

THE LOGOPHORIC PRONOUN IN EWE: ITS ROLE IN DISCOURSE*

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1. In reporting any real-world situation there are in general two approaches that a speaker may take. On the one hand, he may choose to report the events under discussion subjectively, according to his own perception of them; in such a case he, as the speaker, assumes responsibility for the linguistic characterization. On the other hand, he may choose to maintain his distance from the events he is reporting, and depict them through the eyes, as it were, of another person. In this case he will cast his description of the events in terms which (he assumes) reflect the other person's perception of them, and select the linguistic forms appropriate to this purpose.

Discourse factors of this sort may not only determine the lexical and syntactic choices that a speaker may make but may also, in some languages, control his choice of grammatical form. This is true of those languages that employ logophoric pronouns¹ to distinguish reference to the individual whose speech, thoughts, or feelings are reported or reflected in a given linguistic context, from reference to other individuals.

Several languages of the eastern branches of Niger-Congo are known to employ logophoric pronouns which are morphologically distinct from personal and reflexive pronouns. For instance, in Ewe, the pronoun yè is used exclusively to designate the individual (other than the speaker) whose speech, thoughts, feelings, or general state of consciousness are reported or reflected in the linguistic context in which the pronoun occurs. This pronoun

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1. This term is introduced in Hagège (1974).

contrasts with personal pronouns:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| (1) Kofi be yè-dzo
say LOG-leave | 'Kofi said that he (Kofi) left' |
| (2) Kofi be ne-dzo | 'Kofi said that I left' |
| (3) Kofi be e-dzo | 'Kofi said that he/she (≠ Kofi) left' |

Furthermore, unlike the case in many other languages, the Ewe logophoric pronoun is morphologically distinct from the reflexive form (with which, as in (5), it may cooccur):

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (4) Kofi lɛ e ɔkui
love | 'Kofi loves himself' |
| (5) Kofi be yè-lɛ yè ɔkui | 'Kofi said that he (Kofi) loves himself' |

Other West African languages making use of logophoric pronouns or personal pronouns in a distinctive logophoric function include Idoma and Yoruba (Armstrong 1963), Igbo (Carrell 1970), Avatime (Kevin Ford, personal communication), and Mundang and Tuburi (Hagège 1974). Such specialized forms appear to be largely restricted to Niger-Congo,² although as we shall see below, some languages outside Africa employ reflexive pronouns and zero-anaphora in similar function.

2.1.1. What may be termed the logophoric use of reflexive pronouns has been observed in a number of languages outside Africa, and has long been documented for Latin and classical Greek, where it is usually termed "indirect reflexivization". The indirect reflexive, like the logophoric pronoun of Ewe, permits a speaker to avoid ambiguity of reference in many cases. Woodcock (1959, 24) cites as an example the ambiguous English sentence (6) and its unambiguous Latin analogue (7), in which the reflexive pronoun sibi refers uniquely to Cicero, and the nonreflexive personal pronoun eum to someone else:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (6) Mr. Smith said that he had insulted him | |
| (7) Cicero dixit eum sibi maledixisse | 'Cicero ₁ said that he ₁ (<u>eum</u>) had insulted him ₁ (<u>sibi</u>)' |

2 The classification of Tuburi remains in question.

(Subscript indices will be used in these and all following examples to indicate anaphoric relations between logophoric pronouns and their antecedents.)

In traditional descriptions of "indirect reflexivization" there is considerable disagreement concerning the conditions under which an anaphoric relation may be established between the reflexive pronoun and an antecedent. In particular, writers vacillate on the question of whether the antecedent must be the subject of the main verb of the higher clause. In a standard reference work, Ernout and Thomas state: "le réfléchi est dit indirect, lorsque, dans une proposition subordonnée représentant la pensée ou l'intention du sujet du verbe principal, il renvoie à ce dernier" (Ernout and Thomas 1951, 156). They subsequently generalize this statement by recognizing not only "grammatical subjects" but "real subjects" (sujets réels) as possible antecedents of the reflexive (p. 156). Similarly, Kühner states that the antecedent of the reflexive is the "(grammatische oder logische) Subjekt des regierenden Satzes" (Kühner 1912, 607). Other writers, however, including Allen and Greenough (1894, 182-4), Woodcock (1959, 24) and Hahn (1963, 101) require antecedents to be grammatical (surface) subjects, while another (Rienann 1920, 23) places no grammatical condition on the antecedent at all.

If, as suggested by Chomsky (1965, 23, 70), we interpret terms such as sujet réel and logische Subjekt as designating the subject of the initial line of the derivation (or the subject in deep structure), we can find much support for the view that "logical" or "real" subjects may be antecedents of the Latin indirect reflexives, for instance:

(8) A Caesare (...) invitor (...) sibi ut sin legatus

(Cicero, Epistulae ad Atticum ii. 18, 3)

'I am invited by Caesar_i to be lieutenant to him_i (sibi)'

However, it is not difficult to find further examples showing that any grammatical condition on the antecedent of the reflexive is superfluous. Apparently, a nominal standing in any relationship whatsoever to the main verb of the higher clause can be the antecedent of the "indirect" reflexive, provided the semantic conditions (those appropriate to logophoric pronouns, as stated above) are met. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this

point:³

- (9) Vos ex M. Favonio audistis Clodium sibi dixisse (...)peritulum
Milonem (Cicero, Oratio pro Milone 44)

'you heard from M. Favonius_i that Clodius has said to him_i (sibi)
that Milo was to die'

- (10) Elogium recitasti de testamento Cn. Egnati patris (...) idcirco
se exheredasse filium (Cicero, Oratio pro Cluentio 135)

'you cited the passage from the will of the elder Egnatius_i (stating)
that for this reason he_i (se) disinherited his son'

- (11) Legati ab Ardes questi (...) erant sibi in monte Albano Latinis
carnem (...) datam non esse (Livius 32, 1)

'delegates from Ardea (i.e. from the Ardeans_i) had complained that
the flesh (of the animals sacrificed) on the Alban Mount had not
been given to them_i (sibi)'

Further examples are cited by Klenin (1975, 115), who states: "despite occasional claims to the contrary, there is no subject condition on Latin reflexivization".

As these examples and the later discussion will suggest, the logophoric pronoun of Latin differs primarily from the logophoric pronoun of Ewe not in function, but rather in the fact that in Latin, it is homophonous with the reflexive pronoun. It is perhaps this fact which has led to the confusion and disagreement concerning the subjecthood condition in Latin.

2.1.2. The reflexive pronouns of classical Greek are employed, like those of Latin, in logophoric function, although their use is more flexible in some respects. Authors again disagree as to whether there is a subjecthood condition (Snyth 1973, 222; Bizos 1947, 30; Humbert 1972, 62). Of particular interest here are the archaic reflexive pronouns ἐ and σέ retained in Attic, where they are reserved, in general, for "indirect" reflexivization, contrasting with the newer forms which are used for "direct" reflexivization (Humbert 1972, 63).

3 Kühner (1912, 608) suggests the following "source" for (9): M. Favonius vobis dixit ..., but this cannot be understood as representing the "deep structure" underlying (9) in any strictly syntactic sense.

