

Limbum Reflexives
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Abstract

In this paper, I will describe reflexive meanings in Limbum, a Grassfields Bantu language spoken in Cameroon. A study on Limbum reflexives (Wepngong 2007) covered only unique emphatic pronouns, focal pronouns, ‘body’ and (for subject exclusion) some ‘body-parts’. More research through introspection has shown that there are other reflexive encodings in Limbum. These include verbs suffixed with the noun ‘body’ and some body parts, some verb roots, some verb extensions, reduplicated object pronouns, unique acquired pronouns, reflexive nouns, focused and out of focus possessives (Wepngong 2011). Some challenges in Limbum reflexives lie in what licenses reflexivity. Although reflexive meanings are encoded in the use of various body parts and there is agreement as an anaphoric identity relation between the predicates and their antecedents, other syntactic, semantic and pragmatic elements trigger reflexivity. Sometimes there is a mismatch between the reflexive element that can be seen in number morphemes that are attached to some verbs and the number found in the subjects. Possessives precede the body parts in reflexive syntactic constructions but they are not used the same way in every reflexive strategy. On the other hand, the noun class of the persons of these possessives agree with the body parts of the predicates and not their antecedents. Moreover, what triggers the differences in the selection of a body part is the verb meaning. This warrants some morph-syntactic analysis of deictic constraints that suit optimality instead of binding conditions. The deictic system with eight distinctions are limited to body, head, foot, mouth, nose, eye, hand and ear. Two verb extensions *ɲger* and *-ti* can also be included in the deictic system but differ from the body parts strategy in the sense that they always take one argument. Syntactic analyses reveal various types of arguments. For instance, the noun ‘body’, which co-refers to the subject can take two arguments whereas when this noun is suffixed to a verb, the sentence takes one argument. The study also shows how reduplicated object pronouns and possessives operate at various syntactic domains. This study will contribute to typological correlations which examine reflexive use of the noun ‘body’, ‘body parts’, reflexive verbs, pronouns, verb derivational morphology, reflexive nouns and the use of possessives.

Key Terms: Reflexives, Description, Semantics, Pragmatics, Typology.

1. Introduction

Limbum is an Eastern Grassfield, Niger-Congo Bantu language grouped under Mbam-Nkam together with other languages like Kwaja, Dzodinka, Mbe, Ndaktup, Mfumte and Yamba. It is the language of the Wimbun people, who live in Donga Mantung division of the North West region of Cameroon. The number of speakers of Limbum is between 500.000 to 600.000 people following figures from 2006 national census. This does not include speakers who live in Nigeria. Limbum has three dialects. The differences between the dialects are phonological. By implication, the grammatical structure of all these dialects is the same.

In Limbum, the occurrence of the body part ‘head’ and sometimes the noun ‘body’ in the predicate express reflexivity. The person and number of the possessives that precede the body part(s) or the word body(ies) and the number of the body part(s) are co-referent to the subjects. The body part ‘head’ is used differently from the way the other body parts are used. The rest of the body parts are used deictically to express reflexivity through a method of excluding other subject(s) whereas the body part ‘head’ is used as the primary method of expressing reflexive meaning. To express subject exclusion and reflexivity, the sentence must be structured in the way that we have a subject, verb, object, and a body part introduced by the instrumental preposition *nè*. Within this structure, the body part is no more the object. It is an instrument. Unlike previous studies on Limbum reflexives, the study will also examine some complex verbs with the noun ‘body’, body part ‘head’ and ‘heart’ as suffixes, intrinsic verb reflexives, reflexive meanings in verb extensions, reflexivity in non-co-argument structures as well as alternative strategies of expressing reflexive meaning; unique emphatic pronouns, focal pronouns, unique acquired pronouns, reduplicated object pronouns, the use of possessives and reflexive nouns. The descriptive model allows us to present various anaphoric strategies that trigger reflexive meanings within sentences. We will show how Limbum presents anaphors in nominal possessive elements with no lexical semantic contents that are morpho-syntactically marked properties to be person and number. This can be explained through binding conditions (Chomsky 1981). Moreover, we have attempted some interpretive dependencies that are subjected to various syntactic, semantic and pragmatic constraints. For the unmarked situations we have shown how some clausal participants can be distinguished from other subjects which may suit functional explanations following Langacker (1991:367).

2. Expression of Reflexivity:

Reflexivity in Limbum is expressed in constructions whereby body parts are used as instruments. These body parts are preceded by possessives whose persons and numbers are co-referent with the subject. It is worth taking note of the fact that sometimes it the psychological meaning of the verb that determines reflexivity. Canonical expression of reflexivity can be seen in Limbum when the body part 'head' is used. This can be seen in association with psych verbs as in the following:

1.a. Body part 'head'.

