NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF
THEOLOGY

'THE USE OF THE PARTICLE Ne
IN THE DINKA LANGUAGE"

BY

RAMADAN CHAN LIOL

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RAMADAN CHAN LIOL

A Linguistics Project submitted to the Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

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ABBREVIATIONS

dem   demonstrative

num   number marker

o   object

part particle

pp   possessive pronoun

pt   particle

rp   remote past

s   subject

sm   subject marker

tm   tense marker

v   verb

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROJECT

Scope of the Project

This study, as far as I know, is the first description of the use of the Dinka interpretive particle *në* with reference to the morphological and syntactic functions as well as the semantic roles that the particle assumes. Most of the data analyzed for this paper comes from my intuition and knowledge of the language as a native speaker who grew up in the area where the language is spoken. Very limited other sources are used in this paper, only mainly for background introduction to the study, because they are not directly related to the topic that is being considered. The sources that were consulted are listed as references at the end of this paper and the text are put in the appendix.

Though the approach will mainly be syntactic and semantic, it will evaluate the function of the particle in discourse. It is my hope that this analysis will serve as an eye opener to the function of this active particle, and will raise the interest of the readers to pursue deeper work.

ChAPTER 2

LANGUAGE AFFILIATION

Speakers

About two million people in Sudan speak Dinka as their first language. Though the language is well known by its name Dinka which also refers to the people, the speakers of this language prefer it to be called *Thoŋ de Jiëëŋ or Thoŋ de Muɔnyjäŋ* which literally means 'the mouth of Jiëëŋ', or 'the mouth of Dinka man', because these are the names by which they refer to themselves.

The Place the Language is Spoken and the Language Family

The Dinka people live in south central Sudan along the White Nile on both sides starting from the Renk area in the north to Bor in the south, and from Bor in the east to Awëil in the west (Malou 1988).

The Dinka language belongs to the Nilo-Saharan language family, Eastern Sudanic, Nilotic, Western Dinka-Nuer, Dinka. It is related to Nuer with which it shares the same branch. It is also related to several other Nilotic languages both in Sudan and outside Sudan, such as Shilluk, Anuak, Acholi, Jur Chol, Burun, and Valenda Bor in

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Sudan; Lur and Lango in Uganda; and Luo in Kenya. The four main dialects in Dinka are Padang (northern), Bor (eastern), Agar (southern), and Rek (western). The percentage of similarity between dialects is above 80%. Therefore they easily communicate across dialects (Grimes 1996). The discussion of the particle *në* in this paper is based on the Padang dialect. Within the Padang, the northeastern subdialect is the one used in particular.

The Dinka language was first written during the missionary era in the 1930's. Some literature materials, Bible portions, and linguistic publications are published such as primers, New Testament, Old Testament portions, and linguistic materials such as *Dinka Vowel System,* by Job Malou (1988).

Constituent Typology

The constituent order in Dinka is subject, object, verb (SOV) which implies that it is a head last language. This can be seen in the following examples.

Examples:

```
   S           O      V
(1) Dääu     ee     kuïn   cam.
    Dääu     tm     food   eat
    'Dääu eats food.'


   S           O      V
(2) Dääu     a-cï          kuïn   cam.
    Dääu     sm-tm         food   eat
    'Dääu ate food.'
```

```
       S              O     V
(3) Dääu    a-bï         kuïn   cam.
    Dääu    sm-tm        food   eat
    'Dääu will eat food.'
```

Note: tense marker in (1) *ee* marks habitual action. *a-* subject markr in (2 and 3) marks the subject, *cï* tense marker in (2) marks the immediate past, and *bï* tense marker marks the immediate future.

The examples cited above in (1, 2, and 3) illustrate the fact that declarative sentences maintain SOV order in present, past and future.

CHAPTER 3

GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE USE OF THE PARTICLE *NË*

Introduction

As we shall discuss in this paper, the Dinka language uses the particle *në* in seven different ways to convey different functions such as reason, discussing affairs, preposition, locative, reported speech, interrogative and as interrogative pronoun. *Në* as an interpretive particle does not contain semantic sense when taken in isolation, but it helps in guiding interpretation of an utterance using different contexts and the support of the helping words and verbs.

