

PRONOUNS AND REPORTED SPEECH IN ADIOUKROU

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Adioukrou offers its speakers the choice of three reported speech styles: direct, semidirect, and indirect. Different rules for determining pronominal reference are operative for each style, and these are defined in this article. Adioukrou also allows speakers to specify whether they are uninvolved reporters of a quotation or guarantors of it. To clarify third-person pronominal reference, Adioukrou employs disjoint pronouns which signal that there is no overlap at all between referent sets. The use of the three reported speech styles in narrative discourse is also examined. Semidirect speech was used for 88% of quotations and encodes mainline, foregrounded events. Indirect speech occurred in only 3% of the quotations, and encodes backgrounded, inactual information. Direct speech is obligatory when encoding one's own words (6% of text examples), but when used to encode the quotation of another (2% of text examples), it marks a pivotal point in the narrative.

La langue adioukrou permet au locuteur d'encoder un discours rapporté selon trois modes différents: direct, semi-direct, et indirect. Chacun de ces modes s'applique selon certaines règles qui sont établies dans l'article. Un locuteur adioukrou peut en plus indiquer si oui ou non il prend en charge le contenu du discours rapporté. Afin de désambiguïser la référence pronominale à la troisième personne, l'adioukrou utilise des pronoms dits disjointifs, signalant l'absence de toute co-référentialité.

L'article étudie également l'emploi (l'usage) des trois modes de discours rapporté. Le discours semi-direct s'utilise dans 88% des cas et a comme objet des événements principaux qu'il met en relief. Le discours indirect ne s'emploie que dans 3% des cas. Il a comme objet de l'information secondaire et non actuelle. Le discours direct est obligatoire pour un locuteur qui rapporte ses propres paroles (6% des exemples). Cependant, s'il est utilisé pour rendre la parole d'un tiers, il marque le point culminant d'un récit.

0. INTRODUCTION

In reported speech in Adioukrou¹ a speaker has the choice of encoding the message as if he were a reporter, or as if he were a guarantor of the truth of the message. The distinction between the reporting function and the guaranteeing function is marked by two different sets of pronouns. Specifically, the reporting function is marked by the reporting pronouns, which occur in both indirect and semidirect speech. The guaranteeing function is marked by the free pronouns, which occur in direct and indirect speech. These are the same pronouns as those used in the description of non-speech events.

To begin, this article gives details of the two sets of pronouns. Secondly, the distinguishing characteristics of the three different speech styles: direct, indirect, and semidirect are given. Then the Adioukrou solution to the problem of ambiguous third-person reference, the disjoint pronouns is discussed. Finally, the discourse function of the three speech styles is treated.

¹ Adioukrou is classified as a Kwa language by Greenberg (1963). It is spoken by 90,000 people in south-western Côte d'Ivoire, Department of Dabou.

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1. FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PRONOUNS IN REPORTED SPEECH

1.1 PRONOUN PARADIGMS

(1) Free subject pronouns (FP)

Person		Singular	Plural	Gloss in examples
1st		mi	si	1sFP/1pFP
2nd		-	-	2sFP/2pFP
3rd	animate			
	unmarked ²	li(-n)	-li(-n)	3sFP/3pFP
	disjoint ³	ow	wel	DsFP/DpFP
3rd	inanimate			
	indefinite	ow	wel	3sFP/3pFP

These pronouns are free in the sense that they are used in free, that is non-reported, speech. The tones of the free subject pronouns vary according to the aspect-mode of the verb.⁴ Although third-person singular and plural pronouns use the same segmental phonemes, the tones on them are often different.⁵ The second-person pronoun is simply a zero morpheme (with no tone either).

Free subject pronouns are used in clauses describing non-speech events and in direct speech reports.

(2) Reporting subject pronouns (RP)

Person		Singular	Plural	Gloss in examples
1st		em	es	1sRP/1pRP
2nd		ɲ	ony	2sRP/2pRP
3rd	animate			
	unmarked	in	el	3sRP/3pRP
	disjoint	ow'n	we'n	DsRP/DpRP
3rd	inanimate			
	indefinite	ow'n	we'n	3sRP/3pRP

The disjoint and inanimate forms are derived as follows: The singular reporting disjoint form **ow'n** is a morphophonemic fusion of the singular free disjoint form **ow** plus the third-person non-disjoint reporting form **in**. Similarly the plural reporting disjoint form **we'n** is a morphophonemic fusion of the plural free disjoint form **wel** plus the third-person non-disjoint reporting form **in**.⁶

The reporting subject pronouns are used in semidirect and indirect reported speech, to be defined in detail in §2. Reporting pronouns have only subject forms whereas the free pronouns which have been displayed in the previous subsection also

² 'Unmarked' means that the pronoun is not marked as disjoint reference (discussed in §1.4).

³ The term disjoint means that the two referent sets have no members in common at all, not merely that they are non-coreferential. See §1.4.

⁴ Adioukrou has 21 consonant phonemes: labials **p, b, f, m**; alveolars **t, d, s, n, l, r**; palatals **tʃ** (written in the orthography and in this article as **c**), **dʒ** (written as **j**), and **ɲ** (written as **ny**), velars **k, g, kp, gb, w, ŋ, h**. There are seven vowel phonemes, **i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u**. There are four tones: high, low, falling, and rising. In this article, we will use the current orthography in which tone is only written where it is necessary to disambiguate certain verb forms, i.e., a high tone on the hortative verbs and a low tone on the imperative verbs. For a detailed phonological study, see Héroult (1969).

⁵ The orthographic hyphen which distinguishes 3rd-person singular (**li**) from 3rd-person plural (**-li**) is really a grammatical marker rather than a mid or low tone. In actual fact, it varies between high and low in a rather complicated fashion, depending on the verb aspect. This variation is fully documented in Héroult (1969). For the purpose of this article, we will simply use the orthographic conventions to differentiate third-person singular and plural.

⁶ All reporting subject pronouns carry high tone except the disjoint and inanimate forms, which carry a low-rising tone due to morphophonemic fusion.

have object and possessive forms.⁷ However, such forms are not in focus in this article.

1.2 PRONOUN REFERENCE IN THE THREE REPORTED SPEECH STYLES

Many African languages make use of three reported speech styles: direct, indirect, and semidirect. As Hedinger (1984) has pointed out, the differences between these styles may be discovered by examining the reference of the pronouns used in the quotation.⁸ In this section, we will look at the rules for the pronoun reference that occur in the three types of reported speech. These rules apply to all varieties of pronouns: subject, object, and possessive. English examples will be used when they are parallel to Adioukrou.

