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Logophoricity and shifts of perspective:

New facts and a new account*

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This study presents a typology of existing approaches to logophoricity and discusses problems the different approaches face. It addresses, in particular, perspective-based accounts describing constructions with logophoric pronouns in terms of their intermediate position on the direct-indirect continuum (Evans 2013), and lexical accounts incorporating the idea of coreference with the reported speaker into the pronoun's meaning, either through role-to-value mapping mechanisms (Nikitina 2012a,b), or through feature specification (Schlenker 2003a,b). The perspective-based approach is shown to be unsatisfactory when it comes to treating language-specific data in precise and cross-linguistically comparable terms. It fails to account, for example, for cross-linguistic differences in the behavior of logophoric pronouns, for their optionality, and for their close diachronic relationship to third person elements. Lexical accounts are better equipped to handle a variety of outstanding issues, but they, too, need to be revised to accommodate a variety of discourse phenomena associated with logophoricity, including alternation with first person pronouns. The proposed solution follows the lines of lexical approaches but aims at enriching the pronouns' lexical representation with notions pertaining to narrative structure, such as the role of Narrator. A separate solution is proposed for treating conventionalized uses occurring outside speech and attitude reports.

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1. Introduction

1.1 The puzzle of logophoricity

An area where the notion of perspective has been used most prominently is the study of reported discourse, since perspective is commonly assumed to underlie the distinction between indirect and direct speech (Coulmas 1986: 2). Despite remaining largely pre-theoretical, the notion of perspective is widely applied to newly described strategies, no matter how dissimilar to canonical instances of direct and indirect speech they may look: strategies not conforming to European direct and indirect speech tend to be described as mere *deviations* from the “direct” and the “indirect” *ideals* (Evans 2013; Güldemann & von Roncador 2002; von Roncador 1988, *inter alia*).

Among such deviating strategies logophoric speech is one of typologists’ favorites: it has been described repeatedly in terms of mixed perspective, and characterized as “semi-direct”, “semi-indirect”, “combined”, “neutralized”, and “biperspectival” (Aikhenvald 2008; Boyeldieu 2004b; Evans 2013; Thomas 1978). This study is a critical assessment of the usefulness of perspective-based approaches to the phenomenon of logophoricity, with implications for the study of reported speech more generally.

I review three major recent theoretical proposals regarding the nature of logophoricity, two lexical (Nikitina 2012a; Schlenker 2003a,b) and one essentially constructional¹ (Evans 2013). I show that all three fail to account for the way logophoricity functions. My proposed tentative solution blends the notion of perspective, widely used in the study of direct/indirect speech, with a new structural dimension: narrative roles, which differ both from semantic roles and from speech act participant roles.

¹ My use of the term “construction” is more restrictive than the use adopted in the Construction Grammar tradition: I only use it to refer to fixed form-meaning pairings at the level above the word. Nothing hinges on this in my argument, however.

1.2 Three recent accounts: a contrastive analysis

Logophoric pronouns appear in two types of context that traditionally receive different treatment in formal semantics: in reported speech, they refer to the speaker of the reported speech event, and in attitude reports, they refer to the participant to whom the attitude report is attributed (Clements 1975; Hagège 1974)². Logophoricity is characteristic of West and Central African languages, but it is by no means restricted to Africa (cf. Bugaeva 2008; Nikitina & Bugaeva *fc.* on Ainu).³ A typical example is presented below: the participant coded by the logophoric pronouns in (1a) is co-referential with the reported speaker.

(1) Wan (Nikitina 2012b):

- a. *bé à nò gé bā bé gōm̄*
then 3SG wife said LOG that.one understood
'And his wife_i said she_i had understood that.'
- b. *bé à nò gé è bé gōm̄*
then 3SG wife said 3SG that.one understood
'And his wife said he had understood that.'

² The phenomenon of logophoricity cuts across the distinction between the reporting of speech and the reporting of cognitive relation to a proposition, motivating researchers to treat discourse reports as a type of attitude report and to assign, erroneously, properties of indirect discourse to logophoric reports of lesser-studied languages; I return to this issue below.

³ I am concerned here primarily with specialized logophoric pronouns that do not appear outside logophoric contexts. Many languages lack a dedicated logophoric pronoun but employ reflexive and other pronouns in a logophoric function; I return to this type of language below, in Section 2.3.

Three different proposals have been made recently regarding the meaning of logophoric pronouns.

Schlenker (2003a) treats logophoric pronouns as shifted indexicals with unusual *scopal* behavior. In English, a first person pronoun must be evaluated with respect to the actual speech act. In some languages first person pronouns can be evaluated with respect to the context of a reported speech act (Amharic), and there are also languages that use pronouns that must be evaluated with respect to the context of a reported speech act (logophoric languages). On this account, logophoric pronouns are specified as denoting a speaker of some speech act (+author), but they are not allowed to refer to the speaker of the actual speech act (–actual). Constructions with logophoric clauses are treated as “standard cases of indirect discourse without any quotational intrusion” (Schlenker 2003a: 411), and their difference from English indirect speech derives essentially from the pronoun’s lexical specification.

