

Zach Wellstood
Field Methods
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Language: Danyigbe
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Grammar Chapter: Pronouns

1. Pronouns in Danyigbe

Danyi Ewe (Danyigbe) has a rich inventory of pronouns that may be divided into several paradigms with distinct functions. In general, Danyigbe distinguishes first-, second- and third-person pronouns in both the singular and plural. There is no gender marking encoded in pronouns.

The discussion in this chapter will begin with the strong paradigm because pronouns in other paradigms bear a resemblance to the strong pronouns. Discussion will then proceed to the several other varieties of pronouns, including: weak nominatives (subjects), accusatives (objects), genitives (possessors), and logophoric pronouns. Additional reading is given in §8 for the reader who may be interested in pursuing this subject further.

Throughout this chapter, an asterisk (*) indicates an utterance which is unacceptable (i.e. ungrammatical).

2. Strong Paradigm

Strong pronouns in Danyigbe may occur as a short response to a question or when expressing contrast between two persons. The full paradigm is given in **Table 1**.

Strong Paradigm			
1SG	(ə)ɲə	1PL	mìḍ-wó
2SG	(ə)wo	2PL	miɔ-wó
3SG	(é)já	3PL	jɔ́-wó

Table 1 The strong pronominal paradigm of Danyigbe.

In some elicited sentences, the first- and third-person singular forms occurred without their initial vowel, indicated by parentheses. The hyphenated form in all of the strong plural pronouns shows that they are morphologically complex; the suffix is, in fact, the plural marker, *-wó*.

The reason that the use of strong forms is marked is that they carry an added element of contrast, emphasis, or focus which other pronouns do not. An example of this is given below, where italics in English indicate emphasis or stress on that pronoun:

- (1) *é* ji kpələ, mìḍwó ji lomə.
 3SG.WEAK go K. 1PL.STR go L.
 'He went to Kpele, *we* went to Lome.'

For emphasis and in response to questions, strong pronouns may also be followed by a focus particle, *é*.

(2) Q: Who did that?

A: əɲə é.
1SG.STR FOC
'Me.'

(3) əɲə é ji gémiɖá, ɔ́já é və gé.
1SG.STR FOC go there 3SG.STR FOC come here
'I went over there, he came over here.'

Another interesting phenomenon we may observe is doubling of strong and weak pronouns.

In doubled constructions, the first pronoun is always the strong form, followed by the weak nominative form, and together they indicate contrast:

(4) əɲə mə ji gémiɖá, ɔ́já və gé.
1SG.STR 1SG.WEAK go there 3SG.STR come here
'I went over there, he came over here.'

Of interest in example (4) is that both the strong and weak forms (§3) can co-occur. This pronoun doubling phenomenon does not occur in the third-person singular:

(5) *əɲə mə ji gémiɖá, ɔ́já ɔ́ və gé.
1SG.STR 1SG.WEAK go there 3SG.STR 3SG.WEAK come here
Intended: 'I went over there, he came over here.'

3. Weak Nominative Paradigm

Weak nominative pronouns (Table 2) occur in a diverse range of subject positions and do not carry any implication of contrast like the strong forms do. Both the first- and second-

person plural pronouns have a tone that is consistent with their counterpart in the strong paradigm.

Weak Nominative Paradigm

1SG	mə	1PL	mì
2SG	ə	2PL	mi
3SG	é	3PL	wó
	mə̀, wò̀		
LOG.SG	ji	LOG.PL	wò

Table 2 The weak nominative pronominal paradigm of Danyigbe.

Weak nominatives may occupy the following subject positions:

- (6) a. *Simple Sentences*
- i. mə ɸo koffi.
 1SG.NOM hit K.
 'I hit Kofi.'

 - ii. mì kpó koffi.
 1PL.NOM see K.
 'We saw Kofi.'