2.1.3. A number of other languages employ reflexive pronouns in logophoric function, although in many cases under more restricted circumstances. These languages include Japanese (Kuno 1972, Kuroda 1973), Icelandic (Thráinsson 1976), Italian (Napoli 1977), and English (Kuno 1972, Cantrall 1974, Kuno 1975).⁴

In English, the occurrence of reflexive pronouns in subordinate clauses in anaphoric relation to nominals in higher clauses is (except when this configuration results from the deletion of an antecedent in the subordinate clause itself) restricted to a few, rather specific constructions. Some characteristic examples, adapted from Kuno 1975, follow:

- (12) a. Mary said to John that physicists like himself were a godsend .
 b. *Mary said about John that physicists like himself were a godsend
 (13) a. Mary told John that as for himself, he wouldn't be invited
 b. *Mary said of John that as for himself, he wouldn't be invited

As Kuno points out, the difference in acceptability of such pairs depends on the semantic consideration of "whose point of view is expressed by the clause that contains [the reflexive]": in the (a) examples, John may be understood as having understood or reflected upon the proposition uttered by Mary, while in the (b) examples such an interpretation is unlikely.

2.2.1. There are certain other means which languages employ in disambiguating the reference of substitute-forms. In English and other languages, "zero-substitutes" may give rise to contrasts such as those we find in the following examples, paralleling the Ewe sentences cited in (1)-(3):

- (14) a. John wanted Ø to leave
 b. John wanted me to leave
 c. John wanted him to leave

(a) and (c) have no common interpretation: due to the obligatory operation of Equi-NP Deletion (or the analogous interpretive rule), the "zero" anaphor

⁴ Most of these writers discuss other phenomena that are correlated with repetitive contexts; see also, for the case of Latin, Ernout and Thomas 1951, 356 ff.

in (14a) refers exclusively to John, and thus could be said to be logophoric in function, while him in (14c) cannot refer to John. Nevertheless, these facts do not motivate the setting up of a "zero" logophoric pronoun for English. However we view the origin of the zero element, this element is not specialized in function to contexts representing the experience or perception of persons other than the speaker: cf. I wanted $\emptyset$ to leave, or, with a third person antecedent, it befits John $\emptyset$ to be placed in nomination by the Mayor. Furthermore, we observe that the "zero element" alternates under stress, in the same function, with the reflexive pronoun: John wanted only himself to leave; and with other verbs, the reflexive pronoun is obligatory: John believed himself to be the legitimate heir.

2.2.2. Chomsky (1971, 211), citing examples discussed by Aksent'ev and Jackendoff (1970), calls attention to the fact that in English, "stress plays a role in determining how the reference of pronouns can be interpreted." Thus, in (15), him refers to Bill if it is unstressed, but it may refer either to John or to someone other than Bill if it is stressed:

- (15) John hit Bill and then George hit him

Chomsky suggests that a principle of surface structure interpretation may be involved.

Cantrall (1975), citing this and similar examples, proposes that the emphasis on him guarantees "unexpected reference", where "expected" reference depends upon such diverse factors as order of appearance, grammatical function semantic associations, and the like. Cantrall furthermore claims that in examples such as the following, he is interpreted as referring to John or Bill, according to which preceding noun it most closely approximates in "prominence", an undefined perceptual characteristic involving stress, pitch, length, and isolation by juncture, provided that "semantically determined associations and other factors are more or less neutral" (p. 38):

- (16) John told Bill that he would be my partner

If it were in fact the case that English speakers consistently agreed with these judgments, such examples would suggest that stress might play a marginal logophoric role in English. However, Cantrall concedes, in respect to this and similar examples, that "other factors are never really neutral, nor con-

sistently observed from speaker to speaker. Test subjects differed idiosyncratically in their tendencies to determine coreferents in each of the following ways, at least: grammatical function, relational function, order, distance, relative position in the utterance, and pitch, not to mention perception (and indeed, creation) of semantic associations" (p. 45). The existence of such a gamut of uncontrolled (and perhaps uncontrollable) factors weakens the hypothesis considerably, and, in the case of substitute-forms, appears to make the attempt to assign a regular, rule-governed disambiguating function to pitch or stress phenomena in English a rather doubtful enterprise.⁵

2.3. It is therefore with the "indirect reflexive pronouns" of Latin, classical Greek and other languages that the logophoric pronouns have the closest affinity. The evidence they provide for the role of discourse factors in grammar places the study of "indirect reflexives" in a new light. As we saw earlier in (4) and (5) (and as we see in more detail in section 3, below), the logophoric pronoun of Ewe is morphologically unrelated to the reflexive form, and these two forms are quite dissimilar in terms of the syntactic and semantic conditions governing their occurrence. We have no a priori reason, therefore, to expect the "indirect reflexive" pronouns of Latin and Greek to share any important grammatical functions or other characteristics with the "direct reflexive" forms. That the logophoric and reflexive pronouns of Latin and Greek are in fact homophonous, and share certain distributional features, can be attributed to diachronic factors (the assignment of a new grammatical function to an already-available grammatical form), and need not lead us to impose upon one form the analysis appropriate to the other.

3. The pronominal system of Ewe (exclusive of the logophoric pronoun) is summarized in the following table. These forms, and all subsequent examples, represent the Anlo [ànlò] dialect which serves as the basis for the

5 Instrumental investigation carried out by John Sorenson at M.I.T. has failed to provide any confirmation for at least one testable interpretation of Cantrall's claims. Experimental tasks designed by Cooper (1976) involving sentences like Kate told Jane that she didn't need to pass French, while also failing to support Cantrall's claims, suggest that speakers may lengthen the duration of a noun by some 8 msec when it is referred to later in the same sentence by a pronoun.

literary language, spoken over a wide portion of the coastal area of the Volta Region, Ghana. Tone is marked, following the conventions given in Bagini (1967), only to distinguish among words that are otherwise homophones. Since the logophoric pronoun is otherwise homophonous with the high-toned third person singular strong form in Anlo, it is distinguished in this paper by the grave accent, representing nonhigh tone.⁶

Table 1: Ewe personal pronouns

	a	b	c	d
1 sg.	nye	ne	n	nye
2 sg.	wò	è (nè)	wò	wò
3 sg.	ye (yi)	e (wò)	e (i)	e
1 pl.	níawo	níe	ní	nía
2 pl.	niawo	nie	ni	nia
3 pl.	wɔawo	wɔ	wɔ	wɔ

a: strong (independent) forms

b: weak subject forms

c: weak object forms

d: weak genitive forms

Some further remarks follow.

- a) First and second person singular and second person plural pronouns have nonhigh tone throughout. First and third person plural pronouns have high tone throughout. Third person singular pronouns have high tone, except for wò and the object forms e, i. Nonhigh tone is generally realized as mid or low tone according to the context; high tone is realized as extra-high in some contexts.
- b) Allomorphic variants are given in parentheses. Yi varies quite freely with ye as the strong or absolute third person singular form, the constraints varying from speaker to speaker; the Standard Ewe form ɔya is rare. In column 2, è and e are in complementary

⁶ For a fuller account of Anlo tone see Clements (1977), and (in press).

distribution with nè and wò, the former occurring, in general, only in absolute sentence-initial position, the latter sentence-internally. In column 3, the object pronoun e has the allomorph i after the stem vowels /i, u, e, o/; before the object pronoun, the stem vowels /e, o/ are in turn realized as [i, u].⁷

- c) The strong forms nye, wò frequently occur with the prefix e-, especially in sentence-initial position; these prefixes do not occur in written Ewe.
- d) The vowel e, when occurring as the final (or only) vowel in a personal subject pronoun, regularly becomes [a] immediately before the future or subjunctive tense prefixes a₁-, a₂-,⁸ and is so transcribed; it usually undergoes subsequent degeneration, especially if it agrees in tone with the following prefix, thus, ne+a → [na].

