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EXPLORING ASPECTS OF REPORTED SPEECH IN VEHICULAR JULA OF
BURKINA FASO

by

Susan Marie Locklin
Bachelor of Arts, Houghton College, 2008

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

Grand Forks, North Dakota

May
2021

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This thesis, submitted by Susan Locklin in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

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Susan Locklin
May 2021

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ALL	allative
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
FOC	focus
FUT	future
IDEO	ideophone
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
JUSS	jussive
LOG	logophoric pronoun
N	proper noun
NEG	negation, negative
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
POST	postposition
PRS	present
PRT	particle
PROG	progressive

PST past
PTCP participle
Q question particle/marker
QUOT quotative particle
SG singular

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a systematic description of reported speech in vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso as well as the degree to which several recent models of reported speech would account for the two distinct variations of reported speech found in Jula. The descriptive and theoretical aspects of this thesis speak into the fields of typology, discourse, and pragmatics. Some of the interesting typological aspects of Jula reported speech are the use of logophoric pronouns in one category of reported speech, the fact that a quotative particle is present with both categories of reported speech, and the fact that pronominal cataphors are associated with certain speech verbs. Quotation-initial margins are obligatory in Jula and quotation-medial margins can be used for pragmatic purposes.

The models used to analyze the corpus data of this thesis are the typological patterns associated with the direct-indirect dichotomy (Aikhenvald (2008) and Li (1986)) and the models introduced in Aikhenvald (2008), Nikitina (2012c), and Evans (2013). The conclusion is that none of these models is able to fully and elegantly categorize the Jula data. The default versus marked framework, as presented in Levinsohn (in press) and based on the work of Prague School linguists such as Jakobson (1972), is not a reported speech model itself and so does not address all the typological issues involved in categorizing speech types. However, it contributes to the analysis of the Jula data and to questions raised by these models about the pragmatic distribution of speech types. If incorporated into reported speech models, this framework could better equip them to categorize reported speech in languages such as Jula.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The distinction between direct and indirect speech is so common in English and other Indo-European languages that it is easy to think that those two options are linguistic universals. Certain scholars have been arguing since at least the 1970s, however, that the picture may not be quite that simple (Perrin (1974) and Hedinger (1984), *inter alia*). Their solution was to introduce the idea of *combined speech* to describe what did not fit into the direct-indirect dichotomy. Since then, scholars have continued to struggle to find a model that better explains cross-linguistic data. Among the models proposed are those of scholars such as Aikhenvald (2008) who have explored a middle ground now often called *semi-direct speech*. Other models include Evans (2013), who adds the concept of *biperspectival* to those of *direct* and *indirect* in his canonical approach to reported speech, and Nikitina (2012c), who introduces a model for categorization based on person alignment patterns. These scholars, among many others, have each tried to explain the beautiful complexity and diversity of reported speech in the world's languages. Other scholars have not tried to create a new model for reported speech, but have still discussed pragmatic linguistic frameworks that can be used to describe it; of particular note in this thesis is the default versus marked framework mentioned in Levinsohn (in press) and based on the work of Prague School linguists such as Roman Jakobson (1972).

One of the challenges in the creation of adequate models of reported speech has been a lack of in-depth case studies from a variety of world languages, leading to a call for data from more languages (Evans (2013), Schlenker (2003a), Nikitina (2012c), and Nikitina & Vydrina 2020, *inter alia*). In response to this call, this thesis explores aspects of reported speech in vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso with the hopes that this data and analysis will be a stepping stone toward a more complete understanding of the complex world of reported speech.

This thesis is significant because it gives new data and initial analysis that can be used by other scholars in the current debate over the typology of reported speech. It also is an important addition to the field of research on Mande languages, and Jula in particular, since very little scholarly research has been published about vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso other than in the domain of sociolinguistics.

Chapter 2 introduces the language and the speakers of the language, the applicable literature, the corpus used in this study, and some grammatical and typological features of Jula that are important in understanding the rest of the thesis. This is followed by a chapter describing Jula reported speech (Chapter 3), including the different elements of Jula quotation margins and when they can be omitted; pronouns (including logophoric pronouns), verbs, deictics, and other aspects of the quotations themselves; and other aspects of Jula discourse that function in ways similar to reported speech. The next chapter, 4, is a discussion of how these aspects of Jula reported speech relate to different models on reported speech, namely that of the direct-indirect dichotomy; Aikhenvald's (2008) model that includes semi-direct speech; Nikitina's (2012c) model for categorization based on person alignment patterns; and Evans' (2013) canonical model of reported speech which includes biperspectival as well as direct and indirect canonical reported speech. Chapter 4 also includes a discussion of the default versus marked framework and its application to speech reporting categories. In this chapter it can be seen that, while none of the reported speech models satisfactorily describe the data, the default versus marked framework can account for the differences in the two different ways that Jula reported speech can be presented. This thesis concludes in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 2

Background and methods

Jula [dyu], also spelled Dioula or Dyula, is a Western Mande language spoken in northern Ivory Coast, western Burkina Faso, and southeastern Mali. It is the mother tongue of over two million Jula people throughout this three-country region and is also used as a lingua franca by more than ten million people of diverse ethnicities throughout the region (Vydrine, personal communication). Though Jula is considered a single language, there are slightly distinct language varieties being spoken both (1) between the Jula people and those of other ethnicities who use it as a lingua franca and (2) between the Jula speakers living in the different countries (see Sanogo (2013) for a discussion of some of the differences). A Jula speaker can distinguish, through listening to the speech of another speaker, both where they are from and whether or not they belong to the Jula ethnic group (Sanogo 2013). The varieties spoken by people not of the Jula ethnic group can be called its lingua franca versions or, as I refer to them throughout this paper, the vehicular forms of the Jula language. Though these forms of Jula are trade languages and may not have been the mother tongue of many of their speakers a few generations ago, vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso was already being used as a trade language in the city of modern-day Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, as early as the early twentieth century (Sanogo 2013). Today it is one of the main languages spoken in the city of Bobo-Dioulasso, is the mother tongue of a few generations of children who have grown up there, and has become a large part of the identity of those who call Bobo-Dioulasso home (Sanogo 2013). In fact, though it was simplified as it became a trade language (Sanogo 2013), it is now well into the process of "revernacularisation" (Sanogo 2011:8). Besides being the main language spoken in Bobo-Dioulasso, it is also the mother tongue of some of those living in smaller villages throughout western Burkina Faso.

Throughout this thesis, whenever I use the term *Jula* without another descriptor, it refers to vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso.

2.1 Literature

The Mande languages, of which Jula is a member, are themselves a subset of the Niger-Congo language family. The first known scholarly literature about Mande languages appeared very early in the 20th century and was written by a scholar named Delafosse (Delafosse 1901). He wrote about Jula itself as early as 1929 (Delafosse 1929).

A small amount of literature has been written about the vehicular Jula of Ivory Coast (Partmann (1975), Goerling (1988) and Koné (1987-88)), and Dérive (1976) compared the vehicular Jula of Ivory Coast with three dialects of Jula spoken in the country by the Jula people themselves. More recently Sanogo has made significant contributions to the study of vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso, especially in the field of sociolinguistics (see Sanogo (2011) and Sanogo (2013) among many others).

Jula's closest relative is Bambara [bam] of Mali. The most prolific writer on the Bambara language is Valentin Vydrine (see, for example, Vydrine & Coulibaly (1994, 1995), and Vydrine (1999, 2019)). Bambara has also been studied by others such as Bird (1968), Masiuk (1994), Zribi-Hertz & Hanne (1995), and Blecke (2004). Vydrine (personal communication) believes that vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso is closer to Bambara of Mali than British English is to American English. While Sanogo (2013) agrees that Jula is very closely related to its closest linguistic relatives, he argues that it is still differentiated from them on phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical levels.

Other scholars have written about other Mande languages, such as Creissel's (1983, 2009) studies on Mandinka and Malinké (see also Creissels & Sambou (2013), *inter alia*) and Zoungrana's (1987) dissertation on the very closely-related Bolon language's phonology and grammar.

Though a body of literature exists about certain Mande languages such as Bambara and Bolon, the literature on aspects of Mande discourse is quite limited. Specific studies include Goerling (1988), who describes how contrast is marked in the Jula of Ivory

Coast; Masiuk (1994), who focuses mainly on discourse particles while also describing focus pronouns and extraposition; and Zribi-Hertz & Hanne (1995), who discuss pronouns, determiners, and relative markers in Bambara of Mali. Nikitina (2011, 2012b, 2012a, 2012c, 2018, 2019, 2020a, and Nikitina & Vydrina 2020) has published some of the latest scholarship on Mande discourse, focusing on reported speech in the Wan language as well as cross-linguistically. Woodham (2003) is another scholar whose work focuses on reported speech; she studies San, another Mande language.

This topic of reported speech has been discussed by scholars for years, with a significant amount of the linguistic literature focusing on describing differences between direct and indirect speech reporting. The strict direct-indirect dichotomy was shown to be inadequate for describing certain African languages such as Mambila and Akɔɔse by scholars such as Perrin (1974) and Hedinger (1984) respectively. A good overview of the history of this question until the 1980s is given in Coulmas (1986).¹ Even today the question of whether a direct-indirect or direct-semidirect-indirect continuum is a language universal is still under debate. Scholars such as Aikhenvald (2008) argue that this continuum is a language universal while others try to explain the complexities of reported speech from varying angles: Nikitina (2012c and 2020a) focuses on person alignment, Evans (2013) adheres to the canonical method in linguistic typology, and Schlenker (2003a and 2003b) describes it through formal semantics. Other scholars, such as Güldemann (2008) and Spronck (2017, *inter alia*), focus on the linguistic structures introducing the reported speech (called *quotation margins* in this thesis).

One important aspect of Jula reported speech is the presence of a logophoric pronoun, which is a pronoun within reported speech which is co-referent to the reported speaker of that reported speech. The term *logophoric pronouns* (*pronoms logophoriques*) was first coined by Hagège (1974). Since then these pronouns that are typically found in West African languages have been studied and described by many scholars, including Clements (1975), Culy (1994 & 1997), Comrie (2004) and Nikitina (2012b).

¹ According to Coulmas (1986), both Tobler (1894) and Kalepky (1899), together with many others of their time, were already trying to define a third category for reported speech in the late 19th century. Since both of their works are in German, a language I do not speak, I have not been able to independently verify Coulmas' claims about their work.

This section is a very brief introduction to a few of the many pieces of relevant literature. Chapter 4 includes much more on the literature, mainly focusing on the traditional direct-indirect dichotomy as described in Li (1986) and Aikhenvald (2008); the more recent models of Aikhenvald (2008), Nikitina (2012c), and Evans (2013); and a default versus marked framework mentioned in Levinsohn (in press) and based on the work of linguists such as Jakobson (1972).

Though much has been written, much remains to be studied and described both about Mande languages, and Jula in particular, and about reported speech. Through this thesis I add to the knowledge and description in both of these fields.

2.2 Corpus

The analysis in this thesis is based on original data that I recorded orally and transcribed. Some of these stories were recorded and sent through WhatsApp while I was in the United States; I personally recorded the rest while on-site in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, in 2013, 2014, or 2019.²

This study is based on a corpus of nine texts from five different Jula speakers of four different ethnic backgrounds, all who live in Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso, and who are competent and comfortable in vehicular Jula. All but one of these speakers grew up speaking Jula as at least one of their mother tongues. The speaker who did not have Jula as a mother tongue began speaking the language at age seven and now uses it more often in daily life than her first language. The speakers range in age from their 20s to late 40s or 50s. They are all women, since in Bobo-Dioulasso the women are often more fluent and comfortable in Jula; this is also because of gender issues in working overseas and the fact that I myself am a woman. The stories in the corpus include 3rd person narratives, retellings of world stories, 1st person narratives, and folktales. It is worth noting that all of the world stories, which are, in this case, Biblical stories, are retellings and not translations. The speaker was asked to tell specific Bible stories and, because she

² Thank you to the speakers who provided me with stories, both those whose stories I included in this corpus and those whose stories I was not able to. The speakers whose stories are included in this thesis are: DEMBELE Sali, KAMBOU Noelie, TRAORE Fatoumata, TRAORE Karidia, and ZINGUE Kamoutio. They graciously gave me oral permission to use their stories, as per the UND IRB requirements.

knew them well, was able to tell them from memory. They follow typical Jula discourse patterns.

I transcribed these nine texts and then free translated and interlinearized them in the SIL software Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEX). My proficiency level in Jula allowed me to do the transcription, free translation, and interlinearization myself, though I was able to consult with mother tongue speakers when I ran into difficulties.

The entire corpus is available as appendices to this thesis.

2.3 Typological and grammatical attributes of Jula

2.3.1 Word order

Jula is an SV/OV (SOV) language with a fixed word order. Many of the tense, aspect, and mood (TAM) markers are free morphemes that occur between the subject and the object, though, so it could be better described as an S Aux O V language. This can be seen in (1), data taken from Sanogo (2013:270).

- (1) *S Aux O V*
U bi i weele-ra.
3PL PRS 2SG call-PROG
'They are calling you.' Sanogo (2013:270)

It is also important to note that though many of the TAM markers are free morphemes, some TAM is also indicated by means of a verbal suffix, as can be seen in (1). This is especially common for intransitive verbs, as the past tense marker for intransitive verbs is a verbal suffix as opposed to the free morpheme used with transitive verbs. In these cases, even though other TAM markers or a negation marker can still occupy the Aux position, it is also possible for this position to be empty, as can be seen in (2).

- (2) *S V*
O taa-ra.
3PL go-PST
'They went.' Joseph:121

As was mentioned above, Jula has a fixed word order. The constituents must occur in their own positions and cannot be left implicit. The only exception to this outside of a reported speech context is when a single subject is the subject of two or more consecutive clauses in the same sentence; in this case the null anaphora is obligatory in the second clause. The TAM of the second verb is also reduced to a single infinitive morpheme, *ka* (or its contracted form, *k'*). This is because in these clauses the TAM, in addition to the subject, is obligatorily identical to that of the preceding clause.³ Examples of this can be seen in (3) and (4).

- (3) *S* *Aux O V* *Aux O V*
Cε-kɔrɔba *ye daa minε k' a tugu.*
 man-old.person PST door take INF 3SG close
 'The old man took the door and closed it.' Sorcerer:46

In (3), the subject of the second clause is absent because it is the same as that of the first clause. Also, the past tense marker, *ye*, is replaced in the second clause with *k'*, the contracted form of the infinitive marker; this is because the TAM of the second clause is identical to that of the preceding clause.

- (4) *S* *V* *Aux V*
Kɔnɔni bɔ-ra *ka ben.*
 bird go.out-PST INF fall
 'The bird went out and fell down.' Sorcerer:51

In (4) it is seen that the same is true with intransitive verbs; the subject is absent in the second clause and the TAM of the second verb is reduced to the infinitive marker *ka*.

In Jula, though the direct object occurs before the verb, the indirect object and other optional constituents occur after the verb. This means that the sentence structure is now more accurately represented as S Aux O V X, where X can be the indirect object, the location, a time word, and/or other optional constituents.⁴ An example of a locative

³ This infinitive marker *ka* is only absent in these constructions after the verbs *taa* or *taga* 'go' and *na* 'come'.

⁴ Wan (Nikitina 2020b), Guro (Kuznetsova 2021), and Kakabe (Vydrina 2021) are related Mande languages that also have rigid S-Aux-O-V-X word orders.

postpositional phrase occurring post-verbally is given in (5) and an example of both an indirect object and an adverb occurring post-verbally is given in (6).⁵

- (5) *S Aux O V Loc*
Yusufu y'... a don Benjamin ka bərə kənə.
 N PST... 3SG put.in N POSS sack inside
 'Joseph ... put it in Benjamin's sack. (The complete sentence was 'Joseph took that water glass and put it in Benjamin's sack.')
- Joseph:141

In (5), the phrase *Benjamin ka bərə kənə* 'in Benjamin's sack' explains the location where Joseph put the object and occurs post-verbally.

- (6) *S Aux V IO Adv*
 [*Ale fana tena maga a ra fana.*]
 LOG also NEG.FUT touch 3SG POST also
 'He also will not touch her.'
- Joseph:33

In (6) it is seen that the Jula verb *maga* 'to touch' takes an indirect object, *a ra* 'her'. This also occurs post-verbally, and is followed by the adverb *fana* 'also'.

2.3.2 Verbs

As is explored in much more depth in 3.2 below, some speech verbs take their addressee as direct objects, as in (7), and others take their addressee as indirect objects, as in (8).

- (7) *S Aux O V*
Ala y' a jininga, ko...
 God PST 3SG ask QUOT...
 'God asked him ...'
- Moses:46

- (8) *S Aux V Aux V IO*
Ne bamuso be to ka lakali anu ye ko...
 1SG mother PRS continue INF tell 1PL.FOC POST QUOT...
 'My mother keeps telling us that ...'
- Sorcerer:1

⁵ The brackets in the interlinear examples are around reported speech, reported cognition (see 3.8.1 below), or reported purpose (see 3.8.2 below). This is to help the reader clearly see the boundary between the speech report and the rest of the sentence.

As is discussed in 3.2 below, addressees that function as direct objects are obligatory, whereas addressees that function as indirect objects are optional.

There is never any person agreement, either with subjects or objects, on Jula verbs. This can be seen in the examples above as well as those below.

There are two types of commands in Jula - imperatives and jussives. Imperatives, as in (9), have no mention of the person to whom the command is given, though they can only be addressed to a 2nd person; there are no 1st or 3rd person imperatives in Jula.

- (9) O V
 [Saa nin ta...]
 snake DEM.SG take...
 “Take this snake ...” Moses:54

In (9), someone is told to pick up a snake. The verb is given in its uninflected form, which is the form used for imperatives and many other TAMs. The fact that there is no subject and pro-drop is not allowed in Jula shows that it is an imperative.

The second type of command in Jula is a jussive. Functionally, the jussive is more mitigated than the imperative form of a command. A jussive, unlike an imperative, has an explicit subject. Jussives also include the jussive mood marker, *ka* ‘JUSS’ between the subject and the verb.⁶ And, unlike the imperative, jussives can be given to any of the three persons. A 1st person example is given in (10), a 2nd person example is given in (11) and a 3rd person example is given in (12).⁷

⁶ For both negative imperatives and negative jussives, the negative imperative/jussive marker *kana* ‘IMP/JUSS.NEG’ is used. The imperative is seen in (i) and the jussive in (ii).

- (i) *Ala y’ a fɔ a ʒe na ko [kana siran saa nin ʒe.]*
 God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT IMP/JUSS.NEG fear snake DEM.SG in.front.of
 ‘God said to him, “Don’t be afraid of this snake.”’ Moses:53
- (ii) *Mɛlɛkɛ y’ a fɔ a ʒe na ko [a kana faran Mariama ra*
 angel PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 3SG IMP/JUSS.NEG break.up Mary POST
kɔnɔ nin kɔsɔn.]
 pregnancy DEM.SG because.of
 ‘The angel said to him that he shouldn’t break up with Mary because of this pregnancy.’ Noel:27

⁷ The examples of jussives in my data all come from reported speech. This is because the corpus consists entirely of narratives. My knowledge of the language, however, leads to the conclusion that jussives can be used with all three persons across the board and not simply in reported speech. The 1st person example in (10) is taken from Sanogo (2013:273) because it is simpler than those in the corpus; there are, however, 1st person examples in the corpus as well.

(10) S Aux V
 An ka tulongke.
 1PL JUSS play
 'Let's play.' Sanogo (2013:273)

(11) S Aux V
 [...tori, ele fana ka yelema...]
 ...toad 2SG.FOC also JUSS turn.around...
 '(He said, "Good; now, since mine, Scorpion's, are completed,) Toad, you should
 turn around too (and I'll do mine.)' Six:46

(12) S Aux V O V
 [O ka na ale bato.]
 3PL JUSS come LOG worship
 'They should come worship him.' Moses:35

In all three of these examples the subject pronoun is followed by the jussive mood marker, *ka*, which, in turn, is followed by the uninflected form of a verb.

2.3.3 Pronouns

Jula has six main pronouns, one for each of the three persons in both singular and plural. There is no distinction between masculine and feminine pronouns. There is also no case or noun class marking in Jula, whether on the nouns or pronouns. The six main Jula pronouns are shown in (13), including the allomorphic variations for certain ones.

(13) Jula pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1	ne / n	an
2	i / e	aw
3	a	o / u

Jula also has focus pronouns, which are longer forms of the original pronouns.⁸ They are created through the addition of the Jula focus particle *le* to the unmarked pronoun, though sometimes in a slightly modified form. The focus pronouns are given in (14).

(14) Jula focus pronouns

	Non-focus pronoun	Focus pronoun
1st person singular	n / ne	ne ⁹
2nd person singular	i / e	ele
3rd person singular	a	ale
1st person plural	an	anu
2nd person plural	aw	alu
3rd person plural	o / u	olu

The difference between unmarked pronouns and these focus pronouns can be seen in the difference between (15) and (16), both taken from the same story. The unmarked pronoun appears in (15) and the focus pronoun in (16).

(15) *A y' a lamɔ.*
 3SG PST 3SG bring.up.(a.child)
 'She raised him.' Moses:14

(16) *Ale y' a lamɔ.*
 3SG.FOC PST 3SG bring.up.(a.child)
 'It was she who raised him.' Moses:13

When the form used for the 3rd person singular focus pronoun, *ale*, is used in reported speech, it functions as a logophoric pronoun.^{10, 11} In many cases of reported speech in Jula, this logophoric pronoun is coreferent with the speaker of the reported speech and the unmarked form of the pronoun is used for participants not coreferent with the reported

⁸ The term *focus* is being used as defined in Callow (1974:52). It is a spotlight highlighting a thematic event or certain participant at a given point in time. It has a limited domain and so needs to be renewed periodically. Other scholars, such as Levinsohn (in press), may prefer calling this *thematic prominence*, though nothing in my argument hinges on the terminology used.

⁹ Thank you to Silué Lacina for pointing out that this can be the focus form of the pronoun.

¹⁰ A logophoric pronoun is a special pronoun used in reported speech to differentiate the speaker of the reported speech from other participants.

¹¹ This is similar to the way that emphatic pronouns in Gbaya (Roncador 1992:171) and thematic pronouns in San (Woodham 2003) can function as logophoric pronouns in reported speech. It appears as if Bekwarra emphatic pronouns also function as logophoric pronouns, though Stanford's (1967) grammatical description was written before the creation of the term and the understanding of its exact function.

speaker: either the addressee of the reported speech or another participant in the narrative (see 3.4 for the other person alignment strategy available in Jula). This can be seen in the extract of a dialogue between God_i and Moses_j given in (17). Here, God_i is telling Moses_j that he_j can do as he_i commanded, but Moses objects, saying that he_j cannot. As can be seen, when Moses is the reported speaker in (17b), he is referred to in the reported speech with the logophoric pronoun. But when God is the reported speaker in (17a), Moses is referred to in the reported speech with the unmarked form of the pronoun.^{12, 13}

- (17) a. *Ala ko k' [a be se.]*
 God QUOT QUOT 3SG PRS be.able
 'God_i says that he_j can.' Moses:41
- b. *Musa ko [ale te se.]*
 Moses QUOT LOG NEG be.able
 'Moses_j says that he_j can't.' Moses:42

These logophoric pronouns and their use in reported speech are discussed in much greater detail in 3.4.1 and 3.4.3 below.

¹² The reason why there are two quotative markers in (17a) is discussed in 3.2.3.

¹³ Though the logophoric pronoun is not a 3rd person pronoun, throughout this thesis I have translated it with an English 3rd person pronoun in the free translations unless noted elsewhere.

CHAPTER 3

Description of Jula reported speech

This chapter focuses on aspects of Jula reported speech that are important to scholars in the discipline and which can be used to classify reported speech, both into the more traditional direct-indirect categories and into some of the more recent categories of reported speech, such as the categories proposed in Aikhenvald's (2008) direct-semidirect-indirect continuum, Nikitina's (2012c) model for categorization based on person alignment patterns, and Evans' (2013) three canonical reported speech categories in his canonical approach. After the lengthy descriptive material in this chapter, Chapter 4 discusses some of the implications of this data on different models of reported speech.

Because reported speech theory will be addressed in Chapter 4, a purposeful decision has been made to present the language data in this chapter in a manner as free from the confines of theory as possible in order to make it as applicable cross-theoretically as possible. For those who desire a glimpse into how this descriptive material relates to theory before arriving in Chapter 4, I include here a brief overview of some aspects of reported speech that commonly distinguish direct speech from indirect speech.

According to Aikhenvald (2008) and Li (1986), there are several aspects of the quotation margin that can make this distinction. These include the following:

A. In some languages with both direct and indirect speech, the direct speech may be able to have a quotation-medial margin, whereas the indirect speech cannot (Aikhenvald 2008:414-415).

B. Indirect speech can have a quotative particle or complementizer of some sort, whereas this is more rare in direct speech (Aikhenvald 2008:413, Li 1986:34-36).

C. A quotation margin is often more necessary for indirect speech than for direct speech. Also, there is often a larger variety of speech verbs that can be used for indirect

speech than direct speech, such that in "many cases if a verb can occur with a direct speech report it can occur with an indirect one" (Aikhenvald 2008:413).

Also according to Aikhenvald (2008) and Li (1986), there are several aspects of the quotation itself that can distinguish direct from indirect speech. These include the following:

D. Often direct speech uses first and second person pronouns to refer to the reported speaker and reported addressee respectively, whereas indirect speech uses third person pronouns (Li 1986:30-31, see also Aikhenvald 2008:411).

E. The verb forms sometimes, but not always, change between direct and indirect speech. For example, the TAM on verbs in direct speech is often the same as it would have been when originally spoken, whereas in indirect speech the TAM is often back-shifted or a special verb form is used (Aikhenvald 2008:412-413).

F. Commands and questions can often only be expressed in direct speech (Li 1986:37, Aikhenvald 2008:412-413).

G. In direct speech, spatial and temporal deictics are based on the reported speaker's perspective; in indirect speech, they are often based on the current speaker's perspective (Aikhenvald 2008:411-412, Li 1986:34).

H. In most languages, only direct speech can include vocatives and exclamations (Aikhenvald 2008:414).

I. Often, reported indirect speech consists of a single full clause; direct speech can be both shorter and longer than this (Aikhenvald 2008:415).

These aspects of Jula reported speech are some that will be discussed throughout the rest of this chapter.

In this thesis, the terms *current speaker* and *current addressee* are used to refer to the actual person telling the story and her actual addressee, respectively. These terms are the same as those used by Aikhenvald (2008)¹ and Nikitina (2012c), though Güldemann (2008) uses the terms *reporter* and *audience*, respectively, and Evans (2013) prefers the terms *primary speaker* and *primary addressee*.

¹ Though Aikhenvald (2008) uses the term *current speaker*, she never actually mentions the current addressee in her article.

In this thesis the terms *reported speaker* and *reported addressee* are used to refer to the participant in the story who is being quoted and the person or people that they are talking to. Though these terms are the same as those used by Nikitina (2012c) and Evans (2013), Gldemann (2008) uses the terms *speaker* and *addressee* respectively. The *reported speaker* of this thesis is also the same as Aikhenvald's (2008) *original speaker* and Li's (1986) *reporter-speaker*.

The terms used in this thesis are labeled in Figure 1 to give a visual representation.

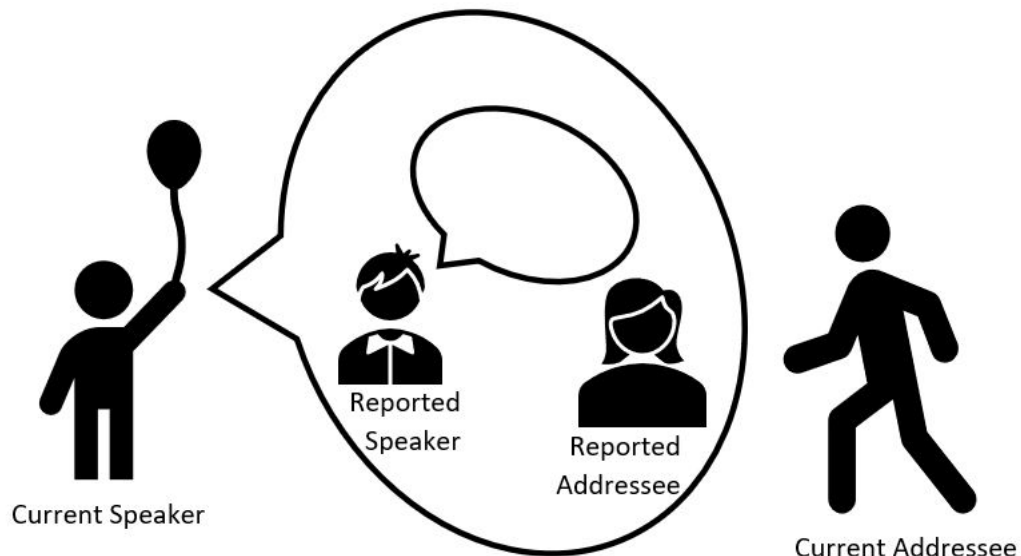


Figure 1. Reported speech - a visual representation

In this figure, the boy with the balloon is telling a story to the running man. In the story, the man with the bow tie told the lady something. Thus, the boy with the balloon is the current speaker and the running man is the current addressee; the man with the bow tie is the reported speaker and the lady is the reported addressee.

3.1 Location of Jula quotation margins

Quotation margins are the clauses that introduce quotations. This is a term taken from Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:16). These quotation margins are alternatively what Gldemann (2008, 2019) refers to as *quotative indexes*, Perrin (1974) refers to as *reporting clauses*, Aikhenvald (2008) calls *framing clauses* (389) or examples of a *reporting ('matrix')*

clause (407), Longacre (1996:89) calls *quotation formulas*, Longacre & Hwang (2012:9) call *quote formulas*, Dooley & Levinsohn (2001:97) and Levinsohn (in press) call *speech orienters*, Spronck & Nikitina (2019) refer to as *matrix clauses*, and Woodham (2003:96) calls *formules d'orientation* (in French). Examples of quotation margins in English would be *he said* and *she told him the other day that*. Quotation margins are a specific type of matrix clause since they only introduce quotations and other things that function similarly (see 3.8 for an introduction to reported cognition and reported purpose, which function similarly).

In this thesis the actual reported speech itself, which the quotation margin introduces, is called the *quotation*, the *reported speech content*, or the *speech report*. The former comes from conventional English grammar; the two latter are based on Aikhenvald's (2008:384) *speech report content*. These three terms are used interchangeably in this thesis.

Cross-linguistically, quotation margins can occur before the reported speech content, after the reported speech content, or quotation-medially. Some languages, including the related languages San (Woodham 2003:100) and Guro (Kuznetsova 2021), can also leave the quotation margin implicit (see Spronck (2017) for a discussion of *defenestration*).

In the Jula corpus used for this thesis, however, there is an explicit quotation margin introducing every instance of reported speech. Not only that, but for every instance of reported speech in the corpus there is a quotation-initial margin.^{2, 3} An example of such a quotation-initial margin is given in (18).⁴

(18) *Muso ye Yusufu weele, ko [foo a ka la n' ale ye.]*
 wife PST N call QUOT until 3SG JUSS lie.down with LOG POST
 'His wife called Joseph, saying that he should sleep with her.' Joseph:31

In (18), the quotation margin informs the current addressee that a woman is calling out to a man named Joseph and that what follows, the quotation itself, is the content of what was communicated by the woman to Joseph.

² Güldemann calls this quotation-initial margin a *preposed cataphoric quotative index* (2008:517).

³ Based on my knowledge of the language, I believe this to be true across the whole language and not only in the corpus.

⁴ As is mentioned above in 2.2, all of the Biblical stories used as examples in this paper were received as retellings, not translations. The speaker was asked to tell the stories, and since she knew them well, she was able to tell them from memory. They follow normal discourse patterns in Jula.

The form and content of these quotation-initial margins are discussed in great detail in 3.2 below. Before that, 3.1.1 first addresses the fact that in certain cases there is a quotation-medial margin in addition to the quotation-initial margin.

3.1.1 Quotation-medial margin

In a few instances in Jula reported speech, an additional quotation margin, consisting of a single quotative particle *ko*, occurs quotation-medially.⁵ This can be seen in (19), where the quotation-medial *ko* is a second quotation margin which introduces the second clause of the reported speech.

(19) *Mɛlɛkɛ dɔ taar' a fɔ sagagwenbaga nunu jɛ na ko*
 angel certain go.PST 3SG say shepherd DEM.PL in.front.of POST QUOT

[*denɲɛnin dɔ wolola o fɛ, wɛrɛ na,*] *ko*
 baby certain be.born.PST 3PL at.the.place.of cattle.pen POST QUOT

[*kisibaga lo.*]

Savior PRT.FOC

'A certain angel went and said to these shepherds *ko* a certain baby was born in their place, in a barn, *ko* he is the savior.'
 Noel:48

These quotation-medial *kos* are pause-filling spacers, "phonologically attenuated elements [which] indicate discontinuity in the information structure" (Dooley 1990:477-478). This discontinuity is clearly seen in (19). Here, the angel told the shepherds that a baby was born in a barn and that this baby was the savior. The important part of his message was not that a baby was born, since there are regularly babies born, nor that the baby was born in a barn; the important part of the message was that the baby was the savior. The quotation-medial *ko* thus separates the less-important information about a baby being born in a barn from the more-important information, that this baby is the savior.

These quotation-medials *kos* can fulfill the following pragmatic functions, which can overlap:

⁵ Güldemann calls this quotation-medial margin an *intraposed quotative index* (2008:517).

1. Separate information of unequal importance, including that which is backgrounded from that which is more highlighted or that which is generic from that which is more specific (see Levinsohn (in press:75-76)). This can be seen in (20).

2. Separate one point from a distinct point, including slowing down the narrative as a tool to build up to a key assertion later in the speech report (see Levinsohn (in press:116)). This is similar to the way that spacers are used in the related language San; in that language they occur each time the reported speech contains a new idea, or at least when the narrator wants to present the contents of the reported speech as more than one distinct idea (Woodham 2003:101-102). A Jula example of this type of quotation-medial *ko* spacer can be seen in (21).

- (20) *W'olo, cε dɔ nin hakilijigira sisan, ko, [Ah,] ko [cε*
 that's.why man certain DEM.SG remember.PST now QUOT ah QUOT man
dɔ be kasobon na kε, a tɔgɔ ko [Yusufu,] k' [a be
 certain COP prison POST PRT 3SG name QUOT N QUOT 3SG PRS
siko kɔrɔ fɔ mɔgɔ jε na.]
 dream meaning say person in.front.of POST
 'So this man remembered now and he said, "Ahh..." that a certain man is in prison,
 his name is Joseph; that he tells people the meaning of dreams.' Joseph:81

Example (20) shows the quotation-medial margin separating information of unequal importance. It begins with the exclamation *ah*, which is separated from the rest of the quotation by a quotation-medial *ko*. This *ah*, being a short, pre-nuclear phrase, is naturally backgrounded with respect to the main clause of the sentence, so it can be separated from the rest of the quotation by the quotation-medial *ko*. The second part of the quotation, 'a certain man is in prison, his name is Joseph', is also backgrounded with respect to the final part of the quotation, 'he tells people the meaning of dreams'. It is this final part that highlighted, hence it is set apart with the quotation-medial *ko*.

- (21) a. *Ala y' a jagwɛɛya k' a fɔ k' [a be se.]*
 God PST 3SG encourage INF 3SG say QUOT 3SG PRS be.able
 'God_i encouraged him_j and said that he_j can.'
 Moses:43
- b. *Ko [nga ale bena a kɔrɔcɛ fara a kan, o ka taa o*
 QUOT but LOG FUT 3SG older.brother add 3SG on 3PL JUSS go DEM
ci nin dafa.]
 mission DEM.SG fulfill
 '(God_i said) that however, he's_i going to add his_j older brother on top (God's
 going to add Moses' older brother to Moses), that they would go accomplish
 this mission.'
 Moses:44

Example (21) shows the quotation-medial margin separating two distinct points. Here, God is talking to a man named Moses. In the first part of the quotation, (21a), God reminds Moses of what he had already told him before - that Moses is perfectly capable of doing what God asked him to do. But in the second part, (21b), God introduces a separate point that had never been mentioned in the narrative before, namely that God will send Moses' older brother to help him do what God had asked him to do. Thus, the quotation-medial *ko* separates the two distinct points.

Though this discussion has focused on the pragmatic use of the quotation-medial *ko*, more research is needed to fully understand its distribution. It is interesting to note that 45% of speech reports that contain this quotation-medial *ko* also contain either a question or some type of command, as in (21). Another 32% do not contain either of these, but include a pre-nuclear phrase or subordinate clause, as in (20).⁶

3.2 Elements of Jula quotation margins

Jula quotation margins can include explicit mention of the subject (reported speaker), verb of speech, direct or indirect object (addressee), quotative particle, and other optional constituents. Since Jula has a very rigid word order, these elements of the quotation margin always occur in the same order. In certain cases, however, each of these can be optional; this leads to a large variety in detail of quotation margins, as can be seen in the

⁶ Kakabe, a Mande language spoken in Guinea, can also have quotation-medial margins. While these normally consist of a single *ko* as in Jula, they may also include a repetition of the subject. Kakabe quotation-medial margins can follow terms of address and interjections Vydrina (2021).

difference between the full quotation margin in (22) and the reduced one in (23). Where each of these elements can be left implicit is discussed in Sections 3.2.1 through Sections 3.2.4.

- (22) *W'olo, ce do nin hakilijigira sisan, ko, [Ah,] ko [ce*
 that's.why man certain DEM.SG remember.PST now QUOT ah QUOT man
do be kasobon na ke, a tɔgɔ ko [Yusufu,] k' [a be
 certain COP prison POST PRT 3SG name QUOT N QUOT 3SG PRS
siko korɔ fo mɔgɔ je na.]
 dream meaning say person in.front.of POST
 'So this man remembered now and he said, "Ahh..." that a certain man is in prison,
 his name is Joseph; that he tells people the meaning of dreams.' Joseph:81

- (23) *Ko [ne nana kado di ale ma,] ko [ne ni ce.]*
 QUOT 1SG come.PST gift give LOG POST QUOT thank.me
 '(He₍₁₎ said) that I₍₂₎ came and give him₍₁₎ a gift, (so he₍₁₎ says) thank me₍₂₎.' Phone:21

Example (22) shows that the quotation margin can have several elements to it; in this example the elements present are a connecting particle (*w'olo*, 'that's why'), the subject (reported speaker reference - *ce do nin*, 'this man'), the verb (*hakilijigira*, 'remembered'), a time word (*sisan*, 'now'), and the quotative particle *ko*. The reduced quotation margin of (23), by contrast, consists of a single morpheme, the quotative particle *ko*.

