      “Mary called me because of a story about herself”

c. * John kì lànsó Mary mbí’í nù (jì)
      John P2 provoke Mary because body (3rd.s.POSS)
      “John provoked Mary because of himself”

d. * bì’i kì wjè kákà nù (jì’ì)
   we P2 laugh in spite body (1st.p.POSS)
   “We laughed in spite of ourselves”
Body noun strategy
C10a. * Mary kì jò mbèè bìnú jì
    Mary P2 see snake near body 3rd.s.POSS
    “Mary saw a snake near herself”

b. * Mary kì twòŋá yá nlóŋ nçon mbí’í bìnú jì
    Mary P2 call me because story about body 3rd.s.POSS
    “Mary called me because of a story about herself”

c. * John kì lànsó Mary mbí’í bìnú jì
    John P2 provoke Mary because body 3rd.s.POSS
    “John provoked Mary because of himself”

d. * bì’ì kì wjè kfká bìnú jì’ì
    we P2 laugh in spite body 1st.p.POSS
    “We laughed in spite of ourselves”

Owner noun strategy
C10a. * Mary kì jò mbèè jú jú-mbôn
    Mary P2 see snake near 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
    “Mary saw a snake near herself”

b. ** Mary kì twòŋá yá nlóŋ nçon mbí’í jì jú-mbôn
    Mary P2 call me because story about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
    “Mary called me because of a story about herself”

c. * John kì lànsó Mary mbí’í jì jú-mbôn
    John P2 provoke Mary because 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
    “John provoked Mary because of himself”
    Acceptability of above sentence will improve if anaphor is construed with Mary.

d. * bì’ì kì wjè kfká bì’ì bí-mbôn
    we P2 laugh in spite 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.p.OBL-owner
    “We laughed in spite of ourselves”

4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements
Bare noun stem
C11a. * Mary kì dì’ì Hal mbó nú (jì)
    Mary P2 show Hal to body (3rd.s.POSS)
    “Mary showed Hal to herself”

b. * Mary kì dì’ì nú (jì) mbó Hal
    Mary P2 show body (3rd.s.POSS) to hal
    “Mary showed herself to hal”

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

c. * Bill kì fá Hal nú (jì)
Bill P2 give Hal body (3rd.s.POSS)  
“Bill gave Hal himself”

d. * Bill kà fá nú (jì) Hal  
Bill P2 give body (3rd.s.POSS) Hal  
“Bill gave Hal himself”

e. * Mary kù bitó bós bjá mbí’í nú (jàà)  
Mary P2 ask boys the about body (3rd.p.POSS)  
“Mary asked the boys about themselves”

f. * Mary kù dì’í bós bjá mbó nú (jàà)  
Mary P2 show boys the to body (3rd.p.POSS)  
“Mary showed the boys to each other”

**Body noun strategy**

C11a. * Mary kù dì’í Hal mbó biinú jì  
Mary P2 show Hal to body (3rd.s.POSS)  
“Mary showed Hal to herself”

b. * Mary kù dì’í bìnú jì mbó Hal  
Mary P2 show body (3rd.s.POSS) to hal  
“Mary showed herself to hal”

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

c. * Bill kù fá Hal bìnú jì  
Bill P2 give Hal body (3rd.s.POSS)  
“Bill gave Hal himself”

d. * Bill kù fá bìnú jì Hal  
Bill P2 give body (3rd.s.POSS) Hal  
“Bill gave Hal himself”

e. * Mary kù bitó bós bjá mbí’í biinú wáâ  
Mary P2 ask boys the about body (3rd.p.POSS)  
“Mary asked the boys about themselves”

f. * Mary kù dì’í bós bjá mbó biinú wáâ  
Mary P2 show boys the to body (3rd.p.POSS)  
“Mary showed the boys to each other”

**Owner noun strategy**

C11a. ? Mary kù dì’í Hal mbó jú jú-mbôn  
Mary P2 show Hal to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner  
“Mary showed Hal to herself”

This sentence sounds grammatically okay but it is hard to see the context in which it can ever be used.
b. **OK** Mary kò dì’í jí jú-mbọ̀ mbó Hal
Mary P2 show 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner to Hal
“Mary shwed herself to hal”

c. * Bill kò fá Hal jú-jú-mbọ̀
Bill P2 give Hal 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Bill gave Hal himself”

d. * Bill kò fá jí jú-mbọ̀ Hal
Bill P2 give 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner Hal
“Bill gave Hal himself”

e. * Mary kò bìtò bọ̀ bọ̀ mbì’í wáá bó-mbọ̀
Mary P2 ask boys the about 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“Mary asked the boys about themselves”

f. * Mary kò dì’í bọ̀ bọ̀ mbó bó- mbọ̀
Mary P2 show boys the to 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“Mary showed the boys to each other”

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

Bill kò ŋàá mbi’í Hal mbó jú jumbọ̀
Bill P2 talk about Hal to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Bill talked about Hal to himself”

Mary kò ŋàá mbi’í ngáá jí jú-mbọ̀ mbó Hal
Mary P2 talk about sake 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner to Hal
“Mary talked about herself to Hal”

Mary kò ŋàá mbi’í bìnú jí mbó Hal
Mary P2 talk about body 3rd.s.POSS to Hal
“Mary talked about herself to Hal”

Mary kò ŋàá mbó Hal mbi’í jí jú-mbọ̀
Mary P2 talk to Hal about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
“Mary talked to Hal about herself”

Mary kò ŋàá mbó Hal mbi’í bìnú jí
Mary P2 talk to Hal about body 3rd.s.POSS
“Mary talked to Hal about herself”

Mary kò ŋàá mbó jú jú-mbọ̀ mbi’í Hal
Marty P2 talk to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner about Hal
“Mary talked to herself about Hal”

4.1.2.6 Clause mate noncoarguments
The bare noun stem strategy and the “body” noun strategy do not work for C13.

Bare noun stem strategy
C13a. * * Nick kì bút’undi nù (jì)
   Nick P2 telephone mother (3rd.s.POSS)
   “Nick telephoned his mother”

   bi. Nick kì kjà tù jì
       Nick P2 comb head his 3rd.s.POSS
       “Nick combed his hair”

   bii. * * Nick kì kjà tù nú jì
       Nick P2 comb head body his 3rd.s.POSS
       “Nick combed his hair”

   c. * Nick kì yàá mbó táfà’a nù (jì)
       Nick P2 talk to boss body 3rd.s.POSS
       “Nick talked to his boss (himself)”

   d. * Nick kì nònsò ñwà’ànì nú (jì) á tú tétì.
       Nick P2 put book body (3rd.s.POSS) on head table
       “Nick put his book on the table”

   e. * mfì kì fà àdásì mbó Nick á lâ’a nù (jì)
       Chief P2 give present to Nick in village body (3rd.s.POSS)
       “The chief gave Nick a present in Nick’s village”

   f. * mú wá kì jì‘í nji nú (jì)
       boy the P2 wash face body (3rd.s.POSS)
       “The boy washed his (own) face”

Body noun strategy
C13a. * Nick kì bút’undi bànnù jì
   Nick P2 telephone mother body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Nick telephoned his mother”

b. * Nick kì kyâ tù bànnù jì
   Nick P2 comb head his 3rd.s.POSS
   “Nick combed his hair”

c. * Nick kì yàá mbó táfà’a bànnù jì
   Nick P2 talk to boss body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Nick talked to his boss himself”

d. * Nick kì nònsò ñwà’ànì bànnù jì á tú tétì.
   Nick P2 put book body 3rd.s.POSS on head table
   “Nick put his book on the table”

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e. * mfɔ kɔ fά adási mbɔ Nick álá’á bìnnú jì
   Chief P2 give present to Nick in village body 3rd.s.POSS
   “The chief gave Nick a present in Nick’s village”

f. * mú wà kí jì’í njì bìnnú jì
   boy the P2 wash face body 3rd.s.POSS
   “The boy washed his (own) face”

**Owner noun strategy**

C13a. **OK** Nick kì bù’ú ndì jì jú-mbɔŋ
   Nick P2 telephone mother 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Nick telephoned his (own) mother”

b. **OK** Nick kì kyã tú jì jú-mbɔŋ
   Nick P2 comb head 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Nick combed his hair”

c. **OK** Nick kì yàà mbó táfà’a jì jú-mbɔŋ
   Nick P2 talk to boss 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Nick talked to his boss himself”

d. **OK** Nick kì nɔŋɔ̀ ǹwà’àní jì jú-mbɔŋ á tú tétì.
   Nick P2 put book body 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner on head table
   “Nick put his (own) book on the table”

e. **OK** mfɔ kɔ fά adási mbɔ Nick álá’á jú-mbɔŋ
   Chief P2 give present to Nick in village 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “The chief gave Nick a present in Nick’s village”

f. **OK** mú wà kí jì’í njì jì jú-mbɔŋ
   boy the P2 wash face 3rd.s.Poss 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “The boy washed his (own) face”

**Bare noun strategy**

C14a. **Bare noun strategy**

C14a. * tá bì Nick kɔŋɔ̀ nù (jì)
   Father of Nick like body (3rd.s.POSS)
   “Nick’s father likes him”

b. * nìlì’ì ní ntòŋ nò Nick kì ʒwìtì nù (jì)
   eye of neck of Nick P2 kill body (3rd.s.POSS)
   “Nick’s ambition destroyed him”

c. * ndì bì Nick kì fíí mìtù nù jì
   mother of Nick P2 sell car body (3rd.s.POSS)
   Nick’s mother sold Nick’s car”

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Owner noun strategy
C14a. * tá bì Nick kóŋá bììnú jì
   Father of Nick like body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Nick’s father likes him”
Sentence would be okay if anaphor is construed with Nick’s father.
b. * nì̀lī’i ní ńtọ̀ọ̀ ná Nick kì ʒwìtì bììnú jì
   eye of neck of Nick P2 kill body 3rd.s.POSS
   “Nick’s ambition destroyed him”
c. * ndì bì Nick kì fií mìtù bììnú jì
   mother of Nick P2 sell car body 3rd.s.POSS
   Nick’s mother sold Nick’s car”

Owner noun strategy
C14a. * tá bì Nick kóŋá jì jú-mbọ̀ŋ
   Father of Nick like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Nick’s father likes him”
Sentence would be okay if anaphor is construed with Nick’s father.
b. OK nìlì’i ní ńtọ̀ọ̀ ná Nick kì ʒwìtì jì jú-mbọ̀ŋ
   eye of neck of Nick P2 kill 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   “Nick’s ambition destroyed him”
c. * ndì bì Nick kì fií mìtù jì jú-mbọ̀ŋ
   mother of Nick P2 sell car 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner
   Nick’s mother sold Nick’s car”
Sentence would be perfectly okay if anaphor is construed with Nick’s mother.

