

## THE SYNTAX OF YORÙBÁ REFLEXIVE EPITHETS\*



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In the literature, epithets are analyzed in one of two ways: either as a kind of R-expression (Lasnik 1976, 1989) or as a kind of pronoun (Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998). Yorùbá epithets, which take the form of reflexives, do not show the properties of either R-expressions or ordinary pronouns. In subordinate clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets have the same distribution as logophoric pronouns, which are themselves strong pronouns. In contrast to this, in matrix clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets have the same distribution as reflexives in that they must be locally bound; in particular, they must be locally A-bar bound. In this way, the syntactic properties of Yorùbá reflexive epithets are distinct from those reported in the literature (e.g. for English and for Arabic). This leads to the conclusion that pronominal epithets do not constitute a uniform class.

Dans la littérature, les épithètes s'analysent de deux façons: soit comme des expressions-R (Lasnik 1976, 1989), ou comme des pronoms (Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998). Les épithètes en yorouba, qui ont la forme d'un réfléchi, ne manifestent ni les propriétés des expressions-R, ni les propriétés des pronoms réguliers. Dans les propositions subordonnées, les épithètes réfléchies du yorouba ont la même distribution que les pronoms logophoriques, qui sont eux-mêmes des pronoms forts. Par contre, dans les propositions matrices, les épithètes réfléchies du yorouba ont la même distribution que les réfléchies: ils doivent localement liés, et plus particulièrement localement A-bar lié. Ainsi, les propriétés syntaxiques des épithètes réfléchies du yorouba se distinguent de celles décrites dans la littérature (e.g. pour l'anglais et l'arabique). Ceci mène à la conclusion que les épithètes pronominaux ne constituent pas une classe uniforme.

### 0. INTRODUCTION

Descriptively, an epithet “refers to a word or phrase that describes, characterizes, or serves as an appellation” (America Heritage Dictionary 1969: 441). For example, expressions with affective meaning, either negative (e.g. *the idiot*) or positive (e.g. *the genius*) may serve as epithets. In the generative literature, epithets are viewed as “definite descriptions that function quasi-pronominally, that is, with linguistic antecedents” (Lasnik & Stowell 1991: 708). In English (1a), an epithet has an overt determiner, e.g. *the idiot*, (Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998). In Lebanese Arabic (1b), an epithet occurs with a demonstrative, e.g. **ha-z-zaKiyye Nada** ‘this smart Nada’, (Aoun & Choueiri 2000). In Yorùbá (1c), epithets are realized as a kind of emphatic reflexive, **Ṭù** literally ‘his idiot self’.

- (1) a. [John<sub>i</sub>] ran over a man who was trying to give [the idiot<sub>i</sub>] directions.  
(Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998: 688)

- b. **ṣəft** [l-bənt<sub>i</sub>] **yalli btiftikro ?ənnɔ** [ha-l-habiile<sub>i</sub>]  
saw.1S the-girl that think.2P that this-the-idiot  
**ma rafi tərbaḥ s-saba?**  
neg fut win.3SF the-race  
I saw the girl that you think that this idiot will not win the race.  
(Aoun & Choueiri 2000: 10)

- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] rí [Ū<sub>i</sub>ra a rŭ<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>]<sup>1</sup>  
 think that see idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí saw his idiot self.

The goal of this paper is to account for the internal and external syntax of Yorùbá reflexive epithets.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to the internal syntax of Yorùbá reflexive epithets, observe that it contains within it the reflexive form **ara a rŭ** literally ‘his/her body’. However, while the reflexive epithet must be non-locally bound, the plain reflexive must be locally bound.

- (2) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [Ū<sub>i</sub>ra a rŭ<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot his idiot self.

- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [ara a rŭ<sub>i</sub>/j]  
 think that forgot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot herself.

The contrast between (2a) and (2b) raises the question of what determines the binding properties of the Yorùbá reflexive epithet. We will see that the Yorùbá epithet has almost the same distribution as a logophoric pronoun. A logophoric pronoun is typically introduced by verbs of saying (e.g. say, tell) or by verbs of mental content (e.g. think, believe). See Koopman & Sportiche (1989). In addition, a logophoric pronoun is obligatorily bound by an antecedent outside the clause in which, it occurs (Pulleyblank 1986, Manfredi 1987, Déchaine 1993, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002a, Adéşolá 2001). For example, just as the Yorùbá epithet must be bound by a matrix subject, so too must a logophoric pronoun (here: **òun**).

- (3) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [Ū<sub>i</sub>ra a rŭ<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot his idiot self.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [òun<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>]

<sup>1</sup> A reviewer observes that some speakers of Yorùbá could have another reading to (1c) in which the reflexive epithet is co-referential with the embedded subject, i.e. Olú thought that Bísí saw her idiot self. Such reading is not considered in our analysis except in a sentence that consists of just the matrix clause (see 3.2).

<sup>2</sup> This paper only examines epithets in argument position. In particular, the occurrence of epithets in copula and focus sentences such as:

- (i) Olú<sub>i</sub> j/Àlè<sub>i</sub>      (ii) Olú<sub>i</sub> ni olè<sub>i</sub>  
 Olú is a thief      Olú is (the one who is) a thief      is excluded.

think that forgot 3sg  
Olú thought that Bísí forgot him.

The problem to be addressed here is the following: What accounts for the binding properties of the Yorùbá epithet? I will argue that Yorùbá epithets are to be analyzed as a type of pronoun. More specifically, I will demonstrate that Yorùbá reflexive epithets are a kind of logophoric pronoun.

The remainder of the discussion is organized as follows. After reviewing previous analyses of epithets (§1), I show that (in non-matrix clauses) Yorùbá reflexive epithets do indeed have the same distribution as logophoric pronouns (§2). Then I discuss the consequences of the epithet-as-logophor-analysis, in particular as it applies to strong pronouns (§3). Then I examine the forms of the Yorùbá epithets (§4). Section 5 concludes.

### 1. PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF EPITHETS

Previous analyses of epithets fall into two classes according to whether they treat epithets as a kind of R-expression (Lasnik 1976, 1989) or as a kind of pronoun (Jakendoff 1969, 1972a; Sells 1987a, Postal 1972, Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998, Aoun & Choueiri 2000), Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein 2001). As a preliminary step, note that, R-expressions, pronouns and epithets may all be free (cf. Lasnik & Stowell 1991), as illustrated in (4) for English and in (5) for Yorùbá .

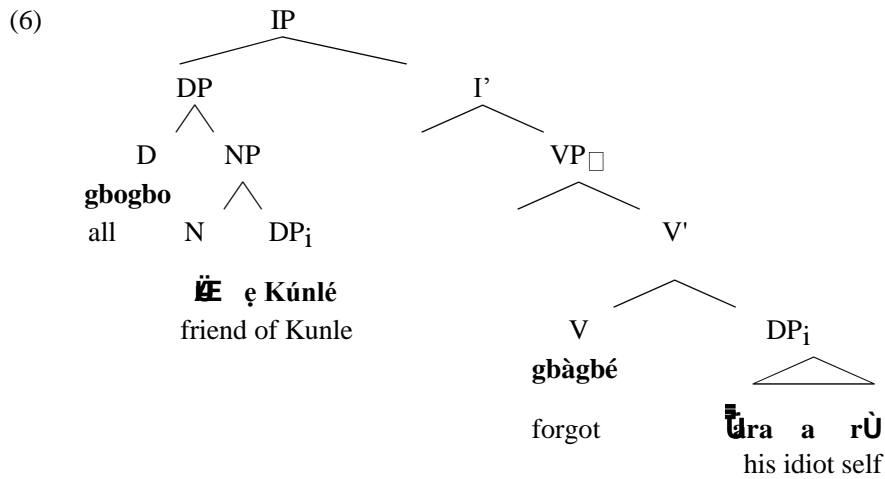
- (4) a. She<sub>i</sub> abused [Kúnlé<sub>j</sub>]  
 b. She<sub>i</sub> abused [him<sub>j</sub>]  
 c. All of Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>'s friends love [the idiot<sub>j</sub>]  
 (cf. Lasnik & Stowell 1991: 708, (60b))

- (5) a. Ó<sub>i</sub> bú Kúnlé<sub>j</sub>  
 She<sub>i</sub> abused Kúnlé<sub>j</sub>

- b. Ó<sub>i</sub> bú u<sub>j</sub>  
 She<sub>i</sub> abused him<sub>j</sub>

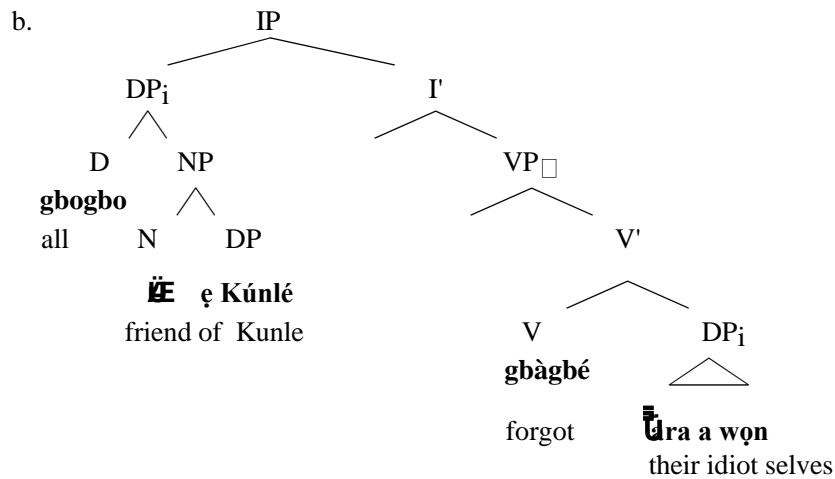
- c.  $\overline{\text{tá}} \overline{\text{à}} \overline{\text{á}} \overline{\text{á}} \overline{\text{r}} \overline{\text{á}} \overline{\text{t}} \overline{\text{á}}$   
 all friend Gen forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 All of Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>'s friends love [his idiot self<sub>j</sub>]

Regarding (5c), the subject DP is headed by 'friend', which takes 'as a post-nominal Genitive complement (literally 'all friends of Kúnlé '). Thus, there is no local c-command relation between 'friend' and 'his idiot self'. The relevant structure is illustrated in (6).



