LOROPHORIC STRATEGY IN SAN-MAKA

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Abstract: The article deals with strategies of coding the participants of communication in reporting dicours in San-Maka (Eastern Mande < Mande < Niger-Congo). San-Maka demonstrates an interesting case wherein 3rd person Sg and Pl pronouns, combined with an emphatic marker *sɛ́,* are used in a logophoric function. However, this construction is not fully grammaticalized. The combination of the pronouns with the emphatic marker acts in a logophoric function in specific reported speech contexts in the presence of the quotative particle *mà ~ mɔ̀ ~ m'* which occupies the leftmost position of the clause. Different possible interpretations of this strategy are shown, followed by a conclusion about the ongoing formation of the logophoric strategy in San-Maka and the grammaticalization of pronouns with the marker *sɛ́* into a specialized logophoric pronoun series.

Key words: reported speech, logophoric strategy, Mande, cluster San / Samo, San-Maka

ЛОГОФОРИЧЕСКАЯ СТРАТЕГИЯ В ЯЗЫКЕ САН-МАКА

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Резюме: В статье рассматриваются стратегии кодирования участников коммуникации при передаче цитированной речи в языке сан-мака (< восточные манде < манде < нигер-конго). Сан-мака демонстрирует интересный случай, когда местоимения третьего лица ед. и мн. числа в сочетании с эмфатическим показателем *sɛ́* используются как логофорические. Однако эта конструкция не полностью грамматизирована. Сочетание местоимений 3 лица с эмфатическим показателем

используются как логофорические только в контексте передачи цитированной речи в присутствии цитативной частицы *mà ~ mɜ̀ ~ m'*, которая занимает в предложении крайнюю левую позицию. Продемонстрированы различные интерпретации этой стратегии, после чего делается вывод о формировании в языке сан-мака логофорической стратегии передачи цитированной речи, а также о грамматикализации эмфатических местоимений 3 лица в специализированную серию логофорических местоимений.

Ключевые слова: репортативная речь, логофорическая стратегия, языки манде, восточные манде, кластер сан/само, язык сан-мака

1. Introduction

Reported speech binds two communicative situations: a real one and a reported one – that which is being described –, therefore there are two pairs of locutors: real speaker/listener and reported speaker/listener.[1] In order to avoid a potential conflict in reference, languages use certain rules to code the participants of the two communicative situations: a real and a reported one. In many European languages there are two main strategies of coding participants of the two communicative situations: *direct* and *indirect* speech. Their fundamental difference is, in fact, specific coding of the participants of the situations. Consider Misha Knyazev's definition: "In indirect speech constructions, the choice of pronouns is made by parameters of the external communicative situation" (Knyazev 2016: 74). It should be noted that different strategies of coding the reported speech do not fit into a linear quantitive continuum where where *direct* and *indirect* speech would be the extreme points between which other types would be located. (Nikitina & Bugaeva 2020). Nicholas Evans writes on this topic:

"The typology of quoted speech has long been a disorderly and unsatisfying area because of the huge number of ways that languages can deviate from the traditional ideals of 'direct' and 'indirect' speech.

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[1] As there is no generally accepted terms I will use the terms: *real* and *reported* speaker and listener (Nikitina 2012a); and external (real) and internal (reported) communicative situation (Knyazev 2016).

This has generated a profusion of terms for non-canonical types – semi-direct, semi-indirect, quasi-direct and so on – which do not correlate well with the many intermediate categories. Perhaps worse is the fact that typological research on quoted speech has generally been rather unclear about what 'true' indirect speech would look like" (Evans 2013: 67).