- 1.a.i Mɛri ke jàasi zhii tu.
Mary ASP.HAB criticize C1a.3SG.POSS C1a-head
Mary criticizes herself.
- 1.a.ii Jôn à coosi zhii tu.
John 3SG.SM disgrace C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-head
John has disgraced himself.
- 1.a.iii Mɛri a Jôn a coosi wap btu.
Mary CONJ John 3PL.SM disgrace C2-3PL.POSS C2-heads
John and Mary have disgraced themselves.

In the above examples, we can see that the number of the body part and the persons and numbers of the possessives that precedes the body parts are what establish the anaphoric relations between the predicate and their antecedents. Though this relation is considered as central as within the generative approach whose focus is on binding as seen in (Safir 2004, Reuland 2011), what determines reflexivity in examples (1.a.i – 1.a.iii) is the verb meaning as will be examined in examples (3) below. Everaert (2000:17) has observed that a specific morpheme can be used to reflect that there is a semantic identity relation. That observation was focused on the use of the body part 'head'. In Limbum, it appears that there is a combination of many factors for this reflexive meaning to be realized.

2.b. Word 'body'

In Limbum, it seems that there is no real reflexive meanings as it has been observed with the word 'body' except when the verb wash is used. Although we find that syntactically the argument is subject and object, it is still a single argument as the semantic argument can also be likened to subject encoding patient. The possessive plays an important role by somehow bringing about the reflexive meaning if we compare (2.a and 2.b) below.

- 2.a Jôn à m sù'si nyor
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash C1-body
 John bathed.
 John washed his body.
- 2.b.i Jôn à m sù'si zhii nyor
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash C1-3SG.POSS C1-body
 John washed himself.
- 2.b.ii Jôn à m sù'si nyor zhii
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash body C1-3SG.POSS.FOC
 John washed himself (not another).

The binding element is the number agreement between the predicates and their antecedents. But in examples (2.b.i and ii) we can see that the possessive element is what brings in the reflexive meaning. It can also be seen from example (2.b.ii) that there is strategy of excluding another subject from participating in the action by postposing the possessive. Besides subject exclusion (as will be seen with other body parts examples below), the possessive marker is moved to the sentence final position where it functions as focusing the action exclusively on the subject. Though we find here that the word body carries two arguments, it doesn't in instances where it is suffixed to some verbs as will be discussed in examples (10) below.

3. Reflexive Meaning differences between body part 'head' and the word 'body'

Meaning differences between the use of the word 'body' and the body part 'head' can be illustrated when the same verb is used. When the body part 'head' is used as we have seen above, the verb meaning must be psychological for us to have a reflexive reading. When the word 'body' is used with the same verb, the verb meaning changes from psychological to physical.

3.a Body part 'head'

- 3.a.i Jôn kòn zhii tu
 John like C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-head
 John likes himself.
- 3.a.ii Jôn à m yɛ zhii tu njep nge'
 John 3SG.SM PST3 see C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-head PREP trouble
 John saw himself (alone) in trouble.

3.b Word ‘body’

3.b.i Jôn kòn zhii nyor.
John like C1.3SG.POSSbody
John likes his body.

3.b.ii Jôn à m yε zhii nyor njep rcerlir
John 3SG.SM PST3 see C1-3SG.POSS C1-body PREP mirror
John saw his body in a mirror.

In the above examples, we can see that the body part ‘head’ licenses reflexivity whereas the use of the word ‘body’ as can be seen in examples (3.b.i and 3.b.ii) do not. The word ‘body’ does not trigger any reflexive meaning and thus take two arguments when contrasted with the body part ‘head’ examples. The reflexive interpretation therefore depends on pragmatic constraints as observed by (Levinson 2000).

4. Use of Various Body Parts in Exclusive Subject Constructions

Constructions used for exclusive subject are structured in the way that we have a subject, verb, object (implied), and a body part introduced by the instrumental preposition *nè*. The body parts are preceded by possessives whose persons and numbers are co-referent with the subject. These body parts are placed after the objects. The meaning of the construction is that the subject has exclusively carried out the action. Deictically, the choice of the body part depends on the action. Action denoting hearing will involve the ear as instrument, speech involves mouth, work involves hands, mental activity involves head, movement involves the feet, sight involves the eyes and smell involves the nose. The use of a construction in English as in ‘I did it myself’ will be ‘*I did it with my hand*’ in Limbum as can be seen in the following examples:

4. Body part ‘hand’

4.a.i E fà’ nsuu.
3SG plough farm.
He has ploughed the farm.

