Logophoricity and shifts of perspective:

New facts and a new account[*]

Tatiana Nikitina (CNRS-LLACAN)

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 (through role-to-value mapping mechanisms, as in Nikitina 2012a,b; or through feature specification, as in 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.

[*] This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 758232).

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. It is commonly taken for granted that a difference in perspective underlies the distinction between direct and indirect speech, cf. the widely cited description by Coulmas:

> "The fundamental difference between the two lies in the speaker perspective or point of view of the reporter: In direct speech the reporter lends his voice to the original speaker <…> In indirect speech, on the other hand, the reporter comes to the fore." (1986: 2)

In spite of the growing body of literature on reported speech, the notion of perspective remains largely pre-theoretical; it is normally treated as primitive and universal, and is rarely defined explicitly. The notion's vagueness, however, does not prevent it from being applied to a wide range of discourse reporting strategies, no matter how dissimilar to canonical instances of direct and indirect speech they may look. New and exotic strategies tend to be described as *deviations* from the "direct" and the "indirect" ideals instantiated by European languages (Evans 2013; Güldemann & von Roncador 2002; von Roncador 1988, *inter alia*).

Among strategies that do not yield themselves easily to the direct/indirect dichotomy, logophoric speech is one of typologists' favorites: it has been described repeatedly as an instance of some sort of mixed perspective, as suggested by such characterizations as "semi-direct", "semi-indirect", "combined", "neutralized", and "biperspectival" (Aikhenvald 2008; Boyeldieu 2004b; Evans 2013; Thomas 1978). Given the amount of attention logophoricity has received since Hagège (1974), surprisingly little progress has been made in understanding its nature and underlying mechanisms. Theoretical studies commonly rely on the same few examples, drawn from just a few African languages; what is worse, the examples taken to provide crucial evidence are often presented out of context, belying the very concept of logophoricity as a discourse phenomenon. The scarcity of detailed corpus-based descriptions accounts for the fact that after so many years of research many aspects of logophoricity still remain ill-understood.

In this study I review three major recent theoretical proposals regarding the nature of logophoricity, two lexical (Nikitina 2012a; Schlenker 2003a,b) and one essentially constructional[1] (Evans 2013). I show that all three fail to account for the way logophoricity functions when data from particular languages is considered more closely. Although I cannot review here all existing treatments of logophoricity, I believe that the discussion of problems faced by the three particular accounts can be extended to an entire class of lexical and constructional approaches. While my data are drawn mostly from Wan (Mande, Côte d'Ivoire), I strongly suspect that similar issues can be raised based on narrative data from other logophoric languages. In pointing out the aspects of data that challenge the existing accounts, I focus on issues that either have not received sufficient attention or have been treated inadequately in the theoretical literature. My proposed tentative solution blends the notion of perspective, so widely used in the study of direct/indirect speech, with a new, previously ignored structural dimension: narrative roles, which differ both from semantic roles and from speech act participant roles.

1.2 Three recent accounts: a contrastive analysis

Logophoric pronouns appear in two types of context that traditionally receive rather different treatment in formal semantics: reported speech, where they refer to the speaker of the reported speech event, and attitude reports, where they refer to the participant to whom the attitude report is attributed (Clements 1975; Hagège 1974) [2]. Logophoricity is a characteristic feature of West

[1] My use of the term "construction" is more restrictive than the use adopted in the Construction Grammar tradition, as 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.

[2] The phenomenon of logophoricity blurs the distinction between the reporting of speech and the reporting of cognitive relation to a proposition, motivating researchers to treat discourse reports

and Central African languages, but it is by no means restricted to Africa (cf. Bugaeva 2008 on Ainu).[3] A typical example is presented in (1a) below; the contrast with (1b) shows that when a logophoric pronoun is replaced with a third person pronoun, a change in meaning occurs: in (1b) the participant is understood not to coincide with the reported speaker.

