

Anaphora in the African Languages

Questionnaire Response for Bulu- AQR1.4

PART I GENERAL INFORMATION

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

1.2. Identification

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3. I am willing to be identified
4. Ph.D. student
5. (a) Syntax: Familiar with GB
(b) Typological linguistics: some
(c) Formal semantics: Little
(d) Pragmatics or discourse analysis: Little
(e) Other relevant subfield: Little
6. a. Bulu
b. Bulu
c. French / English
d. Since birth

PART II: AN INVENTORY OF REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL STRATEGIES

2.1. Coreference in a single clause

2.1.1 “primarily” Reflexive strategy

“Pronoun-MIEN”

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

2.1.2. Strategy RFM “an” or “ban”

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

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

2.1.4. Obliques and other arguments types

- A3 a) Ango a-ké-kóbo aa Ondoua
Ango SM-P2-chat with Ondoua
“Ango chatted with Ondoua”
- A3 b) Ango a-ké-kóbo ê-mien
Ango SM-P2-talk pron.c1-MIEN
“Ango talked to himself”
- A3 c) */? Ango a-ké-kat Evina asú dé
Ango SM-P2-tell Evina for him
“Ango told Evina about *himself/?herself”
- A3 d) Ango a-ké-vé Evina moné asú dé
Ango SM-P2-give Evina money for him
“Ango gave Evina money for him/himself”
- A3e) Ango a-ké-biā pké’élé asú bia bé-bien
Ango SM-P2-we shout in.front our-MIEN
“Ango shouted at us about ourselves”.
- A3 f) Ango a-ké-vé bǒngó bé-bién
Ango SM-P2-give children pron.c2-MIEN
“Ango gave the children themselves” (indirect object/object)
- A3g) Ango a-ké-yén kálate mvús dé
Ango SM-P2-see book behind him
“Ango saw the book behind him” (subject/locative)
- A3h) Ango a-ké-kus kálate asú dé
Ango SM-P2-buy book for him
“Ango bought a book for him/himself” (Benefactive)
- A3i) Ango a-ké-kus kálate asú dé
Ango SM-P2-buy book for him
“Ango bought a book for himself/herself” (benefactive)

A3j) Ango a-ké-yén nyó fefél dé
Ango SM-P2-see snake near her
“Ango saw a snake near herself”

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

2.1.5. Person and number

A5a) me á- ké-yén ma-mien
I SM-P2-see my-MIEN
“I saw myself”

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.6. Strategies for other clausemate environments

(a) Some verbs allow only the use of the incorporated reflexive:

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

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

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

Comment: Note that *yem-ban* is different from *yem-an*; *ban* is an RFM while *an* is an RCM. If *ban* is replaced by *an* the meaning will be “The children introduce (themselves) to each other”

- b) Ela a-a-woo-solan
 Ela SM-Prés-hab-criticize.REFL
 “Ela habitually criticizes himself”

Comment: In Bulu all the verbs that end with *an* are [+reflexive] (*tôban*, *selan*, *taan* etc.). As far as the example above is concerned, the infinitive form of the verb is *solan* and the verb is [+reflexive]. In other words, one can not have *solan-an*, not even with a plural antecedent to mean ‘They criticize each other’.

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

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

Comment: Quantificational constructions do not involve a separate strategy:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- c) Engon a- a- búni nâ Ango a- a- yian-yelan é-mien
 Engon SM- Pres- think that Ango SM- Pres- must- praise pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon thinks that Ango must praise herself”

- d) Engon a- a- yi nâ Ango a- a- yelan é-mien
 Engon SM- Pres- requires that Ango SM- Pres- praise pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon requires that Ango praise herself”
- e) Engon a-a-kómbo yelan e-mien
 Engon SM-Pres-want praise pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon wants to praise himself”
- f) Engon a-a-búni nâ Ango e-e-yelan é-mien
 Engon SM-Pres-expect that Ango SM-Fut-praise pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon expects Ango to praise herself”
- g) Engon a-ngá-wóó Ango a-a-yelan é-mien
 Engon SM-P3-hear Ango SM-Pres-praise pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon heard Ango praising herself”

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

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

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

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

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

2.2. Ordinary (potentially independent) pronouns

2.2.1.

- A10a) me pro- ngá- lán aa Oyono angoe. a/pro
 I SM- P3- speak with Oyono yesterday pron/pro
 a- ngá- yén Bika
 SM P3 see Bika
 “I spoke with Oyono yesterday. He/pro saw Bika”

b) vé nye Oyono a-né? me/pro ké-nye-yén mákit
 where Foc Oyono SM-is I SM-P2-OM-see market
 “Where is Oyono? I saw him in the market”

c) bi/pro a-ké-wo-yén ye wo/pro a-ké-biā -yén
 we SM-P2-OM-see QM you SM- P2-OM-see
 “We saw you. Did you see us?”

d) ye wo/pro a- ké- ma- yén
 QM pron/pro SM- P2- OM- see
 “Did you see me?”

2.2.2. Various types of pronouns

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

Noun classes	Class prefixes	Examples	Glosses	Agreement prefixes
1	m # C Ø	m-ingaù nèðzin taté	women outsider father	a
2	bé # C b # V	be-kaùl b-ingaù	sisters women	bé
3	N	mèfen nlém	plait heart	où
4	mi- my-	mi-mèfén my-aùgaùn mi-mfék my-aùngaùn	our plaits our bags	miù
5	à-# C d-# C l- y- dz	à-baùì d-ól yoùp dzal	slap nape sky village	aù d- dz l
6	mé # C m # V	mé-saù m-am	plum things	mé
7	è # C dz # V	è-yé dzot	cloth abscess	é

8	bi # C by # V	bi-ka#t bi-yé	baskets clothes	biù
9	Ø	ndaù mvuù	house dog	é
10	n-	n-gop	umbilical cord	é
11	o # C w, v	o-laùm o-fumbiù w-óù w-é	trap orange hand honie	où
16	Ø	vaù	here	
17	Ø	odzan	after tomorrow	
19	Ø	vyan	sun	

So called human subject pronouns

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

Subject Markers (SM)

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

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

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

Comment: The SM is glossed as a- due to phonological reasons.