The Use of Particle *në* in Expressing Reason

Në is used with four words to convey reasons, namely, *biäk* 'part', *baŋ* 'side', *luɔi* 'work' and *këde* 'for the sake'. In these cases, the constructions *në biäk, në baŋ, në luɔi,* and *në këde* function as reason conjunctions, while the reason clause serves as the subordinate clause.

Consider the use of *biäk* 'part' in (4) and in the first clause in (8). *Dääu acï biäk de kuïn cam* 'Dääu ate part of the food.' The word biäk is used here to express the lexical meaning of the word. But in (8) the second clause *në biäk cïï cɔk ye nɔ̈k,* 'because he was hungry,' we see that the word *biäk* is here preceded by the particle *në*, and the clause following *biäk* expresses reason. The lexical meanings of these words are illustrated as follows:

biäk   'parts' as part of meat, a story, or part of the body.

(4)   **Dääu a-cï   *biäk* de   kuïn cam.**
       Dääu sm-tm   part   of   food eat
       'Dääu ate part of food.'

baŋ 'side' as 'roadside', 'river side', 'left or right sides'.

(5)   **Dääu a-cï   *baŋ* tön   de   awerek   gɔ̈ɔ̈ric**
       Dääu sm-tm   side   one   of   book   write.in
       'Dääu wrote on one side of paper'

luɔi 'work' as doing, performing or making.

(6)   **Dääu a-cï   *luɔi* thöl.**
       Dääu sm-tm   work   complete
       'Dääu completed the work.'

këde 'possessive pronoun'

(7)   **Dääu**   **a-cï**   *këde* **nööm.**

       Dääu   sm-tm   part   took

       'Dääu took his, because of the dispute.'

But when they are preceded by the particle *në*, then the words are directed by *në* to express reason as in (8, 9, 10, and 11) below. In (8) for example, the second *clause në biäk cïï cɔk ye nɔk*, 'because he was hungry,' we see that the word *biäk* is here preceded by the particle *në*, and the clause following *biäk* expresses reason. The same happens in (9, 10, and 11) where the second clauses are preceded by the particle *në*, and therefore clauses following *baŋ, luɔi* and *këde* express reason. In the following examples, first clauses use the words *biäk, baŋ, luɔi* and *këde* lexically, while the second clauses use them as reason clauses.

Examples:

(8). **Dääu a-cï** *biäk* **de**   **kuïn cam,** *në*   *biäk* **cïï**   **cɔk**   **ye**

      Dääu tm   part   of   food eat   pt   part   rp-tm hunger him

      nɔk.

      kill.

      'Dääu ate part of the food, because he was hungry.'

(9)   **Dääu a-cï**   *këde* **nööm,**   **në**   **këde**   **wël.**

       Dääu sm-tm   his   took   pt   because   dispute.

       'Dääu took his, because of the dispute'

(10) Dääu a-cï *ban* tön de awerek gööric, *në* *ban*
Dääu sm-tm side one of book write.in pt side

cïï **yen** **bäp.**
rp-tm he tired

'Dääu wrote on one side of the paper, because he was tired.'

(11) Dääu a-cï *luɔi* thöl, *në* *luɔi* cïï yen dap gɔl.
Dääu sm-tm work finish pt work rp-tm he quick begin

'Dääu completed the work, because he began earlier.'

Consider the use of *ban* 'side' in the first clause in (10). *ban* is used to express

the lexical meaning of the word. But in the second clause in (10) the second clause *në*

ban cïï yen bäp, ban is here used to express the reason that made Dääu to write on one

side. It is also the same case with a similar construction when *luɔi* is used as it is

illustrated in (11).

It should be noted here that *cïï* 'tense marker' in (6, 8, and 10) in the second phrase is

lengthened to mark the remote past (compare *cï* in 2).

Consider the clause in (6) and in (11) the first clause *Dääu acï luɔi thöl*

'Dääu completed the work.' The word *luɔi* here is used lexically. But in the second

clause *në luɔi cï yen dap gɔl* 'because he began earlier', we see that *luɔi* is preceded

by the particle *në* and it expresses reason.