 - iii. mə dzani.
 1SG.NOM fall.down
 'I fell down.'
- b. *Locatives*
- wó lə kplɔ dzí.
 3PL.NOM COP table on
 'They are on the table.'

c. *Complement Clauses*

ɲə mə ɲó mi mə kpó ò.
 1SG.STRONG NEG know who 1SG.NOM see WH
 'I don't know who I saw.'

d. *Relative Clauses*

əté ji mə ɸlə ɲó.
 yam REL 1SG.NOM buy good
 'The yam that I bought is/was good.'

e. *Wh-Questions*

munú ɲa mi gblɔ ò?
 what word 2PL say WH
 'What did you (pl.) say?'

In *wh*-questions (like 6e, above) and some complement clauses (such as those involving the complementizer *bə*), the weak nominative pronoun *ɲ* is ungrammatical, replaced instead by either *wò* or *mə* in Danyigbe (see Collins, 1993 for a theoretical discussion of pronouns like *wò*).

(7) munú ta (mə/wò) dzó ò.
 what reason 3SG.NOM leave Q
 'Why did he leave?'

The strong form is possible here, but with a distinct interpretation:

(8) munú ta ɲjá dzó ò?
 what reason 3SG.STRONG leave Q
 'Why (on earth) did *he* (specifically) leave?!'

The strong form specially focuses the person about whom the speaker is asking. The question in (7) has no special implications. Moreover, the low-tone pronouns still correspond to the third-person singular. In Danyigbe, either *wò* or *mà* is equally acceptable.

These low tone third-person pronouns can be found in conjunctions as well:

- (9) kofi v́ xɔ mə já (wò/mà) ń tə -m.
 K. come room in and 3SG.NOM give yam 1SG.ACC
 'Kofi came in the room and he gave me a yam.'
- (10) kofi dzó já (wò/mà) ɸlə tə.
 K. leave and 3SG.NOM buy yam
 'Kofi left and he bought yams.'
- (11) kofi v́ xɔ mə já (wò/mà) ɲòní.
 K. come room in and 3SG.NOM sit.down
 'Kofi came in the room and he sat down.'

More work should be done to test the distribution of these low tone pronouns, which pattern the same as one another. Where they occur, *á*, the weak pronoun, is unacceptable. In other dialects of Ewe, like Kpelegbe, *wò* is used in this context, but *mà* is unique to Danyigbe and, perhaps, has a parallel form in Gẽ.

3.1 Weak Nominatives and *nà*

In irrealis (viz. future, subjunctive, unrealized) contexts, the weak nominatives may co-occur with the irrealis particle *nà*. In some cases, as in first and second person, the low tone of *nà* may spread onto the weak nominative subject.

- (12) a. *First Person*
 m̀ə ǹà kpó kofí.
 1SG.NOM IRR see K.
 'I will see Kofi.'

In other cases, the particle *ǹà* may 'fuse' with the weak nominative. This is especially so in the first (singular) and third persons:

- (13) a. *First Person*
 m̀ə di b́ə ma kpó kofí.
 1SG.NOM want COMP 1SG.NOM:IRR see K.
 'I want to see Kofi.'
- b. *Third Person*
 m̀ə di b́ə ní kpó kofí.
 1SG.NOM want COMP IRR:3SG.NOM see K.
 'I want for him to see Kofi.'

A summary of these 'fused' forms is given in **Table 3**. Pronouns in parentheses are optional. Where multiple entries are given, the first occurs with high tone verbs, and the second occurs with non-high tone verbs.

Fused <i>ǹà</i> Paradigm			
1SG	ma, mǎ	1PL	m̀ià, m̀iá
2SG	(ə) ǹà, ǹǎ	2PL	mia
3SG	ní	3PL	wó ní

Table 3 Pronouns as fused with the particle *ǹà*.

3.2 Weak Nominatives and Negation

There is a bit more pronominal variation in negative contexts as well (**Table 4**). The first person pronoun used must be the strong form (and cannot be doubled), and for the second person, the pronoun does not have to be overt.