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

Object markers

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

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

The examples above display the following object markers in Bulu

ma	“me”
wo	“you” (sg.)
nye	“him/her”
bia	“us”
mia	“you” (pl.)
be	“them”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.2.3. Null arguments

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

Verb: é- dí-
Inf- eat
“to eat”

a) (o) o- ngá- dí
You SM- P3- eat
“You ate”

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

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

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

A10g) *Ondoua a- ngá- yelan a
Ondoua SM- P3- praise him
“Ondoua praised himself”

h) *Ondoua a- ngá- nyee a
Ondoua SM- P3- love him
“Ondoua liked himself”

i) *Ondoua a- ngá- yén a
Ondoua SM- P3- see him
“Ondoua saw himself”

j) *Ondoua a- ngá kóbo aa a
Ondoua SM- P3- talk to him
“Ondoua talked to himself”

k) *Ondoua a- ngá- lóm a kálate
Ondoua SM- P3- send him book
“Ondoua sent a book to himself”

l) *Ondoua a- ngá- vólo a
Ondoua SM- P3- help him
“Ondoua helped himself”

m) *Ondoua a- ngá- tem a
Ondoua SM- P3- surprise him
“Ondoua surprised himself”

n) *Ondoua a-ngá-kus a kálate
Ondoua SM- P3-buy him book
“Ondoua bought a book for himself”

- o) *Ondoua a- ngá-láng kálate asú a
 Ondoua SM- P3- read book about him
 “Ondoua read a book about himself”
- p) *Ondoua a- ngá- som kálate fefél a
 Ondoua SM- P3- find book near him
 “Ondoua found a book near himself”

2.3. Reciprocal readings

2.3.1.

2.3.2.

- A11a) bingá bá-a-yén-an
 women SM-Pres-see-RCM
 “The women see each other”
- b) bón béfám bá-ké- wob-an
 children men SM-P2-wash-RCM
 “The boys washed each other”
- c) béfám bá-ké-vas-an milo
 men SM-P2-comb-RCM hair
 “The men combed each other’s hair”
- d) bé - ngá- kób-an
 They- P3- discuss RCM
 “They discussed with each other”
- e) bón béfám bé-ngá-bom-an
 children men SM-P3-beat-RCM
 “The boys beat each other”
- f) bé-a-vín-an
 they-SM-hate-RCM
 “They hate each other”

2.3.3. Oblique arguments

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

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

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

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

- c) befata bé-ngá-wóó-an miláng
 Priests SM- P3- hear-RCM stories
 “The priests heard stories about each other”

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

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

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

2.3.4. Other persons and numbers

A13a) biā ké-yén-an

We P2-see-RCM

“We saw each other”

b) miā yiane-vóló-an

you must- help-RCM

“You must help each other”

c) bí e-woban

we F2-wash

“We will wash ourselves”

Comment: *Woban* is undecomposable.

d) bá solan eyong ése

they criticize.RCM time all

“They always criticize each other”.

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

2.3.5. Other clause types and other strategies

Comment: There is no new strategy.

2.4. Other types of local coreference

2.4.1. Possessives, alienable and inalienable

A15a) Ebolo a- ké- jánle bikondé bié

Ebolo SM- P2- loose shoes his

“Ebolo lost his shoes”

b) Ebolo a- ké- líti wo we

Ebolo SM- P2- show hand his

“Ebolo showed his hand”

c) Ebolo a- ké- bále nyul dje

Ebolo SM- P2- cut body his

“Ebolo cut his body (accidentally)”

d) Ebolo a- ké tcheng nló woe

Ebolo SM- P2- shave head his

“ Ebolo shaved his head”

- e) Ebolo a- ké- kómtō onyui abo woe
 Ebolo SM- P2- cut finger foot his
 “Ebolo stubbed his toe”

2.4.2. Reflexives and reciprocals in nominals

A16) ndáman Ango é-mien ó- ngá-ndengle Avebe
 destruction Ango pron.c1-MIEN SM.c13-P3-destroy Avebe
 “Ango’s self-destruction annoyed Avebe”

A17a) nlitán Ango é-mien ó- ngá- kám nyele
 introduction Ango pron.c1-MIEN SM.c13- P3- impress teacher
 “Ango’s introduction of himself impressed the teacher”.

b) nvegán Ango é-mien ó- ngá- bé mbiā abé
 evaluation Ango himself SM.c13- P3- be too bad
 “Ango’s evaluation of himself was too critical”

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

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

ANS: Yes, given that all the examples in the same vein have the same structure as testifies the example below.

A17b’) ntilán Ango é-mien ó- ngá- bo abeng mam
 writing Ango himself SM- P3- do good things
 “Ango’s writting of himself did good things”

A17b’’) mivegán miábá bé-bien mi- ngá- bé mbiā abé
 evaluation their themselves SM- P3- be too bad
 “Their evaluation of themselves was too critical”

A17b’’’) mivegán miábá bé-mien mi- ngá- solo-ban
 evaluation their themselves SM- P3- hide-RFM
 “Their evaluation of themselves hide theirselves”

2.4.4. Coreference strategies in a single clause

Strategy A

Pronoun-MIEN

F1a) Evina a- a- yem é-mien
 Evina SM- Pres- know pron.c1-MIEN
 “Evina knows himself”

Strategy B Reciprocal reading

Verb-*an*

F1b) bǒngó bá-a-yiane-yem-an
children SM-Pres-must-know-RCM
“Children must know each other”

Strategy C Reflexive reading

Verb-*ban*

(e.g., A6aii) Ok

Strategy D Verb.*an* NULL

Permits reflexive or reciprocal reading, depending on the meaning of the verb, when the object is null
(restricted to a lexical list – examples like *woban*)

Strategy E Verb.*an* with pronoun-MIEN

We treat this as a separate strategy because the possibility of a reflexive reading for the verb is not harmed, but it prevents the possibility of reciprocal readings in some cases.

PART 3 GENERAL DETAILS ABOUT THE STRATEGIES

3.1. Marking

Coconstrued interpretations

It has been demonstrated that, the following marking strategies for coconstrued interpretations can be attested in Bulu:

F2a) Marking on a coconstrued argument (Pronoun-mien):

Evina a-a-yem é-mien

Evina SM-Pres-know pron.c1-MIEN

“Evina knows himself”

b) Coconstrual is marked by dropping an argument.

Evina a-a-woban

Evina SM-Pres-bathe

“Evina is bathing himself”

Evina a-a-woban é-mien.

Evina SM-Pres-bathe pron.c1-MIEN

“Evina is bathing himself”

Comment: The sentences above show that *woban* (to bathe) can select either an NP or a reflexive.

KS: This is clearer if it is possible to have

b’) *Evina a-a-wooban Ango

Evina SM-Pres-bathe Ango

“Evina is bathing Ango.”

Comment: This is generally not possible with Verb.*an*.

3.2. Productivity

3.3. Context of Use

The strategy displayed seems to be used for emphasis purposes.

3.4. Morphology

There is no independent meaning of *mien*. The word is only used in anaphoric contexts. The other morpheme is a pronoun.