X20a. OK bọ̀ bjá kì jọ bìfùtò bjáá bọ̀-mbọ̀ŋ
   Children the P2 see pictures 3rd.p.POSS 3rd.p.OBL-owner
   “The children saw pictures of themselves/each other”
b. ? Mary kì ʒwòŋọ̀ mbọ̀ bọ̀ bjáá bìfùtò bjáá
   Mary P2 talk to children the about pictures their
   “Mary talked to the children about their pictures”
c.* * bìfọ byá kì kà‘a fìkọ̀rì mbọ̀ bọ̀
   Chiefs the P2 plan fight to them (unacceptable)
d. * bìfọ byá kì tàòsí fìkọ̀rì mbọ̀ bọ̀
   Chiefs the P2 fake fight to them (unacceptable)

C15a-c
No Passive in Bafut.

4.1.3. Properties of antecedents
4.1.3.1. Pronouns, person and number

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

**Body noun strategy**

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

C16ai. * mò kà jô nú
   1 P2 see body
   “I saw my body”

bi. * ò kà jô nú
   you P2 see body
   “you saw your body”

ci. * à kà jô nú
   s/he P2 see body
   “S/he saw his/her body”

di. * bi’ì kà jô nú
   We P2 body
   “We saw our body”

ei. * bù kà jô nú
   you P2 see body
   “you saw your body”

fi. * bó kì jô nú
   they P2 see body
   “They saw their body”
“Owner” Noun strategy
C16a. mɔ̀ kì jó ɣá mɔ̀-mbɔŋ
  I P2 see 1st.s. Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
  “I saw myself”

b. ò kì jó ɣó ɣò-mbɔŋ
  you P2 see 2nd.s. Obj 2nd.s.OBL-owner
  “you saw yourself”

c. à kì jó jí jú-mbɔŋ
  s/he P2 see 3rd.s. Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner
  “s/he saw himself/herself”

d. bì’ì kì jó jì’ì bì’ì-mbɔŋ
  we P2 see 1st.p. Obj 1st.p.OBL-owner
  “We saw ourselves”

e. bù kì jó wú bù-mbɔŋ
  you P2 see 2nd.p. Obj 2nd.p.OBL-owner
  “you saw yourselves”

f. bó kì jó wáá bó-mbɔŋ
  they P2 see 3rd.p. Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
  “They saw themselves”

Bare noun stem
In the (b) to (g) examples, acceptability improves a little if we add a relevant possessive determiner after the bare noun stem. Even then, the interpretation will be one in which ‘body’ is considered an object. In other words, the reflexive reading is not possible even with this inclusion of the possessive determiner.
C17a. mɔ̀ kì jì’ì nù
  I P2 wash body
  “I washed myself”

b. * mɔ̀ bàâ nù
  I hate body
  “I hate myself”

c. * mɔ̀ kì ɣáá mbɔ John mbfɔ’ì nù
  I P2 talk to John about body
  “I talked to John about myself”

d. * mɔ̀ kì jó nò mbɛɛ nù
  I P2 see snake side body
  “I saw a snake near me”

e. No passive in Bafut

f. * mɔ̀ kì bù?ú ndì nù
I P2 telephone mother body
“I telephoned my mother”

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

**Body noun strategy**
C17a. mò kì jì?í bìnú yâ
   I P2 wash body 1st.s.POSS
   “I washed myself”

b. mò bàá bìnú yâ
   I hate body 1st.s.POSS
   “I hate myself”

c. ? mò kì yáá mbó John mbì?í bìnú yâ
   I P2 talk to John about body 1st.s.POSS
   “I talked to John about myself”

d. * mò kì jó nò mbèé bìnú yâ
   I P2 see snake side body 1st.s.POSS
   “I saw a snake near myself”

e. No passive in Bafut

f. * mò kì bù?ú ndì bìnú yâ
   I P2 telephone mother body 1st.s.POSS
   “I telephoned my mother”

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

**Owner noun strategy**
C17a. mò kì jì?í yá mè-mbàŋ
   I P2 wash 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
   “I washed myself”

b. mò bàá yá mè-mbàŋ
   I hate 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
   “I hate myself”

c. mò kì yáá mbó John mbì?í yá mè-mbàŋ
   I P2 talk to John about 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
   “I talked to John about myself”

d. * mò kì jó nò mbèé yá mè-mbàŋ
I P2 see snake side 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
“I saw a snake near myself”

e. No passive in Bafut

f. * mà kì bùʔú ndì yá mà-mbəŋ
   I P2 telephone mother 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
   “I telephoned my mother”
Sentence would be okay if interpretation were “I myself, and no one else, rang my mother”
g. ? təá yá kəŋə yá mà-mbəŋ
   Father my like body 1st.s.Obj 1st.s.OBL-owner
   “My father likes me”

More of an emphatic interpretation

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

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

4.1.3.4. Quantifiers
C19a. Bare noun stem strategy
This example sounds odd only because of worldview.
   ? màŋjé ntsìm kì jó nú jì
   Woman every P2 see body 3rd.s.Poss
   “Every woman saw herself (in the mirror)”

C19a Body noun strategy
OK. màŋjé ntsìm kì jó bí nú jì
   Woman every P2 see body her
   “Every woman saw herself (in the mirror)”

C19a. Owner noun strategy
OK. màŋjé ntsìm kì jì jì jú-mbəŋ
   Woman every P2 see her pron-owner
   “Every woman saw herself”

C19b. Bare noun strategy
Ok. mú ntsìm kì jìʔí nú jì
   Child every P2 wash body 3rd.s.Poss
   “Every child washed himself/herself”

Owner noun strategy
OK. mú ntsìm kì jìʔí jì jú-mbəŋ
Child every P2 wash him/her pron-owner

Body noun strategy
? mú ntsìm kì jìʔí bí nú jì
Child every P2 wash body his/her
“Every child washed herself/himself”
Acceptability would improve if intended meaning were that every child washed his body as an object (i.e. there is no reflexive meaning intended)

C19c. Bare noun stem strategy
* diróbà ntsìm bàá nù jì
  Driver every hate body 3rd.s.POSS
  “Every driver hates himself”
Utterance would be perfectly okay if ‘body’ is considered an object (i.e. reflexive meaning is not intended)

Body noun strategy
Ok. diróbà ntsìm bàá biınú jì
  Driver every hate body 3rd.s.POSS
  “Every driver hates himself”

Owner noun strategy
Ok. diróbà ntsìm bàá jì jú-mbô̂n
  Driver every hate 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.OBL-owner
  “Every driver hates himself”

C19d. Bare noun stem strategy
* mú ntsìm kì jó nô mbèê nù
  Child every P2 see snake side body

Body noun strategy
*mú ntsìm kì jó nô mbèê biınú jì
  Child every P2 see snake side body 3rd.s.POSS

Owner noun strategy
OK. mú ntsìm kì jó nô mbèê jú jú-mbô̂n
  Child every P2 see snake side 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
  “Every child saw a snake near him”

C19e. Bare noun stem strategy
* mú ntsìm kì bù?ú ndì nù
  Child every P2 telephone mother body

Owner noun strategy
OK. mú ntsìm kì bù?ú ndì jì jú-mbô̂n
  Child every P2 telephone mother 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.OBL-owner
  “Every child telephoned his mother”

Body noun strategy
*mú ntsìm kì bù?ú ndì biınú jì
  Child every P2 telephone mother body 3rd.s.POSS

C19f. Bare boun stem strategy
* tā bì mú ntsım kän̄̄h nú
Father of child every like body

**Owner noun strategy**

? tā bì mú ntsım kän̄̄h jì jú-mbōn̄̄
Father of child every like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

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

**Body noun strategy**

* tā bì mú ntsım kän̄̄h bǐmnú jì
Father of child every like body 3rd.s.POSS
NB/sentence is acceptable if the reflexive is construed with “father”.

Constituent negation is not available in Bafut. “No woman eats” for instance will translate as
káá màn̄̄je jítsù sǐ dʒí
Neg woman certain Neg eat.

4.1.3.5. Questioned antecedents
C20e is not possible in Bafut

4.1.3.6. Reverse binding

C21a. Bare noun stem strategy

* nú kì jô Fred
body P2 see Fred

**Body noun strategy**

* ǐbǐmnú jì kì jô Fred
body 3rd.s.POSS P2 see Fred

**Owner noun strategy**

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

C21b

Bare noun stem strategy

* nú kì jô jí’i
body P2 see 3rd.p. Obj

**Body noun strategy**

* ǐbǐmnú jí’i kì jô jí’i
body 1st.p.POSS P2 see us

**owner noun strategy**

? bì’i bī-mbōn̄̄ kì jô jí’i
"We saw ourselves"

C21c Bare noun stem strategy
* * nú kì jó nò mbè è Fred
body P2 see snake near Fred

Body noun strategy
* ìbiìnú jì kì jó nò mbè è Fred
body 3rd.s.POSS P2 see snake near Fred

Owner noun strategy
* jù jú-mbàŋ kì jó nò mbè è Fred
3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 see snake near Fred

d. No word for impress in Bafut

C21e

Bare noun stem strategy
Bill kì yàá mbó jú jú-mbòŋ mbìʔì Fred
Bill P2 speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner about Fred

Body noun strategy
* Bill kì yàá mbó biìnú jì mbìʔì Fred;
Bill P2 tell he pron-owner about Fred

Owner noun strategy
*Bill kì yàá mbó jú jú-mbóŋ mbìʔì Fred
Bill P2 speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner about Fred

C21f

Bare noun stem strategy
* * Bill kì ìwòŋ nú mbìʔì Fred
Bill P2 tell body about Fred

Body noun
*Bill kì ìwòŋ ìbiìnú jì mbìʔì Fred
Bill P2 tell body 3rd.s.POSS about Fred

Owner noun
*Bill kì ìwòŋ jì jú-mbòŋ mbìʔì Fred
Bill P2 tell 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner about Fred

G. No Passive in Bafut
h. No passive in Bafut

C22a.
* àì kì bùʔú ndì bì George;
He P2 telephone mother of George
NB/This construction will be perfectly ok if the pronoun "he" is construed with someone else and not with George.

**Bare noun stem strategy**
* nù, kì bù?ú ndì bì George;
  body P2 telephone mother of George

**Body noun strategy**
* iôììù jì kì bù?ú ndì bì George
  body 3rd.s.POSS P2 telephone mother of George

**Owner noun strategy**
* jú jù-mbóì kì bù?ú ndì bì George
  3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 telephone mother of George

**C22c. Bare noun stem strategy**
* ndì nú jì, ki lò náìí George;
  Mother body 3rd.s.POSS P2 wanted improve George

**Body noun strategy**
* ndì biììù jì kì lò náìí George
  Mother body 3rd.s.POSS P2 want improve George

**Owner noun strategy**
* ndì jì jú-mbóì kì lò náìí George
  Mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 want improve George

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

**C22d. Bare noun stem strategy**
* Mary kì yàánsò ndì bì nú mbi?í George
  Mary P2 talk mother of body about George

**Body noun strategy**
* Mary kì yàánsò ndì bì biììù jì mbi?í George
  Mary P2 talk mother of body 3rd.s.POSS about George

**Owner noun strategy**
* Mary kì yàánsò ndì jì jú-mbóì mbi?í George
  Mary P2 talk mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner about George

NB/sentence would have been perfectly ok if anaphor were construed with Mary.

