WHO'S WHO IN KMHMU': REFERRING
EXPRESSIONS AND PARTICIPANT
IDENTIFICATION IN SELECTED KMHMU'
NARRATIVE TEXTS

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Presented to Payap University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts in Linguistics
Faculty of Arts

Payap University
May 2009

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for Ajarn Tom, Ajarn Audra, Ajarn Karen and Ajarn Ziggy, along with other members of the Payap Linguistics Department who have spent many hours teaching me, helping me with analysis, guiding my reading, reading drafts and giving me insights and helpful feedback. Thank you for your encouragement and input.

Many Kmhmu' speakers have helped me in gathering data, hosting me in the village, and patiently teaching me to speak and understand their language. Thank you all. A word of thanks to Elisabeth Preisig and Ajarn Suksavang Simana' for arranging for me to stay in a Kmhmu' village in Vientiane province in Lao PDR, which enabled me to collect texts for this study.

My husband Mark and my sons, Tim, David and Matthew have been very supportive and patient as I became preoccupied with my studies. Thank you for your efforts on the home front that freed me to complete this course, for expressing your confidence in me, and for your love.

A special thank you to Gillian Day, who has helped with proof-reading and has been a great encouragement as we struggled through this process as fellow students. Thank you to friends and extended family who have prayed and encouraged me along the way.

Finally, thank you to God, the One who has brought me to the point where I could embark on this course of study, and has given me the stamina to complete it.

Rosalind Anne Osborne
February 2009
ABSTRACT

In a narrative discourse the participant identification system provides a means for establishing the identity of a referent and maintaining it without confusion to the hearers. To do this each language has a range of grammatical forms, known as referring expressions, which it employs according to patterns unique to that language.

Although extensive research has been done on the southern dialects of Kmhmu' (Smalley 1961; Preisig 1990; Suksavang et al. 1994; Suwilai 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1992, 2002), this study contributes a more detailed grammatical analysis of nominal constructions, in terms of their structure, and their function on discourse level, as well as an analysis of participant reference patterns in narrative discourse.

Using six Kmhmu' texts recorded in Vientiane Province in the Lao PDR, the structures and functions of Kmhmu' referring expressions are characterised using a functional grammar approach. Further, the methodology of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) is applied to explore the patterns of usage of these forms in narrative discourse. This study provides an inventory of referring expressions and documents their roles in signalling the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of referents in discourse. The participant identification system of Kmhmu' reflects both
a sequential strategy and a local VIP strategy, which interact to form patterns which are described by default encoding rules.

The findings of this study contribute to the documentation of one of the world's smaller languages. They are of particular interest to others seeking to understand Kmhmu' or related Mon-Khmer languages, and to those who do community development work that involves translating written materials into the Kmhmu' language.
บทคัดย่อ

ในสัมพันธ์สารเรื่องเล่า ระบบที่ใช้ในการสื่อถึงตัวละครนั้นทำให้เกิดขึ้นเป็นการสร้างลักษณะเฉพาะของตัวละครแต่ละตัวและรักษากลั่นถ่านนั้นไว้โดยไม่ทำให้ผู้ฟังสับสน การทำเช่นนี้แต่ละภาษาจะมีขอบเขตของรูปแบบทางไวยากรณ์ที่เรียกเกี่ยวกับ คำหรือข้อความที่แสดงการอ้างถึง(referring expressions) ที่มีการใช้ในรูปแบบที่เป็นเอกลักษณ์ตามแต่ละภาษา


สามารถลดทอนการวิเคราะห์รูปแบบการอ้างถึงตัวละครในสัมพันธ์สารเรื่องเล่า
จากเรื่องในภาษาขม 6 เรื่องที่บันทึกเสียงจากนครเวียงจันทน์ สปป.ลาว นั้น มีการใช้วิธีที่เรียกว่า functional grammar approach เพื่อข้อบายคุณลักษณะโครงสร้างและหน้าที่ของคำที่ใช้ข้างถึงตัวละคร นอกจากนี้ยังมีการนำวิธีการของ Dooley และ Levinsohn มาประยุกต์ใช้ในการสำรวจรูปแบบการใช้วิธีเหล่านี้ในสัมพันธ์ระหว่างที่ใช้ในเรื่อง จากการศึกษาได้พบคำและข้อความต่างๆที่แสดงการอ้างอิงถึง(referencing expressions) และอธิบายหน้าที่ที่ใช้เพื่อดึงดูดภาษาตั้งต่อกันมาด้วยตัวละครใด (identifiability), สถานภาพที่ผู้อ่านคิดถึงตัวละครในเรื่อง(activation status) และความสำคัญของตัวละคร (thematic salience) ระบบการอ้างอิงถึงตัวละครในภาษาขมจะทั้งย 답변ให้เห็นถึงทั้งกลวิธีต่อเนื่อง(sequential strategy) และกลวิธีที่ใช้ระบุตัวละครสำคัญ(local VIP strategy) ซึ่งวิธีการเหล่านี้ที่เกี่ยวกับภาษาขมอยู่แล้ว

ข้อมูลที่ได้จากการศึกษาที่สามารถใช้เป็นเอกสารอ้างอิงสำหรับภาษาที่มีคนพูดน้อยภาษาหนึ่งในโลก โดยเฉพาะจะเป็นประโยชน์สำหรับผู้ที่ต้องการเข้าใจภาษาขมหรือภาษาอื่นที่ใกล้เคียงกันในกลุ่มเมือง-ชนเมือง และสำหรับผู้ที่ทำงานด้านการพัฒนาชุมชนที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการแปลเอกสารหรือหนังสือให้เป็นภาษาขม
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
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<td>ABIL</td>
<td>ability</td>
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<td>AdjP</td>
<td>adjectival phrase</td>
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<td>augmentative</td>
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<td>classifier</td>
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<td>durative aspect</td>
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<td>emphatic</td>
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<td>IPA</td>
<td>International Phonetic Alphabet</td>
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<td>ONOM</td>
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<td>PDR</td>
<td>People's Democratic Republic</td>
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<td>relativiser</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
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<td>temporal directional</td>
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<tr>
<td>V</td>
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<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>verb complex</td>
</tr>
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<td>very important participant</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Kmhmu' language has been studied extensively, particularly in relation to phonology and morphology by the Swedish group at the University of Lund, and in relation to overall grammatical structures (Smalley 1961; Suwilai 1987). There is very little written about the discourse grammar of Kmhmu' (Suwilai 1987), and no studies are published on the use of nominal constructions to refer to participants in narrative text. This study therefore seeks to further investigate nominal constructions and their use in Kmhmu' narrative discourse.

In a narrative text the participant identification system provides a means for establishing the identity of a referent and maintaining it without confusion to the hearers (Grimes 1975:47). Each language has its own participant identification system, which uses a range of grammatical forms, known as referring expressions, according to patterns and rules unique to that language. This thesis presents the inventory of referring expressions in Kmhmu', their structures, their functions at discourse level and their patterns of use in participant identification discovered in six narrative texts.

This first chapter provides background on the Kmhmu' people, where and how they live, and on their language as it fits into the surrounding linguistic setting. It outlines the research questions, objectives and scope of the study, introduces the texts under study and describes the theoretical approach used. In each successive chapter, the relevant literature is reviewed to give the theoretical basis for the methodology described in that chapter.

1.1 The Kmhmu' people

Kmhmu' means human being and is the name by which Kmhmu' people refer to themselves. There are various alternative spellings such as Khmu, Kammu and Khamou. According to the oral traditions of Lao Kmhmu', they were the original inhabitants in the Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR) before the Tai peoples
migrated south from China (about 1,000 years ago), occupying the lowland areas and forcing the Kmhmu' and other groups up into the hills and mountains.

There are over 500,000 speakers of the Kmhmu' language located in the Lao PDR, Thailand, Vietnam, China and in migrant populations in France, the United States of America, Canada, and Australia. In the Lao PDR, where most of the Kmhmu' live, they are located mainly in the central and northern provinces of Xieng Khouang, Hua Phanh, Bolikhamsay, Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Sayabuli, Phongsali, Udomsay, Luang Nam Tha, and Bokeo. Kmhmu' in Thailand live mainly in Nan and Chiang Rai provinces, with some smaller populations in Kanchanaburi, Uthaithani, and Lampang. There are also Kmhmu' located in Sipsong Panna Prefecture of Yunnan province in China, and in northern Vietnam. See Figure 1 for a map of the main Kmhmu' population area.

Figure 1: Map of approximate areas of Kmhmu' settlement  
(Suwilai 2002:xv)

Traditionally, the Kmhmu' have practised swidden (slash and burn) agriculture, planting upland glutinous rice fields, as well as corn, tubers, fruit and other vegetables in the mountainous regions where they generally live. In Kmhmu' villages, pigs, chickens, ducks, cattle, goats and sometimes water buffalo are raised. They also fish, and hunt game and gather other edible foods from the forest (Suksavang and Preisig 1997). In the lowland areas Kmhmu' grow paddy rice. Kmhmu' generally build their own houses from forest materials, although in urban areas they live in dressed timber, brick and concrete housing as do the Lao. Unlike other minority groups, the Kmhmu' do not tend to dress in
distinctive clothing, but often adopt the dress styles of neighbouring Tai groups such as the Lao, Tai Leu or Tai Kha. In fact they do have their own traditional dress, but it is only worn on special ceremonial occasions.