As far as strategy 1 is concerned, the internal make up of the reflexive is: Pronoun-MIEN. For illustration, consider the following sentence:

F3) Ango a- a- yem é-mien
Ango SM- Pres- know pron.c1-MIEN
“The chief loves himself”

3.5. The agreement paradigm

KS: I can see that if pronoun-MIEN has a c2 antecedent, the stem becomes *bien*. I have three hypotheses about why *mien* becomes *bien*: (1) Agreement for plural regardless of class, (2) phonological consonant harmony of some sort, or (3) sensitivity to noun class which would be shown by cases where *bien* is used even though the antecedent is singular and the noun class pronoun has no /b/ or other trigger. It would also help to have examples with a plural that has a different morphology than c2. Please help me decide between these possibilities. Hypothesis (3) is the good one. In order to help you to decide consider the following examples.

kábat ja- ké- bále e-bien
F4a) goat SM.c9- P2- wound it-MIEN
“The goat wounded itself”
b) mfóndé wó ké ku ó-bien
skirt SM.c3- P2- fall it-MIEN
“The skirt felt itself”

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

m-ingaù é-mien woman c1-MIEN	The woman herself
b-ingaù bé- bien women c2 –themselves	The women themselves
n-lém cou-bien heart c3-MIEN	The heart itself
mi-nlém mi-bien hearts c4-MIEN	The hearts themselves
me-sa me-bien plomb c6-MIEN	The plums themselves

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

3.6. Interaction with verb morphology-Incompatibilities

3.6.1. Tense, Mood, Aspect

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

Strategy 1

B 3a) Engon a- a- tcheng é-mien
Engon SM- Pres- shave pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon shaves himself”

b) Engon a- e- woo é-mien
Engon SM Pres tcheng pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon will shave himself”

Comment: Nothing new for the other strategies.

3.6.2. Grammatical Function (GF) – changing Causative verbs

- i) Max made the boys paint each other
Ela a- ké- bo nâ befaùm bé- kang-an
Ela SM- P2- make that men pron.c2 draw-RCM
“Ela made the men draw each other”
- ii) Max made the boys paint themselves
Ela a- ké bo nâ befaùm bé- kang bé-bien
Ela SM- P2 make that men pron.c2- draw pron.c2-BIEN
“Ela made the men draw themselves”

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

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

3.7. Uses that are not quite coreference

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

a) Ango a-e-luk mingá ndá zambé djé é-bien
 Ango SM-F2-marry woman house God Poss it-MIEN
 “Ango will marry a woman in his own church”

X1 Ango a- a- dzó nâ be- dóm bé be- é- luk ndá
 Ango SM- Pres- say that OM- brothers his OM- Fut marry house
 zambé djé é-bien
 god Poss it-MIEN
 “Ango says that the cousins will marry in his own church”

Comment: 'His own church' can be where Ango makes the statement, or the location of the marriage. KS: This shows that the strategy is not necessarily local.

3.7.2. Emphatic or intensifier

In the following Bulu sentences, pron-MIEN takes a local antecedent that indicates how a particular participant related to an event:

B1 c) Ango a- e- sob biyé é-mien
 Ango SM- Fut- wash clothes pron.c1-MIEN
 “Ango will wash clothes himself”

(Nobody will do it for Ango) or (Ango will do it personally)

The same interpretation can be perceived below:

d) Ango é-mien a- e- sob biyé
 Ango pron.c1-MIEN SM- Fut- wash clothes
 “Ango himself will wash clothes”

3.7.5. Deictic use

Reflexives in Bulu can be used to refer to an antecedent that is not mentioned in the same clause, but that was previously mentioned (in the preceding discourse). In the following conversation, *emien* refers to an absent antecedent in the clause in which it occurs:

B5a) ye nyó ya- ké- díki mvú
QM snake SM- P2- bite c9.dog
“Did the snake bite the dog?”

b) teke, nyó é- ndí- ke- díki é-bien
no snake SM- Neg- P2- bite c9-MIEN
“No, the snake did not bite itself”

Comment: A clear look at the examples above show that the reflexive *é-bien* does not refer to *nyó* (snake), but to *mvú* (dog). The segment of *mien* is denasalized because it is only nasalised when it is [+ human]

b’) den, é-mien e- yeele món
today, pron.c1-MIEN F1-teachchild
“Today, himself will teach his child”

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

(B6a) Engon a- ké- bom é-mien
Engon SM- P2- bom pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon beat himself/herself”

b) mintábe nlam miā-a-nyee meyōk melén, ve é-mien
dwellers village SM-Pres-like wine palm but pron.c1-MIEN
a-a-nyú-ké me
SM-Pres-drink-Neg it
“Villagers like palmwine, but himself does drink it”

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

3.7.6. Focus

B15)a. zá nye mibo mefúp miā-ké-yén
who Foc makers farms SM-P2-see
“Who did the farmers see?”
miā- ké- nye yén
they- P2- him see
“They saw him”

B16) mibo mefúp mí- dí- ke- yén Ela, miā ke-nye yén
makers farms SM- Neg- P2- see Ela, they P2-him see
“The farmers did not see Ela. They saw him”

3.8. Proxy readings

Proxy readings are possible to get in Bulu, given the appropriate context. Imagine that pictures (portraits) of Oyono is being sold in the bookstore. The President could pass by and take a look at his own portrait:

B8a) Oyono a- ké-yén é-mien éfatchelé

Oyono SM- P2- see him self shop

“Oyono saw himself in the shop”

b) mbómo mvet a-a-voglo é-mien e radio

player guitar SM-Pres-listen pron.c1-MIEN to radio

“The guitarist is listening to himself in the radio”

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

B9b) Ango a- ké- woban otektek, asú nâ a- bo- te- dáman wax

Ango SM-P2-wash slowly for that SM- do- Neg- damage wax

“Ango washed carefully, so as not to damage the wax”

Comment: No proxy reading possible.

B9d) mbô film a- ngá-tébé otetek , asú nâ a- bo- te- dáman wax

maker movie SM- P3-stand slowly, for that SM-do-Neg- damage wax

“The movie star dressed carefully, so as not to damage the wax.”

Comment: No proxy reading possible.

B9a) Ela a- a- tcheng é-mien otegteg asú nâ ndzo

Ela SM-Pres-shave pron.c1-MIEN slowly for that razor

é-bo-te-bále nló

SM-do-not-wound head

“Ela shaves himself slowly so that the razor should not wound his head”

Comment: Proxy reading is possible.

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

3.9. Ellipsis

The following Bulu sentence has only one interpretation:

B12a) Ondoua a-a-nyee é-mien adang ávále Ondoua a-a-nyee Evina

Ondoua SM-Pres-love pron.c1-MIEN pass how Ondoua SM-Pres-love Evina

“Ondoua likes himself more than Ondoua likes Evina”

b) Ondoua a-a-nyee é-mien adang ávále Evina a-a-nyee nye

Ondoua SM-Pres-love pron.c1-MIEN pass how Evina SM-Pres-love him

“Ondoua likes himself more than Evina likes him”

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

ii. Ondoua a- a- nyee é-mien adang ávále Evina a- a- nyee é-mien

Ondoua SM-Pres-love pron.c1-MIEN pass how Evina SM- Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

“Ondoua likes himself more than Evina likes himself”

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

PART 4 EXPLORATION OF SYNTACTIC DOMAINS

X) a. Ondoua a-ké bíbi Engon

Ondoua SM-P2-hit Engon

“Ondoua hit Engon”

b. Ondoua a- ké- bíbi é-mien

Ondoua SM- P2- hit pron.c1-MIEN

“Ondoua hit himself” (reflexive)

d. Ondoua ba Engon bá-ké-bíb-an

Ondoua and Engon SM-P2-hit-RCM

“Ondoua and Engon hit each other” (Reciprocal)

XI)

a) *Ondoua a- ké-bíbi

Ondoua SM-P2-hit

“Ondoua hit himself”

c) búngó bá-ké-bíb-an

Children SM-P2-hit-RCM

“Children hit each other” or “children hit one another”

d) Ondoua a- ke- nye bíbi

Ondoua SM- P2- him hit

“*Ondoua hit himself”

Comment: The sentence is acceptable if *Ondoua* and *him* do not corefer.

di) Ondoua a- ké- bíbi nye

Ondoua SM- P2- hit him

“*Ondoua hit himself” but it is ? if the reading is not reflexive.