**C22e. Bare noun stem strategy**
* fúto ndì nú kì wó nú George
  Picture mother body P2 fall body George

**Body noun strategy**
* fúto ndì bì biììù jì kì wó nú George
  Picture mother of body 3rd.s.sPOSS P2 fall body George
Owner noun strategy
* fútò ndì jì jú-mbọ́ jì kì wó nù George
Picture mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 fall body George
NB/sentence ok if anaphor is construed with someone else and not George.

C22f. Bare noun stem strategy
fútò ndì nù kì bọ́nọ́ George
Picture mother body P2 please George

Body noun strategy
* fútò ndì bìnnú jì kì bọ́nọ́ George
Picture mother body 3rd.s.POSS P2 please George
*fútò ndì jì jú-mbọ́ jì kì bọ́nọ́ George
Picture mother 3rd.s.POSS 3rd.s.OBL-owner P2 please George

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

(ii) George, ndì jì kọ́nọ́ jì
    George, mother 3rd.s.POSS love 3rd.s.Obj
    “George, his mother loves him”
(ii) àní George mọ́ ndì jì kọ́nọ́
    It is George that mother 3rd.s.POSS love
    “It George that his mother loves”
The example in (ii) is ambiguous. “his mother” could be George‘s mother or someone else’s mother.

4.1.4. Some matters of interpretation
4.1.4.1. Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity
C23 (a) bàngjè bjá kì kwètọ́ bìnnú wáá
    Women the P2 help body 3rd.p.POSS
    “The women helped themselves”
(b) ? bàngjè bjá kì kwé-ná wáá
    Women the P2 help-RCM 3rd.p.POSS
    “The women helped each other”
(c) ? bàngjè bjá kì kwètọ́ wáá bọ́-mbọ́
    Women the P2 help 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
    “The women helped themselves”
C23a has the meaning in (d) where each woman helps herself. It could also have the meaning in (e) where the women as a group help the women as a group. This sentence does not have the meanings in (a), (b) (c) and (f) The example in C23b has the meanings in (e) “women as a group help women as a group” and in (f) “where each woman helps one of the women”. The other meanings in C24a, c24b and c24c are also possible but one needs to think before having these interpretations. C24d* is clearly not possible.
The example in C233 (c) has the same interpretations as in C23a.
C25a (i) ? bàngjè bjá kì yà́násá wáá bọ́-mbọ́
    Women the P2 praise 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
    “The women praised themselves/each other”
(ii) OK bàngjè bjá kì yà́násá bìnnú wáá

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

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

C25b (i) bùŋgiè bjà kà dìŋtò wáá bó-mbọŋ
Women the Fo support 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women will support themselves/each other”

ii) OK bùŋgiè bjà kà dìŋtí bìnnú wáá
Women the Fo support body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women will support themselves”

Same interpretations as above

C25c (i) OK bùŋgiè bjà kó wáá bo-mbọŋ
Women the P2 photograph them pron-owner
“The women photographed themselves/each other”

(ii) OK bùŋgiè bjà kò bìnnú wáá
Women photograph body their
“The women photographed themselves”

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

C25d (i) OK bùŋgiè bjà kì fí wáá bó-mbọŋ
Women the P2 sell 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women betrayed themselves/each other”

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

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

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

i. bùŋgiè bjà kì fí wáá bó-mbọŋ
Women the P2 sell 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women betrayed themselves/each other

ii. bùŋgiè bjà kì kwètò wáá bó-mbọŋ
Women the P2 sell 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
“The women betrayed themselves/each other

iii. bùŋgiè bjà kì fí bìnnú wáá
Women the P2 sell body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women betrayed themselves/each other

iv. bùŋgiè bjà kì bògáti bìnnú wáá
Women the P2 sell body 3rd.p.POSS
“The women insulted themselves/each other
4.1.4.2. Reciprocal Readings

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

i. bê bê a kì jà bìnú wáà múm ñkì’ì
   men the P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
   “The men saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

ii. bê bê a kì jà wáà bó-mbôn múm ñkì’ì
    men the P2 see body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner in mirror
    “The men saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

iii. bê bê a kì kwònà wáà bó-mbôn
    men the P2 see body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
    “The men saw themselves/each other”

iv. bê bê a kì jà wáà bó-mbôn múm ñkì’ì
    men the P2 see body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner in mirror
    “The men saw themselves/each other in the mirror”

v. bê bê a kì tò wáà bó-mbôn
   men the P2 fight body 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.OBL-owner
   “The men saw themselves/each other”

b) C27 only the verb “see” is possible with the “owner” noun strategy.
   Bill bê John kì jà-nà wáà bó-mbôn
   Bill and John P2 see-RCM them pron-owner
   “Bill and John saw each other”

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

Ok. Bill bê John kì jà bìnú wáà múm ñkì’ì
   Bill and John P2 see body 3rd.p.POSS in mirror
   “Bill and John saw each other in the mirror”

? Bill bê John kì bóò bìnú wáà
   Bill and John P2 meet body their
   “Bill and John met each other”

c) There is no difference in the range of interpretations.
d) The owner noun strategy can express reciprocity between a subject and an indirect object. The body noun strategy does not:

C29ai John bó Mary kì yùá mbó bó-mbðŋ
   John and Mary P2 speak to 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
   “John and Mary spoke to themselves/each other”

C29a (ii) * John bó Mary kì yùá mbó biíunu wáá
   John and Mary P2 speak to body 3rd.p.POSS

C29b (i) * John bó Mary kì boó bó bó-mbðŋ
   John and Mary P2 meet 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
   (ii) * John bo Mary kì boó biíunu wáá
   John and Mary P2 meet body 3rd.p.POSS

C29c (i) John bó Mary kì fú ŋkúbí já mbó bó-mbðŋ
   John and Mary P2 give money the to 3rd.p.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
   “John and Mary gave the money to each other”
   (ii) * John bó Mary kì fú ŋkúbí já ibííunu wáá
   John and Mary P2 give money to body 3rd.p.POSS
In the last example (C29c) the owner noun strategy expresses reciprocity between subject and indirect object but the body noun strategy does not.

e. **Long distance reciprocal readings**
Yes! The sentence in C30 means that Bill thinks he likes Mary and Mary thinks she likes Bill
C30 (i) Bill bó Mary wáʔátó mó bó kŋ-nŋ
   Bill and Mary think that they like-RCM
   “Bill and Mary think that they like each other”
   (ii) Bill bó Mary wáʔátó mó bó kŋ wáá bó-mbðŋ
   Bill and Mary think that they like 3rd.p.Obj 3rd.p.OBL-owner
   “Bill and Mary think that they like themselves/each other
   (iii) Bill bó Mary wáʔátó mó bó kŋ biíunu wáá
   Bill and Mary think that they like body 3rd.p.POSS
   “Bill and Mary think that they like themselves/each other”

4.2 Cross Clausal Binding
4.2.1.1. **Tensed complement, long distance relations, anaphor in situ**
D1a (i) **Simple pronoun**
   Jack kì jwðŋ mό jú tʃésɔ
   Jack P2 say that he intelligent
   “Jack said that he is intelligent”

ii) **owner noun strategy**
   ? Jack kì jwðŋ mό jú-jú-mbðŋ tʃésɔ
Jack P2 say that he pron-owner intelligent
“Jack said that he is intelligent”
This is not a natural translation of the sentence in D1a. The sentence is used in a context where many people are intelligent and Jack is saying that he himself/even he too is intelligent.

D1b (i) **Simple pronoun**
Jack ʒí mɔ George kɔŋá jí
Jack know the George like him
“Jack knows that George loves him
NB. Sentence could also mean that George loves another person (not Jack).

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**
*Jack ʒí mɔ George kɔŋ jí jú-mbɔŋ*
Jack know that George like 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

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

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**
*Jack ʒí mɔ George kɔŋ ịbịnnú jí*
Jack know George like body 3rd.s.Poss

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

D1c (i) **Simple Pronoun**
Jack ʒí mɔ Bill ụwọŋ mɔ jú tjəsə
Jack know that Bill P2 say that he intelligent
“Jack knows that Bill said that he is intelligent

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

(ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**
*Jack ʒí mɔ Bill ụwọŋ mɔ jú-mboŋ tjəsə*
Jack know that Bill P2 say that 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner smart
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if meaning is that “Bill said that Bill is intelligent”

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**
*Jack ʒí mɔ Bill ụwọŋ mɔ ịbịnú jí tjəsə*
Jack know that Bill P2 said that body his smart

D1d.(i) **Simple Pronoun**
Jack wàʔụtí mɔ Lisa ʒí mɔ Wendy kɔŋá jí
Jack think that Lisa know that Wendy like him
“Jack thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him”

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

(ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**
*Jack wàʔụtí mɔ Lisa ʒí mɔ Wendy kɔŋá jí jú-mbɔŋ*
Jack think that Lisa know that Wendy like 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.OBL-owner
NB/sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Wendy.

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

*Jack wù?átí mó Lisa ʒí mó Wendy kòŋ ɓį́nú jí*
Jack think that Lisa know that Wendy like body 3rd.s.Poss
NB/ sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Wendy.

D1e (i) **Simple Pronoun**

Jack wù?átí mó Lisa ʒí mó jú kòŋó Alice
Jack think that Lisa know that he like Alice
“Jack thinks that Lisa knows that he likes Alice”
Sentence is perfectly ok. No ambiguity.

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**

Jack wù?átí mó Lisa ʒí mó jú-mbôŋ kòŋó Alice
Jack think that Lisa know that 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.Obl-owner like Alice
“Jack thinks Lisa knows that he like Alice”
Sentence is perfectly ok.

(iii) **Body Noun strategy**

*Jack wù?átí mó Lisa ʒí mó bǐ́nú jí kòŋó Alice*
Jack thinks that Lisa know that body 3rd.s.Poss like Alice

D1f (i) **Simple Pronoun**

Sarah kì ʃwǒŋ mbó Jack mó Lisa kòŋó jí
Sarah P2 say to Jack that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obl
“Sarah told Jack that Lisa loves him”
NB: Ambiguity: Pronoun could also be construed with Sarah

(iii) **Owner noun Strategy**

*Sarah kì ʃwǒŋ mbó Jack mó Lisa kòŋó jú-mbǒŋ*
Sarah P2 say to Jack that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obl-owner
Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa

(iii) **Body noun strategy**

Sarah kì ʃwǒŋ mbó Jack mó Lisa kòŋ bǐ́nú jí
Sarah P2 say to Jack that Lisa like body 3rd.s.Poss
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa.

