

DIRECT AND REPORTED SPEECH IN TIKAR NARRATIVE TEXTS

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In Tikar speech the only participant who must be overtly referred to in one way or another is the speaker. The addressee is frequently omitted. There is an obligatory use of a speech-introducing particle, except in the case where the speaker is simply identified by an anaphoric particle. As for the pronominal reference system, the set used in direct speech is the same as that used in non-speech narrative. In reported speech, there is a set of logophoric pronouns, separate and distinct from the anaphoric pronouns.

The purpose of this paper is to examine two of the various types of speech in Tikar<sup>1</sup> narrative texts: direct and reported. We will look at the participants involved, the speech introducers used (both verbs and particles), and the system of pronominal reference. The conclusions presented in this paper are based on a study of fourteen narrative texts, recorded, transcribed and translated between 1975-1979. Examples are drawn from these texts, the specific text in each case is identified by number. The texts are enumerated by title at the end, in Appendix 1. A representative text, "The Hare and the Rooster", has been included, in Appendix 2.

1. Participants

There are normally two participants involved in a speech interchange. I

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<sup>1</sup>Tikar is a Benue-Congo language spoken by some 15-20,000 people in the west-central region of Cameroon. The dialect from which the texts and examples for this paper were taken is that spoken in Bankim, in the subdivision of Banyo. The data for this paper was gathered by the author during various stays in Bankim from 1975-1979. The first draft was prepared during a workshop held under the auspices of SIL in Yaoundé, Cameroon, March-May 1979, under the direction of Ursula Wiesemann. Tikar has 26 consonant phonemes: p, b, b̃, t, d, d̃, k, g, kp, gb, p̃ (ɛ̃), v, s, z, ʃ (ʃ), ʒ (ʒ), x, g (ɣ), m, n, ny (ɲ), ŋ, w, l, r, y; and 8 vowel phonemes: i, e, ɛ, ə, a, u, o, ɔ. There are four phonemic tones: high, low, rising, falling.

have chosen to refer to them as *speaker* and *addressee* (as opposed to Longacre's [1976:350] terminology, sender/receiver).

1.1. Identification of the speaker. The speaker is obligatorily mentioned, either overtly by a noun or pronoun, or covertly by an anaphoric particle, which may or may not be part of an appositional phrase. The set of anaphoric particles which serve to identify the speaker are homophonous with the set of subject pronouns which occur in dependent clauses and with the set of object pronouns (cf. 5.1). The anaphoric particle refers back to a person or animal (or, in other contexts, an object which is personified) already mentioned. Its form depends upon the noun class to which the previously-mentioned item belongs. There is a different anaphoric particle for each noun class. These anaphoric particles are used very frequently in everyday conversation as well as in narrative texts. In the latter they appear to be a means of moving the story along at a more rapid pace by reducing the speech-introducing clause to a bare minimum and then simply reporting the speech.

This obligatory identification of the speaker does not, however, necessitate the presence of a speech-introducing verb. Often there is no overt verb used to introduce either direct or reported speech. Examples:

Text 7

à ʒè lè myón lé ...  
he say to wife-his that

'he said to his wife that...'

tyí ʒè kú' lè myí nwè ñyón lé ...  
hare say also to wife friend his that

'the hare also said to his friend's wife that...'

Text 1

nún nún kén gwùmnì  
ANA he go hide

'that one (says) he is going to hide'

Text 5

tyí nún nún dŵô' lé sòn ké nwúm  
hare ANA he throw thus it LOÇ mouth

'the hare (said) thus he is going to throw it into his mouth'

Text 2

bón ooo h̄yám mbò' ní d̄wá bón d̄yě  
 they oh animal one FOC throw them today  
 'they (said), "Oh, an animal died today"'

1.2. Identification of the addressee. The addressee may be overtly identified by a noun or pronoun, or he may be omitted completely. To a certain extent this depends upon the verb which is used in introducing the speech, i.e. the speech-introducing verbs. In Tikar, among the speech-introducing verbs, in addition to the usual speech-oriented verbs šè 'say', tyíbfí 'ask', and p̄yònzí 'reply', there are also certain thought-process verbs such as l̄immì 'know', p̄òkà 'think', and yílfí 'agree', as well as emotion-oriented ones such as kún 'cry out' which belong to the paradigm. The verb šífb 'sing' also may be classed among the speech-introducing verbs.

