

A Description of Logophors in Ibibio

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1. Introduction

This paper concerns the description of logophors in Ibibio, a Lower-Cross language spoken in southern Nigeria. Logophors are grammatical forms used in reference to the person in a sentence whose point of view is being reported (Clements 1975). In Ibibio, these appear as both individual pronouns as well as agreement marking on the embedded tense and verbs.

The pronouns and agreement markers I will focus on in this paper may appear in embedded under certain verbs, specifically verbs of saying, telling, or thinking:

- (1) a. á-ké bò ké (**ènyé**) á-mà kòt ñgwèt Non-logophoric
 3SG-PST say C (3SG) 3SG-PST read book
 ‘He_i said that he_{i/j} read a book.’
- b. á-ké bò ké (**ímÒ**) ì-mà kòt ñgwèt Logophoric
 3SG-PST say C (LOG) 1-PST read book
 ‘He_i said that he_{i/*j} read a book.’

In these contexts, the usage of the ordinary person pronoun (and accompanying agreement marking) versus of a logophoric pronoun (and agreement) creates a distinction in meaning between the pronoun referencing the subject of the matrix clause (as in 1b) or some other person (as in 1a).

Section 2 provides some background information on the Ibibio language as well as a brief introduction to logophors. Section 3 examines the appearance and distribution of these forms, what predicates and structures license them, and some restrictions on their reference. Section 4 concludes and gives some suggestions for further investigation.

2. Background

2.1. The Ibibio language

Ibibio is a Niger-Congo Language in the Lower-Cross language group. It’s spoken in southern Nigeria by about four million Ibibio people. The distribution of linguistic groups may be seen on the map in Figure 1. Ibibio is spoken in southern Nigeria, mainly in Akwa Ibom, but also somewhat in Cross-River.

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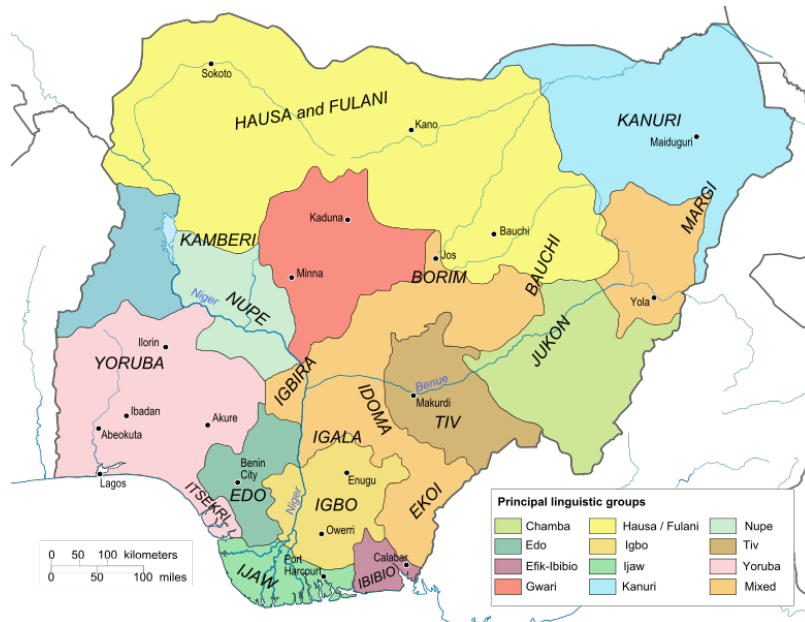


Figure 1. Linguistic groups in Nigeria.¹

Ibibio is an SVO language, with both subject and object agreement marking that appear on the tense head and verb, respectively:²

- (2) (àmì) m-mà ú-mià (fièn)
 (1SG) 1SG-PST 2SG-hit (2SG)
 ‘I hit you.’

Subject agreement appears as a prefix on the tense head, whereas object agreement appears as a prefix on the verb (although see Baker & Willie 2010 for a more complex analysis of this agreement). With this extensive agreement marking, Ibibio is a pro-drop language, and both subject and object pronouns are optional in many contexts. Table 1 (from Baker & Willie, 2010) summarizes the basic agreement markers of Ibibio.

¹ Map by Hel-hama (CC BY SA 3.0), taken from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nigeria_linguistical_map_1979.svg.

² Instead of the official Ibibio orthography, for the original Ibibio data in this paper I will be using the practical orthography we developed for use in the KU Spring 2014 Field Methods class. Most symbols are as in IPA, with the following substitutions:

IPA	Practical Orthography	IPA	Practical Orthography
β	B	ɣ	G
kp̄	kp	ɲ	ny
ŋ	ng	ŋ ^w	ngw
ɕ	j	j	y
ɛ	E	ʌ	A
ə	U	ɔ	O
i	I		

	Subject	Object		Subject	Object
1SG	n -	n-	1PL	ì-	ì-
2SG	à-/ú-	u-	2PL	è-/i-	ì-
3SG	á-	Ø-	3PL	é-	Ø-

Table 1. Agreement Markers in Ibibio.