D1g.(i) **Simple Pronoun**

Sarah kì ʃwǒŋá mbó Jack mó ã kòŋá Wendy
Sarah P2 say to Jack that 3rd.s.Subj like Wendy
“Sarah told Jack that he loves Wendy”
Sentence is perfectly ok if the pronoun á is used instead of the jú in previous examples. The pronoun á is also acceptable in place of jú in D1c and D1e.

(ii) **Owner noun strategy**

? Sarah kì ʃwǒŋá mbó Jack mó jú-mbǒŋ kòŋó
Sarah P2 say to Jack that 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL 3\textsuperscript{rd}.OBL-owner like Wendy
“Sarah told Jack he/she loves Wendy”
Sentence is a bit odd but quite acceptable if anaphor is construed with Sarah.

iii) \textbf{Body noun strategy}
*Sarah kì jwõŋá mbó Jack m̀ bɨ́nú jì kóŋá Wendy
Sarah P2 say to Jack that body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.POSS like Wendy
The semantic distinction in the “Jack” sentences is not morphologically marked in Bafut.

4.2.2. \textbf{Long Distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types}

\textbf{Simple Pronoun}
D4a. (1) Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill jú?ùn̄ jì
   Edgar P2 say that part Bill obey 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBJ
   “Edgar asked Bill to obey him”

ii) \textbf{Owner Noun}
   *Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill jú?ùn̄ jì jú-mbõŋ
   Edgar P2 say that part Bill obey 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBJ 3\textsuperscript{rd}.OBL-owner
   NB/ Sentence would be grammatically ok (although pragmatically odd) if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) \textbf{Body Noun}
   *Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill jú?ùn̄ bì́nú jì
   Edgar P2 say that Bill obey body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.POSS

D4b. (1) \textbf{Simple Pronoun}
   Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill fù ǹkúbí mbó jù
   Edgar P2 say that part Bill give money to 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL
   “Edgar asked Bill to give him money”

ii) \textbf{Owner Noun}
   * Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill fù ǹkúbí mbó jù jú-mbõŋ
   Edgar P2 say that part Bill give money to 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBJ 3\textsuperscript{rd}.OBL-owner
   NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) \textbf{Body Noun}
   *Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill fù ǹkúbí mbó bì́nú jì
   Edgar P2 say that part Bill give money to body 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.POSS

D4c. (i) \textbf{Simple Pronoun}
   Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill ȳá mbó jù
   Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk to 3\textsuperscript{rd}.s.OBL
   “Edgar asked Bill to talk to him”

ii) \textbf{Owner Noun}
   *Edgar kì jwõŋ m̀ t̃á Bill ȳá mbó jù jú-mbõŋ
Edgar P2 say that part Bill speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**
*Edgar kį jwōŋ má tū Bill gāâ mbô bǐ́nú jí
Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk to body 3rd.s.POSS

D4d. (i) **Simple Noun**
*Edgar kį jwōŋ má tū Bill gāâ mbĩ?i jí
Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.OBL
“Edgar asked Bill to talk about him”

ii) **Owner Noun**
*Edgar kį jwōŋ má tū Bill gāâ mbĩ?i jí jù-mbōŋ
Edgar P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**
*Edgar kį jwōŋ má tū Bill gāâ mbĩ?i bǐ́nú jí
Edgar P2 say that part bill speak about body 3rd.s.POSS
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4e. (i) **Simple Pronoun**
Edgar lí nlintū má tū Bill jū?ǔná jí
Edgar P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj
“Edgar expected Bill to obey him”

ii) **Owner Noun**
*Edgar lí nlintu má tū Bill jū?ǔná jí jù-mbōŋ
“Edgar P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**
*Edgar lí nlinti má tū Bill jū?ūnf bǐ́nú jí
Edgar P1 look that Bill obey body 3rd.s.POSS
NB/ Again sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4f. (1) **Simple Pronoun**
Edgar lí ngāá Bill má tū jí
Edgar P1 force Bill that part pay him
“Edgar forced Bill to pay him”

ii) **Owner noun**
*Edgar lí ngāá Bill má tū jí jù-mbōŋ
Edgar P1 force Bill that part pay 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**
*Edgar lí ṣẹgùà Bill mọ tọ̀ bìínnú jì
defgars force bill that part pay body 3rd.s.Poss
NB/ Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4g.(i) Simple Pronoun
Edgar kì gùà Bill mọ tọ̀ ìwọ́n mọ jú tjẹsà
defgars force Bill that part say that 3rd.s.Subj intelligent
“Edgar forced Bill to say that he is smart”
NB/ Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that “Edgar forced Bill to say that Bill is smart”.

ii) Owner Noun
*Edgar kì gùà Bill mọ tọ̀ ìwọ́n mọ jú-mbọ́ọ́ tjẹsà
defgars force Bill that part say that he 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.OBL-owner intelligent
NB/ Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) Body Noun
*Edgar kì gùà Bill mọ tọ̀ ìwọ́n mọ bìínnú jì tjẹsà
defgars force Bill that part say that body his smart

D4h.(i) Simple pronoun
* Edgar kì gùà Bill mọ tọ̀ ìwọ́n mọ Mary kẹ́yó jì
defgars force Bill that part say that Mary like him
“Edgar forced Bill to say that Mary loves him”
NB/ Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that Mary loves Bill.

ii) Owner Noun
*Edgar kì gùà Bill mọ tọ̀ ìwọ́n mọ Mary kẹ́yó jì jú-mbọ́ọ́
defgars force Bill that part say that Mary love 3rd.s.OBJ 3rd.OBL-owner
NB/ Sentence is perfectly acceptable if Mary loves herself.

iii) Body Noun
* Edgar kì gùà Bill mọ tọ̀ ìwọ́n mọ Mary kẹ́yọ bìínnú jì
defgars force Bill that part say that Mary love body 3rd.s.Poss
NB/ Sentence is acceptable if Mary loves herself.

D5(c). Edgar jú-mbọ́ọ́ wù́rù́í mọ jú ká dógí
defgars 3rd.s.OBL-owner think that 3rd.s.Subj F0 win
“Edgar himself thinks that he will win”

d) Edgar jú-mbọ́ọ́ wù́rù́í mọ Bill ká dógí
defgars 3rd.s.OBL-owner thinks that Bill F0 win
“Edgar himself thinks that Bill will win”

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

4.2.3 Backwards Anaphora
D9 (a) *ùdzàŋ mọ jú-mbọ́ọ́ lí nti ṣi ldi lí jáŋọ́ Oliver
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late Def P1 upset Oliver

b) * ãdzãŋ mɔ̀ jù-mbɔŋ lǐ nɔŋigĩ láá dfɔí mɔ́ Oliver nì ọjọ̀
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late Def show that Oliver is thief

c) * ãdzãŋ mɔ̀ jù-mbɔŋ lǐ nɔŋigĩ láá yírì Oliver bò tsòó njọ́rẹ̀
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late Def make Oliver be like thief

d) * ãdzãŋ mɔ̀ jù-mbɔŋ lǐ nɔŋigĩ láá lí njọ́ Oliver ã ngííí
Fact that 3rd.s.OBL-owner P1 late def P1 put Oliver in trouble
Replacing jù-mbɔŋ “3rd.s.OBL-owner” with the simple pronoun jù or with ịbịbú-pron “body pronoun” produces the same ungrammatical utterances.

4.3. Principle C-type effects
E1a. * à, kì sọŋọ Malikì
   He, P2 count Malik
   “He criticized Malik;”

   The pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * à, kì ìwọ̀h mọ́ Mariam kì sọŋọ Malikì
   He P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malikì
   “He said that Mariam criticized Malik”

   The pronoun cannot be Malik

c. * à, kì sọŋọ mú wù,ì
   He P2 say that Mariam P2 count child the
   “He said Mariam criticized the child”

   The pronoun cannot be the child

E2a. * ndi jì, kì sọŋọ Malikì
   Mother his, P2 count Malikì
   “His mother criticized Malik”

   The poss. pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * ndi jì kì ìwọ̀h mọ́ mariam kì sọŋọ Malik
   Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
   “His mother said Mariam criticized Malik

   The poss. pronoun cannot be Mariam

c. * ndì jì kì sọŋọ mú wù
   Mother his P2 count the
   “His mother criticized the child”
NB/ The poss pron cannot be the child

d. * ndi ji ki jwọŋ mà mariam kì sọŋọ Malik
   Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
   “His mother said that Mariam criticized Malik

NB/ Poss pron cannot be Malik.

E3a. * njú wá mọ à kọŋọ kì sọŋọ Malik
   Person the that he like P2 count Malik
   “The man who he liked criticized Malik”
   NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

b.* njú wá mọ à kọŋọ kì sọŋọ mú wà
   Person the that he like P2 count child the
   “The man who he liked criticized the boy”

The pronoun cannot be the boy

C. ? njú wá mọ à kọŋọ jì láà kì sọŋọ mú wà
   Person the that he like Def P2 count child the
   “The man who liked him criticized the boy”

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

E4a. * à i kì sọŋọ Malik;
   He, P2 count Malik;
   “He criticized Malik”

The pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * à i kì jwọŋ mọ Mariam kì sọŋọ Malik;
   He, P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik;
   “He said that Mariam criticized Malik”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

c.*à; kì sọŋọ mú wà;
   He, P2 count child the
   “He criticized the child

E5a. * ù i kì sọŋọ Malik;
   He, P2 count Malik;
   “He criticized Malik”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik
b. * ̀ì kì ̀wòŋ mò Mariam kì sòŋò Malik
   He P2 say that Mariam P2 count Maliki
   “He said that Mariam criticized Maliki”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Maliki

c. * ̀ì kì sòŋò mú wà,
   He P2 say that Mariam P2 count child the
   “He said Mariam criticized the child”

The pronoun cannot be the child

E6a. * ndì jì kì sòŋò Malik
   Mother his P2 count Malik
   “His mother criticized Malik”

NB/ The poss. pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * ndì jì kì ̀wòŋ mò mariam kì sòŋò Malik
   Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Malik
   “His mother said Mariam criticized Maliki

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

NB/ The poss pron cannot be the child

d.* ndì jì kì ̀wòŋ mò Mariam kì sòŋò Malik
   Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 count Maliki
   “His mother said that Mariam criticized Malik

NB/ Poss pron cannot be Malik.

