NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE PARTICLE rò IN BBALEDHA (LENDU)

BY
Honoré BUNDUKI KWANY

A Linguistic Project Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Trasnlation Studies

JUNE 2004

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
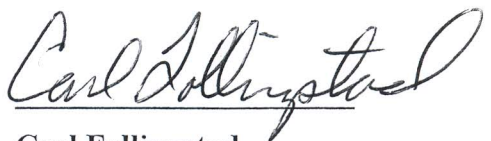SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

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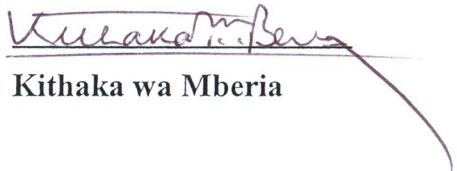

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June, 2004

Student's Declaration

THE PARTICLE *rò* IN BBALEDHA (LENDU):

I declare that this is my original work and has not been
submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical
Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed)_____

Honoré BUNDUKI KWANY

June, 2004

ABSTRACT

This paper targets to discuss the role of the particle *rò* in Bbaledha (Lendu). This particle seems to have a procedural function when used in discourse. Also, it overlaps in form with a postposition, which is readily known as marking direction toward something or a point.

In this paper, I will look at the different meanings and functions of the particle *rò* with the purpose of bringing them together into a core meaning and function. I will, therefore, use two theories to achieve my goal: Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics. I will argue that the particle *rò* has a core meaning that can be traced as originating from a substantive and means "body", as an abstract feature rather than a tangible thing. So, it seems that, while it is used in discourse, the particle *rò* contributes to turning the hearer's perspective in a deictic-procedural manner either to a period in time or a thing.

In this paper, I also look at the syntactic distribution of the particle *rò* at different constituent levels, namely word, phrase, clause and between clauses. In fact, it looks as if in all constituents *rò* occurs in final position and tends to move with the constituent within which it is.

This work consists of six chapters. The first chapter is a general introduction to the language, its genetic affiliation, its phonology, word-order typology and orthography. Chapter two specifically discusses the two theories of explanation: Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics. Chapters three and four elaborate on the syntactical distribution of *rò* in different constituents. Finally, chapters five and six respectively present the search for the core meaning and function of the particle *rò* and the conclusion.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My heartfelt gratitude, together with my family, particularly go to The Sims for their love, concern, encouragements and help, which have blessed us abundantly and kept us going on. Let also Constance Kutsch Lojenga, the Lobas, Pastor Choro and his family, and all the Lendu Bible Translation project team hereby find my gratitude for all their contributions to my training.

Last, but not least, I wish to thank my lovely wife, Decky Kahindo, and our two children, Sam and Martha, for being a support team for me psychologically, emotionally and spiritually every single day of our stay in Nairobi. They have highly been instrumental in my success and have always filled my life with joy despite the heavy workload that we had at times.

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LIST OF CHARTS

ABBREVIATIONS

Adj: Adjective

Adj cl: Adjective clause

Aff: Affirmation (particle)

Aux: Auxiliary

cl: Clause

Emp: Emphatic

Cnt: Continuous

Fut: Future

Hab: Habitual

HN: Head Noun

M: Modifier

Mrk: Marker

N: Noun

Neg: Negation (particle)

NP: Noun phrase

O: Object

P: Possessor

Part: Particle

Past (DP):	Distant Past
Past (IP):	Intermediate Past
Past (RP):	Recent Past
Pl:	Plural
POSS:	Possessive
PP:	Postpositional Phrase
Qst:	Question
Redupl.:	Reduplication
RelCL:	Relative Clause
Sg:	Singular
Stc:	Sentence
Std:	Standard
V:	Verb

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

The major concern of this chapter is to give an overview of the language being analyzed in this work namely Lendu, also called "Bbaledha" by its own speakers. Section 1.2 presents the genetic affiliation of the language, demographic and ethnographic information, and section 1.3 briefly introduces the word-order typological characteristics of Lendu. Sections 1.4 and 1.5 respectively review the dialects and the phonology and orthography of the language as studied by different linguists so far. Section 1.6 reviews previous linguistic research carried out on the language. Section 1.7 explains the method of data collection, and 1.8 gives the scope and the goal of the work.

1.2. Genetic affiliation, demographic and ethnographic information

Lendu (Bbaledha, Bbadha, Kilendu) is spoken in the District of Ituri in the northeastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo on the Western side of Lake Albert and to a lesser extent across the borders of the country and on the Eastern side of the lake in the northwest region of the Republic of Uganda. It is spoken by two ethnic groups: Hema and Lendu. Hertens (1940, 268) notices that the Lendu people came to that area earlier than the 17th century. Indeed, it is reported that at their arrival in the

1

area, around the 17th century, the Babira and the Alur found the Lendus already settled in the region. (Hertens (1940, 268))

According to Grimes (2000), Lendu is a Central-Sudanic language that belongs to the Eastern Central-Sudanic sub-group together with the Moru-Madi, Mangbutu-Efe, and Mangbetu-(Aswa). See chart 1 adapted from Kutsch Lojenga (1994, 3 and 9) below:

Chart 1. Genetic Affiliation of Lendu (Bbaledha)

Central Sudanic

Western Central-Sudanic   Eastern Central-Sudanic

Moru-Madi   Mangbutu-Efe   Mangbetu-(Aswa)   **Lendu (Bbaledha)- Ngiti**

Moru-Madi	Mangbutu-Efe	Mangbetu-(Aswa)
1. Moru	1. Mangbutu	1. Mangbetu
2. Madi	2. Ndo	2. Meje
3. Lugbara	3. Mamvu	3. Makere
4. Logo	4. Lese	4. Mapopoi
5. Kaliko	5. Mvuba	5. Malele
6. Avokaya		6. Lombi
7. Luloba		7. Abulu
		8. Aswa
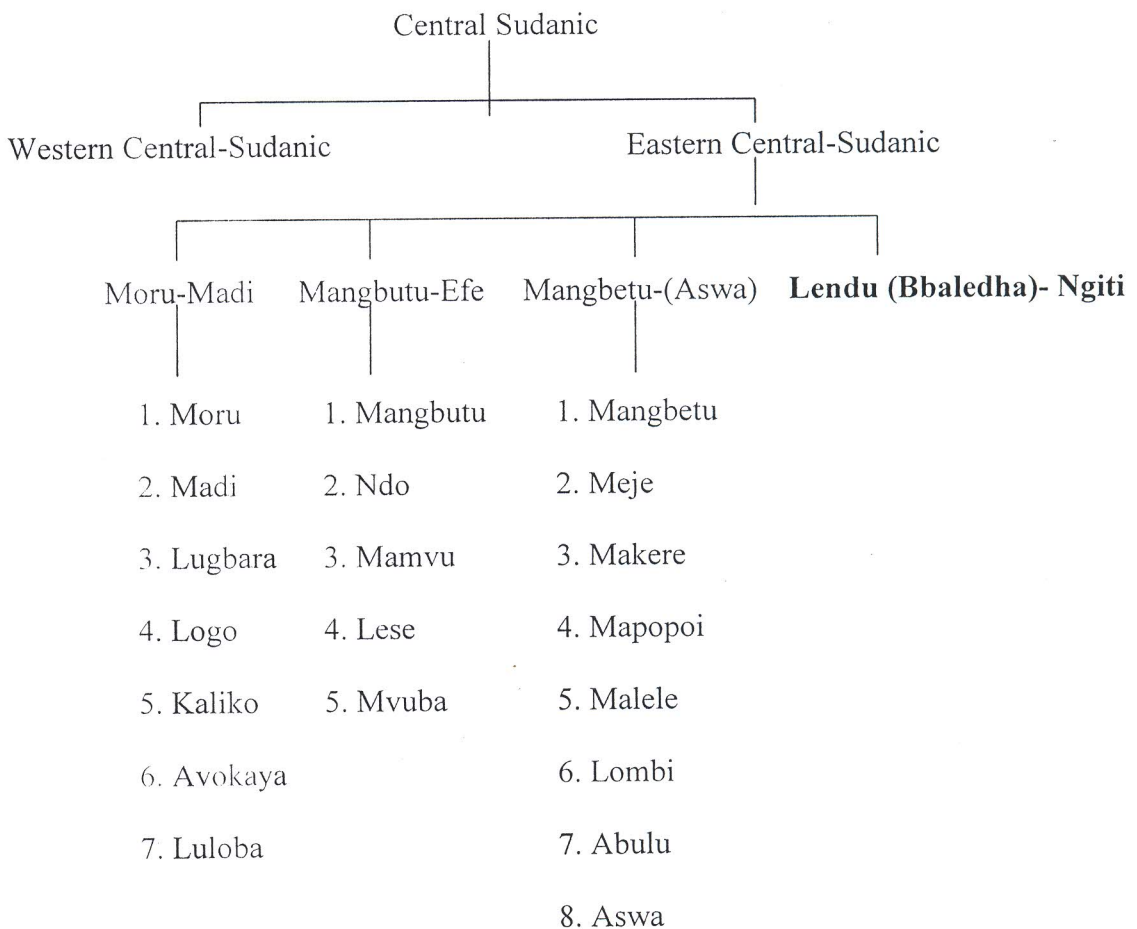
Dimmendaal (1986, 161) estimates the population of the Lendu community to be approximately 500.000 people. However, Kutsch Lojenga (1994, 4-6) estimates a higher number; namely about 850,000. Another informant estimates the number of Lendu speakers at around 1 million, though that estimation includes Hema and Lendu, which are separate ethnic groups. The recent war between these two ethnic groups of Lendu speakers might have resulted in a reduction of this population.

The great majority of the Hema and Lendu people live in rural areas. Though they speak the same language, they have significant cultural differences. The Hema are herdsmen and are very attached to their cattle, and are always after land for their livestock. The Lendu, on the other hand, are cultivators who value the land as the source of life through agriculture. Both groups also have fishing as an occupation. It is obvious that such opposed cultural habits can only result in social conflict between the two groups if the situation is not well handled (Hertens (1940, 268-270)). Only a real Christian impact would bring such extremes of culture into one harmonious community and people.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the Lendu speakers themselves use the auto-denomination 'Bbaledha' (the language of the Bbale) to refer to their language. The term 'Lendu' was used by the political administration (Kutsch Lojenga 1994, 3). However, Dimmendaal (1986, 161) argues that the term comes from Alur. The Alur actually use the term 'Lendru' and duplicate it sometimes in the phrase '*lendru ma lendru*' 'worthless person' for the purpose of mockery.