After speech-oriented verbs there is an optional reference to the addressee. With the other speech-introducing verbs, normally the addressee is not mentioned. Examples:

## OPTIONAL REFERENCE TO ADDRESSEE

Text 1

tyí šè lè myón lé nyí ní tyí h̄kán  
 hare say to wife-his that ANA FOC make wine  
 'the hare told his wife to make wine'

Text 7

wú šè nún lé mún kènnâ mè h̄yòn  
 you say him that I go PL walk  
 'you tell him that I have gone for a walk'

Text 13

tyí h̄yòn šè lé nún tyí h̄l̄immì nún làn tyí d̄ewà  
 the one walk say that he the one know he pass the one book  
 'the walker said that he, the one who has knowledge, is smarter than the one who has been to school'

Text 4

à šè lé nyí ní šélfí lé bá bón jí  
 he say that ANA FOC take thus so that they eat  
 'he said that she should take it thus so that they could eat'

Text 8

mwô' míf b ní kà cíf bíf / nún mǎi ìm ní tá b é k é p é n nún  
 child woman FOC ASP ask / ANA marabout FOC ASP is LOC where in  
 'that girl asked, she (said), "Where is that marabout?"'

NO ADDRESSEE

Text 2

tyí ìmmì lé nyí ní ywì kán  
 hare know that ANA FOC die NEG

'the hare knew that he wasn't dead'

à tǎ kún lé bón bíf kwèni ywí hwum  
 she ASP cry out that they FOC cry death Hwum

'she cried out that they should mourn the death of Hwum'

Text 10

à pòkà' lé nún kènmé tì bì dŵɪ  
 he think that LOG go again checkers throw

'he thought he was going to play checkers again'

In the instances where the speaker is referred to simply by an anaphoric particle (cf. 1), the addressee is never overtly identified. This may be due to the fact that the verb is also deleted in constructions of this kind (cf. 2). Examples:

Text 14

m'v'íí' nún nyí mókí  
 medicine ANA ANA be quiet

'the medicine, that one, (told) her to be quiet'

nún bón ywímé k é tyì dyé  
 ANA they FUT work do today

'that one (said) they are going to work today'

Text 9

dŵùlù nún nún ywóá  
 baboon ANA LOG understand

'the baboon, that one (said) he understood'

2. Speech-introducing Clause<sup>2</sup>

The fully expanded speech-introducing clause has the following formula:

+ speaker + verb + |è 'to' + addressee + |é 'that' (+ speech)

Various components of this formula may be absent, the most reduced possibility being:

+ speaker + speech

Examples:

+ speaker	± verb	±  è 'to'	± addressee	±  é 'that'	+ speech
<u>Text 1</u>					
1. tyí hare	ʒè say	è to	nyón wife-his	é that	nyí ní tyí òkán ANA FOC make wine
<u>Text 1</u>					
2. híwí' dog	ʒè say		nún him	é that	nún yí lá LOG agree
<u>Text 12</u>					
3. ówí' we	ʒé say			le that	pyù lwú  è mwé tã laugh good with the one ASP pyù óé nyè laugh after back
<u>Text 1</u>					
4. pòrò nún hyena ANA					nún ywímé bèn LOG FUT come

1. 'the hare told his wife to make wine'
2. 'the dog told him he agreed'
3. 'we say that he who laughs last laughs best'
4. 'the hyena, that one, (said) he would come'

There are, however, certain restrictions. When the speaker is identified only by an anaphoric particle (cf. 1.1), the verb is omitted, as is the

<sup>2</sup>Koontz [1977:115] refers to speech-introducing clauses as the quote margin.

speech introducer *lé* 'that' (cf. 3). Since *lè* 'to' is linked to the addressee, if the addressee is absent, it follows that *lè* 'to' will be deleted. However, as example 2 shows, the presence of an addressee does not force the narrator to use a *lè*.