Here is an explanation of the terminology used in this article. QUOTE MARGIN (QM) refers to the 'say' verb plus its subject and indirect object. QUOTE CONTENT (QC) refers to the reported speech, i.e., to the complement of the 'say' verb in the QM. The term NARRATOR is used to refer to the one who is actually telling the story, and who is therefore the speaker of the UNDERLYING PERFORMATIVE (UP). This underlying performative does not appear explicitly in the text, but is derived from the narrating situation. The AUDIENCE is the one to whom the narrator is speaking, the addressee of the underlying performative. The term FINAL SPEAKER is the speaker of the 'say' verb in the final QM, that is the QM which immediately precedes the quote content. The term FINAL ADDRESSEE is the addressee of the 'say' verb in the QM which immediately precedes the QC. The constituent order is shown in (3).

- (3) Underlying performative (UP) Quote margin (QM) Quote content (QC)
 I say to you Lasm said to Paul, I saw you in town.
 narrator audience final speaker final addressee

1.2.1 Pronoun reference for direct speech

In direct speech, the pronouns in the quote content take their orientation from the quote margin immediately preceding it according to rules 1, 2, and 3 to be given immediately. This results in a verbatim report, that is to say no changes are made in any of the surface forms of the quote content from the forms as originally used by the quoted speaker him/herself. All pronouns used in direct speech reports are free pronouns. The following rules for pronoun reference apply for direct speech:

1. First-person pronouns in the quote content refer to the final speaker.
2. Second-person pronouns in the quote content refer to the final addressee.
3. Third-person pronouns in the quote content refer to any other participants.

Example (4) illustrates these rules.

- (4) UP QM QC
 I_A say to you_B Lasm_C said to Paul_D, 'I_C saw you_D in town.'

⁷ The possessive pronouns have forms very similar to those of the reporting pronouns but carry low tone and are distinguished by word order. The same paradigm is used for thematic and intensive pronouns. Although they are not the main subject of this study, we present them here to avoid confusion with the reporting pronouns in the examples which are cited. In this article, they are glossed POSSESSIVE (POSS).

		Singular	Plural
1st		em	ey
2nd		g	ny
3rd	animate	in	el
	unmarked	ow	wel
	disjoint	ow	wel
3rd	inanimate/ indefinite	ow	wel

⁸ There are several different quote margins in Adioukrou but they do not help to determine the style of the quote. Each one can occur with each of the three speech styles.

Here the first-person pronoun I_C in the quote content refers to subject of the quote margin ($Lasm_C$), and the second-person pronoun, you_D , in the quote content refers to the object of the quote margin ($Paul_D$). The reference of the pronouns in the quote content does not depend on the reference of the pronouns in the underlying performative.

1.2.2 Pronoun reference for indirect speech

In indirect speech, the underlying performative is the deictic anchorage for the whole speech event and determines the reference of every following pronoun in the stretch right to the end of the quote content. The following rules of pronoun reference apply to indirect speech. These rules are to be applied in order. If a later rule alters the effect of a prior rule, then it is the later result that is correct.⁹

1. All first-person pronouns are coreferential with the NARRATOR, whether such pronouns are in a quote margin or in a quote content.
2. All second-person pronouns are coreferential with the audience, whether such pronouns are in a quote margin or a quote content.
3. Third-person unmarked pronouns in the QC may refer to the final speaker but do not have to.
4. Third-person disjoint pronouns in the QC cannot refer to the final speaker, but must refer to a participant other than the final speaker. (The disjoint referent third-person forms will be discussed in §1.4 of this article.)

Example (5) is similar to (4) but in indirect speech.¹⁰

- (5) UP QM QC
 I Me_A say to you_B $Lasm_C$ said to me_A that he_C saw me_A in town.

Here we see that the pronouns of the same grammatical person corefer throughout the entire speech report, and have the underlying performative as their deictic anchorage. Thus Me_A , the narrator, is referred to by first-person pronouns throughout. $Lasm_C$, who is not a participant in the underlying performative is referred to with third-person forms throughout.

However, if Me the narrator were reporting something that he himself said, using indirect style, the pronoun forms would be as in (6).

- (6) UP QM QC
 I Me_A say to you_B I_A said to $Paul_D$ that I_A saw him_D in town.

Example (6) differs from (5) in that Me_A is both the narrator and the speaker of the QM. Thus he is the referent of the first-person pronouns throughout the speech report. $Paul_D$, who is neither speaker nor audience, is referred to with third-person pronouns.

If a third party, who is not a participant in the event reported by the quote content, reports the speech to another third party, all pronouns in the QC become third person. In (7), $Lasm_C$ is neither subject nor the object of the verb 'see' in the QC. Thus, all pronouns in the QC are in the third person.

⁹ Rules for indirect speech are ordered because of rules 3 and 4. All third-person pronouns are coreferential with the final speaker unless there are disjoint pronouns (rule 4).

¹⁰ There are certain quotations in which the direct speech form is identical to the indirect speech form. This happens when the original message being cited contains only third-person pronouns, such as 'Lasm said, "He(Mel) saw them downtown." In indirect speech, this would have the same form: Lasm said he (Mel) saw them downtown. In English, the relative pronoun 'that' can be inserted between the QM and the QC in an indirect quotation, but not in a direct quotation. (Lasm said *that* he (Mel) saw them downtown.) In Adioukrou, however, both direct and indirect speech can occur with or without the relative connector *eke* 'that.'

one applied to the the final addressee gives a coreferent second-person pronoun *ny* in the QC. Rule two applied to the final speaker gives a coreferent third-person pronoun *ir* in the QC. Since the narrator is not a participant in either the final quote margin or the quote content, rule three does not apply.

If the sons now function as narrators, (9) would result.

- (9) UP QM QC
 [We, the sons_A say to you_B] *li_C dad ey_A nene es_A úsr ir_C el*
 she said^{AC} 1pO this 1pRP build^{HORT} 3sO house
 [We_A say to you_B] She_C said to us_A we_A should build her_C a house.

In (9), we have taken (8), changed the narrator to the sons, and applied rule three (the narrator is referred to by a first-person pronoun). Thus the sons are now referred to by the first person *es* in the QC.

In (9), as in many others found in text material, the difference between semidirect and indirect speech is neutralized because the addressee of the QM is also the narrator. The chart in (10) summarizes the similarities and differences between the rules for pronoun reference in indirect and semidirect speech.

(10) Similarities and differences between indirect and semidirect speech

	Indirect	Semidirect
Different	The final addressee and its coreferent in the QC are referred to by pronouns of the same grammatical person	The final addressee is referred to by second-person pronouns in the QC. These pronouns take their orientation from the final quote margin.
Same	If the final speaker is a participant in the event reported by the QC, he is referred to by a pronoun of the same grammatical person as the noun or pronoun that refers to him in the quote margin.	
Same	The narrator is referred to by first-person pronouns.	

Thus, in order for the distinction between semidirect and indirect speech to be shown in the QC, there must be an addressee either explicit or implied in the final quote margin, who is a participant in the QC, but who is also not the narrator. If this is not the case, the rules for pronoun reference are the same.

In ambiguous situations, there are criteria that can sometimes be of help in distinguishing the speech style.

