

Logophoricity in Eastern Vidzeme: The Literary Latvian idiolect of Andrievs Niedra and Leivu Estonian

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Eastern Vidzeme is an important, hitherto neglected, area for the study of logophoricity in the Circum-Baltic languages. This paper shows, on the one hand, that logophoricity in Latvian is not restricted to Latgalian dialects, but is almost fully consistent in the writings of the novelist Andrievs Niedra (1871–1942) originating from Tirza, and on the other hand, that Leivu Estonian, a moribund South Estonian language island in Northeastern Vidzeme between Gulbene and Alūksne, is the only Estonian variety having developed a logophoric pronoun.

Given the high diversity of logophoricity in Latvian, it is important to study idiolects with large corpora, and written language deserves more study. Like Finnish dialects and Leivu Estonian, Niedra's idiolect uses logophoric pronouns even for marking the report addressee in questions. Unlike in the Latgalian tales discussed by Nau (2006), logophoricity can be extended beyond the domain of report to thought. A distinction between allophoric (frame and report speaker are different) and autophoric reports (frame and report speaker are the same) is introduced. It is argued that logophoric pronouns are a non-deictic and non-coreference-based strategy to mark reports, that their function is not primarily reference tracking, and that logophoric pronouns in Latvian are constructionalized rather than grammaticalized.

Keywords: logophoricity, Latvian, Leivu Estonian, pronouns, speech act participants, evidential, constructions, reference tracking, logophoric middle, Andrievs Niedra

1. Introduction

Logophoric pronouns (glossed LOG) are a non-deictic strategy to mark the report speaker (*Nicole_i told me_k [that] LOG_i will visit me_k/you_k*) in contrast to report deixis (traditionally called direct speech) where the report speaker is first person and the report addressee is second person (*Nicole_i told me_k "I'll visit you_k"*).¹ Report deixis is opposed to frame deixis (traditionally

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called indirect speech) where the first person refers to the frame speaker (also called source or current speaker) and the second person refers to the frame addressee and where there is no deictic shift at the beginning or end of the report (*Nicole_i told me_k that she_i will visit me_k*).

Table 1. Report deixis, frame deixis, and logophoricity

	Report deixis	Frame deixis	Logophoricity
Report speaker	1st person	Person dependent on coreference patterns with frame, otherwise 3rd person	LOG (if ≠ frame speaker)
Report addressee	2nd person		Various solutions, see Section 3
Frame speaker	Cannot be accessed	1st person	1st person
Frame addressee	Cannot be accessed	2nd person	2nd person

Report speaker and addressee are not marked deictically in frame deixis. Logophoricity is akin to frame deixis in that the report speaker is not marked deictically and it is hence compatible with frame deixis (the frame speaker can be first person and the report speaker, if different, logophoric), whereas report deixis is not compatible with frame deixis. However, logophoricity is also akin to report deixis in that the logophoric pronoun marks the report speaker in the same way as the first person pronoun does in report deixis. A plural logophoric pronoun functions very much in the same way as ‘we’ in report deixis. A logophoric pronoun is compatible with report deixis for the addressee (*Nicole_i told me_k [that] LOG_i will visit you_k*).

Since Nau’s (2006) seminal paper it has been widely recognized that deep High Latvian dialects in Latgale as well as many Finnish dialects make use of logophoric pronouns in a manner very similar to the African languages for which logophoricity has been described for a long time (e.g. Hagège 1974, who coined the term; Stirling 1994; Culy 1994, 1997; Güldemann 2003; for Finnish see especially Laitinen 2002, 2005). Logophoricity, even though not referred to by this term, has long been

described for Finnish dialects (Setälä 1883, 84) and Latvian dialects (Endzelins 1951, 536) and is also well attested for North and Inari Saami (Nickel 1994; Laitinen 2002) and South Saami (Bergsland 1946, 101-103, 1994, 121).

Table 2. Logophoric pronouns in the Circum-Baltic area (only singular and nominative forms; in Latvian only masculine forms)

	Eastern Latvian	Leivu Estonian	Finnish dialects	North Saami
Logophoric pronoun	šis (from proximal dem.)	t ⁱ ema (< 3sg)	hän	son
Non-logophoric pronoun (3sg)	jis; viņš	t ^u (= distal dem.)	se (= addressee oriented dem.)	dat (= dem.)

In this paper it is argued that logophoricity is not restricted to spoken varieties of Latvian, but can also be found systematically in the works of the Latvian novelist Andrievs Niedra (1871–1942), born in and originating from Tirza which belongs to the very periphery of “non-deep” High Latvian dialects, situated in Eastern Vidzeme; and that the writings of Niedra are an important source for the study of logophoricity in Latvian. This is the main focus of this paper (Sections 2–7). However, it is further shown in this paper that logophoricity also occurs in one dialect of Estonian, in Leivu Estonian, a moribund South Estonian language island in Northeastern Vidzeme between Gulbene and Alūksne, for which it has not been formerly described, but not in any other variety of South Estonian (Section 8). Andrievs Niedra’s literary Latvian idiolect and Leivu Estonian are very different kinds of language varieties, they belong to different modalities (written vs. spoken) and they belong to different languages from different language families. However, they have an important thing in common. They are both to be localized in Eastern Vidzeme. It is argued in this paper that Eastern Vidzeme is an important, hitherto neglected, area for the study of logophoricity in the Circum-Baltic languages. Section 9 situates the two cases from Eastern Vidzeme in a more general Circum-Baltic context, also considering the “logophoric” middle in Lithuanian.

Table 1 lists the logophoric pronouns in Latvian, Leivu Estonian, Finnish and North Saami.

All varieties of Latvian with logophoricity (they are all Eastern varieties) use the pronoun *šis* (inflected for case, number and gender) as a logophoric pronoun in reported speech to denote the speaker of the report, who is not at the same time the frame speaker. This is the same form as the proximal demonstrative pronoun *šis*, but not all varieties of Latvian have retained the proximal demonstrative function. Logophoric *šis* is illustrated in (1) from a short story by Andrievs Niedra. In the story the local policeman is looking for the doctor who has disappeared. The frame speaker (narrator) of the story is the policeman, but in the passage from which (1) is taken, the frame speaker has shifted to the pharmacist. The pharmacist and the doctor both live at the same place and are bachelors. The pharmacist reports the speech of the doctor (curly braces) who in turn reports the invitation of the family he had met (inner curly braces). The English translation gives a larger context window in square brackets.

- (1) Logophoric pronouns in a report and in a report in a report (Niedra KPPI 171)

Un jau atbraucis viņš baidījās,
 and already arrive:PA.PST.NOM.SG 3:NOM.SG.M fear:PST.3.REFL
 {vai tik šis ar to meitu
 0 only LOG.NOM.SG.M with that:ACC.SG daughter:ACC.SG
neesot saderinājies... šim
 NEG:be:EVID.PRS engage:PA.PST.NOM.SG.M.REFL LOG.DAT.SG.M
tā vien liekoties, ka šis viņiem
 thus only seem:EVID.PRS.REFL that LOG.NOM.SG.M 3:DAT.PL.M
uzdevis savu adresi un
 give:EVID.PST.NOM.SG.M RPO:ACC.SG address:ACC.SG and
viņi šim savu... {lai nākot
 3.NOM.PL.M LOG.DAT.SG.M RPO:ACC.SG HORT come:EVID.PRS
rītu pie šiem uz pusdienu.}}
 tomorrow to LOG.DAT.PL.M onlunch:ACC.SG

[The doctor in his delirious state seems to have met a family in the city park... he did not remember whether butchers or tailors.] When he returned he was afraid that {he had got engaged with that daughter... He was inclined to believe that he had given them his address and they had given him their address...

They seemed to have invited him {to visit them the next day for lunch.}} [In wartime these parents of daughters just grab unmarried men directly from the street.]

In the Latvian text given in (1) the doctor is referred to first in the speech of the pharmacist by the third person pronoun *viņš*. This is the antecedent of the logophoric construction. A canonical report opener consists of a speech verb and a complementizer (Nau 2006, 64; Hagège's 1974, 291 terms are *verbe introducteur* and *ouvreur*), and antecedent and report opener are together the introduction of the report. The introduction is often viewed as part of the logophoric construction, but I will argue below that the introduction should not be considered part of the logophoric construction in Latvian since the introduction is optional (see below for examples without introduction). In (1) there is a non-canonical report opener with the verb *baidīties* 'to fear (REFL)'. Since Latvian starts both direct and indirect questions with the interrogative particle *vai*, it is not fully clear whether *vai* 'Q' belongs to the report opener or already to the report. In the report, the logophoric pronoun with the nominative and dative case forms *šis* and *šim* refers to the report speaker (the doctor) whereas the third person pronoun *viņš* (the nominative and dative plural forms *viņi* and *viņiem*) refers to non-speakers in the report (the family which the doctor met).² Then the family start speaking within the report and are now referred to by the logophoric pronoun (dative plural *šiem*) whereas reference to the speaker of the outer report (the doctor) is avoided.

Aside from the logophoric pronoun the logophoric construction is marked by the use of the evidential (also "reportative mood", Latvian *astāstījuma izteiksme*, or, as Endzelīns called it, *atstāstāmā izteiksme*) which occurs in present and past forms in (1). The past form of the evidential is identical with the past participle in the nominative and is inflected for gender and number. In this paper I gloss the past participle in evidential function as EVID.PST in order to indicate the evidential forms clearly, because of the tight interplay between logophoricity and evidentiality. Note that the inner report has two features of direct speech. (i) The time adverbial *rīt(u)* 'tomorrow' is not transposed as would be expected in indirect speech ("the next day") and (ii) the use of the deictic verb *nākt* 'come'

² See Nau (2006, 63) for a detailed discussion of how plural in logophoric pronouns has to be interpreted; there is nothing I could add to this lucid analysis.

follows the stance of the report speaker family. Logophorically marked reports are intermediate between indirect and direct speech and cannot easily be assigned to either indirect or direct speech (von Roncador 1988, 296; Laitinen 2005, 85; Nau 2006, 57).

It is often argued that the main function of logophoric pronouns is to disambiguate the reference to persons in reports. However, in real discourse—at least in the written language corpus considered here—there is rarely ever any need for disambiguation or there are other grammatical devices which are more reliable for disambiguation, in Latvian notably number and gender. In (1) number is more reliable for reference tracking than logophoricity. The doctor is referred to by a singular pronoun, the family by a plural pronoun. Logophoric pronouns do not really disambiguate where things are most intricate, as in reports within reports. A logophoric pronoun can refer both to the speaker of the outer and to the speaker of the inner report. Thus, logophoric pronouns cannot disambiguate between speakers of inner and outer reports. The number distinction happens to be more powerful for this purpose in (1). It has also to be emphasized that Latvian is a pro-drop language,³ and where pronouns are dropped logophoricity does not disambiguate referents. It will be argued in this paper that it is not the principal function of logophoric pronouns to disambiguate the reference of persons in speech reports but rather to mark reports.

For Latvian, Nau emphasizes that the pronoun *šis* (High Latvian *šys*) is restricted to logophoric use only in High Latvian dialects whereas it may be used as a logophoric marker among other things and not consistently in Low Latvian dialects and in some varieties of Literary Latvian which is based on Low Latvian (Nau 2006, 60, see also Endzelins 1951, 536). Niedra's idiolect of literary Latvian differs in interesting ways from the varieties described by Nau (2006). In particular, the logophoric pronoun can also be used to refer to the report addressee, especially in autophoric reports (where the frame speaker and the report speaker are the same person, as opposed to allophoric reports where frame and report speakers are different; see Section 2). Aside from logophoric pronouns there are other strategies for covering the intermediate zone between speech act

³ I feel comfortable using this term and do not by this make any commitment in favor of a certain syntactic theory, and, of course, pro-drop is the most natural state cross-linguistically.

and non-speech act participants (Section 3). Logophoricity in Niedra's Latvian can also be extended beyond speech to thoughts and feelings (Section 4). There are a variety of complex examples (reports within reports) which raise specific issues (Section 5), and Niedra's idiolect is ideal material to show that pronouns in reports should be viewed as parts of constructions (Section 6).