In the examples that follow the personal pronouns will be glossed as "PRO" and the logophoric pronoun as "LOG".

Reflexives are formed in Ewe by means of the noun dokui 'self', to which the genitive forms of the personal pronouns are either suffixed (in the case of the first and second person singular forms) or prefixed (in the case of the remaining forms):

(17) <u>dokui-nye</u>	'myself'
<u>dokui-wò</u>	'yourself'
<u>e dokui</u>	'himself, herself, itself'
<u>nía dokui</u>	'ourselves'
<u>mia dokui</u>	'yourselves'
<u>wò dokui</u>	'themselves'

It is not only the morphological form of the pronouns but their order with respect to dokui that shows these reflexive forms to be true instances of genitive

⁷ In addition, the stem vowels /a, o/ become [e, o] respectively before the object pronoun. I have not indicated this morphophonemic alternation in the transcription; the standard orthography indicates the first but not the second of them.

⁸ These prefixes differ in tone (Clements 1972).

constructions, in which dokui serves as the head noun; compare the following, in which d̩i (Standard Ewe d̩i) is a postpositional noun serving as the head of the genitive construction:

- | | | |
|------|---------|-------------------|
| (18) | d̩i-nye | 'on me' |
| | d̩i-wò | 'on you' (sg.) |
| | e d̩i | 'on him, her, it' |
| | n̩a d̩i | 'on us' |
| | n̩a d̩i | 'on you' (pl.) |
| | wò d̩i | 'on them' |

The reflexive forms in Ewe are used much as are the reflexive forms in English, replacing the corresponding personal pronoun when the antecedent occurs in the same clause:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---------------|---|
| (19) | Kofi l̩ e | d̩okui | 'Kofi loves himself' |
| | | love PRO self | |
| | cf. *Kofi l̩ y̩ | | 'Kofi ₁ loves himself ₁ ' |

They are therefore mutually exclusive with the logophoric pronoun, which requires its antecedent to be in another, higher clause:

- | | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------|--|
| (20) | Kofi be | y̩-dzo | 'Kofi ₁ said that he ₁ left' |
| | | say LOG-leave | |
| | *Kofi be | e d̩okui dzo | |
| | | say PRO self leave | |

Unlike English, however, dokui is restricted to a purely reflexive function, and does not serve for emphasis, for which purpose the modifier nut̩ is used instead:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|--------|---------|------------------------|
| (21) | Kofi | nut̩-e | gbl̩-e | 'Kofi said it himself' |
| | | | say-PRO | |

With these preliminaries out of the way, we may turn to a closer examination of the logophoric pronoun y̩.

4. In his 1907 grammar of Ewe (only slightly revised for the 1930 English translation), Westermann described the logophoric pronouns y̩ (singular), y̩wò (plural) in the following way (I translate, adapting the orthography to that used here):

Should the subject of the main sentence recur in any second or third person pronominal form (nominative, genitive, or accusative) in an object clause, when the main sentence contains a verb of saying, believing, thinking, wishing, wanting, ordering, etc., it is expressed by yè, yèfe in the singular, yèwo, yèwofe in the plural. (Westermann 1907, 57)

(The form fe is merely the genitive morpheme.) We shall see in the ensuing discussion that these conditions are neither necessary nor sufficient for the appearance of yè-, yèwo; in particular, the subjecthood condition is superfluous, since antecedents may be non-subjects as long as the semantic conditions are met (examples will be given below). However, this description will serve as a useful point of departure for our examination of some of the main properties of these forms.

4.1. According to Westermann's statement, the antecedent of yè, yèwo may be either a second or a third person form. We have already seen an example with a third person antecedent (20). Following are examples with second person antecedents:

- (22) è-be yè-a-va 'you_i said you_i (sg.) would come'
PRO-say LOG-T-come
- (23) è-be yèwo-a-va 'you_i said you_{i+j} (pl.) would come'
PRO-say LOG-T-come

These examples differ only in that (22) has the singular form yè while (23) has the plural form yèwo. As (23) shows, an anaphoric relation may be established between yèwo and a preceding nominal when the reference of the nominal is included in that of the logophoric form. Thus we also find:

- (24) Kofi kpɔ be yèwo-do go 'he_i saw that they_{i+j} had
see that LOG-come out come out'

In (24), the use of yèwo instead of the third person plural form wo indicates that the person referred to by the subject pronoun e is included among those that had come out. Compare:

- (25) Kofi kpɔ be wo-do go 'Kofi_i saw that they_j had come out'
see that PRO-come out

in which the third person plural pronoun wo would normally be understood as excluding Kofi from its reference.

4.2. Westermann further states: "these pronouns would therefore appear to introduce indirect speech, although in actual fact they introduce direct speech, for yè (plural yèwo) is 'I, we', e.g.: à-be yè-a-va 'you said you wanted to come' (literally, 'you said: I shall come')." This view led Westermann to analyze the logophoric pronouns as first person forms.

However, Westermann's analysis, if interpreted literally, cannot be maintained. If it were correct, there would be no formal contrast between direct and indirect discourse in Ewe. But there is such a contrast: yè is used exclusively in indirect discourse (and other types of reportive contexts), while it is replaced, in direct discourse, by the appropriate first person singular form. This point can be illustrated by the following synonymous examples, the first exemplifying indirect discourse, the second, direct discourse:

- (26) Kofi gblo na wo be yè-a-dyi ga-a na wo
 speak to PRO that LOG-T-seek money-D for PRO

'Kofi₁ said to them that he₁ would seek the money for them'

- (27) Kofi gblo na wo be: na-dyi ga-a na mi

'Kofi said to them: "I'll seek the money for you"'

In the example involving direct discourse, na is the coalesced form (see remark (d) following Table 1) of the first person subject pronoun na and the tense prefix a-, and refers, as does yè in the preceding example, to Kofi. In accordance with the usual rules governing indirect discourse, the second person plural pronoun mi of (27) is replaced by the third person plural form wo in (26). Hence, there can be little doubt that Ewe distinguishes indirect discourse from direct discourse.

We might alternatively attempt to interpret Westermann's remarks as suggesting a diachronic analysis, or perhaps a somewhat abstract synchronic analysis, suggestive of Kuno's direct discourse analysis of the reflexive pronoun sibun in Japanese (Kuno 1972). In fact a diachronic derivation of yè from the strong first person singular pronoun (nye > ye > ye) is not phonetically implausible, and some dialects in fact display the genitive form

ye, transparently derived from nye, in the function of the first person singular direct object of verbs in affixal constructions. It is nevertheless clear that indirect discourse cannot be identified with direct discourse in Ewe, and that we must look elsewhere for evidence concerning the grammatical status (as first, second, or third person forms) of the logophoric pronouns.