Among the Kmhmu' today, many still hold to their traditional beliefs that there are spirits in the world around who have power to help and harm people. In order to appease the spirits of the house, village, fields, mountains, etc., ceremonies and sacrifices are performed. Other Kmhmu' have adopted Buddhist or Christian beliefs. Kmhmu' people still maintain their own poetical and musical traditions, their stone jar wine-making, and their folk-tales and story-telling.

1.2 Language background

Linguistically, Kmhmu' is in the Mon-Khmer family of the Austroasiatic language phylum. It fits into the Khmuic subgroup of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, along with Mal-Prai-T'in, Mlabri, Bit, Khang, Kha, Khing Mul-Puoc, Thai Then, Phong, and Lduh-Thai Hat (Sidwell 2004). See Figure 2.

![Figure 2: Kmhmu' Linguistic Family Tree](image)

The subgroup of Northern Mon-Khmer, where Kmhmu' fits, is well accepted among linguists. The other non-northern groupings within the Mon-Khmer family are not clearly established (Sidwell 2005), although there is some lexical evidence for a Vietic-Katuic group, a Bahnaric-Khmeric group and a Monic-Aslian group (Diffloth 2005; Alves 2005).
Across northern Laos, Kmhmu' villages are scattered amongst several other ethnic groups, such as Lao, Hmong, Tai Leu, Tai Daeng, Lamet, and others. Because Lao is the national language and all education is done in Lao, many Kmhmu' speakers are bilingual to some extent. After centuries of interaction through trade, business, education and social mixing, including intermarriage, there are many words common to both Lao and Kmhmu'. Some are claimed by Lao speakers to be borrowings from Lao into Kmhmu' and some are claimed by Kmhmu' speakers to have come originally from Kmhmu' and been incorporated into Lao.

There are several distinctive dialects of Kmhmu', falling into three main clusters, often referred to as Northern, Western, and Southern (Svantesson 1998). The main variation between dialects consists of vocabulary changes and some significant phonological differences. The northern dialect cluster, characterised by a phonological register contrast, is spoken in Luang Nam Tha, Bokeo and Udomsay provinces in Lao PDR (Suksavang et al. 1994, Svantesson 1998), and in Chiangrai province in Thailand (Suwilai 2002). The western dialect cluster, characterised by a phonological tone contrast, is spoken in western Udomsay province in Lao PDR, Nan province in Thailand and in some villages in the region known as Sipsong Panna (Svantesson 1998, Suwilai 2002). The southern dialect cluster, characterised by a stop and sonorant voicing contrast, is spoken in Phongsali, eastern Udomsay, Luang Prabang, Hua Phanh, Xieng Khouang, Sayabuli, Vientiane and Bolikhamsay provinces in Lao PDR (Suksavang et al. 1994, Svantesson 1998), in Diên Biên Phu', So'n La and Nghiê An provinces in North Vietnam and some villages of Sipsongpanna in China (Suwilai 2002). Some dialects within each cluster have been studied in some detail, but there has been no comprehensive study to create a map of the location and boundaries of all the dialects.

Studies have been done on the influence of Tai languages on Kmhmu' in relation to tonogenesis in some dialects (Svantesson 1989; Suwilai 1997, 1999, 2001). It is thought that the voicing contrast in consonants was lost as tone/register systems developed. Dialects are often named after either the place where they are spoken, such as a river, e.g. Kmhmu' Rook named after the Rook River in Udomsay province in Lao, and/or after the negative particle distinctive to the dialect, such as Kmhmu' Pe or Kmhmu' Am. This thesis describes one of the southern varieties of Kmhmu' spoken in Vientiane, Luang Prabang, Xiang Khouang and Bolikhamsay provinces in Laos, sometimes known as Kmhmu' Am,
or Kmhmu' Ou, and hereafter referred to as Kmhmu'. By far the largest of the dialects (perhaps as many as two thirds of the 500,000 plus Kmhmu' speakers), it is also the most widely understood across the dialects.

Kmhmu' has a rich phoneme inventory consisting of 36 consonants and 10 distinct vowel qualities, 9 of which exist with contrastive length to make 19 vowels in total. Kmhmu' consonants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Kmhmu' Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oral stops</th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰ p b</td>
<td>tʰ t d</td>
<td>tɕʰ tɕ</td>
<td>dʑ</td>
<td>kʰ k ɡ</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal stops</td>
<td>m ʔ m n</td>
<td>n ʔ n</td>
<td>ŋ ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>w ʔ w</td>
<td>j ʔ j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td>l ɹ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trills</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kmhmu' vowels are shown in Table 2. All vowels are marked for length except the near-open central unrounded vowel which is only seen long (Suksavang Simana' et al. 1994). All three close vowels can form diphthongs with the open central vowel as a target vowel: /iɑ/ /iɑ/ and /uɑ/, for example riaŋ 'root', piśiam 'night', and sruat 'morning'.

Table 2: Kmhmu' Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>front unrounded</th>
<th>mid unrounded</th>
<th>near-open unrounded</th>
<th>open unrounded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i iː</td>
<td>e eː</td>
<td>a aː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>eː</td>
<td>ôː</td>
<td>oː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near-open</td>
<td>eː</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>oː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The near-open central unrounded vowel, v is observed as an allophone of a when it occurs in diphthongs and in minor syllables. Nevertheless it does occur as a single vowel in major syllables and is contrasted with a: and aː as seen in the following examples, ʔnoəm 'retribution', ʔneəm imperative particle, and ʔnaam 'amount'.

5
The Kmhmu' word is generally mono- or sesquisyllabic (Matisoff 1978). In sesquisyllabic words the first syllable is unstressed and has several phonological constraints. It is known as a minor syllable or pre-syllable. The strong contrast between unstressed minor and stressed major syllables results in a characteristic rhythmic pattern of speech.

Like other Southeast Asian languages, Kmhmu' is an isolating language with no inflectional morphology. There is some derivational morphology with nominalising prefixes, a causative prefix, and an instrumental infix. Kmhmu' has elaborate expressions, which typically consist of paired words, or sets of words, that are phonologically similar and combine to give a rich descriptive impact.

Kmhmu' has SVO word order and follows the typological pattern for SVO languages in that noun heads precede modifiers. It also has prepositions. Question words occur in situ within the clause, and question particles occur in final position.

Due to proximity with Tai languages for over 1,000 years, Kmhmu' shares many lexical, grammatical and semantic characteristics with Lao, and with other languages in Southeast Asia (Downer 1992). These include a nominal classifier system, serial verb constructions, and several clause/sentence final particles indicating speaker attitude or other speech act information. Adjectives in Kmhmu' are a subclass of verbs. They may act as predicate in a stative clause and as modifiers in a noun phrase.

1.2.1 Previous research on Kmhmu'

There is already a significant amount of linguistic research published on the Kmhmu' language. According to Svantesson (1983), linguistic research on Kmhmu' began in the nineteenth century with wordlists collected in Luang Prabang (de Lagrée and Garnier, 1873) and other early wordlists (Lefèvre-Pontalis 1896; Davies 1909; Roux and Trần Văn Chu 1927). In the 1950s and 1960s linguistic studies of a more systematic nature were undertaken by Henri Maspero (1955); William Smalley (1961), who wrote a largely phonological and morphological description, with some syntax, of a Luang Prabang (southern) dialect; William Gedney (1965), who wrote on Tai loan words in Kmhmu'; and Henri Delcros and P. Subra (1966), who compiled an extensive wordlist of a Xieng Khouang (southern) dialect.

Suwilai Premsrirat produced a study on inter-clausal relations in Kmhmu’ (1986), and an extensive grammar of a Kmhmu’ dialect spoken in Chiang Rai province, Thailand (Suwilai 1987a), including phonology, morphology, syntax, and some discourse structure description. She has also written phonological studies of the Khmu’ dialects of northern Thailand (Suwilai 1997), including a study on tonogenesis (Suwilai 2001), semantic studies on cutting verbs in Khmu’ and the colour system (Suwilai 1987b; Suwilai 1992), and an extensive thesaurus of seven Kmhmu’ dialects spoken in Southeast Asia (Suwilai 2002).

From within Laos, Elisabeth Preisig has done phonological studies of the southern group of dialects and developed an orthography using Lao script (Preisig 1990). Suksavang Simana’, Somseng Sayavong and Preisig have made a major contribution in producing a Kmhmu’ - Lao - French - English dictionary of this dialect (Suksavang Simana’ et al. 1994). Other linguistic studies include causative formation in Kmhmu’ (Takeda 1998), and work on minor syllables (Van der Holst and Ritter 1998).