4.a.ii E fà’ nsuu nè zhii bo.
3Sg plough farm PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
He has ploughed the farm himself.

The whole construction is meant for the addressee to understand that the action is carried out without any other person’s help, thereby excluding another subject and expressing reflexivity.

It is worth taking note of the fact that possessives play an important role in the realization of the reflexive meaning (see examples 6 below).

4.b. Body part 'foot'

4.b.i Muu ce jèr e
 Child ASP.CONT walk vowel echo
 The child is walking.

4.b.ii Muu ce jèr nè zhii kùu.
 Child ASP.CONT walk PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-foot
 The child is walking by itself.

Example (4.b.i) is different from (4.b.ii) in that it expresses reflexive meaning in which we see that the subject is capable of walking without the help of another subject or an apparatus thereby excluding another subject as an agent. If example (4.b.ii) was used in a context referring to an adult, it will have an underlying meaning of someone who had difficulties to walk and is now capable of doing so him/herself without any assistance.

4.c. Body part 'ear'

4.c.i E dù a yu' u
 3SG go CONJ hear vowel echo
 He went and heard.

4.c.ii E dù a yu' nè zhii tù'
 3SG go CONJ hear PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-ear
 He went and heard(it) himself.

Example (4.c.ii) means the subject can give an account of what happened when he/she was there to listen. In this case we have an implied object and the verb which determines the choice of the body part precedes the instrumental preposition.

4.d. Body part 'mouth'

4.d.i E yu'shi mrù'.
 3SG taste wine
 He has tasted the wine.

4.d.ii E yu'shi mrù' nè zhii cùu
 3SG taste wine PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-mouth
 He tasted the wine himself.

Example (4.a.ii) means tasting so as to be able to pass personal judgments about the taste.

4.e Body part 'head'

4.e.i Kwà'shi àgho
Think ASSO
Think about (it).

4.e.ii Kwà'shi àgho nè yoo tu
Think-PLU ADV PREP C1a-2PL.POSS C1a-head
Think about (it) yourself.

There is an additional factor with the use of the body part 'head'. Besides involving direct reflexive as in (2.a) above, it is also used to express exclusive subject action for mental activity as in (4.e.ii). However, combining reflexive usage and exclusive subject by using the body part 'head' twice is inadmissible.

4.f. Body part 'eye'

4.f.i M be dù mbăa ye
1SG FUT1 go there see
I will go there and see.

4.f.ii M̄ be dù mbăa ye nè la r̄lir
1SG FUT1 go there see PREP C5-1SG.POSS C5-eye
I will go there and see it myself.

Example (4.f.ii) means seeing as can be able to give an eyewitness account.

4.g. Body part 'nose'

4.g.i M̄ r̄usi
1SG smell
I smelt (it)

4.g.ii M̄ r̄usi nè yaa nf̄enyu
1SG smell PREP C1a-1SG.POSS C1a-nose
I smelt (it) myself.

Deictically, we can see from these body parts examples that the optimal constraint for the selection of the body part for reflexive interpretation is the verb meaning and not the antecedent. However, almost all the eight body parts deictics have regular corresponding verb meanings. The syntactic semantic analysis can be based on optimality approach as can be seen in (Safir 2004, Reuland 2011). The only exception is with the body part 'hand' as will be examined in examples (5) below. Only few instances of deictic verbs e.g 'see physically and see psychologically' have been observed as in (3.a.ii and 3.b.ii) above. The binding

factor between the predicates and their antecedents is still he persons, numbers and the body parts numbers as will be further illustrated in examples (7) below.

5. Default usage with the body part 'hand'

As seen above, the body part 'hand' is used when manual work is involved. Its usages can be extended to other actions. As a further development, 'hand' is used if the action does not involve the use of another body part. In other words some sort of default body part for expression of exclusive subject is “hand” in the sense that it is used for both single and two arguments. In the following examples therefore, the verb does not determine the choice of the body part; rather 'hand' is used as default.

5.a.i Mutù à co'ti i
 Car 3SG.SM take-off vowel echo
 The car has taken off.

5.a.ii Mutù à co'ti nè zhii bo
 Car 3SG.SM take-off PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 The car has taken off by itself.

Example (5.a.ii) means that there is no driver in the car, which is different from example (5.a.i). It is difficult to explain why the body part foot is not used as cars run on wheels that can be likened to feet. The assumption here may be that the car is usually driven by the driver who does so with his hands. But it becomes even more difficult to understand when the verb that encodes temperature is also predicated with the body part ‘hand’ to obtain a reflexive reading as in the following:

5.b.i Rkiŋ rli ce lùu nè zhii bo
 Pot 3SG.SM ASP.CONT hot PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 The pot is getting hot by itself.