This much establishes that epithets in Yorùbá may be free. There remains the question of whether this property is attributable to the status of epithets as R-expressions, or to their status as a kind of pronouns. Preliminary evidence in favour of the pronominal analysis of Yorùbá epithets comes from the fact that, although they may be free, it is also possible for them to be locally bound as in (7a). The relevant structure is given in (7b).

- (7) a. [**Gbogbo** **Ẹ** **ẹ** **Kúnlé** **gbàgbé** [**Ẹ** **ara** **a** **wọ̀n**]<sub>i</sub>]
- all friend Gen forgot idiot body Gen 3pl
- All of Kúnlé's friends<sub>i</sub> love [their idiot selves]<sub>i</sub>



Note that the possibility of locally binding Yorùbá epithets contrasts with English-type epithets, which cannot be locally bound, as in (8). As we shall see below, the local binding of Yorùbá reflexive epithets is restricted to the matrix clauses, and is the by-product of the elsewhere condition

- (8) \*All of Kúnlé's friends<sub>i</sub> love [the idiots<sub>i</sub>]

After establishing that Yorùbá reflexive epithets cannot be analyzed as R-expressions (2.1), I show that they are best analyzed as a kind of pronoun (2.2).

### 1.1 EPITHETS AS A KIND OF R-EXPRESSION

Lasnik (1976, 1989) proposes that epithets are a kind of R-expression. As such, they are subject to Condition C, and so must be free. Lasnik observes that just as R-expressions do not allow intra-sentential co-reference, e.g. *the president* in (9a), the same restriction holds of epithets, e.g. *the idiot* in (9b). He concludes from this that English epithets are a kind of R-expression, and so are predictably free.

- (9) a. \*[John<sub>i</sub>] thinks that I admire [the president<sub>i</sub>].  
 b. \*[John<sub>i</sub>] thinks that I admire [the idiot<sub>i</sub>].

Applying the same line of argumentation to Yorùbá epithets, we observe the following: while an ordinary noun does not allow intra-sentential co-reference, e.g. **ṣ** ‘idiot’ in (10a), a reflexive epithet does, e.g. **Ṣara a r** ‘his idiot self’ in (10b).

- (10) a. \*[Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>] rò pé mo gba ti [ṣ]  
           think that 1sg accept of idiot  
           Kúnlé thinks that I admire the idiot.
- b. [Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>] rò pé mo gba ti [Ṣara a r]  
           think that 1sg accept of idiot body Gen 3sg  
           Kúnlé thinks that I admire his idiot self.

On the basis of the contrast in (10), it is clear that Yorùbá reflexive epithets do not behave like R-expressions; in particular, they need not be free, as evidenced by (10b). But if Yorùbá epithets are not R-expressions, then what are they? The alternative is to treat Yorùbá epithets as a kind of pronoun, to which we now turn.

### 1.2. EPITHETS AS A KIND OF PRONOUN

As mentioned above, several analyses treat epithets as pronouns. If we extend this general approach to Yorùbá epithets, then there are two possible versions of the epithet-as-pronoun analysis. On independent grounds, Yorùbá has two classes of pronouns, antilogophoric and logophoric.<sup>3</sup> For example, the antilogophoric pronoun *i*

<sup>3</sup>Adé 2001 identifies the following verbs as being logophoric (i.e. as introducing the perspective of the speaker: psych-verbs (**dunnú** ‘rejoice’), verbs of social interaction (**gb** ‘accept’), verbs of message transfer (**bèrè** ‘ask’), verbs of command in subjunctive (**s** ‘say’), verbs of saying (**s** ‘say’), complaint verbs (**fi-hónú-hàn** ‘protest’), and knowledge verbs (**m** ‘know’). He further observes (p. 13) that logophoric verbs

in (11a) must be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject. In contrast to this, the logophoric pronoun *òun* in (11b) must be co-referential with the matrix subject.

- (11) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé Bísí rí [i<sub>j</sub>]  
           think that       see 3sg  
           Olúí thought that Bísí saw him.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé Bísí rí [òun<sub>i</sub>]  
           think that       see 3sg  
           Olúí thought that Bísí saw him.

After showing that Yorùbá epithets do not have the same distribution as antilogophoric pronouns (1.3), I propose that they are in fact a kind of logophoric pronoun (1.4).

### 1.3 EPITHETS AS A KIND OF ANTILOGOPHORIC PRONOUN

Extending Jackendoff's (1969) proposal, Dubinsky & Hamilton (1998) argue that English epithets are a kind of antilogophoric pronoun. The initial motivation for treating English epithets as a kind of pronoun is based on the fact that, like ordinary pronouns, they must be free in their local binding domain, as illustrated in (12).

- (12) a. [John<sub>i</sub>] likes [him\*<sub>i/j</sub>]  
       b. [John<sub>i</sub>] likes [the idiot\*<sub>i/j</sub>]

However, an immediate problem for the epithet-as-pronoun analysis is the fact that unlike ordinary pronouns, epithets do not allow intra-sentential coreference as shown by the contrast between (13a) and (13b). (In fact, this is what motivated Lasnik's treatment of English epithets as R-expressions.)

- (13) a. [John<sub>i</sub>] thinks that I admire [him<sub>i</sub>].  
       b. \*[John<sub>i</sub>] thinks that I admire [the idiot<sub>i</sub>].

Despite the lack of parallelism in (13) between pronouns and epithets, Dubinsky & Hamilton (1998) nevertheless retain the epithet-as-pronoun analysis. However, they further argue that epithets are a special kind of pronoun, namely an antilogophoric pronoun, as defined in (14).<sup>4</sup>

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have the property of taking a clausal complement; thus verbs that introduce non-finite clauses do not induce logophoricity, e.g. *fáant'*, *ní* 'has to' etc. Such verbs are always obligatorily followed by the overt markers *láti* or a high toned lengthened vowel (Awóyalé 1974: 338ff).

<sup>4</sup> Sells' (1987b) principle of antilogophoricity is stated in (i).

- (i) *Sell's antilogophoricity principle* (1987b:14)  
 Any reference to an individual bearing a discourse role must be syntactically expressed by a pronominal [i.e., R-expressions cannot bear discourse roles].

(14) *Antilogophoricity constraint for epithets*

An epithet must not be anteceded by an individual from whose perspective the attributive content of the epithet is evaluated. (Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998:689)

Given the antilogophoricity constraint in (14), the ill-formedness of (13b) is accounted for in the following way. The verb *think* is a logophoric verb (Sells 1987a, Koopman & Sportiche (1989); consequently it introduces a perspective bearer (*John*). The antilogophoricity constraint requires that an epithet NOT be anteceded by the perspective bearer. Therefore, in (13b), the epithet *the idiot* cannot be anteceded by the perspective bearer *John*.

The advantage of the Dubinsky and Hamilton proposal is that it captures the fact that if perspectival information is controlled for, then the (non)-occurrence of an epithet is correctly accounted for. For example, in (15a) the verb *lead* introduces a perspective-bearer *John*, and the epithet *the idiot* is correctly predicted to not take the perspective-bearer as an antecedent. If however, an adverb such as *inadvertently* is added, this explicitly denies that John is a perspective-bearer and correctly predicts that the epithet *the idiot* CAN take the perspective-bearer as an antecedent, as in (15b).

- (15) a. \*[John<sub>i</sub>] led his students to conclude that [the idiot<sub>i</sub>] couldn't teach.  
 b. [John<sub>i</sub>] inadvertently led his students to conclude that [the idiot<sub>i</sub>] couldn't teach. (cf. Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998 ex. 17)

Taking the Dubinsky & Hamilton epithet-as-antilogophor analysis at face value, we may ask whether it extends to Yorùbá reflexive epithets. Consider the example in (16a). With a verb such as *rò* 'think', the perspective bearer is **Kúnlé**, and the antilogophoric pronoun is correctly predicted to not be able to take the perspective-bearer as an antecedent, i.e. there is obligatory disjoint reference. With this in mind, consider the behaviour of the reflexive epithet in (16b). Here, it is possible for the Yorùbá reflexive epithet to take the perspective-bearer as an antecedent. I therefore conclude that the Yorùbá reflexive epithet does NOT have the same status as an antilogophoric pronoun.

- (16) a. [Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>] rò pé mo rí [i\*<sub>i</sub>/j]  
           think that 1sg see 3sg  
           Kúnlé thought that I saw him.

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Sells' principle subsumes antilogophoricity under condition C. His antilogophoricity principle claims that epithets, as R-expressions, cannot bear discourse roles of SOURCE, SELF and PIVOT as herein defined in Sells's terms.

SOURCE: one who is the intentional agent of communication

SELF: one whose mental state or attitude the content of the proposition describes

PIVOT: one with respect to whose (space-time) location the content of the proposition is evaluated (Sells 1987a: 457)

The examples in (ii) support this principle.

- (ii) a. \*He<sub>i</sub> has heard from us that the idiot<sub>i</sub> [SELF] will never be allowed to enter the lodge  
 b. He<sub>i</sub> has heard from us that (under no circumstance) will the idiot<sub>i</sub> [-SELF] be allowed to enter the lodge

- b. [Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>] rò pé mo rí [Ūara a rù<sub>i</sub>]
   
think that 1sg see idiot body Gen 3sg
   
Kúnlé thought that I saw his idiot self.

Similarly, with verbs such as *jǎ* 'allow', while the antilogophoric pronoun is obligatorily disjoint from the perspective-bearer, as in (17a), the reflexive epithet is not, as in (17b).

- (17) a. [Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>] jǎ kí àwọ̀n akkẹ̀gbà pé
   
allow that Pl student accept that
   
[ó<sub>j</sub>] le kẹ̀i
   
3sg able teach-person
   
Kúnlé led the students to conclude that he could teach.

- b. [Kúnlé<sub>i</sub>] jǎ kí àwọ̀n akkẹ̀gbà pé
   
allow that Pl student accept that
   
[Ūara a rù<sub>i</sub>] le kẹ̀i
   
idiot body Gen 3sg able teach-person
   
Kúnlé led the students to conclude that his idiot self could teach.

Taking (16) and (17) together, I conclude that Yorùbá reflexive epithets are not a kind of antilogophoric pronoun.

Although the epithet-as-antilogophoric pronoun analysis does not extend to Yorùbá epithets, there remains another version of the epithet-as-pronoun analysis to consider. Namely, the possibility that Yorùbá reflexive epithets are a kind of logophoric pronoun.