Comment: The sentence is less than fully acceptable with the nonreflexive reading because Bulu would mostly prefer *nye* (him) before the verb in such a context.

X3a) Ondoua a- ké- yén nyia woé-é-mien

Ondoua SM- P2- see mother Poss.pron.c1-MIEN

“Ondoua saw his own mother”

b) Ondoua a- ké- yén nyia

Ondoua SM- P2- see mother

“Ondoua saw his mother”

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

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

4.1. Clausemate coconstrual

4.1.1 verb class restrictions

4.1.1.1. Canonical transitives

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

4.1.1.2. Commonly reflexive predicates

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

- C3bi) *Engon a-ke-tcheng-an esil e-mien
 Engon SM-P2-cut-RFM hair pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
- bii)*Engon a-ke-tcheng-an e-mien esil
 Engon SM-P2-cut-RFM pron.c1-MIEN hair
 “Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
- biii) Engon a-ke-tcheng-an esil dze-bien?
 Engon SM-P2-cut-RFM hair pron.c7

- “Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
 biv) Engon a-ke-tcheng esil
 Engon SM-P2-cut hair
 “Engon cut his hair” (Engon’s hair)
 bv) Engon a-ke-yen esil
 Engon SM-P2-see hair
 “Engon saw his own hair” or “Engon saw (someone else’s) hair”

4.1.1.3. Psychological predicates

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

4.1.1.4. Creation and destruction predicates

- C5a) bingá be-e-ndáman bé-bien
 women SM-F2- destroy pron.c2-MIEN
 “Women will destroy themselves”

Comment: It would not be appropriate to translate C5a as “The women were destroyed by themselves”.

KS: Also, does the verb for destroy have an infinitive of the form *V.an* (ANS: yes) and if so, is the sentence fine without pronoun-MIEN? ANS: The sentence is fine but has a different meaning (the women will destroy).

- b) bemisíni bé- ngá-komb-ban bé-bien
 machines SM- P2- build-RFM pron.c2-MIEN
 “The machines were built by themselves”

Comment: In Bulu the morpheme *-ban* or *-an* are also used to form passive. The problem with the example you talked about (C5b) is that it is in the passive form rather than having a reflexive reading. Thus the translation be ‘the machines were built by themselves’ as opposed to ‘The machines built themselves’.

- C5’ a) Egon trapped Ondua
 Engon a- keù-laùm Ondua
 Engon SM-P2-trap Ondua
 b) Ondua was trapped by Egon
 Ondua a- keù-laùm- ban (aa Engon)
 Ondua SM-P2 trap-PASS (by Engon)

Comment: the subject of the active sentence is always deleted in the passive form in Bulu.

- c) Ondua was trapped by himself

- Ondua a- keù-laùm- ban
 Ondua SM-P2 trap-PASS (by himself)
- d) The men were trapped by Egon
 befaùm baù keù-laùm- ban (aa Engon)
 men SM-P2 trap-PASS (by Engon)
- e) The men were trapped by themselves
 befaùm baù keù-laùm- ban (aa bé-bien)
 men SM-P2 trap-PASS (by themselves)
- f) The men were trapped by each other
 befaùm baù keù-laùm- ban.RCM
 men SM-P2 trap-PASS.RCM

4.1.1.5. Verbs of representation

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

4.1.2. Argument position pairings

4.1.2.1. Subject – indirect object

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

C8a) Oyono a- ké- ve é-mien dás
Oyono SM- P2- give pron.c1-MIEN gift
“Oyono gave herself a gift”

b) Oyono a- ké- líti é-mien búngó
Oyono SM- P2- show himself children
“Oyono showed himself to the children”

4.1.2.2. Oblique arguments

C9a) Ebolo a- ké- kóbo é-mien
Ebolo SM- P2- talk pron.c1-MIEN
“Ebolo talked to himself”

b) Ebolo a- ké- ve é-mien kálate
Ebolo SM- P2- give pron.c1-MIEN book
“Ebolo gave himself a book”

4.1.2.3. Subject – adjunct

C10a) Bika a- ké- yén nyó mvus djé-é-mien
Bika SM- P2- see snake behind her her-MIEN
“Bika saw a snake behind herself”

b) Bika a- ké- sónglō Engon amú é-mien
Bika SM- P2- offend Engon because pron.c1-MIEN
“Bika insulted Engon because of himself”

4.1.2.4. Ditransitives and double complements

c11a) Bika a- ké- líti é-mien Ondoua
Bika SM- P2- show pron.c1-MIEN Ondoua
“Bika showed herself to Ondoua”

b) Bika a- ké- ve Ondoua é-mien
Bika SM- P2- give Ondoua pron.c1-MIEN
“Bika gave Ondoua himself”

4.1.2.5. Two internal arguments or adjuncts

C12a) Bika a- ké- kóbo mam mé Ondoua be é-mien
Bika SM- P2- talk think of Ondoua to pron.c1-MIEN
“Bika talked about Ondoua to himself”

b) Bika a- ké- kóbo Ondoua asú é-mien
Bika SM- P2- talk Ondoua about pron.c1-MIEN
“Bika talked to Ondoua about himself”

c) Bika a- ké- kóbo é-mien asú Ondoua
Bika SM- P2- talk pron.c1-MIEN about Ondoua
“Bika talked to himself about Ondoua”

4.1.2.6. Clausemate noncoarguments

- C13a) Engon a- ké- loon nyiá woé é-mien
Engon SM- P2- call mother Poss pron.c1-MIEN
“Engon called his own mother”
- b) Engon a- ké- vase nlô woé ó-bien
Engon SM- P2- comb hair Poss. It-MIEN
“Engon combed his own hair”
- c) Engon a- ké- kóbo mása woé é-mien
Engon SM- P2- talk boss Poss.him self
“Engon talked to his own boss”
- d) Engon a- ké- bete kálate woé é-mien é tébélé
Engon SM- P2- put book Poss.it-MIEN on table
“Engon put his own book on the table”
- e) nkúkúma a- ké- ve Ondoua dás djal dé é-mien
chief SM- P2- give Ondoua gift village Poss. pron.c1-MIEN
“The chief gave Ondoua a gift in his own village”
- f) bóngó bэфám bá- ké- sob mesú mábá mé-bien
children men SM- P2- wash faces Poss. pron.c2-MIEN
“The children washed their own faces”

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

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

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

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

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

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

- X20a) bóngó bэфám bá- ké- yén fóta wobá
Children men SM- P2- see pictures Poss
“The boys saw their pictures”
- b) Engon a- ké- kóbo bóngó bэфám asú fóta wobá
Engon SM- P2- talk children men about pictures them
“Engon told the children about their pictures”

Comment: The children could be the antecedent if *wobá bé-bien* ('their own') is used place of *woba*.

