Anaphora in the African Languages
Questionnaire Response for Bulu- AQR1.4

PART I GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name of the language: bulu
2. Ethnologue code: A74
3. Dialects and/or area: Sangmelima, Ebolowa, Kribi (South Cameroon)
4. (a) My own judgments

1.2. Identification
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5. (a) Syntax: Familiar with GB
   (b) Typological linguistics: some
   (c) Formal semantics: Little
   (d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: Little
   (e) Other relevant subfield: Little
6. a. Bulu
   b. Bulu
   c. French / English
   d. Since birth
PART II: AN INVENTORY OF REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL STRATEGIES

2.1. Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 “primarily” Reflexive strategy

“Pronoun-MIEN”
A1) a. Ela a-ngá-yén é-mién
   Ela SM-P3-see pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ela saw himself/herself”

2.1.2. Strategy RFM “an” or “ban”

A2) Ela a- nga-yeün-ban
   Ela SM-P3-see-RFM
   “Ela saw himself/herself”

Comment: The -an is affixed to the verb, but there are some verbs in Bulu which have -an in the infinitive form.

2.1.4. Obliques and other arguments types

A3 a) Ango a-ké-kóbo aa Ondoua
   Ango SM-P2-chat with Ondoua
   “Ango chatted with Ondoua”

A3 b) Ango a-ké-kóbo ê-mien
   Ango SM-P2-talk pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ango talked to himself”

A3 c) */? Ango a-ké-kat Evina asú dé
   Ango SM-P2-tell Evina for him
   “Ango told Evina about *himself/?herself”

A3 d) Ango a-ké-vé Evina moné asú dé
   Ango SM-P2-give Evina money for him
   “Ango gave Evina money for him/himself”

A3e) Ango a-ké-biá pké’éle asú bia bé-bien
   Ango SM-P2-we shout in.front our-MIEN
   “Ango shouted at us about ourselves”.

A3 f) Ango a-ké-vé bóngó bé-bien
   Ango SM-P2-give children pron.c2-MIEN
   “Ango gave the children themselves” (indirect object/object)

A3g) Ango a-ké-yén kálate mvús dé
   Ango SM-P2-see book behind him
   “Ango saw the book behind him” (subject/locative)

A3h) Ango a-ké-kus kálate asú dé
   Ango SM-P2-buy book for him
   “Ango bought a book for him/himself” (Benefactive)

A3i) Ango a-ké-kus kálate asú dé
   Ango SM-P2-buy book for him
   “Ango bought a book for himself/herself” (benefactive)
A3j) Ango a-ké-yén nyó fefél dé
Ango SM-P2-see snake near her
“Ango saw a snake near herself”

A4a) Ango a-a-nyee é-mien
Ango SM- Pres-love her-MIEN
“Ango loves herself”

2.1.5. Person and number
A5a) me á- ké-yén ma-mien
I SM-P2-see my-MIEN
“I saw myself”

A5bi) wo a-ké-báí
you SM-P2-cut
“You cut yourself”

5bii) wo a- ké- báí wo-mien
you SM-P2- cut you-MIEN
“You cut yourself”

A5c) bi woban
we. FUT wash.RFM
“We will wash ourselves”

Comment: There is a future marker in Bulu which is e but for phonological reasons it is deleted here, and the future tense is found under bi. As far as woban is concerned, it is an undecomposable verb which can be interpreted reflexively.

A5d) wo a- yiane- völö wo-mien
you SM- must-help you-MIEN
“You must help yourself”

2.1.6. Strategies for other clausemate environments
(a) Some verbs allow only the use of the incorporated reflexive:

A6  a) Ela a- a- yem e-mien
Ela SM- Pres- know her-MIEN
“Ela knows himself”

ai) bongó bé- a- yem bé-bien
enfant SM- Pres- know pron.c2-MIEN
“The children know themselves”

aii) bongó bé-a-yem-ban
enfants SM-Pres-know-RFM
“The children know themselves”

Comment: Note that yem-ban is different from yem-an; ban is an RFM while an is an RCM. If ban is replaced by an the meaning will be “The children introduce (themselves) to each other”
b) Ela a-a-woo-solan
   Ela SM-Prés-hab-criticize.REFL
   “Ela habitually criticizes himself”
Comment: In Bulu all the verbs that end with an are [+reflexive] (tōban, selan, taan etc.). As far as the example above is concerned, the infinitive form of the verb is solan and the verb is [+reflexive]. In other words, one can not have solan-an, not even with a plural antecedent to mean ‘They criticize each other’.

bi)? Ela a- a- woo- solan e-mien
   Ela SM- Pres- hab- criticize pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ela habitually criticizes himself

ci) Ela a- a- yelan e-mien
   Ela SM- Pres- praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ela praises himself”

Comment: Quantificational constructions do not involve a separate strategy:

A7a) móngó áse a- ké- yén e-mien
   Child all SM- P2- see pron.c1-MIEN
   “Every child saw himself”

ai) móngó áse a- ké- yén-ban
   Child all SM- P2- see-RFM
   “Every child saw himself”

b) bóngó bése bé- nga- tili Evina asú bé-bien
   children all SM- P3- write Evina about pron.c2-MIEN
   “All the children wrote to Evina about themselves”

c) nyéle áse a- nga- liti é-mien be Evina
   teacher all SM- P2- show pron.c1-MIEN to Evina
   “Every teacher introduced himself to Evina”

ci) nyéle áse a- nga- liti-ban be Evina
   teacher all SM P2 show-RFM to Evina
   “Every teacher introduced himself to Evina”

di) bóngó bezing bé- a- vólo ve bé-bien
   children some SM- Pres- help only pron.c2-MIEN
   “Some children only help themselves”

A9a) Engon a- a- dzó nà Ango a- a- nyee é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres- say that Ango SM- Pres love pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon says that Ango loves himself”

b) Engon a- a- sili nà Ango a- a- yelan é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres- say that Ango SM- Pres praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon asks that Ango praises herself/himself”

c) Engon a- a- bání nà Ango a- a- yian-yelan é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres- think that Ango SM- Pres- must- praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon thinks that Ango must praise herself”
d) Engon a- a- yi ná Ango a- a- yelan é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres- requires that Ango SM- Pres- praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon requires that Ango praise herself”

e) Engon a-a-kómbo yelan e-mien
   Engon SM-Pres-want praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon wants to praise himself”

f) Engon a-a-búni ná Ango e-e-yelan é-mien
   Engon SM-Pres-expect that Ango SM-Fut-praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon expects Ango to praise herself”

g) Engon a-ngá-wóó Ango a-a-yelan é-mien
   Engon SM-P3-hear Ango SM-Pres-praise pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon heard Ango praising herself”

KS: There seems to be no complementizer ná for (A9e,g) but (A9g) is not an
   infinitive. The question is whether or not Ango is a direct object or the subject of
   the lower clause. Ango is certainly the ‘understood’ subject of ‘praise’, but is he
   the syntactic object of ‘hear’? One way to test this is to see if Ango can be
   replaced by a preverbal or postverbal OM (please provide the examples). Also,
   if the sentence were ‘The boys heard themselves breathing’ or ‘The boys heard
   each other breathing’, could these be rendered with (b)an for example. Please
   show if this is possible. Also try out ‘The boys heard themselves breathing’ with
   pronoun-MIEN.

   g’) Engon a-ngá-wóó a- a- yelan é-mien
       Engon SM-P3-hear OM-pres-praise pron.c1-MIEN
       “Engon heard her praising herself”

   g’’) bón befám bé -ngá-wóó bè-veb-ban
       children men SM-P3-hear SM-breath-RFM
       “The boys heard themselves breathing”

Comment: Given that the stem is veb, for phonological reasons we have veb-an
   instead of veb-ban

   bón befám bé -ngá-wóó bé-bien bé -vebe
   children men SM-P3-hear pron.c2-BIEN SM-breath.Pres
   “The boys heard themselves breathing”

2.2. Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1.

A10a) me pro- ngá- lán aa Oyono angoe. a/pro
    I SM- P3- speak with Oyono yesterday pron/pro
    a- ngá- yén Bika
    SM P3 see Bika
    “I spoke with Oyono yesterday. He/pro saw Bika”
b) vé nye Oyono a-né? me/pro ké-nye-yén mákit
where Foc Oyono SM-is I SM-P2-OM-see market
“Where is Oyono? I saw him in the market”
c) bi/pro a-ké-wo-yén ye wo/pro a-ké-biâ -yén
we SM-P2-OM-see QM you SM- P2-OM-see
“We saw you. Did you see us?”
d) ye wo/pro a- ké- ma- yén
QM pron/pro SM- P2- OM- see
“Did you see me?”