Two things need to be addressed before each of the elements that can be present in the quotation margin are introduced: that of speech verb categories and that of *drama mode*. These are addressed in turn.

First, there are three different categories of speech verbs; the argument structure of the speech verb chosen in a particular quotation margin impacts the rest of the quotation margin. The three categories of speech verbs are the following, which are addressed in turn.

1. Verbs that take the addressee as a direct object, such as *jininga* 'ask'.
2. Verbs that take the addressee as an indirect object and have no direct object, such as *lakali* 'tell'.

In summary, these three categories of speech verbs give the following three patterns for the elements of the quotation margin, where *Ad* refers to the addressee, *PC* refers to the pronominal cataphor, and *Quot* refers to the quotative particle *ko*.⁸

Table 1. Three categories of argument structure for Jula speech verbs

Category	Elements
1. Addressee = direct object (e.g. <i>jininga</i> ask)	S Aux DO = Ad V Quot
2. Addressee = indirect object; no direct object (e.g. <i>lakali</i> tell)	S Aux V IO = Ad Quot
3. Addressee = indirect object; pronominal cataphor that refers to the content of the reported speech itself = direct object (e.g. <i>fɔ</i> say)	S Aux DO = PC V IO = Ad Quot

The second important topic to be introduced before the upcoming in-depth discussions of the different elements of the quotation margin is that of *drama mode*.

Within narratives, in closed conversations, a manner of reporting the speech which I call *drama mode* can be activated. This terminology is based on Longacre (1996:43), though the term is not used in quite the same way as in that book. In my definition of Jula drama mode, in a fast-paced, tight-knit conversation, the quotation margins can be greatly reduced and consist of either a subject and a quotative particle or just the bare quotative particle *ko*. A *tight-knit conversation*, first coined by Levinsohn (1987:36), is defined as "a closed [reported conversation] in which each successive speaker takes up the same topic of the previous speech and develops the conversation from the point at which the last speaker left off" (Levinsohn in press:114).

Often, when drama mode is activated, there is a series of backgrounded, intermediate steps that lead up to the next significant reported speech. This can be seen in (27), which comes from the Joseph text, lines 165-171. Here, the quotation margins are greatly reduced in each line except (27a), the initial line. Also, the whole dialogue is backgrounded except for the important last line in (27e). This example is translated into English here, though the quotative particle *ko* is retained.⁹ As in the interlinear examples, the reported

⁸ The additional optional constituents that can be allowed in quotation margins are not included in this table. They are addressed in 3.2.4 below.

⁹ See Appendix E for the full interlinear text with a more literal translation.

speech is in brackets. Each new line represents a new speaker. Though logophoric and 3rd person pronouns are used in the original Jula, here it is translated freely in the style of English direct speech to make it easier to follow.

- (27) a. *Joseph was able to say to them now, ko [How is my father?]*
b. *They ko [He's fine.]*
c. *Ko [Is he healthy?]*
d. *Ko [He is healthy.]*
e. *Ko [You should go get our father and bring him here. You'll live in Egypt until the famine is over. Yes. The famine will continue for another five years.]*

In (27), Joseph and his brothers are talking. This closed, fast-paced conversation activates drama mode, where sometimes the reported speech of the new speaker is introduced simply by a *ko*, sometimes by a subject and a *ko*, and sometimes by a more complete quotation margin (though the latter is not present in this example after the initial line). The end of the dialogue in drama mode is the most important part of the dialogue. Jula drama mode is discussed in greater detail in the next few sections, but this brief introduction is necessary to understand the upcoming discussions.

Now that both the three categories of speech verbs and the concept of drama mode have been introduced, the following subsections discuss the different elements of the quotation margin in more depth: the reported speaker (3.2.1), the addressee (3.2.2), the speech verb and quotative particle (3.2.3), and other optional constituents of a quotation margin (3.2.4).

3.2.1 Reported speaker reference in the quotation margin

The reported speaker is explicitly stated in the quotation margin except in the following two cases: (1) if it is explicitly stated in the previous clause of the same sentence and is the subject of both of these clauses or (2) if drama mode is activated. These two instances are addressed in order.

As is discussed above in 2.3.1, even outside of reported speech the subject of a sentence is almost always obligatorily present. Outside of quotation margins, the only time when a subject can be omitted is when a single subject is the subject of two or more consecutive clauses in the same sentence. In this case, the subject is obligatorily omitted in

the second clause, often with the infinitive marker *ka* connecting the clauses.¹⁰ This is true in quotation margins as well, and means that if the quotation margin is the second clause with the same subject in a sentence, the subject is obligatorily omitted in the clause containing the quotation margin itself. An example of this is given in (28).

(28)	<i>S (left-dislocated)</i>		<i>S</i>		<i>Aux DO</i>		<i>V</i>	
	<i>Kɔɔw</i>	<i>tɔ</i>	<i>nunu,</i>	<i>olu</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>hakilikuntan</i>	<i>dɔ ta</i>	
	older.sibling.PL	rest	DEM.PL	3PL.FOC	PST	worthless.idea	certain take	
		<i>Time word</i>	<i>Aux</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>IO</i>	<i>Quotative particle</i>	
	<i>sisan</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>fɔ</i>	<i>ɲɔɔn</i>	<i>ɲɛ</i>	<i>na ko...</i>	
	now	INF	3SG	say	each.other	in.front.of	POST QUOT...	
	‘The other older brothers, they now had a worthless idea and (they) said to each other ...’							Joseph:8

In (28), since the older brothers were already explicitly mentioned in the first clause of the sentence, they are not referred to explicitly in the clause that contains the speech verb (*k'a fɔ ɲɔɔn ɲɛ na*, ‘and said to each other’).¹¹ It is clear to the audience that they are still the subject of the speech verb in the quotation margin, however, because of the construction using the infinitive marker *ka*.

The other instance in which a reported speaker would not be explicitly mentioned in a Jula quotation margin is if drama mode is activated. In this case, it would already be clear from the context who is speaking and that a conversation is going back and forth. As was mentioned above, in drama mode either the speech verb and its auxiliaries or the entire quotation margin except the quotative particle *ko* can be omitted. An interlinear example of a piece of drama mode conversation is given in (29).

¹⁰ As is stated in 2.3.1, this infinitive marker *ka* is only absent in these constructions after the verbs *taa* or *taga* ‘go’ and *na* ‘come’.

¹¹ As a reminder from 3.2 above, the speech verb *fɔ* ‘say’ is a third category speech verb. This means that the *a* ‘3SG’ directly preceding the *fɔ* ‘say’ in the above quotation margin is an obligatory direct object pronoun of the verb *fɔ* ‘say’ that refers to the content of the reported speech itself.

- (29) a. *N ko [To gwannin lo le wa?]*
 1SG QUOT corn.mush hot COP PRT.FOC Q
 ‘I₍₂₎ said, "Is it that the corn mush is hot?"’ Phone:20
- b. *Ko [ne nana kado di ale ma,] ko [ne ni ce.]*
 QUOT 1SG come.PST gift give LOG POST QUOT thank.me
 ‘(He₍₁₎ said) that I₍₂₎ came and give him₍₁₎ a gift, (so he₍₁₎ says) thank me₍₂₎.’
 Phone:21

This example comes from a dialogue between two speakers, where a man is thanking his wife (who is the current speaker herself) to try to help her realize that he left her a gift on the table. In (29a), the wife guesses that the thanks is because the meal is hot. In (29b) the husband gives a further clue, saying that the thanks is for a gift. Here, there is a change of speakers between (29a) and (29b), but the reported speaker of (29b) is never explicitly stated. This is because it is a closed conversation so the reported speaker would be understood from context. Also, this conversation leads up to the discovery of the gift, so the whole conversation is backgrounded with respect to that key moment.

The fact that the subject can be dropped in drama mode is noteworthy since it is the only case where a subject can be dropped in the first clause of a sentence. Pro-drop is not allowed in Jula, so this dropping of the subject powerfully draws the audience into the dialogue.

3.2.2 Addressee reference in the quotation margin

As is seen in 3.2, the addressee is obligatory for speech verbs of the first category and optional for those of the second and third categories. Example (30) illustrates the first category speech verb *weele* ‘call’, where the addressee Joseph is obligatorily mentioned and, as a direct object, occurs in a pre-verbal position.

- (30) *Muso ye Yusufu weele, ko [foo a ka la n' ale ye.]*
 wife PST N call QUOT until 3SG JUSS lie.down with LOG POST
 'His wife called Joseph, saying that he should sleep with her.' Joseph:31

Speech verbs of the second and third category, though, take their addressees as optional indirect objects. Examples (31) and (32) illustrate the verb *fɔ* 'say', a third category speech verb, without and with an explicit addressee, respectively.¹²

- (31) *Ala y' a jagweleya k' a fɔ k' [a be se.]*
 God PST 3SG encourage INF 3SG say QUOT 3SG PRS be.able
 'God_i encouraged him_j and said that he_j can.'
 Moses:43

- (32) *Mɛleke y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko [a kana faran*
 angel PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 3SG IMP/JUSS.NEG break.up
Mariama ra kɔnɔ nin kosɔn.]
 Mary POST pregnancy DEM.SG because.of
 'The angel said to him that he shouldn't break up with Mary because of this pregnancy.'
 Noel:27

3.2.3 *Speech verb and quotative particle in the quotation margin*

In Jula quotation margins, a speech verb is almost always obligatory.

Also, in over 95% of the cases of reported speech in this language, there is a quotative particle, *ko*, that occurs at the end of the quotation margin, directly preceding the quotation. This *ko* can be seen in examples such as (31) and (32) in Section 3.2.2.

There are only two instances in which the speech verb is optional in Jula quotation margins. The first is in drama mode, which was discussed in 3.2 and 3.2.1. The second is if the speech verb would be the generic *fɔ* 'say', followed directly by the quotative particle *ko*; in this case the generic speech verb *fɔ* 'say' is optional. It is, in fact, common in African languages for a speech verb 'say' to be omitted when there is an explicit quotative particle in the quotation margin (Dimmendaal 2001:132).¹³ At least in Jula, this is perhaps due to the fact that the double coding of the reported speech with both *fɔ* 'say' and *ko* 'quotative

¹² As a reminder, speech verbs of the third category of argument structure also take the pronominal cataphor *a* '3SG' as direct objects; these pronominal cataphors refer to the reported speech itself.

¹³ This is the opposite of how Stanford claims that the Bekwarra language of Nigeria functions. There, he claims that if the quotation margin ends with the speech verb *dɛ* 'say', the quotative particle (*re*)*dɛ* is omitted (Stanford 1967:54).

particle’ could be considered redundant since both words simply convey the information that what follows is a quotation. In (33) there is a *ko* with no *fɔ*, and in (34) there is both a *fɔ* and a *ko*.

(33) *Don, o ko [ɛkɔɔba ye deen ci nin.]*
 so 3PL QUOT old.man PST child send DEM.SG
 ‘So, they (said) *ko* the old man sent this child (on an errand).’ Sorcerer:40

(34) *O be tagara dɔɔn, Yusufu sinna k’ a fɔ ko*
 3PL PRS go.PROG only N start.immediately.PST INF 3SG say QUOT
 [*ale ka jifilen tununa.*]
 LOG POSS water.cup disappear.PST
 ‘As soon as they started out, Joseph suddenly said *ko* his water glass was missing.’
 Joseph:146

In (33), there would be no intervening material (indirect object, location, or other information in the post-verbal position) between the *fɔ* ‘say’ and the quotative particle *ko*, which allows for the elision of the verb *fɔ* ‘say’. As can be seen in example (34), though, the *fɔ* ‘say’ can still be explicit in these instances if the current speaker so desires.

It is to be noted that the speech verb can only be omitted if it would be the generic *fɔ* ‘say’ and not another speech verb which would be more semantically specific, such as *jininga* ‘ask’ or *weele* ‘call’. Also, if there is any intervening material between *fɔ* ‘say’ and *ko* the *fɔ* cannot be omitted. This is seen in (35), where the addressee is given as a post-verbal indirect object. Examples of intervening material that would necessitate an explicit *fɔ* ‘say’ are the addressee (in some instances; see above in 3.2.2 for more information on when this would be post-verbal), a particle, a location postpositional phrase, or another optional constituent. A similar pattern is common in certain African languages (Levinsohn, personal communication).

- (35) *Musokɔɔba y' a fɔ o jɛ na ko [ɛɛkɔɔba nin*
 old.woman PST 3SG say 3PL in.front.of POST QUOT old.man DEM.SG
lo ye deen nin weele, k' [ale be fe ka deen nin
 PRT.FOC PST child DEM.SG call QUOT LOG PRS want INF child DEM.SG
ci.]]
 send
 'The old woman said to them *ko* this old man called this child, saying that he wants
 to send this child (on an errand).' Sorcerer:38

Some scholars, such as Aplonova (2019:7-11), claim that in the closely related Bambara language, with which Jula is mutually intelligible, the quotative particle *ko* becomes a pseudo-copula 'tell' or a copula 'tell' when a speech verb is not present. Yet because there is nothing predicative about *ko* in those instances other than the fact that there is no other verb, I believe that the explanation above more elegantly represents the data, at least in the case of vehicular Jula of Burkina Faso.¹⁴

An interesting study, which is outside the scope of this thesis, would be to determine language attitudes toward the socio-linguistic correctness of *fɔ ko* versus *ko* without a *fɔ*.

Almost every Jula quotation margin, as is seen above, requires the quotative particle *ko* to directly precede the quotation itself. This is rare for West African languages, as

¹⁴ This question could take more research, though. For example, in one of my short texts, the only text by a certain speaker, the speaker never uses a single speech verb and instead introduces each of her six quotations with *ko*. What is especially unique about the way that this speaker uses her *kos* is that she places them both before the indirect object addressee, which is normally the place of the verb, and also in the expected place in the sentence, directly preceding the quotation. This can be seen in (i).

- (i) *Suruku ko sonsannin ma ko [bili yɔɔ ka jan?]*
 hyena QUOT rabbit POST QUOT still place linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective far
 'Hyena said to Rabbit, (saying) *ko*, "Is it still a long way off?"' Tears:6

It could easily be argued that this speaker is using *ko* as some sort of defective verb in such instances. Since her Jula pronunciation is also slightly different from my other speakers, I wonder if her personal variety of Jula leans toward Bambara and if Bambara actually does use *ko* in this more predicative way, as Aplonova (2019) claims. The one example in the corpus of a *ko* being in a verbal position in a quotation margin, i.e. not directly preceding the quotation itself, that is outside of this single narrative, is in (ii); here, the first *ko* is followed a temporal phrase.

- (ii) *Cɛ dɔ ko o loon nin na, ko [fila were t' a ra ni*
 man certain QUOT DEM day DEM.SG POST QUOT medicine other NEG.COP 3SG POST if
saya te.]
 death NEG
 'A certain man said that day *ko* there was no other treatment for it other than death.' Rachida:45

This would be an interesting topic for further study, especially if someone were to compare the use of this *ko* across different dialects of Jula and other Mande languages.

Lowe & Hurlimann (2002:74) claim that having a quotative particle is rare in West African languages, and that "even in languages that do have it, it is optional."

In a limited number of cases in my Jula corpus, though, representing less than 5% of the quotation margins, the *ko* can be absent; this is seen in (36).

- (36) *N' o be deen nin batora, o b' a fɔra, [Ala tanu.*
 if 3PL PRS child DEM.SG worship.PROG 3PL PRS 3SG say.PROG God praise
Ala tanu. Ala tanu.]
 God praise God praise
 'If they are worshipping the child, they say, "Praise God. Praise God. Praise God."
 Noel:52

As in (36), one of the instances in which *ko* can be absent is when describing speech that is habitual or repeated over and over. Here, the angels are worshipping the baby Jesus, and as they worship him they continue to say, 'Praise God', over and over.

In the corpus, *ko* can also be absent when there is only a single word in the reported speech, when the speech verb is *jaati* 'count', when the reported speech is hypothetical, if the reported speech begins with a quote of a quotation, or if the reported cognition verb is *ye* 'see'.¹⁵

There are also a few instances where the quotative particle *ko* is repeated in a quotation margin, giving two *kos* in a row. This can be seen in (37).

- (37) *Don, naden fila minenin, olu ko k' [olu bena naden*
 so eyeball two grab.PST.PTCP 3PL.FOC QUOT QUOT 3PL.FOC FUT eyeball
nin bɔ.]
 DEM.SG take.out
 'Now, since it had taken over her two eyes, they (say) *ko ko* they would remove this
 eye.' Rachida:8

In certain morphophonemic contexts it is common to have contractions in Jula like the *k'* of (37). When this contracted form of *ko* occurs without an accompanying speech verb, and especially if the reported speech that it is introducing is to be highlighted, an

¹⁵ With a larger corpus and more data, the exact contexts in which this *ko* can be absent may be able to be more elegantly defined.

additional *ko* is added to ensure that the current addressee has clearly heard the *ko* and knows that what follows is reported speech. This double *ko* can occur both in quotation-initial and quotation-medial margins, the latter of which is seen in (38).

- (38) a. *Masace ko* [Hɛn!]
king QUOT really
‘Pharaoh (said) *ko*, "Really!?"' Joseph:92
- b. *Ko k’* [olo *bena ke wa?*]
QUOT QUOT that's.what FUT happen Q
‘(He said) *ko ko*, "That's what's going to happen?"' Joseph:93

Here, the current speaker begins to quote the king in (38a), though the quotation extends through (38b). Because the second *ko* is contracted in the quotation-medial margin at the beginning of (38b), there is another *ko* to ensure that it is heard by the current addressee.

3.2.4 Other constituents in the quotation margin

The preceding sections examine the main elements of Jula quotation margins: the reference to the reported speaker (3.2.1), the reference to the reported addressee (3.2.2), and the speech verb and quotative particle *ko* (3.2.3). This section briefly introduces some of the other constituents that can also be present in quotation margins. These include particles and other connectors, expressions and time, and left-dislocated subjects pre-nuclearly; negation and aspectual verbs between the subject and the verb; and expressions of location, expressions of time, and adverbs post-verbally. Examples of these other constituents in each of these locations are given in (39), (40), and (41), respectively.

(39) Pre-nuclear constituents

a. Particles and other connectors - *w'olo* 'and so'

W'olo cəkɔrɔba y' a fɔ, ...
and.so(PRT) old.man PST 3SG say ...

'And so the old man said, ...'

Sorcerer:58

b. Expressions of time - *a tile finanan nin* 'on the second day'

A tile filanan nin, deen nana fɔ ko ...
3SG day second DEM.SG child come.PST say QUOT ...

'On the second day, his son came and said, ...'

Prayer:9

c. Left-dislocated subjects - *Romu masacɛ kuntigi Sesari* 'the Roman king-chief, Caesar'

Sisan, tuma dɔ nana se, Romu masacɛ kuntigi Sesari, ale
now time certain come.PST arrive Rome king chief Caesar 3SG.FOC

y' a fɔ sisan, ko ...
PST 3SG say now QUOT ...

'Now, at a certain time, the king of Rome, Caesar, he said that ...'

Noel:34

(40) Other constituents between the subject and the verb

a. Negation - *ma* 'NEG'

K' o ye fɛn nin mɔ a daa ra dɔrɔn, a m' a
INF 3PL PST thing DEM.SG rub 3SG mouth POST only 3SG NEG.PST 3SG

fɔ tuguni ko [mm-hmm.]
say again QUOT mm-hmm

'As soon as they rubbed this thing on her mouth, she didn't say "Mm-hmm" any-more.'

Sorcerer:95

b. Aspectual verbs - *to* 'continue - iterative'

Kɔnɔni nin tora ka kule ko ...
bird DEM.SG continue.PST INF cry.out QUOT ...

'This bird kept crying out ...'

Sorcerer:54

(41) Post-verbal constituents

a. Expressions of location - *birifani jukɔɔ* ‘under the blanket’

... *ale be to ka fɔ birifani jukɔɔ, ko* [mm-hmm,
... 3SG.FOC PRS continue INF say blanket under QUOT mm-hmm

mm-hmm.]

mm-hmm

‘... she kept saying from under the blanket, "Mm-hmm, mm-hmm." Sorcerer:89

b. Expressions of time - *sisan* ‘now’

Sisan, tuma dɔ nana se, Romu masacɛ kuntigi Sesari, ale
now time certain come.PST arrive Rome king chief Caesar 3SG.FOC

y’ a fɔ sisan, ko ...

PST 3SG say now QUOT ...

‘Now, at a certain time, the king of Rome, Caesar, he said that ...’ Noel:34

c. Adverbs - *tugu* ‘again’

W’olo kelen tilara tugu ko ...
that’s.why one finish.PST again QUOT ...

‘That’s why one of them continued again, saying ...’

Joseph:11

While there is not space in this thesis to enter into the details of all of these other constituents, let me simply mention that the particles and other connectors are often there because the sentence that includes the reported speech is part of a communication relation. Example (39a) is a good example of this. The quotation margin here begins with the particle *w’olo* ‘and so’. This is to show that this sentence is the response to the stimulus of the previous sentence. In the previous sentence a bird had just asked the old man not to cut its throat. Thus, (39a) begins with *w’olo* ‘and so’, showing that the fact that the old man speaking in such a way is the response to the stimulus of the bird's plea.

While the previous subsections focus on the features of the quotation margin, the next four sections (3.3 through 3.6) focus on the features of reported speech - verbs (3.3), pronouns (3.4), exclamations and vocatives (3.5), and spatial and temporal deictics (3.6).

3.3 Verbs in quotations

In every case of reported speech in the corpus, the TAM of the verbs is the same as it would have been when originally spoken. This can be seen in (42).¹⁶

- (42) *Mɛləkɛ nana fɔ Mariama jɛ na ko [Mariama bena*
angel come.PST say Mary in.front.of POST QUOT Mary FUT
kɔnɔ ta ka deen wolo, o deen be kɛ kisibaa ye.]
pregnancy take INF child give.birth DEM child PRS become savior POST
‘The angel came and said to Mary that Mary will become pregnant and give birth to
a child; this child will be the savior.’ Noel:17

Here, the angel is telling a woman named Mary that she will become pregnant. The verbs within the reported speech are in the future tense. This is because the action would take place in the future from the time of speaking, so it is assumed that the angel would have used the future tense when originally speaking to Mary. In Jula reported speech, the fact that Mary has already become pregnant long before this story was being told does not affect the TAM of the verbs in the reported speech.

Past, present, and future tense verbs in reported speech can be seen in examples such as (19) in 3.1.1, (17a) in 2.3.3, and (6) in 2.3.1, respectively. All of these verbs are in the same tense as the reported speaker could have used during the original utterance.

3.4 Pronouns in quotations

3.4.1 Logophoric pronouns

As was discussed above in 2.3.3, Jula has focus pronouns for each of the different persons. These are created through the addition of the focus marker *le* to the unmarked pronouns. When the form of the 3rd person singular focus pronoun is used in reported speech, it functions as a logophoric pronoun, a term first coined by Hagège (1974).¹⁷ Dim-

¹⁶ In (42), Mary is referred to by name, not with a pronoun. This is not a vocative, as the proper noun is in the normal subject position. Why a proper noun and not a pronoun is used in this particular utterance is outside the scope of this paper and would be an interesting area for future research.

¹⁷ Since the logophoric pronoun also has another use in the language, namely as a focus pronoun, Jula is considered to be a mixed logophoric language (Culy (1994), Dimmendaal (2001), Nikitina (2020a), *inter alia*).

mendaal (2001:131) expands Clements' (1975:141) definition of a logophoric pronoun, stating:

In contexts embedded under a logophoric verb and only in these contexts, a special pronominal form, called the logophoric pronoun, must be used to indicate reference to the person whose speech, thoughts or perceptions are reported.

This means that the logophoric pronoun is used within reported speech as a coreferent to the reported speaker; the unmarked form of the pronoun is used to refer to all other participants. The difference between the unmarked and logophoric pronouns can be seen in (17a) and (17b) from Section 2.3.3 above, reproduced here as (43) and (44).

(43) *Ala ko k' [a be se.]*
God QUOT QUOT 3SG PRS be.able
'God_i says that he_j can.'Moses:41

(44) *Musa ko [ale te se.]*
Moses QUOT LOG NEG be.able
'Moses_j says that he_j can't.'Moses:42

These two examples show that the choice between the logophoric pronoun and the unmarked 3rd person singular pronoun is made based on the relationship between the reported speaker and the person referred to by the pronoun. When the reported speaker refers to someone non-coreferential to himself, as in (43), he uses an unmarked pronoun; when he refers to himself, as in (44), he uses the logophoric pronoun.

Though Aikhenvald (2008:407) claims that logophoric pronouns can typically only be used for participants that are subjects or objects of reported speech reports, Jula logophoric pronouns can be used in any function that a pronoun can take, presupposing that it is coreferent with the reported speaker. This includes the argument positions of subject (45), direct object (46), indirect object (47), possessor (48), and object of a postpositional phrase (49).¹⁸

¹⁸ In the corpus there are three examples of an unmarked 3rd person singular pronoun where I would expect a logophoric pronoun. This will require more research to determine whether or not they were simply mis-spoken. One of them is in reported cognition (see 3.8.1 below). All three of them are in the same story

(45) Logophoric pronoun as a subject

Ala y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko [ale ben' a ci Misira
God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT LOG FUT 3SG send Egypt

jamana na.]
country POST

'God_i said to him_j that he_i will send him_j to the country of Egypt.' Moses:33

(46) Logophoric pronoun as a direct object

W'olo Juda gwerɛla Yusufu ra, k' a jafɔ Yusufu
that's.why N approach.PST N POST INF 3SG tell.it.forward N

jɛ na, ko [ni ten lo, Yusufu k' ale minɛ, ale be
in.front.of POST QUOT if thus PRT.FOC N JUSS LOG take LOG PRS

Benjamin ka faso baara kɛ, e pui ka Benjamin labila.]
N POSS hometown work do and.then JUSS N let.go

'And so Judah_i approached Joseph_j and told Joseph_j that if that's the case, Joseph_j should take him_i and he_i will do Benjamin's job in the prison, and then he_j should let Benjamin go.' Joseph:154

(47) Logophoric pronoun as an indirect object

O tora k' a fɔ fɔ jɔgɔn jɛ na minke,
3PL continue.PST INF 3SG say say each.other in.front.of POST when(PRT)

Yusufu y' a fɔ o jɛ na ko [Ala ye nili di ale
N PST 3SG say 3PL in.front.of POST QUOT God PST gift give LOG

ma, ale ka se ka siko kɔɔ fɔ.]
POST LOG INF be.able INF dream meaning say

'Since they kept talking to each other about it, Joseph_i told them that God had given him_i the gift of being able to interpret dreams.' Joseph:62

and in the same construction - *a daa di* 'give his word'. Perhaps this is such a common expression that it has become a fixed idiom and the speakers no longer hear the *a* '3SG' as being a separate word. It is also possible, though, that an unmarked pronoun is used here because only one logophoric pronoun is allowed per clause and there is already a logophoric pronoun in these clauses, as can be seen in (i), one of the three examples of this (thank you to Stephen Levinsohn for pointing out this possible explanation).

(i) *K' [ale ben' a daa di face ma.]*

QUOT LOG FUT 3SG mouth give father POST

'(He said) that he will make a promise to his father.'

Joseph:134

The counter-exception to this possible explanation, though, is that in (48) there are two logophoric pronouns in what appears to be a single clause. Thus more data is needed to draw a more firm conclusion.

- (48) Logophoric pronoun as a possessor
A ko k' [ale ka sagagwenbere lo b' ale bolo.]
 3SG QUOT QUOT LOG POSS shepherd's.staff PRT.FOC PRS LOG hand
 'He_j said that his_j shepherd's staff is in his_j hand.' Moses:47

- (49) Logophoric pronoun in a postpositional phrase
Muso ko [foo, a ka la n' ale ye.]
 wife QUOT until 3SG JUSS lie.down with LOG POST
 'The woman/wife said that he really should sleep with her.' Joseph:34

This section demonstrates that the logophoric pronoun has the same form as the 3rd person singular focus pronoun and can be used within reported speech in same roles as an unmarked pronoun: subject, direct object, indirect object, possessor, and object of a postpositional phrase.

Though there is a singular logophoric pronoun, Jula does not appear to have a plural logophoric pronoun. This is surprising given that plural logophoric pronouns are common in logophoric languages such as Wan (Nikitina 2020b) and San (Woodham 2003:111), related languages to Jula.

In Jula, though there are instances of the plural focus pronoun *olu* within reported speech, I argue that those are actual instances of the focus pronoun occurring and that it is not being used as a logophoric pronoun in those instances. This is because there are also several instances in the corpus where either the reported speaker and others, or a group of reported speakers talking together, refer to themselves in the reported speech with the unmarked 3rd person plural pronoun, *o*. Two of these examples are in (50) and (51).

- (50) *Ko [n'o te, ale bena Benjamin kɔɔsi ka taa o taga nunu*
 QUOT otherwise LOG FUT N watch.over INF go 3PL going(n) DEM.PL
na foo ka na o kɔsegi.]
 POST until INF come 3PL return(n)
 '(He said) that anyway, he will watch over Benjamin, going from their departure all the way until coming to their return.' Joseph:132

- (51) *Ko [o bena o ka deen kalifa jɔn lo ma tuguni?]*
 QUOT 3PL FUT 3PL POSS child entrust who PRT.FOC POST again
 '(They said) that, to whom will they now entrust their children?' Sorcerer:84

In (50), the reported speaker is trying to convince his father to let his little brother Benjamin join him and a group of people on a trip. His father is hesitant, so in the previous line, the reported speaker told his father that if something happened to Benjamin, his father could do whatever he wanted to himself, the reported speaker. Here he reassures his father, saying that he will watch over Benjamin from the time that they leave until the time that they return. Thus, the *o* ‘3PL’, which occurs twice in this sentence, refers to the reported speaker as well as others with whom he will be taking this trip. Since the form of the pronoun is the unmarked form, it is clear that a reference to a reported speaker plus other people does not use *olu* ‘3PL.FOC’ as a plural logophoric pronoun.

In (51), the people of the town have just heard of the death of an old lady who used to take care of their children, and in their grief they here ask each other who will watch their children now that she is gone. The *o* ‘3PL’ occurs twice in this sentence, once as a subject and once as a possessor. It is being used by a group of speakers to refer to themselves; thus a group of reported speakers are referring to themselves in reported speech with an unmarked pronoun, not a logophoric pronoun.

From these two representative examples, I argue that though there is a logophoric pronoun that refers to a singular reported speaker in reported speech, there is not, in Jula, a parallel plural form that consistently refers to either a singular reported speaker and other people or to a group of reported speakers.

Example (52) is a good review of the pronouns that have been discussed in this section before the focus shifts to 1st and 2nd person pronouns in reported speech in 3.4.2 and then to person alignment in 3.4.3.

- (52) *A ko sonsannin ma sisan, ko [komi olu be taara, o*
 3SG QUOT rabbit POST now QUOT because 3PL.FOC PRS go.PROG 3PL
te sera ka ye, ale bena, komi a bamuso be sara, ale
 NEG arrive.PROG yet LOG FUT because 3SG mother PRS die.PROG LOG
beni kasi damine yan sanni o ka se sangayɔɔ la.]
 FUT cry begin here before 3PL INF arrive funeral.place POST
 ‘He_i said to Rabbit_j now, that since they_{i&j} are going, they_{i&j} are not yet arriving, he_i
 will, since his_j mother is dying, he_i will start crying here before they_{i&j} arrive at
 the place of the death.’ Tears:16

Example (52) comes from a folktale. Here, the reported speaker, Hyena, is talking to Rabbit. Hyena has just bitten a scorpion on their way to Rabbit's mother's funeral, so since he wants to cry in pain, he tells Rabbit that he is going to start mourning for her mother along the path since they still have not arrived at the funeral. When Hyena refers to himself, which he does twice in this sentence, he uses the logophoric pronoun *ale*. When he refers to Rabbit, the reported addressee, he uses the unmarked 3rd person pronoun *a*. And when he refers to both himself and Rabbit, he uses either the 3rd person plural unmarked pronoun *o* or the 3rd person plural focus pronoun *olu*. As in examples (50) and (51), there is an unmarked 3rd person plural pronoun *o* that refers to both the reported speaker and the reported addressee. Thus, when the marked form, *olu*, occurs, it can be concluded that it is used as a focus pronoun, not a logophoric pronoun. The distinction of the pronouns in this complicated sentence make it very clear who is being referred to in the reported speech, making the sentence easy for the current addressee to follow.

3.4.2 1st and 2nd person pronouns in reported speech

As was seen above in 3.4.1, logophoric and unmarked 3rd person pronouns are the most common method of referring to participants in reported speech, with the logophoric pronoun referring to the reported speaker and the simple 3rd person pronoun referring to all the other participants.

There are, however, two instances in which 1st and 2nd person pronouns can be used in Jula reported speech: (1) when the current speaker herself is being referred to and (2) in certain instances where the current speaker refers to the reported speaker and reported addressee using 1st and 2nd pronouns, respectively. These are addressed in order.

The corpus contains two 1st person narratives, where the current speaker is herself a participant in the story.¹⁹ In these texts, the current speaker is always referred to with a 1st person pronoun in reported speech, even if she is not the reported speaker; this is the

¹⁹ In the corpus there are no texts in which the current addressee is also a participant, so I cannot comment on how that would be handled in reported speech. This would be an important area of further research into Jula reported speech.

type of pattern seen in indirect speech in 1st person narratives in English. An example of this is in (53), repeated here from (29b) in 3.2.1.

- (53) *Ko [ne nana kado di ale ma,] ko [ne ni ce.]*
QUOT 1SG come.PST gift give LOG POST QUOT thank.me
'(He₍₁₎ said) that I₍₂₎ came and give him₍₁₎ a gift, (so he₍₁₎ says) thank me₍₂₎.' Phone:21

In (53), a man (the reported speaker) is addressing his wife (the current speaker). The man (reported speaker) says that his wife (the current speaker) had given him a gift and so he thanks her for it. If this were a third person narrative, the references to the reported speaker would use a logophoric pronoun and those to the reported addressee would use a 3rd person pronoun. Since it is a first person narrative, the references to the reported addressee, being also the current speaker, use a 1st person pronoun; the reference to the reported speaker still uses a logophoric pronoun.

First and 2nd person pronouns can also be used in certain instances in reported speech in third person narratives to refer to the reported speaker and reported addressee, respectively. The instances where this can occur are delineated below. It is also possible to claim, though, that all of these instances can be grouped into the larger category of marked or highlighted speech. This is similar to the way Bekwarra functions (Levinsohn in press:108) and this framework is discussed in more detail in 4.3 below.

The first two of these instances are in a question and in a tight-knit conversation following that question, as in (54).

- (54) a. *A ko [Ah, bunteni e nana mun ke nin dingen nin*
 3SG QUOT ah scorpion 2SG come.PST what do DEM.SG hole DEM.SG
kɔnɔ yan?]
 in here
 ‘He said, "Ah! Scorpion, what did you come to do in this very hole here?"’ Six:18
- b. *Bunteni ko [Ah, ne ka yɔɔ le ye yan ye.]*
 scorpion QUOT ah 1SG POSS place PRT.FOC COP here COP
 ‘Scorpion said, "Ah! This is my place.”’ Six:19
- c. *A ko [tjɛ te,] k’ [i ka yɔɔ te.]*
 3SG QUOT truth NEG QUOT 2SG POSS place NEG.COP
 ‘He said, "That's not true!" that, "This is not your place.”’ Six:20
- d. *A ko [ne ka yɔɔ lo.]*
 3SG QUOT 1SG POSS place COP
 ‘He said, "This is my place.”’ Six:21

In (54), Toad asks Scorpion a question in (54a), referring to Scorpion with the 2nd person singular pronoun *e*. Scorpion responds in (54b), now using the 1st person singular pronoun *ne* for himself. (54c) is Toad's response, where he again refers to Scorpion with the use of the 2nd person singular pronoun *i* (*i* and *e* are two allomorphs of the same morpheme for the 2nd person singular pronoun). Scorpion finishes the argument in (54d) with a final self-reference of *ne*, the 1st person singular pronoun.

Another instance where 1st and 2nd person pronouns can be used in 3rd person narratives is when the reported speaker is trying to get someone to change their behavior through a command, request, or suggestion, as can be seen in (55) and (56).

- (55) a. *Kənəni nin tora ka kule ko [kana an kan*
 bird DEM.SG continue.PST INF cry.out QUOT IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck
tige, kana an kan tige.]
 cut JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut
 ‘This bird kept crying out, “Don’t cut my throat, don’t cut my throat.” Sorcerer:54
- b. [*Ne ye Shata lo!*]
 1SG COP N COP
 ‘I am Shata!’ Sorcerer:55
- c. [*Kana an kan tige!*]
 IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut
 ‘Don’t cut my throat!’ Sorcerer:56
- d. [*Kana an kan tige!*]
 IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut
 ‘Don’t cut my throat!’ Sorcerer:57
- (56) a. *A ko: [I kana gwere yɔɔ nin na ni sanbara*
 3SG QUOT 2SG IMP/JUSS.NEG approach place DEM.SG POST with sandal
ye i seen na, bari ne ka yɔɔ senuman le ye
 POST 2SG foot POST because 1SG POSS place holy PRT.FOC COP
o yɔɔ nin ye.]
 DEM place DEM.SG COP
 ‘He said: You shouldn’t get closer to this place with sandals on your feet, because
 this place is my holy place.’ Moses:30
- b. [*N’ i be gwere, i b’ i sanbara bɔ ka sɔɔ ka*
 if 2SG PRS approach 2SG PRS 2SG sandal take.off PRT INF
gwere yɔɔ nin na.]
 approach place DEM.SG POST
 ‘If you get closer, you take off your sandals before you get closer to this place.’
 Moses:31

In (55), the sorcerer Shata had turned herself into a bird. At this point in the story, the old man who knew she was a sorcerer is holding the bird, about to cut its throat. And so it speaks, begging him not to kill it because it is actually a person. Throughout (55),

the bird refers to itself with a first person pronoun, either the singular *ne* or the plural *an*.²⁰

The example in (56) is taken from the retelling of part of the biblical story of God and Moses. Here, God is telling Moses not to approach the burning bush with sandals on his feet since it is a holy place. Both (56a) and (56b) show Moses, the reported addressee, being referred to within the reported speech with the 2nd person singular pronoun *i*. In (56a), God also refers to himself in a possessive phrase (*ne ka yɔɔ senuman* ‘my holy place’) using the 1st person singular pronoun *ne*.