In the history of cohabitation between the Hema and Lendu, the term 'Lendu' has brought about a lot of misunderstandings and conflict because of what it means. The

prefix /le-/, as Dimmendaal (1986, 11) says, "… is often used in Lendu in combination with body part and kinship terms; it indicates intimate (inalienable) possession". There is no doubt that /-ndu/ comes from *ndru* 'person'. So *lendu* would literally mean 'a person of', a meaning, which does not appear accurate, confronted with historic facts. However, the word /bba/, used by Lendu speakers themselves, means village. So, *Bbale* would simply mean the 'owner of the village'. This explanation seems to be more accurate as it pertains to and also coincides with the early arrival of the Lendu in the area they currently occupy.

1.3. Lendu word-order typology

To understand the relevance of the position of the particle *rò* in different constituents, it is good to briefly look at the Lendu word-order typological characteristics. As far as word-order typology is concerned, Lendu is considered as a head-final language. In fact, Kutsch Lojenga (1989) says that Lendu attests both the SVO and the SOV word order. The latter (SOV) order occurs mainly when the main verb is in the present tense as in example (1) or in the future tense with or without the future tense marker *sɨkə́*, as in example (2) and (3).

(1) *Ké   zǎ   'ǎ   ('ǎ)*

   he   meat   eat-CNT   Redupl.

   'He is eating meat.'

(2) *Ké   ză   'à   ('ă)*

    he   meat   eat-Fut   Redupl.

    'He will eat meat.'

(3) *Ké   sɨkɔ́   ză   'à   ('ă)*

    he Fut   meat   eat   Redupl.

    'He will eat meat.'

However, in all past tenses - recent past (4), immediate past (5) and distant past (6) - Lendu attests SVO order. Indeed, the recent past and the immediate past occur more frequently in daily speech. The distant past is more frequent in story telling and reporting events of the past.

(4) *Ke   'à   ză   ('ă)*

    he   eat-Past (RP)   meat   Redupl.

    'He has eaten the meat.'

(5) *Ke   'à   è   ză   ('ă)*

    he   eat   Past (IP)   meat   Redupl.

    'He ate the meat.'

(6) *Ke* *'à*   *ngə́e*   *ză*   *('ǎ)*

     he   eat   Past (DP)   meat   Redupl.

'He ate the meat.'

Despite the possibility of two basic word orders, the particle *rò* occurs only post-positionally, which reflects sensitivity to SOV word order. Below is a summary of Greenberg's universals listed in Payne (1997,72) with Lendu examples:

Chart 2. Word order typological characteristics in Lendu

Parameter	Order	Example	Translation
Main clauses	O V and V O	(01) and (04)	(01) and (04)
Adpositions	postpositions	*dza* *dʒó* house on	'on the house'
Possessor and HN (Genitive)	P-N	*Ngabu dzá* *dza* Ngabu POSS house	'the house of Ngabu'
HN and modifier	M-N	*bbò* *dza* big house	'the big house'
RelCL and HN	RelCL-N	*Ngabu dzzi ná* *dza* Ngabu buy that house	'The house that Ngabu has bought'.

Parameter	Order	Example	Translation
Comparatives	Std-Mrk-Adj	*ɨ dza dʒolu kə̀* this house Mrk be *bbò ná dza* big that house	'the house that is bigger than this'.
Inflected Aux	Aux-V	*Ngabu ngə́ sɨ̌* Ngabu was coming *ádzárò,…* from the house,…	'Ngabu was coming from the house,…'
Qst Part	Stc Initial	*ɨ́rɨ ká kə̀ bbɔ́bbə̌ lò* This Qst be true matter	Is this true?
Qst Words	Stc Initial or elsewhere	*ngba ká íe dzè* Child Qst who push	Who pushed the child?

1.4. Dialects

Lendu has two major dialect clusters, which are known as Northern Lendu or Bbaledha and Southern Lendu or Ngiti (Ndruna). The dialect cluster targeted in this work is the Northern Lendu. Within it, there are several dialects: Tadha, Djadha, Rrkpadha, Pidha, Ddralo and Njawlo. The suffixes *–dhà* and *–lò* respectively mean 'language' and 'speech'.

Chart 3. Lendu dialects

Lendu

Northern Lendu (Bbaledha)   SouthernLendu (Ngiti/Ndruna)

Tadha **Djadha** **Rrkpadha** Pidha Dralo Njawlo
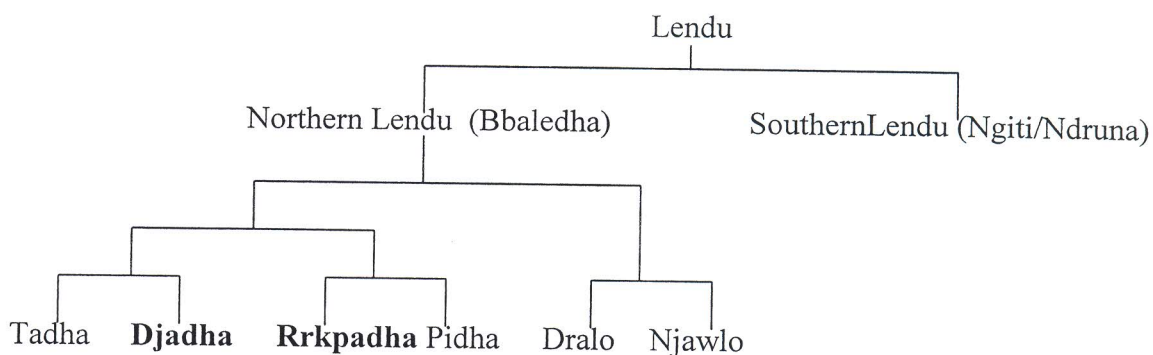
My own dialect is the Rrkpadha, but I grew up in the area where Djadha is spoken and so came to have good control of it. Therefore, the data in this work is of Djadha, which is also the larger dialect and the one used for the Bible Translation and literature so far.

The major differences between Rrkpadha and Djadha are both phonological and lexical. For instance, the former often uses the diphthongs /ai/ and /aɨ/ instead of /i/ and /ɨ/ in Djadha. Examples below illustrate this:

	Djadha	**Rrkpadha**
this	*í*	*aɨ*
moon	*bĭ*	*bàí*
fight	*lɨ*	*laɨ*
egg	*ɓi*	*ɓai*
buffalo	*bɨ*	*baɨ*
to beat	*dhɨdha*	*dhaɨdha*
to fall	*chɨdha*	*chaɨdha*

Some lexical terms differ in the two dialects, too.

	Djadha	**Rrkpadha**
beans:	*gŭdha*	*suu* or *gyaнdha*
snake:	*suu*	*mbaidhá*
cow:	*tsí*	*ndrĭtsí*
white man:	*shá*	*là*

1.5. Phonology and Orthography

In his inventory of Lendu consonants and glides, Dimmendaal (1986, 163) presents 30 phonemes including a glottal sound. This sound, he argues, contributes to the formation of glottalized consonants such as *'b, 'd, 'j, 'y*. He also quotes Tucker's inventory of the Lendu consonants, which present 37 sounds including a syllabic /ŗ/. This /ŗ/, Tucker claims, occurs as an allophone of /l/. In table 4 below, an inventory of Lendu phonemes is presented. Note in particular that glottalized consonants (implosives) are represented by clusters of plosives and sometimes doubled with a glide. Each phoneme is presented on the left, with its corresponding orthographic equivalent on the right. Below is a complete inventory of the Lendu consonant phonemes.

Chart 4. Lendu Consonant Phonemes and their orthographic representations

		Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dent-al	Alveo-lar	Palatal	Velar	Glott-al	Labio-velar
Implosives	Vl	/ɓ/ pb			/ƭ/ td	/ƈ/ tdy			
	Vd	/ɓ/ bb			/ɗ/ dd	/ʄ/ dy		/ʔ/ '	
Plosives	Vl	/p/ p			/t/ t		/k/ k		/$\widehat{kp}$/ kp
	Vd	/b/ b			/d/ d		/g/ g		/$\widehat{gb}$/ gb
Pren. Plosives		/^{m}b/ mb			/^{n}d/ nd		/^{ŋ}g/ ng		/$^ŋ\widehat{gb}$/ngb
Flat Fricatives	Vl		/f/ f	/θ/ th				/h/ h	
	Vd		/v/ v	/ð/ dh					
Grooved Fric.	Vl				/s/ s	/ʃ/ sh			
	Vd				/z/ z /z̧/ z	/ʒ/ j			
Affricates	Vl				/t͡s/ ts	/t͡ʃ/ ch			
	Vd				/d͡z/ dz	/d͡ʒ/ dj			
Pren.Affricate					/^{n}dz/ nz	/^{n}d͡ʒ/ nj			
Nasals		/m/ m			/n/ n	/ɲ/ ny			
Laterals					/l/ l				
Glides						/j/ y	/w/ w		
Trills					/r/ r /r̝/ r				

With respect to the vowel system of Lendu, Hertens (1940, 273) says that Lendu has 13 vowel phonemes of which one, /ə/, is central and two others, /ɪ/ and /ʉ/, are not quite central. However, he claims that /ɪ/ is 'front' and /ʉ/ is 'back'. He also attests a nasalized vowel /õ/, which, he claims, is 'back'. But Dimmendaal lists only 8 vowel phonemes in the Lendu system. He quotes Tucker who says that the /u/ in Lendu is in some contexts fronted and unrounded as /ɯ/. However, Dimmendaal argues that /ɯ/ has phonemic status so it is not an allophone of /u/.

When we consider Kutsch Lojenga's (1989) position, which is not very different from Dimmendaal except for this latter's vowel phoneme /ɯ/, it looks more acceptable. In fact, she says that /ɯ/ might be the evolution of the (+ATR) /*o/ and resolves to symbolize it /ə/, since it is more centralized than Dimmendaal's postulated phoneme /ɯ/. (See Kutsch Lojenga, 1989: 116-119 for further discussion).

My own inventory of the Lendu vowels, which is not very different from Kutsch Lojenga (1989), is presented in Chart 5 below:

Chart 5. Lendu vowel phonemes

	FRONT	**CENTRAL**	**BACK**
Close	/i/ i		/u/ u
	/ɪ/ ɨ		/ʊ/ ʉ
Close-mid		/ə/ ə	
Open-mid	/ɛ/ e		/ɔ/ o
Open			/ɑ/ a

The orthography used in this work is the one that was adopted for Bible translation in Djadha, the major dialect of Lendu. We will use the symbol /ɨ/ for /ɪ/ and /ʉ/ for /ʊ/. As for /ə/, it will be used as such in the writing system instead of the /ʉ/ used in Bible translation.

1.6. Previous Linguistic Research on Lendu

Students of the "Institut Superieur Pédagogique" of Bunia and Bukavu have written many unpublished works on Lendu. Unfortunately, because of distance and war in the Ituri District, I could not consult them. Several articles have also been published on Lendu phonology by Dimmendaal (1986), Hertens (1940) and Kutsch Lojenga (1987, 1989). The major works relevant for analysis of the particle *rò* in Lendu are Kutsch Lojenga (1987, 1989, 1994).