E6a. * ǹụ wà mò ̀à kọŋò kì sòŋò Malik
   Person the that he like P2 count Malik
   “The man who he liked criticised Malik”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be Malik

b. * ǹụ wà mò ̀à kọŋò kì sòŋò mú wà
   Person the that he like P2 count child the
   “The man who he liked criticised the boy”

NB/ The pronoun cannot be the boy

C. ʔ ǹụ wà mò ̀à kọŋò jí làù kì sòŋò mú wà
Person the that he like Def. P2 count child the
“Then man who liked him criticized the boy”

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

E7a. mú wà kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ Malik
   Child the P2 criticize Malik
   “The boy criticized Malik”

b. mú wà kì jwọ́ mọ́ Mariam kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ Malik
   Child the P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise Malik
   “The child said that Mariam criticized Malik”

c. Malik kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ mú wà
   Malik P2 criticise child the
   “The child criticised the child”

d. Malik kì jwọ́ mọ́ Mariam kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ mú wà
   Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise child the
   “Malik said that Mariam criticised the boy”

E8a. ndì bi mú kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ Malik
   Mother of child P2 criticise Malik
   “The boy’s mother criticised Malik”

b. ndì bi mú wà kì jwọ́ mọ́ Mariam kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ Malik
   Mother of the child the P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise Malik
   “The child’s mother said that Mariam criticized Malik”

c. ndì bi Malik kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ mú wà
   Mother of Malik P2 criticise child the
   Malik’s mother criticized the child”

d. ndì bi Malik kì jwọ́ mọ́ Mariam kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ mú wà
   Mother of Male P2 say that Mariam P2 criticise child the
   “Malik’s mother said that Mariam criticized the child”

E9a. jù wà mú mú wà kọ̀ẹ̀ kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ Malik
   Person the that child the like P2 criticise Malik
   “The man who the child liked criticized Malik”

b. jù wà mú Malik kọ̀ẹ̀ kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ mú wà
   Person the that Malik like P2 criticise child the
   “The man who Malik liked criticized the child”

c. jù wà mú kọ̀ẹ̀ Malik láá kì s̀ẹ̀ọ́ mú wà
   Person the that like Malik Def. P2 criticise child the
“The man who liked Malik criticized the boy”

d. Ṽu wá mọ kọọọ mọ wọ lāù kọ sọọ Malik
   Person thethat like child the Def P2 criticise Malik
   “The man who likes the child criticized Malik”

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

4.3 Principle C-type effects

E1a) ã kọ bọgítọ Malik
   He P2 insult Malik
   “He insulted Malik”

b) ã kọ ġwọọ mọ Mariam kọ bọgítọ Malik
   He P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
   “He said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) ã kọ bọgítọ mú wọ
   He P2 insult child the
   “He P2 insulted the child”

d) ã kọ ġwọọ mọ Mariam kọ bọgítọ mú wọ
   He P2 say that Mariam P2 insult child the
   “He said that Mariam insulted the child”

E2a) ndi jì kọ bọgítọ Malik
   Mother his P2 insult Malik
   “His mother insulted Malik”

b) ndi jì kọ ġwọọ mọ Mariam kọ bọgítọ Malik
   Mother his P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
   His mother said that Mariam insulted Malik”

   c) ndi jì kọ bọgítọ mú wọ
   Mother his P2 insult child the
   “His mother insulted the child”

   d) ndi jì kọ ġwọọ mọ mariam kọ bọgítọ mú wọ
   Mother his P2 say that mariam P2 insult Malik
   “His mother said that mariam insulted the child”

E3a) Ṽu wá mọ ã kọọ láá ã kọ bọgítọ Malik
   Person the that he like Def. he P2 insult Malik
   “The man who he likes insulted Malik”

   b) Ṽu wá mọ ã kọọ láá ã kọ bọgítọ mú wọ
   Person the that he like Def he P2 insult child the
   “The man who he likes insulted the child”

   c) Ṽu wá mọ ã kọọ jì láá ã kọ bọgítọ mú wọ
   Person the that he like him Def he P2 insult child the
   “The man who likes him insulted the child”
In all of the above sentences, it is not possible, under any discourse circumstances, for “he” to be interpreted as referring to “Malik” or “the child”

E4a) Malik k̀ bògító Malik
Malik P2 insult Malik
“Malik insulted Malik”

b) Malik k̀ jwôj m̀ Mariam k̀ bògító Malik
Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
“Malik said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) mú wá k̀ bògító mú ẁ
Child the P2 insult child the
“The child insulted the child”

d) mú wá k̀ jwôj m̀ Mariam k̀ bògító mú ẁ
Child the P2 say that Mariam P2 insult child the
“The child said that Mariam insulted the child”
E5a) ǹdì bì Malik k̀ bògító Malik
Mother of Malik P2 insult Malik
“Malik’s mother insulted Malik”

b) ǹdì bì Malik k̀ jwôj m̀ Mariam k̀ bògító Malik
Mother of Malik P2 say that Mariam P2 insult Malik
“Malik’s mother said that Mariam insulted Malik”

c) ǹdì bì mú wá k̀ bògító mú ẁ
Mother of child the P2 insult child the
“The child’s mother insulted the child”

d) ǹdì bì mú wá k̀ jwôj m̀ Mariam k̀ bògító mú ẁ
Mother of child P2 say that Mariam P2 insult the child
“The child’s mother said that Mariam insulted the child”

E6a) ǹ̀ wá mú Malik k̀ nǹ jàá à k̀ bògító Malik
Person the that Malik like Def he P2 insult Malik
“The man who Malik likes insulted Malik”

b) ǹ̀ wá mú ẁ k̀ nǹ jàá à k̀ bògító mú ẁ
Man the that child the like Def he P2 insult child the
“The man who the child likes insulted the child”

c) ǹ̀ wá mú ǹ kǹg mú ẁ jàá á k̀ bògító mú ẁ
Man the that he like child the def he P2 insult child
“The man who likes the child insulted the boy”

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

E7a) mú wá k̀ bògító Malik
“The child insulted Malik”

“The child said that Mariam insulted Malik”

“The child said that Mariam insulted the child”

“Malik said that Mariam insulted the child”

“The boy’s mother insulted Malik”

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

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

“The man who the boy likes insulted Malik”

“The man who likes Malik insulted the child”

“The man who likes the boy insulted Malik”

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

4.4. More on long distance anaphor strategies
Bafut uses the LDA strategy. The logoric pronoun as in D10 is \( j \u026a \). This same form is used as object of preposition personal pronoun.

D10a) Johni bi bi mò \( j \u026a \), tfsè
John believe that he intelligent
“John believes that he is smart”

b) Johni kì jwön mà tà mò fà mbò jù,
John P2 say that Imp I give to him
“John said that I should give it to him”

The different forms of the logophoric pronoun are:
I .................. mò
You.............ò
He/She ..... jù
We............biñi
You ...........bù
They........bó

4.4.1 Position of the antecedent
D11a) Larry kì jwön mbò zeke mò Mike sì jí kòñò
Larry P2 say to zeke that Mike Neg he like
“Larry told zeke that mike does not like him”

b) Zeke kì jwöná mbò Larry mò Mike sì jí kòñò
Zeke P2 say to Larry that mike Neg he like
“Zeke told Larry that Mike does not like him”

c) Zeke kì jwön mbò Larry mò jù sì Mike kòñò
Zeke P2 say to Larry that he Neg Mike like
“Zeke told Larry that he (Zeke) does not like Mike”

d) Larry kì jwön mbo Zeke mò à sì Mike kòñò
Larry P2 say to zeke that he Neg Mike like
“Larry told zeke that he (zeke) does not like Mike”

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

e) Larry žì mò zeke wù?útò mò Mike sì jí kòñò
Larry know that zeke think that Mike Neg him like
“Larry knows that zeke thinks that Mike does not like him”

f) Zeke žì mò Larry wù?útí mò Mike sì jí kòñò
Zeke know that Larry think that Mike Neg him like
“Zeke knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him”

D12a) ndì bì Zeke wù?útí mò Mike sì jí kòñò
Mother of Zeke thinks that he Neg Mike like
“Zeke’s mother thinks that Mike does not like him”

b) ndí bí Zeke wà?àtìó mó à sí Mike kóŋà
Mother of Zeke think that Neg Mike like
“Zeke’s mother thinks that he does not like Mike”

c) Zeke wà?àtì má Mike sì jí kóŋà
Zeke think that mike Neg him like
“Zeke thinks that Mike does not like him”

d) ñìwù?ànó Zeke ŋwóŋ mó Mike sì jí kóŋà
Letter Zeke say that Mike Neg him like
“Zeke’s letter says Mike does not like him”

e) Zeke kì jù?ú mà Mary sì jí kóŋà
Zeke P2 hear that Mary Neg him like
“Zeke heard that Mary does not like him”

f) No passive
D13a(i) Zeke kì ñwóŋ mó jù wé?é jì (jú-mbôn)
Zeke P2 say that he dress 3rd.s.Obl (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
“Zeke said that he dressed himself”

(ii) Zeke kì ñwóŋ mó jù wé?é biìnu jì
Zeke P2 say that he dress body 3rd.s.POSS
“Zeke said he dressed himself”

b(i) Zeke kì ñwóŋ mó jù lònnsá jì (jú-mbôn)
Zeke P2 says that he wound 3rd.s.Obl (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
“Zeke said he wounded himself”

ii) Zeke kì ñwóŋ mó jú lònnsì biìnu jì
Zeke P2 say that he wound body 3rd.s.POSS
“Zeke said he wounded himself”

C (i) Zeke kì ñwóŋ mó jú kì wíntì jì (jú-mbôn)
Zeke P2 say that he P2 scarify 3rd.s.Obl (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
Zeke said that he scarified himself”

ii) Zeke kì ñwóŋ mó jú kì wíntì biìnu jì
Zeke P2 say that he P2 scarify body 3rd.s.POSS
“Zeke said that he scarified himself”

4.4.2 Antecedent Properties
4.4.2.1 Person
D11a) Larry kì ñwóŋ mbó jú mó Mike sì jí kóŋà
Larry P2 say to him that Mike Neg he like
“Larry told him that Mike does not like him”
Ambiguity: Anaphor could refer to Larry or him

b) à kí ñwôŋ mbo Larry mójí kóŋ à sì Mike sì jí kóŋ
he P2 say to Larry that he Neg he like
“He told Larry that Mike does not like him”
Ambiguity: Anaphor could refer to Larry or him

c) à kí ñwôŋ mbo Larry mó jú sì Mike kóŋ
he P2 say to Larry that he Neg Mike like
“He told Larry that he (Zeke) does not like Mike”
Anaphor can only refer to the subject pronoun he.

d) Larry kí ñwôŋ mbo jú mó à sì Mike kóŋ
Larry P2 say to him that he Neg Mike like
“Larry told him that he (zeke) does not like Mike”
Ambiguity: Anaphor can also refer to pronoun he.

e) Larry ʒí mó à wàŋàtì mó Mike sì jí kóŋ
Larry know that he think that Mike Neg him like
“Larry knows that he thinks that Mike does not like him”
Ambiguity: Anaphor could refer to Larry or to he

f) à ʒí mó Larry wàŋàtí mó Mike sì jí kóŋ
he know that Larry think that Mike Neg him like
“He knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him”
Same ambiguity as above