- (14) ɲə mə lə kplɔ dzí o.
 1SG NEG COP table on NEG
 'I am not on the table.'
- (15) mə lə kplɔ dzí o.
 NEG COP table on NEG
 'You are not on the table.'
- (16) mɪ mə́ lə kplɔ dzí o.
 1PL.NOM NEG COP table on NEG
 'We are not on the table.'

The negative particle in both first and second person occurs with a low tone, *mə*, whereas in all other persons it occurs with a high tone. The absence of the second-person pronoun is not ambiguous, since all other paradigms (besides first person) use a high tone *má*.

Pronominal Paradigm in Negation

1SG	ɲə mə	1PL	mɪ mə́
2SG	mə	2PL	mɪ mə́
3SG	mə́	3PL	wó mə́

Table 4 Pronouns as they occur with the negative *má*.
 Second and third person have no overt pronouns.

3.3 Third Person Plural in Other Contexts

There are several environments where the third person plural, *wó*, patterns curiously. In some conjunction structures, the third-person plural pronoun is used with a singular meaning. For example, if we are talking about Kofi and Ama and the two of them went to school together, one could say in response to the question *Where is Ama?*:

- (17) *wó* *kplé* *kofi* *zɔ* *ji* *sukú*.
 3PL with K. walk go school
 'Kofi and her (Ama) walked to school.'

In this context, the use of the third person plural does not actually indicate a plural. Instead, indicates the third singular. The third person plural may also be used with a numeral to express something like "both of them," "the three of them," etc.

- (18) *wó* *kplé* *və* *zɔ* *ji* *sukú*.
 3PL.NOM with two walk go school
 'Both of them walked to school,' or 'The two of them walked to school.'

4. Accusative Paradigm

The accusative pronouns (**Table 5**) occur in object positions. For the most part, these pronouns closely resemble the weak nominative pronouns.

Accusative Paradigm

1SG	m	1PL	mì
2SG	wo	2PL	mi
3SG	i	3PL	wó
LOG.SG	ji	LOG.PL	wò

Table 5 The accusative pronominal paradigm of Danyigbe.

There are two primary environments in which these accusatives will surface: the first is as the direct object of a verb, and the second as an object to certain prepositions.

(19) a. *Direct Object*

kofi kpɔ́ -m
K. see -1SG.ACC
'Kofi saw me.'

b. *Object of a Preposition*

kofí wò d̀ kplé -m.
K. do work with -1SG.ACC
'Kofi worked with me.'

4.1 Variations of 3SG.ACC

We see extensive variation with respect to the accusative third-person singular pronoun's form. The basic form itself is *-i*, which occurs in two environments – following a high vowel, and after verbs which have the syllable structure *Clə*, where *C* represents a consonant. The two examples below exemplify this:

(20) mə ɖu -i.
 1SG.NOM eat 3SG.ACC
 'I ate it.'

(21) mə gbl -i.
 1sg.nom fool -3SG.ACC
 'I fooled him/her.'

In general, the form of the singular third-person accusative pronoun seems predictable by the following generalizations:

- (22) i. The tone of the preceding vowel spreads onto the third-person singular accusative pronoun.
 ii. The form *-i* follows verbs ending in a high vowel or verbs of the structure *Clə*. The form *-e* follows verbs ending in /ə, o/. The form *-ɛ* follows verbs ending in /a, ɔ/.

These generalizations are supported by the two examples immediately above and by the following data:

(23) mə se -e.
 1SG.NOM hear -3SG.ACC
 'I heard it.'

(24) mə ŋlo -e.
 1SG.NOM write -3SG.ACC
 'I wrote it.'

(25) mə tsó -é.
 1SG.NOM take -3SG.ACC
 'I took it.'

(26) mə ɲ -ɛ. (from *ɲa*, 'to chase')
 1SG.ACC chase -3SG.ACC
 'I chase him.'