1.7. Data Collection Methodology

The data for this linguistic project is from the writer and from a Bible translator pastor who is on leave in Nairobi for study reasons. Both the pastor and the writer are native speakers of Lendu, though from two different ethnic groups. The writer's dialect is Rrkpadha, but I grew up in the area where Djadha is spoken and I used it for everyday communication from an early age to age 18. The pastor's dialect is Djadha. For this study, I mainly used elicited data where I wrote down some examples of my own. However, I also wrote down some examples from live communication.

Another source of data is the booklet entitled ***Bbaledhà nă Ngĭ.*** These are stories which were written by a Lendu Bible translator, Dheto Losina. This booklet was used to get my text data. Two of those texts are presented in the appendix to this work. Other sources of data are some Lendu informants with whom I exchanged messages on various data.

1.8. The Goal of the Project

Specifically, this work studies the use of the particle *rò* in Lendu. It attempts to look at the syntactic distribution of the particle and also makes some tentative proposals regarding its semantic function. The goal of this analysis is first of all to contribute to the analysis of the Lendu language in order to give helpful hints to Lendu Bible translators who will have to translate using the particle *rò* . Secondly, I would like to present an analysis of the language to the community of linguists with the purpose of receiving feedback that can help me improve my expertise in linguistic description. Thirdly, I would also like to awaken the curiosity of all the Lendu speakers, especially intellectuals, on the complexity of our language and the necessity to put our efforts together in order to come up with tools that can contribute to the promotion of literacy in Lendu. Lastly, I would like to provide an aid to all those who may want to know more about particles in the Lendu Language.

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CHAPTER 2

ANALYZING rò AS A 'PARTICLE': A PRESENTATION OF AN

EXPLANATORY LINGUISTIC MODEL

2. 1. Introduction

This chapter elaborates on three major points. Section 2.2 reviews the definition of 'particle' as suggested by several linguists. This is an important point in order to clarify the perspective that is taken in this work. Section 2.3 considers the approach to 'meaning' whether 'maximal', 'minimal' or 'prototype' in the analysis. The 'prototype' approach leaves room for the definition of words as elements on a continuum. Section 2.4 presents the linguistic models of explanation adopted in this work (Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics).

2.2. Review of particle definition

Particles are notoriously difficult to define and classify. Indeed, in this section, we will try to review the different definitions that have been suggested for the term.

According to Hansen (1998, 37), "the term 'particle' is traditionally used in the pretheoretical sense of 'uninflected words'" and thus constitute an extremely "'heterogeneous' category both functionally and distributionally." This seems to be a

rather broad definition of the term. Kutsch Lojenga (1994, 389) shares this same point of view, but she also pushes further towards a more narrow definition when she states "particles are classified as those words which are not nouns, pronouns, modifiers, or postpositions". She also says "particles are different from the grammatical class of modifiers in that they cannot be nominalised...." Nevertheless, she looks at particles as words that play a modifying role at word, phrase and clause level, but this seems to be also true for a great many other word classes and so does not define the class as precisely as might be desired.

In his attempt to define the term, Follingstad (2001,133) quotes Hurford (1994, 152) who states the following:

> "Particles" is a term used of small words (and occasionally affixes), which do not easily fit into any word class, such as common noun, auxiliary, modal, article, or preposition. Particle is thus something of an "escape (or cop-out) category" for grammarians. "If it's small and you don't know what to call it, call it a particle" seems to be the practice; and a very useful practice it is, too, as it avoids pushing words into categories in which they do not properly belong.

According to Abraham, (1991, 250) particles constitute sorts of "opaque grammatical class" in the sense that they have "restricted, non-lexical, and blurred meanings" and would sometimes "...appear side by side in the lexicon with lexemes in identical shape, but with different categorical status". And also, following a Relevance Theory perspective, Follingstad (2001, 134) notes that "particles often encode procedural meaning; that is, **particles act as guides and triggers to an interpretational procedure**, [emphasis from Follingstad (2001)] rather than having referential conceptual content of their own. They actively generate inferences in a

context (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 1995, Blakemore 1992) rather than passively 'mean' something by reference to an object or event." (Sperber and Wilson 1986).

In light of the previous discussion, it is generally agreed that particles are typically uninflected. They tend to stand across grammatical categories functionally and distributionally. They seem to play a modifying role at different constituent levels (morpheme, word, phrase and clause). And finally, though they very often seem to have 'blurred meanings', nonetheless they have meanings that need to be traced out and uncovered. So, it is definitely difficult to classify and define particles, yet in some cases their form can overlap with other lexemes. 'Small words' that have an identifiable grammatical function (e.g. interjections, conjunctions) are not to be considered 'particles' in light of this approach to particle definition.

It is therefore worth mentioning that as a particle, *rò* seems to reflect the difficulties of definition stated above. It is monosyllabic. It also appears as an affix and sometimes its form overlaps with some 'small words' readily identified in the language as postposition or conjunction. Therefore, my task in this work is to find what could be the core function and meaning, if any, for the different distributions of *rò* using a relevance theoretic 'procedural' approach, and a cognitive linguists' 'prototype' approach.

2.3. General analytical approach

As far as particle research is concerned, there has been a long debate on the analytical approach between the 'meaning minimalists' and the 'meaning maximalists' (Hansen 1998, 85). Researchers agree that particles can have a wide range of meaning.

However, the difference between the two groups mentioned above arises from the way they look at this variation in meaning. Maximalists believe that each meaning that the particle has is related to the semantics of each and every particle in each separate context, so that the particle is actually a different meaning unit in each new context. Therefore, maximalists look at particles from the perspective of a strict 'homonymy' approach (Hansen 1998, 86).

However, minimalists take another perspective altogether. Hansen (1998, 86) says they "…will attempt to isolate a unitary core meaning, usually of a highly abstract and schematic nature, from which all uses of a given item can be derived". The variation of meaning is seen as resulting from the interaction with the context. This tends to be a more pragmatic and 'monosemy' approach.

Both approaches seem to have their weaknesses. The first leaves too much room for the one analyzing to give as many interpretations as possible to fit the interpretation he is happy with and also results in too many homonyms of the same unit. The second, on the contrary, "may result in descriptions that are too abstract and general to be of significant practical value" (Hansen 1998, 87).

Hansen (1998, 87) also presents a third approach, which is closer to the prototype theory of Payne (1997). In fact, Hansen says there is a so-called 'polysemy' approach. She states the following:

> Analysts who take this stance assume that particles may indeed have different senses which are not merely a matter of pragmatics, but that rather than being homonymous and discrete, these various senses are related, either in a chain-like fashion through family resemblances, or as extensions from a prototype. (Hansen 1998, 87)

This last approach seems to reconcile the first two. It accepts the minimalist view that particles can have a 'single basic meaning', the 'prototype', but it also leaves room for the maximalist view in the sense that the meaning of a particle cannot be determined in a radical and single way since in some contexts senses can overlap. In this paper I will mainly draw on this third approach with a special consideration of the minimalist view as my starting point.

Finally, Hurford (1994, 149-150) insightfully concludes stating, "first, word classes (such as the "particle" class) must be categorized based **on a particular language** [emphasis from the author], particularly on "pattern of use" as well as semantic criteria".

2. 4. Linguistic models of explanation

This section briefly reviews two linguistic theories that will be used as model of explanation. They will be used to sort out and explain the basic function of the particle *rò*. These theories will also permit the analyst to understand and trace what could be considered to be the core meaning of the particle. Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 respectively describe a relevance theory and a cognitive linguistic approach to particles.

2.4.1. Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory is a theory that has been advocated by Sperber and Wilson (1995) to account for the interaction of linguistic meaning and contextual factors in utterance interpretation. In fact, their claim is that every human cognitive process is conceived in a way that the greatest cognitive effect might be achieved at the effort of

the smallest processing cost. This approach has proved to be one of the fittest to bridge the gap that arises as the result of discontinuity between semantics and pragmatics. As a result, some discourse features can better be explained pragmatically than semantically. This seems to be the case for particles, which, as we have said before, have a more "abstract and schematic" meaning. In most cases they simply seem to function as markers that have the role to trigger a specific meaning in a discourse context. This seems to be the case for the particle rò, which is the subject of this study.

In this study, I will particularly draw on the procedural meaning and interpretational procedure in Relevance Theory to understand the core function of the particle *rò* in context. My hunch is that the particle *rò* provides a procedural-interpretational basis in every situation where it appears (affixed to morphemes, with words, phrases or between clauses).

2.4.2. Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive Linguistics is a new approach, which tries to understand what reason is and how a conceptual system is organized. It attempts to explain some linguistic facts from a totally new perspective as Lakoff (1987) says. Traditionally reason was looked at as 'abstract and disembodied'; but the new perspective, Lakoff states, is that "reason has a bodily basis". He elaborates this statement as follows:

> The traditional view sees reason as literal, as primarily about propositions that can be objectively either true or false. The new view takes imaginative aspects of reason - metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery - as central to reason, rather than as a peripheral and inconsequential adjunct to the literal (Lakoff 1987, xi).

In search for the core meaning of *rò*, we will basically exploit this second theory; that is, the view of reason as presented by proponents of cognitive linguistics. In fact, the core meaning of the particle *rò* probably lies somewhere between substantives and postpositions built upon a metaphor. Specifically, I will build my argumentation on two points: the metonymic explanation of the core meaning of *rò* and the extension of the prototype theory.

CHAPTER 3

THE SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF *rò* IN PHRASES

3.1. Introduction

This chapter describes four different usages of *rò* . Section 3.2 elaborates on *rò* as an affix. Section 3.3 evaluates the use of *rò* in noun phrases. In fact, in noun phrases, *rò* seems to have two basic senses, one of which requires that it correlates with a specific verb. Section 3.4 examines the use of *rò* in adjective phrases. Finally, Section 3.5 considers the use of *rò* in a postpositional phrase. What is syntactically common in all these usages is that *rò* always occurs in a constituent final position.

3.2. *rò* as an affix

As an affix, *rò* has three major usages. It can be suffixed to a demonstrative (3.2.1), to a numeral (3.2.2), and to a pronoun (3.3.3). In each case the meaning conveyed is different. This section looks at these usages and their meaning components as observed in context.