4.1.2.7. Demoted arguments

Such constructions are not attested in Bulu.

4.1.3. Properties of antecedents

C16a) me a- ké- yén má -mien

I SM- P2- see my-MIEN

“I saw myself”

b) wo o- ké- yén wo-mien

you SM- P2- see your-MIEN

“You saw yourself”

C17a) me a- ké- woo ma-mien

I SM- P2- wash my-MIEN

“I washed myself”

b) me a- a- víni ma-mien

I SM- Pres- hate my-MIEN

“I hate myself”

c) me a- ké- kat Ondoua asú ma-mien

I SM- P2- tell Ondoua about my-MIEN

“I told Ondoua about myself”

d) me a- ké- yén nyó fefel djam

I SM- P2- see snake near Poss

“I saw a snake near myself”

e) no passive

f) me a- ké- loon nyiá wom é-mien

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

“I called my own mother”

g) ésâ wom a- a- nyee é-mien

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

“My father admires himself”

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

4.1.3.4. Quantifiers

C19a) mingá áse a- ké- yén é-mien

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

“Every woman saw herself”

a') mingá áse a-ké-yén-ban

woman all SM-P2-see-RFM

“Every woman saw herself”

- b) mǒngó áse a-ké-woo é-mien
 child all SM-P2-wash pron.c1-MIEN
 “Every child washed himself”
- b) mǒngó áse a-ké-woban
 child all SM-P2-wash.RFM
 “Every child washed himself”
- b”) Ondoua a ké woo Engon
 Ondoua SM P2 wash Engon
 “Ondoua washed Engon”

Comment: For the verb meaning ‘wash’ the infinitive form is *wooban*, but if the verb takes a direct object that is not the subject, it is realized as *woo-*.

- c) mǒngó áse a- a- víni é-mien
 child all SM- Pres- hate her-MIEN
 “Every student hates himself”

Comment: The *-ban* strategy is not available for C19c.

- d) mǒngó áse a- ké- yén nyó fefel djé é-mien
 child all SM- P2- see snake near him pron.c1-MIEN
 “Every child saw a snake near himself”

Comment: The *-ban* strategy is not available for C19d.

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

- f) ésâ món áse a- a- nyee é-mien
 father son all SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
 “Every son’s father admires himself”

Comment: The *-ban* strategy is not available for C19f.

4.1.3.5. Questioned antecedents

- C20a) zá a- ké- yén é-mien
 Who SM- P2- see pron.c1-MIEN
 “Who saw himself?”
- b) zá a- ké- woo é-mien
 who SM- P2- wash pron.c1-MIEN
 “Who washed himself?”
- c) zá a- ké- yén nyó fefel djé é-mien
 Who SM- P2-see snake near Poss.pron.c1-MIEN
 “Who saw a snake near himself?”

- d) zá a-ké-loon nyia woe e-mien
 who SM-P2-call mother Poss.him pron.c1-MIEN
 “Who called his own mother?”
- e) zá (nye) ésâ a- a- yee é-mien
 who (Foc) father SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
 “Whose father admires himself?”

4.1.3.6. Reverse binding

C21a) Impossible

- *é-mien a- ké- yén Ela
 pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- see Ela
 “Himself saw Ela”
- b) *biā bé-bien biā-ké-ag-yen
 we our-MIEN SM- P2- us see
 “Ourselves saw us”
- c) *é-mien a- ké- yén nyó mvús Ela
 pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- see snake behind Ela
 “Himself saw Ela”
- d) Impossible
 *é-mien a- ké- sisi Ela
 pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- impress Ela
 “Himself impressed Ela”
- e) Engon a- ké- kóbo é-mien asú Bika
 Engon SM- P2- speak pron.c1-MIEN about Bika
 “Engon spoke to himself about Bika”
- f) Engon a- ké- kat é-mien asú Bika
 Engon SM- P2- tell pron.c1-MIEN about Bika
 “Engon told himself about Bika”
- g) Impossible
 *é-mien a- ngá- yelan Ela
 himself SM- P3- praise Ela
 “Himself impressed Ela”
- h) Impossible
 *wo-mien wo- nyee-an wo
 Your-MIEN SM-be.like-RCM you
 “yourself is liked by you”

c22a), b), c) and d) are not possible in Bulu

- e) fôta nyiá woé é-mien a- ké- ku be Bika
 picture mother Poss.himself SM- P2- fall on Bika
 “A picture of his own mother fell on Bika”

f) fóta nyiá woé é-mien a- ké- bo avak be Bika
 picture mother Poss.pron.c1-MIEN SM- P2- make pleasure on Bika
 “A picture of his own mother pleased Bika”

Word order and weak crossover

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.4. Some matters of interpretation

4.1.4.1. Distribution, reflexivity and reciprocity

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

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

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

c25a) bingá bá- ké- yelan bé-bien
 women SM- P2- praise pron.c2-MIEN
 “The women praised themselves”

Comment: The verb *yelan* cannot be affixed with *-ban* or *-an*

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

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

4.1.4.2. Reciprocal readings

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C27/N/A

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

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

C29a) N/A
b) N/A
c) N/A

Engon ba Bika bá- ké- vé-an bé-bien kalate
Engon and Bika SM- P2- give-RCM pron.c2-MIEN book
“Engon and Bika gave books to each other”

c30) Engon ba Bika bé- a- búni nâ bé a nyee san
Engon and Bika SM- Pres- think that Pres love RCM -
“Engon and Bika think that they love each other”

Comment: This can mean that Engon and Bika have the same thought, namely, that they love each other, but it does not mean that Engon thinks he loves Bika and Bika thinks she loves Engon, but neither is sure that the other one loves him/her (In other words, their thoughts are not exactly the same)

4.1.4.3. Sociative readings

C31a) bekoi bá-ké-ke nsámhá
monkeys SM- P2- go together
“The monkeys left together”
b) bekoi bá-ké-dí kôs nsámhá
monkeys SM- P2- eat fish together
“Monkeys ate fish together”

4.1.4.4. Antipassive readings

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

4.2. Cross- clausal binding

X4) N/A

X5) Engon a- ké- biā síli nâ bi vegle wo síli nâ ó- kóbo nyé otetek
Engon SM- P2- us ask that we try you ask that SM talk him quietly
“Engon asked us to try to ask you to talk to him quietly”

X6) Engon a- djó- nâ Ela a dínj mún mingá a- ké- wúban nyé anyu
Engon SM- says that Ela SM love child girl SM- P2- kiss him mouth
“ Engon said that Ela loves the girl who kissed him”

X6i) Engon ba Bika baù ké wúban

Engon and Bika SM P2 kiss.RCM

“Engon and Bika kissed each other”

Comment: In cases like ‘Engon and Bika kissed’ *wúban* is inherently reciprocal.