### 3. Speech-introducing Particle *lé* 'that'

The speech-introducing particle *lé* 'that' is obligatory, except when the speaker is identified by an anaphoric particle (cf. 1.1). It occurs following all types of verbs which may occur in the speech-introducing clause (cf. 2). Examples:

#### Text 11

à šè lè ážwí' lè wù ní m̀b̀on híyè níwén  
 he say to dog that you are watch house good  
 'he said to the dog, "You are a good watchdog"'

#### Text 4

à l̀mmá lè m̀vón yè ð̀n ǒé lè pén  
 he know that mother-in-law FUT come after with corn fufou  
 'he knew that his mother-in-law was going to come afterwards with corn fufou'

à tyíbf lè ñwè híyón lè ší sí lánnzí lè tyí gwén  
 he ask to friend his that ANA FOC pass how place hunt  
 'he asked his friend how the hunt went'

#### Text 2

à tá kún lè ǒn kwén\ ywí hwum  
 she ASP cry that they cry death Hwum  
 'she cried out that they should mourn the death of Hwum'

kpúlú ð̀nmí šíb ... lè ... nyí ní ywó'  
 turtle begin sing that ANA FOC understand  
 'the turtle begins to sing that he understands...'

#### Text 7

ǒá wù yíí lè à yínǹd̀ì m̀n  
 NEG you agree that he touch me  
 'don't agree that he touch me'

à pyònnzì nún lè ...  
 she reply him that  
 'she replied to him that ...'

## 4. Responses

There are very few verbal responses to requests or commands in Tikar narrative texts. The same is true, however, in everyday speech, where, often, the only response to a request or command is a murmured *ɛn*, signifying affirmation, or *ayi* or *ban*, indicating a negative response. Both in text material and in everyday speech, in the instances where a complete clause is uttered, it most often involves the verb *yííí* 'accept, agree'. Examples:

Text 1

ńẏwí' ẏè nún lè nún yííá  
dog say him that LOG accept

'the dog told him he accepted' (after the hare has invited the dog to come to drink wine with him)

ɣwéb nún nún ywímé ǂèn  
panther ANA LOG FUT come

'the panther (said) he would come' (after the hare has invited the panther to come drink wine with him)

Text 9

(Here there is both a reported non-verbal response as well as a verbal one.)

ńẏwí' yííí / ǎ kà ẏè nún lè mún yííá  
dog agree he ASP say him that I agree

'the dog agreed; he told him, "I accept"' (after the baboon has asked the dog to go with him to visit his fiancée)

Although verbal responses are relatively rare, reported non-verbal ones occur frequently. Again, it is often the verb *yííí* 'agree, accept' which is used, but it is also possible to find *ywó'* 'understand'. A report of the subsequent action of the addressee often follows. Examples:

Text 5

gbú ẏè lè tyí lè ǂán nyí wú ǂám / tyí yííí / à ǂám nyí  
snail say to hare that catch hen you prepare / hare accept / he prepare hen

'The snail said to the hare, "Catch a hen and prepare (it)." The hare agreed. He prepared the hen.'

gbú nún nyí ní ǂwé' tí ǂé lè nún ní yé pyí wín nún / tyí  
snail ANA ANA FOC taste again after and LOG FOC FUT fall fire in / hare

ywó' / à mókí nún  
understand / he be quiet REF

'The snail said that if he (= addressee) tasted the food again, he (= snail) would fall into the fire. The hare understood. He kept quiet.'

Often, however, when a request is made or a command is given, the addressee simply carries it out. Longacre [1976:178] points out that "reported re-partee can involve reporting of non-verbal resolution. As we all know, in real life situations very often the response to a proposal is non-verbal, i.e. someone is told to do something and he gets up and does it and this is the answer rather than verbal activity on the part of the second person."

This is frequently the case in Tikar narrative texts. Examples:

Text 1

tyí šè lè myón lé nyí ní tyí òkán ... / myón swì òkán ké  
hare say to wife-his that ANA FOC make wine ... / wife-his pour wine LOC  
mlá' nún  
water in

'The hare told his wife to make corn wine ... His wife poured the wine into the water.'

Text 2

nyám mbó' kà šé lè myón lé nyí ní kén mé mwù mbò' lè nyí  
animal one ASP say to wife-his that ANA FOC go PL head forest and ANA  
ní tǎ kún lé hwum ní ywá dyé ... / kwán sé myón kén ké mé  
FOC ASP cry that Hwum FOC die today ... / time that wife-his go LOC PL  
mwù mbó' à dúnmí kún lé hwum ní ówííá dyé  
head forest she begin cry that Hwum FOC be lost today

'An animal told his wife to go to the top of the forest and to cry out that Hwum died today... When his wife went to the top of the forest, she began to cry out that Hwum died today.'

In the case of questions, the answer is normally reported verbally, either with or without the formal speech-introducing verb *pyònnzí* 'reply'.

Examples:

Text 7

ǎ kà tyíbí nún ... myí tyí kà pyònnzí nún lé ...  
he ASP ask her ... wife hare ASP reply him that ...

