The Pronominal System and Reference in Pulaar

Ibrahima Ba The University of Kansas

1. Introduction

This paper examines pronominal reference and the long-distance anaphor in Pulaar, a West African language spoken from Senegal to Niger and Cameroon. I am focusing on Toore, a dialect of Pulaar spoken in southern Senegal. I will first give a sketch of the pronominal system of Pulaar with specific focus to the facts or paradigm that need to be accounted for. I will further show the different contexts that license the antecedent-pronoun coreference as well as the referential nuances that exist between different classes of pronoun. In this regard, I posit that the differences noted in antecedent-pronoun coreference can be explained by definiteness and/or specificity along the lines of Schwarz (2009) and Enç (1991).

2. Pronominal Paradigm

Since I will be specifically referring to 3^{rd} person pronoun, I abstract away from the rest of the pronominal system. In this respect, we can distinguish two classes of pronouns: one class that can be referred to as the *mo*-class (human class) and another class of pronouns that can be referred to as the *dum*-class (neuter class). It should be noted that Pulaar is a noun class language. Every noun fall into one of the twenty one noun classes, and this noun class will also serve as a referential pronoun.

2. 1 Paradigm of Human and Neutral Pronouns

The paradigm for the singular human *mo* class is in the first column of (1). Pulaar also has a series of third person neuter pronouns which do not belong to any particular noun class and can be used to refer to any nominal, no matter its class. This paradigms are similar to Potsdam's (1995) and Culy's (1996) accounts of other dialects. The singular forms are given in the second column of (1). Most human pronouns have a corresponding neutral pronoun. We can distinguish five different pronouns in the paradigm:

1)	mo-class pronoun	dum-class pronoun
Subject pronoun	0	ɗum
Object pronoun	- mo	-ɗum
Progressive/stative subject pronoun	n homo	huɗum
Strong pronoun	deeko	deejum
Possessive pronoun	makko	mum
Possessive suffix	-iiko	-um

All mo-pronouns refer to humans. However, in Toore, only the possessive *dum*-pronoun, the possessive suffix and the progressive pronoun can refer to humans. Only the object, strong and possessive pronouns are present in Potsdam's (1995) *dum* inventory while Culy (1996) lists only the object pronoun, the possessive pronoun and the possessive suffix. However, for them all those pronouns can refer to humans. These two classes interact in an interesting way. For instance, a *mo*-pronoun cannot be an antecedent to a *dum*-pronoun:

2) *o yii-ma waaji mum.
 He see-perf friend his
 'He_i saw his_{*i} friend'

The pronoun *o* cannot be antecedent to *mum*. Thus, the sentence is ungrammatical. But if we change *mum* to the corresponding *mo*-pronoun, the sentence will be grammatical.

 o yii-ma waaji maako. he see-perf friend his 'He_i saw his_{i/i} friend'

A non-pronoun antecedent binds a *dum*-pronoun, but it does not bind a *mo*-pronoun in the sense that the *mo*-pronoun can refer to the antecedent or another person not mentioned in the sentence.

- 4) a. Aali noddu-m waaji mum. Aali call-perf friend his 'Aali_i called his_{i/*i} friend'
 - b. Aali noddum waaji maako.
 Aali call-perf friend his
 'Aali_i called his_{i/i} friend'

3. Long-Distance Anaphors as Bound Variable

The distinction between *mo*-pronouns and *dum*-pronouns appears to reflect a dichotomy of pronominal reference: coreference and bound variable. In that respect, I hold *mo* to be compatible with coreference and *dum* pronouns are bound variables along the lines proposed by by Potsdam (1995):

5) *dum*-series pronouns are always bound variables *mo*-series pronouns are never bound

3.1 Quantified DPs as Antecedents

Based on (5), only *dum* pronouns can have a quantified DP as antecedent. As for *mo* pronouns, they are predicted to be incompatible with quantified antecedents. The example (6) appears to support this argument:

6) [kala mo won-aa] wiy-a-noo-m huɗum/*homo waawi naw-or jogorang. [every who be-NEG] tell-PASS-PAST-PERF *huɗum*/he can-PERF take-INSTR weapon 'Everyone_i was told they_i can carry a weapon with them'

The same is true of *Wh*-phrases; they can only be antecedents to *dum* pronouns.

