PART 2    An inventory of reflexive and reciprocal strategies

2.1   Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 "Primary" reflexive strategy -

A1) A reflexive is usually formed with: Ara + (genitive) Pronoun ara-X

Strategy
a. Olú rí ara rè
   Olu see body his
   ‘Olu saw himself.’

The ara-X Strategy is very productive in Yoruba. All you have to do is to change the genitive pronoun for different persons and numbers.
NOTE: A subset of what is used as reflexives is also used as a reciprocal: body + plural genitive pronouns. Here is an example with the 3rd person plural pronoun.

b. Wọn féran ara wọn  
   they love body them  
   ‘they love each other’

The form: ara wọn is also used as a reflexive in the language

b’ Wọn féran ara wọn  
   they love body them  
   ‘they love themselves’

2.1.2 Is there another way, or ways, to express coreference in A1

It is also possible to use an accusative pronoun as a reflexive in a yes-no question. This is more or less limited to the second person singular accusative pronoun. Strategy B

a. O ó rí o bí (equivalent to: O ó rí ara rẹ bí  
   You NEG see you QM   You NEG see body you QM  
   ‘Can you see yourself?’   ‘Can you see yourself?’  
* Can you see you’

NOTE: the use of any other accusative pronoun in the position of the second person singular pronoun as in (2) can only give a non-reflexive reading. This suggests that strategy B is not productive.

2.1.3 Other verb types -
A2a) (a). Olú fá irungbọ̀n
   Olu shave beard
   ‘Olu shaved’ (Olu shaved himself)

The use of the “reflexive form” with the transitive verb: ́fa ‘shave’ in (a) might have a fairly different connotation.

a’). Olú fá irungbọ̀n ara rè
   Olu shave beard body his
   ‘Olu shaved his own beard’

b. Olú gé ara rè (ní ọ̀be )
   Olu cut body his ? knife
   ‘Olu cut himself (with a knife)’

c. Ojú ti Adé
   eye push Ade
   ‘Ade is ashamed’ (‘Ade is ashamed of himself’)

The example in (a) suggests that ‘ fá ‘shave’ is different from wè ‘bathe’.

d. Olú wè null object strategy
   Olu bathe
   ‘Olu washed himself’

For wè, it is possible to use the reflexive form. (Low toned verbs become mid toned verbs before an object NP in Yoruba language.)
In general, the use the **null object strategy** is not productive

2.1.4 Obliques and other argument types

i) Olú gbọkàn lé ara rẹ̀
   Olu put-heart upon body his
   ‘Olu counted on himself’

ii) Olú rí ejò ní ègbé ara rẹ̀
   Olu see snake at side body his
   ‘Olu saw a snake near himself’

A3a) Olú sọ̀rọ̀ sí Adé
   Olu say-word (talk) to Ade
   ‘Olu spoke to Ade

b) Olú sọ̀rọ̀ nípa ara rẹ̀
   Olu talk about body his
   Olu spoke about himself’

c) Olú sọ̀rọ̀ fún Òjó nípa ara rẹ̀
   Olu talk to Ojo about body his
   ‘Olu spoke to Ojo about himself’

c’) Olú sọ̀rọ̀ (nípa) ara rẹ̀ fún Òjó (nípa is optional here)
   Olu talk (about) body his to Ojo
‘Olu spoke to Ojo about himself’

d) Olú bá wa sòrò nípa ara wa
   Olu meet us talk about body our
   ‘Olu spoke to us about ourselves’

e) Olú fún àwọn ọmọ náà fún ‘raawọn
   Olu give they child the for-body-their
   ‘Olu gave the children themselves’

f) Olú rí iwé léhin rẹ̀
   Olu see book at-back him
   ‘Olu saw a book behind him’

g) Olú ra iwé náà fúnraa rẹ̀
   Olu buy book the for-body-his
   ‘Olu bought the book for himself’

A4a) Òjó féran ara rẹ̀
    Ojo like body his
    Ojo likes himself

b) Òjó dáyà jà ara rẹ̀
    Ojo break-chest break body his
    Ojo scares himself

c) Òjó n’ fo ara rẹ̀ láyà
    Ojo PROG jump body his at-chest
    ‘Ojo is worrying himself’
c') 'Adé ń fòòró ara rè
Ade PROG. trouble body his
'Ade is troubling himself'

2.1.5 Person and number

A5a) Mo rí ara mi
I see body my
'I saw myself'

b) Ó sèèsì gé ara rè (ni ọ̀bẹ)
You accidentally cut body you ? knife
'You accidentally cut yourself (with a knife)'

c) A óò wẹ ara wa
We will bathe body our
'we will wash ourselves'

d) È gbọ́dọ́ ran ara yín lówó
You(pl.) must carry body you (pl.) at-hand
'You must help yourselves'

2.1.6

A6a) Pétérù mọ ara rè
Peter know body his
'Peter knows himself'

b) Pétérù máa ń ka àlèébù ara rè nígbà gbogbo
Peter HAB. PROG. count fault body his at time all
'Peter (habitually) criticizes himself'

c) Ó ṣeéṣe kí Pétérù yin ara rè
   It possible/likely COMP Peter praise body his
   'Peter is likely to praise himself / it is likely/possible for Peter to praise
   himself'

(b) Do quantificational constructions involve a separate strategy?
   NO

A7a) Òmọkùnrin kọọkan wo ara rè
   Boy each-one look body his
   'Every boy looked at himself.'

b) Gbogbo obinrin ṣàpèjúwe Olú fún ara wọn
   all woman describe Olu to body their
   'All the women described Olu to themselves.'

b’) Olùkó kọọkan fi ara rè han Òjó
   Teach each use body his show Ojo
   'Every teacher introduced himself to Ojo.'

b") Ìwọn ọmọ kan ran ara wọn nikan lówó
   They child one carry body their only at-hand
   'Some children only help themselves.'

(c) grammaticized honorifics

Bàbá Olú rí ara wọn
   Father Olu see body their
   'Olu’s father saw himself'
A8) Wọ́n rí ara wọ́n.
    they see body them
    "They saw themselves." or "They saw each other." or "They saw their
    bodies."

CORRECT as given.

(d) tensed complements, subjunctives, infinitivals, purpose clauses, or any
other embedding construction your language

A9a) Ṣọlá so pé Álíísí féran ara rẹ̀
    Sola say that Alice like body her
‘Sola says that Alice loves herself.’

b) Ṣọlá rò pé Álíísí gbódò yin ara rẹ̀
    Sola think that Alice must/should praise body her
‘Sola thought Alice should praise herself.’

c) Ṣọlá ní kí Álíísí yin ara rẹ̀
    Sola say COMP Aliisi praise body his
‘Sola asked Alice to praise herself.’

d) Ṣọlá fé yin ara rẹ̀
    Sola want praise body his
‘Sola wants to praise himself.’

e) Ṣọlá fé kí Álíísí yin ara rẹ̀
    Sola want COMP Aliisi praise body his
Sola expects Alice to praise herself.
f) Ṣọlá gbọ́ ti Álíisi ń yin ara rẹ̀
Sola hear COMP Aliisi PROG. praise body his
'Sola heard Alice praising herself.'

2.2 Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1

A10a) Mo bá Adé sòrọ̀ ní àná. Ó rí Òjó
I meet Ade talk at yesterday. He see Ojo
'I spoke with Ade yesterday. He saw Ojo.'

b) Adé dà? Mo rí i ní ojà
Ade where I see him at market
'Where is Ade? I saw him in the market.'

c) A rí ọ. Sé o rí mi/wa
We see you QM you see me/us
'We saw you. Did you see me/us?'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strong Pronouns</th>
<th>Weak pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM/ACC</strong></td>
<td><strong>GEN</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Singular</td>
<td>èmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Singular</td>
<td>iwo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Singular</td>
<td>òun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Plural</td>
<td>àwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Plural</td>
<td>èyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Plural</td>
<td>àwọn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: $V =$ vowel

2.2.3 Null arguments

a). Olú kò lọ
Olu NEG go
‘Olu didn’t go’

a’). Kò lọ
NEG go
‘he did not go’

b.) Olú yóò lọ
Olu will go
‘Olu will go’

b’). Yóò lọ
will go
‘he will not go’

Only the third person singular (weak) pronoun is required to be null before negation and future tense markers in Yoruba.

2.3 Reciprocal coreference

2.3.1

a. Wọn rí ara wọn Strategy D (it’s a subset of the ara-X Strategy )
they see body their
‘they saw each other’ ‘they saw themselves’ ‘they saw their bodies’
2.3.2

A11a) Àwọn obinrin náà rí ara wọn
They woman the see body their
‘The women see each other.’

b) Àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà wẹ ara wọn
They boy the wash body their
‘The boys washed each other.’

c) Àwọn ọkùnrin náà ya irun ara wọn
They man the comb hair body their
‘The men combed each other's hair.’

d) Wọn bá ara wọn jiyàn
They meet body their argue
‘They argued with each other.’

e) Àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà gba ara wọn
They boy the kick body their
‘The boys kicked each other.’

f) Wọn kóríra ara wọn
They hate body their
‘They hate each other.’

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

A12a) Àwọn ọkùnrin náà fi Òjó han ara wọn
They man the use Ojo show body their
‘The men introduced Bill to each other.’

b) Àwọn arinrinàjò nàà sòrò sí ara wọn
they travelers the talk to body their
‘The travelers spoke to each other.’

c) Àwọn àlùfáà náà gbó iroyin nípa ara wọn
they priests the hear news about body their
‘The priests heard news about each other.’

d) Wọn fi èbùn sí iwájú ara wọn
they put gift at front body their
‘They left presents in front of each other.’

