

Anaphora in the African Languages - Questionnaire

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PART 1 General information

The consultant for this questionnaire response for Gungbe, Ethnologue code ISO/DIS 639-3: GUW, is Professor Enoch Oladé Aboh, currently at the University of Amsterdam. The languages spoken in his home were Gungbe, Gengbe although he grew up from age 6-13 in a Fon speaking area. These languages belong to the Gbe family with various degrees of mutual intelligibility. His primary school was exclusively francophone and he acquired English and later Spanish as secondary languages. He reports there does not seem to be any other dialect of Gungbe, which he regards as itself a dialect of Alladagbe.

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1.4 References:

There is no grammar of Gungbe that I know of. Some aspects of the language are discussed in detail in my own work. Lefebvre & Brousseau (2002) (*A Grammar of Fongbe*. Mouton) despite its shortcomings (and some controversies with regard to empirical data) provides a good overview of Fongbe that may help understand certain aspects of the Gbe languages in general.

PART 2 An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

2.1 Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 "Primary" reflexive strategy -

A1) John saw himself.

Ján	mò	é-dé
John	see	3sg-dé
‘John saw himself’		

Comment: The gloss and the translation indicate that -dé is superficially comparable to English – *self*. It combines with strong pronouns as shown below. Observe that some of these pronouns alternate with other forms.

Person	Reflexive	Alternate
1sg.	nyè-dé	déè
2sg	jè-dé	---
3sg	é-dé	---
1pl	mí-dé	mí-dé-lé [1pl-dé-Numb]
2pl	mì-dé	mì-dé-lé [2pl-dé-Numb]
3pl	yé-dé	yé-dé-lé [3pl-dé-Numb]

It is not clear to me what conditions the alternation for 1sg, 2sg, and 3sg. As for plural forms, the alternate simply includes the number marker that also occurs in pronouns. This alternation reflects that fact that plural forms may surface with or without the plural marker as in the following example.

Ján m̀̀ mí / mí-lé
 John see 1pl
 ‘John saw us/US’

An example of variation for 1sg is given below

̀̀n m̀̀ nyè-dé / déè
 1sg saw 1sg--dé/ déè
 ‘I saw myself’

Aside these variations, the pro-dé strategy is the only one found in Gungbe and other Gbe languages I know of (e.g., Fongbe). There seems to be no body-part reflexive in Gungbe and other Gbe languages.

Throughout the questionnaire I will use the label pro-dé to refer to this strategy. In most cases I will translate the provided examples mentioning whether they are grammatical or not and maybe adding new examples.

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

Comment: No, pro-dé strategy is the only one available in Gungbe.

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

John washes would be:
 Ján là wú
 John wash body
 ‘John washes’

Comment: Unlike English, we could say here that Gungbe does not allow Object null option but resorts to a place-holder. This would mean that *wú* cannot be considered some kind of body-part reflexive with a zero pro part (i.e., pro-wú with pro being null). The reason for this is that the following sentence is also fine.

Ján là wú ná M̀̀rí
 John wash body for Mary
 ‘John washed Mary’

So what we have here is an instance of what some authors refer to as inherent complement verbs (Avolonto 1995, Essegbey 1999). Others include walk, swim, run, etc. Given this, the following is possible but with a different meaning.

Ján là wú ná é-dé
John wash body for 3sg-dé

‘John washed his own body [John washed himself]’

Comment: This somehow implies that John is now capable of washing himself, suggesting that at some point in time he couldn’t do so but has now acquired the capacity of performing such an action.

A2a) John washes himself.

b) Mary cut herself. [accidentally]

Márí gbò é-dé
Mari cut 3sg-dé
‘Mari cut herself’

c) John is ashamed of himself.

*Ján hù wìnyán ná é-dé
John V humiliation Prep 3sg-dé
‘John is ashamed of himself [lit. John killed honor for himself]’

Comment: Instead I would say something like

ci. nú étòn hù wìnyán ná Ján
thing 3sg-Poss V humiliation Prep John
‘his fate brought John dishonor (or shame)’

cii. nú é-dé tòn hù wìnyán ná Ján
thing 3sg-dé Poss V humiliation Prep John
‘his own fate brought John dishonor (or shame)’

I would normally say (ci) and use (cii) in very dramatic situations where I would think of myself (or suggest that John thinks of himself) as very miserable.

d) John destroyed/kill himself.

Ján hù é-dé
John kill 3sg-dé
‘John killed himself’

e) We hate ourselves.

Mí gbé wán ná mí-dé(-lé)
1pl refuse love Prep 1pl-dé(-Numb)
‘We hate ourselves’
‘We hate each other’

Comment: Observe from the two translations that, when in plural, the pro-dé(-lé) form gives rise to reflexive and reciprocal reading.

2.1.4 Obliques and other argument types -

A3a) John spoke to Mary.

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

Màrí mǎn wémà tò gódò é-tǎn
 Mari see book Prep back 3sg-Poss
 ‘Mary saw a book at her back’

A literal translation of (f) sounds weird to me even though I can imagine such a sentence in a situation where the book is doing something in the back of Mary, e.g., chasing her, or in a situation of correcting focus where the speaker tries to identify the third person pronoun *é* in *é-tǎn*.

?Màrí mǎn wémà tò gódò é-ǎé tǎn
 Mari see book Prep back 3sg-ǎé Poss
 ‘Mary saw a book at her back’

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

Ján xǎ mótò ǎǎxó ǎé ná é-ǎé
 John buy car big Det Prep pro-ǎé
 bǎ kà xǎ zòkéké ná àsì é tǎn
 Coord2 Ptcl buy motor.bike Prep wife 3sg Poss
 ‘John bought a big car for himself but only bought a motor bike for his wife’

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

A4a) Etta likes herself.

Sésì yà, é nyín wán ná é-ǎé tàù. Ní é tò
 Sessi Top 3sg be/have love Prep 3sg-ǎé very when 3sg Prog
 é-ǎé kpà lé, à vè dó ǎè àxósi wè é nyín sín
 3sg-ǎé glory Part, 2sg believe as that queen Foc 3sg be Part
 ‘Sessi loves herself very much. She will praise herself as if she were a queen’

Comment: ‘Part’ in the gloss refers to ‘particle’. The particle “*sín*” it is a discourse particle which encodes some kind of insistence. It is often found in sentences with some exclamative mood.

b) Etta scares herself.

Sésì dó bú ná é-ǎé
 Sessi plant fear Prep 3sg-ǎé
 ‘Sessi scared herself.’

Comment: Even though I found this sentence perfectly grammatical, I would not say it. I can imagine a situation where someone would want to say something like that but even in such a situation I would prefer the following, where the cause of the fear is left unspecified: either Sessi did something as a result of which she was scared or someone else performed an action that scared her.

Sésì ǎì bú
 Sessi resemble fear

Sésì nyón é-dé gánjí
 Sesi knows 3sg-dé well
 ‘Sesi knows herself very well.’

b) Peter (habitually) criticizes himself.

Sésì nò dḡ xó gbígblé dó é-dé gò
 Sesi Hab say word bad Prep 3sg-dé body
 ‘Sesi often says bad things about herself’

bi) Sésì nò dḡ xó gbígblé dó é-dé jí
 Sesi Hab say word bad Prep 3sg-dé on
 ‘Sesi often says bad things about herself’

Comment: What is needed here is a ‘postposition’ with the meaning ‘on’ or ‘about’. So I could change gò by jí and still get the same meaning, but I have a preference of gò.

c) Peter is likely to praise himself.

É dḡdḡ Sésì ná nyín wán ná é-dé tàù.
 3sg seems Sessi Fut be/have love Prep 3sg-dé very
 ‘It seems that Sessi will love herself’

Comment: This is the closest I can get to your example.

(b) Do quantificational constructions involve a separate strategy?

Comment: No

A7a) Every boy looked at himself.

Mèdḡkpó-dḡkpó ní kpé nùkún é-dé gò
 Person.one.one Mood have eye 3sg-dé body
 ‘Each one should take care of her/himself’

b) All the women described John to themselves.

Nyónù lé kpó dḡ xó Ján tòn ná yé-dé
 Woman Numb all say word John Poss Prep 3pl-dé
 ‘All the women told themselves about John’

c) Every teacher introduced himself to Bob.

Núkplḡmé tó dḡkpó-dḡkpó zé é-dé dó xía àgùn
 Teaching person one.one take 3sg-dé cause see crowd
 ‘Every teacher presented her/himself to the audience’

d) Some children only help themselves.

Ví dé lé có wè gó àlò ná yé-dè-lé
 Child Det Numb only Foc add hand Prep 3pl-dè-Numb
 ‘Only certain children helped themselves’

Comment: [Ken: The determiner here has the same form as RM. Just a coincidence?] Enoch: This is a troubling question. The determiner is with high tone. But I have tried the RM dozens of

times to contrast the two and the only thing I can say (but only a recording can really tell) is that there is a contrast between the two such that the determiner is higher than the RM, but the latter is higher than low tone elements. This might correspond to the so-called mid tone in Gbe but I can't really tell.

(c) If your language has a system of grammaticized honorifics, do some types of honorific allow a strategy that has not been listed yet?

Comment: Gungbe is like Yoruba [i.e., in the third person, a plural is used for a single individual. 'Honorific' does not occur in the example, so we must find a way of tagging this for the database - KS]

A8) **Yè** d̀ò ná gán d̀ò yé ní má tón blò b̀ò
 3sg.Imp say Prep chief that 3pl Mood Neg go.out Neg.Part Coord1
 yé gbé. Đê yé m̀n yé-dé k̀ò m̀è lé, àgbó ẁè kpé
 3pl refuse as 3pl see 3pl-dé ground in Part, fatigue Foc suffice
 yé
 them

'The chief was told not to go out but refused. As he found himself on the ground, he couldn't believe it'

Comment: Two points might be relevant to honorific usage. My impression is that in such a usage, the third person plural yé-dé does not readily combine with the number marker lé as is normally the case.

.... ?Đê yé m̀n yé-dé-lé k̀ò m̀è lé, àgbó ẁè kpé yé
 as 3pl see 3pl-dé Numb ground in Part, fatigue Foc suffice them
 '....As he found himself on the ground, he couldn't believe it'

Actually, using the number marker here would rather force a derogatory reading even though singular. Such reading would imply that the chief was overwhelmed and had to 'put himself together (something like 'as if from a jumble of parts).

The second point is that the boldface impersonal 3sg yè (with low tone) also has its DP-dé form as in:

Yè d̀ò yè sán à̀ò ná m̀è-dé
 Imp-3sg say Imp-3sg cut finger Prep person-dé
 b̀ò à d̀ò é má síén
 Coord1 2sg say 3sg Neg hard
 'One says that one cut one's finger off and you say that wasn't difficult'

(d) The above were all tensed main clauses. Experiment with placing both coreferring arguments in various types of subordinate clauses, as your language allows.

A9a) Sol says that Alice loves herself.

Dóná d̀ò d̀ò Sésì nyín wán ná é-dé tàù
 Dona say that Sesi be/have love Prep 3sg-dé very
 'Dona said that Sesi loves herself very much'

b) Sol required that Alice praise herself.

Dóná ɖ̀ ɖ̀ Sé̀sì ɖ́-ńá ǹ kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona say that Sesi Mood Hab praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona said that Sesi must praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

bi) Sol required that Alice praise herself.

Dóná ɖè gbè ɖ̀ Sé̀sì ɖ́-ńá ǹ kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona throw voice that Sesi Mood Hab praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona required that Sesi must praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

c) Sol thought Alice should praise herself.

Dóná ɖ̀ ɖ̀ Sé̀sì ní ǹ kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona say that Sesi Mood Hab praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona said that Sesi should praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

ci) Sol thought Alice should praise herself.

Dóná lèn ɖ̀ Sé̀sì ɖ́ńá ǹ kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona think that Sesi must Hab praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona thought that Sesi must/should praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

d) Sol asked Alice to praise herself.

Dóná ɖ̀ ɖ̀ Sé̀sì ní ǹ kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona say that Sesi Mood Hab praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona said that Sesi should praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

di) Dóná ɖ̀ ɖ̀ Sé̀sì ɖ́ńá ǹ kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé

Dona say that Sesi Mood Hab praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona said that Sesi must praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

Comment: Here "ask" will be interpreted as to make a "demand" and that will be realized as in (9b) or just with a saying verb with a matching mood in the embedded clause.

e) Sol wants to praise himself.

Dóná ǹ jró ná kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona Hab want Prep praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona tends to praise himself a little bit [i.e., he often wants to do so]'

f) Sol expects Alice to praise herself.

Dóná tò tè ná Sé̀sì ní kpà é-ɖé kpèɖé
Dona Loc standing Prep Sesi Mood praise 3sg-ɖé a.little.bit
'Dona is waiting for Sesi to praise herself a little bit [i.e., Sesi is too modest]'

g) Sol heard Alice praising herself.

Dóná ɖ́ tó Sé̀sì b̀ é tò é-ɖé kpà
Dona Loc ear Sesi Coord1 3sg Prog 3sg-ɖé praise
'Dona listen to Sesi praising herself'

Comment: Here we have the progressive OV order. Actually the verb is ɖ́ 'to plant' but ɖ́-tó is an ICV that means to listen to.

gi) Dóná dọ́ tó Sésì b̀ é kpà é-dé
 Dona plant ear Sesi Coord1 3sg praise 3sg-dé
 ‘Dona listen to Sesi who praised herself’

Comment. This is (A9g) with VO. Nothing changes, apart from word order.

2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1

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

Ùn d̀ xó ná Dóná s̀. É m̀n Sésì
 1sg say word Prep Dona yesterday 3sg see Sesi
 ‘I spoke to Dona yesterday. He saw Sesi’

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

Fíté wè Dóná yì ? Ùn m̀n-èn tò àxìmè
 Where Foc Dona go 1sg see-3sg Loc market
 ‘Where did Dona go?’ ‘I saw him at the market’

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

Mí m̀n-wè. Bé à kà m̀n mí
 1pl see-2sg. Part.Q 2sg at.least see 1pl.Inter
 ‘We saw you. But did you see us at all?’

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

Pers-Num	Strong Forms	Weak Forms		Possessives
		Nominative	Accusative	
1sg	nyè	(ù)n	mì	cé
2sg	jè	à	wè	tòwè
3sg	éð/úð	é	e/ε/i	é-t̀n
1pl	mí-lé	mí	mí	mí-t̀n
2pl	mì-lé	mì	mì	mì-t̀n
3pl	yé-lé	yé	yé	yé-t̀n

2.2.3 Null arguments -

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

*d̀ hwèví
 eat fish

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

*Dóná x̀
 Dona hit

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

*Dóná d̀ xó ná
 Dona say word Prep

2.2.4 The use of otherwise independent pronouns for clausemate anaphora

A10g) Ali praised him.