1. Semidirect speech uses intonation typical of the original speech event. It is more dramatic than the simple narrative intonation found in indirect speech.
2. Vocatives are found in semidirect speech, but not in indirect speech.
3. Exclamations are sometimes found in semidirect speech, whereas an indirect speech report would omit these.
4. Semidirect speech retains the question construction *kə... e*, which in indirect speech is replaced by other forms. Example (11) in semidirect speech retains the question morphemes *kə* and *e*. In (12), which is the equivalent in indirect speech form, those question morphemes have disappeared and the content of the question is introduced by *eke* 'if', making it into a hypothetical clause.

- (11) *nine kə em b'lm nyamel em e*
 this¹²QUEST 1sRP go^{HAB} God^Hhouse in QUEST
 (They) said, "Do I go to church?"

¹² The particle *nine*, which we have glossed as 'this', often introduces reported speech. It is not a 'say' verb, but is the functional equivalent of one, the verb *dad* 'say' being left implicit. *nine* is in free variation with *nene*.

- (12) **P'ibrm im eke em b'im nyamel em**
 3sFP^{asked}AC 1sO if 1sRP go^{HAB} God^{house} in
 They asked me if I go to church.

5. The orientation of locational deictics, such as 'here' and 'there', take their orientation from the QM for semidirect speech, but from the underlying performative for indirect speech. This is illustrated in (13), (14), and (15) which are direct, semidirect, and indirect speech reports of the same spoken utterance. In example (13) and (14), the deictic **aga** 'here' refers to the place of the speaker of the final QM for both direct speech and semidirect speech. Note also the imperative forms in (13) and (14). In indirect speech (see (15)), however, **aga** 'here' becomes **yogg** 'there' in order to retain the same sense, because in indirect speech 'here' would refer not to the location of the final speaker but that of the speaker of the underlying performative. Note also the use of the disjoint reporting pronoun **ow'n** in the indirect speech report, and the second-person reporting pronoun in the semidirect speech report.

- (13) Direct speech: **Mel nine òw aga**
 Mel this come^{IMP} here
 Mel said 'Come here.'
- (14) Semidirect speech: **Mel nine ŋ òw aga**
 Mel this 2sRP come^{IMP} here
 Mel said, 'Come here!'
- (15) Indirect speech: **Mel nine ow'n im yogg**
 Mel this DsRP go^{HORT} there
 Mel said that he should go there (i.e., where Mel is located).

6. If the ambiguous clause is in a lengthy conversational exchange with multiple turn-switching and all the turns are expressed in the semidirect style except the ambiguous one, we can assume that the ambiguous clause is in semidirect style as well.

1.3 CHOICE OF PRONOUNS, SPEECH STYLE, AND ITS RELATION TO THE SPEAKER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE MESSAGE

Adiokrou offers its speakers a set of choices not found in English. In one option, a speaker can encode a quotation as if he were completely sure of its accuracy, putting his personal reputation behind the message. This most frequently happens when the speaker is the originator of the message, that is, when he quotes himself. In a different option, a speaker can encode someone else's speech as a reporter transmitting a message without the kind of personal involvement just referred to. When a speaker is simply a reporter he is assuming the role of the neutral third party. Using third parties is in accord with the preferred method of interaction in Adiokrou culture.

Free subject pronouns are used when the speaker is the originator or wishes to be the guarantor of the message. Reporting subject pronouns are used when the speaker wishes to pass on the information as a reporter. Direct speech uses free pronouns. Semidirect speech uses reporting pronouns. Indirect speech uses mainly reporting pronouns, but can use free pronouns.¹³

Although these options for encoding information either as a guarantor or a reporter has not yet to my knowledge been clearly documented in African languages, they resemble the EVIDENTIALS found in Colombian languages. For example, in Tuyuca, 'speakers must indicate that they obtained their information in one of the following ways: visually, through a sense other than the visual, through evidence of the state or event, by being told about the state or event, or by assuming what

¹³ All examples of indirect speech in the narrative texts studied use reporting pronouns. It is possible, however, to elicit indirect speech with free pronouns. Also, in a preliminary study of a hortative text there is one example of indirect reported speech with free pronouns. Thus indirect speech with free pronouns does exist in Adiokrou, but it is very rare. The author is unable to comment on its function until more text examples are found.

happened' (Barnes 1984:255). But whereas evidentials in Colombian languages use verb suffixes or particles, Adioukrou employs a special set of subject pronouns and offers its speakers only two choices, i.e., either as an originator/guarantor or as a reporter.

The same cognitive content then can be encoded in two ways, as in (16) and (17) with a different speaker attitude towards the message.

- (16) with free pronouns: (direct speech)

Jej dad eke li b'ow l'ow

Jej said that 3sFP FUT 3sFP^come

Jej said that he (Mel) will come (and I guarantee it!)

- (17) with reporting pronouns: (semidirect or indirect speech)

Jej dad eke in b'ow in ow

Jej said that 3sRP FUT 3sRP come

Jej said that he (Mel) reportedly/supposedly will come.

In (16) using free subject pronouns, the speaker is assuming responsibility for the truth of the message. The context for this sentence might be a discussion about whether or not Mel will be coming. The speaker uses the free (unmarked) pronouns to insist that he is absolutely sure that Mel is coming. However, to use free pronouns to report the speech of someone else is exceptional. In 51 pages of double-spaced narrative texts (approximately 105 minutes of recorded text) only seven examples of this usage were found.

In (17) using reporting pronouns, the speaker is placing himself in the position of a reporter who merely passes on what he has heard, without any personal guarantee as to the reliability of that message.

1.3.1 Uses of reporting pronouns

The reporting pronouns are the norm for reporting someone else's speech. This reporting style is neutral as to guaranteeing the content of the information reported, and it should not be assumed that there is necessarily a negative evaluation of the truth value of that information.

As a language learner, I often don't understand what is said the first time I hear it and on such occasions I often ask a friend to repeat what was said. My friend uses the reporting pronouns when he repeats the message for me in this situation.

- (18) Message as given by the original speaker using free pronouns:

m'im Dabu m'ɔl ɔcn

1sFP^went^AC Dabou 1sFP^bought^AC fish

I went to Dabou and bought fish.

- (19) My friend repeats the message for me using reporting pronouns:

li dad nene in im Dabu in ɔl ɔcn

3sFP said^AC this 3sRP went^AC Dabou 3sRP bought^AC fish

He said, 'He went to Dabou and bought fish.'

This analysis of the reporting pronouns was originally presented by Hérault (1978:376-79), and is well supported by text material. In third-person narrative texts, the normal pronoun choice for reporting speech is the set of reporting pronouns. By such usage, the narrator puts himself in the place of a reporter, passing on what he has heard.

