

Babanki logophoricity in a Ring perspective

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Babanki logophoric system

(1) Market announcement by the village council messenger revealing the use of logophoric pronouns

a. *wàyn* *gàʔ* *lá* *yì* *dʒù-ù* *á* *ḅ-dʒèʔ*
1.child say QT LOG go-PROG to 5-journey

‘The Fon says he_i (LOG) is going on a trip.’

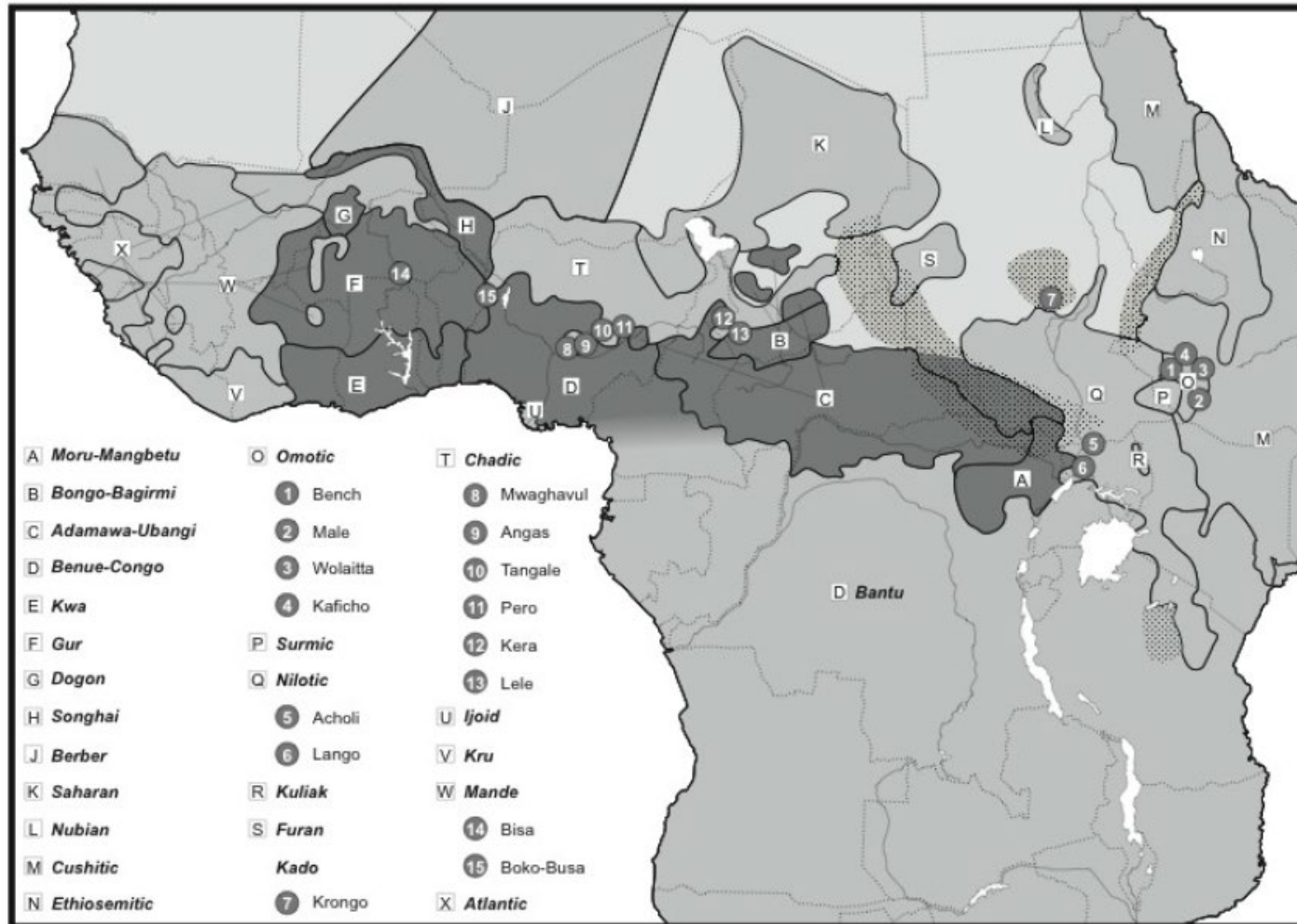
b. *yà* *gàʔ* *lá* *yì* *sá* *pfwó* *dʒí-sá* *m-bán-á* *tá* *wóóŋ*
3SG say QT LOG before return road-10 N-shine-PROG only IDEO

