# Pronouns, Logophoricity and Point of View in South Saami

South Saami (Finno-Ugric, central Sweden and Norway, approx. 1000 speakers) has three series of third person pronouns, D-, S- and Null pronouns (1). The language lacks grammatical gender.

(1)   D-pronouns   S-pronouns   Null pronouns

	D-pronouns	S-pronouns	Null pronouns
3s	dihte	satne	pro
3d	dah (guaktah)	såtnoe	pro
3p	dah	sijjieh	pro

In this paper, I argue that the distribution of the pronouns in (1) follows from the context-sensitive approach proposed in Sigurðsson (2004, 2014, 2011) and Baker (2008) (see also Diercks 2013). A pronoun must be linked to a designated element in the extended C-domain, which in turn relates to a clause-external entity:

(Y)   X $[_{CP} \dots$ Y$\dots [_{TP} \dots$ Z $\dots]]$
               |_____||_____|
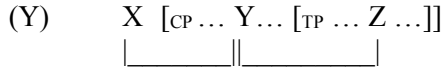
The distribution of D- and Null pronouns closely resemble overt and covert pronouns in Italian-style prodrop languages (Rizzi 1982, 1986), such that D-pronouns induce topic shift whereas null pronouns signal topic continuity (Grimshaw and Samek-Ludovici 1996), (2a). Following Frascarelli (2007), I take pro to be contingent on and coindexed with a null A-Topic operator in the C-domain, (2b). In contrast, <u>dihte</u> overtly or covertly raises to the topic position, (2c) (see Holmberg 2010).

(2)   a Læjsa$_i$ Maarjam$_k$ diervesji
             L.Nom   M.Acc   greet.Pst.3s
             [gosse   **pro$_{i/*k}$/dihte$_{*i/k}$/satne$_{*i/*k}$** gaatan   byjjelen veedtsi.]
             when   pro/D/S.Nom   street.Gen   across   walk.Pst.3s
             'Læjsa$_i$ greeted Maarja$_k$, when she$_{i/k}$ crossed the street.'
    b Læjsa$_i$ … $[_{CP}$ A-TOP$_i$ … $[_{TP}$ pro$_i$ ..]] c Læjsa$_i$ … $[_{CP}$ <dihte$_k$> … $[_{TP}$ dihte$_k$ ..]]

S-pronoun are illicit in contexts like (2), but are restricted to the clausal complement of attitude verbs, (3), in which case the pronoun is obligatorily coindexed with the matrix subject. Hence, the S-series is logophoric (Adesola 2005, Clements 1975, Safir 2004). Logophoric pronouns are standardly analyzed as being bound by a logophoric operator, LOG, which occurs in the complement CP, (3b) (Adesola 2005, Koopman and Sportiche 1989, Safir 2004). LOG in turn is controlled by the matrix subject.

(3)   a Piere$_i$ jeehti   **dihte$_{*i/j}$/satne$_{i/*j}$** edtja   måvhkam   bïssedh.
             Piere.Nom say.Pst.3s   D/S.Nom   will.Prs.3s pants.Acc   wash.Inf
             'Piere said that he$_{i/j}$ will wash the pants.'
    b … DP$_i$ V$_{Log}$ $[_{CP}$ LOG$_i$ … $[_{TP}$ LogPron$_i$…]]…

One strong piece of evidence for a logophoric account is found in the fact that sentences with multiple occurrences of S-pronouns allow interleaving effects (Safir 2004):

(4)   Piere$_i$ veanhta $[_{CP}$ LOG$_i$ Læjsa$_k$ jeehti $[_{CP}$ LOG$_k$ **satne$_{i/k}$**   **satnem$_{i/k}$**   lyjhkoe]].
        P.Nom   think.Prs.3s   L.Nom   say.Pst.3s   S.Nom S.Acc   like.Prs.3s
    (i) 'Piere$_i$ thinks that Læjsa$_k$ said that he$_i$ likes her$_k$.'
    (ii) 'Piere$_i$ thinks that Læjsa$_k$ said that she$_k$ likes him$_i$.'

While S-pronouns tend to be illicit in non-logophoric contexts, they may under certain circumstances occur in main clauses, (5). The felicitous reading of (5a) has a reportive interpretation, in the sense of Kuroda (1973). (5a) reports that <u>satne</u> assesses his/her belongings to lack value, although an outside observer may deem them valuable. That is, an omniscient speaker/narrator reports on the emotions etc. of the third person (Kuroda 1973). If <u>dihte</u> serves as subject, (5b), the interpretation is non-reportive (Kuroda 1973), reflecting the assessment of an outside observer (see also Iida 1992, Kuno and Kaburaki 1977).

(5)   a #Ij   **satne**   utnieh   maam   gelkieh   sualadidh.
             Neg.Prs.3s S.Nom have   wh.Acc might.Prs.3p   steal.Inf
             'He doesn't have anything they would like to steal.'
    b Ij   **dihte**   utnieh   maam   gelkieh   sualadidh.

I claim, along the lines of Clements (1975) and Culy (1997), that the non-logophoric use of the S-pronoun corresponds to *point of view* (Huang and Ochi 2004, Oshima 2007, Pollard and Sag 1992). Specifically, non-logophoric <u>satne</u> is linked with a Point of View (POV) element in the C-domain, (6). POV is controlled

by the clause external omniscient narrator X:

(6) X_i [$_{CP}$ … POV_i… [$_{TP}$ … $satne_i$…]]

To summarize, pronouns are not interpreted in isolation. Typically, their interpretation is contingent on both clause external and clause internal factors. Rizzi (1997) argues that the C-domain is an interface between a propositional content in TP and clause-external contexts, where clause-external may refer to either another clause or a discourse (e.g. Giorgi 2009, Holmberg and Platzack 2005). The phenomena considered in this paper follow from Sigurðsson's and Baker's proposals that a pronoun Z contained in TP relates to a linker element Y in CP, and Y is subject to contextual control.

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