Dóná kpà-è
Doan praise-3sg
‘*Dona praised himself’

h) Ali liked him.

Sésì nyín wán ná-è
Sesi be/have love Prep-3sg
‘*Sesi loves herself’

i) Ali saw him

Dóná m̀n-è
Dona see-3sg
‘*Dona saw himself’

j) Ali talked to him

k) Ali sent a book to him.

Dóná ɔ̀ xó ná-è
Dona say word Prep-3sg
‘*Dona talked to himself’

l) Ali helped him

Dóna gó àlò ná-è
Dona add hand Prep-3sg
‘*Dona helped himself’

m) Ali surprised him

Dóná kpácá-è
Dona surprise-3sg
‘*Dona surprised himself’

n) Ali bought a book for him

Dóná x̀ wémá ná-è
Dona buy book Prep-3sg
‘*Dona bought a book for himself’

o) Ali read a book about him

*Dóná x́á wémá ɔ̀-è jí
Dona read book Prep-3sg on

p) Ali found a book near him

Dóná m̀n wémá tò àkpá é-t̀n
Dona see book Prep side 3sg-Poss
‘*Dona saw a book near herself’

2.3 Reciprocal Readings

2.3.1

Comment: As mentioned before, plural forms of the reflexive are ambiguous between reflexive and reciprocal reading. Removing the number marker allows the reading: 'everybody as a group saw everybody as a group'. This is shown by the following example.

Mí	m̀̀n	mí-ḍé(-lé)	tò	m̀̀kpónú	m̀̀
1pl	see	1pl-ḍé(-Numb)	Loc	mirror	in

‘We saw ourselves in a mirror [each person saw himself in a mirror]’
 ‘We saw each other in a mirror’

2.3.2

A11a) The women see each other.

b) The boys washed each other.

Ví	lé	là	wú	ná	yé-ḍé
Child	Numb	wash	body	Prep	3pl-ḍé

‘The children washed each other’
 ?/*The children washed themselves’

Comment: The marginality of the reflexive reading is due to the fact that verbs like *wash* are inherent complement verbs for which the reflexive meaning is available by default.

A11bi) Ví lé là wú
 Child Numb wash body
 ‘The children washed’

Comment: However, the reflexive meaning seems more readily available with *yé-ḍé-lé*, that is, a *pro-ḍé* form that includes the number marker. I suspect this is due to the definiteness feature also associated to the number marker in the Gbe languages, but I’m not sure. [Ken: A11b) Pronoun-RM is thus *required* for ‘wash’ for the reciprocal reading? Enoch: Yes.]

A11bii) Ví lé là wú ná yé-ḍé-lé
 Child Numb wash body Prep 3pl-ḍé-Numb
 ‘The children washed each other’
 ‘The children washed themselves’

Comment: Pronoun-RM is thus *required* for ‘wash’ for the reciprocal reading

Comment: With regard to John washed leg/hand/car, all these elements can occur with the verb with or without a possessor or PP.

A11biii)	Ûn	là	wú	(cè)	b̀̀	tón
	1sg	wash	body	1sg.Poss	and	go.out
	‘I washed and went out’					
biv)	Ûn	kló	àl̀̀	(cè)	b̀̀	tón
	1sg	wash	hand	1sg.Poss	and	go.out
	‘I washed my hand(s) and went out’					
bv)	Ûn	kló	mótò	(cè)	b̀̀	tón

1sg wash car 1sg.Poss and go.out
'I washed my car and went out'

Comment: Notice the ambiguity here, which I think has to do with the interpretation of bare nouns in this language. This seems to suggest that wú behaves like any bare noun in this context (e.g., car) and the reflexive interpretation is derived on the basis of context (or by default). So I guess, we can only leave the question of whether or not this is a body part reflexive open.

Comment: Follow-up on distributive vs. group readings:

With the following example I do accept the group reading without the number marker and a distributed reading with the number marker.

Ví lé sísé yé-dé
Child Numb push 3pl-dé
'The children pushed themselves [also as a group]'

Ví lé sísé yé-dé lé
Child Numb push 3pl-dé Numb
'The children pushed themselves [reflexive and reciprocal, i.e., distributed meaning]

c) The men combed each other's hair.

Same situation as previously

Ví lé kpà d̀à ná yé-dé(-lé)
Child Numb cut hair Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
'The children cut each other's hair'
'The children each cut their own hair'

d) They argued with each other.

Ví lé d̀ò jr̀è xé yé-dé(-lé)
Child Numb say dispute Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
'The children argued with each other'
?'The children argued with themselves'

Comment: Unless they are assumed to be mad or under the influence some supra-natural force. "They argued" does not exist. It has to be either the verb I used d̀ò jr̀è 'to make a dispute', d̀òn xó "pull word, i.e., to argue in the sense of discussing something" or some other ICV of the sort.

e) The boys kicked each other.

Ví lé gbá yé-dé(-lé)
Child Numb kick 3pl-dé-Numb
'The children kicked each other'

*'The children kicked themselves' [physically impossible, ruled out by knowledge of the world]

f) They hate each other.

Yé gbé wán ná yé-dé(-lé)
3pl refuse love Prep 3pl-dé(-Numb)

‘They hate themselves’
 ‘They hate each other’

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

A12a) The men introduced Bill to each other.

Bólù xó tó lé zé kócù ló dó xía yé-dé(-lé)
 Ball beat Person Numb take coach Det plant show 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘The players showed the coach to each other [introduced the coach to each other]
 ‘?The players showed the coach to themselves’

Comment: This sentence would suggest that the coach is not physically present but his photo was shown around. This is what has been called a serial verb construction.

b) The travelers spoke to each other.

Mè jé-yí tòmè lé dḡ xó ná yé-dé(-lé)
 Person about.go country.in Numb say word Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘People traveling talked to each other’
 ‘?People traveling talked to themselves’

Comment: Also disfavored on pragmatic ground consider for instance the following example:

Mè jé-yí tòmè lé xò dḡ ná yé-dé(-lé)
 Person about.go country.in Numb say prayer Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘People traveling said a prayer to each other’
 ‘People traveling said a prayer for themselves’

c) The priests heard stories about each other.

Pástḡ lé sè xó yé-dé-lé tòn
 Pastor Det hear word 3pl-dé-Numb Poss
 ‘The priests heard stories/rumors about each other’
 ‘The priest heard stories about themselves’

d) They left presents in front of each other.

Yé zé núníná dḡ nùkòn ná yé-dé-lé
 3pl take gifts at front Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘They put the gifts in front of each other.’
 ‘They put the gifts in front of themselves.’

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

Comment: The data here are identical to those given previously. I will just repeat them here.

A13a) We saw each other.

Mí mḡn mí-dé(-lé) tò mḡkpónú mè
 1pl see 1pl-dé(-Numb) Loc mirror in

‘We saw ourselves in a mirror [each person saw himself in a mirror]’
 ‘We saw each other in a mirror’

b) You(pl.) must help each other.

Mi dɔ ná gɔ àlò ná mì-dé(-lé)
 2pl must to add hand Prep 2pl-dé(-Numb)
 ‘You must help yourselves’
 ‘We must help each other’

Comment: Basically, to talk about oneself in Gungbe translates as “to say something at oneself on” So the role of *gò* here is to express the postnominal on. As I said previously, I could change it by *jí*, and the meaning would be the same, but I have a preference for *gò* in some contexts. It is not clear to me yet what the determining factor is.

c) We will wash ourselves.

Mí ná là wú ná mí-dé-lé
 Child Numb wash body Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘We will wash each other’
 ‘We will wash ourselves [i.e., assuming that normally we are helped by someone else]’

Comment: The inherent complement cannot be contrastive. In English we need the overt reflexive for the contrastive reading, which is the parallel I have in mind, *he washed himSELF*, but we can't get that reading from *he WASHED* which only contrasts activities.

d) They always criticize each other.

Yé nò dɔ xó gbígbé dɔ yé-dé-lé gò
 3pl Hab say word rotten at 3pl-dé-Numb body
 ‘They often say naughty things about themselves’
 ‘They often say naughty things about each other’

e) Many boys kicked each other.

Ví sùsù gbá yé-dé(-lé)
 Child many kick 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘Many children kicked each other’
 *‘Many children kicked themselves’

Comment: Physically impossible, ruled out by knowledge of the world]

2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies: Briefly consider various types of reciprocal embedded clauses

A14a) Sol says that the girls love each other.

Dóná dɔ dɔ ví lé nyín wán ná yé-dé(-lé)
 Dona say that child Numb be/have love Prep 3pl-dé-Numb
 ‘Dona said that the children love each other’
 ‘Dona said that the children love themselves’

b) Sol required that the girls praise each other.

Dóná ḍò ḍò ví lé ḍó-ná n̄ò kpà yé-ḍé(-lé) kpèḍé
Dona say that child Numb Mood Hab praise 3pl-ḍé-Numb a.little.bit

‘Dona said that the children must praise each other a little bit’

‘Dona said that the children must praise themselves a little bit’

Dóná ḍè gbè ḍò ví lé ḍó-ná n̄ò kpà yé-ḍé(-lé) kpèḍé
Dona throw voice that child Numb Mood Hab praise 3pl-ḍé-Numb a.little.bit

‘Dona required that the children must praise each other a little bit’

‘Dona required that the children must praise themselves a little bit’

c) Sol thought the girls should praise each other.

Dóná lèn ḍò ví lé dóná n̄ò kpà yé-ḍé(-lé) kpèḍé
Dona think that child Numb Mood Hab praise 3pl-ḍé-Numb a.little.bit

‘Dona thought that the children should praise each other a little bit’

‘Dona thought that the children should praise themselves a little bit’

d) Sol asked the girls to praise each other.

Dóná ḍò ná ví lé ḍò yé ní n̄ò kpà yé-ḍé(-lé) kpèḍé
Dona say Prep child Numb that 3pl Mood Hab praise 3pl-ḍé-Numb a.little.bit

‘Dona asked the children to praise each other a little bit’

‘Dona asked the children to praise themselves a little bit’

d) Sol asked Alice to praise herself.

[identical to 9Ac]

e) The girls want to praise each other.

Ví lé jró ná kpà yé-ḍé(-lé) kpèḍé
Dona Hab want Prep praise 3pl-ḍé-Numb a.little.bit

‘The children want to praise each other a little bit’

‘The children want to praise themselves a little bit’

f) Sol expects the girls to praise each other.

Dóná t̄ò t̄è ná ví lé ní kpà yé-ḍé(-lé) kpèḍé
Dona Loc standing Prep child Numb Mood praise 3pl-ḍé-Numb a.little.bit

‘Dona is waiting for the children to praise each other a little bit’

‘Dona is waiting for the children to praise themselves a little bit’

g) Sol heard the girls praising each other.

Dóná ḍó t̄ó ví lé b̄ò yé t̄ò yé-ḍé(-lé) kpà
Dona plant ear child Numb Coord1 3pl Prog 3pl-ḍé-Numb praise

‘Dona listened to the children praising each other’

‘Dona listened to the children praising themselves’

2.4 Other types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable -

A15a) Paul lost his shoes.

Dóná hèn àfòkpà étòn bú
Dona hold shoes Poss lose
'Dona lost her/his shoes'

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

Dóná zé àlò yì àgà
Dona take hand go above
'Dona raised his/her hand'

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

Dóná gbò àlò
Dona cut hand
'Dona cut his/her hand'

d) Paul examined his hand.

Dóná kpón àlò étòn crúcrú
Dona look hand Poss carefully
'Dona examined his/her hand'

2.4.2 Reflexives in nominals -

A16) Andrew's self-confidence annoyed Mary.

Dóná sín wán gnígnín ná éqè vè ná Màrí
Dona Poss love have.have. Prep 3sgl-qé annoy Prep Mari
'Dona's love for him/herself annoyed Mary'

Comment: Kinyalolo (1997) calls the bracketed sequence acting as subject of the sentence "verbal gerund".

[Dóná sín wán gnígnín ná éqè]

Based on my own work on OVV structures, I would consider them more as some kind of small clause, i.e., the one selected in progressives and OV constructions. I discuss this in the SVC paper I mentioned to you previously. In both Kinyalolo's and my story there is c-command. I think these examples are comparable to English sequences like "John loving himself too much ruined their marriage" or "The love John has for himself ruined their marriage."

A17i) Andrew's introduction of himself impressed the teacher.

Dé Dóná dó éqè xía àgùn ló qó kpácá mèt lé tàùn
As Dona plant 3sg-qé show group Det way surprise people Numb very
'The way Dona presented her/himself to the group really impressed people'

ii) Dóná sín xó qìqò dó éqè gò kpácá núkplónmètó ló
Dona Poss word say.say Prep 3sgl-qéannoy Prep teacher Det
'Dona's words about herself impressed/surprised the teacher'

Comment: See the comment for (A16).

2.4.3 Something we haven't thought of? - Please bring to our attention any other sort of local coconstrual between arguments of a predicate that you think is relevant.

Comment: I don't think so

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

Comment: There is only one strategy, namely pro-dé, where the pronominal part refers back to the antecedent.

Part 3 General details about the strategies

3.1 Marking

3.1.1 We would like to focus for part of this section on the way strategies are marked.

- Marking Strategies for coconstrued interpretations

- Ma) Marking on a coconstrued argument or adjunct.
- b) Marking on the verb or an auxiliary.
- c) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument.
- d) Coconstrual is signaled by a specialized adjunct.

Comment: As mentioned previously, Gungbe only has only one pro-dé strategy (illustrated again below) to encode reflexive. This strategy would correspond to Ma under current description.

Ján m̀̀ é-dé
 John see 3sg-dé
 'John saw himself'

Comment: When the pro-form is plural, the reading is ambiguous between reflexive and reciprocal as shown below.

Ján kpó Pólù kpó dó yé-dé xía àgùn ló
 John and Paul and make pro-dé show audience Det
 'John and Paul presented each other to the audience'
 'John and Paul presented themselves to the audience'

Comment: The context may favour one interpretation over the other

Àsú kpó àsì kpó dó yé-dé xía àgùn ló
 John and Paul and make pro-dé show audience Det
 (1) 'The groom and the bride presented themselves to the audience'
 (2) 'The groom and the bride presented each other to the audience'

3.2 Productivity

3.2.1

Comment: Pro-dé strategy is extremely productive, given that it is the only strategy the language allows. All verbs I can think of allow it.

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

Comment: I can't think of any verb that disallows pro-dé with reflexive (or its correlated reciprocal) reading. Certain verbs of motion combine with pro-dé, which is introduced by a preposition, and the meaning roughly corresponds to English "by him/her/them-self".