Logophoric pronouns in Latvian and Finnish are typically used in spoken language and oral narratives, but not in written genres (see Laitinen 2005; Nau 2014). The consideration of Andrievs Niedra's writings, however, shows that logophoricity can be used in a rather consistent grammatical fashion in written language as well and that it is much less dependent on spoken or written modality than generally believed. Nau (2006, 74) argues that European written languages make a strict distinction between direct and indirect speech and that there is no need for indirect speech if there is a logophoric pronoun. However, there is no strict distinction between direct and indirect speech in Niedra's writings (see the discussion of example (1) in the introduction) and it is actually well known that a strict distinction between direct and indirect speech cannot do justice to the complexities of reported speech even in European written languages (see Coulmas 1986, 6–10 for a survey of earlier literature). Thus, the fact that Modern Literary Latvian lacks logophoricity is maybe simply due to the historical coincidence that Niedra has not been particularly influential in how the literary language further developed.

We know from previous studies that logophoricity varies greatly among varieties of Latvian (Augstkalns 1934; Nau 2006), but we do not know how constant it is or was across whole dialects. In Eastern Latvian dialects outside of Latgalian logophoricity is strongly declining in materials collected after World War II and it is declining even in Latgale (Nau 2014).⁴ There is a shortage of reliable dialect text samples of sufficient length. For instance, the text sample in Ābele (1924, 51) from the dialect of Jaunciems in close proximity to Tirza—to the extent that it is not made up of *dainas* (folk songs) without speech reports—consists of 228

⁴ In the grammar of the dialect of Galgauska (Kalnietis & Rūķe-Draviņa 1996) adjacent to Tirza no traces of logophoric pronouns can be found.

Latvian dialects are far from the only language varieties where logophoricity are in decline and there are often huge differences in logophoricity between varieties of the same language. For the Chadic language Goemai, Hellwig (2011, 445) states that logophoricity “is mainly attested in the variety of older speakers” and “middle-aged speakers are observed to use the logophoric pronouns incorrectly” (Hellwig 2011, 454).

words from two speakers and happens to contain six occurrences of the pronoun *šis* five of which are logophoric; one instance is given in (2). This is sufficient for determining that logophoricity is attested in Jaunciems, but not for how the grammar of logophoricity really works or worked in Jaunciems and whether there was inter-speaker variability.

(2) Latvian, dialect of Jaunciems (Ābele 1924, 51)

viņš *dūmajs,* *k'â nu šis*
 3.NOM.SG.M think:EVID.PST.NOM.SG.M how now LOG.NOM.SG.M
tù *naūdu* *varātu* *paglobât.*
 that:ACC.SG money:ACC.SG can:COND preserve:INF
 'He reasoned how he could hide that money.'

In order to describe systems of logophoricity in Latvian it is most useful to focus on corpora of sufficient length from a single speaker or author. This method is partly pursued by Nau (2006), who uses data from a single speaker from Viļāni in Central Latgalia as one major source. In order to trace logophoricity in Literary Latvian, Andrievs Niedra is a natural starting point, since he uses logophoricity more consistently than Reinis and Matīss Kaudzīte (born in Vecpiebalga) and Rūdolfs Blaumanis (born in Ērgļi), who also originated from Eastern Vidzeme. As far as I know there is no other author who has left such a large corpus where logophoricity is used so consistently in Latvian literature, and so this motivates the choice of Andrievs Niedra's works.

Niedra is a controversial author, not only because—as Berelis (1999, 37) puts it—his most complex novel, which is open to very different kinds of interpretations, is his own biography. He was a highly controversial politician—among other things, the Prime Minister of the German puppet government during the Latvian war of independence in 1919. He was sentenced to prison in 1924 and later expelled from Latvia. Niedra was a very productive author of novels and short stories and he started writing much and rapidly very early to pay for his high school education. His novels—with both contemporary and historical motifs—describe the struggle of individuals who are exposed to rapid social change. The characters, however, often embody ideologies at the same time. Niedra's style is at least sometimes clearly polyphonic (but he is no Dostojevskij). Other sides are humoristic short stories with unexpected turns (but he is no Chekhov) and autobiographic work where there is a strong focus on anec-

dots. Most important for our purposes is that there are a lot of speech reports and that Niedra's work is characterized by a rather consistent style throughout works of very different kinds. Throughout the work, there are many dialogues and many instances of reported speech. The style can be characterized as realistic.

The following works by Andrievs Niedra are considered in this paper:

- Two novels: *Liduma dūmos* [In the smoke of the cleared woodland] and *Kad mēness dilst* [When the moon is waning].
- Two longer stories: *Māras josta* [Mary's belt] and *Zemnieka dēls*. [A peasant's son].
- Two short stories: *Jankus Marcinkevičs* and *Kā Purvienā pazuda inteliģence* [How the intellectual elite of Purviene disappeared].
- Two autobiographic works: *Mana bērnība* [My childhood] and *Mani puikas gadi* [My boyhood years].

See also the list of sources at the end of this paper. The corpus has not been digitized; rather the author of this paper has read the whole corpus in the form of Gutenbergian books.

Let us now first consider two entirely different types of reports, the second of which is usually neglected in the literature on logophoricity.

2. Allophoric and autophoric report constructions

In Niedra's variety of Latvian there are two rather different report constructions, which I will term here "allophoric" and "autophoric" (Table 3).⁵ In allophoric reports (1, 3) the speaker of the report is different from the frame speaker. The frame speaker is expressed by a first person pronoun (nominative *es*, oblique stem *man-*) and the report speaker is expressed by the logophoric pronoun *šis*. The verb is in the evidential. In autophoric reports (4) the frame speaker is the same as the report speaker which is expressed by a first person pronoun, but to the extent the addressee of the report is different from the addressee of the matrix—which is usually the case—the report addressee is expressed by the logophoric pronoun *šis*. In autophoric reports, there is no evidential, and the report

⁵ Allophoric and autophoric logophoric constructions can be viewed as specific instances of a more schematic general logophoric construction in a taxonomic hierarchy of constructions (Croft 2001, 25) from which they inherit the general property of using a logophoric pronoun.

is often, but not obligatorily, introduced by the particle *sak*, glossed here SAY, which derives from the first person present indicative *saku* of the verb *sacīt* ‘to say’.⁶

Table 3. Allophoric and autophoric report constructions in Niedra’s idiolect

	Allophoric report construction	Autophoric report construction
Meaning	Speech by somebody different from the narrator is reported	Frame speaker reports what s/he has said or thought on an earlier occasion
Form	Logophoric pronoun for report speaker (and in questions sometimes for report addressee) Evidential	Logophoric pronoun for report addressee No evidential Particle <i>sak</i> (optional)

The examples (3–5) are all from the same story as (1). Autophoric report thus means, in this story, that the policeman tells what he had said himself earlier in the course of the narrated events; allophoric report means that somebody else’s speech is reported.

- (3) Allophoric report, logophoric pronoun for report speaker
(KPPI 183)

Muižkungs *gribēja* *zināt,* *kā*
estate.manager:NOM.SG want:PST.3 know:INF how
{*es* *ticis* *šiem* *uz pēdām.*}
1SG:NOM get:EVID.PST.SG.M LOG:DAT.PL.M on track:DAT.PL
‘The estate manager wanted to know {how I had tracked them(LOG) (= the estate manager and his friends) down}’.

⁶ This particle also occurs in different use in other varieties of Latvian, notably for attributing a certain thought to a person which is inferred from this person’s behavior (Holvoet 2007, 124). In this use it derives from *saka* ‘say.PRS.3’ (Holvoet 2007, 124). In the use discussed here, *sak* might also derive from the third person, but it is occasionally used together with *es* ‘I’ (*es sak*)—attested once in LD—which makes the first person more likely as origin.

- (4) Autophoric report, logophoric pronoun for report addressee
(KPPI 179)

...*sak*, {*es* *šo* *izvadāšu* *ar* *savu*
SAY 1SG:NOM LOG:ACC.SG drive:FREQ.FUT.1SG with RPO.ACC.SG
zirgu.}
horse.ACC.SG

‘[This is why I wanted to convince the pastor that he should visit and cheer up the afflicted families who had lost their fathers so suddenly] (I said) I would take him(LOG) (= the pastor) around with my horse.’

The two constructions have in common that the logophoric pronoun is used for a speech act participant of the report who is not at the same time a speech act participant of the frame. Only one participant can be marked logophorically, following a hierarchy speaker > addressee. This is why the addressee can be marked logophorically only if the report speaker is excluded for logophoric marking (being at the same time the frame speaker) or—as we will see below—if the report speaker does not figure in the report. This is illustrated in example (5), which contains a sequence of an autophoric report (5a) followed by an allophoric report (5b). The person referred to by the logophoric pronoun is the same (logophoric continuity). In (5a) she is the report addressee, as is characteristic of questions, and in (5b) she is the report speaker. The report speaker of (5a) is the narrator of the story, and there is no evidential marking on the verb since the speaker of the report is the (imagined) storyteller.

- (5) Autophoric and allophoric report in sequence (KPPI 173)

a. {*Kā šī* *to* *tā* *var* *zināt?*}
how LOG.NOM.SG.F that:ACC.SG thus can:PRS.3 know:INF
b. {*Jā, šī* *redzējusi* *jau* *pagājušo*
yes, LOG.NOM.SG.F see:EVID.PST.SG.F already last:ACC.SG.DEF
nedēļu [...]}
week:ACC.SG

‘[In the end it came out that she (= the wife of the police chef who had disappeared) had her own intelligence. {Her (LOG) husband was not dead, but here in town with the pub’s hostess... She (= the hostess) had been trying to seduce him from her for a long time.} This now was something new.] (4a) {How did she

{(LOG) know this?} (4b) {Yes, she (LOG) had seen already last week [that the hostess had made such eyes at her (LOG) husband...]}'

It is important to emphasize that the reports in (5) lack report openers and antecedents. Introductions can therefore not be considered obligatory components of logophoric constructions in Latvian. Examples such as (5) are crucial for understanding that logophoricity, at least in the Circum-Baltic area, is not a strategy for marking coreference (see Section 8 for examples without report openers in Leivu).⁷

An autophoric report can lack reference to the frame speaker, especially if it is a question, such as (5a), or scolding or combinations of questioning and scolding at the same time, such as (6). Scolding is often very close to questions because it tends to be construed in terms of questions.

(6) Autophoric report with reproach (MPG 230)

[...] *sāku* *viņus* *rāt*, *sak*, {*vai tad*
 start:PST.1SG 3:ACC.PL.M SCOLD:INF SAY Q then
šie *var* *ar* *vairs* *jel* *maz*
 LOG.NOM.PL.M can:PRS.3 also more PTC at all
balsis *pacelt...* *šie* *tak* *ir*
 voice:ACC.PL raise:INF LOG.NOM.PL.M EMPH be:PRS.3
iedzērušies!}
 drunk.NOM.PL.M.REFL

'[They drank beer and sang "Let's raise our voices and sing". I stopped at the fence and] started to scold them {"You guys cannot raise your voices at all... you are drunk"}.'

Reference to report addressees is not restricted to autophoric reports, but occurs even in allophoric reports if the report speaker is not mentioned in the report. This is characteristic for questions (7) and reproach-

⁷ Logophoricity is often viewed as a coreference device along with phenomena such as reflexivity and switch-reference. Güldemann (2003, 370) is an example of a coreference-oriented definition: "Logophoric markers are defined here as formal devices that regularly indicate the coreference of a nominal in the non-direct quote to the speaker encoded in the accompanying quotative construction, as opposed to its non-coreference indicated by another, usually unmarked pronominal device" (Güldemann 2003, 370). Coreference-based definitions are misguided in view of the very important examples of logophoricity without report openers, and these are not restricted to the Baltic region. See, for instance, Hellwig (2011, 446) for the Chadic language Goemai where "the use of logophoric pronouns alone can signal the shift to a speech context".

es (8). The use of logophoric pronouns for second person in questions is also attested elsewhere in Latvian (see Nau 2006).