There is, additionally, an agreement marker *i-* that Baker & Willie treat as default agreement, that appears as agreement with relative clauses and *wh*-questions where the subject is extracted, and may also appear in negative clauses, as illustrated in (3), from Baker & Willie's (60) and (4):

- (3) a. Ami m-ma-kit ebót se i-k-i-ta udia. (*a-ke-ta)
 I 2SGS-PAST1-see goat that I-PAST2-I-eat yam 3SGS-PAST2-eat
 'I saw the goat that ate the yams.'
- b. Okon a-kere ke anie i-di-dep ebót mkpɔŋ? (*a-ya-dep)
 Okon 3SGS-think C[-wh] who I-FUT2-buy goat tomorrow 3SGS-FUT1-buy
 'Who does Okon think will buy a goat tomorrow?'
- c. Okon i-k-i-nam-ma.
 Okon I-PAST2-I-do-NEG
 'Okon didn't do it.'

This same agreement also appears in logophoric contexts, as already illustrated in (1b), repeated here:

- (1) b. á-ké bò ké (ímÒ) ì-mà kòt íngwèt
 3SG-PST say C (LOG) I-PST read book
 'He_i said that he_{i/*j} read a book.'

Baker and Willie analyze this as the agreement that occurs "when the copy of the subject in Spec,TP does not properly represent the scope of the subject" (Baker & Willie 2010: 125). I refer the reader to their work for further discussion of this agreement. Following Baker and Willie, I will be glossing this agreement as *I-*, but I may refer to it equivalently as logophoric marking, when in the appropriate context.

Tone is contrastive in Ibibio, with has two level tones, as well as two contour tones that may appear:

- (4) a. ákpá
 'expanse of ocean'
- b. ákpà
 'first'

- c. ákpân
‘square woven blanket’
- d. àkpà
‘small ant’
- e. frě
‘forget’

It may be that the contour tones are not completely contrastive, but for my analysis here I will be marking them as in (4).

Tone also provides grammatical information, noticeably in agreement marking, where tone marks the difference between second and third person:

- (5) a. (àfÒ) à-mà á-dép ikÀm
(2SG) 2SG-PST 3SG-buy gourd
‘You (sing.) bought a gourd.’
- b. (ènyé) á-mà á-dép ikÀm
(3SG) 3SG-PST 3SG-buy gourd
‘He/She bought a gourd.’
- c. (ndòfò) è-mà á-dép ikÀm
(2PL) 2PL-PST 3SG-buy gourd
‘You (pl.) bought a gourd.’
- d. (Òmmô) é-mà á-dép ikÀm
(3PL) 3PL-PST 3SG-buy gourd
‘They bought a gourd.’

First, notice that both agreement singular forms (5a-b) have the vowel [a], while the plural forms (5c-d) have the vowel [e]. It is the tone on the vowel, however, that distinguishes second from third person: both second person forms (5a,c) have a low tone on the vowel, while both third person forms (5b,d) have a high tone on the vowel.

2.2. Logophors

A logophor is a grammatical form that refers specifically to the subject or source in certain linguistic contexts. Take, for example, the English sentence in (6) below:

- (6) Molly_i thinks she_{i/j} is beautiful.

In English, which does not have logophors, (6) is ambiguous. It may be the case that Molly thinks herself beautiful, or it may be the case that she thinks someone else is beautiful. This is in contrast to a language such as Ibibio, in examples (7) and (8).

- (7) Akon_i á-kèré (á-bò) ké ìmÒ_i ì-mé í-yáiyà
 Akon 3SG-think (3SG-say) C LOG I-PRES I-beautiful
 ‘Akon_i thinks that she_{i/*j} is beautiful.’
- (8) Akon_i á-kèré (á-bò) ké ànyé_j á-yáiyà
 Akon 3SG-think 3SG-say C 3SG 3SG-beautiful
 ‘Akon_i thinks that she_{j/*i} is beautiful.’

There is no ambiguity in Ibibio between who is thought to be beautiful. The use or absence of logophoric pronouns (here *ìmÒ*) and inflection (the *i-* prefix) determines whether Akon thinks herself beautiful, as in (7), or that Akon thinks someone else is beautiful, as in (8).

The logophoric pronoun that appears in (7) could be described as referring to “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” (Clements 1975). These forms may appear as pronouns, as in Mundang in (9), or as a marker on the verb, like in Gokana, in (10).