#### 1.4 EPITHETS AS A KIND OF LOGOPHORIC PRONOUN

Recall from above that Yorùbá pronouns fall into two sub-classes: antilogophoric pronouns (which must be disjoint in reference from their antecedent) and logophoric pronouns (which, by definition, occur in embedded clauses, and must be co-referent with their antecedent). The relevant examples are repeated in (18a) and (18b). Relevant to the current discussion is the fact that like logophoric pronouns, reflexive epithets must also be co-referent with their antecedent, as in (18c).

- (18) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé Bísí rí [i<sub>j</sub>]
   
think that see 3sg
   
Olú thought that Bísí saw him.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé Bísí rí [òun<sub>i</sub>]
   
think that see 3sg
   
Olú thought that Bísí saw him.



- c. [Olù] rò pé Bísí rí [Ū ara a rŪ]  
 think that see idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí saw his idiot self.

On the basis of the parallel between (18b) and (18c), I propose the following:

- (19) (i) In embedded clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets are pronominals.  
 (ii) In embedded clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets are a kind of logophoric pronoun.

Given the claim that Yorùbá reflexive epithets are logophors, we expect that all of the syntactic contexts where logophors occur, reflexive epithets will also occur. In particular, Yorùbá logophors are found in nominative, accusative and genitive environments, as summarized in (20).

(20) Pronouns

	Reflexive epithets	Logophoric pronouns (strong Pronouns <sup>5</sup> )		Antilogophoric pronoun (weak pronouns)		
		Nom/Acc	Gen	Nom	Acc	Gen
3sg	<b>N ara a rŪ</b>	<b>òun</b>	<b>tirŪun</b>	<b>ó</b>	<b>un/V</b>	<b>M+rŪ</b>
3pl	<b>N ara àwọn</b>	<b>àwọn</b>	<b>àwọn</b>	<b>wÉ</b>	<b>wọn</b>	<b>M+wọn</b>

If reflexive epithets are logophors, they should occur in the same range of environments as logophors, and with the same range of interpretation (i.e. obligatorily bound to a matrix argument). In order to establish that logophors and epithets show parallel behaviour, it is necessary to examine the following environments: (i) the occurrence of a logophor/reflexive epithet in an embedded clause; (ii) the occurrence of a logophor/reflexive epithet in a multiply embedded clause; (iii) the possibility of a logophor/reflexive epithet taking a split antecedent. These three environments are presented in turn; in each case, we will see that the predicted parallelism between logophors and reflexive epithets is indeed attested.

#### 1.4.1 Logophors and epithets in embedded clauses

Consider first the examples in (21), which show that when a reflexive epithet is an embedded nominative (21a), it behaves like a logophor (21b), in that it is non-locally bound to the matrix subject. In this regard reflexive epithets/logophors contrast with antilogophors; the latter being obligatorily disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, (21c).

- (21) a. [Olù]<sub>1</sub> gbà pé [òjòwú ara a rŪ]<sub>1</sub>  
 admit that jealous body Gen 3sg.Nom  
 rí ọkọ rẹ pẹlú obìrin mìrán  
 see husband 3sg with woman another

<sup>5</sup> The strong pronouns are a large set from which the logophoric pronouns emerge.

Olú admitted that her jealous self saw her husband with another woman.

- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>] rí ọkọ òun pẹ̀lú obirin mírán  
 admit that 3sgNom see husband 3sg with woman another  
 Olú admitted that she saw her husband with another woman.

- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [ó<sub>i/j</sub>] rí ọkọ rẹ pẹlú obirin mìràn  
 admit that 3sg.Nom see husband 3sg with woman another  
 Olú admitted that she saw her husband with another woman.

Similarly, when a reflexive epithet is an embedded accusative, it behaves like a logophor in that it is non-locally bound to the matrix subject, (22a-b). Again, reflexive epithets/logophors contrast with antilogophors, which are obligatorily disjoint from the matrix subject, (22c).

- (22) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé Adé<sub>j</sub> rí [aláimòkan ara a rẹ<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 accept that see ignorant body Gen 3sg  
 Olú admitted that Adé saw his ignorant self.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [Adé<sub>j</sub>]rí [òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 accept that see 3sg.Acc  
 Olú admitted that Adé saw him (himself).
- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé Adé<sub>j</sub> rí [ì<sub>i/\*j/k</sub>]  
 accept that see 3sg.Acc  
 Olú admitted that Adé saw him (someone else).

For polysyllabic verbs which introduce genitive objects, again we see that the reflexive epithet behaves like a logophor in that it is non-locally bound to the matrix subject, (23a-b). As before, reflexive epithets/logophors contrast with antilogophors, (23c).

- (23) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [Adé<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [ù<sub>i</sub>ara a rù<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 accept that forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú admitted that Adé forgot his idiot self.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [Adé<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 accept that forgot 3sg.Gen  
 Olú admitted that Adé forgot him (himself).
- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [Adé<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [rù<sub>k</sub>]  
 accept that forgot 3sg.Gen  
 Olú admitted that Adé forgot him (someone else).

Finally, in the context of a possessive phrase, the reflexive epithet continues to behave like a logophor in that it is non-locally bound to the matrix subject, (24a-b). Again, reflexive epithets/logophors contrast with antilogophors, (24c).

- (24) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [bàbá ù<sub>i</sub>ara a rù<sub>i/\*j</sub>] rí Adé  
 admit that father idiot body Gen 3sg see  
 Olú admitted that the father of his idiot self saw Adé.

b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [bàbá òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>] rí Adé

admit that father 3sg.Gen see  
Olú admitted that his father saw Adé.

c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [bàbá rí<sub>i/j</sub>] rí Adé

admit that father 3sg.Gen see  
Olú admitted that his father saw Adé.

This much confirms that Yorùbá reflexive epithets do indeed have the same distribution as logophoric pronouns in embedded clauses. I now consider their distribution in multiply embedded clauses.

#### 1.4.2 Logophors and reflexive epithets in multiply embedded clauses

The indisputable claim in the literature is that a logophoric pronoun takes its antecedent from a DP in a higher clause (Hagège 1974 Manfredi 1987, Sells 1987b etc.). We have seen above that reflexive epithets are subject to exactly the same restriction. When there is multiple embedding, both reflexive epithets and logophors can be bound by an antecedent in the immediately higher clause, or by an antecedent in the matrix clause, as in (25a-b). Again, reflexive epithets/logophors contrast with antilogophors in that the latter are obligatorily disjoint from any antecedent in the higher clauses, (25c). In other words, epithets/logophors are always non-locally bound, while antilogophors are non-locally free.

(25) a. [Fúnmi<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Tolú<sub>j</sub>] sọ pé [Bádé<sub>k</sub>] rò pé  
think that Tolu say that Bádé think that

[olóríburúkú ara a rẹ<sub>i/j/\*k</sub>] wá

unlucky body Gen 3sg come

Fúnmi thought that Tolú said that Bádé thought that his unlucky self came.

b. [Fúnmi<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Tolú<sub>j</sub>] sọ pé [Bádé<sub>k</sub>] rò pé  
think that say that think that

[òun<sub>i/j/\*k</sub>] wá

3sg come

Fúnmi thought that Tolú said that Bádé thought that he/she came.

c. [Fúnmi<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Tolú<sub>j</sub>] sọ pé [Bádé<sub>k</sub>] rò pé  
Fúnmi think that Tolu say that Bádé think that

[ó<sub>i/\*j/\*k</sub>] wá

3sg come

Fúnmi thought that Tolú said that Bádé thought that he/she came.

(Pulleyblank 1986: 62, (ex. 49a))

The examples in (25) illustrate the behavior of subjects in a context of multiple embedding. As shown in (26), object in a context of multiple embedding show the

same interpretive effects. While epithets/logophors are non-locally bound (26a-b), antilogophors are non-locally free (26c).

- (26) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] sọ pé Dàda<sub>j</sub> gbà pé Adé<sub>k</sub> rí [òpùró ara a rẹ̀<sub>i/j/\*k/\*m</sub>]  
 say that accept that see liar body Gen 3sg  
 Olú said that Dàda admitted that Adé saw his liar self (the liar).
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] sọ pé Dàda<sub>j</sub> gbà pé Adé<sub>k</sub> rí [òun<sub>i</sub> /j/\*k/\*m]  
 say that accept that see 3sg  
 Olú said that Dàda admitted that Adé saw him.
- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] sọ pé [Dàda<sub>j</sub>] rò pé [Adé<sub>k</sub>] rí [ì<sub>i/\*j/\*k/m</sub>]  
 say that think that see 3sg  
 Olú said that Dàda thought that Adé saw him.

The conclusion to draw from the data on multiple embedding is that there continues to be a perfect parallel between reflexive epithets and logophors.

#### 1.4.3 Logophors, epithets and split antecedents

The last parallelism to be considered concerns the possibility of reflexive epithets/logophors taking split antecedents. Adé<sup>6</sup> (2001) observes that a logophoric plural pronoun can take a split antecedent. As we shall see, plural reflexive epithets show the same behaviour. In contexts of multiple embedding where there is more than one potential antecedent, both plural epithets and plural logophors obligatorily take a split antecedent. This is illustrated in (27a-b), where the reflexive epithet/logophor obligatorily takes the matrix subject and the intermediate subject as a split antecedent.<sup>6</sup> Again, observe that the antilogophor must be non-locally free, and so is incompatible with a split antecedent, (27c).

- (27) a. Àina<sub>(i)</sub> ní Adé<sub>(j)</sub> sọ pé  
 say say that  
 [bàbá, Ūara a wá<sub>(i,j)</sub>] yóò lọ sí Boston ní òlẹ̀  
 father idiot body Gen 3pl will go to at tomorrow  
 Àiná said that Adé said that the father of their idiot selves will go to Boston tomorrow.

<sup>6</sup> Baker (1992) and Adéṣọlá (2001) refer to this as “Overlapping Binding” (O-binding). However it is also possible for a plural reflexive epithet/logophor to take a single plural antecedent in the higher clause.