- (7) Allophoric report with question with logophoric addressee
(MB 74)

[...] *mācītājs* *bij* *jautājis*, {*vai*
pastor:NOM.SG be:PST.3 ask.PA.PST.NOM.SG.M Q
šis *dziedāt ar varot*}?
LOG.NOM.SG.M sing:INF also can:EVID.PRS
'The pastor had asked whether {he also could sing}.'

- (8) Logophoric report addressee and logophoric report speaker
(LD 330)

[...] *norāja* [...] *Lūciju*, *tādēļ*, {*ka šī*
scold:PST.3 Lucia:ACC because_of_this that LOG.NOM.SG.F
palikusi *tik ilgi* *nomodā*}?
stay:EVID.PST.SG.F so long:ADV waking:LOC
uz viņu *gaididama*}?, *un lūdza*, {*lai*
on 3SG.ACC wait:CVB.SG.F and ask:PST.3 HORT
nokavētās *vakariņas* *šim* *liekot*
late:ACC.PL.F.DEF dinner:ACC.PL LOG.DAT.SG.M put/let:EVID.PRS
pasniegt rakstāmā *istabā*.}
reach:INF write:PP.PRS.LOC.SG room:LOC.SG
'[Zandens...] scolded Lucija [in a polite manner] because she had remained awake so long waiting for him and asked (her) to let him bring the late dinner to the writing room.'

(8) contains two allophoric reports, in the first, a reproach, which is very close to a question ("Why did you remain awake?"), the logophoric pronoun refers to the report addressee, and in the second one, which is a request, the logophoric pronoun refers to the report speaker. Interestingly, it is not entirely clear where the reported reproach ends—whether "waiting for him", which contains a reference to the report speaker, is still a part of the report. It is a non-finite construction with a participle and as such depends syntactically on the report, which speaks in favor of counting it as a part of the report. However, it might also be interpreted as additional clarifying information for the reader. Zandens probably just said: "Why did you remain awake?" rather than "Why did you remain awake waiting for me?" However, the first and principal part of the report does not contain any reference to the report speaker and is question-like,

and in such contexts the logophoric pronoun tends to be used for the report addressee and cannot be used then in the same report for the report speaker.

However, not in all questions does the logophoric pronoun mark the report addressee. Reported questions with a prominent reference to the report speaker tend to express the report speaker logophorically, as in (9):⁸

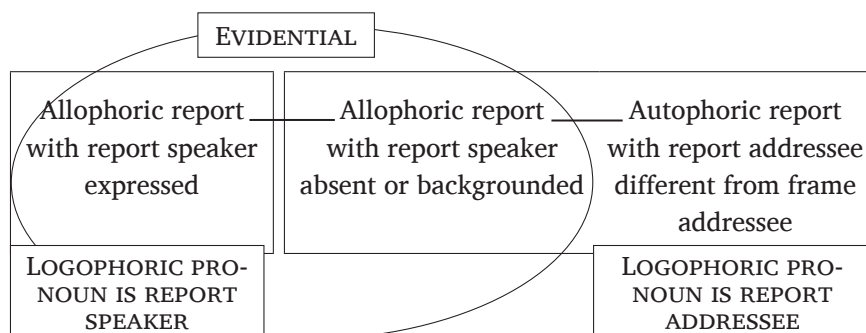
- (9) Reported question with logophoric report speaker (MPG 182)
- [...] *un nikni bārās ar mūsu*
 and angrily scold.PST.3.REFL with our
 »*namamāti*«: {*kas te esot gulējis*
 landlady:ACC.SG who here be.EVID.PRS sleep.PA.PST.SG.M
šās gultā?}
 LOG.GEN.SG.F bed:LOC.SG
 ‘[A woman_i, a stranger, was standing by the side of my wide
 bed] and was arguing angrily with our landlady: who had been
 sleeping in her_i (LOG) bed.’

To summarize, there are two constructions differing in the use of evidential, allophoric report with evidential and autophoric report without evidential. The use of logophoric pronouns for second person splits autophoric reports into two types. Where the report speaker is absent or backgrounded, allophoric reports behave like autophoric reports. This can be framed in the form of a simple semantic map (Figure 1).

Autophoric reports are relevant for the discussion of logophoricity only to the extent that addressees can be marked logophorically. This is typologically rare, but there is a parallel to Niedra’s Latvian in Finnish. (However, addressees in logophoric constructions in Finnish can also be marked by second person indexing as in Latgalian.) Laitinen (2005) gives examples for logophorically marked addressees both in allophoric reports (11) and in autophoric reports (10), however, without distinguishing the two functions. Like in Niedra’s Latvian, there can be logophoric continuity across a sequence of question and answer in Finnish (11).

⁸ Nau (2006, 77) argues that it is not common for a speaker to ask someone else questions about themselves, but a question mentioning the report speaker need not be a question about the report speaker, it can be a question about something that belongs to the report speaker such as (9) which is not in any way a strange or rare type of question.

Figure 1. Semantic map of reports in Niedra's Latvian idiolect



- (10) Finnish: Autophoric report with logophoric addressee (Laitinen 2005, 83)

minä esit-i-n tä-lle lääkäri-lle että {jos hän
 I propose-PST-1SG this-ALLAT doctor-ALLAT that if LOG
tarkasta-is minu-wa vähäise.}
 examine-COND.3 me-PRT a_bit

‘I proposed to this doctor that s/he could examine me a little.’

- (11) Finnish: Logophoric continuity in allophoric report (Laitinen 2005, 85)

[...] ja kysy-neet että {mistä on hän ja kuka
 and ask-PA.PST.PL that whence be:PRS.3SG LOG and who
hän on.} No se, että {ei hän
 LOG be:PRS.3SG well s/he that NEG.3SG LOG
etäältä ole [...] }
 from_far be:CONEG

‘[...] and they asked where he came from and who he was. Well, he’s like: he doesn’t come from far away [...]’

There is however a difference between Finnish dialects and Niedra’s idiolect of Latvian in that the same clause can occasionally contain logophoric markers for both speaker and addressee. Setälä (1883) has a single example of that kind:

- (12) Finnish, Ruovesi (Pirkanmaa) dialect: two logophoric markers (Setälä 1883, 88)

Se sano s-ille, että hän tappa-a hän-en.
 s/he say:PRS.3SG s/he-ALLAT that LOG kill-PRS.3SG LOG-ACC
 ‘S/he told him/her: “I will kill you”.’

The semantic map in Figure 1 holds both for Latvian and Finnish with the reservation that Finnish does not have any evidential distinguishing between allophoric and autophoric report constructions.

3. Alternatives to logophoric pronouns and what logophoric pronouns are really good for

It is usually argued that the function of logophoric pronouns is to disambiguate the reference to persons in speech reports, either between speakers or non-speakers (logophoric pronoun vs. pronoun for third person) or between participants of frame speech and reported speech (first/second person pronouns vs. logophoric pronouns; Bhat 2004, 61; Nau 2006, 80). However, as soon as logophoric pronouns are considered in their natural discourse environment rather than in constructed isolated examples, there is very rarely any need of disambiguation and in a language with gender distinction, such as Latvian, the masculine-feminine distinction is certainly as important for disambiguation as logophoric pronouns. It is also important to point out that in many instances there is only one possible referent where no disambiguation is required. The principal function of the logophoric pronoun, then, is rather to signal that there is a report (discourse marking of report).⁹ Consider (13) where the third person pronoun of the report opener and the logophoric pronoun, which are coreferential, are immediately adjacent.

(13) Logophoric pronoun signals report (zD 39)

Bet viņš: {šis esot vienu
 but 3:NOM.SG.M LOG.NOM.SG.M be:EVID.PRS one:ACC.SG
paaudzi par agri piedzimis... šis
 generation:ACC.SG too early:ADV born:NOM.SG.M LOG.NOM.SG.M

⁹ Another way to put this is to say that logophoric pronouns are a voicing device, that is, an indicator that we are hearing the voice of a character who is not the narrator, as argued by Nau (2008,104). However, Nau’s approach has the disadvantage that it does not include autophoric reports.

rakstišot nākamam augumam. }
 write:EVID.FUT coming:DAT.SG.M generation:DAT.SG
 ‘But he’s like: I was born one generation too early... I will write
 for the next generation.’

An important reason why logophoric pronouns cannot be said to be fully disambiguating in any variety of Latvian is that Latvian is a pro-drop language. Actually the absence of any pronoun is often a more reliable cue for reference tracking than the presence of a logophoric pronoun, since absence of subject pronouns usually indicates same subject; put differently, the presence and absence of the pronoun is used for switch reference. (For the relationship between switch-reference and logophoricity see Stirling 1993, who, however, does not discuss switch reference based on pro-drop.)¹⁰

Pro-drop marking coreference is illustrated in (14) from a zombie story. It is unclear, however, whether a logophoric pronoun would be used here if there were an overt pronoun, since here we are dealing with an untypical case of report: an interpretation of what has been said. A logophoric pronoun here could clearly mark that this is a report. Reference tracking, however, is efficiently served in (14) by dropping the pronoun, which can only mean that the subjects of the two clauses are coreferential.

(14) Pro-drop disambiguating reference (MB 91)

[...] ar to meita apzīmējusi, ka
 with this:ACC.SG girl:NOM.SG express:EVID.PST that
{puisi apēdišot} [...]
 boy:ACC.SG up:eat:EVID.FUT

[The girl(a zombie) said the prayer, but instead of “amen” she said “am!”. This means eating in children’s speech.] With this she expressed that she will eat up the boy [as soon as she would get in.]

Logophoric pronouns do not exist in order to disambiguate, but are an effective compromise solution where none of the most obvious choices—

¹⁰ Interestingly, pro-drop and logophoric pronouns have different effects regarding emphasis. Pro-drop is obviously less emphatic. In many African languages, however, logophoric pronouns derive from emphatic pronouns (von Roncador 1988, 254), so logophoric pronouns are rather more emphatic than their non-logophoric counterparts.

third person or first/second person—really fits (see also von Roncador 1988, 296 for logophoricity as a compromise).

Now, if neither first and second person pronouns nor third pronouns are favorable strategies to express report speech participants which are not at the same time frame speech act participants and if logophoric pronouns fill the gap for report speakers, the question arises as to how the gap is filled for report addressees (the question mark in Table 4).

Table 4. How to encode report addressees in an optimal manner?

	Report and frame speech act participant	Report, but not frame speech act participant	Neither frame nor report speech act participant
Speaker	1st person	LOG	3rd person
Addressee	2nd person	?	

As we have seen in Section 2, a possible solution is to extend the logophoric pronoun to the report addressee in case it is not needed for the report speaker. Another strategy is to drop the report addressee (as in the final clause in (1)). As is common in Latgale (Nau 2006), in Finnish dialects and in Aghem (Niger-Congo, Bantoid; Cameroon; Hyman 1959, 51; von Roncador 1986, 3), some varieties also keep logophoric discourse very close to report deixis and combine the logophoric pronoun for report speaker with the second person pronoun for addressee.¹¹ However, there is also another possibility, using non-deictic nouns which are suitable for addressing, such as titles and kinship terms. I will use here the term “addresser” to refer to them. The multiplicity of possible strategies is summarized in Table 5.

While second person markers are dedicated to the expression of the addressee and third person markers to the expression of non-speech participants, addressers are of a more amphibious nature. Titles and kinship

¹¹ If both a report speaker and a report addressee have to be expressed, there is much variation across Latvian. Already Augstkalns (1934) points out that in the Latgalian dialects of Barkava and Viļāni, the second person is used for the report speaker while some other High Latvian dialects use third person (see Nau 2006 for more details and discussion). In the dialect of Zvirgzdine, however, the report speaker in allophoric reports can be expressed by the first person if it is possessive (Augstkalns 1934, 54). This is attested also in Finnish (Setälä 1883, 179, lines 14–15).

terms can both be used for addressing and for reference. It is therefore not surprising that addressers frequently occur as markers for report addressees as in (15). In (15) the use of the noun *mācītājs* ‘pastor’ effectively removes the need to choose between a second person, logophoric, or third person pronoun. The use of the title is moreover a negative politeness strategy, which contrasts with the threat to the addressee’s face by the message of the report. Note that the addresser *mācītājs* ‘pastor’ is used both outside and inside the report, which testifies to the non-deictic nature of addressers.

