

Logophoricity in Northern Toussian

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1 Introduction

- In this talk
 - Description of the Northern Toussian logophoricity system
 - Situation of this system within the typology of logophoric systems
 - Discussion of nested logophoric domains and strategies to disambiguate their antecedents

2 Logophoricity

- In English, a sentence like *Emma_i said that she_{i/j} left* is ambiguous
 - Does *she* refer to Emma or another woman?
 - Many languages have strategies to disambiguate such constructions
 - Strategies that mark coreference between the speaker and an actor in the reported speech are called *logophoric*
 - Some languages employ special morphology used exclusively in logophoric contexts
 - Logophoric pronouns
 - Logophoric verbal affixes
 - etc.
- (1) Ewe (Clements 1975)
- a. **Kofi** be **yè**-dzo
Kofi say LOG-leave
'**Kofi_i** said that **he_i** left'

- b. **Kofi** be **ne**-dzo
 Kofi say 1SG-leave
 ‘**Kofi**_i said that **I**_j left’
- c. **Kofi** be **e**-dzo
 Kofi say 3SG-leave
 ‘**Kofi**_i said that **(s)he**_j left’

- Other languages leverage morphology with additional non-logophoric grammatical functions (e.g., reflexive pronouns) in logophoric contexts

(2) Kannada (Lidz 1995, cited in Huang 2000)

raamu shyaamu tann-annu priitis-utt-aane anta namb-utt-aane
 Raamu Shyamu self-ACC love-PRES-3SG-M that believe-PRES-3SG-M

‘**Raamu**_i believes that **Shyamu**_j loves **self**_i’

- Languages that have dedicated logophoric morphology are called “pure” logophoric languages
- We’ll be looking at a pure logophoric language today

3 Language Background

- Northern Toussian (tsp)
 - One of two, possibly three Toussian languages
 - * Northern Toussian (NT)
 - * Southern Toussian (ST)
 - * Variety spoken in villages Moami and Tien—not mutually intelligible with NT or ST, looks more closely related to ST
 - Niger-Congo language whose precise affiliation uncertain
 - * “Peripheral Gur” language—shares many typological similarities with Gur languages, but hasn’t been proven to be Gur
 - * Other peripheral Gur phyla include Viemo, Tiéfo, Senoufo, Kulango, Natioro, and Wara
 - Spoken in southwest Burkina Faso by around 40,000 speakers

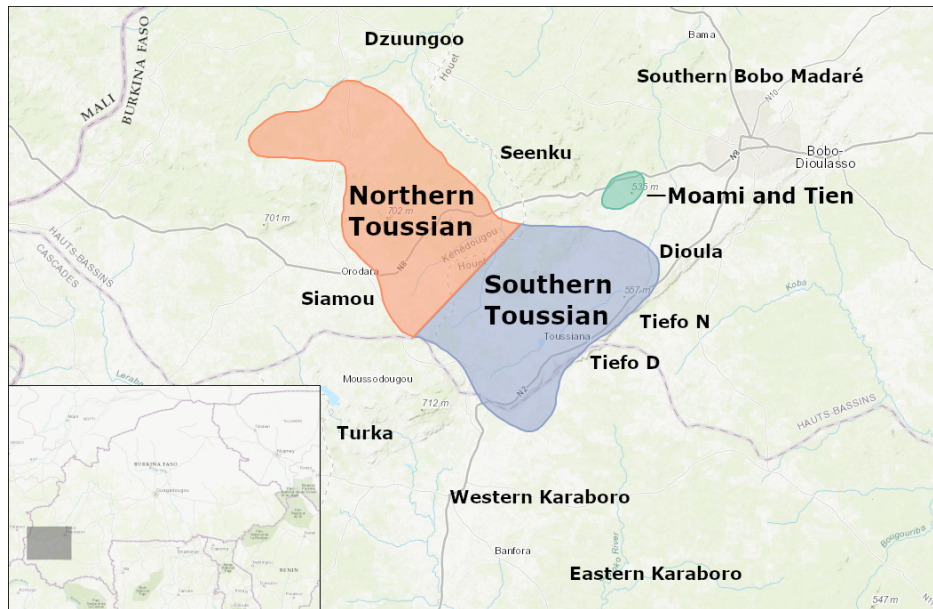


Figure 1: Map of the Toussian languages

- Highly analytic language
- SAuxOVX word order
 - Areal feature of the Macro-Sudan Belt (Güldemann 2007)
- Complex tone system
 - Three level tones
 - Many lexical contour tones, including three-tone contour tones on CV syllables, e.g., *bê* ‘again’ or *flě* ‘spike trap’
 - Profuse use of downstep in multiple contexts, including some instances of double downstep