- (i) Àiná àti Adé<sub>i</sub> sọ pé [bàbá òdẹ̀ ara a wọ̀n<sub>i</sub>] yóò lọ sí Boston ní òlẹ̀  
 and say that father idiot body Gen 3pl will go to at tomorrow  
 Àiná said that Adé said that the father of their idiot selves will go to Boston tomorrow.
- (ii) Àiná àti Adé<sub>i</sub> sọ pé [bàbá àwọ̀n<sub>i</sub>] yóò lọ sí Boston ní òlẹ̀  
 and say that father they will go to at tomorrow  
 Àiná said that Adé said that their father will go to Boston tomorrow.

b. Àiná<sub>{i}</sub> ní Adé<sub>{j}</sub> sọ pé  
           say      say      that

[bàbá àwá<sub>{i,j}</sub>] yóò lọ sí Boston ní òlọ

father they will go to at tomorrow

Àiná said that Adé said that their father will go to Boston tomorrow.

(Adéşọlá 2001: 26)

c. Àiná<sub>{i}</sub> ní Adé<sub>{j}</sub> sọ pé  
           say      say that

[bàbá wọ̀n \*<sub>{i,j}/k</sub>] yóò lọ sí Boston ní òlọ

father they will go to at tomorrow

Àiná said that Adé said that their father will go to Boston tomorrow.

To summarize the results so far, I have established that Yorùbá reflexive epithets have exactly the same distribution as logophoric pronouns. I now turn to the question of which analysis of logophoric pronouns correctly captures the fact that Yorùbá reflexive epithets are a kind of logophor.

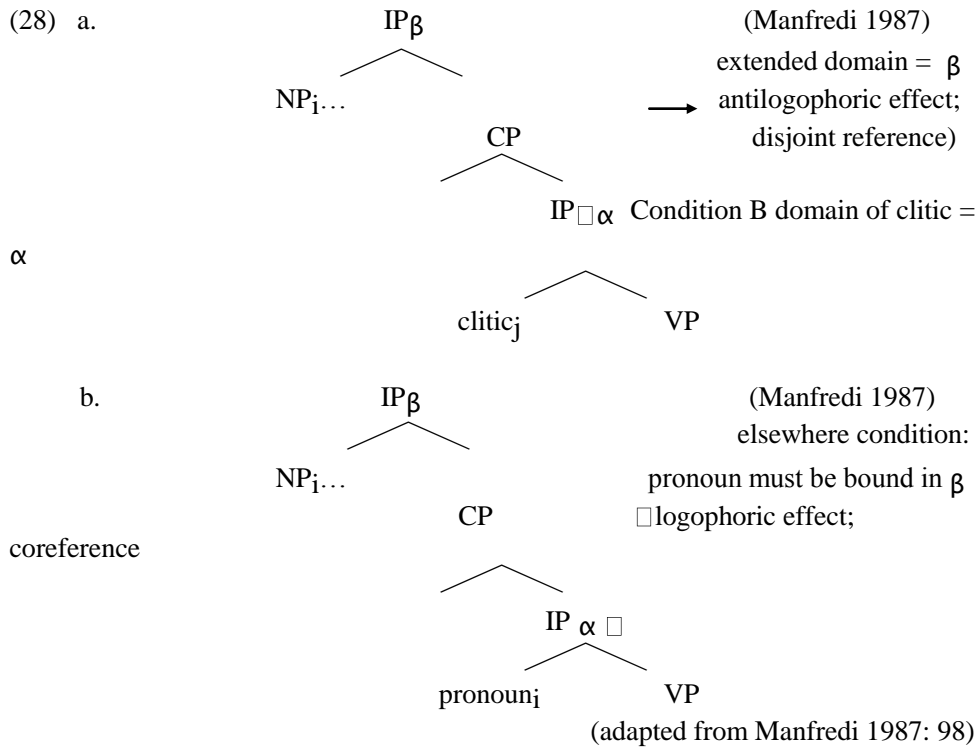
## 2. PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF LOGOPHORS

The phenomenon of logophoricity has been widely discussed in the literature (cf. Safir 2000 for a review). The analyses proposed differ according to whether logophoricity is attributed to the application of a binding condition (Sells 1987a,

Manfredi 1987, 1991, 1995) or to the effect of A-bar binding (Pulleyblank 1986, 1991, 2001, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002a). Given the epithet-as-logophor analysis motivated above, I here consider the issue of which analysis of logophors can be extended to capture this. I begin with the Condition B analysis of Yorùbá analysis proposed by Manfredi, and then turn to the A-bar binding analyses proposed by Adéşọlá and Déchaine & Wiltschko.

### 2.1 CONDITION B ANALYSIS OF LOGOPHORS: MANFREDI (1987)

According to Manfredi (1987: 98), "if the logophoric pronoun and the antilogophoric clitic are both morphologically pronominal, then Condition B is the relevant interpretive principle for both." Manfredi accounts for the complementarity between antilogophors and logophors by extending the domain of Condition B for the antilogophors. His domain extension structure, which follows Bouchard (1984), is shown in (28).



Manfredi proposes that the disjoint reference effect associated with the antilogophors results from Domain Extension where by the binding domain is extended to the matrix clause; this accounts for (29a). As for logophors, Manfredi argues that the co-reference effect is attributable to the application of the Elsewhere Condition. The logic goes as follows: because the domain extension of condition B forces disjoint reference with antilogophors, the default interpretation assigned to logophors in the same environment is co-reference; this accounts for (29b). Given that reflexive epithets have the same distribution as logophors, one might simply extend Manfredi's Condition B analysis to reflexive epithets, thereby accounting for (29c).

- (29) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [ó\*<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>] bú Adé  
 admit that 3sg.Nom abuse  
 Olú admitted that he abused Adé.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [òun<sub>i</sub>/\*<sub>j</sub>] bú Adé  
 admit that 3sg,Nom abuse  
 Olú admitted that he abused Adé.
- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] gbà pé [òpònú ara a rù\*<sub>j</sub>] bú Adé  
 admit that idiot body Gen 3sg abuse  
 Olú admitted that his idiot self abused Adé.

However, there remain at least two unresolved issues for the Condition B analysis. The first concerns the status of reflexive epithets as part of the pronominal series. This relates to the question of how the Elsewhere Condition evaluates competing pronominal forms. While it is clear that strong pronouns (logophors) and weak pronouns (antilogophors) are part of the same pronominal paradigm, it is not immediately obvious how reflexive epithets relate to this paradigmatic structure for the purposes of the Elsewhere Condition.

Another more serious objection to the Condition B analysis is that it fails to generalize to matrix clause environments. Under appropriate discourse conditions, in matrix clauses both reflexive epithets and logophors can be co-referential with a subject in the discourse.<sup>7</sup> This is illustrated for matrix nominative and accusative positions in (30) and (31) respectively. As shown in (30a-b), both reflexive epithet and the strong pronoun refer to **Túndé**, a discourse subject that is not in the sentence in which they respectively occur.

(30) Context: **Dàda wọlé ní agogo méjì**  
 enter-house at clock two  
 Dàda got home at two.

[**Túndé**]<sub>i</sub> **kò wọlé tíí agogo seven nítorí**  
 neg enter-house until clock seven because  
 Túndé did not get home until seven because

(30) a. [**ḍẹ ara a rẹ**]<sub>i</sub> **kò bẹrù òbí i rẹ**  
 idiot body Gen 3sg neg afraid parent Gen 3sg  
 his idiot self is not afraid of his parents

b. [**òun**]<sub>i</sub> **kò ẹrù òbí i rẹ**  
 3sg neg afraid parent Gen 3sg  
 he is not afraid of his parent.

In the same way, both reflexive epithet (31a) and strong pronoun (31b) occurring in the object position refer to **Dàda**, the discourse subject.

(31) Context: **Túndé n wá Kúnlé àti Dàda tí ó sọ̀nù**  
 prog search and that RP loss  
 Túndé is looking for Kúnlé and Dàda that are missing

Speaker 1: **Túndé ti rí Kúnlé**  
 asp see  
 Túndé has seen Kúnlé.

Speaker 2: [**Dàda**]<sub>i</sub> **ńkọ?**

<sup>7</sup> Discourse as used here means extrasentential setting in which the epithet has no antecedent within the sentence immediately containing it. Instead what operates is the case where the epithet refers to some individual outside the sentence.



wh-word  
What about Dàda?

- (31) a. **Túndé kò rí [Ùara a rẹ̀]**  
           neg see idiot body Gen 3sg  
           Túndé did not find his idiot self.
- b. **Túndé kò rí [òun]**  
           neg see 3sg  
           Túndé did not find him.

A strict interpretation of Condition B fails to account for (30) and (31). More serious is the fact that, in the absence of an appropriate discourse antecedent, reflexive epithets can be locally bound (32a), in contrast to ordinary logophors (32b), but like ordinary reflexives (32c).

- (32) a. **[Túndé<sub>i</sub>] kò rí [Ùara a rẹ̀<sub>i</sub>] (nínú gílààsì)**  
           neg see idiot body Gen 3sg (in mirror)  
           Túndé did not see his idiot self in the mirror.
- b. **[Túndé<sub>i</sub>] kò rí [òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>] (nínú gílààsì)**  
           neg see 3sg (in mirror)
- c. **[Túndé<sub>i</sub>] kò rí [ara a rẹ̀<sub>i</sub>] (nínú gílààsì)**  
           neg see body Gen 3sg (in mirror)  
           Túndé did not see himself in the mirror.

The data in (32) confirm that reflexive epithets have an ambivalent status: in non-matrix clauses, they behave like logophors (in being obligatorily non-locally bound); in matrix clauses, they behave like reflexives (in being obligatorily locally bound). A Condition B analysis cannot account for this mixed behaviour.

## 2.2 A-BAR BINDING ANALYSIS OF LOGOPHORS

There are two kinds of A-bar analysis of Yorùbá pronominals in the literature. On the one hand are analyses that claim that strong logophoric pronouns are locally A-bar bound, e.g. Adéşolá (2001). On the other hand, there are analyses claiming that strong (logophoric) pronouns are locally A-bar free, e.g. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002a). In this section, I consider each of these proposals and conclude that analyzing logophors as locally A-bar free best captures the reflexive epithet/logophor parallel documented in the previous section.

