
Split indexicality

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Some languages can ‘shift’ indexicals such as *I* and *you* under attitude predicates, and use them to refer to participants of the event being reported (Schlenker 2003; Anand 2006; Deal 2020 a.o.). Other languages make use of a dedicated set of logophoric pronouns that fulfill the same function, i.e. refer back to reported authors and addressees, excluding the use of standard 3rd person forms in similar environments:

- (1) Ramil **min** / **anı** eʃl-im dip ejt-e
Ramil 1SG/3SG work-PST.1SG COMP say.PST.-3SG
‘Ramil_i said that I_{i/s(c)} / he_{*i/j} was working.’
[Kazan Tatar (Turkic), personal fieldwork]
- (2) Asia nyɔnu la xɔese be **é** / **yè** bú
Asian woman DEF believe.3SG COMP **3SG/ LOG** be
‘The asian woman_i believes that she_{*i/j} / she_{i/j} is lost’
[Ewe (Niger-Congo), Bimpeh (2019): (15)]

Building on previous insights from both typological and formal approaches to LPs and SIs, the present work offers a unified analysis of the two classes of pronouns, arguing for their relative morphosemantic uniformity. We propose, following Schlenker (2003), that both elements consist of an [AUTHOR] feature referring to the speaker of some context, the key difference between SIs and LPs being that the latter have grammaticalized reference to the actual context in a way SIs have not; in LP-systems, the first person spells out a bundle consisting of an [+ACTUAL] feature re-strictering its referent to the utterance context, while the logophor spells out [-ACTUAL, +AUTHOR] and is interpreted as first person and referring to the speaker of the reported context. The present analysis is shown to be able to capture the aforementioned similarities between the two classes, as well as further data patterns involving disjointness effects and various agreement mismatches patterns in attitude reports.

References: • Anand, P. (2006). *De De Se*. PhD thesis, MIT. • Bimpeh, A. A. (2019). Default de se: The interpretation of the ewe logophor. In *Proceedings of Triple A5*. Universität Tübingen. • Deal, A. R. (2020). *A Theory of Indexical Shift*. The MIT Press. • Schlenker, P. (2003). A plea for monsters. *Linguistics and philosophy*, 26(1), 29–120.