D12a) ndí jí wàŋàtí mó Mike sì jí kóŋ
Mother his think that he Neg Mike like
“His mother thinks that Mike does not like him”

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

b) ndí jí wàŋàtí mó à sì Mike kóŋ
Mother his think that he Neg Mike like
“His mother thinks that he does not like Mike”

Anaphor (pronoun à “he”) is construed with he (i.e. possessor in “his mother”)
“he thinks that Mike does not like him”

d) àŋwàʔàŋò jì jwọm Mike sì jì kòŋò
   Letter his say that Mike Neg him like
   “His letter says Mike does not like him”

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

e) à kò jùʔú mò Mary sì jì kòŋò
   he P2 hear that Mary Neg him like
   “He heard that Mary does not like him”
   Ambiguity: Anaphor could be construed with he or with a third party

f) No passive

D13a) (i) à kò jwọm jú wéʔé jí (jú-mbòŋ)
   he P2 say that he dress 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
   “He said that he dressed himself”

   (ii) à kò jwọm jú wéʔé bìnú jí
   he P2 say that he dress body 3rd.s.POSS
   “He said he dressed himself”

b)i) à kò jwọm jú lòǹsò jí (ju-mbòŋ)
   he P2 says that he wound 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
   “He said he wounded himself”

ii) à kò jwọm jú lòǹsì bìnú jí
   he P2 say that he wound body 3rd.s.POSS
   “He said he wounded himself”

C (i) à kò jwọm jú kì wintí jí (jú-mbòŋ)
   he P2 say that he P2 scarify 3rd.s.Obj (3rd.s.OBL-owner)
   “He said that he scarified himself”

ii) à kò jwọm jú kì wintì bìnú jí
   he P2 say that he P2 scarify body 3rd.s.POSS
   “He said that he scarified himself”

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

4.4.2.2 Quantified Antecedents
A. Jack paradigm and “every child”
D.1a (i) Simple Pronoun strategy
   mú ntsìm kì jwọm jú tfésɔ
   child every P2 say that he intelligent
   “Every child said that he is intelligent”
ii) **Owner noun strategy**

µ múntsìm kì jwôŋ mə jú-mbɔŋ tʃesɔ

child every P2 say that he pron-owner intelligent

“Every child said that he is intelligent”

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

iii) **Body noun strategy**

* múntsìm kì jwôŋ mə bùínú jí tʃesɔ

child every P2 say that body his intelligent.

D1b (i) **Simple pronoun**

múntsìm zí mə George kɔŋ jí

child every know the George like him

“Every child knows that George loves him

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

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**

* múntsìm zí mə George kɔŋ jí jú-mbɔŋ

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

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

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

* múntsìm zí mə George kɔŋ ibùnú jí

child every know George like body his

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

D1c (i) **Simple Pronoun**

múntsìm zí mə Bill kì jwôŋ mə jú tʃesɔ

child every know that Bill P2 say that he intelligent

“Every child knows that Bill said that he is intelligent

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

(ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**

* múntsìm zí mə Bill kì jwôŋ mə jú-mbɔŋ tʃesɔ

child every know that Bill P2 say that 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner smart

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

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**

* múntsìm zí mə Bill kì jwôŋ mə biùnú jí tʃesɔ

child every know that Bill P2 said that body his smart

D1d.(i) **Simple Pronoun**

múntsìm wɔ?àtfí mə Lisa zí mə Wendy kɔŋ jí

child every think that Lisa know that Wendy like him

66
“Every child thinks that Lisa knows that Wendy likes him”

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

ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**
* mú ntsǐm wɔ?úʔtí mó Lisa zí mó Wendy kɔŋə jú mbọŋ
child every think that Lisa know that Wendy like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

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

(iii)**Body Noun Strategy**
* mú ntsǐm wɔ?úʔtí mó Lisa zí mó Wendy ɪbǐ nú jí
child every think that Lisa know that Wendy like body her

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

D1e (i) **Simple Pronoun**
mú ntsǐm wɔ?úʔtí mó Lisa zí mó jú kɔŋə Alice
child every think that Lisa know that he like Alice
“Every child thinks that Lisa knows that he like Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok. No ambiguity.

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**
mú ntsǐm wɔ?úʔtí mó Lisa zí mó jú mbọŋ kɔŋə Alice
child every think that Lisa know that 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Alice
“Every child thinks Lisa knows that he like Alice”
Sentence is perfectly ok.

(iii) **Body Noun strategy**
* mú ntsǐm wɔ?úʔtí mó Lisa zí mó ɪbǐ nú jí kɔŋə Alice
child every thinks that Lisa know that body 3rd.s.Poss like Alice

D1f (i) **Simple Pronoun**
Sarah kì ñwóŋ mbó mú ntsìm mə Lisa kɔŋə jí
Sarah P2 say to child every that Lisa love him
“Sarah told every child that Lisa loves him”

NB: Ambiguity: Pronoun could also be construed with Sarah

(iii) **Owner noun Strategy**
*Sarah kì ñwóŋ mbó mú ntsìm mə Lisa kɔŋə jí jú mbọŋ
Sarah P2 say to child every that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa

(iii) **Body noun strategy**
Sarah kì ñwóŋ mbó mú ntsìm mə Lisa kɔŋə bi nú jí
Sarah P2 say to child every that Lisa like body his
Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Lisa.

D1g.(i) Simple Pronoun
Sarah kì قبال mbó mú ntsìm mà à kòŋò Wendy
Sarah P2 say to child every that he like Wendy
“Sarah told every child that he loves Wendy”
Sentence is perfectly ok if the pronoun a is used instead of the ju in previous examples. The pronoun á is also acceptable in place of jú in D1c and D1e.

ii) Owner noun strategy
? Sarah kì قبال mbó mú ntsìm mà jú-mbóŋ kòŋò Wendy
Sarah P2 say to child every that he 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Wendy
“Sarah told every child that he/she loves Wendy”
Sentence is a bit odd but would be perfectly okay if anaphor is construed with Sarah.

iii) Body noun strategy
*Sarah kì قبال mbó mú ntsìm mà bìñú já kòŋò Wendy
Sarah P2 say to child every that his body like Wendy
The semantic distinction in the “every child” sentences is not morphologically marked in Bafut.

B. Jack paradigm and “many children”
D.1a (i) Simple Pro-noun strategy
bọ́ biyà’âti kì قبال mó bó tʃéšá
children many P2 say that they intelligent
“Many children said that they are intelligent”

ii) Owner noun strategy
? bọ́ biyà’âti kì قبال mó bó bì-mbóŋ tʃéšá
children many P2 say that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner intelligent
“Many children said that they are intelligent”
This is not a natural translation of the sentence in D1a. The sentence is used in a context where many people are intelligent and each child is saying that he too/even he himself is intelligent.

iii) Body noun strategy
* bọ́ biyà’âti kì قبال mó bìñú wáá tʃéšá
children many P2 say that body their intelligent.

D1b (i) Simple pronoun
bọ́ biyà’âti zí mɔ George kòŋò wáá
children many know the George like them
“Many children know that George loves them
NB. Sentence could also mean that George loves other children.

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**
* bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì ẓì má George kɔŋ waá bọ-mbɔŋ
children many know that George like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**
* bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì ẓì mə George kɔŋ ɪbɨnú wáá
children many know George like body 3rd.p.POSS

D1c (i) **Simple Pronoun**
bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì ẓì mə Bill ki ʃwɔŋ mə bọ tʃesɔ
children many know that Bill P2 say that they intelligent
“Many children know that Bill said that they are intelligent

No Ambiguity as in the Jack example.

(ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**
bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì ẓì mə Bill ki ʃwɔŋ mə bọ bĩ-mbon tʃesɔ
children many know that Bill P2 say that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner smart
“Many children know that Bill said that they are intelligent”

Sentence is perfectly ok.

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**
* bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì ẓì mə Bill ki ʃwɔŋ mə bĩBU侵犯 wāā tʃesɔ
children many know that Bill P2 said that body 3rd.p.Poss smart

D1d.(i) **Simple Pronoun**
bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì wàʔútì mə Lisa zì má Wendy kɔŋó wáá
children many think that Lisa know that Wendy like them
“Many children think that Lisa knows that Wendy likes them”

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

ii) **Owner Noun Strategy**
bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì  wəʔùtì mə Lisa zì má Wendy kɔŋɔ wàá bọ-mbon
children many think that Lisa know that Wendy like 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

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

(iii) **Body Noun Strategy**
* bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì  wəʔùtì mə Lisa zì má Wendy kɔŋ ɪbɨnú wáá
children many think that Lisa know that Wendy like body their

D1e (i) **Simple Pronoun**
bɔ́ɔ biɣə’àtì  wəʔùtì mə Lisa zì má bó kɔŋɔ Alice
children many think that Lisa know that they like Alice
“Many children think that Lisa knows that they like Alice”

Sentence is perfectly ok. No ambiguity.

(ii) **Owner noun Strategy**

bɔɔ bɔjà’ɔtì wùʔátì mọ Lisa 3í mọ bó ɓf-মbóη kèɳá Alice

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

Sentence is perfectly ok.

(iii) **Body Noun strategy**

* bɔɔ bɔjà’ɔtì wùʔátì mọ Lisa 3í mọ ɓìnù wáâ kèɳá Alice

children many think that Lisa know that their like Alice

D1f (i) **Simple Pronoun**

Sarah kì jwòŋ mbó bɔɔ ɓiyà’atì mọ Lisa kèɳá wáâ
Sarah P2 say to children many that Lisa love them
“Sarah told many children that Lisa loves them”

NB: No ambiguity.

(iii) **Owner noun Strategy**

‘Sarah kì jwòŋ mbó bɔɔ ɓiyà’atì mọ Lisa kèɳá wáâ ɓó-মbóη
Sarah P2 say to children many that Lisa love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

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

(iii) **Body noun strategy**

* Sarah kì jwòŋ mbó bɔɔ ɓiyà’atì mọ Lisa kèɳá ɓìnù wáâ
Sarah P2 say to children many that Lisa like body 3rd.p.POSS
Sentence would be perfectly ok if meaning is that Lisa likes their body.

D1g.(i) Simple Pronoun

Sarah kì jwòŋ mbó bɔɔ ɓiyà’atì mọ bó kèɳá Wendy
Sarah P2 say to children many that they like Wendy
“Sarah told many children that they love Wendy”

(ii) **Owner noun strategy**

Sarah kì jwòŋ mbó bɔɔ ɓiyà’atì mọ bó ɓf-মbóη kèɳá Wendy
Sarah P2 say to children many that 3rd.s.Subj 3rd.s.OBL-owner like Wendy
“Sarah told Many children that they love Wendy”

Sentence is perfectly ok.

(iii) **Body noun strategy**

*Sarah kì jwòŋ mbó bɔɔ ɓiyà’atì mọ ɓìnù wáâ kèɳá Wendy
Sarah P2 say to children many that body 3rd.p.POSS like Wendy
The semantic distinction in the “many children” sentences is not morphologically marked in Bafut.