Table 5. How to encode report addressees

	Report and frame speech act participant	Report, but not frame speech act participant	Neither frame nor report speech act participant
Speaker	1st person	LOG	
Addressee	2nd person	addressers; LOG ; zero; 2nd person; 3rd person	3rd person

(15) Addresser (title) for report addressee (KPPI 179)

Tādēļ es mācītājam pastāstīju skaidri,
 this_is_why 1SG.NOM pastor:DAT.SG tell:PST.1SG clearly
{kādās aizdomās tie kungi
 which:LOC.PL.F suspicion:LOC.PL that:NOM.PL gentleman:NOM.PL
un arī pats mācītājs ir
 and also self:NOM.SG.M pastor:NOM.SG be:PRS.3
ņemti [...] }
 take:PP.PST.NOM.PL.M

‘This is why I explained clearly to the pastor what suspicions those gentlemen and also the pastor himself were under [...]’

As it happens that interlocutors often are relatives, kinship terms are also quite effective addressers. In (16) *māte* ‘mother’ is used for the addressee. In the continuation of the report given only in translation, the report addressee is dropped. The report speaker is the daughter.

(16) Kinship term for report addressee (MJ 88)

[...] {*lai nedomājot, ka šī*
 HORT NEG:think:EVID.PRS that LOG.NOM.SG.F
nezinot, ko māte meklējot
 NEG:KNOW:EVID:PRS what:ACC mother:NOM.SG search:EVID.PRS
pa pirti. [...] }
 in sauna:ACC.SG

‘She (= the mother) should not think that she (= the daughter) did not know what the mother was looking for in the sauna. [She (= the mother) was waiting herself for young men and yet then accused respectable people of being disgraceful.]

In (17) the report consists of a question followed by a statement. In the question the report addressee is expressed by the logophoric pronoun, in the statement the report speaker. The speaker is the addressee’s mother and in the question the report speaker is referred to by *māte* ‘mother’ and in the statement the report addressee by *dēls* ‘son’. Kinship terms are different from titles in that they are suitable not only for the expression of addressees but also for speakers. This holds in particular for “mother” frequently used in child-directed speech for avoiding the use of shifting deictic pronouns (Bhat 2004, 31).

(17) Kinship terms for report speech participants not covered by logophoric pronouns (MJ 93)

[...] {*kādēļ šīs tik reti nākot pie*
 why LOG.NOM.SG.M so rarely come:EVID.PRS to
mātes?} {*Jaunkundze arī dažu*
 mother:GEN.SG damsel:NOM.SG also many:ACC.SG
vakaru ienākot pie šās
 evening:ACC.SG in:come:EVID.PRS to LOG.GEN.SG.F
pirti un apvaicājoties par dēlu. [...] }
 sauna:LOC.SG and ask:EVID.PRS.REFL about son:ACC.SG

‘[Now the sauna-woman had to go once more across the River Daugava to visit her son:] {Why did he visit her (= the mother) so rarely?} {The damsel would also come many a night to her to the sauna and would ask about him (= the son).}’

The use of addressers for report addressees is also attested in Leivu Estonian (see Section 8, (41), line 3) and in Finnish. In (18) the report ad-

dressee is a thief who is mistaken for God by the pastor and is addressed God Almighty in the report. The logophoric pronoun is occupied by the report speaker.

- (18) Finnish, Ruovesi dialect: NP instead of pronoun in report (Setälä 1883, 175)

No kirkkoherra rupe-s sitte pyytä-än, että
 well pastor begin-PST.3 then ask-3INF:ILL that
 {*hyvä Jumala ve-is hän-en taivaa-seen.*}
good God bring_away-COND.3 LOG.SG-ACC sky-ILL
 ‘[The thief poses as God.] Then, the pastor started asking whether God Almighty would take him to heaven.’

Like logophoric pronouns, addressers are non-deictic marking strategies, which makes both of them suitable for intermediate cases between speech act and non-speech act participant as represented by the mismatch of report and frame speakers and addressees. They differ in their degree of grammatical entrenchment. Logophoric pronouns are a grammatical avoidance strategy where neither first and second nor third person pronouns fit well because there is a mismatch between frame and report speech participants. Addressers are a lexical strategy for similar purposes. Their orientation toward addressees makes them a suitable complement to logophoric pronouns, which are more properly oriented toward speakers.

Further evidence comes from the West Chadic languages Mupun and Goemai, where logophoric pronouns for addressees have grammaticalized from nouns. In Mupun, *gwar* LOG.AD.SG.M is related to the word for ‘man’ and *paa* LOG.AD.SG.F to ‘young woman’ (Frajzyngier 1985, 1993, 118; Hellwig 2011, 89). There is evidence that logophoric pronouns for addressees in Mupun and Goemai have developed more recently than logophoric pronouns for speakers.

Finally, it must be pointed out that Niedra’s Latvian is also equipped with an archaic reference tracking strategy where the report speaker—if it is a subject and if it is coreferential with the subject of the report opener—can be expressed by the reflexive form of the verb *teikt* ‘say’ as in (19). The verb of the report is then expressed by an infinitive.

- (19) “Logophoric” middle (MJ 100)

[...] *jauneklis teicās nākamo*
 young_man:NOM.SG say:PST.3.REFL coming:ACC.SG.DEF

dienu jāt precībās.

day:ACC.SG ride:INF courting:LOC.PL

‘The young man said that he would go courting the next day.’

This construction is called “logophoric middle” by Kemmer (1993, 83). The term “logophoric” has to be taken with a grain of salt here. Unlike logophoric pronouns, the “logophoric” middle is a coreference-based marking strategy. It can be used only if the report speaker is coreferential with the subject of the report opener, and it cannot occur in a speech report without an introduction. It is thus not logophoric strictly speaking, but has a similar function (see also Bhat 2004, 67–74). I will therefore use the term in quotation marks. For the “logophoric” middle in Lithuanian, Old Slavic and Icelandic see Section 9. The Lithuanian and Latvian reflexive form with infinitive obviously derives from an object with infinitive construction where the reflexive marker originally was an accusative form of a reflexive pronoun governed by the verb of saying (“logophoric reflexive” in Latin). In East Baltic, the reflexive suffix, however, derives from the dative form. The Slavic and Baltic languages also use nominative with participle constructions in such contexts (Endzelīns 1951, 1009). What is specific for the Latvian variety under consideration here is that the “logophoric” middle is restricted to one single lexicalized verb.

To summarize, logophoric pronouns are not the only device for reference tracking in reports in Latvian. Gender and number are often more efficient in this function. Logophoricity competes with pro-drop which can indicate coreference very effectively, and, in addition, there is the archaic “logophoric” middle construction for reference tracking. The specific principal function of logophoric pronouns, however, is to mark reports. In reports there are mismatches between speech act participants and non-speech act participants, where frame speaker and frame addressee are not the same as report speaker and report addressee. This is why first person and third person pronouns are not ideal markers for indicating report speakers, and logophoric pronouns can be interpreted as grammatically entrenched avoidance strategies in contexts where neither first nor third person pronouns really fit. Addressers (especially titles and kinship terms) are another kind of avoidance strategy, especially suitable for report addressees. This is why logophoric pronouns for report speakers are often complemented by addressers for report addressees in reports.

4. The extension of allophoric and autophoric report to non-speech contexts

According to Nau (2006, 70) the restriction of logophoric pronouns to reported speech is very pronounced. No extension along Stirling's hierarchy (1993, 259) or Culy's (2002, 202) refined hierarchy to thought, psychological state and perception could be observed in Nau's data. In this section it will be shown that in Niedra's Latvian the extension of allophoric report with logophoric pronouns to thought (see also example (2) from Jaunciems) and other non-speech domains is well attested, even though not frequent in comparison with speech contexts and even if the reported thoughts and feelings are rather close to speech reports. For autophoric reports, however, it is quite characteristic to be extended to thought, especially when introduced with the particle *sak* '(I) say' in Niedra's texts. I will first discuss allophoric report with logophoric pronouns, starting with examples which are closest to speech.

First, it is maybe not trivial, but not particularly surprising that non-verbal communication with gestures between people without any language in common qualifies as report, as in the novel *When the moon is waning* where a Latvian messenger who does not speak German is sent to Germany:

(20) Logophoric pronoun for gesturer (KMD 36)

[...] *rādīja ar zīmēm, {ka šīs*
 show:PST.3 with sign:DAT.PL that LOG.NOM.SG.M
gribējis zirgus ievest stallī}.
 want:EVID.PST.SG.M horse:NOM.PL in:lead:INF stable:LOC.SG
 '[...] he showed with gestures that he wanted to bring the horses to the stable.'

Second, it is, of course, not sufficient for establishing a domain of thought that there are examples such as (21) with a thought verb in the opener if these examples actually reflect speech reports (see also example (1) in Section 1).

(21) Logophoric pronoun in report introduced with verb of thought (LD 63)

[...] *bij iedomājies, ka {šīm šonakt*
 be.PST3 in:think:PA.PST.SG.M.REFL that LOG.DAT.SG tonight

katrā ziņā jātiēkot mājās...
 any:LOC.SG respect:LOC.SG DEB:get:EVID.PRS home:LOC.PL
šis braukšot pats.}
 LOG.NOM.SG.M go_by_vehicle:EVID.PRS self:NOM.SG.M
 ‘[Vestfal junior] had thought that he had to get home tonight in
 any case... He would go alone. [This intention also distressed
 Lucia.]’

(21) must be a speech report. If the intention had not been communicated, it would not have caused distress in another person.

However, in example (22), Maria is alone and not speaking, but thinking. It could be argued that thought is framed in terms of inner speech here.

(22) Logophoric pronoun in thought (LD 125)

[...] viņa nevarēja saprast, {kādēļ}
 3:NOM.SG.F NEG:can:PST.3 understand:INF why
šī nupat viņam teikusi tādas
 LOG.NOM.SG.F just 3:DAT.SG.M say:EVID.PST.SG.F SUCH:ACC.PL.F
muļķības... [...] }
 nonsense:ACC.PL
 ‘[...] and she could not understand why she just had told him
 such nonsense [...]’

The reported thoughts and feelings that are attested in Niedra’s texts have in common that it cannot be excluded that they could have been uttered as a kind of inner monologue. They are often framed in form of questions to oneself. What (22) and (23) have in common is that the reported thoughts are reflections about earlier events. Thus, in a way they are thought reports, which brings them closer to speech reports. Note also the use of the evidential in (23), which also brings the example closer to a speech report. Examples such as these suggest that Stirling’s and Culy’s hierarchies are too wide-meshed for logophoricity in Latvian. Not all types of thoughts can be marked logophorically in Latvian.

Example (23) is further remarkable in that the logophoric pronoun can here be interpreted both as report speaker and as report addressee, since there is a question addressed to the speaker by himself.

(23) Logophoric pronoun in feeling (LD 287)

Strautmalim gan pāra reizes uzmacās
 Strautmalis:DAT though couple time:ACC.PL force:PST.3.REFL
jūtas, {vai tik šis neesot
 feeling:NOM.PL Q only LOG.NOM.SG.M NEG:be:EVID.PRS
aktieris}.
 actor:NOM.SG

‘Several times, however, the feeling occurred to Strautmalis whether he was not an actor.’

In example (24), however, there is no explicit report speaker and hence the logophoric pronoun refers to a pseudo-addressee. I would like to warn the reader that I am adducing an example which is deeply rooted in politically incorrect patriarchal thinking. The thinking goes as follows: a man elevates the woman he chooses to marry whereas a woman degrades the man she chooses to marry because there is always this unspoken question everybody thinks but nobody utters explicitly why the man she has had first did not marry her. This unspoken thought is interestingly construed with the (absent) man who did not marry the woman as an addressee. Since the only opener is a speech noun *jautājums* ‘question’ with syntactic valency zero, it is not clear who is speaking. It cannot therefore be decided whether this is an allophoric or an autophoric report (the lack of evidential marking suggests the latter).