Nikitina (2012a) presents another version of a lexical account, based on a system of mapping of participant roles onto pronominal values. Languages are assumed to vary in the way deictic distinctions are drawn within the pronominal system. In English, pronominal deixis is based on the opposition between actual speech act participants (mapped onto first and second person) and all others. Some languages may treat participants of reported speech acts in the same way as actual speakers and addressees (e.g., Havyaka Kannada; Bhat 2007: 59-61), others may neutralize that distinction for addressees but not for speakers (Adioukrou; Hill 1995), and there are also languages that employ dedicated pronouns to refer to participants of reported speech acts only (the logophoric languages). Nikitina’s account is similar to Schlenker’s in exploring cross-linguistic differences in pronominal meaning, but it is free from the assumption that logophoric pronouns are associated with indirect discourse. It predicts, accordingly, that across languages, logophoric pronouns may function differently with respect to the direct/indirect distinction, in particular – with respect to the way other pronouns are assigned their values.

In sum, the lexical accounts assume that pronouns have different meanings in different languages. Coached in the formal semantic tradition, Schlenker’s account treats logophoricity in

the context of attitude reports, effectively assuming that logophoric pronouns appear in indirect discourse. Nikitina's account makes no such assumption, predicting instead that the direct/indirect distinction should be orthogonal to the use of logophoric pronouns, and languages should be found where logophoric pronouns appear in what is essentially direct speech.

Evans (2013) explores a rather different line of argument (see also Güldemann & von Roncador 2002; von Roncador 1988). The cross-linguistic variation is located not in differences in pronominal meaning but rather in the behavior of language-specific reported speech *constructions*. Following the tenets of canonical typology, structures recruited to represent reported discourse are placed on a continuum between the ideal types of European-style direct and indirect speech. The ideal constructional types are, furthermore, defined in terms of perspective. Logophoric pronouns are described as a special case involving a “double deictic perspective” (Evans 2013: 89). Their value is calculated simultaneously from the perspective of two different speech acts: they refer “to a person who was the speaker in the reported speech event, but is third person in the primary speech event” (Evans 2013: 90).

Table 1 summarizes the basic properties of the three accounts. Below I argue that all three fail to handle the full set of uses of logophoric pronouns, even in a single language. In Section 2, I discuss issues that only pose problems for some of them; in Section 3, I turn to issues that all of them leave unexplained. Tentative solutions are presented in Section 4, and their implications discussed in Section 5.

Table 1. Three major approaches to logophoricity

type of account	meaning of logophoric pronouns	logophoric contexts
lexical feature-based (Schlenker 2003a,b)	author of a reported speech act	indirect discourse (attitude reports)
lexical role-based (Nikitina 2012a,b)	reported speaker	speech reports, direct or not
construction-oriented (Evans 2013)	double perspective	speech reports intermediate between direct and indirect discourse

2. Little-discussed properties of logophoric systems

2.1 Logophoric pronouns are not restricted to indirect discourse

A common misconception regarding the use of logophoric pronouns has to do with their relation to indirect speech; it derives from the formal semantic tradition that subsumes reported speech under propositional attitude reports. According to Schlenker (2003a: 423), logophoric pronouns “appear solely in indirect discourse”; according to Sells (1987: 475), they “really are, then, pronouns that occur in contexts of indirect discourse”. That logophoric pronouns appear in indirect discourse is also taken for granted in Culy (1997), Frajzyngier (1985), Hyman & Comrie (1981), among many others.

While the commonly cited examples are largely compatible with this claim, a closer look at a wider range of data reveals that logophoric pronouns combine with all sorts of elements that qualify the report as “direct speech” (assuming, of course, that the direct/indirect distinction is universally relevant, as so many authors do). Nikitina (2012a) discusses examples from different languages showing that logophoric pronouns freely combine with interjections, vocatives,

imperatives and questions, as well as with unambiguous instances of quotation, as in example (2) (see also Perrin 1974; von Roncador 1988, 1992).

(2) Goemai (Hellwig 2006):

ji *t'al* *oelem*
SG.M.LOG.SP pluck “beans”

‘(He said that) he_{LOG} plucked the beans’ (the childish form *oelem* is used instead of the standard adult *oerem* ‘beans’)

There is little evidence, beyond pronominal deixis itself, for treating reports involving logophoric pronouns as instances of indirect discourse, even if such a notion applied to a logophoric language (Goddard & Wierzbicka 2019; Nikitina 2012b; Nikitina & Bugaeva *fc.*; Nikitina & Vydrina 2020).⁴

The fact that logophoric pronouns are not restricted to indirect discourse poses problems to Schlenker’s account, as it undermines the comparison between English first person (which is never shifted in indirect speech) and logophoric pronouns. It is, on the other hand, fully compatible with Nikitina’s account (which treats the direct/indirect distinction as orthogonal to questions of pronominal meaning) and Evans’ account (which builds on the idea that languages – including logophoric languages – deviate in various ways from the ideals of “direct” and “indirect” speech).⁵

⁴ It may seem paradoxical that reported speech that includes a logophoric pronoun need not be “indirect”: after all, the logophoric pronoun clearly could not be part of the original discourse. One should not be led to believe, however, that a “direct” report can be taken as a literal representation of some sort of original discourse: no report can reproduce all aspects of the original utterance, and which aspects are chosen as relevant enough to be reproduced is to a large extent a matter of convention (Plank 1986).