**Edgar Paradigm**

**A. with “every child”**

**Simple Pronoun**

D4a. (1) mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill jùʔúnô jì
child every P2 say that part Bill obey him
“Every child asked Bill to obey him”

ii) **Owner Noun**

* mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill jùʔúnô jì jú-µbôŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.OBL-owner
Sentence would be ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

* mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill jùʔúnô biinú jì
child every P2 say that Bill obey body 3rd.s.POSS

D4b. (1) **Simple Pronoun**

mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill fá ƞkábi mbô jú
child every P2 say that part Bill give money to him
“Every child asked Bill to give him money”

ii) **Owner Noun**

* mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill fá ƞkábi mbô jù jú-µbôŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill give money to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
Sentence would be acceptable if the pron-owner part is removed.

iii) **Body Noun**

* mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill fá ƞkábi mbô biinú jì
child every P2 say that Bill give money to body 3rd.s.POSS

D4c. (i) **Simple Pronoun**

mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill ɣáâ mbô jú
child every P2 say that part Bill talk to him
“Every child asked Bill to talk to him”

ii) **Owner Noun**

* mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill ɣáâ mbô jù jú-µbôŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill speak to 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner
Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**

* mú ntsim kì ñwóŋ mò tá Bill ɣáâ mbiri jì
child every P2 say that part Bill talk about body 3rd.s.POSS

D4d. (i) **Simple Noun**
* mú ntsím kí ñwǒŋ mó tá Bill yáâ mbìíŋ jí
child every P2 say that part Bill talk about him
“Every child asked Bill to talk about him”

Sentence could also mean that Bill will talk about himself.

ii) **Owner Noun**
* mú ntsím kí ñwǒŋ mó tá Bill yáâ mbìíŋ jí jú-mbọŋ
child every P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner

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

iii) **Body Noun**
* mú ntsím kí ñwǒŋ mó tá Bill yáâ mbìíŋ biííŋ jí
child every P2 say that part Bill speak about body 3rd.s.POSS
Sentence would be perfectly ok if anaphor is construed with Bill.

D4e. (i) **Simple Pronoun**
* mú ntsím lí nšíítì mó ta Bill jù?únó jí
child every P1 look that part Bill obey him
“Every child expected Bill to obey him”

ii) **Owner Noun**
* mú ntsím lí nšíítì mó tá Bill jù?úní jí jù-mbọŋ
child every P1 look that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**
* mú ntsím lí nšíítí mó tá Bill jù?úní biííŋ jí
child every P1 look that Bill obey body his

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

D4f. (1) **Simple Pronoun**
* mú ntsím lí ñɡáá Bill mó tá tú jí
child every P1 force Bill that part pay him
“Every child forced Bill to pay him”

ii) **Owner noun**
* mú ntsím lí ñɡáá Bill mó tá tú jí jú-mbọŋ
child every P1 force Bill that part pay 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

iii) **Body Noun**
* mú ntsìm lí ŋgấ Bill mó tû biını́ jî
cchild every P1 force bill that part pay body his

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

**D4g.(i) Simple Pronoun**

*mú ntsìm kì gấ Bill mó tá ŋwôŋ mó jú t̀̄́jès̀̄̄̄̄́
cchild every P2 force Bill that part say that he intelligent
“Every child forced Bill to say that he is smart”

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

**ii) Owner Noun**

* mú ntsìm kì gấ Bill mó tá ŋwôŋ mó jú-mbôn t̀̄́jès̀̄̄̄̄́
cchild every P2 force Bill that part say that 3rd.s.OBL 3rd.s.OBL-owner intelligent
Sentence would be acceptable if anaphor is construed with Bill.

**iii) Body Noun**

*mú ntsìm kì gấ Bill mó tá ŋwôŋ mò bînú jî t̀̄́jès̀̄̄̄̄́
cchild every P2 force Bill that part say that body 3rd.s.POSS smart

**D4h.(i) Simple pronoun**

*mú ntsìm kì gấ Bill mó tá ŋwôŋ mò Mary kɜŋ jî
cchild every P2 force Bill that part say that Mary like him
“Every child forced Bill to say that Mary loves him”

Ambiguity: sentence could also mean that Mary loves Bill.

**ii) Owner Noun**

*mú ntsìm kì gấ Bill mó tá ŋwôŋ mò Mary kɜŋ jî-mbôŋ
child every P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love he pron-owner
Sentence will be perfectly acceptable if Mary loves herself.

**iii) Body Noun**

*mú ntsìm kì gấ Bill mó tá ŋwôŋ mò Mary kɜŋ bînú jî
child every P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love body 3rd.s.POSS

Sentence will be acceptable if Mary loves herself.

**D5(c). mú ntsìm jú-mbôŋ wâ?ùí mó jú kú dżì
cchild every 3rd.s.OBL-owner think that he Fo win
“Every child himself thinks that he will win”

**d) mú ntsìm jú-mbôŋ wâ?ùí mó Bill kú dżì
cchild every 3rd.s.OBL-owner thinks that Bill Fo win
“Every child himself thinks that Bill will win”

Verb serialization is possible in my language but I do not see patterns that you might be interested in. May be follow up research will help.
Edgar Paradigm
B. With “many children”

Simple Pronoun
D4a. (1) bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mô tû Bill jù?úñò wàà
children many P2 say that part Bill obey them
“Many children asked Bill to obey them”

ii) Owner Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mô tû Bill jù?úñò bò·mbòñ
children many P2 say that part Bill obey 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.Obl-owner

iii) Body Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mô tû Bill jù?úñò bĩñú wàà
children many P2 say that Bill obey body 3rd.p.Poss

D4b. (1) Simple Pronoun
bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mô tû Bill fù ñkùbì mbò bò
children many P2 say that part Bill give money to them
“Many children asked Bill to give them money”

ii) Owner Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mó tû Bill fù ñkùbì mbó bò bì-mbòñ
children many P2 say that part Bill give money to 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.Obl-owner

iii) Body Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mó tû Bill fù ñkùbì mbó bĩñú wàà
children many P2 say that Bill give money to body 3rd.p.Poss

D4c. (i) Simple Pronoun
bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mó tû Bill yáà mbò bò
children many P2 say that part Bill talk to them
“Many children asked Bill to talk to them”

ii) Owner Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mó tû Bill yàà mbó bò bì-mbòñ
children many P2 say that part Bill speak to 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.Obl-owner

D4d. (i) Simple Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mó tû Bill yáà mbìʔi wàà
children many P2 say that part Bill talk about them
“Many children asked Bill to talk about them”

ii) Owner Noun
* bɔ̀ bìyà’àtì kì ñwòñ mó tû Bill yáà mbìʔi wàà bò·mbòñ
children many P2 say that part Bill talk about 3rd.s.Obl 3rd.s.Obl-owner

iii) Body Noun
Many children expected Bill to obey them

Many children forced Bill to pay them

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

ii) Owner Noun
* bóó biyà’âtì kì gúú Bill mó tá jwóŋ mó Mary kòŋ wáá bó-mbôŋ
children many P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love 3rd.s.Obj 3rd.s.OBL-owner

iii) Body Noun
* bóó biyà’âtì kì gúú Bill mó tá jwóŋ mó Mary kòŋ bî-fù wáá
children many P2 force Bill that part say that Mary love body 3rd.p.POSS

D5(c). bóó biyà’âtì jú-mbôŋ wàʔàí mó bó ká dʒí
children many pron owner think that they Fo win
“Many children themselves think that they will win”

d) bóó biyà’âtì bó-mbôŋ wàʔàí mó Bill ká dʒí
children many pron-owner think that Bill Fo win
“many children themselves think that Bill will win”

Zeke Paradigm
A. With “every child”
D11a) Larry kì jwóŋ mbó mú ntsìm mó Mike sì jí kómà
Larry P2 say to child every that Mike Neg he like
“Larry told every child that Mike does not like him”

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

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

Ambiguity: same ambiguity as above

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

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

e) Larry zì mó mú ntsìm wàʔàtì mó Mike sì jí kómà
Larry know that child every think that Mike Neg him like
“Larry knows that every child thinks that Mike does not like him”

Ambiguity: anaphor could also be construed with Larry
f) mú ntsim zi’ mó Larry wà?àtí mó Mike sì jì kÓnò
child every know that Larry think that Mike Neg him like
“Every child knows that Larry thinks that Mike does not like him”

Same ambiguity as above.

D12a) ndí bí mú ntsim wà?àtí mó Mike sì jì kÓnò
Mother of child every thinks that he Neg Mike like
“Every child’s mother thinks that he does not Mike”

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

b) ndí bí mú ntsim wà?àtí mó à sì Mike kÓnò
Mother of child every think that he Neg Mike like
“Every child’s mother thinks that he does not Mike”

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

c) mú ntsim wà?àtí mó Mike sì jì kÓnò
child every think that mike Neg him like
“Every child thinks that Mike does not like him”

d) Òǹgwà?àǹò mú ntsim jwóŋ mó Mike sì jì kÓnò
Letter child every say that Mike Neg him like
“Every child’s letter says Mike does not like him”

e) mú ntsim kì jù?ú mò Mary sì jì kÓnò
child every P2 hear that Mary Neg him like
“Every child heard that Mary does not like him”

f) No passive

D13a(i) mú ntsim kì jwóŋ mó jú kì wé?é jì (jú-mbóŋ)
child every P2 say that he P2 dress him (pron-owner)
“Every child said that he dressed himself”

(ii) mú ntsim kì jwóŋ mó jú kì wé?é bìì nú jì
child every P2 say that he P2 dress body his
“Every child said he dressed himself”

b) (i) mú ntsim kì jwóŋ mó jú lèǹnsô jì (ju-mbóŋ)
child every P2 say that he wound him (pron-owner)
“Every child said he wounded himself”

ii) mú ntsim kì jwóŋ mó jú lèǹnsô bìì nú jì
child every P2 say that he wound body his
“Every child said he wounded himself”

C (i) mú ntsim kì ñwọ̀n mò jú kì wîntí jì (jú-mbôn)
child every P2 say that he P2 scarify him (pron-owner)
Every child said that he scarified himself”

ii) mú ntsim kì ñwọ̀n mò jú kì wîntí bînú jì
child every P2 say that he P2 scarify body his
“Every child said that he scarified himself”