Such evidence comes from an exploration of the syntax of yè, yèwo, and this evidence, while not conclusive, suggests that in terms of the internal logic of Ewe grammar, yè and yèwo fall together with third person forms. Let us consider first the behavior of the logophoric pronouns in genitival constructions. As earlier examples (17), (18) have shown, the first and second person singular pronouns behave similarly in genitival construction with ɔkui and postpositional nouns such as ɔyi in that these pronouns, alone, follow rather than precede the head noun of the construction. yè, on the other hand, precedes these nouns:

- | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| (28) | <u>yè ɔkui</u> | 'him-, her-, your-, itself' |
| | <u>yè ɔyi</u> | 'on him, her, you, it' |

ɔkui and ɔyi are examples of inalienable nouns; with alienable nouns the genitive paradigm is somewhat different. Once again, however, the first and second person pronouns pattern together in that, while all pronouns precede the head noun, only these two forms stand immediately before it, without an intervening occurrence of the genitive morpheme ɛ or wo:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (29) | <u>nye ga</u> | 'my money' |
| | <u>wò ga</u> | 'your money' (sg.) |
| | <u>e ɛ ga</u> | 'his money' |
| | <u>nía ɛ ga</u> | 'our money' |
| | <u>nía ɛ ga</u> | 'your money' (pl.) |
| | <u>wo ɛ ga</u> | 'their money' |

The logophoric form yè once again follows the pattern of the third person singular, and we find: yè ɛ ga.

4.3. In the Ewe dialect described by Ansre (1966a), the logophoric pronoun is restricted to subject position. In Anlo and in the standard or literary language, the logophoric pronoun (as noted in the earlier citations) from

Westermann) may occur in any grammatical function; see the examples cited in Westermann (1930), and further examples below.

4.4. While it is not generally the case, as we shall see, that the antecedent of yè, yèwo must be a grammatical subject, the logophoric pronoun is not used to establish coreference with a nominal designating, in indirect discourse, the person spoken to; see the following example:

- (30) ne-gbɔ na Kofi be e-ɔ̀ɔ̀ dyi 'I told Kofi that he had won'
 PRO-say to that PRO-win

Here, the logophoric pronoun may not replace e as the subject of the verb of the subordinate clause, even when this pronoun refers to Kofi. Similarly, in a more complex example, the logophoric pronoun unambiguously establishes the correct assignment of coreference (note that the form ye which does not bear the grave accent in this example is not a logophoric pronoun, but a personal pronoun; cf. Table 1):

- (31) Tsali gbɔ na-e be ye-e dyi yè gake yè-kpe dyi
 say to-PRO that PRO beget LOG but LOG-be victor
 'Tsali_i told him_j (i.e., his father) that he_j begot him_i,
 but he_i was the victor'

Only Tsali, the source of the reported discourse, can be the antecedent of the logophoric pronoun, and hence there is no possibility of confusion.

4.5. Like the "indirect reflexives" of other languages, the logophoric pronoun of Ewe is not restricted to the immediately subjacent clause, but may occur in clauses at any depth of embedding:

- (32) Kofi bu tame be e-le be yè-a-yi afe
 bow head that PRO-be (necessary) that LOG-T-go home
 'Kofi_i thought that it was necessary that he_i should go home'
- (33) e-wo susu be yè-a-yi afe ne yè-a-va ya-tu xo
 PRO-make mind that LOG-T-go home so that LOG-T-go P-build house
 'he_i made up his mind that he_i would go home in order that he_i
 might (go) build a house'

4.6. We have so far examined contexts in which the logophoric pronoun is obligatory. There are in addition certain environments in which it is optional

at least for some speakers:⁹

(i) clauses of purpose:

(34) e-yi be yè-a-va-kpò Koku 'he went to see Koku'
PRO-go so that LOG-T-P-see

(35) e-do go be yè-a-ḍu nu 'he went out to eat'
PRO-go out so that LOG-T-eat thing

Purpose clauses such as these can be formally distinguished from the object clauses illustrated in the previous examples. Object clauses commute with nominals and may normally be pronominalized; purpose clauses do not exhibit this behavior. Object clauses are involved in verbal strict subcategorization, functioning semantically as the "arguments" of verbal "predicates"; and hence, like direct and indirect objects, they are usually obligatory. Purpose clauses, on the other hand, do not function as semantic "arguments", and are always optional constituents of the sentence.

(ii) clauses of consequence or effect (with alternations such as the following):

(36) Kofi wo-wo-m be Koku va yè gbo
RED-do-A that come LOG side

'Kofi_i is arranging for Koku to come to him_i'

(37) Kofi wo-e be Koku va e gbo
do-PRO that come PRO side

'Kofi had Koku come to him'

For some speakers, the logophoric is the only possible form in (36), while the personal pronoun is the only possible form in (37). The difference between the two sentences lies only in the fact that the former is in the present continuous tense, while the latter is in the past tense. In the present tense, Koku's coming is not yet a matter of objective fact, but remains in the

⁹ For other speakers the logophoric pronouns may be obligatory in these contexts as well.

sphere of Kofi's intention; thus the logophoric form is appropriate. In the past tense example, however, it is objectively the case that Koku came to Kofi. Hence the speaker does not report this event in terms of Kofi's perception of it, but rather in terms of his own.

Like purpose clauses, clauses of consequence are formally distinguishable from object clauses (for instance, they may not be pronominalized, and they may not occur as the constituent immediately to the right of the copula in pseudo-cleft constructions). It is not of immediate concern here how these distinctions are reflected in a formal grammar of Ewe; it is sufficient to observe that however these distinctions are formulated, it will be possible to distinguish the contexts in which the logophoric pronoun is obligatory from those in which it is either optional, or else subject to semantic conditioning of the sort discussed in connection with (36) and (37).

4.7. There are other contexts in which the logophoric pronoun may not occur, even when the appropriate semantic conditions appear to be satisfied. One such environment is the relative clause; logophoric forms are prohibited from occurring in such clauses if the antecedent is not also contained in that clause:

- (38) Ama ɔo ŋku nyonuvi hi dze e gbo dyi
 set eye girl WH stay PRO side on

'Ama set eye on (remembered) the girl who stayed with her'

Here, yè cannot replace the pronoun e even if its intended antecedent is Ama, in spite of the fact that the sense of the sentence entails that Ama is reflecting upon the girl in question. We cannot simply say, however, that the logophoric pronoun is barred from relative clauses, since we find

- (39) Ama gblo be yè-ɔo ŋku nyonuvi hi dze yè gbo dyi
 say that LOG LOG

'Ama_i said that she_i remembered the girl who stayed with her_i'

Another type of structure in which the logophoric pronoun is normally prohibited, even when semantically appropriate, is the "simultaneous" clause, that is, a clause which follows a verb of perception:

- (40) Kofi se Koku wò-no e dzu-m
hear PRO-be PRO insult-A

'Kofi heard Koku insulting him'

Once again, it is sufficient to embed this example under a verb of saying for the logophoric pronoun to appear:

- (41) Kofi gblɔ be yɛ-se Koku wò-no yɛ dzu-m

'Kofi_i said that he_i heard Koku insulting him_i'

Since we already know that clauses embedded under verbs of saying, thinking, etc. provide appropriate contexts for the logophoric pronoun, examples (39) and (41) are not problematic. However, it is not easy to see why the logophoric forms should be prohibited from (38) and (40). One might search for a semantic explanation along the following lines. In sentences containing relative clauses, such as (38), the linguistic characterization of the head noun provided by the relative clause is normally imputed to the speaker or narrator, and not to individuals named in the sentence. Thus, in (38), Ama might well remember Abia, even while forgetting (or not reflecting on the fact) that Abia had stayed with her; this information might, for instance, be supplied by the speaker in order to allow the hearer to identify the girl in question more easily (thus, the hearer might not happen to know Abia's name, etc.). A similar account could be offered for (40). Here, we would normally understand the speaker to be the one providing the description of what Kofi heard. Kofi might believe himself to be hearing something quite different; or Koku might be insulting him in a language unintelligible to him. (Compare the superficially similar (24) where, unlike the ones under discussion, the subject (Kofi) is necessarily aware of the state of affairs described by the speaker; the sentence is false if Kofi is unaware that he (and his companions) had come out). According to this account, then, the logophoric forms are prohibited in sentences like (38) and (40) because the contexts in question are not genuine reportive contexts: they do not provide a characterization of an event or a state of affairs from the point of view of an individual named in the discourse.