3.2.1. *Demonstrative + rò*

Payne (1997,103) says: "demonstratives imply "pointing to", or "demonstrating", the object they refer to, … demonstratives often express distance, or orientation with respect to the speaker/hearer." Lendu has three basic demonstratives, which are: *í* 'this'(pointing to), *fú* 'that'(proximal and also demonstrating with orientation to past or future) and *chá* 'that' (distal and/or demonstrating with respect to past). Example (7) below illustrates these different cases:

(7)

- *í ngba*   'This child'

- *í ddò ró lò kə̀ tsátsá*   'These days things are difficult'
  This day Part matter be difficult

- *fú ngba*   'That child' (pointing at)

- *fú dyí*   'That day' (past or future)

- *chá ngba*   'That child' (pointing at)

- *chá dyí*   'That day' (past only)

Three demonstratives can also be combined with *rò* to make conjunctions and/or connectors.

Note that almost all the conjunctions and/or connectors made from demonstratives + *rò,* seem to be related to time somehow (see Chart 6 on page 23). The first, *írò,* generally embodies the implication of contrast of the past time with the present time. The deictic *í* specifically applies to something near. However, in this case

it points at the epoch in which the event is taking place. The second, *fúrò* contrasts the past time with the present. But let's notice that in daily usage *fúrò* has become a connector that establishes cohesion between the preceding events and the following ones. It is also used to connect different steps in a demonstration. The third, *cháro,* expresses the idea of condition. It refers to the event in the past as contrasted with another a bit farther in the past. This usually expresses a condition that can no longer be fulfilled. Regret and especially missed opportunities are expressed by *chárò*. And the last, *fúròmǎ* is a connector that indicates the continued flow in sequences of event despite the intervention of another contrary event at some point in the course of time. Finally, it will later be seen that one of the major uses of *rò* in clauses is to indicate the subordination of time. Chart 6 below sums up the use of *rò* as an affix attached to demonstratives.

Chart 6: *rò* as an affix

Demonstrative-*rò*	Gloss	Conjunction	Meaning
• *í - rò*	this-Part	*írò*	'in the present time'
• *fú - rò*	that-Part	*fúrò*	'in the past time, then'
• *chá - rò*	that-Part	*chárò*	'with reference to past time, if'
• *fú - rò - mǎ*	that-Part-and	*fúròmǎ*	'even then'

3.2.2. Numeral + rò

The use of *rò* as an affix attached to a numeral also encompasses quantifiers such as *bǐ* 'many'. The meaning in the two cases will still be the same, that is, strict exclusion as in (9) and (10), when only one person does something, or inclusion (11), when many undertake the action together. Examples below illustrate this fact. Sentence (8) is used as reference to single out the relevant sentence without *ddǐ-rò*, which is presupposed in (9) and (10).

(8)   *ke*   *sǐ*   *ngba*   *rò*

     he   find   child   Part

     'He found the child'.

(9)   *ke*   *sǐ*   *ngba*   *rò*   *ddǐ-rò*

     He   find   child   Part   one-Part

     'He himself found the child. (He was alone)

(10)   *ngba*   *rò*   *ke*   *sǐ*   *ddǐ-rò*

     child   Part   he   find   one-Part

     'He found the child who was alone'.

(11)   *zǎ*   *rò*   *nzu*   *sǐ*   *bǐ-rò*

     animal   Part   children   find   many-Part

The children found the animal when they (children) were many.

On the basis of the preceding examples, specifically (8) and (10), it can be said that the relationship and difference between *ddí-rò* and *bí-rò* lies at the semantic level. Both appear as focus expressions in the sense that they draw the hearer's attention to the grammatical subject. Nevertheless, *ddí-rò* expresses exclusion (only one person) while *bí-rò* shows inclusion or an action done collectively (many people).

When we look at (8) and (9), we realize that in (9) *ddírò* 'himself, alone' is at the end of the sentence simply to exemplify exclusive focus; that is, 'he' and no other one from a potential number set. In fact, it contrasts the state of strict exclusiveness with that of other potential members of the set. According to König (1991, 98), an exclusive particle (like *ddírò* in this case) "excludes the complement of the value(s) for the relevant open sentence and is thus negative in its truth conditions." This suggests that in (9), *ke sǐ ngba rò* 'He found the child', is the presupposed relevant sentence. But also with the addition of *ddírò* the presupposition becomes negative in its truth conditions. Thus, 'no other person found the child' is what the speaker seems also to convey.

Nevertheless, the sentence is still ambiguous simply because *ddírò* is by nature an adjective and it should be qualifying a noun. In sentence (9) there are two nominal forms: N1, which is the subject pronoun *ke* and N2, which is the object noun *ngba*. So, either it is the child who was alone when he/she was found or it is the man who found the child who was alone at the time he discovered the child. In (10), however, when the object *ngba* is fronted, the exclusive focus shifts on it but still controlled by *ddírò*. And finally, *bí-rò in* (11) emphasizes that the action was undertaken as a group.

Indeed, it is good to notice that *ddĭrò* itself cannot be fronted in this case. An attempt to do so results in ungrammatical sentences like in (12) and (13) below:

*(12) *ddĭ-rò*   *ke*   *sĭ*   *ngba*   *rò*

  One- Part   he   find   child   Part

Alone he found the child.

*(13) *ddĭ-rò*   *ngba*   *rò*   *ke*   *sĭ*

  One-Part   child   Part   he   find

Alone the child he found.

A summary of the use of *rò* as numeral + affix is presented below:

Chart 7: rò as numeral + affix

Numeral-rò	Gloss	Adjective	Meaning
• *ddĭ - rò*	one-Part	*ddĭrò*	'alone'
• *ro - rò*	two-Part	*rorò*	'just the two of them'
• *gbo - rò*	three-Part	*gborò*	'just the three of them'
• *bí - rò*	many-Part	*bírò*	'just many of them, just as a group'

From chart 7 above, it appears that *rò* can be affixed to any numeral or quantifier to express strict exclusiveness (one actor) or inclusion in case the action referred to is undertaken by more than one actor.

3.2.3. Combination of pronoun with rò as a reflexive pronoun

According to Lichtenberk F. (1994, 3504), "in a prototypical reflexive situation (R ef S), a participant acts on himself or herself, rather than on any other." Payne (1997, 198) shares the same point of view but in different words when he says, "a prototypical reflexive construction is one in which subject and object are the same entity". Indeed, both writers also agree that reflexivity can be expressed lexically (through a verb bearing that meaning), morphologically (through a morpheme) or analytically that is, through reflexive pronouns. Lendu marks it with *rò* analytically, that is, the reflexive pronouns in Lendu are formed through suffixation of the particle *rò* to object pronouns (14) and (15).

(14)   *pɨ   kɨ̀r   ndɨ-ndɨ̆rò*

chief   cut   him-himself

'The chief has cut himself.' (He has wounded himself)

(15)   *ngba   dù   ndɨ-ndɨ̆ro*

child   knock   him-himself

'The child has knocked himself.'

Like the *rò* affixed to numerals and quantifiers to express strict exclusiveness or inclusion, the combination of pronoun with *rò* as reflexive pronoun also tends to mark exclusiveness and/or emphasis. It is good though to notice that reflexive pronouns do not always express reflexivity. In some contexts, and this is the case with Lendu reflexives, they may be used with an emphatic rather than reflexive function as in example (16) where the chief in person (not necessarily alone) and not another person, has killed the animal. Actually, being in position of authority, the chief can command his subjects to kill an animal and still report that he is the one who did it. In (16), however, the emphasis is on the chief as personally accomplishing the action of killing. In Lendu it looks as if whenever the recipient of the action is different from the agent, the reflexive pronoun always plays an emphatic function. Examples below can testify to this fact.

(16) *pɨ   ndɨndɨ́rò   hwɨ   zǎ.*

     chief 3 Sg-Redup.-Part   kill   animal

     'The chief himself has killed the animal.'

(17) *ke   ndɨ-ndɨ́-rò   sɨ̈   ngba   rò*

     he   3 Sg-Redup-Part   find   child   Part

     '(He), himself, found the child'.

(18)   *le   ndɨ̌-ndɨ̌-rò   sɨ̀   ngba   rò*

     she   3 Sg-Redup-Part   find   child   Part

     '(She), herself, found the child'.

Let's notice that sometimes the subject pronoun is added just for the sake of distinguishing the gender, especially in the third person singular as in (17) and (18). This shows that *ndɨ̌-ndɨ̌-rò* is grammatically neuter; that is, relative to gender.

Chart 8 below presents a summary of the Lendu reflexive pronouns.

Chart 8: Lendu reflexive pronouns

Object Pronouns		Reflexive (Pron+rò)	Meaning
• *ma*	(me)	*ma-má-rò*	'myself'
• *nɨ*	(you) sg	*nɨ-nɨ́-rò*	'yourself'
• *ndɨ̌*	(him)	*ndɨ̌-ndɨ̌-rò*	'himself'
• *le*	(her)	*ndɨ̌-ndɨ̌-rò*	'herself'
• *rɨ*	(it)	*ndɨ̌-ndɨ̌-rò*	'itself'
• *kò/mà*	(us)	*kò-kǒ-rò/mà-mǎ-rò*	'ourselves'
• *nɨ̌*	(you) pl	*nɨ̌-nɨ̌-rò*	'yourselves'
• *kpa*	(them) pl	*ndɨ̌-mǎ-rò*	'themselves'

In some contexts, the object pronoun preceding the reduplication can be omitted, except in the third person plural, only to leave these short forms of reflexives:

- *má-rò*   'myself'

- *nɨ́-rò*   'yourself'

- *ndɨ̃-rò*   'him/her/itself'

- *kǒ-rò/mǎ-rò*   'ourselves'

- *nɨ̌-rò*   'yourselves'

- *ndɨ̃-mǎ-rò*   'themselves'

3.3. *rò* in noun phrases

Section 3.3 examines the use of *rò* in noun phrases. In fact, in noun phrases, *rò* seems to have one basic sense. Its meaning is 'some of' or 'part of'. This is exemplified in (19) and (20) where it is shown that *rò* can move as a unit together with the head noun. Thus, two structures are attested: SVO (19) and OSV (20). It is good to mention that Lendu speakers very often prefer the structure in (20) for reasons that need to be investigated further. In (20) it is true that some of the water has been drunk but the speaker specifically wants to convey that it is "he" (the most agent-like constituent) who did it. Let's also notice that in this very case if *rò* is omitted the meaning will change but still be correct. In fact, (21) and (22), where the speaker does not want to emphasize the partitive aspect, testify to that fact. Finally, this meaning of *rò* seems to be different altogether from the one attested in (9) section 3.2. where *rò* is used as an affix (23).

(19) *ke*   *jù*   *ddà*   *rò*

    He   drink   water   Part

    'He has drunk part of the water'.

(20) *ddà*   *rò*   *ke*   *jù*

    water   Part   he   drink

    'He is the one who has drunk part of the water'.

(21) *ke*   *jù*   *ddà*   -

    He   drink   water   -

    'He has drunk water'.

(22) *ddà*   -   *ke*   *jù*

    water   -   he   drink

    'He is the one who drank the water'.