5.c.i Mba'ce à ku teti nè zhii bo.
 Branch 3SG.SM just cut PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 The branch just break off by itself.

5.d.i Nta' zhi gwè nè zhii bo
 1SG. 3SG.SM fall PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 The chair fell by itself.

From examples (5) above, we can see that the body part 'hand' is functioning as a bound deictic form for contextual uses where there is no obvious body part. Hand as a bound deictic body part can therefore refer to nonhuman subjects.

6. Use of possessives

The use of the body part 'hand' can only be seen as some of a default in examples (5) above. Placing a body part after the instrumental preposition as seen above is the canonical strategy of excluding another subject as an agent of the action. When the possessive which follows the instrumental preposition is not added, the meaning of the construction changes from subject exclusion to action that has been done manually.

6.a.i Mè ba tar cè' nè bo.
 1SG PST1 sew cloth PREP hand
 I sew the cloth manually.

6.a.ii Mè ba tar cè' nè yaa bo.
 1SG PST1 sew cloth PREP C1a.1SG.POSS hand
 I sew the cloth myself.

The example sentence of (6.a.i) does not bear the subject exclusion meaning. For subject exclusion, the sentence must be made up of a prepositional phrase with *nè*, a possessive and an appropriate body part. Since the verb involves manual action, the body part 'hand' is used. The body parts used to express both reflexive meaning and subject exclusion (see 6.a.ii) agree in terms of the number with the subject. The persons and numbers of the possessives also agree with the number of subjects.

The absence of the possessive can also be seen in the use of the body part 'foot' but the other body parts cannot be used in the same manner.

6.b.i Jôn à ta bôr nè kùu
 John 3SG.SM kick ball PREP foot
 John kicked the ball with his foot.

6.b.ii Jôn à ta bôr nè zhii kùu
 John 3SG.SM kick ball PREP C1a.3SG.POSS foot
 John kicked the ball himself.

From examples (6.a.ii and 6.b.ii), we can see that the possessive element also licenses reflexivity as we have seen in examples (2.b.ii and iii). Thus subject exclusion must be done

by including the possessive for reflexive meanings to be realized. Focalisation is done by moving the possessive to the sentence final position. It then becomes the possessive focused which is another strategy for subject exclusion.

6.c.i Jôn à m sù'si nyor zhii
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash C1-body C1-3SG.POSS.FOC
 John washed himself (not another).

6.c.ii Jôn à m sù'si zhii nyor
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash C1-3SG.POSS.ADJ C1-body
 John washed himself.

6.c.iii *Jôn à m sù'si nyor zhii nè
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash body C1-3SG.POSS.FOC PREP
 zhii bo
 C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 John washed himself (not another).

6.c.iv. *Jôn à m sù'si zhii nyor nè
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash C1-3SG.POSS C1-body PREP
 zhii bo
 C1a.POSS C1a-hand
 John washed himself (himself).

6.c.v. Jôn à m sù'si nyor nè zhii
 John 3SG.SM PST3 wash C1-body PREP C1a-3SG.POSS
 bo
 C1a-hand
 John bathed himself.
 John washed his body himself.

From examples (6.c.iii) we can see that when the focused possessive is included, neither the instrumental preposition nor a body part can be added. In example (6.c.iv) we also find that we cannot have two possessives in the same construction for either a typical reflexive reading or the subject exclusion reflexive strategy. Whereas English has a morphosyntactic reflexive strategy of a possessive pronoun plus 'self' Limbum rather has a possessive (adjectival) plus the noun 'body' or a body part.

6.d. Non-coargument positions

As far as reflexivity in non-coargument constructions in Limbum is concerned, possessive markers and the word 'body' are used. This reflexive strategy can be seen only when locatives are involved. This involves another way of marking possession whereby a falling tone is

added to various morphemes. In non-coargument positions the possessive is marked on object pronouns which precede the locatives. The noun body follows the locative when it is used .

6.d.i Mɛrì à yɛ nyo a yě geŋ.
 Mary 3SG.SM see snake PREP 3SG.POSS.OBJ.PRO LOC
 Mary saw a snake besides herself.

6.d.ii Mɛrì à nòŋsi sà' a yě gee nyor.
 Mary 3SG.SM keep knife PREP 3SG.POSS.OBJ.PRO LOC CL1-body
 Mary has kept the knife near herself.

6.d.iii Mɛrì à nòŋsi sà' àgee nyor.
 Mary 3SG.SM keep knife LOC CL1-body
 Mary has kept the knife near her body.