2.2.2. Various types of pronouns
Here is a chart with all of the noun class agreements and the pronouns that go with each.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun classes</th>
<th>Class prefixes</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Glosses</th>
<th>Agreement prefixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>m # C Ø</td>
<td>m-ingaù</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>a</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nèözin</td>
<td>outsider</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>taté</td>
<td>father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bé # C b # V</td>
<td>be-kaùl</td>
<td>sisters</td>
<td>bé</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b-ingaù</td>
<td>women</td>
<td></td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>mèfen</td>
<td>plait</td>
<td>où</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nlém</td>
<td>heart</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mi-mèfen my-aùgaùn</td>
<td>our plaits</td>
<td>miù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>my-</td>
<td>mi-mfèk my-aùgaùn</td>
<td>our bags</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>à-# C d-# C l-</td>
<td>à-baùi</td>
<td>slap</td>
<td>aù</td>
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<td>d-ól</td>
<td>nape</td>
<td>d-</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>mé # C m # V</td>
<td>mé-saù</td>
<td>plum</td>
<td>mé</td>
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<td></td>
<td>m-am</td>
<td>things</td>
<td></td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>è # C dz # V</td>
<td>è-yé</td>
<td>cloth</td>
<td>é</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>dzot</td>
<td>abscess</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>bi # C</td>
<td>bi-ka#t</td>
<td>baskets</td>
<td>biù</td>
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<td></td>
<td>by # V</td>
<td>bi-yé</td>
<td>clothes</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ndaù</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>o # C</td>
<td>o-laùm</td>
<td>trap</td>
<td>où</td>
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<td></td>
<td>w, v</td>
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<td>orange</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w-óù</td>
<td>hand</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w-é</td>
<td>honie</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>vaù</td>
<td>here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>odzan</td>
<td>after tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>vyan</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**So called human subject pronouns**

me / ma  “I”
wo “ you “(singular)
a “he/she”
bí/bia “we”
mi/ mia “you” (plural)
be / ba “they”

**Subject Markers (SM)**

Since the language is a class language, the subject marker agreement seems to be considered as the subject pronouns that would agree in noun class with the noun (phrase) they stand for. An illustration can be observed below:

a) bóngó bé- a- dí
   children SM- Pres- eat
   “The children are eating”

b) baùdí
   bé a- a- dí
   they SM Pres eat
   “They SM are eating”

Comment: The SM is glossed as a- due to phonological reasons.
Comment: One should bear in mind that there is no direct connexion between the subject pronoun and the noun phrase it stands for. In fact, according to some African languages describers, these so called subject pronouns are concord prefixes on the verb that mark or encode the agreement relationship between the subject and the verb.

Object markers
In Bulu post-verbal object markers (or pronouns) are only applicable to humans, as illustrated below:

a) Ango a- a- bom ma “Ango beats me”
b) Ango a- a- bom wo “Ango beats you” (sg.)
c) Ango a- a- bom nyé “Ango beats him”
d) Ango a- a- bom biā “Ango beats we”
e) Ango a- a- bom miā “Ango beats you” (pl.)
f) Ango a- a- bom bé “Ango beats them”

The examples above display the following object markers in Bulu:
ma “me”
wo “you” (sg.)
nyé “him/her”
bia “us”
mia “you” (pl.)
be “them”

Comment: There are no object markers for non-human objects. The contrast can be perceived in the following examples:

f) Ango a-a-bom Ela
   Ango SM-Pres-beat Ela
   “Ango beats Ela”

Comment: In the example (f) above, Ela can be replaced by the subject third person singular pronoun nyé giving therefore the following sentence:

fii) Ango a-a-bom nyé
   Ango SM-Pres-beat him
   “Ango beats him”

Comment: If we replace Ela by and non-human such as mvú (dog) it could not be replaced by an object marker:

fiii) Ango a- a- bom mvú
     Ango SM-Pres-beat dog
     “Ango beats the dog”

fiv) *Ango a- a- bom nyé
    Ango SM-Pres-beat it
    “Ango beats it (the dog)”

Comment: The ungrammaticality of (fiv) confirmed that there is no object marker for inanimates.
2.2.3. Null arguments

Bulu only allows argument drop as a pronominalization strategy in simple (single clause) sentences in the second and third persons singular as shown in the following examples, where there are subject pronouns are optional:

Verb: é- dí-
Inf- eat
“to eat”

a) (o) o- ngá- dí
You SM- P3- eat
“You ate”
b) (a) a- nga- dí
He/she SM- P3- eat
“He/she ate”

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

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

A10g) *Ondoua a- ngá- yelan a
Ondoua SM- P3- praise him
“Ondoua praised himself”
h) * Ondoua a- ngá- nyee a
Ondoua SM- P3- love him
“Ondoua liked himself”
i) *Ondoua a- ngá- yén a
Ondoua SM- P3- see him
“Ondoua saw himself”
j) *Ondoua a- ngá köbo aa a
Ondoua SM- P3- talk to him
“Ondoua talked to himself”
k) *Ondoua a- ngá- lóm a káláte
Ondoua SM- P3- send him book
“Ondoua sent a book to himself”
l) *Ondoua a- ngá- vólo a
Ondoua SM- P3- help him
“Ondoua helped himself”
m) *Ondoua a- ngá- tem a
Ondoua SM- P3- surprise him
“Ondoua surprised himself”
n) *Ondoua a-ngá-kus a káláte
Ondoua SM- P3-buy him book
“Ondoua bought a book for himself”
o) *Ondoua a- ngá-láng káláte asú a
   Ondoua SM- P3- read book about him
   “Ondoua read a book about himself”

p) *Ondoua a- ngá- som káláte fefél a
   Ondoua SM- P3- find book near him
   “Ondoua found a book near himself”

2.3. Reciprocal readings

2.3.1.

2.3.2.

A11a) bingá bá-a-yén-an
   women SM-Pres-see-RCM
   “The women see each other”

b) bón běfám bá-ké- wob-an
   children men SM-P2-wash-RCM
   “The boys washed each other”

c) běfám bá-ké-vas-an milo
   men SM-P2-comb-RCM hair
   “The men combed each other’s hair”

d) bé- ngá- kób-an
   They- P3- discuss RCM
   “They discussed with each other”

e) bón běfám bě-ngá-bom-an
   children men SM-P3-beat-RCM
   “The boys beat each other”

f) bě-a-vín-an
   they-SM-hate-RCM
   “They hate each other”

2.3.3. Oblique arguments

A 12a) běfám bě-ngá-líti-an Evina
   men SM-P3-show-RCM Evina
   “The men introduced each other to Evina”

Comment: This example would be reflexive if –an is replaced by –ban and it cannot be interpreted as reflexive without –ban.

b) minwulu mí- ngá- kóbo- an
   travelers SM- P3- speak RCM
   “The travelers spoke to each other”

Comment: This example would be reflexive if –an is replaced by –ban and it cannot be interpreted as reflexive without –ban.

c) befata bě-ngá-wóó-an miláŋg
   Priests SM- P3- hear-RCM stories
   “The priests heard stories about each other”
Comment: This example would be reflexive if –an is replaced by –ban and it cannot be interpreted as reflexive without –ban.

d) bé ngá-lík-an medas mesú mábá
they P3-leave-RCM presents in.front (of themselves)
“They left presents in front of each other”

Comment: This example would be reflexive if –an is replaced by –ban and it cannot be interpreted as reflexive without –ban.

2.3.4. Other persons and numbers
A13a) biá ké-yén-an
We P2-see-RCM
“We saw each other”
b) miá yiane-vóló-an
you must- help-RCM
“You must help each other”
c) bí e-woban
we F2-wash
“We will wash ourselves”

Comment: Woban is undecomposable.

d) bá solan eyong ése
they criticize.RCM time all
“They always criticize each other”.

Comment: This example can also have a reflexive reading. There is no sol-ban meaning “they criticize themselves” and there is no independent verb sol-.

2.3.5. Other clause types and other strategies
Comment: There is no new strategy.

2.4. Other types of local coreference
2.4.1. Possessives, alienable and inalienable
A15a) Ebolo a- ké- jánle bikondé bié
Ebolo SM- P2- loose shoes his
“Ebolo lost his shoes”
b) Ebolo a- ké- líti wo we
Ebolo SM- P2- show hand his
“Ebolo showed his hand”
c) Ebolo a- ké- bále nyul dje
Ebolo SM- P2- cut body his
“Ebolo cut his body (accidentally)”
d) Ebolo a- ké tcheng nló woe
Ebolo SM- P2- shave head his
“Ebolo shaved his head”
2.4.2. Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals
A16) ndáman Ango é-mien ó- ngá- ndengle Avebe
destruction Ango pron.c1-MIEN SM.c13-P3-destroy Avebe
“Ango’s self-destruction annoyed Avebe”
A17a) nlítán Ango é-mien ó- ngá- kám nyele
introduction Ango pron.c1-MIEN SM.c13- P3- impress teacher
“Ango’s introduction of himself impressed the teacher”.
b) nvegán Ango é-mien ó- ngá- bé mbiā abé
evaluation Ango himself SM.c13- P3- be too bad
“Ango’s evaluation of himself was too critical”

Comment: It seems that Bulu does not display the counterparts of 17c and 17d. There are no reciprocals in nominals in Bulu.

Is it possible that because the nominals end in –an (tone aside) that there is a constraint here against putting in a phonologically identical affix?