(24) Extension of logophoric addressee to thought (LD 405)

Vienmēr taču paliek pēdējā gadījumā tas
 always thus remain:PRS.3 last:LOC.SG case:LOC.SG that:NOM.SG
jautājums... {Vai nu šis negribēja
 question:NOM.SG Q PTC LOG.NOM.SG.M NEG:want:PST.3
sevi saistīt, vai arī nevarēja}
 himself.ACC bind:FREQ.INF OR also NEG:can:PST.3

[...whereas the woman who had intercourse with others, degrades the man, who marries her later.] In the last case there remains always that question [why she did not become the wife of that one whom she—strictly speaking—already belonged.] {Whether he did not want to bind himself or whether he could not.}’

Of course, there is also the possibility that (24) is not logophoric at

all and we have to look for another interpretation of *šis* here, such as, for instance, pejorative (see example (32) below for discussion of this use).

Finally, it is important to point out that not all reports are framed as reports. In (25) there is no logophoric pronoun and no evidential, which are the hallmarks of the allophoric report construction. However, the allophoric report construction with its evidential marking is not appropriate for the expression of an unquestionable truth or presupposition. Put differently, it is not factive and the meaning to be expressed in (25) is factive, which is why *kas šis esot* ‘who.LOG be:EVID.PRS’ would be odd (see, e.g., Kiefer 1986 for the relevance of factivity in speech reports).

(25) Factive context without logophoric marking (KMD 198)

*Ar mokām Ješka varēja izstāstīt, {kas viņš
with pain:DAT.PL Ješka:NOM can:PST.3 tell:INF who 3:NOM.SG.M
ir}.*
be:PRS.3

‘Only with pain could Ješka tell who he is.’

Autophoric reports are redundant if the time of frame speech and report speech is the same, and may then be considered a violation of Grice’s maxim of manner (be brief, avoid obscurity of expression). Autophoric reports thus have a tendency to become something else than reports as they—by conversational implicature—extend their meaning from report to thought. Put differently, what looks like a report, a pseudo-quotation,¹² is actually something else, a thought or psychological state. (26) and (27) are examples for psychological states motivated by pseudo-quotations.¹³

(26) Pseudo-quotation for psychological state (LD 75)

*Es biju gluži nobēdājies, sak, {nu
1SG.NOM be:PST.1SG rather depressed:NOM.SG.M.REFL SAY NOW
aizkavēsimies ar darbiem [...]}*
retard:FUT.1PL.REFL with work:DAT.PL

‘I was rather depressed, like, now we will be in default with the work [...]’

¹² The term “pseudo-quotation” is taken from Davies’ (1981, 4) Kobon (Trans-New Guinea, Madang Province of Papua New Guinea) grammar. Pseudo-quotations are constructions which look like quotations formally, but are used for functions other than to report speech.

¹³ Nicole Nau points out to me that this is probably the most typical use of *sak* in modern Latvian. In non-standard varieties the form *tipa* [type.GEN.SG] ‘of the type, of the kind’ is used in a similar function.

(27) Pseudo-quotation for psychological state (LD 119)

[...] *tad pašam tiek kauns, sak:*
 then self:DAT.SG.M get:PRS.SG shame:NOM.SG SAY
 {*vietu tu aizņem, bet izpildīt*
 place:ACC.SG 2SG.NOM occupy:PRS.2SG but out:fill:INF
viņas nevari}.
 3:GEN.SG.F NEG:can:PRS.2SG

‘[When I look back at my work during the week on Saturday evenings] then I am ashamed of myself: like, you occupy a place, but you cannot fill it.’

Example (27) is interesting in that the speaker and the addressee of the pseudo-report are the same person, coded with second person reference. Such “talking to oneself” is not uncommon in autophoric pseudo-reports. Example (28) is very complex. It is a pseudo-report which looks like a thought which is actually not really a thought, but a polite request. What is said is only framed as a thought as a negative politeness strategy in order to mitigate the imposition on the hearer.

(28) Pseudo-quotation for thought, same addressee in matrix and report (LD 371)

Es domāju, sak, {jūs varbūt pašī
 1SG.NOM think:PRS.1SG SAY 2PL.NOM maybe self:NOM.PL.M
savā labā... varētu mums nākt
 RPO:LOC.SG good:LOC.SG can:COND 1PL.DAT come:INF
drusku palīgā...}
 a_bit:ACC.SG helper:LOC.SG

‘[But such things cost money.] I am thinking, you maybe for your own advantage—could help us a little bit.’

The examples (26–28) do not contain any logophoric pronouns, and this is no mere coincidence. Logophoric pronouns in autophoric reports can only be used for currently absent addressees, and thoughts and feelings do not usually have currently absent addressees.

We can summarize: constructions expressing speech reports in Latvian can be extended to thought, but the construction which has gone farthest in this development, the autophoric pseudo-quotation, has a strong tendency not to use logophoric pronouns in the extended uses. However, it is not true that logophoric pronouns cannot be used for the expression

of thoughts in Latvian. Rather, the hierarchies proposed in the literature are too wide-meshed to account for the situation in Niedra's idiolect of Latvian, where some types of thoughts and feelings can be framed in terms of reports with logophoric pronouns.

5. Complex contexts with more than one report, and, how grammatical is logophoricity in Niedra's idiolect?

In the introduction we have seen an example of a complex context with a report within a report, where it is not sufficient to just consider one frame speech situation and one reported speech situation. The question arising in this context is how logophoricity handles several speakers and addressees in several stacked reports; i.e., in such examples as *Alf said that Ben said that Carl said that Dan said that Ernie said that he_{a/b/c/d/e?} is ill*. The first relevant observation is that there are extremely few examples such as (1) with more than one report in Niedra's writings. This suggests that stacked reporting is not natural sounding and avoided. Rather in such cases new frame speakers will be introduced, such as *Alf said that Ben said: "Carl said that Dan said: "Ernie said..."*. The second relevant observation is that there are too few examples to determine with certainty how the grammar handles logophoricity in cases of stacked speech reports. My hypothesis is that no more than one referent can be coded logophorically in a sequence of stacked reports, but that the grammar does not specify which speaker is coded logophorically (there is no example with more than one speaker referred to logophorically in the same report). This hypothesis has the problem that it is very difficult to falsify it. If we find "free variation" of logophoric or non-logophoric marking in complex contexts—and I would argue that this is what we find in the very few examples there are—it can either be due to the fact that the grammar has specific rules for logophoricity that allow for many different possibilities in complex contexts or it can be due to the fact that logophoricity is not grammatically entrenched at all in complex contexts. The only thing we can conclude for sure is that logophoric pronouns do not serve the function of disambiguating referents in complex contexts; disambiguation of referents is achieved by means of other grammatical devices, such as number in (1) or by contextual cues.

(29) is an instance of a complex context where an outer report speaker is referred to by the non-logophoric third person pronoun. The outer re-

port speaker is the doctoral candidate who replies to the chancellor at the defense of his thesis that the candidate's thoughts are not new. The candidate's report continues over eight long sentences and in the last sentence (not given here) the candidate (report speaker) is referred to by a logophoric pronoun as the grammar requires.

(29) Outer report speaker referred to non-logophorically (KMD 17)

{Tas neesot gluži pareizi, ka {viņa_i
 that NEG:be:EVID.PRS fully correct:ADV that 3:GEN.SG.M
domas tikušas apzīmētas
 thought:NOM.PL become:EVID.PST.PL.F designate:PP.PST.NOM.PL.F
par jaunām,}} — *tā viņš_i runāja.*
 for new:DAT.PL.F thus 3:NOM.SG.M speak:PST.3
 ‘{It is not entirely correct that {his thoughts were called new
 ones}},—so he spoke. [{8 more sentences continuing the re-
 port}]’

Immediately before (29) the chancellor had said that the candidate's thoughts were new. It seems thus possible to interpret “his thoughts were called new ones” as a report within the report, even though the report opener “it is not entirely correct” is highly non-canonical. The evidential does not help for deciding whether there is an inner report because the outer report calls for evidential marking in any case in the whole sequence. If there is no inner report, then the lack of a logophoric marking is a violation of logophoricity. However, since the speech report in its continuation eight sentences later where it is not complex any more contains a logophoric pronoun, (29) is not good evidence for arguing that Niedra uses logophoric pronouns inconsistently. The example rather testifies to the fact that reference tracking does not have a disambiguating function in complex contexts.

Unlike (29), in (30) the outer report speaker is logophorically marked in the inner report. The inner report is impersonal, or, more precisely, has no explicit person as a speaker. The use of a logophoric marker may be enhanced here by logophoric continuity; that is, the same referent is marked logophorically in both outer and inner reports.

(30) Outer report speaker referred to logophorically (KMD 88)

{[...] šim jau pie dzimšanas esot
 LOG.DAT.SG.M already at birth.GEN.SG be:EVID.PRS

teikts, ka {laba gala šis
 say:PP.PST.SG.M that good:GEN.SG end:GEN.SG LOG.NOM.SG.M
neņemšot}. [...] }
 NEG:take:EVID.FUT

‘{ [...] It had been said about him (=the speaker) already at birth that {he (=the speaker) wouldn’t come to a good end}. [...] }’

Seen from a broader perspective, contexts with several stacked reports are instances of unclear logophoricity. There are other constellations where it is not clear whether a referent must be referred to logophorically. In (31), the report speaker is referred to by a third person pronoun. This may seem ungrammatical in a strict logophoric system at first glance. However, the report speaker is at the same time present in the frame speech situation as a non-speech participant. The report speaker is a suitor who has arrived with many jewels to court a girl. The frame speaker is the mother speaking to her daughter in order to convince her to consent to the marriage. In this situation, where it is more important to mark the bystander as a non-participant in the frame speech situation, it seems fully legitimate to refer to him as a third person. It is the very essence of third person to refer to persons who are not speakers or addressees. It would therefore be wrong to say that (31) violates logophoricity.

(31) Third person pronoun in report for bystander (MJ 104)

Viņš_i saka — {viņam_i vēl pilna
 3:NOM.SG.M say:PRS.3 3:DAT.SG.M yet full:NOM.SG.F
lāde esot tādu}.
 chest:NOM.SG be:EVID.PRS such:GEN.PL
 ‘He says he has another chest full of such ones.’

A further reason why the logophoric pronoun *šis* is avoided in (31) might be the pejorative connotation that *šis* sometimes has. This function is mentioned by Endzelīns (1951, 536, §371d). An example with negatively connotated report speakers is (32) where a German large estate owner complains about Latvians.

(32) Pejorative use of logophoric pronoun (LD 334)

{Patstāvīgi šie rikošoties [...] Mācītājus
 independently LOG.NOM.PL.M act:EVID.FUT.REFL pastor:ACC.PL

šie *iecelšot* [...]. *Fabrikas šie*
 LOG.NOM.PL.M appoint:EVID.FUT factory:ACC.PL LOG.NOM.PL.M
dibināšot, *muižas* *pirkšot.* }
 found:EVID.FUT estate:ACC.PL buy:EVID.FUT

‘[“We should not spare them”, Zandens continued after a moment, “Let the law go its course. They have asked for it themselves. They cannot appreciate love and goodwill.] (They are like:) {We will act on our own... [without us, against us... as it turns out.] We will appoint pastors [according to our own wills]. We will start factories, we will buy large estates.}’

Put differently, Latvian logophoric *šis* is not particularly polite; this in contrast to Finnish logophoric *hän* where politeness is a secondary function deriving from logophoricity (Laitinen 2005, 84).

Another kind of problem arises with non-factive speech reports. Is a negated speech report or a speech report in the future really a speech report? Not in terms of presupposing the occurrence of a speech act. A report X usually presupposes that somebody has said X and hence non-factive reports are non-prototypical speech reports. In (33) the problem is avoided by neither using a third person nor a logophoric pronoun, but an addresser (“candidate”) for the report addressee in a question. The report speaker is expressed by a third person pronoun. Note that in (33) the non-factive report is highly formal which does not leave any room for interpreting it as voicing or mimicking speech.