Ján	wá/yì	xwégbè	ná	é-dé
John	come/go	home	Prep	pro-dé
'John came/went home by himself'				

Ví	lé	yì	xwégbè	ná	é-dé	lé
child	Numb	go	home	Prep	pro-dé	Numb
'The children went home by themselves' [individually, but group reading becomes bizarre I think]						

Ján	kpó	Pólù	kpó	wá/yì	xwégbè	ná	yé-dé
John	and	Paul	and	come/go	home	Prep	pro-dé
'John and Paul came/went home by themselves (i.e., individually)'							
'John and Paul came/went home by themselves (as a group)'							

Comment: This could mean "John and Paul came home with each other". This meaning is not intended but it is present and can be forced in case someone asks if they came together or individually.

3.3 Context of Use

3.3.1 How marked or natural is this strategy?

Comment: This strategy is used in all contexts.

3.3.2 Is special intonation or emphasis necessary?

Comment: I don't think so, but I can't really tell.

3.3.3 Is a particular discourse context (e.g., contradicting) necessary?

Comment: No. For example, it is possible to get coconstrual of subject and object in English with an object pronoun in special circumstances, as in B1.

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

Ní	Ján	nyín	wán	ná	mèdè	jén	wè,		
If	John	Aux	love	Prep	someone	really	Foc		
ùn	dè	jì		dò	úò-sú	wè	é	ná	nyín
1sg	have	confidence	that	3sg-also	Foc	3sg	Fut	Aux	
'I'm sure that if John does love someone, it is only him.'									

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

Ján	d̥ə	nyèn	ní	má	d̥ə	jì		
John	say	1sg	Mood	Neg	have	confidence		
dó	mèd̥é		gò	zè	émí-d̥ə	gò	bló	
Prep	someone		Post	pass	Log.1sg-d̥ə	post	Neg	

‘John said that I should not trust anyone but himself’

Comment: Note the use of the logophoric pronoun that is attached to -d̥ə and allows coconstrual with the subject. A simple third person pronoun would be ungrammatical and use of other pronouns would give rise to coconstrual with the local antecedent.

*Ján	d̥ə	nyèn	ní	má	d̥ə	jì		
John	say	1sg	Mood	Neg	have	confidence		
dó	mèd̥é		gò	zè	é-d̥ə	gò	bló	
Prep	someone		Post	pass	3sg-d̥ə	post	Neg	

‘John said that I should not trust anyone but himself’

Ján	d̥ə	nyèn	ní	má	d̥ə	jì		
John	say	1sg	Mood	Neg	have	confidence		
dó	mèd̥é		gò	zè	nyèn-d̥ə	gò	bló	
Prep	someone		Post	pass	1sg-d̥ə	post	Neg	

‘John said that I should not trust anyone but **myself**’

3.3.4 Do you have any other comments on the use or meaning of this strategy, or on how it differs from other strategies you have identified?

Comment: No

3.4 Morphology

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

Comment: -d̥ə does not correspond to a body-part and does not seem to have any lexical translation.

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

Comment: -d̥ə cannot be used on its own.

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

Comment: -d̥ə cannot be modified on its own.

(a) Agreement features etc.

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

Comment: I can't think of any lexically contentful item that -d̥ə can be related to.

3.5 The agreement paradigm

3.5.1 Give the morphological paradigm of each reflexive strategy.

Comment: The following tables provides the forms of the reflexive (reciprocal) pronouns in Gungbe, but see the discussion under A1 above.

-dɛ́ is superficially comparable to English *-self*: it combines with strong pronouns as shown below. Observe that some of these pronouns alternate with other forms.

Person	Reflexive	Alternate
1sg.	nyè-dɛ́	dɛ̀è
2sg	jè-dɛ́	---
3sg	é-dɛ́	---
1pl	mí-dɛ́	mí-dɛ́-lé [1pl-dɛ́-Numb]
2pl	mì-dɛ́	mì-dɛ́-lé [2pl-dɛ́-Numb]
3pl	yé-dɛ́	yé-dɛ́-lé [3pl-dɛ́-Numb]

In addition, -dɛ́ combines with the logophoric pronoun é̀mì to give é̀mì-dɛ́: the latter allows coconstrual with a non-local subject. See the example under B1b in section 3.3.3.

3.5.2 For each morphological feature, what determines its value?

Comment: In pro-dɛ̀ reflexives, the pro-form agrees in number with the antecedent.

3.6 Interaction with verb morphology - Incompatibilities

3.6.1 Tense, Mood, Aspect.

It is sometimes observed that coconstrual strategies are sensitive to the tense, mood or aspect of a clause, particularly if the aspect (whether an event is complete or not) has other syntactic effects. Check with at least the verbs meaning *see, praise, help, like, know, and wash*.

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

Comment: Pro-dɛ́ reflexives do not interact with tense mood aspect in Gungbe.

Ján	ní	má	dà	làn	ná	é-dɛ́	bló
John	Mood	Neg	cook	meat	Prep	3sg--dɛ́Neg	
‘John should not cook meat for himself’							

Ján	ná	nò	dà	làn	ná	é-dɛ́	
John	Fut	Hab	cook	meat	Prep	3sg--dɛ́	
‘John will cook meat for himself’							

3.6.2 Grammatical Function (GF)-changing -

Comment: Gungbe does not have any of the grammatical function changing morphemes presented here, and *pro-dé* form appears compatible with various constructions types e.g., serial verb constructions and OV constructions:

Ján	zé	kpò	xò	tà	ná	é-dé	SVC
John	take	stick	hit	head	Prep	3sg-dé	
'John took a stick to hit himself on the head'							
Ján	tò	tà	xò	ná	é-dé		OV-progressive
John	Prog	head	hit	Prep	3sg-dé	Part	
'John is hitting himself on the head'							

The OV construction strands the *ná*-PP. I don't think the *ná*-PP forms a constituent with the body part though I think that it belongs to the OV sequence as a whole. This can be easily demonstrated using focus examples. There it is the whole sequence OV-PP that fronts as in the following example:

Ján	tò	tà	xò	ná	é-dé	`	OV-progressive	
John	Prog	head	hit	Prep	3sg-dé	Part		
'John is hitting himself on the head'								
[tà	xò	ná	é-dé	`]	wè	Ján	tè	Focused OV-progressive
head	hit	Prep	3sg-dé	Part	Foc	John	Prog	
'John is HITTING HIMSELF ON THE HEAD'								

I add an example of purposive construction to make this clearer.

Ján	yì	nú	sà	ná	Kòfí	gbé	
John	go	thing	sell	Prep	Kofi	Part	
'John's gone to sell something to Kofi'							
nú	sà	ná	Kòfí	gbé	wè	Ján	yì
thing	sell	Prep	Kofi	Part	Foc	John	go
'John's GONE TO SELL SOMETHING TO KOFI'							

If the pronoun-RM were the direct object, it would appear to the left of the verb.

Ján	tò	é-dé	gbò	`	OV-progressive
John	Prog	3sg-dé	cut	Part	
'John is cutting himself'					

3.6.3 (formerly 3.6.1) If you are aware of operations or morphemes that cannot co-occur with this strategy, then list them here.

Comment: The 1st and 2nd person clitic pronouns cannot appear with a pronoun-RM object.

*Ùn	kpón	mì-dé
1sg	look	1sg-dé
'I looked at myself'		
Ùn	kpón	nyèn-dé
1sg	look	1sg-dé
'I looked at myself'		

3.7 Uses that are not quite coreference

3.7.1 Idiosyncratic or inherent. Some languages have verbs that lexically require a reflexive

which does not appear to correspond to an argument. The uses are typically special idioms.
 Comment: There seems to be no such contrast in Gungbe.

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

Comment: A similar usage is not possible in Gungbe instead the morpheme *lòsú*, which sometimes resembles English *also*, or sometimes French *même*, is added to the noun.

*Ùn m̀ ògán é-ḍé
 1sg see chief 3sg-ḍé
 ‘I saw the chief himself’

Ùn m̀ ògán lòsú
 1sg see chief Part
 ‘I saw the chief himself’ or in French ‘J’ai vu le patron même’

3.7.3 Middle.

Comment: There is no such correspondence in Gungbe because middles don’t require special morphology, but only word order change.

Ján fén nàké ló d’áwè jí
 John cleave firewood Det Prep.two Post
 ‘John cut the firewood in two’

nàké éhè ló nò fén g̀nǵí
 firewooded Dem Det Hab cleave well
 ‘This firewood easily cuts’

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

Comment: Constructions involving pro-ḍé forms always imply coreference between two logical arguments.

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

Comment: This is not possible in Gungbe

B5a) Bill did not see X

Ján má m̀n é-ḍé
 John Neg see 3sg-ḍé
 ‘John did not see himself’
 *John did not see Bill’

b) Does Mary like X?

c) X went to the bank yesterday.

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

Comment: No

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

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

(X = speaker, X = addressee)

*Mè sùsù má nò nyín wán ná àbóí
people many Neg Hab Aux love Prep cat.fish
àmón nyè-dé nyín wán ná gánjí
but 1sg-dé Aux love Prep well
'Many people don't like cat fish, but I like it very much'

Can the form in question be used in a sense like that of English generic one (which is not even acceptable for English speakers in non-subject environments). Or is there a meaning that means "arbitrary person".

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

b) One cannot be too careful

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

Comment: This is not possible in Gungbe, but we do have constructions such as:

Gbètó má sígán gbé wán ná é-dé sò món
HumanNeg can refuse love Prep 3sg-dé reach that.way
'One cannot hate oneself like that'

Yè má sígán cò m̀è-dé sò món
Impersonal.3sg Neg can watch person-dé reach that.way
'One cannot be careful that much'

Comment: Ken: For m̀è-dé, Is the RM attaching to something that is not in your list of pronouns in 2.2.3. Enoch: m̀è means person. m̀è-dé = the person who/that;

I would say it is a DP, not a pronoun, because it can even take the determiners as in

Ùn nyàn m̀è ló lé
1sg chase person Det Numb
'I chased the people'

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

Comment: No

3.8 Proxy readings

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

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

Comment: This reading is possible in Gungbe under appropriate circumstances. Here for instance, Kerekou, the president, saw a statue of himself at la place des martyres.

Kerekou kpón éḍé tò place des martyres
 Kerekou look 3sg-ḍé Prep place des martyres
 ‘Kerekou looked at himself at the Place des martyres’ [i.e., Reflexe]
 ‘Kerekou looked at his own statue at the Place des martyres’

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

Comment: This sentence cannot be rendered in Gungbe unless a possessive variant of pro-ḍé is used:

Kerekou má kò xíá wé éḍé tòn tò gùngbé mèn
 Kerekou Neg alreadyread book 3sg-ḍé Poss Prep Gungbe Post
 ‘Kerekou has not read his own book in Gungbe yet’

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

Comment: The sentences under B9(a-e) are not possible in Gungbe with the intended meanings.

B9a) Castro washed himself carefully, so as not to damage the wax.

*Kerekou là wú dèdè ná àtín-kpìkpa ló ní má wén bló
 Kerekou wash body slowly Prep tree-carved Det Mod Neg break Neg
 ‘Kerekou washed carefully such that the statue does not break’

Comment: I find this very bad as a sentence though not grammatical under the reading that he washed himself in such a way that the statue should not break. In this case he is not washing the statue. The reading where he will be washing the statue is impossible with this sentence. In order to get that, I will have to use a sentence containing an expression like “he washed a representation of himself...” I have the same judgement with a pronoun-RM strategy

ai) Kerekou là wú dèdè ná éḍé ná àtín-kpìkpa ló ní má wén bló
 Kerekou wash body slowly Prep 3sg-ḍé Prep tree-carved Det Mod Neg break Neg
 ‘Kerekou washed carefully such that the statue does not break’

The proxy reading is not possible for the following:

*Kerekou cíḍn gbákún vè ná éḍé tò place des martyres
 Kerekou put hat red Prep 3sg-ḍé Prep place des martyres
 ná tòví lé ní ḍó nywèn gánjí

Prep people Numb Mood Prep know.3sg well

*‘Kerekou put a hat on himself at the Place des martyres for people to recognize him easily’
[i.e., éǰé = Kerekou]

To be contrasted with:

Kerekou cíǰn gbákúnná vè tò place des martyres

Kerekou put hat red Prep place des martyres

ná tòví lé ní ǰó nywèn gǰnjí

Prep people Numb Mood Prep know.3sg well

‘Kerekou put on a hat at the Place des martyres for people to recognize him easily’

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

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

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

Comment: Starting with the situation in B 8a, Gungbe will require a logophoric pronoun as in the following example:

Kerekou lèn ǰò yé jrǰ émì/*éǰé ǰó gǰnjí tò place des martyres

Kerekou think that 3pl make Log/3sg-ǰé right well Prep place des martyres

‘Kerekou thought that they made him very nice at the place des martyre’ [i.e., they made a nice statute of him]

B11a) Mark Twain and Victor Hugo did not see each other in Berber.

b) Marlene and Castro did not see each other in the audience, but they did see each other on the stage/in the show.

Kerekou kpó Soglo kpó má kpé yéǰé tò Xǰgbónù àmón yé

Kerekou and Soglo and Neg meet 3pl-ǰé Prep Porto-Novo but 3pl

mǰn yéǰè tò déǰlé mè

see 3pl-ǰé Prep parade Post

‘Kerekou and Soglo did not see each other in Porto-Novo, but they saw each other in the parade’

‘Kerekou and Soglo did not see each other in Porto-Novo, but they saw themselves in the parade’

Comment: The second pronoun-RM means they saw each other’s effigies in the parade.

3.9 Ellipsis

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

B12a) Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill

b) Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill does

i. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Sherman likes Bill.

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

iii. Sherman likes/praises himself more than Bill likes himself.

Gungbe does not generally allow for VP ellipsis. Accordingly, B12a is only possible with reading (i) as illustrated below.

Kòfí nyín wán ná éḍé xúgán Sòsì
 Kofi have love Prep 3sg-ḍé pass Sosi
 ‘Kofi loves himself more than [he loves] Sosi’
 *‘Kofi loves himself more than Sosi loves him’
 *‘Kofi loves himself more than Sosi loves herself’

PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

X1a)*John hit.

- b) John hit himself.
- c)*The boys hit.
- d) The boys hit each other.
- e) The boys hit one another.
- f)*John hit him

X2a) John washed.

- b) John washed himself.
- c) The boys washed.
- d) The boys washed each other.
- e) The boys washed one another.
- f)*John washed him.

X3a)*John saw himself's mother.

- b)*John washed mother,
- c)?John and Bill saw each other's mother.
- d)?*John and Bill saw one another's mother.
- e) John and Bill saw their mother.
- f) John washed/saw his mother.

4.1 Clausemate coconstruction

The following questions will provide a broad outline of the types of predicates that allow the use of each strategy.