(1) Wan:

a.	*ɓé*	*à*	*nɔ̀*	*gé*	***ɓā***	*ɓé*	*gōmɔ̄*
	then	3SG	wife	said	LOG	that.one	understood
	'And his wife$_i$ said she$_i$ had understood that.' (Nikitina 2012b: 283)						
b.	*ɓé*	*à*	*nɔ̀*	*gé*	***è***	*ɓé*	*gōmɔ̄*
	then	3SG	wife	said	3SG	that.one	understood
	'And his wife said he had understood that.'						

Before proceeding to the discussion of data that an adequate account of logophoricity should be able to accommodate, I review three recent approaches to the meaning of logophoric pronouns. All three will be shown to fail at capturing the full range of logophoric pronouns' properties.

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. Other languages impose no such restriction, so that their first person pronouns can be evaluated with respect to the context of a reported speech act (Amharic). There are also languages

---

as a type of attitude report and sometimes causing them to assign, erroneously, properties of indirect discourse to speech 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 regularly outside logophoric contexts. Many languages all around the world lack a dedicated logophoric pronoun but employ reflexive and other pronouns in a special logophoric function; I return to this type of language briefly below, in the context of historical change from third person to logophoric ponouns.

that use pronouns that must be evaluated with respect to the context of a reported speech act (logophoric languages). Thus, according to Schlenker, 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 "standard cases of indirect discourse without any quotational intrusion" (2003a: 411), and their difference from English indirect speech derives essentially from the pronoun's lexical specification: a logophoric pronoun must refer to a speaker, but cannot refer to the actual speaker.

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 pronominal systems, and logophoric languages are but one type of a system alternative to that of European deixis. 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 (the logophoric languages). While this version of a lexicalist account is similar to that of Schlenker in exploring cross-linguistic differences in pronominal meaning, it does not rest on the assumption that logophoric pronouns are associated with indirect discourse. It predicts, accordingly, that in different 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 (as we will see below, this prediction is borne out by the data).

In sum, the two lexical accounts are similar in assuming that pronouns have different meaning 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). He locates the cross-linguistic variation not in differences in pronominal meaning but rather in the way language-specific reported speech *constructions* operate. He assumes, following the tenets of canonical typology, that structures recruited to represent reported discourse can be 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). They are "biperspectival", i.e. 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). In this sense, the use of logophoric pronouns is akin to the use of relative tense in indirect speech: both involve, according to Evans, a complex evaluation from two different points of view. Unlike the lexical accounts, this approach aims at characterizing entire speech-reporting constructions, placing them on a direct/indirect continuum.

Table 1 summarizes the basic properties of the three accounts. Although all three look a priori reasonable, I will show below that they 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. Some 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-known 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 therefore 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 fc.).[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 (which must be shifted). 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

[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).

that languages – including logophoric languages – deviate in various ways from the ideals of "direct" and "indirect" speech).[5]

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*	*ɓé*	***lā***	***ɓa¯***	*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".

Even the same language may show a mixture of "direct" and "indirect" values, forcing its speakers to evaluate different pronouns with respect to different contexts. This point is further

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

illustrated for Wan in example (5), where the logophoric pronoun combines with a first person plural pronoun. The first person plural (exclusive) pronoun is interpreted with respect to the actual speech act, as referring to the actual speaker and accompanying third persons. This interpretation is in contrast with (4) where a second person pronoun was evaluated with respect to the reported speech act.

(5)	*ɓé*	*gé*	***ɓāá***	***kḡ̱***	*tɔ́gɔ̄lē*	*dō*	*tɛ́-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.")

It turns out that 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. Ewe and Wan would both be described as employing "biperspectival" (= logophoric) pronouns, but they would presumably be placed on different points of the direct-indirect continuum (since other speech act participants are treated so differently). 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 (for example, second person could refer to the actual addressee or to the addressee of the reported speech act).

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), for example, 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 "bi-perspectival" logophoric pronoun – from two different perspectives at the same time.[6] The perspective-based account does not provide us with a mechanism that could be used to deal with this partially constrained variation of interpretation or to predict which of the person values allow for which types of evaluation.