2.3.4 Other persons and numbers

A13a) A rí ara wa
We see body our
‘We saw each other.’

b) È gbódò ran ara yìn lòwó
you must carry body your at-hand
‘You(pl.) must help each other.’

c) A óò wẹ ara wa
we will wash body us
‘We will wash ourselves.’

d) Gbogbo igbà ni wọn máa ń tóka àlèèbù sí ara wọn
all time be they HAB. PROG. point-finger fault to body their
'They always criticize each other.'

e) Ọ̀pọ̀pọ̀ ọmọkùnrin gbá ara wọn (ní ẹ̀sé)

Many boy kick body their box

'Many boys kicked each other.'

2.3.5 Other clause types, and other strategies: Use the following sentences as models, but if there is nothing new to be found this way, do not bother to translate them and move on.

There is nothing new.

A14a) Sol says that the girls love each other.

b) Sol required that the girls praise each other.

c) Sol thought the girls should praise each other.

d) Sol asked the girls to praise each other.

e) The girls want to praise each other.

f) Sol expects the girls to praise each other.

g) Sol heard the girls praising each other.

2.4 Other types of local coreference

2.4.1 Possessives, alienable and inalienable

The ara-X Strategy could be sued for (b, c and d) but not common for (a). In addition a null genitive pronoun could also be used for (a to d)

A15a) Olú ju bàtà rẹ nù

Olu throw shoes his lost

'Olu lost his shoes.'
b) Olú na ọwọ́ rẹ̀ sókè
    Olu beat hand his to-mountain
    ‘Olu raised his hand.’

c) Olú (fi ọ̀bẹ) gé ọwọ́ _ null genitive pronoun
    Olu use knife cut hand
    ‘Olu cut his hand (with a knife).’

c') Olú (fi ọ̀bẹ ) gé ọwọ́ rẹ̀
    Olu use knife cut hand his
    ‘Olu cut his hand (with a knife).’

c") Olú (fi ọ̀bẹ ) gé ọwọ́ ara rẹ̀
    Olu use knife cut hand body his
    ‘Olu cut his hand (with a knife).’ (or Olu cut his own hand)

d) Pọ̀ọ̀lù yẹ ọwọ́ wò null genitive pronoun
    Paul remove hand look
    ‘Paul examined his hand.’

d') Pọ̀ọ̀lù yẹ ọwọ́ rè wò
    Paul remove hand his look
    ‘Paul examined his hand.’

d") Pọ̀ọ̀lù yẹ ọwọ́ ara rè wò
    Paul remove hand body his look
    ‘Paul examined his hand.’
2.4.2 Reflexives in nominals - Some languages use a different affix or form to establish a reflexive relationship inside of a nominal. Identify any strategies that can apply to nouns rather than verbs. (Other possibilities: self-destruction, self-help, etc.)

A16) Andrew's self-confidence annoyed Mary.

A17) Ìfira-ẹni-hàn Olú wu olùkọ náà
Using-body-person-show Olu impress teacher the
‘Olu’s introduction of himself impressed the teacher.’

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.

None

Part 3 General details about the strategies

It may be easier for you (and us) if you complete part 3 of the questionnaire for one strategy at a time. Begin with the first strategy you have identified (Strategy A, for example), and answer all questions as they apply to it. Then return to this point and do the same with strategy B, etc.

Some questions refer to the current strategy, meaning whichever strategy you are providing an answer for at that moment.

3.1 Marking
3.1.1
As of now, we have identified four strategies, out of this, we assume that strategy D (reciprocal) is a subset of Strategy A (reflexive). None of the strategies require a special morphology on either the noun or the verb in any context of reflexive marking. Furthermore, there is no (overt) morpheme that could be use to differentiate the use of the *BODY + plural genitive pronouns* as reflexives from when they are used as reciprocal.

The use of the second person singular weak pronoun as a reflexive is restricted to yes-no question context but it does not require any special morphology otherwise.

Only a closed set of verbs allow the null reflexive but they do not require any special morphology either (some of the verbs e.g. *fa ‘shave’* remain transitive. In general, Yoruba does not allow any arguments to be dropped in order to derive a co-construal reading.

### 3.2 Productivity

#### 3.2.1 How productive is this strategy

The use of Strategy A: *BODY + genitive Pronoun*, is extremely productive in Yoruba. The use of strategies B (second person singular pronoun) and C (null reflexive) are not productive. However, strategy C is more productive that strategy B. We assume that strategy D (reciprocal) is a subset of strategy A and is productive.

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

The use of strategies A and D is not restricted to any class of verbs. They could be used with almost all the verbs. Strategy C (null reflexive) can be used with
only a small number of verbs.

3.3 Context of Use
3.3.1 How marked or natural is this strategy?

Strategies A to D are very natural. They can be used in any context. Recall though that strategies B and C have a limited use depending on the verb and the structure of the sentence. Note also that the use of honorific is cultural.

Is special intonation or emphasis necessary?

No special intonation is required for any of the strategies.

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

Not really.

B1) If Marsha admires just one person, then, I suspect that she admires just HER.

Yoruba would use a reflexive in the position of HER in B1. None of the pronouns (weak/strong) can occur in the position.

i) Bí ó bá jè pé èniyàn kan péré ni Sadé féràn, a jè pé ara rè ni
   If it meet be that person one only be Sade like, it be that body his be
   ‘If Sade likes just one person, then it’s herself’

The use of the second person singular weak pronoun as reflexive in examples
such as (a) repeated below does not require any special intonation. Of course Yoruba does not have stress.

a. O ò rí o bí (equivalent to: O ò rí ara rè bī)
   You NEG see you QM
   ‘Can you see yourself?’
   * Can you see you

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? (Before you answer, take a look at the questions asked in the following sections).

3.4 Morphology

There is no morpheme for ‘self’ in Yoruba. Also, as mentioned earlier, Yoruba does not put any affix on the verbs neither does it use any special form of NP arguments in reflexive marking. The basic structure of the reflexive as given above is:

ara ‘body’ + genitive pronoun e.g. ara mi (body my) ‘myself’

The forms used as reciprocal constitute a subset of the reflexive thus they have the same structure. The only thing is that only the reflexives that have plural genitive pronouns can be used as reciprocals.

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

Yes, it has a stable translation: (body + genitive pronoun) e.g my body, his body, her body, their bodies, our bodies, your body, your bodies etc.
(Only the plural forms are used in reciprocals but they do not have any morpheme that indicates “other”)

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? Is there anything further to say about its meaning in such cases?

a. Ó fowọ kan ara rẹ̀
   he use-hand touch body his
   ‘he touched himself’
   ‘he touched his body’

b. Ó fowọ kan iwé rẹ̀
   he use-hand touch book his
   ‘he touched his book’

There is no significant difference between when the forms are used as reflexives and when they are used as genitive NP. Actually, it could be said that the reflexive forms are a subset of the genitive NPs in the language. They have the same structure as the infinite number of genitive phrases in the language. The forms have a reflexive meaning only when are ‘body’ is the object that is possessed.

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.
The reflexive must agree in person and number with the NP it depends on. (the agreement on number is relaxed in case of honorific). No agreement morpheme is required/used.

(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.

No special morpheme is used/required. Each of the two morphemes that make up a reflexive is an independent word in the language. The constant morpheme ara ‘body’ is a regular word in the language. A genitive pronoun is used with it depending on the person and number features of the NP that binds the reflexive.

3.5 The agreement paradigm

Give the morphological paradigm of each reflexive strategy.

Yoruba does not mark gender.

a) Ori ́ i rẹ̀
   Head    it/his/her ‘his/it/her head’
b) ara a rè
   body it/his/her ‘himself, itself, herself’ (‘its body, her body, his body’)

Yoruba does not have a plural morpheme either. The pronouns’ number
specification is marked by using different morphemes for the singular and plural
pronouns. E.g.

B2
the third person singular pronoun is rè as in ara rè ‘himself, itself, herself’
the third person plural pronoun is wọn as in ara wọn ‘themselves’
the second person singular pronoun is rè as in ara rè ‘yourself’
the second person plural pronoun is yín as in ara yín ‘yourselves’
the first person singular pronoun is mi as in ara mi ‘myself’
the first person plural pronoun is wa as in ara wa ‘ourselves’

The pronouns that occur with ara ‘body’ are homophonous with the pronouns that
are used in possessive NPs. Only weak pronouns can occur with ara ‘body’ to
derive a reflexive reading.

Yoruba has no morphemes for case marking. The possessive NPs are assumed
to have a genitive case that is assigned to the possessor.

3.6 Interaction with verb morphology

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

There is no restrictions on the morphemes that could be used with the reflexive in
Yoruba. (There is no passivization in the language though)

Exploration: Potential incompatibilities

No obvious incompatibilities

3.6.2.1 Tense, Mood, Aspect - Make an inventory of the tense, mood and aspect system of your language.

Yoruba marks only the future and the non-future tense. The non-future tense has no obvious overt morpheme (a). Most researchers assume that it is the High Tone Syllable as in (b). But the HTS cannot occur with the weak nominative pronouns (c).

a. Adé jẹ ọrẹsi
   Ade eat rice
   ‘Ade ate rice’

b. Súlè é jẹ ọrẹsi
   Sule HTS eat rice
   ‘Sule ate rice’

c. Ó jẹ ọrẹsi
   he eat rice
   ‘he ate rice’

The future tense morpheme depends on whether the sentence is affirmative or negative.