Another situation exists in which reporting pronouns can be used in a dialogue. In Adioukrou culture, face-to-face encounters that might cause a loss of respect to either party are avoided. People tend to work through third parties who transmit messages back and forth. Even in giving the greetings, if more than two people are present, it is polite to converse through a third party. (A wanting to give his news to B first gives it to his messenger C, who passes it on to D, who finally gives it to B. A and B never speak to each other directly even though they are sitting across from one other.)

In a dialogue, if a third party is not available and the participants must address each other directly, a speaker can mitigate the harshness of a direct face-to-face encounter by using reporting pronouns in combination with the semidirect speech style. This is especially used when one has to convey bad news. For example, if I'm going to town and Jacob asks me to buy him a needle, and when I go I can't find one, upon my return, I could tell him the bad news either with free or reporting pronouns. If I used free pronouns, the message would be conveyed in a straight forward way. But if I use reporting pronouns (in combination with semidirect style), I place myself in the role of a reporter transmitting a message (my own, in effect), and the effect is that I avoid a confrontation, and report the information in a apologetic way.

Although the reporting pronouns often occur with a 'say' verb or particle, they can occur without any quote margin, in which case the pronouns themselves are the only clue that one is in or out of a quotation.

Reporting pronouns are also used to report generalities rather than the specific words of an individual ('according to what I've heard, ...'), as in (20).

- (20) *Fufue in eb in elu el es*
 Houphouet 3sRP took^{AC} 3sRP let^{go} 3pO PERF
 (According to what they say,) Houphouet set us free!

1.3.2 Uses of free subject pronouns

In first-person narratives the narrator uses the free pronouns when he quotes himself, since he is the originator of the quotation and is thus in a position to guarantee its content. However, when he quotes someone else, he will almost always use reporting pronouns, even in a first-person narrative.

Occasionally free pronouns can also be used when encoding the speech of someone else. In this case, the narrator is guaranteeing the truth of the message. I have text examples of the free subject pronouns in reported speech only in the direct reporting style. (I don't have any text examples of free subject pronouns in indirect reporting style.) Examples of their use in a discourse will be discussed under §2.2.3 on the functions of direct speech in discourse.

1.4 DISJOINT REFERENCE

It is easy to determine the referents of first and second-person pronouns, since the number of possible referents is limited. They must refer to the speaker or addressee of the quote margin or underlying performative, depending on the speech style used. Third-person pronouns, however, often have numerous possible referents. To clarify the reference of third-person pronouns, many languages use a logophoric pronoun in the QC that has a special form and marks coreference with the speaker of the QM. Adioukrou, however, solves this problem of third-person reference in a different way. It has a special form to mark DISJOINT reference with the speaker of the QM.

The term disjoint here does not merely mean non-coreferential. It means that in fact the two referent sets have *no members in common at all*. When there are singular subjects in the QM and QC, the participant sets are either coreferential or are disjoint from each other. When there are plural subjects in the QM and QC, however, three possibilities for pronoun reference exist:

1. The two participant sets are completely coreferential.
2. The two participant sets are completely disjoint, that is to say there is no overlap at all between the two sets.
3. The two participant sets overlap: part of the first set is also part of the second set. The two sets are neither completely coreferential nor are they disjoint. They could be called non-coreferential.

The disjoint pronoun in Adiokrou encodes only the second possibility. The unmarked third-person pronoun usually encodes the first possibility, but can, in certain contexts, encode the second and third possibilities as well.

1.4.1 The disjoint pronouns

Disjoint pronoun forms exist throughout the entire range of pronoun paradigms: free subject pronouns, reporting pronouns, object pronouns, and possessive pronouns.

In a sentence with both subject and object pronouns in the third-person, such as 'he beat him', if the two pronouns are not coreferential, the disjoint object pronoun (DsO) is used, as in (21).

- (21) $P\text{ər}_A$ ow_B
 3sFP^{beat}AC DsO
 He_A beat him_B.

Here both the subject and object pronouns are free.

If the subject and object were coreferential, as in (22), a reflexive suffix would be used following the verb stem.

- (22) $P\text{ər}ir$
 3sFP^{beat}AC^{REFLEXIVE}
 He_A beat himself_A.

The possessive pronouns also have a disjoint reference form.¹⁴ Example (23) uses the unmarked third-person possessive form *in* and leaves the referent of this possessive ambiguous as to whether it could be the same as the subject referent or different. Example (24) uses the disjoint form *ow* and removes the ambiguity of (23); here the referent of the possessive must be DISJOINT from the subject referent.

- (23) $l'\text{efn}_A$ $in_{A \text{ or } B}$ eci $sigbad$ a $b'es$
 3sFP^{washed}AC 3sPOSS CONN clothes DEF PERF
 She_A washed her_{A or B} clothes.
- (24) $l'\text{efn}_A$ $\text{ow}_{\text{not } A}$ eci $sigbad$ a $b'es$
 3sFP^{washed}AC DsPOSS CONN clothes DEF PERF
 She_A washed her_{not A} clothes.

The free subject pronouns can function in embedded purpose clauses to mark disjoint reference with the subject of the matrix clause (Hérault 1978:165–67). In (25), the unmarked third-person free subject pronoun *li* (3sFP) is used. This pronoun however has a somewhat ambiguous referent, as indicated by the subscript. In (26), however, the disjoint free subject pronoun *ow* (DsRP) marks disjoint reference with the subject of the main clause.

- (25) $n'\text{əŋ}_A$ ow_B ly a $li_{A \text{ or } B}$ $yəg$ abu
 3sFP^{gave}AC DsO baby DEF 3sFP wash^{HORT} hand
 She_A gave her_B the baby so that she_{A or B} could wash her hands.
- (26) $n'\text{əŋ}_A$ ow_B mij $\text{ow}_{\text{not } A}$ $yəg$ abu
 3sFP^{gave}AC DsO water DsFP wash^{HORT} hand
 She_A gave her_B water so that she_B could wash her hands.

The examples in (28) and (30) illustrate the singular and plural REPORTING disjoint pronouns in contrast with the unmarked third-person reporting pronouns in (27) and (29).

- (27) li_A dad eke $in_{A \text{ or } B}$ im $Dabu$
 3sFP said^{AC} that 3sRP went^{AC} Dabou
 He_A said, 'He_{A or B} went to Dabou.'

¹⁴ See the possessive pronoun paradigm given in footnote 7.

- (28) **li_A dad eke ow'n_{not A} im Dabu**
 3sFP said^{AC} that DsRP went^{AC} Dabou
 He_A said, 'He_{not A} went to Dabou.'
- (29) **-li_A dad eke el_{A or B} im Dabu**
 3pFP said^{AC} that 3pRP went^{AC} Dabou
 They_A said, 'They_{A or B} went to Dabou.'
- (30) **-li_A dad eke we'n_{not A} im Dabu**
 3sFP said^{AC} that DpRP went^{AC} Dabou
 They_A said, 'They_{not A} went to Dabou.'