(6) *ké* *tūàbù* *é* *pē* *gé* ***ḡ̱*** ***lā*** *pēbɔ* *glà* *gɛ̄* *ō*

if European DEF said say 2PL 2SG baggage take PRT PRT

mɔ̄ɔ́ ***lā*** *pēbɔ̄* *glà*

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.'

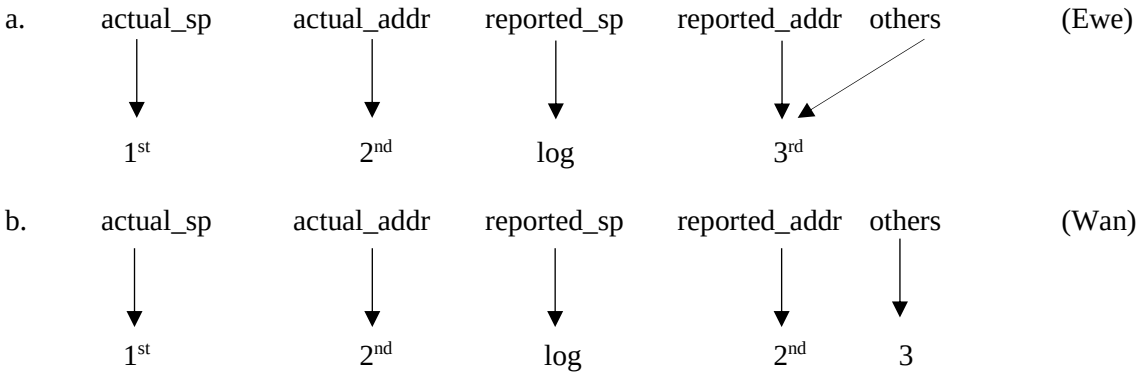
On the other hand, by placing the speech reporting strategies of Ewe and Wan on two different points of the same direct-indirect continuum, the perspective-based account would presumably predict subtle differences between the two strategies in terms of perspective or perhaps in the degree of commitment to the reported proposition. Yet there seems to be no substantial difference in the way logophoric reports are used in the two languages, hence there is no evidence that the two strategies differ in any way in their function.

Unlike the construction-based account, both versions of lexical account seem 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

[6] Example (6) in fact involves an embedded speech report with an omitted matrix clause ("They said"). Hence in this particular case 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.

(2012a,b) role-to-value mapping account, Ewe and Wan simply instantiate slightly different options for associating pronouns with speech act participants. In fact, her account predicts that variation of this kind should be found. Ewe restricts first and second persons to actual speech act participants, while in Wan, both actual speech act participants and participants of a reported speech act are mapped onto second person values, as summarized in (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 on logophoricity 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 African languages rely on dedicated *logophoric pronouns*, many more seem to use other means to achieve the same goal: in particular, many languages use reflexive or third person pronouns in a *logophoric function* (this happens, of course, in many non-African languages, too, including Japanese or Latin). Culy (1994) describes the two types as languages with *pure* and *mixed* logophoricity, respectively. The two types of logophoricity, 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 such as Japanese and Latin differ from African languages in that they do not restrict the use of reflexive pronouns for co-reference

marking to attitude reports (if they did, the pronouns would be described as logophoric, rather than reflexive).

What is rarely recognized in accounts of logophoricity is the gradient nature of the distinction between pure and mixed logophoric languages. In a number of languages, dedicated logophoric pronouns are lacking, but first person pronouns still cannot be used to 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 show all features typical of a logophoric language (Nikitina 2012a), including characteristically "direct" features (the deixis of direct speech, interjections, unambiguous elements of quotation) and unusual combinations of person values. The example in (8) illustrates this pattern of "latent" logophoricity: third person pronouns are certainly not restricted to speech and attitude reports, yet such reports represent a strategy that is clearly distinct from both direct and indirect speech, and identical in many respects to the strategies of logophoric languages such as Wan.

(8) Obolo (Aaron 1992: 232)

ògwú	*úgâ*	*ókêkĭtó*	*ító*	*íkíbé*	*gwúŋ̀*	***kàŋ̀***,	***ɔ̀mɔ̂***	*ìkâtùmú*
this	mother	was.crying	cry	say	child	3SG	3SG	not.told
ìnyí	***òwù***	*yê*	*íbé*	***òwù***	*kàgɔ̌ɔk*	*ìfít*	*ífít*	*yì*
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...")