‘He_i says that before he_i (LOG) returns all roads should have been cleaned.’

c. *lá* *vá* *á* *fèʔ* *à* *yì* *ḅ-sím* *á* *ŋgám*
QT 3PL F1 work at LOG 5-farm on 9.week

‘That everyone will work on his_i (LOG) farm next week.’

Logophoricity in African languages (Güldemann 2008)



Road map

1. Central parameters of Babanki logophoric system

- logophoric trigger in the matrix clause
- marking of person and number
- syntactic functions
- creation of the logophoric domain by the interaction of report opener and report predicates

2. Recurrent contexts and institutions of Babanki “triadic communication” (Ameka 2004)

3. Summary with a perspective on the broader situation of logophoricity in the Ring subgroup of Grassfields Bantu.

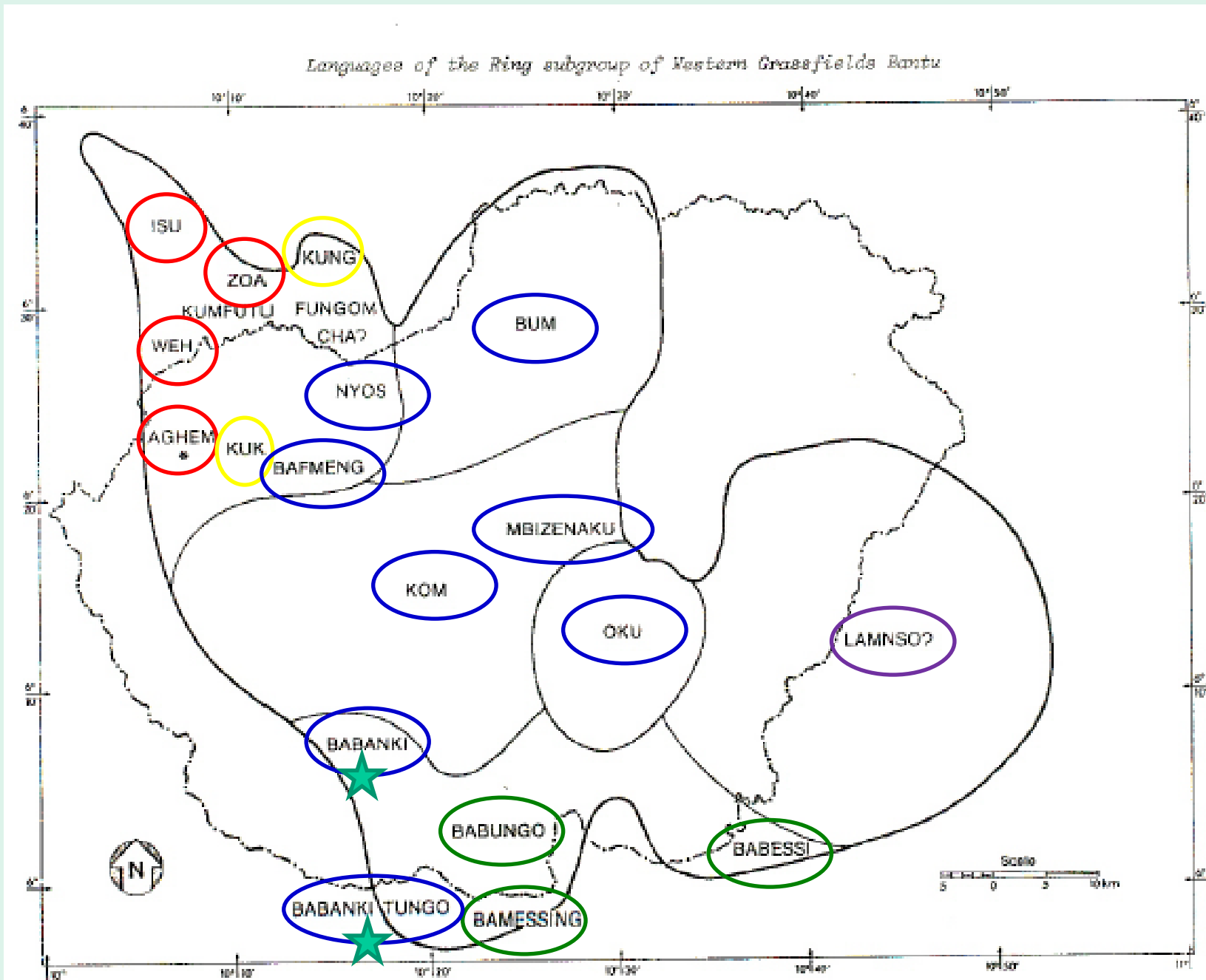


Le Nord-Ouest du Cameroun, où sont parlées les Langues Ring

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Ring

- West Ring
- Central Ring
- ?WR/CR?
- East Ring
- South Ring



Hyman 1979

1. Central parameters of the logophoric system of Babanki

1.1 Logophoric trigger in the matrix clause

- Ring languages have a ‘reported speaker logophoric pronoun’ system (Ameka 2017: 517), e.g., Aghem (Hyman 1979: 50-51) and Babanki.
- Therefore, logophoric pronouns refer exclusively to the source of the reported speech, i.e., the subject of the matrix clause, not the addressee.

(3) a. *wùwì* *gà?* *à* *wàyn* *lá* *yì* *tà* *zèn* *jàm*
1.woman say to 1.child QT LOG P2 buy 9.meat
‘The woman_i told the child that she_i (LOG) bought meat.’