(33) Negated report with a noun instead of a logophoric pronoun (LD 26)

Mācītājs, *lūk,* *nebij* *prasījis,* {*lai*
 pastor:NOM.SG obviously NEG:be:PST.3 ask:PA.PST.SG.M HORT
kandidāts *viņam* *jau* *iepriekš* *lasītu*
 candidate:NOM.SG 3:DAT.SG.M already in_advance read:COND
savu *sprediķi* *priekšā* }.
 RPO:ACC.SG sermon:ACC.SG in_front

‘The pastor, obviously, had not asked the candidate to read him his sermon in advance.’

In (34), however, there is a logophoric pronoun albeit the speech report is denied. (34) is interesting also in that the report opener consists of a nominalized speech verb. The nominalized speech verb has the syn-

tactic valency zero and the speaker has therefore to be inferred from the context.

(34) Logophoric pronoun in a negated report (MJ 99)

[...] *bez teikšanas, kad {šis pie viņas*
 without say:ACN:GEN.SG that LOG.NOM.SG at 3.GEN.SG.F
vairs nerādišoties}
 more NEG:SHOW:EVID.FUT.REFL
 ‘[...] without saying that he would not show up at her place again.’

If I have given, by now, the impression that all instances of an unexpected lack of logophoric pronouns can be explained away in Niedra’s idiolect, then this impression is wrong. There remain a small number of undoubted exceptions, though they are very few. The most obvious one is (35) which immediately precedes (5).

(35) Lacking logophoric pronoun (KPP1 173)

{[...] *Tā jau sen tikojusi*
 that:NOM.SG.F already long_time try:EVID.PST.SG.F
to viņai atvilt.}
 that:ACC:SG 3:DAT.SG.F seduce:INF
 ‘She (= the hostess) had been trying to seduce him (= the speaker’s husband) away from her (= the speaker) for a long time.’

But since at least most of the cases in Niedra’s Latvian where logophoricity fails are in one or another way complex, let us for just a moment reflect on what might be complex about (35). It is a ditransitive construction which refers to three persons at the same time, thus exactly the kind of context where there might be most need of disambiguation. However, the only reliable disambiguation category here is gender which helps to determine that two of the referents are feminine so that the accusative singular form *to*, where gender is not distinguished, can be accommodated with the only man in the situation by context information.

We can thus summarize that logophoric pronouns in Niedra’s Latvian do not do what logophoric pronouns in the literature have been claimed to do: disambiguate referents.

6. The logophoric pronoun and constructions

In the Latgalian varieties described by Nau (2006), the pronoun *šys* has almost exclusively logophoric use.¹⁴ The proximal demonstrative function is covered by another pronoun *itys*.¹⁵ Now the question arises as to how many and what kind of other functions the pronoun *šis* can have in order to still be considered a fully grammatical logophoric pronoun. Two conditions have to be met. The first one is that the third person pronouns are not used in logophoric contexts, and we have seen in Section 5 that this condition is largely met with very few exceptions. The other one is that *šis* is not used in any other function which cannot be clearly distinguished from logophoricity. This condition would be met most easily if there were no other uses of the pronoun. However, I will argue here that *šis* in Niedra's Latvian is almost fully grammatical despite the fact that *šis* occurs in other uses. The reason is that *šis* in Niedra's Latvian is virtually always part of a clearly identifiable broader construction – logophoric or non-logophoric.

In Construction Grammar, constructions are defined as learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function (Goldberg 2006, 5). This definition is too wide for our purposes; even a single word with its meaning such as English *this* 'proximal demonstrative' is a construction. This is why I will use the term "broader construction" here meaning that the pronoun *šis* is always part of a larger unit and that it is this larger unit that is the relevant construction with particular formal properties and a particular meaning or discourse function.

In Niedra's Latvian *šis* is used in the following broader constructions (with decreasing frequency):

- Proximal demonstrative (both deictic and anaphoric uses) only in attributive adnominal position within the noun phrase (e.g., *šo skatienu* 'this:ACC look:ACC', LD 24). **To this construction belong probably even lexicalizations such as *šodien* 'this:ACC:day = today' and maybe the fixed expression *līdz šim* 'until this:DAT.SG.M = until now', which is perhaps a shortening of *līdz šim brīdim* 'until this moment'.**

¹⁴ Except for a few fixed combinations such as *da šuo laika* 'up to this time' (Nau 2014).

¹⁵ Somewhat reminiscent of Russian *ëtot*, which has replaced the older proximal demonstrative *sej* in a parallel development to Latgalian.

- Logophoricity in allophoric and autophoric report constructions (see Table 3 in Section 2) with their characteristic features beyond logophoric pronouns, notably the use of evidential in allophoric reports and the optional particle *sak* in autophoric reports.
- The proximal-distal construction: a form of *šis* ‘this’ is followed by a parallel form of *tas* ‘that’. The forms can be directly adjacent *šo to* ‘this.ACC.SG that:ACC.SG = this and that’ (LD 23) or they can be as distant as in separate sentences. In this construction, and only in this construction, there are also the temporal and local forms *šad* (*šad un tad* ‘now and then’) and *šur* (*šur (un) tur* ‘here and there’ LD 329).
- Copular construction “this is”, only with the copula verb *būt*: *šis ir vienīgais ceļš* ‘this is the only way’ (LD 267). The pronoun *šis* is not particularly frequent in the copular construction. Most often the distal demonstrative *tas* is used.
- For deictic reference to humans in expressive emphatic speech, especially in exclamations. In this use *šis* tends to be reinforced by the adverb *taisni* ‘exactly’ (LD 124, 167) or forms of *pats* ‘self’ (LD 349).

(36) The pronoun *šis* in emphatic speech (LD 167)

[...] *un taisni šis man jāapvaino!*
 and exactly this:NOM.SG.M 1SG.DAT DEB:offend
 ‘[...] and him of all people I have to offend!’

There are very few cases where *šis* cannot be assigned unequivocally to one and only one construction. A possible case of ambiguity is the occurrence of a copular “this is” construction in a logophoric construction where it strictly speaking cannot always be clearly decided whether the use of *šis* is due to logophoricity or to the predicative construction, but in (37), e.g., the use is logophoric beyond any doubt, because the copular construction requires a proximal demonstrative meaning for *sis* which is not given in (37).

(37) Logophoric pronoun with copula (LD 54)

[...] *un saka: {šis esot vecā}*
 and say:PRS.3 LOG.NOM.SG.M be:EVID.PRS old:GEN.SG.M.DEF
Strautmaļa dēls... [...]
 Strautmalis:GEN.SG son:NOM.SG

‘[But he gives me his hand] and says: “I am the son of the old Strautmalis”.’

In Niedra’s Latvian *šis* is almost never used as an independent deictic or anaphoric pronoun (except in the copula construction, see above). The pronoun *šitais* is used instead, as in (38) (which can also be used in attributive construction), or, more rarely, *šis* is followed by the particle *te* (which is also a broader construction of *šis*).

(38) Independent proximal deictic demonstrative (LD 176)

Un šito, lūdzu, paturi no manis
and this:ACC.SG please keep:IMP.2SG from 1SG.GEN
par piemiņu [...]
for remembrance:ACC.SG
‘And, please, keep this in remembrance of me.’

Isolated examples are quite difficult to assign to functions unequivocally. (39) is probably an instance of a function of *šis* mentioned by Endzelīns (1951, 536): to denote, in plural forms, housemates or family members not present in the speech act. (Very much the same meaning as *savēji* ‘(my) own folks’, derived from the reflexive possessive pronoun *savs*.) In (39) the dative plural *šiem* refers to the sons of the addressee, whom the father had introduced as *bērni* ‘children’ immediately before (39) starts. I have come across only one other example where this meaning fits perfectly (JM 189).

(39) Pronoun *šis* for family members (LD 78)

«*Vai tu — šiem ar ziņu laidī?*»
Q 2SG.NOM this.DAT.PL.M also news:ACC.SG let:PST.3
‘Have you notified your relatives as well?’

If all broader constructions of *šis* are removed, there remain less than a handful of examples which cannot be explained away. In one isolated example *šis* in non-adnominal use even refers to an inanimate referent, which is rather unusual for *šis* in Latvian (Nau 2001, 151).

(40) Isolated deviant inanimate proximal demonstrative use (LD 169)

«*Ja šo taisām plašāku [...]*
if this.ACC.SG make:PRS.1PL broader:ACC.SG
‘[and he pointed with the pencil to a pipe on the plan.] “If we make this one broader...”’

Generally we may conclude that the pronoun *šis* in Niedra's Latvian is almost always part of a broader construction, which is an interesting finding in itself even if we abstract away from logophoricity. Logophoric use is just one instance of this entrenchment in broader constructions. The question arises as to whether we have to deal with constructionalization of a pronoun rather than its grammaticalization. Broader constructions are a way to clearly keep apart different functions of a form without any requirement for a detailed semantic analysis of the form under consideration. It is not necessary to discuss whether the different uses are polysemous or monosemous. The result of the analysis is rather that the functions can be strictly kept apart because they all form part of broader constructions which all have their own characteristic semantic and formal properties. The consideration of broader constructions in Niedra's Latvian clearly shows that logophoricity can be kept apart from all other uses of the pronoun *šis* in this literary idiolect.

7. Interim conclusions

There is a great variability in expressing logophoricity not only in spoken, but also in written varieties of Latvian. The written sources have hitherto been neglected in the study of logophoricity, and it has been widely held that logophoricity is not consistent in any written variety of Latvian. This paper shows for the idiolect of one author that logophoricity can be rather consistent in Literary Latvian and that Literary Latvian of the 19th and early 20th century is an important data source for the study of logophoricity in Latvian. Given the high degree of variability across dialects and probably also inside dialects, it is important from a methodological point of view to study idiolects. A challenge when studying idiolects is corpus size. In order to describe the grammar of logophoricity in detail, many examples are needed. Thus, idiolects with large corpus size are highly important, and here Andrievs Niedra's work is an obvious and important starting point given its size (and only a minor proportion of the entire Niedra corpus could be considered here).

Some varieties of Latvian, including Niedra's idiolect, make use of the logophoric pronoun *šis* not only for the report speaker, but also for the report addressee. This occurs in allophoric reports (report speaker is different from frame speaker) where the report speaker is absent or back-

grounded, but especially also in autophoric reports (report speaker is the same as frame speaker). Autophoric reports have been neglected hitherto in the study of logophoricity, not only in Latvian, but also in other languages, and a major contribution of this paper is to show that autophoric reports deserve much more study and are notably important for a better understanding of the use of logophoric pronouns for addressees. On a semantic map, logophoric pronouns for second person in allophoric reports with absent or backgrounded report speakers are intermediate between autophoric and allophoric reports.

The principal function of logophoricity in Niedra's idiolect is not to disambiguate referents. There are hardly any examples where reference tracking is unclear, and in such cases other grammatical categories, such as gender and number, are more reliable for disambiguation. Furthermore, reference tracking by logophoricity is not consistent, since pronouns are often dropped, and in cases of coreferentiality of subject of speech verb and subordinate clause there is also the option of using the archaic "logophoric" middle construction. Pro-drop and "logophoric" middle are sometimes more effective for the disambiguation of referents in reports than logophoric pronouns. I have argued that logophoricity is rather an effective and stabilized avoidance strategy in contexts of a mismatch between report speech act participants and frame speech act participants, where neither speech act pronouns nor non-speech act pronouns are really appropriate. The logophoric pronoun shares this function with addressers, in particular, titles and kinship terms, which can have the same function of avoiding a forced choice between speech act and non-speech act participants. The major difference is that the logophoric pronoun is a grammatically stabilized avoidance strategy (but evidence from the Chadic languages Goemai and Mupun shows that nouns can grammaticalize to logophoric pronouns for report addressees). It follows from this that the use of addressers in logophoric contexts deserves much more study. It is not only the pronouns that are interesting. It is relevant to consider what happens when pronouns are replaced by nouns. A further important avoidance issue is complex logophoric contexts (reports within reports). Complex contexts are avoided so that it is very difficult to nail down the grammar of complex contexts in a corpus. Complex contexts, even if rare, deserve more investigation in the study of logophoricity.