ANS: Yes, given that all the examples in the same vein have the same structure as testifies the example below.
A17b’) ntilán Ango é-mien ó- ngá- bo abeng mam
writing Ango himself SM- P3- do good things
“Ango’s writing of himself did good things”
A17b”’) mivegán miábá bé-bien mi- ngá- bé mbiā abé
evaluation their themselves SM- P3- be too bad
“Their evaluation of themselves was too critical”
A17b””) mivegán miábá bé-mien mi- ngá- solo-ban
evaluation their themselves SM- P3- hide-RFM
“Their evaluation of themselves hide theirselves”

2.4.4. Coreference strategies in a single clause
Strategy A

Pronoun-MIEN
F1a) Evina a- a- yem é-mien
Evina SM- Pres- know pron.c1-MIEN
“Evina knows himself”
Strategy B Reciprocal reading
Verb-an
F1b) bóngó bí-a-yan-e-yem-an
children SM-Pres-must-know-RCM
“Children must know each other”

Strategy C Reflexive reading
Verb-ban
(e.g., A6aii) Ok

Strategy D Verb.an NULL
Permits reflexive or reciprocal reading, depending on the meaning of the verb, when the object is null
(restricted to a lexical list – examples like woban)

Strategy E Verb.an with pronoun-MIEN
We treat this as a separate strategy because the possibility of a reflexive reading for the verb is not harmed, but it prevents the possibility of reciprocal readings in some cases.

PART 3 GENERAL DETAILS ABOUT THE STRATEGIES
3.1. Marking
Coconstrued interpretations
It has been demonstrated that, the following marking strategies for coconstrued interpretations can be attested in Bulu:
F2a) Marking on a coconstrued argument (Pronoun-mien):
Evina a-a-yan é-mien
Evina SM-Pres-know pron.c1-MIEN
“Evina knows himself
b) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument.
Evina a-a-woban
Evina SM-Pres-bathe
“Evina is bathing himself”
Evina a-a-woban é-mien.
Evina SM-Pres-bathe pron.c1-MIEN
“Evina is bathing himself”
Comment: The sentences above show that woban (to bathe) can select either an NP or a reflexive.
KS: This is clearer if it is possible to have
b’) *Evina a-a-woban Ango
Evina SM-Pres-bathe Ango
“Evina is bathing Ango.”
Comment: This is generally not possible with Verb.an.
3.2. Productivity
3.3. Context of Use
The strategy displayed seems to be used for emphasis purposes.

3.4. Morphology
There is no independent meaning of mien. The word is only used in anaphoric contexts. The other morpheme is a pronoun.
As far as strategy 1 is concerned, the internal make up of the reflexive is: Pronoun-MIEN. For illustration, consider the following sentence:
F3) Ango a- a- yem é-mien
   Ango SM- Pres- know pron.c1-MIEN
   “The chief loves himself”

3.5. The agreement paradigm
KS: I can see that if pronoun-MIEN has a c2 antecedent, the stem becomes bien. I have three hypotheses about why mien becomes bien: (1) Agreement for plural regardless of class, (2) phonological consonant harmony of some sort, or (3) sensitivity to noun class which would be shown by cases where bien is used even though the antecedent is singular and the noun class pronoun has no /b/ or other trigger. It would also help to have examples with a plural that has a different morphology than c2. Please help me decide between these possibilities. Hypothesis (3) is the good one. In order to help you to decide consider the following examples.
kábat ja- ké- bále e-bien
   F4a) goat SM.c9- P2- wound it-MIEN
       “The goat wounded itself”
   b) mfôndé wô ké ku ó-bien
       skirt SM.c3- P2- fall it-MIEN
       “The skirt felt itself”

   The above sentences show that in Bulu, the pronoun portion of pronoun-
   MIEN agrees in noun class with its antecedent. As it is illustrated, the prefix
   associated with MIEN, /e/, agrees in noun class with kabat, which is a class 9
   noun. The same situation is observed with the prefix of the reflexive /o/, that
   agrees in noun class with mfônde, a class 3 noun. This is indicative of the fact the
   reflexives will always carry a prefix that agrees in noun class with its
   antecedent.
15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m-ingaù é-mien</td>
<td>The woman herself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman c1-MIEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b-ingaù bé- bien</td>
<td>The women themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women c2–themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-lém coù-bien</td>
<td>The heart itself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart c3-MIEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-nlém mi-bien</td>
<td>The hearts themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hearts c4-MIEN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me-sa me-bien plomb c6-MIEN</td>
<td>The plums themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is just an indication you can look at the chart given in 2.2.2 where there are all the class prefixes and the agreement prefixes.

### 3.6. Interaction with verb morphology-Incompatibilities

#### 3.6.1. Tense, Mood, Aspect

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

**Strategy 1**

B 3a) Engon a- a-tcheng é-mien

Engon SM- Pres- shave pron.c1-MIEN

“Engon shaves himself”

b) Engon a- e- woo é-mien

Engon SM Pres tcheng pron.c1-MIEN

“Engon will shave himself”

Comment: Nothing new for the other strategies.

#### 3.6.2. Grammatical Function (GF) – changing

**Causative verbs**

i) Max made the boys paint each other

Ela a- ké- bo nâ befaùm bé- kang-an

Ela SM- P2- make that men pron.c2 draw-RCM

“Ela made the men draw each other”

ii) Max made the boys paint themselves

Ela a- ké bo nâ befaùm bé- kang bé-bien

Ela SM- P2 make that men pron.c2- draw pron.c2-BIEN

“Ela made the men draw themselves”
iii) The boys made Max paint themselves
   befaùm baù- ké- bo nà Ela a- kang bé-bien
   boys SM- P2- make that Ela SM-draw pron.c2-BIEN
   “The boys made Ela draw themselves”

iv) The boys made Max paint each other
   Comment: Not possible

3.7. Uses that are not quite coreference
   The use of reflexive morphology in Bulu, does not always imply
   coreference between two logical arguments of a clause. For instance, to express
   location or directionality, a reflexive is sometimes appealed to in order to
   modify or emphasize the locative or the directional:

   a) Ango a-e-luk mingá ndá zambé djé é-bien
       Ango SM-F2-marry woman house God Poss it-MIEN
       “Ango will marry a woman in his own church”
   X1 Ango a- a- dzó nà be- dóm bè be- é- luk ndá
       Ango SM- Pres- say that OM- brothers his OM- Fut marry house
       zambé djé é-bien
data- Poss it-MIEN
       “Ango says that the cousins will marry in his own church”
   Comment: 'His own church' can be where Ango makes the statement, or the
   location of the marriage. KS: This shows that the strategy is not necessarily
   local.

3.7.2. Emphatic or intensifier
   In the following Bulu sentences, pron-MIEN takes a local antecedent that
   indicates how a particular participant related to an event:
   B1 c) Ango a- e- sob biyé é-mien
       Ango SM- Fut- wash clothes pron.c1-MIEN
       “Ango will wash clothes himself”
   (Nobody will do it for Ango) or (Ango will do it personally)
   The same interpretation can be perceived below:
   d) Ango é-mien a- e- sob biyé
       Ango pron.c1-MIEN SM- Fut- wash clothes
       “Ango himself will wash clothes”

3.7.5. Deictic use
   Reflexives in Bulu can be used to refer to an antecedent that is not mentioned
   in the same clause, but that was previously mentioned (in the preceding
   discourse). In the following conversation, emien refers to an absent antecedent
   in the clause in which it occurs:
B5a) ye nyó ya- ké- diki mvú
   QM snake SM- P2- bite c9.dog
   “Did the snake bite the dog?”
   b) teke, nyó é- ndi- ke- diki é-bien
   no snake SM- Neg- P2- bite c9-MIEN
   “No, the snake did not bite itself”

Comment: A clear look at the examples above show that the reflexive é-bien
does not refer to nyó (snake), but to mvú (dog). The segment of mien is
denasalized because it is only nasalised when it is [+ human]
   b’) den, é-mien e- yeele món
today, pron.c1-MIEN F1-teachchild
   “Today, himself will teach his child”

Comment: Pron-MIEN can also be used to refer to one of the participants in the
conversation who is not otherwise mentioned in the sentence:

(B6a) Engon a- ké- bom é-mien
   Engon SM- P2- bom pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon beat himself/herself”
   b) mintábe lam miä-a-nyee meyök melén, ve é-mien
dwellers village SM-Pres-like wine palm but pron.c1-MIEN
   a-a-nyú-ké me
   SM-Pres-drink-Neg it
   “Villagers like palmwine, but himself does drink it”

Comment: In the above two sentences, the reflexive é-mien can refer either to
the speaker or to the addressee. If one imagines that there is someone else who is
known by the speaker and the addressee, it is possible that e-mien refers to that
third person.

3.7.6. Focus
B15a. zá nye mibo mefúp miä-ké-yén
   who Foc makers farms SM-P2-see
   “Who did the farmers see?”
   miä- ké- nye yén
   they- P2- him see
   “They saw him”

B16) mibo mefúp mi- dí- ke- yén Ela, miä ke-nye yén
    makers färms SM- Neg- P2- see Ela, they P2-him see
    “The farmers did not see Ela. They saw him”
3.8. Proxy readings
Proxy readings are possible to get in Bulu, given the appropriate context. Imagine that pictures (portraits) of Oyono is being sold in the bookstore. The President could pass by and take a look at his own portrait:

B8a) Oyono a- ké-yén é-mien éfatchélé
Oyono SM- P2- see him self shop
“Oyono saw himself in the shop”

b) mbó̈mo mveẗ a-a-voglo é-mien e radio
player guitar SM-Pres-listen pron.c1-MIEN to radio
“The guitarist is listening to himself in the radio”

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

B9b) Ango a- ké- woban otetek, asú nà a- bo- te- dáman wax
Ango SM-P2-wash slowly for that SM- do- Neg- damage wax
“Ango washed carefully, so as not to damage the wax”

Comment: No proxy reading possible.