While this explanation does not seem entirely implausible, it is difficult

to reconcile with the fact that in most other languages employing pronouns in logophoric function, relative clauses are usually found to admit the logophoric forms (for the case of Latin see Kühner 1912, 607 ff; for Japanese see Kuno 1972, *passim*; and for Tuburi see Hagège 1974, 298-9). Furthermore, as we shall see below, this account is not sufficient to explain certain other clause types in Ewe in which the logophoric pronouns may not occur. It will be suggested that all these linguistic contexts share a formal feature that permits an alternative explanation for the non-occurrence of the logophoric forms.

5. In this section we examine in greater detail the question of to what extent grammatical conditions such as "subjecthood" may be involved in controlling the occurrence of the logophoric pronoun. The statement by Westermann cited earlier would appear to limit the occurrence of yè and yèwò to sentences in which the antecedent is the subject of a higher clause. We shall see that such a condition would in fact be somewhat too strong.

5.1. The subject of the verb se 'to hear' may usually be the antecedent of a logophoric pronoun. Consider the following examples:

- (42) Ana se be yè-xò nunana
hear that LOG-receive gift

'Ana_i heard that she_i had received a gift'

- (43) Ana se be me-kpò yè le asi-a me
PRO-see LOG at market-D in

'Ana_i heard that I had seen her_i at the market'

In (42), the logophoric pronoun is obligatory in the intended interpretation. In (43), it is optional: the personal pronoun e may be used in its place, with the same meaning. Now observe:

- (44) me-se tso Kofi gbo be yè-xò nunana
PRO-hear from side that LOG-receive gift

'I heard from Kofi_i that he_i had received a gift'

In this sentence, the subject is not a possible antecedent, as it is a first person form. For some speakers, the logophoric pronoun may be used as in (44);

for other speakers, however, (44) is unacceptable, and the personal pronoun must be used in place of the logophoric pronoun to convey the same meaning. For speakers who find (44) acceptable, (45) is ambiguous:

- (45) Ana se tso Kofi gbo be yè-xo nunana
 hear from side that LOG-receive gift

'Ana_i heard from Kofi_j that she_i/he_j had received a gift'

For the second group of speakers, (45) is unambiguous; yè may only refer to Ana.

These examples suggest two observations. First, while the logophoric form is obligatory for most verbs, such as gbɔ 'to say', which subcategorize clause complements, it is optional in some cases such as (43) with the verb se 'to hear', if reference to the subject is intended. Secondly, for at least some speakers, the object of the prepositional verb tso 'from' may be the antecedent of a logophoric pronoun, contrary to any strict subjecthood condition.

Analogous examples may be constructed with other verbs:

- (46) Kofi xo agbalẽ tso gbo-nye be yè-a-va ne kpe na n
 receive letter from side-PRO that LOG-T-come cast block for PRO

'Kofi_i got a letter from me saying that he_i should come cast blocks for me'

- (47) ne-xo agbalẽ tso Kofi gbo be na-va ne kpe
 PRO-receive letter from side that PRO/T-come cast block
 na yè
 for LOG

'I got a letter from Kofi_i saying that I should come cast blocks for him_i'

- (48) Komi xo agbalẽ tso Kofi gbo be yè-a-va ne kpe
 receive letter from side that LOG-T-come cast block
 na-e
 for-PRO

'Kwami got a letter from Kofi_i saying that he_i should come cast blocks for him'

- (49) Komi xo aghalE tso Kofi gbo be wò-a-vn
 receive letter from side that PRO-T-come
 ne kpe na yè
 cast block for LOG

'Kwami got a letter from Kofi_i saying that he should
 come cast blocks for him_i.'

The examples provide further confirmation of the conclusions drawn in regard to (42)-(45). While there is some variation in speaker reaction to these examples, (46) is disfavored by most; speakers who do not accept it require the personal pronoun wò in place of the logophoric pronoun. Some (but not all) speakers find (47), (48), and (49) entirely acceptable. For such speakers, Koi is the only possible antecedent of yè in (48) and (49).

In examples (44)-(49), the object of the prepositional verb tso plays the thematic function of "source", in the sense of Gruber (1976) and others; here, it designates the individual who is understood as having produced a certain instance of reported discourse. These examples show that nominals functioning as "sources" of reported discourse may under certain circumstances be chosen as antecedents to logophoric pronouns in preference to grammatical subjects. This result is, of course, quite consistent with the general characterization of logophoric pronouns as forms which designate the individual or individuals whose speech or thought, etc., is transmitted in a given reportive context.

5.2. Further evidence against a subjecthood condition on the logophoric pronouns comes from the examination of certain types of sentences with clauses of purpose. Let us first compare the following examples, which are identical except for the pronouns:

- (50) devi-a xo tohehe be yè-a-ga-da
 child-D receive punishment so that LOG-T-P-tell
 alekpa ake o
 lie again NEG

'the child_i received punishment so that he_i wouldn't tell
 lies again'

(51) dɛvi-a xɔ tohehe be wò-a-ga-da slakpa ake o

PRO

'the child received punishment so that he wouldn't tell
lies again'

There is a rather striking difference in meaning between these two versions. In (50), we understand by the use of yè that the child voluntarily received punishment, in the belief that this would cure him of his untruthfulness. (While some speakers find (50) somewhat strange, they attribute this to the unlikelihood of such a situation ever occurring.) Although (51) may be interpreted the same way as (50), its more likely interpretation is that the child was punished against his will, in the belief (on the part of someone else) that this would cure him of telling lies. These differences in interpretation are consistent with our general characterization of the use of logophoric forms: the use of yè in (50) informs us that the context in which it occurs (the purpose clause) designates an intention on the part of its antecedent.

Consider now:

(52) dɛvi-a xɔ tohehe tso fofo-a gbɔ be wò-a-ga-da
child-D from father-D side
alakpa na yè ake o
to LOG

'the child received punishment from his father_i so that he
wouldn't tell lies to him_i again'

In this sentence, the antecedent of yè, fofoa, is not the subject, but rather (as in the examples of the last section) the object of tso 'from'. (Here, the logophoric pronoun is optional, even for those speakers who otherwise require their use in purpose clauses).

It is unlikely that the antecedents of the logophoric pronouns in (44), (45) (with *Kofi* as antecedent), (47), (48), (49), and (52) can be analyzed as deep structure subjects in any well-motivated sense. Consider, for instance, the difficulties inherent in any attempt to derive (44) from the structure underlying:

- (53) Kofi gblo na m be yè-x₂ munana
say to PRO that LOG-receive gift

'Kofi_i told me that he_i had received a gift'

or (52) from a structure such as that underlying:

- (54) Kofi he to na qevi-a be wò-a-ga-da...
pull ear to child-D so that PRO-T-P-tell

'Kofi punished the child so that he wouldn't tell...'

The syntactic rules in question would be of highly unusual types, involving the insertion of new verbs, the insertion and deletion of prepositions, and other radical modifications to the structure. Such an approach, therefore, must be rejected.