Summary of the Use of në in Expressing Reason

In (4, 5, 6, 7) above and the first clauses in (8, 9, 10, 11), we see that *biäk, baŋ,* and *luɔi* are used to express lexical meanings. The final clauses in (8, 9, 10, 11), show that whenever the particle *në* precedes *biäk* 'part', *baŋ* 'side', *luɔi* 'work', and *këde* 'possessive pronoun' the construction conveys reason. In each case, the particle *në* and any of the words which follow it comes immediately before the clause of reason such as in examples (12, 13, 14, 15). All the four constructions are used interchangeably to express reason. As far as I understand, none of them is designed for a specific function or occasion to be used. It only depends on the speaker or writer to choose any of them any time he or she wants. Note that in (15) *këde* changes to *kë* to express reason, simply because *këde* is not grammatically allowed in such constructions (compare to the reason clause in 9).

Examples:

(12) *në*   *biäk*   **cï**   **tik**   **dhiëth.**
      pt   part   tm   woman   delivered.
      'because the woman delivered.'

(13) *në*   *baŋ*   **cï**   **tik**   **dhiëth.**
      pt   side   tm   woman   delivered.'
      'because the woman delivered.'

(14) *në*   *luɔi*   **cï**   **tik**   **dhiëth.**
      pt   Work   tm   woman   delivered
      'because the woman delivered.'

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(15) *në*   **kë**   **cï**   **tik**   **dhiëth**.
     pt   because   tm   woman   delivered

'because the woman delivered.'

CHAPTER 4

THE USE OF THE PARTICLE *NË* IN DISCUSSING AFFAIRS

In addition to the use of the phrase *në këde* in constructions along with phrases such as *në biäk* and *në baŋ* to express reason, *në këde* 'about', 'for the sake of'' is also used in discussing affairs. In this case, the constructions in such context function in marking the matter about which one is talking or thinking, or the reason for which the action is carried out. Though rarely used, the construction *në luɔi,* which also expresses reason, can also be used to mark the matter being discussed. *Biäk* 'part', and *baŋ* 'side', when used in discussing affairs, they do not convey the lexical meanings, but mark the matter being discussed as in examples (16 and 17). The use of *në këde* could easily be discussed under preposition since it functions more like a preposition, but because it uses a different construction than that which is used in the preposition discussed in (2.1.2) in this paper, also for the reason that *në këde* demonstrates two different functions we decided to treat it separately at least for now.

It is clear in the following examples in (16, 17 and 18) that these *constructions*

në baŋ de …, në biäk de …, and *në këde* …. are used to mark the matter being discussed. This use excludes *luɔi,* which is used along with *biäk,* and *baŋ* in many other uses (see examples 4, 5 and 6).

Examples:

(16) **Dääu a-cï jam *në* biäk de meth.**
Dääu sm-tm talk pt part of child
'Dääu talked about the child.'

(17) **kɔc a-cï-k mat *në* baŋ de thiëëk.**
people sm-tm-num meet pt side of marriage
'people met to discuss about marriage.'

(18) **Dääu a-cï jam në këde de meth.**
Dääu sm-tm talk pt because of child
'Dääu talked about the child.'

It should be noted that the tense marker *cïk* in (17) has *-k* as suffix. The suffix *-k* marks the number. In this context it is marking plural in reference to *kɔc* 'people' (compare to 10).

CHAPTER 5

THE USE OF THE PARTICLE *NË* AS PREPOSITION

The particle *në* is used as a preposition to express the following semantic relationship such as the means or agent by which the action is carried, instrument, direction to which the action is leading toward or away from, or location where the entity is, or marking the matter which is being discussed depending on the context, as in the following examples below. In the clauses where *në* is used as the preposition expressing the means, agent, instrument or direction, *në* immediately precedes the noun phrase in the prepositional phrase (see 19, 20, 21 and 22.) below. It should be pointed out here that *në* when used as a preposition to express the means and instrument, *në* functions as instrumental particles (examine 4.1 and 4.2), while when *në* is used to express direction toward or away from, *në* more or less functions as a directional particle rather than as a preposition (see 4.3). When *në* is used locatively to express the exact location such as preposition 'on', 'in', and 'through', *në* conveys location rather than functioning as preposition (see 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4). *Në* expresses two ideas when used as preposition 'about'. First sense is in relation to affairs (see section 3). Secondly, it expresses the reason for which the action takes place (see example 8).