The last instance in which 1st and 2nd person pronouns can be used in Jula reported speech is in the interpretation of a prophetic dream, explaining something that will certainly happen.²¹ This is similar to the command/request/suggestion above, since the interpretation of the prophetic dream includes a change of behavior that the interpreter is, in a way, forcing upon the person who will do the action, based on the prophecy in the dream. This can be seen in (57).

²⁰ Why the plural form is sometimes used instead of the singular is an open question. It is possibly because the speaker is both a bird and a sorcerer person at this point in time. Thank you, Linda Humnick, for this suggestion.

²¹ In one of my texts, 1st and 2nd person pronouns can also be used when the reported discourse is begun with a term of address to a participant describing their role, as in (i). This text, however, is given by a speaker who only started speaking Jula at age seven, so without more data I do not want to claim that this is definitely allowed in Jula.

(i) *A tile filanan nin, deen nana fɔ ko [Ne face, ne tena ke*
 3SG day second DEM.SG child come.PST say QUOT 1SG father 1SG NEG.FUT become

sulaman ye tugu.]
 Muslim POST close

‘On the second day, his son came and said, “My father, I won’t become a Muslim anymore.”’ Prayer:9

- (57) a. *Yusufu y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko, [I ka siko nin*
 N PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 2SG POSS dream DEM.SG
kɔɔ le ye ko [yanni tile saba, masacɛ bena mɔɔɔ bila
 meaning PRT.FOC COP QUOT before day three king FUT person send
ka na ka n' i bɔ kaso ra ka taa n' i ye.]
 INF come INF come 2SG take.out prison POST INF go with 2SG POST
 'Joseph told him, "The meaning of your dream is that in less than three days,
 Pharaoh will send people who will come and take you out of prison and go
 with you."
 Joseph:67
- b. *[[I bena kɔsegi ka taa to ka baara kɛ masacɛ fɛ.]*
 2SG FUT return INF go continue INF work do king at.the.place.of
 "You will return and keep working for Pharaoh."
 Joseph:68

Even though 1st and 2nd person pronouns can be used in these specific instances in 3rd person narratives, sometimes logophoric and 3rd person pronouns are used instead. Compare, for example, the jussives in (56) and (58). Both of them are taken from the same story, and in each, the same reported speaker, God, is trying to get the same reported addressee, Moses, to do something. And yet (56) uses 1st and 2nd person pronouns while (58) uses logophoric and 3rd person pronouns.

- (58) a. *Ala y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko [ale ben' a ci Misira*
 God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT LOG FUT 3SG send Egypt
jamana na.]
 country POST
 'God_i said to him_j that he_i will send him_j to the country of Egypt.' Moses:33
- b. *[A ka taa Ale ka jamaw bɔ o yɔɔɔ nin na, Misira*
 3SG JUSS go LOG POSS people take.out DEM place DEM.SG POST Egypt
jamana na, ka na n' a ye yɔɔɔ nin na.]
 country POST INF come with 3SG POST place DEM.SG POST
 'He_j should go take his_i people out of that place, the country of Egypt, and come
 with them to this place.' Moses:34

Both strategies can also be used in questions, as can be seen by comparing (54a) with (59), where the king refers to himself with a logophoric pronoun in a question.

- (59) a. *Masace ko* [Eh!]
king QUOT eh
‘Pharaoh said, "Eh!" Joseph:97
- b. *Ko [me,] ko [ale bena jɔn lo sɔrɔ min be o koo*
QUOT but QUOT LOG FUT who PRT.FOC get COMP PRS DEM thing
nunu bæ laben?
DEM.PL ALL prepare
‘He_i said that, "But," that, "who will he_i have to prepare all these things?"
Joseph:98

Unlike many languages of West Africa (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:98), though, there is not a single case in my data where a logophoric pronoun is used for the reported speaker and a 2nd person pronoun is used for the reported addressee. This is what would normally be termed *semi-direct speech*.

3.4.3 Person alignment

Section 3.4.1 shows that, in most instances of Jula reported speech, the reported speaker is referred to with the logophoric pronoun and all other participants, including the reported addressee, are referred to with 3rd person pronouns or noun phrases. In 3.4.2, however, it is seen that in some instances 1st and 2nd person pronouns can be used instead.

Thus, Table 2 summarizes the different pronoun strategies used in reported speech in Jula, as well as the instances in which the particular strategies can be used.

Table 2. Jula pronoun strategies

Pronouns	Instances Used
1st person (reported speaker) & 2nd person (reported addressee)	Questions, close-knit conversations following questions, commands/requestions/suggestions, interpretation of dreams
logophoric pronoun (reported speaker) & 3rd person (reported addressee)	3rd person narratives, including the above instances
1st person (current speaker), logophoric pronoun (reported speaker, if not current speaker), & 3rd person (reported addressee, if not current speaker)	1st person narratives

Another way of representing this information is given in Figure 2, based off of person alignment charts given in Nikitina (2012c).

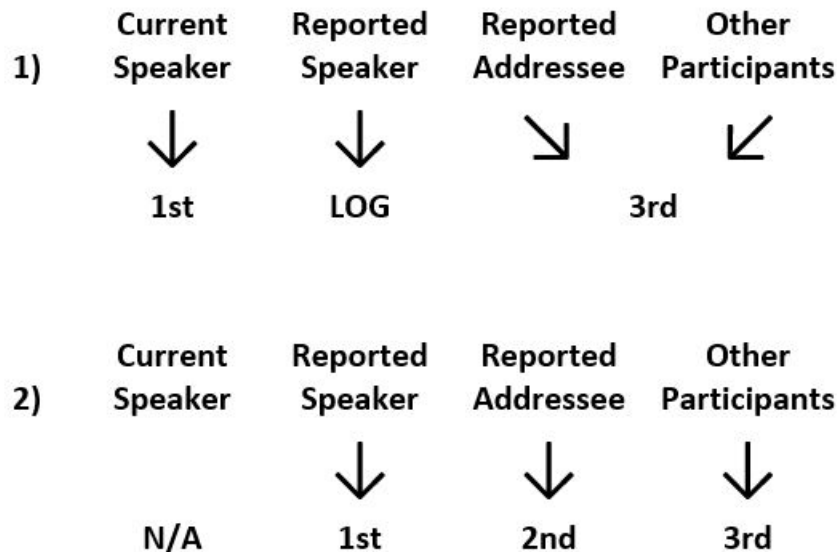


Figure 2. Jula person alignment strategies

Figure 2 shows that there are two strategies for the way that speech participants are aligned with the pronoun forms in reported speech reports. In the corpus, the first strategy occurs 34% of the time and the second strategy 22% of the time. In 44% of the sentences

with reported speech there is no reference to either the reported or current speaker or addressee, making it impossible to know which strategy is being used.²²

In the first strategy, if the current speaker is a participant in the narrative she is referred to with a 1st person pronoun. The reported speaker is referred to with a logophoric pronoun and all other participants, including the reported addressee, are referred to with an unmarked 3rd person pronoun or noun phrase. Here, the current speaker could be considered the most influential participant when it comes to person alignment. This is because, as Nikitina (2020b:4) so aptly described the similar way Wan works, "[c]onflicts between the roles [are] resolved in favor of Current Speaker." This means that, for example, if the current speaker is also the reported speaker, the 1st person pronoun, not the logophoric pronoun, is used. The same is true if the current speaker is the reported addressee or another participant in the narrative - the 1st person pronoun, not the 3rd person pronoun, is used to refer to her in those instances. This strategy that is discussed in 3.4.1 and the beginning of 3.4.2 above and is the person alignment strategy that would correspond most closely with indirect speech in a direct-indirect dichotomy (but see 4.2 below for discussions of reasons that the logophoric pronoun should perhaps not be considered part of indirect speech).

The second strategy of person alignment that is possible in Jula is shown in the second half of Figure 2. This person alignment strategy is only applicable if the current speaker is not a participant in the story, hence the *n/a* under *current speaker*. In this strategy, since the 1st person pronoun is now free for use since it will not cause confusion with the current speaker, the reported speaker is referred to with a 1st person pronoun, the reported addressee with a 2nd person pronoun, and any other participants with 3rd person pronouns. This is the strategy discussed at the end of 3.4.2 above and is the person alignment strategy that would correspond with direct speech in a direct-indirect dichotomy.

One additional thing is worth noting in this section, namely the ability to use a 3rd person singular focus pronoun in reported speech.

²² These percentages were calculated by counting the number of sentences with reported speech, reported cognition, or reported purpose that use the different person alignment strategies. These are to be understood as having a margin of error, though, since sometimes it is difficult to know exactly what constitutes a sentence, etc. In places of obvious embedded speech I counted the embedded speech separately.

If a speaker would like to put focus on a third person pronoun within reported speech, it is possible to use a focus pronoun within reported speech to do so. There are, however, only two examples of this in the corpus: (60) and (61) (see the appendices for the context of these two examples).

(60) *K' [ale wilila ni ne ye fanga ra.]*
 QUOT 3SG.FOC rise.up.PST with 1SG POST force POST
 '(She_i said) that it was him_j who rose up with me_i with force.' Joseph:43

(61) *Tori ko [fila,] o y' a to [o temena,] k' [ale*
 toad QUOT two 3PL PST 3SG allow DEM PASS.PST QUOT 3SG.FOC
kerā fila ye.]
 become.PST two POST
 'Toad said "Two;" they let that go, saying that that [hit] was the second hit.' Six:51

In (60), the reported speaker is referred to with the first person pronoun *ne*, freeing the *ale* to be used as a focus pronoun referring to someone who is neither the reported nor the current speaker or addressee. The *ale* in (61) is in what is probably closer to reported cognition (see 3.8.1 below) than reported speech, but it is still worth mentioning here since it relates to the topic at hand. Here, there is a debate over how many times Scorpion has hit Toad. At the beginning of the sentence Toad claims that Scorpion has already hit him twice, and while the audience and the other participants know that Toad has only been hit once, the other participants allow it to be considered that Scorpion already hit Toad twice. Here, the *allowing* functions like reported speech in that there is the quotative particle *ko* that introduces the content of what was allowed. In this example, *ale* is used not to refer to Chicken and Scorpion, the participants doing the allowing, but to the hit itself. Thus, it cannot be a logophoric pronoun and is, instead, a focus pronoun.

In the terms used in Figure 2, these examples suggest that in order to use the 3rd person focus pronoun within reported speech, since it has the same form as the logophoric pronoun, the speaker would need to be using the second strategy of person alignment. This would free the *ale* form of the pronoun to be used as a focus pronoun.

3.5 Exclamations and vocatives in quotations

Exclamations are prevalent and vocatives are also present, though less frequent, in Jula reported speech in the corpus. In this section exclamations, then vocatives, are addressed.

If exclamations occur in Jula reported speech, they occur at the very beginning of the reported speech report, directly following the quotative particle *ko*. As is mentioned in 3.1.1 above, a quotation-medial margin consisting of a single *ko*, acting as a type of pause-filling spacer, may optionally follow the exclamation since it has unequal importance with other parts of the reported speech report. Examples of Jula reported exclamations in sentences without and with this quotation-medial margin are given in (62) and (63), respectively.

(62) *Bunteni ko [Ah, ne ka yɔɔ le ye yan ye.]*
 scorpion QUOT ah 1SG POSS place PRT.FOC COP here COP
 ‘Scorpion said, "Ah! This is my place." Six:19

(63) *A ko [tɪɛ te,] k' [i ka yɔɔ te.]*
 3SG QUOT truth NEG QUOT 2SG POSS place NEG.COP
 ‘He said, "That's not true!" that, "This is not your place." Six:20

In (62), which is the line before (63) in the text, the exclamation *ah* ‘ah!’ is not followed by a quotation-medial margin. In (63), however, the exclamation *tɪɛ te*, ‘that's not true!’ occurs at the beginning of the reported discourse and directly precedes the quotation-medial margin.

What is rather unique about exclamations in Jula reported speech is that they can occur with both strategies of person alignment discussed in 3.4.2 above.²³ This means that they can occur with logophoric and 3rd person pronouns as well as with 1st and 2nd person pronouns. Examples of exclamations occurring with the second strategy of person alignment, with 1st and 2nd person pronouns, were given in (62) and (63). An example of an exclamation occurring with logophoric and 3rd person pronouns is given in (64).

²³ The uniqueness of this strategy in Jula is seen if the first strategy of person alignment is compared with indirect speech and the second strategy of person alignment is compared with direct speech, as many scholars would do (see 4.1.4 below). This is because scholars such as Aikhenvald claim that "vocatives and exclamations occur only in direct speech reports, and not in indirect speech in most languages" (Aikhenvald 2008:414).

- (64) *Yusufu ko [ah,] k' [ale kɔni be se k' o koo tɔgɔ*
 N QUOT ah QUOT LOG as.for PRS be.able INF DEM thing name
nin laben.]
 DEM.SG prepare
 'Joseph_j said, "Ah!" that he himself_j could prepare all that.' Joseph:99

In (64), the same exclamation *ah* 'ah!' is used as in (63). Here, though, a man named Joseph is talking, telling the Pharaoh of Egypt that he is able to prepare everything that Pharaoh would like. Instead of referring to himself with the 1st person pronoun *ne* as in (62), here Joseph refers to himself with the logophoric pronoun *ale*. Thus it can be seen that in Jula reported discourse exclamations can be used with both of the person alignment strategies shown in Figure 2 in 3.4.3 above.

In the corpus, none of the vocatives occur in reported speech with the first strategy of person alignment, namely the use of logophoric pronouns; they all either occur with no other pronouns in the same speech report but with 1st and 2nd person pronouns later in the conversation (65)²⁴ or in a sentence with 1st and/or 2nd person pronouns in the second strategy of person alignment (as in (66) and (67)). Only seven vocatives appear in the corpus, though, which is not enough evidence to claim that vocatives could never appear with logophoric pronouns.

- (65) *A ko: [Musa, Musa.]*
 3SG QUOT Moses Moses
 'He said: Moses, Moses.' Moses:27

- (66) *Sisɛden ko [tori,] ko [ni ten lo, an ka yeɛ yiri nin kan.]*
 chick QUOT toad QUOT if thus COP 1PL JUSS go.up tree DEM.SG on
 'Chick said, "Toad," he said, "if that's the case, we should climb up this tree.'" Six:6

- (67) *A ko [bon, sisan, komi ne bunteni ta dafara, tori,*
 3SG QUOT PRT now because 1SG scorpion POSS complete.PST toad
ele fana ka yeɛma, ne be n ta kɛ.]
 2SG.FOC also JUSS turn.around 1SG PRS 1SG POSS do
 'He said, "Good; now, since mine, Scorpion's, are completed, Toad, you turn around too and I'll do mine.'" Six:46

²⁴ See Appendix D for the rest of this conversation and the broader context.

Example (65) comes from a retelling of the Biblical story of Moses at the burning bush. Here, God calls out to Moses, but he does not continue to speak until after Moses responds. Thus, (65) is the entire quotation spoken at that time. Example (66) is from a folktale, and here Chicken and Toad had just realized that it is about to rain and they are too far away from home to make it there in time. In this line, Chicken suggests to Toad that they climb a tree, using both the vocative *tori* ‘Toad’ and a 1st person plural pronoun. Example (67) is from the same folktale, though at this point in time Toad and Scorpion are having a boxing match and Chicken is the referee. This sentence is one of the more complicated quotations in the corpus, since there are three people on stage and the context did not make clear who was talking. Perhaps the current speaker realized this as she was speaking, since she added quite a bit of participant coding within the quotation itself, thus clarifying who was speaking to whom. Part of that extra participant coding was a non-quotation-initial vocative, *tori* ‘Toad’.

It is noteworthy that, other than in (65) where the vocative is the entire utterance, all the examples of vocatives in the corpus accompany either reported questions or reported commands/suggestions. It is common in Jula (though not obligatory, see 3.4.2 above) to use the second strategy of person alignment in these contexts even if there is no vocative. More data is needed to know whether vocatives can also occur in Jula declarative sentences and whether they can occur with logophoric pronouns.

3.6 Spatial and temporal deictics in quotations

In Jula reported speech, the deictic center of spatial deictics is the reported speaker. This means that the spatial deictics that are reported by the current speaker are the same ones as the reported speaker could have actually used. This is seen in (68).

- (68) [A *ka taa Ale ka jamaw bɔ o yɔrɔ nin na, Misira*
 3SG JUSS go LOG POSS people take.out DEM place DEM.SG POST Egypt
jamana na, ka na n' a ye yɔrɔ nin na.
 country POST INF come with 3SG POST place DEM.SG POST
 ‘He_i should go take his_i people out of that place, the country of Egypt, and come
 with them to this place.’ Moses:34

In this example, God is talking to a man named Moses and is sending him to Egypt. He is to *taa* ‘go’ to Egypt, lead the people of God out of *o yɔrɔ la* ‘that place (i.e. a place that is not near)’, and *na* ‘come’ with them back to the place where he and God are talking. All of these are spatial deictics for which the deictic center is the reported speaker.

In 1st person narratives as well, the deictic center of spatial deictics in Jula reported speech is the reported speaker. This can be seen in (69).

- (69) *Don, Burkina sisan, o ye rendez-vous di, ko [kalo fila nin*
so Burkina Faso now 3PL PST meeting give QUOT month two DEM.SG
kɔ,] ko [an ka na.]
after QUOT 1PL JUSS come
 ‘So, back in Burkina Faso now, they gave us a meeting, saying that in two months we should come.’
 Rachida:23

Example (69) is from the story of the sickness and death of the storyteller's granddaughter. Here, when the current speaker brought the granddaughter back to the town from which the story is being told, the doctors must have called (from a city in a neighboring country) and told her that in two months they should *na* ‘come’ back to that city to continue treatment. Thus, even though the current speaker is a character in the narrative, in this case the reported addressee, the deictic center of this spatial deictic verb *na* ‘come’ remains the reported speaker, not the current speaker.

In the corpus there are only two possible exceptions to this rule about the deictic center of spatial deictics in reported speech. The first can be seen in (70).

- (70) *Sonsannin ko suruku ma k’ [ale bamuso sara,] ko [suruku ka*
rabbit QUOT hyena POST QUOT LOG mother die.PST QUOT hyena JUSS
na o ta bamuso sanga na.]
come 3PL POSS mother death/funeral POST
 ‘Rabbit_i told Hyena_j that his_i mother died, that Hyena should come to their mother's funeral.’
 Tears:3

Example (70) is from near the beginning of a folktale, where Hare tells Hyena that his mother died, and so Hyena should *na* ‘come’ to the funeral with him. At this point in the story, Hyena and Hare are together at a place quite distant from the funeral, so what

would be expected would be the verb *taa* ‘go’. Perhaps Hare, knowing that he is going to the funeral right away, is already imagining himself there and so is inviting Hyena to join him.

The Moses text is the source of the second possible exception to the fact that the deictic center of spatial deictics in Jula reported speech is the reported speaker. Here, Moses sees a bush that is burning in an unusual way, and when he goes over to investigate God speaks to him from the bush. God uses the verbs *na* ‘come’ and *taa* ‘go’ as if he were at the location of the bush, but at one point when he uses a phrase to refer to the place of the bush, he unexpectedly uses the phrase *o yɔɔ* ‘that place (i.e. a place that is not near)’ instead of *yan yɔɔ* ‘this place (i.e. a place that is near)’. This can be seen in (71).²⁵

- (71) [*O yɔɔ nin ye Ale bato yɔɔ le ye.*]
 DEM place DEM.SG COP LOG worship place PRT.FOC COP
 ‘That place was his worship place. (Context: God_i said to him_j, that he_i will send him_j to the country of Egypt. He_j should go take his_i people out of that place, the country of Egypt, and come with them to this place. They should come worship him_i. That place was his_i worship place.)’ Moses:36

Example (71) is part of a longer quotation of God's, which is why there is no quotation margin. Here God tells Moses that *o yɔɔ nin* ‘that (over there) aforementioned place’ is the place where he is to be worshipped. Perhaps the reason that this unexpected spatial *o yɔɔ nin* ‘that (over there) aforementioned place’ is used is to remind the listener that though God is talking through the bush, he is a deity and is not physically present at the bush.

²⁵ In (71), as well as many other examples throughout this thesis, there are two different demonstratives: *o* ‘DEM’ and *nin* ‘DEM.SG’. The demonstrative *o* ‘DEM’ is a non-proximal demonstrative, indicating that the noun is not near the speaker; it is contrasted with *yan* ‘here’. The pronoun *nin* ‘DEM.SG’, like its plural counterpart *nunu* ‘DEM.PL’ is an anaphoric demonstrative, indicating that the noun has already been mentioned previously. The demonstratives *o* ‘DEM’ and *yan* ‘here’ occur before the noun; *nin* ‘DEM.SG’ and *nunu* ‘DEM.PL’ occur after the noun. The exception is if *nin* ‘DEM.SG’ is used both before and after the noun to highlight the noun very pointedly, as in (i).

- (i) *Wolo Ala y’ a fɔ a jɛ na ko [Taa ni nin bere nin*
 and.so(PRT) God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT go with DEM.SG stick DEM.SG
ye.]
 POST
 ‘And so God told him, “Go with this very stick.”’ Moses:59

More data would be needed, then, to know if these two examples are exceptions or, as is more likely, creative ways that the language can be used to express nuances in meaning.

Though temporal deictics are common in Jula, the reported speech in the corpus only has three phrases that could fall into this category, one (72) which clearly shows that the deictic center is that of the reported speaker, and two for which the deictic center is not clear. One of these is given in (73) and the other can be seen above in (69).

- (72) [Sabula o ye kojugu min ke ale ra, Ala y' a ta k' a
 because 3PL PST bad.thing which do LOG POST God PST 3SG take INF 3SG
 yelema k' a ke kojuman ye, olu ye nin ye bii
 change INF 3SG make good.thing POST 3PL.FOC COP DEM.SG COP today
 bii nin na ten.]
 today DEM.SG POST thus
 'Because of the bad thing they did to him, God took it and changed it and made it
 into a good thing and they are like this today.' Joseph:162

Example (72) is part of a longer quotation, which is why there is no quotation margin in the sentence. A man named Joseph, whose brothers who had sold him into slavery and who eventually became a head diplomat in Egypt, revealed his identity to his brothers in this scene. In this sentence, he is telling them not to worry that he will be seeking revenge since God has changed the evil that they did to him into the good that they are experiencing *bii bii nin na ten* 'on this very day (today today DEM.SG POST thus)'. Though this is the only clear example showing the deictic center of temporal deictics in the corpus, it shows that the deictic center is that of the reported speaker, speaking of the current day as *today*.

- (73) Yusufu y' a fɔ a jε na ko [i ka siko nin
 N PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 2SG POSS dream DEM.SG
 kɔrɔ le ye ko [saan wolonwula nata, sanji juman bena
 meaning PRT.FOC COP QUOT year seven following rain good FUT
 na.]]
 come
 'Joseph told him, "The meaning of your dream is that for the next seven years, good
 rains will come.' Joseph:87

In (73), a man named Joseph is explaining a dream, saying that the dream means that for the next seven years there will be good rain. The temporal phrase used here is *saan wolonwula nata* ‘the next 7 years’ The word *nata* ‘next’ is the same word that would be used if you were to tell a friend that you were going on a trip *logokun nata* ‘next week’.

3.7 Complexity of quotations

Quotations in Jula can range in length and complexity from a single word to multiple sentences. In fact, an entire narrative can be given as a type of quotation, a fact that is discussed in Section 3.8.3 below. Previous examples show that quotations can include complex sentences; (74) shows that quotations can also be smaller than a full clause, consisting instead of a single word.

(74) *Bunteni ko [kelen.]*
scorpion QUOT one
‘Scorpion said, "One.”’

Six:37

Aikhenvald (2008:415) claims that often reported indirect speech consists of a single full clause, whereas direct speech can be both shorter and longer than this.

In the Jula corpus, however, both person alignment strategies (see above, 3.4.3 for the discussion on person alignment) are used for quotations consisting of a single clause, of a complex sentence, and of multiple sentences. None of the quotations that are shorter than a single clause refer to a current or reported speaker or addressee, so it is impossible to tell, based on this corpus, which person alignment strategies can be used in these short quotations. Examples of the two person alignment strategies being used in each of the three quotation length/complexity categories are given in (75) to (77).²⁶

²⁶ In (77), (77a) and (77b) form one multiple-sentence quotation and (77c) and (77d) form the second quotation.

(75) Single clause quotations

- a. First strategy - Reported speaker = 'LOG'

Don, o tora o sɔsɔli la, tori k' [ale be bunteni
so 3PL remain.PST DEM argument POST toad QUOT LOG PRS scorpion

bugɔ.]

hit

'So, they kept arguing, and Toad said that he would hit Scorpion.' Six:23

- b. Second strategy - Reported speaker = 1st person

Ko [An kanɲe k' a faga le.]

QUOT 1PL must INF 3SG kill FOC

'(They said,) "We should really kill him."'

Joseph:10

(76) Complex sentence quotations

- a. First strategy - Reported speaker = 'LOG'

A ko sonsannin ma sisan, ko [komi olu be taara, o
3SG QUOT rabbit POST now QUOT because 3PL.FOC PRS go.PROG 3PL

te sera ka ye, ale bena, komi a bamuso be sara,
NEG arrive.PROG yet LOG FUT because 3SG mother PRS die.PROG

ale bena kasi damine yan sanni o ka se sangayɔɔ la.]

LOG FUT cry begin here before 3PL INF arrive funeral.place POST

'He_i said to Rabbit_j now, that since they_{i&j} are going, they_{i&j} are not yet arriving, he_i will, since his_j mother is dying, he_i will start crying here before they_{i&j} arrive at the place of the death.'

Tears:16

- b. Second strategy - Reported speaker = 1st person

Kɔɔw tɔɔ nunu, olu ye hakilikuntan dɔ ta sisan
older.sibling.PL rest DEM.PL 3PL.FOC PST worthless.idea certain take now

k' a fɔ ɲɔɔn ɲe na ko [Eh, komi nin
INF 3SG say each.other in.front.of POST QUOT eh because DEM.SG

den nin koo ka di an face ye ten, an t' a
child DEM.SG affair INF please 1PL father POST thus 1PL continue 3SG

faga k' a bɔyi wa, o ra an bɛɛ b' an yɛɛ
kill INF 3SG get.out.of.the.way Q DEM POST 1PL ALL PRS 1PL self

sɔɔɔ.]

find

'The other older brothers, they now had a worthless idea and said to each other, "Ah! Since this here child is really loved by our father like this, why don't we kill him and get him out of here? Then we won't be hassled with this anymore (idiom; literally, we'll all have our own selves).'

Joseph:8

(77) Multiple-sentence quotations

- a. First strategy - Reported speaker = 'LOG'

Yusufu banna, k' [ale kɔni be se ka maga fɛn bɛ
N refuse.PST QUOT LOG as.for PRS be.able INF touch thing ALL

ra nin luu nin kɔnɔ,] ko [nga, muso nin, o
POST DEM.SG courtyard DEM.SG inside QUOT but wife DEM.SG 3PL

ma sira d' ale ma, ale ka maga o ra.]
NEG.PST road give LOG POST LOG JUSS touch DEM POST

'Joseph refused, saying that as for him, he was able to touch everything in this courtyard, (saying that) but this woman, they didn't allow him (literally, they didn't give him the road) to touch her.'

Joseph:32

- b. [*Ale fana tena maga a ra fana.*]

LOG also NEG.FUT touch 3SG POST also

'He also will not touch her.'

Joseph:33

- c. Second strategy - Reported speaker = 1st person

W'olo kelen tilara tugu ko, [ɔn ɔn,] ko [an kan' a
that's.why one finish.PST again QUOT no QUOT 1PL JUSS.NEG 3SG

faga dɛ.]
kill exclamation

'That's why one of them continued again, saying, "No!" (saying) "We really shouldn't kill him."'

Joseph:11

- d. [*An k' a fili kɔlɔnkolon nin kɔnɔ min ye yanfɛ.*]

1PL INF 3SG throw well.empty DEM.SG inside which COP over.there

'"We should throw him into this empty well that's over there."'

Joseph:12

Though there is not room to discuss each of these examples in depth in this thesis,²⁷ suffice it to say that there is ample evidence that both person alignment strategies can be used for quotations of a single clause as well as for longer and more complex quotations.

3.8 Things other than reported speech that function in similar ways

Even though this thesis focuses on reported speech, there are a few other aspects of Jula discourse that function in similar ways to reported speech and it is important to at least mention them in passing here. Section 3.8.1 introduces reported cognition, 3.8.2

²⁷ Many of these examples have been discussed earlier in this thesis. The full corpus is also included in the appendices.

introduces reported purpose, and 3.8.3 discusses another use of the quotative particle *ko* - that of a hearsay evidential.

3.8.1 Reported cognition

Unlike reported speech, which expresses what someone has said, reported cognition expresses what someone has thought. There are two types of reported cognition in Jula, though this section only addresses that which is most like reported speech. This is also the most common type of Jula reported cognition.²⁸ An example of this type of Jula reported cognition is given in (78).

- (78) *Lɔnnikɛlaw ye lolo nin ye, o y' a lɔn ko [lolo gwansan*
 wise.man.PL PST star DEM.SG see 3PL PST 3SG know QUOT star ordinary
te.]
 NEG.COP
 'Wisemen saw this star and they knew the following: that it wasn't an ordinary star.'
 Noel:58

As can be seen in (78), reported cognition in Jula looks very similar to Jula reported speech. It has a quotation margin that consists of a subject (reported speaker), cataphoric pronominal referring to the content of the quotation itself (like the verb *fɔ* 'say'), cognition verb (in this case *lɔn* 'know'), and the quotative particle *ko*. The content of the quotation is a complete thought; an independent clause. This, too, is the same as the content of a reported speech report.

In fact, in the corpus, I have found no ways in which this type of Jula reported cognition differs from reported speech except for the obvious difference of different matrix verbs - a speech verb is replaced with a verb of cognition. It even uses singular logophoric

²⁸ The other type of reported cognition is found in examples such as (i).

- (i) *Musa b' a lɔn [Farauna be cogoya min na.]*
 Moses PRS 3SG know pharaoh PRS way which POST
 'Moses knows the following: how Pharaoh is.' Moses:38

This type of Jula reported cognition is very different than Jula reported speech. First of all, the quotation margin cannot include the quotative particle *ko*. But perhaps the biggest difference between this type of Jula reported cognition and reported speech is that, at least in the corpus, here the quotation itself is always a dependent clause, whereas in reported speech the quotation never consists of simply a dependent clause.

pronouns, exactly as reported speech does, and it can take quotation-medial margins.²⁹
 This can be seen in (79).

(79) *Yusufu y' a ye sisan ko [Ah,] ko [ale kɔrɔw nunu,]*
 N PST 3SG see now QUOT ah QUOT LOG older.sibling.PL DEM.PL

ko [o kera hakilitigiw ye.]
 QUOT 3PL become.PST wise.person.PL POST

'Now Joseph saw the following: that "Ah...," that these older siblings of his, that they had become wise.'
 Joseph:156

The information of unequal importance in the reported cognition quotation in (79) is separated by the quotation-medial margins. Also, as in reported speech, the logophoric pronoun *ale* is used to refer to Joseph, the reported speaker.

Another important thing to note about reported cognition in Jula is that there are two categories of verbs of cognition: those that do not take a pronominal cataphor referring to the content of the reported cognition and those that do. This is similar to the three categories of argument structure in 3.2 above, but since reported cognition does not, by its very nature, have an addressee other than possibly the person him- or herself, the three categories given in 3.2 are simplified into two for reported cognition. Both categories of verbs are quite common, but the verbs that take the pronominal cataphor are more prevalent in the corpus. Two verbs from each category, together with example sentences, are given in (80) and (81).

²⁹ The facts that it is so similar to reported speech and that it uses logophoric pronouns are not surprising given Culy's (1994:1062-1069) hierarchy.

(80) No Pronominal Cataphor

a. *ɲɛna* ‘think’ -

Ne ɲɛna ko [a nana ni lakire lo ye k’ a di
1SG think QUOT 3SG come.PST with chalk PRT.FOC POST INF 3SG give

denmisɛnw ma.]
small.child.PL POST

‘I thought that it was chalk that he had come with to give the children.’ Phone:12

b. *ɲatimɛ* ‘think about’ -

O ma ɲatimɛ ko [musokɔɔba nin lo be
3PL NEG.PST think.about QUOT old.woman DEM.SG PRT.FOC PRS

denmisɛn nunu ɲimina ten.]
small.child DEM.PL chew.PROG thus

‘They didn’t think about the fact that this old woman was eating the children in this way.’ Sorcerer:16

(81) Pronominal Cataphor

a. *lɔn* ‘know’ -

Nga loon dɔ nana se, Musa ye koo dɔ kɛ, Musa y’
but day certain come.PST arrive Moses PST thing certain do Moses PST

a lɔn ko [o koo nin tena diya Farauna ye.]
3SG know QUOT DEM thing DEM.SG NEG.FUT please pharaoh POST

‘But one day came and Moses did something; Moses knew that that thing wouldn’t please Pharaoh.’ Moses:18

b. *ye* ‘see’ -

O y’ a ye ko, [Ah,] k’ [o fana ye tiɲɛ kuma
3PL PST 3SG see QUOT ah QUOT DEM also POST truth speech

le ye.]
PRT.FOC POST

‘They saw that, "Ah!" (seeing that) "That’s is also true speech!"’ Joseph:22

Now that this section has explored reported cognition ever so briefly, in the next section the focus shifts to reported purpose.

3.8.2 Reported purpose

Reported purpose acts less like reported speech than the reported cognition discussed above does, but the similarities are such that it is still important to discuss this topic here.

The fact that reported purpose acts similarly to reported speech is not surprising, given that this is also the case in many other languages (see Güldemann (2003), Aikhenvald (2008), Güldemann (2008), Nikitina (2012c), Greed (2018), and Nikitina (2020a), *inter alia*). An example of reported purpose is given in (82).

- (82) *Don, subagatoŋɔgɔn nunu nana k' [o bena deen nin ta*
 so fellow.sorcerer DEM.PL come.PST QUOT 3PL FUT child DEM.SG take
sisan.]
 now
 'So, these fellow sorcerers came in order to take this child now.' Sorcerer:36

Here, the sorcerers came for the purpose of taking the child. This example shows the two main similarities between reported purpose and reported speech. Like reported speech, reported purpose uses the quotative particle *ko* to introduce what is being reported; this *ko* occurs after a verb and introduces the reason why that action was taken. Thus the clause ending with *ko* looks quite similar to a quotation margin, though the verb is no longer constrained to the set of speech verbs. Also, as in reported speech, the content of a reported purpose clause is normally an independent clause with a subject and finite verb. Looking again at (82), the sorcerers did not come just for the sake of coming, but they came in order to take the child. Because of the use of the quotative particle *ko* and the similarities to reported speech, it feels as if it is saying, 'So these sorcerers came, saying to themselves that they would take the child'.

Even though reported purpose is similar to reported speech in some ways, it differs from reported speech in more ways than the reported cognition discussed above does. Two of the main ways that it differs from reported speech are that reported purpose does not use logophoric pronouns and, in the corpus, there are no verbs introducing reported purpose that take a pronominal cataphor referring to the reported purpose itself.

The lack of logophoric pronouns in reported purpose clauses can be seen in (83).

(83) *A wilila k' [a be gwεε ka o kabako nin file]*
 3SG get.up.PST QUOT 3SG PRS approach INF DEM miracle DEM.SG look.at

minke, Ala y' a weele a tɔɔ ma.
 when(PRT) God PST 3SG call 3SG name POST

'When he got up in order to get closer to see this miracle/surprising thing, God called him by his name.'
 Moses:26

If the reported purpose in (83) were reported speech or reported cognition, the expectation would be that the logophoric pronoun *ale* would be used instead of the unmarked 3rd person pronoun *a*, since it is referring to the person who got up himself. It is thus clear from this example that reported purpose does not use logophoric pronouns.

While it is impossible to give an example showing the fact that none of the verbs introducing reported purpose having pronominal cataphors, (83) does show something interesting that may help explain why that is true. The reported purpose clause above is *a be gwεε ka o kabako nin file* 'he approached to look at this miracle'. It was mentioned above that this is a complete independent clause. But it is also true that if the quotative particle *ko*, together with this clause, were removed from the sentence, it would still leave a completely grammatical sentence:

(84) *A wilila minke, Ala y' a weele a tɔɔ ma*
 3SG get.up.PST when(PRT) God PST 3SG call 3SG name POST

'When he got up, God called him by his name. (NOTE: This example is derived, though grammatically correct.)'

Since the reported purpose clause, together with its quotative particle *ko*, can be removed from a sentence and still leave the sentence grammatically correct, it makes sense that the verbs introducing the reported purpose, which are not any particular Jula verbs, should not be able to have a pronominal cataphor referring to the reported purpose itself.

Now that the topics of reported cognition 3.8.1 and reported purpose 3.8.2 have been covered briefly, the last area of focus in this chapter is a slightly different aspect of Jula narratives that resembles reported speech - the use of the quotative particle *ko* as a hearsay evidential.

3.8.3 *Ko as a hearsay evidential*

The quotative particle *ko* can also function as a hearsay evidential (see Coulmas (1986), Blass (1990), and Güldemann (2008), *inter alia*). Though the discussions about *ko* up until this point focus on the micro level as it introduces reported speech, reported cognition, and reported purpose, it can also function on the macro level by indicating that an entire discourse is something that did not come from the current speaker herself, but which was originally told by someone else. In this case, the person who originally told the story may either be explicit, as in (85), or may be left implicit, as in (87).³⁰

- (85) *Ne bamuso be to ka lakali anu ye ko [olu*
 1SG mother PRS continue INF tell 1PL.FOC POST QUOT 3PL.FOC
sunguruman,] ko [musokɔɔba, musokɔɔba dɔ tun be
 young.woman.time.period QUOT old.woman old.woman certain PFV COP
olu ka dugu ra.]
 3PL.FOC POSS village POST
 ‘My mother keeps telling us that when they were young, that an old woman, a certain
 OLD woman was in their village.’ Sorcerer:1

Example (85) introduces the Sorcerer story. Though it could be claimed that the reported speech only occurs in this single sentence, the rest of the story is, in fact, all a story that was originally told by the current speaker's mother. This can be seen by looking at (86), which occurs near the end of the same text.