Patterns such as the one illustrated for Obolo are found across West Africa, but they are rarely considered together with overt logophoricity. Latent logophoricity seems to be 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 pronouns. This is suggested by the fact that third person elements (such as personal pronouns and demonstratives) are a common source of logophoric markers (Dimmendaal 2001;

Hyman 1979; Hyman & Comrie 1981; von Roncador 1992, pace Clements 1975; Faltz 1985). This diachronic shift points to the gradient nature of logophoricity: dedicated logophoric markers develop in several stages from an earlier discourse strategy of using third person elements in the logophoric function (Güldemann 2003: 375). An adequate account of logophoricity should be well equipped to describe or even predict this type of change.

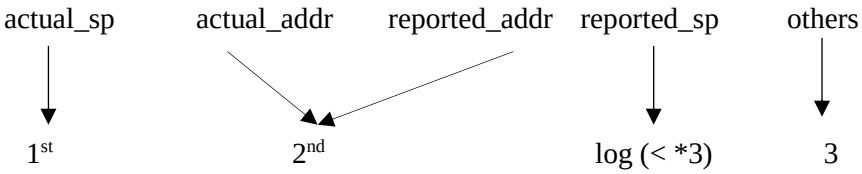
Lexical accounts can handle the gradient nature of logophoricity relatively easily. The change from latent to overt logophoricity can be represented as a change in the lexical specification of the relevant pronouns. On a featural account, the old third person pronoun or a demonstrative could be assumed 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 a 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. A possible way of accounting for this change is presented in (9)-(10). This again presupposes that the roles such as "reported speaker" and "reported addressee" are universally available primitives of pronominal deixis.[7]

[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, based on Jurafsky 1996).

(9) Latent logophoricity (Obolo-style)

(10) Overt logophoricity (Wan-style)



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. Yet the current version of the account operates in terms of entire constructions, and offers no special mechanism for locating changes in specific lexical items. Hence it is not clear, on the current version of the account, how and why the relevant change in the use of specific pronouns would take place.

I conclude that overall, the facts discussed in this section are better compatible with a lexicalist account. Among the two versions of a lexicalist account, they favor the role-to-value mapping, which does not rely in any way on the distinction between direct and indirect speech. That distinction, as we already saw, is orthogonal to the use of logophoric pronouns (in particular, logophoric pronouns are compatible in some languages with unambiguous instances of quotation). Even the role-to-pronoun mapping account, however, faces challenges when discourse data are explored in more detail. In the next section I discuss several issues that call for its revision.

3. Properties of logophoric systems that pose problems to all three approaches

3.1 Logophoric pronouns are not restricted to attitude reports

One major issue that is rarely addressed in the literature is the need to better define the range of contexts where logophoric pronouns occur. Speech reports are the prototypical context where logophoric pronouns appear, but there are many others where they are regularly found, ranging from reports of thought and emotion to reports of direct perception (Culy 1994; Stirling 1993).[8] Logophoric pronouns 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 (11a), in descriptions of purpose, intention (11b) and, less trivially, point of view (11c). In (11c), 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 and listener to the house of Seyi's family, at the moment of speaking.[9]

(11) a. *è* *bī* *à* *klā* ***ɓā*** *zɛ̄* *dō* *dì*
3SG PAST 3SG behind LOG word one say
'He wanted to say something...' (literally, 'It was behind him$_i$ [that] he$_i$ say a word...')

b. *ɓé* *è* *kúnā* *tā* ***ɓā*** *ɔ́* *é* *glà*
then 3SG ascend on LOG salt DEF take
'And he climbed up in order to take the salt...'