### 1.3 Research questions

The following questions are addressed in this thesis:

1. What is the inventory of referring expressions available for identification in Kmhmu’ narrative discourse?
2. How are these referring expressions structured and how do they function at phrase, clause, sentence, and discourse level?
3. What strategies are used in the participant identification system in Kmhmu’ narrative discourse?
4. What are the default patterns for participant identification?
5. What are possible motivations for non-default encodings of participant identification?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The objectives in this study are to collect and examine some Kmhmu' narrative texts in order to:

1. Describe the structure of nominal expressions such as noun phrases, pronouns, classifier phrases and demonstratives, and their functions on phrase, clause and sentence levels.
2. Compile an inventory of referring expressions and describe their functions on the discourse level, with respect to specificity/individuation, thematic salience, identifiability, and activation status of referents.
3. Identify the strategies used in the participant identification system.
4. Describe the default patterns for participant identification.
5. Identify non-default occurrences of participant identification and suggest possible motivations for them.

1.5 Limitations and scope

This study is based on a limited text collection. Only one main type of text is studied, namely narrative texts, that is, those that recount a chronologically ordered series of events in the past and are participant-oriented (Longacre 1996: 11). These stories were told unrehearsed, and because of limited time and access to the speakers, retellings were not possible. Except for Tan's Hospital Story, only minor editing has been done with other speakers to remove interjections, hesitation fillers, and obvious mistakes where the speakers corrected themselves. The main limitation with texts like this is that they can be much more irregular and thus they are more difficult to analyse than rehearsed and heavily edited stories. Nevertheless other Kmhmu' speakers readily follow who is doing what to whom in these stories, and it is therefore expected that the use of nominal structures and patterns of participant reference that emerge will be clear and valid, though not necessarily complete.

Analysis, interlinearisation, and translation of the texts is limited by the fact that I am not a native speaker of Kmhmu' and have relied on a series of Kmhmu' speakers to help me understand the data accurately.
1.6 The text corpus

There are six narrative texts in this study. In this section, I give an outline of the data collection methodology, the typology of the texts collected, a summary of the plot of each narrative and a guide to the format of the data presented in this thesis. The methodology used in grammatical and discourse analysis of the texts is described in the relevant chapters; e.g. the grammatical analysis methodology is outlined in the Methodology section of the Nominal Structures chapter.

1.6.1 Data collection

All of the texts in this study were collected orally in the Lao PDR.

The Man-eating Tiger (Man-eater) was told by Mr Siang Man and recorded and transcribed by Ajarn Suksavang Simana' in Vientiane, and then translated by myself.

Tan's Hospital Story (Tan) was told by Mrs Tan Ounpachanh from Hin Tit village, Hin Heup district, Vientiane province. The text was initially recorded by Mr Bounpheng Thammavong in Vientiane in 2005. I transcribed it, Mrs Tan edited it to what she felt was an appropriate written style, and then I translated the written text.

The Bear (Bear) and The Thief (Thief) were told by Mrs Ceeng Vilay of Tav Thaan village, Hin Heup district, Vientiane province. The Two Thieves (2 Thieves) was told by Mrs Man Ounpachanh (Tan's mother) from Hin Tit village, Hin Heup district, Vientiane province. I recorded these stories in Vientiane in August 2006, and then transcribed and translated them.

The Orphan and the Monkey (Orphan) was told by Ajarn Sosavanh Silaphet in Samkhoon village, Hom District, in Vientiane Province in October 2006. I recorded this story and later transcribed and translated it.

All transcription and translation was done with the help of Kmhmu' speakers, Mrs Ceeng Vilay, Mrs Tan Ounpachanh, Mr Buavanh Phengpaseuth and Miss Pang Vilay, from Vientiane Province; and Mr Khamleey Loytisith from Luang Prabang Province.
1.6.2 Typology of texts

The texts in this study were selected with a view to studying participant reference patterns. They are all monologue narrative texts. That is, they exhibit a pattern of chronological progression in the past, and are agent oriented with a system of tracking participants in the story (Longacre 1996). Third person narratives with at least three participants generally give a clearer picture of the participant tracking system of a language (Grimes 1975:34; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:44), so each text selected for this study has at least three participants, and four of the six are third person reported stories. A first person narrative was studied to provide further insight into pronoun reference patterns, and a folk-tale was included to check for the use of special linguistic devices in tracking mythical or supernatural characters. As individual speech styles may vary, a total of five speakers was involved, three women and two men, aged from 24 to 52 years, with varying levels of education, in order to find general rather than individual usage patterns for the language.

Greninger (2009) outlines further textual features such as textual form, textual content, context and rhetorical goals of the texts under study, which are used here to further describe the typology of the texts collected.

In terms of textual form, all texts were originally collected in oral form, and one, Tan, was then edited into a written form. There is some variation in openings, with Tan and 2 Thieves opening with a sentence title, Orphan and Man-eater with an introductory paragraph, and Bear and Thief with no formal opening. The length varies with the shorter and structurally simpler texts, Thief (20 lines) and 2 Thieves (27 lines), the medium length texts, Bear (53 lines) and Man-eater (56 lines), and the longer and structurally more complex texts, Tan (135 lines) and Orphan (181 lines). All texts are told in the third person except Tan, which is a first person eyewitness account, and the Bear story, where the storyteller is a backgrounded or peripheral participant. The literary units employed in the texts include reported events in The Bear, Thief and 2 Thieves, along with physical description and dialogue. Tan includes a eye-witness accounts of events, description, dialogue and personal comments. Man-eater includes reported events and details of historical, geographical and character identification. The Orphan is a folk-tale, and includes dialogue, description, and a final moral and hortatory speech.
Textual content in all these narratives is concerned with rural life among the Kmhmu’ people of northern Laos, their struggles with health issues, forest animals, thieves and the desire to escape poverty and become wealthy and prosperous. In terms of context, The Bear, Thief, 2 Thieves and Tan were all told to a group of family and friends, some of whom had heard the stories before and were familiar with the people and places mentioned. They were told in Vientiane, away from the original village setting of the stories. The Orphan was told in a rice-field hut and this setting seemed to help the storyteller to move into the reminiscent mood needed to recall his childhood when he heard this folk-tale from his grandfather.

The main rhetorical goal of most of these stories was to entertain the audience. An exception to that is the Man-eater, which is a gruesome historical record of the havoc caused by a man-eating tiger in the late 1940's, although some may see entertainment value even in this story. A secondary goal of The Bear, Thief and Orphan is to show how good character traits, such as courage, skill and kindness are rewarded and bad character traits, such as greed, deceit, violence and oppression are punished.

1.6.3 Plot summaries

In these plot summaries I will not give a formal macrostructure of the texts, but an outline of the main events to help the reader to follow the analysis and examples given in this paper.

Man-eater is told about a period after World War II when a wild tiger made a series of attacks on a total of about 200 people, killing many. Specific incidents are described in each episode giving names and places, and the details of the attacks, culminating in the death of the tiger when it is caught in a trap.

Tan is an autobiographical story of a life-threatening attack of malaria that occurred when the speaker was a young child, in which she and her father travel from their village to Vientiane for hospital treatment. The climax of the story occurs as her condition deteriorates and she goes into intensive care. She recovers after receiving further treatment including a blood transfusion. In order to pay the medical costs, the family goes into debt and this causes them hardship for years to come.
In The Bear, the narrator's family are troubled by an animal, which they believe to be a bear, raiding their fields. An uncle sets a grenade in the field to kill the bear. When the grenade goes off, the hunting party goes in pursuit. The party separates into two groups. One group, comprising the uncle and the narrator's husband, encounter the bear. It attacks the uncle and the husband frightens it off, but not before the uncle is badly injured. The husband carries him back to the village where the villagers berate them for not catching it. They warn the family that they will have to pay compensation if it attacks anyone else, because their grenade has injured it and made it savage. The other group then returns after finding the injured animal, a civet, not the bear after all.

Thief is about a teenage boy who is known as a bad character and a thief. There is an old blind man in the village whose son has been killed in a road accident and the old man has received some money in compensation, which he has hidden in his house. The young thief steals it. When the old man discovers this he pronounces a curse on the thief that he should die in the same way as the son whose compensation money he has stolen. And that is just what happens.

2 Thieves tells about two young men who spy on an old man to see where he hides his money. They follow him to the rice field and trick him into giving them his bush knife. With this they cut a big stick and use this and the knife to attack and kill the old man. They then steal his money, but are not caught.

In Orphan, a poor orphan boy runs away from his aunt who is mistreating him and wanders in the forest until he meets a beautiful girl who helps him. She turns out to be a princess, but when she takes him home the King rejects them both and they run for their lives. They meet a magic monkey who uses his powers to make them into a King and Queen with a beautiful palace of their own. They invite the old King and his retinue to visit. When they arrive, their elephants are dazzled by the beauty of the palace and stampede, killing the old King, the Queen and their attendants. A moral is given that we should not look down on others but live in harmony and mutual respect with one another.