The assimilation that is shown in these examples falls into three general paradigms: no assimilation (-i is the underlying form of the pronoun), assimilation to -e, and assimilation to -ε. There are additional complications with (22i), which should be explored in further depth. In some cases, when material follows, the object pronoun does not inherit the tone of the preceding syllable:

- (27) mə jó -ε vé.
 1SG.NOM call -3SG.ACC come
 'I called him to come.'

And, in oblique positions (those syntactic positions that are not central to the verb or its subject or object), the pronoun 'fuses' with a preposition:

- (28) áma na tsó tə ní.
 A. FUT take yam give:3SG.ACC
 'Ama will give him a yam.'
- (29) mə dzó kplí.
 1SG leave with:3SG.ACC
 'I left with him.'
- (30) kofi nǎ tə dǐ.
 K. give yam to:3SG.ACC
 'Kofi gave a yam to him.'

These behaviors are somewhat unexpected even in light of the generalizations in (22). This pronoun seems to be the only one which undergoes this much variation. Thus, this is a rich topic for further exploration and analysis.

5. Genitive Paradigm

Genitive pronouns in Danyigbe most closely resemble the strong pronouns. In general, genitives precede the possessum, except in the first- and second-person, in which they follow the possessum. In expressing possession, Danyigbe differentiates between alienability and inalienability of the possessum, but not always predictably. Family relations ("my mother") and locations ("near me") are inalienably possessed (see Ameka 1991:158 for more discussion).

Pending a discussion of alienability, **Table 6** gives the genitive pronouns in their most complex forms.

Genitive Paradigm			
1SG	-nə	1PL	mìà(´) mǎ
2SG	-wo	2PL	mia mǎ
3SG	(ǎ) mǎ	3PL	wó mǎ
LOG.SG	ji mǎ	LOG.PL	wò mǎ

Table 6 The genitive pronominal paradigm of Danyigbe.

The first- and second-person genitives behave uniquely in several respects. For instance, it is in these persons only that the possessor occurs as an enclitic to the right of the possessum. They can also express alienable and inalienable possession with no obvious changes necessary.

- (31) naná -nə
 mother -1SG.GEN
 'my mother' (inalienable)

(32) tə -ɲə
 yam -1SG.GEN
 'my yam' (alienable)

(33) xólɔ -wo
 friend -2SG.GEN
 'your friend' (ambivalent alienability)

When these pronouns are cliticized, the genitive particle *má* is unacceptable. For all other persons, the pronoun and the genitive marker occur to the left of the possessum:

(34) mìa mǎ ɲi
 1PL.GEN GEN cow
 'our cow' (alienable)

(35) mia mǎ tə
 2PL.GEN GEN yam
 'your (pl.) yam' (alienable)

If the possessum following *mǎ* is vowel-initial, the schwa of *mǎ* may be deleted. In the example below, additional complications arise due to the docking of two high tones, which change *àvù*, 'dog,' to *ávú*.

(36) mìa m- ávú
 1PL.GEN GEN- dog
 'our dog' (alienable)

And if the possessum is pluralized, then the plural marker *-wó* is suffixed to the entire genitive phrase, even in the first and second person:

(37) mìa mǎ ɲi -wó
 1PL.GEN GEN cow -PL
 'our cows' (alienable)

- (38) xólɔ -nə -wó
 friend -1SG.GEN -PL
 'my friends' (ambivalent alienability)

Having introduced the basic genitive forms, this discussion of the genitive paradigm in Danyigbe will now turn to the alienability distinction and how it is realized.