⁵ All three accounts, as we will see below, have little to say about the fact that logophoric pronouns occur outside reported speech.

2.2 Logophoricity comes in varieties

Theoretical treatments of logophoricity commonly ignore differences among logophoric languages. Consider the logophoric clauses in (3) and (4), from Ewe and Wan, respectively. Both reports feature a dedicated logophoric pronoun referring to the speaker of the reported speech act. Yet the addressee of the same speech act is treated differently: it is encoded by a third person pronoun in Ewe but by a second person pronoun in Wan.

(3) Ewe (Clements 1975):

Kofi gblɔ na wo be yè-a-dyi ga-a na wo
 K. speak to 3PL that LOG-T-seek money-D for 3PL
 ‘Kofi said to them that he_{LOG} would seek the money for them.’

(4) Wan (Nikitina 2012b: 290):

è gé zò bé lā bā́ pólì
 3SG say come then 2SG LOG wash
 ‘She said: come and wash me.’ (literally, “She said: come and you wash me_{LOG}.”)

The difference in the treatment of addressees suggests, first of all, that there is variation among logophoric languages with respect to the structuring of the entire pronominal system. Second, it confirms the idea discussed in the previous subsection: even in terms of person deixis, logophoric reports cannot be treated as universally “indirect”.

The same language may show a mixture of “direct” and “indirect” values, so that different pronouns are evaluated with respect to different contexts. In (5), from Wan, a logophoric pronoun combines with a first person plural pronoun, interpreted with respect to the actual speech act. This interpretation is in contrast with (4) where a second person pronoun was evaluated with respect to the reported speech act.

(5) *bé gé bā́ kǎ tógōlē dō tē-ŋ*
 that.one say LOG+COP 1+3 elder.brother one kill-PROSP

‘He wanted to kill one of our elder brothers.’ (literally, “He said he_{LOG} was going to kill an elder brother of ours.”)

In Wan, in the context of a logophoric pronoun, all pronouns other than first person singular – including first person dual, first person plural, second person singular, and second person plural – can be evaluated either with respect to the actual speech act or with respect to the reported speech act.

How can the difference between Ewe and Wan be accounted for? It is hard to see how it could be captured on Evans’ account. Both languages would be described as employing “biperspectival” (= logophoric) pronouns, but they would presumably be placed on different points of the direct-indirect continuum. This would not be enough, however, to capture the fact that in Wan, the same pronoun could be evaluated from two different points of view, depending on broader context.

The same report, moreover, can involve pronouns with conflicting types of evaluation, or an irregular perspective shift (Gentens *et al.* 2019; Spronck *et al.* this issue). In (6), one of the pronouns – the plural ‘you’ – is evaluated from the perspective of the current speech act, another – the singular ‘you’ – from the perspective of the reported speech act, and one more – the logophoric pronoun – from two different perspectives at the same time.⁶ The perspective-based account does not provide us with a way of dealing with this partially constrained variation of interpretation or predicting how particular person values would be interpreted.

(6) *ké tūàbù é pē gé ũ lā pēbɔ glà gē ō*
 if European DEF said say 2PL 2SG baggage take PRT PRT
mɔ́ lā pēbɔ glà

⁶ Example (6) involves an embedded speech report with an omitted matrix clause (“They said”), and the two perspectives are, strictly speaking, associated with a reported speech act and with an embedded reported speech act. The same combination of person values is attested in non-embedded speech reports.

LOG.PL+COP 2SG baggage take

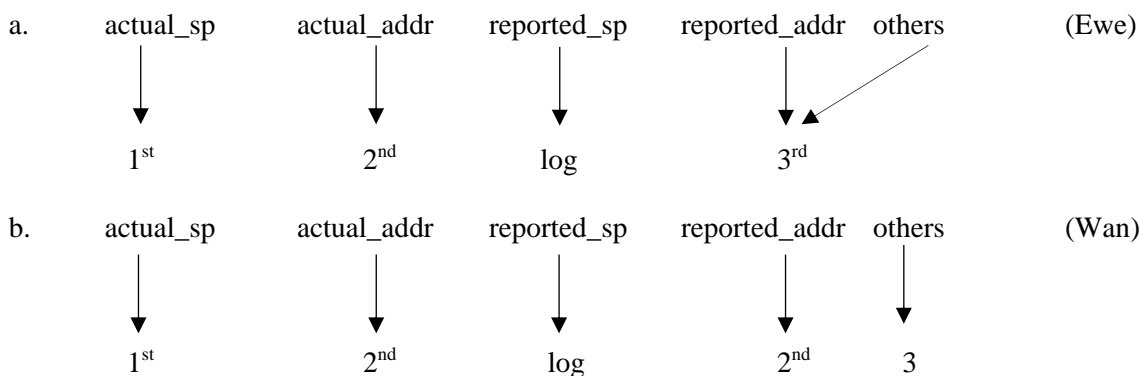
‘[And they said:] If the white people say that we should carry you, we will carry you.’