4.1.1 Verb class restrictions

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

C1a) Bob saw X

Kòfí m̀ é-ḍé
 Kofi see 3sg-ḍé
 ‘Kofi saw himself’

b) The women praised X.

Náwè ló lé kpà yé-dé
Woman Det Numb praise 3pl-dé

‘The women praised each other’

‘The women praised themselves [i.e., each of them praised herself, or they praised themselves as a group]’

Comment: Recall from previous discussion that plural DPs allow for an ambiguous reading between reflexive and reciprocal.

c) You(pl.) kicked X.

Mì gbá mì-dé
2pl kick 2pl-dé

‘You kicked each other’

‘*You kicked yourselves’

Comment: Reciprocal reading is blocked here presumably because kicking oneself does not seem physically possible. It is important to note however that the similar construction:

Mì bé mì-dé tón són xò cè m̀è
2pl collect 2pl-dé get.out from room 1sg.Poss in

This sentence actually literally means:

(i) ‘Get yourselves out of my room’ but also

(ii) ‘Help each other out of my room’ [In this case one can imagine a situation where the addressees are wounded or in bad shape that they need the help of each other to walk’

Compared to previous example, it is the first meaning under (i) that is more common even though collecting oneself is not physically possible, just as kicking oneself is not either. It seems to me therefore that the star under the second reading of example (c) should be taken as a pragmatic judgment rather than a syntactic one.

d) They praised X

Yé kpà yé-dé
3pl praise 3pl-dé

‘They praised each other’

‘They praised themselves [either individually or as a group]’

4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates - Can this strategy be used with verbs of grooming, inalienable-possession objects, etc?

C3a) Donna washed X. (X = Donna)

Dóná là wú
Dona wash body
‘Dona washed’

Comment: Compared to the English translation this might look like the implicit strategy. But recall from previous discussion that verbs like *wash*, *walk*, *run*, *sing*, etc. are inherent complement verbs in Gungbe (and most Gbe). So what we have in (3a) is an instance of such verb as in the contrast between the following two examples, where for the first, the verb has the relevant meaning only in combination with a complement, whereas in the second, the meaning is

compositional.

Dóná ɖì zònlín
Dona V[bury] walk
'Dona walk'

Dóná ɖì gbó
Dona bury goat
'Dona buried a goat'

b) Don cut X's hair. (X = Don).

Dóná kpà ɖà
Dona cut hair
'Dona got her/his hair cut'

Comment: contrast with

Dóná kpà ɖà ná é-ɖé
Dona cut hair Prep 3sg-ɖé
'Lit. Dona cut hair for himself (i.e., Dona cut his hair himself)'

c) The girl cut X [unintentionally] (X = the girl)

Dóná kpà ɖà ná é-ɖé
Dona cut hair Prep 3sg-ɖé
'Lit. Dona cut hair for himself (i.e., Dona cut his hair himself)'

Comment: Here (as in the previous example) Dona could have cut his hair intentionally or unintentionally.

4.1.1.3 Psychological predicates.

C4a) John hates/fears X

Dóná gbé wán ná é-ɖé
Dona refuse love Prep 3sg-ɖé
'Dona hates himself'

Dóná dó bú ná é-ɖé
Dona plant fear Prep 3sg-ɖé
'Dona made himself afraid [i.e., by doing something fearful]'

b) John is ashamed of X

Comment: The expression 'is ashamed' also shows up as a combination of a verb *hù/dó winyán* 'bring/cause humiliation'. Therefore a sentence like 'I'm ashamed (because) of this story' will translate as follows:

Xó éhè dó winyán (ná mí)
Word Dem V humiliation Prep 1sg
'This story brought me humiliation'
Xó éhè hù winyán (ná mí)

Word Dem V humiliation Prep 1sg-dé
 ‘This story brought me shame [i.e., this story is shameful]’

Given this, the sentence in (b) could be rendered as:

Dóná dó winyán (ná) é-dé
 Dona V humiliation Prep 3sg-dé
 ‘Dona made a fool of himself’

but not as

*Dóná hù winyán ná é-dé
 Dona V humiliation Prep 3sg-dé
 ‘John is ashamed of himself [lit. John killed honor for himself]’

As mentioned previously, I would prefer the following:

- a. nú étòn hù winyán ná Ján
 thing 3sg-Poss V humiliation Prep John
 ‘his fate brought John dishonor (or shame)’
- b. nú é-dé tòn hù winyán ná Ján
 thing 3sg-dé Poss V humiliation Prep John
 ‘his own fate brought John dishonor (or shame)’

I indicated earlier that I would normally say (a) while (b) corresponds to cases where John thinks of himself) as very miserable.

Comment: **Can’t find good translations for these!**

- c) John is worried about X
- d) John is proud of X
- e) John worries/troubles/pleases X

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

C5a) The women will destroy X

Náwè ló lé ná hù yé-dé
 Woman Det Numb Fut kill 3pl-dé
 ‘The women will kill each other’
 ‘The women will kill themselves’

b) The machines built X (X = themselves)

Zòmòn lé gbá yé-dé
 Fire.engine Numb build 3pl-dé
 ‘The machines built each other’
 ‘The machines built themselves’

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

C6a) The boys represented X.

Comment: Consider first:

Dóná zé é-dé jó ná kpònòn lé
Dona take 3sg-dé render Prep police Numb
'Dona handed himself over to the police'

In plural, the sequence is still ambiguous between a reciprocal or reflexive meaning.

Náwè ló lé zé yé-dé jó ná kpònòn lé
Woman Det Numb take 3pl-dé render Prep police Numb
'The women handed themselves over to the police'
'The women took each other to the police'

b) John spoke for X.

Dóná dè xó dó é-dè sín tà mè
Dona say word Prep 3sg-dè Poss head in
'Dona spoke for himself'

Náwè ló lé dè xó dó yé-dè sín tà mè
Dona Det Numb say word Prep 3pl-dè Poss head in
'The women talk for themselves'
'The women talk on behalf of each other'

At this point you might want to reconsider your answer to section 3.7.1, where we asked you about idiosyncratic or inherent reflexives - perhaps some of the ones you looked at earlier belong to some pattern that you might alert us to here.

Comment: Not that I know of. The situation in Gungbe seems to be that many of these verbs are inherent complement verbs, but these can take an additional argument when needed.

4.1.2 Argument position pairings

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

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

Dóná ná nú é-dé
Dona gave thing 3sg-dé
'Dona gave herself a gift/thing'

Comment: This sentence sounds weird not because it is ungrammatical but because it does not seem natural. Note, however, that in a situation where Dona is distributing gifts to everyone around even though he is not the initiator of the gift (e.g., a state or some other person) then after distributing a number of gifts he can say:

Gbò má ná nyèn-dé éhè hwé...
Let 1sg. Fut give 3sgS-dé Dem before
'Let me give myself this one before [i.e., anything happens]'

This sentence indicates a pattern in Gbe about double object constructions. In some of these languages both the order V DO-IO vs. V IO-DO is possible:

Dóná ná nú Kòfí
 Dona give think Kofi

Or

Dóná ná Kòfí nú
 Dona give Kofi thing
 ‘Dona gave Kofi a gift/thing’

Comment: In situations such as C7a, it seems to me that the order OI>DO reads better, but I’m not so sure.

Dóná ná é-ḍé nú
 Dona gave 3sg-ḍé thing
 ‘Dona gave herself a gift/thing’

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

?Dóná dó xwé ló xía é-ḍé
 Dona V house Det show 3sg-ḍé
 ‘Dona showed herself the house’

Comment: This, I think, sounds rather bad I guess due to the semantics of the verb, but I don’t know.

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

Dóná ná é-ḍé nú
 Dona gave 3sg-ḍé thing
 ‘Dona gave herself a gift/thing’

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

Dóná dó é-ḍé xía yòkpó lé
 Dona V 3sg-ḍé show child Numb
 ‘Dona showed herself to the children’

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments -

C9a) Dan talked to X.

Dóná ḍè xó ná Kòfí
 Dona say word Prep Kofi
 ‘Dona talked to Kofi’

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

Dóná ḍè xó Kòfí tòn ná Asìbá
 Dona say word Kofi Poss Prep Asiba
 ‘Lit. Dona said words of Kofi to Asiba, Dona told Asiba about Kofi’

c) Dan gave X a book.

Dóná ná Kòfí wémà

Dona gave Kofi book
'Dona gave Kofi a book'

Dóná ná wémà Kòfí
Dona gave book Kofi
'Dona gave Kofi a book'

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

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

Dóná m̀̀n dàn gódò ná é-dé [marked, encodes emphasis]
Dona see snake back Prep 3sg-dé
'Dona saw a snake at her back'

In a non-marked or non-emphatic context, I would say:

̀̀n m̀̀n dàn gódò cè
1sg see snake back 1sg.Poss
'I saw a snake on my back'

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

*Dóná yró mì úntòlí/dó wémà dé tón dó é-dè jí
Dona call 1sg because paper/book Det come.out Prep 3sg-dè on

Comment: I would rather use the following sentence with a simple pronoun.

Dóná yró mì úntòlí wémà dé tón dó é jí
Dona call 1sg because paper/book Det come.out Prep 3sg on
'Dona called me because a paper appeared about her [her= either Dona or someone else]

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

*Dóná dó àdì xómè ná Asíba úntòlí/dó é-dé útù
Dona plant poison belly Prep Asiba because 3sg-dè body
'Dona annoyed Asiba because of herself'

d) We laughed in spite of X

4.1.2.4 Ditransitives and double complements-

C11a) Mary showed Hal to X.

Dóná dó Kòfí xía é-dè
Dona V Kofi show 3sg-dè
'Dona showed Kofi to himself'

Comment: This sentence is strange (?) with the reading 'Dona showed Kofi to Dona' however it is perfectly ok with the reading 'Dona showed Kofi to himself' where the pro-dè is bound by the

immediately preceding argument. A possible context for this reading would be a situation where Dona showed Kofi to himself in a nearby mirror or glass-window which he didn't notice.

b) Mary showed X to Hal.

Dóná dó é-dè xía Kòfí
 Dona V 3sg-dè show Kofi
 'Dona showed herself Asiba'
 *Dona showed himself Kofi'

c) Bill gave Hal X.

**Dóná ná Kòfí é-dè
 Dona give Kofi 3sg-dè
 *Dóná zé Kòfí jó ná é-dè
 Dona take Kofi abandon Prep 3sg-dè

Comment: While this sentence is impossible it is perfectly grammatical to say:

Dégólù zé tò mítòn lé jó ná yé-dè
 De Gaule take country our Numb abandon Prep 3pl-dè

'Lit. De Gaule abandoned our countries at their own sake: meaning De Gaule gave our countries their independence' or

Nkrúmá zé tò mítòn lé jè yé-dè sí
 Nkruma take country our Numb reach 3pl-dè hand

'Lit. Nkruma took our countries to be at their own hands: meaning Nkruma took our countries to independence'

d) Bill gave X Hal.

Dóná ná é-dè Kòfí
 Dona give 3sg-dè Kofi
 'Dona gave him/herself to Kofi'

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

Dóná kàn xó bíó ví lé dọ́ yé-dè jí
 Dona V word ask child Numb at 3pl-dè on

'Dona asked the boys about each other'

'Dona asked the boys about themselves'

Comment: Concerning the glosses marked 'V', I felt it was maybe easier to try not to give a semantic description of the light verbs. As was the case for 'bury' giving such semantic descriptions actually creates more confusion. That is why I glossed them as V. The other reason for this is that (as is often the case) once we remove the object of some of these verbs, it is really difficult to see what their semantic contribution is. This has always been the dilemma with ICVs. We feel that both the verb and the object contribute something, but it is not always really clear what.

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

Dóná dó ví lé xía yé-dè

Dona V child Numb show 3pl-dè

‘Dona showed the children to each other’

‘Dona showed the children to themselves [i.e., in a movie or a TV show]

Comment: See the comment for (C11e).

4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts -

Comment: Here I see two possible strategies in Gungbe. The two sound rather strange (if not ungrammatical) with C12a.

C12a) Bill talked about Hal to X.

??/*Dóná dè xó Kòfí tòn ná é-dè
Dona say word Kofi Poss Prep 3sg-dè

‘Dona talked about Kofi to herself’

??/*Dóná dè xó ná é-dè dó Kòfí jí
Dona say word Prep 3sg-dè Prep Kofi on

‘Dona said to herself things about Kofi’

b) Mary talked about X to Hal.

Same as the second example under C12a.

c) Mary talked to Hal about X

Comment: As in English, I would say that C12c sounds much better with the above second strategy, but my preferred option would be the second example here:

(?)Dóná dè xó ná Kòfí dó é-dè jí
Dona say word Prep Kofi Prep 3sg-dè on

‘Dona talked about Kofi to herself’

Dóná dè xó Kòfí tòn ná èn
Dona say word Kofi Poss Prep 3sg

‘Lit. Dona told Kofi’s word to him’

‘Dona told Kofi about things concerning him’

d) Mary talked to X about Hal.

As bad as the second example under C12a

4.1.2.6 Clausemate noncoarguments

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

C13a) Nick telephoned X's mother.

Dóná tè kàn xlán íyà é-tòn
Dona stretch cord Prep mother 3sg.Poss

‘Dona phoned to his/her mother’

??Dóná tè kàn xlán íyà é-dè -tòn

Dona stretch cord Prep mother 3sg-dè-Poss
'Dona phoned to the mother of him/herself'

b) Nick combed X's hair.

Dóná kpà dǎ (é-tòn)
Dona cut hair 3sg.Poss
'Dona cut her/his hair'

Comment: Again this example should not be considered a Zero strategy because expressions like 'to cut one's hair' are realized as inherent verb complements in Gungbe. So this example, I think, is comparable to those given previously for 'take a bath/shower' or walk.

??Dóná kpà dǎ (é-dè-tòn)
Dona cut hair 3sg.Poss 3sg-dè-Poss
'Dona cut the hair of himself'

c) Nick spoke to X's boss.

??Dóná dǎ xó ná gán é-dè-tòn
Dona say word Prep boss 3sg-dè-Poss
'Lit. Dona spoke to him/herself's boss'

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

Dóná zé wémà é-dè-tòn dó távò jí
Dona take book 3sg-dè-Poss Prep table on
'Dona put the book by herself on the table'

? 'Dona put the book of herself on the table [where the book is just possessed by her]'

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

*Ògán ná nú Dóná tò to é-dè-tòn m̀è
Chief give thing Dona Prep country 3sg-dè-Poss in
'Lit. The chief gave Dona a gift in her/himself village'

f) The boys washed X's face.

?Dóná lè nùkú é-dè-tòn m̀è
Dona wash face 3sg-dè-Poss in
'Lit. Dona washed herself face'

C14a) Nick's father admires X.