The Use of *në* as Preposition in Expressing Instrument

Examples:

(19) **Dääu a-cï   bɛn   *në*   abël.**
Dääu sm-tmcame pt   car
'Dääu came by a car.'

(20). **Tik   a-cï   thät   *në*   tim.**
woman   sm-tm   cook   pt   tree
'The woman cooked with wood'.

It should be pointed out here that the sense in (19) is expressing the means by which the action is carried out, while the sense in (20) is instrumental rather than accompaniment. To express the agent using *në*, passive construction is required as it is illustrated in (21) below.

(21) meth   a-cï   duï   *në*   wun.
child   sm-tm   beat pt   father
'the child is beaten by the father.'

The Use of *në* as a Directional Particle

When *në* is used to express the direction to which the action is leading as in (22), *në* is supported by words of location or direction such as 'near', 'away from' with the help of verbs. In (22) *në* would normally precede the noun phrase as in the case of *në biäk* and *në baŋ* (16 and 17), but that construction is interrupted here by the noun phrase

of the preposition phrase (see 22), which is also true with the locative construction which is discussed below. Example *në abël lööm* 'near the car' can be supported by the verb *ajäl* 'leave' to mean 'away from' or supported by the verb *alɔ* 'going to', or *bën* 'come to' to convey the directional prepositions. So, to express the direction either forward or away from by using *në*, words of direction and verbs which indicate directions are needed to convey the meaning.

(22) **meth a-cï   bën** *në*   **abël lööm.**
      child   sm-tm   come pt   car   near
      'The child came closer to the car.'

It should be noted here that ***bën*** 'come', along with ***në*** and ***lööm*** 'near' all contribute to the action coming toward the car.

Example of the Use of në as Directional Particle 'away from.'

(23) **tik   a-cï   kat** *në*   **abël.**
      woman   sm-tm   run   pt   car
      'The woman ran from the car.'

The sense in (23) denotes the running away from the object.

CHAPTER 6

THE USE OF THE PARTICLE *NË* AS The LOCATIVE PARTICLES

Another usage of the particle *në* is in expressing the location. Words such as *thar*

'under', *nɔm* 'head', *kɔu*; 'back' follow the particle *në* in a locative phrase as shown in

the following examples.

Examples Showing the Use of *në* as Locative

(24) **Dääu arɛɛr *në*   tim   thar.**
Dääu sit   pt   tree   under
'Dääu is sitting under a tree.'

(25). **meth anin *në*   tim   nɔm.**
child sleep pt   tree   head
'The child is sleeping on the tree.'

Another way to express location without the use of *në* is as follows:

(26) Dääu   **anu   ɣööt.**
Dääu   present   house
Dääu is in the house.'

(27) meth   athuɛ̈ɛc   biic.
      child   play   out
      'The child is playing outside.'

The Use of *në* as the Locative Preposition Expressing 'on'

When *në* is used as locative preposition expressing 'on' such as in (28) below

(also see 22, 24, 25), words such as *nɔm* 'head', or *kɔ̈u* 'back' come after it. In this case

the construction is *në...nɔm* 'part...head', or *në...kɔ̈u* 'part...back'.

(28). awerek   anu   në   therbeth   nɔm.
       book   present   pt   table   head.
       'the book is on the table.'

The Use of në as the Locative Preposition 'in'

When *në* is used to mean 'in' such as in (29) below, *në* is supported by

morpheme *ic* 'in' which is attached to the end of the noun phrase in the prepositional

phrase. *ic* is a shortened form of *yic* 'in truth, within' which is only used after a word that

ends in vowel such as *lupɔ yic* 'in cloth', or *mei yic* 'in root'. But **lupɔic* 'in cloth' is

not allowed in Dinka. So, to express preposition 'in' by using *në* requires the

construction of *në + where + ic/yic* 'part place in'.

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Example:

(29)   **kuïn**   **anu**   ***në***   **athään-ic**
       food   present   pt   dish.in
       'the food is in the dish'

The Use of *në* as the Locative Preposition 'Through'

The particle *në* is also used to convey the sense 'going through', as it is illustrated in the following example. It should be noted here that verb *tëëk* 'pass', plus *në, ic* function together to express the idea of going through.

Example:

(30)   Cuëёr   a-cï   tëёk   nё   mac-ic.
       Thief   sm-tmgo   pt   fire.in
       'the thief went through fire.'