The complete texts are included in Appendices I – VI.

1.6.4 Format of data presented in this study

Each text is given in three lines. The first line is a phonemic representation of Kmhmu' in IPA script, the second is a word-by-word gloss in English, and the last
line is an English translation. Examples in the paper are referenced with the name and line number of the text as shown in (1).

(1)

IPA  
joŋ ʔoʔ ɡɔʔ jɔh sɔɔk wɛɛt mɑɑm ɡɨˈniʔ

English gloss  
father 1sg so_then DIR seek buy blood that_one

English translation  
So then my father went to look for (and) buy that blood.

1.7 Theoretical approach

This study follows a functional grammar approach (e.g. Halliday 1985; Dik 1997) where linguistic structures are described in terms of their function in expressing meaning. In examining a text, Halliday (1985:xvii) sees grammar and discourse as mutually interdependent. The text provides a context for grammatical analysis, while grammatical analysis contributes insights into the meaning and structure of the discourse as a whole. Cumming and Ono (1997:112) call this a ‘discourse-functional approach’ to studying grammatical patterns in a language. It looks at the motivations that prompt a speaker to choose one rather than another form in expressing what they want to communicate. Explanations can include cognitive processing considerations and social or cultural factors. Thus in this study, both grammatical analysis and discourse analysis are kept in focus and inform each other in the process of fully understanding the text.
Chapter 2

Nominal Structures

This chapter provides an analysis of Kmhmu' nominal structures in order to provide a basis for discussion on the discourse level functions of referring expressions in later chapters. It includes a description of noun phrases and their constituents, pronouns and other nominal constructions. The grammatical description is prefaced by a literature review of some theoretical approaches to examining noun phrase structure and a brief description of the methodology used in this grammatical analysis.

2.1 Literature review

This analysis draws on the theoretical approach of Jan Rijkhoff (2002) with some insight from the work of Mark Alves (2001).

2.1.1 Rijkhoff on nominal subcategories and the structure of the NP

Rijkhoff comes from a functional grammar approach similar to Dik (1997) and follows Hengevald (1992a) in defining a noun according to its function, as a lexical item that can act as head of a noun phrase (NP). The referent of an NP is not an entity in the physical world, but rather a mental construct of that entity which exists in the minds of the speech participants (Rijkhoff 2002).

To determine noun subcategories Rijkhoff uses two systems: the first looks at the morphosyntactics of how nouns are quantified; the second at the semantic characteristics of shape and homogeneity, where shape refers to a referent having boundedness in the spatial dimension, and homogeneity to a referent having consistency throughout its substance. Rijkhoff arrives at six nominal subcategories, namely singular object nouns, set nouns, sort nouns, general nouns, mass nouns and collective nouns (Rijkhoff 2002:54). Based on Rijkhoff's subcategorisation, Kmhmu' has sort nouns and mass nouns. Sort nouns do not take plural marking, but use numerals with sortal classifiers for counting objects,
and mass nouns use mensural classifiers to indicate volume or weight. Sort nouns are characterised as [–Shape] because they cannot be enumerated without a classifier. This is a reflection of the understanding that sort nouns "...purely denote concepts and, for this reason, are incompatible with direct quantification." (Hundius and Kölver 1983:166). According to Foley (1997:231), classifiers "embody" or "unitise" an otherwise non-discrete and unbounded noun, thus enabling it to be quantified or modified. This function is also known as individuation. Lyons (1977:463) describes a sortal classifier as “one which individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is”. A mensural classifier, according to Lyons (1977:463) is “one which individuates in terms of quantity”.

Rijkhoff (2002:238) describes the NP as having a layered structure around the head noun. In the layer closest to the noun are qualifying modifiers such as adjectives, which relate purely to the inherent features of the referent. The next layer contains quantitative modifiers such as numerals and classifiers, which are concerned with external features of the referent and have scope over the noun and its qualifiers. Localising modifiers occur in the next layer, and include demonstratives, locatives, restrictive relative clauses, and possessors. These have scope over the two inner layers, and locate the referent in the world of discourse. Finally there is a discourse modifier layer which may contain markers of definiteness or specificity, and indicates whether the referent has been previously referred to in the discourse. Rijkhoff calls this discourse deixis. While localising modifiers indicate where a referent is located in the world of discourse, discourse deixis indicates where a referent is referred to in the discourse itself.

### 2.1.2 Alves and the NP in Mon-Khmer languages

In contrast to Rijkhoff's cross-linguistic approach, Alves (2001) works from a non-transformational dependency grammar theory known as Lexicase to analyse nouns in Mon-Khmer languages. In this approach there is no NP structure as such, but rather a word, such as a noun, with various other elements dependent on it. The order and types of these elements are lexically constrained. Based on syntagmatic and semantic properties, Alves arrives at the following nominal subcategories, see Table 3.
Table 3: Primary subclasses of nouns among Mon-Khmer languages  
(Alves 2001:2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBCATEGORY</th>
<th>PROPERTIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anaphoric nouns</td>
<td>pronominal reference, can take a variety of modifying dependents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common nouns</td>
<td>open class, least grammaticalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numeral nouns</td>
<td>quantifying function, has special relationship with + unit nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronominal nouns</td>
<td>pronominal reference, cannot take possessive dependents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relator nouns</td>
<td>grammaticalised function, may indicate location, possession, or means</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scope nouns</td>
<td>indicate distributive or quantitative scope (e.g. each, every)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ unit nouns</td>
<td>countable nouns, such as classifier nouns, measure words, or other words with a special relationship with numerals</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus pronouns (anaphoric nouns and pronominal nouns), classifiers (+ unit nouns), and numerals (numeral nouns) would all be included in Alves’ subcategories of nouns. No further details or examples are given in his manuscript to further clarify the properties of these subcategories, in particular exemplifying the differences between anaphoric nouns and pronominal nouns, and the exact nature of relator nouns, and the possible dependents with which they may occur. Although there is limited explanation of this theory, it does offer an alternative approach to analysing Kmhmu’ data, and has been helpful in describing some aspects of Kmhmu’ nominal structures that do not readily fit with Rijkhoff’s view of a layered NP structure.

2.2 Methodology

Grammatical analysis of the texts provided for a brief grammar sketch. The texts were then examined in more depth to determine the structures and characteristics of noun phrases, pronouns, classifiers, demonstratives, and other nominal constructions, and to characterise their functions at phrase, clause and sentence levels.
2.3 Noun phrases and their constituents

As expected in an SVO language, the noun head precedes modifiers in the Kmhmu' NP. The structure of the NP can be characterised by the rule shown in (2). The noun head is optionally followed by one or more attributive modifiers, a quantifying element such as a classifier phrase, and a determiner such as a demonstrative, locative, demonstrative pronoun or indefinite pronoun.

(2) NP \( \rightarrow \) N \( \{\text{N, ADJ}\} \) (ClfP) \( \{\text{DEM, LOC, DEMPRO, IndPRO}\} \)

The noun head is the only obligatory element in the NP.

2.3.1 Noun heads

Kmhmu' nouns are not marked for number, case, or gender/class. Nouns may thus be characterised by their grammatical function in NPs where they act as head. Both simple and compound nouns may act as head in the NP; see (3) where the simple noun mɔɔk 'sister, female relative' acts as head.

(3) Orphan.014

\[
\text{daʔ} \ joŋ \ gəə \ giˈniʔ \ ?ah \ maʔkiáticas \ ?ah \ mɔɔk \ mooj \ gon
\]

at father 3sgm that_one have aunt have sister one Clf_people

On his father’s side (there) was an aunt, (there) was a sister.

The compound noun maak tɛɛk 'hand grenade', literally 'fruit explode', acts as head of the NP in (4).

(4) Bear.010

\[
\text{ʔah} \ mooj \ mii \ gəə \ jəh \ diaŋ \ maak \ tɛɛk \ niʔ?
\]

have one Clf_days 3sgm DIR take hand_grenade this

(There) was one day, he went (and) took this hand grenade...

Kmhmu' nouns may be divided into common nouns and proper nouns, where proper nouns may be semantically characterised as the names of people and places, and common nouns are all other nouns. Proper nouns behave syntactically like common nouns except that they do not take attributive modifiers, or quantifiers, although they may take determiners such as demonstratives or locatives. An example of an unmodified proper noun as subject in a clause is shown in (5), where a person’s name tʰit pʰiiw 'Thit Phiv', is
the subject of the clause thit pʰiiw rip kɨˈmuul jɔʔ pasa'son gaan mooj man. Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin.

(5) Man_eater.042

thit pʰiiw rip kɨˈmuul jɔʔ pasa'son gaan mooj man
Thit Phiv gather money with people house one Clf_money

Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin...

An example of a proper noun followed by a determiner is shown in (6), where the proper noun pʰuu mɨɨt 'Meut Mountain' is followed by the locative niʔ 'here'.

