

REFLEXIVIZATION IN EFUTU

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Abstract

This paper explores reflexivization in Efutu, a South-Guan (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language spoken primarily in Winneba, a coastal town in Ghana. It discusses the strategies used to express reflexivity in Efutu, as well as the morpho-syntactic properties of Efutu reflexives. The study demonstrates that Efutu employs two morpho-syntactic means to express reflexivity: primary and null. The primary strategy involves the use of bi-morphemic NP head reflexives, comprising personal pronouns and the morpheme *wó* 'body'. Morphologically, it is shown that the pronominal element in the Efutu reflexive is possessive, and while the pronominal element is sensitive to ϕ -features of number and person, the reflexivizer *wó* is not. Syntactically, the Efutu reflexive adheres to both the Subject-Antecedent Condition (Faltz, 1985) and Principle A of Binding Theory (Chomsky, 1985; Carnie, 2021). Similar to languages such as Akan and English, Efutu also utilizes a zero morpho-syntactic reflexivization strategy, where reflexivity is inherently expressed by the verb. Finally, the reflexive forms in Efutu are multifunctional and cannot always be interpreted as exclusively expressing reflexivity.

Keywords: Reflexivization strategies, morpho-syntax of reflexives, anaphors, ϕ/ϕ -features, binding theory, subject-antecedent condition, Efutu

Abserat

Adem krataam mo tɔtɔ reflexivization tɔ bɔ Efutu tɔ, Guan-ɔma tɔ (Kwa, Niger-Congo) atar a akam bɔ Simpa, poase ɔma a abɔ Ghana mantɔ. Mo tar ibete ipeebi nworaworai pii a ana so ida reflexif mo nsusui edi bɔ Efutu tɔ, mena Efutu reflexif mo mɔfo-sentase isu a abo. andam edi kye Efutu ibete mɔfo-sentase ipeebi nyɔ so ide da reflexif edi: pramiri mena hwee. Itɔ a edi ampan, Efutu mo bete mɔɔfim nyɔ a edi adanwurawuratɔ mena *reflexifaisa* wo na mone bɔ reflexif. Bɔ mɔfɔlɔgyi nworawora tɔ-n, ankyerew kye adanwurawuratɔ a abɔ Efutu reflexif tɔn mo di posesif: na adanwurawuratɔn na mo da ϕ/ϕ -su edi, mbrɛ *reflexifaisan*. Bɔ sentase nworaworai tɔ-n, Efutu reflexif modi ɔsamolabɔ atɔ- a moedi ampa nwɔrawɔrai, mena Ngyinaso aso 'A' a abɔ Nyindatɔ Nkekato Aso tɔ-n so. Epi kye atar pii akye Ante na Borɔwo atar no, Efutu wɔ mode hwee mɔfo-sentase reflexif nworaworai bɔ esumi ebe a reflexif ana atɔbɔ aso so da mo edi. Atɔ a edi ewieyi ne kye reflexif mo isu asɔɔtow a abɔ Efutu tɔ no edi atɔ a abɔ esumi pii, na amaada anka ibe koafa kye amo di reflexif.

Aso mo wo ehia ankasa: reflexif nworaworai peebe, reflexif mɔfo-sentase, anaphors, ϕ/ϕ -isu, Nyindatɔ Nkekato Aso, ɔsamolabɔ atɔ- a moedi ampa epimoakye, Efutu

1. Introduction¹

This paper aims at providing a detailed descriptive account of reflexivization in Efutu, a South-Guan (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language spoken mainly in Winneba, a coastal town in the Central Region of Ghana (Agyeman, 2019).² Reflexivization is a process of expressing identity relation

¹ This paper is an offshoot of an on-going thesis, which is also part of a larger project on reflexives and anaphoric constructions, on the language. The data used include predominantly elicited texts and some spontaneous spoken language gathered from speakers of diverse backgrounds in four coastal suburbs in Winneba. The Leipzig Glossing Rules which spell out some standard set of conventions was employed for the morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence (Bickel et al., 2015).

² Efutu (also spelt Effutu) is also called Simpa by the native speakers of the language. It is spoken in Winneba, the capital of the Efutu Municipality, and some neighbouring towns such as Ateitu, Gyatakrom, Ekoroful, Ansaful, Prama, Saakoodo, Gyangyanadze, Sankoro, Nsuekyire, Gyahadze Atekyedo and Osubonpany. It is a minority language and somewhat threatened as it shares the same speech community with Fante, a major dialect of Akan (Agyeman, 2019). It has most of the areal-typological, linguistic features such as tongue root (ATR) harmony, SVCs, and its verb features are expressed by prefixes and verbal particles (cf. Agyeman, 2016; Obeng, 2008). Structural properties for

between two arguments (agent/subject and patient/object) of a predicate. It is a means of showing that “a referential entity is involved in an event in which it is predicated in respect to itself” (Lichtenberk, 1985, p. 26) or that “a participant stands in some connection to himself/herself/itself rather than any other” (Kemmer, 1993, p. 43). Languages tend to use special means to express this identical relation (cf. Acheampong et al., 2019; Agbedor, 2002, 2014; Everaert, 2012; Faltz, 1985; Haspelmath, 2019; Issah et al., 2020; Issah, 2011; König et al. 2013; König & Gast, 2008; König & Siemund, 2000; Osam, 2002; Reinhart & Reuland, 1993; Reuland, 2014; Saah, 2018). The strategies may involve the use of a special marking on an argument or on the predicate of a clause, as illustrated by (1) and (2) respectively.

- (1) John_i loves *himself*_i.
- (2) Paiwan (Everaert, 2012, p. 195)

ki-vuci’ timadju
REFL-cut 3SG.NOM³
‘He/she cut himself/herself.’

In the English example in (1), reflexivity is instantiated by *self*, which is marked on the object NP *him*, whereas in the Paiwan example in (2), reflexivity is marked by the **ki-** ‘REFL’ on the verb **vuci** ‘cut’. Though the use of a special marking on an argument or the predicate to express reflexivity is common cross-linguistically, there are several other means of expressing identical relation. These include, inter alia, the use of pronouns as in (3), verbal reflexives as in (4), and repetition as in (5).