- (9) Logophoric marking in Mundang: (Sells 1987: 446)
 à_i rí ʒl_i lwà fàn s̄ā:
 PRO say LOG find thing beauty
 ‘He_i said that he_i had found something beautiful.’
- (10) Logophoric marking in Gokana: (Sells 1987: 447)
 àè kò àè dò-è
 PRO said PRO fell-LOG
 ‘He_i said that he_i fell.’

3. Logophors

3.1. Logophoric forms in Ibibio

To express logophoricity, Ibibio uses both a pronoun distinct from the non-logophoric version as well as separate logophoric agreement markers on the embedded tense and verb. However, this marker only appears on the second and third person forms, and is not permissible in the first person forms at all. The appearance of logophoricity based on person is illustrated in the following paradigm (11)-(16), using *bò* (‘say’), a licensing verb:

- (11) a. m-mà kót ñgwèt
 1SG-PST read book
 ‘I read a book.’
- b. ñg-ké bò ké m-mà kót ñgwèt
 1SG-PST say C 1SG-PST read book
 ‘I said that I read a book.’

- c. *ńg-ké bọ́ ké ì-mà í-kót ńgwèt
 1SG-PST say C I-PST I-read book
- (12) a. ì-mà í-kót ńgwèt
 1PL-PST 1PL-read book
 ‘We read a book.’
- b. í-ké í-bọ́ ké (ńyÀn) ì-mà í-kót ńgwèt
 1PL-PST 1PL-say C (1PL) 1PL-PST 1PL-read book
 ‘We said that we read a book.’
- c. *í-ké í-bọ́ ké ìmmimÒ ì-mà í-kót ńgwèt
 1PL-PST 1PL-say C LOG.PL I-PST I-read book
- (13) a. à-má kót ńgwèt
 2SG-PST read book
 ‘You read a book.’
- b. à-ké bọ́ ké à-má kót ńgwèt
 2SG-PST say C 2SG-PST read book
 ‘You_i said that you_{i/*j} read a book.’
- c. à-ké bọ́ ké (imÒ) ì-mà í-kót ńgwèt
 2SG-PST say C (LOG) I-PST I-read book
 ‘You_i said that you_{i/*j} read a book.’
- (14) a. è-má è-kót ńgwèt
 2PL-PST 2PL-read book
 ‘You (pl.) read a book.’
- b. è-ké bọ́ ké ńdùfò è-má è-kót ńgwèt
 2PL-PST say C 2PL 2PL-PST 2PL-read book
 ‘You (pl.)_i said that you (pl.)_{i/*j} read a book.’
- c. è-ké bọ́ ké (ìmmimÒ) ì-mà í-kót ńgwèt
 2PL-PST say C (LOG) I-PST I-read book
 ‘You (pl.)_i said that you (pl.)_{i/*j} read a book.’
- (15) a. á-mà kót ńgwèt
 3SG-PST read book
 ‘He read a book.’
- b. á-ké bọ́ ké (ènyé) á-mà kót ńgwèt
 3SG-PST say C (3SG) 3SG-PST read book
 ‘He_i said that he_{i/j} read a book.’

- c. á-ké bò ké (imÒ) ì-mà í-kót ñgwèt
 3SG-PST say C (LOG) I-PST I-read book
 ‘He_i said that he_{i/*j} read a book.’
- (16) a. ÒmmÒ é-mà é-kót ñgwèt
 3PL 3PL-PST 3PL-read book
 ‘They read a book.’
- b. ÒmmÒ é-ké bò ké ÒmmÒ é-mà é-kót ñgwèt
 3PL 3PL-PST say C 3PL 3PL-PST 3PL-read book
 ‘They_i said that they_{i/j} read a book.’
- c. ÒmmÒ é-ké bò ké (m̀mimÒ) ì-mà kót ñgwèt
 3PL 3PL-PST say C (LOG) I-PST read book
 ‘They_i said that they_{i/*j} read a book.’

The third and second person forms may present with logophoric marking, while the first person forms do not permit the logophoric marking or pronouns, and although the marker that appears with logophoric agreement, *i-*, is already homophonous with the first person plural agreement marker, it is evident from (12c) that the logophoric pronoun cannot refer to a first person subject (the ambiguity can occur when the relevant pronouns are dropped is further described in section 3.1.2). Logophoricity may be marked by both a pronoun distinct from the non-logophoric pronoun and accompanying agreement marking on the verb.

3.1.1. The logophoric pronoun

Ibibio does not use distinct logophoric pronouns for any persons except for third person singular and plural. The comparison between these forms is displayed in Table 2.

	Non-logophoric	Logophoric
Singular	ànyé	imÒ
Plural	ÒmmÒ	m̀mimÒ
Singular possessive	ámÒ	imÒ
Plural possessive	ÒmmÒ	m̀mimÒ

Table 2: Ibibio third-person pronoun comparison.