*Dóná sín bàbà nyín wán ná é-dè
Dona Poss father have love Prep 3sg-dè
'Dona's father loves herself'

b) Nick's ambition destroyed X.

*Dóná sín nú-jíró gànàgànà hù é-dè
Dona Poss thing.want.want. exaggeration kill 3sg-dè
'Lit. Dona's exaggerated ambition kills herself'

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

Dóná sín íyà sá mótò é-dè-tòn
Dona Poss mother sell car 3sg-dè-Poss
*'Dona's mother sold the car of herself'
'Dona's mother sold her own car'

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

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

Súnùví lé m̀̀n fótò yé-dè-(lé)-tòn
Boy Num see photos 3pl--dè-(Num)-Poss
'The boys saw pictures of themselves/each other'

Comment: The interpretation is ambiguous between a reflexive and reciprocal meaning:

The boys saw pictures of themselves
or The boys saw each other's pictures

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

Dóná d̀̀ xó ná súnùví lé d̀̀ fótò yé-dè- tòn-jí
Dona say word Prep boy Num Prep photo 3pl-dè-Poss-on
'Dona told the boys about pictures of themselves'
'Dona told the boys about pictures of each other'

Comment: In this case, inserting the plural marker lé in yé-dè- lé-tòn make the sentence sound strange to me, I don't know why.

Comment: Sentences c and d would actually be rendered by various expressions not corresponding to the verbs *plan* and *fake/simulate*, so I will not illustrate these.

c) The politicians planned attacks against each other.

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

4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments - Refer back to the range of grammatical function-changing operations (such as passive, antipassive, applicative, possessor ascension, dative alternation) that you considered for section 3.

C15a) Polly was praised by X

b) Polly was helped by X

c) Little is known by Polly about X (X = Polly)

d) The wax melted itself

Comment: As mentioned in 3.6 grammatical function-changing operations involving passive, antipassive, applicative, possessor ascension, dative alternation do not seem to occur in Gungbe.

4.1.3 Properties of antecedents

4.1.3.1 Pronouns, person and number -

C16a) I saw X.

b) You saw X. (etc.)

Repeat with the following sentences, or other suitable examples from section 4.1.1.

C17a) I washed X.

Ùn là wú ná nyèn-ḡé
1sg wash body Prep 1sgS-ḡé
'I washed myself'

b) I hate X.

Ùn gbé wán ná nyèn-ḡé
1sg refuse love Prep 1sgS-ḡé
'I hate myself'

c) I told John about X (X = myself)

Ùn ḡò xó ná Dóna ḡó nyèn-ḡé jí
1sg say word Prep Dona Prep 1sgS-ḡé on
'I told John (things) about myself'

d) I saw a snake near X (X = myself)

??Ùn m̀n dán ḡé tò àkpá nyèn-ḡé t̀n
1sg see snake Indef at word 1sgS-ḡé Poss
'I saw a snake at my side'

e) I am liked by X.

Comment: Passives are not possible in Gungbe

f) I telephoned X's mother (X = myself)

??/*Ùn tè kàn ná íyà nyèn-ḡé t̀n
1sg stretch cord Prep mother 1sgS-ḡé Poss
'Lit. I stretched cord to myself's mother'

g) My father admires X (X = myself)

*Òt́ cè nyín wán ná nyèn-ḡé
Father Poss have love Prep 1sgS-ḡé
'Lit. My father has love for myself'

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

C18a) History repeats X

b) This type of fish cannibalizes X

Comment: Animacy or humanity does not play a role in the choice of strategy.

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

Àwà̀n-hún	éhè	nò	wú	ná	é-dè
War.truck/engine	this	Hab	explode	Prep	3sg-dè

‘This war-truck (or engine) explodes by itself’

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

Weak forms (X see X-dé)	Strong forms (X see X-dé)
Ùn m̀n nyèn-dé/ dé-é	Nyèn m̀n nyèn-dé
1sg see 1sgS-dé / dé-1sgCL	1sgS see 1sgS-dé
À m̀n dé-wé	Jè m̀n jè-dé
2sg see dé-2sgCL	2sgS see 2sgS-dé
É m̀n é-dé	És m̀n é-dé
3sg see 3sg-dé	3sgS see 3sg-dé
Mí m̀n mí-dé	Mílé m̀n mí-dé-lé
1pl see 1pl-dé	1plS see 1pl-dé-Num
Mì m̀n mì-dé	Mílé m̀n mì-dé-lé
2pl see 2pl-dé	2plS see 2pl-dé-Num
Yé m̀n yé-dé	Yélé m̀n yé-dé-lé
3pl see 3pl-dé	3plS see 3pl-dé-Num

4.1.3.4 Quantifiers - Provide judgements for the following sentences.

C19a) Every woman saw X.

Nyónù	d̀òkpó-d̀òkpó	m̀n	é-dé
Woman one-one	see	3sg-dé	

‘Each woman saw herself’

b) Every child washed X.

Ví	d̀òkpó-d̀òkpó	là	wú	ná	é-dé
child one one	wash	body	Prep	3sg-dé	

‘Each child washed him/herself’

Ví	d̀òkpó-d̀òkpó	là	wú
child one one	wash	body	

‘Each child washed him/herself’

c) Every student hates X.

Wéxà.mè-ví	d̀òkpó-d̀òkpó	gbé	wán	ná	é-dé
School.in-child one one	refuse	love	Prep	3sg-dé	

‘Each school boy/child hates him/herself’

d) Every child saw a snake near X.

??/*Ví	d̀òkpó-d̀òkpó	m̀n	dán	dé	tò	àkpá	é-dé	tòn
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child one one see snake Indef Prep side 3sg-dé Poss
 'Each child saw a snake near him/herself'

e) Every child telephoned X's mother.

??/*Ví d̀̀kpó-d̀̀kpó tè kàn ná íyà é-dé t̀̀n
 child one one stretch cord Prep mother 3sg-dé Poss
 'Lit. Each child phoned him/herself mother'

f) Every child's father admires X.

??/* Òt́ v́ d̀̀kpó-d̀̀kpó t̀̀n nyín wán ná é-dé
 father child one one Poss have love Prep 3sg-dé
 'Lit. Each child's father loves him/herself'

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

M̀̀-dé kpékpé má m̀̀n é-dé
 No-one Neg see 3sg-dé
 'No-one saw him/herself'

b) Every child washed X.

V́-dé kpékpé má là wú ná é-dé
 child no.one Neg wash body Prep 3sg-dé
 'No child washed him/herself'
 V́-dé kpékpé má là wú
 child no.one Neg wash body
 'No child washed him/herself'

c) Every student hates X.

Wéx̀.̀m̀̀- v́ -dé kpékpé má gbé wán ná é-dé
 School.in-child no-one Neg refuse love Prep 3sg-dé
 'No school boy/child hates him/herself'

d) Every child saw a snake near X.

??/*V́ -dé kpékpé má m̀̀n dán dé t̀̀ àkpá é-dé t̀̀n
 child one one Neg see snake Indef Prep side 3sg-dé Poss
 'No child saw a snake near him/herself'

e) Every child telephoned X's mother.

??/*V́ -dé kpékpé má tè kàn ná íyà é-dé t̀̀n
 child no.one Neg stretch cord Prep mother 3sg-dé Poss
 'Lit. No child phoned him/herself mother'

f) Every child's father admires X.

??/* Òt́ v́ -dé kpékpé má t̀̀n nyín wán ná é-dé

father child no.one Poss Neg have love Prep 3sg-dé
 ‘Lit. No child’s father loves him/herself’

4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents -

C20a) Who saw X?

Ménù wè m̀n é-dé ?
 Who Foc see 3sg-dé
 ‘Who saw him/herself’

b) Who washed X?

Ménù wè là wú ná é-dé
 Who Foc wash body Prep 3sg-dé
 ‘Who washed him/herself?’

c) Who saw a snake near X?

??Ménù wè m̀n dán dé tò àkpá é-dé t̀n?
 Who Foc see snake Indef Prep side 3sg-dé Poss

d) Who telephoned X's mother?

??Ménù wè tè kàn ná íyà nyèn-dé t̀n
 who Foc stretch cord Prep mother 1sgS-dé Poss

e) Whose father admires X?

*Òtó ménù t̀n wè nyín wán ná é-dé
 Father who Poss Foc have love Prep 3sg-dé

4.1.3.6 Reverse binding - Subject is anaphoric marker.

C21a) X saw Fred.

**é-dé m̀n Dóná
 3sg--dé see Dona

b) **mí-dé m̀n mí
 1pl-dé see us

c) X saw a snake behind Fred.

**é-dé m̀n dàn tò gúdò ná Dóná
 3sg--dé see snake Prep back Prep Dona

d) X impressed Fred

**é-dé kpácá Dóná
 3sg--dé impress/surprise Dona

e) Bill spoke to X about Fred.

**Àlúkú d̀ò xó ná é-dé dó Dóná jí

Aluku say word Prep 3sg-dé Prep Dona Post.

f) Bill told X about Fred

**Àlúkú dḡ xó ná é-dé dó Dóná jí
Aluku say word Prep 3sg-dé Prep Dona Post.

g) X was praised by Fred: There is no passive in Gungbe

h) X is liked by you. (X = you) [see my comment for g]

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

Comment: This is not possible in Gungbe

C22a) X telephoned George's mother.

**É tè kàn ná íyà Dóná tón
3sg stretch cord Prep mother Dona Poss

b) X's mother wanted to improve George.

*É sin iyà jró ná kpácá Dóná.
3sg Poss mother want Prep surprise Dona

c) X's mother worried/impressed George.

*É sin iyà dó túklá ná Dóná.
3sg Poss mother V trouble Prep Dona

d) Mary told X's mother about George.

*Márí dḡ xó ná é sín íyà dḡ Dóná gò
Mari say word Prep 3sg Poss MotherPrep Dona Post

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

*dḡdè é sín íya tòn jè Dóná jí
Picture 3sg Poss mother Poss fall Dona Post

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

*dḡdè é sín íya tòn jró Dóná
Picture 3sg Poss mother Poss fall Dona

Please let us know, however, if word order in your language is fluid enough to scramble arguments in such a way that the linear order between X and its antecedent could change

Comment: Such topicalisations and focus structures are possible in Gungbe too.

Ján wè Dóna zùn
John Foc Dona insult
'Dona insulted JOHN'

Ján yà, Dóna zùn-ìn
 John Top Dona insult-3sg
 ‘As for John Dona insult him’

Such sequences can involve crossing and still allow co-reference (here John and his mother):

Ján wè íyà étòn nyín wán ná
 John Foc mother 3sg.Poss have love Prep
 ‘His mother loves John’

Ján yà íyà étòn nyín wán ná èn tàùn
 John Top mother 3sg.Poss have love Prep 3sg very.much
 ‘As for John, his mother loves him very much’

Where the object is a focalized name, a subject is pronoun-RM cannot be bound by it

*Ján wè é-dé nyín wán ná
 John Foc 3sg-dé have love Prep
 ‘His mother loves John’

Where the object is a topicalized name, a subject pronoun resumes and pronoun-RM is permitted.

Ján yà é nyín wán ná é-dé
 John Top 3sg have love Prep 3sg-dé
 ‘As for John, loves himself.’

4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

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

C23) The women help X.

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

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

Comment: C24a, e, and f are the most common readings I found in Gungbe for yé-dé, which is often ambiguous between English themselves and each other.

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

C25a) The women praised X.

Yónù lé kpà yé-dé
 Women Num praise 3pl-dé
 ‘the women praised themselves [as a group]’
 ‘the women praised each other’

Comment: The absence of the number marker will make the referent singular which means that both the group and distributive reading will be lost.

b) The women will support X.

Yónù lé ná gó àlò ná yé-dé
 Women Num will add hand Prep 3pl-dé
 ‘the women will help/support themselves [as a group]’
 ‘the women will help/support each other’

c) The women photographed X.

Yónù lé dè yé-dé
 Women Num paint/photographed 3pl-dé
 ‘the women painted/photographed themselves [as a group] or [individually]’
 ‘the women will painted/photographed each other [as a group] or [individually]’

d) The women betrayed X.

Yónù lé sà yé-dé-lé
 Women Num sell 3pl-dé-Num
 ‘the women betrayed themselves [as a group]’
 ‘the women betrayed each other [as a group]’

Comment: The Gungbe forms yé-dé-(lé) always allow for ambiguous reading between reflexive and reciprocal readings.

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

a) Which of the following verbs can the strategy be applied to?

C26) "meet", "see", "fight", "speak", "hit"

i) *Dóná kpó Súrù kpó m̀ò
 Dona and Suru and see
 ‘Dona and Suru saw each other’
 ‘Dona and Suru saw themselves’

- ii)*Dóná kpó Súrù kpó kpé
 Dona and Suru and meet
 ‘Dona and Suru met each other’
 ‘Dona and Suru met themselves’

Comment: Only if we construct a story where they met their clones.

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

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

- Dóná kpó Súrù kpó m̀̀ yé-ḍé
 Dona and Suru and see 3pl-ḍé
 ‘Dona and Suru saw each other’
 ‘Dona and Suru saw themselves’

- Dóná kpó Súrù kpó kpé yé-ḍé
 Dona and Suru and meet 3pl-ḍé
 ‘Dona and Suru met each other’
 ‘Dona and Suru met themselves [only if we construct a story where they met their clones]’

c) Is there any difference in the range of interpretations permitted for (C28a) as opposed to (C28b), or any difference in reciprocal strategies that support these interpretations?

C28a) John and Mary praised X.

- Dóná kpó Súrù kpó kpà yé-ḍé
 Dona and Suru and praise 3pl-ḍé
 ‘Dona and Suru praise each other’
 ‘Dona and Suru praise themselves’

b) The women praised X.

- Yónù lé kpà yé-ḍé
 Woman Num praise 3pl-ḍé
 ‘The women praise each other’
 ‘The women praise themselves’

Comment: There is no difference in reciprocal strategies.

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

C29a) John and Mary spoke to X.

- Dóná kpó Súrù kpó ḍ̀̀ xó ná yé-ḍé
 Dona and Suru and say word Prep 3pl-ḍé

‘Dona and Suru talked to each other’
 ‘Dona and Suru talked to themselves’

Comment: In this context, the reflexive reading is disfavoured, but adding lé, seems to make it better but I’m not sure.

Dóná kpó Súrù kpó d̩̀ xó ná yé-d̩̀-lé
 Dona and Suru and say word Prep 3pl-d̩̀-Num
 ‘Dona and Suru talked to each other’
 ‘?Dona and Suru talked to themselves’

b) John and Mary met with X

*Dóná kpó Súrù kpó kpé kpó yé-d̩̀ kpó
 Dona and Suru and meet and 3pl-d̩̀ and
 ‘Dona and Suru met with each other’ .