A. With “many children”
D11a) Larry kì ñwọ̀n mbo bôs bìyà’âtì mò Mike sì wàá kọ̀nà
Larry P2 say to children many that Mike Neg them like
“Larry told many children that Mike does not like them”

b) bôs bìyà’âtì kì ñwọ̀n mbo Larry mò Mike sì wàá kọ̀nà
children many P2 say to Larry that Mike Neg them like
“Many children told Larry that Mike does not like them”

c) bôs bìyà’âtì kì ñwọ̀n mbo Larry mò bó sì Mike kọ̀nà
children many P2 say to Larry that they Neg Mike like
“Many children told Larry that they do not like Mike”

d) Larry kì ñwọ̀n mbo bôs bìyà’âtì mò bó sì Mike kọ̀nà
Larry P2 say to children many that they Neg Mike like
“Larry told many children that they do not like Mike”

e) Larry ịrí mò bôs bìyà’âtì wà’utó mò Mike sì wàá kọ̀nà
Larry know that children many think that Mike Neg them like
“Larry knows that many children think that Mike does not like them”

f) bôs bìyà’âtì ịrí mò Larry wà’utí mò Mike sì wàá kọ̀nà
children many know that Larry think that Mike Neg them like
“Many children know that Larry thinks that Mike does not like them”

D12a) ‘ ndị bôs bìyà’âtì wà’utí mò Mike sì wàá kọ̀nà
Mother of children many thinks that he Neg Mike like
“The mother of many children thinks that Mike does not like them”

After thinking long and hard, listener could construe anaphor with “child”.

b) ndị bôs bìyà’âtì wà’utí mò bó sì Mike kọ̀nà
Mother of children many think that they Neg Mike like
“The mother of many children thinks that they do not like Mike”

Under normal circumstances, anaphor is construed with a third party. After thinking for some time however, listener could also construe anaphor with “children”. Anaphor can never be construed with “mother”
c) bôô bîyâ’âtì wűʔütì mó Mike sì wáká kóŋâ
  “Many children think that Mike does not like them”

d) òŋwûʔánó bôô bîyâ’âtì ̀jwôŋ mó Mike sì wáká kóŋâ
  “Many children’s letters say Mike does not like them”

e) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì jũʔú mó Mary sì wáká kóŋâ
  “Many children heard that Mary does not like them”

f) No passive

D13a(i) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì ̀jwôŋ má bô kì wéʔè wáká (bó-mbân)
  “Many children said that they dressed themselves”

(ii) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì ̀jwôŋ má bô kì wéʔè bìnnû wáâ
  “Many children said they dressed themselves”

b) (i) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì ̀jwôŋ má bô lɔ̀nsô wáká (bó-mbân)
  “Many children said they wounded themselves”

(ii) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì ̀jwôŋ má bô lɔ̀nsî bìnnû wáâ
  “Many children said they wounded themselves”

C (i) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì ̀jwôŋ má bô kì wûntf wáká (bó-mbân)
  “Many children said that they scarified themselves”

(ii) bôô bîyâ’âtì kì ̀jwôŋ má bô kì wûntî bìnnû wáâ
  “Many children said that they scarified themselves”

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents

D14a) ozzie kì ɣàá mbìʔì Harriet mbó bó
  “Ozzie talked about Harriet to them”

Sentence is rather odd as it is hard to conceive of a situation where ozzie is talking to himself.

b) Ozzie kì ɣàá mbìʔì wáá mbó Harriet
Ozzie P2 talks about them to Harriet
“Ozzie talked about them to Harriet”

Ambiguity: anaphor could be referring to a group of people not involving ozzie and Harriet.

c) Ozzie kò jwọnọ mbo Harriet mọ bọ lọ
   ozzie P2 talk to Harriet that they leave
   “Ozzie told Harriet that they should leave”

Ambiguity: Anaphor bọ “they” could refer to Harriet and someone else (not ozzie).

d). Ozzie kò jwọnọ mbo Harriet mọ Bill bàá wáá
   Ozzie P2 talk to Harriet that Bill hates them
   “Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes them”

Ambiguity: Anaphor wáá “them” could refer to Harriet and some other person (not ozzie) or to a group that involves neither Harriet nor ozzie.

e) Ozzie kò jwọnọ mó Harriet wù?átfi má Bill bàá wáá
   Ozzie P2 say that Harriet think that Bill hate them”
   “Ozzie said that Harriet thinks that Bill hates them”

Same ambiguity as in the (d) example

4.4.2.4. Discourse Antecedents

D15. Mark kò bọ?ó mọ ànù ká jọ mú jì
   Mark P2 fear that thing Fo see child his
   “Mark feared that something would happen to his child.

àtú jì kò dírí mó kùá mbo jú wù?á ìgbé?ẹ jì lìntè
Head his P2 heavy that Neg cond. he Neg person family his look.
   “He was ashamed that he could not look after his relative”

bọ? bí màú bí ká jwọnọ màkọ mbi?í jì?
Children of mother his Fo say what about him
   “What would his relatives say of him”

D16. ànù kì tšā Mark ádzàŋ mọ à kì jọ fútò jì múm ìgbẹ?ẹnì
   thing P2 pass Mark as that he P2 see photo his in book
   “Mark was shocked to see his photography in a book

ìgbẹ?ẹ kòrì dzí tsìm ká mú?àtò jì
People foot his all Fo leave him
   “All his supporters would abandon him

à ká jwọnọ mbo ndí jì màkọ?
He Fo say to mother his how
   “How would he tell his mother’
D17. Morris kì $jwöŋ$ mó à kì bò ɖdzì wì jìmbì mbó Mark
    Morris P2 say that it P2 be day bad for Mark
    “Morris said that it was a bad day for Mark”

ntʃùmbìì, Morris kì $jwöŋ$ yù mbó mò bì jøró mìtù jì
First, Morris P2 say him to that they steal car his
    “First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen”.

á tìgì nts̱nìì ntwöŋ təksì tā lógò jì ɲyé nlòò á dìfè fùʔù
He then had to call taxi so that take him go leave at place work
    “Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work”.

Morris kì bòʔó mó ntǒŋ jì lwì
Morris P2 fear that neck his bitter
    “Morris feared that he was angry”

D18. A: jò Mark!
    B: à fɔ électrique
    He shines very
    “He is very handsome”

A: lá kùá mbó mò kìʔí kọŋá mbó ɲgwé jì
    but Neg Cond. I Neg like be wife his
    “But I would not want to be his wife”

bùngjè bìtsìm jònè nǐì
Women all follow him
    “All the women are chasing him”

B: ḳǐnjìnjìń, mè wàʔùtì mó á yáʔäsì bìʔíńú jìʃʃìʔì
    following, I think that he praise body his a lot
    “Also, I think he praises himself too much”

4.4.3. Blocking effects
4.4.3.1. Features of interviewing subjects
D19. Only the pronoun strategy is permitted
   a) Larry wàʔùtì mó John wòʔóɾó nǐì
       Larry think that John honour him
       “Larry thinks that John honours him”
   b) Larry wùʔùtì mò wòʔóɾó nǐì
       Larry think that I honour him
       “Larry thinks that I honour him”
   c) Larry wùʔùtì mò Mary wòʔóɾó nǐì
       Larry think that Mary honour him
“Larry thinks that Mary honours him”

d) Larry wùʔútí mó bɔ́ bjá wóʔóró nîì
   Larry think that children the honour him
   “Larry thinks that the children honour him”

e) mbáŋnì dʒá wáʔá mó bɔ́ bjá wóʔóró wáá
   Men the think that children the honour them
   “The men think that the boys honour them”

D2. Only pronoun strategy is permitted.
Ambiguity a, c, d, e as pronoun could refer to second subject.

a) Larry wàˈátí mó Bill ʒí mó Dave wóˈóró nîì
   Larry think that Bill know that Dave honour him
   “Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave honours him”

b) Larry wàˈátí mó mó wóˈóró nîì
   Larry think that I honour him
   “Larry thinks that I honour him”

c) Larry wàˈátí mó Mary ʒí mó Dave wóˈóró nîì
   Larry think that Mary know that Dave honour him
   “Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave honours him”

d) Larry wàˈátí mó bɔ́ bjá ʒí mó Dave wóˈóró nîì
   Larry think that children the know that Dave honour him
   “Larry thinks that the children know that Dave honours him”

e) mbáŋnì dʒá wàˈátí mó bɔ́ bjá ʒí mó Dave wóˈóró wáá
   Men the think that children the know that Dave honour them
   “The men think that the children know that Dave honours them”.

4.4.3.2 Positions of intervener
D21. Only the pronoun strategy is permitted

a) Walter wàˈátí mó Bill kì ʃwòŋɔ mbó Harry mó Dave wóˈóró nîì
   Walter thinks that Bill P2 say to Harry that Dave honour him
   Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave honours him”

b) Walter wàˈátí mó Bill kì ʃwòŋɔ mbó mà mó Dave wóˈóró nîì
   Walter think that Bill P2 say to me that Dave honour him
   “Walters thinks that Bill told me that Dave honours him”

Ambiguity: Pronoun could refer to Bill.

c) Walter kì ʃwòŋɔ mbó mà mó Dave wóˈóró nîì
   Walter P2 say to me that Dave honour him
   “Walter told me that Dave honours him”
d) Walter kò ŋwòŋ mò Dave kò ŋwòŋ ‘ùŋì mbó mò mbì‘í jì
   Walter P2 say that Dave P2 give book to me about him
   “Walter said that Dave gave me a book about him”

Ambiguity in a, b, and d. In (a) pronoun could also refer to *Harry* or to *Bill*; In (b) pronoun could refer to *Bill*.
In (d) pronoun could refer to *Dave*.

### 4.4.4. Islands

**D22. Only the independent pronoun strategy works**

a) Ira bòá dzāŋ mò Mary bòá jì láá
   Ira hate as that Mary hate him Def
   “Ira resents the fact that Mary hates him”

b) Ira wò‘óró ṇú wá mò ì kòŋjó jì láá
   Ira honour man who he like him Def
   “Ira honours the man who likes him”

c) Ira ŋwòŋ mò ṇú wá mè kòŋjó jì láá ì tʃəsə
   Ira say that man the that like him Def he smart
   “Ira says that the man who likes him is smart”

d) Ira lí mbìtí mò Bill kì jó jì lé
   Ira P1 ask that Bill p2 See him Qm
   “Ira asked whether Bill saw him”

e) Ira lí mbìtí mò Bill kì jó jì láá nòòkò
   Ira P1 ask that Bill P2 see him Def. when
   “Ira asked when Bill saw him”

f) Ira lí wá‘á zí mò George kì jòŋjó jì
   Ira P1 Neg know that George P2 follow him
   “Ira did not realize that George followed him”

g) Ira kì ŋwòŋ mò Mary bòŋjó; mò à ká jó‘á jì
   Ira P2 say that Mary beautiful that she Fo marry him
   “Ira said that Mary is beautiful; that she will marry him”

### 4.4.5. De se reading

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

D23a) Oedipus wà‘átí mò ndì jì bòŋjó
   Oedipus thinks that mother his nice
   “Oedipus thinks that his mother is nice”

b) Oedipus wà‘átí mò ndì jì bì ‘ì
   Oedipus thinks that mother his bad
   “Oedipus thinks that his mother is mean”