X7) Engon a- djó- nâ Ela a- solan nyé éyong ése

Engon SM- says- that Ela SM- criticize him time all

“Engon says that Ela usually criticizes him/*himself”

Comment: To clarify, *nyé* can’t be Ela, but If *e-mien* replaces *nye* Ela could antecede it.

4.2.1. Coreference relations across typical tensed clausal complement

X8a) Engon a- ké- djó nâ Ela a- a- nyee é-mien

Engon SM- P2- say that Ela SM Pres love her-MIEN

“Engon said that Ela loves herself”

Comment: To be clear, *e-mien* cannot be Engon.

X9) *Engon a-ké-djó-an nâ Ela a- a- nyee

Engon SM-P2-say-RFM that Ela SM-Pres-love

“Engon said that Ela loves herself/himself”

X10) Engon a-ké-djó nâ Ela a- a- nyee nyé

Engon SM-P2-say that Ela SM--Pres-love him

“Engon said that Ela loves him”

XII) *Engon nyé a- ké- djó nâ Ela a- a- nyee

Engon her SM- P2- say that Ela SM Pres love

“Engon said that Ela loves herself”

4.2.1.1. Tensed complement, long distance relations, anophor in situ

D1a) Engon a- ké- djó nâ é-mien a- ne atcheng

Engon SM- P2- say that pron.c1-MIEN SM is intelligent

“Engon said that himself is intelligent”

b) *Engon a- a- yem nâ Ela a- a- ding é-mien

Engon SM- Pres- know that Ela SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

“ Engon knows that Ela loves himself ”

c) *Engon a- a- yem nâ Ela a- ké- djó nâ é-mien

Engon SM- Pres- know that Ela SM P2 say that pron.c1-MIEN

a- ne atcheng

SM is intelligent

“Engon knows that Ela said that himself is intelligent”

d) *Engon a- a- búni nâ Ango a- a- yem nâ Ela a- a-
Engon SM- Pres think that Ango SM Pres know that Ela SM Pres
ding e-mien

love pron.c1-MIEN

“ Engon thinks that Ango knows that Ela loves himself ”

e) *Engon a-a-búni nâ Ango a- a- yem nâ é-mien

Engon SM-Pres-think that Ango SM-Pres-know that pron.c1-MIEN

a-a-ding Ela

SM-Pres-love Ela

“Engon thinks that Ango knows that himself loves Ela”

f) *Engon a- ngá- kat Ango nâ Ela a- a- ding é-mien

Engon SM- P2- say Ango that Ela SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

“ Engon told Ango that Ela loves himself ”

Comment: Neither Ango nor Engon can be the antecedent.

g) Engon a- ngá- kat Ango nâ é-mien a- a- ding Ela

Engon SM- P2- say Ango that Ela SM Pres love Ela

“ Engon told Ango that himself loves Ela ”

Comment: Both Ango and Engon are possible antecedents.

D2a) *Engon a- ké kangse nâ Evina a- a- ding é-mien

Engon SM- P2 admit that Evina SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN

D2b) *Engon a- a- tyol nâ Evina a- a- ding é-mien

Engon SM-P2- admit that Evina SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

D3a) *Ela a- ngá- wók Ondoua ólún éyong Evina a- ngá- bâm é-mien

Ela SM P3 hear Ondoua sadness when Evina SM P3 blame pron.c1-MIEN

b) *Ela a-ngá-búlan ndá éyon é-mien a- ngá- tek

Ela SM-P3-return home when pron.c1-MIEN SM- P3- tired

c) *éyong Evina a- ngá- tíli é-mien, Ela a- ngá- búlan ndá

when Evina SM-P3- write pron.c1-MIEN, Ela SM P3 return home

d) *Evina a- ngá- ke teke Ela a- yén- é-mien

Evina SM- P3- go without Ela SM- see pron.c1-MIEN

e) *Evina a- ngá- ve Ela meku teke a- yén- é-mien

Evina SM- P3- give Ela wrong without SM- see pron.c1-MIEN

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

X12a) me a- a- yi nâ me a- a- ke

I SM- Pres- want that I SM- Pres- go

“I want [to leave]”

- ai) me a- a- yi nâ Evina a- a- ke
I SM- Pres- want that Evina SM- Pres- go
“I want [Evina to leave]”
- aii) me a-ké-kat Evina nâ a-a-ke
I SM-P2-tell Evina that SM-Pres-go
“I told Evina [to leave]”
- b) me a- ké- bo nâ Evina a- a- ke
I SM- P2- make that Evina SM Pres go
“I made [Evina leave]”
- c) me a- ké- yén mot a- a- kele
I SM- P2- see person SM- Pres- going
“I saw [someone leaving]”
- d) *me a- a- djoé [nâ a- a- kóbo ótektek]
I SM Pres ordered that SM Pres speak slowly
- e) * me a a yen [Evina abe]
I SM Pres Evina bad

- D4a) *Ango a- ké- síli Bika nâ a- búni é-mien
Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- believe pron.c1-MIEN
- b) *Ango a- ké- síli Bika nâ a- ve kálate é-mien
Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- give book pron.c1-MIEN
- c) *Ango a- ké- síli Bika nâ a- kóbo é-mien
Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- talk pron.c1-MIEN
- d) *Ango a- ké- síli Bika nâ a- kóbo asu é-mien
Ango SM- P2- ask Bika that SM- talk about pron.c1-MIEN
- e) *Ango a- tótô- ndi nâ Bika a- búni é-mien
Ango SM- sit.P2-hope that Bika SM- trust pron.c1-MIEN
- f) *Ango a- ké- djoé Bika nâ a- yáane é-mien
Ango SM- P2- order Bika that SM- pay pron.c1-MIEN
- g) *Ango a- ké- joé Bika nâ a-djó nâ é-mien a mbé atchéng
Ango SM- P2- order Bika that SM-pay that pron.c1-MIEN SM be.P3
intelligent
- h) *Ango a- ké- joé Bika nâ a-djó nâ Evina a- a- ding é-mien
Ango SM- P2-order Bika that SM-say that Evina SM- Pres- love pron.c1-
MIEN

The are no Lexical subjects in Bulu with Infinitives:

D5-D7) N/A

Small clauses are very scarce in Bulu

D8) N/A

4.2.3. Backwards anaphora

When X is an anaphor coconstructed with *Engon* coreference is possible

- D9a) nâ é-mien a- ké- só mvús a- ké- degle Engon
that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-arrive back SM-P2-annoy Engon
“That pron.c1-MIEN was late annoyed Engon”
- b) nâ é-mien a-ké-só mvús a-ké-líti nâ Engon a-mbe-nku
that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-arrive back SM-P2-show that Engon SM-be.P3-
guilty
“That himself was late showed that Engon was guilty”
- c) na e-mien a-ke-so mvus a-ke-bo na Engon a woo abe
that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-arrive back SM-P2-make that Engon SM hear
bad
“That himself was late made Engon feel bad”
- d)N/A