Apart from *direct* and *indirect* speech, two other strategies of coding participants are cross-linguisticly rather widespread. These are the logophoric strategy and the indexal shift strategy. The logophoric strategy, in the canonical case, uses special logophoric pronouns which are coreferent with the reported speaker (Aikhenvald 2007; Nikitina 2012b). The indexal shift strategy is characterized by the presence of syntactic subordination and, at the same time, by the internal reference of pronouns, at least pronouns coreferential with the reported speaker. (Shklovsky & Sudo 2014; Knyazev 2016; 2019). The logophoric strategy is typical for languages of the West Africa (Nikitina 2012a).[2]

2. Reported speech in San-Maka

2.1. San-Maka: general facts, sources of the data, orthography

San-Maka (< Eastern Mande < Mande < Niger-Kongo) is spoken in northwest Burkina Faso, in the Nayala province. Dialectal differences are quite noticeable in San-Maka, and varieties differ rather significantly. The present article deals with the variety spoken in Toma, the administrative center of the province.

The research is based on the following data:

- field materials collected in 2016–2017 in Toma, Burkina-Faso,

- linguistic articles by Moïse Paré (Paré 1998; 1999) and Suzanne Platiel (Platiel 1974),

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[2] Ainu presents a rare example of logophoric strategy in Asia (Nikitina & Bugaeva 2018).

- folklore texts published by Platiel (Platiel 1984),
- booklets in San-Maka made by the SIL and the Biblical Society.

Most of these data are based on the Toma variety of San-Maka.

It should be noted that each type of source uses its own writing system.

The official spelling designed by SIL has been used in the San-French dictionary, literacy books, nutrition brochures, and other SIL publications, as well as in the translation of the full text of the Bible. The same writing system is taught to liquidators of illiteracy and other enthusiasts of writing in their native language. The important peculiarity of this spelling system is the incomplete designation of tonal differences.

There are three functionally meaningful level tones in San-Maka: low, medium, and high. In the official orthography they are marked as follows:

High tone   *á* (acute);
Middle tone   *a* (no diacritic sign);
Low tone   *à* (grave).

However, tonal characteristics are indicated in the official writing system only in cases of possible misunderstandings: *màn* [màŋ́] 'thing' ~ *man* [māŋ̀] 'presentative copula, Pl'; *mìi* [mìí] 'head' ~ *mii* [mīī] 'drink.ɪᴘꜰᴠ'; *ǹ* [ǹ̩] 'they (3Pl)' ~ *n* [ŋ̄] 'you (2Sg)'.

In the official writing system the letter "n" at the end of a word or used independently marks the phoneme [ŋ]; while nasalization is marked by a tilde,[3] cf.: *sɔ̀n* [sɔ̀ŋ́] 'character' ~ *sɔɔ̃* [sɔ́ɔ̃̀] 'alone' ~ *sɔɔ* [sɔ̄ɔ̄] 'three'; *tán* [táŋ̀] 'ground' ~ *tan* [táŋ̄] 'there is' ~ *tã* [tã̄] 'to close'.

In the texts published by Platiel the spelling of words is rather inconsistent both in their segmental and suprasegmental representations (cf. variants *Bɔ́léɛ̄* ~ *Bóléɛ̀* ~ *Bɔ̀léɛ̀* 'Bolé (personal name); *dɔ̄ɛ̃̄* ~ *dɔ̄ɛ̃̀* 'to know.ɪᴘꜰᴠ'. A consistent phonemic notation of San-Maka words is found in the articles of Moïse Paré, thus, I use his writing system, with exceptions made for examples taken from the Bible translation.

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[3] The nasalization characterizes the whole foot but is shown only on the second vowel.

2.2. An overview of reported speech in San-Maka

Most often, the reported speech transmition in San-Maka is characterized by the following type of reference: the reported listener is coded by the 2Sg personal pronoun *ə̄n / ə̄ŋ*, according to the internal communicative situation (similar to *direct speech* of European languages); the reported speaker is marked by the pronoun *àsɛ́* (3Sg + *sɛ́*) according to the external communicative situation (as in *indirect speech*), consider (1).