'He asked her ... The hare's wife replied that ...'



Text 4

ǎ kà tyfɓf lè ɲwè ɲyón lé ʒí sɪ lánzɪ lé tyɪ gwém / ɓwé'  
 he ASP ask to friend his that ANA FOC pass how place hunt / nighthawk

kà ʒé lè nún lé nún nɪ yén ɲzáná' ...  
 ASP say to him that LOG FOC see antelope ...

'He asked his friend how it went with the hunt ... The nighthawk told him that he saw an antelope ...'

In summary then, questions require a verbal reported response, while requests and commands most often have simply a reported non-verbal one.

5. Pronominal Reference

5.1. Pronominal reference in non-speech narrative. As a background to the study of pronominal reference in direct and reported speech, we will first look at the forms found in non-speech narrative.<sup>3</sup> The following chart shows the forms used for pronominal reference in ordinary, non-speech narrative. The vertical columns indicate the forms used in subject and object functions; and the horizontal rows, the first, second, and third person forms. Within each cell, the singular and plural forms are indicated. As to the third person forms, in subject function, normally à , ɓé occur in independent clauses and nún , ɓón in dependent ones. The third person forms, in both subject and object functions, are used as representative forms, since there are variants depending upon the noun class of the noun they replace. For the complete set of forms, refer to the chart at the end of 5.2.

		Subject	Object
1	sg.	mún	
	pl.	ɓwí'	
2	sg.	wù	
	pl.	ɓyfn	
3	sg.	à / nún	nún
	pl.	ɓé / ɓón	ɓón

<sup>3</sup>A preliminary listing of the pronouns in Tikar (though incomplete) was done by Hagege [1969:40].

5.2. Pronominal reference in direct and reported speech. The system of pronominal reference in speech is more complicated than that used in non-speech narrative. The first and second person pronouns remain the same, but in the case of the third person forms, there is an additional distinction made between logophoric<sup>4</sup> and anaphoric pronouns, logophoric being that which the speaker uses in referring to himself in reported speech, while anaphoric is that which refers either to the addressee or to a third person. Examples:

## LOGOPHORIC

pól ʒè lè jân lé nún kènnâ lwùmwù  
Paul say to John that he go market

'Paul told John that he (= Paul) went to the market'

## ANAPHORIC

Reported speech:

pól ʒè lè jân lé nyĩ ní kèn lwùmwù  
Paul say to John that he FOC go market

'Paul told John that he (= John) should go to the market'

pól ʒè lè jân lé nyĩ ní kènnâ lwùmwù  
Paul say to John that he FOC go market

'Paul told John that he (= neither Paul nor John) went to the market'

Direct speech:

pól ʒè lè jân lé à kènnâ lwùmwù  
Paul say to John that he go market

'Paul said to John, "He (neither Paul nor John) went to the market"'

The following chart shows the third person logophoric and anaphoric pronouns which occur in direct and reported speech. All of these forms are given as representative forms, since there are variants according to the noun class of the noun they refer to, as is illustrated by the following examples (for a complete list of the various forms, refer to the chart at the end of this section):

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<sup>4</sup>The term *logophoric* was proposed by Hagege [1974:284] to designate a particular category of pronouns which refer to the speaker or to the one whose thoughts are recorded.

à ʒŷ lè myón lɛ nyŷ ní kén  
 he say to wife-his that she FOC go  
 'he told his wife to go'

à ʒŷ lè zán mʷííí lɛ ʒí sí kén  
 he say to package medicine that it FOC go  
 'he told the package of medicine to go'

à ʒŷ lè hswàb lɛ yí yí kén  
 he say to spirit that it FOC go  
 'he told the spirit to go'

		Logophoric	Anaphoric
Direct speech	Sg.	—	à
	Pl.	—	ʒé
Reported speech	Sg.	nún	nyŷ
	Pl.	ʒón	ʒyí

As in the case of the pronouns used in non-speech narrative, here again there is a dichotomy of forms used in independent vs. dependent clauses, since in direct speech à functions as the subject of an independent clause, while in reported speech nún/nyŷ function as the subject of a dependent one.