5.1 The Alienability Distinction

Broadly speaking, there seem to be nouns of three classes: (i) alienable; (ii) inalienable; (iii) ambivalent alienability. Alienable nouns occur with an obligatory genitive particle *má* between the possessor and the possessum (except for first and second person), and it is unacceptable to delete the genitive particle:

- (39) a. mìa má ɲi
 1PL.GEN GEN cow
 'our cow' (alienable)
- b. *mìa ɲi
 1PL.GEN cow
 Intended: 'our cow' (inalienable)

On the other hand, nouns which are entirely inalienable behave precisely in the opposite way – they cannot occur with the genitive particle. As aforementioned, family relations seem to be purely inalienable:

- (40) a. miã naně
 1PL.GEN mother
 'our mother' (inalienable)

- b. *mìà mǎ naně
 1PL.GEN GEN mother
 Intended: 'our mother' (alienable)

There are also some nouns of location which behave as inalienable possessions. These are used in expressing locative predicates:

- (41) koffi lǎ mìà gbò.
 K. COP 1PL.GEN near
 'Kofi is near us.' (lit. 'Kofi is at our near.')

- (42) àwù lǎ ɲù -ɲǎ.
 clothing COP on -1SG.GEN
 'The clothes are on me.' (i.e. 'I am wearing clothes.')

The third class of nouns are of ambivalent alienability and are acceptable with or without the genitive particle. It is unclear if there are any common semantic features which unite nouns that belong to this class. xólǒ, 'friend,' is of ambivalent alienability:

- (43) a. mìà mǎ xólǒ
 1PL.GEN GEN friend
 'our friend' (alienable)
- b. mìà xólǒ
 1PL.GEN friend
 'our friend' (inalienable)

In the paradigm of genitives presented so far, there is still a slight gap. As it turns out, even though first- and second-person genitives have the same pattern for alienable and inalienable

nouns, Danyigbe has a special form which is unambiguously *alienable* for these persons. This form behaves differently than those provided in **Table 6**.

5.2 Unambiguous Alienability in First and Second Persons

To express alienability for first- and second-person genitives explicitly, Danyigbe has a unique construction: *àǝǝ*-GEN *má* [possessum]. The syntax of this form more closely resembles the other persons, since the possessor is now to the left of the possessum:

- (44) *mì* *lò* *àǝǝ* *-nə* *má* *tə*.
 1PL.NOM like home -1SG.GEN GEN *yam*
 'We like my *yam*.' (alienable)

At first glance, it is not immediately apparent that *àǝǝ* is relevant to alienability. However, having established in §5.1 (40) that *mother* is inalienable, the unacceptability of (45b) is most likely related to alienability:

- (45) a. *mì* *lò* *naná* *-nə*.
 1PL.NOM like mother-1SG.GEN
 'We like my *mother*.' (inalienable)
- b. **mì* *lò* *àǝǝ* *-nə* *má* *naná*.
 1PL.NOM like home -1SG.GEN GEN *mother*
 Intended: 'We like my *mother*.' (alienable)

More evidence that the *àǝǝ*-form expresses alienable possession comes from an example like (46), wherein *xǝlb* is acceptable with or without an *àǝǝ* genitive construction:

- (46) a. xólɔ -ɲə
 friend -1SG.GEN
 'my friend'
- b. àɸɸá -ɲə mɛ xólɔ
 home -1SG.GEN GEN friend
 'my friend'

The fact that (46a) and (46b) are both acceptable further reinforces the observation that some nouns are of ambivalent alienability and that àɸɸá is used in the first and second persons for alienable possessive structures. àɸɸá is unacceptable to use with any persons other than first or second. For instance, something like (47) below is unacceptable in Danyigbe:

- (47) a. *wó m- àɸɸá mɛ xólɔ
 3PL.GEN GEN- home GEN friend
 Intended: 'their friend'
- b. *àɸɸá -wó mɛ xólɔ
 home -3PL.GEN GEN friend
 Intended: 'their friend'

Thus, the conclusions about the function of àɸɸá appear accurate. The noun àɸɸá itself means 'home,' but does not contribute meaning of any semantic value – it is purely structural in these cases.