(1) *Yáā Sɛ̃́ɛ̃̄ tɔ̀ntɔ̀rá kɛ̀ ŋ̄ ə̄ŋ tɔ́ā:*
     then   Sien   youth   this IPFV REFL exclame.IPFV

   Mə̀ ə̄ŋ   bā   kɔ̀ŋ̀ bóē   ə̄ŋ   dà
   that 2SG IPFV.NEG marry become-IPFV **2SG** put-PRF

   à-sɛ́   lī   wā-ā?
   3SG-EMPH near NEG-Q

   'Then the youth from Sien exclaimed: "Won't **you** marry and (**you**) live with **me**?".'

This strategy could be described as mixed "external-internal". At first glance, we are dealing with a variant of the indexal shift strategy. However, consider the following example of an indexal shift strategy typical for Chuvash (< Turkic) (2).

(2) Poshkart variety of Chuvash (Knyazev 2019: 9)
     Boris [san-ba   ëçl-e-p]   *te-ze*   *(kala-rʲ-e)*
     Boris   **2SG**-INST work-NPST-**1SG** say-SIM.CVB say-PST-3SG
     'Boris said that **he** will work with **you** [real listener].'

In (2), the the 2 person pronoun refers to the real listener, while the 1 person suffix points to the reported speaker (lit. 'Boris said that **I** will work with you'). This is a typical case of of the indexal shift strategy.

The strategy used by San-Maka is, in a way, opposite of what was shown for Poshkart Chuvash. The reported speaker is coded by

the 1Sg suffix in Chuvash and by the 3Sg pronoun in San-Maka; it appears as if Chuvash would use the *direct* speech model and San-Maka would use the model of the *indirect* speech. At the same time, San-Maka codes the reported listener by the 2Sg pronoun *ə̄ŋ / ŋ̄* (as in *direct* speech). This strategy of coding participants of the reported situation in San-Maka cannot be classified as a variant of indexal shift. It is closer to a logophoric strategy which combines the use of special logophoric pronouns marking the reported speaker with 2nd person pronouns which mark the reported listener (von Roncador 1988: 290–293; Stirling 1993: 256–257). It has to be concluded that San-Maka demonstrates a case when the pronouns of 3 person combined with the emphatic marker *sɛ́* are used as logophoric.

2.3. Emphatic marker *sɛ́*

The morpheme *sɛ́* is generally regared as an emphatic marker: "Cette catégorie de déterminants est surtout utilisée avec les pronoms personnels, et quand elle est employée pour déterminer un nominal, il s'agit le plus souvent de nomineau qualifiant des êtres humains, ou très exceptionnellement des animaux [This category of determinants is mostly used with personal pronouns, and when it is used to determine a nominal, it is most often a qualifying nominee for human beings, or very exceptionally animals]" (Platiel 1974: 507).

It can combine with all personal pronouns:

Sg   Pl
māsɛ́   *wɔ̄sɛ́ŋ*[4]
ŋ̄sɛ́   *kāsɛ́ŋ*
àsɛ́   *ŋ̀sɛ́ŋ*

It is used for emphasis; consider examples (3)–(5).

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[4] The plural marker is *-ŋ / -nA / -Aŋ*, the specific form and tonal characteristics of which are determined by the context.

(3) *Mā-sέ*   *bīē*   *wā*
    1SG-EMPH   IPFV.NEG   NEG
    'It is not me.'

(4) *Īŋ-sέ*   *ŋ̄*   *wōē*   *māā?*
    2SG-EMPH   IPFV   go.IPFV   where
    'And you, where are you going?'

(5) *Wɔ̄-sέ-ŋ*   *nɔ́*   *bōō̠_dā*   *nɛ̀*
    1PL-EMPH-PL   PRF   speak.PRF   to.3SG
    'As for us, we spoke to him.'

The marker *sέ* is also used in topicalization constructions; if a personal pronoun is topicalized, it is repeated *in situ* (Paré 1998: 82) (6).