4 Pronominal system

Table 1: Pronouns

	Singular				Plural		
	S	O	Obl	Emph	S/O	Obl	Emph
1	ń = ~má	ń = ~má	ń = ~má	mô	á	á	ān
2	á	ń	á	âr	í	í	yín
3.H	à	à	tá	târ	pè	pé	pōn
3.NH	kè	kè	ké	krê ^s	sè	sé	sōn~sân
3.LOG	pé	pé	pé	pâr	pé	pé	pōn

- Personal pronouns
 - Three persons (1st, 2nd, 3rd; no inclusive 1pl form)
 - Two numbers (singular and plural)
- Semantic agreement system with the third person pronouns
 - Distinguishes between human and non-human antecedents
 - No canonical noun class system
 - * There are distinct singular and plural stems that likely originated from erstwhile noun class suffixes fusing with the root
 - * Adjectives, numerals, verbs, etc., do not agree in class with nouns
- Some pronominal forms differ according to grammatical role
 - 2SG ACC form *ń*, vs. *á* elsewhere
 - Several forms differ in non-structural (oblique) contexts, i.e., when not subject or object
 - * Reflexives
 - * Reciprocals
 - * Complements of postpositions
 - * Possession
- Emphatic forms
 - Phonologically independent (other pronominal forms appear to be clitics)
 - Focus
 - Topic
- Logophoric pronouns

- Basic (non-emphatic) logophoric pronouns have the same singular and plural form (*pə*)
 - Emphatic plural logophoric pronoun syncretic with the 3PL.H pronoun *pə̃n*.
 - (3) illustrates the basic use of logophoric pronouns
- (3) a. *álimátā* yǎ [pə́ wə̃n]
 Alimata say.APVA LOG leave
 ‘Alimata_i said that she_i left’
- b. *álimátā* yǎ [à wə̃n]
 Alimata say.APVA 3SG.H leave
 ‘Alimata_i said that (s)he_j left’

5 Typological properties of NT logophoricity

- A handful of studies have identified common cross-linguistic patterns in logophoric systems (Hyman & Comrie 1981, Culy 1994, Huang 2000)
- From this work, several implicational universals have been postulated
- The following sections show how the NT logophoric system is situated within the typology of logophoric systems
 - NT is a counterexample to one of the universals (§5.4)

5.1 Grammatical hierarchy

- Grammatical hierarchy: subject > non-subject (Hyman & Comrie 1981)
 - In a given language, if a logophoric pronoun can act as object, complement of an adposition, etc., it will also act as subject
- In NT, a logophoric pronoun can fill any grammatical role
 - Subject (4a)
 - Object (4b)
 - Possessor (4c)
 - Postpositional complement (4d)

- (4) a. dɔ́ dǐ à pǎ n̄=kwān twā-n-ʼsā
 so man COND TEMP IPFV = salt carry.on.head-LINK-put
 n̄hè yó [pǎ rí k̄h tǔ]
 CON say LOG SBJV 3SG.NH grab
 ‘When the **man**_i puts down the salt placed on **his**_i head, **he**_i decides that **he**_i would pick **it**_j up.’ (NAO20180913)
- b. t̄h̄ sédyà n̄tò p̄wó ʼyó t̄j ré
 3SG.H.EMPH elder.woman REL IS come say.APVA 3SG.H.OBL at
 ‘That old **woman**_i came to say to **her**_j’
 [p̄h̄ n̄=à t̄mó à n̄=f̄á
 LOG.EMPH IPFV = 3SG.H help 3SG.H IPFV.APVA = escape
 ‘that **she**_i will help **her**_j escape’
 m̄h̄ à rí pǎ sùtrá]
 but 3SG.H SBJV LOG snitch
 ‘but **she**_j mustn’t rat **her**_i out’
- c. j̄òró yǎ [p̄h̄ l̄h̄=é
 lion say LOG.EMPH pet.peeve = IDENT
 n̄h̄ k̄h̄pǎ v̄h̄ s̄ p̄h̄ n̄h̄]
 person NEG.SBJV lie put LOG.EMPH head
 ‘The **lion**_i said it’s his pet peeve, a **person**_j must not lie about **him**_i (lit. a person must not place a lie on his head)’ (NAO20180913)
- d. fl̄h̄-mp̄mp̄ fáná yǎ [à n̄n̄ pǎ ré]
 woman-children also say.APVA 3SG.H please LOG at
 ‘The **girl**_i also said that **she**_i likes **him**_j.’