- (86) *N'o te, ko denmisen tun ti balo dugu nin na ten.*
 otherwise QUOT small.child PFV NEG stay.alive village DEM.SG POST thus
 ‘If not (otherwise), that children don't stay alive long in that village in this way.’
 Sorcerer:98

In (86), the quotative particle *ko* occurs with no potential reported speaker in the immediate context. Instead, the *ko* is used here to remind the current addressee that this entire story was being told by the mother. It also lets the current know that the story is drawing to a close, since if the hearsay evidential *ko* occurs at the beginning of a narrative,

³⁰ Gizay, a Chadic language spoken in Cameroon and Chad, also uses a quotative particle as a hearsay evidential with an implicit speaker (Guitang 2021).

it also often occurs near the end as well. In this particular case, (86) is sentence 98 of 100 of the story.

An example of a hearsay evidential *ko* without a reported speaker is given in (87).

(87) *Ko danabacε dɔ lo, minw b' a weele lɔnnikɛlaba*
QUOT Christian.man certain PRT.FOC which.PL PRS 3SG call scholar.big

nunu.

DEM.PL

'It is said that there was a certain man among those called scholars/theologians.'

Prayer:1

This is the very beginning of the story, meaning that the very first word of this whole narrative is *ko*. Thus, it is not possible to have a reported speaker associated with it. This *ko* is used to show that the story that follows is one that has been heard somewhere before by someone. It adds a connotation of the current speaker not being necessarily totally convinced that the story is true, but just that it is something that they have heard somewhere. It may be similar to someone in the US starting a story with, *I saw on Facebook the other day that* I believe, from my knowledge of the language, that this hearsay evidential *ko* without a reported speaker is also often repeated near the end of the story, but in this particular narrative it is not repeated there.

This hearsay evidential *ko* is mainly used to show that the current speaker is not a direct eyewitness to the events, but instead heard the story from someone else. For folktales, though, since they are already known to be something that the current speaker could not have witnessed, this hearsay evidential *ko* is not needed in their introduction. There is, in fact, no example of *ko* introducing folktales in the corpus and through my knowledge of the language I believe that hearsay evidential *kos* would, in fact, be inappropriate in folktales.

CHAPTER 4

Discussion: How this data relates to current models

This chapter looks at criteria that have been given in the literature to distinguish, define, and describe different types of reported speech. The goal is that through comparing the information about Jula reported speech presented in Chapter 3 with typological criteria from the direct-indirect continuum, the models of Aikhenvald (2008), Nikitina (2012c), and Evans (2013), and a default versus marked framework and its approach to describing reported speech types based on functional properties, there will be two benefits:

1. It will permit scholars working with each of these models to better understand the data.
2. It will show which aspects of the data are difficult to account for within each of the models.

This chapter is organized in the following way. Section 4.1 summarizes the way in which the data in Chapter 3 aligns with typological features used to distinguish direct from indirect speech (Aikhenvald 2008, Li 1986). Section 4.2 then compares how the Jula data relates to other models of reported speech. In 4.2.1 Jula reported speech is compared to Aikhenvald's (2008) *semi-direct* category of speech, using her model as one of many that attempt to categorize reported speech that seems to be somewhere between direct and indirect. Subsection 4.2.2 analyzes Jula reported speech according to Nikitina's (2012c) model for categorization based on person alignment patterns. In 4.2.3 Jula reported speech is reanalyzed within Evans' (2013) canonical approach to reported speech with its canonical direct, indirect, and biperspectival reported speech. This chapter finishes with 4.3, in which Levinsohn's (in press) discussion of the default versus marked concept in relation to speech reporting is shown to helpfully categorize Jula reported speech in ways that the three models of 4.2 are not able to do.

4.1 Direct versus indirect speech

As is mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 3, Aikhenvald (2008) and Li (1986) claim that there are several aspects of the quotation margin and the speech report that can distinguish direct from indirect speech; these are summarized in Table 3.¹

Table 3. Direct versus indirect speech

Aspect	How it relates to direct and indirect speech, according to Aikhenvald (2008) and Li (1986)
Quotation-medial margins:	In some languages with both direct and indirect speech, only the direct speech may be able to have a quotation-medial margin (Aikhenvald 2008:414-415).
Quotative particle:	Cross-linguistically, quotative particles or complementizers are used more frequently in indirect speech than direct speech (Aikhenvald 2008:413, Li 1986:34-36).
Verbs in quotation margins:	A speech verb is often more necessary for indirect than for direct speech. There is also often a larger variety of speech verbs that can be used for indirect speech than direct speech (Aikhenvald 2008:413).
Pronouns in quotations:	Often direct speech uses first and second person pronouns to refer to the reported speaker and reported addressee respectively, whereas indirect speech uses third person pronouns to refer to both (Li 1986:30-31, see also Aikhenvald 2008:411).
Verbs in quotations:	The verb forms sometimes, but not always, change between direct and indirect speech (Aikhenvald 2008:412-413).

¹ There are two other aspects of quotation margins that are discussed in Aikhenvald (2008). Since they are not applicable to Jula, they have been omitted from the list given in the body of the text. These aspects are the following:

1. In languages with a relatively free constituent order, the order of the constituents in the quotation margin may be different in direct versus indirect speech (Aikhenvald 2008:414). Jula has a very rigid constituent order and this aspect is not applicable to Jula.

2. In some languages, the location of the quotation margin in relation to the quotation itself can indicate whether the reported speech is direct or indirect (Aikhenvald 2008:413-414). Jula requires a quotation margin at the beginning of every quotation. Quotation-medial margins are discussed in 4.1.1.

Two other aspects of the quotation itself that are discussed in the literature are outside the scope of this study, since they relate to auditory signals and this study is based on the written version of the corpus. Because of this, I have omitted them from the list given in the body of the text. These two aspects are the following:

1. In some languages there is a unique intonation contour for direct speech (Aikhenvald 2008:414).

2. In direct speech, the current speaker plays the role of the reported speaker, so any gestures, tone of voice, etc. can be said to portray the feelings of the reported speaker. In indirect speech this is not the case, so gestures, tone of voice, etc. can be expressing the current speaker's point of view (Li 1986:38).

A third aspect of the quotation itself that is omitted from the list in the body of the text, due to it not being applicable to Jula reported speech, is that quotative or reported evidentials can be used to mark direct speech (Aikhenvald (2008:414).

Aspect	How it relates to direct and indirect speech, according to Aikhenvald (2008) and Li (1986)
Questions and commands:	Questions and commands can often only be expressed in direct speech (Li 1986:37, Aikhenvald 2008:412-413).
Spatial and temporal deictics:	In direct speech, spatial and temporal deictics are based on the perspective of the reported speaker; in indirect speech, they are often based on the perspective of the current speaker (Aikhenvald 2008:411-412, Li 1986:34).
Vocatives and exclamations:	In most languages, only direct speech can include vocatives and exclamations (Aikhenvald 2008:414).
Complexity of quotation:	Often, reported indirect speech consists of a single full clause; direct speech can be both shorter and longer than this (Aikhenvald 2008:415).

In this section I discuss the extent to which each of these criteria is useful in categorizing the difference between speech types in Jula.

4.1.1 Quotation-medial margins

Aikhenvald (2008:414-415) claims that in some languages that have both direct and indirect speech, only the direct speech may be able to have a quotation-medial margin.

In Jula, both person alignment strategies discussed in 3.4.3 above, the first which could be called indirect speech and the second which could be called direct speech, can occur with quotation-medial margins. This can be seen when comparing (21) of 3.1.1 above (first strategy) with (66) of 3.5 (second strategy). This means that if the person alignment strategies are the difference between direct and indirect speech, it would appear as if quotation-medial margins do not follow Aikhenvald's pattern, but instead can be used with both direct and indirect speech.

Thus, based on this criterion of Aikhenvald's, I cannot determine whether Jula reported speech functions like direct speech, indirect speech, or some of each.

4.1.2 *Complementizer or quotative particle*

According to scholars, indirect speech can often be introduced with a quotative particle or complementizer, whereas this is more rare in direct speech (Aikhenvald 2008:413, Li 1986:34-36). Aikhenvald (2008) does clearly state, however, that there are exceptions to this generalization.

As is seen in 3.2.3 above, the quotative particle *ko* is present in the quotation margin of over 95% of reported speech in the Jula corpus, clearly exhibited in both alignment types. Of those instances where it is not present in the quotation margin, both person alignment strategies are also used.

Given the fact that a quotative particle is frequently associated with indirect speech cross-linguistically, this criterion would make it appear as if over 95% of the reported speech in Jula is indirect, since only in a few instances would a quotative particle not be obligatory in the quotation margin (see 3.2.3 for a list of the instances where it does not occur within the corpus).²

4.1.3 *Verbs in quotation margins*

Aikhenvald (2008:413) claims that direct speech often uses a smaller variety of speech verbs in quotation margins than indirect speech uses and that only direct speech may occur without any quotation margin.

In Jula, while a quotation margin is never completely absent in the corpus, the speech verb *fɔ* ‘say’ can be absent with both person alignment strategies.

As far as which verbs introduce quotations with which person alignment strategy, the most common speech verb, *fɔ* ‘say’, and the most common verb of reported cognition, *ye* ‘see’, both take quotations with either person alignment strategy. None of the other speech verbs or verbs of reported cognition appear frequently enough in the corpus to clearly take quotations with both person alignment strategies. There are, however, at least one other speech verb and two other verbs of reported cognition for which the reported pronouns follow the first strategy of person alignment (*weele* ‘call’, *la* ‘believe’, and *decision ta* ‘make

² An alternate analysis would be that this criteria does not apply to languages such as Jula which use a quotative particle with both strategies of reported speech.

a decision'). There are also at least two other speech verbs and one other verb of reported cognition for which the reported pronouns follow the second strategy of person alignment (*kule* 'cry out', *jininga* 'ask', and *miiri* 'think').³ Thus, the verbs in Jula quotation margins do not appear to show a distinction between anything that could be called direct or indirect speech. The fact that, cross-linguistically, only direct speech reports can occur without a quotation margin is not helpful in this determination either, since no Jula speech reports can occur without a quotation margin.

4.1.4 Pronouns in quotations

While the previous three subsections compare aspects of quotation margins with typical direct or indirect speech, the next six subsections focus on the content of the quotation itself. This discussion begins with the pronouns and person alignment strategy used in Jula quotations, as that is often the main criterion scholars point to in determining whether a speech report is direct or indirect. Aikhenvald (2008:411), for example, claims that "[p]erson shift is the most prominent feature for distinguishing direct and indirect speech. All other features can be considered concomitant to it." In fact, she makes her distinction of direct-semidirect-indirect speech forms purely on the basis of person reference, even if other distinctions often provided as indicators of one of the other would contradict the form given by the person reference.

The literature claims that often direct speech uses first and second person pronouns to refer to the reported speaker and reported addressee respectively, whereas indirect speech uses third person pronouns for these participants (Li 1986:30-31, see also Aikhenvald 2008:411). According to this categorization, the second strategy of person alignment presented in 3.4.3 above would correspond with direct speech and, if logophoric pronouns are to be considered to function like 3rd person pronouns as Aikhenvald (2008) and many other scholars claim (Culy (1997), Levinsohn (in press:107), and Dooley & Levinsohn

³ While it is not a question raised in the literature, I wondered if the person alignment strategies that would be allowed by the different speech verbs would correlate in any way to the category of the speech verbs (whether they take the addressee as the direct object or indirect object, for example). While the data in the corpus does not appear to show any correlation there, more data would be needed to make a more decisive conclusion. This would be an interesting area for future study.

(2001:98), *inter alia*), the first strategy of person alignment would correspond with indirect speech.

Semi-direct speech (which is discussed at length in 4.2.1 below) is said by Aikhenvald (2008) to have some of the person references in a single quotation to be of the form that would be used in direct speech and some to be of the form that would be used in indirect speech. She treats logophoric pronouns as 3rd person pronouns in this regard and does not equate logophoricity with semi-direct reporting strategies, instead claiming that logophoric pronouns can be used in indirect speech reports (Aikhenvald 2008:411).

At least for speech reports that have references to the reported or current speaker or addressee, Jula reported speech thus falls very easily into the two categories of direct and indirect speech if the only criterion used to make that distinction is the pronouns and person alignment, and if it is assumed that logophoric pronouns function like 3rd person pronouns in this regard. This criterion, however, falls short of being able to categorize reported speech reports that do not have references to either the reported or current speaker or addressee, since any distinction between the two different categories of speech is neutralized these cases.

4.1.5 Verbs in quotations

According to the literature, the verb forms within reported speech sometimes, but not always, change between direct and indirect speech. For example, the TAM on verbs in direct speech is often the same as it would have been when originally spoken, whereas in indirect speech the TAM is often back-shifted or transformed in some other way. This is especially common in European languages (Aikhenvald 2008:412), though it occurs in other languages as well (for the example of Gooniyandi, a Bunuban language of Australia, see McGregor (1994:73)). There may also be a special verb form or a different use of a verb form in indirect speech (Aikhenvald 2008:412).

As is discussed above in 3.3, the verbs in Jula reported speech always have the same TAM as they would have had when originally spoken by the reported speaker. This is true whether or not the pronouns change. Thus, when considering the forms of verbs within quotations, it would appear as if all reported speech in Jula were direct speech.

4.1.6 Commands and questions

According to the literature, commands and questions can often only be expressed in direct speech, not indirect speech (Li 1986:37, Aikhenvald 2008:412-413). Aikhenvald (2008:412) also claims that the imperative is likely to only be used in direct speech and that an "alternative construction" be used for any commands in indirect speech.

As is seen in 3.4.2 above, Jula reported commands and questions can both be expressed using either person alignment strategy and the same verb forms are used no matter which person alignment strategy is used (see Section 3.3 above).⁴ Examples of jussives using the two different strategies are seen in (88) for the first strategy and (58b) in Section 3.4.2 for the second strategy. Examples of questions using the two different strategies are seen in (59) and (54a), both in Section 3.4.2 above.

- (88) *Ale ko [ni ten lo, tori, i ka don dingen kɔnɔ, ne bena pan*
3SG.FOC QUOT if thus COP toad 2SG JUSS enter hole in 1SG FUT fly
ka yeɛ yiri nin kan.]
INF go.up tree DEM.SG on
'It was he who said that if that's the case, Toad, you should go in a hole and I will
jump/fly and go up this tree.' Six:12

Harsher imperatives and a discussion of their use in Jula reported speech is given below in 4.2.1.

As is seen both here and above, both commands and questions can be used with either person alignment strategy. This would make it appear as if all Jula reported speech is direct speech.

4.1.7 Spatial and temporal deictics

The literature states that in direct speech, spatial and temporal deictics are based on the reported speaker's perspective; in indirect speech, they are often based on the current speaker's perspective (Aikhenvald 2008:411-412, Li 1986:34).

⁴ There are at least four ways to express commands in Jula, the two most common in the corpus being the imperative and the jussive. The other two ways to express commands are outside the scope of this thesis. While it is here argued that the jussive form of commands is used with both person alignment strategies, the few examples of imperatives in the corpus are only used with the second strategy of person alignment; this is discussed in more detail in 4.2.1.

In Jula reported speech, spatial deictics function as would be expected in direct speech; as seen in 3.6 above, they are always based on the perspective of the reported speaker.

In the corpus there are not enough temporal deictics to draw a firm conclusion as to which perspective they take in reported speech. The one clear-cut case of perspective in a temporal deictic in the corpus takes the perspective of the reported speaker. This, too, is what would be expected in direct speech.

4.1.8 Exclamations and vocatives

Scholars such as Aikhenvald claim that, in most languages, direct speech can include vocatives and exclamations while indirect speech cannot (Aikhenvald 2008:414).

As is seen in 3.5 above, both exclamations and vocatives occur in Jula reported speech. Exclamations can occur with both strategies of person alignment, which, if the two strategies are taken as indirect and direct speech respectively, does not follow the pattern that Aikhenvald gives for "most languages" (2008:414). In the corpus, vocatives only occur with the second strategy of person alignment; this could correspond to direct speech and so would be what would be expected cross-linguistically. There are only seven vocatives in the corpus, however, so with more data it may be found that they pattern more like Jula exclamations as well.⁵

4.1.9 Complexity of quotation

Aikhenvald (2008:415) claims that reported indirect speech often consists of a single full clause whereas reported direct speech can be both more and less complex than this.

The length and complexity of Jula reported speech reports varies widely, and both person alignment strategies are found in single-clause and more complex speech reports. None of the speech reports shorter than a clause have pronouns that would be able to categorize them according to person alignment strategy.

⁵ In the related San language, vocatives can occur with semi-direct speech (Woodham 2003:113). San uses logophoric pronouns to refer to the reported speaker and 2nd person pronouns to refer to the reported addressee. As is seen in 4.2.1 below, however, there is no current evidence of Jula having semi-direct speech.

Since there is no type of reported speech report that is limited in complexity to a single full clause, all Jula reported speech follows the pattern of direct speech in regards to the complexity of the quotations.

4.1.10 Summary of the direct-indirect continuum as it relates to Jula

Aikhenvald (2008:415) claims that the aspects of reported speech that are discussed in the subsections above "should allow us to unambiguously distinguish between the two varieties of speech reports" for languages which have more than one speech report construction strategy. She continues, though, by admitting that the distinction between direct and indirect speech is not always clear-cut (Aikhenvald 2008:415). The previous several subsections explore several aspects of Jula reported speech and how they compare to typical direct and indirect speech. This is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Jula reported speech as it relates to a direct-indirect dichotomy

Criteria	All Jula reported speech patterns like direct speech	All Jula reported speech patterns like indirect speech	A clear distinction between direct and indirect speech can be seen in Jula reported speech	The Jula data cannot be sorted into these categories
Quotation-medial margins				X
Quotative particle		X		
Verbs in quotation margins				X
Pronouns in quotations			X	X
Verbs in quotations	X			
Commands and questions	X			
Spatial and temporal deictics	X			
Exclamations	X			
Vocatives			X	
Complexity of quotation	X			

As is seen in Table 4, most aspects of Jula reported speech do not shift between two distinct categories. If consideration was given to only five of the six last aspects in the table, for example, an easily-defendable claim would be that all of Jula reported speech is direct speech. Yet if only the quotative particle was considered, it would easily be claimed that almost all reported speech in Jula is indirect. The verbs in the quotation margin and the presence of the quotation-medial margin do not point one way or another. It is, in fact, only the change in pronouns and the presence of vocatives that would lead to the hypothesis that there may be both direct and indirect speech in Jula.

Looking solely at the criteria of pronouns and vocatives, it could be claimed that in certain environments (a question or a tight-knit conversation following that question, or a command, prophecy, or other manner in which a reported speaker tries to get someone to change their behavior), Jula reported speech has a distinction between direct and indirect speech; this distinction would likely be due to a difference in prominence (see 4.3 below). All other instances of reported speech in the corpus could be considered instances of indirect speech, even if there is no reference to the reported or current speaker or addressee, since the first strategy of person alignment can be used anywhere but the second strategy of person alignment has a limited distribution. It would also be only when direct speech was used that vocatives would occur, at least in this corpus.

This analysis, however, would imply that the other criteria often given to define direct and indirect speech do not apply in the distinction between direct and indirect speech in Jula: the speech verbs or the quotative particle in the quotation margin, the verb forms in the quotation, any spatial and temporal deictics, commands and questions, vocatives and exclamations, and quotation length/complexity, etc. Looking at these other criteria, it would be argued, would only confuse someone who is trying to determine how Jula reported speech works; instead, such a person would need to focus simply on the pronouns in order to categorize the reported speech of Jula. This is, in fact, similar to what Lowe & Hurlimann (2002:74) found for Germa, a distantly related language also spoken in Burkina Faso. There, too, they lamented, "Why must we always go to the trouble of checking coreferentiality relationships in studying direct and indirect speech forms? Because there is no other reliable way of determining which form we have, whether direct or indirect. [... The only criterion] that is always reliable is the criterion of pronominal reference."

This problem of having to base the analysis on one single criterion points to another, opposite, analysis that would also be possible if the analysis were based on the direct-indirect model. Considering the data in Chapter 3 and the analysis throughout 4.1, it could also be claimed, perhaps against widespread consensus but still with relatively persuasive argumentation, that all of the reported speech in Jula is direct but that two different person alignment strategies are possible. This analysis would have a strong basis, since for most of the criteria commonly given to characterize direct or indirect speech, Jula

reported speech always follows the patterns associated with direct speech. For instance, there is no perspective shift in the TAM of the verbs or in deictics other than pronouns, and the use of exclamations throughout Jula reported speech is prototypical of direct speech reporting. Also, if the logophoric pronoun is understood to be distinct from a 3rd person pronoun, neither of the person alignment strategies would point to the presence of indirect speech.⁶ In that case, the only thing that would be indicative of indirect speech would be the presence of the quotative particle. Thus, Jula reported speech, according to the data presented in this thesis, could easily be analyzed as being completely direct, though with two distinct person alignment strategies: one which resembles canonical direct speech and one which would be somewhat different, depending on the analysis of logophoric pronouns.

In summary, using the direct-indirect model one could argue that either (1) most Jula reported speech is indirect, though direct speech can occur in a limited distribution or (2) all Jula reported speech is direct, though there are two different person alignment strategies that can be used in this direct speech. Using one model to come up with two almost completely opposite analyses suggests that this model does not describe the data fully, completely, and elegantly. Perhaps it is for this reason that more recent scholars have been proposing other models for reported speech, three of which are discussed in the next section.

4.2 As related to recent models

This section explores three recent models that were created to account for data not easily categorized within the direct-indirect dichotomy: Aikhenvald's (2008) model which includes the possibility of semi-direct speech (4.2.1); Nikitina's (2012c) model of categorization based on person alignment patterns (4.2.2); and Evans' (2013) canonical approach with direct, indirect, and biperspectival reported speech categories (4.2.3).

⁶ Though logophoric pronouns have traditionally been considered to fit into the category of indirect speech, this is no longer universally accepted (see discussions in 4.2, as well as articles such as Nikitina (2020a), for more on this). An interesting case study is the Ainu language of Japan, where the logophoric pronoun is based off of a 1st person pronoun instead of a 3rd person pronoun (Bugaeva 2021).

4.2.1 As related to Aikhenvald's (2008) model with semi-direct speech

In her (2008) article, "Semi-direct speech: Manambu and beyond," Aikhenvald lays out a third type of reported speech, semi-direct, though the concept did not originate with her. (For others who have used this three-way distinction, see Wieseemann (1984), Dooley & Levinsohn (2001), Bugaeva (2008), and Levinsohn (in press), *inter alia*.) Since Aikhenvald's was an important development in the understanding and defining of the term cross-linguistically, though, I discuss semi-direct speech through the lens of her model.

Aikhenvald discusses two types of semi-direct speech. Her Type 1 semi-direct speech occurs in embedded reported speech while her Type 2 semi-direct speech occurs in non-embedded reported speech. In both types of semi-direct speech, one of the person references (a free pronoun) is as it would be in direct speech and another (a bound pronoun) is as it would be in indirect speech. An example of her Type 2 reported speech, from her example 28 on her page 401, is given in (89).

- (89) [Wo_i eng ba di] [ye_j yeis-ib_i]
 he this take come:up I:DIR.SP.REP give:me:IND.SP.REP-sg:FUT:SS
 qamb_i] [ba di-arei]
 say:SS take come:up-3sgFAR.PAST
 'He_i brought this up in order to give to me_j' (lit. 'he brought this up saying:
 I = Original Speaker_i will give it to me = Current Speaker_j')

Here, the reference to both the reported speaker (Aikhenvald's *original speaker*) and to the current speaker are with 1st person pronouns. That is because the reference to the reported speaker is with a free pronoun and is as it would be in direct speech, whereas the reference to the current speaker is with a bound pronoun and is as it would be in indirect speech.

A first glance at the Jula data would lead one to say that Aikhenvald's semi-direct speech is not present since the pronouns used in a particular utterance of reported speech are always from the same perspective.

There is one possibility in which semi-direct could be said to exist, though, even though it is currently unattested in the corpus and I do not know if it would appear given more data. As is stated above in 2.3.2, Jula verbs do not take any kind of person agreement

and imperatives do not take a subject. Sections 3.3 and 4.1.5 claim that Jula verbs in reported speech always retain the same TAM as they would have had when originally spoken; they never back-shift. Sections 3.4 and 4.1.4 claim that pronouns sometimes follow the first strategy of person alignment (indirect speech with logophoric pronouns) and sometimes follow the second strategy of person alignment (direct speech).

When taken together, this means that it may be possible for semi-direct speech to occur in Jula reported speech. This would start with an imperative, since the presence of an imperative implies a 2nd person subject, though the subject is never explicit. Then, if the speaker chose to use the first strategy for person alignment, that of indirect speech with logophoric pronouns, a 3rd person subject would automatically be added to the imperative to refer to the reported addressee. Since verb tenses never change in reported speech, however, the imperative would remain. Thus, there is the possibility of having a 2nd person imperative with a 3rd person subject, which would fit the pattern of Aikhenvald's semi-direct speech. More data would be needed, however, to discover if this is ever attested. Even if it is attested, it does not bring clarity to the Jula reported speech categorization question that already exists.

4.2.2 As related to Nikitina's (2012c) model of categorization based on person alignment patterns

Nikitina (2012c) has observed that the direct-indirect, or even direct-semidirect-indirect model of reported speech categorization works well for modern European languages but does not fit with the person alignment strategies of certain other languages of the world, including certain languages of Papua New Guinea and West Africa. In order to systematically describe these languages, and as a tool to be able to analyze and compare them systematically, she clearly charts the correspondence, or alignment, between pronouns and the persons they refer to in reported speech in different languages. This leads to helpful figures such as Figure 2 from 3.4.3 above, reproduced here as Figure 3, which is modeled after the figures in her article.

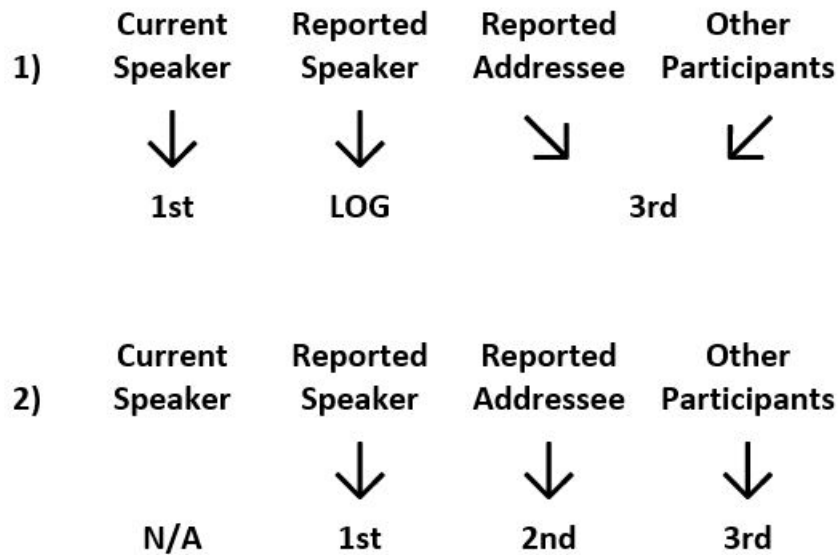


Figure 3. Jula person alignment strategies - 4.2.2

As seen above in 3.4.3, Figure 3 shows the two different strategies of person alignment possible in Jula. Such clear mapping of pronouns to persons in reported speech helps clarify and categorize reported speech, even if the categorization does not fit in any previously-proposed models. Since each language has the possibility of mapping persons onto pronouns in a slightly different way, Nikitina's person alignment allows for a clearer and more precise picture of the intricacies of the individual languages being studied.

A corollary of this benefit of Nikitina's approach is that it allows for a more precise description and understanding of logophoric pronouns. In several other models they are bundled together with 3rd person pronouns (see Culy (1997), Dooley & Levinsohn (2001), and Levinsohn (in press), *inter alia*) even though it is acknowledged that there is a distinction between logophoric pronouns and 3rd person pronouns (see Clements (1975), Schlenker (2003a), and Nikitina (2020a), *inter alia*). Clements (1975:174) is especially explicit about this, stating that logophoric pronouns are neither first nor third person pronouns, but instead have characteristics of both of these. Nikitina's approach deals with logophoric pronouns more cleanly since she is able to make precise distinctions between references to different participants. She shows that "African logophoric clauses usually

do not fit into the direct versus indirect dichotomy, displaying a number of features typical of direct speech, as well as a puzzling mixed combination of person values" (Nikitina 2012c:242). This is true in my Jula data, which according to Table 4 in 4.1.10 above, acts like direct speech in most ways other than person alignment.

Another benefit of Nikitina's model is that it functions independently of many of the parameters usually associated with the direct-indirect speech distinction in modern European languages. In fact, she claims that certain languages have a rigid person alignment pattern to specify "which discourse roles can be mapped to which person values, and normally [these languages do] not involve shifts in any deictic category other than person" (Nikitina 2012c:240).⁷ The data above shows that Jula would belong to such a set of languages.

According to Nikitina's model, Jula would not fit a direct-indirect distinction for two reasons: (1) because the logophoric pronoun is out of place in pure indirect speech, and (2) because so many of the other deictic factors never change between what would be called *direct* and what would be called *indirect* speech. Her quote below explains her position clearly (Nikitina 2012c:248):

Logophoric languages of this type rarely pose obvious problems to the direct versus indirect distinction, and their logophoric clauses are typically treated as indirect discourse (for formal treatments, see, e.g., Schlenker 2003, Anand 2006, Oshima 2011). It is important to note, however, that in some such languages person values are the only feature that logophoric clauses share with indirect speech in European languages. Other deictic values (the interpretation of temporal adverbs, spatial deictics, etc.) are often determined with respect to the reported speech-event, not the current one; logophoric clauses may include vocatives and interjections, as well as represent questions and commands as in direct discourse, i.e., with regular interrogatives and imperatives (for an example, see Perrin 1974: 31–33 on Mambila).

Though Nikitina's approach describes certain aspects of Jula reported speech more cleanly and precisely than the other approaches addressed thus far, it does not address quite all of the data in the corpus. This is likely due to the fact that the model she presents

⁷ Nikitina further claims that this type of partial deictic shift violates the implicational hierarchy proposed by Plank (1986), though evaluating this claim was beyond the scope of this thesis.

in Nikitina (2012c) is admittedly simplified in order to convey her main points; in this article she only briefly mentions the fact that a single language can have more than one person alignment strategy. This means that in this article she does not discuss in depth the challenges of categorizing reported speech within a single language that has more than one person alignment strategy, and so she does not provide a category for the reported speech that only uses 3rd person pronouns to refer to participants who are neither the reported nor the current speaker or addressee, since in that case the distinction between the two strategies is neutralized. Her updated proposed model in Nikitina (2020a), which is discussed briefly in Chapter 5 below, begins to address this issue in much more depth and attempts to offer a solution through a discussion of the role of the narrator. I look forward to her fleshing out her new model in more detail, including how it works practically in a given language, since there is great hope that it may be better able to describe and categorize the Jula data.

4.2.3 As related to Evans' (2013) canonical approach with canonical direct, indirect, and biperspectival reported speech

In his 2013 chapter, "Some problems in the typology of quotation: A canonical approach," Evans postulates three canonical approaches to reported speech: canonical direct speech, canonical indirect speech, and canonical biperspectival speech. His goal in doing so was to give typologists specific markers from which the specifics of the systems of different languages could be more easily and clearly explained. Evans, unlike scholars such as Li (1986) and Aikhenvald (2008), focuses solely on deictic values that can shift to take the perspective of the reported speaker (canonical direct speech), the perspective of the current speaker (canonical indirect speech), or the perspective of both at the same time (canonical biperspectival speech).

Evans (2013:95) calls for the charting of the behavior of a larger sample of languages than he was able to analyse in his article, so the data in this section is organized according to different dimensions that he proposed in his article: person (4.2.3.1), tense (4.2.3.2), and location (4.2.3.3). Jula does not use honorifics and I do not have data on mood or evaluation, so those are not included in this overview.

4.2.3.1 Person

In Jula reported speech there are aspects of the person dimension that function according to all three canonical approaches proposed by Evans (2013): canonical direct speech, canonical indirect speech, and canonical biperspectival speech.

As is seen above in 3.4, often the person dimension of Jula reported speech uses the first strategy of person alignment. In this strategy, Jula person alignment functions according to canonical indirect speech for all persons except the reported speaker. Since Evans considers logophoric pronouns to be taking the perspective of the reported speaker and current speaker at the same time, the references to the reported speaker in this strategy, through the use of the logophoric pronoun, function according to canonical biperspectival speech.⁸

Even though this is the main way that person is referred to in Jula reported speech, there is another strategy that is used as well: the second strategy of person alignment from Figure 2 in 3.4.3 above. This strategy cannot be used in 1st person narratives. In this strategy, the reference to all participants is with canonical direct speech: they are referred to as the reported speaker would have originally referred to them.

In summary, according to the approach of Evans (2013), there are two different strategies that Jula reported speech can use for person marking:

1. Canonical biperspectival speech: reported speaker;
Canonical indirect speech: all other participants.
2. Canonical direct speech: all participants.

4.2.3.2 Tense

Jula tense in reported speech fits easily into the canonical model of Evans (2013): in every instance of reported speech in the corpus, the tense is in line with Evans' canonical direct speech dimension. This means that the tense always remains the same as it would have been when the reported speaker uttered it. This was described in more detail in 3.3 above.

⁸ The current addressee never occurs as a participant in the corpus, so further study would be necessary to understand how references to her would function in reported speech in Jula.

4.2.3.3 Location

Like tense, Jula location in reported speech also fits easily into the canonical model of Evans (2013) since all of the spatial deictics used within reported speech in the corpus have the reported speaker as their deictic center. This is seen in the examples and description in 3.6 above.

Comparing the information in these last three subsections, it can be seen that Jula reported speech compares in the following ways with the canonical approach proposed by Evans (2013):

Table 5. Jula reported speech as it relates to Evans' (2013) canonical model

Dimension	Canonical Approach
Pronouns	Biperspectival (reported speaker) and Indirect (other participants) <i>or</i> Direct
Tense	Direct
Location	Direct

While Evans' model classifies Jula reported speech cleanly and elegantly, it only does so for those instances of reported speech in which there is at least one marker of a "deictically sensitive dimension" (Evans 2013:88). Reported speech events in which there is no reference to the reported or current speaker or addressee and in which there is no indication of tense or location still cannot be classified using Evans' model. While these cases are relatively rare, they do exist and cause a challenge to Evans' model. Two of these cases from the corpus are given in (90) and (91).

(90) *A ko: [Musa, Musa.]*
 3SG QUOT Moses Moses
 'He said: Moses, Moses.' Moses:27

(91) *O ko, [Eh,] ko [tjɛ lo.]*
 3PL QUOT eh QUOT truth COP
 'They said, "Eh!" (saying) "that's true."' Joseph:13

There are no pronouns, verbs, or location words in (90). In (91) there are no pronouns or location words and the copula *lo* cannot take any tense markers (though it can take the

perfective aspect marker *tun*). It is thus impossible to chart either (90) or (91) according to Evans' deictic dimensions, since neither of them include deictic markers.

Now that three different models of reported speech have been examined and all have been found to be lacking in some regard, a different framework is discussed in 4.3 that can be used to better help categorize Jula reported speech.

4.3 Default versus marked - another way of looking at the same data

Levinsohn (in press:4-5) is among scholars who discuss the ideas of default versus marked phenomena as applied to pragmatics and based on the work of Prague School linguists such as Roman Jakobson (1972). Though this is not another model of reported speech *per se*, this concept can be used to help address and solve the quandaries of 4.1 and 4.2. In this framework, Levinsohn claims that there is both a default and a marked form on many different levels of language and that only the marked form needs to be explained since the default can be assumed to occur in all other places.

Looking at the Jula data, if the first strategy of person alignment is taken as default, the data fall neatly into two categories, namely a default and a marked category. Using these pragmatic categories, the default way of reporting speech in Jula is with 3rd person and logophoric pronouns. The other aspects of Jula reported speech that never change are also part of the default reporting strategy: the presence of the quotative particle; the ability to have commands and questions as well as a variety of complexities of quotations; and the characteristics of verbs, spatial and temporal deictics, and vocatives and exclamations that are mentioned above.

In addition to this default strategy of reporting speech in Jula, there is also a marked strategy. This uses the second strategy of person alignment, that which can be compared to canonical direct speech; in all other ways it is identical to the default method of reporting speech. This marked form is used for pragmatic effect and highlighting certain speeches in a discourse, which would explain why it is only allowed in questions and following tight-knit conversations and in commands, requests, and prophecy.

The benefits of this pragmatic default versus marked concept in the study of Jula reported speech are numerous. One benefit is that it avoids equating the marked manner

of reporting speech in Jula, which looks exactly like direct speech, with the default manner of reporting speech in a language such as English, namely direct speech. By taking the pragmatic categories *default* and *marked* as a first distinction, and then describing what those forms look like, this framework can not only explain *what* can be done in Jula but also *why* a certain form may be used.

It can also draw similarities between reporting strategies in different languages, such as English and Jula, which would not look similar superficially but which serve similar purposes. For example, the oral English highlighting strategies of using different voices for different characters or sections of directly reported dialogue without quote margins may now be compared with the Jula highlighting strategy of using the second strategy of person alignment. Also, the backgrounding effect of reporting speech indirectly in English can be compared with the backgrounding effect of reducing the quotation margin to the bare quotative particle; again, these two strategies do not look alike but still they perform similar pragmatic functions.

The last benefit of this framework to be discussed in this thesis is also important. Thus far, none of the models or approaches to reported speech have been able to clearly categorize the reported speech in a sentence such as that in (92).

- (92) *Don, o ko* [cɛkɔɔba ye deen ci nin.]
 so 3PL QUOT old.man PST child send DEM.SG
 ‘So, they [said] that the old man sent this child [on an errand].’ Sorcerer:40

By saying, however, that the presence of the second strategy of person alignment is the indication of markedness in Jula reported speech, it implies that any utterance of reported speech that does not use this strategy of person alignment is following the default reporting strategy. Thus, utterances such as that in (92) are examples of the default reporting strategy as clearly as utterances with logophoric pronouns.