(6) Bear.001

mooj dia hiʔih ʔiʔ bian dee ʔəh ʔe? da? pʰuu
one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain

miiit niʔ
Meut here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

Noun heads of NPs that are denoting a specific position or part of a physical location belong to a closed sub-class of nouns. These may be an example of what Alves calls relator nouns (2001:2), and this term is used in this paper. An example of such a relator noun is shown in (7), where kin'druum 'underneath' is the head of the NP kin'druum gaan 'underneath the house'. Perhaps this could be translated as 'the underneath of the house' or 'the house's underneath'.

(7) Man_eater.049

jet da? kuŋ naatəˈcoŋ bəŋ kʰa ʔaawa baaɾ jəən seh da?
located at village Na Cong 3pl block trap two Clf_traps put_in at

kin'druum gaan
underneath house

Located at Na Cong village, they set up two traps (and) put (them) at the underneath of the house.

Relator nouns always give specific positions in relation to, or point to a part of the location denoted by the following noun. They most frequently occur as the object of the preposition da? 'at/on'. Semantically they provide more precise details about the location being referred to. Further examples of these nouns are seen in Table 4.
Table 4: Relator Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relator noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example (Text Ref)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jeer</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>'side of the road' (Tan.019)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jian</td>
<td>base</td>
<td>'lower end of the rice field' (Bear.010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kluaŋ</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>'inside of the nostril' (Tan.056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimˈpoŋ</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>'top of the rice field' (Bear.003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinˈdruum</td>
<td>underneath</td>
<td>'underneath of the house' (Man-etr.047)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinˈɡrəŋ</td>
<td>midway</td>
<td>'midway among the others'(Man-etr.037)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liŋ</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>'middle of the foot' (Tan.082)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripˈlap</td>
<td>inner side</td>
<td>'crook of the elbow' (Tan.080)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍh</td>
<td>periphery</td>
<td>'periphery of the village' (Man-etr.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sok</td>
<td>periphery</td>
<td>'periphery of the mountain' (Orph.040)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirˈdiʔ</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>'centre of the road' (Man-eater.020)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2 Noun modifiers – qualifying elements

Head noun attributive modifiers include nouns and adjectives.

An example of a noun head being modified by another noun is shown in (8), where the noun sɨrˈmɑʔ pɑˈʔɑɑt 'malaria' modifies the head noun dʑɨɑ 'microbe'.

(8)Tan.070

joŋ ṭoʔ qaʔ ṭah dʑia sɨrˈmɑʔ pɑˈʔɑɑt maak
father 1sg so_then have microbe malaria many

...my father had many malarial parasites.

Kmhmu' adjectives can act as modifiers in an NP as shown in (9), where the adjective ṃar 'cold' modifies the head noun naam 'period of time, season'.

(9) Bear.029

ŋɔɔŋ liˈŋiɲ naam niʔ naam ṃar
yet dark period_of_time this period_of_time cold

...(it) is still dark, (at) this time (in) the cold season.
2.3.3 Quantifying elements

Following an attributive modifier(s) in the NP, a quantifying element such as a classifier phrase may occur; see (10) where the classifier phrase *haa gon* 'five people' quantifies the head noun *kɔɔn* 'child'.

(10) Man_eater.025

\[
\text{s'i'naa } \text{ʔah} \quad \text{kɔɔn } \text{haa } \text{gon} \quad \text{ja'?} \quad \text{mii } \text{ja'?} \quad \text{ʔɔɔŋ } \text{tə?} \quad \text{nii } \text{ja'?} \quad \text{do'?} \\
\text{3du } \text{have} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{five} \quad \text{Clf_people} \quad \text{Ms } \quad \text{Mi } \quad \text{Ms } \quad \text{Ong } \quad \text{Mr } \quad \text{Ñi } \quad \text{Ms } \quad \text{Do} \\
\text{ja'?} \quad \text{ti'?} \\
\text{Ms } \quad \text{Teu}
\]

Those two had five children, Ms Mi, Ms Ong, Mr Ñi, Ms Do, (and) Ms Tw.

The structure of the classifier phrase and characteristics of its elements, namely quantifiers and classifiers, are described under 2.4 Classifier phrases.

2.3.4 Determiners

The final optional element in an NP is a determiner such as a demonstrative or a locative.

**Demonstratives** primarily serve to locate a referent in the physical world in relation to the speaker or some other reference point. Kmhmu' demonstratives have a four-way contrast in distance combined with a three-level height contrast in the distal demonstratives. Thus the immediate proximal demonstratives indicate a referent close to a point of reference; the near proximal demonstratives a referent slightly further away, say within a metre or two; the medial demonstratives a referent some metres away; and the distal demonstratives a referent far away from a point of reference and often out of sight. The distal demonstratives are differentiated into 'over there level with a point of reference', 'over there above a point of reference', and 'over there below a point of reference'. There is also a plural demonstrative, *tʰirniʔ*, which has a sense of 'these various' entities. More research is needed to see if there are other forms such as a medial or distal plural demonstratives.

The term demonstrative as used in this study is sometimes also known as a demonstrative adjective, as it modifies the head noun in the NP, giving its location with respect to a point of reference. **Locatives** are also known as demonstrative adverbs, as they point to a place or a specific time, such as...
English 'here' and 'now'. Kmhmu' locatives occupy the same position in the NP as demonstratives. The immediate proximal and medial demonstratives and locatives are morphologically related, with the locatives having a voiceless initial consonant while the demonstratives have a voiced initial consonant. Demonstratives and locatives found in this study are presented in Table 5, with examples following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5: Determiners</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>Locatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Space</td>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Proximal 'this/here'</td>
<td>niʔ</td>
<td>tʰʰɾniʔ</td>
<td>niʔ</td>
<td>kʰʰniʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Proximal 'that/there'</td>
<td>'nəʔ</td>
<td>kəʔ</td>
<td>kəʔ</td>
<td>kəʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial 'that there/there'</td>
<td>naaj</td>
<td>naaj</td>
<td>naaj</td>
<td>naaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal level 'over there'</td>
<td>hoʔ</td>
<td>hoʔ</td>
<td>hoʔ</td>
<td>hoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal up 'up there'</td>
<td>'nɨʔ</td>
<td>'nɨʔ</td>
<td>'nɨʔ</td>
<td>'nɨʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal down 'down there'</td>
<td>suʔ</td>
<td>suʔ</td>
<td>suʔ</td>
<td>suʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (11), the immediate proximal demonstrative niʔ 'this' is the final element in the NP jaʔ təmikˈin niʔ 'this woman'.

(11) Orphan.075
jaʔ təmikˈin niʔ baŋ law məh koon təawsɨwit
Ms female this 3pl say be child king

This woman, they said (she) was the king’s daughter...

The locative niʔ 'here' is the final element in the NP pʰuu miit niʔ 'Meut Mountain here' in (12).

(12) Bear.001
one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain

miit ʔiʔ
Meut here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

Indefinite pronouns may act as determiners in some NPs, see section 2.5.3
Indefinite pronouns and question words.

As well as pointing to the physical or temporal location of the noun head in the
world of the speaker, determiners have other functions which go beyond the
scope of the phrase or sentence in which they occur. These discourse level
functions are discussed in sections 3.5 NPs with determiners in discourse and
3.10 Determiners as referring expressions in discourse.

2.3.5 Possessive phrases

A possessive phrase (PossP) is a subtype of NP, with a noun head, the possessed
entity, followed by an optional possessive marker deʔ and the possessor. The
possessor may be a common noun as shown in (13) where the common noun lat
'state' is the possessor of the head noun lot 'vehicle'.

(13) Tan.005

məh lot deʔ lat
be vehicle POSS state

...(it) was the government's vehicle...

A proper noun may also act as possesesor, as seen in (14), where buuntʰɑˈˀnɔɔm
'Bounthanom', is the name of the company who owned the vehicle.

(14) Tan.005

məh lot bɔriˈsɑt buuntʰɑˈˀnɔɔm
be vehicle company Bounthanom

...(it) was the Buunthanoom Company's vehicle...

The possessor may be a pronoun, as shown in (15) where the pronoun gəʔ '3sgm'
is the possessor of the head noun, maʔ 'mother'.

(15) Orphan.004
Possessors can occur with demonstratives and always precede them in the NP. In (16) the possessive pronoun ʔiʔ ‘1pl' precedes the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun gii.

(16) Orphan.001

daʔ pʰɔˈtʰiʔtʰeet laaw ʔiʔ gii daʔ naam man pʰɔˈtʰiʔtʰeetˈsaat ʔiʔ
at country Lao 1pl this_one at period_of_time old nation 1pl

gii tʰuk naak naam joʔ leʔ ʔam daʔ ʔah
this_one poor difficult period_of_time long_ago PRT NEG not_yet have

ʔiʔ
INDEF

In this our country of Laos in olden times, our nation was still poor long ago, (it) did not yet have anything.

2.3.6 Coordinate NPs

A coordinate NP consists of two NPs which refer to different entities and are either juxtaposed without a conjunction or joined by a coordinating conjunction. An example of a coordinate NP with no conjunction is seen in (17), where the two nouns kɔɔn 'child' and joŋ 'father' are simply juxtaposed to form a coordinate NP meaning 'the child and father'.