5.2 Person hierarchy

- Person hierarchy: 3rd > 2nd > 1st (Hyman & Comrie 1981)
 - If a logophoric pronoun can have a 1st person antecedent, it can have a 2nd or 3rd person antecedent
- In NT, only 3rd person logophoric antecedents are possible

- (5) a. * m^ó yǎ [p^ó w^{ān}]
 1SG say.APVA LOG leave
 Intended: ‘I_i said I_i left.’
- b. * á yǎ [p^ó w^{ān}]
 2SG say.APVA LOG leave
 Intended: ‘You_i said you_i left.’
- c. m^ó yǎ [m^ó w^{ān}]
 1SG say.APVA 1SG leave
 ‘I_i said I_i left.’
- d. á yǎ [á w^{ān}]
 2SG say.APVA 2SG leave
 ‘You_i said you_i left.’

5.3 Number hierarchy

- Number hierarchy: sg > pl (Hyman & Comrie 1981)
 - If a logophoric pronoun can have a plural antecedent, it can have a singular antecedent
- In NT, both singular (6a) and plural (6b) antecedents are possible

- (6) a. jòró yǎ [p^{âr} lê = é
 lion say LOG.EMPH pet.peeve = IDENT
 n^āŋ kəp^ó v^ìŋ s^ā p^{âr} n^īŋ]
 person NEG.SBJV lie put LOG.EMPH head
 ‘The lion_i said it’s his pet peeve, a person_j must not lie about him_i (lit. a person must not place a lie on his head)’ (NAO20180913)
- b. d^ǔ p^è yǎ [p^ā = rí t^ǔ s^ā]
 therefore 3PL.H say.APVA LOG.SBJV = SBJV group put
 ‘They_i said, let them_i organize a group_j (of workers).’ (NAO20180913)

5.4 Licenser hierarchy

- Licenser hierarchy: Speech predicates > epistemic predicates > psychological predicates > knowledge predicates > perceptive predicates¹ (Culy 1994, Huang 2000, Ameka 2017)
 - If a perceptive predicate (e.g., ‘hear,’ ‘see’) can trigger a logophoric domain, then so can knowledge, psychological, epistemic, and speech predicates
- Attested predicates that trigger logophoric domains:

¹Huang (2000) also includes ‘unmarked directional predicates’ as the rightmost predicate in this hierarchy. However, these predicates have not been found to condition logophoric marking in any African pure logophoric languages, Because of this, like Ameka (2017), I do not include it in the hierarchy

(7)	Speech predicates	<i>yó</i> <i>páyɲ'já</i>	'say' 'ask'
	Epistemic predicates	<i>sā</i> <i>mírí</i> <i>tá fɛ̃^s = rǎ</i>	'think' 'think' 'hope'
	Knowledge predicates	<i>pɔ̃ŋ</i>	'know'
	Perceptive predicates	<i>ná</i> <i>wé</i>	'hear' 'see'

• Examples:

(8) a. Speech predicate

sǎ-nō báló-wū jǐn-n-tɛ̃ tá pó-flê páɲɲ'já
bee-PL raise-AGT rise.APVA-LINK-sit 3SG.H.OBL daughter ask

[*ɲyó pó sǎ sà 'pé dɛ̃*]
COMP LOG bee red COP.APVA where

'The **beekeeper_i** asked **his_i daughter_j** where **his_i red bee_k** is' (SKT20180801-04)

b. Epistemic predicate

dɔ̃ à mírí
therefore 3SG.H think.APVA

[*ɲyó pâr sónó á dí-pâr mē fúr*]
COMP LOG.EMPH IRR PST man-small DEM marry

'**She_i** thought if **she_i** had married the **short man_j**...' (SKT20180801-10)

c. Knowledge predicate

yàní búmbây rí pɔ̃ŋ
before hyena SBJV know

[*bùfú pâr kór pɔ̃ŋ bùfú tú*]
billy.goat LOG.EMPH plan know billy.goat run.APVA

'Before the **hyena_i** realized, the **billy goat_j** knew **his_i plan**: the **billy goat_j** fled.' (NAO20180916)

d. Perceptive predicates

à nǎ [pó kěy]
3SG.H hear.APVA LOG go.APVA

'(S)**he_i** heard that **she_i** left'