(6) *Mā-sέ*   *nɛ̄,*   *á*   *mā*   *jɛ̄*
    1SG-EMPH   COP   3SG/H   1SG   see.PRF
    'As for me, he saw me (yesterday).'

Consider the usage of the marker *sέ* with a noun (7).

(7) **Dōŋādû̄-sέ**   *dɔ̄*   *à*   *dīɲ̀*   *ɔ̄ŋ*   *tó_kɔ̄ bōō kɛ̄ wā...*
    elephant-EMPH   also 3SG same PRF.NEG listen word this neg
    '**Even the elephant**, without knowing the reasons [for this war]...'

The marker *sέ* is widely used in reported speech. When used in the quote, it always refers to the speaker (8).

(8) (*á*   *tɔ́ŋ* *pɛ̀* *gū̄* *nī̄:*) *"Mà* **à** *ŋ̄* *sàŋ* *kóé*
    3SG.PRF then say.PRF man in that 3SG IPFV play make.IPFV
    ká **à-sέ** *ní,* *mà* **à** *wɔ́* *ɲà*   *pēló"*
    COM 3SG.EMPH to that 3SG for/H finish.PRF today
    '(She said to her husband:) "Are you playing with me? Today you are finished (Lit. "If he was playing with her? Today he is finished").'

In (8), pronouns *à* and *àsέ* in the quote may refer to both participants of the situation: the reported speaker and listener (a wife and a husband), thus the question begs, "Who was playing with whom?". In San, pronouns do not have a category of gender, therefore the reference may be unclear. Emphatic pronouns are used in order to evade a referencial conflict. In (8), the use of the marker *sέ* in the the comitative frame construction *ká àsέ ní*, indicates the reported speaker (the wife). In both clauses the subject coded by the pronoun of the 3Sg *à* is the reported listener (the husband).

It is worth noting that in (8) the reported speech is constructed with a consistent external reference similar to the traditional "indirect speech". More often, the "mixed" strategy is used; see example (1).

3. The logophoric strategy in San-Maka

In San-Maka, the strategy of coding participants in a reported situation is close to the logophoric strategy; the role of logophoric pronouns is played by 3 person emphatic pronouns, consider (9).

(9) *M' ə̄ŋ nε ə́ŋ à-sɛ̄ ā nɛ̄ lὲ dɛ̄ nɛ̄!*
    that 2SG PCOP 2SG/H 3SG-EMPH POSS child ART kill.PRF 3SG.POSTP
    'It was **you, you** killed **my** son with it.'

In (9), the reported listener is coded by the 2Sg personal pronoun *ə̄ŋ/ŋ̄* (according to the internal communicative situation); the speaker is marked by the 3Sg pronoun *àsέ*: *àsɛ̄ ā nɛ̄* 'my son' (according to the external communicative situation). This corresponds to the logophoric strategy.

However, here I wish to raise some possible objections: the examples presented thus far can be analyzed in the following way: emphatic pronouns are used in their primary function, as emphatic, and the strategy used by San Maka can be analyzed as a variant of *indirect speech*. This point of view may be supported by the analysis of those cases where only the reported speaker(s) is anaphorically cited, cf. (10)–(11).

(10) *Māā*   *dī*   *pέ*   *mà*   *à-sέ*   *ŋ̄*   *dīē*
      1SG.POSS   father   say   that   3SG-EMPH   IPFV   FUT.PROX
      wōé   *dōŋ*   *bĩ̄ɛ̃́*
      go.IPFV   bush   tomorrow
      'My father said that he he will go to the bush tomorrow.'

(11) *Ỳ*   *nɔ́*   *dāà*   *pē*   *wō*   *nē,*   *mà*   *ŋ̀-sέ-ŋ*
      3PL   PRF   come.PRF   say   1PL   to   that   3PL-EMPH-PL
      màŋ   *wōé*   *pīē*
      PRF.PL   go.IPFV   home
      'They came to tell us that they are going home.'