As can be seen, this concept of default versus marked can create a useful distinction in Jula reported speech types even though it was not created as a model for reported speech. Hopefully reported speech models of the near future will be strengthened by incorporating these pragmatic concepts, and by doing so they will be better able to account for otherwise uncategorizable speech reports such as those in (92).

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

This thesis describes Jula reported speech, including several interesting phenomena. These include the claims that the quotation margin can be greatly reduced but is never completely absent; different speech verbs have different argument structures, some of which use a pronominal cataphor in the direct object position to refer to the reported discourse; two different person alignment strategies are used in Jula; and no other deictic values undergo a shift in reported speech.

The direct-indirect dichotomy was proposed to cover all instances of reported speech, meaning that if a language is said to have both direct speech and indirect speech, any instance of reported speech would be able to be categorized into one of these two categories. This thesis shows, however, that Jula reported speech does not fit well in this model, due to a large extent to incomplete deictic shift between reporting strategies; this is in line with cases from other languages where the inadequacy of the direct-indirect model to account for the data has led to proposals for new models of reported speech.

It is true that if the Jula pronouns are the only aspect of reported speech that is considered, and the logophoric pronoun is treated as a simple 3rd person pronoun, the direct-indirect model fits the data well. It is also true that if less focus is placed on the pronouns, and instead focus is placed on other criteria commonly given to distinguish direct speech from indirect speech, it could be said that all Jula reported speech is direct though there are two different person alignment strategies that can be used within that direct speech. Trying to look at Jula reported speech holistically, however, does not allow for an unequivocal analysis.

The search for a better model of reported speech perhaps began by conundrums such as these. Aikhenvald (2008), Nikitina (2012c), and Evans (2013) each take steps

to solve this dilemma of reported speech classification; Aikhenvald through the creation of a new category (Aikhenvald's (2008) *semi-direct speech*); Nikitina through the creation of a whole new set of categories (Nikitina's (2012c) model for categorization based on person alignment patterns); and Evans through the creation of a new category in the canonical approach (Evans' (2013) *canonical direct*, *canonical indirect*, and *canonical biper-spectival speech*). Even with these theoretical innovations, there are still aspects of the Jula data that these models cannot provide an account for as none of them are able to classify such seemingly simple utterances of Jula reported speech as (92) from 4.3 above (for Aikhenvald and Nikitina) or (91) from 4.2.3.3 (for any of the three models).

The inability of these three models to account for the reported speech in an utterance such as (91) or (92) is due to the facts that (1) they do not include, depending on the terminology one wants to use, indexicals, references to reported or current speaker or addressee, or deictic values that can shift to take the perspective of the reported or current speaker; and (2) the aspects of reported speech that are supposed to be able to categorize these problematic utterances according to the traditional direct-indirect model do not work to categorize Jula reported speech.

One important question, whatever model of categorization is used to describe different forms within the same language, is why different forms are used in different contexts, and answering this question is a strength of the default versus marked framework introduced in 4.3. It also gives a solution to problematic utterances such as those in (91) and (92) by claiming that all reported speech follows the default manner of reporting speech, that which uses the first strategy of person alignment, unless the marked version is clearly present.

Another good solution may be provided in the very recent Nikitina (2020a). In this article, she critiques both Nikitina (2012c) and Evans (2013), as well as Schlenker (2003a & 2003b), whose theory is beyond the scope of this thesis. At the end of her article, Nikitina (2020a) proposes that considering the reported and current speaker and addressee is perhaps insufficient and that another category, that of the narrator, should be considered as well. Her claim is that this category of narrator could clear up several questions related to person alignment and the use of logophoric pronouns since at any given point in a

narrative, the narrator could either be telling the story through the eyes of the current speaker or stepping into the story and speaking through the mouth of a reported speaker. Though this model looks promising, a more in-depth description of how this could work practically in a given language would be needed before it could be confidently claimed that it represents the Jula data well.

In summary, this thesis shows that Levinsohn's (in press) application of the default versus marked concept (Jakobson 1972) is a framework that can be used to categorize Jula reported speech, even if both traditional and more recent models fail to accurately capture the unique complexity and yet simplicity of Jula reported speech. I hope that through this exploration into different models of reported speech, together with the in-depth description of Jula reported speech, this thesis will serve as a springboard to the expansion of this framework or the modification of other models that will become better able to categorize and describe reported speech in languages such as Jula.

5.1 Questions for further research

Throughout the research for this thesis I came across many areas for fruitful further research, of which I only mention a few here.

While the nine texts in the corpus provide quite a few examples of reported speech in Jula, there are still outstanding questions due to limited data and speaker idiosyncrasies; these could hopefully be answered more definitely with a larger corpus. More data may help to resolve the questions of why there are rare instances of 3rd person pronouns being used where logophoric pronouns are expected and whether the plural focus pronoun may actually be used as a logophoric pronoun in reported speech. If the latter were true, explanations would be needed for what would then be exceptions to this rule. Other questions that may be resolved with more data include whether there is a difference between the retelling of real-life events and folktales in either the preferred person alignment strategy or quotation margin complexity; whether the quotative particle *ko* would be better considered some type of predicate or defective verb when the speech verb is absent;¹ and how

¹ Nikitina (2020b:1) claims that *gé* is a *defective verb* in Wan, a related Mande language. It has "no past tense form, cannot be negated, [and] cannot appear in non-finite contexts."

current addressees are handled in Jula reported speech, given that there are no references to the current addressee in the corpus used for this thesis. Another question of interest is whether the lack of vocatives in speech reports using the first strategy of person alignment is due to a limitation of this data set or is actually perceived as ungrammatical.

There are other areas in which research could be taken far beyond the scope of this thesis, including studies into the language attitudes toward the socio-linguistic correctness of *fɔ ko* versus *ko* without the speech verb *fɔ*, as well as into any differences in reported speech between the different dialects of Jula.

There is much more to be described in the reported speech of Jula and there are also many other recent models of reported speech that could be considered. May this thesis be used as a stepping stone to better understanding and categorization of reported speech in the beautifully complex languages of the world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Noel text

NARR 01 - Noel

Noel:1

Ne bena Noel ka koow lo dɔni fɔ bi.
1SG FUT Christmas POSS thing.PL PRT.FOC a.little say today
'It is a few of the things about Christmas that I will tell today.'

Noel:2

A bɛɛ te dɛ.
3SG ALL NEG.COP exclamation
'Not all of it!'

Noel:3

Ne bena dɔni dɔrɔn lo fɔ bi.
1SG FUT a.little only PRT.FOC say today
'It is only a little that I will tell today.'

Noel:4

Noel- mun lo?
Christmas what COP
'Christmas - what is it?'

Noel:5

Mun le ye Noel le ye?
what PRT.FOC COP Christmas PRT.FOC COP
'What is Christmas?'

Noel:6

Mun kosɔn o be Noel fetɛ?
why 3PL PRS Christmas celebrate
'Why do people celebrate Christmas?'

Noel:7

Noel be Yesu ka bangi koo lo fɔ an ye.
Christmas PRS Jesus POSS birth thing PRT.FOC say 1PL POST
'Christmas tells us about the birth of Jesus.'

Noel:8

Fɔɔfɔɔ la, Israel gwaso dɔ tun be.
the.beginning.time POST Israel household certain PFV COP
'A long time ago, there were a certain Israeli family.'

Noel:9

Yusufu ka gwaso- Yusufu ka bangibagaw tun be.
N POSS household N POSS parent.PL PFV COP
'Joseph's family - Joseph's parents were there.'

Noel:10

Mariama bangibagaw fana be.
 Mary parent.PL also COP
 'Mary's parents were also there.'

Noel:11

Yusufu, ale tun ye yirilesebaga ye.
 N 3SG.FOC PFV COP carpenter COP
 'Joseph, he was a carpenter.'

Noel:12

Ale tun ye Mariama maminε k' a ke a ka maminemuso ye.
 3SG.FOC PFV PST Mary engage INF 3SG make 3SG POSS fiancée POST
 'It was he who had become engaged to Mary and made her his fiancée.'

Noel:13

Nga Mariama tun ye pogotigi ye.
 but Mary PFV COP virgin COP
 'But Mary was a virgin.'

Noel:14

O tun b' a weele Pogotigi Mariama sabura a ma
 3PL PFV PRS 3SG call virgin Mary because 3SG NEG.PST

delila ka la ni ce ye, a ma ce koo ke
 do.at.least.once.PST INF lie down with man POST 3SG NEG.PST man thing do

ka ye, foyi, foyi.
 yet none none

'They called her the Virgin Mary because he hadn't ever slept with a guy, she hadn't "done the guy thing" ever.'

Noel:15

O b' o tigi lo weele ko [pogotigi.]
 3PL PRS DEM person PRT.FOC call QUOT virgin
 'They call that kind of person a virgin.'

Noel:16

Don, sisan, o tora o maminεya nin na, Yusufu ma
 so now 3PL remain.PST DEM engagement DEM.SG POST N NEG.PST

delila ka maga Mariama na ka ye.
 do.at.least.once.PST INF touch Mary POST yet

'So now, they stayed engaged, and Joseph had never touched Mary.'

Noel:17

Melεke nana fɔ Mariama ne na ko [Mariama bena kɔnɔ]
 angel come.PST say Mary in.front.of POST QUOT Mary FUT pregnancy

ta ka deen wolo, o deen be ke kisibaa ye.]
 take INF child give.birth DEM child PRS become savior POST

'The angel came and said to Mary that Mary will become pregnant and give birth to a child; this child will be the savior.'

Noel:18

Mariama y' a fɔ mɛlɛkɛ jɛ na oh, ko [o koo be se
 Mary PST 3SG say angel in.front.of POST PRT QUOT DEM thing PRS be.able

k' a kɛ cogo di, sabura ne ma deli ka la
 INF 3SG happen how? because 1SG NEG.PST do.at.least.once INF lie down

ni cɛ ye ka ye.]

with man POST yet

'Mary said to the angel, "How can this thing happen, because I've never slept with a guy yet?"'

Noel:19

[Ne ni n cɛ ma delila ka maga jɔgɔn na.]
 1SG and 1SG husband NEG.PST do.at.least.once.PST INF touch each.other POST
 "My husband and I have never touched each other."

Noel:20

[Ne bena kɔnɔ ta cogo di?]

1SG FUT pregnancy take how?

"How will I become pregnant?"

Noel:21

Mɛlɛkɛ y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko [Nii Senu lo bena
 angel PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT Holy Spirit PRT.FOC FUT

jigi a fɛ, w'olo bena kɛ kɔnɔbara a
 descend 3SG at.the.place.of that's.what FUT become pregnancy 3SG

fɛ walisa a ka se ka kisibaga nin wolo.]

at.the.place.of so.that 3SG INF be.able INF Savior DEM.SG give.birth

'The angel said to Mary that was the Holy Spirit who would descend on her, and that's what will make her pregnant so that she can give birth to this savior.'

Noel:22

O koo kɛra ten.

DEM thing happen.PST thus

'That is what happened.'

Noel:23

Mariama fana lɔra kɔnɔ na.

Mary also stand.PST pregnancy POST

'Mary also got pregnant.'

Noel:24

Mariama lɔra kɔnɔ na, a ka maminecɛ Yusufu

Mary stand.PST pregnancy POST 3SG POSS fiancé N

bɔra o kalama dɔrɔn, a tun b' a fɛ ka faran Mariama na.

find.out.about.it.PST only 3SG PFV PRS 3SG want INF break.up Mary POST

'Mary got pregnant; as soon as her fiancé Joseph found out about it, he wanted to break up with her.'

Noel:25

A ye decision ta k' [ale be faran a la,] sabura a b' a
3SG PST decision take QUOT LOG PRS break.up 3SG POST because 3SG PRS 3SG

miiri ko [a ye kakalaya lo ke ka sɔɔ ka kɔɔ nin
think QUOT 3SG PST adultery PRT.FOC do PRT INF pregnancy DEM.SG

sɔɔ.]

get

'He made the decision to break up with her because he thought that she had become pregnant by committing adultery.'

Noel:26

Don, a b' a fɛ ka faran a la minke a lara loon
so 3SG PRS 3SG want INF break.up 3SG POST when(PRT) 3SG lie down day

dɔ sufe ka siko.
certain at.night INF dream

'So when he wanted to break up with her, one night he laid down and had a dream.'

Noel:27

Mɛlɛkɛ y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko [a kana faran
angel PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 3SG IMP/JUSS.NEG break.up

Mariama ra kɔɔ nin kosɔn.]
Mary POST pregnancy DEM.SG because.of

'The angel said to him that he shouldn't break up with Mary because of this pregnancy.'

Noel:28

Ko [Ala lo y' a latige ko [Mariama ka deen nin
QUOT God PRT.FOC PST 3SG decide QUOT Mary JUSS child DEM.SG

wolo, deen nin ka ke kisibaga ye.]]
give.birth child DEM.SG JUSS become Savior POST

'(The angel said) that it was God who decided that Mary would give birth to this child and that this child would be the savior.'

Noel:29

Ko [Mariama ma kakalaya kɛ.]
QUOT Mary NEG.PST adultery do
'(The angel said) that Mary didn't commit adultery.'

Noel:30

Ko [Ala ka sebagaya lo.]
QUOT God POSS omnipotence COP
'(The angel said) that it was due to God's omnipotence.'

Noel:31

Yusufu fana sɔɔna kuma nin ma.
N also agree.PST speech DEM.SG POST
'Joseph also agreed with these words.'

Noel:32

A sɔɔn' o kuma ma, o tora ni jɔgɔn ye.
3SG agree.PST DEM speech POST 3PL remain.PST with each.other POST
'He agreed with these words and they stayed together.'

Noel:33

Kɔnɔ nin be mɔnna ka taa ka to ka mɔn ka taa dɔrɔn.
 pregnancy DEM.SG PRS ripen.PROG INF go INF continue INF ripen INF go only
 ‘Her stomach just kept getting bigger and bigger (more literally: This stomach is just ripening and continuing to ripen.)’

Noel:34

Sisan, tuma dɔ nana se, Romu masacɛ kuntigi Sesari, ale y’
 now time certain come.PST arrive Rome king chief Caesar 3SG.FOC PST

a fɔ sisan, ko [bɛɛ ka taa o tɔgɔ seben o faso ra.]
 3SG say now QUOT ALL JUSS go 3PL name write 3PL hometown POST
 ‘Now, at a certain time, the king of Rome, Caesar, he said that everyone should go and write their name (i.e. for the census) in their hometown.’

Noel:35

Or, ka sɔrɔ, Yusufu, ale bemanw tun bɔra Betilehemu.
 PRT PRT N 3SG.FOC ancestor.PL PFV come.from.PST N
 ‘Backing up, Joseph’s ancestors had come from Bethlehem.’

Noel:36

Don, Yusufu y’ a maminemuso mine, k’ [o be taa o tɔgɔw seben
 so N PST 3SG fiancée take QUOT 3PL PRS go 3PL name.PL write

Betilehemu.]
 N

‘So Joseph took his fiancée in order that they go to write their names (i.e. register in the census) in Bethelhem.’

Noel:37

O taara se o yɔrɔ nin na sisan.
 3PL go.PST arrive DEM place DEM.SG POST now
 ‘They went and arrived in that place now.’

Noel:38.1

Haya.
 PRT
 ‘So there.’

Noel:38.2

Kɔnɔ nin mɔnna.
 pregnancy DEM.SG ripen.PST
 ‘She reached full term (literally: This stomach ripened.)’

Noel:39

A jigira.
 3SG give.birth.PST
 ‘She gave birth.’

Noel:40

O y’a sɔrɔ, o taara se Betilehemu nin, dunanw cayara.
 PRT 3PL go.PST arrive N DEM.SG guest.PL become.numerous.PST
 ‘Now, they went and arrived in this Bethlehem, and there were many visitors.’

Noel:41

Dunanjigiso kɔnɔ, plasi te tuguni.
 hotel inside space NEG again
 ‘In the hotel, there wasn’t any room anymore.’

Noel:42

Don, Yusufu n' a muso taara were na.
 so N and 3SG wife go.PST cattle.pen POST
 'So Joseph and his wife went to a barn.'

Noel:43

Muso taara jigi o yɔɔ la.
 wife go.PST give.birth DEM place POST
 'The woman/wife went and gave birth there.'

Noel:44

Muso jigira.
 wife give.birth.PST
 'The woman/wife gave birth.'

Noel:45

Kisibaa min koo fɔra je na, muso nin jigira o
 savior COMP thing say.PST in.front.of POST woman DEM.SG give.birth.PST DEM

kisibaa nin na.
 savior DEM.SG POST

'The savior who had been spoken about, this woman gave birth to that savior.'

Noel:46

O ye deen nin meleke fanikolon ra k' a la misiw ka
 3PL PST child DEM.SG wrap rag POST INF 3SG lie down cow.PL POSS

dumunikefen kɔɔ.
 eating.thing inside

'They wrapped this child in rags and laid him in the cows' feedbox.'

Noel:47

O y'a sɔɔ, sagagwenbagaw be foro kɔɔ, o be sagaw dendera.
 PRT shepherd.PL COP field inside 3PL PRS sheep.PL take.care.of.PROG
 'Now, shepherds are in a field; they are taking care of the sheep.'

Noel:48

Meleke dɔ taar' a fɔ sagagwenbaga nunu je na ko
 angel certain go.PST 3SG say shepherd DEM.PL in.front.of POST QUOT

[denɲenin dɔ wolola o fɛ, were na,] ko
 baby certain be.born.PST 3PL at.the.place.of cattle.pen POST QUOT

[kisibaga lo.]
 Savior PRT.FOC

'A certain angel went and said to these shepherds that a certain baby was born in their place, in a barn, and that he is the savior.'

Noel:49

Sagagwenbaga nunu fana nana tijetije na ka na denɲenin
 shepherd DEM.PL also come.PST truth~truth POST INF come baby

nin sɔɔ ten.
 DEM.SG find thus

'These shepherds also really came and came and found this baby like this.'

Noel:50

Olu ye denɲɛnin nin bato, ka o ka bololafenw di a
3PL.FOC PST baby DEM.SG worship INF 3PL POSS belongings.PL give 3SG

ma ka taga.
POST INF go

‘They worshipped this baby, gave him their gifts, and left.’

Noel:51

O y'a sɔrɔ mɛlɛkɛ caaman lo ye wɛrɛ nin lamini.
PRT angel a.lot PRT.FOC POST cattle.pen DEM.SG surround

‘Now, many angels surrounded the barn.’

Noel:52

N' o be deen nin batora, o b' a fɔra, [Ala tanu.]
if 3PL PRS child DEM.SG worship.PROG 3PL PRS 3SG say.PROG God praise

‘If they are worshipping the child, they say, "Praise God."’

Noel:53

[Ala tanu.]
God praise
"Praise God."

Noel:54

[Ala tanu.]
God praise
"Praise God."

Noel:55

Ka to ka deen nin bato.
INF continue INF child DEM.SG worship
‘And keep worshipping this child.’

Noel:56

O tuma kelen nin bɛɛ ra, lolo dɔ lɔnin be deen
DEM time same DEM.SG ALL POST star certain stand.PST.PTCP COP child

nin woloyɔrɔ nin sanfɛ.
DEM.SG be.born.place DEM.SG above

‘At this same time, a certain star was standing over the place where this child was born.’

Noel:57

Lolo nin, lolo gwansan tun te.
star DEM.SG star ordinary PFV NEG.COP
‘This star, it wasn't an ordinary star.’

Noel:58

Lɔnnikɛlaw ye lolo nin ye, o y' a lɔn ko [lolo gwansan
wise.man.PL PST star DEM.SG see 3PL PST 3SG know QUOT star ordinary

te.]
NEG.COP

‘Wisemen saw this star and they knew that it wasn't an ordinary star.’

Noel:59

O taamana ka tugu lolo nin kɔ furututututututu foo ka taa
3PL walk.PST INF follow star DEM.SG after ALL.the.way until INF go

se lolo nin lɔnin be yɔɔ min na.
arrive star DEM.SG stand.PST.PTCP COP place COMP POST

‘They walked and followed this star all the way until they arrived at the place that it was standing.’

Noel:60

O fana lɔra o yɔɔ la ka wɛɛ nin ye.
3PL also stand.PST DEM place POST INF cattle.pen DEM.SG POST

‘They also stopped at that place and saw the barn.’

Noel:61

O donna wɛɛ nin kɔɔ ka taa deen nin ye.
3PL enter.PST cattle.pen DEM.SG inside INF go child DEM.SG see

‘They went into this barn and went and saw this child.’

Noel:62

O ye deen nin bato o yɔɔ la k' o bololafenw
3PL POST child DEM.SG worship DEM place POST INF 3PL belongings.PL

didi a ma fana.
give~give 3SG POST also

‘They worshipped this child there and also gave him their gifts.’

Noel:63

O kera deen nin banginin ye.
DEM happen.PST child DEM.SG be.born.PST.PTCP POST

‘That was the birth of this child.’

APPENDIX B

Sorcerer text

Sorcerer:1

Ne bamuso be to ka lakali anu ye ko [olu
1SG mother PRS continue INF tell 1PL.FOC POST QUOT 3PL.FOC

sunguruman,] ko [musokɔɔba, musokɔɔba dɔ tun be
young.woman.time.period QUOT old.woman old.woman certain PFV COP

olu ka dugu ra.]
3PL.FOC POSS village POST

‘My mother keeps telling us that when they were young, that an old woman, a certain
OLD woman was in their village.’

Sorcerer:2

Musokɔɔba nin, a ti taa kongo ra tuguni, komi a kɔɔla.
old.woman DEM.SG 3SG NEG go bush POST again because 3SG get.older.PST
‘This old woman, she didn't go to the bush anymore, since she was old.’

Sorcerer:3

A ti taa kongo ra.
3SG NEG go bush POST
‘She didn't go to the bush.’

Sorcerer:4

A be sigi so.
3SG PRS sit house
‘She sat at home.’

Sorcerer:5

Samiyatuma na, bɛɛ bi taa kongo ra.
Rainy.season POST ALL PRS go bush POST
‘During the rainy season, everyone goes to the bush.’

Sorcerer:6

Ale dɔɔn lo bi sigi so.
3SG.FOC only PRT.FOC PRS sit house
‘It is only her who sits at home.’

Sorcerer:7

Cɛkɔɔbaw fana be yen.
old.man.PL also COP there
‘Other old men are also there.’

Sorcerer:8

Musokɔɔba werɛw be yen.
old.woman other.PL COP there
‘Other old women are also there.’

Sorcerer:9

Me tellement que mɔɔɔ bɛɛ tun lara ale musokɔɔɔba nin na,
but so.much that person ALL PFV believe.PST 3SG.FOC old.woman DEM.SG POST

ni musow be fɛ ka taa kongo ra, o bina olu ka
if woman.PL PRS want INF go bush POST 3PL FUT 3PL.FOC POSS

denmisenw bila ale musokɔɔɔba nin fɛ.
small.child.PL leave 3SG.FOC old.woman DEM.SG at.the.place.of

‘But everyone trusted this old woman so much that if the women wanted to go to the bush, they would leave their children with this old woman.’

Sorcerer:10

Jaa, musokɔɔɔba nin tun ye subaga le ye, mɔɔɔw m' a
PRT old.woman DEM.SG PFV COP sorcerer PRT.FOC COP person.PL NEG.PST 3SG

ɔn.
know

‘But actually, this old woman was a sorcerer, but people didn't know that.’

Sorcerer:11

Mɔɔɔɔ bena o ka deen kalifa a ma ka taa kongo ra.
person FUT 3PL POSS child entrust 3SG NEG.PST INF go bush POST

‘A person would entrust their child to her and go to the bush.’

Sorcerer:12

Tuma bɛɛ, denmisenw be to ka sasa.
time ALL small.child.PL COP continue INF die~die

‘All the time children are dying.’

Sorcerer:13

Tuma bɛɛ, denmisenw bi to ka sasa.
time ALL small.child.PL PRS continue INF die~die

‘All the time children are dying.’

Sorcerer:14

Mɔɔɔw m' a ɔn [mun lo be kɛra ten.]
person.PL NEG.PST 3SG know what PRT.FOC COP happen.PROG thus

‘People didn't know what was happening people didn't know what was happening. (lit. People didn't know what was happening like this.)’

Sorcerer:15

Me mɔɔɔ ma a considere kwa.
but person NEG.PST 3SG consider PRT

‘But people didn't consider her (i.e. consider her to be a possibility of why the children were dying).’

Sorcerer:16

O ma jatimine ko [musokɔɔɔba nin lo be denmisen
3PL NEG.PST think.about QUOT old.woman DEM.SG PRT.FOC PRS small.child

nunu jimina ten.]
DEM.PL chew.PROG thus

‘They didn't think about the fact that this old woman was eating the children in this way.’

Sorcerer:17.1

Ah!
ah
'Ah!'

Sorcerer:17.2

Sisan, foo...
now until
'Now, this lasted until ...'

Sorcerer:17.3

o nana t' o ra ka t' o ra.
3PL come.PST continue DEM POST INF continue DEM POST
'They kept at it and kept at it.'

Sorcerer:18

Denmisenw be sa~sa, me mɔɔ ma a considere.
small.child.PL COP die~die but person NEG.PST 3SG consider
'Children kept dying, but no one considered her (i.e. considered her to be a possibility of why the children were dying).'

Sorcerer:19

Jaa, ni mɔɔ nan' o ka denmisenw bila musokɔɔba nin
PRT if person come.PST 3PL POSS small.child.PL leave old.woman DEM.SG

fɛ, a bi a ka subagatoɔɔɔn nunu weele, o be na
at.the.place.of 3SG PRS 3SG POSS fellow.sorcerer DEM.PL call 3PL PRS come

ka deen dɔ choisi ten.
INF child certain choose thus
'Really, if people came and left their children at this old woman's house, she called her fellow sorcerers, they came and chose a certain child in this way.'

Sorcerer:20

N' o ye min choisi nin, o b' o yere yeɛma ka ke fɛn
if 3PL PST COMP choose DEM.SG 3PL PRS 3PL self change INF become thing

dɔ ye, i n'a fɔ jara, walima wara, walima suruku, ka na ka na
certain POST such.as lion or leopard or hyena INF come INF come

o deen nin jaa ta.
DEM child DEM.SG spirit take
'If they chose this one, they change themselves into a certain thing, such as a lion or a leopard or a hyena, and come and come take that child's spirit.'

Sorcerer:21

N' o ye o deen nin jaa ta, o bi fɛ ka a ke sogo
if 3PL PST DEM child DEM.SG spirit take 3PL PRS want INF 3SG make meat

modeli min ye k' a nimi, n' o be fɛ k' a ke sise
type COMP POST INF 3SG chew if 3PL PRS want INF 3SG make chicken

lo ye, o b' a yeɛma k' a ke sise ye, o be
PRT.FOC POST 3PL PRS 3SG change INF 3SG make chicken POST 3PL PRS

jaa nin yɛləma k' a kɛ sɪsɛ ye, k' a kan tɪgɛ.
 spirit DEM.SG change INF 3SG make chicken POST INF 3SG neck cut
 'If they took this particular child's spirit, the type of meat that they want to change it
 into to eat, if it's chicken that they want to make it into, they change it to make it
 chicken, they change this spirit and make it into chicken, and cut its throat.'

Sorcerer:22

O loon dugusagwɛ, o deen tɔgɔ bi sa, epui joli be to
 DEM day next.morning DEM child name PRS die and.then blood PRS remain

ka bɔ a nun fɛ.
 INF come.out 3SG nose at.the.place.of

'That next day, that specific child dies, and then blood keeps coming out of his nose.'

Sorcerer:23

Me mɔgɔw m' a lon ko [musokɔɔba nin ka baara
 but person.PL NEG.PST 3SG know QUOT old.woman DEM.SG POSS work

le ye nin ye ten.]
 PRT.FOC COP DEM.SG COP thus

'But people didn't know that this old woman's work was such as this.'

Sorcerer:24

Foo, sisan, cɛkɔɔba dɔ be.
 until now old.man certain COP

'Until, now, there is a certain old man.'

Sorcerer:25

Ale lo nana bɔ a kalama, parce que ale be yelike.
 3SG.FOC PRT.FOC come.PST find.out.about.it because 3SG.FOC PRS see

'It was he who came to find out about it because he sees.'

Sorcerer:26

Ale lo nana bɔ a kalama ko [musokɔɔba nunu be
 3SG.FOC PRT.FOC come.PST find.out.about.it QUOT old.woman DEM.PL PRS

denmisɛn nunu fagara ten.]
 small.child DEM.PL kill.PROG thus

'It was he who came to find out about that these old women are killing these children
 in this way.'

Sorcerer:27

[Musokɔɔba nin n' a ka jenkulumɔgɔw lo be
 old.woman DEM.SG and 3SG POSS fellow.member.of.a.group.PL PRT.FOC PRS

denmisɛn nunu fagara.]
 small.child DEM.PL kill.PROG

'This old woman and the fellow members of her group are killing these children.'

Sorcerer:28

Don, sisan, mɔgɔw nana n' o ka denmisɛn kalifa a ma ka
 so now person.PL come.PST and 3PL POSS small.child entrust 3SG POST INF

taa kongo ra.
 go bush POST

'So, now, people came and entrusted their children to her and went to the bush.'

Sorcerer:29

A y' a toɲɔɔɲ weele sisan.
3SG PST 3SG fellow call now
'She called her fellow [sorcerer] now.'

Sorcerer:30

O nana deen dɔ choisi.
3PL come.PST child certain choose
'They came and chose a certain child.'

Sorcerer:31

Cɛkɔɔɔba nin tun be fɛ k' o kɔɔɔba minke, o nana deen
old.man DEM.SG PFV PRS want INF 3PL test when(PRT) 3PL come.PST child
nin choisi sisan, o be fɛ ka ale deen nin lo nimi.
DEM.SG choose now 3PL PRS want INF 3SG.FOC child DEM.SG PRT.FOC chew
'When this old man wanted to test them, they came and chose this child now - they
want to eat (literally: chew) this very child.'

Sorcerer:32

Cɛkɔɔɔba nin bɔra a kalama.
old.man DEM.SG find.out.about.it.PST
'This old man found out about it.'

Sorcerer:33

Cɛkɔɔɔba nin y' a to toɲɔɔɲ nunu taara.
old.man DEM.SG PST 3SG remain fellow DEM.PL go.PST
'This old man waited until her co-sorcerers left.'

Sorcerer:34

O be fɛ ka taa o yere yelema ka ke fɛɛn dɔ ye ka
3PL PRS want INF go 3PL self change INF become thing certain POST INF
na deen nin jaa ta dɔɔɲ.
come child DEM.SG spirit take only
'They want to go change themselves into a certain thing and just come and take this
child's spirit.'

Sorcerer:35

Cɛkɔɔɔba nin ye deen nin minɛ ka taga deen nin bila a yere
old.man DEM.SG PST child DEM.SG take INF go child DEM.SG put 3SG self
fɛ so kɔɔɔ, ka deen nin la, ka deen nin dabiri.
at.the.place.of house inside INF child DEM.SG lie.down INF child DEM.SG cover
'This old man took this child and went and put this child inside his own house, and
laid him down and covered him up.'

Sorcerer:36

Don, subagatoɲɔɔɲ nunu nana k' [o bena deen nin ta sisan.]
so fellow.sorcerer DEM.PL come.PST QUOT 3PL FUT child DEM.SG take now
'So, these fellow sorcerers came in order to take this child now.'

Sorcerer:37

O ye musokɔɔɔba jininga.
3PL PST old.woman ask
'They asked the old woman.'

Sorcerer:38

Musokərɔba y' a fɔ o jɛ na ko [cɛkərɔba nin lo
 old.woman PST 3SG say 3PL in.front.of POST QUOT old.man DEM.SG PRT.FOC

ye deen nin weele, k' [ale be fɛ ka deen nin ci.]]
 PST child DEM.SG call QUOT LOG PRS want INF child DEM.SG send

'The old woman said to them that this old man called this child, that he wants to send this child [on an errand].'

Sorcerer:39

Ka sɔɔ, subagamuso nin tun y' a yɛɛ yɛɛma kɔnɔni ye, ko
 PRT sorcerer.woman DEM.SG PFV PST 3SG self change bird POST QUOT

[a bena deen nin jaa ta.]
 3SG FUT child DEM.SG spirit take

'And yet, this sorcerer woman had turned herself into a bird in order to take this child's spirit.'

Sorcerer:40

Don, o ko [cɛkərɔba ye deen ci nin.]
 so 3PL QUOT old.man PST child send DEM.SG

'So, they [said] that the old man sent this child [on an errand].'

Sorcerer:41

Tellement que a lara a yɛɛ la, ko [ale ye subaga ye,] a
 so.much that 3SG believe.PST 3SG self POST QUOT LOG COP sorcerer COP 3SG

panna k' a yɛɛ kɛ kɔnɔni ye ten, ka taa don cɛkərɔba nin
 fly.PST INF 3SG self become bird POST thus INF go go.in old.man DEM.SG

ka bon kɔnɔ, ka to ka pan sanfɛ ten.
 POSS house inside INF continue INF fly above thus

'She believed in herself so much, that she is a sorcerer, she flew/jumped up and made herself into a bird like this, and went and entered this old man's house, and kept flying around in the air like this.'

Sorcerer:42

A be deen nin yaalala.
 3SG PRS child DEM.SG search.PROG

'She is searching for this child.'

Sorcerer:43

A be deen nin yaalala.
 3SG PRS child DEM.SG search.PROG

'She is searching for this child.'

Sorcerer:44

Cɛkərɔba fana y' a ye [kɔnɔni nana, a bi panna, a bi
 old.man also PST 3SG see bird come.PST 3SG PRS fly.PROG 3SG PRS

yaalala sanfɛ, a bi deen nin yaalala,] ka sɔɔ cɛkərɔba
 search.PROG above 3SG PRS child DEM.SG search.PROG PRT old.man

nin ye deen nin la ka birifaniba dabiri a daa ra.
 DEM.SG PST child DEM.SG lie.down INF blanket.big cover 3SG face POST
 ‘The old man also saw that a bird came; it is flying, it is flying in the air (literally: it is flying above), it is searching for this child, and yet this old man had laid this child down and covered his face with a big blanket.’

Sorcerer:45

A be deen nin yaalala.
 3SG PRS child DEM.SG search.PROG
 ‘She is searching for this child.’

Sorcerer:46

Cekɔɔba ye daa mine k’ a tugu.
 old.man PST door take INF 3SG close
 ‘The old man took the door and closed it.’

Sorcerer:47

A ye daa tugu.
 3SG PST door close
 ‘He closed the door.’

Sorcerer:48

Halibi, kɔɔni bi panpanna sanfe.
 still bird PRS fly~fly.PROG above
 ‘Still, the bird is flying overhead.’

Sorcerer:49

A ye bere ta ka kɔɔni nin bugɔ.
 3SG PST stick take INF bird DEM.SG hit
 ‘He took a stick and hit this bird.’

Sorcerer:50

Kɔɔni gaman karila.
 bird wing break.PST
 ‘The bird's wing broke.’

Sorcerer:51

Kɔɔni bɔra ka ben.
 bird go.out.PST INF fall
 ‘The bird fell down.’

Sorcerer:52

A ye kɔɔni ta sisan.
 3SG PST bird take now
 ‘He now took the bird.’

Sorcerer:53

A ye muru ta, k’ [ale be kɔɔni nin kan tige.]
 3SG PST knife take QUOT 3SG.FOC PRS bird DEM.SG neck cut
 ‘He took a knife to cut the throat of this bird.’

Sorcerer:54

Kɔɔni nin tora ka kule ko [kana an kan tige,
 bird DEM.SG continue.PST INF cry.out QUOT IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut

kana an kan tige.]
 JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut

‘This bird kept crying out, "Don't cut my throat, don't cut my throat."’

Sorcerer:55

[*Ne ye Shata lo!*]
1SG COP N COP
"I am Shata!"

Sorcerer:56

[*Kana an kan tige!*]
IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut
"Don't cut my throat!"

Sorcerer:57

[*Kana an kan tige!*]
IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut
"Don't cut my throat!"

Sorcerer:58

W'olo cekɔɔba y' a fɔ, [*Kana an kan tige?*]
and.so(PRT) old.man PST 3SG say IMP/JUSS.NEG 1PL neck cut
'And so the old man said, "Don't cut our throat?"'

Sorcerer:59

[*E le Shata lo wa?*]
2SG PRT.FOC N COP Q
"You are Shata?"

Sorcerer:60

[*Shata ye mɔɔ le ye.*]
N COP person PRT.FOC COP
"Shata is a person.'

Sorcerer:61

[*Shata te kɔɔni ye.*]
N NEG bird COP
"Shata is not a bird.'

Sorcerer:62

[*Ne be kɔɔni lo kan tigera.*]
1SG PRS bird PRT.FOC neck cut.PROG
"It's a bird that I'm cutting the throat of."

Sorcerer:63

Cekɔɔba ye kɔɔni nin kan tige, ka tasuma don, ka kɔɔni nin
old.man PST bird DEM.SG neck cut INF fire put.on INF bird DEM.SG

jeni, foo k' a sisi, k' a mugumugu ka ke buguri ye.
burn until INF 3SG smoke INF 3SG reduce.to.powder INF make dust PST
'The old man cut this bird's throat, put on a fire, and burned this bird, going as far as smoking it, reducing it to powder, and making it into dust.'

Sorcerer:64.1

Ah!
ah
'Ah!'

Sorcerer:64.2

Musokɔɔba y' a ye sisan [cogoya te tuguni.]
old.woman PST 3SG see now way NEG.COP again
'The old woman saw that there wasn't a solution anymore.'

Sorcerer:65

Musokərɔba lara ka birifani biri a yeɛ la ko [nɛnɛ b' ale
old.woman lay.down.PST INF blanket cover 3SG self POST QUOT cold PRS LOG

la.]

POST

‘The old woman laid down and covered herself with a blanket, saying that she is cold.’

Sorcerer:66

Ka to ka yeɛyeɛ, ka to ka yeɛyeɛ ten.
INF remain INF shake~shake INF remain INF shake~shake thus

‘(She) kept shaking, kept shaking like this.’