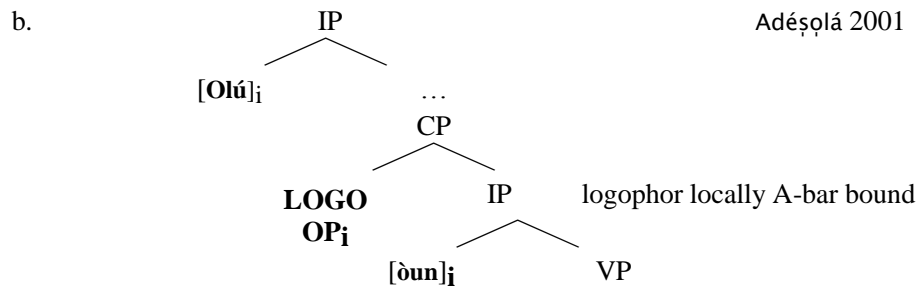
### 2.2.1 Logophors are locally A-bar bound: Adéşolá 2001

Adéşolá (2001) proposes that a logophoric pronoun must be locally A-bar bound by a null logophoric operator, which is in turn obligatorily bound by a logophoric antecedent. The relevant constraints that he invokes are stated in (33).

- (33) (i) *Logophoric Operator Licensing Condition* (Adéşólá 2001: 12, (37))  
 A logophoric operator is licensed in the Spec CP of a sentence iff there is a strong pronoun in the complement of the logophoric verb that selects the CP.
- (ii) *A-bar binding of strong pronouns* (Adéşólá 2001: 25, (71))  
 A strong pronoun must be locally A-bar bound.
- (iii) *Logophoric antecedent condition* (Adéşólá 2001: 26, (73-i))  
 The logophoric antecedent must bind the logophoric operator.

The constraint on strong pronouns/logophors in (33ii) implies that if there is a local A-bar operator present, then the strong pronoun **qua** logophor is obligatorily bound by that operator. Crucially, Adéşólá assumes that logophoric verbs introduce an abstract logophoric operator, as in (34b). It is this logophoric operator which A-bar binds the strong pronoun/logophor. In addition, the logophoric operator is itself obligatorily bound by the logophoric antecedent, here **Olú**. In this way, his analysis captures the fact that logophors are obligatorily non-locally A-bound.

- (34) a. **Olú<sub>i</sub> sọ pé [òun<sub>i</sub>] rí Adé**  
 say that 3sg see  
 Olú said that he saw Adé.



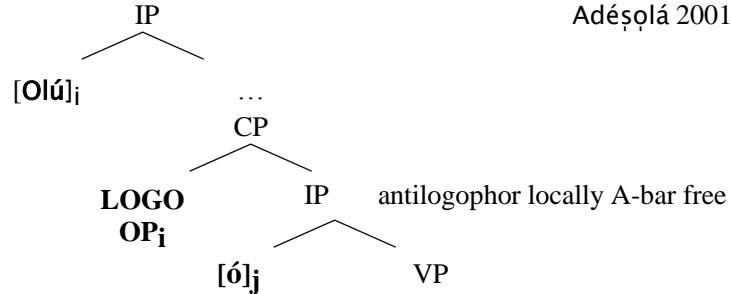
As for Adéşólá’s account of antilogophors, he propose that they are disjoint from the logophoric operator, as in (35).

- (35) *A-bar disjointness requirement on weak pronouns*  
 In a configuration where there is a  $\delta$ ,  $\delta$  a logophoric operator and a  $\Phi$ ,  $\Phi$  a weak pronoun,  $\delta$  cannot locally bind  $\Phi$ .  
 (Adéşólá 2001:22, (64))

To see how Adéşólá’s disjointness requirement on weak pronouns accounts for the interpretation of antilogophors, consider the example in (36a). In the presence of a logophoric operator, the weak pronoun/antilogophor is disjoint in reference from the operator, as in (36b). As for the logophoric operator, it is obligatorily bound by the logophoric antecedent, here **Olú**. In this way, Adéşólá’s analysis derives the fact that weak pronouns/antilogophors are disjoint in reference from the matrix antecedent.

- (36) a. **Olú<sub>i</sub> sọ pé [ó<sub>j</sub>] rí Adé**  
 say that 3sg see  
 Olú said that he saw Adé.

b.



Adéşólá's analysis has the virtue of accounting for the distribution of logophors and antilogophors in logophoric environments. However, certain aspects of his proposal are problematic with respect to the mechanisms invoked for A-bar binding. Specifically, the restriction on *A-bar binding of strong pronouns* in (33-ii) -which requires a strong pronoun to be locally A-bar bound-is confronted with both empirical and theoretical challenges.

Adéşólá's version of the A-bar binding restriction requires that the logophoric operator count as an A-bar binder. Consequently, his analysis predicts that other A-bar operators will be able to locally A-bar bind a strong pronoun. On this view, we would expect that Yorùbá strong pronouns should be able to function as locally A-bar bound resumptive pronouns in the context of wh-movement. However, as noted by Pulleyblank (1986), the resumptive pronouns which do occur with overt wh-movement are the weak clitic pronouns, i.e. the antilogphoric pronouns. The relevant contexts involve extraction of a subject or a possessor (Carstens 1986); such extractions obligatorily require a resumptive pronoun. Relevant to Adéşólá's proposal is the fact that the resumptive pronoun is crucially not the strong (logophoric) pronoun; rather it is the weak clitic (antilogphoric) pronoun.<sup>8</sup> This is illustrated in (37) for subject wh-extraction, and in (38) for possessor wh-extraction.

- (37) a. \*[**Ta<sub>i</sub>**] **ni** [òun<sub>i</sub>] rí Adé  
 wh be 3sg see

- b. [**Ta<sub>i</sub>**] **ni** [ó<sub>i</sub>] rí Adé  
 wh be 3sg see  
 Who saw Adé?

- (38) a. \*[**Ta<sub>i</sub>**] **ni o ra ìwé** [òun<sub>i</sub>]  
 wh be 2sg buy book 3sg

<sup>8</sup> The observation that only weak pronouns can resume wh-phrases is not specific to Yorùbá. Aoun & Choueiri note that the same restriction obtains in Lebanese Arabic.

- b. **Ta; ni o ra [ìwé e rí]**  
 wh be 2sg buy book Gen 3sg  
 Whose did you buy book?

Pulleyblank (1986: 63) observes that "the relevant domain for determination of pronominals co-reference is the same as that for WH-extraction." However, such a generalization, if correct, leads to the conclusion that it is the antilogophoric weak pronouns that are locally A-bar bound. This finding directly contradicts Adéşọlá's claim that strong logophoric pronouns are locally A-bar bound.

In addition to the empirical problems faced by Adéşọlá's formulation of the A-bar binding restriction, it also raises a theoretical paradox. Specifically, while Adéşọlá claims that strong pronouns must be locally A-bar bound, as in (39a) repeated from above; Aoun & Choueiri (2000) propose that strong pronouns must be locally A-bar free, as in (39b). These are clearly contradictory claims.

- (39) a. *A-bar binding of strong pronouns* (Adéşọlá 2001: 25, (71))  
 A strong pronoun must be locally A-bar bound.
- b. *A-bar disjointness requirement* (Aoun & Choueiri 2000: 21)  
 Strong or tonic pronouns cannot be linked to the most local operator.

Confronted with these opposing claims about the relation of strong pronouns to A-bar binding, there are three possible solutions that present themselves:

- (40) (i) all strong pronouns are locally A-bar bound;  
 (ii) all **strong pronouns** are locally A-bar free;  
 (iii) the choice between (i) and (ii) is parametrically determined (i.e. strong pronouns in some languages are A-bar bound, while strong pronouns in other languages are A-bar free).

Regarding (40-i)-namely the claim that strong pronouns are locally A-bar bound-we have already seen that even language-internal evidence from Yorùbá does not support this. Regarding (37-ii)-namely the claim that strong pronouns are locally A-bar free-there is considerable cross-linguistic evidence for this in the literature, including Chao & Sells (1983), Borer (1984), Montalbetti (1984), Aoun & Li (1990), McCloskey (1990) and Ouahalla (1993). In addition, (ii) is consistent with language-internal evidence from Yorùbá. Regarding (37-iii)-which claims that the choice between (i) and (ii) is a matter of parametric variation-it is only tenable if one can find independent evidence for the existence of (i). Given that such evidence is, at present, lacking, I therefore conclude that (ii) constitutes the null hypothesis. With this in mind, I now consider an analysis of logophors, which is consistent with the Aoun & Choueiri *A-bar disjointness requirement*. As we shall see, this is relevant to the larger question at hand, namely what accounts for the consistent parallel between logophors and epithets.

### 2.2.2 Logophors are locally A-bar free: Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002b

The A-bar disjointness requirement proposed by Aoun & Choueiri (2000) is related to a higher-order generalization termed the Disanaphora Law proposed by Williams (1997):

- (41) *The Disanaphora Law*
- a. A weak element is necessarily anaphoric;
  - b. A **strong element** is disanaphoric.
- (from Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002b, (35);  
adapted from Williams 1997, (85))

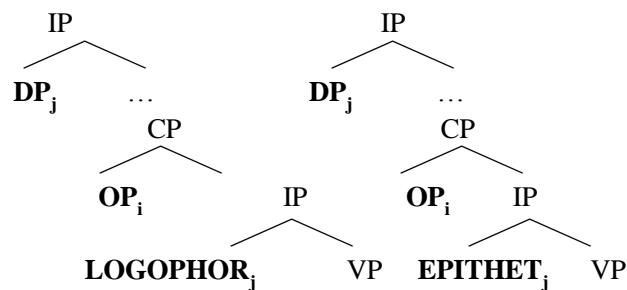
The Disanaphora Law requires that a strong element be disanaphoric. Extending the Disanaphora Law to strong pronouns, Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002b) propose that Yorùbá strong (logophoric) pronouns are locally A-bar free (i.e. disanaphoric in Williams' terms). The crucial parts of their analysis are summarized in (42).

- (42) *the basis of logophoricity* (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002b, ((40))

		ANTILOGOPHOR EFFECT	LOGOPHOR EFFECT
(i)	content/size:	Less specified $\varphi$	more specified $\varphi$
(ii)	anaphoric status:	"weak" element	"strong" element
(iii)	Disanaphora Law:	Locally anaphoric	locally disanaphoric
(iv)	binding domain:	Locally A'-bound	locally A'-free
(v)	interpretive effect:	Non-locally A-free	non-locally A-bound

Relevant to the present discussion is the fact that Déchaine & Wiltschko argue that, as strong pronouns, logophors are locally disanaphoric. Like Adéṣọlá, they assume that logophor introduce a logophoric operator in Spec,CP. Finally, the strong pronoun is locally A-bar free, and so is eligible to the non-locally A-bound; it is this which accounts for the obligatory co-reference between a matrix subject and a logophor as in (43a). Given the logophor/reflexive epithet parallelism, we expect that the Déchaine & Wiltschko analysis of logophors should generalize to reflexive epithets, as in (43b).