CHAPTER 7

OTHER USES OF THE PARTICLE *NË*

In Reported Speech

Dinka uses the particle *në* in reported speech. *Në* comes in the initial position of the whole clause. *Në* can be glossed 'according to'. It seems to be functioning as preposition, but since it functions slightly differently, we decided to discuss it separately for the time being. The following examples will help to illustrate our claim. Both direct and indirect speech will be discussed here.

Examples of Direct and Indirect Speech

Dinka uses direct speech in communication which is illustrated in (31); compare with (32) which is indirect speech in the following examples.

(31) **A-cï**   **Dääu lueel an**   **'Yɛn bɔ̈.'**
Sm-tm   Dääu say   that I am come
'Dääu said, "I am coming."'

(32) **A-cï**   **Dääu lueel an**   **bï**   **bɛ̈n.**
Sm-tm   Dääu say   that will   come
'Dääu said that he is coming.'

Examples of Indirect Speech Using *në*

When Dinka uses the particle *në* to report speech, *në* introduces the clause or the sentence containing the speech to be reported as we can observe in (33) and (34) below.

(33) *në*   **Dääu an   cï   meth bɛ̈n.**
      Pt   Dääu that tm   child come
      'according to Dääu the child came.'

(34) *në*   **kek an bïk   jäl   miäk.**
      Pt   them that they.will   leave tomorrow
      'according to them they are leaving tomorrow.'

This use should not be confused with the interrogative use below examples (35, 36). The difference between the interrogative and declarative sentences of this nature is by intonation.

In the Interrogative

Në is used in interrogative constructions where it functions as an interrogative pronoun. Example (35) illustrates the content interrogative without the use of the particle *në*, while example (36) illustrates the polar interrogative without the use of the particle *në*.

Examples:

(35) **Eeŋö cïï   Dääu lueel?**
      What tm   Dääu say
      'what did Dääu say?'

(36) **Cïk   lueel a-cï.k   meth yök?**
      Tm   say   sm-tm.num child find
      'Did they say whether they found the child?'

Examples of Interrogative Using *në*

In (37) and (38) below we illustrate the use of the particle *në* functioning as interrogative pronoun using the same examples in (34 and 35) above.

Examples:

(37) *në*   **Dääu an   adï?**
      Pt   Dääu that how
      'what did Dääu say?'

(38). ***Në***   **kek   an   cïk   meth yök?**
      Pt   they   that tm   child find
      'according to them is the child found?'

As Demonstrative Pronoun

Dinka also uses the particle *në* as a deitic demonstrative pronoun 'here' as illustrated

in (39 and 40) below.

Examples:

(39) **Dääu a-cï meth yök ë *në*.**
Dääu sm-tm child found is dem
'Dääu found the child here.'

(40) **Pïu a-bï-k ɣëët ë *në* miäk.**
Water sm-tm-num reach is dem tomorrow
'Water will reach here tomorrow.'

These are some of the ways *në* is used to express all these different semantic

relationships.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

In this brief discussion, we attempted to discuss seven different functions of the particle *në* in Dinka, namely, the use of particle *në* in expressing reason, discuss affairs, as preposition, as locative, in reported speech, in interrogatives and as a deitic demonstrative pronoun. We attempted to state how the particles function as the interpretive marker in guiding the reader in interpreting the utterance. We discussed the fact that the particle conveys different senses based on the context. Having discussed the particle, we conclude the possibility of the particle to have originally been a locative particle which developed over a period of time to include other functions such as stated above.