(23) *ke*   *sɨ̀*   *ngba*   *rò*   *ddɨ̌-rò*

    He   find   child   Part   one-Part

    'He himself found the child. (He was alone)

An examination of the sentences in (19-21) reveals that the common structure with *rò* in noun phrases is as follows:

- NP1… Verb… NP2 *rò* …(PP *dhò* 'for/to')

- NP2 *rò* … NP1…Verb…(PP *dhò* 'for/to')

- NP2 … NP1…Verb…(PP *dhò* 'for/to')

(NP1= Subject, NP2= Direct Object, PP= Oblique Object)

The constituent between parentheses stands as optional and occurs only in case the verb that is used requires an oblique object as in examples (24) and (25) below:

(24) *kpa*   *bbǒ*   *ritsi*   *rò*   *ngba*   *dhò*

They   give   thing   Part   child   for

'They gave some of the things for the child.'

(25) *ritsi*   *rò*   *kpa*   *bbǒ*   *ngba*   *dhò*

thing   Part   they   give   child   for

'They gave some of the things for the child.'

3.4. *rò* in adjective phrases

Section 3.4 elaborates on the use of *rò* in adjective phrases. In this case, it functions as an element of a predicate adjective construction. Payne (1997, 111) puts predicate adjectives and predicate nominals in the same family of constructions. The former, he says, generally express attribution and the latter proper inclusion and equation. In their definition, Timberlake and Nichols (1992, 266) state the role of

"noun, adjective, or participle" used as lexical parts of speech in syntactic constructions such as predicate nominals. They simply "predicate a property of an individual".

In Lendu, it appears as if some elements of the predicate adjective are very often omitted only to leave overt the adjectival complement. (This is the reason why we will also look at this use in the next chapter in section 4.3.1 while discussing the use of *rò* between clauses.) And also, as noted in (26) and (27) below, *rò* in this case cannot modify its immediate constituent; it signifies 'a state or age at which an action is undertaken'. Thus, in (26), the adjectival complement *jàddă* 'young' predicates a property of *ke* 'he'. To make explicit the stative aspect carried by adjective + *rò*, a predicate nominal structure can be added without altering the original meaning, as in (27).

(26) *ke   kù   ngbai   jàddă   rò.*

　　 he   marry   wife   young   Part

　　 'He has married a wife young'. Or, 'He has married a wife while he is still young.'

(27) *ke   kù   ngbai   jàddă   ndi   kə   rò.*

　　 he   marry   wife   young   him   be   Part

　　 'He has married a wife while he is still young.'

There is no doubt that *jàddă ndi kə rò* is an adjective predicate of which the ordinary order *ndi kə jàddă rò* 'him be young Part' has been altered because it is embedded in another clause as an adverbial. *ndi*, which acts as the subject of the

imbedded adjective predicate, is coreferential with *ke* 'he' as agent and not *ngbai* 'wife'. If the focus was to be put on *ngbai* 'wife', then a feminine pronoun would be used to specify the fact as in examples (28) and (29):

(28) *le   ke   kù   jàddǎ   rò*

    she   he   marry   young Part

    'He has married her while she is still young.'

(29) *le   ke   kù   jàddǎ   le   kə   rò.*

    she   he   marry   young her   be   Part

    'He has married her while she is still young.'

The underlying meaning seems to be clearer in (28); that is, he has married her at the time she was still young.

3.5. *rò* in postpositional phrases

Section 3.5 examines the use of *rò* in postpositional phrases. In a postpositional phrase, *rò* has two major usages. 3.5.1 describes *rò* as a directional postposition meaning 'close to'. In 3.5.1 I will also briefly contrast *rò* with its counter-part *ró* which acts as postposition to express location and meaning 'on' or 'in'. However, 3.5.2 discusses another usage of *rò* as postposition after the verb *sǐ* 'find'. In this case it augments the verb to have the meaning 'find something' or literally 'find the body of something'.

3.5.1. *rò as a directional postposition*

In postpositional phrases, *rò* acts as a postposition meaning 'close to'. It always occurs after the NP that it is marking in accordance with the OV/VO constituent order typology of Lendu. These facts strengthen sensitivity to the SOV word-order in Lendu as basic.

Generally, in postpositional phrases *rò* shows direction, emphasizing proximity between the thing that is moving towards another and the thing towards which the other thing is moving. (30) illustrates this function. Indeed, (30) is the best example to indicate direction and proximity. Contrary to what has been attested in the noun phrase, the postpositional phrase containing *rò* and the direct object that precedes cannot be moved together. Thus, (32) is not correct in Lendu. However, just the postpositional phrase can be fronted with its phrasal constituent as illustrated in (31).

(30) *kpa*   *dzè*   *ngba*   *dza*   *rò.*

     they   push   child   house   Part

    'They pushed the child close to the house'.

(31) *dza*   *rò*   *kpa*   *dzè*   *ngba*

     house   Part   they   push   child

    'It is the child that they pushed to the house'.

*(32) ngba   dza   rò   kpa   dzè

     child   house   Part   they   push

      *'The child close to the house they push.'

From the sentences above it appears that the structure of rò as postposition is as

follows:

- NP1… V … NP2 …PP (N+rò)

- PP (N+rò) … NP1 … V … NP2

As a postposition rò has a counter-part, the high tone ró, which expresses

location, as in (33) and means 'against or close to'.

(33) ngba   kɘ̀   dza   ró.

     child   be   house   Part

     'The child is against or close to the house'.

(34), however, is an example of rò with low tone. The difference between (33) and (34)

is that in the former the emphasis is on the state of being already there, close to the

house. But in the latter, there has been a movement from somewhere close to the house.

(34) kpa   dzè   ngba   dza   rò.

     they   push   child   house   Part

     'They pushed the child close to the house'.

3.5.2. rò as a verbal postposition

As a verbal postposition, *rò* always correlates with the verb *sɨ̈* 'find'. Concerning such a use of preposition (postposition in Lendu), Jaworska (1994, 3306) states:

> A variety of syntactic tests point to the conclusion that where intransitive preposition (traditionally referred to as 'particle') and the verb are not adjacent, the preposition is the head of a prepositional phrase. However, when the intransitive preposition is adjacent to the verb, it constitutes part of a complex verb...

As in (30) and (31), *rò* occurs immediately after the head noun of the constituent but never adjacent to the verb. Also, in the context of verbal postposition, *rò* acts as a frozen postposition, or 'particle' that is, it is void of its initial meaning but it borrows on what I would rather call the 'core or root meaning', which I assume relates to the 'body' or the 'body of someone/something' (not necessarily a dead body or corpse). In fact, in Lendu you can still find the 'body' of the corpse. Thus, the meaning in examples (35) and (36) is 'find someone/something'.

(35) *kpa*   *sɨ̈*   *ngba*   *rò*   *tsí*   *dzà*   *nà*

    They   find   child   Part   cow   house   in

'They found the child in the pen.'(Literally: 'they found the body of the child...)

(36) *ngba*   *rò*   *kpa*   *sɨ̈*   *tsí*   *dzà*   *nà*

    Child   Part   they   find   cow   house   in

'They found the child in the pen.' (Literally: 'they found the body of the child...)

In this chapter we saw the use of *rò* as an affix (3.2), in noun phrases (3.3), in adjective phrases (3.4) and in postpositional phrases (3.5). As an affix, it has been noticed that *rò* can be suffixed to a demonstrative, a numeral and a pronoun, and respectively expresses 'time or period at which an event occurs', 'exclusion and/or inclusion' and 'emphasis', especially with reflexive pronouns that do not express reflexivity.

In noun phrases, however, *rò* functions as a particle, which always appears adjacent to the word that it modifies; it means 'some of' or 'part of'. In adjective phrases, *rò* occurs as an element of the predicate adjective construction and stands adjacent to the attributive element and modifies, not its immediate constituent, but the subject being complemented by the predicate adjective. The meaning in this case also refers to 'time or period during which an event occurs'. Finally, we have seen that in postpositional phrases *rò* has two uses. First, it functions as a prototypical postposition of direction with a high tone locational counter-part. Second, it occurs as an augmenting particle to the verb *sì* in order to have the meaning 'find x'.

Indeed, as an affix and in noun phrases, adjective phrases and postpositional phrases, we have noticed that *rò* always occurs constituent finally. In Chapter four, we will look at the use of *rò* at the clause level.

CHAPTER 4

THE SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF *rò* BETWEEN CLAUSES

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the use of *rò* between clauses that is as a conjunction. Conjunctions, Hansen (1998, 38) says, naturally fall under the category of particles together with adpositions, interjections, focus particles, modal particles, certain kinds of adverbs and discourse markers. Therefore, 4.2 and 4.3 will respectively expand on the examination of *rò* as a conjunction from two perspectives. Section 4.2 discusses *rò* as an adversative conjunction, and 4.3 looks at it as a subordinating conjunction. Finally, 4.4 examines the direction of linkage of *rò* between clauses.

4.2   *rò* as an adversative conjunction

In Lendu, *rò* is attested as an adversative conjunction. In such a case, it stands between the two clauses that it joins as in (38). But in (36) and (37), the two clauses can also be juxtaposed or separated completely and still be adversative in meaning. While being used as an adversative conjunction the particle *rò* brings a strong idea of opposition in the second clause, to the first clause.

(36) *ma*   *dĭ*   *é*   *nĭ*   *nà*   *ngbà.*   *Sáà*   *dàdă.*

me   stay   Mood   you   with   yes   hour   gone

'I would stay with you. Time has gone'.

(37) *ma*   *dĭ*   *é*   *nĭ*   *nà*   *ngbà;*   *sáà*   *dàdă.*

me   stay   Mood   you   with   yes   hour   gone

'I would stay with you; time has gone'.

(38) *ma*   *dĭ*   *é*   *nĭ*   *nà*   *ngbà*   *rò*   *sáà*   *dàdă.*

me   stay   Mood   you   with   yes   Part   hour   gone

'I would stay with you, but time has gone'.

Actually, it is difficult to tell, at a glance, how the two sentences in (36) are related. However, the two clauses are causally related and stand in a consequential relation, so that in (38) we would assume that the speaker would not stay with his host because time has gone. We would say that the speaker is actually presenting his apologies to his host and he backs up his argument with a reason (time that has gone). So, *rò* simply seems to shift the perspective and attention of the hearer to the reason, which is intended to eliminate in the sense of replacing the previous statement and validating the second which is not the case in (36) and (37) where the two propositions are simply put side by side. The English meaning of *rò* in (38) would be 'but'.

It is good to notice that *rò* is not the only adversative particle in Lendu. Lendu also marks weak contrast with the particle *ndè* which very often occurs at the beginning of a sentence. In this case, if there are two independent clauses that are conjoined or juxtaposed and need to be joined by *ndè*, they will simply be split into two, with the second taking *ndè* at the beginning as in (39). Very often *ndè* is translated as 'but' in this case too, but with a weak idea of contrast.