Although there are different non-logophoric pronouns based on case, there are only two logophoric pronouns: *imÒ* and *m̀mimÒ*, which correspond to singular and plural, and may appear in subject, object, or possessive position, as seen in (17)-(19):

- (17) Ekpe_i á-kèré (á-bÒ) ké imÒ_i í-dò étÙk áyÌn
 Ekpe 3SG-think (3SG-say) C LOG I-be small child
 ‘Ekpe_i thinks that he_i is young.’

- (18) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-mâ í-tÒ ìmÒ_i
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST I-hit LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i says that Udo_j hit him_i.’
- (19) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-mà á-díyà ndídíà ìmÒ_i
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST 3SG-eat food LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i says that Udo_j ate his_i food.’

Example (17) has the logophor in the subject position of the embedded clause, (18) has the logophor in object position, and (19) contains a logophoric genitive. The pronoun itself doesn’t vary, but may evidently serve in the place of any of the other third person forms, with the additional function of reference to its logophoric antecedent.

There is one puzzling aspect to the possessive pronouns in particular. While there’s typically no reference ambiguity between the logophoric and normal pronoun (as in section 2), such ambiguities are present with the possessive pronoun, which is capable of both logophoric and non-logophoric reference. Compare (19) with (20):

- (20) Ekpe_i á-bÒ ké Udo_j á-mà á-díà ndídíà ámÒ_{i/j}
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST 3SG-eat food 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i says that Udo_j ate his_{i/j} food.’

The logophoric possessive in (19) refers unambiguously to the logophoric antecedent *Ekpe*, (20) may also refer to *Ekpe*, as well as *Udo*. The general feeling about these sentences is that the use of *ìmÒ* has a sense of direct quotation, or speaking for the sentence-internal speaker: (19) might also be translated as ‘Ekpe says “Udo ate my food.”’ By comparison, *ámÒ* appears to allow the speaker to keep some distance from the situation, or avoid putting words in someone else’s mouth.

3.1.2. Logophoric marking on verbs and tense

When logophors are properly licensed, the agreement prefix that appears on the tense head and/or the verb is always the vowel *i-*, regardless of the person or number features of the referent.

The agreement marker *i-* only appears in third person singular and plural; in short, apparently to provide agreement to a logophoric pronoun or referent. This marking is often homophonous with the first person plural marker, which can lead to ambiguity if the logophoric pronoun is not included, such as in (21):

- (21) Akon_i á-kèré (á-bò) ké ì-mé ì-yáiyà
 Akon 3SG-think (3SG-say) C I-PRES I-beautiful
 ‘Akon_i thinks that she_i is beautiful.’ or
 ‘Akon thinks that we are beautiful.’

Typically this ambiguity would be clarified by the context, or else by the insertion of either the logophoric pronoun *ìmÒ* or the first-person plural pronoun *nyàn*.

3.2. Licensing predicates

According to Sells (1987), a logophor must be licensed by an appropriate verb or construction. He identifies three primitive discourse roles that a logophor may reference: SOURCE, SELF, and PIVOT. A fully logophoric verb would allow reference to the sentence-internal source of information: for example, the subject of ‘say’. Psych-verbs would allow reference to a sentence-internal psyche (or ‘self’) without necessarily reporting the speech of that subject. The verb ‘be happy’ could perhaps be logophoric in this regard. The third role that a logophor may reference, PIVOT, refers to the actual physical location or point of view of the sentence-internal referent, but not necessarily their emotional/psychological state (which is represented by the role SELF).

Ibibio’s licensing contexts are restricted to verbs of saying or telling in which the logophor can reference the subject, as will be shown below. This can be explained, at least in part, by the *i-* agreement marker discussed in section 2.1, which only refers to Spec,TP in a sentence as analyzed by Baker & Willie (2010).

Ibibio logophoric pronouns are unacceptable in unlicensed contexts, demonstrated in (22).

- (22) a. Ekpe_i á-mà díyà àdésí ámÒ_{i/j}
 Ekpe 3SG-PST eat rice his
 ‘Ekpe_i ate his rice_{i/j}.’
- b. *Ekpe á-mà díyà àdésí ìmÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-PST eat rice LOG

The logophoric pronoun *ìmÒ* of (22b) is illicit without a properly licensing predicate or structure, so the non-logophoric pronoun must be used as in (22a), leaving reference for ownership of the rice potentially ambiguous. Logophors must rather be licensed by an appropriate verb or structure. The verb ‘say’ allows for logophoric agreement in Ibibio as well as other West African languages such as Ewe and Uda:

- (23) Logophoric licensing in Ewe: (Clements 1975: 142)
 Kofi_i be yè_i-dzo
 Kofi say LOG-leave
 ‘Kofi_i said that he_i left.’
- (24) Logophoric licensing in Uda: (Ruffing 2013: 34)
 Efrete_i oko imo i-k-i-lagha
 Efretei 3SG-say LOG LOG-PST-LOG-leave
 ‘Efrete_i said he_i left.’
- (25) Logophoric licensing in Ibibio:
 Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-mà á-díyà ndídíyà ìmÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST 3SG-eat food LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i says that Udo_j ate his_i food.’