A further phenomenon in reported speech involving an anaphoric pronominal reference is the fact that, not only is there a special form for the subject of the dependent clause, but also for any object pronouns and possessive adjectives within the clause. Examples:

#### NON-SPEECH NARRATIVE

à ʒéíá dá' ʒón à kén lè són ndém  
 she take cutlass her she go with it field  
 'she took her cutlass and went to the field with it'

#### REPORTED SPEECH

à ʒŷ lè myón lɛ nyŷ ní kén dá' nyŷ ʒí nyŷ ní kén lè ʒí ndém  
 he say to wife-his that she FOC go cutlass her take she FOC go with it field  
 'he told his wife to go take her cutlass and go to the field with it'

In non-speech narrative, the choice of possessive adjective depends upon

the noun class of the noun it modifies, as in the first example above: dá' šón 'her cutlass'. The noun dá' 'cutlass' is a sɛ class noun and the concord-ing possessive adjective is šón. In reported speech, however, the form of the possessive adjective depends upon the noun class of the possessor, as in the second example above: dá' nyí 'her cutlass'. Here, myón 'his wife' is a nɛ class noun, and the concord-ing anaphoric pronoun, which func-tions in reported speech as possessive adjective as well as subject and ob-ject, is nyí. The following chart shows the complete set of anaphoric pro-nouns used in non-speech narrative and in reported speech. The forms used in direct speech are the same as those used in non-speech narrative. The hori-zontal columns distinguish the various functions of the anaphoric forms. The vertical columns labelled nɛ, sɛ, yɛ, etc. indicate the various noun classes in Tikar.

	Non-speech narrative				Reported speech			
	nɛ	sɛ	yɛ	ʃɛ	nɛ	sɛ	yɛ	ʃɛ
Subject pronouns	nún	són	yón	ʃón	nyí	ʃí	yí	ʃyí
Object pronouns	nún	són	yón	ʃón	nyí	ʃí	yí	ʃyí
Possessive pronouns	nyón	šón	yón	ʃyón	nyí	ʃí	yí	ʃyí

## APPENDIX 1: Texts examined

1. The hare and his wife
2. The panther and the animals
3. The hare and the bitter calabashes
4. The hare and the nighthawk
5. The hare and the snail
6. Why the bat doesn't look at the sun
7. The hare and the rooster
8. Story of a marabout
9. The dog and the baboon
10. The worker and the lazy man
11. The story of the dog, a former wild animal
12. Two children
13. Two brothers
14. Package of remedies

## APPENDIX 2: The Hare and the Rooster

The text is charted according to clauses, each numbered line indicating a separate clause. Sentences are indicated by numbers (1, 2, 3, etc.); clauses within sentences by letters (2a, 4a, 4b, etc.). Underneath each Tikar word there is an English translation. Hyphens indicate where two English words = one Tikar word. At the end of the charted text, there is a free translation, with numbering corresponding to the charted text. The text is charted in four columns:

1. Conjunction = subordinate and coordinate conjunctions which are used to introduce a clause or to link two clauses within a sentence.
2. Subject = all forms which function in the subject slot of a clause.
3. Verb = all verb forms. It should be noted that ... before a verb form (see line 3) indicates that it is part of a verb complex, and that the two parts of the complex are separated by something in the other column, e.g. sentence 3: à bé súkú' dým nyì lón lé dýmí nwè híón . Here, the two verbal parts bé suku' and lón are separated by the direct object dým nyì , hence the ... before lón in the chart.
4. Other = all constituents which can occur between the two parts of a verb complex, as well as all expansions which follow the verb.

The following abbreviations are used in the English translations:

PL	plural	IMP	impersonal subject	FOC	focus
NEG	negative	ASP	aspect	FUT	future
LOC	locative	ANA	anaphoric	LOG	logophoric

	<u>Conj.</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Other</u>
1.		tyí bón lè dým nyì hare them with male hen	bé were	mè nwè PL friend
2.		tyí hare	bé kǎn lǐmmǐ was NEG know	
2a.	lé	nyám ndó' ní that animal another FOC	lǎn pass	nún pé hígyô' wán him here earth world lè kón with wisdom
3.		à he	bé súkú'...lón was only call	dým nyì lé dýmí male hen with fool nwè híón friend his