B9d) mbó̈ film a- ngá-tèbè otetek, asú nà a- bo- te- dáman wax
maker movie SM- P3-stand slowly, for that SM-do-Neg- damage wax
“The movie star dressed carefully, so as not to damage the wax.”

Comment: No proxy reading possible.

B9a) Ela a- a- tcheng é-mien oteteg asú nà ndzo
Ela SM-Pres-shave pron.c1-MIEN slowly for that razor
é-bo-te-bále nló
SM-do-not-wound head
“Ela shaves himself slowly so that the razor should not wound his head”

Comment: Proxy reading is possible.

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

3.9. Ellipsis
The following Bulu sentence has only one interpretation:

B12a) Ondoua a-a-nyee é-mien adang ávále Ondoua a-a-nyee Evina
Ondoua SM-Pres-love pron.c1-MIEN pass how Ondoua SM-Pres-love Evina
“Ondoua likes himself more than Ondoua likes Evina”

b) Ondoua a-a-nyee é-mien adang ávále Evina a-a-nyee nye
Ondoua SM-Pres-love pron.c1-MIEN pass how Evina SM-Pres-love him
“Ondoua likes himself more than Evina likes him”

Comment: the problem with 12b is that nye (him) could refer to someone else different from Ondoua. The same situation is observed in ii.

ii. Ondoua a- a- nyee é-mien adang ávále Evina a- a- nyee é-mien
Ondoua SM-Pres-love pron.c1-MIEN pass how Evina SM- Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

“Ondoua likes himself more than Evina likes himself”
Comment: The second e-mien could refer to someone other than Ondua or Evina. For example, there could be a third party such as previously mentioned Ela.

PART 4 EXPLORATION OF SYNTACTIC DOMAINS

X) a. Ondoua a-ké bíbi Engon
   Ondoua SM-P2-hit Engon
   “Ondoua hit Engon”

b. Ondoua a-ké bíbi é-mien
   Ondoua SM- P2- hit pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ondoua hit himself” (reflexive)

d. Ondoua ba Engon bá-ké-bíb-an
   Ondoua and Engon SM-P2-hit-RCM
   “Ondoua and Engon hit each other” (Reciprocal)

XI)

a) *Ondoua a-ké-bíbibi
   Ondoua SM-P2-hit
   “Ondoua hit himself”

c) bôngó bá-ké-bíb-an
   Children SM-P2-hit-RCM
   “Children hit each other” or “children hit one another”

d) Ondoua a-ke-nye bíbi
   Ondoua SM- P2- him hit
   “*Ondoua hit himself”
Comment: The sentence is acceptable if Ondoua and him do not corefer.

di) Ondoua a-ké-bíbi nye
   Ondoua SM- P2- hit him
   “*Ondoua hit himself” but it is ? if the reading is not reflexive.
Comment: The sentence is less than fully acceptable with the nonreflexive reading because Bulu would mostly prefer nye (him) before the verb in such a context.

X3a) Ondoua a- ké- yén nyia woé-é-mien
   Ondoua SM- P2- see mother Poss.pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ondoua saw his own mother”

b) Ondoua a- ké- yén nyia
   Ondoua SM- P2- see mother
   “Ondoua saw his mother”
c) Ondoua ba Engon bá-ké-yén-an benyia bab
Ondoua and Engon SM-P2-see-RCM mothers their
“Ondoua and Engon saw each other’s mother” or “saw one another’s mother”

e) Ondoua a- ké-woo nyia woe
Ondoua SM-P2-wash mother his
“Ondoua washed his mother”

4.1. Clausemate coconstrual
4.1.1 verb class restrictions
4.1.1.1. Canonical transitives
C 1a) Evina a- ké- yén é-mien
Evina SM-P2- see pron.c1-MIEN
“Evina saw himself”
b) bingá bá-ké ta bé-bien
women SM-P2-insult pron.c2-MIEN
“Women insulted themselves”
c) wo a- ké bom wo-mien
you SM-P2-beat your-MIEN
“You beat yourselves”
d) bá- ké- yelan bé-bien
they-P2-praise pron.c2-MIEN
“They praised themselves”

4.1.1.2. Commonly reflexive predicates
C3a) * Engon a- ké-woo Engon
Engon SM-P2-wash Engon
“Engon washed (himself)”
b) * Engon a- ké-tcheng ésil Engon
Engon SM-P2-cut hair Engon
“Engon cut his own hair.”
c) * món mingá a-ké-tchig ésil món mingá
child woman SM-P2-cut hair child woman
“The girl cut her own hair.”

C3bi) *Engon a-ke-tcheng-an ésil e-mien
Engon SM-P2-cut-RFM hair pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
bii)*Engon a-ke-tcheng-an e-mien ésil
Engon SM-P2-cut-RFM pron.c1-MIEN hair
“Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
biii) Engon a-ke-tcheng-an ésil dze-bien?
Engon SM-P2-cut-RFM hair pron.c7
“Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
biv) Engon a-ke-tcheng esil
   Engon SM-P2-cut hair
   “Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
   bv) Engon a-ke-yen esil
   Engon SM-P2-see hair
   “Engon saw his own hair” or “Engon saw (someone else’s) hair”

4.1.1.3. Psychological predicates
C4a) Ela  a-a-víni é-mien
   Ela SM- Pres- hate pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ela hates himself”
   b) Ela  a-woo é-mien ósón
   Ela SM-hear pron.c1-MIEN ashamed
   “Ela is ashamed of himself”

4.1.1.4. Creation and destruction predicates
C5a) bingá be-e-ndíman bé-bien
   women SM- F2- destroy pron.c2-MIEN
   “Women will destroy themselves”
Comment: It would not be appropriate to translate C5a as “The women were
   destroyed by themselves”.
KS: Also, does the verb for destroy have an infinitive of the form V.an (ANS: yes) and if so, is the sentence fine without pronoun-MIEN? ANS: The sentence
   is fine but has a different meaning (the women will destroy).
   b) bemísíni bé- ngá-komb-ban bé-bien
   machines SM- P2- build-RFM pron.c2-MIEN
   “The machines were built by themselves”
Comment: In Bulu the morpheme -ban or -an are also used to form passive. The
   problem with the example you talked about (C5b) is that it is in the passive form
   rather than having a reflexive reading. Thus the translation be ‘the machines
   were built by themselves’ as opposed to ‘The machines built themselves’.
C5’a) Egon trapped Ondua
   Engon a- keù-laùm Ondua
   Engon SM-P2-trap Ondua
   b) Ondua was trapped by Egon
   Ondua a- keù-laùm- ban (aa Engon)
   Ondua SM-P2 trap-PASS ( by Engon)
Comment: the subject of the active sentence is always deleted in the passive
   form in Bulu.
   c) Ondua was trapped by himself
Ondua a- keù-laùm- ban
Ondua SM-P2 trap-PASS (by himself)
d) The men were trapped by Egon
befaùm baù keù-laùm- ban (aa Engon)
men SM-P2 trap-PASS (by Engon)
e) The men were trapped by themselves
befaùm baù keù-laùm- ban (aa bé-bien)
men SM-P2 trap-PASS (by themselves)
f) The men were trapped by each other
befaùm baù keù-laùm- ban.RCM
men SM-P2 trap-PASS.RCM

4.1.1.5. Verbs of representation

C6a) bóngó befám  bá- ké- tábe séng djábá bé-bien
children men SM- P2- sit place them pron.c2-MIEN
“The boys represented themselves”
b) Evina a- ké- kóbo asú dé é-mien
Evina SM- P2- speak front him pron.c1-MIEN
“Evina spoke for himself”

4.1.2. Argument position pairings
4.1.2.1. Subject – indirect object

C7a) Oyono a-ké-ve é-mien dás
Oyono SM-P2-give pron.c1-MIEN gift
“Oyono gave himself a gift”
a’)*Oyono a- ké- ve- ban é-mien dás
Oyono SM-P2-give-RFM pron.c1-MIEN gift
“Oyono gave himself a gift”
a’’)*befaùm baù- ké- ve- an bé-mien dás
men SM-P2-give-RCM pron.c2-MIEN gift
“The men gave a gift to each other”
b) Oyono a-ké-líti é-mien ndá
Oyono SM-P2-show pron.c1-MIEN house
“Oyono showed himself a house”
bi) *Oyono a-ké-líti-ban é-mien ndá
Oyono SM-P2-show-RFM pron.c1-MIEN house
“Oyono showed himself a house”
bii) befaùm baù-ké-líti-an bé-mien ndá
men SM-P2-show-RCM pron.c2-MIEN house
“The men showed a house to each other”
C8a) Oyono a- ké- ve é-mien dás
   Oyono SM- P2- give pron.c1-MIEN gift
   “Oyono gave herself a gift”
b) Oyono a- ké- líti é-mien bóngó
   Oyono SM- P2- show himself children
   “Oyono showed himself to the children”

4.1.2.2. Oblique arguments
C9a) Ebolo a- ké- kóbo é-mien
   Ebolo SM- P2- talk pron.c1-MIEN
   “Ebolo talked to himself”
b) Ebolo a- ké- ve é-mien kálate
   Ebolo SM- P2- give pron.c1-MIEN book
   “Ebolo gave himself a book”