In verb phrases and serial verb constructions, the second reporting pronoun is always the unmarked pronoun **in** even if the first one is a disjoint pronoun. This is because in such constructions the two verbs are reporting a single action. There is no phonological pause between the two verb morphemes as seen in (31).

- (31) **nine_A ow'n_B ewl in_B im**
 this DsRP returned^{AC} 3sRP go
 literal: He_A said, 'He_B returned he_B went.'
 free: He_A said, 'He_B returned.'

On the other hand, if there is a succession of verbs that *do not* constitute a verb phrase or a serial construction, the disjoint pronoun would be repeated each time to mark disjoint reference with the subject of the 'say' verb. Such a succession of verbs are thought of as reporting two or more two distinct actions. There is a phonological pause between the two clauses.

- (32) **nine_A ow'n_B ang ow'n_B bi kok juma**
 this DsRP is^{AC} DsRP HAB do work
 He_A said, 'She_B is there, she_B works.'

Although the unmarked embedded third-person pronouns are often coreferential with the subject or speaker, this is not always the case. The reference of the unmarked third-person pronoun can be ambiguous in certain contexts.

- (33) **Mel_A dad Nyany_B eke n'im_{A or C} Dabu**
 Mel said^{AC} Nyany that 3sFP^{AC} went^{AC} Dabou
 Mel_A told Nyany_B that he_{A or C} went to Dabou.
- (34) **Mel_A dad Nyany_B eke ow_{not A} im Dabu**
 Mel said^{AC} Nyany that DsFP went^{AC} Dabou
 Mel_A told Nyany_B that he_{not A} went to Dabou.

In (33), the referent of the embedded third-person pronoun **n'** (a variant form of **li**) could be Mel_A, and in most contexts he would be the most logical referent. But if this sentence occurred in a discussion about whether Lasm_C went to Dabou or not, Mel_A could use the third-person pronoun to refer to Lasm_C. If, however, Mel_A wanted to make it one hundred percent clear that he was referring to someone other than himself, he could use the disjoint pronoun **ow** in the embedded clause, as in (34).¹⁵

¹⁵ The free pronouns **ow** and **wel** have as their primary function that of marking inanimate or indefinite reference. Their function as disjoint pronouns in reported speech is quite rare, since most of the reported speech uses reporting pronouns.

ow akpl It's good.
ow elm el It's not them
wel b'esg'n Kok They call her Kok.

In the same way, the reporting subject pronouns **ow'n** and **we'n** can function to mark inanimate or indefinite reference. Since the reporting pronouns are used exclusively in reported speech, and the subject matter of reported speech is usually participants, the pronouns **ow'n** and **we'n** function most often to mark disjoint reference. The following example, however, illustrates the use of **ow'n** with an inanimate referent:

nlar em e low ow'n akpl
 this 1sPOSS CONN business 3sRP good
 They said, 'My business, it's good.'

Example (35) further illustrates the fact that the disjoint referent pronoun clearly marks disjoint reference, whereas the unmarked third-person pronoun leaves the reference of the pronoun ambiguous, depending upon the context.

- (35) QM QC
Mel_B nɪnɛ ɪlɪc eke in_C aŋɪ likeklɪ a
 Mel this child^{DIM} REL 3sRP is^{AC} little DEF
in_B ɔr ow_C ow'n_C ikɟ ɔŋn
 3sRP beat^{AC} DsO DsRP cried^{AC} cried
 Mel_B said the child_C who is little, he_B beat him_C, he_C cried.

In the QC of this example, there are four third-person pronouns. In the surface order in which they appear, they are *in*, *in*, *ow* and *ow'n*. The first two are unmarked pronouns, the third and fourth disjoint pronouns. The reference of the second occurrence of the third-person reporting pronoun *in* is ambiguous, and determined only by the context. In determining whether Mel_B beat the child_C, or visa versa, it is the disjoint pronouns that give the clue. Since the object pronoun *ow* is disjoint, this means it is not coreferential with the speaker, Mel_B, and must therefore refer to the other participant, the child_C. The subject of the verb 'beat' then must refer to the speaker, Mel_B, unless there is another possible referent in the context.

Example (36) further illustrates that the disjoint pronouns of all forms (subject, object and possessive) are not coreferential with the speaker. Other unmarked third-person pronouns are generally coreferential with the speaker (with the exception of those within verb phrases such as in (28), or those that directly follow a noun to be described in the next section).

- (36) QM QC
in_A ese / in_A eŋn ow_B etɟ ow'n_B ibrm'n_A
 3sRP said^{AC} / 3sRP found^{AC} DsO and DsRP asked^{3sO^{AC}}
lɛkr ʒam / etɟ in_A ɔŋ ow_B amani
 leg behind / and 3sRP gave^{AC} DsO news
 She_A said, 'I_A found her_B and she_B asked me_A my news. Then I_A gave her_B my news.'¹⁶

Example (36) is given in semidirect speech. All of the unmarked third-person pronouns (*in*, *'n*, and *in*) are coreferential with the speaker_A. These have been rendered in the first person in the free translation into English because of the nature of semidirect speech which does not correspond to English. The disjoint subject and object pronouns (*ow*, *ow'n* and *ow*) refer clearly to the participant other than the speaker.

1.4.2 The disjoint pronoun as the subject of the 'say' verb

Reported speech can extend over an entire paragraph of text. If a change of speaker is desired, the disjoint pronoun is used as the subject of the next quote margin. Thereafter all the unmarked third-person pronouns in that embedded quotation refer to the new speaker.

- (37) QM QC
in_A ese / in_A im Dabu efi
 3sRP said^{AC} 3sRP went^{AC} Dabou yesterday
 He_A said, 'I_A went to Dabou yesterday.'
 QM QC
ow'n_B ese / in_B ɛkn'ŋ_A yogɟ
 DsRP said^{AC} 3sRP saw^{AC}^{DsO} there
 He_B said 'I_B saw you_A there.'

¹⁶ *Lakr ʒam* 'leg behind' is an idiom meaning 'the news'.

In (37), the second line of the text begins with the disjoint reporting pronoun *ow'n* as the subject of the verb *ese* 'say', thus establishing a new quote margin with a new speaker. Suppose the dialogue were now to continue with another utterance by the first speaker. Then we would need another new quote margin with an unmarked third-person pronoun as the subject of the corresponding 'say' verb. The first speaker is then reestablished as the referent of all unmarked third-person pronouns that follow.

Example (38) is a continuation of the dialogue begun in (37). The first speaker_A is responding to the comment made by participant B. Now the unmarked third-person pronouns in the QC of the third line of the text refer to A since he is the subject of the QM.

- (38) QM QC
in_A ese in_A anɔ̃ yogɔ̃ toɔ̃ neebles
 3sRP said^{AC} 3sRP was^{AC} there until afternoon
He_A said, 'I_A was there until the afternoon.'