Literally: ‘If the white people say let you (pl) carry you, we_{LOG} will carry you.’

On the other hand, by placing the speech reporting strategies of Ewe and Wan on two different points of the same direct-indirect continuum, the perspective-based account would presumably predict subtle differences between the two strategies in terms of perspective or perhaps in the degree of commitment to the reported proposition. Yet there is no discernible difference in this aspect of the use of logophoric reports in the two languages.

Unlike the construction-based account, both lexical accounts are well equipped to handle this type of data. On Schlenker’s (2003a) featural account, some pronouns could be assumed to be underspecified in Wan for the context in which they are evaluated. This would allow second person pronouns, for example, to be interpreted freely in the context of the actual or the reported speech act. No such flexibility would be allowed in Ewe, hence third person pronouns would only be used to refer to participants of the reported speech act. On Nikitina’s (2012a,b) role-to-value mapping account, Ewe and Wan instantiate different strategies for associating pronouns with speech act participants, and variation of this kind is in fact predicted to exist. Ewe restricts first and second persons to actual speech act participants, and in Wan, both actual speech act participants and participants of a reported speech act are mapped onto second person values (7):

(7) Mapping of participant roles onto pronominal values in Ewe and Wan:



2.3 Logophoricity need not involve special pronouns

Another issue that is commonly misrepresented in the literature has to do with the definition of logophoric languages. It is generally acknowledged that a logophoric language distinguishes the actual speaker from the participant to which reported speech or an attitude report is attributed. While some languages rely on dedicated *logophoric pronouns*, many more use other means to achieve the same goal: in particular, many languages use reflexive or third person pronouns in a *logophoric function*. Culy (1994) describes the two types as languages with *pure* and *mixed* logophoricity, respectively. The two language types, however, are in reality very closely related, since they can only be distinguished based on contexts in which elements with the logophoric function occur: languages with mixed logophoricity differ from pure logophoric languages in that they do not restrict the use of “co-reference” pronouns to attitude reports (if they did, the pronouns would be described as logophoric rather than e.g. reflexive).

What is rarely recognized is the gradient nature of the distinction. In a number of languages, dedicated logophoric pronouns are lacking, but first person pronouns still cannot refer to the speaker of a reported speech act, unless that speaker is at the same time the actual speaker. Instead of logophoric pronouns, third person pronouns are used in such cases.

Crucially, languages of this type share important properties with logophoric languages (Nikitina 2012a), including characteristically “direct” features of the reports (the deixis of direct speech, interjections, unambiguous elements of quotation) and unusual combinations of person values. In (8), for example, third person pronouns are not restricted to speech and attitude reports, yet such reports represent a strategy clearly distinct from both direct and indirect speech, and identical in many respects to the logophoric strategy.

(8) Obolo (Aaron 1992: 232)

<i>ògwú</i>	<i>úgâ</i>	<i>ókêkító</i>	<i>ító</i>	<i>íkibé</i>	<i>gwún</i>	<i>kàn,</i>	<i>òmô</i>	<i>ikâtùmú</i>
this	mother	was.crying	cry	say	child	3SG	3SG	not.told
<i>ínyí</i>	<i>òwù</i>	<i>yé</i>	<i>ibé</i>	<i>òwù</i>	<i>kàgǔk</i>	<i>ifit</i>	<i>ifit</i>	<i>yì</i>
give	2SG	Q	say	2SG	not.follow	play	play	this

‘The mother was crying, saying: My child, did I not tell you not to join in this dance group?’ (Literally: “The mother was crying, saying: Her child, did she not tell you...”)

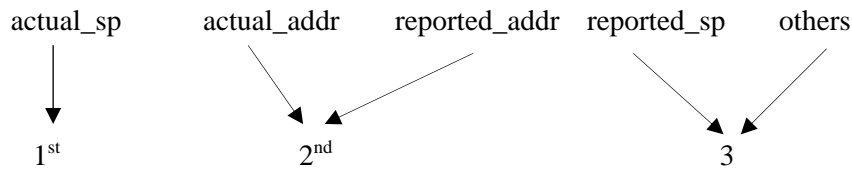
Such patterns of “latent” logophoricity are found across West Africa, but rarely considered together with overt logophoricity. Latent logophoricity is a first step towards the development of a fully-fledged logophoric system: as old third person pronouns are replaced by new ones, they may become restricted to speech reports, evolving into dedicated logophoric markers. This explains the fact that third person elements are a common source of logophoric markers (Dimmendaal 2001; Hyman 1979; Hyman & Comrie 1981; von Roncador 1992, *pace* Clements 1975; Faltz 1985). Dedicated logophoric markers develop in several stages from the strategy of using third person elements in the logophoric function, and an adequate account of logophoricity should be capable of describing this type of change.