4.1.2.3. Subject – adjunct
C10a) Bika a- ké- yén nyó mvus djé-é-mien
   Bika SM- P2- see snake behind her her-MIEN
   “Bika saw a snake behind herself”
b) Bika a- ké- sónló Engon amú é-mien
   Bika SM- P2- offend Engon because pron.c1-MIEN
   “Bika insulted Engon because of himself”

4.1.2.4. Ditransitives and double complements
C11a) Bika a- ké- líti é-mien Ondoua
   Bika SM- P2- show pron.c1-MIEN Ondoua
   “Bika showed herself to Ondoua”
b) Bika a- ké- ve Ondoua é-mien
   Bika SM- P2- give Ondoua pron.c1-MIEN
   “Bika gave Ondoua himself”
c) Bika a- ké- kóbo é-mien asú Ondoua
   Bika SM- P2- talk pron.c1-MIEN about Ondoua
   “Bika talked to himself about Ondoua”

4.1.2.5. Two internal arguments or adjuncts
C12a) Bika a- ké- kóbo mam mé Ondoua be é-mien
   Bika SM- P2- talk think of Ondoua to pron.c1-MIEN
   “Bika talked about Ondoua to himself”
b) Bika a- ké- kóbo Ondoua asú é-mien
   Bika SM- P2- talk Ondoua about pron.c1-MIEN
   “Bika talked to Ondoua about himself”
c) Bika a- ké- kóbo é-mien asú Ondoua
   Bika SM- P2- talk pron.c1-MIEN about Ondoua
   “Bika talked to himself about Ondoua”
4.1.2.6. Clausemate noncoarguments

C13a) Engon a- ké- loon nyiá woé é-mien
     Engon SM- P2- call mother Poss pron.c1-MIEN
     “Engon called his own mother”

b) Engon a- ké- vase nîwoé ó-bien
     Engon SM- P2- comb hair Poss. It-MIEN
     “Engon combed his own hair”

c) Engon a- ké- kóbò mása woé é-mien
     Engon SM- P2- talk boss Poss. him self
     “Engon talked to his own boss”

d) Engon a- ké- bete kálate woé é-mien é tébélé
     Engon SM- P2- put book Poss. it-MIEN on table
     “Engon put his own book on the table”

e) nkûkûma a- ké- ve Ondoua dás djal dé é-mien
     chief SM- P2- give Ondoua gift village Poss. pron.c1-MIEN
     “The chief gave Ondoua a gift in his own village”

f) bôngó béfám bá- ké- sob mesú mábá mé-bien
     children men SM- P2- wash faces Poss. pron.c2-MIEN
     “The children washed their own faces”

C14a) ésâ Ondoua a- a- yelan nyé
     father Poss Ondoua SM- Pres- praises him
     “Ondoua’s father praises himself”

Comment: nye corresponds either to the father of Ondoua or to someone else.

ai) ésâ Ondoua a- a- yelan e-mien
     father Poss Ondoua SM- Pres- praises pron.c1-MIEN
     “Ondoua’s father praises himself”

Comment: Only the father, not Ondoua, is the possible antecedent of e-mien.

c) nyiá Ondoua a- ké- kuan metwa woé é-mien
     mother Ondoua SM- P2- sell car Poss. it-MIEN
     “Ondoua’s mother sold her own car”

Comment: C14b) is not different from C14c). This sentence can also be interpreted to mean that the car belongs to Ondua.

X20a) bôngó béfám bá- ké- yén fôta wobá
     Children men SM- P2- see pictures Poss
     “The boys saw their pictures”

b) Engon a- ké- kóbò bôngó béfám asú fôta wobá
     Engon SM- P2- talk children men about pictures them
     “Engon told the children about their pictures”
Comment: The children could be the antecedent if *wobá bé-bien* ('their own') is ised place of *woba*.

### 4.1.2.7. Demoted arguments

Such constructions are not attested in Bulu.

#### 4.1.3. Properties of antecedents

**C16a)** *me a- ké- yén má -mien*

I SM- P2- see my-MIEN

“I saw myself”

**b)** *wo o- ké- yén wo-mien*

you SM- P2- see your-MIEN

“You saw yourself”

**C17a)** *me a- ké- woo ma-mien*

I SM- P2- wash my-MIEN

“I washed myself”

**b)** *me a- a- víni ma-mien*

I SM- Pres- hate my-MIEN

“I hate myself”

**c)** *me a- ké- kat Ondoua asú ma-mien*

I SM- P2- tell Ondoua about my-MIEN

“I told Ondoua about myself”

**d)** *me a- ké- yén nyó fefel djam*

I SM- P2- see snake near Poss

“I saw a snake near myself”

**e)** no passive

**f)** *me a- ké- loon nyíá wom é-mien*

I SM- P2- call mother Poss. my-MIEN

“I called my own mother”

**g)** *évâ wom a- a- nyee é-mien*

father my SM- Pres- admire pron.c1-MIEN

“My father admires himself”

Comment: If we replace *e-mien* with 1st person the sentences is still acceptable.

#### 4.1.3.4. Quantifiers

**C19a)** *mingá áse a- ké- yén é-mien*

woman all SM- P2- see pron.c1-MIEN

“Every woman saw herself”

**a’** *mingá áse a-ké-yén-ban*

woman all SM-P2-see-RFM

“Every woman saw herself”
b) móngó áse a-ké-woo é-mien
   child all SM-P2-wash pron.c1-MIEN
   “Every child washed himself”

b') móngó áse a-ké-woban
   child all SM-P2-wash.RFM
   “Every child washed himself”

b'') Ondoua a ké woo Engon
Ondoua SM P2 wash Engon
“Ondoua washed Engon”
Comment: For the verb meaning ‘wash’ the infinitive form is wooban, but if the verb takes a direct object that is not the subject, it is realized as woo-.

c) móngó áse a- a- vini é-mien
   child all SM- Pres- hate her-MIEN
   “Every student hates himself”
Comment: The –ban strategy is not available for C19c.

d) móngó áse a- ké- yén nyó fefel djé é-mien
   child all SM- P2- see snake near him pron.c1-MIEN
   “Every child saw a snake near himself”
Comment: The –ban strategy is not available for C19d.

e) móngó áse a- ké- loon nyiá woé é-mien
   child all SM- P2- call mother Poss.him himself
   “Every child called his own mother”

f) ésâ món áse a- a- nyee é-mien
   father son all SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
   “Every son’s father admires himself”
Comment: The –ban strategy is not available for C19f.

4.1.3.5. Questioned antecedents
C20a) zá a- ké- yén é-mien
   Who SM- P2- see pron.c1-MIEN
   “Who saw himself?”

b) zá a- ké- woo é-mien
   who SM- P2- wash pron.c1-MIEN
   “Who washed himself?”

c) zá a- ké- yén nyó fefel djé é-mien
   Who SM- P2-see snake near Poss.pron.c1-MIEN
   “Who saw a snake near himself?”
d) zá a-ké-loon nyia woe e-mien
who SM-P2-call mother Poss.him pron.c1-MIEN
“Who called his own mother?”
e) zá (nye) éсад a- a- yee é-mien
who (Foc) father SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
“Whose father admires himself?”

4.1.3.6. Reverse binding
C21a) Impossible
*é-mien a- ké- yén Ela
pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- see Ela
“Himself saw Ela”
b) *biā bé-bien biā-ké-ag-yen
we our-MIEN SM- P2- us see
“Ourselves saw us”
c) *é-mien a- ké- yén nyó mvús Ela
pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- see snake behind Ela
“Himself saw Ela”
d) Impossible
*é-mien a- ké- sisi Ela
pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- impress Ela
“Himself impressed Ela”
e) Engon a- ké- kóbo é-mien asú Bika
Engon SM- P2- speak pron.c1-MIEN about Bika
“Engon spoke to himself about Bika”
f) Engon a- ké- kat é-mien asú Bika
Engon SM- P2- tell pron.c1-MIEN about Bika
“Engon told himself about Bika”
g) Impossible
*é-mien a- ngá- yelan Ela
himself SM- P3- praise Ela
“Himself impressed Ela”
h) Impossible
*wo-mien wo- nyee-an wo
Your-MIEN SM-be.like-RCM you
“yourself is liked by you”
c22a),b), c) and d) are not possible in Bulu
e) fóta nyiá woé é-mien a- ké- ku be Bika
picture mother Poss.himself SM- P2- fall on Bika
“A picture of his own mother fell on Bika”
f) föta nyíá woé é-mien a- ké- bo avak be Bika
picture mother Poss.pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- make pleasure on Bika
“A picture of his own mother pleased Bika”

**Word order and weak crossover**

Z30a) Bika, nyíá woé é-mien a-a-nyee
Bika mother Poss pron.c1-MIEN SM-Pres-love
"Bika, his(own) mother loves"

b) zá a-a-nyee nyíá woé
who SM-pres-love mother Poss
“Who loves his mother?”

zá nyé nyíá woé a- a- nyee
who Focus mother Poss SM pres love
“Who does his mother love?”