- (43) a. logophor locally A-bar free      b. epithet locally A-bar free  
(Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002b)      (herein)



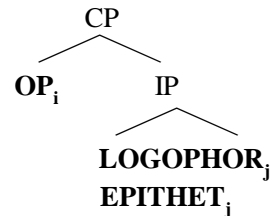
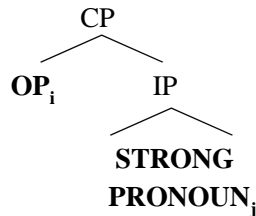
In addition to accounting for the logophor/reflexive epithet parallelism, the Déchaine & Wiltschko proposal also makes the correct generalizations concerning the distribution of the weak clitic (antilogophoric) pronouns. In this respect, it fares better than the alternative proposal espoused by Adéşọlá, which crucially failed to provide a unified account of local A-bar binding. To see this, consider the examples in (44). As weak pronouns, antilogphors are locally A'-bound to the logophoric operator; it is this which forces them to be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject as in (44a). This captures the fact that weak pronouns may be locally A'-bound by other operators as well, including overt wh-operators (44b-i), overt focus-operators (44b-ii), and covert relative clause operators (44b-iii). Finally, the analysis predicts that in matrix clauses, weak clitic pronouns are locally A-bar bound by an abstract operator, (44c).

- (44) a. [Olú<sub>j</sub>] sọ [CP OP<sub>i</sub> pé [ó<sub>i</sub>] wá ]  
           say          that 3sg come  
           Olú said that he (someone else) came.
- b. (i) [CP Ta<sub>i</sub> ni [ó<sub>i</sub>] ra ìwé ? ]  
           who      COMP 3SG buy book  
           Who bought a book?
- (ii) [CP JímÜ ni [ó<sub>i</sub>] ra ìwé  
               Friday COMP 3SG buy book  
               It's Mr. Friday who bought a book
- (iii) eni [CP OP<sub>i</sub> tí [ó<sub>i</sub>] ra ìwé ]].  
               person                  REL 3SG buy book  
               the person who bought the book...
- c. [CP OP<sub>i</sub> [ó<sub>i</sub>] lọ ]  
                           3sg go  
                           She went.

### 3. EPITHETS ARE STRONG PRONOUNS

Although motivated by very different considerations, the proposals made by Aoun & Choueiri (2000), by Williams (1997) and by Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002b) all converge on the claim that strong pronouns are locally A-bar free, as in (45a). Applying this to Yorùbá, this makes the prediction that logophors, as strong pronouns, are locally A-bar free. Furthermore, the logophor/epithet parallel leads to the conclusion that epithets are themselves a kind of strong pronoun, and it is this property which accounts for the fact that they parallel logophors in their distribution, as in (45b). I explore this in greater detail in this section.

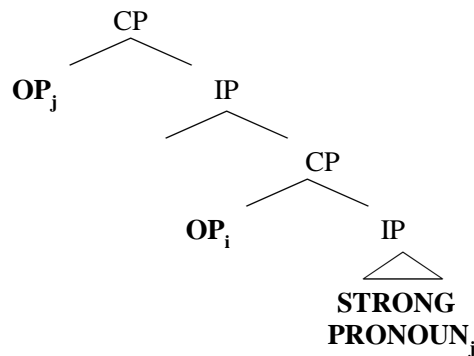
- (45) a.. *A-bar disjointness requirement*  
strong pronoun locally A-bar free  
(Aoun & Choueiri 2000: 21)
- b. logophor/epithet parallel:  
locally A-bar free  
(herein)



### 3.1 STRONG PRONOUNS CAN BE NON-LOCALLY A-BAR BOUND

Aoun & Choueiri observe that while strong pronouns must be locally A-bar free, there are nevertheless certain contexts where they function as A-bar bound resumptive elements (Aoun and Choueiri 2000: 12). The generalization which emerges from their work is the following: strong pronouns can be non-locally A-bar bound, as in (46).

- (46) Aoun & Choueiri 2000: strong pronouns can be non-locally A-bar bound



As applicable to Yorùbá, the Aoun & Choueiri treatment of strong pronouns predicts that Yorùbá logophors/epithets will be able to be non-locally A-bar bound. Aoun & Choueiri identify the following environments as instances of non-local A-bar binding: (i) strong pronouns as resumptives for *wh*-movement; (ii) strong pronouns as resumptives for certain types of relative clauses; (iii) strong pronouns as resumptives with quantifier raising.<sup>10</sup> As we shall see, the logophor/epithet parallel documented for context of non-local A-binding generalizes to the contexts of non-local A-bar binding identified by Aoun & Choueiri. These findings further confirm the logophor/epithet parallel on the one hand, and they also support the claim that logophors/epithets are a kind of strong pronoun.

<sup>10</sup> Aoun & Choueiri also identify clitic left dislocation as a context of non-local A-bar binding. This is not testable in Yorùbá because there is no such construction in the language.



### 3.1.1 Strong pronouns as resumptive with wh-movement

Lasnik & Stowell (1991), following Hornstein & Weinberg (1988), observe for English that epithets may function as non-referential bound variables in wh-movement contexts such as in (47).

- (47) [Which assailant<sub>i</sub>] did Mary see t<sub>i</sub>  
 before [the idiot<sub>i</sub>] had a chance to steal her money.  
 (adapted from Lasnik & Stowell 1991: 687, 708)

Extending this to Yorùbá, we expect that both epithets and logophors, as strong pronouns, will behave in the same way, i.e. they will be able to function as non-referential bound variables. This is confirmed by (48a) and (48b) respectively. On the other hand, we expect epithets/logophors to contrast with weak pronouns; the latter may, but need not be, bound, as in (48c).

- (48) [ḍaràn wo<sub>i</sub>] ni Dàda pa t<sub>i</sub>  
 criminal which Foc kill  
 Which criminal did Dàda kill...

- a. kí [EMPH ḍara a rù<sub>i</sub>] tó ráyè jí owó o rù  
 COMP idiot body Gen 3sg before get-chance steal money Gen 3sg  
 ...before the idiot had a chance to steal her money?
- b. kí [EMPH òun<sub>i</sub>/\*] tó ráyè jí owó o rẹ  
 COMP 3sg before get-chance steal money Gen 3sg  
 ...before he had a chance to steal her money?
- c. kí [ó<sub>i</sub>] tó ráyè jí owó o rẹ  
 COMP 3sg before get-chance steal money Gen 3sg  
 ...before he had a chance to steal her money?

Observe that in (48), epithets, logophors and antilogophors may all be non-locally A-bar bound. This seeming neutralization between epithets/logophors and weak pronouns notwithstanding, in such contexts the epithet/logophor conveys more emphasis, while the weak pronoun conveys no such emphasis.

### 3.1.2 Strong pronouns as resumptives with relative clauses

Another context where non-local A-bar binding is possible is with so-called definite relatives, i.e. restrictive relatives with a definite antecedent (as opposed to restrictive relatives with an indefinite antecedent). For example, in Lebanese Arabic (Aoun & Choueiri 2000, Aoun, Choueiri & Horstein 2001), with definite relatives, epithets can function as resumptives (49a), just like ordinary pronouns (49b).

- (49) a. **fəft** **l-bənt** **yalli btiftikro ?ənnɔ** **ha-l-habiile**  
 saw.1S the-girl that think.2P that this-the-idiot  
**ma rafi tərbah s-saba?**  
 neg fut win.3SF the-race  
 I saw the girl that you think that this idiot will not win the race.
- b. **fəft** **l-bənt** **yalli btiftikro ?ənnɔ**  
 saw.1S the-girl that think.2P that  
**ma rafi tərbah hiyye s-saba?**  
 neg fut win.3SF she the-race  
 I saw the girl that you think that she will not win the race.

(Aoun and Choueiri 2000:10)

This observation is also true of Yorùbá , where reflexive epithets and logophors are capable of functioning as resumptive elements in restrictive relatives with definite antecedents, as illustrated in (50a-b). In such contexts, weak pronouns can also be non-locally A-bar bound, (50c).

- (50) **Mo rí [ɔmɔbinrin i] tí o rò pé**  
 1sg see girl that 2sg think that  
 I saw the girl that you think that...
- a. **[òdè ara a rẹ̀i/\*j] máa fá mi lóri**  
 idiot body Gen 3sg will scrape 1sg in-head  
 ... her idiot self will dupe me.
- b. **[òun i/\*j] máa fá mi lóri**  
 3sg will scrape 1sg in-head  
 ... she will not dupe me.
- c. **[ó\_i/\*j] máa fá mi lóri**  
 3sg will scrape 1sg in-head  
 ... she will dupe me.

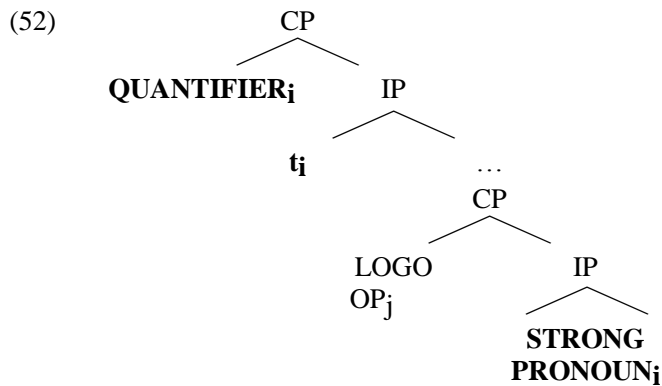
### 3.1.3 Strong pronouns as resumptives with Quantifier Raising

Another context where a pronoun is capable of being a nonreferential bound variable is with Quantifier Raising. In Yorùbá , epithets and logophors, as strong pronouns, continue to pattern alike: both may be non-locally A-bar bound by a quantifier, as in (51a-b). This contrasts with the antilogophor/weak pronoun, which is predictably non-locally free, i.e. disjoint in reference from the quantifier, as in (51c).

- (51) a. **[Àkùlàn\_i] t\_i rò pé [ègùnù ara a r\_ù\*j] mòwé**  
 child one-by-one think that stupid body Gen 3sg know-book  
 Every child thinks his stupid self is brilliant.