Sorcerer:67

ɔnhɔn, a bolila ka taa a musokərɔbaɔɔɔn fɛ, ka taga a
yes 3SG run.PST INF go 3SG fellow.old.woman at.the.place.of INF go 3SG

musokərɔbaɔɔɔn jininga, ko [n' i ye e yeɛ yeɛma ka kɛ
fellow.old.woman ask QUOT if 2SG PST 2SG self change INF become

kɔnɔni ye, foo ka taa don mɔɔɔ ka so kɔnɔ,] ko [n' o ye
bird POST until INF go go.in person POSS house inside QUOT if 3PL PST

i minɛ k' i kan tigɛ,] ko [mun lo be kɛ?]
2SG take INF 2SG neck cut QUOT what PRT.FOC PRS happen

‘Oh yes, she ran and went to another old woman's house, and went and asked her fellow old lady, "If you turned yourself into a bird and went as far as going into someone's house, if they took you and cut your throat, what happens?"’

Sorcerer:68

Wolo, a musokərɔbaɔɔɔn y' a fɔ a ye, ko [n' o ye
and.so(PRT) 3SG fellow.old.woman PST 3SG say 3SG POST QUOT if 3PL PST

i minɛ k' i kan tigɛ ka ban,] ko [i be sa le,] ko
2SG take INF 2SG neck cut INF finish QUOT 2SG PRS die PRT.FOC QUOT

[fila t' a ra tuguni.]
medicine NEG.COP 3SG POST again

‘And so her fellow old woman told her that if they took you and already cut your throat, that you die and that there is not medicine for that anymore.’

Sorcerer:69

A tora ka kasi.
3SG remain.PST INF cry

‘She kept crying.’

Sorcerer:70

Musokərɔba nin tora ka kasi, ka to ka na a ka so
old.woman DEM.SG remain.PST INF cry INF remain INF come 3SG POSS house

kɔnɔ.
inside

‘This old woman kept crying and kept coming toward and entering her house.’

Sorcerer:71

Mɔɔ bɛ b' a jininga ko [mun lo kɛra?]
person ALL PRS 3SG ask QUOT what PRT.FOC happen.PST
'Everyone is asking her, "What is it that happened?'

Sorcerer:72

[Mun lo kɛra?]
what PRT.FOC happen.PST
'"What is it that happened?'

Sorcerer:73

A ma sɔn k' a jafɔ mɔɔ jɛ na.
3SG NEG.PST agree INF 3SG tell.it.forwrd person in.front.of POST
'She wasn't willing to explain it to people.'

Sorcerer:74

A kasira ka na don so kɔnɔ.
3SG cry.PST INF come go.in house inside
'She cried and came and entered the house.'

Sorcerer:75

Nɛnɛ karil' a ra sisan.
cold break.PST 3SG POST now
'She got very cold now.'

Sorcerer:76

A ye birifani ta k' a dabiri, dɔrɔn, a sara sisan.
3SG PST blanket take INF 3SG cover only 3SG die.PST now
'Just when she took a blanket and covered herself, she died now.'

Sorcerer:77

A sara.
3SG die.PST
'She died.'

Sorcerer:78

Joli fana bɔra ale fana nun na.
blood also go.out.PST 3SG.FOC also nose POST
'Blood also came out of her nose also.'

Sorcerer:79

Don, mɔɔ tora k' a fɔfɔ jɔɔɔn ye ko [Shata
so person continue.PST INF 3SG say~say each.other POST QUOT N
sara, Shata sara] dɔrɔn.
die.PST N die.PST only
'So people kept telling each other that Shata died, Shata died.'

Sorcerer:80

Muso minw be to ka o ka deen kalifa o ma, n'
woman COMP.PL PRS continue INF 3PL POSS child entrust DEM POST if
olu y' a mɛn ko [musokɔrɔba nin sara,] olu be
3PL.FOC PST 3SG hear QUOT old.woman DEM.SG die.PST 3PL.FOC PRS
to ka kasi.
continue INF cry
'The women who would entrust their children to her, if they heard that this old woman

died, they kept crying.'

Sorcerer:81

Olu be to ka kasi ka to ka na a ka so kɔɔ.
3PL.FOC PRS continue INF cry INF continue INF come 3SG POSS house inside
'They keep crying and keep coming into her house.'

Sorcerer:82

Ko [Eh!]
QUOT eh
'(They said), "Eh!"

Sorcerer:83

Ko [musokɔɔba numan nin sara.]
QUOT old.woman good DEM.SG die.PST
'(They said) that this good woman died.'

Sorcerer:84

Ko [o bena o ka deen kalifa jɔn lo ma tuguni?]
QUOT 3PL FUT 3PL POSS child entrust who PRT.FOC POST again
'(They said) that, to whom will they now entrust their children?'

Sorcerer:85

Ko [a te.]
QUOT 3SG NEG.COP
'(They said) that she is gone (literally: that she isn't).'

Sorcerer:86

Ko [olu bena o ka deen kalifa jɔn lo ma?]
QUOT 3PL.FOC FUT 3PL POSS child entrust who PRT.FOC POST
'(They said) that, to whom will they themselves now entrust their children?'

Sorcerer:87

A sara.
3SG die.PST
'She died.'

Sorcerer:88

A su be to duguma ka to ka fɔ [mm-hmm, mm-hmm.]
3SG body PRS remain on.the.ground INF continue INF say mm-hmm mm-hmm
'Her body remained on the ground and kept saying, "Mm-hmm, mm-hmm."'

Sorcerer:89.1

Ni mɔɔɔ be kasira ka to ka fɔ, [An bena an ka deen kalifa
if person PRS cry.PROG INF continue INF say 1PL FUT 1PL INF child entrust
jɔn lo ma?]
who PRT.FOC POST

'If people cried and kept asking, "To whom will we entrust our child?"'

Sorcerer:89.2

ale be to ka fɔ birifani jukɔɔ, ko [mm-hmm, mm-hmm.]
3SG.FOC PRS continue INF say blanket under QUOT mm-hmm mm-hmm
'she kept saying from under the blanket, "Mm-hmm, mm-hmm."'

Sorcerer:90.1

Ah!
ah
'Ah!'

Sorcerer:90.2

A kera ten le.
3SG happen.PST thus PRT.FOC
'That's how it was.'

Sorcerer:91

A subagatoᵑᵑᵑᵑ nunu, olu y' a ye [ni olu ma koo
3SG fellow.sorcerer DEM.PL 3PL.FOC PST 3SG see if 3PL.FOC NEG.PST thing

dᵑ ke, a man fisa.]
certain do 3SG NEG.COP better

'Her fellow sorcerers, they saw that if they didn't do something, it would be bad.'

Sorcerer:92

Ni mᵑᵑᵑ nana k' [o bena sigi su gerefe,] su b' a fᵑra
if person come.PST QUOT 3PL FUT sit body beside body PRS 3SG say.PROG

ko [mm-hmm, mm-hmm.]
QUOT mm-hmm mm-hmm

'If a person came that in order to sit next to the body, the body is saying, "Mm-hmm, mm-hmm."

Sorcerer:93

O bæ be boli k' a kelen n' a kelen to so kᵑᵑᵑ.
3PL ALL PRS run INF 3SG one and 3SG one remain house inside
'They would all run away and leave her alone in the house.'

Sorcerer:94

W'olo a subagatoᵑᵑᵑᵑ nunu taara fᵑen dᵑ ta ka na a
and.so(PRT) 3SG fellow.sorcerer DEM.PL go.PST thing certain take INF come 3SG

mᵑ a daa ra.
rub 3SG mouth POST

'That's why these fellow sorcerers of hers went and got a certain thing and came and rubbed it on her mouth.'

Sorcerer:95

K' o ye fᵑen nin mᵑ a daa ra dᵑᵑᵑ, a m' a fᵑ
INF 3PL PST thing DEM.SG rub 3SG mouth POST only 3SG NEG.PST 3SG say

tuguni ko [mm-hmm.]
again QUOT mm-hmm

'As soon as they rubbed this thing on her mouth, she didn't say "Mm-hmm" anymore.'

Sorcerer:96

O sᵑᵑᵑla ka taga a su don sisan.
3PL to.be.able.PST INF go 3SG body put.in now
'They were able to go bury her now.'

Sorcerer:97

W'olo denmisen nunu sᵑᵑᵑla ka to ka
and.so(PRT) small.child DEM.PL to.be.able.PST INF continue INF

balobalo a dugu nin na.
stay.alive~stay.alive 3SG village DEM.SG POST

'And so these child were able to keep staying alive in this village.'

Sorcerer:98

N'o te, ko denmisen tun ti balo dugu nin na ten.
otherwise QUOT small.child PFV NEG stay.alive village DEM.SG POST thus
'If not (otherwise), that children don't stay alive long in that village in this way.'

Sorcerer:99

O bena denmisenw kalifa a ma.
3PL FUT small.child.PL entrust 3SG POST
'They will entrust their children to her.'

Sorcerer:100

Denmisen nunu bæ be sasa, me mɔɔ m' a lɔn [mun
small.child DEM.PL ALL PRS die~die but person NEG.PST 3SG know what

lo b' o fagara.]
PRT.FOC PRS 3PL kill.PROG

'These children keep dying, but no one knew what it was that was killing them.'

APPENDIX C

Phone text

NARR 03 - First Phone

Phone:1

Ne ka telefon premie sɔrɔnin, o y' a don kariton lo
1SG POSS telephone first get-PST.PTCP DEM PST 3SG put.in box PRT.FOC

kɔnɔ, karitondeni lo kɔnɔ ten.
inside small.box PRT.FOC inside thus

‘When I got my first phone, they put it into a box, into a little box like this.’

Phone:2

Motorola lo tun lo.
N PRT.FOC PFV PRT.FOC

‘It was a Motorola.’

Phone:3

A n' a chargeur bæe be ale fengen nin kɔnɔ.
3SG with 3SG charger ALL COP 3SG.FOC thing DEM.SG inside

‘It and its charger were all in that thing (i.e. the box).’

Phone:4.1

A bɔra barakeyɔrɔ ka na, ka sɔrɔ,...
3SG come.from.PST place.of.work INF come PRT

‘He left work and came, and yet ...’

Phone:4.2

n' an tun be to tobi loon min na, midi, ne be sɔrɔ ka
if 1PL PFV PRS corn.mush cook day COMP POST noon 1SG PRS get INF

todaga sigi parce que to sumanin tun man d'
cooking.pot.for.corn.mush sit because corn.mush cold PFV NEG please

a ye.
3SG POST

‘on the days that we cooked corn mush, it's at noon that I would put the pot on the fire because he didn't like cold corn mush.’

Phone:5

A nana ka sɔrɔ ne be to fasara kenema.
3SG come.PST PRT 1SG PRS corn.mush cook.(for.corn.mush).PROG outside

‘He came while I was preparing the corn mush outside.’

Phone:6

A tɛmena ka don so kɔnɔ.
3SG PASS.PST INF enter house inside

‘He passed by and went into the house.’

Phone:7

Ne m' a lon do.
1SG NEG.PST 3SG know PRT
'I didn't know!'

Phone:8

A taar' a bila tabili kan ka teme ka taa don ka toyi sokonɔɔne na
3SG go.PST 3SG put table on INF PASS.by INF go enter INF stay bedroom POST

ka to ka resanje parce que a tun be tenu na nin.
INF continue INF change.clothes because 3SG PFV COP uniform POST DEM.SG
'He went, put it on the table, passed through, went and stayed in the bedroom, and
was changing clothes because he had been in uniform.'

Phone:9

A taara k' a yere sanje sisan.
3SG go.PST INF 3SG self change.clothes now
'He went and changed his clothes now.'

Phone:10

Ne donna ka a fɛn tɔgɔ bilanin ye.
1SG enter.PST INF 3SG thing name placed see
'I went inside and saw that thing lying there.'

Phone:11

Ne yere m' a jatimine.
1SG self NEG.PST 3SG think.about
'I myself didn't think anything of it.'

Phone:12

Ne jɛna ko [a nana ni lakire lo ye k' a di
1SG think QUOT 3SG come.PST with chalk PRT.FOC POST INF 3SG give

denmisɛnw ma.]
small.child.PL POST

'I thought that it was chalk that he had come with to give the children.'

Phone:13

Ne jɛna ko [lakire kariton lo.]
1SG think QUOT chalk box COP
'I thought that it was a box of chalk.'

Phone:14

Jaa, telefon lo.
PRT telephone COP
'Actually, it was a telephone.'

Phone:15

Ne tora k' a vire vire ka to ka teme teme a
1SG continue.PST INF 3SG avoid avoid INF continue INF PASS.by PASS.by 3SG

kɔɔ.
beside

'I kept avoiding it and passing by it.'

Phone:16

An nana sigi an be dumuni kera sisan.
 1PL come.PST sit 1PL PRS food do.PST now
 'We sat down and were eating now.'

Phone:17

A fɔ ko [Ne ni ce oh.]
 3SG say QUOT thank.me(1SG) PRT
 'He₍₁₎ said, "Thank you_(2 - current speaker)!"

Phone:18

Ne ko [I!]
 1SG QUOT eek
 'I₍₂₎ said, "Eek!"'

Phone:19

Ko [I ni ce mun koo ra?]
 QUOT thank.you what thing POST
 '(I₍₂₎) said, "Thank me for what?"'

Phone:20

N ko [To gwannin lo le wa?]
 1SG QUOT corn.mush hot COP PRT.FOC Q
 'I₍₂₎ said, "Is it that the corn mush is hot?"'

Phone:21

Ko [ne nana kado di ale ma,] ko [ne ni ce.]
 QUOT 1SG come.PST gift give LOG POST QUOT thank.me
 '(He₍₁₎ said) that I₍₂₎ came and give him₍₁₎ a gift, (so he₍₁₎ says) thank me₍₂₎.'

Phone:22

Ne ko [I ni ce?]
 1SG QUOT thank.you
 'I₍₂₎ said, Thank you?'

Phone:23

Ko: [Kado be min?]
 QUOT gift COP COMP
 '(I₍₂₎) said, "Where is the gift?"'

Phone:24

Ko: [a te nin ye tabili kan?]
 QUOT 3SG NEG.COP DEM.SG COP table on
 '(He)₍₁₎ said, "Isn't it this on the table?"'

Phone:25

Ne ko: [I!]
 1SG QUOT eek
 'I₍₂₎ said, "Eek!"'

Phone:26

Ko: [ne jɛna ko [lakirebara lo do.]]
 QUOT 1SG think QUOT chalk.container COP PRT
 '(I₍₂₎) said, "I₍₂₎ really thought that it was a chalk container."

Phone:27

Ne y' a ta k' a file sisan k' a ye [telefon lo.]
 1SG PST 3SG take INF 3SG look.at now INF 3SG see telephone COP
 'I₍₂₎ took it and looked at it now and saw that it was a telephone.'

Phone:28

O tuma na, telefon modeli do tun be kungologwanninto.
DEM time POST telephone type certain PFV COP the.one.with.the.hot.head
'At that time there was a telephone model out called "the one with the hot head."

Phone:29

O b' a weele ko [Bamakojoliden.]
3PL PRS 3SG call QUOT pretty.child.of.Bamako
'They called it "the pretty child of Bamako."

Phone:30

A ye ale lo san- a n' a kariton, n' a chargeur bæε,
3SG POST 3SG.FOC PRT.FOC buy 3SG with 3SG box and 3SG charger ALL

ka n' a di ne ma.
INF come 3SG give 1SG POST

'That is what he₍₁₎ bought - that and its box and even its charger - and gave it to me₍₂₎.'

Phone:31

Ne kontanna nin loon nin na.
1SG be.happy.PST DEM.SG day DEM.SG POST
'I was happy that day.'

Phone:32

A n' a pusi bæε.
3SG and 3SG SIM.card ALL
'It and even its SIM card.'

Phone:33.1

Ehh!
interjection
'Ehh!'

Phone:33.2

O loon nin na, mɔgɔ minw bæε ka telefon numero tun be
DEM day DEM.SG POST person COMP.PL ALL POSS telephone number PFV COP

ne fε ka sɔrɔ telefon te ne fε, ne y' o
1SG at.the.place.of PRT telephone NEG.COP 1SG at.the.place.of 1SG PST 3PL

bæε weele, k' an ka niyɔrɔ yir' aw la.
ALL call INF 1PL POSS portion show 2PL POST

'That day, everyone whose telephone number I had had while I didn't have a telephone, I called them all and showed them what I had been given.'

Phone:34

Ne fana ye telefon kura sɔrɔ.
1SG also PST telephone new get
'I also got a new phone.'

APPENDIX D

Moses text

NARR 04 - Musa ka koo

Moses:1

Ne bena Musa ka maana lo bɔ aw ye.
1SG FUT Moses POSS story PRT.FOC come.out 2PL POST
'I will tell you the story of Moses.'

Moses:2

Musa ka kabakow daminena cogo min na, ne be fe k' o
Moses POSS miracle.PL begin.PST manner COMP POST 1SG PRS want INF DEM
maana lo bɔ aw ye.
story PRT.FOC tell 2PL POST
'The way that Moses' miracles began, I want to tell you that story.'

Moses:3

I y' a lon, Musa tun wolola gwaso min na nin, o
2SG PST 3SG know Moses PFV give.birth.PST household COMP POST DEM.SG 3PL
tun te fe dence ka bangi o yɔɔ nin na.
PFV NEG want son INF be.born DEM place DEM.SG POST
'You know, the family that Moses was born in, they didn't want sons to be born in that place.'

Moses:4

Musa bamuso tun bangira Musa ra minke, a ma lon
Moses mother PFV give.birth.PROG Moses POST when(PRT) 3SG NEG.PST know
[a bena ke cogo min.]
3SG FUT do manner COMP
'When Moses' mom had given birth to Moses, she didn't know what she was going to do.'

Moses:5

A tun ye Musa dogo foo kalo saba.
3SG PFV PST Moses hide until month three
'She had hidden Moses for three months.'

Moses:6

Kalo saba temenin kɔ, a tun te se k' a dogo tuguni.
month three PASS.PST.PTCP after 3SG PFV NEG be.able INF 3SG hide anymore
'After three months, she wasn't able to hide him anymore.'

Moses:7

A y' a ta sisan ka ta' a bila kɔgɔji daa ra.
3SG PST 3SG take now INF go 3SG put sea mouth POST
'She took him now and went and put him at the edge of the water.'

Moses:8

Farauna ka denmuso nana ko o yɔrɔ la.
pharaoh POSS daughter come.PST bathe DEM place POST
'Pharaoh's daughter came to wash there.'

Moses:9

A y' a ye kɔgɔji daa ra segi kɔnɔ.
3SG PST 3SG see sea mouth POST basket inside
'She saw him at the edge of the river in a basket.'

Moses:10

A makari y' a minɛ.
3SG pity PST 3SG grab
'She had pity on him (literally, Pity for him grabbed her).'

Moses:11

A y' a ta sisan.
3SG PST 3SG take now
'She took him now.'

Moses:12

Musa kɔsegira o cogo lo la ka taga a bamuso
Moses return.PST DEM manner PRT.FOC POST INF go 3SG mother

fɛ, a wolobamuso fɛ.
at.the.place.of 3SG birth.mother at.the.place.of
'That's how Moses returned to his mom, to his birth mom.'

Moses:13

Ale y' a lamɔ.
3SG.FOC PST 3SG bring.up.(a.child)
'It was she who raised him.'

Moses:14

A y' a lamɔ.
3SG PST 3SG bring.up.(a.child)
'She raised him.'

Moses:15

A kera mɔgɔ ye sisan.
3SG become.PST person POST now
'Now he grew up.'

Moses:16

A kɔsegira ka tag' a di Farauna ka luu kɔnɔ.
3SG return.PST INF go 3SG give pharaoh POSS courtyard inside
'She returned and went and gave him into Pharaoh's courtyard.'

Moses:17

Don Musa tora o yɔrɔ nin na yen ten, ka to ka
so Moses remain.PST DEM place DEM.SG POST there thus INF continue INF

baaraw keke o yɔɔ nin na.
work.PL do~do DEM place DEM.SG POST

‘So Moses stayed there in this way, and kept doing different kinds of work there.’

Moses:18

Nga loon dɔ nana se, Musa ye koo dɔ ke, Musa y’ a
but day certain come.PST arrive Moses PST thing certain do Moses PST 3SG

lon ko [o koo nin tena diya Farauna ye.]
know QUOT DEM thing DEM.SG NEG.FUT please pharaoh POST

‘But one day came and Moses did something; Moses knew that that thing wouldn’t please Pharaoh.’

Moses:19

Musa bolila a yere ma ka taa foo yɔɔ dɔ ra ka taa to
Moses run.PST 3SG self POST INF go until place certain POST INF go remain

o yɔɔ nin na sisan.
DEM place DEM.SG POST now

‘Moses ran of his own accord and went all the way to some other place to go and stay in that other place now.’

Moses:20

A tora o yɔɔ la.
3SG remain.PST DEM place POST

‘He stayed in that other place.’

Moses:21

A taara ke sagadendebaga ye o yɔɔ nin na.
3SG go.PST become shepherd POST DEM place DEM.SG POST

‘He went and became a shepherd in that place.’

Moses:22

Ka to a sagagwen na, loon dɔ a siginin lo suma
INF remain 3SG shepherding POST day certain 3SG sit.PST.PTCP PRT.FOC shade

na.
POST

‘While remaining a shepherd, one day he was sitting in the shade.’

Moses:23

A jaa be yirimisen dɔw ra yɔɔ dɔ ra.
3SG eye PRS bush certain.PL POST place certain POST

‘He saw a certain bush in a certain place.’

Moses:24

Yirimisen nin sanfe, tasuma be menena, nga a jukɔɔ, tasuma ma
bush DEM.SG above fire PRS burn.PROG but 3SG under fire NEG.PST

yiri nin mine, me tasuma be menena yirimisen nin sanfe.
tree DEM.SG grab but fire PRS burn.PROG bush DEM.SG above

‘Above this bush, a fire is burning, but below it, the fire didn’t catch the tree; but the fire is burning above the bush.’

Moses:25

Musa y' a ye k' [o ye kabako le ye.]
Moses PST 3SG see QUOT DEM COP miracle PRT.FOC COP
'Moses saw that this was a miracle.'

Moses:26

A wilila k' [a be gwere ka o kabako nin file]
3SG get.up.PST QUOT 3SG PRS approach INF DEM miracle DEM.SG look.at

minke, Ala y' a weele a tɔɔ ma.
when(PRT) God PST 3SG call 3SG name POST

'When he got up in order to get closer to see this miracle/surprising thing, God called him by his name.'

Moses:27

A ko: [Musa, Musa.]
3SG QUOT Moses Moses
'He said: Moses, Moses.'

Moses:28

Kanɛ fila.
times two
'Two times.'

Moses:29

Musa ko: [Naamu.]
Moses QUOT yes.I'm.listening
'Moses said: Yes, I'm listening.'

Moses:30

A ko: [I kana gwere yɔɔ nin na ni sanbara ye]
3SG QUOT 2SG IMP/JUSS.NEG approach place DEM.SG POST with sandal POST

i seen na, bari ne ka yɔɔ senuman le ye o yɔɔ
2SG foot POST because 1SG POSS place holy PRT.FOC COP DEM place

nin ye.]
DEM.SG COP

'He said: You shouldn't get closer to this place with sandals on your feet, because this place is my holy place.'

Moses:31

[N' i be gwere, i b' i sanbara bɔ ka sɔɔ ka gwere yɔɔ]
if 2SG PRS approach 2SG PRS 2SG sandal take.off PRT INF approach place

nin na.]
DEM.SG POST

'If you get closer, you take off your sandals before you get closer to this place.'

Moses:32

Musa fana ye sanbara bɔ ka gwere o yɔɔ nin na.
Moses also PST sandal take.off INF approach DEM place DEM.SG POST

'Moses also took off his sandals and got closer to that place.'

Moses:33

Ala y' a fɔ a jε na ko [ale ben' a ci Misira jamana
God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT LOG FUT 3SG send Egypt country

na.]

POST

‘God_i said to him_j that he_i will send him_j to the country of Egypt.’

Moses:34

[A ka taa Ale ka jamaw bɔ o yɔɔ nin na, Misira jamana
3SG JUSS go LOG POSS people take.out DEM place DEM.SG POST Egypt country

na, ka na n' a ye yɔɔ nin na.]

POST INF come with 3SG POST place DEM.SG POST

‘He_j should go take his_i people out of that place, the country of Egypt, and come with them to this place.’

Moses:35

[O ka na ale bato.]

3PL JUSS come LOG worship

‘They should come worship him.’

Moses:36

[O yɔɔ nin ye Ale bato yɔɔ le ye.]

DEM place DEM.SG COP LOG worship place PRT.FOC COP

‘That place was his worship place.’

Moses:37

Musa konna ka muruti.

Moses start INF rebel

‘At first Moses rebelled.’

Moses:38

Musa b' a lɔn [Farauna be cogoya min na.]

Moses PRS 3SG know pharaoh PRS way COMP POST

‘Moses knows how Pharaoh is.’

Moses:39

Ala tun b' a cira Farauna fe, k' [a ka taa fɔ
God PFV PRS 3SG send.PROG pharaoh at.the.place.of QUOT 3SG JUSS go say

Farauna ye ko [a kanje ka Ale ka jama labila o be na
pharaoh POST QUOT 3SG must INF LOG POSS crowd let.go 3PL PRS come

ka Ale bato o yɔɔ nin] na.]

INF LOG worship DEM place DEM.SG POST

‘God_i was sending him_j to Pharaoh_k, that he_j should go tell Pharaoh_k that he_k has to let go of his_i people; they will come and worship God_i in that place.’

Moses:40

Musa konna ka muruti, k' [ale te se.]

Moses start INF rebel QUOT LOG NEG be.able

‘At first Moses_j rebelled, saying that he_j can’t.’

Moses:41

Ala ko k' [a be se.]
 God QUOT QUOT 3SG PRS be.able
 'God_i says that he_j can.'

Moses:42

Musa ko [ale te se.]
 Moses QUOT LOG NEG be.able
 'Moses_j says that he_j can't.'

Moses:43

Ala y' a jagweleya k' a fɔ k' [a be se.]
 God PST 3SG encourage INF 3SG say QUOT 3SG PRS be.able
 'God_i encouraged him_j and said that he_j can.'

Moses:44

Ko [nga ale bena a kɔɔce fara a kan, o ka taa o
 QUOT but LOG FUT 3SG older.brother add 3SG on 3PL JUSS go DEM

ci nin dafa.]
 mission DEM.SG fulfill

'(God_i said) that however, he's_i going to add his_j older brother on top (God's going to add Moses' older brother to Moses), that they would go accomplish this mission.'

Moses:45

Musa ko [me, ale bena ke cogo di ka kuma walisa mɔgɔ nunu k'
 Moses QUOT but LOG FUT do how? INF talk so.that person DEM.PL INF

a lɔn ko [Ala le ye ale ci?]]
 3SG know QUOT God PRT.FOC PST LOG send

'Moses_j objected, asking how he_j would speak so that the people would know that God sent him.'

Moses:46

Ala y' a jininga, ko [mun feen lo b' i bolo?]
 God PST 3SG ask QUOT what thing PRT.FOC PRS 2SG hand
 'God_i asked him_j, "What's in your_j hand?"'

Moses:47

A ko k' [ale ka sagawenbere lo b' ale bolo.]
 3SG QUOT QUOT LOG POSS shepherd's.staff PRT.FOC PRS LOG hand
 'He_j said that his_j shepherd's staff is in his_j hand.'

Moses:48

A ko [bere nin ben duguma ten.]
 3SG QUOT stick DEM.SG throw.down on.the.ground thus
 'He said to throw this stick on the ground like this.'

Moses:49

Musa fana ye bere nin ben duguma.
 Moses also PST stick DEM.SG throw.down on.the.ground
 'Moses also threw this stick on the ground.'

Moses:50

Bere nin yelemana ka ke saa ye.
 stick DEM.SG change.PST INF become snake POST
 'This stick changed and became a snake.'

Moses:51

Sajan do ye.
snake.long certain POST
'A certain big snake.'

Moses:52

Musa siranna saa nin jε.
Moses fear-PST snake DEM.SG in.front.of
'Moses feared this snake.'

Moses:53

Ala y' a fɔ a jε na ko [kana siran saa nin
God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT IMP/JUSS.NEG fear snake DEM.SG
jε.]
in.front.of
'God said to him, "Don't be afraid of this snake.'"

Moses:54

[Saa nin ta a kukala yɔɔ ma.]
snake DEM.SG take 3SG tail place POST
"'Take this snake by its tail.'"

Moses:55

Musa fana birila ka saa nin ta a kukala yɔɔ ma.
Moses also bend.over.PST INF snake DEM.SG take 3SG tail place POST
'Moses also bent down and took this snake by its tail.'

Moses:56

Saa nin segira ka ke bere ye a nɔɔ na.
snake DEM.SG return.PST INF become stick POST 3SG original POST
'This snake returned to being a stick like it had been before. (literally: in its place)'

Moses:57

O ye kabako fɔl ye fɔl ban.
3PL COP miracle first COP first finish
'This was the first miracle.'

Moses:58

Saa nin segira ka ke bere ye a nɔɔ na, Musa ye
snake DEM.SG return.PST INF become stick POST 3SG original POST Moses PST
bere nin minε.
stick DEM.SG take
'This snake returned to being a stick like it had been before, and Moses took this stick.'

Moses:59

W'olo Ala y' a fɔ a jε na ko [Taa ni nin
and.so(PRT) God PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT go with DEM.SG
bere nin ye.]
stick DEM.SG POST
'And so God told him, "Go with this very stick.'"

Moses:60

[I bena kabakow caaman ke ni nin bere nin ye i bolo.]
2SG FUT miracle.PL many do with DEM.SG stick DEM.SG POST 2SG hand
"'You will do many miracles with this very stick in your hand.'"

APPENDIX E

Joseph text

NARR 05 - Joseph

Joseph:1

Ne be fε ka Yusufu ka maana lo bɔ aw ye.
1SG PRS want INF N POSS story PRT.FOC come.out 2PL POST
'It is the story of Joseph that I want to tell you.'

Joseph:2

Yusufu tun be a faε fε, a tun koo ka d' a ye
N PFV COP 3SG father at.the.place.of 3SG PFV affair INF please 3SG POST
kosɔbe!
very.much

'Joseph was at his father's house; his father really loved him!'

Joseph:3

Ale ni a dɔɔnin, Benjamin, olu lo tun ye baa
3SG.FOC with 3SG younger.sibling N 3PL.FOC PRT.FOC PFV COP mother
kelen, faa kelen, nga a faε nin fε, denmisen wεrεw
one father one but 3SG father DEM.SG at.the.place.of small.child other.PL
tun be.
PFV COP

'Him and his younger brother, Benjamin, it was them who were of the same mother and the same father, but his father also had other children.'

Joseph:4

Me Yusufu ni Benjamin lo tun ye baa kelen, faa kelen le
but N and N PRT.FOC PFV COP mother one father one PRT.FOC
ye.
POST

'But Joseph and Benjamin had the same mother and the same father.'

Joseph:5

Komi Yusufu nin bamuso tun koo ka di o faε ye
because N DEM.SG mother PFV affair INF please 3PL father POST
minke, denmisen fila nunu fana koo diyara faε nin ye
when(PRT) small.child two DEM.PL also affair please.PST father DEM.SG POST

ten, nga Yusufu tun koo ka di faceman ye ka tɛmɛ Benjamin
thus but N PFV affair INF please father.figure POST INF PASS.by N

yɛɛ kan tuguni.
self on again

‘Since Joseph’s mother was really loved by their father, these two children were also really loved by their father, but Joseph was loved by their father even more than Benjamin was.’

Joseph:6

Don, sisan, o taara fɔrɔ la, ka taa baara kɛ.
so now 3PL go.PST field POST INF go work do
‘So now, they went to the field to go work.’

Joseph:7

Faceman ko [o ka taa dumunike yiri jukɔrɔ.]
father.figure QUOT 3PL JUSS go eat tree under
‘Their father told them to go eat under a tree.’

Joseph:8

Kɔrɔw tɔɔ nunu, olu ye hakilikuntan dɔ ta sisan k’
older.sibling.PL rest DEM.PL 3PL.FOC PST worthless.idea certain take now INF

a fɔ nɔgɔn jɛ na ko [Eh, komi nin den nin
3SG say each.other in.front.of POST QUOT eh because DEM.SG child DEM.SG

koo ka di an face ye ten, an t’ a faga k’ a
affair INF please 1PL father POST thus 1PL continue 3SG kill INF 3SG

bɔyi wa, o ra an bɛɛ b’ an yɛɛ sɔrɔ.]
get.out.of.the.way Q DEM POST 1PL ALL PRS 1PL self find

‘The other older brothers, they now had a worthless idea and said to each other, "Ah! Since this here child is really loved by our father like this, why don’t we kill him and get him out of here? Then we won’t be hassled with this anymore (idiom; literally, we’ll all have our own selves).’

Joseph:9

O fana ko [Ah,] ko [tijnɛ lo.]
3PL also QUOT ah QUOT truth COP
‘They also said, "Ah!" (They said) "That’s right.”’

Joseph:10

Ko [An kanɛ k’ a faga le.]
QUOT 1PL must INF 3SG kill FOC
‘(They said,) "We should really kill him.”’

Joseph:11

Wolo kelen tilara tugu ko, [ɔn ɔn,] ko [an kan’ a faga
that’s.why one finish.PST again QUOT no QUOT 1PL JUSS.NEG 3SG kill

dɛ.]
exclamation

‘That’s why one of them continued again, saying, "No!" (saying) "We really shouldn’t kill him.”’

Joseph:12

[An k' a fili kɔɔnkolon nin kɔɔ min ye yanfɛ.]
1PL INF 3SG throw well.empty DEM.SG inside COMP COP over.there
‘‘We should throw him into this empty well that’s over there.’’

Joseph:13

O ko, [Eh,] ko [tjɛ lo.]
3PL QUOT eh QUOT truth COP
‘‘They said, ‘‘Eh!’’ (saying) ‘‘that’s true.’’

Joseph:14

O jenn' a kan k' a ta k' a fili kɔɔnkolon nin
3PL gang.up.PST 3SG on INF 3SG take INF 3SG throw well.empty DEM.SG

kɔɔ k' a to o yɔɔ la yen, ka taa fɔ faceman
inside INF 3SG leave DEM place POST there INF go say father.figure

jɛ na ko [Yusufu tununa le.]
in.front.of POST QUOT N disappear.PST PRT.FOC

‘‘They ganged up on him, took him, and threw him into this empty well and left him there, and went and told their father that Joseph got lost.’’

Joseph:15

O dimi tora faceman na ten, parce que deen nin tun koo
DEM anger remain.PST father.figure POST thus because child DEM.SG PFV affair

ka d' a ye.
INF please 3SG POST

‘‘The father got and stayed angry because he had really loved this child.’’

Joseph:16

O dimi tora faceman na, a ma ɔn [a bena ke cogoya
3PL anger remain.PST father.figure POST 3SG NEG.PST know 3SG FUT do way

min na.]
COMP POST

‘‘The father got and stayed angry, he didn't know what he was going to do.’’

Joseph:17

Sisan, sanni tile damani, soladasice dɔ bɔra Ezipitimara
now before day a.few soldier.man certain come.from.PST country.of.Egypt

la, min tɔɔ ko [Potifari.]
POST COMP name QUOT N.Potiphar

‘‘Now, before a few days had passed, a certain soldier came from the country of Egypt, whose name was Potiphar.’’

Joseph:18

Ale tun be to ka yaala ka fɛnw san san.
3SG.FOC PFV PRS continue INF wander INF things buy buy
‘‘He would always wander around and buy different things.’’

Joseph:19

Ale taara se a ka sanikɛyɔɔw la.
3SG.FOC go.PST arrive 3SG POSS the.places.where.you.buy.things POST
‘‘He went and arrived at the place where he bought things.’’

Joseph:20

Yusufu kɔrɔcɛw nunu y' a miiri sisan, ko [Eh,] ko [eskɛ,]
 N older.brother.PL DEM.PL PST 3SG think now QUOT eh QUOT Q

ko [An be se ka nin feere walisa ka wari sɔrɔ.]
 QUOT 1PL PRS be.able INF DEM.SG sell so.that INF money get

‘It was Joseph's older brothers who now had the thought, "Eh!" (thinking that) "Can...," (thinking that) "... we sell this one in order to get some money?"’

Joseph:21

Ko [Sanni an k' a to kɔlɔnkolon kɔnɔ, an b' a bɔ k']
 QUOT before 1PL INF 3SG leave well.empty inside 1PL PRS 3SG take.out INF

a feere walisa ka wari sɔrɔ.]
 3SG sell so.that INF money get

‘(Thinking that,) "Before we leave him inside this empty well, let's take him out and sell him in order to get some money."’

Joseph:22

O y' a ye ko, [Ah,] k' [o fana ye tijɛ kuma le ye.]
 3PL PST 3SG see QUOT ah QUOT DEM also COP truth speech PRT.FOC COP
 ‘They saw that, "Ah!" (seeing that) "That's is also true speech!"’

Joseph:23

O taar' a bɔ sisan ka tag' a feere Potifari ma ka wari
 3PL go.PST 3SG take.out now INF go 3SG sell N.Potiphar POST INF money

sɔrɔ k' a bila o yɛɛ kuun.
 get INF 3SG put 3PL self head

‘They went and took him out now and went and sold him to Potiphar and got some money and kept it for themselves (literally, and put it at their own heads).’

Joseph:24

Potifari fana y' a minɛ ka taga n' a ye.
 N.Potiphar also PST 3SG take INF go with 3SG POST
 ‘Potiphar also took him and went with him.’

Joseph:25

Komi denmisen dusutigi lo tun lo, a taara baara kɛ ka to
 because small.child faithful PRT.FOC PFV COP 3SG go.PST work do INF continue

ka baara kɛ foo k' a jɛ.
 INF work do until INF 3SG make.good

‘Since he was a faithful child, he went and worked and kept working until it was done well.’

Joseph:26

A ka baara diyara Potifari ye kosɔbe.
 3SG POSS work please.PST N.Potiphar POST very.much
 ‘Potiphar really liked his work.’