- A gap: psychological predicates
 - With these predicates, the anaphoric pronoun used to refer to the antecedent is a third person pronoun, not a logophoric pronoun

- (9) a. *táy* ⁺*pé* *tá* *rǔ*
fear COP.APVA 3SG.H.OBL in
[à *kèpá* ⁺*pwó* *tá* *màndímí*]
3SG.H NEG.SBJV come.APVA 3SG.H.OBL hurt
'*He_i* is scared that *he_i* will get hurt '
- b. [à *fē* *tê*] *kè* *nónō* *tá* *dyē*
3SG.H stomach take 3SG.NH please 3SG.H.OBL spirit
'*She_i* is happy that *she_i* is pregnant'

- All psychological predicates employ an idiomatic/schematic construction
- This is not the cause of the absence of logophoric pronouns, as there are similar constructions that condition logophoric domains and logophoric pronouns

- (10) a. *tá* *fē* *rǔ* [*pó* *kè* *pěy*]
3SG.H.OBL stomach in LOG 3SG.NH do
'(S)*he_i* thought that (s)*he_i* did it.'
- b. à *sě* *ká* *nīŋ* [*pó* *kè* *pěy*]
3SG.H sleep.APVA 3SG.NH.OBL on LOG 3SG.NH do
'(S)*he_i* claims/hopes that (s)*he_i* did it'

- NT appears to be a counterexample to the licenser hierarchy

6 Nested logophoric domains

- Nested logophoric domains are those that have two different predicates each of which introduce a separate logophoric domain
 - *she_i said that she_j that she_{i/j} left*

In all cases I've found (not many) where this phenomenon is discussed, the antecedent of the logophoric pronoun is always ambiguous

- Wan (Nikitina 2012, p.c.)
- Ewe (Clements 1975)
- Ibibio (Baker & Ikawa 2024)

- In NT, when basic logophoric pronouns are used in nested logophoric domains, the antecedent is likewise ambiguous

- (11) a. àlí_i yǎ álímátā_j yǎ pǎ_{i/j} wēn
 Alí_i say.APVA Alímata_j say.APVA LOG_{i/j} leave
 ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that he_i left’, or ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that she_j left’
- b. àlí_i yǎ álímátā_j yǎ pǎ_{i/j} pǎ_{i/j} wé
 Alí_i say.APVA Alímata_j say.APVA LOG_{i/j} LOG_{i/j} see
 ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that she_j saw him_i’, or ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that he_i saw her_j’

- When an emphatic logophoric pronoun is used, it obligatorily refers to the outermost antecedent.

- (12) a. àlí_i yǎ [álímátā_j yǎ [pǎ_i wēn]]
 Alí_i say.APVA Alímata_j say.APVA LOG.EMPH_i leave
 ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that he_i left’
- b. àlí_i yǎ [álímátā_j yǎ [pǎ pǎ_i wě]]
 Alí_i say.APVA Alímata_j say.APVA LOG_j LOG.EMPH_i see
 ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that she_j saw him_i’
- c. àlí_i yǎ [álímátā_j yǎ [pǎ_i pǎ_j wé]]
 Alí_i say.APVA Alímata_j say.APVA LOG.EMPH_i LOG_j see
 ‘Ali_i said that Alímata_j said that he_i saw her_j’

- The following nested logophoric domain is attested in texts
 - It behaves identically to those above
- In this example, the outermost logophoric trigger is several clauses prior to the nested logophoric domain
 - Further context is provided in the appendix

(13) plē yǎ...
rabbit say.APVA

[pə̀ = à pə́ ʔpwó ʔyó [pə́ ñ = pə̀r nìŋ]
3PL.H = COND TEMP come.APVA say.APVA LOG IPFV = LOG.EMPH bury

pə́ ñ = ʔyó lè-n-pwé nây ʔpé
LOG IPFV.APVA = say.APVA phrase-LINK-CL.NH.SG one COP.APVA

pə́ rí krêʳ yǎ]
LOG SBJV 3SG.NH.EMPH say

‘The rabbit said... When they come and say that they will bury him, he will say that he has something to say.’