[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.) for details.

c. *è* *wiā* *yī* *ē* *gó* *tą̄ɪ́ɪ́ɪ́* *à* *gà* *é*

3SG entered water DEF in until 3SG go DEF

ɓā *ɓō* *lāpéá* *Sèyí* *mùù* *kū* *é* *gɔ̄ŋ̄* *kégé* *gɛ̄*

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-c), the logophoric context is not introduced by any particular verb, and in fact, no verb exists that could be added to these examples to signal unambiguously that they involve attitude reporting. In this sense, logophoricity has no lexical licensor, overt or implicit.

Even more problematically for a synchronic account, logophoric pronouns also occur in contexts that cannot be possibly constructed as involving any attitude report at all, such as in aspectual constructions (Nikitina 2018a). In (12), a construction involving the verb 'say' is used to render an aspectual meaning (prospective): while the water obviously did not speak or think, there were indications in the way it looked and behaved that it was about to start boiling.

(12) *yī* *ē* *gé* ***ɓā*** *kɔ́*

water DEF say LOG boil

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

In (13), too, there was no act of speaking and no cognitive state involved, since the subject of 'say' is an inanimate entity that is inherently incapable of speaking or cognizing.

(13) *ké* *wàtí* *gé* ***ɓā*** *ɓó* *mɔ̄*

if time say LOG arrive PRT

'When the time comes...' (or 'When the time is about to arrive.')[10]

[10] Examples (12) and (13) both involve a logophoric pronoun in the subject position, but it need not be the case, i.e. the logophoric pronoun could occur in any grammatical function with the same interpretation. Hence, although the logophoric pronoun in the subject position could theoretically come to be reanalyzed as a complementizer in some types of clause, this

Examples of this sort present a problem to all existing accounts of logophoricity, which are inherently synchronic and do not offer a model for diachronic meaning extensions. The feature [+author] is obviously incompatible with the examples in (12)-(13), since they involve neither speech nor attitude reports. They also do not involve the role of reported speaker that could be mapped onto the logophoric pronominal value on any plausible interpretation.

Similarly, there is no reason to expect a biperspectival marker to appear in (12)-(13), where the entities neither speak nor are capable of having their own perspective (these are regular aspectual constructions that involve 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.

3.2 Logophoric pronouns can refer to the actual speaker

Both lexical accounts postulate a fundamental meaning difference between first person and logophoric pronouns, essentially 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 that speech act participant roles such as "speaker" and "addressee" are primitive universal notions, well-delineated and unproblematic as a methodological point of departure. Yet the reality of their use is more complex, and such notions turn out to be no less intuitive and not much better defined than the notion of perspective.

---

development may be hindered by the pronoun's relatively frequent occurrence in non-initial positions, as well as by the general restriction on subject omission (Wan is a non-pro-drop language).

Since at least Benveniste (1956), the meaning of pronouns has been a subject of ethnographic, as well as linguistic research. This research has shown that categories of participant roles vary across languages and contexts, hence accounts that build 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). In particular, first person pronouns do not always refer to the actual speaker (Urban 1989; Rumsey 2000), and their use depends both on social construction of personhood and on genre-specific sets of prescribed speech roles (Hanks 1996). At the same time, actual speakers are not always referred to using first person pronouns, as evidenced, for example, by the use of third-person titles and some other noun phrases to refer to speech act participants. Wan speakers, for example, often use proper names, in formal settings and when speaking French, to refer both to themselves and to their addressees.[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 sometimes be represented by second and third person, and logophoric pronouns are then used to report their speech.[12]

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

[11] 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?*).

[12] I do not consider here languages in which logophoric pronouns are regularly used to refer to first person speakers. Such situations are claimed to be rare by von Roncador (1988), who nevertheless mentions two languages for which they have been reported (Ngbaka, Gokana). Such patterns, if confirmed, are potentially problematic for Schlenker's (2003a) account.