- (3) Samoan (Faltz, 1985, p. 68)
- | | | | | | |
|----------|-------------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| A | fasi | ‘o | ia_i | ‘e | ia_i/j. |
| FUT | kill | ABS | 3SG | ERG | 3SG |
- ‘He_i is about to kill him_i/himself_i.’

- (4) Dyirbal (Faltz, 1985, p. 78)
- | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------------|
| bayi | yara | buybayirinyu. |
| DET | man.ABS | hide.REFL.PRES |
- ‘The man hides himself.’

- (5)a. Thai (Everaert, 2012, p. 198)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| Aajan | kid | waa | aajan | ja | chan. |
| teacher | think | say | teacher | will | win |
- ‘The teacher thinks that he will win.’

- b. Hmong (Everaert, 2012, p. 197)
- | | | | |
|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Pov | yeej | qhuas | Pov. |
| Pov | always | praise | Pov |
- ‘Pov always praises himself.’

Also, as evidenced by the English examples in (6), it is possible for a language to have more than one reflexivization strategy.

- (6) (Everaert, 2012, p. 196)

distinguishing a class of verbs in Efutu include grammatical categories of tense, aspect, mood and negation (Agyeman, 2019).

³ The following abbreviations are used: ABS = absolutive, COMP = complementizer, CP = complementizer phrase, C = complement, DEF = definite article, ERG = ergative, FOC = focus marker, FUT = future, HAB = habitual, NEG = negative, NOM = nominative, NP = noun phrase, OBJ = objective, PERF = perfective, PL = plural, PST = past, POSS = possessive, PRES = present, REDUP = reduplication, REFL = reflexivizer, SAP = subject agreement phrase, SA = subject agreement, SG = singular, TP = tense phrase, T = tense, VP = verb phrase, V = verb.

- a. I hate *myself*.
- b. John and Ama see *themselves*.
- c. John sees *himself*.
- d. He_i had no money on *him*_i.
- e. John *dresses*.

The example in (6a) shows that whilst the reflexive anaphor ‘myself’ is formed by a combination of the possessive pronoun (POSS) ‘my’ and the reflexivizer ‘self’, the reflexives in (6b and c) are formed by the combination of object pronoun (OBJ) and ‘self’. Thus, the first person and second person reflexives make use of the possessive pronoun whereas the third person reflexives make use of the object personal pronoun. In example (6d), there is the use of the object personal pronoun. The interpretation, however, is that the subject NP ‘he’ and the object NP ‘him’ refer to the same individual. In (6e), the verb absorbs the theta role of the object argument. Following Everaert (1986) and Hellan (1988), Reuland (2014, p. 21) states that whereas English has four-way reflexive strategies, “Dutch has a three-way contrast”. Papiamento also has seven distinct reflexivization strategies (Everaert, 2012).

Generally, there are two types of reflexives, simplex (SE) and complex (SELF), based on their morphological makeup (cf. Faltz, 1985, Everaert, 2012; Reuland, 2014 etc.). SE-anaphors, which are mono-morphemic, usually lack specification for ϕ -features (number, gender, person etc.), and are translated as ‘himself’ as (7) demonstrates with Icelandic **seg**. On the other hand, SELF-anaphors are bi-morphemic and typically derive from the combination of pronouns and either ‘self’ intensifiers as observed in ‘herself’ in (8) or words related to body or body parts as we observe in (9). Unlike SE-anaphors, in line with the Co-referentiality Condition (Agbedor, 2014), either one or both morphemes of SELF-anaphors agree with the ϕ -features (number, person, gender) of their antecedents (cf. Acheampong et al., 2019; Agbedor, 2014; Carnie, 2021; Saah, 2014).

- (7) Icelandic (Reuland, 2014, p. 8)

Jon_i	bad	oss	forsøke	á	fá	deg	til	á
Jon	asked	us	(to) try	to	get	you		to
snakke		pent	om	seg_i .				
talk		nicely	about	SE				

‘John asked us to try to get you to talk nicely about himself.’

- (8) English (Carnie, 2013, 2021, p. 147)

Heidi_i said that she_{i/j} hurt herself_{*i/j}.

- (9) Akan (Saah, 2014, p. 18)

Kofi	pɛ	sɛ	Ama_j	pira	no	ho_{*i/j} .
Kofi	want.PRS	that	Ama	hurt.PRS	3SG.POSS	body

‘Kofi wants Ama to hurt herself.’

Syntactically, the latter typically obeys the ‘Clause Mate Condition’ (Faltz, 1985) or ‘Locality Constraint’ (Carnie, 2013, 2021), which requires that the reflexive and its antecedent occur in the same clause, whereas the former may be long distance bound (Reinhart & Reuland, 1993). So, in (7), we observe that the simplex anaphor **seg** ‘himself’ refers to **Jon** although they do not occur in the same binding domain (Tense Phrase/TP) and there are two other NPs occurring between **Jon** and the reflexive anaphor **seg** (Reuland, 2014, p. 8). This is a clear violation of the Principle ‘A’ of the Binding Theory that states that “an anaphor must be bound in its binding domain” (Chomsky, 1981, p. 190). In contrast, the English reflexive ‘herself’ in (8) and Akan **no ho** in (9) refer and are restricted to the subject NPs ‘she’ and **Ama** that occur in the same TP as the reflexive anaphors in obedience to Principle ‘A’ of the Binding Theory. Other languages that employ SE-anaphors include Dutch: *zich*, Icelandic: *sig*, Chinese *ziji*, Japanese *zibun*: Norwegian *seg* etc

(Reuland, 2014).

Another aspect of the discussion on reflexivization is the antecedence of reflexives. In some languages such as English, the reflexive anaphor can refer to either a subject NP or an object NP, but others may strictly obey the Subject Antecedent Condition and, so, the reflexive anaphor can only refer to a subject NP (Faltz, 1985). Also, interestingly, reflexives in some languages such as English, Likpakpaanl, and Akan are multifunctional. Some of these non-reflexive functions include, intensification, reciprocity, logophoricity, and *middle actions* such as grooming, non-translational motion etc. (cf. Acheampong et al., 2019; Agbedor, 2002; Kemmer, 1993; König & Siemund, 2000; Osam, 2002; Saah, 2018).