6.d.iv Mɛrì à yɛ nyo àgee ye
 Mary 3SG.SM see snake LOC 3SG.OBJ.PRO
 Mary saw a snake near her/him.

We also find with the non-coarguments structures that what licenses reflexivity is the possessive element. If we compare and contrast examples (6.d.ii), (6.d.iii) and (6.d.iv) we can see that it is the combination of the possessive and the word 'body' that brings out this reflexive meaning.

7. Agreement in the Constructions with body parts.

The various constructions for reflexivity and subject exclusion are used with reference to the subjects. This is done in the way that when the subject or antecedent is in the plural, there is plural agreement with the number of the body parts as well as the numbers and persons of possessive that precede the body parts.

7.a. Agreement with body part 'ear'

7.a.i E ba yu' nè zhii tù'
 3SG PST1 hear PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-ear
 He heard (it) himself.

7.a.ii Woowèè a ba yu' nè wap b-tù'
 3PL 3PL.SM PST1 hear PREP C2-3PL.POSS C2-ears
 They heard themselves.

7.b. Agreement with body part 'eye'

7.b.i E ba yε nè li rlr
 3SG PST1 hear PREP C5-3SG.POSS C5-ear
 He saw (it) himself.

7.b.ii Woowèè a ba yε nè map m-mir
 3PL 3PL.SM PST1 hear PREP C6-3PL.POSS C6-ears
 They saw it themselves.

7.c. Agreement with body part 'hand'

7.c.i Jôn à sù'si b-cε' nè zhii bo
 John 3SG.SM wash C2-clothes PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 John has washed the clothes himself.

7.c.ii Jôn wèè a sù'si b-cε' nè map mm-bo
 John ASSO 3PL.SM wash C2-clothes PREP C6-3PL.POSS C6-hands
 John and his friends have washed the clothes themselves.

As can be seen from Faltz (1977:150) that the binding criterion is the person marking of the binder that may influence the bindee, the above examples show that in Limbum, the binder also influences the form of the body part. Thus, the identity relation through which we can see binding between the predicates and their antecedents is at three levels: persons of possessives, their numbers and the number of the body parts.

8. Semantic meaning differences in subject exclusion

There is a semantic meaning difference in the subject exclusion constructions that involves a change in the meaning of the instrumental preposition. This is triggered by a change of the body part which can be seen in example (8.b.i) wherein the preposition meaning has changed to benefactive:

8.a Jôn à m̄ yuu ŋwà' nè zhii bo
 John 3SG.SM 3PST buy book PREP C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-hand
 John bought the book himself.

8.b.i Jôn à m̄ yuu ŋwà' nè zhii tu.
 John 3SG.SM 3PST buy book BEN C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-head
 John bought the book for himself. (benefactive)

For emphasis, the word 'body' and body part 'head' can be compounded as in the following:

8.b.ii Jôn à m̄ yuu ŋwà' nè zhii tu-nyor
 John 3SG.SM PST3 buy book BEN C1a-3SG.POSS C1a-head-body.
 John bought the book (only) for himself. (benefactive)

From examples (8) we can find almost the same pragmatic interpretation as we have seen in examples (3) above. The difference here is that a change in the body part influences the meaning of the preposition which we have seen in most of the examples as instrumental.

From the above, we can see that expression of reflexivity is done in Limbum by using the body part 'head' and sometimes the word 'body'. For subject exclusion which is one of the strategies for expressing reflexive meanings, various body parts that follow various senses of the action are used. Deictically, the legs represent displacements whereas work is represented by hand(s), sight by eye(s), smell by nose(s), hearing by ear(s), speaking and taste by mouth(s), thinking by the head(s). The hand represents states, temperature and feelings as well as manual work. The hand is the deictically used as a bound form to encode exclusive subject when non animate subjects are referred to. We find that body part instruments encoded in the instrumental preposition has a direct semantic relation with the verb. Limbum constructions for exclusive subject are truly grammaticalised and not comparable to the English expression *with my own hands* which can also be used to mark exclusive subject, as in *with my own eyes* when sight is involved. Limbum had taken such a construction a few steps further in that it can be used in principle for every action and as a consequence there is a default body part for situations where no obvious body part is involved. This is in line functional claims of mapping participants in the designated process and also from another (Langacker 1991).

9. Intrinsic verb reflexives

In Limbum, intrinsic verbs reflexive can be seen in syntactic constructions where the object is implied or the noun 'body' is used as an optional object as can be seen in the following:

- 9.a.i Jôn à lɛɛ ɛ
 John 3SG.SM cut vowel echo
 John has cut himself [accidentally].
- 9.a.ii Jôn à lɛɛ nyor.
 John 3SG.SM cut body
 John has cut himself [accidentally].
- 9.a.iii Jôn à lɛete àgho.
 John 3SG.SM accustom ASSO
 John has accustomed himself with it.