(14) *bā* *yá* *wā* *gó,* ***lāā*** *pē* *é* *lèŋ̀*

field put NMLZ in 2SG+3SG told 3SG.REFL to

dóō ***ɓāá*** *zò* *lé* *Klg̱gó*

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.[13] 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, on the contrary, he affirms that he passed on this information (and 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 a second person and a logophoric pronoun refer to the actual speaker poses problems to lexical accounts of logophoricity, since they are designed to prevent logophoric pronouns from 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

[13] 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 particular narrative contexts.

logophoric pronouns in self-reports, where the reported speaker coincides with the current one). On Schlenker's (2003a) account, in particular, such use would be incompatible with a [- actual] constraint, which is again required in order to rule out the use of logophoric pronouns to refer to the current speaker.

3.3 Logophoric pronouns can alternate with first person

A related problem is posed by patterns of alternation between logophoric and first person pronouns. Examples with logophoric pronouns are commonly treated in isolation, without reference to the alternative options the same language offers for the encoding of reported speech. 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)

ɓé	*è*	*gé*	*ēé!*	***ɓāā***		*kɛ̄*	*é,*
then	3SG	said	yes	LOG.EMPH		that	DEF
lā	*nɔ̀nì*	*ǵ*	***ŋ̀***	*mì*			
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], 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 offers no principled explanation for why both a logophoric and a first person pronoun should appear within the same speech reports (as they do rather regularly in Wan), and moreover, for why they normally appear in a fixed order (a logophoric pronoun may be followed by a co-referential first person pronoun, but the reverse order is very rare).

The perspective-based approach does not provide a ready solution. It would be weird to 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 or less "direct" in any perceptible way, apart from the occurence of the logophoric pronoun itself. Why a report should start with a "biperspectival" pronoun and later switch to "monoperspectival" first person remains unexplained.

4. Proposed tentative solutions

The data I discussed in the previous sections are not easy to account for on the existing approaches to logophoricity. Table 2 summarizes the different issues raised by the data, and in the remaining parts of the paper I sketch out some tentative solutions that seem promising in view of these issues.

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 assumed to be 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 seem to 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 paticipant 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 semantics 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. It is not possible here to avoid using a logophoric pronoun and retain the construction's aspectual meaning:

(16) a. *yī* *ē* *gé* ***ɓā*** *kɔ́*

water DEF say LOG boil

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

b. *# yī* *ē* *gé* ***ŋ̀*** *kɔ́*

water DEF say 1SG boil

The structure associated with the aspectual meaning also turns out to be more rigid than the one associated with speech reports. The examples in (17a,b) show that the subject of the logophoric clause must be strictly co-referential with the subject of the verb 'say'; a loose anaphoric relation is not acceptable:

(17) a. *ké* *yrē* *wàtí* *gé* ***ɓā*** *bó* *mɔ̄*

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* ***ɓā*** *wàtí* *bó* *mɔ̄*

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 associated with the aspectual meaning 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.

Although this solution does not contribute much to our understanding of logophoricity as a synchronic phenomenon, it helps define the range of contexts where logophoric pronouns appear. As we just saw, the syntactic properties of aspectual constructions differ from those of

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

constructions with reported speech. 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 constructions where they are found across languages (Güldemann 2008; see also Matić & Pakendorf 2013). A control-based account of conventionalized uses helps distinguish them from uses associated with speech and attitude reports at the synchronic level.

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 the patterns of alternation of logophoric and first person pronouns. I propose that this can be fixed if an additional discourse dimension is incorporated into the semantic account – the dimension describing the participant's role in the narrative structure, which is independent of the participant's 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. When the same story is told by different speakers, for example, it is the actual speaker that changes, but the narrator as

a discourse-level construct may remain the same. Actual speakers need not always be constructed as narrators; for example, the actual speaker may lend their voice to the story's characters. They can also claim to be merely reproducing a text that was originally produced by someone else. Or 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. The first person pronoun, on the other hand, is not specified, in Wan, for the narrative role: it 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, both pronouns 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 are used, 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.

In addition to accommodating data that pose problems to purely semantic accounts, the modified lexical account presents an elegant view of the system of Wan pronouns: all persons are 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 also does not imply a syntactic difference or a difference in "perspective". Different evaluation contexts may be freely combined within the same report, as in (6), where some pronouns are interpreted from the point of view of the actual speech act, while others are interpreted from the point of view of the reported speech situation.