5.3. Another set of problems for any proposed subjecthood condition involves a class of "psychological" verbs and verbal idioms expressing emotional states and attitudes. In sentences involving such verbs and idioms, the "experiencer" is often the object, as in the following example:

- (55) done ve wo
belly hurt PRO

'they were angry'

In some cases Ewe permits a number of lexically related, but syntactically contrastive expressions to express the same concept. The following sentences, for instance, constructed from the lexical items dyi 'heart' (Standard Ewe dzi) and dzo 'to straighten, set right', are synonymous in the sense 'I am/was happy':

- (56) a. dyi dzo m
 PRO

 b. e-dzo dyi na m
 PRO- to PRO

 c. me-kpo dyidzo
 PRO-see happiness

 d. e-do dyidzo na m
 PRO-put-forth happiness to PRO

Of particular interest is the grammatical role of the first person singular personal pronoun: a, me. In (56a) it is the direct object of the verb; in (56b) and (56d) it is the object of the prepositional verb na 'to, for'; and in (56c) it is the subject of the verb kpa 'to see'.

In subordinate clauses following verbal expressions of this sort, yè may occur optionally, in which case it is co-referential with the nominal referring to the experiencer of the psychological state or attitude (in the following examples, Ama):

- | | | | | |
|------|----|----------------------|---|---------------------|
| (57) | a. | d̩yɪ d̩z̩ Ama | } | |
| | b. | e-d̩z̩ d̩yɪ na Ama | | be yè-d̩yɪ vi |
| | c. | Ama k̩p̩ d̩yɪd̩z̩ | | that LOG-bear child |
| | d. | e-do d̩yɪd̩z̩ na Ama | | |

'Ama_i was happy that she_i bore a child'

All speakers, of those consulted, found (57c) acceptable, and most found the remaining examples acceptable as well. These facts provide no problem for a semantically-based description of the logophoric pronouns: the relation between Ama and the embedded clause is the same in all cases, since these sentences are synonymous. However, it would be difficult to find a single syntactic generalization characterizing the antecedents of yè in all the examples of (57), other than the fact that they are probably all strictly subcategorized by the main verb. Only in (57c) is Ama the subject of the higher clause, and this sentence cannot plausibly be taken as the source of the other sentences.

6. The examples of section 5 demonstrate that semantic considerations may override syntactic considerations in determining the possibilities of occurrence of the logophoric pronoun in Ewe.

However, while semantic conditions may be of primary relevance in describing the behavior of the logophoric forms, they are not sufficient; there are categorical constraints prohibiting the occurrence of yè that operate even when the semantic conditions are clearly satisfied. While earlier examples (38), (40) allowed an alternative explanation, examples such as the following, synonymous pair show that nonsemantic factors must be involved in

at least some cases:

- (58) e-dzo dyi na Ama be yè-dyi vi (- 57b)

PRO-

LOG

'it made Ama_i happy that she_j bore a child'

- (59) ye wo vidyidyi-a dzo dyi na Ama

PRO GEN child-bearing-D

'her having a child made Ama happy'

In (59), ye is not the (low-toned) logophoric pronoun, but rather the (high-toned) strong form of the third person singular pronoun (Table 1). The logophoric pronoun cannot be used in this sentence. However, there is no general restriction prohibiting the occurrence of logophoric pronouns in gerundive nominals, as we can see by embedding (59) under a verb of saying:

- (60) Ama gblɔ be yè wo vidyidyi-a dzo dyi na yè

say that LOG

LOG

'Ama_i said that her_i having a child made her_i happy'

Let us consider possible explanations for the unacceptability of the logophoric pronoun in (59). We first of all notice that in (59), unlike in other examples discussed so far, the antecedent of the pronoun occurs to its right rather than to its left. Since (59) is acceptable, we know that there is no general constraint in Ewe requiring antecedents to precede pronouns standing in anaphoric relation to them. It might nevertheless be possible that such a precedence constraint holds for logophoric pronouns only.

In order to test this proposal we would have to investigate clause types in which logophoric pronouns are independently known to occur (such as tensed sentences), and construct a sentence in which such a clause precedes a main clause containing the antecedent. Now, while such sentences are possible in Ewe (cf. Ansre 1966a, 121-2), they are of extremely restricted occurrence. According to Westernmann (and in conformity with my own observations), such constructions are "of recent origin and are rarely found in everyday speech" (Westernmann 1930, 158). Westernmann cites the example:

- (61) *bensa wonagatsi megbe o*
 so that they-should-not-remain behind NEG
quti la, wode wofe awumo di hofu du
 they-remove their clothes and-run

'in order that they should not remain behind, they took off
 their clothes and ran'

One Ewe speaker consulted in this study regards such sentences as characteristic of written Ewe only, "as in translations from English".¹⁰ While one could, therefore, test for the possibility of using a logophoric pronoun in such sentences, it is difficult to see what conclusions could be drawn (whatever the response) for the problem under discussion. If it were found that Ewe speakers consistently rejected the logophoric pronoun in such sentences, this might simply be ascribed to their unfamiliarity with this type of sentence in colloquial speech. On the other hand, if the logophoric pronoun were allowed or even preferred,¹¹ this might merely reflect a recent, English-influenced tendency to generalize backward anaphora to a new class of cases. As far as I have been able to determine, there is no independent way of testing the proposal that logophoric pronouns (unlike personal pronouns) are subject to a precedence constraint. Given this fact, it would be preferable not to invoke this explanation if some alternative, independently-verifiable explanation could be found.

Such an explanation does seem possible. If we examine the sentences in which the logophoric pronoun is allowed, and contrast them with those examples ((38), (40), (59)) in which they are prohibited even when the semantic conditions appear to have been satisfied, we find that they share a characteristic in common: all occur in clauses introduced by the "complementizer" *be* (or one of its allomorphs, *bensa*, *ne*). The examples disallowing the logophoric forms involve clauses of other types (relative, simultaneous, gerundive).

This observation suggests that a closer examination of the syntactic nature of the "complementizer" *be* might be of interest. The examples cited so far in this study illustrate two principal uses of this form: first, as an

10 Elsewhere Westermann has cautioned against the increasing tendency for Ewe sentences to be constructed according to European models (Westermann 1943, 22-3), a tendency which is particularly notable in written Ewe.

11 The speaker cited just above did, in fact, find the logophoric pronoun *yewo* preferable to the personal pronoun *wo* in (61).

apparent main verb, synonymous with the verb gblo 'to say, speak' ((20), (22), (23)), and secondly, as a "complementizer" introducing tensed subordinate clauses. It would be natural to ask whether these uses are in any way related.

The strongest hypothesis would be that be is a main verb in all occurrences. However, this hypothesis runs into difficulty once we compare the behavior of be, in apparent function as a main verb, with that of true main verbs such as gblo 'to say, speak'. While true main verbs take (with few exceptions) the full set of inflectional forms, be is highly restricted in this respect. Compare:

- (62) a. na-gblo be Kofi le afe me 'I will say that Kofi is at
 PRO/T-say be home in home'
 b. ne-ga-gblo be Kofi le afe me 'I said again that Kofi is
 PRO-P-say at home'
 c. me gbo-gblo-n be Kofi le afe me 'I'm saying that Kofi is
 PRO RED-say-A at home'
- (63) a. *na-be Kofi le afe me
 b. *ne-ga-be Kofi le afe me
 c. *me be-be-n Kofi le afe me

Gblo shows all the syntactic characteristics of main verbs, inflecting for tense (62a), preverbs (62b), and aspect (62c). Be, on the other hand, is highly "defective", inflecting for few if any of these forms.¹² This is true not only when be is the sole verb in its clause (63), but also when it follows another verb, as the examples of (62) illustrate (normally, all verbs in sequence show concord for tense and aspect categories; see Westernmann 1930, 126 ff. and Ansre 1966b).