National
Boundary
North-South
Boundary
Rivers

Dinka Habitat

AFRICA
SUDAN
Khartoum
R. Nile
Renk
Shilluk
Northern
Variety
Malakal
Western
Variety
Jonglei Canal
ETHIOPIA
Aweil
Nuer
Wau
Eastern
Variety
Southern
Variety
Bor
CENTRAL
AFRICAN
REPUBLIC
Juba
ZAIRE
KENYA
UGANDA
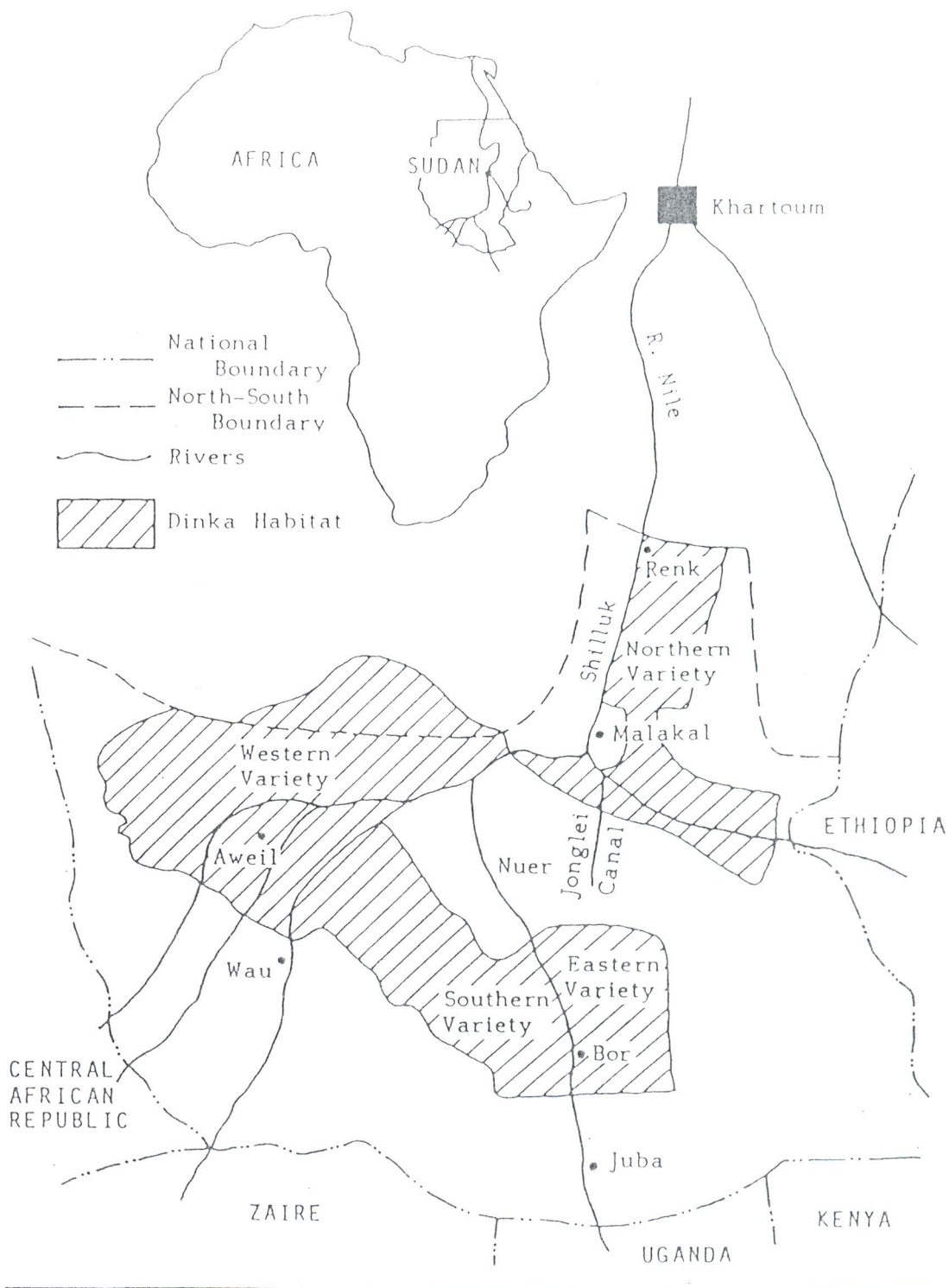
Job Dharual Malou: 1983

Map 1. Southern Sudan showing Dinka habitat

Taken from Malou 1988, p 9

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APPENDIX

Dinka Text for Display:

Title: Alɛɛŋ   de   Agɔɔk   kekë   nyaŋ
       Story   of   monkey   with   crocodile
       'The story of monkey and Crocodile'

(1) Yɔn   theɛr,   ade   agɔŋ ë   rëɛr   **në**   tim   **nɔm**
    Time   ago   there-was monkey tm stay   on   tree   head
    'Once upon a time, there was a monkey which stayed on a tree...'

në   wëɛr **yɔu**, agɔŋ   ë-cï   määth   kekë   ɲaŋ.
on   river side monkey   rm-tm   friend   with   crocodile
' on river side, a monkey who befriended a crocodile.'