Having outlined a definition of reflexivization, the various strategies that languages adopt, and their underlying morphological and distributional properties, it is evident that while studies on reflexivization are widespread—and languages such as English have received extensive attention—there is no known literature that has thoroughly examined the phenomenon of reflexivization in Efutu. Thus, our discussion on reflexivization in Efutu aims to answer the following questions:

- i. What are the strategies for reflexivization in Efutu?
- ii. What are the morphological properties of the Efutu reflexives?
- iii. What are the syntactic characteristics of Efutu reflexives?
- iv. What other functions can the reflexive form in Efutu have?

On the basis of these questions, major among others, it would be found that:

- i. Efutu has two reflexivization strategies: primary and *null*.
- ii. Morphologically, reflexive anaphors in Efutu are complex or bi-morphemic. They are derived from the combination of a possessive pronoun (POSS) + **wó** ‘body’.
- iii. Syntactically, Efutu reflexives obey Principle ‘A’ of the Binding Theory as well as the ‘Locality Constraint’ and the ‘Subject-Antecedent Condition’.
- iv. The Efutu POSS + **wó** form has several other non-reflexive functions including marking of reciprocity, body care actions, non-translational motion actions, attitudinal state, etc.

The remainder of this paper proceeds as follows. In section 2, we take a brief look at the Binding Theory (GB) which underpins this study. Section 3 looks at reflexivization strategies in Efutu; section 4 focuses on the morphology of Efutu reflexives; section 5 concentrates on the syntactic properties of Efutu reflexives, and section 6 presents briefly the other functions of the Efutu possessive pronoun (POSS) + **wó** form.

2. The Binding Theory

The Government and Binding Theory (GB) was propounded by Chomsky (1981) and has received a number of modifications including Carnie (2013, 2021, p. 144-151). Drawing from Chomsky’s (1981) GB, Carnie (2013, 2021) classifies nominal expressions into three basic categories: anaphors (reflexives and reciprocals), pronouns, and R-expressions (cf. Everaert, 2012; Reuland, 2014). In principle, the binding theory specifies the syntactic restrictions on where each of these different nominal expression (NP) types can appear in a sentence. It typically underpins the structural relations that exist between arguments in a linguistic context as well as their plausible interpretations (Carnie, 2021, p. 151).

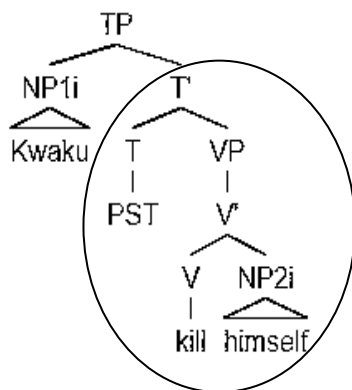
GB operates on three principles: Principles A, B, and C. Principle A states that “an anaphor must be bound in its binding domain” (Carnie, 2021). Reuland (2014, p. 3) therefore defines anaphors as “referentially defective nominal elements”, meaning that an anaphor “obligatorily gets its meaning from another NP in the sentence” (Carnie, 2013, p. 148); Principle B states that “a pronoun must be free in its binding domain”. Unlike the anaphor, although a pronominal may be bound, it must not be bound in its binding domain; and Principle C states that “an R-expression must be free”. R-expressions do not allow any instances of binding, either within or outside the binding domain. For an NP to be bound, it must be c-commanded by and co-indexed with another

noun phrase in its smallest clause or TP. Binding relations between nominal expressions are therefore based on the notions of c-command and co-indexation. Carnie (2013, p. 152) states that “A binds B if and only if A c-commands B, and A and B are co-indexed”. The sentences in (10) illustrate the binding principles.

- (10)a. Kwaku_i killed *himself*_i.
 b. Kofi_i loves *her*_j.
 c. Kofi_i told *Ama*_j that *Adu*_k had come.

In (10a), the reflexive anaphor *himself* is bound by the NP *Kwaku* because they share the same index *i* and *Kwaku* c-commands *himself*. The NP *himself* can only get its meaning from *Kwaku* as they refer to the same entity. In (10b), the pronoun *her* as marked by the index *j* cannot have the same referent as the NP *Kofi* which occurs before it. It refers to an entity outside the clause in which it occurs. In (10c), the three NPs *Kofi*, *Ama*, and *Adu* are referentially free from one another; thus, they bear different indexes. (10a), (10b), and (10c) aptly demonstrate the three binding principles: A, B, and C respectively. (10a) is displayed on the p-marker in (11) to further illustrate the notions of binding and c-command.

(11)



‘Kwaku killed himself.’

According to Carnie (2013, p. 128), “A node A c-commands node B if every node dominating A also dominates B, and neither A nor B dominates the other”. From (11), node NP1i *Kwaku* c-commands every node in the circle. This is because, first, node TP, which dominates (is higher up the tree and is connected by branches to) NP1i, also dominates T', T, VP, V', V, and NP2i. Secondly, NP1i does not dominate NP2i, and NP2i does not dominate NP1i. Also, since both NPs have the same index, NP1 binds NP2.

Besides the Binding Theory, the analysis in this paper has been significantly influenced by typological studies such as Everaert (2012), Faltz (1985), Kemmer (1993), König and Siemund (2000), and Reuland (2014), as well as comparative and language-specific studies, particularly on regional languages, including Acheampong et al. (2019), Issah et al. (2020), Osam (2002), and Saah (2014), among others.

3. Reflexivization in Efutu: An overview

Efutu has a two-way reflexivization strategy. The first, which is the focus of the study, is the use of an overt ‘special grammatical device’ – a reflexive anaphor. This reflexive form in Efutu can be said to be the language’s primary reflexive strategy (Faltz, 1985). The second means is a covert one – the use of zero (null) morph-syntactic means.

In Efutu the overt grammatical device that is used to show that two semantic arguments of the same predicate are co-referential comprise a possessive pronoun and **wó** ‘body’. This is shown in the data that follow in (12a) and (12b).

- (12) a. **móì-dó** **mú** **wóì.**
 1SG-love.HAB 1SG.POSS body
 ‘I love myself.’
- b. **àmòì-tǫí** **àmù** **wóì.**
 3PL-hate.HAB 3PL.POSS body
 ‘They hate themselves.’
- c. ***Kofi mò-dó** **Kofi.**
 Kofi 3SG-love Kofi
 ‘*Kofi loves Kofi.’
- d. ***àmòì-tǫí** **àmòì.**
 3PL-hate.HAB 3PL.OBJ
 Intended: ‘They hate themselves.’