The position I will take here is that be has the synchronic status of a

12 Some speakers allow bená as a main verb in the same sense as be, but regard this form as "emphatic" or "bookish". One speaker found (63a,b) acceptable. I argue below that be is synchronically a prepositional verb. Westernmann remarks of such verb that they "may now be conjugated in certain tenses and moods only, others not at all" (1930, 130). He considered be to have the dual function of main verb and prepositional verb, without commenting upon its general failure to "conjugate" in either of these functions.

prepositional verb (or "verbid", to use the term suggested by Gilbert Ansre). In other words, be is assigned to the grammatical category "verb", but never occurs as a main verb, due to a lexical restriction limiting it to the function of preposition. In this respect be is, of course, not unique, since as Westermann and Ansre have shown (see the references of the last paragraph), all apparent "prepositions" in Ewe are verbal in status, and most can be shown to derive historically from main verbs.

There is phonological evidence supporting this analysis. As I have shown elsewhere (Clements, in press), the tone rules of Anlo operate within syntactic domains which presuppose the operation of a syntactic readjustment (tree-restructuring) rule which adjoins prepositional verbs to the left sister of the PP node immediately dominating them:



This rule applies not only to the prepositional verbs listed by Ansre (1966a, 1966b) but also to be. If this rule is to be stated in its most general form, therefore, be must be assigned the status of a prepositional verb.

Furthermore, as has been pointed out by Lord (1976),¹³ be retains the semantic properties of the main verb 'to say' even when functioning as a prepositional verb. This can be seen clearly in examples such as the following:

- (64) Kofi gbe be yè-ne-du-ge o 'Kofi refused to eat (it)'
 refuse LOG-NEG-eat-A NEG

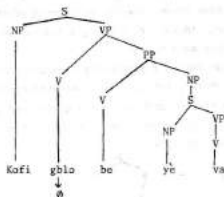
As the sense of the verb gbe 'to refuse' is inherently negative, one might wonder why the subordinate clause would require an apparently redundant expression of negation. This usage is consistent, however, if we assign to be a semantic analysis similar to that of gblo 'to say'; a literal gloss of this example would then be something like 'Kofi refused, saying he would not eat it'.

If be has the synchronic status of a prepositional verb, then how do we

¹³ Lord cites these facts in support of her claim that be originated diachronically as a verb; this claim is of course not inconsistent with my claim that be retains its status as a verb in the synchronic grammar of Ewe.

explain the existence of sentences such as *Kofi be yè-va* 'Kofi_i said he_i came'. Such sentences do not, under my analysis, contain main verbs. Rather, they are derived from underlying structures containing the main verb *gblo*, which is deleted by an optional rule. Thus, I postulate derivations such as the following:

(65)



It must further be stipulated that this rule applies just in case *gblo* is uninflected (and thus past tense in meaning), in order to account for the fact that *be*, as an apparent main verb, is understood as a past tense form.

There is evidence for the existence of another rule deleting a main verb before *be*. Some speakers find sentences such as the following acceptable, in which the verb *dyi* (Standard Ewe *ɖi*) has not its usual meaning 'to want, seek' but a derived meaning 'to be about to happen':

- (66) *e-va-dyi be yè-a-he dɔwuaɛ va-e na ní*
 PRO-P-want LOG-T-draw hunger come-PRO to PRO

'it wanted to draw hunger to us, to bring us hunger'

i.e. 'we were about to fall into hungry times'. Speakers who find sentences such as (66) acceptable (these include speakers of the Anlo dialect) also accept sentences such as the following:

- (67) *exɔ-a be yè-a-gbɛ* 'the house is about to break'
 house-D LOG-T-break

- (68) *tyi be yè-a-dza* 'it's about to rain'
 rain LOG-T-fall

- (69) nye afo be ye-a-ve m 'I'm beginning to feel pain
 PRO foot LOG-T-hurt PRO in my foot'

Sentences (67)-(69) are interpreted just as if they contained the main verb dyi in the sense 'to be about to happen'. In such sentences, be is "defective" just as when it occurs in the sense 'to say'. The fact that (67)-(69) are interpretable in a present-time sense corresponds to the fact that the uninflected form of dyi may also have a present-time sense (the preverb va excludes this sense in (66)). All of these facts can be explained if we assume that (67)-(69) are derived from structures containing dyi as the main verb. Notice, finally, that the sense corresponding to the verb dyi is excluded if the subject is animate; thus

- (70) avu-a be ye-a-ge de xo me
 dog-D LOG-T-enter into house in

cannot be interpreted in the sense 'the dog wants to enter the house' or 'the dog is about to enter the house', and in fact cannot be interpreted at all unless the dog in question should be a character in a fable, in which case it would have the meaning 'the dog said he would enter the house'. Thus, the postulated gblo- and dyi- deletion rules do not raise the problem of irrecoverable deletion: gblo may delete only if the subject is animate, and dyi may delete only if the subject is inanimate.

Given this analysis of the form be, it is not surprising to find that logophoric pronouns are restricted to clauses which it introduces. Be is a verbal preposition which (uniquely in Ewe) subcategorizes object clauses that characterize the thought, speech, and perceptions of individuals other than the speaker-narrator; only in such clauses can an individual other than the speaker talk (or think) about himself.

7. The factors controlling the occurrence of the logophoric pronoun are, as we have seen, primarily semantic. We can, however, observe the result of a process of "grammaticalization" of this semantically-based phenomenon in sentences which do not themselves meet the semantic conditions governing the occurrence of the logophoric pronouns, but which mirror the structure of sentences which do. Consider (71a) and its negative counterpart (71b):

- (71) a. Kofi nya be me-kpo yè 'Kofi_i knew that I had seen him_i'
 know PRO-see LOG
 b. Kofi me-nya be me-kpo yè o 'Kofi_i didn't know that I had seen
 him_i'

The logophoric pronoun is obligatory in (71a) and (for most speakers) in (71b) as well. Nevertheless, in (71b) the speaker explicitly denies knowledge of a certain state of affairs to Kofi (the fact that he had seen him).

In examples such as this yè cannot be said to refer to an individual whose thought or speech is represented in the clause in which it occurs. But such sentences can in some sense be said to be "modelled on" sentences in which this would be true; e.g., in the case of (71b), its affirmative counterpart (71a). Such behavior appears to be characteristic of logophoric pronouns in other languages as well (cf. Kuno 1972, 185 on Japanese: "once the conditions for the appearance of zibun are met [in a given sentence], its negative form is automatically deemed acceptable").

8. The antecedent of the logophoric pronoun in Ewe need not occur in the same sentence, but may occur several sentences earlier. In such cases, the sentence containing the antecedent will end in a clause introduced by be, representing the speech or thought of the individual or individuals designated by the antecedent, and the subsequent sentence(s) of the discourse will continue to present the events described by the narrator from the point of view of the same individual or individuals. Thus the entire passage from the occurrence of be up to, and including, the clause containing the logophoric pronoun constitutes a single reportive context.