Lexical accounts can handle the gradient nature of logophoricity relatively easily. The change from latent to overt logophoricity can be represented as a change in the lexical specification of the relevant pronouns. On a featural account, the old third person pronoun or a demonstrative could be assumed to change its meaning to [+reported author], restricting its reference to authors of reported speech acts. It would continue to refer to authors of attitude reports, but it would no longer refer to non-speech-act-participants. Such an account presumes that features such as [+/- author] are basic enough to replace other pronominal meanings, even though the account offers no principled explanation for this type of change.

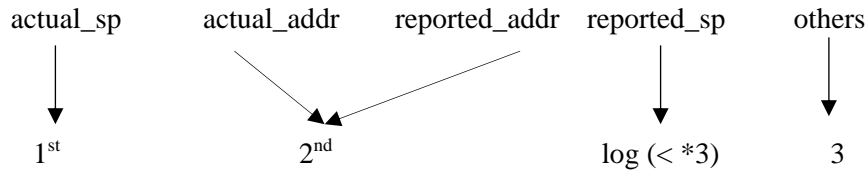
On the role-to-value mapping account, what used to be a common non-speech-act-participant pronoun (third person) would be replaced by a new form, only retaining the role of reported speaker (9)-(10). This again presupposes that the roles such as “reported speaker” and “reported addressee” are universally available primitives of pronominal deixis.⁷

(9) Latent logophoricity (Obolo)

⁷ One promising approach to treating this type of diachronic change on a role-to-value mapping account is presented by *amphichronic* semantic maps (Nikitina 2019, Nikitina & Treis *fc.*).



(10) Overt logophoricity (Wan)



The perspective-based approach, on the other hand, does not provide a ready account of the diachronic facts. When third person pronouns are used in a logophoric function, as in (8), they would probably qualify the construction as semi-direct or indirect, depending on the way other pronominal values are assigned; the Obolo construction, for example, is described by Aaron (1992: 232) as “semi-indirect”. To develop into a dedicated logophoric pronoun, the old third person pronoun would have to be reanalyzed as a biperspectival marker. Since the current version of the account operates in terms of entire constructions, it offers no mechanism for locating changes in specific lexical items. It is therefore unclear, on the current version of the account, how and why the relevant change in the use of specific pronouns would take place.

Overall, the facts discussed in this section are better compatible with a lexicalist account, and favor the role-to-pronoun mapping, as it does not rely on the distinction between direct and indirect speech. That distinction, as we already saw, is orthogonal to the use of logophoric pronouns. Even the role-to-pronoun mapping account, however, faces challenges when discourse data are explored in more detail.

3. Issues problematic for all three approaches

3.1 Logophoric pronouns are not restricted to attitude reports

One major issue rarely addressed in the literature is the need to better define the range of contexts beyond reported speech where logophoric pronouns appear. Typical contexts in which they are found range from reports of thought and emotion to reports of direct perception (Culy 1994; Stirling 1993).⁸ They have also been attested in contexts that cannot be easily subsumed under the notion of attitude report (Frajzynger 1993, *inter alia*). In Wan, for example, logophoric pronouns occur in reports of mental and psychological states, in descriptions of purpose, intention (11a) and, less trivially, point of view (11b). In (11b), the logophoric pronoun is used to compare the distance as it appeared to a character in the story to the distance described for the actual speech situation: the distance covered by a child entering the water was the same as the distance from the actual speaker to Seyi’s house, at the moment of speaking.⁹

- (11) a. *bé è kúnā tā bā ó é glà*
 then 3SG ascend on LOG salt DEF take
 ‘And he climbed up in order to take the salt...’
- b. *è wiā yī ē gó t̄áíí à gà é*
 3SG entered water DEF in until 3SG go DEF
bā bō lāpéá Sèyí mùù kū é ḡz̄ñ kégé gē
 LOG reached like S. PL+POSS house DEF like like.this PRT
 ‘He entered the water and went until he was like [from here] to the house of Seyi’s family.’

In (11a,b), the logophoric context is not introduced by any particular verb, and in fact, no specific verb could be added to these examples to signal unambiguously that they involve attitude reporting. In this sense, logophoricity has no lexical licenser, overt or implicit.

⁸ As discussed in Spronck & Nikitina (2019), defining the notion of speech report in a cross-linguistically consistent way is itself a non-trivial task.

⁹ The indexical nature of the distance construction is confirmed by the use of a manner demonstrative ‘like this’, see Nikitina & Treis (fc.).

Even more problematically, logophoric pronouns occur in contexts that cannot be possibly constructed as involving any attitude report at all, such as in aspectual constructions (Nikitina 2018a). In (12)-(13), a construction involving the verb ‘say’ is used to render an aspectual meaning (prospective).

(12) *yī ē gé bā kó*
 water DEF say LOG boil

‘The water was about to boil.’ (lit., ‘The water said: let me boil!’)

(13) *ké wàtí gé bā bó mō*
 if time say LOG arrive PRT

‘When the time comes...’ (or ‘When the time is about to arrive.’)¹⁰

Examples of this sort present a problem to all existing accounts of logophoricity, which are inherently synchronic and do not capture diachronic meaning extensions. Examples (12)-(13) cannot be explained in terms of a [+author] feature, and they do not involve the role of reported speaker. There is also nothing in their interpretation suggesting a double perspective, as the entities involved can be hardly construed as having their own perspective (these are regular aspectual constructions involving no personification).