Comment: The verb 'meet' cannot take a PP of the type [with X] in Gungbe.

c) John and Mary gave this book to X.

Dóná kpó Súrù kpó zé wémá éhè ná yé-d̩̀
 Dona and Suru and give book Dem Prep 3pl-d̩̀
 ‘Dona and Suru gave this book to each other’
 ‘?Dona and Suru gave this book to themselves’

e) Long-distance reciprocal readings -

C30) Bill and Mary think that they like X.

Dóná kpó Súrù kpó lín d̩̀ yé nyín wá ná yé-d̩̀
 Dona and Suru and think that 3pl have love Prep 3pl-d̩̀
 ‘Dona and Suru think that they loved each other’
 ‘?Dona and Suru think that they loved themselves’

4.2 Cross-clausal binding

X4) John expects himself to win.

Comment: A Gungbe equivalent cannot have this form. Instead, one will have something like the following:

Dóná lín d̩̀ émì-l̩̀sú ná dín
 Dona think that LOG.3sg.also Fut succeed
 ‘Dona things that she will win’

Where émì-l̩̀sú is a logophoric pronoun.

4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

Comment: Gungbe has logophoric pronouns.

X8) Jean a dit que Marie s'aime. (*SE = Jean, OK SE = Marie)

Jean has said that Marie SE loves
 "Jean said that Marie loves him."

X9)**Jean s'a dit que Marie aime. (SE=Jean, Marie)
 Jean SE-has said that Marie loves
 "Jean said that Marie loves him."

X10) Jean a dit que Marie l'aime. (OK pronominal l' = Jean, *pronominal l' = Marie)
 Jean has said that Marie him-loves
 "Jean has said that Marie loves him."

X11)*Jean l'a dit que Marie aime. (clitic pronoun = Jean/Marie)
 Jean him-has said that Marie loves
 "Jean has said that Marie loves him."

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

D1a) Jack said that X is smart.

Dóná d̥ɔ̃ d̥ɔ̃ émi bí
 Dona say that LOG.3sg smart/intelligent
 'Dona said that s/he is intelligent'

b) Jack knows that George likes X.

Dóná nywèn d̥ɔ̃ Dòsú nyín wán ná émi
 Dona know.3sg that Dosu have love Prep LOG.3sg
 'Dona knows it that Dosu loves him/her'

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

Dóná nywèn d̥ɔ̃ Dótù d̥ɔ̃ d̥ɔ̃ émi bí
 Dona know.3sg that Dotu say that LOG.3sg smart/intelligent
 'Dona knows it that Dotu said that s/he is intelligent'

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

Dóná lín d̥ɔ̃ Dótù nywèn d̥ɔ̃ Kòfí nyín wán ná émi
 Dona think that Dotu know that Kofi have love Prep LOG.3sg
 'Dona thinks that Dotu knows it that Kofi loves him/her'

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

Dóná lín d̥ɔ̃ Dótù nywèn d̥ɔ̃ émi nyín wán ná Kòfí
 Dona think that Dotu know that LOG.3sg have love Prep Kofi
 'Dona thinks that Dotu knows it s/he loves Kofi'

f) Sarah told Jack that Lisa loves X.

Dóná ɖ̀è ná Dótù ɖ̀è Kòfí nyín wán ná émi
 Dona think that Dotu that Kofi have love Prep LOG.3sg
 ‘Dona told Dotu that Kofi loves s/he’

g) Sarah told Jack that X loves Wendy.

Dóná ɖ̀è ná Dótù ɖ̀è émi nyín wán ná Kòfí
 Dona think that Dotu that LOG.3sg have love Prep Kofi
 ‘Dona told Dotu that s/he loves Kofi’

D2a) Jack admitted that Mary loved X.

Dóná yígbè ɖ̀è Asíba nyín wán ná émi
 Dona accept that Asiba have love Prep LOG.3sg
 ‘Dona admitted/accepted that Asiba loves him’

b) Jack suspected that Mary loved X.

Dóná lín ɖ̀è Asíba nyín wán ná émi
 Dona think that Asiba have love Prep LOG.3sg
 ‘Dona thought/suspected that Asiba loves him’

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

D3a) Jeff complained about Mary when Ella blamed X

Dóná glé xòmè dó Asíba gò wéḍénù Sùrù jè hwè étòn
 Dona spoil belly.in Prep Asiba body when Suru tell report 3sg.Poss
 ‘Dona was annoyed with Asiba when Suru reported him’

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

Comment: This sentence cannot be rendered in Gungbe as such because the expression to be tired literally corresponds to something like ‘fatigue suffices me’

Dóná lé yì xwégbè hwécó àgbó kpé-è
 Dona return go house before fatigue suffice-3sg
 ‘Dona returned home before he was tired’

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

ɖ́é Dóná kán wé ló xlán-è
 as Dona wrote letter Det Prep-3sg
 wè zón b̀, Asíba lé yì xwégbè
 Foc make Coord Asiba return go house
 ‘As Dona wrote a letter to her, made Asiba return home’

d) Jeff left without Mary seeing X.

Dóná yì hwécó Asíba m̀n-è
 Dona leave before Asiba see-3sg
 ‘Dona left before Asiba saw him/her’

e) Mary condemned Jeff without meeting X.

Dóná dó hwè Asíba hwécó bò m̀n-è
Dona leave blame Asiba before coord see-3sg
'Dona condemned/blamed Asiba before seeing her'

4.2.1.2 Climbing from tensed complements -

Change the examples in the previous section so that the higher verb is marked (but the sentence still expresses coreference with an argument of the embedded clause).

Comment: This type of sentence is impossible in Gungbe, where the verbs are never marked for anything.

4.2.2 Long distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types

Consider what a list of major clause embedding types in your language would include.

- X12a) I hope [to leave]
I hope [for Bill to leave]
I expect [Bill to be unpleasant]
I persuaded Bill [to leave]
b) I made [Bill leave]
c) I saw [someone leaving]
d) I require [that he speak softly]
e) I consider [Bill unpleasant]

Comment: I can't translate these which is why I have left them out. Verbs like 'hope', 'consider', and 'expect' do not have any direct correspondence in Gungbe. Below is an example with the verb 'see'.

Ùn m̀n m̀dè dé bò é tò yíyì
1sg see person-Indef and 3sg Prog go.go
'I saw someone and s/he is leaving'

Comment: In Gungbe most of these examples will require the logophoric pronoun occupying the position of the independent pronoun in English. To get the reading where the matrix non-subject is the antecedent, I would use the pro-dé form.

D4a) Edgar asked Bill to trust X.

Dóná d̀è ná Asíba d̀è é ní
Dona say Prep Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive]
d̀è-jì d̀ó émì gò
trust at Log-3sg body
'Dona told Asiba that she should count on him/her'

Comment: The antecedent must be Dóná.

b) Edgar asked Bill to give a book to X.

Dóná d̀è ná Asíba d̀è é ní
Dona say Prep Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive]
ná àkwé émì

give money Log-3sg

‘Dona asked Asiba to give her some money’

Comment: The antecedent must be Dóná.

c) Edgar asked Bill to talk to X.

Dóná d̩ ná Asíba d̩ é ní
Dona say Prep Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive]

d̩ xó ná émì
say word Prep Log-3sg

‘Dona asked Asiba to talk to her’

Comment: The antecedent must be Dóná.

d) Edgar asked Bill to talk about X.

Dóná d̩ ná Asíba d̩ é ní
Dona say Prep Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive]
d̩ xó d̩ émì jí ná ỳ̀kpó lé
say word Prep Log-3sg on Prep child Num

‘Dona asked Asiba to talk about her to the children’

Comment: The antecedent must be Dóná.

e) Edgar expected Bill to trust X.

Dóná tò tè d̩ Asíba ní d̩-jì d̩ émì gò
Dona is stand that Asiba Mood_[subjunctive] trust Prep Log.3sg body

‘Dona is waiting for Asiba to trust her’

Comment: gò is a postposition which is needed in some expressions (e.g., talk about, trust someone). The antecedent must be Dóná.

f) Edgar ordered Bill to pay X.

Dóná zón Asíba d̩ é ní sú kwé ná émì
Dona order Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive] pay money Prep Log.3sg

‘Dona ordered Asiba to pay for her’

Dóná d̩ gbè d̩ Asíba ní sú
Dona order Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive] pay
kwé émì-t̀n ná émì
money Log.3sg.Poss Prep Log.3sg

‘Dona ordered Asiba to pay her money to her’

Comment: The antecedent must be Dóná.

g) Edgar ordered Bill to say that X was smart.

Dóná d̩ ná Asíba d̩ é ní d̩ ná m̀ lé
Dona say Prep Asiba that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive] say Prep people Num
d̩ émì nyón yé
that Log.3sg know 3pl

‘Dona told Asiba to tell the people that s/he knew them’

Comment: Here it seems to me that another reading where *she* refers back to Asiba is possible: Dona told Asiba to tell the people that she knew them’ [i.e. where she = Asiba]

h) Edgar ordered Bill to say that Mary loved X.

Zínsú q̣ɔ ná Tòsú q̣ɔ é ní q̣ɔ q̣ɔ Asíba nyín wán
 Zinsou say Prep Tosu that 3sg Mood_[subjunctive] tell that Asiba have love
 ná émì
 Prep Log.3sg

‘Zinsu asked Tosu to say that Asiba loves him’

Comment: Here too, it seems to me that *him* can refer back to either Tosu or Zinsu.

If infinitives in your language permit lexical subjects, either by exceptional Casemarking, as in (D5), or by a more general strategy (in English tied to the complementizer for) as in (D6), please also provide examples of this type.

Comment: Infinitives don’t have lexical subjects, and the empty subject is necessarily controlled by the subject of the matrix clause.

Ùn jró ná yì
 1sg want Prep go
 ‘I want to go’

The following sentences will therefore involve finite embedded clauses where the anaphor is a logophoric pronoun. These, I think, are the closest examples to the given English sentences.

D5a) Edgar expects X to win.

Zínsú lín q̣ɔ émì ná q̣ù tò yé jí
 Zinsu think that Log.3sg Fut eat at 3pl on
 ‘Zinsu thinks that he will beat over them’

b) Edgar expects Bill to defeat X.

Zínsú lín q̣ɔ Kwaku ná q̣ù tò émì jí
 Zinsu think that Kwaku Prep eat at Log.3sg on
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Kwaku will win over him [i.e., him = Zinsu]’

D6a) Edgar hopes for X to win.

Zínsú q̣ɛ jì q̣ɔ émì ná q̣ù tò yé jí
 Zinsu remove heart that Log.3sg Prep eat at 3pl on
 ‘Zinsu has confidence that he will win over them’

b) Edgar hopes for Bill to defeat X.

Same as 5b

Zínsú lín q̣ɔ Kwaku ná q̣ù tò émì jí
 Zinsu think that Kwaku Prep eat at Log.3sg on
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Kwaku will win over him [i.e., him = Zinsu]’

If the coreferent nominal can be a possessive, provide also examples like the following:

D7a) Edgar expects Bill to defeat X's brother.

Zínsú lin dḗ Kwaku ná dḗ tò nḍví émì-tòn jí
Zinsu think that Kwaku Prep eat at brother Log.3sg.Poss on
'Zinsu thinks that Kwaku will win over his brother [i.e., his = Zinsu]'

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

Same pattern as previously - no complements of this kind.

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

Same pattern as previously - no complements of this kind.

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

Same pattern as previously - no complements of this kind.

Now try all of these "Edgar" sentences with climbing...

D5c) Edgar X-expects to win.

d) Edgar X-expects Bill to defeat.

D6c) Edgar X-hopes for to win.

d) Edgar X-hopes for Bill to defeat.

Comment: These don't seem possible to me in Gungbe (unless I misunderstood your point).

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

Comment: Such sentences will be rendered as John thinks that he is intelligent in Gungbe, see the preceding examples as in 5 and 6 above.

D8a) Tom considers X intelligent.

b) Tom considers Mary fond of X.

c) Tom considers Mary angry at X.

Note: If your language permits verb serialization, special issues may arise for some of the questions we have been raising. If this is the case, please let us know that verb serialization is possible in your language and alert us to any sorts of patterns that you think we might be interested in. We will address these issues in follow up research.

4.2.3 Backwards anaphora

D9a) That X was late upset Oliver.

Hwènù dḗ é gbḍ vè ná Zínsú
Late that 3sg V hurt Prep Zinsu

'That he was late annoyed Zinsu'

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

c) That X was late made Oliver look guilty.

d) That X was late implicated Oliver.

Comment: I can't find anything close to 9b, 9c, and 9d, however, 9a can be rendered by what is referred to as factive constructions.

Section 4.3 Principle C-type effects

For all of these examples, give judgments that indicate whether or not it is possible in normal discourse circumstances for the pronoun to be either Malik or the boy.

Comment: These are completely impossible in Gungbe (not even in exceptional discourse circumstances).

E1a) He criticized Malik.

É	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	Súrù	gò
3sg	say	word	bad	Prep	Asiba	Post

*‘He_i said bad things about Súru_i’

b) He said Mariam criticized Malik.

É	ɖɔ̀	Àsíba	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	Súrù	gò
3sg	say	Asiba	say	word	bad	Prep	Suru	Post

*‘He_i said Asiba said bad things about Suru_i’

c) He criticized the boy.

É	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	ví	ló	gò
3sg	say	say	word	bad	child	Det	Post

*‘He_i said bad things about the child_i’

d) He said Mariam criticized the boy.

É	ɖɔ̀	Àsíba	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	ví	ló	gò
3sg	say	Asiba	say	word	bad	Prep	child	Det	Post

*‘He_i said Asiba said bad things about the child_i’

E2a) His mother criticized Malik.

íyà	étòn	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	Súrù	gò
mother	Poss	say	word	bad	Prep	Suru	Post

‘His mother_i said Asiba said bad things about the Suru_i’

b) His mother said Mariam criticized Malik.

íyà	étòn	ɖɔ̀	Àsíba	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	Súrù	gò	
mother	Poss	say	Asiba	Poss	say	word	bad	Prep	Suru	Post

?/✓ ‘His mother_i said Asiba said bad things about the Suru_i’

c) His mother criticized the boy.

íyà	étòn	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	ví	ló	gò
mother	Poss	say	word	bad	Prep	child	Det	Post

*‘His mother_i said bad things about the child_i’

d) His mother said Mariam criticized the boy.

íyà	étòn	ɖɔ̀	Àsíba	ɖɔ̀	xó	nyránnyrán	ɖó	ví	ló	gò	
mother	Poss	say	Asiba	Poss	say	word	bad	Prep	child	Det	Post

?/✓ ‘His mother_i said Asiba said bad things about the child_i’

E3a) The man who he liked criticized Malik

Dáwè dẹ́ é nyín wán ná dẹ́ xó nyránnyrán dọ́ Súrù gò
Man that 3sg Cop love Prep say word bad Prep Suru Post
*‘The man that he_i liked said bad things about Suru_i’

b) The man who he liked criticized the boy.