5.3 Kinship and Possession

Though tangential to pronouns, work with Danyigbe has yielded some variability in kinship terms that is relevant to person. For instance:

- (48) a. naná -nə
 mother-1SG.GEN
 'my mother' (inalienable)
- b. mià nané
 1PL.GEN mother
 'our mother' (inalienable)
- (49) a. *nanε -nə
 mother -1SG.GEN
 Intended: 'my mother' (inalienable)
- b. *mià naná
 1SG.PL mother
 Intended: 'our mother' (inalienable)

The distribution of *naná* and *nanε* is striking. Both mean 'mother,' but the former is restricted to first and second person, whereas the latter occurs in all of the plural persons. Furthermore, the form of 'mother' which occurs in the third person singular is neither of these two:

- (50) nànié
 mother:3SG.GEN
 'his/her mother' (inalienable)

A similar distribution holds for other kinship terms like 'father' and 'sibling':

- (51) tàtié (from *tatá*, 'father')
 father:3SG.GEN
 'his/her father' (inalienable)
- (52) nòvìá (from *nɔví*, 'sibling')
 sibling:3SG.GEN
 'his/her sibling' (inalienable)

Clearly, this is a fascinating area of Danyigbe grammar. But, at present, too little data has been collected on these alternations to provide a comprehensive explanation.

6. Logophoric Paradigm

The logophoric pronouns in Ewe have garnered significant attention in academic literature (c.f. Clements, 1975; Pearson, 2015). Danyigbe has two logophoric pronouns which encode only number and can be used with the second and third persons (**Table 7**). These logophoric pronouns occur in embedded complements to some verbs of "speech, thoughts, or feeling" (Clements, 1975) when the subject of the matrix clause is co-referential with a pronoun within the complement clause. Logophoric pronouns may occur in all of the same (embedded) environments as other pronouns.

Logophoric Paradigm

LOG.SG	ji	LOG.PL	wò
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Table 7 The logophoric pronominal paradigm of Danyigbe.

Note that the low tone *wò* is homophonous and not to be confused with the *wò* which occurs in *wh*-questions (§3).

In examples that contain logophoric pronouns, it is important to indicate what each pronoun refers to. To do so, subscripted letters will indicate a co-referential relationship between a pronoun and its antecedent.

- (53) a. *Nominative*
- i. kofi_i b́á j_i gbɔ.
 K. COMP LOG.SG return
 'Kofi_i said he_i returned.'
- ii. wó_i b́á wò_i gbɔ.
 3PL.NOM COMP LOG.PL return
 'They_i said they_i returned.'
- b. *Accusative*
- kofi_i b́á áma kpó j_i.
 K. COMP A. see LOG.SG
 'Kofi_i said Ama saw him_i.'
- c. *Genitive*
- kofi_i b́á j_i (mə) xólb dzó.
 K. COMP LOG.SG (GEN) friend leave
 'Kofi_i said his_i friend left.'

In the sentences of (53), it is only possible for *ji* or *wò* to refer back to the co-indexed entity.

In Danyigbe it is also acceptable to replace the logophoric pronouns in these positions with the third-person singular pronoun, *á* or plural *wó*, but then it is impossible for *á* or *wó* to refer back to the co-indexed entity. Take the sentence in (54) as an example; this sentence is identical to (53a), except for the pronominal subject:

- (54) kofi b́á á gbɔ.
 K. COMP 3SG.NOM return
 'Kofi_i said he_j (someone else) returned.'

It is impossible for *á* in (54) to refer back to *Kofi* and instead it must refer to some other person. As is evident, the logophoric pronouns are notable for clarifying an ambiguity which is present in many other languages.

7. Reflexives and Reciprocals

The Danyigbe reflexive and reciprocal anaphors are morphologically complex and are composed of an inalienable genitive pronoun together with *dókwi*, 'self' (reflexive) or *nɔ̀è-wó*, 'each other' (reciprocal). The syntax of these two constructions closely resemble each other.