Please provide sentences and tell me how these come out with the intended reading that her=every girl.

c) ‘Her teacher loves every girl’
nyeele woé a- a- nyee moùn mingaù aûse
teacher her SM- Pres- love child woman every

d) ‘Every girl loves her teacher’
moùn mingaù aûse a- a- nyee nyeele woé
child woman every SM- Pres- love teacher her

Comment: ‘Her’ could also refer to someone else.

4.1.4. Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1. Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

C23) bingá bé- a- vôlo bé-bien
women SM- Pres- help pron.c2-MIEN
“The women helped themselves”

Comment : The example in C23 can have the meanings C24b and C24e.

C24a) Each woman helps all (or almost all) of the women, excluding herself.

b) Each woman helps all of the women, including herself.

c) Each woman helps at least some of the other women.

d) Each woman helps herself.

e) The women together as a group help the women together as a group.

f) Each woman helps one of the women other than herself, such that all of the women are helped by one of the others.

c25a) bingá bà- ké- yelan bé-bien
women SM- P2- praise pron.c2-MIEN
“The women praised themselves”
Comment: The verb *yelan* cannot be affixed with -*ban* or -*an*

b) *bingá bá- ké- we be-bien*
   women SM- P2- kill pron.c2-MIEN
   “The women killed themselves”

b’) *bingá bá- ké- we-an*
   women SM- P2- kill RCM
   “The women killed themselves”

4.1.4.2. Reciprocal readings

C26a)  *bingá bá-ké-tóban*
   women SM-P2-meet.RCM
   “The women meet with each other”

Comment: The verb *tóban* does not have an independent stem *tob-*.

b) *bingá bá-ké-yen-an*
   women SM-P2-see-RCM
   “The women saw each other”

c) *bingá bá- ké- duan*
   women SM- P2- fight.RCM
   “The women fought each other”

Comment: The verb *duan* does not have an independent stem *du-*.

C26a’)  *bingá bá-ké-tóban bé-bien*
   women SM-P2-meet.RCM pron.c2-MIEN
   “The women met themselves”

b’)  *bingá bá-ké-yen-an bé-bien*
   women SM-P2-see-RCM pron.c2-MIEN
   “The women saw each other”

c’)  *bingá bá- ké- duan bé-bien*
   women SM- P2- fight.RCM pron.c2-MIEN
   “The women fought with themselves”

C27/N/A

C28a)  *Engon ba Bika bá- ké- yelan bé-bien*
   Engon and Bika SM- P2- praise pron.c2-MIEN
   “Engon and Bika praised themselves"

b)  *bingá bá- ké- yelan bé-bien*
   women SM- P2- praise them selves
   “The women praised themselves”

C29a)  N/A

b)  N/A

c)  N/A
Engon ba Bika bá- ké- vé-an bé-bien kalate
Engon and Bika SM- P2- give-RCM pron.c2-MIEN book
“Engon and Bika gave books to each other"

c30) Engon ba Bika bé- a- bíni ná bé a nyee san
Engon and Bika SM- Pres- think that Pres love RCM
“Engon and Bika think that they love each other”
Comment: This can mean that Engon and Bika have the same thought, namely, that they love each other, but it does not mean that Engon thinks he loves Bika and Bika thinks she loves Engon, but neither is sure that the other one loves him/her (In other words, their thoughts are not exactly the same)

4.1.4.3. Sociative readings
C31a) bekoi bá-ké-ke nsámbá
monkeys SM- P2- go together
“The monkeys left together”
b) bekoi bá-ké-dí kòs nsámbá
monkeys SM- P2- eat fish together
“Monkeys ate fish together”

4.1.4.4. Antipassive readings
C32a) ze dja- ké- dígi bot
panther SM-P2- bite people
“The panther bit people”
b) govina a- a- bi bot
government SM- Pres- arrest people
“The government arrests people”
c) Engon a- a- yelan bot
Engon SM- Pres- praise people
“Engon praises people”

4.2. Cross- clausal binding
X4) N/A
X5) Engon a- ké- biá síli ná bi vegle wo síli ná ó- kóbo nyé otetek
Engon SM- P2- us ask that we try you ask that SM talk him quietly
“Engon asked us to try to ask you to talk to him quietly”

X6) Engon a- djó- ná Ela a ding món mingá a- ké- wúban nyé anyu
Engon SM- says that Ela SM love child girl SM- P2- kiss him mouth
“Engon said that Ela loves the girl who kissed him”
X6i) Engon ba Bika baù ké wúban  
Engon and Bika SM P2 kiss.RCM  
“Engon and Bika kissed each other”
Comment: In cases like ‘Engon and Bika kissed’ wúban is inherently reciprocal.

X7) Engon a- djó- nâ Ela a- solan nyé éyong ése  
Engon SM- says- that Ela SM- criticize him time all  
“Engon says that Ela usually criticizes him/*himself”
Comment: To clarify, nyé can’t be Ela, but If e-mien replaces nye Ela could antecede it.

4.2.1. Corefence relations across typical tensed clausal complement
X8a) Engon a- ké- djó- nâ Ela a- nyee é-mien  
Engon SM- P2- say that Ela SM Pres love her-MIEN  
“Engon said that Ela loves herself”
Comment: To be clear, e-mien cannot be Engon.

X9) *Engon a-ké-djó-an nâ Ela a- nyee  
Engon SM-P2-say-RFM that Ela SM-Pres-love  
“Engon said that Ela loves herself/himself”

X10) Engon a-ké-djó nâ Ela a- nyee nyé  
Engon SM-P2-say that Ela SM--Pres-love him  
“Engon said that Ela loves him”

XII) *Engon nyé a- ké- djó nâ Ela a- nyee  
Engon her SM- P2- say that Ela SM P2 say  
“Engon knows that Ela said that himself is intelligent”

4.2.1.1. Tensed complement, long distance relations, anophor in situ
D1a) Engon a- ké- djó nâ é-mien a- ne atcheng  
Engon SM- P2- say that pron.c1-MIEN SM is intelligent  
“Engon said that himself is intelligent”

b) *Engon a- a- yem nâ Ela a- a- ding é-mien  
Engon SM- Pres- know that Ela SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN  
“Engon knows that Ela loves himself”

c) *Engon a- a- yem nâ Ela a- ké- djó nâ é-mien  
Engon SM- Pres- know that Ela SM P2 say that pron.c1-MIEN  
a- ne atcheng  
SM is intelligent  
“Engon knows that Ela said that himself is intelligent”
d) *Engon a- a-búni nà Ango a- a- yem nà Ela a- a-
Engon SM- Pres think that Ango SM Pres know that Ela SM Pres
ding e-mien
love pron.c1-MIEN
“ Engon thinks that Ango knows that Ela loves himself”
e) *Engon a-a-búni nà Ango a- a- yem nà é-mien
Engon SM-Pres-think that Ango SM-Pres-know that pron.c1-MIEN
a-a-ding Ela
SM-Pres-love Ela
“Engon thinks that Ango knows that himself loves Ela”
f) *Engon a- ngá- kat Ango nà Ela a- a- ding é-mien
Engon SM- P2- say Ango that Ela SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN
“ Engon told Ango that Ela loves himself”
Comment: Neither Ango nor Engon can be the antecedent.

g) Engon a- ngá- kat Ango nà é-mien a- a- ding Ela
Engon SM- P2- say Ango that Ela SM Pres love Ela
“ Engon told Ango that himself loves Ela”
Comment: Both Ango and Engon are possible antecedents.

D2a) *Engon a- ké kangse nà Evina a- a- ding é-mien
Engon SM- P2 admit that Evina SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
D2b) *Engon a- a- tyol nà Evina a- a- ding é-mien
Engon SM-P2- admit that Evina SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

D3a)*Ela a- ngá- wók Ondoua ólún éyong Evina a- ngá- bám é-mien
Ela SM P3 hear Ondoua sadness when Evina SM P3 blame pron.c1-MIEN
b) *Ela a-ngá-búlan ndá éyon é-mien a- ngá- tek
Ela SM-P3-return home when pron.c1-MIEN SM- P3- tired
c) *éyong Evina a- ngá- tíli é-mien, Ela a- ngá- búlan ndá
when Evina SM-P3- write pron.c1-MIEN, Ela SM P3 return home
d) *Evin a- ngá- ke teke Ela a- yén- é-mien
Evin SM- P3- go without Ela SM- see pron.c1-MIEN
e) *Evina a- ngá- ve Ela meku teke a- yén- é-mien
Evin SM- P3- give Ela wrong without SM- see pron.c1-MIEN