In (12a) and (12b), the forms **mú wó** ‘myself’ and **ámú wó** ‘themselves’ both refer to the subject NPs in their respective sentences. This is indicated using the same index *i*. The ungrammaticality of (12c) and (12d) stems from the fact that in Efutu, the special form set aside to express reflexivity is the POSS + **wó**. Unlike Hmong and Thai in (5) (Everaert, 2012), Efutu does not express reflexivity through repetition. As such, the two NPs in (12c) cannot be co-indexed. Likewise, Efutu does not use pronouns anaphorically to express reflexivity as is done in Samoan (Faltz, 1985) and English in some cases (Everaert, 2012); hence, the ungrammaticality of (12d).

Efutu’s second reflexive strategy is used when the verb is inherently reflexive. When verbs such as **bíré** ‘bath/wash’ and **pá** ‘smear oil (on the body)’ which typically encode the meaning that an individual carries out an action on themselves are used, the reflexive anaphor is omitted. The verb absorbs the theta role of the object argument. This is shown in the data in (13) that follow.

- (13)a. **Kwame mò-bíré** **edí.**
 Kwame 3SG-bath.PST yesterday
 ‘Kwame bathed yesterday.’
- b. **Kwame mò-m-pá** **(nfɔ).**
 Kwame 3SG-PERF-smear (oil)
 ‘Kwame has bleached (lit. Kwame has smeared oil on himself).’
- c. *?**Kwame mò-bíré** **mú** **wó** **èdì.**
 Kwame 3SG-bath.PST 3SG.POSS body yesterday
 Intended: ‘Kwame bathed yesterday.’
- d. *?**Kwame mò-m-pá** **mú** **wó** **nfɔ.**
 Kwame 3SG-PERF-smear 3SG.POSS body oil
 Intended: ‘Kwame has bleached.’

The verbs in the examples in (13) are intrinsically reflexive and for that matter do not require a reflexivizing argument: the POSS **wó** in the case of Efutu. Such verbs, as in (13a) and (13b) above, do not license the presence of a form marked as reflexive since the verb already absorbs that θ -role (reflexivity); hence, the ungrammaticality of examples (13c) and (13d) in which overt grammatical devices have been used to mark reflexivity. Efutu’s second strategy is similar to that of English as we saw in (6d). Faltz (1985) refers to this strategy as the *middle strategy* as it involves the use of middle verbs. In line with Everaert (2012, p. 196), we will refer to Efutu’s second strategy as *null-reflexive strategy* since it involves zero-marking on the verb as well as object drop.

The choice of strategy depends on the semantic nature of the verb. Whereas in the first strategy, the verbs are typically other-directed, in the second strategy, the verbs are seemingly non-other

directed. Efutu's reflexive strategies and choice of strategies are consistent with König and Siemund's (2000, p. 59) typological observation that "the less complex strategy tends to be used for inherently reflexive verbs and for non-other-directed situations". It is, therefore, the SELF-anaphor, POSS **wó**, in the case of Efutu, that licenses reflexive reading of the predicate (Reinhart & Reuland, 1993).

Conclusively, it has been shown that in Efutu

- reflexivity can be instantiated using a reflexive anaphor formed via the combination of a possessive pronoun and **wó** 'body'.
- reflexivity can be expressed covertly through inherently reflexive predicators/verbs.
- the overt strategy involves verbs such as **dó** 'love' and **ɸí** 'hate' in (12) that are typically other-directed whilst the covert strategy involves verbs such as **bírɛ́** 'bath' and **pá** 'smear oil on body/bleach' that are non-other directed.

4. Morphology of Efutu reflexives

In line with Faltz's (1985, p. 34), the Efutu reflexive is considered as a *head reflexive* simply because the nominal item 'body' functions as its *head* while a pronominal element serves as its *modifier*. As such, Efutu reflexive anaphors are complex or bi-morphemic as they are formed via a combination of two morphemes: a possessive pronoun (POSS) and a grammaticalized nominal head **wó** 'body'. This forms a possessive noun phrase construction: POSS **wó**. The Efutu reflexive pronoun formation is observed to be similar to that of Akan, which also combines a possessive pronoun and **ho** 'body' (Osam, 2002, p. 144; Saah, 2014, p. 46). Various interesting observations made about the morphology of the Efutu reflexive anaphor have been discussed in this section.

First, the possessive pronouns in Efutu are strikingly very similar with the weak subject personal pronouns, as example (14) illustrates.

(14) Weak Subject Pronouns and Possessive Pronouns in Efutu

Person/Number	Weak Subject Pronoun	Possessive Pronoun	Reflexive Pronoun
1SG	mì-	Mí	mí wó
2SG	ɖ-	wó	wó wó *(ɖ- wó)
3SG	mò-	mò	mò wó
1PL	àní-	àní	àní wó
2PL	ání-	ání	ání wó
3PL	àmò-	àmò	àmò wó

Even in the face of this similarity, we are of the view that it is the possessive pronouns that combine with **wó** 'body' in the Efutu reflexive. This is based on the fact that though the 1SG, 1PL, 2PL, 3SG as well as the 3PL weak subject pronouns are all identical to the pronominal forms that are combined with the form **wó** 'body', the same cannot be said for the 2SG weak subject pronoun. For the second person singular, whereas the weak subject pronoun is the prefix **ɖ-** 'you', the pronominal form in the reflexive pronoun is rather **wó**⁴. Given that there is consistency between the possessive pronominal inventory and their reflexive counterparts, we maintain that the possessive, but not the weak subject, pronoun combines with the form **wó** 'body' to form the reflexive pronoun in Efutu.

⁴ As a reviewer rightly observes, note that for all the pronouns (weak subject and possessive), there is uniformity in tone marking except for the 2SG (and the 1SG). Thus, the 2SG pronominal forms do not differ segmentally only but tonally as well. The reason for this deviation, however, is not readily available to us.

Another morphological feature worth noting about the Efutu reflexive is that, consistent with the “Co-referentiality Condition” (Agbedor, 2014, p. 54), the Efutu reflexive alternates to show two phi-features: number and person. In other words, there is always agreement between the reflexives and their antecedents. The data presented in (15) illustrate how the Efutu reflexive agrees with the person feature of its antecedent.