Dáwè dẹ́ é nyín wán ná dẹ́xó nyránnyrán dọ́ ví ló gò
Man that 3sg Cop love Prep say word bad Prep child Det Post
*‘The man that he_i liked said bad things about the child_i’

c) The man who liked him criticized the boy.

Dáwè dẹ́ nyín wán ná èn dẹ́xó nyránnyrán dọ́ ví ló gò
Man that Cop love Prep 3sg say word bad Prep child Det Post
?/✓ ‘The man that liked him_i said bad things about the child_i’

Now consider whether or not, in place of the pronoun, the name Malik could work as the antecedent for either Malik or the boy could work as the antecedent for the boy in the following sentences...

Comment: This is not possible in Gungbe either, whatever the discourse context is.

E4a) Malik criticized Malik.

*Súrù dẹ́ xó nyránnyrán dọ́ Súrù gò
Suru say say word bad Prep Suru Post
‘Suru_i said bad things about Suru_i’

b) Malik said Mariam criticized Malik.

*Súrù dẹ́ Àsíbá dẹ́ xó nyránnyrán dọ́ Súrù gò
Suru say Asiba say word bad Prep Suru Post
‘Suru_i said Asiba said bad things about Suru_i’

c) The boy criticized the boy.

ví ló dẹ́ xó nyránnyrán dọ́ ví ló gò
child Det say word bad Prep child Det Post
*‘The child_i said bad things about the child_i’

d) The boy said Mariam criticized the boy.

ví ló dẹ́ Súrù dẹ́ xó nyránnyrán dọ́ ví ló gò
child Det say Suru say word bad Prep child Det Post
*‘The child_i said Suru said bad things about the child_i’

E5a) Malik=s mother criticized Malik.

Súrù sín íyà dẹ́ xó nyránnyrán dọ́ Súrù gò
child Poss mother say word bad Prep Suru Post

‘Suru’s mother_i said bad things about Suru_i’

b) Malik=s mother said Mariam criticized Malik.

Súrù sín íyà ɖḗ Àsíbá ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó Súrù gò
child Poss mother say Suru say word bad Prep Suru Post
‘Suru’s mother_i said that Asiba said bad things about Suru_i’

c) The boy=s mother criticized the boy.

ví ló sín íyà ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó ví ló gò
child Det Poss mother say word bad Prep child Det Post
‘The child’s mother_i said bad things about Suru_i’

d) The boy=s mother said Mariam criticized the boy.

ví ló sín íyà ɖḗ Àsíbá ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó ví ló gò
child Det Poss mother say Asiba say word bad Prep child Det Post
‘The child’s mother_i said that Asiba said bad things about the child_i’

E6a) The man who Malik liked criticized Malik

Dávè ɖé Súrù nyín wán ná ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó Súrù gò
Man that Suru Cop love Prep say word bad Prep Suru Post
‘The man that Suru liked said bad things about the Suru’

b) The man who the boy liked criticized the boy.

Dávè ɖé ví ló nyín wán ná ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó ví ló gò
Man that child Det Cop love Prep say word bad Prep child Det Post
‘The man that the child liked said bad things about the child’

c) The man who liked the boy criticized the boy.

Dávè ɖé nyín wán ná ví ló ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó ví ló gò
Man that Cop love Prep child Det say word bad Prep child Det Post
‘The man that liked the child said bad things about the child’

Now consider whether the boy = Malik for the following examples

Comment: This is NOT possible either.

E7a) The boy criticized Malik.

ví ló ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó Súrù gò
child Det say word bad Prep Suru Post
*The child_i said bad things about the Suru_i’

b) The boy said Mariam criticized Malik.

ví ló ɖḗ Àsíbá ɖḗ xó nyránnyrán ɖó Súrù gò
child Det say Asiba say word bad Prep Suru Post
*The child_i said Asiba said bad things about the Suru_i’

c) Malik criticized the boy.

* Sùrù dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ ví ló gò
 Suru say say word bad Prep child Det Post
 ‘Suru_i said bad things about the child_i’

d) Malik said Mariam criticized the boy.

* Sùrù dḗ Àsíbá dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ ví ló gò
 Suru say Asiba say word bad Prep child Det Post
 ‘Suru_i said Asiba said bad things about the child_i’

E8a) The boy=s mother criticized Malik.

ví ló sín íyà dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ Sùrù gò
 child Det Poss mother say word bad Prep Suru Post
 *‘The child’s mother_i said that Asiba said bad things about the child_i’

b) The boy=s mother said Mariam criticized Malik.

ví ló sín íyà dḗ Àsíbá dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ Sùrù gò
 child Det Poss mother say Asiba say word bad Prep Suru Post
 *‘The child’s mother_i said that Asiba said bad things about the Suru_i’

c) Malik=s mother criticized the boy.

Sùrù sín íyà dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ ví ló gò
 Suru Poss mother say word bad Prep child Det Post
 ?/✓ ‘Suru’s mother_i said bad things about the child_i’

d) Malik=s mother said Mariam criticized the boy.

Sùrù sín íyà dḗ Àsíbá dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ ví ló gò
 Suru Poss mother say Asiba say word bad Prep child Det Post
 ‘Suru’s mother_i said Asiba said bad things about the child_i’

E9a) The man who the boy liked criticized Malik

Dáwè dḗ ví ló nyín wán ná dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ Sùrù gò
 Man that child Det Cop love Prep say word bad Prep Suru Post
 *‘The man that the child_i liked said bad things about Suru_i’

b) The man who Malik liked criticized the boy.

Dáwè dḗ Sùrù nyín wán ná dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ ví ló gò
 Man that Suru Cop love Prep say word bad Prep child Det Post
 ?/✓ ‘The man that the child_i liked said bad things about Suru_i’

c) The man who liked Malik criticized the boy.

Dáwè dḗ nyín wán ná Sùrù dḗ xó nyránnyrán dḗ ví ló gò
 Man that Cop love Prep Suru say word bad Prep child Det

Post

?/✓ ‘The man that liked Suru_i said bad things about the child_i’

d) The man who liked the boy criticized Malik

Dáwè dɛ nyín wán ná ví ló dɛ xó nyránnyrán dɔ́ Súrù gò
Man that Cop love Prep child Det say word bad Prep Suru Post

?/* ‘The man that liked the child_i said bad things about Suru_i’

4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies

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

4.4.1 Position of the antecedent - Construct examples and give judgments where X = Zeke.

Comment: Gungbe uses logophoric pronouns as illustrated in D10. A comparable example is as follows:

Zínsú nywèn gànjí dɛ émì má sígán dà Asíbá
Zinsu know well that Log.3sg Neg can marry Asiba
‘Zinsu knows very well that he cannot marry Asiba’

Comment: In Gungbe, the logophoric pronoun typically refers back to the (reported) speaker or believer, but see D4g,h.

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

Zínsú dɛ ná Kòfí dɛ Asíbá má nyín wá ná émì
Zinsu say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
‘Zinsu told Kofi that Asiba does not love him’ [émì=him = Zinsu i.e., the reported speaker]

Zínsú dɛ ná Kòfí dɛ Asíbá má nyín wá ná èn
Zinsu say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep 3sg
‘Zinsu told Kofi that Asiba does not love him’ [èn=him = Kofi]

Comment: This example has a normal third person pronoun while the previous one includes the logophoric pronoun.

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

Zínsú dɛ ná Kòfí dɛ Asíbá má nyín wá ná émì
Zinsu say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
‘Zinsu told Kofi that Asiba does not love him’ [émì=him = Zinsu i.e., the reported speaker]

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

Zínsú dɛ ná Kòfí dɛ émì má nyín wá ná Asíbá
Zinsu say Prep Kofi that Log.3sg Neg have love Prep Asiba
‘Zinsu told Kofi that he does not love Asiba’ [émì=he = Zinsu]

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

Zínsú dɛ ná Kòfí dɛ é má nyín wá ná Asíbá
Zinsu say Prep Kofi that 3sg Neg have love Prep Asiba

‘Zinsu told Kofi that he does not love Asiba’ [é=he = Kofi]

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

Zínsú nywèn gànjí ɖ̀ Kòfí lín ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná èn
 Zinsu know well that Kofi think that Asiba Neg have love Prep 3sg
 ‘Zinsu knows very well that Kofi thinks that Asiba does not love him [èn =him=Kofi]

Comment: With [èn =him=Kofi], I think, but I have the feeling that the logophoric pronoun can occur in both examples, which will then be ambiguous (i.e., the logophoric pronoun can be bound either by the embedded subject or the matrix one). I’m not sure about this and I have to think again and check with other speakers.

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

Zínsú nywèn gànjí ɖ̀ Kòfí lín ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná émì
 Zinsu know well that Kofi think that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
 ‘Zinsu knows very well that Kofi thinks that Asiba does not love him [émì=him=Zinsu]

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

Zínsú sín íyà lín ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná èn / *émì
 Zinsu Poss mother think that Asiba Neg have love Prep 3sg Log.3sg
 ‘Zinsu’s mother thinks that Asiba does not love him [èn =him=Zinsu]’

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

Zínsú sín íyà lín ɖ̀ é / *émì má nyín wá ná Asíbá
 Zinsu Poss mother think that 3sg Log.3sg Neg have love Prep Asiba
 ‘Zinsu’s mother thinks that he does not love Asiba [é =he=Zinsu]’

c) Zeke thinks that Mike does not like X.

Zínsú lín ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná émì /*èn
 Zinsu think that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg 3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Asiba does not love him [émì =him=Zinsu]’

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

Zínsú sín wémà ɖ̀ ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná èn /* émì
 Zinsu Poss mother think that Asiba Neg have love Prep 3sg Log.3sg
 ‘Zinsu’s letter says that Asiba does not love him [èn =him=Zinsu]’

Zínsú ɖ̀ tò wémá étòn mè ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná émì
 Zinsu say Prep letter Poss in that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
 ‘Zinsu said in his letter that Asiba does not love him [émì =him=Zinsu]’

e) Zeke heard that Mary did not like X.

Zínsú sè ɖ̀ Asíbá má nyín wá ná émì
 Zinsu hear that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
 ‘Zinsu heard that Asiba does not love him [émì =him=Zinsu]’

f) Zeke was told that Mary did not like X.
 Comment: There is no passive in Gungbe.

D13a) Zeke said that X had dressed X.

Zínsú ɖɔ ɖɔ émì dó àwù ná Asíbá
 Zinsu say that Log3sgput dress Prep Asiba
 'Zinsu said that he dressed Asiba' [émì=he = Zinsu]

b) Zeke said that X had wounded X.

Zínsú ɖɔ ɖɔ émì glé wú (émì-ɖé)
 Zinsu say that Log3sgcut body Log-ɖé
 'Zinsu said that he cut himself'

c) Zeke said that X had tattooed X.

Zínsú ɖɔ ɖɔ émì gbò hwè ná émì-ɖé
 Zinsu say that Log3sgcut scarification Prep Log-ɖé
 'Zinsu said that he made his scarifications himself'

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

4.4.2 Antecedent properties

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

D11ai) Zínsú ɖɔ ná mì/wè ɖɔ Asíbá má nyín wá ná mì/wè
 Zinsu say Prep 1sg/2sg that Asiba Neg have love Prep 1sg/2sg
 'Zinsu told me/you that Asiba does not love me/you'

bi) Ùn/À ɖɔ ná Kòfí ɖɔ Asíbá má nyín wá ná mì/wè
 I/you say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep 1sg/2sg
 'I/you told Kofi that Asiba does not love me/you'

ci) Ùn/À ɖɔ ná Kòfí ɖɔ ùn/à má nyín wá ná Asíbá
 1sg/2sg say Prep Kofi that 1sg/2sg Neg have love Prep Asiba
 'I/you told Kofi that I/you do not love Asiba'

Comment: This paradigm repeats itself for all the remaining examples. There is no logophoric pronoun for 1st or 2nd person.

4.4.2.2 Quantified antecedents - Review the examples in the Jack, Zeke and Edgar paradigms, replacing these names with "every child" and "no child" or "many children".

D11aii) Zínsú ɖ̀̀ ná ví ɖ̀̀kpó ɖ̀̀kpó ɖ̀̀ Asíba má nyín wá n èn
 Zinsu say Prep child one one that Asiba Neg have love Pr 3sg
 ‘Zinsu told each child that Asiba does not love him’

bii) ví ɖ̀̀kpó ɖ̀̀kpó ɖ̀̀ ná Kòfí ɖ̀̀ Asíba má nyín wá ná émi
 child one one say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
 ‘Every child told Kofi that Asiba does not love him’

cii) ví ɖ̀̀kpó ɖ̀̀kpó ɖ̀̀ ná Kòfí ɖ̀̀ émi má nyín wá ná Asíba
 child one one say Prep Kofi that Log.3sg Neg have love Prep Asiba
 ‘Each child told Kofi that s/he does not love Asiba’

Comment: This paradigm repeats itself for other cases as well, with the same variations or similarities as noted for previous Zeke, Jack, and Edgar paradigms.

D11aiii) Larry told no child that Mike does not like X.

Zínsú má ɖ̀̀ ná ví ɖ̀̀ kpékpé ɖ̀̀ Asíba nyín wá ná èn
 Zinsu Neg say Prep child that any that Asiba have love Pr 3sg
 ‘Zinsu did not tell any child that Asiba loved him’

D11biii) No child told Larry that Mike does not like X.

ví ɖ̀̀ kpékpé má ɖ̀̀ ná Kòfí ɖ̀̀ Asíba nyín wá ná
 émi
 child that any Neg tell Prep Kofi that Asiba have love Prep Log.3sg
 ‘No child told Kofi that Asiba loved him’

D11ciii) No child told Larry that X does not like Mike.

ví ɖ̀̀ kpékpé má ɖ̀̀ ná Kòfí ɖ̀̀ émi nyín wá ná Asíba
 child that any Neg say Prep Kofi that Log.3sg have love Prep Asiba
 ‘No child told Kofi that s/he loved Asiba’

D11aiv) Zeke told many children that Mike does not like X.