(17)Orphan.010

kɔɔn joŋ tʰuk ʔəh tuup ʔəʔ ʔəʔ jet daʔ sok
child father poor construct hut small small located at periphery

kuj ɬriŋ
village other_people

...the child (and) father were poor (and) built a very small hut, located at the periphery of the other people's village.

An example of a coordinate NP with a conjunction is seen in (18), where the conjunction kap 'with/and' joins wek kut 'flat-ended knife' and tɨrˈnɛh 'lighter' and moʔ niʔ 'the cross-bow'.

In this our country of Laos in olden times, our nation was still poor long ago, (it) did not yet have anything.
(18) Orphan.035

ʔɔɔr wek kut kap tir’neh kap mɔʔ niʔ leʔ jɔh
lead flat-ended_knife with lighter with cross-bow this and go

(He) took the flat-ended knife and the lighter and the cross-bow and went.

Another coordinate NP construction uses a different conjunction paʔ. This conjunction may occur either between conjoined phrases or may precede an NP. When it occurs between two phrases it has a sense of 'with/and'. An example of paʔ between two phrases is seen in (19), where the NP jaʔ dcej ‘Ms Daeng’ and maʔ naa ‘her mother’ are joined by the conjunction paʔ.

(19) Man_eater.007

mooj mii jaʔ dcej paʔ maʔ naa jɔh kʰiæŋ kwaaj daʔ
one Clf_days Ms Daeng with mother 3sgf DIR dig tuber at

briʔ forest

One day, Ms Daeng with her mother went to dig tubers in the forest.

When paʔ is preposed, it has a sense of 'both'. An example of preposed paʔ is shown in (20), where paʔ precedes the dual pronoun si’naa which is in apposition to the coordinate NP kɔɔn maʔ 'child (and) mother'. This gives the meaning 'both of them, the child and mother'.

(20) Man_eater.031

ra’waaj pok paʔ si’naa kɔɔn maʔ haan
tiger bite with 3du child mother die

The tiger attacked both of them, child (and) mother, (and they) died.

2.3.7 Appositional NPs

In the texts under study, most NPs with more than just a noun, contain only one attributive modifier, or a classifier phrase or a determiner. When more extensive description or identification is required, an appositional NP may be used. This is also described in other Mon-Khmer languages (Costello 1969, Watson 1976). An appositional NP is where two adjacent NPs within a clause refer to the same entity; see (21), where the NP gaaj nam ‘big house’ is in apposition to the NP gaaj dzɔŋ ‘tall house’.

(21) Man_eater.016
...at night they went to sleep gathered together at a big house, a tall house...

Use of an appositional construction may be the preferred pattern in Kmhmu' when an extensive description is used.

### 2.3.8 Complex NPs

Complex NPs contain embedded phrases or clauses as modifiers.

Another NP may be embedded as a modifier in an NP; see (22) where the embedded NP *ti’wiŋ gi’ni?* 'this locale' is modifying the head of the matrix NP, *gon* 'person'.

(22) Tan.030

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>gon</em></th>
<th><em>ti’wiŋ</em></th>
<th><em>gi’ni?</em></th>
<th><em>tʰii</em></th>
<th><em>hen</em></th>
<th><em>sir’məʔ</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person</td>
<td>locale</td>
<td>that_one</td>
<td>stingy</td>
<td>very</td>
<td>INTENS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The people (in) this area were really very stingy!

A PossP may be embedded in another PossP, see (23), where the embedded PossP *joŋ ?oʔ?* 'my father' is the possessor of the possessed head noun *maam* 'blood'.

(23)Tan.070

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>tɕii</em></th>
<th><em>diŋ</em></th>
<th><em>maam</em></th>
<th><em>joŋ</em></th>
<th><em>ʔoʔ</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>blood</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(They) were going to take my father's blood...

A relative clause may be embedded as a modifier in an NP. The Kmhmu' relative clause is externally headed and follows the head noun of the NP. Relative clauses may appear either with or without a relativiser. Table 6 shows Kmhmu' relativisers, according to the case role of the missing co-referent noun. Some of these relativisers have a number component and thus may be relative pronouns, e.g. *joʔ’gəə* (sg), *joʔ’sə’nəa* (du), *biŋ’gəə* (pl). Further data is needed to establish all the possible forms of relativisers in Kmhmu'.
Table 6: Relativisers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relativised Subject</th>
<th>Relativised Object</th>
<th>Relativised Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gəə</td>
<td>jɔʔ</td>
<td>tʰiiˈwaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔʔˈɡəə  (sg)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔʔˌsɐˈnɑɑ  (du)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biuŋˈɡəə  (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰii</td>
<td>tɕaw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕaw ɡəə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of a clause introduced by the relativiser jɔʔˈɡəə with a relativised subject is shown in (24). The proper noun jɑʔ ʔɔɔn 'Ms On' is modified by the relative clause jɔʔˈɡəə ɲɑɑŋ jɔh kɨnˈɡrəŋ briɑŋ 'who was walking along in the middle of the other people'.

(24)Man_eater.039
hootɕ and_then rɑˈwɑɑj tiger ɡɑj but_then jump jɔʔDIR pok jəʔREL jɔʔˈɡəə ɲɑɑŋ jɔh middle other_people

...and then a tiger jumped (out and) attacked Ms On who was walking along in the middle of the other people.

An example of a relative clause with no relativiser and with a relativised object is shown in (25). The head noun in the NP, pɛɛn 'planks', is modified by the relative clause nɔɔ kɨnˈdɑm kɨnˈdɑm pəh ʔuun 'they had placed down (and) set aside'.

(25)Tan.019
gəʔ so_then ʔɑh pɛɛn nɔɔ kɨnˈdɑm kɨnˈdɑm pəh ʔuun so_then have plank 3pl place_down place_down separate_from put_away

...and (there) were planks they had placed down (and) set aside...

2.4 Classifier phrases

Classifier phrases (ClfP) quantify nouns in an NP, and occur following the noun head and any attributive modifiers in the NP structure (see section 2.3 Noun phrases and their constituents). The head of a ClfP is a classifier which is
preceded by a quantifier. The structure of a Kmhmu' ClfP can be characterised by the following rule.

ClfP → QUANT CLF

An example of a classifier phrase is shown in (26), where the head of the classifier phrase *laaj* 'classifier for traps' is quantified by the numeral *baar* 'two'. This ClfP quantifies the head noun *haaw* 'trap'.

(26) Man_eater.049

    *baaj*  *k'at*  *haaw*  *baar*  *laaj*
    3pl  block  trap  two  Clf_traps

    ...they set up two traps...

There is some evidence to indicate that ClfPs may serve to quantify the head noun of an NP but be located separately from it within the clause. An example of this is seen in (27), where the ClfP *baar* *gon* 'two people' associated with the NP *tsoon* *niʔ* 'this thief', is located at the end of the clause.

(27) TwoThieves.002

    *nam*  *jaʔ*  *nam*  *ʔii*  *tan*  *ŋoon*  *ŋeʔ*  *tsoon*  *niʔ*  *ʔaʔ*  *baar*
    time  long_ago  when  HON  Tan  yet  small  thief  this  have  two

    *gon*
    Clf_people

    (In) a time long ago, when Miss Tan was still small, there were these two thieves.

Costello (1969) also reports separation of the classifier phrase from the noun head in Katu. This possibility of having quantifying elements of the NP not adjacent to the rest of the NP does not fit well with Rijkhoff's layered NP structure (2002:238), and is better explained under Alves' approach (2001). Alves does not hold with an NP structure as such with integral elements, but sees nouns as lexical entities which may take certain other lexical items as dependent elements. Classifiers are understood as a subcategory of noun, a '+unit noun', which may take numerals as dependent elements (Alves 2001:2). In example (27) this would allow the classifier phrase *baar* *gon* 'two people' to appear separately in the clause from the NP *tsoon* *niʔ* 'this thief'.

27
2.4.1 Classifiers

Classifiers are a closed category of words which are used to individuate nouns and thus enable them to be counted or measured (Bisang 1999). Kmhmu' has what Rijkhoff describes as sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers (Rijkhoff 2002:47). Sortal classifiers are used with sort nouns, and generally indicate a collection of attributes such as shape. Common sortal classifiers are used to count discrete entities, collective sortal classifiers are used to count groups of entities, and mensural classifiers are used with mass nouns to indicate measure, such as weight or volume.