5. Conclusion

This study aimed at showing 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 the new data. Several general conclusions can be drawn from this.

First, we still know very little about discourse phenomena, and analyses based on elicited or limited data often have to be revised when a wider range of 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 that are based entirely 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 also 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). While this aspect of structure has so far remained lamentably understudied, 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

References

Aaron, Uche E. 1992. Reported speech in Obolo narrative discourse. In Shin Ja J. Hwang & William R. Merrifield (eds.), *Language in context*: *Essays for Robert E. Longacre*, 227–240. Dallas: SIL & The University of Texas at Arlington.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2008. Semi-direct speech: Manambu and beyond. *Language Sciences* 30. 383–422.

Ameka, Felix K. 2004. Grammar and cultural practices: The grammaticalization of triadic communication in West African languages. *Journal of West African Languages* 32. 5–27.

Benveniste, Émile. 1956. La nature des pronoms. Reprinted in Émile Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 251–257. Paris: Gallimard, 1966.

Bhat, D. N. S. 2007. *Pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Boyeldieu, Pascal. 2004a. A qui s'adresse le logophorique yakoma. In Pascal Boyeldieu & Pierre Nougayrol (eds.), *Langues et cultures: Terrains d'Afrique. Hommage à France Cloarec-Heiss*, 185–191. Leuven: Peeters.

Boyeldieu, Pascal. 2004b. Les pronoms logophoriques dans les langues d'Afrique centrale. In D. Ibriszimow & G. Segerer (eds.), *Systèmes de marques personnelles en Afrique*, 11–22. Leuven: Peeters.

Bugaeva, Anna. 2008. Reported discourse and logophoricity in Southern Hokkaido dialects of Ainu. *Gengo Kenky¯u* 133. 31–75.

Clements, George N. 1975. The logophoric pronoun in Ewe: Its role in discourse. *Journal of West African Languages* 10. 141–177.

Coulmas, Florian. 1986. Reported speech: Some general issues. In Florian Coulmas (ed.), *Direct and indirect speech*, 1–28. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Culy, Christopher. 1994. Aspects of logophoric marking. *Linguistics* 32. 1055–1094.

Culy, Christopher. 1997. Logophoric pronouns and point of view. *Linguistics* 35. 845–859.

Dimmendaal, Gerrit J. 2001. Logophoric marking and represented speech in African languages as evidential hedging strategies. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 21. 131–157.

Evans, Nicholas. 2013. Some problems in the typology of quotation: A canonical approach. In Dunstan Brown, Marina Chumakina & Greville G. Corbett (eds.), *Canonical Morphology and Syntax*, 66–98. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faltz, Leonard M. 1985. *Reflexivization: A study in universal syntax*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1985. Logophoric systems in Chadic. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 7. 23–37.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt. 1993. *A Grammar of Mupun*. Berlin: Reimer.

Gentens, Caroline, María Sol Sansiñena, Stef Spronck & An Van Linden. 2019. Irregular perspective shifts and perspective persistence, discourse-oriented and theoretical approaches. *Pragmatics* 29(2). 155–169.

Goddard, Cliff & Anna Wierzbicka. 2019. Direct and indirect speech revisited: Semantic universals and semantic diversity. Alessandro Capone et al. (eds.), *Indirect reports and pragmatics in the world languages*, 173–199. Springer.

Goffman, Erving. 1981. *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Güldemann, Tom. 2003. Logophoricity in Africa: An attempt to explain and evaluate the significance of its modern distribution. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 56. 366–387.

Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative indexes in African languages: A synchronic and diachronic survey*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Güldemann, Tom & Manfred von Roncador. 2002. Preface. In Tom Güldemann & Manfred von Roncador (eds.), *Reported discourse: A meeting ground for different linguistic domains*, vii–ix. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Hagège, Claude. 1974. Les pronoms logophoriques. *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 69(1). 287–310.