b. *wùwì* *gà?* *à* *wàyn* *lá* *ɣà* *tà* *zèn* *jàm*
1.woman say to 1.child QT 3SG P2 buy 9.meat
‘The woman told the child that s/he bought meat.’

Central parameters of the logophoric system of Babanki

1.2 Logophoricity marking

- **Person:** In many languages, logophoric pronouns are restricted to third person reference, while some also allow for second and first person reference, following Hyman & Comrie's (1981) implicational hierarchy of $3 > 2 > 1$ for logophoric pronouns.
- **Number:** Languages may distinguish logophoric singular pronouns from plurals.

Person and number: Babanki non-logophoric pronouns

person	subject	non-subject	possessive
1SG	<i>mà</i>	<i>mò</i>	<i>óm</i>
2SG	<i>wù</i>	<i>wù</i>	<i>yà ~ wù</i>
3SG	<i>γà</i>	<i>àwén</i>	<i>wén</i>
1DUAL	<i>yúwù</i>	<i>yúwù</i>	<i>yúwù</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>vá[↓] γάη</i>	<i>vá[↓] γάη</i>	<i>vá[↓] γάη</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>yès</i>	<i>yès</i>	<i>yés</i>
2PL	<i>γàη</i>	<i>γàη</i>	<i>άη</i>
3PL	<i>vàwé</i>	<i>vàwé</i>	<i>vàwé</i>

Logophoricity marking

1.2.1 Person

□ Ring languages, LOG pronoun restricted to 3SG.

(4) Aghem (Hyman 1979: 50)

- a. *wìzín m̀ dzè jí[↓] á ò m̀ bv̀ ǹ* ‘The woman_i said that s/he_j fell.’
b. *wìzín m̀ dzè jí[↓] á é m̀ bv̀ ǹ* ‘The woman_i said that she_i (LOG) fell.’

(5) Kuk

- a. *ũ b̄i l̄ w̄i b̀l̄l̄ m̄* ‘S/he_i said that s/he_j will beat me.’
b. *ũ b̄i l̄ z̄i b̀l̄l̄ m̄* ‘S/he_i said that s/he_i (LOG) will beat me.’