- Preliminarily, the generalization seems to hold that the emphatic logophoric pronoun refers to the outermost logophoric antecedent
- However, the emphatic pronoun is used in constructions that depend on information structure
 - Focus
 - Topic
- Could the distribution of the emphatic pronoun be explained by more general information-structural reasons?

7 Conclusion

- The NT logophoric system
 - Pure logophoric system
 - Dedicated logophoric pronouns
 - Robustly used and frequent in texts
- Notable typological properties
 - Presents a counterexample to a typological universal
 - Has a disambiguation strategy for embedded logophoric domains
 - * Emphatic pronouns appear to necessarily refer to the outermost logophoric domain
- Questions for the audience
 - Are you familiar with any other languages that can disambiguate the antecedent of a nested logophoric pronoun?

- I haven't done much semantic exploration of the logophoric pronouns (e.g., testing for *de se* vs. *de re* interpretations). Are there any tests you would suggest I do to better probe its meaning and distribution?
- Would this disambiguation strategy have any bearing on current debates in syntax?

Abbreviations

APVA	Absent preverbal (non-subject) argument marker
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COND	conditional marker
CON	Connective marker (used especially in clause chains)
EMPH	Emphatic pronoun
H	Human
LOG	Logophoric pronoun
NH	Non-human
PROS	prospective marker
SBJV	Subjunctive
TEMP	Temporal clause marker

Appendix

Textual example of nested logophoric domains

The rabbit is the wily trickster in traditional West African stories. In this story, he had helped pass a law that any animal that breaks its leg must be buried alive. Soon thereafter, he falls and breaks his leg, and quickly concocts a way out of being executed. He convinces the executioners of a prophesy that, if it rains during his burial, it'll never rain again. The following passage shows the scheme he plots with the agama lizard to make sure that it will rain while he's being buried.

The rabbit will be in orange, the agama lizard in blue, and the executioners in pink. I will also color the clause chain marker *nə̀* with the color of the relevant antecedent.

- (14) a. Outermost logophoric trigger

plé yǎ
 rabbit say.APVA
 'The rabbit said,'

- b. Context before

nyó pè rí 'kéy pâr fà tīŋ bìsyō sèkwíŋ yā
 COMP 3PL.H SBJV go.APVA LOG.EMPH hole dig palm.tree base in.front

‘let **them** go dig **his** grave at the base of the palm tree.’

nè pō dákór səkɔŋ sē
CON IS agreement lizard with

‘He then made an agreement with the agama lizard’

ñyó **pó** ñ = nīŋ ‘sē səkɔŋ kɔ
COMP LOG IPFV = water with lizard give

‘that he will give the agama lizard water.’

kè rí dē^s **nè** kéy tɛ byē^s rǒ
3SG.NH SBJV climb CON go sit palm.tree in

‘Let it go climb and sit in the palm tree.’

c. Portion with nested logophoric domains

pè = à **pó** ‘pwó ‘yó [pó ñ = **pâr** ñìŋ]
3PL.H = COND TEMP come.APVA say.APVA LOG IPFV = LOG.EMPH bury

‘When **they** come and say that **they** will bury **him**,’

d. Context after

pó n = ‘yó lè-n-pwē nây pé
LOG IPFV.APVA = say.APVA phrase-LINK-CL.NH.SG one COP.APVA

pó rí krē^s yǒ
LOG SBJV 3SG.NH.EMPH say

‘**he** will say that **he** has something to say.’

pó n = pī n = yó pēy **pè** = à **pâr** ñìŋ
LOG IPFV.APVA = PROS IPFV.APVA = say EXCL 3PL.H = COND LOG.EMPH bury

‘**He** will say, that if **they** bury **him**,’

né twí à kó n = mē péy pē pē pē pē pē pē
and rain COND NEG IPFV = then do EXCL at.all at.all at.all at.all at.all

‘and if it doesn’t then rain at all,’

nīŋ = rí ‘kwé
water = SBJV pour.APVA

‘water must be poured.’