As another verb of saying, *dÒkkÓ* (‘tell’) is also logophoric in Ibibio, but only to the subject:

- (26) Ekpe_i á-mà á-dÒkkÓ Udo_j ké Akpan_k á-ké í-tÒ ìmÒ_i
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-tell Udo C Akpan 3SG-PST I-hit LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i told Udo_j that Akpan_k hit him_i.’
- (27) Ekpe_i á-ké dÒkkÓ Udo_j ké Akpan_k á-ké á-ké tÒ ànyé_j
 Ekpe 3SG-PST tell Udo C Akpan 3SG-PST 3SG-PST hit 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i told Udo_j that Akpan_k hit him_j.’

From (26) and (27) it appears that these effects may be either due to tendency of logophors to refer only to subjects in some languages, or simply that the object of a verb such as ‘tell’ is not perceived as a source or speaker, and therefore is not semantically acceptable as a logophoric antecedent. The subject-orientation is further discussed in section 3.4.

As for the need for a speaker or source of information, further evidence comes from the fact that Ibibio does not permit logophors with *díÓngÓ* (‘know’), in contrast to Ewe:

- (28) Ewe: (Clements 1975: 170)
 Kofi_i nya be me-kpɔ yè
 Kofi know that PRO-see LOG
 ‘Kofi_i knew that I had seen him_i.’
- (29) Ibibio:
 a. Ekpe_i díÓngÓ ké Udo_j á-ké díyá àdésí ámÒ_{i/j}
 Ekpe know C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i knows that Udo_j ate his_{i/j} rice.’
 b. *Ekpe_i díÓngÓ ké Udo_j á-ké díyá àdésí ìmÒ
 Ekpe know C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice LOG

Although the verb ‘know’ does not license logophoricity, the verb *kèré* (‘think’) does, as in (7), repeated here.

- (7) Akon_i á-kèré (á-bò) ké ìmÒ_i ì-mé í-yáiyà
 Akon 3SG-think (3SG-say) C LOG I-PRES I-beautiful
 ‘Akon_i thinks that she_{i/*j} is beautiful.’

Logophoricity seems to be licensed in this case by the presence of *bò* (‘say’) in this construction, although the logophoric marking remains even if *bò* is dropped.

It is also not enough to say that a verb of transfer of information is enough to license logophors in Ibibio. To once again compare with Ewe, ‘hear’ is logophoric in some languages, but not so in Ibibio.

- (30) Ewe: (Clements 1975: 158)
 Ama_i se be yè_i-xɔ nunana
 Ama hear that LOG-receive gift
 ‘Ama_i heard that she_i had received a gift.’

- (31) **Ibibio:**
 a. Ekpe_i á-mà á-kòp ké Udo_j á-mà díyá àdésí ámÒ_{i/j}
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-hear C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i heard that Udo_j ate his_{i/j} rice.’
 b. *Ekpe_i á-mà á-kòp ké Udo_j á-mà díyá àdésí ìmÒ_i
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-hear C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice LOG

It’s also not enough to introduce a source of information to the construction in (31) to obtain logophoric licensing.

- (32) a. Ekpe_i á-mà á-kòp á-tò Akpan_k ké Udo_j á-mà díyá àdésí ámÒ_{i/j/k}
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-hear 3SG-from Akpan C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i heard from Akpan_k that Udo_j ate his_{i/j/k} rice.’
 b. *Ekpe_i á-mà á-kòp á-tò Akpan_k ké Udo_j á-mà díyá àdésí ìmÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-hear 3SG-from Akpan C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice LOG

Even with *Akpan* introduced as the source of information in (32), the logophoric pronoun is illicit, so there is no reference either to *Ekpe*, in the subject position of the matrix clause, which would parallel the reference possibility in (30) for Ewe, nor can there be reference to *Akpan* as the semantic source of the information. This suggests that *Ibibio* requires a combination of reference to the source of information and that source resting in subject position of the matrix clause.