Cases like (10) and (11) can be analyzed as "indirect speech" where *àsέ* and *ŋ̀sέŋ* are only used for emphasis. However, there are certain features that do not match with proprieties of "indirect speech".

3.1. Characteristics of logophoric strategy

Tatiana Nikitina and Anna Bugaeva (2018; 2020) pointed out the following features characteristic of the logophoric strategy apart from the usage of specific logophoric pronouns:

- logophoric speech is not associated with any ordering restrictions: reported speech can precede or follow the clause that describes the reported speech event, and it can even be interrupted by that clause,

- logophoric speech need not be licensed by any specific predicate,

- logophoric speech may contain extrasentential elements: interjections and terms of address.

In San-Maka the strategy used for coding reported speech fully meets these requirements.

Absence of ordering restrictions can be shown as follows. First, the logophoric strategy in San-Maka can be used in independent quotes (12) which is not typical for indirect speech.

(12) *Ɔ̀,*   *bɛ̀*   *ɔ́ŋ*   *dáà*   **ŋ̀-sɛ́-ŋ**   *pɛ̄ɛ̀,*   *mà*   **à-sɛ́**
     oh!   when   2SG/H   come.PRF   3PL-EMPH-PL   home   that   3SG.EMPH

     á   *bōē*   *là*   *à*   *kɔ̀*   *ŋ̄*   *lɛ́*
     3SG.PRF   be.able.IPFV   on   3SG   close   2SG   on
     'Oh, if you came to **us**, **I** would accept to follow **you**.'

     In (12) both references to the reported speaker are coded by emphatic pronouns: singular (*àsɛ́*) and plural (*ŋ̀sɛ́ŋ*).[5]
     Second, the logophoric strategy is also used in dialogues (13).

(13) –   *Mɔ̀*   *ɔ́ɔ̃-ɔ́ɔ̃*   *mà*   *wɔ̀à-nā-á-bāà*   *ŋ̄*   *bɛ́*   **à-sɛ́**
         that   ah-ah   that   what.purpose   2SG   IPFV.PROG   3SG-EMPH

         kṹ̄ĩ̀!
         catch.IPFV

         –   *mà*   **à-sɛ́**   *ŋ̄*   *gɛ́ɛ̀*   *dèá*   *lī!*
            that   3SG-EMPH   IPFV   look   midget   for
     '– Eh! Eh! Why are you catching me?
     – I am looking for a midget!'

     Examples (12) and (13) also illustrate the ability of the logophoric strategy to include extrasentential elements like interjections.
     Unlike indirect speech, which licenses a strict number of possible predicates able to introduce other person's speech, the logophoric strategy uses the whole variety of predicates which code the reported event; consider (14).

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     [5] Note, that *àsɛ́* is repeated by the ordinary 3Sg pronoun *á* with the high tone (see also (15)). This is the rule when the empahtic/logophoric pronoun is the subject of the sentence. These details of logophoric strategy is San-Maka needs further investigation.

(14) (*nɛ̄*   *kɛ̀*   *dɔ́*   *tɔ́ŋ̀*   *yōò:*)   *M'à-sɛ̄*   *dɔ́*
     child   this   also   then   rise.up.PRF   that.3SG-EMPH too
     á   *rē*   *wōē*   *géɛ̀*   *kā*   *wùù*   *lɛ̀*   *lī!*
     IPFV   FUT   go.IPFV   look.IPFV   2PL   millet   ART   for
     '(The boy rose up in his turn:) "Me too, I will go to look for your millet!".'

It shows that the discussed strategy shares typical properties of logophoric speech.