(2) Na yɔn në   kööl tök, ke   nyaŋ   ë   këny agɔɔk.
  So then, in   day   one, so   crocodile   tm   visit monkey.
    'One day, the crocodile visited the monkey.'

(3) Na wën aciëmkï   baai de   agɔɔk,   ke   lëk   ë   nyaŋ
  so time they-eat   home of   monkey   so   said tm crocodile
  ' while they were eating in monkey's home, the crocodile said to...'

agɔɔk   an, "Mäs, yïn kaar buk   lɔ   baaidï   wo   yïn
monkey   that friend you I-want to   go   my-home   with   you
'monkey, my friend I want you to go with to my house...'

ee   köölë.
this   today.
'today.'

(4) Go   agɔɔk   puk nɔm an,   "Ku buk lɔ   dï   ku
    and   monkey   return head that and we   go   how and
'and the monkey answered, how can we go and...'

aɲic   *luɔi* can   ee   kuaŋ?"
you-know   that I-not tm   swim?
You know that I don't swim?

(5) Go   ɲaŋ   puk nɔm an,   "Na ye   *këde* kuaŋ, ke
    and   crocodile   return head that If   it-is because swim so
' and the crocodile replied that is it is for swimimg,...'

    yï   duk   diɛɛr.
    You   not   worry.
    'don't worry.'

(6) Yïn   ba   ɣääc *në*   *yakɔ̈u*."
    You   I-will carry on   my-back
    'I will carry you on my back'

(7) Na   wën, ke   agɔɔk   ë   gäm   *në*   *luɔi* le
So   time so   monkey   tm   agreed   on   that   to
'And the monkey accepted to go with...'

    yen   kekë   mɛ̈së.
    him   with   his-friend.
    'to go with his friend.'

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(8) Go   ɲaŋ   agɔɔk   käp   **në** **yekɔ̈u**   ku   lekï
   And   crocodile monkey   lifted on   his-back   and   went-
   'And the crocodile lifted him on his back and went to …'

wïïr.
river
'river.'

(9) Na wën acïk ɣet   *në* wɛ̈ɛr-ic   cil,   ke lëk ɲaŋ
    when they reach in   river-in   middle   so said crocodile
    'when they reached in the middle of the river, the crocodile said…'

agɔɔk   an,   "Agɔɔk   yïn   ee   mäs   ka   cï   rɔ̈ŋ
Monkey   that   monkey   you   are my-friend   so   not   good

ba   yï   muɔ̈ɔny.
to   you   inform.
'I should inform you because you are my friend. '

(10) Kë   cɔ̈l   yïn,   melikda   acïï   jɔk   dɔm   arëët
     Thing   call you,   king-our   tm   sickness   caught   very

ka   akɔɔr   thuɔɔu.
So   wants   death.
'I called you because our king is so sick he is almost dying.'

(11) Ku   acïï   akïm   lueel an   cï   bï   pïïr   të   kën
     and   tm   doctor   said   that not will live   if   not

en   piɔ̈n   agɔɔk   cuet.
him   heart monkey   eat.
'And doctors said he will not live unless he eats a heart of a monkey.'

27

(12) Ka   yïn   acaal   *në*   *biäk*   bï   yïn   en   lɔ   gäm
     so   you   I-call   on   that   to   you   him go   give

     piɔndu   bï   cuet   ke   cï   bï   thou."
     your-heart to   eat   so   not   will die

'So I called you in order to give him your heart to eat so that he will not die'

(13) Go   agɔɔk   puk   nɔm   ku   lueel   an,   "Caai,   na
     and   monkey   return head and   said   that   Oh,   if

     ee   yeka, ee   kë   piɔlic   arëët.
     this so   it-is thing light   much

'And the monkey answered saying, oh, that is an easy thing to do.'

(14) Na   ë   cï   dap   lɛ̈k   ɛn   wën,   adë   ca
     If   you   tm   quickly   said me   time   would I

     piɔndï   luɛth   ke   yɛn.
     My-heart   bring   with   me.