1.5 REPORTING PRONOUNS WHICH FOLLOW NOUN SUBJECTS

Reporting pronouns occur in different positions from free subject pronouns. In this section we will consider the occurrence of reporting pronouns in clauses with noun subjects and the domain of reference of the noun subject.

1.5.1 The occurrence of reporting subjects in clauses with noun subjects

When using free pronouns, i.e., in direct speech and narration of non-speech events, they are repeated before each verb if the sentence does not have a noun subject.

- (39) *Fewl n'im*
 3sFP^{returned}^{AC} 3sFP^{went}
He went back.

If there is a noun subject in direct speech or the narration of non-speech events, no subject pronouns occur in the clause.

- (40) *Mel b'ow ow*
 Mel FUT come
Mel will come.

However, sentences using reporting pronouns are different in that even if there is a noun subject, the pronouns still occur in the clause. That is, the noun is followed by a reporting pronoun, and reporting pronouns occur before each of the verbs as they would in non-reported speech when there is no noun subject. Examples (41)–(46) illustrate this. In this set of examples, the odd-numbered examples using reporting pronouns are contrasted with the corresponding even-numbered examples which consist of the quotation content of the odd-numbered examples given as an event narration.

- (41) *nine legɔ̃ in b'ow in eny a*
 this day 3sRP FUT 3sRP appear DEF
He said, 'When it will be day.'
- (42) *legɔ̃ b'ow eny a...*
 day FUT appear the...
When it will be day...
- (43) *nine ngbafre in ow ejagb in ɔ̃r el*
 this young^{fellows} 3sRP came^{AC} road 3sRP beat^{AC} 3pO
He said, 'Young fellows came and beat us on the road.'
- (44) *ngbafre ow ejagb ɔ̃r el*
 young^{fellows} came^{AC} road beat^{AC} 3pO
Young fellows came and beat them on the road.

- (45) **nine lakuzin ce in etu**
 this kitchen only 3sRP burned^{AC}
 He said, 'Only the kitchen burned.'

- (46) **lakuzin ce etu**
 kitchen only burned^{AC}
 Only the kitchen burned.

Note that it is always the third-person *singular* reporting pronoun that follows the noun subject, even if that noun is plural, as in (43).

In narration, a pronoun does not occur in a relative clause modifying a noun subject as seen in (47).

- (47) **ow e lawlel eke b'im Ake el em**
 3sPOSS CONN friends that HAB^{go} Harris church in
 her friends that go to the Harris church

However, in sentences using semidirect or indirect speech containing reporting pronouns, the head of the relative clause is referred to again by a reporting pronoun within the relative clause. Thus in (48), the reporting pronoun *in* follows the relative pronoun *eke* 'that' which introduces the relative clause. This repetition of the reporting pronoun parallels the pattern observed in (41), (43), and (45).

- (48) **nine... ow e lawlel eke in b'im Ake el em**
 this 3sPOSS CONN friends that 3sRP HAB^{go} Harris house in
 She said, '... her friends that go to the Harris church.'

This section has shown that reporting pronouns precede each verb, even in clauses which have noun subjects.

1.5.2 The domain of reference of noun subjects followed by reporting pronouns

The domain of reference of the noun subject is *one principal clause*. All unmarked third-person reporting pronouns after the noun subject up to the beginning of the next principal clause are coreferential with that noun subject. Example (49) illustrates this.

- (49) QM QC
in_A ese¹ ag_B nɔnɔ gbel in_B am ɲɔɲɲ Nyam
 3sRP said^{AC} people many big 3sRP PROG praying God
²**we' n_B am eɲɲ ɛj**
 DpRP PROG singing songs
 She_A said, ¹'Many people_B pray to God, ²they_B sing songs.'

Here the subject **agɲ nɔnɔ** 'many people' is coreferential with the reporting pronoun **in** before the principal verb **ɲɔɲɲ** 'praying', but that is the extent of its domain. In clause 2, the subject referent is again 'many people', but note that the pronoun used to refer to it at this point is the *disjunct* plural pronoun **we'n**. This is because clause 2 begins a new domain and the subject_B of clause 2, 'many people', is *disjunct with the speaker_A* of the QM.

If the principal verb is modified by a subordinate clause, for example to express a means-purpose relationship as in (50), or if the noun subject is modified by a relative clause as in (51), the domain of the noun subject again extends up to the beginning of the next principal clause.

- (50) **Yedey_A nene¹ ag_B in_B b'ow in_B k'eb'r_A**
 Yedey this people 3sRP HAB^{come} 3sRP VOL^{take} 3sO
²**in_A ese we'n_C oc in_A ec'erεkp a**
 3sRP said^{AC} DpRP took^{AC} 3sPOSS CONN^{baggage} DEF
 Yedey_A said, ¹'When the people_B came_B to take me, ²I_A said
 (that) they_C already had taken my_A baggage.'

Within the means-purpose clause in *k'eb'r* 'VOL[^]take^{3sO}', freely translated as 'to take me', the second reporting pronoun *in* is coreferential with the noun subject *agg* 'people' even though the pronoun does not directly follow that noun. This is because the means-purpose clause does not begin a new principal clause, but is a subordinate clause modifying the clause *agg in b'ow* 'people came'.

The second principal clause begins with *in ese* 'I said'. Here the unmarked reporting pronoun *in* refers back to the speaker *Yedey_A* and the second reporting pronoun *in* later on in the quote also refers to *Yedey_A*. The switch in reference of the noun subject *agg_B* 'people' extended only till the beginning of the next principal clause, i.e., until *in ese* 'I said'.

- (51) QM QC
eknes_A nine eyu_B ek'in_B ang Kpas a in_B uw
 visitor this uncle that^{3sRP} is^{AC} Kpas DEF 3sRP died^{AC}
 The visitor_A said, 'My uncle_B who (he) lives in Kpass, he_B died.'

In (51), the noun subject of the QC *eyu* 'uncle' is modified by the relative clause *in ang Kpas a* 'that lives in Kpass'. A relative clause behaves in the same way as a subordinate clause in the way it treats pronouns. In fact, the relative clause is simply a modifier of the subject noun phrase, so the principal clause does not end till after the main verb *uw* 'died'. Hence this point is the end of the domain of reference of the subject noun *eyu* 'uncle' and since the second reporting pronoun is *inside* this domain, it is also coreferential with *eyu* 'uncle'.

2. THE DISCOURSE FUNCTION OF THE VARIOUS SPEECH STYLES

In this final section, we will consider the frequency of the various speech styles in narrative discourse, and also the discourse functions of each style within the narrative.

2.1 FREQUENCY OF REPORTED SPEECH STYLES IN TEXTS

Analysis of 51 pages of double-spaced narrative text (approximately 105 minutes of recorded text) has shown that in Adiokrou the semidirect style is by far the most frequently used to report speech: eighty-eight percent of the 382 quotations are in the semidirect style. Direct speech in which the speaker was the originator of the report is frequent in first-person narratives, but does not of course occur at all in third-person narratives. Direct speech in which the speaker is acting as guarantor of the truth value of the message is very rare: only seven examples of it were found. Indirect speech accounted for only three percent of the quotations (12 occurrences). As was discussed in §1.2, the distinction between semidirect speech and indirect speech is neutralized in some contexts. Thirteen percent of the quotations in the texts fell into this neutralized category.