There is no agreement when we find verbs with intrinsic reflexive meanings. Hence the marking is lexical than syntactic.

10. Verbs with ‘body and body part ‘head’ suffixes

A special operation that licenses reflexivity in Limbum is done by suffixing the word ‘body’ and the body part ‘head’ to some verbs. As a result, these verbs bear reflexive meanings and are restricted to single arguments.

10.a Word ‘body’ as a suffix

- 10.a.1 Jôn ke nàanyor sê.
 Jôn ke nàa-nyor sê.
 John ASP.HAB praise-body INT.
 John is usually very proud of himself
- 10.a.ii Jôn à m zhɔnyor nè nter
 Jôn à m zhɔ-nyor nè nter
 John 3SG.SM PST3 suffer-body PREP load
 John suffered himself with the load.

10.b Body part ‘head’ as suffix

- 10.b.i Jôn ce kòŋ à rnàatu.
 John ce kòŋ à r-nàa-tu.
 John ASP.CONT want INF INF-praise-head
 John wants to praise himself.
- 10.b.ii Jôn à yu’ àmbò Merì ce nàatu.
 John à yu’ àmbò Merì ce nàa-tu.
 John 3SG.SM hear ADV Merì ASP.CONT praise-head
 John heard Mary praising herself.

10.b.iii	Jôn	a	Mɛ̀rì	a	ke	nàasebtu	sê.
	Jôn	a	Mɛ̀rì	a	ke	nàa-se-btu	sê.
	John	CONJ	Mary	3PL.SM	ASP.HAB	praise-PLU.C2-heads	INT.
	John and Mary usually praise themselves too much.						

When body parts are suffixed to the verbs there is the possibility of having some agreement patterns between the predicates and antecedents. When references are made to singular subjects, we have a singular body part and in case we have a plural subject, a pluractional infix followed by the plural form of the body part is added to the verb. It should be noted that these verbs are treated as complex and cannot be separated from the body parts because as a single entity, they can also be nominalised. But not all of the nominalised forms can be treated as reflexive nouns.

11. Verb extensions

In Limbum, a number of verbal extensions generally correlate with a certain number of the arguments. The choice of the derivation also depends on the verb's argument structure. As far as reflexives are concerned, single-argument clauses or intransitive clauses, *-ti*, and *-ɲger* suffixes are used. *-ti* is used to mark singularity of subject and *-ɲger* is used to mark plurality of subjects. Thus *-ti* and *-ɲger* are used when the subject encodes the semantic role of patient.

11.a Verb Extension *-ti*

11.a.i	Jôn	à	nàa	kùpce
	John	3SG.SM	peel	bark-tree
	John has peeled the tree bark.			

11.a.ii	Kùp-ce	zhi	nàati
	Kùp-ce	zhi	nàa-ti
	C1a-bark-tree	C1a-3SG.SM	detach-Bi-FUC
	The tree bark has detached itself.		

The *-ti* verb extension changes the verb root from transitive to intransitive when added.

The *-ɲger* suffix is used with both plural and singular subjects. It marks plural subjects when the action is being carried out by many subjects as well as expresses serial action when we have one subject. If we compare (11.b.i) with (11.b.ii) below, we will see the quantification device used to mark plural subjects as well as a change to serial action of the verb.

11.a Verb Extension –*nger*

11.b.i Bkùp-ce bvi nàa*nger* e
 Bkùp-ce bvi nàa-*nger* e
 C2-Bark-tree C2-3SG.SM detach-PLU vowel echo
 The tree barks have detached themselves.

11.b.ii Jôn à m de'*nger* e
 Jôn à m de'-*nger* e
 John 3SGSM PST3 speak-ITR vowel echo
 John was speaking to himself.

The difference between (11.b.i) and (11.b.ii) is in the domain of pluractionality and iterativity whereby plural subjects and serial actions are marked respectively. In (11.a.ii) we can see that in case the *-ti* suffix is used, it marks singularity of the subject. Plural action of from plural agents can be quantified and marked by *-nger*. The *-ti* suffix can be used to negate such quantification devise as in (11.b.i) whereas the *-nger* suffix in (11.b.ii) marks iterative or serial action thereby posing a problem with binding in terms of the number agreement between the predicate and the antecedent.

12. Reflexive nouns

Only a few reflexive nouns can be found in Limbum. What licences reflexivity in constructions whereby the noun is considered as reflexive is either a body part or the word ‘body’ that is compounded with a verb. The body parts “heart” and “head” can be compounded with some verbs.