The following excerpt from an oral retelling of the tale "The Monkeys and the Moon" provides an example of such an extended reportive context. I provide a loose interlinear translation, continuing to gloss the logophoric pronoun as LOG:¹⁴

- (72) Wo ame et3a wodui veviɛ be
 The three of them they planned firmly that

14 I reproduce this text in narrative Anlo style, making no attempt to regularize it in accordance with the norms of written Ewe.

yèwoaḍe dyinua toa me.
LOG would take out the moon from the water.

Ne yèwoḍii toa me ko a,
When LOG had taken it out of the water,

yèwoakoe wòano yewo guto yèwo si,
LOG would lift it (so that) it would be LOG's,

ale be wòano ḍiḍin na yèwo yesia-ɣi
so that it would be shining for LOG always

le zĩ me. Ne zĩ do ko a, dyinu
in the night. When night fell, the moon

ḍiḍin na yèwo, ke vivityi
would be shining for LOG, and darkness

nega dodege na yèwo yeaḍekeɣi o
would not come again for LOG ever.

'The three of them_i resolved that they_i would take the moon out of the water. When they_i had taken it out of the water, they_i would lift it up so that it would be theirs_i, so that it would be shining for them_i always in the night. When night came, the moon would be shining for them_i, and darkness would never again fall on them_i.'

9. We have examined an area of grammar in which discourse factors - specifically, the speaker's imputation of certain linguistic characterizations to individuals other than himself - control the choice of certain grammatical forms. It appears that such factors are in play not only in the grammar of Ewe and other languages of Africa, but in several other languages of the world as well (see section 2).

Logophoric pronouns can be characterized cross-linguistically in the following way:

- (1) logophoric pronouns are restricted to reportive contexts transmitting the words or thought of an individual or in-

dividuals other than the speaker or narrator;¹⁵

- (ii) the antecedent does not occur in the same reportive context as the logophoric pronoun;
- (iii) the antecedent designates the individual or individuals whose words or thoughts are transmitted in the reportive context in which the logophoric pronoun occurs.

Logophoric pronouns may in addition (in at least some languages) occur in sentences which are "modelled on" sentences in which the conditions for their occurrence are satisfied (see section 7). In addition, particular languages place idiosyncratic restrictions on the occurrence of logophoric forms. In Ewe, the pronouns yè, yèwo are restricted to reportive contexts introduced by be, and may have second- and third-person (but not first-person) antecedents. In Latin and Japanese, on the other hand, the antecedent of the logophoric "indirect reflexives" may only be third-person pronouns.

It appears that there are no universal syntactic conditions on the occurrence of logophoric pronouns. It is unlikely (as we have already seen in Latin and Ewe, and as Kuno has demonstrated for Japanese) that any language imposes a strict subjecthood condition on its logophoric forms. The proposal of subjecthood conditions in earlier descriptions may have resulted from a failure to draw a sufficiently clear distinction between the logophoric and non-logophoric uses of reflexive pronouns (the latter being subject, in some languages, to subjecthood conditions), and from the fact that antecedents of logophoric forms turn out to be subjects quite often, due to the high frequency of verbs meaning 'say', 'ask', 'think', and so forth. An interesting problem for future research concerns the extent to which syntactic conditions such as precedence, command, and the intervention constraint may control the occurrence of logophoric pronouns. In the case of Ewe, as we have already seen, the condition of precedence, by itself, cannot be shown to play a role in controlling the occurrence of the logophoric pronouns. It has not yet been determined whether there is any independent need for a condition prohibiting

15 In English, however, the speaker may be the "antecedent" if we take the reflexive pronouns as logophoric in function in sentences like As for myself, I'll stay home.

a logophoric pronoun from both preceding and commanding its antecedent. That the intervention constraint (Grinder 1970), which may be semantic in nature in any case, plays no strict role in Ewe is demonstrated by examples such as the following, in which a possible antecedent intervenes between yè and its true antecedent (in reading (a)):

(73) Kofi xɔ-e se be Ana gblɔ be yè-fu-l
 receive-PRO hear say LOG-beat-PRO

- a. 'Kofi_i believed that Ana said that he_i beat her'
 b. 'Kofi believed that Ana_i said that she_i beat him'

Both readings appear to be equally salient for the speakers consulted.

Some further syntactic conditions may play a secondary cross-linguistic role, at least in some languages. The earlier examples have demonstrated in several cases that nominals fulfilling the thematic role of "source" of a reported discourse are more easily interpreted by some speakers as antecedents of logophoric pronouns if they are subjects of the main verb, rather than objects of the preposition tso 'from'. One speaker consulted (whose judgments do not seem, in this respect, to be widely characteristic of Ewe speakers) tended to reject non-subject antecedents in nearly all cases. It may be the case, then, that the grammatical relation of a given nominal to the main verb may influence judgments of acceptability for some speakers, and it is conceivable that this is true of languages other than Ewe.

The grammatical status of logophoric pronouns raises some interesting questions for the study of pronouns in general. In his well-known analysis of the personal pronouns, Benveniste (1956) draws a categorical distinction between first- and second-person forms on the one hand, and third-person forms on the other. In his analysis, the latter forms belong to the sphere of syntax, while the former are characteristic of what he terms "instances of discourse", that is, the discrete, always-unique acts by means of which language is actualized in speech. The form I is definable as "the individual who utters the present instance of discourse containing the linguistic instance

I" (217),¹⁶ while you is "the individual spoken to in the present instance of discourse containing the linguistic instance you" (218). In contrast, the third person represents the unmarked member of the correlation of person, since third person pronouns do not refer to the individuals participating in the instance of discourse, but relate to the "objective" situation; and unlike first- and second-person forms, do not covary in reference in a given sentence according to who is uttering it to whom:

Thus, in the formal class of pronouns, those said to be of the "third person" are, by their function and by their nature, completely different from I and you. As has long been seen, forms like he, him, that, etc., only serve as abbreviated substitutes ("Pierre is sick; he has a fever"); they replace or relay one or another of the material elements of the utterance... Hence the function of these substitutes bears nothing in common with that of the indicators of person. (221)

It is difficult to find a place for the logophoric pronouns in this schema. It is clear that they are not to be classified as third person forms, since they do not meet the criteria given by Benveniste: they do not occur in contexts relating to the "objective" situation, but rather are restricted to contexts which report another person's interpretation of a given situation. Their use is, in fact, quite parallel to that of first person forms except that while first person pronouns refer to the speaker in present instances of discourse, logophoric pronouns refer to the speaker in reported instances of discourse. But it is no easier to classify logophoric pronouns with the "indicators of person". Unlike first- and second-person pronouns, logophoric pronouns do not covary in reference in a given sentence according to the participants in the discourse, but rather, like third person forms, "replace or relay one or another of the material elements of the utterance". Logophoric

16 Page numbers are cited from Benveniste 1971. Compare Bloomfield's formulation: "I replaces any singular substantive expression (this domain gives us the class-meaning of I, provided that this substantive expression denotes the speaker of the very utterance in which I is produced" (Bloomfield 1933, 248).

pronouns stand halfway between either pole of the correlation of person, and offer clear evidence of the intricate manner in which grammatical form may be dependent upon discourse structure.

10. The analysis of logophoric pronouns suggests the need for a more complex view of discourse structure than that which obtains at present. A more adequate view - already suggested in the work of Quine (1960), Kuno (1972), Banfield (1973), Jackendoff (1975), and others - would recognize the fact that a multiplicity of discourses may be embedded within a single utterance, each imputable to a specific individual or individuals, and each characterized, in language-particular ways, by the choice of appropriate linguistic forms.

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