To a construction-based approach, examples of this sort present a challenge of form-function mismatch. They behave as perspective persistent constructions in the sense of Gentens *et al.* (2019) and Spronck *et al.* (this issue): while logophoric reports are normally expected to be associated with a double perspective, the aspectual constructions show no evidence for any perspective shift.

¹⁰ In (12)-(13) the logophoric pronoun is in the subject position, suggesting that it could come to be reanalyzed, in time, as a complementizer in some types of clause. This development, however, is likely hindered by the pronoun’s frequent occurrence in non-initial positions, as well as by a general restriction on subject omission (Wan is a non-pro-drop language).

3.2 Logophoric pronouns can refer to the actual speaker

Both lexical accounts postulate a fundamental meaning difference between first person and logophoric pronouns, predicting that they should appear in non-overlapping sets of contexts. According to Schlenker, “there may not exist any logophoric pronouns that denote the author of the actual speech act” (2003a: 423). Nikitina (2012a), too, assumes participant roles such as “speaker” and “addressee” as primitive universal notions. Yet in reality, the notion of person is no less intuitive and perhaps not much better defined than the notion of perspective.

Since at least Benveniste (1956), the meaning of pronouns has been a subject of ethnographic research exploring how categories of participant roles vary across languages and contexts, and suggesting that accounts building on such simplistic notions as “speaker” and “addressee” fail to do justice to the ways first and second person are used in real discourse (Goffman 1981; Levinson 1988). First person pronouns do not always refer to the actual speaker (Urban 1989; Rumsey 2000), their use depending on social construction of personhood and genre-specific sets of prescribed speech roles (Hanks 1996). Actual speakers are not always represented using first person pronouns, as evidenced, for example, by the use of third-person titles and proper names to refer to speech act participants.¹¹

This observation has ramifications for accounts of logophoricity. On the one hand, speakers who are not participants in the actual speech act can be referred to using first person pronouns, rather than logophoric pronouns; this will be shown in the next subsection. On the other hand, actual speakers can be represented by second and third person, and logophoric pronouns are then used to report their speech.

¹¹ Wan speakers often use proper names, in formal settings and when speaking French, to refer both to themselves and to their addressees. Speakers of English avoid using first and second person pronouns in certain types of speech situation, including rituals and speech addressed to young children (*Won't Johnny help Mommy?*).

Example (14) reports how the speaker warned his friend of his upcoming trip. He refers to himself in the second person, inviting the addressee to imagine herself in his place (he then continues in the first person to explain that he ended up leaving his friend behind in his village):

(14) *bā yá wā gó, lāā pē é lèj*
 field put NMLZ in 2SG+3SG told 3SG.REFL to
dóō bāá zò lé Klāgó
 QUOT LOG+COP come PROG K.

‘While in the field, I informed him that I was going to Klango.’

(Literally: “While in the field, you told him that you are going to Klango”.)

[Continued with: “I am going to Klango, but unless I am lying, he is now in Boayaokro.”]

Examples of this kind are not explained by identity issues: there is no question here of mistaking oneself for another person. It is rather a question of how certain types of potentially problematic decisions and actions are presented (in this case, the friend was left behind, even though the speaker claims to have informed him of his upcoming trip). This use of second person to refer to the actual speaker is a matter of social construction of responsibility, and can hardly be explained directly by the pronoun’s indexicality.¹² Crucially, when a logophoric pronoun appears in this context, it can hardly be claimed not to refer to the actual speaker: the speaker does not deny saying these words, and indeed continues reporting the consequences in the first person. The use of the second person invites the addressee to imagine herself in the same situation, and to accept the speaker’s implicit justification of his actions.

That both second person and logophoric pronouns refer to the actual speaker poses problems to lexical accounts of logophoricity, designed to prevent logophoric pronouns from

¹² Second person possessive pronouns are also commonly used in Wan to introduce characters of a story, e.g. ‘There was once your turtle...’. Adding to the typology of “shifted” uses of second person, Margetts (2015) discusses a number of cases from Saliba-Logea (Oceanic) where second person pronouns refer to third person participants in narrative contexts.

referring to the actual speaker. This restriction applies to cases where the actual speaker is also a reported one (explaining, for example, the wide-spread restriction on the use of logophoric pronouns in self-reports, where the reported speaker coincides with the current one).¹³

3.3 Logophoric pronouns can alternate with first person

A related problem is posed by patterns of alternation between logophoric and first person pronouns. Nikitina’s (2012a) account predicts that reported speakers should be encoded by logophoric pronouns if the language has them; similarly, Schlenker’s (2003a) account says nothing about the possibility of variation in the encoding of non-actual authors. In fact, many languages offer their speakers a choice between first person and a logophoric pronoun, often within the same stretch of reported discourse (Boyeldieu 2004a; Nikitina 2012b). In (15), a logophoric pronoun combines with a co-referential first person pronoun within the same sentence: a logophoric pronoun is used in a topic position, and a first person pronoun refers back to it from the position of an oblique argument.