(39) *ma   dǐ   é   nǐ   nà   ngbà.   Ndè   sáà   dàdǎ.*

    me   stay   Mood   you   with   yes   But   hour   gone

    'I would stay with you. But, time has gone'.

In (39), the speaker is not strictly rejecting or opposing the idea in the first proposition by the second in the sense of rejecting the former, but he is simply stating an alternative reality prevailing at that time. So contrary to (38), the speaker in (39) would rather stay with his host and will simply have informed the host that, indeed, time has gone.

Indeed, *ndè* also appears at the beginning of paragraphs in case no other connector is needed and usually it is not necessarily translated though it can have a wide range of meaning (but, and, so, ...) in case it is.

4.3. *rò* as a subordinating conjunction

This section discusses the use of *rò* as a subordinating conjunction. As a subordinating conjunction *rò* can express three adverbial relationships: time (4.3.1), cause (4.3.2) and concession (4.3.3).

4.3.1. Temporal *rò*

There seem to be two types of use of *rò* in temporal clauses. While used in a subordinating clause of time, *rò* appears at the end of the subordinate clause which can come before (40) or after (41) the main clause as in examples below:

(40) àdzá   ndɨ   tsù   rò   ke   i   dzáítso   thécho

In house   him   enter   Part   he   close   house-mouth   directly

'When he entered the house, he immediately closed the door.'

(41) ke   i   dzáítso   thécho   àdzá   ndɨ   tsù   rò

he   close   house-mouth   directly   in house   him   enter   Part

'He immediately closed the door when he entered the house.'

In (40) and (41), the two actions are almost simultaneous. The second action closely follows the first. In other words, 'He entered the house first' and almost at the same time came the second action 'He closed the door'.

Nevertheless, as mentioned in chapter three (3.4), *rò* also appears in adjective predicative put together with a main clause to mark simultaneity of events in both clauses as exemplified in (27) below reproduced in (42):

(42) *ke   kừ   ngbai   jàddă   ndỉ   kə   rò.*

　　 he   marry wife   young   him   be   Part

'He has married a wife while he is still young.'

In (42), however, there is superposition of an action on an indefinite span of time. It is difficult to put the time when he got married and the time he was young in a sequential order. Rather the two events occurred in the same period of time with one 'marrying a wife' being superposed on the other. To put it differently, the fact of being young cannot be specifically located in time with sharp boundaries; it covers a long span of time. Yet, it is possible to locate marriage in time in terms of the period or date when it took time. Another Lendu word that expresses time is the compound conjunction *náng.anà* 'when' (literally 'that **place** in'). The semantic and pragmatic nuance between this latter and *rò* needs to be investigated. However, from the literal meaning of *náng.anà* 'when' there is a possibility to say that it refers to time but with an implicit spatial connotation embedded.

For the most part, it looks as if temporal *rò* basically turns the attention of the hearer to two simultaneous or superposed events. The main clause serves as the basis of

reference of time for the subordinate, which brings in the concomitant action/event to the main clause action/event.

4.3.2. Causal rò

When *rò* joins a subordinate clause of cause to a main clause, it stands at the end of the subordinate, which will usually come before the main clause as in (43) and (44). In (43), the actor will go back home for the reason that he had left his children sick. And in (44) 'He' deserves to eat the liver for the simple reason that he is the one who killed the animal.

(43) *nzʉ   ma   bbà   è   dhè   nà   rò   má   ngəngə́   bbə̌*

Children   me   leave   Past   sick   with   Part   me   go-back   tomorrow

'Because I had left the children sick, I will go back tomorrow.'

(44) *zǎ   ke   hwi   rò   ddi   jǐ   ke   á   zǎ   gə́*

Animal   he   kill   Part   it   love   he   eat   animal   liver

'Because he is the one who killed the animal, it is good that he eats the liver.'

However, in some cases, the subordinate can come after the main clause, then the conjunction *rò* is compulsorily replaced by another conjunction *dhònálò*. It is important though to notice that even if the conjunction changes, the meaning does not. A comparison of (43) with (45) and (44) with (46) can testify of this fact. And also in (45) and (46), *dhònálǒ* 'because' presents one of the rare cases of subordination

conjunctions, that occurs clause initially. Actually, the language, being head-final, tends to attest conjunctions and other particles clause and constituent finally.

(45) *má ngəngə́ bbǒ dhònálǒ nzʉ ma bbà è dhè nà*

me go-back tomorrow because children me leave Past sick with

'I will go back tomorrow because I had left the children sick.'

(46) *ddi jǐ ke á zǎ gə́ dhònálǒ zǎ ke hwi*

it love he eat animal liver because animal he kill

'It is good that he eats the liver because he killed the animal.'

Literally *dhònálǒ* means 'for that matter/for which matter'. This is a compound conjunction that embodies a relative clause. *-ná-* in Lendu is the relativizer and *lò* 'matter or word' appears here as the referent of the relative pronoun. So this conjunction means 'the matter for which' in other words, 'because'. With the literal reading of the compound conjunction, (45) and (46) would read:

'I will go back tomorrow **the matter for which** I left the children sick.'

'It is good that he eats the liver **the matter for which** he killed the animal.'

Finally, further investigation is necessary to establish the exact difference between causal *rò* and *dhònálò*.

4.3.3. Concessive *rò*

The particle *rò* is also used as a subordinating conjunction to express concession in Lendu. König (1991,86) asserts that "concessive sentences entail both their component clauses. Asserting a concessive sentence… amounts to asserting both p and q against the background assumption of a general incompatibility between the eventualities described by 'p' and 'q'." This case is very frequent in Lendu when expressions meaning 'though' and 'although' are used in the language. Indeed, in this case the subordinate clause could either have a negation or an affirmation marker +*mǎ* correlating with *rò* to express concession. Here I do not claim that *rò* alone is concessive, but no concession is possible if *mǎ* is not in correlation with *rò*. Generally the affirmation or negation in the subordinate clause contrasts with the action in the main clause in the sense of eliminating it or just presenting a concession. The idea that is expressed is that of doing the thing that is said in the main clause while being very much aware of the truthfulness of what is stated in the main clause. Examples (47) and (48) below illustrate this much better:

(47) *ngbà*   *mǎ*   *chǒ*   *ŭkpà*   *dzz-ngǝe*   *ndɨ*   *nyǒddà*   *nà*   *klà*   *rò*

yes   even   -   cock   cry-Past   him   tears   with   IDEO   Part

'Although the cock cried bitterly,

   ke   *kpa*   *jɨ-ngǝe*   *ngo*   *dhé*

   he   they   slaughter-Past   still   Emp

they just killed him.'

(48) *nzá   mǎ   chɔ́   nɨ   bě   ma   rò   má   sɨ*

    not   even   -   you   know   me   Part   me   come

    'Although you don't know me, I will come

nɨ   bbà   ngo   dhé.

you   Loc   still   Emp

to your place'.

The use of concessive *rò* can be summed up as follows:

- Affirmation marker+*mǎ*   ...   *rò*

- Negation marker+*mǎ*   ...   *rò*

4.4. Direction of linkage with *rò* between clauses

As said above, Lendu is a head-final language. It thus attests particles and other grammatical units in constituent-final position, except for *'dhònálò'* (see section 4.2). Both *'dhònálò' and rò* occur in subordinate clauses but in different positions. The first occurs clause-initially while the latter always occurs in constituent–final position. In case *'dhònálò'* is put in constituent-final position the result is an incorrect sentence as in (49).

*(49) *ddɨ   jǐ   ke   á   zǎ   gɔ́   zǎ   ke   hwi   dhònálŏ*

    it   love   he   eat   animal   liver   animal   he   kill   because

* 'It is good that he eats the liver he killed the animal because.'

In subordinate clauses, *rò* always modifies the constituent and/or the clause immediately preceding it as (50), (51) and (52) illustrate.

(50) *ma   dǐ   é   nǐ   nà   ngbà   rò   sáà   dàdǎ.*

me   stay   Mood   you   with   yes   Part   hour   gone

'I would stay with you, but time has gone'.

(51) *nzʉ   ma   bbà   è   dhè   nà   rò   má   ngɘngɔ́   bbǎ*

Children   me   leave   Past   sick   with   Part   me   go-back   tomorrow

'Because I had left the children sick, I will go back tomorrow.'

(52) *ngbà   mǎ   chɘ́   ʉ̆kpà   dzz-ngɘ́e   ndǐ   nyɘ̆ddà   nà   klà   rò*

yes   even   -   cock   cry-Past   him   tears   with   IDEO   Part

'Although the cock cried bitterly,

ke   kpa   jɨ-ngɘ́e   ngo   dhé

he   they   slaughter-Past   still   Emp

they just killed him.'

In this chapter we have seen two major uses of *rò* between clauses. First, it occurs as an adversative conjunction (4.2) and stands between the two clauses that it joins and marks 'elimination' - the replacing of the previous statement and validation of

the second. Second, it occurs as a subordinating conjunction (4.3), in which case it has three different uses. First, it marks simultaneity of events in temporal sentences (4.3.1). Second, it shifts the perspective to the 'reason' for which something can or cannot be done (4.3.2). And last, it marks concession (4.3.3). The next chapter will try to account for all of the insights of the varied meanings of *rò* in a unified manner using Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics approach.

CHAPTER 5

THE CORE FUNCTION AND MEANING OF *rò*

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to see in which category of particles *rò* qualifies and later on to see, for the different types of occurrence of *rò* that we have, if they have related meaning. As said before (see section 2.3), my approach is more minimal than maximal. This chapter also considers two other major points. First, (5.2) discusses the core function of the particle *rò*. Second, (5.3) looks at the core meaning of *rò*. It mainly examines what could be the root meaning of the particle. It is important to mention that I am using 'function' to refer to the pragmatic role of the particle and 'meaning' to point at its semantic extension.

5.2. Core function of *rò*

This section discusses the issue of the core function of *rò* in light of Relevance Theory. For the sake of consistency, the points will be discussed through three charts that separately discuss the function of the form at the word (chart 9), phrase (chart 10) and

clause (chart 11) levels. At word level, *rò* is an affix that is suffixed to a demonstrative, a numeral and a pronoun to express three things:

1. time or period at which an event occurs,

2. exclusion and/or inclusion

3. emphasis, (especially with reflexive pronouns that do not express reflexivity)

The major function of *rò* at the word level seems to be 'directing attention to x' (x can be a period in time, an agent in the case of exclusion/inclusion and emphasis). Example (53) below gives the general presupposition underlying (54), (55) and (56), which respectively direct attention to time when (53) occurred, exclusiveness of the agent in (53) and emphasis on the agent in (53).