*Affirmative:*
d) Yóò / á ‘will’

Negative:

e) Kò nií (in short nií is the negative future tense marker)
   NEG will ‘will not’

f. Adé yóò jẹ ìrẹsì
   Ade will eat rice
   ‘Ade will eat rice’

f’. Adé Kò nií jẹ ìrẹsì
   Ade NEG will eat rice
   ‘Ade will not eat rice’

ASPECT

(a) ti ‘has’
(b) á máa ‘usually will …’
(c) a ti máa ‘usually will …’
(d) máa ŋ ‘usually is …/ was…’
(e) ti máa ‘will have…’
(f) ti n’ ‘has/had been …’
(g) ŋ PROGRESSIVE
(h) kií ‘usually don’t’

MOOD

(a) yóò ‘shall/will’
(b) máa ‘shall/will’
(c) gbódò ‘must/should’
(d) lè ‘can’
(e) níi ‘will not’
(f) máà ‘do not’
(g) i bá ‘would have’
(h) i báà ‘even if’

Check whether the various forms are compatible with the current coreference strategy. Check with at least the following verbs.

B3) see, praise, help, like, know, wash

They are compatible with all the co-reference strategies.

3.6.2.2 GF-changing - Make a list of GF-changing constructions or operations in your language that affect the argument structure of a verb, adding, promoting, or demoting arguments. For example, passive, antipassive, stative, benefactive, applicative, etc.

Yoruba does not have passive, applicative or antipassive constructions. It has no morpheme that marks benefactive. It is not obvious to me that the argument structure of the verb can change in stative constructions. Yoruba uses a form of ergative construction though but this does not interact with anaphora in any interesting way

(a) Olú fọ àwo
   Olu break plate
   ‘Olu broke a plate’
(a') Àwo fó
plate break
‘the plate broke’

B4) cook, give, visit, kill

Not applicable

Non-coreference uses

Yoruba reflexives are used for co-reference purposes only.

3.7.1 Idiosyncratic. Some languages have verbs that lexically require a reflexive, which does not appear to correspond to an argument.

Not applicable

3.7.2 Emphatic or intensifier.

a) Ààrẹ́ fúnrrẹ̀ ni ó gbé fóònù
president for-body-his be he carry phone
‘The president himself answered the phone.’

3.7.3 Middle.
It appears that Yoruba does not have middles. The constructions that are probably close to English middles have nothing to do with reflexivization.

i) Mọ́tò yìí dùn ún wà
Moto this sweet drive
‘It’s easy to drive this car’
The above sentence is different from expletive constructions

ii) Ò rọrùn láti wa mọtò yìí
   It easy to drive motor this
   “It is easy to drive this car’

3.7.4 Distributive, sociative, etc.

Not applicable

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).

No. Ara rè has to refer to either Bill or Mary in (B5).

   B5a) Bíílì kò rí ara rè
       Bill NEG see body his
       Bill did not see himself

   b) Ṣé Màríà féràn ara rè
       QM Mary like body her
       ‘Does Mary like herself’

   c) *Ara rè lo sí ọjà ní àná
       body his go to market at yesterday
       for ‘Himself went to the market yesterday.’

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

No. Ara rè has to refer to Bill in (B6).

B6a) Bíílì láálí ara rè
Bill insult body his
Bill insulted himself. (*ara rè = speaker, *ara rè = addressee)

b) *Òpọ̀ ènìyàn kò férán Alóńgẹ́, sùgbón ara rè férán won many people NEG like Alonge but body his like them
For: Many people do not like anchovies, but X likes them.
(*ara rè = speaker, *ara rè = addressee)

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

No, ara rè must refer to the local subject (i.e. the third person pronoun he) in (B7a)

B7a) N kò fé bì ó ṣe n’ sòrò sí ara rè I NEG. like the-way he use PROG speak to body his
‘I don't like the way he speaks to himself.’

b) *Ara rè kò lè sòrà jù Body his NEG can watch-body too-much
For: One cannot be too careful

3.7.6 Other.
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 and their work.

Usually, a noun (indicating the object) will occur before the reflexive in this context in Yoruba (b). Perhaps, the best possible case that would not need a noun would be if someone sees himself in a mirror (a).

(a) Olú ŋí yòmbó ara rẹ̀
   Olu PROG exalt body his
   ‘Olu is praising/ admiring himself’

B8 b) Olú sàyésì ère ara rẹ̀ ni ilé ohun iṣèm̀báyé
   Olu honor statue body his at house thing from-creation
   ‘Olu honors/admires the statue of himself in the museum’

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

B9a) Olú rọra we ara rẹ̀ kí amọ̀ nàà mà ba à bàjé
    Olu carefully wash body his COMP clay the NEG damage
    ‘Olu washed himself carefully, so as not to damage the clay.’
b) * Olú rọra wẹ kí amọ naà má ba à bàjé
   Olu carefully wash COMP clay the NEG damage
   ‘Olu washed carefully, so as not to damage the clay.’

c) Olú rọra wọ ara rẹ lásọ kí amọ naà má ba à bàjé
   Olu carefully wear body his in-dress COMP clay the NEG damage
   ‘Olu dressed himself carefully, so as not to damage the clay.’

d) * Olú rọra wọ asọ kí amọ naà má ba à bàjé
   Olu carefully wear dress COMP clay the NEG damage
   ‘Olu dressed carefully, so as not to damage the clay.’

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

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 B10 are also generally possible.

B10a) Olú sọ pé iwé òun dùn ún kà ledèe Sùwàhili
   Olu say that book his sweet read in-language Swahili
   Olu says he sounds better in Swahili. (he = Olu’s writings)
b) Olú rò pé óun rẹ̀wà
   Olu think that he beautiful
   Olú thought that he looked handsome. (he = statue of Olú)

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

PART 4 Exploration of syntactic domains

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

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

X1a)* Òjó gbá
   Ojo kick

   b) Òjó gbá ara rẹ̀
       Ojo kick body his
       ‘Ojo hit himself.’

   c)* Àwọn ọmọkùnrin gbá
       they boy kick
d) Ìwọ̀n ọmọkùnrin náà ń gbá ara wọn
   they boy the PROG kick body their
   ‘The boys were kicking each other.’

e) Ìwọ̀n ọmọkùnrin náà ń gbá ara wọn
   they boy the PROG kick body their
   ‘The boys were kicking one another.’

f)* Olú gbá a
   Olu kick him (where Olu = him)

Remarks: Example X1c is not possible with any interpretation, reciprocal or reflexive. The IMPLICIT strategy is limited to certain verb classes, as mentioned in section 2.1.3. There is no separate/distinct morpheme for one another in Yoruba. It’s same with each other.

Now suppose that the verb chosen had been wash. As a native Yoruba speaker, I would respond as follows.

X2a) Olú wè
   Olu bathe
   ‘Olu washed.’

b) Olú wè ara rè
   Olu bathe body his
   ‘John washed himself.’

c) Ìwọ̀n ọmọkùnrin náà wè
   they boy the bathe
‘The boys washed.’

d) Àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà wẹ ara wọn
   they boy the bathe body their
   ‘The boys washed each other.’

e) Àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà wẹ ara wọn
   they boy the bathe body their
   ‘The boys washed one another.’

f)* Olú wẹ̀ é
   Olu bathe him

Remarks: Examples X2a and X2b contrast, although the difference is unclear to me. You could say John washed himself clean, but not *John washed clean. I am not sure why.

Both are possible in Yoruba. This could be because Yoruba allows serial verbal constructions

a) Olú wẹ ara rẹ̀ mó
   Olu bathe body his clean
   ‘Olu washed himself clean’

(b) Olú wẹ mó
   Olu bathe clean
   ‘Olu washed clean’ (bad in English)

Example X2c can have a reflexive interpretation like X2a, but X2c is * if it is intended to have a reciprocal reading like X2d or X2e. The implicit (null) strategy,
as mentioned in section 2.1.3, is limited to verbs of grooming, etc., so I will not test it further with verbs it is not compatible with.

Okay.

Can the possessive of an argument of the main predicate (verb in this case) be represented by one of the coreference strategies that we have identified as holding between coarguments.

X3a) Olú rí iyá ara rè
    Olu saw mother body his
    ‘Olu saw the mother of himself.’ (good in English?)
    ‘Olu saw his own mother’

b) * Olú wẹ iyá
    Olu bathe mother

c) Olú àti Òjó rí iyá ara wọn
    Olu and Ojo see mother body their
    ‘Olu and Ojo saw their own mother
    ‘Olu and Ojo saw each other's mother.’ (degraded in English)
    ‘Olu and Ojo saw each other's mothers.’
    (Here, unlike in English, there is no contrast between singular and plural forms in Yoruba.)

d) Olú àti Òjó rí iyá ara wọn
    Olu and Ojo see mother body their
    ‘Olu and Ojo saw their own mother’
    ‘Olu and Ojo saw one another's mother.’ (somewhat bad in English)
    ‘Olu and Ojo saw one another's mothers.’
(Here, unlike in English, there is no contrast between singular and plural forms in Yoruba.)

e) Olú àti Ôjó rí iyá wọn
   Olu and Ojo see mother their
   ’Olu and Ojo saw their mother’

f) Olú rí / wẹ iyá rẹ
   Olu see / bathe mother his
   ’Olu washed/saw his mother.’

Ordinarily, the example in (b) is not ungrammatical (with the reading: X washes Y). However, it does not have a reflexive reading.