'If you told me early, then I would bring my heart along with me.'

(15) Ku   ënɔɔnë,   piɔndï   acï   döŋ   *në*   tim   *nɔm*.
     But   now,   heart-my   tm   remain   on   tree   head.

'But now, I left it on the tree.'

(16) Känë   tïŋ   wën   *në*   tim   *nɔm*?"
     Did-not-you see   then on   tree   head?

'Didn't you see it on the tree?'

(17) Go   nyaŋ   puk   nɔm   an, "Akän   tïŋ."
     And   crocodile   returned   head that I-did-not see.

'And the crocodile answered,   no, I didn't see it.'

28

(18) Go   lueel   an,   "Oou, piöu   ë   döŋ.
     And   said   that,   oh,   heart   is   left.
     ' and he said, oh, the heart is left.'

(19) Na   ba   ya   puk   nɔm   la   diëc,   ka   adä   bɛ̈n
     if   will   me   return head   to   get   so   I-would   come

       gäm   melik   bï   cuet   ke   cï   bï   thou."
       give   king   to   eat   so   not   will   die.
'But if you take me back, I will get it for the king to eat so that he will not die'

(20) Go   nyaŋ   gam   ku   lëk   agɔɔk   an,   "Na
     and   crocodile   accept   and   told   monkey   that   if

       ee   yeka, ke   wok   puk   wonïïm."
       is   that,   so   we   return our-heads
'And the crocodile agreed to take the monkey back, saying let us go back'

(21) Gokï   kenïïm   puök   biic   **në**   wëër   **thok**.
     And-they   their-heads   returned   out   to   river   mouth
     'And they went back to the river side.'

(22) Na wën   acïk   lɔ   biic   **në**   wëër   **thok**, ke   lëk
     when   they   went out   to   river   mouth so   said

       agɔɔk   nyaŋ   an,   "Ëya dic   piöu kï   yɔ̈ɔ̈."
       Monkey   crocodile   that   I   bring   heart this   please
'So when they went outside the river, the monkey said to crocodile, let me please get the heart.'

(23) Go   nyaŋ   lueel an,   "Nɛɛ, lɔ   diëcë yïn   ba   lɔ̈ɔ̈k
     and   crocodile   said that   yes   go   bring you   I   after

tiit *ë në*."
wait   here.
'And crocodile agreed, and said, please go and get it I will wait for you here.'

(24) Na wën, ke   agɔɔk   ë   lɔ   ku   le   nyuc *në*   tim
     then   so   monkey   tm   went and   go   sit   on   tree

     nɔm, ku   rëër.
     head and   stay.
     'Then the monkey stayed long on the tree.'

(25) Na wën acï   nyaŋ   bäp, ke   col agɔɔk   lëk   en
     when tm   crocodile   tired so   called monkey   said   him

an,   "Agɔɔk,   dap bën ke   wo   lɔ   piny acol."
that   monkey   quick come so   we   go   place dark
'when crocodile became tired, he called monkey saying, please come quickly
let us go, it is getting dark.'

(26) Go   agɔɔk   puɔk nɔm en   an, " Na   lɔ   ke   yï
     And   monkey   return head him   that, if   go,   so   you
     lɔ,   yɛn cie   kë   lɔ.
     Go   I-am no   thing go.
'And monkey answered him saying, if you want to go, go. I am not going'

(27) Na   cie dhɔɔn,   dek raan   cï   kɔn piŋ ke
     If   not foolishness, is   person   tm   first heard that
     cath të   cïn piɔu?
     walk with no   heart?
' If you are not foolish, have you ever seen anybody without heart?'

30

(28) Lɔ,   yɛn   cïn   piɔ̈ndiën   gam."
    Go,   I   no   heart-my   give
       'Go, I have no heart to give.'

(29) Go   nyaŋ   jäl   ke   cï   piɔu   riääk   *në*   kë
    And   crocodile   left   with   tm   heart spoiled of   thing
        Cï   mɛ̈thë   *luɔi*   yen.
        tm   his-friend did   him.
    'And crocodile went very disappointed with his friend did to him.'

(30) Ku   ëtɛ̈ɛn   määthden   ë   bɛn   riääk.
    And   there   their-friendship   tm   came   spoil
       'That ended their friendship.'

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