(15)	<i>bé</i>	<i>è</i>	<i>gé</i>	<i>ēé!</i>	<i>bāā</i>	<i>kē</i>	<i>é,</i>
	then	3SG	said	yes	LOG.EMPH	that	DEF
	<i>lā</i>	<i>nòni</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	<i>mì</i>		
	2SG	lose	FUT	1SG	at		

‘And he said: Yes, as for myself, you won’t be able to recognize me.’

The fact that the reported speaker can be referred to in two different ways within the same stretch of reported discourse is hard to reconcile with the alleged semantic differences between first person and logophoric pronouns. Given that the logophoric pronoun is marked as [–actual],

¹³ This restriction is claimed to be widespread by von Roncador (1988), but exceptions have nevertheless been reported (Ngbaka, Gokana). If confirmed, the exceptions are potentially problematic for Schlenker’s (2003a) account.

it could only be co-referential with a first person pronoun if the first person pronoun is underspecified for the same feature, making the use of logophoric pronouns optional. This account does not explain why both a logophoric and a first person pronoun appear within the same speech report, and moreover, why they normally appear in a fixed order (a logophoric pronoun is followed by a co-referential first person pronoun, the reverse order being very rare).

The perspective-based approach does not provide a ready solution. One cannot assume that parts of the report featuring logophoric pronouns differ constructionally from the parts featuring first person pronouns. In Wan, at least, neither is more “direct” than the other in any perceptible way, apart from the occurrence of the logophoric pronoun itself. Why a report should start with a “biperspectival” pronoun and then switch to “monoperspectival” first person remains unexplained.

4. Proposed tentative solutions

Table 2 summarizes the different issues raised in the previous sections, and in the remaining parts of the paper I sketch out some tentative solutions.

Table 2. Issues raised by the data in previous sections

Issue	problematic for:	Summary
logophoric pronouns appear outside indirect discourse	Schlenker’s lexical feature-based account	logophoricity is associated with indirect discourse; yet in some languages logophoric pronouns appear in reports that are otherwise direct
logophoricity comes in varieties	Evans’ construction-oriented account	logophoric languages vary in the way other indexicals are treated in speech

		reports, and the difference does not seem to correspond to a difference in “directness”
logophoricity need not involve specialized pronouns	Evans’ construction-oriented account	no principled account of the gradient nature of logophoricity or of the historical change leading to specialization of logophoric pronouns
logophoric pronouns are not restricted to reported speech or attitude reports	all three accounts	some of the logophoric contexts involve no author, no speaker, and no reported speech act
logophoric pronouns can refer to the actual speaker	all three accounts, especially Schlenker’s and Nikitina’s lexical accounts	sometimes the logophoric pronoun refers to a participant who is, technically, the actual speaker (even though encoded by second person)
logophoric pronouns can be co-referential with first person	all three accounts, especially Schlenker’s and Nikitina’s lexical accounts	first person pronouns may co-refer to a preceding logophoric pronoun, sometimes within the same clause

First, we have seen that logophoric pronouns appear outside attitude reports, such as in aspectual constructions that no longer retain the original meaning of the verb ‘say’. The relevant construction in Wan involves a control structure: the subject of ‘say’ must be co-referential with the subject of the following clause. The logophoric pronoun is obligatory on the aspectual reading:

- (16) a. *yī ē gé bā kó*
water DEF say LOG boil

‘The water was about to boil.’ (lit., ‘The water said: let me boil!’)

- b. #yī ē gé ñ kó
 water DEF say 1SG boil

The structure associated with the aspectual meaning is more rigid than the one associated with speech reports. The subject of the logophoric clause must be co-referential with the subject of the verb ‘say’ (17a), and a loose anaphoric relation is not acceptable (17b).

- (17) a. ké yrē wàtí gé **bā** bó m̄
 if time say LOG arrive PRT
 ‘When the time of work comes...’
 (Literally, “When the time of work says: let me arrive...”)

- b. #ké yrē gé **bā** wàtí bó m̄
 if work say LOG time arrive PRT
 ‘When the time of work comes...’
 (Literally, “When the work says: let my time arrive...”)

The rigid structure suggests that when the verb ‘say’ is used on the aspectual reading, it enforces a control relation on the subject of the clause it subcategorizes for.¹⁴ This could be handled by specifying the control relation in the lexical entry of aspectual ‘say’. Since a separate lexical entry is needed for the aspectual use in any case, it could also be used to specify that the subject of the embedded clause must be logophoric.

This solution helps define the range of contexts where logophoric pronouns appear. Logophoric pronouns occurring outside attitude reports no longer seem to be motivated by their original meaning, just like the use of quotative markers need not be motivated by their original meaning in all contexts where they are found (Güldemann 2008; see also Matić & Pakendorf 2013). A control-based account of conventionalized uses distinguishes them from uses associated with speech and attitude reports at the synchronic level.

¹⁴ See Nikitina (2008) for more information on control relations in Wan.