Hanks, William F. 1996. Exorcism and the description of participant roles. In Michael Silverstein & Greg Urban (eds.), *Natural histories of discourse*, 160–200. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hellwig, Birgit. 2006. Complement clause type and complementation strategies in Goemai. In R. M.W. Dixon & Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.), *Complementation*, 204–223. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hill, Harriet. 1995. Pronouns and reported speech in Adioukrou. *Journal of West African Languages* 25. 87–106.

Hyman, Larry M. 1979. Phonology and noun structure. In Larry M. Hyman (ed.), *Aghem grammatical structure*, 1–72. Los Angeles: Department of Linguistics, University of Southern California.

Hyman, Larry M. & Bernard Comrie. 1981. Logophoric reference in Gokana. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 3. 19–37.

Jurafsky, Daniel. 1996. Universal tendencies in the semantics of the diminutive. *Language* 72(3). 533–578.

Levinson, Stephen C. 1988. Putting linguistics on a proper footing: Explorations in Goffman's participation framework. In P. Drew & A. Wootton (eds.), *Goffman: Exploring the interaction order*, 161–227. Oxford: Polity Press.

Margetts, Anna. 2015. Person shift at narrative peak. *Language* 91(4). 755–805.

Matić, Dejan & Brigitte Pakendorf. 2013. Non-canonical 'say' in Siberia: Areal and genealogical patterns. *Studies in Language* 37(2). 356–412.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2008. *The mixing of syntactic properties and language change*. Stanford: Stanford University PhD thesis.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2012a. Personal deixis and reported discourse: Towards a typology of person alignment. *Linguistic Typology* 16(2). 233–263.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2012b. Logophoric discourse and first person reporting in Wan (West Africa). *Anthropological Linguistics* 54(3). 280–301.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2018a. When linguists and speakers do not agree: The endangered grammar of verbal art in West Africa. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 28 (2). 1–24.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2018b. Focus marking and differential argument marking: The emergence of bidirectional case marking in Wan. Evangelia Adamou et al. (eds.) *Information structure in lesser-described languages: Studies in prosody and syntax*, 195–217. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Nikitina, Tatiana. 2019. Diminutives derived from terms for children: Comparative evidence from Southeastern Mande. *Linguistics* 57(1). 1–28.

Nikitina, Tatiana & Yvonne Treis. Fc. The use of manner demonstratives in discourse: A contrastive study of Wan (Mande) and Kambaata (Cushitic).

Nikitina, Tatiana & Anna Bugaeva. Under review. Logophoric speech is not indirect: Towards a syntactic approach to reported speech constructions.

Nikitina, Tatiana & Alexandra Vydrina. Under review. Reported speech in Kakabe: Loose syntax with flexible indexicality.

Perrin, Mona. 1974. Direct and indirect speech in Mambila. *Journal of Linguistics* 10. 27–37.

Plank, Frans. 1986. Über den Personenwechsel und den anderer deiktischer Kategorien in der wiedergegebenen Rede. *Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik* 14. 284–308.

Roncador, Manfred von. 1988. *Zwischen direkter und indirekter Rede*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Roncador, Manfred von. 1992. Types of logophoric marking in African languages. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 13. 163–182.

Rumsey, Alan. 2000. Agency, personhood and the 'I' of discourse in the Pacific and beyond. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 6. 101–115.

Schlenker, Philippe. 2003a. Indexicality, logophoricity, and plural pronouns. In Jacqueline Lecarme (ed.), *Research in Afroasiatic grammar II: Selected papers from the Fifth Conference on Afroasiatic Languages*, 409–428. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Schlenker, Philippe. 2003b. A plea for monsters. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 26. 29–120.

Sells, Peter. 1987. Aspects of logophoricity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 18. 445–479.

Spronck, Stef & Tatiana Nikitina. 2019. Reported speech forms a dedicated semantic domain. *Linguistic Typology* 23(1). 119–159.

Stirling, Lesley. 1993. *Switch-reference and discourse representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, Elaine. 1978. *A grammatical description of the Engenni language*. Dallas: SIL & The University of Texas at Arlington.

Urban, Greg. 1989. The “I” of discourse. In Benjamin Lee & Greg Urban (eds.), *Semiotics, self, and society*, 27–51. New York: Mouton.