Section 4.3. Principle C- type effects

- E1a) *Bika a- ké- solan Ondoua
Bika SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“ Bika criticized Ondoua”
- b) *a ké- djó nâ Bika a- ké- solan Ondoua
he P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“ He said Bika criticized Ondoua”
- c) *a a- ké- solan món fám
he SM- P2- criticize child man
“ He criticized the boy”
- d) *a ké- djó nâ Bika a- ké- solan món fám
he P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize child man
“ He said Bika criticized the boy”
- E2a) * nyiá a-ké-solan Ondoua
mother.Poss SM-P2-criticize Ondoua
“ His mother criticized Ondoua”
- b) *nyiá a-ké-djó nâ Bika a-ké-solan Ondoua
mother.Poss SM P2- say that Bika SM-P2-criticize Ondoua
“ His mother said Bika criticized Ondoua”
- c) * nyiá a-ké-solan món fám
mother.Poss SM- P2- criticize child man
“ His mother criticized the boy”
- d) *nyiá a- ké- djó nâ Bika a- ké- solan món fám
mother.Poss SM P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize child man
“ His mother said Bika criticized the boy”

- E3a) *mot a- ngá- nyee a- ké- solan Ondoua
man SM- P3- like OM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“ The man who he liked criticized Ondoua”
- b) *mot a- ngá- nyee a- ké- solan món fám
man SM- P3- like OM- P2- criticize child man
“ The man who he liked criticized the boy”
- c) *mot a- ngá- nyee nyé a- ké- solan món fám
man SM- P3- like him OM- P2- criticize child man
“ The man who liked him criticized the boy”
- E4a) *Ondoua a- ké- solan Ondoua
Ondoua SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“ Ondoua criticized Ondoua”
- b) *Ondoua ké- djó nâ Bika a- ké- solan Ondoua
Ondoua P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“ Ondoua said Bika criticized Ondoua”
- c) * món fám ké- djó nâ Bika a- ké- solan món fám
child man P2- say that Bika SM- P2- criticize child man
“ The boy said Bika criticized the boy”
- E5a) nyiá Engon a- ké solan Engon
mother.Poss Engon SM-P2- criticize Engon
“Engon’s mother criticized Engon”
- b) nyiá Engon a- ké- djó nâ Avebe a- ké- solan Engon
mother.Poss Engon SM- P2- say that Avebe SM- P2- criticize Engon
“Engon’s mother said Avebe criticized Engon”
- c) nyiá món fám a- ké- solan món fám
mother.Poss child man SM- P2- criticize child man
“The boy’s mother criticized the boy”
- d) nyiá mán fám a- ké- djó nâ Avebe a- ké- solan món fám
mother.Poss child man SM- P2- say that Avebe SM- P2- criticize child man
“The boy’s mother said Avebe criticized the boy”
- E6a) mot (yaa) Engon a- ké- nyee a- ké- solan Engon
man Comp Engon SM- P2- love SM- P2- criticize Engon
“The man who Engon liked criticized Engon”
- b) mot (yaa) món fám a- ké- nyee a- ké- solan món fám
man Comp child man SM- P2- love SM- P2- criticize child man
“The man who the boy liked criticized the boy”
- c) mot (yaa) a- ké- nyee món fám a- ké- solan món fám
man Comp SM- P2- love child man SM- P2- criticize child man
“The man who liked the boy criticized the boy”
- E8a) * nyiá món fám a- ké- solan Ondoua
mother.Poss child man SM- P2- criticize Ondoua
“The boy’s mother criticized Ondoua”

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

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

4.4. More on long distance anaphor strategies

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

4.4.1. Position of the antecedent

- D11a) *Engon a- ké- kat **Ango** nâ Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
 Engon SM- P2- tell Ango that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon told Ango that Ela does not like himself”
- b) ***Ango** a- ké- kat Engon nâ Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
 Ango SM- P2- tell Engon that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg pron.c1-MIEN
 “Ango told Engon that Ela does not like himself”
- c) **Ango** a- ké- kat Engon nâ é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela
 Ango SM- P2- tell Engon that pron.c1-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg El
 “Ango told Engon that himself does not like Ela”
- d) *Engon a- ké- kat **Ango** nâ é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela
 Engon SM- P2- tell Ango that pron.c1-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg Ela
 “Engon told Ango that himself does not like Ela”

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

D13a) *Engon a- ké- djó nâ é-mien a- ngá- djale é-mien biyé
 Engon SM-P2-say that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P3-wear pron.c1-MIEN clothes
 “Engon said that himself had dressed himself”

b) *Engon a-ké-djó nâ é-mien a-ngá-bale é-mien
 Engon SM-P2-say that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P3-wound pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon said that himself had wounded himself”

Comment: This is still unacceptable if the second *é-mien* is replaced by the object pronoun.

c)N/A

4.4.2. Antecedent properties

4.4.2.1. Person

D13ai) *me a- ké- djó nâ é-mien a- ngá- djale é-mien biyé
 I SM- P2- say that himself SM- P3 wear himself clothes
 “I said that himself had dressed himself”

Comment: This example is not improved if the pronoun-MIEN were changed to 1st-MIEN and 2nd-MIEN, respectively (in response to a question by KS).

bi) *wo a- ké- djó nâ é-mien a- ngá- bale é-mien
 you SM- P2- say that himself SM- P3 wound pron.c1-MIEN
 “You said that himself had wounded himself”

Comment: This example is not improved if the pronoun-MIEN were changed to 1st-MIEN and 2nd-MIEN, respectively (in response to a question by KS).

4.4.2.2. Quantified antecedents

D12ai) *nyíá món áse a- a- búni nâ Ela a- a- nyee ki é-mien
 mother.Poss child every SM- Pres-think that Ela SM- Pres- like Neg her-MIEN
 “Every child’s mother thinks that Ela does not like herself”

b) *nyíá món áse a- a- búni nâ é-mien a- a- nyee ki Ela
 mother.Poss man every SM- Pres-think that her-MIEN SM- Pres- like Neg Ela
 “Every child’s mother thinks that herself does not like Ela”

D12a) *abui be-nyíá bón bá- a- búni nâ Ela a- a-
 many mothers.Poss children SM- Pres- think that Ela SM- Pres-
 nyee ki bé-bien
 like Neg pron.c2-MIEN

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

b) abui be-nyíá bón bá- a- búni nâ bé-bien bá- a- nyee Ela
 many mothers children SM Pres think that pron.c2-MIEN SM-Pres-love Ela
 “Many children’s mothers think that themselves love Ela”

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

D13aii) *móngó áse a-ké-djó nâ é-mien a- ké- djale é-mien biyé
 child every SM-P2-say that pron.c1-MIEN SM-P2-wear pron.c1-MIEN
 clothes