4.1 Clausemate coconstrual

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) * Olú rí
    Olu see

a’) Olú rí ara rẹ Olú rí ara rẹ lái gbé diŋi
    Olu see body his Olu see body his without carry mirror
    ’Olu saw himself’ (i.e. in a mirror) ‘Olu saw himself without using a mirror’
= Olu has known his limitations

a")  * Olú ri i
     Olu see him (bad as a reflexive: Olu saw himself)

b)  * Àwọn obìnrin ṣàpèjúwe
    They woman describe

b') Àwọn obìnrin ṣàpèjúwe ara wọn
     They woman describe body their
     ‘The women described themselves’
     ‘The women described their bodies’
     ‘The women described each other’
     ‘The women described one another’

c)  * È gbá
    You kick

c') È gbá ara yín
    You kick body your
    ‘You(pl.) kicked yourselves.’
    ‘You kicked each other’
    ‘You kicked one another’
    ‘You kicked your bodies’

d)  * Wón yìn
    they praise

d') Wón yìn ara wọn
    they praise body their
'They praised themselves'
'they praised each other'

4.1.1.2 Commonly reflexive predicates - Can this strategy be used with verbs of grooming, inalienable-possession objects, etc? Give judgements on the following. Provide some additional examples of your own.

C3a) Olú wẹ́
Olu bath
Olu washed himself'

a') Olú we ara rẹ̀
Olu bathe body his
'Olu washed his body'
'Olu washed himself'

b) * Olú gé
Olu cut

b') Olú gé irun rẹ̀
Olu cut hair his
'Olu cut his hair'

b") Olú gé irun ara rẹ̀
Olu cut hair body his
'Olu cut his own hair'
'Olu cut his hair by himself'

b"') Olú gé irun fúnra rẹ̀
Olu cut hair for-body-his
‘Olu cut his own hair’
‘Olu cut his hair by/for himself’

b””) * Ọmọbìnrin nàà gè
girl the cut

c’’) Ọmọbìnrin nàà gè ara rẹ̀ (nǐ ìgbà)
girl the cut body her ? knife
‘the girl cur herself (with a knife)’

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

C4a) * Olù kóríra
Olu hate

For ‘Olu hates himself’

a’) Olù kóríra ara rẹ̀
Olu hate body his
‘Olu hates himself’
‘Olu hate his body’

b) * Ojù ti
eye close

for ‘he is ashamed of himself’

b’) Ojù ti Olù
eye close Olu
‘Olu is ashamed’
‘Olu is ashamed of himself

c) * Olú n’ ìwààdù mípa
   Olu PROG. trouble about

c') Olú n’ ìwààdù mípa ara rè
   Olu PROG trouble about body his
   ‘Olu is worrying about himself’

d) * Olú n’ fi yangàn
   Olu PROG use proud

d') Olú n’ fi ara rè yangàn
   Olu PROG. use body his proud
   ‘Olu is proud of himself’

e) * Olú tè lòrùn
   Olu lay at-neck

e’) Olú tè ara rè lòrùn
   Olu lay body his at-neck
   ‘Olu pleased himself’

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

C5a) * Àwọn obinrin náà yòò parun
    They woman the will destroy
    ‘the women will destroy themselves’
(good as ‘the women would be destroyed’)

a’) Àwọn obinrin náà yóò pa ara won run
they woman the will kill body their finish
‘The women will destroy themselves

b) *iṣẹ́ ṣe
work do
(good as “the work is done” = something strange has happened)

b) Iṣẹ́ ṣe ara rè
work do body its
‘work did itself’ = a lot of work was done

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) * Àwọn ọmọkùnrin ṣojú
They boy represent

a’) Àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà ṣojú ara won
they boy the represent body their
‘The boys represented themselves.’

b) * Olú sòrò fún
Olu talk for

b’) Olú sòrò fún ara rè
Olu talk for body his
‘Olu spoke for himself’
‘Olu spoke to himself’
‘# Olu spoke to his body’

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) Àìná ra èbùn fún ara rẹ̀
     Aina buy gift for body her
     ‘Aina bought a gift for herself’

a’) Olú bu ọ̀wọ̀ fún ara rẹ̀
     Olu cut respect for body his
     ‘Olu respects himself’

For comparison, also provide judgements for the following:

C8a) Àìná fún ara rẹ̀ ní èbùn
     Aina give body her ? gift
     ‘Aina gave herself a gift’

a’) Olú fi ara rẹ̀ han àwọn àlejò
     Olu use body his show they visitor
     ‘Olu introduced himself to the visitors’

4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

C9a) Olú ní sòrò sì ara rẹ̀
Olu PROG talk to body his
‘Olu is talking to himself’

a’) Olú sòrò fún Adé nípa ara rè
Olu talk to Ade about body his
‘Olu spoke to Ade about himself’ (ara rè could be either Olu or Ade but not any other person)

The verb kìlọ̀ ‘to warn’ also works like the verb sòrò ‘to talk’ in (C9a’).

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) ?Òjó rí ejò ní ègbẹ ara rè
Ojo see snake at side body his
‘Olu saw a snake besides himself’

more common /natural as:

a’) Òjó rí ejò ní ègbẹ rè
Ojo see snake at side his
‘Olu saw a snake besides him’

b) Àdìó pè mí nítorì òrò kan tí Adé gbọ nípa ara rè
Adio call me becauseword one COMP Ade hear about body his
‘Adio called me because of something that Ade heard about himself’
(This sentence is very bad if ara rè = Àdìó)
c) Adio säré lọ bá Màrià nítorí ọrọ ara rẹ̀
    Adio run go meet Mary because case/issue/word body his
    ‘Olu ran to Mary because of himself’

(This sentence could be uttered in a situation where there is an X, X=Adio and
there is a Y, Y=Maria and X ran to Y because X needs Y’s help)

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

Ditransitives –

    C11a)  ? Olú fi Adé han ara rẹ̀ (ara rẹ̀ = Olu/Ade)
            Olu use Ade show body his
            ‘Olu showed Ade to himself’

more natural as:

    b)  Olú fi ara rẹ̀ han Adé (ara rẹ̀ = Olu)
        Olu use body his show Ade
        ‘Olu introduced himself to Ade’
        ‘Olu showed himself to Ade’
c) Olú fi Ṣadé fún ara rẹ́ (ara rẹ́ = Olu, not Sade)
Olú use/give Sade for body his
‘Olu gave Sade to himself’

d) Olú fi ara rẹ́ fún Ṣadé (ara rẹ́ = Olu)
Olú use/give body his to Sade
‘Olu gave himself to Sade’

4.1.2.5 Two internal arguments or adjuncts - Consider coreference between two arguments of adjunct NPs in the same clause, neither of which is a subject.

C12a) Olú kilọ́ fún Adé nípa ara rẹ́
Olú warn for Ade about body his
‘Olu warned Ade about himself’ (ara rẹ́ = Olu/Ade)

b) Olú kilọ́ nípa ara rẹ́ fún Adé
Olú warn about body his to Ade (ara rẹ́ = Olu but not Ade)
‘Olu warned Ade about himself’

4.1.2.6 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.

Ara rẹ́ can be replaced with the simple pronoun rẹ́ in the following examples. Either of them refers to the same antecedent. In each case, the simple pronoun rẹ́ is more preferable/natural than ara rẹ́. Furthermore, whereas the simple pronoun can have another antecedent different from the subject NP e.g. Olu in (C13), it is impossible for ara rẹ́ to have a different antecedent other than the subject NP.

C13a) Olú köríra iyá ara rẹ́ (with emphasis or surprise)
Olu hate mother body his
‘Olu hates his own mother’
‘?Olu hates the mother of himself’ (bad in English I presume)

b) Olú ya irun ti ara rè
Olu comb hair of body his
‘Olu combed his own hair’
‘Olu combed the hair of himself’ (bad in English?)

c) Olú bá ọgá ti ara rè sòrò
Olu meet boss of body his talk
‘Olu spoke with his own boss’
‘Olu spoke the boss of himself’

d) Olú fi ìwé e ti ara rè sí inú ilé
Olu put book of body his to stomach house
‘Olu put his own book in the house’
‘Olu put the book of himself in the house’ (bad in English)

e) Ọba fún Olú ni èbùn ní abúlé ara rè
King give Olu a gift at village body his
‘the king gave Olu a prize in his own village’
‘the king gave Olu a prize in the village of himself’ (bad in English)

In (C13e), ara rè = Ọba/ Olú

f) Àwọn ọmọkùnrin nàà fọ ojú ti ara wọn
They boy the wash eye of body their
‘The boys washed their own face
‘The boys washed faces of themselves’
C14a) *Babá Olú máa n’ sayésí ara rè*
Father Olu usually PROG honor body his
*Olu's father admires himself. (with himself = Olu)*

b) *Írètì Olú pa ara rè run*
hope Olu kill body his finish
*’Olu’s hope destroyed himself’*

c) *i'yá Olú ta kàà ara rè*
mother Olu sell car body his
*Olu's mother sold himself's car.*

4.1.2.7 Demoted arguments - Refer back to the list of grammatical function-changing operations (such as passive, antipassive, applicative, possessor ascension, dative alternation) that you constructed for section 3.6 (if you did that). For each one, construct some representative non-reflexive examples. Then apply each coreference strategy to various pairs of arguments and report their grammaticality status.

Example: The following sentences have been passivized. If your language has passive, construct reflexive and non-reflexive versions of each one as above.