Second, within speech and attitude reports, the meaning of logophoric pronouns needs to be revised in light of the actual complexity of the relationship between speech act participant roles and logophoric pronouns. On the one hand, actual speakers are sometimes referred to by logophoric pronouns, just as they are also referred to by second and third person pronouns. On the other hand, non-actual speakers can be referred to by first person pronouns, and such pronouns may be co-referential with a logophoric pronoun. The two facts suggest that semantic accounts relying on participant roles, which describe pronominal meaning in terms of notions such as “speaker”, “author”, or “epistemic validator” (Stirling 1993), are too rigid. They fail to capture the fluid nature of logophoricity in spoken discourse and patterns of alternation of logophoric and first person pronouns. A possible solution is to incorporate into the semantic account an additional discourse dimension describing the participant’s role in the narrative structure, in a way independent of its role in the speech act.

Crucially, the choice between logophoric and first person pronouns is not determined by strictly semantic factors but is mediated by categories that operate at the level of discourse structure. The category that seems most relevant to the data discussed so far is that of narrator. Incorporating it into the formal account of the meaning of logophoric pronouns helps explain uses that are problematic on a purely semantic analysis.

The primary function of logophoric pronouns is to distinguish speakers and sources of attitude reports from the text’s narrator – the agent responsible for interpreting the experience and turning it into a text. The narrator need not coincide with the actual speaker, since the same story can be told by different speakers. Actual speakers need not always be constructed as narrators, since the actual speaker may lend their voice to the story’s characters or claim to be merely reproducing a text originally produced by someone else. Sometimes an actual speaker may be disguised as another participant, as in (14), where he refers to himself as an addressee. The complexities of the relationship between the actual speaker on the one hand and the narrator as the experience-interpreting agent on the other are reflected in the use of logophoric pronouns.

Logophoric pronouns must refer to a speaker or the participant to whom an attitude report is attributed whenever that participant is not construed as the narrator. First person pronouns, on the other hand, are not specified, in Wan, for the narrative role: they can refer, within or outside speech reports, to any speaker or attitude holder, within the limits determined by social and genre-specific norms of construction of personhood. The underspecified meaning of the first person explains why logophoric pronouns may alternate with first person pronouns when the actual speaker represents speech by characters: as long as the characters are distinct from the narrator, either pronoun can be used. Logophoric pronouns are used in contexts where the actual speaker claims to reproduce a text by another speaker, acting as a representative of the original narrator: they appear, for example, in the context of triadic communication when the speaker's role is restricted to that of an intermediary (Ameka 2004). Finally, sensitivity to the narrator role explains why logophoric pronouns appear in contexts where actual speakers represent themselves as another participant, for example, by referring to themselves as an addressee in (14). Even though that participant coincides with the actual speaker, it can now be represented as different from the narrator, creating the special distancing effect we see in that example.

The modified lexical account presents an elegant view of the Wan pronominal system: all persons are now underspecified for their evaluation context (actual vs. reported). Thus, first person pronouns can refer either to actual speakers or to story characters; the difference in interpretation does not imply a syntactic difference in the type of report. As we saw earlier, second person pronouns, too, can refer to actual or reported addressees; the difference in interpretation does not imply a syntactic difference or a difference in "perspective". Different evaluation contexts may be freely combined within the same report, as we saw in (6).

5. Conclusion

This study argued that existing approaches to logophoricity cannot, in their current form, accommodate discourse data from even one particular language. Lexical accounts seem to do better than construction-oriented, perspective-based approaches; yet they, too, need to be revised in light of new data. Several general conclusions can be drawn from this.

First, we still know little about discourse phenomena, and analyses based on elicited data often have to be revised when natural data becomes available (Nikitina 2018b). Many phenomena that are currently treated in semantic terms may need to be reconsidered to accommodate discourse-level categories.

Second, multiple aspects of language structure are subsumed under the notion of perspective, and even seemingly uniform phenomena such as discourse reporting may not yield themselves to analyses relying on that notion. Attempts to typologize discourse reporting strategies based on perspective shifts are unlikely to be productive if European-style perspective turns out to be irrelevant in some languages. There are indications that entirely different principles may underly the choice of deictic values in logophoric languages; in Wan, for example, a crucial role is played by the participant's role in the narrative structure, rather than the participant's involvement in the current speech act. This suggests that the notion of perspective may need further defining if it is to be used in cross-linguistic comparison.

Third, while the proposed analysis is unconventional in going beyond the standard semantic and syntactic notions, it relies on notions that are extensively used in narratology and ethnographic study of language. It accords well with earlier observations of the relevance of various aspects of narrative structure for a number of morphosyntactic phenomena, ranging from the use of genre-specific temporal-aspectual forms to the choice of anaphoric elements (Nikitina 2018a). This aspect of linguistic structure has so far remained lamentably understudied, but one can be hopeful that discourse phenomena – including the notions of perspective and perspective shift – will receive more sustained scrutiny as the focus of theoretical linguistics shifts to the study of spoken data from lesser-studied languages.

Abbreviations

COP – copula, D – determiner, DEF – definite marker, EMPH – emphatic, FUT – future, M – masculine, LOG – logophoric, NMLZ – nominalization, PL – plural, POSS – possessor, PROSP – prospective, PRT – particle, Q – question, QUOT – quotative, REFL – reflexive, SG – singular, SP – speaker, T – tense

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