Logophoricity marking

1.2.1 Person

- ❑ 1SG and 2SG in the reported speech domain cannot refer to a third person subject in the matrix clause but only to speaker and addressee of the entire speech act.

(6) Babanki usage of 1st and 2nd person in the logophoric domain

a. *wùwì* *gà?* *à* *wàyn* *lá* *yì* *á* *né* *vì* *nàntfwì*
1.woman say to 1.child QT LOG DJ F2 come afternoon

‘The woman_i told the child that she_i (LOG) will come in the afternoon.’

b. *wùwì* *gà?* *à* *wàyn* *lá* *mà* *á* *né* *vì* *nàntfwì*
1.woman say to 1.child QT 1SG DJ F2 come afternoon

‘The woman told the child that I (reporter) will come in the afternoon.’

c. *wùwì* *gà?* *à* *wàyn* *lá* *wù* *á* *né* *vì* *nàntfwì*
1.woman say to 1.child QT 2SG DJ F2 come afternoon

‘The woman told the child that you (addressee) will come in the afternoon.’

Logophoricity marking

1.2.1 Person

- Vice versa, *yì* ‘LOG’ cannot refer to 1SG or 2SG trigger in the matrix clause. 1SG or 2SG must be repeated in the reported speech clause.

(7) Babanki usage of 1st and 2nd person in the logophoric domain

a. *mà* gà? à wàyn lá *mà* á né vì nàntfwì
1SG say to 1.child QT 1SG DJ F2 come afternoon

‘I told the child that I will come in the afternoon.’

b. *Wù* gà? à wàyn lá *wù* á né vì nàntfwì
2SG say to 1.child QT 2SG DJ F2 come afternoon

‘I told the child that you will come in the afternoon.’

Support for implicational person logophoric pronouns hierarchy $3 > 2 > 1$ (Hyman & Comrie 1981): 3rd persons more easily accessible than 2nd and 1st persons to logophoric marking.

Logophoricity marking

1.2.2 Number

- ❑ Ring languages LOG restricted to singular use.
- ❑ Ordinary 3PL markers used for both (non-)logophoric reference, which produces ambiguity.

(8) Aghem (adapted from Hyman 1979: 51)

yé mō dzè ní[↓] á yé mō bvè nò

‘They_i said that they_j (other people) / they_i (themselves) fell.’

(9) Babanki

vàwé gà? lá vâwé tâ fǎŋ

‘They_i said that they_j (other people) / they_i (themselves) fell.’

‘If a language has logophoric pronouns it will have a singular pronoun, but not all logophoric pronoun languages have plural pronouns’ (Ameka 2017: 524) .

Central parameters of the logophoric system of Babanki

1.3 Grammatical functions of Ring logophoric pronouns

□ May vary according to their syntactic functions as subject, object or possessor

(10) Ring logophoric pronouns according to grammatical functions

	Aghem	Babungo	Oku	Babanki
subject	<i>é</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>ʒī</i>	<i>yì</i>
object	<i>yé</i>	<i>yì</i>	<i>ʒī</i>	<i>yì</i>
possessor	<i>yé</i>	<i>wí</i>	<i>í</i>	<i>yí</i>

Grammatical functions of Ring logophoric pronouns

(11) Logophoric pronoun as subject in the reported speech

a. Babanki

(i) *yà gà? lá yà vì-ì*
3SG say QT 3SG come-PROG
'S/he_i says that s/he_j is coming.'

(ii) *yà gà? lá yì vì-ì*
3SG say QT LOG come-PROG
'S/he_i says that s/he_i (LOG) is coming.'

b. Oku (Hyman 2018: 206)

(i) *èb sōí gē èb gwí yè*
3SG say QT 3SG come PROG
'S/he_i says that s/he_j is coming.'

(ii) *èb sōí gē ʒī gwí yè*
3SG say QT LOG come PROG
'S/he_i says that s/he_i (LOG) is coming.'