3.2. Level of grammaticalization

The presented constructions are not fully grammaticalized. When used with locutors, the marker *sɛ́* keeps its emphatic meaning. Consider the following examples:

(15) *Ǹ̀*   *kíí*   *lɛ̀,*   *ǹ̀*   *nā*   *tɔ́ŋ*   *nɔ̄ŋ*   *dà*   *nēnɛ́-ŋ́*
     3PL chief   ART   3PL PF then   question   put.PRF   child-DIM
     lɛ̀   *là:*   "*Mà*   *wàá*   *nā*   *bāà*   *ɲàŋ̀*   *tá*   *kɪ̠ɪ̠́*
     ART   on   that   what? FOC   become.PRF   scar   IPFV   write.IPFV
     ŋ-sɛ́   *gānàà*   *kēnɛ̄ŋ*"
     2SG-EMPH   on   like.that
     'The Mossi chief asked the girl: "How did it happen that (the scarification) is written on **you** like that?"

In (15) the surprise of the Mossi chief who has seen marks (scarification) made onto the San girl's body is highlighted by the emphatic *sɛ́*, as well as by the usage of the full form of the postposition *gānàà* 'on' (its short form is an enclitisized *-à*). Here, *sɛ́* retains its primary emphatic meaning.

Also consider examples (3)–(6) presented above. They illustrate the emphatic usage of the marker *sɛ́*. However, the examples (3)–(6)[6]

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[6] In examples (3) and (6), *mā* at the beginning of the sentence is the 1Sg pronoun 'I, me'.

differ drastically from other examples presented. These utterances are not instances of reported speech. In oral San-Maka, reported speech is marked by the particle *mà/mɔ̀/m'* in the leftmost position. It codes quotes introduced by a reported event ('he said...'), independant quotes, or dialogue replicae. In cases when other person's speech is rather long and consists of several utterances, *mà/mɔ̀/m'* may be repeated; see example (16). Consequently, the following conclusion should be made: 3 person pronouns with the marker *sɛ́* are used as logophoric only in reported speech contexts, which formally is introduced by the opening marker *mà.*

The grade of grammaticalization of the construction *mà* + 3Sg/Pl-*sɛ́* is, in fact, rather high, and emphatic pronouns are used very consistently, cf. (16).

(16) *Mà* **à-sɛ́** *ā* *lɔ̄* *nɛ̄* **à-sɛ́** *lī;* *à* *nɛ̄*
that **3SG-EMPH** POSS wife COP **3SG-EMPH** on 3SG child
yíi *wā.* *Bɛ̄_lɛ̀_nɛ̄* **à-sɛ́** *á* *ɔ̄n* *pēnpélèn*
give.birth NEG that.is.why **3SG-EMPH** 3SG/H IPFV wandering
dɛ̄ɛ̀. *Yíi* *wé* **à-sɛ́** *á* *rē* *dóe* *lɔ̄* *lɛ̄'a,*
come.IPFV eye enter 3SG.EMPH IPFV FUT arrive woman at.edge
kēon *lā,* **à-sɛ́** *ā* *rē* *dóe* *à-à* *wā, mà*
house on 3SG-EMPH IPFV.NEG FUT arrive.IPFV 3SG.near NEG that
à-sɛ́ *ā* *dʒɛ̀ɛ̀* *wā,* *bɛ̄* *kéò* *kēe,* *bɛ̄ lè nɛ̄*
3SG-EMPH PFV.NEG know.IPFV NEG this house here.is that.is.way
à-sɛ́ *sōò* *á* *ɔ̄n* *pēnpélèn dɛ̄ɛ̀!*
3SG.EMPH go.out.PRF 3SG/H IPFV wandering come.IPFV
'It is **my** wife (who made problems) for **me**: she does not give birth... That's why **I**'m wandering around. Do you see, if, when **I** come back, **I** will find her, or if **I** will not find (her) at home, **I** do not know; so that's why **I** left home and wander aimlessly!'