Suwilai (2002:425) lists 52 Kmhmu' classifiers, and Adams (1989) describes the Kmhmu' classifier system as being heavily influenced by borrowings from Tai languages, especially Lao. Those found in the current investigation (a total of 38) are listed in Table 7, with common sortal classifiers listed first, grouped into types according to semantic domain or basis of classification, and then collective sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier Type</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Semantic Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common sortal classifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodies</td>
<td>gon</td>
<td>people (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>too</td>
<td>animals (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>structures</td>
<td>laan</td>
<td>traps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lan</td>
<td>buildings (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lan'gaan</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shape</td>
<td>nuaj</td>
<td>fruit, roundish things (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sen</td>
<td>long, thin things (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pieces, sections</td>
<td>kir'bash</td>
<td>words, utterances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pinoker</td>
<td>segments of a whole, pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'mcoon</td>
<td>places, pieces of land (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blah</td>
<td>sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generic</td>
<td>?an</td>
<td>things (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>types</td>
<td>ncew</td>
<td>types (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>at'it</td>
<td>weeks (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dzua</td>
<td>hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifier Type</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
<td>Semantic Domain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classifier Type</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Classifier</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semantic Domain</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kʰuap</em></td>
<td>years (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mooŋ</em></td>
<td>hours (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mii</em></td>
<td>days (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nim</em></td>
<td>years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* pii*</td>
<td>years (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* suaˈmooŋ*</td>
<td>hours (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ʔ</em>nian</td>
<td>months (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>distance</em></td>
<td><em>lak</em></td>
<td>kilometres (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>money</em></td>
<td><em>dolaa</em></td>
<td>dollars (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kiip</em></td>
<td>kip, Lao currency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>man</em></td>
<td>old currency, silver coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>occurrences</em></td>
<td><em>bat</em></td>
<td>times, turns, occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>dia</em></td>
<td>times, occurrences (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tʰiaw</em></td>
<td>journeys (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>numbers</em></td>
<td><em>ban</em></td>
<td>thousands (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>rɔɔj</em></td>
<td>hundreds (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sip</em></td>
<td>tens (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collective sortal classifiers</strong></td>
<td><em>tɕuʔ</em></td>
<td>groups, teams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>hɨrˈnɔɔm</em></td>
<td>bundles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kʰɔɔpkʰuɑ</em></td>
<td>families (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mensural classifiers</strong></td>
<td><em>daj</em></td>
<td>bagfuls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lit</em></td>
<td>litres, measuring liquid (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>paw</em></td>
<td>sackfuls, measuring grain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of a common sortal classifier is shown in (28), where the classifier for people *gon* is preceded by the numeral *haa* 'five' and used to count the number of children.

(28) Man_eater.025

```
sɨˈnɑɑ ʔah  kɔɔn  haa  gon
```
Those two had five children...

The collective sortal classifier *hir'nɔɔm* 'classifier for bundles' is used in example (29) to count bundles of *kɪmuul tʰuk* 'low grade silver'.

(29)TwoThieves.004

*kɪmuul tʰuk* *niʔ* ?ah mooj hɨr'nɔɔm

low_grade_silver this have one Clf_bundles

The low grade silver, (he) had one bundle.

In (30) the mensural classifier *daj* 'classifier for bagfuls' is used to measure the volume of *ʔom tʰɨˈlee* 'saline'.

(30)Tan's_Story.045

*seh* ?oʔ deʔ *ʔom tʰɨˈlee* tɕon hok

put_in 1sg get saline until achieve six

*daj*

Clf_bags

(They) put saline into me, until (it) reached six bagfuls.

Classifiers for types, time, distance, money, and occurrences generally occurred in classifier phrases with no head noun antecedent.

### 2.4.2 Quantifiers

Quantifiers include numerals and other counting or measuring words which occur with classifiers to denote the number of an object, quantity of a substance, or frequency of an event.

Non-numeral quantifiers include such words as *dʑɨm* 'every' and *ɡɨʔ* 'many', and other quantifying words related to numerals such as *kin'mooj* 'one of'. They precede the classifier in a classifier phrase. A list of the quantifiers found in this research is given in Table 8.
Table 8: Quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɡɪʔ</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑɨm</td>
<td>every</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin’mooj</td>
<td>one of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiˈbaar</td>
<td>two of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin’saam</td>
<td>three of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔmooj</td>
<td>not one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of a non-numeral quantifier is shown in (31), where the quantifier dʑɨm 'every' occurs in two classifier phrases in apposition, with the classifier for things ʔɑn and the classifier for types neɛw, meaning 'every thing, every type (of thing)' was there.

(31)Orphan.143

bat ɡii ṭah loot  dʑɨm ʔɑn  dʑɨm neɛw laʔ  niʔ
turn this_one have totally every Clf_things every Clf_type PRT here

(At) this time (there) was every kind of thing here.

An example of a numeral quantifier is given in (32), where the numeral sipˈpeɛt 'eighteen' is the quantifier preceding the classifier for people gon.

(32) Man_eater.054

ra’waaj pok  hɑk ṭam  haan  sipˈpeɛt  gon
tiger  bite  nevertheless  NEG  die  eighteen  Clf_people

(Those) the tiger attacked, nevertheless (they) did not die, eighteen people.

2.5 Pronouns

In this section personal pronouns are listed, along with some interesting pronominal constructions found in Kmhmu', indefinite pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Examples are given from the texts under study.
2.5.1 Personal pronouns

**Personal pronouns** in Kmhmu' have a singular, dual and plural distinction, with gender differentiation in the second and third person singular forms, as shown in Table 9. There is also an unspecified form *dee*, which is neutral with regard to person, gender and number. An unspecified pronoun is reported in other Mon-Khmer languages (Watson 1964, Thomas 1978, Jiranan 1992).

Table 9: Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>ʔoʔ</td>
<td>ʔɑʔ</td>
<td>ʔiʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>mee</td>
<td>sɪˈbaa</td>
<td>bɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>bɑɑ</td>
<td>(sɪˈboɔ)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>gəə</td>
<td>sɪˈnɑɑ</td>
<td>nɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>nɑɑ</td>
<td></td>
<td>bɑŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>gəə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td></td>
<td>dee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* alternative pronunciation sometimes heard.

The typical form of the third person plural pronoun is nɔɔ. Use of the form bɑŋ is discussed in section 3.9 Pronouns in discourse.

The pronoun *dee* is listed in the dictionary of Suksavang et al. (1994:166) as having two senses. Firstly, it is a reflexive pronoun meaning 'self, oneself ' which 'can replace all other pronouns', and secondly, it can mean 'alone, single (unmarried)'. Suwilai (1087:33) also lists it as a reflexive pronoun. No instances in the texts under study clearly have this meaning of a reflexive pronoun, that is, of a single entity being both the subject and the object of a clause.

There are instances, particularly of possession, where the pronoun *dee* is used to signal that the possessor is the same entity as the subject in the clause. An example is shown in (33) where the young girl hides herself, *lɔh dee 'her body*. The subject of the clause, the third person singular pronoun *nɑɑ*, is co-referent with the possessor *dee*. A similar sense is given in English by 'her own body'.

(33) Man_eater.032

naa dar guut sɔɔr lɔh **dee** daʔ liŋ klaak riˈhɑɑŋ
3sgf run DIR hide body co-referent at middle clump bamboo
...she ran in (and) hid her body in the middle of a bamboo clump.

This meaning is also described by van den Berg (1988:5) where he gives it the label 'co-referential pronoun'.

An example of the related meaning of 'alone' or 'with oneself' is shown in example (34). The orphan is referred to initially by the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm', and then by the pronoun *dee*, which signals that the orphan went by himself.

(34) Orphan.025

*bat gii gəə go? jsh dee lecw*

turn this_one 3sgm so_then go oneself already

So (at) this time he went (by) himself.

Other usages of the pronoun *dee* were more commonly found in this study. These include a generic meaning, a default first person meaning, and agent and event backgrounding. These and other discourse functions of *dee* are discussed in section 3.9 Pronouns in discourse. There is also a grammaticalised meaning of *dee* where it occurs in conjunction with aspectual particles in the verb phrase. This usage is not described here as it is beyond the scope of this thesis.

### 2.5.2 Pronominal constructions

A pronoun may also occur as the head in a phrase where it takes dependent elements. Alves (1997) describes such pronominal constructions as an areal feature of Southeast Asian languages, and they are reported in other Mon-Khmer languages (Wallace 1965, Costello 1969, Smith 1976, Watson 1976, Thomas 1978).

These dependent elements may be a quantifier, such as a ClfP, and/or a determiner, such as a demonstrative, and/or a relative clause. An example of a pronoun with a determiner is given in (35), where the pronoun *gəə* 3sgm, is followed by the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun *gii* to mean 'this him'.

(35) Orphan.102

*ʔan baa tɕii deʔ gəə gii ?an baa goʔ duʔ bɾɔɔm gəə*

COND 2sgf IRR get 3sgm this_one IMP 2sgf so_then flee with 3sgm
If you would marry him, then you run away with him," (he) said.

An example of a pronoun followed by a classifier phrase is shown in (36), where the pronoun nɔɔ '3pl' is followed by the classifier phrase saam gon 'three people', and also a relative clause ra'waaj hii pok mah lootɕ leew 'the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely'.