Conj.	Subject	Verb	Other
4.	á IMP	ḃèn come	nywó ḃdó' day another
4a.	ḃyím nyì male hen	ṣè say	lè tyí with hare
4b. lè that	nyí ní ANA FOC	kyín...hwáṣí come greet	nún him  ké ḃsòṅ yón ké nyè LOC village his LOC back  ḃgyìn lè days 3
5.	tyí hare	yííí accept	
6.	ḃgyìn lè yí days 3 FOC	wóíí suffice	
6a.	tyí hare	wá' kèn get up leave	
7.	à he	kèn ḃèn go come	ké ḃsòṅ ḃwè ḃyón LOC village friend his  ḃyím nyí male hen
7a. lè and	ḃyím nyì male hen	pòsèá prepare	mbyí lwén before well
8.	à he	dónnzí leave	myón ké pyá' wife-his LOC hand
9.	à he	ṣè say	lè myón to wife-his
10. lè that	kwán sé time that	ḃwè ḃyém tyí friend my hare	ywímé ḃèn FUT come
10a.	wù you	ḃàn welcome	ḃé after  nún lwén him well
10b.	wù you	pé give	nún ṣí lè ywúm nwí him food with things drink
11. (if)	nún he	tyíbí ask	mún me
11a.	wù you	ṣè say	nún him

	<u>Conj.</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Other</u>
11b.	lé that	mùn I	kènná go	mè hỳòn lầbbí ñdó' ké PL walk long another LOC  ñdémñdém nún dream in
12.		mùn I	ywímé tòn FUT stay	ké mbán ñzíf LOC corn loft under
13.		mùn I	dúnnzíf make go in	mwù ké kwéb ñzíf head LOC wing under
14.	kwán sé time that	nún he	ywímé ðën FUT come	
14a.		mùn I	ðá...púnnzíf NEG move	nywíf body
15.		wù you	ywímé...líséa FUT show	nún mùn him me
15a.	són but	ðá wù NEG you	yífí accept	
15b.	lé that	à he	yínnđí touch	mùn me
16.		đyím nyí male hen	kèn go	mbán ñzíf corn loft under
17.		à he	dúnnzíf make go in	mwù ké kwéb ñzíf head LOC wing under
18.		à he	mókí keep quiet	nún him
19.	(when)	tyí hare	ðën come	
19a.		myí đyím nyí wife male hen	yè greet	nún lwén him well
20.		à she	pé give	tyí zíf lwén hare food good
21.		tyí hare	zíf eat	lwén well
22.		à he	đyím satisfy oneself	
23.		à he	kònnđí nwí add drink	
24.		à he	đyím satisfy oneself	lwén well
25.		á he	kà tyíbí ASP ask	nún her

	<u>Conj.</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Other</u>
26.		ɲwè ɲyón friend his ɖyím nyì ní male hen FOC	kènnâ go	pén nún where in
27.		myí nyí wife hen	šé say	nún him
27a.	wě šě as	ywón husband-her	šy say	nún her
28.		à she	kèn...lìsea go show	tyí ɖyím nyì place male hen ké mbán ńží LOC corn loft under
29.		tyí hare	yén see	ɲwè ɲyón friend his
30.		ǎ he	yén kán see NEG	mwù head
31.		yí fear	kwén hurt	tyí hare
32.		tyí hare	šè kú' say also	lè myí ɲwè ɲyón to wife friend his
32a.	lé kwán that time sé that	ɲwè ɲyém friend my	ywímé pyònní FUT return	
32b.		wù you	šè say	nún him
32c.	lé that	à he	kyín kú'... come also yénní see	mùn me ké ńsòn yém ké LOC village my LOC ńgyín lè nún days 3 in
33.		myí ɲwè ɲyón wife friend his	yííí accept	
34.		tyí hare	wá' kèn get up go	
35.		à he	đún enter	ńbó' nún đín forest in for no reason
36.		ɖyím nyì male hen	kwó' crow	bé ńsòn yón after village his



Conj.	Subject	Verb	Other
37.	tyí nún nún hare ANA LOG	bà tí pyònnì NEG again return	bé ké ñsòn ðyím nyì behind LOC village male hen
38.	tyí hare	běñ arrive	ñsòn yón village his
39.	à he	ðúnmí kú' pòsà' begin also prepare	
39a. wěšě as	ðyím nyì male hen	tyě do	
40.	à he	hwìn buy	mè bà' PL wine
41.	myón wife-his	ðám prepare	ží food
42.	hgyìn lé days 3	wólí suffice	
42a.	tyí hare	lìmmà know	
42b. lé that	hwè hýón friend his		
	ðyím nyì ní male hen FOC	ywìmé...kyìn yénní FUT come see	nún ðyé him today
43.	à he	šè say	lè myón to wife-his
43a. lé that kwán sé time that	hwè hýèm friend my	ywìmé běñ FUT arrive	
43b.	wù you	gàn welcome	nún lwén him well
43c.	wù you	pé give	nún ží' him food
43d. (when)	nún he	žímé eat	
43e.	wù you	pé tí kú' give again also	nún bà' sé him wine that
43f.	mùn I	hwínnà buy	
44. (if)	nún he	tyíbí ask	mún me