It is well known that logophoricity is often extended from speech to other domains such as thought and psychological state. It has been for-

merly argued that logophoricity in Latgalian and Latvian is restricted to speech. In this paper, some examples have been discussed showing that there is some extension toward the domain of thought. However, the Latvian evidence calls for a refinement of Stirling's and Culy's wide-meshed hierarchies. Logophoricity can be found especially in cases of earlier thought which can be interpreted as a kind of inner speech. Of particular importance is also the extension of autophoric constructions to the domain of thought, which is more advanced in Niedra's idiolect than the extension of allophoric reports.

Finally, I have argued that logophoric pronouns in Latvian have to be viewed as parts of constructions. Constructions are understood here in the sense of broader constructions (constructions consisting of more than one element). The pronoun *šis* is not restricted to logophoric use in Niedra's idiolect, but almost all uses of the pronoun *šis* in Niedra's idiolect form part of broader constructions, and logophoricity is just one (the second most frequent) of these broader constructions. Further study of logophoricity will have to consider constructional contexts more carefully, and the question arises as to whether what we have to deal with is rather constructionalization than grammaticalization.

8. Logophoricity in Leivu Estonian

Whereas in other South Estonian dialects the two pronouns *tuu* (= distal demonstrative) and *timä* (= North Estonian *tema* 'he, she, it') compete in the function of the third person singular pronoun in a complex manner which cannot be described here (see Pajusalu 1998), Leivu Estonian, formerly spoken in Iلسeni (Ilzene) and Alamõisa (Lejasciems) as documented in the texts collected by Niilus (1937), *t'ema* is only logophoric and third person singular is always *tŭ*. There are two other demonstrative pronouns: *šie* proximal demonstrative and *ta(a)*, a general demonstrative prevailing in attributive use, which are neutral to the logophoric distinction. In Niilus' (1937) Leivu texts there are no examples of *t'ema* which are not logophoric.

There is no evidence for any similar system in other varieties of Estonian. Ludzi, the other Estonian language island in Latvia, lacks logophoricity. For Hargla, the Estonian dialect most closely related to Leivu, see below.

In the following text passage all reports are marked by curly braces. As can easily be seen there is no *t'ema* outside the braces and there happens to be no *tŭ* inside the braces (no pronominal reference to non-speech act participants). The opposition is marked most clearly in line 8 where the priest says that he will forgive *t'ema pi = ańd-aw* (logophoric) in contrast to line 16 where he forgives: *tŭ pi-ańd* 'he forgave' (non-logophoric). The borrowed prefix *pi-* is one of the many Latvian loans in Leivu (Latvian *piedot* 'forgive'; see Vaba 1997, 40–50 for more examples). *Tŭ* originates from the distal demonstrative and still retains this function in attributive use as can be seen in line 4 *tŭ k'ėrik-jėzand* 'that priest'. As in Finnish and Latvian, the logophoric pronoun can also be used to mark the addressee in questions, and this use is attested in line 9 (the only example in Niilus 1937). If both report speaker and report addressee are referred to and there is no dedicated pronoun for the addressee, there is—as in Niedra's Latvian—a tendency to replace the pronoun by a noun. This can be seen in line 3 ("that the priest [=addressee] may forgive"). Leivu as documented by Niilus (1937)¹⁶ differs from Niedra's Latvian and the Latvian dialect of Jaunciems in that the logophoric pronoun does not have any other function than logophoricity and that there are two pronouns which are not sensitive to the logophoric distinction (see Table 6).

Table 6. Logophoricity in Leivu

Logophoric <i>t'ema</i>	Non-logophoric <i>tŭ</i> '3sg; that'
<i>šie</i> 'this', <i>ta</i> 'that (neutral)' not sensitive to logophoricity	

¹⁶ Niilus' texts originate from a single family in the village of Paikna (Niilus 1937, 8). The Leivu texts in Mets et al. (2014, 23–108) come from different villages, but contain in total much fewer speech reports. Counterexamples against a restriction of *temā* to logophoric use can be found in two of the texts collected by Heikki Ojansuu in 1911 from the speaker Madeļa Boka from Āžmuguras (Mets et al. 2014, 23–32). There is an entirely different use of pronouns in text 5 *Maailma loomine* [Creation of the world] which is almost a translation from the genesis. Here *temā* is used exactly as in Standard Estonian and this cannot be considered an authentic South Estonian use of third person pronouns. (We see here that standardization—if there had been any—would have removed logophoricity in Leivu as much as it has in Finnish.) There are two other instances of non-logophoric *tema* and *PL nema* (Mets et al. 2014, 26) in another text. Otherwise Madeļa Boka uses *tuu* 3sg and *tema* LOG (1x) in the same way as Niilus' speakers in Paikna. Another text in Mets et al. (2014, 38) from Kārklupe collected by Paulopriit Voolaine around 1925 has numerous examples of logophoric use of *tema*.

Ta is used in logophoric contexts in lines 6 and 13 and *šie* in line 10, but they occur as well in non-logophoric use (not attested in the passage). The demonstrative *šie* is generally very rare in the narrative corpus (whereas North and Standard Estonian *see* is the dominant demonstrative).

(41) Leivu (Niilus 1937, 47)

1. [...] *bɛ̀t̪ üš̚ inèmiń lät t̪u mǎnu*
but one man go:PST.3SG 3SG[GEN] to
uń üš̚leš,
and say:PST.3SG
'[...] but one man goes to him [= the priest] and said:'
2. {*t̪ⁱema aš̚-ew s̚õur pǎttal'ìn,*
LOG be-EVID.PRS big sinner
'“I am a big sinner,'
3. *bɛ̀t̪ lǎš k'èrik=jèzand pī=ańd-aw.*}
but HORT church=lord PVB=give-EVID.PRS
'but you (= the priest) forgive me”
4. *bɛ̀t̪ t̪u k'èrik-jèzand üš̚leš, {lǎš kall'ide*
but that church=lord say:PST.3SG HORT expensively
maš̚sa.}
pay:IMP.3SG
'But that priest said that he has to pay much.'
5. {*mis t̪ⁱema maš̚s-ew?*
what LOG pay-EVID.PRS
'“What should I pay?'
6. *ta-š̚ aš̚-ew väidu, mia maš̚sa.}*
that-ADRESS be-EVID.PRS little what:PRT pay:INF
'I have little to pay.”
7. *t̪u üš̚leš neì, {lǎš tavàda t̪ⁱemǎ-te üš̚*
3SG say:PST.3SG thus HORT get:IMP.3SG LOG-ALLAT one
d'ärnen,
hare
'He said that he should catch him a hare'
8. *zeš̚ t̪ⁱemǎ pī=ańd-aw pǎttü'.*}
then LOG PVB=give-EVID.PRS sin:NOM.PL
'then he will forgive him his sins.'

9. *tŭ kùžū-š, {mis siš t'èma "oļt-ew t'e-ñnu*
3SG ask-PST.3SG what then LOG be-EVID.PRS do-PA.PST
'He asked what he had done'
10. *ku šìè-l nei paļļu paite "oļt-ew.}*
that this-ADESS so many sin:PRT.PL be-EVID.PRS
'that he had so many sins.'
11. *{t'èma k'èrikk-un "oļt-ew pušsāta-nu.} —*
LOG church-INESS be-EVID.PRS fart-PA.PST
'"I have farted in the church."'
12. *{uñ zeš t'èma pī = aņd-aw, taš*
and then LOG PVB = give-EVID.PRS, HORT
tāvāda eņde d'āñnen.
get:IMP.3SG only hare
'"I will forgive you if you only catch a hare'
13. *tā jēži ka pušs-aw k'èrik-un.}*
that self also fart-EVID.PRS church-INESS
'I have farted myself in the church.'"
14. *tŭ tāpa-š d'āneza nā'ā', st"oppeidze-š,*
but get-PST.3SG hare:GEN skin:PL, stuff-PST.3SG
'He got a hare skin, stuffed it,'
15. *p"oņd pakļit tūiwe uñ vei*
put:PA.PST tow:PRT full:GEN and bring_thither:PST.3SG
k'èrik = jēzand-ate.
church = lord-ALLAT
'filled it with tow and brought it to the priest'
16. *tŭ pī = aņd. [...]*
3SG PVB = give:PRS.3SG
'He forgave (him).'

The diachronic development of Leivu *t'ema* is a case of narrowing (specialization). In South Estonian *tima* is widely attested for the report speaker in reports, but it always also occurs as a third person pronoun. In Keem and Kāsi's (2002, 288–315) Hargla texts—Hargla is the dialect most closely related to Leivu and the Estonian dialect in Estonia with most language contacts to Latvian (Vaba 1997, 483)—*tima* occurs 53 times of which only 11 instances are logophoric (~20%; in Niilus' Leivu texts 100%), but *tŭ* is clearly more frequent (136 non-attributive instances with animate and inanimate uses not distinguished) than *tima* (only animate).

In Hargla we can observe an intermediate stage between South Estonian and Leivu in the development of logophoricity.

It is a special feature of Leivu that many reports with a logophoric pronoun lack a report opener. This holds for three of the seven reports in the passage above: lines 5, 11, 12. Leivu thus strongly supports the non-coreferential nature of logophoric pronouns. One example with *tima* without report opener is also attested in the Hargla texts, but I have not found this phenomenon anywhere else in South Estonian texts. What distinguishes other South Estonian dialects from Leivu is that report deixis (first person for report speaker) is absolutely predominant. This observation is well in line with Güldemann's (2002) finding in African languages that languages with logophoric pronouns tend to have a lower proportion of report deixis in reports than languages without logophoric pronouns. If Leivu logophoricity is due to language contacts with Latvian then it is not a direct morphosyntactic borrowing (otherwise we would expect the proximal demonstrative *šie* 'this' in logophoric function). Rather there is a borrowing in discourse structure (reduction of the ratio of report deixis in reports; i.e., less first person pronouns for report speaker). This entails an increase of the proportion of *tⁱema* in logophoric function. Finally, the extension and generalization of the distal demonstrative *tŭ* in the function of the third person pronoun may have its parallel in Latvian in Eastern Vidzeme in the extension of *viņš* to the detriment of the older pronoun for third person *jis*.

The Leivu and Finnish logophoric pronouns *tⁱema* and *hän* are not related in any way. But Finnish *hän* LOG, North Saami *son* LOG and South Saami *satne* LOG might represent earlier independent parallel developments of narrowing from third person pronouns. Uralicists usually reconstruct the meaning third person singular for the etymon of *hän* and *son*, which suggests that the grammaticalization of logophoric pronouns in Finnish and North Saami is largely parallel to the more recent Leivu development. For South Saami, where in addition the genitive of the third person pronoun has reflexive use, Bergsland (1946, 103) says that it is tempting to assume an influence from the reflexive pronouns in Scandinavian languages.

9. Logophoricity in Eastern Vidzeme and logophoricity in the Circum-Baltic area

After having focused on Eastern Vidzeme, let us now return to the larger picture of logophoricity in the Circum-Baltic languages from the point of view of Baltic languages. What do we know about how logophoricity emerged in Eastern varieties of Latvian?

It is completely unclear how the logophoric meaning of Latvian *šis* has emerged; there does not seem to be any trace of logophoric meaning in Lithuanian. The varieties of Lithuanian where *šis* is used in non-attributive functions—mainly Žemaitian—have uses of *šis* which are rather opposite to the logophoric use. In some varieties, Lithuanian non-attributive *šis* is mainly restricted to nominative forms and has the function of switch reference as in (42):

- (42) Lithuanian proximal demonstrative as switch reference (Basanavičius 1995, 44; Varniai, Telšiai county)

Īdavi anam šimtą rublių.
 give:PST.3 3.DAT.SG.SG hundred:ACC ruble:GEN.PL
Šis, *pajēmis tus*
this:NOM.SG.M take:PA.PST.NOM.SG.M that:ACC.SG.M
piningus, gērē [...]
 money:ACC.SG drink:PST.3
 ‘She (= the mother) gave him one hundred rubles. He took this money and drank [...]