- b. [Àṣọ̀ káàṣá] t<sub>i</sub> rò pé [òun<sub>i</sub>/\*j] mọ̀wé  
 child one-by-one think that 3sg know-book  
 Every child thinks he is brilliant.
- c. [Àṣọ̀ káàṣá] t<sub>i</sub> rò pé [ó\*<sub>i</sub>/j] mọ̀wé  
 child one-by-one think that 3sg know-book  
 Every child thinks he is brilliant.

The present treatment of epithets/logophors as being non-locally A-bar bound by a quantifier assumes that the quantifier undergoes raising at LF, in which case the strong pronoun in the lower clause is non-locally A-bar bound, as illustrated in (52).



Note that in English, in such contexts, a pronoun can function as a non-referential bound variable, as in (53a), but an epithet may not, as in (51b). It is such contrast that have lead to the conclusion that English-type epithets are subject to Condition C, i.e. they have the status of R-expressions for the purpose of quantifier-binding.

- (53) a. [Every man<sub>i</sub>] t<sub>i</sub> thinks [he<sub>i</sub>] is lucky.  
 b. \*Every man<sub>i</sub> thinks [the bastard<sub>i</sub>] is lucky.

Like English, in Lebanese Arabic a (strong) pronoun may function as a non-referential bound variable, as in (54a), but an epithet may not, as in (51b).

- (54) a. **káll muttahame Xabbarit l-7aade 7anno hiyye rah tahrub**  
 each suspect.SF told.3SF the judge that she FUT run.away.3SF  
 Each suspect told the judge that she will run away  
 (Aoun et al. 2001: 389 (43))
- b. \***káll muttahame Xabbarit l-7aade 7anno ha-l-mazduube rah tahrub**  
 each suspect.SF told.3SF the judge that 3-the-idiot.SF FUT run.away.3SF  
 Each suspect told the judge that this idiot will run away  
 (Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein 2001: 390 fn (i))

Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein (2001: 390, fn. 19) propose that, in Lebanese (54b) is ill-formed because "it violates Principle C of the binding theory, which regulates the distribution of epithet phrases in this language". On independent ground I have already shown that Yorùbá reflexive epithets are not subject to Condition C (§2.1). Therefore, the fact that Yorùbá reflexive epithets may function as non-referential bound variables reinforces the claim that they are in fact a species of strong pronoun.

### 3.2 LOCAL BINDING OF YORÙBÁ REFLEXIVE EPITHETS

So far, I have shown that the reflexive epithet/logophor parallelism holds over a wide range of contexts. In particular, it has been established that reflexive epithets, like logophors, must be free in their local domain. This has been taken to follow from the fact that epithets and logophors are both instances of strong pronouns, and that strong pronouns are subject to disjointness requirement. However, there remains a significant difference between epithets and logophors: the latter can never be locally bound (as predicted), while the former may be in certain restricted environments, namely in matrix clauses. The two contexts in which this occurs involve local A-binding of reflexive epithets on the one hand, and local A-bar binding of reflexive epithets on the other hand. I consider each in turn, and argue that the local binding follows from the reflexive component of the Yorùbá reflexive epithet.

#### 3.2.1 Local A-binding of Yorùbá reflexive epithets

Recall from above (§2.1) that Yorùbá reflexive epithets may be locally bound. The relevant examples are repeated in (55). In particular, while a reflexive epithet may be locally bound in a matrix clause (55a), the corresponding logophor/strong pronoun may not be, (52b). In this respect, in matrix clause, reflexive epithets behave like ordinary reflexives, as in (55c).

- (55) a. [Túndé<sub>i</sub>] kò rí [òdè ara a rẹ<sub>i/\*j</sub>] (nínú gíláàsì)  
           neg see idiot body Gen 3sg (in mirror)  
           Túndé did not see his idiot self in the mirror.
- b. [Túndé<sub>i</sub>] kò rí [òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
           neg see 3sg  
           Túndé did not see him.
- c. [Túndé<sub>i</sub>] kò rí [ara a rẹ<sub>i/\*j</sub>] (nínú gíláàsì)  
           neg see body Gen 3sg (in mirror)  
           Túndé did not see himself in the mirror.

Note however that the local binding of a reflexive epithet is possible only in matrix clauses. As amply demonstrated in §2.4, in embedded environments, reflexive epithets parallel the distribution of logophors in that they must be non-locally bound, as in (56a-b). In this respect, in embedded clauses, reflexive epithets do not behave like ordinary reflexive, as the latter must always be locally bound, as in (56c).

- (56) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [Ìara a rù<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot his idiot self.
- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [òun<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 think that forgot 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot him.
- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [ara a rù<sub>i/j</sub>]  
 think that forgot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot herself.

Taking (55) and (56) together leads to the following descriptive generalization:

- (57) (i) In matrix clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets must be locally bound.  
 (ii) In embedded clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets must be non-locally bound.

This much establishes that the binding domain of Yorùbá reflexive epithets depends on whether it is contained in a matrix or an embedded clause. The data discussed so far relates to local A-binding. As I shall immediately show, the same restriction also obtains with local A-bar binding.

### 3.2.2 Local A-bar binding of Yorùbá reflexive epithets

As discussed above, both epithets and logophors may function as non-referential variables (i.e. resumptives) when they are non-locally A-bar bound. In addition, Yorùbá reflexive epithets may also be locally A-bar bound in matrix clauses, as in (58a). In this respect they contrast with logophors/strong pronouns which cannot be locally A-bar bound in matrix clauses, as in (58b). Thus, with respect to local A-bar binding in matrix clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets behave like weak pronouns, (58c).

- (58) a. [Òdaràn wo<sub>i</sub>] ni [ìkà ara a rẹ<sub>i</sub>] pa Dàda?  
 criminal which Foc wicked body Gen 3sg kill  
 Which criminal did his wicked self kill Dàda?
- b. \*[Òdaràn wo<sub>i</sub>] ni [òun<sub>i</sub>] pa Dàda?  
 criminal which Foc 3sg kill  
 Which criminal killed Dàda?
- c. [Òdaràn wo<sub>i</sub>] ni [ó<sub>i</sub>] pa Dàda?  
 criminal which Foc 3sg kill  
 Which criminal killed Dàda?

In embedded clauses, epithets/logophors may be non-locally A-bar bound, (59a-b), as can weak pronouns (59c).

- (59) a. [**Apàniyàn wọj**] ni Olú rò pé [òdè ara a rẹj] ri Dàda  
 assailant which Foc think that idiot body Gen 3sg see  
 Which assailant did Olu think that his idiot self see Dàda?
- b. [**Apàniyàn wọj**] ni Olú rò pé [EMPH òunj] ri Dàda  
 assailant which Foc think that 3sg see  
 Which assailant did Olu think that he saw Dàda?
- c. [**Apàniyàn wọj**] ni Olú rò pé [ój] ri Dàda  
 assailant which Foc think that 3sg see  
 Which assailant did Olu think that he saw Dàda?

Taking (58) and (59) together leads to the following descriptive generalization:

- (60) (i) In matrix clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets must be locally A-bar bound.  
 (ii) In embedded clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets must be non-locally A-bar bound.

### 3.2.3 Deriving local binding of Yorùbá reflexive epithets

The results of the previous two sections lead to the following conclusion concerning the distribution of Yorùbá reflexive epithets:

- (61) (i) In embedded clauses, Yorùbá reflexive epithets parallel logophors/strong pronouns: they are non-locally A-bar bound.  
 (ii) Elsewhere (i.e. in matrix clauses), Yorùbá reflexive epithets parallel reflexives: they must be locally (A or A-bar) bound.

It is clear that the possibility of locally binding Yorùbá reflexive epithets in matrix clauses is attributable to the fact that they have the form of reflexive pronouns.

However, such local binding is restricted to contexts where non-locally binding is otherwise impossible. i.e. matrix clauses. This raises the following question: what kind of relationship exists between the reflexive epithet and the plain reflexive? To answer this question, it is necessary to look at some properties of reflexives across languages. Reflexives (anaphoric elements) cross-linguistically pattern in at least two different ways. There are languages like English where anaphors like himself, herself take their antecedent in the local domain. This is referred to as "strict" anaphors (see Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002b and references cited therein). There are yet other languages such as Chinese, Latin, Japanese, Icelandic, Norwegian, Malayalam, Zapotec<sup>11</sup> etc., where there are anaphors that do not obey the locality constraint in the sense that they can take an antecedent outside their local domain (Thráinsson 1993, Huang & Tang 1993, Pica 1993, Lee 2001).

The exact mechanism, which drives the non-local versus local binding of Yorùbá reflexive epithets is clearly related to the presence versus absence of a logophoric operator. This captures the systematic epithet/logophor parallel, which by definition, can only be attested in embedded clauses. In the absence of a logophoric operator, i.e. in matrix clauses, the Yorùbá reflexive epithet defaults to local binding.

<sup>11</sup> Zapotec is an abbreviation for San Lucas Quiavinó Zapotec language. For details, see Lee (2001).

## 4. THE FORM OF YORÙBÁ REFLEXIVE EPITHETS

The previous sections have argued that the distribution of Yorùbá epithets follows from their status as strong pronouns. In this last section, I turn to the question of the form that epithets take in Yorùbá. As we have seen, a Yorùbá epithet has the form of a reflexive pronoun, as in (62a). This contrasts with both English and Lebanese Arabic epithets, which have the form of ordinary DPs: in English they are definite DPs (62a), while in Lebanese Arabic they require the presence of a demonstrative, (62c).

- (62) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [òdè ara a rẹ̀<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot his idiot self.

- b. [John<sub>i</sub>] ran over a man who was trying to give [the idiot<sub>i</sub>] directions.  
 (Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998:688)

- c. [ha-z-zaKiyye Nada] nisyit I-mifteefi b-l-beet  
 this-the-smart Nada forgot.3SF the-key in-the-house  
 This smart Nada forgot the key at home.

(Aoun & Choueiri 2000:3)

What Yorùbá shares in common with English and Lebanese Arabic is that its epithets are construed as being definite. In what follows, I show that the fact that Yorùbá epithets take the form of a reflexive follows from the way definiteness is expressed in the language. In particular, in Yorùbá, only reflexives have a syntax that forces a definite construal.