Grammatical functions of Ring logophoric pronouns

(12) Logophoric pronoun as direct object in the reported speech

a. Babanki

(i) *yà gà? lá mà tà yèn òwén*
3SG say QT 1SG P2 see 3SG

‘S/he_i says that I saw him_j/her_j.’

(ii) *yà gà? lá mà tà yèn yī*
3SG say QT 1SG P2 see LOG

‘S/he_i says that I saw him_i/her_i (LOG).’

b. Oku (Hyman 2018: 206)

(i) *èb sōí gē mé nè ló yèn wīn*
3SG say QT 1SG PST PFV see 3SG

‘S/he_i says that I saw him_j/her_j.’

(ii) *èb sōí gē mé nè ló yèn ʒī*
3SG say QT 1SG PST PFV see LOG

‘S/he_i says that I saw him_i/her_i (LOG).’

Grammatical functions of Ring logophoric pronouns

(13) Logophoric pronoun as possessor in the reported speech

a. Babanki

(i) *yà gàʔ lá yì yéná f̃ə-nín f̃ə-wén*
3SG say QT LOG see 19-bird 19-3SG
'S/he_i says that s/he_i sees his_j/her_j bird.'

(ii) *yà gàʔ lá yì yéná f̃ə-nín āf-yí*
3SG say QT LOG see 19-bird 19-LOG
'S/he_i says that s/he_i sees his_j/her_j bird.'

b. Oku (Hyman 2018: 207)

(i) *èb sōí gē zī yéná f̃ē-nín á-wīn*
3SG say QT LOG see 19-bird 19-3SG
'S/he_i says that s/he_i sees his_j/her_j bird.'

(ii) *èb sōí gē zī yéná f̃ē-nín f-i*
3SG say QT LOG see 19-bird 19-LOG
'S/he_i says that s/he_i sees his_j/her_j (LOG) bird.'

Central parameters of the logophoric system of Babanki

1.4 Report opener and report predicates

- ❑ Ring languages require a report opener, e.g., Babanki **quotative particle *lá***, and a **licensing verb** to create the logophoric domain.
- ❑ Verbs that license the use of logophorics (Stirling 1993; Culy 1994; Huang 2000) in Babanki are numerous and come from the semantic domains of **speech acts, cognition, conception, volition and perception**.
- ❑ Relatively high degree of grammaticalization of logophoric marking in Babanki which is in accordance with the hierarchy of logophoric licensers [speech > thought > knowledge > direct perception] (Stirling 1993: 259, Culy 1994).

Report opener and report predicates

(14) Babanki quotative marker as report opener: subject

a. *yà gàʔ lá yì vî-ì*
3SG say QT LOG come-PROG

‘He_i says that he_i (LOG) is coming.’ [speech act]

b. *yà lyèsà lá yì dìʔí zí*
3SG forget QT LOG COP eat

‘He_i forgot that he_i (LOG) has to eat.’ [Cognition]

c. *yà kwòʔ-à lá yì búná*
3SG think-PROG QT LOG sleep

‘He_i thinks that he_i (LOG) should sleep.’ [Conception]

d. *yà kòŋ lá yì kíʔí ā-kó*
3SG love QT LOG have 3-money

‘He_i loves that he_i (LOG) should have money.’ [emotion]

e. *yà dzìm-à lá yì nù mú[↓]ú*
3SG wish-PROG QT LOG drink 6a.water

‘He_i wishes that he_i (LOG) should drink.’ [volition]

2. Logophoricity in the Babanki culture of communication

Logophoricity marking indicates that information transmitted originates from a different source and that the ‘transmitter’ is only acting as a mouthpiece and is not responsible for the message.

(15) Babanki proverb

kwifòn á kó tímà pfù ntím

1.kwifon DJ NEG ever die 9.message

‘A messenger cannot be held responsible for the content of a message.’

Protects intermediary from any negative consequences e.g. insults or rebukes of delivering unpleasant information from a secondary source. In Yoruba land consequences can be misfortunes, illness and even death (Bamgboṣe 1986).