C15a) Polly was praised by X
   b) Polly was helped by X
   c) Little is known by Polly about X (X = Polly)

Not applicable

4.1.3 Properties of antecedents
4.1.3.1
C16a) Mo féràn ara à mi.
‘I like myself’

b) A féràn ara wa
‘we like ourselves’
‘we like each other’

c) O féràn ara à rẹ
‘You like yourself’

d) È féràn ara a yin
‘You (pl.) like yourselves’

e) Ò féràn ara rè
‘he likes himself’

f) Wọn féràn ara wọn
‘they like themselves’

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

C17a) Mo wè
‘I bathe’
‘I washed myself’

a')  Mo wẹ ara à mi
    I bathe body my
    ‘I washed myself’
    ‘I washed my own body’

b) *Mo kóríra
    I hate
    
    *For: ‘I hate myself’

b')  Mo kóríra ara à mi
    I hate body GEN my
    ‘I hate myself’

c) *Mo sòrò fún Adé nípa
    I talk to Ade about

c')  Mo sòrò fún Adé nípa ara à mi
    I talk to Ade about body GEN my
    ‘I talked to Ade about myself’

d)  Mo rí ejò kan légbẹẹ ara mi
    I see snake one at-side body my
    ‘I saw a snake beside myself’

e)  I am liked by X. 
    no passivization

f)  ?*  Mo fóonnù iýá ara à mi
    I telephone mother body GEN my
‘I telephoned the mother of myself’

More natural as:

f) Mo fóónù iyá à mi
   I telephone mother GEN my
   ‘I telephone my mother’

   g) * Bàbá mi féràn ara mi
      father my likes body my
      *My father likes 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) Iṣé ṣe ara rẹ ní ibè yen
     Work do body his at there
     Literarily: Work did itself there  (bad in English I presume.)
     This sentence implies that ‘a lot of work was done at a place’ It doesn’t have a literal meaning.

   b) Èró náà ba ara rẹ jẹ
     machine the ? body his ?
     ‘The machine destroys itself (e.g., after you use it)
     Note: bà...jẹ is a splitting verb meaning damage/destroy

In general, Yoruba does not mark animacy
4.1.3.2 Pronoun types - If your language has more than one class of subject pronouns (e.g., clitic and non-clitic), repeat the tests of the previous section for each type. Also repeat for null pronouns, if applicable.

Not applicable

4.1.3.4 Quantifiers - Provide judgements for the following sentences.

C19a) Obinrin kòòkan rí ara rẹ̀
Woman each see body her
‘Every woman saw herself’

a’) *Obinrin kòòkan rí
Woman each see

b) Omọ kòòkan wè
child each bathe
‘every child washed’

b’) Omọ kòòkan wè ara rẹ̀
child each bathe body his
‘every child washed himself’

c) *Akékọ̀ kòòkan kóríra
student each hate

c’) Akékọ̀ kòòkan kóríra ara rẹ̀
student each hate body his
‘Every student hates himself’

d) *Omọ kòòkan rí ejò
child each see snake (bad as a reflexive)

d') Ọmọ kọọkan rí ejó ní ègbẹ ara rẹ
    child each see snake at side body his
    ‘Every child saw a snake besides himself’

e) * Ọmọ kọọkan fóonù iyá
    child each telephone mother (bad as a reflexive)

e') Ọmọ kọọkan fóonù iyá ara rẹ
    child each telephone mother body his
    ‘every child telephoned his own mother’
    ‘every child telephoned the mother of himself’
    (the 2nd interpretation is bad in English, probably not natural in Yoruba either)

f) * Bàbá ọmọ kọọkan férán ara rẹ
    father child each likes body his
    *Every child's father likes himself. (where himself = child)

f') Bàbá ọmọ kọọkan férán rẹ
    father child each likes his
    ‘Every child's father likes him’

g) Obinrin kankan kò rí ara rẹ
    Woman none NEG see body her
    ‘No woman saw herself’

g') * Obinrin kankan kò rí
    Woman none NEG see

h) Ọmọ kọọkan kò wè
child none NEG bathe
'No child washed'

h') Ọmọ kankan kò wẹ ara rẹ
child none NEG bathe body his
'No child washed himself'

i) * Akékọ̀ kankan kò kórióra
student none NEG hate

i') Akékọ̀ kankan kò kórióra ara rẹ
student none NEG hate body his
'No student hates himself'

j) * Ọmọ kankan kò rí ejò
child none NEG see snake  (bad as a reflexive)

j') Ọmọ kankan kò rí ejò ní ìgbè ara rẹ
child none NEG see snake at side body his
'No child saw a snake besides himself'

k) * Ọmọ kankan kò fóònú iyá
child none NEG telephone mother  (bad as a reflexive)

k') Ọmọ kankan kò fóònú iyá ara rẹ
child none NEG telephone mother body his
'No child telephoned his own mother'
'No child telephoned the mother of himself'
(the 2nd is translation is bad in English, probably not natural in Yoruba either)

l) * Bàbá ọmo kankan kò féràn ara rẹ
father child none NEG likes body his
*No child's father likes himself. ‘

l') ?? Bàbá ọmo kankan kò féràn rẹ́
father child none NEG likes his
*No child’s father likes him’

4.1.3.5 Questioned antecedents -

C20a) ‘Ta ni ó rí
Who be he see
Bad with the reading ‘who saw himself’

a') Ta ni ó rí ara rẹ̀
who be he see body his
‘who saw himself’

b) Ta ni ó wè
who be he bathe
‘Who washed’

b’) Ta ni ó wè ara rẹ̀
who be he bathe body his
‘Who washed himself’

c) *Ta ni ó rí ejo légbè è
who be he see snake at side

c’) Ta ni ó rí ejo légbè ara rẹ̀ (can use ara rẹ̀ or rẹ̀ here)
who be he see snake at side body his
‘Who saw a snake beside himself’

d) *Ta ni ó fóönù iyá
who be he telephone mother

d’) Ta ni ó fóönù iyá ara rẹ̀ (can use ara rẹ̀ or rẹ̀ here)
who be he telephone mother body his
‘Who telephoned his own mother’
‘who telephone the mother of himself’ (bad in English)

d’) Ta ni ó fóönù iyá rẹ̀
who be he telephone mother his
‘Who telephoned his mother’

e) * Bàbá ta ni ó féràn
father who be he like (bad as a reflexive)

e’) * Bàbá ta ni ó féràn ara rẹ̀
father who be he like body his
‘Whose father likes himself’ (bad when himself = who)

e’) Bàbá ta ni ó féràn rẹ̀
father who be he like his
‘Whose father likes him’

4.1.3.6 Reverse binding -

C21a) * Ara rẹ̀ rí Olú
Body his see Olu
b) *Ara wa rí wa
   body us see us

c) *Ara rẹ́ rí ejó ní ègbẹ́ Olú
   body his see snake at side Olu

d) *Ara rẹ́ wú Olú lórí
   body his swell Olu head
   *himself impressed Olu

e) *Adé sòrò sí ara rẹ́ nípa Olú
   Ade talk to body his about Olu
   *Ade spoke to himself about Olu. (himself = Olu)

f) X was praised by Fred. No passivization
    g) X is liked by you. (X = you) No passivization

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

C22a) * Ó fóönù iyá Olú
       He telephone mother Olu
       ‘*He telephoned Olu's mother.’ (he = Olu)

a’) *Ara rẹ́ fóönù iyá Olú
    Body his telephone mother Olu
    ‘*Himself telephoned Olu's mother.’ (himself = Olu
b) * iyá rè fé ran Olú ìwọ́
mother his want carry Olu at-hand
‘*His mother wanted to help Olu.’ (his = Olu)

b’) * ìyá ara rè fé ran Olú ìwọ́
mother body his want carry Olu at-hand
‘*the mother of himself wanted to help Olu.’

c) * ìyá rè dáàmú Olú
mother his trouble Olu
‘His mother worried/impressed Olu.’ (his = Olú)

c’) * ìyá ara rè dáàmú Olú
mother body his trouble Olu
‘the mother of himself worried Olu.’

d) * Màríà sòrò fún iyá rè nípa Olú
Mary talk to mother his about Olu
‘*Mary told his mother about Olu.’ (his = Olu)

d’) * Màríà sòrò fún iyá ara rè nípa Olú
Mary talk to mother body his about Olu
‘*Mary told the mother of himself about Olu.’

e) * fọ́tò iyá rè ré lu Olú
picture mother his fall upon Olu
‘A picture of his mother fell on Olu.'
Good as:

e') fotò iyá rè ré lù ú
picture mother his fall upon him
‘A picture of his mother fell on him. ’ (his = him)

e") * fotò iyá ara rè ré lu Olú
picture mother body his fall upon Olu
‘*A picture of the mother of himself fell on Olu.

f) * fotò iyá rè wù Olú
picture mother his please Olu
‘A picture of his mother pleased Olu’

Good as:

f') fotò iyá rè wú ú
picture mother his please him
‘A picture of his mother pleased him’

f") ?? fotò iyá ara rè wu Olú
picture mother body his please Olu
‘*A picture of mother of himself pleased Olu’

4.1.4 Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1 Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity -

C23) Àwọn obinrin náà ran ara wọn lówó
They woman the carry body their in-hand
‘The women helped themselves.’
‘The women helped each other’
‘The women helped one another’

Note: Each other and one another have no morphological differences in Yoruba.

Which of the following meanings can this example have? Say which it can have and which it can't have.

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. [✓]

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

C25a) Àwọn obinrin náà yin ara wọn
    They woman the praise body their
    ‘the women praised themselves’
    ‘the women praised each other’
    ‘the women praised one another’
    ‘each woman in the group praised every group member including herself’

    b) Àwọn obinrin náà yóò ti ara wọn lèhìn
       they woman the will push body their at-back
       ‘the women will support themselves’
       ‘the women will support each other’
       ‘the women will support one another’
       ‘each woman in the group would support the member of the group’

    c) Àwọn obinrin náà ya fótò ara wọn
they  woman  the  draw  photo  body  their
‘The women photographed themselves.’
‘the women photographed each other’
‘the women photographed one another’

d) Àwọn obìnrin náà da ara wọn
they  woman  the  pour  body  their
‘The women betrayed themselves.’
‘The women betrayed each other’
‘the women betrayed one another’

The ara-X strategy permits both the reflexive and the reciprocal readings.

Strategy B (second person singular pronoun) permits only a reflexive reading in a restricted context.