- (15) a. **mó-i-há** **mú** **wóí.**
 1SG-worry 1SG.POSS body
 ‘I worry myself.’
- b. ***mó-i-há** **wú** **wóí.**
 1SG-worry 2SG.POSS body
 ‘I worry yourself.’
- c. **ǵ-i-há** **wú** **wóí.**
 2SG-worry 2SG.POSS body
 ‘You worry yourself.’
- d. **Kofi** **mò-i-há** **mù** **wóí.**
 Kofi 3SG-worry 3SG.POSS body
 ‘Kofi worries himself.’

In (15), we observe that the reflexive keeps changing to agree with its antecedent in terms of person. In (15a), the binder **mó-** ‘I’ is first person and as such, the reflexive **mú wó** ‘myself’ is also first person. Similarly, in (15c) and (15d), there is person agreements between the antecedents, **ǵ-** ‘you’ and **Kofi**, and their corresponding reflexives, **wú wó** ‘yourself’ and **mù wó** ‘himself’. On the other hand, in (15b) where the binder **mó-** ‘I’ is first person and the bindee **wú wó** ‘yourself’ is second person, the sentence is marked as ungrammatical.

The next set of examples in (16) demonstrates that the Efutu reflexive agrees with the number feature of its antecedent.

- (16) a. **mó-i-dó** **mú** **wóí.**
 1SG-love.HAB 1SG.POSS body
 ‘I love myself.’
- b. **àní-i-dó** **àní** **wóí.**
 1PL-love.HAB 1PL.POSS body
 ‘We love ourselves.’
- c. ***mó-i-dó** **àní** **wóí.**
 1SG-love.HAB 1PL.POSS body
 ‘I love ourselves.’

Observe that the reflexive form changes from first person singular **mú wó** ‘myself’ in (16a) to the first person plural **àní wó** ‘ourselves’ in (16b). The sentence in (16c) is ungrammatical because there is a mismatch between the number feature of the reflexive and its antecedent. It is important to note that only the possessive pronominal elements agree with the ϕ -features of their antecedents. The body-form **wó** does not undergo any form of alternation no matter the shape of the antecedent. Also, unlike English, the Efutu reflexive does not register the gender feature. This is illustrated by (17) below.

- (17)a. **Kofi** **mò-i-há** **mù** **wóí.**
 Kofi 3SG-worry 3SG.POSS body
 ‘Kofi worries himself.’
- b. **Amai** **mò-i-há** **mù** **wóí.**
 Ama 3SG-worry 3SG.POSS body
 ‘Ama worries herself.’

The subject NPs **Kofi** in (17a) and **Ama** in (17b) are male and female names respectively. However, because the Efutu pronominal system does not distinguish between genders, there is no distinction between their corresponding reflexives. This is unlike what we observe in the English translations which have *himself* in (17a) to correspond with the male-given name **Kofi** and *herself* in (17b) to correspond with the female-given name **Ama**.

We have so far looked at the characteristic features of the Efutu reflexive anaphor as pertains its morphology. In the ensuing section, we discuss the syntactic characteristics of the Efutu reflexive.

5. Syntactic characteristics of Efutu reflexives

This section discusses the syntactic properties of the reflexives in Efutu. In doing so, we shall observe that:

- i. The distribution of the reflexive in Efutu conforms with principle ‘A’ of the Binding Theory which states that “an anaphor must be bound” (Carnie, 2021),
- ii. The Efutu reflexive is always bound within their immediate clause, a feature that is in line with the locality constraint and the Binding Principle ‘A’: “an anaphor must be bound in its binding domain” (Carnie, 2021). It also conforms to the Clause Mate Condition (Faltz, 1985), which expects that, universally, a bi-morphemic reflexive must occur in the same clause as its antecedent, and
- iii. The Efutu reflexive obeys the Subject-Antecedent Condition, which requires the reflexive anaphor to be bound by subject NP antecedents only (Faltz, 1985).

5.1. The Efutu reflexive and binding

The reflexive in Efutu cannot refer to entities outside the clause in which they occur. In (18), we show how the distribution of the Efutu reflexive anaphor is such that it must always have an antecedent in the clause in which it occurs. Per the Binding principles ‘B and C’, only pronouns and R-expressions can be free in the sentences in which they occur. In the sets of data presented in this sub-section, we contrast the distribution of Efutu pronouns and R-expressions with that of the reflexive anaphor.

- (18)a. **Kofi** **mò-wòrá** **mù** **wói** **óléfè.**
 Kofi 3SG-wear.PST 3SG.POSS body chief
 ‘Kofi enstooled himself a chief.’
- b. **Ání-dzá** **ání** **wói** **àdé.**
 2PL-remove 2PL.POSS body praise
 ‘You (PL) praise yourselves.’
- c. **Kofi** **mò-wòrá** **a-tobj** **n** **atarɔ.**
 Kofi 3SG-wear.PST SG-child DET cloth
 ‘Kofi dressed the child.’
- d. **Kwesi** **mò-dó=mj.**
 Kwesi 3SG-love.HAB=3SG.OBJ
 ‘Kwesi loves him/her.’
- e. **Appiah** **mò-yè** **mòij-fál** **mù** **wóij.**
 Appiah 3SG-say.PST 3SG-hurt.PST 3SG.POSS body
 ‘Appiah said (that) he hurt himself.’

In (18a) and (18b) the reflexive anaphors **mù wó** ‘himself’ and **ání wó** ‘yourselves’ are bound by the subjects **Kofi** and **Ání** in the clauses in which they occur. This is because the subject noun

phrases **Kofi** and **Ání** ‘2PL’ c-command the reflexive anaphors. Also, their co-referential reading is presented by the co-indexation *i*. On the other hand, the noun phrases in (18c) **Kofi**, **atobi** ‘child’, and **atar** ‘cloth’ are all R-expressions and, as such, are all free in the sentence. None of them refers to another. It is observed that the Efutu pronoun also has a different syntactic distribution from the Efutu reflexive anaphor. It may have its antecedent within the sentence, but outside the immediate clause/binding domain, as in (18e), where the pronoun could refer to the NP **Appiah**, which occurs in the matrix clause but not in the embedded (complement) clause. The pronoun may have its antecedent outside the entire sentence as in (18d) where the pronoun =**m̄** ‘him/her’ is not bound in the sentence.