	<u>Conj.</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Other</u>
44a.		wù you	šè say	nún him
44b.	lè that	mùn I	kènná go	mè hýǒn lǎbbí hódó' ké PL walk long another LOC hédémhédém nún dream in
45.		mùn I	ywímé tòn FUT stay	ké pé mbán hǎí LOC here corn loft under
46.	(when)	nún he	yé...kyǐn yénní FUT come see	mùn me
46a.		mùn I	bǎ...púnanzí NEG move	nywí body
46b.	són but	bá wù NEG you	yííí accept	
46c.	lè that	à he	yínndí touch	mùn me
47.		myón wife-his	yííí accept	
48.		tyí hare	dún enter	nám house
49.		à he	šáíí take	dá' són lè mgbón hǎá' cutlass his and piece wood
50.		à he	nòn lay down	
51.		à he	kè put	mwù ké mgbón hǎá' zwém head LOC piece wood on
52.		tyí nún hare ANA		
52a.		myón ní wife-his FOC	gbéé cut	nún hǎún him neck
52b.		nyí ní ANA FOC	kèn...gwùmní go hide	mwù head
53.	kwán sé time that	hùwè hýón ní friend his FOC	yé...kyǐn yénní FUT come see	nún him
53a.		mwù head	yí bǎn is NEG	
53b.		nyí ní ANA FOC	yé...yí FUT fear	nún him

Conj.	Subject	Verb	Other
54.	tyí hare	límme kán know NEG	
54a. Ié that	ɲwè ɲyón d̥yím nyí kě friend his male hen put		mwù ké kwéb ɲíí head LOC wing under
55.	à he	pòkà' think	làn yón part his
55a. Ié that	nyí ní ANA FOC	gbèbé cut	mwù nùn head himself
56.	tyí hare	kèn tòn go stay	ké mbán ɲíí ké LOC corn loft under LOC tyí ɲwè ɲyón yé nún place friend his FUT him kyín yénní come see
57.	myón wife-his	šéìì take	dá' cutlass
58.	à she	gbèb cut	nún ɲgún him neck
59.	à she	kèn...gwùmní go hide	mwù head
60.	tyí hare	d̥únmí pàtì begin move	bé mbán ɲíí behind corn loft under
61.	ɲváb yón blood his	šéìì gush	ké ɲíím mbán LOC heart corn loft
62.	myón wife-his	kyín...tòn come stay	nún bé nām ? behind house
63.	á IMP	làn pass	kpém kwá' time little
64.	d̥yím nyí male hen	kwáin leave	
65.	nyí tyí wife hare	d̥únmí...gànní begin welcome	nún lwén him well
66.	à she	pé give	nún ší lè ywúm nwí him food with things drink
67.	d̥yím nyí male hen	šá eat	
68.	à he	nwí drink	lwén well

	<u>Conj.</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Other</u>
69.		à he	ɓyɪm satisfy oneself	
70.		ǎ he	kà tyɪbɪ ASP ask	nún her
70a.		ɣwè ɣyón friend his	nɪ kú' is also	ɸén nún where in
71.		nyɪ tyɪ wife hare	kà ɸyònnzɪ ASP answer	nún him
71a.	lè that	nyɪ nɪ ANA FOC	kènnà go	mè ɣyón lǎbbɪ ɳdó' PL walk long another
72.		ɗyɪm nyɪ male hen	lɪmmɪ know	
72a.		nun nyɪ nɪ ANA ANA FOC	ywà die	
73.		à he	kɛn bèn go arrive	
74.		à he	yén...žéɪà see gush	ɳváb blood
75.		à he	dúnmi...ywáɪf begin flap	mè kwéb PL wing
75a.	lè and	à he	tǎ kwé ASP cry	
76.		nún bɛ bɪ ANA they FOC	tà ká ɓanɪ ASP NEG be rivals	lè lwɪkwǎn with neighbor
76a.		nún LOG	kě put	nún mwù ké kwéb ɳžɪ himself head LOC wing under
76b.		nyɪ nɪ ANA FOC	wúà kill	nyɪ né' ɗyè himself today
77.		à he	ɸyònnɪ return	nún bɛ kwàbbɪ ké himself behind evening LOC ɳsòn yón village his
77a.	lè and	bɛ they	gwúmmá bury	tyɪ hare
78.		kón tyɪ intelligence hare	pókéa fool	nún kǎmmɪ màzwùm nún him time in question in
79.		kón intelligence	sú' kán only NEG	zwúm mwúm ɳbó' stomach person one