7) Ho mo mbii-ɗaa yiɗ-i maa mum/*maako?
Q who say-PERF.you love-PERF mother *mum*/his
'Who_i did you say loves his_i mother?'

3. 2 Reference with respect Focus Only

According to Reinhart (1986), quoted by Potsdam (1995), bound variable and referential uses of pronouns are ambiguous with the presence of *only*. So a sentence like the one in (8) is ambiguous between (9a) and (9b):

- 8) Only John likes his dog.
- 9) a. Nobody but John likes his own dog (Bound Variable).b. Nobody but John likes John's dog (Coreferential).

In Pulaar, however, we might expect *mo*-pronouns and *dum*-pronouns to be split between the two readings in (9) so that the following sentences would not be ambiguous, though they contain the focus particle *only*:

- 10) a. ko Aali tan wadd-ot-oo welo mum.
 FOC Aali only ride-IMPF-MID bike *mum*'Only Aali rides his bike'
 (predicted to be only Bound Variable reading)
 - b. ko deeko tan waɗɗ-ot-oo welo maako.
 FOC him only ride-IMPF-MID bike his
 'Only Aali rides his bike'
 (predicted to be only Coreference reading)

It occurs, however, that both sentences in (10) are ambiguous between the two readings. This challenges the prediction that they are strictly consistent with one of the readings. But the ambiguity may only hold to the focus element *only* in the sense that it singles out the antecedent, giving a rather contrastive reading. A similar effect emerges in some other contexts.

3. 3 Binding and Reference Ambiguity

When the *dum* pronoun is preceded by two possible antecedents, in the case of double object constructions, ambiguous interpretation arises. In other words, it is compatible with both antecedents. Here, the ambiguity is not between bound and coreference readings, but rather between two bound variable readings, as in (11):

11) Aali hollu-noo-m Muusaa kotoo mum. Aali show-PAST-PERF Muusaa brother his 'Aali_i showed Muusaa_i his_{i/i} brother'

The example in (11) makes *dum* pronouns look like *mo* pronouns in picking their reference. The effects obtain with a quantified DP as a possible antecedent, whether it is subject or object, as (12) shows:

- 12) a. Hay gotto hollu-aa-noo Muusaa kotoo mum. even one show-NEG-PAST Muusaa brother his 'No one_i showed Muusaa_i his_{i/i} brother'
 - b. Muusaa hollu-aa-noo hay gotto kotoo mum. Muusaa show-NEG-PAST even one brother his 'Muusaa_i did not show anyone_j his_{i/j} brother'

The ambiguity also holds in long-distance for sentences containing quantified antecedents as well as *Wh*-constructions:

- 13) Aali wiy-aa hay gotto yii-ma kotoo mum.
 aali say-neg even one see-perf brother his
 'Aali_i did not say that anyone_j saw his_{i/j} brother'
- 14) ho mo Aali wii yii kotoo mum?Q who Aali say see.perf brother his'Who_i did Aali_i say saw his_{i/i} brother?'

Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics, Vol. 36 (2015), 100-112

If there are two referential DPs in a sentence like (13), mum can refer to either of them, as in (15):

15) Aali wiy-aa hay gotto yii-ma kotoo mum. aali say-NEG even one see-PERF brother his 'Aali_i did not say that anyone_i saw his_{i/i} brother'

The ambiguity disappears, however, when one of the possible antecedents is a *mo*-pronoun and, thus, illicit as antecedent to a *dum*-pronoun:

- 16) o hollu-noo-m Muusaa kotoo mum. he show-PAST-PERF Muusaa brother his 'He_i showed Muusaa_i his*_{i/i} brother'
- 17) o wii ko Aali hollu-noo-m Muusaa kotoo mum.
 he say it's Aali show-PAST-PERF Muusaa brother his
 'He_k said that Aali_i who showed Muusaa_i his_{i/j/*k} brother'

The ambiguity also disappears when the pronoun precedes one of the possible antecedents and is, thus, not bound by it:

18) Aali hollu-noo-m kotoo mum Muusaa.
Aali show-PAST-PERF brother his Muusaa
'Aali_i showed Muusaa_i his_{i/*i} brother'

This does not, however, apply to conditional or adverbial clauses. In these clauses, one of the pronouns will be a *mo*-pronoun:

19) Ndey Aali nodd-i kotoo mum, Muusaa yi'i mo. when Aali call-PERF brother his Muusaa see.PERF him 'When Aali_i called his_i brother, Muusaa saw him_{i/i}'

The examples in (11)-(16) show that *dum*-pronoun cannot have a mo-pronoun as antecedent and that a possible antecedent cannot be a barrier. In other words, a *dum*-pronoun can be bound by two antecedents across clauses.

The *mo*-pronouns behave differently in that they can refer outside the sentence. In other words, they are not bound and have a coreference reading. They cannot have a quantified DP or a Wh-phrase as antecedent, as (17) and (18) show:

- 20) o wiy-aa hay gotto yii-ma kotoo maako. he say-NEG even one see-PERF brother his 'He_i did not say that anyone_i saw his_{i/*i/k} brother'
- 21) Ho mo o wii yii kotoo maako? Q who he say see.PERF brother his 'Who_i did he say saw his*_{i/j}/_k brother?'

They can have two or more antecedents in the same sentence, but still have a reference outside, which supports their coreference reading:

- 22) o hollu-noo-m Muusaa kotoo maako. he show-PAST-PERF Muusaa brother his 'He_i showed Muusaa_j his_{i/j/k} brother'
- 23) o wii ko Aali hollu-noo Muusaa kotoo maako. he say it's Aali show-PAST.PERF Muusaa brother his 'He_i said that Aali_i who showed Muusaa_k his_{i/i/k/l} brother'

The examples (17)-(20) show that *mo*-pronoun have a coreference reading, but they cannot have a bound variable reading.

4. Reflexivity in Pulaar

Pulaar has inherent reflexives like Italian as pointed out by Giorgi (2007). However, reflexives anaphors are consist of the complex DP 'X's head' in which the possessive 'X's' is expressed by either a *mo*-pronoun or a *dum*-pronoun.

4. 1 Inherent Reflexives in Pulaar

The verb in Pulaar can be active, middle or passives. Middle verbs have a reflexive interpretation, as the example below shows:

24) a. loot-go wash-INF. 'to wash'	Active
 b. loot-aa-go wash-MIDDLE-INF. 'to wash oneself' 	Middle
c. loot-ee -go wash-PASS-INF. 'to be washed'	Passive

The middle morpheme -aa in (21b) encodes reflexive in a way similar to Italian as shown by Giorgi (2007) in (22) below:

25) Gianni si lava. Gianni SI-washes 'Gianni washes himself'

(Giorgi, 2007; 327)

26) Aali loot-ii-m Aali wash-MID-PERF 'Aali washed himself'

However, this middle morpheme does not always encode reflexivity. In some cases, it does not make it clear whether the action is carried out by X on X or by Y on X, as in (24):

27) a. Aali femb-ii-m.	b. Aali yott-ii-m.
Aali shave-MID-PERF	Aali arrive-MID-PERF
'Aali has shaved'	'Aali has arrived'

Aali femb-ii-m.

he say.PERF Aali shave-MID-PERF 'He_i said (that) Aali*_{i/i} has arrived'

While (24b) is clearly not a reflexive, (24a) could be either 'Aali shaved himself' or someone else shave Aali. In long-distance, middle can refer to either the subject of the main clause or the subject of the embedded clause if both are *mo*-pronouns. But it refers to the subject of the embedded clause only when it is an R-expression.

e say.PERF h	he shave-MID-PERF
lei said (that)) he _{i/j} has shaved'
	2

But pulaar has another derivational morpheme -t that encodes reflexivity and disambiguates the sentence in (24a), as in (25):

29) Aali femb-it-ii-m. Aali shave-REFL-MID-PERF 'Aali shaved himself'

c. o wii

4. 2 Pure Reflexives in Pulaar

Pure reflexives in Pulaar are encoded by a DP in the form of 'X's head' headed by a possessive that can be either a *mo*-pronoun or a *dum*-pronoun. This reflexive DP does not, however, co-occur with the middle morpheme or the reflexive suffix:

30) a. Aali femb-it-ii-m	b. Aali fembu-m [hoore maako]	
Aali shave-REFL-MID-PERF	Aali shave-PERF head his	
'Aali shaved himself'	'Aali shaved himself'	

The DP [*hoore maako*] 'his head' behaves as an anaphor subject to principle A and encodes reflexivity. In (26b), the possessive pronoun heading the reflexive DP is a *mo*-pronoun. But it could be a *dum*-pronoun as well, as the following example shows:

31) Aali fembu-m [hoore mum]Aali shave-PERF head his'Aali shaved himself'

However, as shown above, a *dum*-pronoun cannot have a *mo*-pronoun as antecedent:

32) O fembu-m [hoore maako/*mum] he shave-PERF head his 'He shaved himself'

The facts could be somehow summarized as in the table below:

Reference	<i>mo</i> -pronouns	<i>dum-</i> pronoun
Quantified DPs	-	√
Wh-phase	-	√
R-expressions	\checkmark	\checkmark
<i>mo</i> -pronouns	\checkmark	-
Multiple DP-antecedents	\checkmark	\checkmark

Pulaar *mo* and *dum* pronouns are long-distance anaphors that behave differently: *dum* pronouns appear to be bound variables while mo pronouns are not bound and allow only coreferential reading.

Only *dum* pronouns can have quantified DPs and *Wh*-phrases as antecedents. Both *mo* and *dum* can have multiple possible antecedents within the same construction. But only mo can refer to an unstated antecedent.

Reflexive DPs can contain both series of pronouns, but they are bound locally and never longdistance.

5. Characterization of Pronominal Reference in Pulaar

In appears through the data that *mo*-pronouns and *dum*-pronouns are somewhat contrastive in their behavior. Potsdam (1995) characterizes the mo-series as [+independent reference] and the *dum*-series as [- independent reference]. In other words, *dum*-pronouns are anaphoric while mopronouns are not. In a way, the structural properties of the pronouns that I have laid out in this paper fit in that characterization. But Potsdam has not explained why the neuter pronouns do not refer to *mo*-pronouns.

5. 1 Hypothesis

I want to argue, however, for a slightly different hypothesis:

- 33) a. Pronominal reference in Pulaar is based on specificity, on a specificity scale of [+specific], [specific], [- specific].
 - b. mo-pronouns refer to [+specific] and [specific], but not to [-specific]
 - c. *dum*-pronouns refer to [specific] and [-specific], but not to [+specific]

Similar to accounts on specificity found in Enç (1991), I hold [+specific] to refer to *mo*-pronouns in the sense that they pick up entities that have already been mentioned in the discourse. [specific] refers to DPs, R-expressions which refer to some clear entity that is salient in the context of discourse or at least presupposed to be so by the speaker. [-specific] refers to quantified DPs and Wh-phrases which refer to less clear entities in the sense that quantified DPs refer to wide range of entities while Wh-phrases refer to unspecified entities.

What the hypothesis outlined above clearly means is that:

Mo-pronouns will refer to: other mo-pronouns (o, deeko, etc.) and R-expressions (Aali, gorko mo, etc.), but not to quantified DPs and Wh-phrases.

dum-pronouns will refer to R-expressions, quantified DPs and Wh-phrases, but not to *mo*-pronouns.

According to the hypothesis, both set of pronouns will refer to R-expressions.