The chart in (52) displays the number of quotations in each category, first for the three sub-genre of narrative texts studied, and then for narrative texts in general. The percentage of the total these numbers represent is also indicated.

(52) Frequency of occurrence of the three speech styles in Adiokrou narrative

GENRE	Pages of Text	Number of Quotes	DIRECT as Originator	DIRECT as Guarantor	SEMI-DIRECT	Neutralized	IN-DIRECT
Folktales	38	272	0	2(1%)	237(87%)	23(8%)	10(4%)
1st person	7	65	22(34%)	4(6%)	23(35%)	15(23%)	1(2%)
3rd person (non folktale)	6	45	0	1(2%)	30(67%)	13(29%)	1(2%)
Total all genres	51	382	22(6%)	7(2%)	290(88%)	51(13%)	12(3%)

2.2 THE FUNCTION OF THE THREE REPORTING STYLES IN DISCOURSE

2.2.1 The discourse function of indirect speech

Indirect speech occurs very seldom in narrative texts. When it does occur, the principal verb in the quotation is always in an inactual mode. This marks an event not yet achieved; thus indirect speech encodes non-event information. Conversational exchanges never occur in indirect speech, but always in the other two reporting speech styles, direct and semidirect.

The following examples illustrate the kinds of information encoded in indirect speech. In each example, the verb in the principal clause is in an inactual mode (hortative), thus referring to a non-event.

- (53) *gagga yow a nine madu a in ʒl*
 white lady DEF this slaves DEF 3sRP look^{HORT}
omuey a in ɛc
 mouseholes DEF 3sRP pass^{HORT}

The white lady said that the slaves should pass by and look into all of the mouse holes (for chicken feathers).

In the story from which this example is taken, a white woman decided to live in the fields rather than in the village. An impersonated 'Death' notices her house, and decides to kill her. He comes to her house and sings, but each time a chicken sings back to him and scares him away. The woman is infatuated by Death, and has the chicken killed so that Death can visit her without being scared away. When Death comes the next time, the chicken feathers sing back to him, and he runs away frightened. At this, the woman orders that her slaves burn all the chicken feathers. Again Death returns, and a small chicken feather that the slaves had overlooked sings back and scares him away. The woman orders that her slaves look in the mouseholes for all of the hidden chicken feathers, so that they too can be burned. This order, which is given in the example, is given in the hortative (an inactual) mode. Immediately after the example, the woman's order is carried out, and this action is encoded in the accomplished mode, the one used for events.

The report preceding this example consisted of twenty physical actions leading up to this command, which is then immediately executed. In the English translation of the episode (below), the verbs are in italics, and the indirect speech is in capital letters.

Death *went* away, he was there a month. He was there until he *came*, again he *came* and *stopped* at the door, again he *sang*: **Kur e . . .** All the doors *opened*. Ten doors, all of them, *opened*. Again he *sang*: '**Kur e . . .**' The chicken feathers didn't sing anymore. And Death *went* up the stairs. He *went* up the stairs until he *arrived* at the ninth door, and he *sang* this song: '**Kur e ekur . . .**' A tiny wing feather that was in an ant hole *sang*. Death *fell* on his head and *ran* away. The woman *said* that **THE SLAVES SHOULD PASS BY ALL THE MOUSEHOLES AND LOOK** (for feathers). They *looked* in the mouseholes until they *found* one little wing feather of a chicken in an ant hole. They *grabbed* the little wing feather of the chicken and *burned* it.

The narrator is keeping the actions themselves foregrounded (in italics above) and the speech in the episode is therefore reported in the indirect style to keep it backgrounded. A similar phenomenon was reported by Pike (1966:61) for Bariba. The speech report immediately precedes the actual physical event of destroying the chicken feathers and foregrounds that event. In fact, that event is the one that determines the direction the plot will go at this point: once the chicken feathers are destroyed, the

woman is stripped of all her protection and in the next episode Death comes and destroys her.

In the same story there are three other instances of indirect speech which function in the same way, that is, they background the speech reports and foreground the actions.

- (54) *l'ése eke wel k'éknm'n sosiem*
 3sFP[^]said[^]HORT that 3pFP see[^]HORT[^]NEG[^]3sO because
ke l'úru es l'úbr
 then 3sFP[^]run[^]HORT PERF 3sFP[^]cross[^]HORT

literal: He said that they would not see him, because of that,
 then he (would) run and cross over (the field).

free: He (the hare) said (to himself) in order that people would
 not see him, he would run away.

In the story from which (54) was taken, the hare is the trickster, and in the part of the text just previous to the example sentences, he has managed to get himself into an embarrassing situation and has therefore run away (to avoid shame). His running away has been reported as an accomplished event, using verbs in the accomplished mode.

The example sentence itself, reports the hare's thoughts, and all four verbs in it are in an inactual mode. Even the 'say' verb *l'ése* 'he said' which introduces the example is itself in an inactual mode, because what is reported are the hare's thoughts, rather than what he said. The pronouns themselves are all third person, thus showing the person agreement for indirect speech. The information in (54) is, in fact, explanatory information, in which the narrator gives the hare's motivation for what he has already done, i.e., run away. It is non-event information, and is reported out of event sequence, and is thus appropriately backgrounded by use of indirect speech style.

- (55) *lis nine we'n yéwal tiŋ*
 mother this DpRP be[^]quiet[^]HORT completely
 The mother said that they should be completely quiet.

In the story from which this example is taken, a village is at war. A young girl has heard someone singing far away on the battlefield. Her family punished her for this by washing her skin which was covered with sores in a harsh way, until the sores bled. The story does not say why they punished her in this way: perhaps they thought she was crazy. Later her father hears the same thing, very faintly. Her mother asks everyone to be quiet and listen. Note that the verb *yéwal* 'be quiet' in the indirect speech report is in the hortative mode, which is inactual. This indirect quote, like (53), precedes a turning point in the story. The singing came from a wounded man, Jeru, who was stranded on the battlefield unable to come home. When the mother heard the singing, the villagers went to his rescue, bringing a solution to his problem.

Like (53), (55) is preceded by a series of physical actions. These are marked by italics, with the indirect speech itself in capitals.

They grabbed her and beat her. They washed her sores until blood was coming out, they put hot pepper into them. She was crying. At five o'clock, again Jeru sang: Jeru's leg, Jeru's leg . . . The father heard it faintly. The mother said, BE COMPLETELY QUIET.

Again the narrator is keeping the actions themselves foregrounded and the speech in the episode is therefore reported in the indirect style to keep it backgrounded. This indirect speech is followed by another series of 10 physical actions.