The null object strategy permits only a reflexive reading with a few verbs.

Strategy D (reciprocal) is a subset of the ara-X strategy.

4.1.4.2 Reciprocal readings - Complete this section only if your strategy allows a reciprocal reading. 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"  The ara-X strategy and Strategy D apply to all the verbs

E.G.
a) Àwọn obìnrin náà pàdé ara wọn
they woman the meet body their
‘The women met themselves.’
‘The women met each other’
‘the women met one another’

b) Àwọn obìnrin náà na ara wọn
they woman the beat body their
‘The women hit themselves.’
‘The women hit each other’
‘the women hit one another’

b) Does the strategy allow the following constructions?

C27) Olú rí ara rè pèlú Òjó ní ojú àlá
Olu see body his with Ojo in eye dream
‘Olu saw himself with John in a dream’
Olu saw X with Ojo (Meaning: "Olu and Ojo saw each other.") NO

c) Is there any contrast between C28a and C28b with respect to the acceptability of reciprocal interpretation? If so, tell us what you think the problem is and provide pairs like these for subsequent tests in this section (and let us know if male/female gender pairings introduce any complications).

None
No gender marking

C28a) Olú àti Màríà yin ara wọn
Olu and Mary praise body their
‘Olu and Mary praised themselves’
‘Olu and Mary praised each other’
‘Olu and Mary praised one another’

b) Àwọn obìnrin náà yin ara wọn
   They woman the praise body their
   ‘the women praised themselves’
   ‘the women praised each other’
   ‘the women praised one another’

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

C29a) Olú àti Màríà sòrò fun ara wọn
   Olu and Mary talk to body their
   ‘Olu and Mary spoke to themselves’
   ‘Olu and Mary spoke to each other’
   ‘Olu and Mary spoke to one another’

b) Olú kilò fún àwọn obìnrin náà nipa ara wọn
   Olu warn for their woman the about body their
   ‘Olu warned the women about themselves’
   ‘Olu warned the women about each other’

c) Olú àti Màríà ra iwé fún ara wọn
   Olu and Mary buy book for body their
   ‘Olu and Mary bought books for themselves’
   ‘Olu and Mary bought books for each other’
   ‘Olu and Mary bought books for one another’

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

\[ \text{C30) Bííli. àti Màià rò pé wọ̀n fèràn ara wọ̀n} \]
\[ \text{Bill and Mary think that they like body their} \]
\[ \text{‘Bill and Mary think that they like each other’} \]

4.2 Cross-clausal binding

In languages like English, the X-SELF strategy can be used to relate the thematic subject of a subordinate clause to the subject of the immediately higher one, as in X4.

\[ \text{X4) John expects himself to win.} \]
\[ \text{Not possible with a reflexive} \]
\[ \text{Olu ń nirètì pé òun yóò borì} \]
\[ \text{Olu PROG. have-hope/expect that he will cover-head} \]
\[ ‘\text{Olu expects that he would win’} \]

\[ \text{X5) Olu ń kí á mú kí o sòrò daradara nípa òun} \]
\[ \text{Olu say COMP we take COMP you talk good about him} \]
\[ ‘\text{Olu asked us to try to get you to talk nicely about him}’ \]

\[ \text{X6) Olu só pé Ójó fèràn òmòbinrin tì’ o fé òun} \]
\[ \text{Olu say that Ojo likes girl that she marry him} \]
\[ ‘\text{Olu said that Ojo loves the girl that married him}’ \]

Other languages have forms that appear to require an antecedent can find their antecedent across almost any sort of higher tensed clause, as in Chinese.

\[ \text{X7) Olu só pé Àdìó māa ñ tòka àlèèbù sì òun nígbà gbogbo} \]
\[ \text{Olu say that Adio HAB. Point-finger fault to him at-time all} \]
\[ ‘\text{Olu says that Adio often criticizes him}’ \]
4.2.1 Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

X8) Olú sọ pé Màríà fèràn òun (logophoricity)
  Olú say that Maria like him
  *Olu said that Mary loves him. (him = Olu)

X8') Olú sọ pé Màríà fèràn rè
  Olú say that Maria like him
  *Olu said that Mary loves him. (him = Olu or somebody else)

For more on logophoricity, see the questionnaire on logophoricity which will be posted on this web site soon. For now, it suffices to note that the strong pronoun òun is required to take Olu as its antecedent in (X8). Also, note that it is impossible to use ara òun instead of òun in (X8).

In what follows, please be careful to use verbs compatible with the strategy you are testing, as determined by your answers earlier in the questionnaire. If the strategy does not permit a subject argument to be marked, please try to formulate what it would look like and mark it unacceptable according to the strength of your judgment.

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) * Olú sọ pé ara rè gbón
  Olu say that body his wise

a') Olú sọ pé òun gbón
  Olu say that he wise
  *Olu said that he is smart.
a”) Olu mọ pé Adé féran ara rè
Olu know that Ade like body his

b’) Olu mọ pé Adé féran òun
Olu know that Ade like body his
‘Olu knows that Ade likes him’

c) * Olu mọ pé Adé sọ pé ara rè gbón
Olu know that Ade say that body his wise

c’ Olu mọ pé Adé sọ pé òun gbón
Olu know that Ade say that he wise
‘Olu knows that Ade said that he is smart.

d) * Olu rọ pe Adé mọ pé Àdíó féran ara rè
Olu think that Ade know that Adio like body his

d’ Olu rọ pé Adé mọ pé Àdíó féran òun
Olu think that Ade know that Adio like him
‘Olu thinks that Ade knows that Adio like him’

e) * Olu rọ pe Adé mọ pé ara rè féran Àdíó
Olu think that Ade know that body his like Adio

e’ Olu rọ pe Adé mọ pé òun féran Àdíó
Olu think that Ade know that he like Adio
‘Olu thinks that Ade knows that he loves Adio’

f) * Sèérà sọ fun Jáàki pé Lísà féran ara rè
Sarah talk to Jack that Lisa like body his
f) *Séérà sọ fún Jáàki pé Lísà féràn òun
Sarah talk to Jack that Lisa like her
‘Sarah told Jack that Lisa loves her.’

g) * Séérà sọ fún Jáàki pé ara rě féràn Lísà
Sarah talk to Jack that body his like Lisa

g') Séérà sọ fún Jáàki pé òun féràn Lísà
Sarah talk to Jack that he like Lisa
‘Sarah told Jack that he loves Lisa.

D2a) Olú gbà pé Màríà féràn òun
Olu accept that Mary likes him
‘Olu admitted that Mary loved him.’

b) Olú fura pé Màríà féràn òun
Olu suspect that Mary likes him
‘Jack suspected that Mary loved him’.

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

D3a) ?? Olú fi ẹ̀hónú hàn nípa Màríà nígbà tí Àdìó dá òun lébi
Olu put protest show about Mary when C Adio break him-guilt

a') Olú fi ẹ̀hónú hàn nípa Màríà nígbà tí Àdìó dá a lébi
Olu put protest show about Mary when C Adio break him at-guilt
‘Olu complained about Mary when Adio blamed him’

b) Olú padà sí ilé nígbà tì ọ̀ rẹ̀ è
   Olu return to house when C it tire him
   ‘Jeff returned home when he became tired’.

c) * Nígbà tì Olú kòwé sí i, Adé padà wálé
when C Olu write to him, Ade return to-house

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

d) Olú kúrò lái jẹ́ kí Màríà rí òun
   Olu leave without allow C Maria see him
   ‘Olu left without Mary seeing him.’

NO reciprocal is possible here.
There is no gender distinction in Yoruba.
Person difference does not change the pattern.

4.2.1.2 Climbing from tensed complements -

It does not look like Yoruba allows small clauses like the one in this sentence:

"John believes [himself intelligent.]" The closest acceptable sentence is given in
(a) below. (Structurally, it looks like a simple sentence in Yoruba.)

a) Olú ka ara rè sǐ ọlọgbọ̀n
   Olu count body his to wise-person
   ‘Olu considers himself to be intelligent’
a’) Olú gbàgbọ pé oun jẹ ọlọgbọn
Olu believe that he be wise-person
‘Olu believes that he is intelligent’

a”) * Olú gbàgbọ pé ara rè jẹ ọlọgbọn
Olu believe that body his be wise-person
‘*Olu believes that himself is intelligent’

4.2.2 Long distance relations and the variety of clausal embedding types

D4a) Olú ọ̀ rọ Adé láti fọkàn tān oun / ara oun
Olu plead-with Ade to put-heart-complete him body his
‘Olu pleaded with Ade to trust him’

b) Olú ọ̀ rọ Adé láti ra īwé kan fún oun/* ara oun
Olu plead-with Ade to buy book one for him body his
‘Olu asked Ade to buy a book for him’

c) Olú ọ̀ rọ Adé láti sọ̀rọ̀ si oun / * ara oun
Olu plead-with Ade to talk to him body his
‘Olu asked Ade to talk to him’

d) Olú ọ̀ rọ Adé láti sọ̀rọ̀ nipa ara rè
Olu plead-with Ade to talk about body his
‘Olu persuaded Ade to talk about himself’

(D4d) is a sort of object control construction. Ara rè can only be Adé but not Olu.

e) Olú n’ ọ̀ retí pé kí Adé fi ọkàn tān oun / ara oun
Olu PROG. hope that for Ade use heart complete him body his
‘Olu was expecting Ade to trust him’
f)  *Olú* pàsè fún *Adé* láti san owó fún *òun/* ara òun
    Olu command for Ade to pay money to him body his
    ‘Olu ordered Ade to pay him’

g)  *Olú* pàsè fún *Adé* láti só pé *òun/* ara òun gbọn
    Olu command for Ade to say that he body his wise
    ‘Olu ordered Ade to say that he is wise’

h)  *Olú* pàsè fún *Adé* láti só pé Màrià féràn *òun/* ara òun
    Olu command for Ade to say that Maria like him body his
    Olu ordered Ade to say that Mary loved him.’