Joseph:27

Potifari y' a ta k' a bila a ka yɔrɔ kuntigiya ra sisan,
 N.Potiphar PST 3SG take INF 3SG put 3SG POSS place management POST now

ka fɛn bɛɛ labila a ye a ka luu kɔnɔ, nga a
INF thing ALL permit 3SG POST 3SG POSS courtyard inside but 3SG

kana maga ale ka muso lo ra dɔrɔn.
IMP/JUSS.NEG touch 3SG.FOC POSS wife PRT.FOC POST only

‘Potiphar took him and placed him at the head of his place now, and released everything in his courtyard into his care, with the only restriction being that he shouldn't touch his wife.’

Joseph:28

N'o te, fɛn bɛɛ labilanin lo a ye.
otherwise thing ALL allow.PST.PTCP COP 3SG POST

‘Other than that, everything was allowed for him.’

Joseph:29

Yusufu tora o kantigiya nin na ten, foo Potifari muso
N remain.PST DEM faithfulness DEM.SG POST thus until N.Potiphar wife

nana nabɔ Yusufu fɛ.
come.PST lust.for N at.the.place.of

‘Joseph remained faithful like this, until Potiphar's wife lusted for him.’

Joseph:30

Loon dɔ, Potifari bɔra.
day certain N.Potiphar go.out.PST

‘One day, Potiphar went out.’

Joseph:31

Muso ye Yusufu weele, ko [foo a ka la n' ale ye.]
wife PST N call QUOT until 3SG JUSS lie.down with LOG POST

‘His wife called Joseph, saying that he should sleep with her.’

Joseph:32

Yusufu banna, k' [ale kɔni be se ka maga fɛn bɛɛ ra
N refuse.PST QUOT LOG as.for PRS be.able INF touch thing ALL POST

nin luu nin kɔnɔ,] ko [nga, muso nin, o ma sira
DEM.SG courtyard DEM.SG inside QUOT but wife DEM.SG 3PL NEG.PST road

d' ale ma, ale ka maga o ra.]
give LOG POST LOG JUSS touch DEM POST

‘Joseph refused, saying that as for him, he was able to touch everything in this courtyard, (saying that) but this woman, they didn't allow him (literally, they didn't give him the road) to touch her.’

Joseph:33

[Ale fana tena maga a ra fana.]
LOG also NEG.FUT touch 3SG POST also

‘He also will not touch her.’

Joseph:34

Muso ko [foo, a ka la n' ale ye.]
wife QUOT until 3SG JUSS lie.down with LOG POST

‘The woman/wife said that he really should sleep with her.’

Joseph:35

O ye ɲɔɔŋ mine bondori la, tita tita tita dɔɔŋ, Yusufu
 3PL PST each.other take wrestling POST IDEO IDEO IDEO only N

sera k' a yeɛ fosi.
 be.able.PST INF 3SG self get.oneself.out.of.trouble

'They grabbed hold of each other and wrestled, tita tita tita, and right then Joseph was able to get out of that situation.'

Joseph:36

Muso ye Yusufu mine a ka dereke ma.
 wife PST N take 3SG POSS shirt POST

'The woman/wife grabbed Joseph by his shirt.'

Joseph:37

Yusufu ye dereke nin bɔ k' a to muso nin bolo ka boli
 N PST shirt DEM.SG take.off INF 3SG leave wife DEM.SG hand INF run

ka bɔ.
 INF go.out

'Joseph took off this shirt and left it in this woman's hand and ran out of there.'

Joseph:38

Yusufu bolila ka bɔ o cogo la dɔɔŋ, muso ye dereke nin
 N run.PST INF go.out DEM manner POST only wife PST shirt DEM.SG

to a yeɛ fe.
 leave 3SG self at.the.place.of

'As soon as Joseph ran out of there in this way, the woman kept this shirt next to her.'

Joseph:39

Potifari nana se dɔɔŋ, haya, muso ye dereke nin bɔ k'
 N.Potiphar come.PST arrive only PRT wife PST shirt DEM.SG take.out INF

a yira Potifari la.
 3SG show N.Potiphar POST

'As soon as Potiphar came back, well, his wife/the woman took out this shirt and showed it to Potiphar.'

Joseph:40

Ko [I ma fɔ ko i lanin be nin ce nin
 QUOT 2SG NEG.PST say QUOT 2SG believe.PST.PTCP COP DEM.SG man DEM.SG

lo ra?]
 PRT.FOC POST

'(She said) that, "Didn't you say that you had confidence in this man?"'

Joseph:41

K' [a ye nin ye.]
 QUOT 3SG COP DEM.SG COP

'(She said) that here is this.'

Joseph:42

K' [a nana.]
 QUOT 3SG come.PST

'(She, said) that he, came.'

Joseph:43

K' [ale wilila ni ne ye fanga ra.]
QUOT 3SG.FOC rise.up.PST with 1SG POST force POST
'(She_i said) that it was him_j, who rose up with me_i, with force.'

Joseph:44

Ko [ne m' a sɔn.]
QUOT 1SG NEG.PST 3SG agree
'(She_i said) that I_i didn't agree.'

Joseph:45

Ko [an ye bondori ta,] k' [a bolila, k' a ka dereke to
QUOT 1PL PST wrestling take QUOT 3SG run.PST INF 3SG POSS shirt leave

yan yɔɔ la.]
here place POST

'(She_i said) that we_{i+j} wrestled, (saying that) he_j ran away, leaving his shirt here.'

Joseph:46

Potifari fana ye dereke nin ye.
N.Potiphar also PST shirt DEM.SG see
'Potiphar also saw this shirt.'

Joseph:47

Ah!
ah
'Ah!'

Joseph:48

A fana, a dusu tijena parce que a tun ye laninya min bila
3SG also 3SG heart break.down.PST because 3SG PFV PST belief COMP put

Yusufu kan nin, ka nan' a ye [Yusufu ka dereke yera ale
N on DEM.SG INF come.PST 3SG see N POSS shirt was.seen LOG

ka sibon kɔnɔ kɔni.]
POSS bedroom inside as.for

'Him also, he became upset/discouraged (literally, his heart broke down) because he had put this confidence in Joseph and came and saw that Joseph's shirt was to be found his own bedroom!'

Joseph:49

Potifari fana nimisara.
N.Potiphar also regret.PST
'Potiphar regretted (what he had done in placing Joseph in such a high position).'

Joseph:50

A dimina dɔɔn, ka Yusufu minε ka taga n' a ye kaso ra,
3SG be.angry.PST only INF N take INF go with 3SG POST prison POST

ka tag' a datugu o yɔɔ la.
INF go 3SG lock.up DEM place POST

'He got mad and right away took Joseph and went with him to prison and went and incarcerated him there.'

Joseph:51

Yusufu donna kaso ra ten, a ma min, a ma bon, nga
N enter.PST prison POST thus 3SG NEG.PST drink 3SG NEG.PST defecate but

a be kaso ra.
3SG COP prison POST

‘Joseph went to prison in that way; it wasn't because of anything he did that he went to prison (idiom; literally, he didn't drink, he didn't defecate, but he's in prison).’

Joseph:52

Ka to o yɔɔ la ka men ka men ka
INF remain DEM place POST INF last.a.long.time INF last.a.long.time INF

men, a be baara ke ka je kasobon na o yɔɔ
last.a.long.time 3SG PRS work do INF make.good prison POST DEM place

la ye fana.
POST POST also

‘He stayed there for a really long time; he was also doing work well in prison in that place.’

Joseph:53

N' o ye feen o feen d' a ma, k' [a k' a ke,] a
if 3PL PST thing whatever thing give 3SG POST QUOT 3SG INF 3SG do 3SG

b' o ke ka je o yɔɔ nin na yen.
PRS DEM do INF make.good DEM place DEM.SG POST there

‘Whatever they gave him to do, he did it well in that place there.’

Joseph:54

Tuma nin do nana se sisan, masace ka luu kɔnɔ,
time DEM.SG certain come.PST arrive now king POSS courtyard inside

baarakela dow, olu fana ye koo do ke; mɔgo fila.
worker certain.PL 3PL.FOC also PST thing certain do person two

‘A certain time arrived now, in Pharaoh's courtyard, two workers, they also did something - two people.’

Joseph:55

A ye olu fila bee bila ka na o kasobon kelen nin na.
3SG PST 3PL.FOC two ALL put INF come DEM prison one DEM.SG POST

‘He sent both of them to that same prison.’

Joseph:56

O nana Yusufu sɔɔ o kasobon nin na sisan.
3PL come.PST N find DEM prison DEM.SG POST now

‘They came and found Joseph in that prison now.’

Joseph:57

O bee jenna ka to ka baara ke kasobon nin na.
3PL ALL unite.PST INF continue INF work do prison DEM.SG POST

‘They all united and kept working in that prison.’

Joseph:58

O somi somi, loon dɔ sufe, o fila nunu bæ lara.
 suddenly day certain at.night 3PL two DEM.PL ALL lie.down.PST
 ‘All of a sudden, one night, both of them laid down.’

Joseph:59

O fila jenna ka siko.
 3PL two unite.PST INF dream
 ‘Both of them dreamed.’

Joseph:60

Nga siko daana, daana, lo tun lo.
 but dream separate separate COP PFV COP
 ‘But their dreams were each different.’

Joseph:61

O ti siko nin kɔɔ lɔn.
 3PL NEG dream DEM.SG meaning know
 ‘They didn't know what their dreams meant.’

Joseph:62

O tora k' a fɔ fɔ ɲɔɔn ɲε na minke, Yusufu
 3PL continue.PST INF 3SG say say each.other in.front.of POST when(PRT) N

y' a fɔ o ɲε na ko [Ala ye nili di ale ma, ale
 PST 3SG say 3PL in.front.of POST QUOT God PST gift give LOG POST LOG

ka se ka siko kɔɔ fɔ.]
 INF be.able INF dream meaning say

‘Since they kept talking to each other about it, Joseph_i told them that God had given him_i the gift of being able to interpret dreams.’

Joseph:63

O ko, [Ah ha.]
 3PL QUOT PRT
 ‘They said, "Ah ha."’

Joseph:64

A ko [ɔwɔ,] k' [ale be se k' o ka siko kɔɔ fɔ.]
 3SG QUOT yes QUOT LOG PRS be.able INF 3PL INF dream meaning say
 ‘He said, "Yes," that he can tell them the meaning of their dreams.’

Joseph:65

K' [o ka siko nin ɲafɔ ale ɲε na.]
 QUOT 3PL JUSS dream DEM.SG tell.it.forward LOG in.front.of POST
 ‘(He told them) that they should tell him their dream.’

Joseph:66

Fɔɔ gwɛrela k' a ka siko ɲafɔ Yusufu ɲε na.
 first approach.PST INF 3SG POSS dream tell.it.forward N in.front.of POST
 ‘The first one came over and told his dream to Joseph.’

Joseph:67

Yusufu y' a fɔ a ɲε na ko, [I ka siko nin
 N PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 2SG POSS dream DEM.SG

kɔɔ le ye ko [yanni tile saba, masace bena mɔɔ bila ka
meaning PRT.FOC COP QUOT before day three king FUT person send INF

na ka n' i bɔ kaso ra ka taa n' i ye.]]
come INF come 2SG take.out prison POST INF go with 2SG POST

‘Joseph told him, "The meaning of your dream is that in less than three days, Pharaoh will send people who will come and take you out of prison and go with you.”

Joseph:68

[[I bena kɔsegi ka taa to ka baara ke masace fe.]]
2SG FUT return INF go continue INF work do king at.the.place.of
"You will return and keep working for Pharaoh.”

Joseph:69

Filanan fana y' a ka siko fɔ.
second also PST 3SG POSS dream say
‘The second one also told him his dream.’

Joseph:70

A y' ale ta kɔɔ fɔ a je na, ko [Yanni tile saba,
3SG PST 3SG.FOC POSS meaning say 3SG face POST QUOT before day three

masace bena mɔɔ bila ka n' i bɔ ka t' i faga.]
king FUT person send INF come 2SG take.out INF go 2SG kill

‘He told him the meaning of his (dream), saying, "Before three days have passed, the king will send someone to come, take you out, and kill you.”

Joseph:71

Don, a tun kera o cogo lo ra fana.
so 3SG PFV happen.PST DEM manner PRT.FOC POST also
‘So, it also happened that way.’

Joseph:72

O nana nin fɔɔ nin bɔ ka to ka taa n' a
3PL come.PST DEM.SG first DEM.SG take.out INF continue INF go with 3SG

ye masace ka luu kɔɔ.
POST king POSS courtyard inside

‘They came and took out this first one and went with him to Pharaoh's courtyard.’

Joseph:73

Yusufu y' a fɔ a je na, ko [n' a sera o yɔɔ
N PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT if 3SG arrive.PST DEM place

la,] k' [a kana jina ale kɔ,] k' [a ka taa ale
POST QUOT 3SG IMP/JUSS.NEG forget LOG after QUOT 3SG JUSS go LOG

koo fɔ masace je na, min ye Farauna ye.]
affair say king in.front.of POST COMP COP pharaoh COP

‘Joseph told him that if he arrived there, that he shouldn't forget him, that he should go and tell the king, who is Pharaoh, about him.’

Joseph:74

N' a taara se, k' [a ka ale koo fɔ Farauna je na.]
if 3SG go.PST arrive QUOT 3SG JUSS LOG affair say pharaoh in.front.of POST
‘If he got there, he should tell Pharaoh about him (Joseph).’

Joseph:75

Oh.

PRT

‘Oh.’

Joseph:76

Ale bɔra tuma min na dɔrɔn, a taara kenema ka ta' a
3SG.FOC go.out.PST time COMP POST only 3SG go.PST outside INF go 3SG

diya sɔrɔ yen ka ban dɔrɔn, a jinana Yusufu kɔ kasobon
pleasing.thing get there INF finish only 3SG forget.PST N after prison

na.

POST

‘As soon as he got out, he went outside and rejoiced in what he received, promptly forgetting about about Joseph in prison.’

Joseph:77

Yusufu tora o yɔrɔ la ten, Ala tor' a masayara.
N remain.PST DEM place POST thus God remain.PST 3SG kingship

‘Joseph stayed in that place like that; God continued to reign.’

Joseph:78

Farauna yerε lo sikora sisan.
pharaoh himself PRT.FOC dream.PST now

‘It was Pharaoh himself who dreamed now.’

Joseph:79

A ye siko min ke, a ti siko nin kɔrɔ lɔn.
3SG PST dream COMP do 3SG NEG dream DEM.SG meaning know

‘The dream that he had, he didn't know the meaning of this dream.’

Joseph:80

A t' a lɔn [mɔgɔ min ben' a siko nin kɔrɔ fɔ
3SG NEG.COP 3SG know person COMP FUT 3SG dream DEM.SG meaning say

ale jε na.]

LOG in.front.of POST

‘He didn't know who would be able to tell him the meaning of this dream.’

Joseph:81

W'olo, cε dɔ nin hakilijigira sisan, ko, [Ah,] ko [cε
that's.why man certain DEM.SG remember.PST now QUOT ah QUOT man

dɔ be kasobon na ke, a tɔgɔ ko [Yusufu,] k' [a be
certain COP prison POST PRT 3SG name QUOT N QUOT 3SG PRS

siko kɔrɔ fɔ mɔgɔ jε na.]

dream meaning say person in.front.of POST

‘So this man remembered now and he said, "Ahh..." that a certain man is in prison, his name is Joseph; that he tells people the meaning of dreams.’

Joseph:82

Farauna fɔ k' [o ka Yusufu weele ka na.]

pharaoh say QUOT 3PL JUSS N call INF come

‘Pharaoh said that they should call Joseph and tell him to come.’

Joseph:83

O taara Yusufu weele ka na sisan, ka n' a jininga.
3PL go.PST N call INF come now INF come 3SG ask
'They went and called Joseph and now came and asked him.'

Joseph:84

A ko, [ɔwɔ.]
3SG QUOT yes
'He said yes.'

Joseph:85

K' [ale be siko kɔɔ lɔn.]
QUOT LOG PRS dream meaning know
'(He said) that he knows the meaning of dreams.'

Joseph:86

Don, Farauna y' a ka siko fɔ Yusufu jɛ na.
so pharaoh PST 3SG POSS dream say N in.front.of POST
'So Pharaoh told Joseph his dream.'

Joseph:87

Yusufu y' a fɔ a jɛ na ko [i ka siko nin
N PST 3SG say 3SG in.front.of POST QUOT 2SG POSS dream DEM.SG

kɔɔ le ye ko [saan wolonwula nata, sanji juman bena na.]]
meaning PRT.FOC COP QUOT year seven following rain good FUT come
'Joseph told him, "The meaning of your dream is that for the next seven years, good rains will come.'

Joseph:88

[[Suman bena jɛ foo haali.]]
grain FUT make.good until very.much
'"There will be very good harvests.'

Joseph:89

[[Bɛɛ nisɔn bena diya.]]
ALL mood FUT to.be.happy
'"Everyone will be happy.'

Joseph:90

[[Nga, saan wolonwula o kɔfɛ, sanji tena na, jaa bena kɛ,
but year seven 3PL after rain NEG.FUT come drought FUT happen

kɔngɔ bena na.]]
hunger FUT come

'"But, the next seven years, rain won't come; there will be a drought and a famine.'

Joseph:91

[[Kɔngɔ lo bena jigi jamana kɔnɔ.]]
hunger PRT.FOC FUT descend country inside
'"Everyone will be hungry (literally, hunger will descend among the people)."

Joseph:92

Masacɛ ko [Hen!]
king QUOT really
'Pharaoh said, "Really!?!"

Joseph:93

Ko k' [olo bena ke wa?]
 QUOT QUOT that's.what FUT happen Q
 '(He said), "That's what's going to happen?"'

Joseph:94

Ko [ɔwɔ.]
 QUOT yes
 '(Joseph said), "Yes."'

Joseph:95

Ko [ni ten lo,] ko [ne kanɲe ka mun lo ke do?]
 QUOT if thus COP QUOT 1SG must INF what PRT.FOC do PRT
 '(Pharaoh said), "If that's the case," (saying that) "what do I need to do?"'

Joseph:96

W'olo Yusufu y' a fɔ a ye ko, [I kanɲe ka bondo]
 that's.why N PST 3SG say 3SG POST QUOT 2SG must INF granary

babaw lo ɔ ka sumanw san yɔrɔ bɛɛ k' a mara, walisa,
 big~big.PL PRT.FOC build INF grain.PL buy place ALL INF 3SG keep so.that

ni kɔngɔ nana jigi tuma min na nin, i be to ka
 if hunger come.PST descend time COMP POST DEM.SG 2SG PRS continue INF

o suman nunu feere ka se ka wari sɔrɔ.]
 DEM grain DEM.PL sell INF be.able INF money get

'So Joseph told him, "You need to build big granaries and buy and keep grain from everywhere, so that when the famine comes, you can sell this grain and get money."'

Joseph:97

Masace ko [Eh!]
 king QUOT eh
 'Pharaoh said, "Eh!"'

Joseph:98

Ko [me,] ko [ale bena jɔn lo sɔrɔ min be o koo nunu]
 QUOT but QUOT LOG FUT who PRT.FOC get COMP PRS DEM thing DEM.PL

bɛɛ labɛn?]
 ALL prepare

'He_i said that, "But," that, "who will he_i have to prepare all these things?"'

Joseph:99

Yusufu ko [ah,] k' [ale kɔni be se k' o koo tɔgɔ nin]
 N QUOT ah QUOT LOG as.for PRS be.able INF DEM thing name DEM.SG

labɛn.]
 prepare

'Joseph_j said, "Ah!" that he himself_j could prepare all that.'

Joseph:100

Ko [n' a be se k' ale bila, ale k' o koo labɛn.]
 QUOT if 3SG PRS be.able INF LOG put LOG INF DEM thing prepare

'He_j said that if he_i could put him_j in that position of authority, he_j could prepare for that.'

Joseph:101

Don, Masace fana sɔnna.
 so king also agree.PST
 ‘So, Pharaoh also agreed.’

Joseph:102

A y’ a bila.
 3SG PST 3SG put
 ‘He put him in that position of authority.’

Joseph:103

A y’ o koow nunu laben ka sumanw san ka bondow fa fa
 3SG PST DEM thing.PL DEM.PL prepare INF grain.PL buy INF granary.PL fill fill

fa fa faan bæε fε.
 fill fill direction ALL at.the.place.of
 ‘He prepared those things and bought grain and filled granaries all the way up all over the place.’

Joseph:104

Don, kɔngɔ nana jigi sisan.
 so hunger come.PST descend now
 ‘So, now the famine came.’

Joseph:105

Kɔngɔ tuma nana se.
 hunger time come.PST arrive
 ‘The time of the famine arrived.’

Joseph:106

Jamana tɔ nunu bæε be to ka na suman san Farauna
 country other DEM.PL ALL PRS continue INF come grain buy pharaoh

fε, min Yusufu lo be o koo nunu kuun na.
 at.the.place.of COMP N PRT.FOC COP DEM thing DEM.PL head POST
 ‘People from all the other countries kept coming and buying grain from Pharaoh; it was Joseph who was in charge of all of this.’

Joseph:107

O bæε be na ni wari ye ka na sannike Yusufu fε
 3PL ALL PRS come with money POST INF come buy N at.the.place.of

sisan.
 now
 ‘They all came with money and came and bought from Joseph now.’

Joseph:108

O tor’ o la ka t’ o ra.
 3PL continue.PST DEM POST INF continue DEM POST
 ‘They kept at it and kept at it.’

Joseph:109

Yusufu ka gwasomɔgɔw yεε.
 N POSS family.member.PL PRT
 ‘Joseph's family themselves.’

Joseph:110

A ka somɔgɔw nunu, olu ka suman nana ban.
 3SG POSS family.member.PL DEM.PL 3PL.FOC POSS grain come.PST finish
 ‘His family, their grain ran out.’

Joseph:111

O fana desidera k’ [o mɔgɔ tɔw be taa suman san yɔɔ min,]
 3PL also decide.PST QUOT 3PL person other.PL PRS go grain buy place COMP

k’ [olu fana bena taa sanike o yɔɔ la.]
 QUOT 3PL.FOC also FUT go shop DEM place POST

‘They also decided that the place that everyone else was going to buy grain, that they would also go and buy some there.’

Joseph:112

O fana junna sisan ka taa, ka taa suman san.
 3PL also carry.on.head.PST now INF go INF go grain buy

‘They got together now (literally, they also carried on their heads now) and went and went and bought grain.’

Joseph:113

O taara se, Yusufu y’ o ye k’ o lɔn, nga olu tun ma
 3PL go.PST arrive N PST 3PL see INF 3PL know but 3PL.FOC PFV NEG.PST

Yusufu lɔn, sabula o jɛna k’ [a sara,] k’ [a te tuguni
 N know because 3PL think QUOT 3SG die.PST QUOT 3SG NEG.COP again

yɛɛ.]
 PRT

‘When they arrived, Joseph saw them and knew them, but they didn't know Joseph because they thought that he had died and that he wasn't around anymore.’

Joseph:114

Yusufu y’ o ye k’ o lɔn.
 N PST 3PL see INF 3PL know

‘Joseph saw them and knew them.’

Joseph:115

Yusufu y’ o ka suman feere o ma, ka tila k’ a fɔ o
 N PST 3PL POSS grain sell 3PL POST INF finish INF 3SG say 3PL

jɛ na, ko [Alu min ye min ye, n’ aw ko aw be
 in.front.of POST QUOT 2PL.FOC COMP COP COMP COP if 2PL QUOT 2PL PRS

na sɪjɛ wɛɛ, n’ aw ma na n’ aw dɔgɔnin Benjamin
 come time other if 2PL NEG.PST come with 2PL younger.sibling N

ye, hali ni wari b’ aw bolo, ne te suman di aw ma, foo
 POST even if money COP 2PL hand 1SG NEG grain give 2PL POST until

Benjamin ka ye yan yɔɔ.]
 N INF see here place

‘Joseph sold them their grain, then continued by saying, "The people that you are, if you say that you're coming next time, if you don't come with your younger sibling

Benjamin, even if you have money in your hands, I will not give you grain; Benjamin has to be seen here first."

Joseph:116

[A kɔni.]

3SG as.for

"Really."

Joseph:117

[N'o te, suman ti di aw ma.]

otherwise grain NEG give 2PL POST

'If not, grain won't be given to them.'

Joseph:118

Ka sɔrɔ, Benjamin koo ka di o face ye.

PRT N affair INF please 3PL father POST

'And yet, Benjamin was loved by his father.'

Joseph:119

Face te fe Benjamin ka bɔ ale gerefe, hali fitinin.

father NEG want N INF go.out 3SG.FOC beside even small

'The father doesn't want Benjamin to leave his side, even a little bit.'

Joseph:120

A be siranna, o ye Yusufu ke cogo min, o kana na
3SG PRS fear.PROG 3PL PST N do manner COMP 3PL IMP/JUSS.NEG come

Benjamin fana ke o cogo nin na.

N also do DEM manner DEM.SG POST

'He is afraid; what they did to Joseph, they don't come and do the same thing to Benjamin.'

Joseph:121

O taara.

3PL go.PST

'They went.'

Joseph:122

Ka taa suman nin dumu, suman nin banna sisan.

INF go grain DEM.SG eat grain DEM.SG finish.PST now

'And went and ate this grain; now this grain is finished.'

Joseph:123

Kɔngɔ be.

hunger COP

'They are hungry.'

Joseph:124

O t' a lɔn [o bena ke cogoya min na.]

3PL NEG 3SG know 3PL FUT do way COMP POST

'They don't know how they're going to do it.'

Joseph:125

Me, n' o tun taara, ni Benjamin t' o ko, Yusufu tena son
but if 3PL PFV go.PST if N NEG.COP 3PL after N NEG.FUT agree

ka suman d' o ma.

INF grain give 3PL POST

'But, if they went and Benjamin wasn't with them, Joseph won't be willing to give

them grain.'

Joseph:126

O ye kuma nafɔ faceman jε na.
3PL PST speech tell.it.forward father.figure in.front.of POST
'They recounted this information to the father.'

Joseph:127

Faceman tun konna ka muruti.
father.figure PFV start.PST INF rebel
'The father started by rebelling (ie, saying an outright "no.")'

Joseph:128

Faceman nana ye, [Ah, kɔngɔ be yen.]
father.figure come.PST see ah hunger COP there
'The father came to see, "Ahh, there is a famine here."'

Joseph:129

[An ben' a kε cogo di?]
1PL FUT 3SG do how?
'"What are we going to do?"'

Joseph:130

Juda y' a fɔ faceman jε na, ko [ni ten lo, ni
N PST 3SG say father.figure in.front.of POST QUOT if thus PRT.FOC if

faceman be sigasigara olu ra le ye, a ka to
father.figure PRS hesitate.PROG 3PL.FOC POST PRT.FOC POST 3SG JUSS allow

Benjamin be tugu olu kɔ, nga ale ben' a daa di faceman
N PRS follow 3PL.FOC after but LOG FUT 3SG mouth give father.figure

ma.]
POST

'Judah said to his father that if that's the case, if his father is hesitating about them, he should allow Benjamin to come with them (literally, to follow them), but he (Judah) will give his word to his father.'

Joseph:131

[Ni koo dɔ ye Benjamin sɔrɔ sira kan, n' olu kɔsegira ka na,
if thing certain PST N find road on if 3PL.FOC return.PST INF come

koo min faceman diya, a k' o kε ale la.]
thing COMP father.figure please 3SG JUSS DEM do LOG POST

'If something happened to Benjamin along the way, if they returned and came home, whatever pleases his father, he should do it to him.'

Joseph:132

Ko [n'o te, ale bena Benjamin kɔrɔsi ka taa o taga nunu
QUOT otherwise LOG FUT N watch.over INF go 3PL going(n) DEM.PL

na foo ka na o kɔsegi.]
POST until INF come 3PL return(n)

'(He said) that anyway, he will watch over Benjamin, going from their departure all the way until coming to their return.'

Joseph:133

Ko [foyi tena Benjamin sɔɔɔ.]
 QUOT nothing NEG.FUT N get
 ‘(He said) that nothing will happen to Benjamin.’

Joseph:134

K’ [ale ben’ a daa di face ma.]
 QUOT LOG FUT 3SG mouth give father POST
 ‘(He said) that he will make a promise to his father.’

Joseph:135

Don, komi Juda fana, a y’ o fɔ ni kɔɔɔ juman lo ye,
 so because N also 3SG PST DEM say with inside good PRT.FOC POST

face fana sɔɔɔna ka Benjamin di o ma.
 father also agree.PST INF N give 3PL POST

‘So, since Judah said that with a good heart, his father agreed to send Benjamin with them (literally, to give Benjamin to them).’

Joseph:136

O tugura ka taa se sumansanyɔɔɔ la.
 3PL follow.PST INF go arrive grain.buying.place POST

‘They went (literally, they followed and went and arrived) to the place where you buy grain.’

Joseph:137

Yusufu ye Benjamin ye tuma min na, a nisɔɔɔ diyara, sabula a
 N PST N see time COMP POST 3SG mood please.PST because 3SG

y’ a dɔɔɔɔnin ye.
 PST 3SG younger.sibling see

‘When Joseph saw Benjamin, he was happy, since he saw his younger sibling.’

Joseph:138

A y’ o servi sisan, k’ o ka suman don don o kuun.
 3SG PST 3PL serve now INF 3PL POSS grain put.in put.in 3PL head

‘He served them food now and gave them each their grain.’

Joseph:139

O nana ni wari min ye nin, o sɔkɔra k’ o don
 3PL come.PST with money COMP POST DEM.SG 3PL return.PST INF DEM put.in

o bɔɔɔɔnin kɔɔɔɔ tuguni.
 3PL sack.DEM.SG inside again

‘The money that they came with, they went back and put it back in their sacks.’

Joseph:140

Nga Benjamin ka bɔɔɔɔnin kɔɔɔɔ, jifilen sɔngɔ gwɛle dɔ tun
 but N POSS sack.DEM.SG inside water.cup price expensive certain PFV

be Yusufu fɛ.
 COP N at.the.place.of

‘But in Benjamin's sack, ... Joseph had an expensive water glass.’

Joseph:141

Yusufu y' o jifilen nin ta, k' a don Benjamin ka bɔɔ
 N PST DEM water.cup DEM.SG take INF 3SG put.in N POSS sack

kɔɔ.
 inside

‘Joseph took that water glass and put it in Benjamin's sack.’

Joseph:142

Ka sɔɔ, Ezipiti ka sariya ra, ni e mɔɔ min ye sonyanike, o kanɛ
 PRT Egypt POSS law POST if 2SG person COMP PST steal DEM must

k' i minɛ k' i bila, i be faso baara kɛ o yɔɔ nin
 INF 2SG take INF 2SG put 2SG PRS hometown work do DEM place DEM.SG

na.
 POST

‘You see, in Egyptian law, whoever steals gets taken and put in prison and they have to work there.’

Joseph:143

Bon.
 PRT

‘(That was background information, now back to where I left off...)’

Joseph:144

O jifilen nin tara k' a don Benjamin kuun o cogo
 DEM water.cup DEM.SG was.taken INF 3SG put.in N head DEM manner

nin na.
 DEM.SG POST

‘That water glass was taken and put among Benjamin's things in that way.’

Joseph:145

O ye minanw jun.
 3PL PST luggage.PL carry.on.head

‘They packed up their supplies (literally, they put luggage on their heads).’

Joseph:146

O be tagara dɔɔn, Yusufu sinna k' a fɔ ko [ale
 3PL PRS go.PROG only N start.immediately.PST INF 3SG say QUOT LOG

ka jifilen tununa.]
 POSS water.cup disappear.PST

‘As soon as they started out, Joseph suddenly said that his water glass was missing.’

Joseph:147

Jifilen tununa, o fɔ ko [siga si t' a ra, mɔɔ
 water.cup disappear.PST 3PL say QUOT doubt none NEG.COP 3SG POST person

minw taatɔ le ye nin ye, o lo be sɔɔ, o
 COMP.PL go.PRS.PRT PRT.FOC COP DEM.SG COP 3PL PRT.FOC PRS have 3PL

ye jifilen nin ta.
PST water.cup DEM.SG take

‘With the water glass missing, they said that truly, the people who just left, they must be the ones who took the water glass.’

Joseph:148

Don, a ko [soladasiw ka tugu o kɔ k' o fuye.]
so 3SG QUOT soldier.PL JUSS follow 3PL after INF 3PL search
‘So he told the soldiers to follow them and search them.’

Joseph:149

O tukur' u kɔ, k' o fuye sisan, ka taa sɔɔ, jifilen nin
3PL follow.PST 3PL after INF 3PL search now INF go find water.cup DEM.SG

be Benjamin lo kuun.
COP N PRT.FOC head

‘So they followed them and searched them, and came to find that the water glass was in Benjamin's things.’

Joseph:150

Don, Benjamin lo kanje ka kaso nin ke sisan.
so N PRT.FOC must INF prison DEM.SG do now
‘So now Benjamin has to go to prison.’

Joseph:151

Ah!

ah

‘Ah!’

Joseph:152

Juda y' a ye, [ale y' a daa di faceman ma.]
N PST 3SG see LOG PST 3SG mouth give father.figure POST

‘Judah remembered (literally, Judah saw) that he had given his word to his father.’

Joseph:153

[Ni a fɔra ko Benjamin ka sigi kasobon na, ale bena taa mun
if 3SG say.PASS QUOT N JUSS sit prison POST LOG FUT go what

lo fɔ face ye?]
PRT.FOC say father POST

‘If it's said that Benjamin has to sit in prison, what will he go tell his father?’

Joseph:154

W'olo Juda gwerɛla Yusufu ra, k' a nafɔ Yusufu
that's.why N approach.PST N POST INF 3SG tell.it.forward N

ne na, ko [ni ten lo, Yusufu k' ale mine, ale be
in.front.of POST QUOT if thus PRT.FOC N JUSS LOG take LOG PRS

Benjamin ka faso baara ke, e pui ka Benjamin labila.]
N POSS hometown work do and.then JUSS N let.go

‘And so Judah_i approached Joseph_j and told Joseph_j that if that's the case, Joseph_j should take him_i and he_i will do Benjamin's job in the prison, and then he_j should let Benjamin go.’

Joseph:155

[N'o te, ni Benjamin tora yen, olu t' a lɔn olu bena
 otherwise if N remain.PST there 3PL.FOC NEG 3SG know 3PL.FOC FUT

taa min fɔ facɛman jɛ na.]
 go COMP say father.figure in.front.of POST

'If not, if Benjamin stayed there, they don't know what they'd go and tell their father.'

Joseph:156

Yusufu y' a ye sisan ko [Ah,] ko [ale kɔrɔw nunu,] ko
 N PST 3SG see now QUOT ah QUOT LOG older.sibling.PL DEM.PL QUOT

[o kɛra hakilitigiw ye.]
 3PL become.PST wise.person.PL POST

'Now Joseph saw, "Ah...," that these older siblings of his, that they had become wise.'

Joseph:157

[O ye hakili sɔrɔ sisan.]

3PL PST wisdom have now

'They had gained wisdom now.'

Joseph:158

Don, a y' a fɔ soladasiw nunu jɛ na k' [o bɛɛ ka
 so 3SG PST 3SG say soldier.PL DEM.PL in.front.of POST QUOT 3PL ALL JUSS

bɔ.]
 go.out

'So he said to these soldiers that they should all leave.'

Joseph:159

O bɛɛ bɔra kɛnɛma sisan, Yusufu y' a yɛɛ yira a kɔrɔw
 3PL ALL go.out.PST outside now N PST 3SG self show 3SG older.sibling.PL

ra, an' a dɔgɔɛ.
 POST and 3SG younger.brother

'When they all went outside, Joseph revealed himself to his older siblings and his younger brother.'

Joseph:160

Depui a y' a yɛɛ yira ten, olu tun kɔnna k' a siran.
 since 3SG PST 3SG self show thus 3PL.FOC PFV start.PST INF 3SG fear

'Since he revealed himself to him like this, they began to be afraid.'

Joseph:161

Olu siranna, a sɔkɔra k' o hakilisigi, ko [o kana
 3PL.FOC fear.PST 3SG return.PST INF 3PL reassure QUOT 3PL IMP/JUSS.NEG

siran,] k' [ale tena foyi kɛ o ra,] k' [ale yafara o
 fear QUOT LOG NEG.FUT nothing do 3PL POST QUOT LOG forgive.PST 3PL

ye koo mun bɛɛ kɛ ale la ka tɛmɛ.]
 PST thing what ALL do LOG POST INF PASS.by

'They were afraid; in response he reassured them, saying that he won't do anything to them, that he forgave everything that they did to him in the past.'

Joseph:162

[*Sabula o ye kojugu min ke ale ra, Ala y' a ta k' a*
 because 3PL PST bad.thing COMP do LOG POST God PST 3SG take INF 3SG

yelema k' a ke kojuman ye, olu ye nin ye bii bii
 change INF 3SG make good.thing POST 3PL.FOC COP DEM.SG COP today today

nin na ten.]

DEM.SG POST thus

'Because of the bad thing they did to him, God took it and changed it and made it into a good thing and they are like this today.'

Joseph:163

[*Don, o kana siran foyi je.*]

so 3PL IMP/JUSS.NEG fear nothing in.front.of

'So, they shouldn't be afraid of anything.'

Joseph:164

O fana, o ma siran, o sigira o y' o ka balimanyaw ke
 3PL also 3PL NEG.PST fear 3PL sit.PST 3PL PST 3PL POSS brotherhood.PL do

ke.

do

'And so they weren't afraid; they sat enjoyed their brotherhood.'

Joseph:165

Yusufu sorola k' a fo o je na sisan, ko [ale face
 N to.be.able.PST INF 3SG say 3PL in.front.of POST now QUOT LOG father

do?]

how.is?

'Joseph was now able to ask them how his father was doing.'

Joseph:166

O ko [a be.]

3PL QUOT 3SG COP

'They said that he's fine.'

Joseph:167

Ko [a ka kene wa?]

QUOT 3SG linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective to.be.in.good.health Q

'(He asked), "Is he healthy?"'

Joseph:168

Ko [a ka kene.]

QUOT 3SG linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective to.be.in.good.health

'(They answered), "He is healthy."'

Joseph:169

K' [o ka taa faceman ta ka na n' a ye oh, o bena
 QUOT 3PL JUSS go father.figure take INF come with 3SG POST PRT 3PL FUT

sigi Ezipiti foo ka taa kongɔ nin ban.]

sit Egypt until INF go hunger DEM.SG finish

'(He said) that they should go get their father and come back with him, then they'll live in Egypt until the famine is over.'