Furthermore, per its compliance with Principle ‘A’, we observe that Efutu reflexives cannot occur as the only argument in a sentence/clause. There must always be another NP, which the reflexive anaphor will refer to, as illustrated by (19).

- (19) a. ***Dó** **mù** **wó.**
 Love 3SG.POSS body
 ‘*Love himself/herself!’
 b. **Dó**=**m̄.**
 Love=3SG
 ‘Love him!’

In the imperative sentence in (19a) above, the Efutu reflexive anaphor **mù wó** ‘himself/herself’ cannot occur in the construction because there is no other noun phrase in the sentence that the reflexive anaphor will refer to; hence, the sentence is ungrammatical. In (19b), it is observed that the Efutu pronoun, on the other hand, can occur in an imperative construction because pronouns can have their antecedents outside the sentences in which they occur. The only case where the Efutu reflexive may occur alone without any subject antecedent is when it is used in imperative constructions with an implied second person subject. This is illustrated in (20).

- (20)a. (**òwó**), **dó** **wú** **wó.**
 (2SG) love 2SG.POSS body
 ‘(You,) love yourself.’
 b. (**ání**), **dó** **ání** **wó.**
 (2PL) love 2PL.POSS body
 ‘(You,) love yourselves.’

In (20), it is assumed by speakers of Efutu that there are implied pragmatic antecedents **òwó** and **ání** ‘you’. These pragmatic antecedents bind the reflexive anaphors making the sentence grammatical.

Another observation is that because the Efutu reflexive always complies with Principle ‘A’ of the Binding Theory, it is not possible for them to occupy certain syntactic positions, where they will not necessarily be c-commanded. For instance, Efutu reflexives cannot occur at the subject position in sentences (both mono-clausal and bi-clausal) as pronouns and R-expressions can. This is shown in the data presented in (21).

- (21)a. ***Mù** **wó** **m-móm** **Paa.**
 3SG.POSS body PERF-kill Paa
 ‘Himself/herself has killed Paa.’
 b. ***Mò**-yè **mù** **wo** **m-móm** **Paa.**
 3SG-say.PST 3SG.POSS body PERF-kill Paa
 ‘He said himself has killed Paa.’

The ungrammaticality of the mono-clausal sentence in (21a) is as a result of the syntactic position occupied by the Efutu reflexive anaphor. Although, it is not the only NP in the sentence (there is **Paa** in the object position), it is not c-commanded by any other NP. Likewise, in (21b), although there is an NP **Mò**- ‘he/she’ occurring before the reflexive anaphor **mù wo** ‘himself/herself’, such

a syntactic combination is not possible in Efutu as the reflexive anaphor cannot serve as a subject even in the embedded clause. If it were possible perhaps, the reflexive would have been given a logophoric interpretation as occurs with the Ewe reflexive (cf. Agbedor, 2014). However, none of the data collected points to logophoric use of the Efutu reflexive.

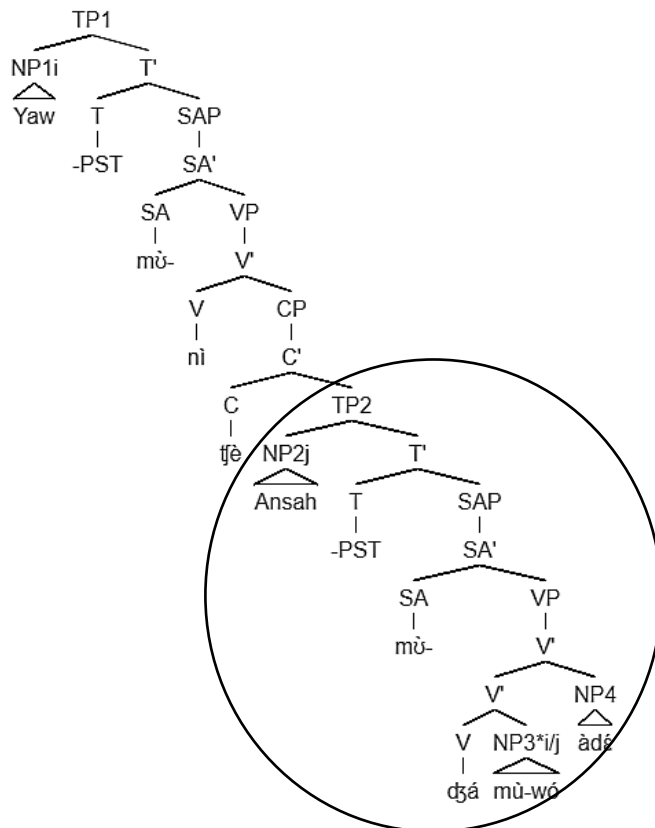
5.2. The Efutu reflexive and binding domain

The Efutu reflexive anaphor complies with the Locality Constraint (Carnie, 2021) or Clause Mate Condition (Faltz, 1985) which requires the reflexive anaphors to be locally bound in its binding domain. In other words, Efutu reflexive anaphors and their antecedents always occur in the same clause. To show this, the next set of examples that follows presents data for the distribution of Efutu reflexives in complex clauses (sentences with embedded clauses).

- (22)a. **Yaw_i mò-nì tʃè Ansah_j mò-dʒá mù wó_j àdék.**
 Yaw 3SG-know COMP Ansah 3SG-remove 3SG.POSS body praise
 ‘Yaw knows that Ansah praises himself.’
- b. **Yaw_i mò-nì tʃè Ansah_j mò-dʒá=**m̂**_{i/k} àdél.**
 Yaw 3SG-know COMP Ansah 3SG-remove=3SG praise
 ‘Yaw knows that Ansah praises him.’

As can be observed from example (22) above, although the reflexive anaphor **mù wó** ‘3SG.POSS body’ is c-commanded by two NPs **Yaw** and **Ansah**, it can only be bound by the NP that occurs in the same binding domain or TP with it. This is indicated by the indexes attached to the various NPs. In (22a), for instance, the reflexive anaphor **mù wó** ‘himself’ can only refer to **Ansah**, with which they share the same clause. In contrast, the object pronoun **=m̂** in (22b) is free in its binding domain as it can only refer to Yaw or another NP which is not mentioned here. This can be explained using the P-marker of (23) below.

(23)



‘Yaw knows that Ansah praises himself.’