The most frequent use of this function is to introduce the speech of a new speaker: in the same story *šis atsaki* ‘this:NOM.SG.M answer:PST.3 = he answered’ or just *šis* ‘this:NOM.SG.M’ without a verb of saying. Note that *šis* here has a similar function as the third person pronoun introducing speech without speech verb in Latvian examples such as (13) and *se* in Finnish (11). Žemaitian narrative texts with *šis* in switch reference function abound in report deixis. There is hardly any frame deixis in reports; *šis* always introduces report deixis.

In Eastern Lithuanian dialects, however, where *šis* is not encountered in non-attributive use, “logophoric” middle constructions with nominative cum participio constructions are quite widespread such as (43):

- (43) Lithuanian: “Logophoric” middle with nominative participle construction (Basanavičius 1995, 310; Jūžintai, Rokiškis county)

[...] *miška* *sargas* *pa-si-sake*,
 forest:GEN.SG watchman:NOM.SG PVB-REFL-say.PST.3
kad *ainųs* *ieškātų* *sava pačias*.
 that go.PA.PRS.NOM.SG search.SUPIN RPO wife:GEN.SG
 ‘The forest ranger said that he will go and search for his wife’

Nominative with participle constructions are also well attested in Slavic (see, e.g., Wiemer 2014, 1641 and the references given there).

- (44) Old Church Slavonic: “Logophoric” middle (Wiemer 2014, 1641)

povědaše *bo sja* *iz ynogo* *grada*
 say:IMPF.3SG PTC REFL from other:GEN.SG city:GEN.SG
prišedši
 come:PA.PST.NOM.SG
 ‘For she_j said that she_j had come from another city.’

Modern Icelandic and Faroese have so called long-distance reflexives in logophoric function in reports of speech or point of view (Maling 1984; Thráinsson 2007, ch. 9). The matrix subject is usually the antecedent, but this is not necessarily the case as in (45). In Icelandic, but not in Faroese, the report construction is further characterized by the subjunctive. While in Latvian there is a construction consisting of logophoric pronoun and evidential mood, in Icelandic reflexive and subjunctive form together a logophoric construction.

- (45) Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007, 470)

Skoðun Helgu_i *er* *að sig_i* *vanti*
 opinion Helga:GEN be:PRS.3SG that REFL:ACC lack:SBJV.PRS.3SG
hæfileika.
 talent:ACC.SG
 ‘Helga’s opinion is that she lacks talent.’

The reflexives in logophoric use can occasionally entirely lack an antecedent as in (46) from Faroese:

(46) Faroese (Thráinsson 2007, 487; Barnes 1986)

Hon hevði meiri krav upp á seg enn hin.
 she:NOM have:PST.3SG more demand:ACC.SG up ON REFL.DAT
 than the_other

than the_other

‘{[He would not run away from his responsibility now that he had got into this situation with Sigrid.] She had more right to him (REFL) than the other [girl had].}’

The major difference to Latvian is that there is no nominative form of the pronoun in logophoric use in Icelandic and Faroese, but a subject can be logophoric in a finite subordinate clause if it is a non-nominative subject as in (45) and (47):

(47) Icelandic (Thráinsson 2007, 466)

Jóni segir að sig langi til að eignast bíl.
 John say:PRS.3SG that REFL.ACC long:SBJV.PRS.3SG to to
 acquire:REFL car:ACC.SG

acquire:REFL car:ACC.SG

‘John says that he wants to get a car.’

The missing nominative is “suppleted” by the logophoric middle, which is widely attested already in Old Icelandic.

(48) Old Icelandic (Zeilfelder 2011, 59; Hrafnkels safa freysgoða, ~1250)

...ok sagðisk hann bústað vilja reisa sér.
 and say:PST.3SG.REFL he.NOM dwelling:ACC.SG want:INF
 raise:INF REFL.DAT

raise:INF REFL.DAT

‘...and said that he wanted to build a home for himself’

Long-distance reflexives are often said to be rare until the 15th century, but Rögnvaldsson (2005, 613) gives various examples from the sagas. Even if long-distance reflexives may be older than commonly believed, it seems that Icelandic logophoricity originates from the “logophoric” middle and has later been extended to finite dependent clauses.

Maybe it is the wrong question to ask how Latvian *šis* ‘this’ grammaticalized to logophoric use. Maybe the question is rather how the logophoric function was transferred from the reflexive to the demonstrative.

In this context it may be important to note that the paradigm of Latvian *šis* is remodeled by analogy. Baltic *šis* turns into Latvian **sis* according to sound laws. Latvian *š* must derive from palatalization (**sĭ-* or **tĭ-*). Thus, e.g., in the masculine genitive form *šā* from **sĭā* and in the dative form *šam* < **sĭam*, the *š-* is justified. In all forms with vowel *i*, however, *š-* must derive from analogic levelling. It may be a mere coincidence that *šis* as a logophoric pronoun is only attested in Baltic varieties with a merger of *š* and *s* where the paradigm of *šis* was restituted by analogy. However, a major problem for a reanalysis hypothesis is that there are no reconstructed forms where the reflexive and the demonstrative were completely identical. Lithuanian has *-si*, and Old Prussian *sien* and Slavic *sę* allow us to reconstruct an accusative singular form **sien*. There haven't ever been any such forms in the paradigm of the proximal demonstrative.

If my argument is a bit vague here, I am in good company. According to Nau (2008, 105): “[i]t is quite possible that the development of logophoric pronouns in High Latvian dialects is historically related to the development of participles as voicing devices—both may be a byproduct of syntactic changes concerning clause combining...” Nau seems to suggest that both the participle-based evidential and the logophoric pronoun might derive from what Evans (2007, 367) calls insubordination: “the conventionalised main-clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be subordinate clauses”. The participle form of the evidential past is a nominative form; it might derive by insubordination from a participle with nominative construction. See also Wälchli (2000) for arguing that the Latvian evidential developed from what Evans calls insubordination. The Icelandic and Faroese case may also serve as a parallel in having come quite a long way in the insubordination of reflexives to logophoric markers. But all this does not give us yet any satisfactory answer to where logophoric *šis* in Latvian comes from. This is, of course, nothing more than to say that further research on the topic is needed.

10. Conclusions

Logophoric pronouns in Latgalian and Finnish dialects, as described by Nau (2006, 2008) and Laitinen (2002, 2005), among others, are an areal puzzle since they are “a straightforward case of a typologically highly marked but areally completely disconnected parallel whose origins are not clear” (Wälchli 2011, 336). The puzzle is particularly puzzling since we

know from Africa that logophoricity tends to cluster areally (see, for instance, Güldemann 2003). In this paper I have presented two cases of logophoricity, one from a Baltic language variety—a literary Latvian idiolect of a writer born in Tirza, Eastern Vidzeme—and one from a Finnic language variety—Leivu Estonian, formerly spoken in Ilzene and Lejasciems in Eastern Vidzeme—which have not been formerly discussed in terms of logophoricity. Thus I have established an areal parallel between a Baltic and a Finnic language variety in Eastern Vidzeme, and this means that Wälchli's (2011) conclusion that logophoricity in the Circum-Baltic languages is areally completely disconnected has now been shown to be wrong.

Andrievs Niedra's literary idiolect and the Leivu Estonian dialect are very different language varieties and it would, of course, be desirable to match the Leivu dialect corpus with a Latvian dialect corpus from the same region. However, a large suitable dialect corpus from Eastern Vidzeme is not available, as far as I know, and so all we can do is to consider a corpus of written literary Latvian side by side with a corpus of spoken Leivu Estonian. Despite large differences in register, Niedra's Latvian idiolect and Leivu Estonian share some properties in their treatment of logophoricity. Both can use logophoric pronouns for report addressees in questions and in both language varieties it is common to use logophoricity without report openers. However, these two features recur elsewhere in languages with logophoricity. Logophoricity in Leivu is not a simple morphosyntactic borrowing from Latvian. Rather, evidence from Hargla, the Estonian dialect most closely related to Leivu, shows that the logophoric pronoun is a case of narrowing. Put differently, the logophoric pronoun is a relic from an earlier third person pronoun when an erstwhile demonstrative expanded and became the new third person pronoun. I have argued that the areal influence is an indirect one. Leivu has acquired a higher ratio of report deixis in reports in contrast to other Estonian dialects—a similar argument has been adduced by Güldemann (2003) for explaining the areal distribution of logophoricity in Africa. However, the decrease of frame deixis in Leivu was no sufficient condition for the emergence of logophoricity in Leivu. It interacted with the competition of two third person pronoun forms in Southern Estonian, which supplied ideal conditions for the specialization of one of the two forms for logophoric use.

However, if we now can establish an areal logophoric link between Latvian and Leivu Estonian, this does not mean that the areal puzzle of

logophoricity in the Circum-Baltic languages is solved. There is still no link between Finnish and Saami, on the one hand, and Latvian and Leivu, on the other hand, even though the Leivu case might be revealing as a parallel for better understanding how logophoricity has grammaticalized earlier independently in Finnish and Saami. Maybe there is no areal link. However, before drawing that conclusion the “logophoric” middle in Lithuanian and other Indo-European languages should be given more attention and we should investigate in more detail how exactly logophoricity in Latvian might be a byproduct of syntactic changes concerning clause combining. I would claim that we do not really understand this yet.

There is much reason to believe that the emergence of logophoricity is connected to discourse structure, meaning that future research should consider counting ratios of report and frame deixis in dialect corpora from many different varieties of Baltic and Finnic languages. This is probably most difficult for Latvian where there is a shortage of dialect corpora.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1 — first person, 2 — second person, 3 — third person, 3_{INF} — third infinitive, ACC — accusative, ACN — action nominal, AD — addressee, ADESS — adessive, ADV — adverb, ALLAT — allative, COND — conditional, CONEG — **conegative form**, CVB — **converb**, DAT — **dative**, DEB — **debitive**, DEF — definite form of adjective, EMPH — emphatic particle, EVID — evidential, F — feminine, FREQ — frequentative, FUT — future, GEN — genitive, HORT — hortative, ILL — illative, IMP — imperative, IMPF — imperfect, INESS — inessive, INF — infinitive, LOC — locative, LOG — logophoric pronoun, M — masculine, NEG — negation, NOM — nominative, OBJ — object, PA — active participle, PL — plural, PP — passive participle, PRS — present, PRT — partitive, PST — past, PTC — particle, PVB — preverb, Q — interrogative particle, REFL — reflexive, RPO — reflexive possessive, SAY — particle introducing autophoric report, SBJV — subjunctive, SG — singular, SUPIN — supine

SOURCES

(all by Andrievs Niedra):

- JM = *Jankus Marcinkevičs*. See ZD, 184–196. (Based on the 1971 edition, publisher Tilts)
- KMD = *Kad mēness dilst*. [When the moon is waning] 1992. Rīga: Vārniene. (Based on the edition from 1955 published by *Latvju Grāmata*, first published 1902)
- KPPI = *Kā Purvienā pazuda inteliģence* [How the intellectual elite of Purviene disappeared]. See ZD, 166–183. (Based on the 1971 edition, publisher Tilts)
- LD = *Liduma dūmos* [In the smoke of the cleared woodland]. 1992. Rīga: Zinātne. (Based on the edition from 1943)
- MB = *Mana bērība* [My childhood] (First printed in the journal *Latvis* from May 1 until July 23, 1926.) *Mana bērība un mani puikas gadi*. 1943. n.p. Tēvija Reprinted 1977. n.p.: Gauja
- MPG = *Mani puikas gadi* [My boyhood years]. (First printed in the journal *Latvis* from February 1 until March 27, 1930). See MB.
- MJ = *Māras josta* [Mary's belt]. See ZD, 71–112 (Based on the 1971 edition, publisher Tilts)
- ZD = *Zemnieka dēls*. [A peasant's son] 1994. *Zemnieka dēls. Māras josta*, 7–67 Rīga: Cīrulis. (Based on the 1925 edition)

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