“Every child said that himself had dressed himself”

bii) *abui bóngó dá-ké-djó nâ bé-bien bá-ké-djale
 many children SM- P2-say that pron.c2-MIEN SM-P2-wear
 bé-bien biyé
 pron.c2-MIEN clothes

“Many children said that themselves had dressed themselves”

4.4.2.3. Split antecedents

D14 a)N/A

b)N/A

c) Engon a- ké- kat Ondoua nâ bé-bien bá- yian- ke
 Engon SM- P2- tell Ondoua that pron.c2-MIEN SM must go
 “Engon told Ondoua that themselves must go”

d) *Engon a- ké- kat Ondoua nâ Bika a- a- víni bé-bien
 Engon SM-P2-tell Ondoua that Bika SM- Pres- hate pron.c2-MIEN
 “Engon told Ondoua that Bika hate themselves”

- e) *Engon a- ké- djó nâ Ondoua a- a- búni nâ Bika a-
 Engon SM-P2-say that Ondoua SM- Pres- think that Bika SM-
 a- víni bé-bien
 Pres- hate pron.c2-MIEN
 “Engon said that Ondoua thinks that Bika hate themselves”

4.4.2.4. Discourse antecedents

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

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

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

- D17) Bika a- ké djó nâ a- mbé ábé môs ású Ondoua. Bika a- ké- nye
 Bika SM- P2 say that SM be.P2 bad day for Ondoua. Bika SM- P2- him
 kat nâ bá- ké- nye wúb metwa. a ké nyon taksi ásúna a- a- kê nye éσαι
 tell that SM- P2- him steal car. he P2 take taxi for SM- Pres go him work
 Bika a- ké- búni nâ e e yian wók olún
 Bika SM- P2- think that he Pres might hear angry
 “Bika said that it was a bad day for Ondoua. Bika told him that they stole
 his car. He had to take a taxi to accompany him to work. Bika thought he
 would be angry”

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

- A: me a- a- yí- ki- nâ mé bo mingá woe. bingá bése bé a- nyee nyé
 I SM- Pres- want Neg that I make woman Poss. women all SM-Pres love him

“I would not want to be his wife. All the women love him.

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

4.4.3. Blocking effects

4.4.3.1. Features of intervening subjects

D19a) *Bitché a- a- búni nâ Evina a- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that Evina SM- Pres- like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that Evina likes himself”

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

b) *Bitché a- a- búni nâ me a- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that I SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that I like himself”

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

c) *Bitché a- a- búni nâ Engon a- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that Engon SM- Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that Engon likes himself”

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

d) *Bitché a- a- búni nâ bǒngó bá- a- nyee é-mien
Biché SM- Pres- think that children SM- Pres like pron.c1-MIEN
“Bitché thinks that the children like himself”

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

e) *befám bá- a- búni nâ bǒngó bá- a- nyee bé-mien
men SM- Pres- think that children SM- Pres like pron.c2-MIEN
“The men think that the children like themselves”

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well- formed.

D20a) Oyono a- a- búni nâ Ebolo a- a- yem nâ Ango a-a-víni é-mien
Oyono SM- Pres- think that Ebolo SM- Pres- know that Ango SM-Pres-hate pron.c1-
MIEN

“Oyono thinks that Ebolo knows that Ango hates himself”

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

c) *Ebolo a- a- búni nâ Bika a- a- yem nâ Engon
Ebolo SM-Pres- think that Bika SM Pres know that Engon
a a nyee é-mien
SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN

d) *Ebolo a- a- búni nâ món fám a- a- yem nâ Engon
 Ebolo SM-Pres- think that child man SM- Pres- know that Engon
 a- a- nyee é-mien
 SM Pres like pron.c1-MIEN

e) *befám bá- a- búni nâ món fám a- a- yem nâ Engon
 Ebolo SM-Pres- think that child man SM- Pres- know that Engon
 a- a-nyee é-mien
 SM- Pres-like pron.c1-MIEN

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well-formed

4.4.3.2. Positions of the intervener

D21a) *Oyono a- a- búni nâ Avebe a- ké- kat Engon nâ Bika
 Oyono SM- Pres- think that Avebe SM- P2- tell Engon that Bika
 a a nyee é-mien
 SM Pres love pron.c1-MIEN

b) *Oyono a- a- búni nâ Avebe a- ké- ma kat nâ Bika
 Oyono SM- Pres- think that Avebe SM- P2- me tell that Bika
 a- a- nyee é-mien
 SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN

c) *Avebe a- ké- ma kat nâ Bika a- a- nyee é-mien
 Avebe SM- P2- me tell that Bika SM- Pres- love pron.c1-MIEN
 “Avebe told me that Bika like himself”

d) *Oyono a- ké- djó nâ Avebe a- ké- ma ve kálate asu é-mien
 Oyono SM- Pres- say that Avebe SM- P2- me give that for pron.c1-MIEN
 “Oyono said that Avebe gave me a book about himself”

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

4.4.4. Islands

D22a) *Engon a- a- yem nâ Bika a- a- vini é-mien
 Engon SM- Pres- know that Bika SM- Pres- hate pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon knows that Bika hates himself”

b) *Engon a- a- sémen mot a- a- nyee é-mien
 Engon SM- Pres- respect man SM- Pres- like pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon respects the man who likes himself”

c) *Engon a- ké-djó nâ mot a- a- nyee é-mien a ne
 Engon SM-P2-say that man SM- Pres-like pron.c1-MIEN SM be.Pres
 atchéng
 intelligent

“Engon said that the man who love himself is intelligent”

d) *Engon a- ké- síli ngé Bika a- ké- yén é-mien
 Engon SM- P2- ask if Bika SM- P2 see pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon asked if Bika saw himself”

e) *Engon a- ké- síli éyong Bika a- ké- yén é-mien
 Engon SM- P2- ask when Bika SM- P2 see pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon asked when Bika saw himself”

f) *Engon a- a- ndi yem nâ Bika a- ké- ton é-mien
 Engon SM- Pres-Neg-know that Bika SM- P2- follow pron.c1-MIEN
 “Engon did not know that Bika followed himself”

g) *Engon a- ké-djó nâ Bika a- ne abeng â nâ e e
 Engon SM-P2-say that Bika SM- be.Pres beauty and that SM Fut
 luk é-mien
 marry pron.c1-MIEN

“Engon said that Bika is pretty and that she would marry pron.c1-MIEN”

Comment: A pronoun in place of pronoun-MIEN would be well-formed depending on what is the antecedent.

4.4.5. De se reading

D23a) Ondoua a- a- djó nâ nyiá woé a- ne abeng
 Ondoua SM- Pres- think that mother his SM be.Pres nice
 “Ondoua thinks that his mother is nice

b) Ondoua a- djó nâ nyiá woé a- a- kon
 Ondoua SM- say that mother his SM- Pres- sick
 “Ondoua thinks that his mother is sick”.

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