12.a Compound Nouns

12.a.i Ntee zhi m yaŋ Meri nè ŋkurntee Jôn.
 Ntee zhi m yaŋ Meri nè ŋkur-ntee Jôn.
 Heart C1a.3SG.SM PST3 pain Mary PREP tie-heart John
 John’s self-confidence annoyed Mary.

12.a.ii Jôn bàa nzhunyor.
 John hate suffer-body
 John dislikes self inflicted suffering.

The possessive element is not useful in this strategy. The binding domain are restricted within noun phrases and the identity relation is person and number.

13. Reduplicated object pronouns

The meanings of reduplicated object pronouns may change depending on the context. When used as reflexives they serve as another strategy of subject exclusion. In other contexts, they acquire the inclusive meaning ‘too’.

13.a.i Jôn yeye à vù
 John 3SG.RED.OBJ.PRO 3SG.SM come
 John himself has come.

13.a.ii Wɛwɛ be yɛ.
 2SG.RED.OBJ.PRO FUT1 see
 You yourself will see.

13.b.i Jôn à m làa enɛ yeye
 John 3SG.SM PST1 say 3SG.SP.INTRO 3SG.RED.OBJ.PRO
 be vù
 FUT1 come
 John said that he too (John) will come.

13.b.ii Jôn yeye à m làa enɛ
 John 3SG.RED.OBJ.PRO 3SG.SM PST1 say 3SG.SP.INTRO
 e be vù
 3SG FUT1 come
 John himself said that he (John) will come.

The meanings of the reduplicated object pronouns are that the addressee is making reference to a new participant that was not been previously mentioned in discourse. But when previous reference with regards to the same action was made in connection to another subject, the meaning ‘too’ is then realized as in (13.b.i). The binding domains generate various meanings: reflexive meanings are obtained either when the reduplicated object pronoun is close to the subject or takes the subject position whereas when we have a long distance anaphora whereby the reduplicated object pronoun is predicated, the ‘too’ meaning can be obtained. As can be seen from Lyutikova (2000:229) with Tsaxur, Limbum shares the same characteristic whereby the identity relation is encoded on the bindee. Although Tsaxur doubles pronouns, Limbum doubles object pronouns.

14. Unique Emphatic Pronouns

Unique emphatic pronouns mark reflexivity in the sense that they bring about some meaning through which we understand that the subject was the sole actor. The unique emphatic pronoun contains the morpheme *-mɲji* meaning ‘alone’. The difference with body parts is the

fact that focus is more on the subject than the action. This can be examined through the following examples:

14.a.i E fà' nsuu mimnji'
3SG plough farm 3SG.UN.EM.PRO
He has ploughed the farm alone.
He has ploughed the farm himself.

This usage can be contrasted to the exclusive subject construction done the 'hand' body part.

14.a.ii E fà' nsuu nè zhii bo
3SG plough farm PREP C1a-3SG.POSS.ADJ C1a-hand.
He has ploughed the farm himself.

The difference between the two is that (14.a.i) excludes the presence of another subject while (14.a.ii) excludes the help of another subject. We can see in these examples that any verb can be used with the unique emphatic pronoun.

14.b.i E dù mimnji'
3SG go 3SG.UN.EM.PRO
He has gone alone.

14.b.ii E dù nè zhii kùu
3Sg go PREP C1a-3SG.POSS.ADJ C1a-foot
He has gone himself.

With examples (14.a), and (14.b) the unique emphatic pronoun doesn't change with regards to a change of the verb but with examples (14.a.ii) and (14.b.ii), the body part changes as a result of a change of the verb. Unique emphatic pronouns only agree with regards to subject change and not verbs as can be seen in the following examples:

14.c.i Mè koo mamnji'
1SG catch 1SG.UN.EM.PRO
I have caught it alone/myself.

14.c.ii Wè zhe momnji'
2SG eat 2SG.UN.EM.PRO
You have eaten alone.

14.c.iii Sò be cu misòmnji'
DU.INCL FUT1 stay DU.INCL.UN.EM.PRO
Only the two of us will stay.

Like in English imperatives, it is also possible to use unique emphatic pronouns in null subject syntactic constructions.

14.d.i Du lor momnji'
Go take 2SG.UN.EM.PRO
Go and take it yourself.

14.d.ii Tee nè meemnji'
Cut 2PL.IMP 2PL.UN.EM.PRO
Cut it yourselves.

Analyses of unique emphatic pronouns as seen above, also contain possessive elements. These possessives are made of class six noun morphemes which may require some cognitive empirical findings why they are chosen vis-à-vis other noun class morphemes. The morpheme *-mnji'* is what brings out the reflexive meaning as far as unique emphatic pronouns are concerned though we still have the identity relation of persons and numbers on the possessives that precede it.