Zínsú ɖ̀̀ ná ví sùsù ɖ̀̀ Asíba má nyín wá ná yè
 Zinsu say Prep child many that Asiba Neg have love Pr 3pl
 ‘Zinsu told many children that Asiba does not love them’

D11biv) ví sùsù ɖ̀̀ ná Kòfí ɖ̀̀ Asíba má nyín wá ná émi
 child many say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep Log.3sg
 ‘Many children told Kofi that Asiba does not love him’

Comment: another reading seems possible to me (at least marginally)

D11bv) ví sùsù ɖ̀̀ ná Kòfí ɖ̀̀ Asíba má nyín wá ná yé
 child many say Prep Kofi that Asiba Neg have love Prep 3sg
 ‘Many children told Kofi that Asiba does not love them’

I have the impression that in the first reading *many children* is read as numerous children who talked to *Kofi* individually. The second reading is that of a group of children who talked to Kofi as a group (e.g., in the context of a class discussion). There is no plural form of the logophoric pronoun, but the logophoric pronoun can be bound by a plural DP.

Ví lé d̩̀ é̀mì ná d̩̀ nú
 Child Det say LOG Fut eat thing
 ‘The children say that they will eat’

The logophoric pronoun can be accompanied by the numb marker, but surprisingly enough, this does not seem to be plural since it can be bound by a singular DP.

Súrù d̩̀ é̀mì lé wè ná d̩̀ gán
 Suru say LOG Numb Foc Fut gain chief
 ‘Suru said HE will be the chief’

The presence of the numb marker also allows for a plurality that is not distributed, as in the following example.

Ví lé lín d̩̀ é̀mì bí
 Child Numb think that LOG intelligent
 ‘The children think they are intelligent’

The non-logophoric 3p singular is hopeless here.

D11civ) Many children told Larry that X does not like Mike.

ví sùsù d̩̀ ná Kòfí d̩̀ é̀mì /yé má nyín wá ná Así́bá
 child many say Prep Kofi that Log.3sg/3pl Neg have love Prep Asiba
 ‘Many children told Kofi that s/he/they does/do not love Asiba’

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents -

D14a) Ozzie talked about Harriet to X.

Zínsú d̩̀ xó d̩̀ Así́bá jí ná yé-d̩̀
 Zinsou say word Prep Asiba on Prep 3pl-d̩̀
 ‘Zinsou talked about Asiba to themselves’

Comment: This sounds strange to me even though I feel it is not ungrammatical. This sentence would not be acceptable if *Zínsú* were not included in the group denoted by pronoun-RM, even if *Así́bá* is.

b) Ozzie talked about X to Harriet.

Zínsú d̩̀ xó d̩̀ yé-d̩̀ jí ná Así́bá
 Zinsou say word Prep 3pl-d̩̀ on Prep Asiba
 ‘Zinsou talked about themselves to Asiba’

Comment: This sounds better than (D14a), but once again, it would not be acceptable if *Zínsú* were not included in the group denoted by pronoun-RM, even if *Así́bá* is.

c) Ozzie told Harriet that X should leave.

Zínsú d̩̀ ná Así́bá d̩̀ yé d̩̀ ná yì
 Zinsou say Prep Asiba that 3pl have Prep go
 ‘Zinsou told Asiba that they should leave’

Comment: This one sounds a bit better than (D14a,b).

d) Ozzie told Harriet that Bill dislikes X.

Zínsú ɖ̀ ná Asíba ɖ̀ Kwésí má nyí wá ná yé
 Zinsou say Prep Asiba that Kwesi Neg have love Prep 3pl
 ‘Zinsou told Asiba that Kwesi does not love them’

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

Zínsú ɖ̀ ɖ̀ Asíba lín ɖ̀ Kwésí má nyí wá ná yé
 Zinsou say that Asiba think Kwesi Neg have love Prep 3pl
 ‘Zinsou said that Asiba thinks that Kwesi does not love them’

Comment: Ken asks if a split antecedent is possible for the logophoric pronoun. Enoch answers with this example and commentary:

Ví súnsì sùsù kánbíó ví nyónù sùsù ní kwrà rùj nò ná yé/émì núdùdù
 Child male many ask child female many if cross red Hab give 3pl/LOG food

With the non-logophoric pronoun the interpretation is:

Many boys asked many girls if the Red Cross would feed them (=the girls)

With the logophoric pronoun we get

Many boys asked many girls if the Red Cross would feed them (=the boys)

4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents - Sometimes, LDA strategies do not have to have antecedents in the same sentence if the discourse connections between sentences is strong.

Only independent pronouns can be used here. Logophoric pronouns don't work.

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

Zínsú nò ɖ̀ bú ɖ̀ nú ɖ́ sìgán wá wà ví é-tòn
 Zinsu Hab resent fear that thing Indef can come happen child 3sg-Poss
 ‘Zinsou fears that something might happen to his child’

Wìnyán nò hu-ì ɖ̀ é má sìgán cò m̀ é-tòn vívé lé jí
 Shame Hab kill-3sg that 3sg Neg can watch people 3sg-Poss dear Num on
 ‘He is ashamed that he cannot watch over his closest relatives’

Été ẁ nyrwèn ví lé ná lín dó égò ?
 what Foc oncle child Num Fut think Prep 3sg-gò

‘What will his cousins think of him?’

Comment: The logophoric pronoun is not possible in the discourse sentences. The last gloss is 3sg plus the postposition gò that you got worried about already.

D16) Mark was shocked to see his picture in the paper. All of his supporters would abandon him. How would he tell his mother?

E kpácá Zínsú ɖ̀ fótò é-tòn tón tò wémá m̀
 3sg surprise Zinsu that picture 3sg-Poss appear Prep book in
 ‘It surprised Zinsu that his picture appeared in the newspaper’

Gbé-ví 'etón lé kpó ná hòn jó é-dó
 Fan 3sg-Poss Num all Fut flee leave 3sg-alone

'all his club members would abandon him'

Ná wè é ná ká ɔ̀ xó é̀nè íyà é-tòn ɔ̀?
 How Foc 3sg Fut possibly tell word that mother 3sg.Poss like

'How would he present this story to his mother?'

Comment: The logophoric pronoun is not possible for Zínsú in the discourse sentences.

The following scenario concerns what Morris is reporting to us about Mark, where all of the English pronouns are understood as referring to Mark, not to Morris. Please translate using any (or every) strategy for coreference with Mark that works (including the independent pronoun strategy).

D17) Morris said it was a difficult day for Mark. First, Morris told him that his car had been stolen. Then he had to hire a taxi to take him to work. Morris thought he might be angry.

Gungbe uses independent pronouns only in this context. Logophoric pronouns are excluded.

Zínsú ɔ̀ ɔ̀ nú ɔ̀ xá Kòfí égbè síén kpèɔ̀
 Zinsu say that thing that.Rel occur Kofi today hard a.little.bit
 'Zinsu said that what happened to Kofi today was a little bit tough'

Títán, Zínsú ɔ̀ ní-én ɔ̀ yé fi mótò é-tòn
 First Zinsu say Prep-3sg that 3pl steal car 3sg-Poss
 'First, Zinsu told him that someone stole his car'

Àwètó é ɔ̀ ná xáyà tàkìsí ná ɔ̀ yì àzón mè
 Second, 3sg have Prep hire taxi Prep able go work in
 'Second he must hire a taxi to go to work'

Zínsú ɔ̀ ɔ̀ àɔ̀ ɔ̀-è kpèɔ̀
 Zinsu believe that anger have-3sg a.little.bit
 'Lit. Zinsu thought that anger affected him a little bit'
 'Zinsu thought that he was a little bit angry'

Now suppose that Mark has recently been in the news and he is the topic of our conversation. Speakers A and B use pronouns to refer to him.

Comment: Only independent pronoun strategy works here too.

D18) A: Look, there's Mark!

Kpón, Zínsú níè
 Look Zinsu that
 'Look, that is Zinsu'

B: He is so handsome.

É nyón wà̀kpè tà̀n
 3sg have beauty very

‘He is so handsome’

A: I would not want to be his wife though. All the women are chasing him.

Àmón, mà jró ná tò àsi é-tòn sín tè m̀è,
But 1sg.Neg want Prep at wife 3sg.Poss Poss place in
nyóǹnù lé kpó ẁè gódò ná è
woman Num all Foc back Prep 3sg

‘But, I would not want to be in the position of his wife, all women are running after him’

B: Also, I think he praises himself too much.

èn b̀d̀ é s̀ó ǹd̀ yí g̀ò gbáú
yes, and 3sg also Hab take body too.much

‘Yes and he boasts around too much’

4.4.3 Blocking Effects

4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects - The following examples test for an intervening subject that is mismatched for person, gender, or number.

D19a) Larry thinks that John respects X.

Zínsú lìn d̀d̀ Dànsú ǹd̀ sí-ì
Zinsu think that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
‘Zinsu thinks that Dansu respects him’

b) Larry thinks that I respect X.

Zínsú lìn d̀d̀ ùn ǹd̀ sí-ì
Zinsu think that 1sg Hab respect-3sg
‘Zinsu thinks that I respect him’

c) Larry thinks that Mary respects X.

Zínsú lìn d̀d̀ Asíbá ǹd̀ sí-ì
Zinsu think that Asiba Hab respect-3sg
‘Zinsu thinks that Asiba respects him’

d) Larry thinks that the boys respect X.

Zínsú lìn d̀d̀ ví lé ǹd̀ sí-ì
Zinsu think that child Num Hab respect-3sg
‘Zinsu thinks that the children respect him’

e) The men think that the boys respect X. (X = the men)

Métrù lé lìn d̀d̀ ví lé ǹd̀ sí yé
Teacher Num think that child Num Hab respect 3pl
‘(The) teachers think that the children respect them’

Same tests, with the intervening subject in an intermediate clause:

D20a) Larry thinks that Bill knows that Dave respects X.

Zínsú lín ɖɔ̌ Kòfí nywén ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu think that Kofi know that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Kofi knows that Dansu respects him’

b) Larry thinks that I know that Dave respects X.

Zínsú lín ɖɔ̌ ùn nywén ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu think that 1sg know that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that I knows that Dansu respects him’

c) Larry thinks that Mary knows that Dave respects X.

Zínsú lín ɖɔ̌ Asíbá nywén ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu think that Asiba know that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Asiba knows that Dansu respects him’

d) Larry thinks that the boys know that Dave respects X.

Zínsú lín ɖɔ̌ ví lé nywén ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu think that child Num know that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that the children know that Dansu respects him’

e) The men think that the boys know that Dave respects. (the men = X)

Métrù lé lín ɖɔ̌ ví lé nywén ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí yé
 Teacher Num think that child Num know that Dansu Hab respect 3pl
 ‘(The) teachers think that the children know that Dansu respects them’

4.4.3.2 Positions of the intervener - The above interveners were subjects (the most common case). We now look for interveners in other positions. The following examples rely only on person mismatches (where X = Walter).

D21a) Walter thinks that Bill told Harry that Dave respects X.

Zínsú lín ɖɔ̌ Kòfí ɖɔ̌ ná Asíbá ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu think that Kofi say Prep Asiba that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Kofi told Asiba that Dansu respects him’

b) Walter thinks that Bill told me that Dave respects X.

Zínsú lín ɖɔ̌ Kòfí ɖɔ̌ ná mì ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu think that Kofi say Prep 1sg.accthat Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu thinks that Kofi told me that Dansu respects him’

c) Walter told me that Dave respects X.

Zínsú ɖɔ̌ ná mì ɖɔ̌ Dànsú nò sí-ì
 Zinsu say Prep 1sg.acc that Dansu Hab respect-3sg
 ‘Zinsu told me that Dansu respects him’

d) Walter said that Dave gave me a book about X.

Zínsú d̥ò d̥ò Kòfí ná mì wémá d̥é d̥ó é-jì
Zinsu say that Kofi give 1sg.acc book Indef at 3sg-on
'Zinsu said that Kofi gave me a book on him'

4.4.4 Islands

Do syntactic islands affect the acceptability of the current strategy? For all the examples in this section, Ira = X.

D22a) Ira resents the fact that Mary hates X.

Zínsú nywén d̥ò Kòfí má nyín wán ná-èn
Zinsu know that Kofi Neg have love Prep-3sg
'Zinsu knows that Kofi does not like him'

b) Ira respects the man who likes X.

Zínsú n̄ò sí d̥áwè d̥ě nyín wán ná-èn
Zinsu Hab respect man that.Rel have love Prep-3sg
'Zinsu respects the man who likes him'

c) Ira says that the man who likes X is intelligent.

Zínsú d̥ò d̥ò d̥áwè d̥ě nyín wán ná-èn bí
Zinsu say that man that.Rel have love Prep-3sg intelligent
'Zinsu said that the the man who likes him is intelligent'

d) Ira asked whether Bill saw X.

Zínsú k̄ànbíó ní Asíba m̄̀n é̀mì
Zinsu ask if Asiba see Log.3sg
'Zinsu asked if Asiba saw him.'

Comment: Note the usage of the logophoric pronoun here!

e) Ira asked when Bill saw X.

Zínsú k̄ànbíó d̥ò hwèténù wè Asíba m̄̀n é̀mì
Zinsu ask that when Foc Asiba see Log.3sg
'Zinsu asked when Asiba saw him'

Comment: Note the usage of the logophoric pronoun here!

f) Ira did not realize that George followed X.

Zínsú má nywén d̥ò Asíba x̄òdó é̀mì
Zinsu ask that when Asiba follow Log.3sg
'Zinsu asked when Asiba saw him'

Comment: but it seems to me that an independent pronoun strategy is also available here

Zínsú má nywén d̥ò Asíba x̄òdó é
Zinsu ask that when Asiba follow 3sg
'Zinsu asked when Asiba saw him'

g) Ira said that Mary was pretty and that she would marry X.
 Zínsú d̥ɔ̃ d̥ɔ̃ nàwè ló nyón hwànkpè d̥ɔ̃ é ná dà émì
 Zinsu say that womanDef know beauty that 3sg Fut marry Log.3sg
 ‘Zinsu said that the woman was pretty and that she would marry him’

4.4.5 De se reading

D23a) *Oedipus* thinks/says *his* mother is nice.

b) *Oedipus* thinks/says *his* mother is mean.

D24a) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé r̀è ti wó.

Olu believe that house he(w) ASP fall

b) Olú gbàgbó pé ilé òun ti wó.

Olu believe that house he(s) ASP fall

Both: "Olu believes that his house has collapsed."

Comment: I would not say that this is exactly possible in Gungbe. What seems at least marginally possible in Gungbe is that a weak pronoun as in D24a is ambiguous in that the house can be that of the reported speaker or of someone else:

Zínsú v̀è d́ó d̥ɔ̃ xwé é-t̀n f́íó ẁè śín

Zinsu believe at that house 3sg-Poss burn Foc Part

‘Zinsu thought that his house burned [his = Zinsu]’

‘Zinsu thought that his house burned [his = someone else]

Zínsú v̀è d́ó d̥ɔ̃ xwé ém̀ì-t̀n f́íó ẁè śín

Zinsu believe at that house Log-3sg-Poss burn Foc Part

‘Zinsu thought that *his* house burned [his = Zinsu]’

In this case the logophoric pronoun also triggers emphatic reading.