(53) *ngba   rò   ke   sǐ.*

      Child Part he   find

      'He found the child'.

(54) *ngba   rò   ke   sǐ   fǔ-rò   théchǒ*

      Child Part he   find that-then directly

      'He directly found the child THEN (at THAT very time)'.

In this case, the speaker wants to tell the hearer that the child was found at a time in the past which comes probably shortly after they separated or shortly after another event of which the two are aware, but not now.

(55)   *ngba   rò   ke   sɨ̀   ddɨ̌-rò.*

        child   Part   he   find   one-Part

        'He ALONE found the child '. (In other words, he was not with another person when he found the child. He was exclusively alone.)

(56)   *ngba   rò   ke   sɨ̀   ndɨ̌-rò.*

        Child   Part   he   find   him-Part

        'He, HIMSELF (not another person), found the child'.

Chart 9 below summarizes the use and function of *rò* as an affix.

Chart 9. Summary of the use of rò as an affix

rò as an affix			
	Demonstrative	**With a numeral**	**With a pronoun**
Domain of operation	word	word	word
Structure	demonstrative + *rò*	numeral + *rò*	pronoun + *rò*
Position with constituent being modified	adjacent	adjacent	adjacent
Position within constituents	word-final	word-final	word-final
Function	directing attention to a period in time	directing attention to the agent as one only or a set	emphatic role directed on the agent
Meaning	'then, these days'	'alone'/'as a group'	'x him/herself'

In phrases, however, *rò* appears adjacent to the word that it modifies only in NP and directional PP, but not in adjective phrases and verbal PP contexts. It has three major functions in this case:

1. it modifies a noun

2. it expresses simultaneity of action,

3. it directs focus to a thing, namely the 'patient' when it acts as verbal postposition.

These three functions are better illustrated in examples (57), (58) and (59) below:

(57) *ddà*   *rò*   ke   *jù*

    water   Part   he   drink

    'He is the one who has drunk part of the water'.

In (57), *rò* modifies *ddà* 'water'. The presupposed proposition is *ke jù ddà* 'He has drunk water'. However, the speaker in (57) wants to specify that he has not drunk all of the water but just part of it. *rò* here in (57) encodes information, which facilitates the interpretation of the utterance. Similarly, in (58) the speaker puts two propositions side by side: 'He has married a wife' and 'He is old'. Without *rò* the two propositions do not hold together anymore, but they lose their meaning and become ungrammatical as in (59).

They can be explicated as one sentence only if *rò* is added. However, if the tone on the adjective becomes low or if the adjective is brought before the noun, then (59) will become correct but with different meanings as shown in (60) and (61).

(58) *ke*   *kừ*   *ngbai*   *ngó*   *rò.*

    he   marry   wife   old   Part

'He has married a wife old'. Or, 'He has married a wife while he is old.'

(59) * *ke*   *kừ*   *ngbai*   *ngó*

    he   marry   wife   Old

'He has married a wife old'

(60) *ke*   *kừ*   *ngbai*   *ngò*

    he   marry   wife   very old

'He has married a very old wife.' (The underlying idea is also that of 'old looking wife')

(61) *ke*   *kừ*   *ngó*   *ngbai*

    he   marry   old   wife

'He has married an old wife.' (In this case the wife he has married is definitely old.)

Finally, in (62), *rò* makes manifest the existence of the object of the verb *sǐ*, which would lose its meaning otherwise as in (63). So, in this case it is *rò* that brings optimally relevant interpretation to the utterance. In fact, the verb *sǐdha* from which *sǐ* comes, means 'to come' without the verbal postposition *rò*.

(62) *ngba   rò   ke   sĭ.*

    Child   Part   he   .find

    'He found the child'.

(63) **ngba -   ke   sĭ*

    Child -   he   come

    *'Child he come.

Chart 10 below gives a summary of the use and function of *rò* in noun phrases.

Chart 10. Summary of the use of rò in phrases

rò in phrases				
	NP	**Adj. P**	**PP**	
			Directional	**Verbal**
Domain of operation	NP	Adj P	PP	PP
Structure	noun + *rò*	Adj + *rò*	NP + *rò*	V + NP + *rò*
Position with constituent being modified	adjacent	not adjacent	adjacent	not adjacent
Position within constituents	constituent-final	constituent-final	constituent-final	constituent-final
Function	modify noun	marks simultaneity of proposition	directing perspective to a place or thing	directing perspective to a thing (a place)
Meaning	'part of, some of'	'period at which an event takes place'	'close to'	'find x'

Lastly, between clauses, *rò* marks the time during which an action took place concomitantly with another action (as in temporal clauses) or to a reason that backs the speaker's decision, as in the case of the causal and concession clauses. The chart below gives a summary of the function of *rò* between clauses.

Chart 11. Summary of the use of rò between clauses

	Adv Conj	**Subordinating Clauses**		
		rò between clauses		
Structure	cl + *rò* + cl	subordinate cl + *rò*	subordinate cl + *rò*	Aff/Neg + *mǎ* + *rò*
Position with constituent being modified	between clauses	clause-final	clause-final	clause-final *rò*
Position within constituents	between clauses	between clauses	between clauses	between clauses
Function	contrast	shifting attention to a period in time	shifting attention to a reason	shifting attention to a concession
Meaning	'but'	'when'	'because'	'although'

In conclusion, we have seen that *rò* functions both as a typical postposition and a particle. As a postposition, it marks 'direction towards something' and as particle its main

function is to establish a deictic procedure. Indeed, it shifts and directs the reader's attention to something in space or to a period in time in the sense of making the thing manifest to the hearer. In relation to deictic procedures Ehlich (1982,325) states:

> The deictic procedure is a linguistic instrument for achieving focusing of the hearer's attention towards a specific item, which is part of the respective deictic space…

We have seen through different uses of *rò* that it perfectly serves as an instrument to focus the hearer's attention on a thing and/or period of time. In many cases we have seen that without *rò* the deictic-procedural interpretation was not possible. *rò* also contributes to the formation of connectors in combination with deictic expressions. Those connectors also bear a deictic feature, be it spatial or temporal.

5.3. Core meaning of *rò*

Following some discussions with Lendu speakers, it looks evident that *rò* could mean "body". Or to put it differently, the features of the definition of *rò* can be the following: [± animate, + specific, + locational/+ directional, + very close to]

Lakoff (1987), in his development of cognitive semantics, focuses on the use of non-literal language, specifically metonymic models. He says "it is extremely common for people to take one well understood or easy-to-perceive aspect of something and use it to stand either for the thing as a whole or for some other aspect or part of it" (Lakoff 1987,77). In fact, metonymy is a figure of speech based on the relationship part-whole. The metonymic model is a cognitive linguistics approach based on that relationship. It looks as if in some contexts Lendu uses the feature [+ very close to] sometimes doubled

with [+ locational/+ directional] metonymically to stand for the body of the thing or person.

For example, to nominalize the postposition *ró* you add the nominalizer *-nga* 'place'. So, *ma-ró-nga* 'me-Part-place' will literally mean "the place very close to me". However, the free translation, which is also the understanding of Lendu speakers, is "body". *Ma-rò* 'me-Part' will literally mean "on me"; the free translation will be "on my body". Let's look at these words in sentential contexts in examples (64) and (65) below:

(64) *má   ma-ró-nga   ɔ́*

    me   me-Part-place   wash

Literal Translation: 'I am washing the place very close to me.'

Free Translation: 'I am washing my body.'

(65) *má   rù   njǔ   ma-rò*

    me   cloth   put on   me-Part

Literal Translation: 'I am putting the cloth on the place very close to me.'

Free Translation: 'I am putting the cloth on (my body).'

In both examples, *ró* and *rò* which are respectively [+locational] and [+directional] stand not for the place 'on which' or 'where to' the action focuses but for the body of the thing or person itself.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this work, I have discussed the syntactic and functional distribution of *rò*. This analysis has been done at three different constituent levels, namely the word, the phrase and the clause. In the first case, I have shown that *rò* is an affix (3.2) that is suffixed either to a demonstrative (3.2.1), a numeral (3.2.2) or a pronoun (3.2.3). The result of demonstrative + *rò* is connectors that bear procedural meaning. Numeral + *rò* results in exclusive/inclusive terms. Finally pronoun + *rò* makes a reflexive pronoun which acts as an emphatic pronoun in case the subject and the object are not the same.

In phrases, I have discussed three uses of *rò*. One is in the noun phrase (3.3). In the noun phrase *rò* is a particle that turns attention from the presupposed proposition to the optimally relevant one. *rò* in adjective phrases (3.4) indicates simultaneity of events expressed in superposed propositions. *rò* in postpositional phrases (3.5) has two uses: one as a prototypical postposition of direction (3.5.1) and the other as a particle (3.5.2) that correlates with a specific verb to augment it.

Between clauses, I have seen that *rò* functions as an adversative conjunction (4.2) or a subordinating conjunction (4.3). In this last case, *rò* can introduce time

(4.3.1), reason (4.3.2) and concession (4.3.3). The discussion of *rò* between clauses was followed by the examination of the direction of linkage with *rò* between clauses (4.4). I have argued that *rò* occurs constituent-finally and affects the subordinating clause. I have noticed that the position of *rò* in constituent-final position exemplifies the sensitivity of Lendu to the SOV structure.

Following the minimalist, Relevance Theory and Cognitive Linguistics perspectives, I have come to several conclusions concerning the function and core meaning of *rò*. First, I have noticed that *rò* is both a postposition and a particle. As postposition, I have argued that it marks direction towards something and has a counterpart with the high tone, which marks location. As a particle, I have argued that *rò* has a core function, which is procedural. It tends to shift the hearer's attention to the relevant interpretation of an utterance. In this case, *rò* points at several different things in different contexts: period, place, reason, concession, etc. And finally, the core meaning of *rò* seems to be 'body of something', of course in an abstract sense.

I do not claim to have done a complete and perfect work. I do believe that this topic needs to be investigated further on basis of diversified data, both elicited and text data collected from a larger number of the language speakers. This work explains the uses of *rò* and some uses of its counterpart *ró* as found in the text material in appendixes A and B.

APPENDIX

TEXT: FOLK TALE

(Form *Bbaledhà nǎ ngɨ* by Dheto Losina)

A.
ǔkpà	*mà*	*chèmbʉkpà*	*nà*
The Cock	and	the Sheep	with

The Cock and the Sheep

Ddǐdyî	*lə*	*sɪ̌ngɔ́e*	*ddǐkpáke*	*bbà*	*rò,*	*ke*	*ddíngɔ́e*
One day	guest	came	a-man	at	Part	he	thought

One day, a guest came to a man. He (the man) decided to make his guest happy.

ndɨ	*bbɔ́*	*hwè*	*ndɨdzá*	*ləba*	*dhò.*	*Ke*	*pòngɔ́e*	*rɨ*	*ndɨbbá*	*ngbai*
him	give	joy	him-of	guest	for	he	said	it	him-of	wife

He said this to his wife:

dhò	*ǐ:*	"*Màdzá*	*ɨ́*	*ləba*	*dhò*	*ddi*	*kà*	*le*	*jɨ́*	*chèmbʉkpà.*"
for	this	me-of	this	friend	for	it	can	Indef	slaughter	Sheep

"Kill the Sheep for my friend."