15. Focal Pronouns

Focal pronouns are different from the use of body parts and unique emphatic pronouns in that they are used in contexts whereby the subject is about to carry out an action and needs help, consent or advice from another subject who is absent. The subject then goes ahead and carries out the action alone. It carries a sorrowful connotation in the expression of the exclusion of an expected subject. The focal pronoun in itself is some sort of a repetition of the subject pronoun though it is a different form.

15.a.i Mè zhe yaayu
1SG eat 1SG.FOC.PRO
I am eating ((myself) without waiting)

15.a.ii Wè vù yooyu
2SG come 2SG.FOC.PRO
You have come ((yourself) without waiting)

15.a.iii E dù zhiiyu
3SG go 3SG.FOC.PRO
He has gone (himself) after waiting in vain)

15.a.iv Wèr à kùti yeryu
 1PL 1PL.SM return 1PL.FOC.PRO
 We have gone back. ((ourselves) having waited for so long)

These constructions are very difficult to translate. It should be noted that when the suffix *yu*, is added to the possessive form, it acquires a meaning that is close to ‘alone’. Because of the pragmatic reason of generating reflexive meaning in a situation of a lack of an expected agent, they differ from unique emphatic pronouns. Whereas the possessive forms here can agree with the noun classes of the subject, the possessives of the unique emphatic pronouns agree with the class six nouns. On the other hand, the possessives in situations of the subject exclusion strategies agree only with the body parts. Long distance anaphora can be done with focal pronouns.

16. Unique acquired pronouns

Unique acquired pronouns bear reflexive meanings that are strictly linked to possession. They are always placed after the objects. The unique acquired pronoun is formed by adding personal pronouns to the bound morpheme *tàra’-*. Syntactic construction must have a noun preceded by a possessive or a possessive pronoun which is a binder and then unique acquired pronoun therefore becomes the bindee.

16.a.i Ca a yàa ndap tàra’mè
 DEM.PROX is C1-1SG.POSS.ADJ C1-house 1SG.UN.ACQ.PRO
 This is my personal house.
 This is the house I built myself.

16.a.i Mě k̀wà’ mənɛ a yoo tàra’wè.
 1SG think 1SG.COMP is 2SG.POSS.ADJ 2SG.UN.ACQ.PRO
 I thought that you acquired it yourself.

Unique acquired pronouns are another reflexive strategy for direct reference to the subject. With unique acquired pronouns, long distance anaphoric references cannot be allowed. The binding domain is restricted within a noun phrase. Though we have the special semantic morpheme reflexive possessive *tàra-*, the relation between the binder and the bindee can still be seen in terms of person and number agreement between the possessives and the personal pronouns that can be attached to it. Unlike the unique emphatic pronouns where we find agreement in the possessives, the reflexive identity relation in unique acquired pronouns are instead marked on personal pronouns which also agree in persons and numbers with the subjects.

17 Conclusion

From this paper, we can therefore see that expression of reflexives is done in Limbum with the use of the body part ‘head’ and to a limited extent, the noun ‘body’. For subject exclusion we have two reflexivization strategies: Firstly we have seen how various body parts are used deictically following various senses and actions and the body part ‘hand’ used as a bound deictic morpheme. Secondly, we have seen that subject exclusion is done by postposing the possessive. Through this strategy, we observed that the choice of each body part can be examined under certain optimal constraints. Moreover, semantic meaning differences in the uses of the body parts that suit pragmatic analyses have been explained. The rest of the strategies including reduplicated object pronouns, unique emphatic pronouns, focal pronouns and unique acquired pronouns are strategies in which we can see direct anaphoric references. As far as binding is concerned, the identity relation between the binder and the bindee has been observed to be person and number agreement except in verb extensions with iterative meanings. Most of the binding domains are within noun phrases as seen with reduplicated object pronouns and unique acquired pronouns. Only focal pronouns can allow long distance anaphora. We have also examined the use of possessives as licensors of reflexivity which can be seen in the use of body parts, the falling tones on object pronouns and moreover, the fact that the possessive elements in unique acquired pronouns have other possessives as binders. For reflexive verbs, we have examined intrinsic reflexive verbs and the fact that the word “body” and the body part “head” can be suffixed to verbs to form reflexive verbs. In that case, the sentences carry a single arguments. As far as reflexive nouns are concerned, we have also seen that the word ‘body’ and body part ‘heart’ can be compounded with some verbs to form reflexive nouns. In non-co-argument constructions the use of the noun ‘body’ is optional.

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