It should be noted, however, that in the text of the new translation of the Bible, which was made relatively recently (Bible 2013), the construction *mà ... àsɛ́* is not used: the reported speech is not introduced

by the particle *mà*, and the emphatic pronouns of the 3rd person are not used in a logophoric function. Consider the following examples (17)–(18) selected at random.

(17) *Yesu   tɔ́n   pε   ǹ   nε: Ka   Lawa   a   kion   kε*
Jesus   then   say   3PL   to   you(pl)   god   POSS   house   this
*wuru,   **masε**   n   wusii   ma   dɔ   lεawaa*
destroy   1SG.EMPH   IPFV   move.back.IPFV   that   build   day
sɔɔ   gɔ́ɔ̃   nε
three   inside   in
'Jesus answered them, "Destroy this temple, and **I** will raise it again in three days".' (John 2; 19).

(18) *Á   pε   nε: Mìinaa,   **wɔ-sε-n**   tá   doε̃,*
3SG/H   say   3SG.to   chef   1PL-EMPH-PL   IPFV   know.IPFV
wáa   Lawa   na   á   n   dia   mà   n   da
all.together   God   FOC   3SG/H   2SG   send   that   2SG   come
***wɔ**   daraa*
1PL   teach
'He [came to Jesus at night and] said, "Rabbi, **we** know that you are a teacher who has come from God".' [lit: "God sent you so that you would come to teach **us.**"] (John 3; 2)

The analysis of the Bible translation shows that although 1st person pronouns are used in reference to the reported speaker(s), there is a clear tendency to use the emphatic forms of these pronouns.

The coding of reported speech in booklets made by SIL is often inconsistent, cf. examples (19)–(20) taken from the same booklet (Goe 2004).

(19) *Á   yōò   lóŋ   gɔ̀rɔ̄   á   ŋ   lε   dὲ:*
3SG/H   rise.up.PRF   up   already   3SG/H   REFL   mouth   say.PRF
*"Mà   **à-sέ**   tá   à   binyəə   dɔ́ε̰̃!"*
that   3SG-EMPH   IPFV   3SG   answer   know.IPFV
'At last he stood up and said, "I know the answer!".'

(20) *Gòé   pὲ   à   lɔ̄   nɛ̄: Mā dīɲ̀*
    leopard/н say.ркғ/ʟ 3sg   woman to   1sg same
    nì   tɔ̀ɔ́   màɲ̀   tùmàà   ā   pàã̄mā   lɛ̄ā
    рсор   animal   thing   all   poss   rich   еquat
    'Leopard said to his wife, "I am the richest of all the animals".'

Example (19) displays a strategy similar to one discussed in the sections above: reported speech is introduced by the particle *mà* and uses the 3Sg emphatic pronoun in a logophoric function. Example (20) uses neither the *mà … àsέ* construction nor an emphatic pronoun (as in the Bible translation).

The inconsistency in the use of the *mà … àsέ* construction in written texts, with its complete dominance in the recordings of oral speech, indicates a fairly high degree of grammaticalization of this construction, but also the fact that this process is not yet complete.

4. Conclusion

In San-Maka, 3 person emphatic pronouns *àsέ* (3Sg+*sέ*) and *ɲ̀sέ̃ŋ* (3Pl+*sέ*+PL) act as logophoric pronouns in reported speech contexts. Therefore in San-Maka the logophoric strategy is in the process of grammaticalization. However, it is still not a property of the standardized written language, though it shows a tendency to use emphatic pronouns in the reference of the reported speaker.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – 1, 2, 3 person
ART – article
COM – comitative
COP – copula
DIM – diminutive
EMPH – emphatic marker
EQUAT – equative postposition
FOC – focalizer
FUT – future
FUT.PROX – nearest future
H – hign tone
IPFV – imperfective

L – low tone
NEG – negation
NMLZ – nominalized form
NPST – non-past
PCOP – presentational copula
PL – plural
POSS – possessive preposition
POST – postposition
PRF – perfective
PROG – progressive
Q – question marker
SG – singular

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