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Fúri	*ŭkpà*	*rrngə́e*	*rò,*	*ŭkpà*	*di*	*ndĭ*	*hwĭ*	*gbŏ*	*nà*
That-it	Cock	heard	Part	Cock	begin	him	kill	laughter	with

When the Cock heard this, he (the Cock) began to laugh at the Sheep saying:

ĭ	*ndĭ*	*ri*	*pŏ*	*chèmbʉkpà*	*ní*	*rò:*	*"Chèmbʉkpà*	*íle,*	*ni*	*ró*	*ri*
this	him	it	say	Sheep	to	Part	Sheep	this-Indef	you	against	it

"Dear Sheep, it's all done for you!"

sĭ	*ngbà.*	*Ni*	*kpá*	*'a*	*'á*	*njə."*	*Fúri*	*bbə́ngə́e*	*bbò*
come	yes	you	they	eat	eat	today	That-it	gave	big

They will eat you today.   That made the Sheep very sad.

njedha	*chèmbʉkpà*	*dhò.*
sadness	Sheep	for

Fúrò,	*dzaba*	*pòngə́e*	*ri*	*ndĭdzá*	*ləba*	*dhò:*
Then	house-father	said	it	him-of	friend	for

Then, the host said to his friend:

"Ní	*ddò*	*kò kusó*	*yengà ddĭ."*	*Ndè*	*ləba*	*pò*	*ri*	*ke dhò*	*ĭ*
you	sleep	we near	week one	But	friend	say	it	he for	this

"You will stay one week with us."   But the friend said this to him:

"Kò	*ddò*	*é*	*ngbà*	*rò,*	*mabbá*	*nzʉ*	*ma*	*bbà*	*è*	*dhè*
we	sleep	could	yes	Part	me-of	children	me	leave	Past	sickness

"Yes, we could stay one week but because I left my children sick, I will go back

nà	rò,	má	ngə	ngó	bbǎ."	Fúlò	ndɨ	rr	rò,
with	Part	me	return	return	tomorrow	That-word	him	hear	Part

tomorrow."   So, when the host heard that,

dzaba	lé	chèmbʉpkà	djò	ndɨ	è	ddɨ	ná	lò	nyɨ
House-father	change	Sheep	on	him	Past	think	that	word	order

the host changed his mind and said:

rò,	ke	pò	rɨ	"Kpádjo	lé	jɨ	ʉkpà	lə	dhò."	Fúrò
Part	he	say	it	now	Indef	slaughter	Cock	guest	for	Then

"Now, kill the Cock for the guest."   Then,

ʉkpà	nyǒ	ddà	ngó	rǎ	klà	dzɀ̀	dhò.	Fúròmǎ	le	jɨngóe
Cock	eye	tears	were	go	Ideo	cry	for	Even then	Indef	slaughtered

the Cock began to cry bitterly.   Even then, they just slaughtered

ʉkpà	ngo	dhé.
Cock	still	Emph

the Cock.

Fúlòdhò	ddɨ	nzá	ngànɨ̈	kò	njɨ̈	hwè
Because of that	it	not	begin	we	do	joy

Because of that, let's not rejoice (like the Cock did) when another person is hurting.

dtike	bà	njedha	nárɨ	dhò	ddɨddɨ	fɨ́	ŭkpà	njìngɔ́e	nárɨ
Another-he	find	sadness	that-it	for	like	that	Cock	did	that-it

bbàɨ rɨ.	Njátɨ	ddɨke	bă	njedha	ró,	á	lɨ́	nɨ	kedzaˊ
like it	If	one-he	find	sadness	Part	Imp	put	you	he-of

If someone is in trouble, put yourself in his/her shoes.

nga nà.	Nzǐ	nɨ	gbo	njàke	dhònálŏ	nɨ	ró	rɨ́	sǐ	chu	nǎ
place in	Not	you	laugh	another-he	because	you	against	it	come	way	in

Do not laugh at him/her, because the next turn might be yours.

B.

Tsó	nǎ	dyŭ	mà	ádzá	dyŭ	nà
Bush	in	rat	and	in-house	mouse	with

Bush-rat and Home-mouse

Ddɨdyî	tsó	nǎ	dyŭ	sìngɔ́e	ábba	dyŭ	bbà.	Ndè,	ábba
One day	bush	in	rat	came	home	mouse	at	And	home

One day, the rat went to visit the mouse.   The home of the

dyŭ	bbánga	ngɔ́e	ddɨkpáke	dzà.	Ábba	dyŭ	tsúngɔ́e
mouse	dwelling	was	a-man	house	Home	mouse	introduced

mouse was in the house of a man.   The mouse welcomed

ndɨró	lə	àdzá.	Fɨ́	dza	nǎnga	chèngɔ́e	nyǒ.
his	guest	in-house	That	house	in-place	was	food

his guest in the house.   That house was full of food.

Fŭrò,	*tsó*	*nă*	*dyŭ*	*pòngóe*	*rɨ*	*ádzá*	*dyŭ*	*dhò:*	*"ɨ́*	*nyò*
Then	bush	in	rat	said	it	in-house	mouse	for	this	food

Then, the rat said to the mouse: "Let me

rò	*má*	*nyo*	*ma*	*nà*	*cho*	*ddɨ*	*kà*	*ndɨ*	*ddò*	*le*	*nă*
Part	I	eat	me	in	year	one	can	it	sleep	person	in

eat some of this food until I am full for one year."

nánga	*tsĭ."*	*Fŭlò*	*ádzá*	*dyŭ*	*mă*	*tĭ*	*ndɨmà*
that-place	like	That-word	in-house	mouse	they	speak	them

When the two friends were talking about theses things, the owner

kànă	*tsó*	*nă*	*dyŭ*	*nà*	*nánganà,*	*dzaba*	*tsùngóe*	*àdzá*
between	bush	in	rat	with	that-place-in	house-father	got (in)	in-house

of the house got in with a lamp in his hand.

ndɨdhó	*tálà*	*nà.*
him-of	lamp	with

Tálà	*kudjó*	*ke*	*béngóe*	*dyŭ*	*rò,*	*ke*	*mà*	*dɨnɨ*	*dyŭ*
Lamp	teeth-on	he	saw	rat	Part	he	they	chased	rat

When he saw the (two) rats in the light of the lamp, he chased them around in the house

ndɨmà	*ró*	*ádzálú*	*gbrŭ*	*rò,*	*dyŭ*	*vèngóe*	*rà*	*rùnɨ*	*màlùmálù*
them	Part	house-in	Ideo	Part	rat	Past	go	hide	cupboard

until the rats went to hide under the cupboard.

tsènà.	*Tsó*	*nă*	*dyŭ*	*thí*	*vèdɨ*	*tá*	*"kpli kpli kpli."*
under	bush	in	rat	heart	began	beating	IDEO

The heart of the rat started to beat very fast.

dza	*ba*	*ne*	*nga*	*rò,*	*ke*	*sɨ̀*	*dyŭ*	*rò*	*nzá che.*
house	father	look	place	Part	he	find	rat	Part	not at all

The house owner looked everywhere but he could not find the rats at all.

Fɨ́rò	*ke*	*pò*	*rɨ̀*	*"Nɨ̆*	*dhò*	*rɨ*	*chè*	*ngbà!"*
Then	he	say	it	you	for	it	be-luck	yes

Then, he said: "You are lucky!"

Drè	*nga*	*dɨ̆*	*nárɨ*	*gòtɨ́,*	*ddo*	*dhɨ́*	*sáà*
long	place	stay	that-it	after	sleep	of	hour

After a long time, when it came time to sleep, and when he (the house owner) put the

sɨ̀	*rò,*	*ke*	*dhéngɔ́e*	*tálà*	*théchɔ́*	*rò,*	*ndrŭ*	*ràngɔ́e*	*ddo*
come	Part	he	put-off	lamp	immediately	Part	people	went	sleep

light off, everybody went to sleep.

dhò.	*Ddɨ*	*nga*	*gò*	*kudjàină*	*nánganà,*	*tsó*	*nă*
for	silent	place	become	late-in-night	that-time-in	bush	in

When everything became quiet, the rat said to the mouse:

dyŭ	*pò*	*rɨ*	*ádzá*	*dyŭ*	*dhò:*	*"Irɨ*	*ká*	*kà*	*ddɨ*	*nɨ̆*
rat	say	it	home	mouse	for	this-it	Qst	be	yes	you

"Is this the condition in which you

é	dɨ	kànǎ	ná	lò	ina	dhé	a?"	Ddi	ká
Hab	stay	in	that	matter	this	Emp	Qst	It	Qst

live?   "Is it

kə	írɨ	kàlú	chə́	nɨ̀	é	ngə̀	ngó	mǎ	rɨ	a?
be	this-it	through	-	you	Hab	become	old	even	it	Qst

through such situations that you go until you become old?"

Ápǒ	madhó	gǎlɨ	nja	ma	ngə́	màdzá	njedha	tsò
Bring-out	me-of	bike	so	I	go back	me-of	sadness	mouth

Bring out my bike so that I can go back to endure my sufferings in the bush.

vè	tsó	nà	dté."	Fɨ́rò	tsó	nǎ	dyǔ	ngə̀	tchéchə́
support	bush	in	that	Then	bush	in	rat	go back	immediately

So, the rat immediately went back in the bush.

tsó	nà.
bush	in

Nzɨ̀	kǒ	lɨ̌	kò	nyǒ	ndrǔ	dhí	rɨtsi	rò.
Not	we	put	our	eyes	people	of	things	Part

Let's not envy things that belong to other people.

Ákònjɨ̀	njɨ́	kòdhò	kòkǒrò.	Sese	mǎ	kò	bà	ná	rɨtsi
Imp-we-do	work	we-for	ourselves	little	even	we	find	that	thing

Let's work ourselves.   Let the little we can get be ours.

é	kò	ngàngà	dhí	rí.	Ádzá	dyŭ	ngɔ́
be	we	really	of	it	home	mouse	was

The mouse was boasting with the

ndɨ	gbŏ	ndrŭ	dhí	nyò	nà	nzá	le	bbŏ	ndɨ
him	laugh	people	of	food	with	not	they	give	it

food that belonged to other people without having been given it.

ndɨ	dhò	rò.
him	for	Part

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