	<u>Conj.</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Other</u>
80.		tyf hare	wúá kill	nún né' himself

Free translation

1) The hare and the rooster were friends. 2) The hare didn't know 2a) any animal in the world who was more intelligent than he. 3) The only person he considered his friend was the rooster. 4) One day 4a) the rooster told the hare 4b) to come to visit him in his village in three days' time. 5) The hare agreed. 6) When the three days had passed, 6a) the hare left. 7) He arrived in the village of his friend, the rooster 4a) and the rooster had everything ready. 8) He had left it all in his wife's hands. 9) He said to his wife 10) When my friend, the hare arrives, 10a) welcome him well, 10b) give him some food and something to drink. 11) If he asks where I am, 11a) tell him 11b) that I have gone for a long walk in dreamland. 12) I am going to stay under the corn loft. 13) I am going to put my head under my wing. 14) When he arrives I'm not going to budge. 15) You are going to show me to him, 15a) but don't let 15b) him touch me. 16) The rooster went under the corn loft. 17) He put his head under his wing. 18) He kept quiet. 19) When the hare arrived 19a) the rooster's wife welcomed him warmly. 20) She gave him food. 21) The hare ate well. 22) He was full. 23) He also drank. 24) His thirst was quenched. 25) He asked her 26) where his friend, the rooster, was. 27) The rooster's wife told him 27a) what her husband had told her to. 28) She went to show him where the rooster was under the corn loft. 29) The hare saw his friend. 30) He didn't see any head. 31) He was afraid. 32) The hare said to his friend's wife 32a) When my friend comes back, tell him that he is to come to see me in my village in three days' time. 33) His friend's wife agreed. 34) The hare left. 35) He went into the forest. 36) The rooster crowed back in his village. 37) The hare said to himself that he was never again going back to the rooster's village. 38) When the hare arrived in his village 39) he began to prepare 39a) as the rooster had done. 40) He bought wine. 41) His wife prepared food. 42) When three days had passed, 42a) the hare knew 42b) that his friend, the rooster, was going to come to see him today. 43) He said to his wife 43a) When my friend arrives 43b) welcome him well, 43c) give him food. 43d) When he has eaten 43e) give him also the wine that 43f) I bought. 44) If he asks for me 44a) tell him 44b) that I have gone for a long walk in dreamland. 45) I am going to stay here under the corn loft. 46) When he comes to see me 46a) I won't budge, 46b) but don't let 46c) him touch me. 47) His wife agreed. 48) The hare went into the house. 49) He took his cutlass and a piece of wood. 50) He lay down. 51) He put his head on the wood. 52) The hare said 52a) that his wife should cut his neck, 52b) and she should go hide his head. 53) When his friend came to see him 53a) and there was no head, 53b) he would be afraid. 54) The hare didn't know 54a) his friend, the rooster, had put his head under his wing. 55) He thought 55a) that he had cut off his head. 56) The hare went under the corn loft in the place where his friend would come to see him. 57) His wife took the cutlass. 58) She cut his neck. 59) She went to hide his head. 60) The hare began to flounder around under the

corn loft. 61) His blood spurted out in the loft. 62) His wife returned to the house. 63) A short time later 64) the rooster arrived. 65) The hare's wife welcomed him warmly. 66) She gave him food and something to drink. 67) The rooster ate. 68) He drank a lot. 69) He was full. 70) He asked her 70a) where his friend was. 71) The hare's wife answered 71a) that he had gone for a long walk. 72) The rooster knew 72a) that he had died. 73) He went (to the corn loft). 74) He saw the blood that had gushed out. 75) He began to flap his wings 75a) and to cry. 76) He said that there had been no rivalry between him and his friend, 76a) he had put his head under his wing, 76b) the other one had killed himself today. 77) He went home to his village that evening 77a) and they buried the hare. 78) The hare's intelligence fooled him that time. 79) Intelligence is not limited to only one person. 80) The hare killed himself.

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