4.2.2. Long distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types
X12a) me a- a- yi nà me a- a- ke
I SM- Pres- want that I SM- Pres- go
“I want [to leave]"
a) me a- a- yi nà Evina a- a- ke
   I SM- Pres- want that Evina SM- Pres- go
   “I want [Evina to leave]”

a ii) me a-ké-kat Evina nà a-ake
   I SM-P2-tell Evina that SM-Pres-go
   “I told Evina [to leave]

b) me a- ké- bo nà Evina a- a- ke
   I SM- P2- make that Evina SM Pres go
   “I made [Evina leave]

c) me a- ké- yén mot a- a- kele
   I SM- P2- see person SM- Pres going
   “I saw [someone leaving]”

d) *me a- a- djoë [nà a- a- kóbo òtektek]
   I SM Pres ordered that SM Pres speak slowly

e) * me a a yen [Evina abe]
   I SM Pres Evina bad

D4a) *Ango a- ké- sili Bika nà a- buni é-mien
   Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- believe pron.c1-MIEN

b) *Ango a- ké- sili Bika nà a- ve kálate é-mien
   Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- give book pron.c1-MIEN

c) *Ango a- ké- sili Bika nà a- kóbo é-mien
   Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- talk pron.c1-MIEN

d) *Ango a- ké- sili Bika nà a- kóbo asu é-mien
   Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- talk about pron.c1-MIEN

e) *Ango a- tôtô- ndi nà Bika a- buni é-mien
   Ango SM- sit.P2-hope that Bika SM- trust pron.c1-MIEN

f) *Ango a- ké- djoë Bika nà a- yáane é-mien
   Ango SM- P2- order Bika that SM- pay pron.c1-MIEN

g) *Ango a- ké- joë Bika nà a-djó nà é-mien a mbé atchéng
   Ango SM- P2- order Bika that SM-pay that pron.c1-MIEN SM be.P3 intelligent

h) *Ango a- ké- joë Bika nà a-djó nà Evina a- a- ding é-mien
   Ango SM- P2-order Bika that SM-say that Evina SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN

The are no Lexical subjects in Bulu with Infinitives:

D5-D7) N/A
Small clauses are very scarce in Bulu

D8) N/A
4.2.3. Backwards anaphora

When X is an anaphor co construed with Engon coreference is possible

D9a) nà é-mien a- ké- só mvús a- ké- degle Engon
that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-arrive back SM-P2-annoy Engon
“That pron.c1-MIEN was late annoyed Engon”

b) nà é-mien a-ké-só mvús a-ké-líti nà Engon a-mbe-nku
that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-arrive back SM-P2-show that Engon SM-be.P3-guilty
“That himself was late showed that Engon was guilty”

c) na e-mien a-ke-so mvus a-ke-bo na Engon a woo abe
that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-arrive back SM-P2-make that Engon SM hear bad
“That himself was late made Engon feel bad”

d) N/A

Section 4.3. Principle C- type effects

E1a) *Bika a- ké- solan Ondoua
Bika SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“Bika criticized Ondoua”

b) *a ké- djó nà Bika a- ké- solan Ondoua
he P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“He said Bika criticized Ondoua”

c) *a a- ké- solan món fám
he SM- P2- criticize child man
“He criticized the boy”

d) *a ké- djó nà Bika a- ké- solan món fám
he P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize child man
“He said Bika criticized the boy”

E2a) * nyiá a-ké-solan Ondoua
mother.Poss SM-P2-criticize Ondoua
“His mother criticized Ondoua”

b) *nyiá a-ké-djó nà Bika a-ké-solan Ondoua
mother.Poss SM P2- say that Bika SM-P2-criticize Ondoua
“His mother said Bika criticized Ondoua”

c) * nyiá a-ké-solan món fám
mother.Poss SM- P2- criticize child man
“He criticized the boy”

d) *nyiá a- ké- djó nà Bika a- ké- solan món fám
mother.Poss SM P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize child man
“He said Bika criticized the boy”
E3a) *mot a- ngá- nyee a- ké- solan Ondoua  
man SM- P3- like OM- P2- criticize Ondoua
" The man who he liked criticized Ondoua"

b) *mot a- ngá- nyee a- ké- solan món fâm  
man SM- P3- like OM- P2- criticize child man
" The man who he liked criticized the boy"

c) *mot a- ngá- nyee nyé a- ké- solan món fâm  
man SM- P3- like him OM- P2- criticize child man
" The man who liked him criticized the boy"

E4a) *Ondoua a- ké- solan Ondoua  
Ondoua SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
" Ondoua criticized Ondoua"

b) *Ondoua ké- djó nà Bika a- ké- solan Ondoua  
Ondoua P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
" Ondoua said Bika criticized Ondoua"

c) * món fâm ké- djó nà Bika a- ké- solan món fâm  
child man P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize child man
" The boy said Bika criticized the boy"

E5a) nyía Engon a- ké solan Engon  
mother.Poss Engon SM-P2- criticize Engon
"Engon’s mother criticized Engon"

b) nyía Engon a- ké- djó nà Avebe a- ké- solan Engon  
mother.Poss Engon SM- P2- say that Avebe SM- P2- criticize Engon
"Engon’s mother said Avebe criticized Engon"

c) nyía món fâm a- ké- solan món fâm  
mother.Poss child man SM- P2- criticize child man
"The boy’s mother criticized the boy"

d) nyía món fâm a- ké- djó nà Avebe a- ké- solan món fâm  
mother.Poss child man SM- P2- say that Avebe SM- P2- criticize child man
"The boy’s mother said Avebe criticized the boy"

E6a) mot (yaa) Engon a- ké- nyee a- ké- solan Engon  
man Comp Engon SM- P2- love SM- P2- criticize Engon
"The man who Engon liked criticized Engon"

b) mot (yaa) món fâm a- ké- nyee a- ké- solan món fâm  
man Comp child man SM- P2- love SM- P2- criticize child man
"The man who the boy liked criticized the boy"

c) mot (yaa) a- ké- nyee món fâm a- ké- solan món fâm  
man Comp SM- P2- love child man SM- P2- criticize child man
"The man who liked the boy criticized the boy"

E8a) *nyía món fâm a- ké- solan Ondoua  
mother.Poss child man SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
"The boy’s mother criticized Ondoua"
b) *nyíá món fám a- ké- djó ná Avebe a- ké- solan Ondoua mother.Poss child man SM- P2- say that Avebe SM- P2- criticize Ondoua “The boy’s mother said Avebe criticized Ondoua”  
c) *nyíá Engon a- ké solan món fám mother.Poss Engon SM-P2- criticize child man “Engon’s mother criticized the boy”  
d) *nyíá Engon a- ké- djó ná Avebe a- ké- solan món fám mother.Poss Engon SM- P2- say that Avebe SM- P2- criticize child man “Engon’s mother said Avebe criticized the boy”

E9a) * mot (yaa) món fám a- ké- nyee a- ké- solan Ondoua man Comp child man SM- P2- love SM- P2- criticize Ondoua “The man who the boy liked criticized Ondoua”  
b) * mot (yaa) Ondoua a- ké- nyee a- ké- solan món fám man Comp Ondoua SM- P2- love SM- P2- criticize child man “The man who Ondoua liked criticized the boy”  
c) *mot (yaa) a- ké- nyee Ondoua a- ké- solan món fám man Comp SM- P2- love Ondoua SM- P2- criticize child man “The man who liked Ondoua criticized the boy”  
d) *mot (yaa) a- ké- nyee món fám a- ké- solan Ondoua man Comp SM- P2- love child man SM- P2- criticize Ondoua “The man who liked the boy criticized Ondoua”

4.4. More on long distance anaphor strategies

D10) Engon a- búní ná a- ne atchéng Engon SM think that SM- be.Pres intelligent “Engon thinks that he is intelligent”

4.4.1. Position of the antecedent

D11a) *Engon a- ké- kat Ango ná Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien Engon SM- P2- tell Ango that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN “Engon told Ango that Ela does not like himself”  
b) *Ango a- ké- kat Engon ná Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien Ango SM- P2- tell Engon that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN “Ango told Engon that Ela does not like himself”  
c) Ango a- ké- kat Engon ná é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela Ango SM- P2- tell Engon that pron.c1-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg El “Ango told Engon that himself does not like El”  
d) *Engon a- ké- kat Ango ná é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela Engon SM- P2- tell Ango that pron.c1-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg El “Engon told Ango that himself does not like El”
e) *Engon a- a- yem nà Ango a- a- búnì nà Ela a- a- nyee
Engon SM- Pres- know that Ango SM- Pres- that Ela SM- Pres- like
ki é-mien
Neg pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon knows that Ango thinks that Ela does not like himself”
D12a) *nýiá Engon a- a- búnì nà Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
mother.Poss Engon SM- Pres- think that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg her-MIEN
“Engon’s mother thinks that Ela does not like himself”
b) nýiá Engon a- a- búnì nà é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela
mother.Poss Engon SM Pres think that her-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg Ela
“Engon’s mother thinks that herself does not like Ela”
c) *Engon a- a- búnì nà Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
Engon SM- Pres- think that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon thinks that Ela does not like himself”
d) *kálate Engon a- a- djó nà Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
letter Engon SM- Pres- say that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN
“The letter Engon says that Ela himself does not like”
e) *Engon a- ngá- wók nà Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
Engon SM- P3- hear that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon heard that Ela does not like himself”
f-N/A (no passive in Bulu with this type of structure)

D13a) *Engon a- ké- djó nà é-mien a- ngá- djale é-mien biyé
Engon SM-P2-say that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P3-wear pron.c1-MIEN clothes
“I said that himself had dressed himself”
b) *Engon a-ké-djó nà é-mien a-ngá-bale é-mien
Engon SM-P2-say that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P3-wound pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon said that himself had wounded himself”
Comment: This is still unacceptable if the second é-mien is replaced by the
object pronoun.
c)N/A

4.4.2. Antecedent properties
4.4.2.1. Person
D13ai) *me a- ké- djó nà é-mien a- ngá- djale é-mien biyé
I SM- P2- say that himself SM- P3 wear himself clothes
“I said that himself had dressed himself”
Comment: This example is not improved if the pronoun-MIEN were changed to
1st-MIEN and 2nd-MIEN, respectively (in response to a question by KS).

bi) *wo a- ké- djó nà é-mien a- ngá- bale é-mien
you SM- P2- say that himself SM- P3 wound pron.c1-MIEN
“You said that himself had wounded himself”
Comment: This example is not improved if the pronoun-MIEN were changed to 1st-MIEN and 2nd-MIEN, respectively (in response to a question by KS).