Psych-verbs in *Ibibio* do not license logophoricity, though this has been observed in *Ewe* and *Taburi*:

- (33) Logophoric psych-verbs in *Ewe*: (Clements 1975: 163)
 Ama_i kpɔ dyidzɔ be yè_i-dyi vi
 Ama see happiness that LOG-bear child
 ‘Ama_i was happy that she_i bore a child.’
- (34) Logophoric psych-verbs in *Taburi*: (Sells 1987: 447)
 hí:ní dʒō nē_i gā sē_i lĩ? tʃĩgĩ
 fear make him C LOG fall illness
 ‘He_i was afraid of falling ill.’
- (35) Psych-verbs in *Ibibio*:
 a. Ekpe_i á-mà á-nèm ésÍt idáGá èkà ámÒ á-ké dí sè-Gè ànyé
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-sweet heart when mother 3SG 3SG-PST come see-RED 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i was happy when his_i mother came to visit him.’
 b. *Ekpe á-mà á-nèm ésÍt idáGá èkà ìmÒ á-ké dí sè-Gè ìmÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-sweet heart when mother LOG 3SG-PST come see-RED LOG

Logophoric forms are available when a psych-verb is embedded under a verb such as ‘say’, however.

- (36) a. Ekpe_i á-bò ké ì-mà í-nèm ésÍt ìdáGá èkà ámÒ á-ké dí sè-Gè
 Ekpe 3SG-say C I-PST I-sweet heart when mother 3SG 3SG-PST come see-RED
 ènyé
 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i said that he_i was happy when his_i mother came to see him_i.’
- b. Ekpe_i á-bò ké ì-mà í-nèm ésÍt ìdáGá èkà ìmÒ á-ké dí sè-Gè
 Ekpe 3SG-say C I-PST I-sweet heart when mother LOG 3SG-PST come see-RED
 ìmÒ
 LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i said “I was happy when my mother came to see me”.’

This supports the analysis of *i-* in Baker and Willie (2010); psych-verbs in Ibibio appear to encode the experiencer as an object, rather than a subject, and due to this there is no appropriate reference for *i-*. Embedding the psych-verb under *bò*, however, places the experiencer of the verb in the correct subject position.

Also of note is that while both (36a) and (36b) take logophoric marking on the tense head and the verb ‘be happy’, (36b), with the additional logophoric possessive and object pronouns, is interpreted as a direct quote. As a matter of fact, this is the only possible method to quote someone, as can be seen in (37):

- (37) a. *Ekpe á-ké bò “ím-mà díyá ñdídíyám̀m̀”
 Ekpe 3SG-PST say 1SG-PST eat food 1SG
- b. Ekpe á-ké bò ké ì-mà í-díyá ñdídíyá ìmÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-PST say C I-PST I-eat food LOG
 ‘Ekpe said: “I ate my food”.’

The use of logophoric pronouns, especially, seem to put the external speaker into the point of view of the internal speaker (*Ekpe* in 37b), allowing them to report his words as he said them, after a fashion, although the utterance has clearly changed from the original to the reported speech.

3.3. Multiple embedded logophors

As Culy (1997) and Clements (1975) described, in some languages (for example, Ewe and Donno Sɔ) it is possible to embed a logophoric pronoun under multiple licensing verbs and obtain an ambiguity of reference, as in (38) below.

- (38) Logophoric ambiguity in Ewe: (Culy 1997: 850)

Kofi_i xɔ-e se be Ama_k gblɔ be yɛ̀_{i/k}-ju yɛ̀_{i/k}
 Kofi receive-PROhear that Ama say that log-beat log
 ‘Kofi_i believed that Ama_k said that he_i beat her_i.’ or
 ‘Kofi_i believed that Ama_k said that she_k beat him_i.’

Because the logophoric pronouns appear embedded under two licensing verbs (‘believe’ and ‘say’), Ewe permits an ambiguity of reference for each other logophors, giving the two separate readings in (40).

The same ambiguity does not appear in Ibibio, as can be seen in examples (39) and (40).

(39) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-ké bò ké Akpan_k á-ké díyà ndídíyà ámÒ_{i/j/k}
 Ekpe 3SG-sayC Udo 3SG-PST say C Akpan 3SG-PST eat food 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i says that Udo_j said that Akpan_k ate his_{i/j/k} food.’

(40) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-ké bò ké Akpan_k á-ké díyà ndídíyà imÒ_j
 Ekpe 3SG-sayC Udo 3SG-PST say C Akpan 3SG-PST eat food LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i says that Udo_j said that Akpan_k ate his_j food.’

(39), with a non-logophoric possessive, contains a three-way ambiguity of the ownership of the food that was eaten: it may belong to any of the antecedents in the sentence, whether in a matrix clause or not (there is, in fact, a slight dispreference for the food belonging to *Akpan*, the nearest antecedent, but I believe this to be a function of *ké* as a past tense focus marker in this case). In contrast, (40), with its logophoric possessive form, is completely unambiguous as to its referent, counter to what appear to be the case in Ewe. Rather, the food in (40) may only belong to *Udo*, the nearest logophoric referent, and it cannot refer to *Ekpe*, a higher logophoric antecedent.