Reflexives (**Table 8**) may occur in any person, but reciprocals may only occur with plurals (for semantic reasons which require reciprocals to have plural antecedents). The genitive structure of each construction obeys the descriptions put forth earlier (§5). For example, the enclitic behavior of first and second person still holds true for reflexive forms:

- (55) mə kpó d̀òkwí -nə.
 1SG.NOM see self -1SG.GEN
 'I saw myself.'
- (56) ə kpó d̀òkwí -wo.
 2SG.NOM see self -2SG.GEN
 'You saw yourself.'
- (57) mì kpó mià- d̀òkwí.
 1PL.NOM see 1PL.GEN-self
 'We saw ourselves.'

There are obvious differences in the tone of *self* in the first and second persons, where it occurs with a low tone on the first syllable and a high tone on the second. In all other persons, it is pronounced with a high tone on the first syllable and a mid tone on the second.

1SG	ɖòkwí-ɲə	1PL	mìà-ɖókwi
2SG	ɖòkwí -wo	2PL	mia-ɖókwi
3SG	(á)-ɖókwi	3PL	(wó)-ɖókwi
LOG.SG	ji-ɖókwi	LOG.PL	wò-ɖókwi

Table 8 The reflexive forms in Danyigbe.

In Danyigbe, there are several potential reciprocal forms (**Table 9**) all of which have *ǹ̀è-wó* as their origin. Here are three different sentences with the exact same meaning which all have slight variants of this reciprocal form:

- (58) a. wó kpó wó- ǹ̀è -wó.
 3PL see 3PL- each.other -PL
 'They saw each other.'
- b. wó kpó wó- ǹ̀ǹ̀è -wó.
 3PL see 3PL- each.other -PL
 'They saw each other.'
- c. wó kpó wó- ǹ̀ǹ̀è.
 3PL see 3PL- each.other
 'They saw each other.'

The reciprocal form *ǹ̀è-wó* is morphologically complex and has the plural marker *-wó* suffixed to it. In (58a), it is unacceptable to drop the plural suffix. In (58b), we see that *ǹ̀è-wó*

may also be pronounced as *ǹǹǹè-wó*, which has a partial reduplication of the first syllable. If this form is reduplicated, then the plural marker is optional, as shown in the acceptability of (58c). These changes and any tone alternations are indicated in **Table 9**.

1PL	<i>mìà-(ǹ)̀ǹè(-wó)</i>
2PL	<i>mia-(ǹ)̀ǹè(-wó)</i>
3PL	<i>wó-(ǹ)̀ǹè(-wó)</i>
LOG.PL	<i>wò-(ǹ)̀ǹè(-wò)</i>

Table 9 The reciprocal forms in Danyigbe.

The logophoric pronouns *ji* and *wò* may also act as genitive modifiers of a reflexive, but only *wò* may modify the reciprocal (only *wò* is plural).

- (59) *kofi_i bá ji_i kpó ji_i -dókwi.*
 K. COMP LOG.SG see LOG.SG -self
 'Kofi_i said he_i saw himself_i.'
- (60) *wó_i bá wò_i kpó wò_i -dókwi.*
 3PL.NOM COMP LOG.PL see LOG.PL -self
 'They_i said they_i saw themselves_i.'
- (61) *wó_i bá wò_i kpó wò_i- ǹǹǹè -wò.*
 3PL.NOM COMP LOG.PL see LOG.PL each.other -PL
 'They_i said they_i saw each other.'

Should a logophoric reflexive be used, it is unacceptable in Danyigbe for the subject of the embedded clause and its reflexive GEN-*dókwi* are not either both logophoric pronouns or non-logophoric pronouns:

- (62) *kofi_i bá é_j kpó ji_i -dókwi.
 K. COMP LOG.SG see LOG.SG -self
 Intended: 'Kofi_i said he_j saw himself_i.'
- (63) *kofi_i bá ji_i kpó é_i -dókwi.
 K. COMP LOG.SG see LOG.SG -self
 Intended: 'Kofi_i said he_i saw himself_j.'

8. References & Further Reading

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