Babanki contexts of triadic communication, i.e. ‘the art of communicating with another through a third party’ (Ameka 2017: 531)

- Palace messengers are sent regularly with announcements or invitations to various activities.
- Village court secretary sent to announce court session verdicts to observers
- Marriage negotiations carried out by representatives of the families of the bride and bridegroom
- Birth and death announcements by a person other than the concerned or affected.
- Translation of the speech of a non-Babanki speaker during visits or church services

3. Logophoricity in the Ring subgroup of Grassfields Bantu: concluding remarks

3.1 Logophoricity marking

- ❑ **Person:** Ring logophoric pronouns restricted to third person reference

- ❑ **Number:** Single LOC in Ring languages restricted to singular use. In plural contexts, ordinary 3PL markers used for both (non-) logophoric reference.

Concluding remarks

3.2 Grammatical functions of Ring logophoric pronouns:

- ❑ May vary according to their syntactic functions as subject, object or possessor
- ❑ Consequently, two distinct logophorics systems:
 1. subject vs. object and possessive (Aghem, Men)
 2. subject and object vs. possessive (Babanki, Kom, Oku, Babungo).

(16) Comparison of third logophoric vs. non-logophoric pronouns across Ring languages

	3 rd LOG	3 rd non-LOG
Babanki	<i>yì</i> (S,O), <i>yí</i> (P)	<i>yà</i> (S), <i>àwén</i> (O), <i>wén</i> (P)
Bum	<i>yí</i> (S,O?,P?)	<i>wù</i> (S), <i>wūn</i> (O,P)
Men	<i>zì</i> / <i>èzà</i> (S), <i>vēŋ</i> (O,P)	<i>è(vá)</i> (S), <i>vèŋ</i> (O), <i>vēŋ</i> (P)
Kom	<i>yī</i> (S,O), <i>vī</i> (P)	<i>wù</i> (S), <i>ŋwēn</i> (O,P)
Kuk	<i>zí</i> (S,O?,P?)	<i>ù</i> (S), <i>wáí</i> (O,P)
Kung	??	<i>ù</i> (S), <i>wáí</i> (O), <i>íi</i> (P)
Oku	<i>zī</i> (S,O), <i>vī</i> (P)	<i>èb</i> (S), <i>wēn</i> (O,P)
Aghem	<i>é</i> (S), <i>yé</i> (O,P)	<i>ò</i> (S), <i>wín</i> (O,P)
Bu	??	<i>ù</i> (S), <i>wáí</i> (O,P)
Isu	<i>í</i> / <i>iyé</i> (S,O,P)	<i>ù</i> (S), <i>wé</i> (O,P)
Weh	<i>í</i> (S, O?,P?)	<i>tá</i> (S), <i>wí</i> (O,P)
Zoa	<i>yè</i> (S,O,P?)	<i>(m)á</i> (S), <i>wád</i> (O), <i>wáŋ</i> (P)
Lamnso'	<i>wim</i> (S,O?,P?)	<i>wù</i> (S), <i>wūn</i> (O), <i>vā</i> (P)
Babungo	<i>yì</i> (S,O), <i>wí</i> (P)	<i>ŋwá</i> (S,O), <i>wí</i> (P)
Kenswei Nsei	??	<i>wà</i> (S), <i>wá</i> (O), <i>nii</i> (P)
Babessi	<i>yí</i> (S,O?,P?)	<i>yí</i> (S), <i>ŋá</i> (O), <i>yí:</i> (P)

□ Common element *i* identified with the reconstructed Proto-Grassfields Bantu plain third person singular pronoun **i* which serves both anaphoric and logophoric functions in Eastern Grassfields (Hyman 2018).

Concluding remarks

(17) Babanki LOG vs. non-LOG pronouns according to syntactic functions:

	subject	object	possessor
non-logophoric	<i>yà</i>	<i>àwén</i>	<i>wén</i>
logophoric		<i>yì</i>	<i>yí</i>

- Rather than innovation of contemporary logophorics, Ring languages have renewed plain third person pronouns by grammaticalisation of either proximal demonstratives or the noun ‘body’.

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