D5a)  *Olú* ní ́ irètí pé *òun/* ara òun yóò borí
    Olu has hope that he body his will win
    ‘Olu expects to win’
    ‘Olu expects himself to win.’

b)  *Olú* ní ́ irètí pé *Adé* yóò borí *òun/* ara òun
    Olu has hope that Ade will win/overcome him body his
    ‘Olu expects that Ade will defeat him’

D6a)  *Olú* ní ́ retí pé kí *òun/* ara òun ó borí
    Olu PROG. hope that for him body his to win
    ‘Olu expects for him to win’

b)  *Olú* ní ́ retí pé kí *Adé ó’ borí *òun/* ara òun
    Olu PROG. hope that for Ade to win him body his
    ‘Olu expects for Ade to defeat him’
If the coreferent nominal can be a possessive, provide also examples like the following:

D7a) *Olu* n’ reti pé kí Adé ó borí bùròdá oun i* ara oun

Olu PROG. hope that for Ade to win brother him body his

Olu is expecting Ade to defeat his brother.

b) *Olu* n’ reti pé kí bùròdá oun ó borí rẹ̀

Olu PROG. hope that for brother his to win/overcome him

‘Olu is expecting his brother to defeat him.’

D8a) Olú ka ara rẹ̀ sí ọlọgbón

Olu count body his to wise-person

‘Olu considers himself intelligent.’

a’) Olú ka ara rẹ̀ sí ẹni tī ó wu àwọn obinrin

Olu count body his to person which he attracted-to they woman

‘Olu considers himself attractive to women’

(It’s not a small clause construction)

b) Olú ka Màríà sí ẹni tī ó n’ sàférí oun

Olu count Maria to person C she PROG always-expecting-to see him

‘Olu considers Mary (to be ) fond of him’

c) Olú ka Màríà sī ẹni tī ó n’ bínú sī oun

Olu count Maria to person C she PROG angry at him

‘Olu considers Mary (to be ) angry at him.’

Reciprocal and reflexive not plausible with same references where the strong pronoun occurs
Yoruba allows verb serialization

It is not obvious that verb serialization can extend the domain of anaphora. Even in cases when the anaphor is after the second or third verb, its antecedent is still local.

a) Olú ṣe òògùn pa ara rẹ̀
   Olu make medicine kill body his
   ‘Olu was addicted to making medicine until he killed himself’
   ‘Olu made a medicine that killed him’

4.2.3 Reverse anaphora

If your language permits sentential subjects like those in D9, please indicate if coreference succeeds. Your language may not have a verb like implicate, but if so, try a verb that seems close, if possible.

No

D9a) That X was late upset Oliver.
   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.

(i) ?? Pípẹ́ tí ó pé mú kí inú bǐ Adé
   Getting-late that he late make COMP stomach born Ade
   ‘The fact that he was late upset Ade’
4.4 More on long distance anaphor strategies

D10) Olú sọ pé òun rí ara òun
  Olu say that he se body his
  ‘Olu said that he(log) saw himself(log).’

4.4.1 Position of the antecedent - give judgments where òun = Ade
Note that ara rẹ̀ cannot be used in place of òun in the following sentences.

D11a) Olù sọ fún Adé pé Àdìó kò fèràn òun ( tó Sàdè)
  Olu talk to Ade that Adio NEG like him ( reach Sade)
  ‘Olu told Ade that Adio does not like him (as much as he likes Sade).

  b) Adé sọ fún Olú pé Ọlá kò fèràn òun
     Ade tell for Olu that Ola NEG like him
     ‘Ade told Olu that Ola does not like him.

  c) Adé sọ fún Olú pé òun kò fèràn Àdìó
     Ade tell for Olu that he NEG like Adio
     ‘Ade told Olu that he does not like Adio.’

  d) Olú sọ fún Adé pé Ø kò fèràn Àdìó
     Olu tell for Ade that NEG like Adio
     ‘Olu told Ade that he does not like Adio.’

  e) Olù mọ pé Adé rò pé Àdìó kò fèràn òun
     Olu know that Ade think that Adio NEG like him
     ‘Olu knows that Ade thinks that Adio does not like him.'
f) Adé mọ́ pé Olu rọ́ pé Àdió kò féran oun
Ade know that Olu think that Adio NEG like him
‘Ade knows that Olu thinks that Adio does not like him.’

D12a) iyá Adé rọ́ pé Àdió kò féran oun tó àwọn ọmọ yóókù
Mother Ade think that Adio NEG like him reach they child remainder
‘Ade's mother thinks that Adio does not like him (as much as he likes the other children).’

b) iyá Adé rọ́ pé Ø kò féran Àdió
Mother Ade think that NEG like Adio
‘Ade's mother thinks that he does not like Adio.’

c) Adé rọ́ pé Àdió kò féran oun
Ade think that Adio NEG like him
‘Ade thinks that Adio does not like him.’

d) Léta Adé sọ́ pé Àdió kò féran oun tó Sólá
Letter Ade say that Adio NEG like him reach Sola
‘Ade's letter said that Adio does not like him (as much as he likes Sola).’

e) Adé gbọ́ pé Màrià kò féran oun
Ade hear that Maria NEG like him
‘Ade heard that Mary did not like him.

D13a) Adé sọ́ pé oun ti wo aso oun
Ade say that he ASP wear dress his
‘Ade said that he had dressed himself’.  
‘Ade said that he has worn his dress’
b) Adé sọ pé óun fi ọwọ óun pa
Ade say that he use hand his kill
‘Ade said that he had wounded himself.’
‘Ade said that he had wounded his hand’

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 the last three of the Zeke paradigm.

Note: Only the third person pronouns have distinctive logophoric readings in Yoruba.

D11’

a) Olú sọ fún mi pé Àdió kò fẹ́ràn mi
Olu talk to me that Adio NEG like me
‘Olu told me that Adio does not like me

a’) Olú sọ fún ọ pé Àdió kò fẹ́ràn re
Olu talk to you that Adio NEG like you
‘Olu told you that Adio does not like you’

b) Mo sọ fún Olú pé Ọlá kò fẹ́ràn mi
I tell for Olu that Ola NEG like me
‘I told Olu that Ola does not like me.

b’) O sọ fún Olú pé Ọlá kò fẹ́ràn re
You tell for Olu that Ola NEG like you
‘You told Olu that Ola does not like you.

c) Mo sọ fún Olú pé ń kò féran Àdión
tell for Olu that I NEG like Adío
‘I told Olu that I don’t like Adio.’

c’) O sọ fún Olú pé o kò féran Àdión
You tell for Olu that you NEG like Adío
‘You told Olu that you don’t like Adio.’

d) Olú sọ fún mi pé n kò féran Àdión
Olu tell for Ade that I NEG like Adío
‘Olu told me that I don’t like Adio.’

d’) Olú sọ fún o pé o kò féran Àdión
Olu tell for you that you NEG like Adío
‘Olu told you that you do not like Adio.’

e) Olú mò pé mo rò pé Àdíó kò férán mi
Olu know that I think that Adío NEG like me
‘Olu knows that I thinks that Adio does not like me.

e’) Olú mò pé o rò pé Àdíó kò férán rẹ́
Olu know that you think that Adío NEG like you
‘Olu knows that I thinks that Adio does not like me.

D12’

a) iyá mi rò pé Àdíó kò férán mi
Mother my think that Adío NEG like me
'My mother thinks that Adio does not like me

a') iyá rẹ rọ pé Àdìó kò féràn rẹ
Mother your think that Adio NEG like you
'Your mother thinks that Adio does not like you'

b) iyá mi rọ pé n kò féràn Àdìó
Mother me think that I NEG like Adio
'My mother thinks that I do not like Adio.'

b') iyá rẹ rọ pé o kò féràn Àdìó
Mother your think that you NEG like Adio
'Your mother thinks that you do not like Adio.'

D13'

a) Mo sọ pé mo ti wọ aṣọ tèmi
I say that I ASP wear dress of-me
'I said that I have finished dressing'.
   'I said that I have worn my own dress'

b) O sọ pé o ti wọ aṣọ tirẹ
You say that you ASP wear dress your
'You said that you have finished dressing'.
   'You said that you have worn your own dress'

c) Mo sọ pé mo fi ọwọ mi pa
I say that I use hand my kill
'I said that I have wounded myself.'
   'I said that I have wounded my hand'
d) O sọ pé o fí òwó rẹ pa
You say that you use hand your kill
‘You said that you have wounded yourself.’
‘You said that you have wounded your hand’

4.4.2.2 Quantified antecedents.

D11 a) Olú sọ fún òmọ kọọkan pé Àdìó kò féràn n rẹ
Olu talk to child each that Adio NEG like him
‘Olu told every child that Adio does not like him’

Òmọ kọọkan sọ fún Olú pé Òla kò féràn òun
Child each tell for Olu that Ola NEG like him
‘Every child told Olu that Ola does not like him.

Òmọ kọọkan sọ fún Olú pé òun kò féràn Àdìó
Child each tell for Olu that he NEG like Adio
‘Every child told Olu that he does not like Adio.’

d) Olú sọ fún òmọ kọọkan pé Ø kò féràn Àdìó
Olu tell for child every that NEG like Adio
‘Olu told every child that he does not like Adio.’

4.4.2.3 Split antecedents -

D14a) * Olú sòrò nípa Màríà fún wọn / ara wọn
Olu talk about May to them body their
‘Olu talked about Mary to themselves’ (Also bad in English, I presume.)