5. 2 Hypothesis Testing

According to my hypothesis, only mo-pronouns refer to other mo-pronoun antecedents, as in the sentences below:

- 34) o yii-ma waaji maako/*mum.
 he see-PERF friend his
 'He_i saw his_{i/j} friend'
- 35) o hollu-noo-moo-m kotoo maako/*mum. he show-PAST-HIM-PERF brother his 'He_i showed him_i his_{i/i} brother'
- 36) o wii ko deeko hollu-noo mo kotoo maako/*mum.
 he say it's him show-PAST.PERF him brother his
 'He_k said that HE_i showed him_i his_{i/j/k} brother'

The same is true of reflexives:

37) O fembu-m [hoore maako/*mum] he shave-PERF head his 'He shaved himself'

In (34)-(37), all possible antecedents are *mo*-pronouns. Thus, *dum*-pronouns are banned as referring to these antecedents. However, when the antecedent(s) is/are DPs (R-expressions) both *mo* and *dum* pronouns are potential coreferents, as the examples below show:

- 38) Aali noddu-m waaji maako/mum.Aali call-PERF friend his'Aali_i called his_i friend'
- 39) Aali hollu-noo-m Muusaa kotoo maako/mum.
 Aali show-PAST-PERF Muusaa brother his
 'Aali_i showed Muusaa_i his_{i/i} brother'
- 40) Jibi wii ko Aali hollu-noo-m Muusaa kotoo maako/mum.
 Jibi say it's Aali show-PAST-PERF Muusaa brother his
 'Jibi_i said that Aali_j who showed Muusaa_k his_{i/j/k} brother'

Reflexives work the same way, as seen below:

41) Aali fembu-m [hoore maako/mum] Aali shave-PERF head his'Aali shaved himself'

In (38)-(40) both *mo* and *dum* pronoun can refer to all of the available antecedents, with difference being that *mo* can refer to some entity outside the sentence, unlike *dum*. In other words, *dum* is bound and mo is not.

Third prediction of the hypothesis is that only *dum*-pronouns can be antecedents to quantified DPs and *Wh*-phrases. The examples below provide evidence for that claim:

- 42) [kala mo won-aa] wiyanoom huɗum/*homo waawi naw-or jogorang. [every who be-NEG] tell-PASS-PAST-PERF he can-PERF take-INSTR weapon 'Everyone_i was told they_i can carry a weapon with them'
- 43) Ho mo mbii-ɗaa yiɗ-i maa mum/*maako? Q who say-PERF.you love-PERF mother his 'Who_i did you say loves his_i mother?'
- 44) Aali wiy-aa hay gotto yii-ma kotoo *maako/mum. aali say-NEG even one see-PERF brother his
 'Aali_i did not say that anyone_i saw his_{i/i} brother'
- 45) Ho mo Aali wii yii kotoo *maako/mum? Q who Aali say see.PERF brother his 'Who_i did Aali_i say saw his_{i/j} brother?'

Here too, reflexives confirm the prediction:

46) Ho mo fembu-m [hoore *maako/mum]Q who shave-PERF head his'Who shaved himself'

In these examples, only *dum*-pronoun is an appropriate coreferent. In (44) and (45) though, *mo* can refer to Aali but not to the quantified DP or the *Wh*-phrase, thus, confirming the prediction made by the hypothesis.

Conclusion

Pronominal reference in Pulaar offers two paradigms: *mo*-pronouns and *dum*-pronouns. *dum*-pronouns are anaphoric while *mo*-pronouns are not.

Another way to characterize these pronouns is that *mo*-pronouns refer to more specific (transparent) antecedents like other *mo*-pronouns while *dum*-pronouns refer to less specific (non-transparent) antecedents like quantified DPs and Wh-phrases.

However, both pronoun types can refer to antecedents that are just specific like R-expressions.

References

Culy, Christopher.1993. Fula Pronouns and Agreement. ms., University of Iowa.
Enç, Murvet. 1991. The semantics of specificity. Linguistic Inquiry 22: 1-55
Giorgi, Alessandra. 2007. On the Nature of Long-Distance Anaphors. Linguistic Inquiry, Volume 38, Number 2, Spring 2007, pp. 321-342
Potsdam, Eric. 1995. "The Long-Distance Anaphor in Fula." In Akinbiyi Akinlabi

(ed.), Theoretical Approaches to African Linguistics, pp. 167-182. Trenton, NJ: Africa Wodd Press, Inc

Schwarz, Florian. 2009. Two Types of Definites in Natural Language. Ph.D. dissertation, UMass, Amherst.

Sylla, Yero. 1979. Grammatical Relations in Fula Syntax. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Sylla, Yero. 1982. Grammaire Modeme de Pulaar. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License.