

An unattested person-alignment in Ūt-Ma'in with possible logophoric function

Rebecca Paterson

LLACAN-CNRS and SIL International

Ūt-Ma'in (Kainji, Benue-Congo) does not have dedicated logophoric pronouns. In fact, if you only analyzed (1) extracted from a short narrative text, you might dismiss Ūt-Ma'in as a categorically non-logophoric language (Culy 1994). In (1) the reported speaker (RS) is referenced within the speech report by the 1SG pronoun, *ṣm*, and the reported addressee (RA) by the 2SG pronoun, *bṣ*.

		RS		RA
(1)	<i>wṣn zṣ kwàt-u ìn-já</i>	1SG		2SG
	3SG say ring-C7 DEM-C7	<i>ṣm=dá</i>	<i>seḡḡ</i>	<i>bṣ=dā</i>
	'he. said, "that ring, I will not loan you." '	1SG.SUBJ=FUT.NEG	loan	2SG=NEG

However, in another narrative text both 2SG and 3SG pronouns are used to reference the same RA, within a reported speech event as in (2). The speech event begins in (2a). In (2b) the first clause of the speech report, the RS is referenced by the 1SG pronoun *ṣm* as we saw in (1), but the RA is referenced by a 3SG form *wá* 'C1.OBJ'. The next two clauses contain a second reported speech event. In (2c-d) the same RS is again referenced by the 1SG *ṣm*, but the same RA is referenced twice by 2SG forms, *=ró* '2S.POSS' and *bṣ* '2SG'.

(2)	a. <i>ū zḡ</i>					
	C1.SUBJ say					
	'He. said'					
	RS		RA			
	1SG		3SG			
	b. <i>ṣm wárḡ-gḡ</i>		<i>wá ṣs-rém</i>			
	1SG.SUBJ tell-PST		C1.OBJ C4-word			
	'I told him/you, this before					
			=RA			
			=2SG			
	c. <i>ḡ nā má:sḡ nḗtá=ró</i>		<i>é</i>	<i>hḡ:b=ḡ=t</i>		<i>fák</i>
	REL NPERS catch woman=2SG.POSS		with	friend=ASSOC=C6		call
	'that they caught your, wife with another man'					
	RS		RA			
	1SG		2SG			
	d. <i>ṣm hók bṣ zḡ-g ḡkṣn dà</i>					
	1SG.SUBJ hear.PST 2SG say-PST C3.something NEG					
	'I did not hear you, say anything'					

When a second consultant transcribed (2), he replaced the 3SG *wá* 'C1.OBJ' of (2b) with *bṣ* '2SG' and translated the clause with only the 2SG meaning, 'I told you'. Before dismissing this as a mistake, it should be noted that the alternation of 3SG and 2SG forms for RAs continues throughout the text, though not always in embedded speech report clauses.

This use of 1SG for RS and 3SG for RA within a speech report is unattested by Nikitina's (2012: 256) typology of person alignment. This study examines the distribution of RS and RA pronouns in a corpus of Ūt-Ma'in narrative spoken texts in an effort to understand the extent of this unattested person alignment and what motivates the shift in pronouns between 2SG and 3SG for RAs.

References

- Culy, Christopher. 1994. Aspects of logophoric marking. *Linguistics* 32(6). 1055.
- Nikitina, T. 2012. Personal deixis and reported discourse: Towards a typology of person alignment. *Linguistic Typology* 16(2). 233–263.