Joseph:170

[Ah ha.]

PRT

‘Yup.’

Joseph:171

[N'o te, kɔŋɔ nin bena taa jɛ foo saan duuru.]

otherwise hunger DEM.SG FUT go forward until year five

‘If not, this famine will continue for another five years.’

Joseph:172

Don, sanni o ka to takana takanara, ka
so before 3PL INF continue go.and.come go.and.coming.abstract.noun INF

to ka na suman san ka taga n' a ye, ko [faceman ka ka
continue INF come grain buy INF go if 3SG POST QUOT father.figure JUSS

na, o bɛɛ be jen ka sigi jɔŋɔn fɛ, foo ka saan
come 3PL ALL PRS unite INF sit each.other at.the.place.of until INF year

duuru nin tɔɔ ban.]

five DEM.SG rest finish

‘So before they keep going back and forth, and keep buying grain and going home with it, he said that their father should come, they'll all get together and live together until these five years are over.’

Joseph:173

[Ni kɔŋɔ banna, haya, o bɛɛ b' a yɛɛ yaala sisan.]

if hunger finish.PST PRT 3PL ALL PRS 3SG self search now

‘When the famine is over, well, they can all look out for themselves.’

Joseph:174

Ne ka maana be taa yɔɔ min na, ne y' ale bila o yɔɔ
1SG POSS story PRS go place COMP POST 1SG PST 3SG.FOC leave DEM place

la.

POST

‘Where my story goes to, I left it there.’

APPENDIX F

Rachida text

NARR 06 - Rachida

Rachida:1

Ne nana mankan do bo aw ye fana.
1SG come.PST sound certain take.out 2PL POST also
'I came to share some noise with you as well.'

Rachida:2

Ne ye Rachida wolofa bamuso le ye.
1SG COP N birthfather mother PRT.FOC COP
'I am Rachida's birthdad's mom.'

Rachida:3

Bon, Rachida, a nana bana.
PRT N 3SG come.PST get.sick
'Ok, Rachida, she became sick.'

Rachida:4

Cancer bana le tun b' a ra.
cancer illness PRT.FOC PFV COP 3SG POST
'It was cancer that she had.'

Rachida:5

A bi saan fila.
3SG COP year two
'She is two years old.'

Rachida:6

A bi saan fila sisan, an taara n' a ye Bobo
3SG COP year two now 1PL go.PST with 3SG POST Bobo-Dioulasso (N-city)

doktorosoba ra.
hospital.big POST

'Now when she is two years old, we went with her to the hospital in Bobo.'

Rachida:7

Olu ko [cancer le b' a ra, k' a naden fila bæε minε.]
3PL.FOC QUOT cancer PRT.FOC COP 3SG POST INF 3SG eyeball two ALL take
'They said that it was cancer that she had and that it took over both of her eyes.'

Rachida:8

Don, naden fila minenin, olu ko k' [olu bena naden
so eyeball two grab.PST.PTCP 3PL.FOC QUOT QUOT 3PL.FOC FUT eyeball

nin bo.]
DEM.SG take.out

'Now, since it had taken over her two eyes, they said that they would remove this eye.'

Rachida:9

Bon, an y' a parentw ye.
 PRT 1PL COP 3SG relative.PL COP
 'Ok, we're her family.'

Rachida:10

Ne y' a face bamuso ye.
 1SG COP 3SG father mother COP
 'I'm her father's mom.'

Rachida:11

A bamuso bamuso fana be ka fara a bamuso kan.
 3SG mother mother also COP INF add 3SG mother on
 'Her mom's mom is around, and so is her mom.'

Rachida:12

Vremen, an dusuw kɔni tun man diya.
 truly 1PL heart.PL as.for PFV NEG to.be.happy
 'Really, we weren't happy (literally, our hearts were not happy).'

Rachida:13

An dusuw man diya, an imposera, k' [o ka sabari ka jaden
 1PL heart.PL NEG to.be.happy 1PL insist.PST QUOT 3PL JUSS forgive INF eyeball
nin toyi, an bena n' a filake.]
 DEM.SG leave.alone 1PL FUT come 3SG treat.medically
 'Our hearts were not happy; we imposed our will, saying that they should please leave this eye alone, and we'll treat it.'

Rachida:14

An tun b' a miiri, ko [filakeninw kɔfɛ, a bena keneya.]
 1PL PFV PRS 3SG think QUOT treatment.PL after 3SG FUT heal
 'We thought that after we treated it she'd get better.'

Rachida:15

Don, olu ko [posibilite foyi te yen,] ko [foo ka jaden fila
 so 3PL.FOC QUOT possibility none NEG there QUOT until INF eyeball two
le bɔ.]
 PRT.FOC take.out

'So they said that there were no options other than removing both her eyes.'

Rachida:16

Don, an yere tilara tuguni ka wili k' an jun ka taa yen,
 so 1PL self finish.PST again INF get.up INF 1PL carry.on.head INF go there
doktoroso dɔ kunben Mali la, n' o ye Yu ta ye.
 hospital certain meet Mali POST and DEM COP N portion/poss COP
 'So, we ourselves got together again and went to a certain hospital in Mali, which is Yu's hospital.'

Rachida:17

An y' an jun ka taa Yu ta ra, ka taa to ka
 1PL PST 1PL carry.on.head INF go N portion/poss POST INF go continue INF

filakeriw ke.
treatment.PL do

‘We got together (literally, we carried each other on our heads) and went to Yu’s hospital, and went and got treatment.’

Rachida:18

An taara to ka filakeriw ke.
1PL go.PST continue INF treatment.PL do
‘We went and continued to get treatment.’

Rachida:19

Dieu merci.
God thank.you
‘Thank God.’

Rachida:20

A kɔni tun te yelike, n’ an tun m’ a filake fɔlɔ, a
3SG as.for PFV NEG see if 1PL PFV NEG.PST 3SG treat.medically first 3SG

tun te yelike, me an nana to k’ a filake sisan, a
PFV NEG see but 1PL come.PST continue INF 3SG treat.medically now 3SG

tora ka yelike dɔnni dɔnni.
continue.PST INF see little.by.little little.by.little

‘Though at first she couldn’t see, before we treated her she couldn’t see, but as we came and treated her now, she was able to see a little bit.’

Rachida:21

O y’ an labila.
3PL PST 1PL let.go
‘They let us go.’

Rachida:22

An nana Burkina.
1PL come.PST Burkina Faso
‘We came to Burkina Faso.’

Rachida:23

Don, Burkina sisan, o ye rendez-vous di, ko [kalo fila nin
so Burkina Faso now 3PL PST meeting give QUOT month two DEM.SG

kɔ,] ko [an ka na.]
after QUOT 1PL JUSS come

‘So, back in Burkina Faso now, they gave us a meeting, saying that in two months we should come.’

Rachida:24

Yanni o kalo fila ka se, haya, bana wilila tuguni.
before 3PL month two INF arrive PRT illness rise.up.PST again
‘Before those two months were up, well, the sickness came back again.’

Rachida:25

naden bɔsir’ a la tuguni.
eyeball take.away.PST 3SG POST again
‘Her sight was taken from her again.’

Rachida:26

An junna tuguni ka taa Yu ta ra, ka taa traitementw
 1PL carry.on.head.PST again INF go N portion/poss POST INF go treatment.PL

ke ke.
 do do

‘We got together again (literally, we carried each other on our heads again) and went to Yu's hospital, and went through different treatments.’

Rachida:27

Haya, a nɔɔyara tuguni.
 PRT 3SG get.better.PST again

‘Well, it got better again.’

Rachida:28

An nana.

1PL come.PST

‘We came back.’

Rachida:29

An nana tuguni, bana wilila ka juguya ka naden bε ta.

1PL come.PST again illness rise.up.PST INF worsen INF eyeball ALL take

‘We came back again, the sickness rose up again and got worse and took over all her eyes/sight.’

Rachida:30

A ye naden bε ta sisan, k' a naa bɔsi a ra tuguni, k'
 3SG PST eyeball ALL take now INF 3SG sight take.away 3SG POST again INF

a bana juguya.
 3SG illness worsen

‘Now it took all her eyes/sight, and took her sight from her again, and made the sickness worse.’

Rachida:31

Bamuso tilara tun ka se ka taa n' a ye, o ko [solution
 mother finish.PST again INF be.able INF go with 3SG POST 3PL QUOT solution

foyi te yen,] ko [foo ka naden nin bɔ.]
 none NEG.COP there QUOT until INF eyeball DEM.SG take.out

‘Her mom was able to go back again with her; they said that there was no solution there, except that her eyes be removed.’

Rachida:32

O ye naden kelen bɔ.

3PL PST eyeball one take.out

‘They removed one eye.’

Rachida:33

Haya, o sumana.

PRT DEM cool.PST

‘Well, it got better (literally, it cooled off).’

Rachida:34

O tilara tuguni ka filanan bɔ.

3PL finish.PST again INF second take.out

‘They continued and took out the second one.’

Rachida:35

Haya, deen kera finyentɔ ye.
 PRT child become.PST blind.person POST
 ‘Well, the child became a blind person.’

Rachida:36

Deen kera finyentɔ ye.
 child become.PST blind.person POST
 ‘The child became a blind person.’

Rachida:37

A te yelike.
 3SG NEG see
 ‘She can't see.’

Rachida:38

An ye protejew don a ra.
 1PL PST prosthetic.PL put.in 3SG POST
 ‘We put in prosthetics (fake eyes).’

Rachida:39

O segira ka na rendez-vous were di o kɔfe.
 3PL return.PST INF come meeting other give DEM after
 ‘They came back again and set up another meeting after that.’

Rachida:40

N' an taara, an ka taa, o be taa a laje.
 if 1PL go.PST 1PL JUSS go 3PL PRS go 3SG examine
 ‘If we left, we should come and they'll look at it.’

Rachida:41

Yanni o loon ka se, haya, kuru do wilila ka bo a
 before DEM day INF arrive PRT cyst certain rise.up.PST INF come.out 3SG

teen gerɛn na.
 forehead edge POST

‘Before that day arrived, well, a bump swelled up and came out of the side of her forehead.’

Rachida:42

Kuru wilila ka bo a teen gerɛn na sisan, an taara bo
 cyst rise.up.PST INF come.out 3SG forehead edge POST now 1PL go.PST go.out

n' a ye Bobo doktorosoba ra sisan.
 with 3SG POST Bobo-Dioulasso (N-city) hospital.big POST now

‘This bump swelled up and came out of the side of her forehead, so we went with her to the hospital in Bobo-Dioulasso.’

Rachida:43

O ko [cancer nin lo donna a kuun na.]
 3PL QUOT cancer DEM.SG PRT.FOC enter.PST 3SG head POST
 ‘They said that cancer had gone into her head.’

Rachida:44

[A taara serivo la.]
 3SG go.PST brain POST
 ‘It went into her brain.’

Rachida:45

Cε dɔ ko o loon nin na, ko [fila were t' a
 man certain QUOT DEM day DEM.SG POST QUOT medicine other NEG.COP 3SG

ra ni saya te.]
 POST if death NEG

‘A certain man said that day, that there was no other treatment for it other than death.’

Rachida:46

Don, an tora o sigira sisan, an ma na je min kɔ, haya,
 so 1PL remain.PST DEM sit.abstract.noun now 1PL not.know.what.to.do PRT

deen nin bɔsir' a ra.
 child DEM.SG take.away.PST 3SG POST

‘So while we were sitting there, not knowing what to do, well, the child was taken from us.’

Rachida:47

Ko a be a saan fila le bana nin y' a mine, ka
 QUOT 3SG PRS 3SG year two PRT.FOC illness DEM.SG PST 3SG grab INF

to saan saba, ka na se naani ma, haya, bana ma se
 continue year three INF come arrive four POST PRT illness POST be.able

ka fila kε, deen banna.
 INF medicine do child die.PST

‘(Saying that) when she was two years old, the sickness grabbed hold of her; it continued while she was three and even until she was four; well, the sickness wasn't able to be treated and the child died.’

Rachida:48

Deen bannin kɔ, an y' a sutara; o taara ban
 child die.PST.PTCP after 1PL PST 3SG bury DEM go.PST die

Ouagadougou doktorosoba ra.
 Ouagadougou (N- city) hospital.big POST

‘After the child died, we buried her - she went and died at the hospital in Ouagadougou.’

Rachida:49

Haya, an y' a sutaralike o yɔɔ la doktorosoba ra.
 PRT 1PL PST 3SG bury DEM place POST hospital.big POST

‘Well, we did her burial there at that hospital.’

Rachida:50

Haya, anw nana wili ka sɔkɔ tuguni ka na bɔ
 PRT 1PL come.PST get.up INF return again INF come visit

Bobo yan yɔɔ la.
 Bobo-Dioulasso (N-city) here place POST

‘Well, we got up and came back again and came back to Bobo-Dioulasso here.’

Rachida:51

Ala k' a layɔɔ suma.

God wish.or.blessing.marker 3SG lie.down.place cool

'May God make the ground be cool for her.'

Rachida:52

Ala ka yafa k' a ye.

God wish.or.blessing.marker forgiveness INF 3SG POST

'May God give her forgiveness.'

Rachida:53

Nse.

women's.answer

'(A woman's answer to a blessing.)'

APPENDIX G

Prayer text

NARR 08 - Prayer Lesson

Prayer:1

Ko danabace do lo, minw b' a weele lannikelaba nunu.
QUOT Christian.man certain PRT.FOC COMP.PL PRS 3SG call scholar.big DEM.PL
'It is said that there was a certain man among those called scholars/theologians.'

Prayer:2

A y' a fo ko [wajibi te mɔgɔw ka deelili
3SG PST 3SG say QUOT necessity NEG.COP person.PL INF the.act.of.praying

ke caaman, caaman, parce que] ko [Ala yeɛ b' a laɲini nunu
become a.lot a.lot because QUOT God self PRS 3SG request DEM.PL

ta ln.]

portion/poss know

'He said that it's not necessary for people to pray a lot because God himself knows your requests.'

Prayer:3

Ko don, sababu te, don, tuma beɛ, a b' a fo a ka kalandenw
QUOT so reason NEG so time ALL 3SG PRS 3SG say 3SG POSS student.PL

ye, bon, [a ma ke wajibi a be deelili ke
POST PRT 3SG NEG.PST do necessity 3SG PRS the.act.of.praying become

caaman.]

a.lot

'He said, "So, it's not a reason" ... so, all the time, he tells his students that it's not necessary to pray a lot.'

Prayer:4

Don sisan, Ala be fe k' a kɔɔɔ tuma min ni, a y' a ka
so now God PRS want INF 3SG test time COMP POST 3SG PST 3SG POSS

dence yeɛ lo ci ka na a fe, ka na fo ko
son self PRT.FOC send INF come 3SG at.the.place.of INF come say QUOT

[Ne face, ne be fe ka taa ke sulaman ye.]

1SG father 1SG PRS want INF go become Muslim POST

'So now, when God wanted to test him, He sent his own son to come to him and come and say, "My father, I want to go and become a Muslim."'

Prayer:5

[O be ne kuun li, haya, ne be ke sulaman ye.]
3PL PRS 1SG head shave PRT 1SG PRS become Muslim POST
"They'll shave my head. There you go! I'll be a Muslim."

Prayer:6

O koo nin magayara a dusu la kosobe.
DEM thing DEM.SG touch.PST 3SG heart POST very.much
'This really touched him to the core.'

Prayer:7

A desera ka don deelili la - tile fila!
3SG give.in.PST INF go.in the.act.of.praying POST - day two
'He had no choice but to enter into prayer - for two days!'

Prayer:8

A be deeli jan ba ba nunu, a be deelili ba baw
3SG PRS prayer long big big DEM.PL 3SG PRS the.act.of.praying big big.PL

nunu na.
DEM.PL POST

'He was praying big prayers, really big prayers.'

Prayer:9

A tile filanan nin, deen nana fo ko [Ne face, ne tena
3SG day second DEM.SG child come.PST say QUOT 1SG father 1SG NEG.FUT

ke sulaman ye tugu.]
become Muslim POST close

'On the second day, his son came and said, "My father, I won't become a Muslim anymore."

Prayer:10

A ko [Mun na?]

3SG QUOT why
'He said, "Why?"'

Prayer:11

Ko [non,] ko [fen do magara ne dusu la, ko [ne
QUOT no QUOT thing certain touch.PST 1SG heart POST QUOT 1SG

kana ke sulaman ye.]]
IMP/JUSS.NEG become Muslim POST

'He said, "No, I felt something saying that I shouldn't be a Muslim.'

Prayer:12

[Ko [chretienya ka ni.]]

QUOT Christianity to.be.good
"It said that Christianity is good."

Prayer:13

Don, kabini o loon nin, haya, a y' a lon ko [ale yere tun
so since DEM day DEM.SG PRT 3SG PST 3SG know QUOT LOG self PFV

be a ka danabaw tow nunu bilara fili la,] ko [ka
PRS 3SG POSS Christian.PL other.PL DEM.PL put.PST error POST QUOT INF

deelili *ke* *nin,* *a* *ka* *ni* *kosɔbe* *danaba* *nunu*
the.act.of.praying become DEM.SG 3SG to.be.good very.much Christian DEM.PL

na.]

POST

‘So, from that day on, there you have it! He knew that it was he was leading the other Christians astray and that prayer is actually really good for Christians.’

APPENDIX H

Tears text

NARR 09 Zirin 1 - Funeral Tears

Tears:1

Zirin zirin.
folktale folktale
'Folktale, folktale.'

Tears:2

Ne y' a ta suruku ni sonsannin ye.
1SG PST 3SG take hyena and rabbit POST
'It is about Hyena and Rabbit (literally, I took it on Hyena and Rabbit - formulaic folktale beginning).'

Tears:3

Sonsannin ko suruku ma k' [ale bamuso sara,] ko [suruku ka
rabbit QUOT hyena POST QUOT LOG mother die.PST QUOT hyena JUSS

na o ta bamuso sanga na.]
come 3PL POSS mother death/funeral POST

'Rabbit_i told Hyena_j that his_i mother died, that Hyena should come to their mother's funeral.'

Tears:4

O taatɔ sira la, sira ka jan.
3PL go.PRS.PRT road POST road linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective far
'As they went out, the road was very long.'

Tears:5

O be taara, o be taara, o te sera.
3PL PRS go.PROG 3PL PRS go.PROG 3PL NEG arrive.PROG
'They are going, they are going, they aren't getting there.'

Tears:6

Suruku ko sonsannin ma ko [bili yɔrɔ ka
hyena QUOT rabbit POST QUOT still place linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective

jan?]
far

'Hyena said to Rabbit, that, "Is it still a long way off?"'

Tears:7

Sonsannin ko [ɔnhɔn,] ko [yɔrɔ bili ka jan.]
rabbit QUOT yes QUOT place still linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective far
'Rabbit said that yes, that it is still a long way off.'

Tears:8

O be tagara, o be tagara.
3PL PRS go.PROG 3PL PRS go.PROG
'They are going, they are going.'

Tears:9

Suruku be bunteli ye sira la, o y'a sɔɔ sonsannin be na
hyena PRS scorpion see road POST PRT rabbit PRS in.front.of

fɛ.
at.the.place.of

'Hyena sees Scorpion along the road; now Rabbit is in front.'

Tears:10

Suruku ko bunteni ma, ko [ele fɛɛn fitinin fana mun yaalala
hyena QUOT scorpion POST QUOT 2SG.FOC thing small also what search.PROG

mɔɔ seen kɔɔ?]
person foot under

'Hyena said to Scorpion, that, "What are you small thing looking for among people's feet?"'

Tears:11

Ko [a to n k' o ta, k' o fili n daa ra.]
QUOT 3SG allow 1SG INF DEM take INF DEM throw 1SG mouth POST

'He said that, "Let me take you and throw you in my mouth."'

Tears:12

Suruku ye bunteni ta k' a fili a daa ra.
hyena PST scorpion take INF 3SG throw 3SG mouth POST

'Hyena took Scorpion and threw him in his mouth.'

Tears:13

A ye bunteni cin.
3SG PST scorpion bite

'He bit down on Scorpion.'

Tears:14.1

Ahh!

ahh

'Ahh!'

Tears:14.2

A kera baara ye.
3SG become.PST work POST

'It was a problem (literally, it became work).'

Tears:15

A ko [fɛɛn fitinin fana be se ka mɔɔ cin wa?]
3SG QUOT thing small also PRS be.able INF person bite Q

'He (asked) that, "Can a little thing also bite people?"'

Tears:16

A ko sonsannin ma sisan, ko [komi olu be taara, o te
3SG QUOT rabbit POST now QUOT because 3PL.FOC PRS go.PROG 3PL NEG

sera ka ye, ale bena, komi a bamuso be sara, ale bena
arrive.PROG yet LOG FUT because 3SG mother PRS die.PROG LOG FUT

kasi damine yan sanni o ka se sangayɔɔ la.]
cry begin here before 3PL INF arrive funeral.place POST

‘He_i said to Rabbit_j now, that since they_{i&j} are going, they_{i&j} are not yet arriving, he_i will, since his_j mother is dying, he_i will start crying here before they_{i&j} arrive at the place of the death.’

Tears:17

Zirin zirin, ne y’ a ta yɔɔ min na, ne y’ a bila yan.
folktale folktale 1SG PST 3SG take place COMP POST 1SG PST 3SG put here
‘Folktale, folktale, where I took it, I’m leaving it here (formulaic folktale ending).’

APPENDIX I

Six text

Six:1.1

Siirin siirin.
folktale folktale
'Folktale, folktale.'

Six:1.2

Ne y' a bila siseden ani tori.
1SG PST 3SG put chick and toad
'It is about Chick and Toad (literally, I put it on Chick and Toad - formulaic folktale beginning).'

Six:2

Siseden ni tori tun ye teribaw ye fɔɔfɔɔ la, diŋe tile
chick and toad PFV COP good.friend.PL COP in.the.beginning POST world day

fɔɔfɔɔ la.
in.the.beginning POST

'Chick and Toad were good friends in the beginning, in the beginning days of the world.'

Six:3

Loon do ra o taara kongo.
day certain POST 3PL go.PST bush
'One day they went to the bush.'

Six:4

O taara to kongo kɔnɔ yaala la, saan finna.
3PL go.PST continue bush in wander POST sky become.dark.PST
'They went and stayed wandering around in the bush; the sky got black (because of coming rain).'

Six:5

Saan finna k' o sɔɔ, o te se ka boli ka so sɔɔ
sky become.dark.PST INF 3PL get 3PL NEG be.able INF run INF house obtain

tuguni.
anymore

'The sky got dark and found them in a place where they were no longer able to run and make it home (before the rain came).'

Six:6

Siseden ko [tori,] ko [ni ten lo, an ka yeɛ yiri nin kan.]
chick QUOT toad QUOT if thus COP 1PL JUSS go.up tree DEM.SG on
'Chick said, "Toad," he said, "if that's the case, we should climb up this tree."

Six:7

Tori ko [ɔn ɔn,] ko [an kana yele yiri kan.]
toad QUOT no QUOT 1PL IMP/JUSS.NEG go.up tree on
'Toad said no, that we shouldn't climb a tree.'

Six:8

[N' an yelela yiri kan, ni jii bonyana duguma, n' an
if 1PL go.up.PST tree on if water increase.PST on.the.ground if 1PL

bɔra ka ja a kɔɔ jii be taa n' an ye.]
come.out.PST INF dry 3SG in water PRS go if 1PL POST

'If we climb a tree, if there gets to be a lot of water on the ground, if we come down to dry out in it, the water will take us away.'

Six:9

Ko [dingen dɔ ye nin ye, an ka don dingen nin kɔɔ.]
QUOT hole certain COP DEM.SG COP 1PL JUSS enter hole DEM.SG in
'(He said), "Here is a certain hole; we should go into this hole."

Six:10

K' [o la n' an donna dingen nin kɔɔ, ni jii nana, hali
QUOT DEM POST if 1PL enter.PST hole DEM.SG in if water come.PST even

ni jii fara dingen nin kɔɔ, an be yɔɔ dɔ sɔɔ ka
if water fill.PST hole DEM.SG in 1PL PRS place certain get INF

jensen, jii te se ka taa n' an ye.]
spread.out water NEG be.able INF go with 1PL POST

'(He said), "Then, if we went into this hole, if the rain came, even if water filled up this whole hole, we'll have a certain place to spread out and the water won't be able to take us away."

Six:11

Siseden, ale ma la tori la.
chick 3SG.FOC NEG.PST believe toad POST
'Chick, he didn't believe Toad.'

Six:12

Ale ko [ni ten lo, tori, i ka don dingen kɔɔ, ne bena pan
3SG.FOC QUOT if thus COP toad 2SG JUSS enter hole in 1SG FUT fly

ka yele yiri nin kan.]
INF go.up tree DEM.SG on

'It was he who said that if that's the case, Toad, you should go in a hole and I will jump/fly and go up this tree.'

Six:13

Wole tor' a la, hali sini sɔɔma, ni saan nana,
that's.what remain.PST 3SG POST even tomorrow morning if rain come.PST

sise be boli ka fɛn dɔ yaala ka pan ka yele a kan.
chicken PRS run INF thing certain search INF fly INF go.up 3SG on

'That's what they stayed with - even tomorrow morning, if rain comes, Chicken runs and finds something and jumps/flies onto it.'

Six:14

Tori fana, ni saan finna, ale be dingen do yaala, ale
toad also if sky become.dark.PST 3SG.FOC PRS hole certain search 3SG.FOC

be boli ka don o kɔnɔ.

PRS run INF enter DEM in

‘Toad also, if the sky gets dark, it is he who looks for a certain hole, and it is he who runs and goes into it.’

Six:15

Sisan, tori donna dingen kɔnɔ, tori taara ka taa bunteni sɔrɔ.
now toad enter.PST hole in toad go.PST INF go scorpion find

‘Now, Toad went into the hole, Toad went and met Scorpion in there.’

Six:16

Komi tori ka bon ni bunteni ye, tori
because toad linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective big than scorpion POST toad

naa donnin lo bunteni ma.

eye enter.PST.PTCP COP scorpion POST

‘Since Toad is bigger than Scorpion, he underestimated him (idiom).’

Six:17

A y’ a ye [a ka dɔgɔ.]

3SG PST 3SG see 3SG linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective small

‘He saw that he was small.’

Six:18

A ko [Ah, bunteni e nana mun ke nin dingen nin kɔnɔ
3SG QUOT ah scorpion 2SG come.PST what do DEM.SG hole DEM.SG in

yan?]

here

‘He said, "Ah! Scorpion, what did you come to do in this very hole here?"’

Six:19

Bunteni ko [Ah, ne ka yɔrɔ le ye yan ye.]

scorpion QUOT ah 1SG POSS place PRT.FOC COP here COP

‘Scorpion said, "Ah! This is my place."’

Six:20

A ko [tiŋe te,] k’ [i ka yɔrɔ te.]

3SG QUOT truth NEG QUOT 2SG POSS place NEG.COP

‘He said, "That's not true!" that, "This is not your place."’

Six:21

A ko [ne ka yɔrɔ lo.]

3SG QUOT 1SG POSS place COP

‘He said, "This is my place."’

Six:22

Parce qu’ ale fana tun be fe ka saan don yɔrɔ nin na.

because 3SG.FOC also PFV PRS want INF rain enter place DEM.SG POST

‘Because he also wanted to sit out the rain in that place.’

Six:23

Don, o tora o sɔsɔli la, tori k' [ale be bunteni bugɔ.]
so 3PL remain.PST DEM argument POST toad QUOT LOG PRS scorpion hit
'So, they kept arguing, and Toad said that he would hit Scorpion.'

Six:24

Bunteni ko [ayi, e te se ka ne bugɔ.]
scorpion QUOT no 2SG NEG be.able INF 1SG hit
'Scorpion said, "No! you can't hit me."

Six:25

[An bena ɲɔɲɔn bugɔ.]
1PL FUT each.other hit
'"We'll hit each other."

Six:26

Tori ko [ni ten lo, kana i ɲee don n na, yanni an
toad QUOT if thus COP IMP/JUSS.NEG 2SG eye put.in 1SG POST before 1PL

ben a ɲɔɲɔn bugɔ ka see ta, an ben a ɲɔɲɔn bugɔ fataba siɲe
FUT each.other hit INF victory take 1PL FUT each.other hit slap.big time

wɔwɔ wɔwɔ.]
six six

'Toad said, "If that's the case, don't underestimate me (idiom); before we hit each other to find a winner, let's each hit each other really hard six times.'

Six:27

[N' an ye ɲɔɲɔn fata siɲe wɔwɔ wɔwɔ sisan, ni min sera min
if 1PL PST each.other slap time six six now if COMP defeat.PST COMP

na, an be sɔɔ ka see ta.]
POST 1PL PRS get INF victory take

'"If we hit each other six times each, the one who defeats the other will be the winner."

Six:28

Bunteni ko [ɲnhɔn,] ko [basi t' a ra.]
scorpion QUOT yes QUOT problem NEG.COP 3SG POST
'Scorpion said, "Yes, not a problem."

Six:29

Don o y' a t' o kan, o bɔra.
so 3PL PST 3SG leave DEM on 3PL come.out.PST
'So they left it at that and went out.'

Six:30

O bɔra, o ye sise weele, ko [sise ka na ke
3PL come.out.PST 3PL PST chicken call QUOT chicken JUSS come become

arbitri ye.]
arbitrator POST

'They went out and called Chicken, saying that Chicken should come and be the arbitrator.'

Six:31

Sise jigira.
chicken descend.PST
'Chicken came down.'

Six:32

Sise jigira sisan, bunteni k' [ale le be bugɔri sɔɔ,]
chicken descend.PST now scorpion QUOT LOG PRT.FOC PRS hit.the.act.of get

tori k' [ale le be bugɔri sɔɔ.]
toad QUOT LOG PRT.FOC PRS hit.the.act.of get
'Now Chicken came down; Scorpion said that he gets the first hit, Toad said that he gets the first hit.'

Six:33

Bunteni k' [ale le be premie,] tori k' [ale le be premie.]
scorpion QUOT LOG PRT.FOC COP first toad QUOT LOG PRT.FOC COP first
'Scorpion said that he goes first, Toad said that he goes first.'

Six:34

Don, a nana to tori t' a ra.
so 3SG come.PST allow toad POSS 3SG POST
'So they came to allow Toad to go first.'

Six:35

Bunteni yelemanə k' a yεɛ di.
scorpion turn.around.PST INF 3SG self give
'Scorpion turned around and gave himself up for the hit (literally, and gave himself).'

Six:36

Tori ye bunteni fata kelen.
toad PST scorpion slap one
'Toad slapped Scorpion, one.'

Six:37

Bunteni ko [kelen.]
scorpion QUOT one
'Scorpion said, "One."

Six:38

A y' a fata fila.
3SG PST 3SG slap two
'He hit him, two.'

Six:39

Sise y' a lamine ko [fila.]
chicken PST 3SG answer QUOT two
'Chicken answered, "Two."

Six:40

A y' a fata saba.
3SG PST 3SG slap three
'He hit him, three.'

Six:41

Sise y' a lamine [saba.]
chicken PST 3SG answer three
'Chicken answered, "Three."

Six:42

A y' a fata naani.
3SG PST 3SG slap four
'He hit him, four.'

Six:43

Sise y' a fo [naani.]
chicken PST 3SG say four
'Chicken said, "Four."'

Six:44

A y' a fata duuru, foo ka taa se wɔɔɔ.
3SG PST 3SG slap five until INF go arrive six
'He hit him, five, and then six.'

Six:45

Arbitri y' a jaati [wɔɔɔ dafara.]
arbitrator PST 3SG count six complete.PST
'The arbitrator calculated that the six were completed.'

Six:46

A ko [bon, sisan, komi ne bunteni ta dafara, tori, ele
3SG QUOT PRT now because 1SG scorpion POSS complete.PST toad 2SG.FOC

fana ka yeɛma, ne be n ta kɛ.]
also JUSS turn.around 1SG PRS 1SG POSS do

'He said, "Good; now, since mine, Scorpion's, are completed, Toad, you turn around too and I'll do mine."'

Six:47

Tori yeɛmana.
toad turn.around.PST
'Toad turned around.'

Six:48

Bunteni y' a fata, kelen!
scorpion PST 3SG slap one
'Scorpion hit him, one!'

Six:49

Tori ko [fila.]
toad QUOT two
'Toad said, "Two."'

Six:50

Sise ko [tjɛ te,] ko [fila te,] ko [kelen lo.]
chicken QUOT truth NEG.COP QUOT two NEG.COP QUOT one COP
'Chicken said, "That's not true!" that, "It's not two," that, "It's one."'

Six:51

Tori ko [fila,] o y' a to [o temɛna,] k' [ale kɛra
toad QUOT two 3PL PST 3SG allow DEM PASS.PST QUOT 3SG.FOC become.PST

fila ye.]
two POST

'Toad said "Two;" they let that go, saying that that [hit] was the second hit.'

Six:52

A nan' a fata, fila!
3SG come.PST 3SG slap two
'He came and hit him, two!'

Six:53

Tellement qu' a be dimi, a ko [naani.]
so.much that 3SG PRS hurt 3SG QUOT four
'It hurt so much that he said, "Four."'

Six:54

Sise ko [ɔn ɔn,] ko [tjɛ te,] ko [naani te.]
chicken QUOT no QUOT truth NEG.COP QUOT four NEG.COP
'Chicken said, "No," that, "that's not true!" that, "it's not four."'

Six:55

A ko [naani lo.]
3SG QUOT four COP
'He said, "It's four."'

Six:56

O y' a to naani kan.
3PL PST 3SG allow four on
'They left it at four.'

Six:57

An danna a fatafatari sabanan na, tori panna ka bila jii
1PL limit.PST 3SG slap.slap.the.act.of third POST toad fly.PST INF put water

ra.
POST

'It all ended with the third slap; Toad jumped and landed in the water.'

Six:58

W'olo hali sini sɔgɔma, tori be kasi [wɔwɔ, wɔwɔ, wɔwɔ.]
that's.why even tomorrow morning toad PRS cry six six six
'That's why, even tomorrow morning, Toad will be crying, "Wɔwɔ, wɔwɔ, wɔwɔ (six, six, six)" (note: This is the number six and sounds like the sound that frogs make).'

Six:59

Bunteni ka tan nin min digir' a la, n' a panna ka bila
scorpion POSS hit DEM.SG COMP hurt.PST 3SG POST and 3SG jump.PST INF put

jii ra, w'olo kera a kasikan ye.
water POST that's.why become.PST 3SG cry.of.animal POST

'Scorpion's hit that really hurt him, so much so that he jumped and landed in the water, that has become his call.'

Six:60

W'olo fana kera tori ni sise farannin ye.
that's.what also become.PST toad and chicken break.up.PST.PTCP POST
'That's also what caused the split between Toad and Chicken.'

Six:61

Sise ye sira ta.
chicken PST road take
'Chicken went his way.'

Six:62

Sise ni tori ma se ka diya tuguni.
chicken and toad NEG.PST be.able INF to.be.happy anymore
'Chicken and Toad weren't able to be friends anymore.'

Six:63

*Tori y' a ye ko [sise y' ale janfa, parce que sise ma
toad PST 3SG see QUOT chicken PST LOG betray because chicken NEG.PST

son k' ale ka jati ke a cogo la.]*
allow INF LOG POSS count do 3SG manner POST
'Toad saw Chicken betrayed him, since Chicken wasn't willing to count the way he
wanted.'

Six:64

*Sise temen' a ka sira fe, tori temen' a ka sira
chicken PASS.PST 3SG POSS path at.the.place.of toad PASS.PST 3SG POSS path

fe.
at.the.place.of*
'Chicken went his way and Toad went his way.'

Six:65

Ka to ka kasi jii ra, [wɔwɔ wɔwɔ.]
INF remain INF cry water POST six six
'He kept on crying from the water, "Wɔwɔ, wɔwɔ (six, six)."

Six:66

Bunteni fana temen' a ka sira fe.
scorpion also PASS.PST 3SG POSS path at.the.place.of
'Scorpion also went his way.'

Six:67

*Tori nin tun ka bon ni bunteni ye, me
toad DEM.SG PFV linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective big than scorpion POST but

a ma se bunteni na.*
3SG POST defeat scorpion POST
'This Toad was bigger than Scorpion but he wasn't able to beat him.'

Six:68

*Nin siirin nin b' a yira ko [mɔgɔ man kan ka adamaden
DEM.SG folktale DEM.SG PRS 3SG show QUOT person JUSS.NEG person

tɔpɔ.]*
wrong
'This folktale shows that people shouldn't wrong other people.'

Six:69

*Hali n' i ka bon n' a ye, i
even if 2SG linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective big than 3SG POST 2SG

ka jan n' a ye, i kana a
linking.verb.for.predicate.adjective tall than 3SG POST 2SG IMP/JUSS.NEG 3SG*

tɔɔ.

wrong

‘Even if you’re bigger than him or you’re taller than him, you shouldn’t wrong him.’

Six:70

N’ i ye i ka bonya file, ka fɛndeni tɔɔ, Ala be sebaya
if 2SG PST 2SG POSS bigness look.at INF small.thing wrong God PRS strength

d’ a ma, a be se i kɔɔ.

give 3SG POST 3SG PRS defeat 2SG under

‘If you look at your size and wrong something small, God will give him strength and he can beat you.’

Six:71

Ne ye n ka siirin ta yɔɔ min, ne y’ a bila yen.

1SG PST 1SG POSS folktale take place COMP 1SG PST 3SG put there

‘The place in which I took my folktale, I left it here (formulaic ending).’

Six:72

Ne Sali le ye nin siirin nin la, k’ a di Susie ma.

1SG N PRT.FOC PST DEM.SG folktale DEM.SG tell INF 3SG give N POST

‘I, Sali, told this folktale and gave it to Susie.’

Six:73

I be se ka siirin nin lase dijɛ faan yɔɔ bɛ.

2SG PRS be.able INF folktale DEM.SG announce world direction place ALL

‘You can tell this folktale all over the world.’

Six:74

N y’ a sira di librement.

1SG PST 3SG road give freely

‘I freely give you permission (literally, I freely give the road for that).’

Six:75

Ne ye n ka siirin ta yɔɔ min, ne y’ a bila yen.

1SG PST 1SG POSS folktale take place COMP 1SG PST 3SG put there

‘The place in which I took my folktale, I left it here (formulaic ending).’

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