The first thing to notice about Yorùbá epithets is that it is not possible for the epithet to occur as a noun in combination with a demonstrative, or as a bare noun. In such cases, the nominal is construed as an ordinary R-expression, and so must be free, as shown in (63b-c).

- (63) a. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [àra a rù<sub>j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot body Gen 3sg  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot his idiot self.

- b. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [ìyí<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot this  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot this idiot

- c. [Olú<sub>i</sub>] rò pé [Bísí<sub>j</sub>] gbàgbé [ì<sub>i/\*j</sub>]  
 think that forgot idiot  
 Olú thought that Bísí forgot the idiot.

A question which arises is what prevents N-Dem or bare Ns from functioning as epithets in Yorùbá. I would like to suggest that this reflects a general rule of the language, namely that neither N-Dem nor bare Ns are inherently definite in

Yorùbá .

For demonstratives, which seem to be specific, rather than definite, this can be seen from the fact that a demonstrative may itself be the basis for word-formation. For example, **yíí** can be used to derive a phrasal pro-form, as when the prefix **è** - is attached to **yíí**, as in (64).

- (64) **è + yíí > èyíí**  
 nom + this > this one

Evidence that the demonstrative is not inherently definite comes from the fact it may be used as a base for the formation of a quantificational expression via reduplication, as in (65).

- (65) a. **èyíí** 'this (one)'  
 b. **èyíí + kí + èyíí > èyííkèyíí** (Abraham 1958: 169-170)  
 this -- this 'whatever'  
 c. **èyííkèyíí tóo bá fÆ**  
 whatever that-you ? want  
 Whatever you want (Abraham 1958:170)

The derived word, **èyííkèyíí** 'whatever' is an indefinite quantifier. This contrasts with English *this*, which connotes definiteness and specificity. The same cannot be said of Yorùbá **yíí**, which though is specific, but not definite. Further, while English demonstratives cannot be the basis for word-formation, Yorùbá so-called "demonstrative" can be.

The other possible source of epithets would be to use a simple bare noun. This would be consistent with the fact that elsewhere in the language, bare nouns may be construed as definite DPs. Ajíbóyè (2001) shows that Yorùbá bare nouns may be construed as definite depending on factors such as verb-type (eventives versus statives) and argument position (subject versus object). With eventive verbs, a bare noun in subject position (66a) is interpreted as definite whereas the same noun may be indefinite (66b).

- (66) a. **[Ajá] rí mi**                      b. **Mo rí [Ajá]**  
 dog see me                                  1sg see dog  
 ≠ (i) A dog saw me                      = (i) I saw a dog  
 = (ii) The dog saw me                    ≠ (ii) I saw the dog

With stative verbs, a bare noun in object position can be interpreted as generic.

- (67) a. **Ajá fèràn Jímò**                      b. **Mo fèràn ajá**  
 dog like J.                                      I like dogs  
 ≠ (i) Dogs like Jímò                      ≠ (i) I like a dog (\*indefinite)  
 = (ii) The dog likes Jímò                    ≠ (ii) I like the dog (\*definite)



=(iii) I like dogs (generic)<sup>12</sup>  
(Ajíbóyè 2001:2-3)

The descriptive generalization seems to be that *definite* construal of bare nouns is contextually determined.

To sum the discussion so far, Yorùbá demonstratives have been shown to be specific rather than definite, and the definiteness of Yorùbá bare nouns has been shown to be contextually determined. Thus, neither demonstratives nor bare nouns meet the necessary condition of being an epithet, which by definition must be invariably definite. Therefore it follows that neither N-Dem nor a bare noun can function as an epithet in Yorùbá. This leaves us with the question of whether there are any argument expressions in Yorùbá which are invariantly definite. A survey of nominal types indicates that the only DP-type, which is invariantly definite, is possessor phrases, as in (68).

(68) **bàbá a rù**  
father Gen 3sg  
his/her father

Moreover, reflexive pronouns have the internal syntax of possessor phrases, (69). We see that a reflexive consists of three morphemes. The first part, a noun: **ara**<sup>13</sup> 'body'; when combined with the pronominal clitic, gives the reflexive meaning of 'self' (Yorùbá does not mark gender). The second morpheme is the genitive mid-tone vowel, which copies the last vowel of **ara**. And the last component of the reflexives is the genitive (possessor) pronoun, **rẹ̀**.

(69) **ara a rẹ̀**  
body Gen 3sg  
himself/herself

Given the independent claim that epithets are a kind of pronoun, and the requirement that epithets be definite, it follows that in a language such as Yorùbá, the only way to satisfy these two conditions is via the formation of a reflexive epithet, as in (70).<sup>14</sup> Yorùbá epithet consists of four components: the bare epithet on the one hand and the morpheme meaning 'body', the genitive marker and the 3rd person possessor pronoun

<sup>12</sup> The conditions that determine which verbs are compatible with a particular interpretation are not clear at present.

<sup>13</sup> The same element when occurs with certain categories of verbs gives only the literary meaning.

(i) **Adé rí ara a rẹ̀ nínú díńgí**  
see body Gen 3sg inside glass  
Adé saw his body in the mirror

<sup>14</sup> Corroborating this same idea further, Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002b) note that the existence of more than one reflexive proform in a given language follows from the claim that there are no dedicated reflexive proforms.

**rè**. All fused together and combine with the bare epithet to give the definiteness of the epithet phrase.

- (70) **òdè ara a rè**  
 idiot body Gen 3sg  
 His idiot self

Summarizing the discussion so far, we see that the Yorùbá epithet is an augmentation of the reflexive, as in (71).

- (71) a. [DP [NP epithet] [DP reflexive ] *Yorùbá*  
 b. [DP reflexive ]

This finding is consistent with the claim made by Aoun and Choueiri (2000) that the pronominal property of epithets can be traced back to the existence of a pronominal morpheme occurring with the epithet phrase. For Yorùbá, the relevant pronominal is the reflexive. For Lebanese Arabic, as reported in Aoun & Choueiri's work, epithet phrases occur with the pronominal morpheme **ha-** 'this', as in (72).

- (72) a. [DP **ha-** D<sup>o</sup> [NP epithet]] *Lebanese Arabic*  
 b. [DP **h-** [D  $\emptyset$ -morpheme]]

(Aoun, Choueiri & Hornstein 2001:379)

Examples that illustrate the contrast between the pronominal use of epithets and their corresponding R-expressions (which must be free) are given in (73a) and (73b) respectively.

- (73) a. **S-Sabe yalli rafi tɔʃhaT Zeena ha-l-mazduub mən l-madrise**  
 the-boy that fut.kick.3SF this-the-idiot from the-school  
**harab**  
 ran-away.3SM  
 The boy that Zeena will kick this idiot out of school ran away.
- (73) b. \***S-Sabe yalli rafi tɔʃhaT Zeena l-mazduub mən l-madrise**  
 the-boy that fut.kick.3SF the-idiot from the-school  
**harab**  
 ran-away.3SM  
 The boy that Zeena will kick the idiot out of school ran away.

The purpose of this section was to examine the internal form of Yorùbá epithets. I argued that Yorùbá epithets take the form of reflexives because, for language-internal reasons, this is the only way to ensure that they are definite.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Although there remain several unresolved issues, this paper, the first to discuss Yorùbá epithets in any depth, has attempted to provide a preliminary description and analysis of Yorùbá reflexive epithets. I have shown that, in non-matrix environments,

Yorùbá reflexive epithets have the same distribution as logophors/strong pronouns. This is summarized in table (74). Following Aoun & Choueiri (2000), I have further argued that the epithet/logophor parallel follows from a general restriction on strong pronouns, i.e. they cannot be locally A-bar bound. However, in matrix environments it is possible for epithets to be locally bound; this is the one context where they differ from logophors/strong pronouns, as summarized in (74). Although the details remain to be worked out, it seems that the possibility of locally binding a Yorùbá reflexive epithet is related to the fact that it is a *reflexive* epithet. In my discussion of the form of Yorùbá reflexive epithets, I suggested that Yorùbá epithets take the form of reflexives because of language-specific conditions on the expression of definiteness.<sup>15</sup>

(74) Type I versus Type II epithets

		free	locally A-bar bound	non- locally A- bar bound	c- command by antecedent	locally A- bound ( <input type="checkbox"/> matrix clause)
Type I: English, Leb. Arabic	pronoun	√	x	√	x	x
	<b>epithet</b>	√	<b>x</b>	√	<b>x</b>	<b>x</b>
Type II: Yorùbá	weak	√	√	√	√	x
	strong	√	x	√	√	x
	<b>reflexive epithet</b>	√	<b>x</b>	√	√	√

It is clear that although Yorùbá reflexive epithets have some of the properties of their English and Lebanese Arabic counterparts, in particular they cannot be locally A-bar bound, it is also clear that they differ in important respects. I have argued that these differences follow from language-specific properties of Yorùbá epithets. This leads to

<sup>15</sup> There remains the question of why, if an epithet is going to take a pronominal, must it take the form of a reflexive? In other words, why is Yorùbá not taking a logophoric or antilogophoric pronoun rather than a reflexive? One reviewer observes that such augmentation is not restricted to [DP reflexive] citing the following examples.

- (i) [Olù:] rò pé Bísí, rí [òun òdè:] (ii) Njé [o:] rò pé [òdè è:] lè se é?  
 O. think that B. see 3LOG idiot Q 2sg think that idiot 2sg able do it  
 Olù thinks that Bísí saw him the idiot Do you think that you idiot can do it?

As noted by a reviewer, the example in (i) where the logophoric occurs is an apposition, which does not bear a definite reading. Note that our definition of epithet shows that it has definite reading. In (ii), apart from obtaining the same appositive reading, the pronoun that occurs with the epithet there is a genitive rather than an antilogophor. As our example in (iii) shows, an antilogophoric pronoun cannot co-occur with epithet in Yorùbá.

- (iii) \*[Olù:] rò pé Bísí, rí [i òdè:]

the conclusion that there must be at least two types of epithets, as indicated in table (71).

The proposed analysis of Yorùbá reflexive epithets has implications for the typology of epithets. In particular, one striking feature of Yorùbá epithets is that they show no Condition C effects whatsoever, i.e. they may be bound by a c-commanding antecedent. This raises the question of what determines whether a given language will show Condition C effects with epithets. In other words, why do Yorùbá epithets consistently behave as pronouns, while their English and Lebanese Arabic counterparts only do so in context of non-local binding. This remains a question for future investigation.

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