3.4. Subject orientation and precedence

Ibibio logophors require that their antecedent be in the subject position of the dominant clause, as already mentioned in section 3.2. This requirement is best illustrated in (32), repeated here.

- (32) a. Ekpe_i á-mà á-kòp á-tò Akpan_k ké Udo_j á-mà díyà àdésí ámÒ_{i/j/k}
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-hear 3SG-from Akpan C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice 3SG
 ‘Ekpe_i heard from Akpan_k that Udo_j ate his_{i/j/k} rice.’
- b. *Ekpe_i á-mà á-kòp á-tò Akpan_k ké Udo_j á-mà díyà àdésí imÒ_j
 Ekpe 3SG-PST 3SG-hear 3SG-from Akpan C Udo 3SG-PST eat rice LOG

The verb *kòb* (‘hear’) is, to repeat, not logophoric; it fails to license logophoric pronouns for either the grammatical matrix subject, *Ekpe*, or the semantic source of the information, *Akpan*. This seems to indicate, then, that Ibibio requires the source to be in subject position, rather than just anywhere in the matrix clause in order to license logophoric forms in the embedded clause.

Ibibio, furthermore, does not allow a logophoric pronoun to be focused to outside of the embedded clause, although non-logophoric pronouns may be focused so. Compare (41)-(44):

- (41) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-ké í-tÒ ímÒ_i
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST I-hit LOG
 ‘Ekpe_i said that Udo_j hit him_i.’
- (42) ànyé_{k/*i/*j} ké Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-ké tÒ
 3SG C Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST hit
 ‘It was him_{k/*i/*j} that Ekpe said Udo hit.’
- (43) *ímÒ ké Ekpe á-bò ké Udo á-ké í-tÒ
 LOG C Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-PST I-hit
- (44) Ekpe_i á-bò ké ímÒ_i ké Udo_j á-ké tÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-say C LOG C Udo 3SG-PST hit
 ‘Ekpe said “It’s me that Udo hit”.’

In (42) focus extraction is permitted from the embedded clause, but as a non-logophoric pronoun, it may not refer to the logophoric source. In (43) extraction of a logophoric pronoun past its matrix clause yields ungrammaticality. The farthest it may be extracted seems to be just below the logophoric verb ‘say’, as in (44), which preserves the direct quotation flavor of the utterance.

The binding and extraction restrictions bring to light some interesting effects found in subject *wh*-questions, especially when there are other embedding verbs involved. As discussed in section 2.1, the *i*- marker occurs not only in logophoric constructions but also *wh*-questions where the subject has been extracted, but not where the object has been extracted, exemplified below:

- (45) a. àniyé í-ké í-nék únék?
 who I-PST I-dance dance
 ‘Who danced (a dance)?’
- b. òsò ké Akun á-ké nék?
 what C Akun 3SG-PST dance
 ‘What did Akun dance?’

When a question is formed by extraction across a logophoric verb, however, the same marking does not obtain:

- (46) àniyé ké ñg-kéré (m-bò) ké á-mà wèt ñgwèt?
 who C 1SG-think (1SG-say) C 3SG-PST write book
 ‘Who do I think wrote a book?’

In (46), the expected *i*- marking for a subject *wh*-question does not appear. This could be because of the extraction across multiple embedded clauses, with nothing to do with logophoricity whatsoever. However, there are further effects when extracting across logophoric contexts in the third person, when logophoric marking appears on embedded tense heads and verbs:

- (47) àniyé ké Ekpe á-bò dǎngá á-ké í-tÒ?
 who C Ekpe 3SG-say C 3SG-PST I-hit
 ‘Who did Ekpe_i say hit him_i?’
- (48) àniyé ké Ekpe á-bò dǎngá ì-ké í-tÒ?
 Who C Ekpe 3SG-say C I-PST I-hit
 ‘Who did Ekpe_i say he_i hit?’
- (49) Ekpe á-bò ké í-mà í-tÒ Udo
 Ekpe 3SG-say C I-PST I-hit Udo
 ‘Ekpe says he hit Udo.’
- (50) àniyé ì-ké ì-bò ké Udo á-ké í-tÒ?
 who I-PST I-say C Udo 3SG-PST I-hit
 ‘Who_i said Udo hit him_i?’

In (47), the expected *i-* marking is absent from the embedded tense head, and instead the ordinary third person singular marking appears. However, this preserves a nice contrast between (47) and (48), where the extraction of an object leaves behind two logophoric markers present just as they are in the statement in (49). (50) does not extract across the verb, which seems to allow the logophoric marking on ‘hit’ in the embedded clause to continue to refer logophorically.

Given this data, however, further analysis of Baker & Willie (2010)’s account may be necessary to determine the effects of the interaction of these phenomena.