4.4.2.2. Quantified antecedents

D12ai) *nyiá món áse a- a- bünü nà Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien mother.Poss child every SM- Pres-think that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg her-MIEN

    “Every child’s mother thinks that Ela does not like herself”

b) *nyiá món áse a- a- bünü nà é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela mother.Poss man every SM- Pres-think that her-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg Ela

    “Every child’s mother thinks that herself does not like Ela”

D12a) *abui be-nyiá bön bá- a- bünü nà Ela a- a-

many mothers.Poss children SM- Pres-think that Ela SM- Pres-

nyee ki bé-bien

    “Many children’s mothers think that Ela does not like themselves”

b) abui be-nyiá bön bá- a- bünü nà bé-bien bá- a- nyee Ela

many mothers children SM Pres think that pron.c2-MIEN SM-Pres-love Ela

    “Many children’s mothers think that themselves love Ela”

Comment: The mothers can also be the antecedent of bé-bien.

D13aii) *móngó áse a-ké-djó nà é-mien a- ké- djale é-mien biyé

child every SM-P2-say that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-wear pron.c1-MIEN clothes

    “Every child said that himself had dressed himself”

bii) *abui bongó dá-ké-djó nà bé-bien bá-ké-djale

many children SM- P2-say that pron.c2-MIEN SM-P2-wear

bé-bien biyé

pron.c2-MIEN clothes

    “Many children said that themselves had dressed themselves”

4.4.2.3. Split antecedents

D14 a) N/A

b) N/A

c) Engon a- kéré kat Ondoua nà bé-bien bá- yian- ke

    Engon SM- P2- tell Ondoua that pron.c2-MIEN SM must go

    “Engon told Ondoua that themselves must go”

d) *Engon a- kéré kat Ondoua nà Bika a- a- vini bé-bien

    Engon SM-P2-tell Ondoua that Bika SM- Pres- hate pron.c2-MIEN

    “Engon told Ondoua that Bika hate themselves”
4.4.2.4. Discourse antecedents

The independent pronoun strategy is used in the above examples (D15- D17):

(D15) Engon a- ké- mate ná món woé a tô ki mvói. a tô wook osón Engon SM- P2- fear that child Poss. SM sit Neg fine. He sit hear ashame ná a- a- vok- ki- kaman mvói. bobényan bé- e- nyon nye ané dje that SM Pres can- Neg- defend friend. brothers SM- F2- take him like what “Engon feared that his son was not feeling fine. He was ashamed that he could not defend his closest relatives. His brothers would consider him as what?”

D16) Engon a- ngá- wók olún ná a- a- yén fóto woé áfèp. bemvoi bése Engon SM- P3 hear angry that SM- Pres see picture him paper. Friends all bé- e- ben nye. e e kat nyia woé ayá SM F2 refuse him. He F2 tell mother Poss how “Engon was angry to see his picture in the paper. All his friends will run away from him. How will he tell his mother?”

D17) Bika a- ké djó ná a- mbé ábé mós àsú Ondoua. Bika a- ké- nye Bika SM- P2 say that SM be.P2 bad day for Ondoua. Bika SM- P2- him kat ná bá- ké- nye wüb metwa. a ké nyon taksi àsúna a- a- ké- nye ésai tell that SM- P2- him steal car. he P2 take taxi for SM- Pres go him work Bika a- ké- búní ná e e yian wók olún Bika SM- P2- think that he Pres might hear angry “Bika said that it was a bad day for Ondoua. Bika told him that they stole his car. He had to take a taxi to accompany him to work. Bika thought he would be angry”

D18) A: fombo, Ondoua nyi “Look, this is Ondoua” B: pro a-ne étua abeng SM is very handsome “He is very handsome”

A: me a- a- yí- ki- ná mé bo mingá woe. bingá bése bé a- nyee nyé I SM- Pres- want Neg that I make woman Poss. women all SM-Pres love him
“I would not want to be his wife. All the women love him.

B: me a- a- búní fè nà a- nyee é-mien mbiá abui
I SM- Pres- think also that SM- love pron.c1-MIEN too much
“I also think that he likes himself too much”

4.4.3. Blocking effects
4.4.3.1. Features of intervening subjects

D19a) *Bitché a- a- búní nà Evina a- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that Evina SM- Pres- like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that Evina likes himself”
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

b) *Bitché a- a- búní nà me a- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that I SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that I like himself”
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

c) *Bitché a- a- búní nà Engon a- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that Engon SM- Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that Engon likes himself”
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

d) *Bitché a- a- búní nà bòngó bá- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that children SM- Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that the children like himself”
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

e) *befám bá- a- búní nà bòngó bá- a- nyee bé-mien
men SM- Pres- think that children SM- Pres like pron.c2-MIEN
“The men think that the children like themselves”
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

D20a)Oyono a- a- búní nà Ebolo a- a- yem nà Ango a-a-víni é-mien
Oyono SM- Pres- think that Ebolo SM- Pres- know that Ango SM-Pres-hate pron.c1-MIEN
“Oyono thinks that Ebolo knows that Ango hates himself”

b) *Ebolo a- a- búní nà me a- a- yem nà Engon
Ebolo SM-Pres- think that I SM- Pres know that Engon
a a nyee é-mien
SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN

c) *Ebolo a- a- búní nà Bika a- a- yem nà Engon
Ebolo SM-Pres- think that Bika SM Pres know that Engon
a a nyee é-mien
SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
d) *Ebolo a- a- bùni nà món fàm a- a- yem nà Engon
   Ebolo SM-Pres- think that child man SM- Pres- know that Engon
   a- a- nyee é-mien
   SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN

e) *befàm bá- a- bùni nà món fàm a- a- yem nà Engon
   Ebolo SM-Pres- think that child man SM- Pres- know that Engon
   a- a- nyee é-mien
   SM- Pres-like pron.c1-MIEN
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well-formed

4.4.3.2. Positions of the intervener
D21a) *Oyono a- a- bùni nà Avebe a- ké- kat Engon nà Bika
   Oyono SM- Pres- think that Avebe SM- P2- tell Engon that Bika
   a a nyee é-mien
   SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN
b) *Oyono a- a- bùni nà Avebe a- ké- ma kat nà Bika
   Oyono SM- Pres- think that Avebe SM- P2- me tell that Bika
   a- a- nyee é-mien
   SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
c) *Avebe a- ké- ma kat nà Bika a- a- nyee é-mien
   Avebe SM- P2- me tell that Bika SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
   “Avebe told me that Bika like himself”
d) *Oyono a- ké- djó nà Avebe a- ké- ma ve kálate asu é-mien
   Oyono SM- Pres- say that Avebe SM- P2- me give that for pron.c1-MIEN
   “Oyono said that Avebe gave me a book about himself”

Comment: A pronoun as opposed to pronoun-MIEN would be well-formed but there will be an ambiguity, given that the pronoun could refer either to Oyono or to Avebe if we consider an example like D21d for example. The situation will be the same with the other examples in D21.

4.4.4. Islands
D22a) *Engon a- a- yem nà Bika a- a- vini é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres- know that Bika SM- Pres- hate pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon knows that Bika hates himself”
b) *Engon a- a- sémen mot a- a- nyee é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres- respect man SM- Pres- like pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon respects the man who likes himself”
c) *Engon a- ké-djó nà mot a- a- nyee é-mien a ne
   Engon SM-P2-say that man SM- Pres-like pron.c1-MIEN SM be.Pres
   atchéng
   intelligent
   “Engon said that the man who love himself is intelligent”
d) *Engon a- ké- sílí ngé Bika a- ké- yén é-mien
   Engon SM- P2- ask if Bika SM- P2 see pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon asked if Bika saw himself”
e) *Engon a- ké- sílí éyong Bika a- ké- yén é-mien
   Engon SM- P2- ask when Bika SM- P2 see pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon asked when Bika saw himself”
f) *Engon a- a- ndi yem nà Bika a- ké- ton é-mien
   Engon SM- Pres-Neg-know that Bika SM- P2- follow pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon did not know that Bika followed himself”
g) *Engon a- ké-djó nà Bika a- ne abeng â nà e e
   Engon SM-P2-say that Bika SM- be.Pres beauty and that SM Fut
   luk é-mien
   marry pron.c1-MIEN
   “Engon said that Bika is pretty a and that she would marry pron.c1-MIEN”
Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well-formed depending on what is the antecedent.

4.4.5. De se reading

D23a) Ondoua a- a- djó nà nyiá woé a- ne abeng
   Ondoua SM- Pres- think that mother his SM be.Pres nice
   “Ondoua thinks that his mother is nice
b) Ondoua a- djó nà nyiá woé a- a- kon
   Ondoua SM- say that mother his SM- Pres- sick
   “Ondoua thinks that his mother is sick”.

There is no morphological distinction between the pronouns in (D23). Meaning that Bulu is like English.