In (23), NP1 occurs in TP1 whereas the reflexive anaphor NP3 occurs in TP2 in the circle. It is therefore not possible to have a co-referential reading outside the circle where the reflexive anaphor NP3 refers to NP1. The reflexive anaphor rather refers back to NP2 with which it occurs in the same clause TP2.

In the literature, languages such as English, Likpakpaanl, Akan and many others that employ the bi-morphemic reflexive anaphors are locally bound; that is, they must occur in the same binding domain as their antecedents. For Likpakpaanl and English, see the examples in (24) below (Acheampong et al., 2019, p. 134).

(24) Likpakpaanl (Acheampong et al., 2019, p. 134)

- a. \ddot{U}_i lén ké **Tagan_j** kù ù-bà_j.
3SG say that Tagan hurt 3SG-self
‘He/She_i said that Tagan_j hurt himself_j.’
- b. * \ddot{U}_i lén ké **Tagan_j** kù ù-bà_i.
3SG say that Tagan hurt 3SG-self
*‘He/She_i said that Tagan_j hurt himself_i.’

In the Likpakpaanl example in (24a), the reflexive anaphor **ù-bà** ‘himself’ can only refer to the subject of the embedded clause (TP2) **Tagan**. This is why they both carry the same index *j*. The reflexive anaphor cannot refer to the subject of the matrix clause **Û** ‘he/she’ which is found in TP1 as clearly indicated by the ungrammaticality of (24b).

In sum, the Efutu reflexive adheres to the requirement of Principle ‘A’ of the Binding Theory that a reflexive anaphor must be bound within its binding domain, and it, as such, can indeed be said to be a “referentially defective nominal element”, which always take their meaning from a higher NP in the clause (Reuland, 2014, p. 3).

5.3. The antecedent of the Efutu reflexive

Another major syntactic characterization of the Efutu reflexive observed in this study is that it appears to obey the Subject Antecedent Condition (Faltz, 1985). From all the data on the Efutu reflexive presented so far, in the mono-clausal sentences, where there are two NPs, the reflexive occupies the object position and is bound by a subject antecedent. See examples (25) and (26) below for mono-clause sentences and bi-clausal sentences respectively.

- (25) a. **Aba_i** m̀-đ́ mù wó_i.
Ama 3SG-love.HAB 3SG.POSS body
‘Ama loves herself.’
- b. **Mù** krú_i=n m̀-đ́ mù wó_i.
3SG.POSS husband=DET 3SG-love.HAB 3SG.POSS body
‘Her husband loves himself.’
- (26) **M̀i-yè** Kojo_j m̀-fál mù wó*_i.
3SG-say Kojo 3SG-hurt.PST 3SG.POSS body
‘He said (that) Kojo hurt himself.’

In (25) the antecedents **Aba** and **mù krú** ‘her husband’ that bind the reflexive anaphors **mù wó** ‘herself/himself’ are both subjects in the mono-clausal sentences. Similarly, in the bi-clausal sentence in (26), the antecedent of the reflexive anaphor is the subject in the complement clause or TP2. The NP2 **Kojo**, which binds the reflexive anaphor is the subject of the embedded clause TP2. In all cases, the reflexive anaphor occupies the object position.

There are cases where the POSS **wó** form is not c-commanded by any NP, and others where it does not share the same phi-features with the NP that precedes it. For such cases, the POSS **wó** construction is not given reflexive interpretation since c-commanding and coreferentiality are

crucial in indexing reflexivity in Efutu. Similarly, it also observed that there may be cases, too, where there could be co-referential and/or disjoint readings between the NP that precedes the POSS **wó** construction. Thus, aside from encoding or marking reflexivity, the Efutu reflexive form can perform several other functions. Three of such functions are briefly discussed in the ensuing section.⁵

6. Other functions of the Efutu possessive pronoun (POSS) + **wó** form

The fact that the Efutu reflexive form POSS **wó** can have different functions other than marking reflexivity conforms to typological observations in some other languages. In English, for instance, the pronoun + self can sometimes function as an intensifier, as exemplified in König and Siemund (2000, p. 42-43) and presented here as (27).

- (27) a. Within the town *itself* the report produced a sensation.
 b. I have swept this court *myself*.
 c. I have *myself* swept this court.

In examples (27a) to (27c), the self-forms are considered to be intensifiers, and not reflexives where a semantic argument is seen to be acting on itself. Thus, English is regarded among languages that do not show any formal distinction between the reflexive anaphors and intensifiers (König & Siemund, 2000). Similarly, in Likpakpaanl, according to Acheampong et al. (2019, p. 136), “the reflexives and self-intensifiers are not distinct” and that Likpakpaanl’s case supports the observation that “morphological similarity between reflexive pronouns and intensifiers is attested ... to be a widespread phenomenon in most natural languages”. This is shown in the examples in (28) below.

(28) Likpakpaanl: (Acheampong et al., 2019, p. 133-136)

- a. **Timor_i** **kǎǎn** **ù-bà_i** **n-náán.**
 Timor sit 3SG-self kingship
 ‘Timor enskinned himself a king.’
- b. **Ááyì, ù-bà** **lé** **jì** **tì.**
 No, 3SG-self FOC eat 3SG
 ‘No, she herself ate it.’

As the data show, the reflexive anaphor in (28a) **ù-bà** ‘himself’, which refers to the subject noun phrase **Timor**, is formally identical with the intensifier **ù-bà** ‘himself/herself’ in (28b).

Aside from intensification, another semantic concept that is expressed by the reflexive forms in other languages is reciprocity. Kemmer (1993) asserts that typologically, the same marker encodes reciprocity and reflexivity. In Akan, for instance, among other related functions, the POSS + **ho** is used to mark reciprocity. This is shown in examples (29) below.

(29) Akan (Saah, 2018, p. 56)

- a. **n-nipa** **binom** **nso** **do~dɔ** **wɔn** **ho**
 PL-person some also love~REDUP 3PL body
 ‘Some people also love one another.’
- b. **Adwubi ne Afia** **pire~piraa** **wɔn** **ho** **wɔn ho**
 Adwubi and Afia hurt~REDUP.PST 3PL body REDUP
 ‘Adwubi and Afia hurt one another.’

The first of the other functions of the POSS + **wó** in Efutu discussed in this study is the expression of reciprocity. Efutu uses the POSS **wó** form to express reciprocal relations between two

⁵ Interested readers may refer to Authors (forthcoming) for a detailed and comprehensive discussion on the multifunctionality of the reflexive form POSS + **wó** in Efutu.

arguments. This is exemplified in (30) below.