3.5. Antecedence and split antecedence

As for what the grammatical restrictions on the logophoric antecedent are, there may be a number mismatch between the logophor and its antecedent in certain cases such as those in the contrast between (51) and (52):

- (51) Ekpe_i á-bò ké òmmÒ_{i+j} í-díà àfít èdésí áDÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-say C LOG.PL I-eat all rice DEM
 ‘Ekpe_i says that they_{i+j} ate all of the rice.’
- (52) Ekpe_i á-bò ké ÒmmÒ_{*i/j+k} é-mà é-díà àfít èdésí áDÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-say C 3PL 3PL-PST 3PL-eat all rice DEM
 ‘Ekpe_i says that they_{*i/j+k} ate all of the rice.’

The plural third person or logophoric pronoun may be used in the embedded clause with a singular antecedent, which either creates a combined reference to the logophoric antecedent and other entities in the discourse, as in (51), or else when the third person plural pronoun is used, the logophoric antecedent is prevented from being the antecedent; this is parallel to the distinguishing effects seen earlier in examples (7) and (8):

- (7) Akon_i á-kèré (á-bò) ké ìmÒ_i ì-mé í-yáiyà
 Akon 3SG-think (3SG-say) C LOG I-PRES I-beautiful
 ‘Akon_i thinks that she_{i/*j} is beautiful.’
- (8) Akon_i á-kèré (á-bò) ké ànyé_j á-yáiyà
 Akon 3SG-think 3SG-say C 3SG 3SG-beautiful
 ‘Akon_i thinks that she_{j/*i} is beautiful.’

Only a logophoric pronoun may take a logophoric antecedent.

When possessive constructions (their ambiguities discussed in section 3.1.1) and multiple logophoric verbs (described in section 3.3) enter the picture, the picture complicates somewhat:

- (53) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-bò ké èté ÒmmÒ_{i+k/j+k/*i+j} á-yà í-dí wÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-say C father 3PL 3SG-FUT I-come visit
 ‘Ekpe_i said that Udo_j said that their_{i+k/j+k/*i+j} will arrive.’
- (54) Ekpe_i á-bò ké Udo_j á-bò ké èté ìmmìÒ_{i+j/k} á-yà í-dí wÒ
 Ekpe 3SG-say C Udo 3SG-say C father LOG 3SG-FUT I-come visit
 ‘Ekpe_i said that Udo_j said that their_{i+j/k} father will arrive.’

In (53) the third person plural pronoun could refer either to *Udo*, the nearest logophoric antecedent, and some other exterior person(s), or to *Ekpe* and some similarly other exterior person(s), but interestingly it cannot refer to both possible logophoric antecedents: *Ekpe* and *Udo* do not have the same father in (53). That reference is reserved for the logophoric pronoun in (54), which may refer either to the father of *Udo* and some exterior person, or it may take what seems to be a split antecedent, and refer to the father of both logophoric antecedents. This appears to be similar to the split antecedence described in Adesola (2006) for strong pronouns in Yoruba, seen in (55).

- (55) Split antecedence in Yoruba: (Adesola (2006: 2092))
 Àiná_i ní Adé_j sọ pé bàbá àwọn_{i+j} yòò lọ si Boston ní Òlā
 Aina say Ade say that father they will go to Boston at tomorrow
 ‘Aina said that Ade said that their father will go to Boston tomorrow.’

Adesola (2006) describes this relationship in terms of exhaustive dependence on logophoric operators associated with the two antecedents. It’s possible that something similar may be happening in Ibibio.

4. Conclusion

This paper has examined the appearance of logophors in Ibibio, which may appear as distinct morphological forms for the second and third person forms, as well as distinct agreement marking on the tense head and verb in the embedded clause. These forms must be properly licensed with a logophoric verb, almost exclusively verbs of saying and informing, but also include verbs like ‘think’ which have structures somewhat similar to those of serial verbs containing the logophor-licensing verb *bò*.

Once licensed, logophoric subject and object markers refer exclusively to the subject of the nearest matrix clause in which there is a licensing verb. The agreement markers that thus appear are themselves quite problematic, being not only ambiguous at times with the first person plural agreement marker and at other times finding complications with the default agreement marker as analyzed in Baker & Willie (2010). A more in-depth investigation of the behavior of these agreement markers, especially when there is extraction across clauses (logophoric and not) would be a fruitful avenue for investigation.

Another issue to investigate is the other purposes of the verb *bò*, which appears not only as the logophoric verb ‘say’ and in some constructions that appear to be similar to serial verbs (*kèré bò* ‘think’), but has also appeared as some sort of aspectual or mood marker, and when it appears as such, it apparently allows for this particular *i-* marker to appear, seen in (56):

- (56) èkà á-bò í-fát àyèn
mother 3SG-say I-embrace child
‘It is the mother who will hug the child.’

The motivation behind this particular reference would be another interesting issue to investigate.

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