2.2.2 The discourse function of semidirect speech

Whereas indirect speech backgrounds the quotation itself, allowing the events to be foregrounded, semidirect speech seems to do the opposite: the quote content is

foregrounded and the narration is backgrounded. Almost all of the dynamic verbal interplay between participants in a story is encoded in the semidirect style. Information crucial to the development of the story is found in the quote content and is not repeated in narrative style.

Larson (1978:240) has found that reported speech in Aguaruna of Peru can encode event information. The same holds true for Adiokrou. Both the verb modes which encode non-events, the inactual modes, and those that encode events, the actual modes, occur in semidirect speech. Semidirect speech then can encode events and non-events, but in either case the information encoded in the semidirect style is foregrounded.

The following example illustrates two things: the dynamic verbal interplay that takes place between participants in semidirect speech, and the importance of the information encoded in semidirect speech to the development of the story. In the following story, Hare, the trickster, wants to marry God's most beautiful daughter. God responds by giving Hare an impossible feat to accomplish before he can marry the girl: Hare must chop down a huge tree with his penis. This challenge and its acceptance is crucial to the development of the story. It is encoded in semidirect speech, and is not repeated in narrative style.

- (56) ¹etɔ ²nine ²aŋ ow e low eke in ang
 and this oh DsPOSS CONN thing REL 3sRP is^{AC}
 em a ³jɔw eci ebi em a ⁴in e lekɔ
 in DEF girl CONN marriage in DEF 3sPOSS CONN tree
 a eke in inym es in eci oɔm
 DEF REL 3sRP standing PERF 3sPOSS CONN field
 a eci araŋn a ⁵ɔ b'eny likr em ⁶ba
 DEF CONN middle DEF 2sRP HAB^{cut} penis in until
 ɔ b'elu wus a ⁷ke yɔw a ɔ
 2sRP HAB^{enter} earth DEF then girl DEF 2sRP
 b'ow ⁸ke ɔ ⁹ɛbi ⁹ɛbiern nine
 HAB^{come} then 2sRP marry^{HORT} Hare this
¹⁰oh na na low likekli na low likekli
 oh that that thing little that thing little

- (57) ¹And (God) said, ²Oh! The thing that is involved here,
³to marry the girl, ⁴my big tree that's standing in the middle of my field,
⁵when you cut it down with your penis, ⁶when you make it fall to the ground,
⁷then the girl, when you come, ⁸then you can marry her.
⁹Hare said, ¹⁰Oh! That's a little thing (that's nothing!), that's a little thing!

As this example is rather long both the vernacular, gloss, and the free translation have been divided up into clauses by numbered superscripts to facilitate understanding. The speech is reported in semidirect style. The final speaker, God, is referred to by third-person pronouns, while the addressee, Hare, is referred to by second-person pronouns (see clauses 5, 6, 7, and 8). After this speech interaction, God agrees to let the hare try to cut down the tree, and the story continues by reporting the action. The information in the semidirect quotation given above is never repeated in narrative style.

2.2.3 The discourse function of direct speech

Direct speech reports in Adiokrou are easy to recognize from their surface form because first, only free pronouns can be used in such reports, and second, the pronoun

reference is determined by the rules for direct speech (rules 1, 2, and 3 of §1.2.1). As far as discourse function is concerned, the narrator cannot use semidirect speech when he reports what he himself said. If he wants to foreground the quote, he *must* use direct speech. In addition, the narrator also *has the option* of encoding what someone else said in the direct speech style, and he exercises this option when he wants to guarantee the truth of the information within the quotation. This option is exercised only occasionally. When it is used, the quoted material is foregrounded not only in relation to the surrounding events, but in relation to the entire discourse: it is pivotal information.

Two examples from narrative are presented here, in which direct speech is used with this guaranteeing function.

The first example is a first-person narrative in which an Adioukrou lay preacher tells about a European plotting with a priest to run him (the preacher) out of town. The narrator uses direct speech style to report the conversation when the plotting was done. Clearly, the narrator was neither reporting his own words, nor even what he heard someone else say, since the plotting was done behind his back. So the report is not a verbatim report, in the sense that we would usually expect a direct speech report to be. The point is that the narrator is so convinced of the truth of the information and of its significance in the story that he presents it in the *form* of a verbatim report, i.e., as direct speech. By doing so, he declares that he will stand behind what he had quoted, in fact, he places the blame of what subsequently happened to him fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the plotters.

A second example occurs in a third-person narrative. It is a story of a mother who is very worried about whether or not her only daughter will pass her final exam. The mother goes to the Catholic church to pray and give an offering, and asks her Protestant friends to do the same on her behalf in their church. When her brother comes to tell her the good news of her daughter's success in her exam, the narrator uses the direct speech style with its free subject pronouns to encode the brother's speech. The narrator wanted to guarantee that this news was true. This is the peak of the story: all events in the story are leading up to it, and after it, the story ends.

As for the discourse functions of the three speech styles, we would summarize by saying that indirect speech backgrounds the quoted information in relation to the surrounding narrative. If the quote contains information important to the development of the story, this information is repeated in narrative style. Indirect speech is also used to encode explanatory information. Semidirect speech foregrounds the quoted information in relation to the surrounding narrative. The quoted information is *not* repeated in narrative style. Most of the dynamic verbal interplay in narrative texts uses semidirect speech style. Direct speech foregrounds the quoted information. When it is used to encode what someone else said it not only foregrounds the information in relation to the surrounding narrative, but in relation to the entire discourse.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Adioukrou offers its speakers the choice of three reported speech styles: direct, semidirect, and indirect. Two subject pronoun systems, the free and the reporting, allow the speaker to specify his level of involvement in the quotation he is reporting. If he is originator or guarantor of the information, he uses the free subject pronouns. If he is an uninvolved reporter, he uses the reporting pronouns. Direct speech always uses free pronouns, semidirect always uses reporting pronouns, and indirect can use either.

To help clarify third-person reference, unlike many languages which have a special logophoric pronoun to mark coreference with the speaker or subject, Adioukrou has disjoint reference pronouns. These disjoint pronouns exist in all of the pronoun paradigms and have special forms. The unmarked third-person pronouns on the other hand generally indicate coreference with the subject or speaker.

Reporting pronouns are different in that they are repeated after a noun subject and after the connector *eke* 'that' of a relative clause. A noun followed by the third-person reporting pronoun *in* remains the referent of the third-person pronouns for the domain of one principal clause, including possible subordinate or relative modifying clauses. To reestablish that noun as referent of the next pronoun following the principal verb, a disjoint pronoun has to be used.

Semidirect speech is by far the most frequently used speech style, accounting for eighty percent of all text examples. Direct speech and indirect speech occur very rarely in texts. Semidirect encodes foregrounded information. Direct speech encodes guaranteed information. Indirect speech encodes backgrounded information.

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