- (30)a. [**Kofi nà Ama**]_i **àmò-dò** **àmù** **wó_i.**
 Kofi and Ama 3PL-love 3PL.POSS body
 ‘Kofi and Ama love themselves/each other.’
- b. **N-tobi**_i **naani** **àmò-dò** **àmù** **wó_i.**
 PL-Child DET 3PL-love 3PL.POSS body
 ‘The children love themselves/each other.’

In (30), there is a periphrastic anaphor **àmù wó** ‘themselves/each other/one another’. The sentence can have both reflexive and reciprocal interpretations. The reciprocal interpretation will be that **Kofi** loves **Ama** and **Ama** loves **Kofi**, whereas the reflexive interpretation will be that **Kofi** loves himself and **Ama** loves herself. This is similar to what exists in Akan (29), and strengthens Kemmer’s (1993) claim that, typologically, reciprocity and reflexivity are encoded by the same marker. In this regard, Efutu is seen to be different from Likpakpaanl, a Mabia language which uses **tɔb** to mark reciprocity and a personal pronoun + **bà** ‘self’ to mark reflexivity. English also expresses reciprocity and reflexivity differently. Whereas the expressions ‘each other’ and ‘one another’ are used to express reciprocity, reflexivity in English is expressed by a pronoun + self.

Secondly, the POSS **wó** form may also function as a possessive phrase, where it encodes the meaning ‘my/your/his/our/their body’. This may typically happen when the POSS **wó** form occurs in some body action constructions. For instance, in the body care (grooming) construction in (31a), **àmù wó** ‘3PL.POSS body’ functions as a possessive phrase rather than as a reflexive anaphor.

- (31) a. **Adu**_i **mò-yíyá** **àmù** **wó_j.**
 Adu 3SG-prepare.PST 3PL.POSS body
 ‘Adu dressed them. (lit. Adu dressed their bodies.)’
- b. **Adu**_i **mò-yíyá** **mù** **wó_{i/j}.**
 Adu 3SG-prepare.PST 3SG.POSS body
 ‘Adu dressed (his body) (his own body or someone’s body).’

However, in cases like (31b) where **mù wó** ‘3SG.POSS body’ agrees with the subject NP in phi-features, both interpretations, possessive phrase and reflexive, are admissible. So, (31b), for instance, could either mean ‘Adu dressed (his own body)’ or ‘Adu dressed another person’s body’, and this explains the dual index *ij* on **mù wó** in (31b).

Finally, the POSS **wó** form could also occur in the subject position of some metaphonymic constructions (cf. Goossens, 1990; Asante & Ma, 2015) in Efutu to typically encode such culturally unmentionable concepts and attributes as orgasm, sex, menstruation, pregnancy, as (32) illustrates.

- (32) a. **Mù** **wó** **ń-má.**
 3SG.POSS body PERF-come
 ‘He/she has reached orgasm (lit. his/ her body has come).’
- b. **Mù** **wó** **ń-tɔ́nà.**
 3SG.POSS body PERF-turn
 ‘She is pregnant (lit. her body has turned).’

The constructions in (32) are metaphonymic because the ‘human body’ serves as a vehicle to talk about the ‘human being’. In (32a), for instance, the one reaching orgasm is the individual/person/human being involved, and not his/her body. (32a) is also metaphorical with the underlying metaphor PSYCHOLOGICAL STATES ARE PHYSICAL STATES, because ORGASM, an abstract, psychological state of the human being, is expressed in terms of the ‘COMING’ or ‘EJACULATION’ of the human being.

7. Summary and conclusion

Using mostly elicited and some natural data, this paper has attempted a detailed discussion of the concept of reflexivization in Efutu, a less studied South-Guang (Kwa, Niger-Congo) language of Ghana. Among others, we discussed various strategies in encoding reflexivity, types of reflexives

and their morpho-syntactic properties, and other functions of the Efutu reflexive form. It came out that Efutu has two reflexivization strategies: (i) a morphologically complex anaphor that is formed via the combination of a possessive pronoun and **wó** ‘body’; and (ii), a null-strategy, in which reflexivity is inherently expressed by the verb such that the *bindee* is not physically realized. The first is considered Efutu’s primary strategy whereas the second is its null strategy. Other findings, first, on the morphology of the Efutu reflexive anaphor POSS **wó**, are that, one, it is head reflexive since the body form **wó** is the head of the phrase; and two, only the possessive pronominal element that is cliticized to the **wó** ‘body’ alternates to agree with the ϕ -features of its antecedent. Syntactically, the Efutu reflexive obeys the clause mate condition or locality constraint as it is always bound in its binding domains (Carnie, 2021). Also, the Efutu reflexive obeys the subject antecedent condition (Faltz, 1985) because, in all of its uses, it refers to a subject NP antecedent. Finally, it was observed that the POSS **wó** form is not always reflexive. There are instances where it marks reciprocity. There are instances where it marks reciprocity. Furthermore, the POSS **wó** form has many other functions beyond expressing anaphoric dependencies. For example, it can be used in body care and metaphonymic constructions to reference culturally sensitive (or unmentionable) concepts and attributes such as orgasm, sex, menstruation, and pregnancy. The conclusion we draw is that the POSS **wó** form in Efutu is highly multifunctional and cannot always be interpreted as reflexive.

While projecting the morpho-syntactic properties of an endangered, less-documented language, the data and discussions in this study can contribute significantly to typological discussions on reflexivization. For instance, comparing Efutu to other regional languages (e.g., Likpakpaanl, Buli, Ewe, Dagbani etc.), Efutu, to the best of our knowledge, joins Akan (cf. Osam, 2002) as one of the few languages that employs more than one reflexivization strategy. This finding supports the position (cf. Everaert, 2012, Faltz, 1985) that “many languages use more than one reflexive strategy” (Everaert, 2012, p. 196), and that “the less complex strategy tends to be used for inherently reflexive verbs and for non-other directed situations” (König & Siemund, 2000, p. 59). Additionally, the fact that the Efutu reflexive form can serve several other functions (some non-reflexive and non-anaphoric) greatly enriches the existing body of linguistic knowledge on the multifunctionality of reflexive forms.

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