Olú sòrò nípa ara wọn fún Màríà (wọn = Olú and Màríà)
Olu talk about body their to Mary
‘Olu talked about themselves to Mary.’
‘Olu talked to Mary about them’
But ‘Olu talked to Mary about each other’

Olú sọ fún Màrià pé ki o jẹ ki àwọn jáde
Olu say to Mary that COMP she allow COMP they leave
‘Olu told Mary that they should leave.’

Olú sọ fún Màrià pé Àdió kò férán àwọn
Olu say to Mary that Adio NEG like them
‘Olu told Mary that Adio dislikes them.’

Olú sọ pé Màrià rò pé Àdió kò férán àwọn
Olu say that Mary think that Adio NEG like them
‘Olu said that Mary thinks that Adio dislikes them.

4.4.2.4 Discourse antecedents

Note: *Ara òun* cannot be used in place of *òun* in the following sentences.

D15) Máàkù ź bẹ̀rù pé kò sì ààbò fún ọmọ òun.
Mark PROG. fear that NEG. exist protection for child his

ojú tí i /*òun pé òun kò lè dáábò bo àwọn ibátan òun.
Eye push him that he NEG.can break-protection cover they relative him

Kí ni kősìn òun yóò máa rò nipa òun?
What be cousin his will think about him
‘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?’

D16) Ayà Máàkù já láti rí fótò rè / * oun nínú iwe iroyin. Chest Mark break to see photo his inside paper news

Ó ní gbogbo àwọn alátiléyín rè / oun ni wọn yóò padà léyín oun
He say all they supporters his be they will return at-back his

Báwo ni yóò òe sò fún iyà rè
How be will do tell to mother his

‘Mark was shocked to see his picture in the paper. He said all of his supporters would abandon him. How would he tell his mother?’

D17) Móriisi sò pé ojó náà níra fún Máàkù.
Morris say that day the difficult for Mark.

Lákókó, Móriisi sò fún un pé wọn ti ji káà rè lò
First, Morris say to him that they ASP steal car his go

Léyín náà, ó wọ tasín lò sìbi iṣẹ́.
At-back the, he enter taxi go to-place work

Móriisi rò pé inú lè màa bí i
Morris think that stomach can will born him

‘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.’  (This sentence is from the speaker’s perspective)

D18) A: Wò ó, Máákù ni iyẹn
      Look at- it, Mark be that-one
      ‘Look, there's Mark!’

B: Ó mà rewà o
   He really has-beauty!
   ‘He is so handsome.’

A: kò wù mì kí n jé iyàwo rè sá
   NEG please me that I be wife his though

Gbogbo obinrin ni wọn ń lé e kiri
   All woman be they PROG chase him around
   ‘I would not want to be his wife though. All the women are chasing him.’

B: Yàtọ̀ sì iyẹn, Mo rò pé ó ní ìgbéràgà pùpò
   Apart from that-one, I think that he has pride much
   ‘Also, I think he praises himself too much.’

4.4.3 Blocking Effects

4.4.3.1 Features of intervening subjects -

D19a) Olú rò pé Adé bòwọ̀ fún òun
      Olu think that Ade give-respect to him
      ‘Olu thinks that Ade respects him.'
b) Ọlú rò pé mo bọwọ̀ fún òun
Olu think that I give-respect to him
‘Olu thinks that I respect him.

c) Ọlú rò pé Màríà bọwọ̀ fún òun
Olu think that Mary give-respect to him
‘Olu thinks that Mary respects him.’

d) Ọlú rò pé àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà bọwọ̀ fún òun
Olu think that they boy the give-respect to him
‘Olu thinks that the boys respect him.’

e) àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà rò pé àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà bọwọ̀ fún àwọn
they man the think that they boy the give-respect to him
‘the men think that the boys respect them.’

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

D20a) Ọlú rò pé Adé mò pé Àdìó bọwọ̀fún òun
Olu think that Ade know that Adio give-respect to him
‘Olu thinks that Ade knows that Adio respects him.’

b) Olú rò pé mo mò pé Àdìó bọwọ̀fún òun
Olu think that I know that Adio give-respect to him
‘Olu thinks that I know that Adio respects him.’

c) Olú rò pé Màríà mò pé Àdìó bọwọ̀fún òun
Olu think that Mary know that Adio give-respect to him
‘Olu thinks that Mary knows that Adio respects him.’
d) Olú rò pé àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà mò pé Àdió bòwò fún òun
   Olu think that they boy the know that Adio give-respect to him
   ‘Olu thinks that the boys know that Adio respects him.’

e) àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà rò pé àwọn ọmọkùnrin náà mò pé Àdió bòwò fún òun
   they man the think that they boy the know that Adio give-respect to him
   ‘the men think that the boys know that Adio respects them.’

4.4.3.2 Positions of the intervener -

D21a) Àlábí rò pé Òpẹ̀ sọ fún Kólá pé Ṣẹ́gun bòwò fún òun
   Alabi think that Ope say to Kola that Segun give-respect to him
   ‘Alabi thinks that Ope told Kola that Segun respects him.’

   b) Àlábí rò pé Òpẹ̀ sọ fún mi pé Ṣẹ́gun bòwò fún òun
   Alabi think that Ope say to me that Segun give-respect to him
   ‘Alabi thinks that Ope told me that Segun respects him.’

   c) Àlábí sọ fún mi pé Ṣẹ́gun bòwò fún òun
   Alabi say to me that Segun give-respect to him
   ‘Alabi told me that Segun respects him.’

   d) Àlábí sọ pé Ṣẹ́gun fún mi ní iwé nípa òun
   Alabi say that Segun give me ? book about him
   ‘Alabi said that Segun gave me a book about 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) Olú kóríra pé Màrià kóríra òun
Olú hate that Maria hate him
‘Olu resents the fact that Mary hates him.’

Màrià bówò fun ọkùnrin tì ó bá féràn rè
Mary give-respect to man COMP he possibly like her
‘Mary respects the man who likes her.’

Màrià sọ pé ọkùnrin tì ó féràn oun jé ọlogbón
Mary say that man COMP he like her be wise-person
‘Mary says that the man who likes her is intelligent.’

d) Màrià bèèrè bóyá Adé rí oun
Mary ask whether Ade see her
‘Mary asked whether Ade saw her.’

e) Màrià bèèrè àsìkò tì Adé rí oun
Mary ask time COMP Ade see her
‘Mary asked when Ade saw her.’

f) Màrià kò tètè mò pé Àdìó télè oun
Mary NEG quickly know that Adio follow her
‘Mary did not realize that Adio followed her.’

g) Pọọlù sọ pé Màrià Màrià léwà àti pé oun yóò fé ẹ
c) Paul say that Mary has-beauty and that he will marry her
‘Paul said that Mary was pretty and that he would marry her.’

De se reading
Sometimes an interpretation of identity with an antecedent is tinged by a different meaning distinction. There is a famous ambiguity in D23 depending on whether or not the subject of believe is aware that he is referring to himself. The distinction is between two readings where his=Oedipus, that is, we are not interested, for these cases, in readings where his is not Oedipus. Now imagine that Oedipus thinks his step-mother (Step) is his biological mother - he just calls her "mother", because Step is the only mother he has ever known. Now let us suppose that Oedipus is the only one in town who is unaware who his biological mother (Bio) is, perhaps because Bio is a notorious person of whom polite people do not normally speak. People in town, in spite of what they know, generally refer to Step as Oedipus' mother, since no one wants to bring up the subject of Bio. Then Bio, long out of town, makes a surprise visit to the town to see Oedipus, whom she finds scowling in his front yard, angry at Step because she has punished him. Bio spends some time with Oedipus, as others watch suspiciously, but Bio does not tell Oedipus who she is. Oedipus thinks Bio is nice. Then someone says D23a or D23b.

D23a) Oedipus thinks/says his mother is nice.

b) Oedipus thinks/says his mother is mean.

Now his in both examples is to be coconstrued with Oedipus, but his mother in (23a) refers to Bio, whom he does not know is his mother, while (D23b) refers to Step, who is the only one Oedipus thinks is his mother (though others know otherwise), and Oedipus is angry at her just now. In some languages, a different morphological form, a different pronoun for example, is used to distinguish the two readings. If your language is like English, then there is no morphological distinction between the pronouns in (D23a,b). Just say so and move on. However, other languages have such a morphological distinction (often it is like the logophoric distinction, discussed above, but not always), and if there is such
a distinction in your language, then translate the examples indicating the
difference in pronouns. If there is such a difference, we will ask you more about it
after we get the questionnaire responses.

    D23a) Pọ́ọ̀lù ̀ rò ̀ pé ̀ iyá ̀ òun ̀ nìwà
        Paul  think  that  mother  his  have-character
        ‘Paul thinks that his mother is nice.’

    b) Pọ́ọ̀lù ̀ rò ̀ pé ̀ iyá ̀ rẹ̀ ̀ kò ̀ nìwà
        Paul  think  that  mother  his  NEG  have-character
        ‘Paul believes thinks that his mother is mean.’

Note: In Yoruba, the strong pronoun òun is used for de-se readings while the
weak pronoun rẹ̀ can be used for non-de-se readings.

PART 5 Final thoughts

5.1 - Having looked at the details of each strategy individually, do you have any
general comments on differences in meaning between the various strategies,
conditions that would cause one or another to be preferred or required, etc.?

5.2 - Are there any properties of the questionnaire that you think could be
improved, made more relevant, or more flexible? Is there any part of the
questionnaire that you thought was unsuccessful at addressing what seems to
you an important class of phenomena for our anaphora project? Please make us
aware of any way in which you think we could improve our data collection.