(36)Man_eater.034

jɔh seek ɳøʔ goʔ ʔam bip nɔɔ saam gon ra'waaj
DIR seek INDEF so.then NEG meet 3pl three Clf_people tiger

hii pok mah lootɕ leew
PstCMPL bite eat totally already

Wherever (they) looked (they) didn't find them, (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely.

The pronouns in (35) and (36) act as the head of the phrase. It is this type of construction that will be termed a pronoun phrase.

Pronouns may occur in coordination or in apposition to NPs. An example of a pronoun in apposition to an NP is shown in example (37), where the first person dual pronoun ?aʔ is in apposition to the coordinate NP kɔɔn joŋ 'child (and) father').

(37)Tan.015

jɔh daʔ hoonŋɔɔ ?aʔ kɔɔn joŋ ¿ɔɔr jɔʔ guut lot məh
go at hospital 1du child father lead together enter vehicle be

lot lat gi'niʔ leʔ
vehicle state that_one PRT

Going to hospital, we (two), child (and) father, went together (and) caught the truck (which) was that state truck.

The NP clarifies the identity of the two participants referred to by the dual pronoun.
2.5.3 Indefinite pronouns and question words

**Indefinite pronouns** include the words *məʔ* ‘whoever, someone, anyone’, *ŋəʔ* ‘whichever, wherever, somewhere, anywhere’, and *ŋəh* ‘whatever, something, anything’, and other compounds of which *məʔ* forms the second part. These forms also function as question words with related meanings. For example the word *ŋəh* as an indefinite pronoun means ‘something, anything’, and as a question word means ‘what?’. Indefinite pronouns and question words are shown in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Indefinite meaning</th>
<th>Question Word meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>məʔ</em></td>
<td>whoever, anyone, someone</td>
<td>who? which?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋəʔ</em></td>
<td>whichever, wherever, anywhere, somewhere</td>
<td>where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ŋəh</em></td>
<td>whatever, anything, something</td>
<td>what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ɡɨˈməʔ</em></td>
<td>whichever one</td>
<td>which one?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔnɑɑmˈməʔ</td>
<td>however much</td>
<td>how much?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namˈməʔ</td>
<td>whenever</td>
<td>when?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neɛɛwˈməʔ</td>
<td>however, whatever, anyhow, somehow</td>
<td>how?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of the indefinite pronoun *ŋəh* ‘whatever, something, anything’ is shown in (38), where it is the object of the verb *jɛɛŋ* ‘look at’.

(38)Bear.029

```
jɛɛŋ  ŋəh  goʔ?  ʔam  kʰak  oˈbɑɑ
look_at INDEF so_then NEG perfect PRT
```

...so whatever (one) looks at (it) is not clear, you see...

Indefinite pronouns may also act as determiners in an NP, by specifying an indefinite noun head. An example is shown in (39) where the indefinite pronoun is acting as determiner in the NP *ʔmɔɔn ŋəʔ* ‘whichever place’.
Demonstrative pronouns may function as determiners in an NP and have other functions on the discourse level as discussed in sections 3.6 NPs with determiners in discourse and 3.11 Demonstratives as referring expressions in discourse. The form of demonstrative pronouns suggests that they are compounds made up of the third person singular neuter pronoun *gəə*, followed by a demonstrative. As with demonstratives (see section 2.3.4 Determiners), there is a four-way distinction of proximity, and in the distal forms a three-way distinction of elevation relative to a point of reference, as shown in Table 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance/Position</th>
<th>Immediate Proximal 'this one'</th>
<th>Near Proximal 'that one'</th>
<th>Medial 'that one there'</th>
<th>Distal level 'that one over there'</th>
<th>Distal above 'that one up there'</th>
<th>Distal below 'that one down there'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun</td>
<td><em>ɡii</em></td>
<td><em>ɡi'niʔ</em></td>
<td><em>ɡi'naaj</em></td>
<td><em>ɡi'hoʔ</em></td>
<td><em>ɡi' 'niŋ</em></td>
<td><em>ɡi'suʔ</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 *sɨŋ*: Form and functions

The word *sɨŋ* is related to the nominalising prefix described by Suwilai (2002:lviii) and Svantesson (1983:94) as a nominaliser that may be prefixed to a verb, or occur at the beginning of a clause and nominalise the whole clause. Two entries in the dictionary of Suksavang et al. (1994:126) denote *sɨŋ* as a nominalising particle that precedes verbs, and also as having the meaning of 'which', the English relative pronoun.

In this study two forms of *sɨŋ* are found, the nominalising prefix *sɨŋ-* which becomes a minor syllable when attached to a verb stem, and the word *sɨŋ*. In some contexts the word *sɨŋ* seems to act as a relativiser, as shown in (40) where...
it introduces the clause koon dee law 'their children said' which appears to modify the head noun hir'lo? 'language/words'.

(40) Orphan.173

haan deh jœr sah ?am him'neŋ hir'lo? sɨŋ koon dee law
die EMPH because NEG listen language REL child co-referent say

(They) died because (they) did not listen to the words that their children had said.¹

Other examples do not fit this pattern. The example in (41) comes from Tan's story where she eats some guava and sees this as the trigger for another bout of fever which puts her in intensive care. In this sentence, sɨŋ introduces the clause gaj sir'ma? tir'jiŋ hmmeʔ 'then had a fever and shivered again'. This whole clause is embedded as the nominal predicate of an equative clause with a zero subject, which is understood from context to refer to the effects of the guava. The effects of the guava was sɨŋ gaj sir'ma? tir'jiŋ hmmeʔ 'having a fever and shivering again'.

(41)Tan.055

Ø moh sɨŋ gaj sir'ma? tir'jiŋ hmmeʔ
it be NMLZ but then have_fever shiver new

Then (it) was having a fever and shivering again... OR (It) was the thing (that) then (I) had a fever and shivered again...

Thus the clause introduced by sɨŋ is a nominal, not a modifier. There is no external noun being modified here and therefore sɨŋ is not a relativiser in example (41). This leads to the hypotheses that as well as acting as a relativiser, sɨŋ is also acting either as a nominaliser to produce a nominalised clause, or it is a generic or dummy NP with a relative clause following.

Further examples of sɨŋ show a different grammatical function. Instead of introducing a relative clause or a nominal which may be an argument in a clause, sɨŋ introduces a complement clause which provides a reason or motivation for the proposition in the main clause. In (42) the clause sɨŋ baa tir 'neem ?o? baa rak ?o? 'that you pity me, you love me' gives the motivation for the main clause kʰɔɔphir'niam jɔ? baa '(I) thank you'. Here sɨŋ acts as a complementiser.

(42)Orphan.073

¹ The word sɨŋ is variously glossed in this paper as a relativiser (REL), a nominaliser (NMLZ) or a complementiser (COMP). This is a provisional glossing and further data is needed to confirm this analysis.
Thank you that you pity me, (that) you love me, but I could not eat (this food).

From this data and other similar examples, a tentative analysis is that *sɨŋ* has two types of functions at clause level. The first function is either as a nominalising particle, as others assert (Svantesson 1983; Suksavang et al. 1994; Suwilai 2002), or as a dummy NP. The second function is to introduce dependent clauses, either as a relativiser or as a complementiser.

Filbeck (1991) describes a particle in Mal (also a Khmuic language) which acts as a nominaliser and a relative pronoun. He glosses it as 'that which is'. This supports the hypothesis that there are two similar functions for the word *sɨŋ* in Kmhmu'.

The use of *sɨŋ* in discourse is described in 3.12 *Sɨŋ* constructions in discourse.

### 2.7 Summary

The Kmhmu' NP consists of a noun head followed by optional attributive and/or quantitative modifiers and an optional determiner, and is characterised by the following rule.

\[
NP \rightarrow N \((\{N, ADJ\})\) \(\text{ClfP}\) \(\{\text{DEM, LOC, DEMPRO, IndPRO}\}\)
\]

Noun heads include common nouns, proper nouns and relator nouns. Relator nouns are a closed sub-class of nouns which denote position in relation to a location. Attributive modifiers include nouns and adjectives. Classifier phrases are quantifying modifiers. They consist of a numeral, and a sortal or mensural classifier. Determiners include demonstratives, demonstrative pronouns, locatives and indefinite pronouns.

Possessive phrases are a sub-type of NP where the noun head is followed by an optional possession marker, *deʔ*, the possessor, and an optional demonstrative. Typically, Kmhmu' NPs contain only one attributive modifier, or a classifier phrase or a determiner. For more extensive descriptions, appositional
constructions are used. Complex NPs contain an embedded NP, PossP or relative clause.

Personal pronouns have a singular, dual and plural distinction in number, and a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person singular forms. There is an unspecified pronoun *dee* which is not specified for person or number. Pronouns may take dependent elements, such as a classifier phrase, a demonstrative or a relative clause, to form pronoun phrases. They also occur in apposition to NPs. Indefinite pronoun forms also function as question words. Two functions are proposed for the word *sɪŋ*: one as a nominalising particle or a dummy NP; and the other as introducing a dependent clause, either as a relativiser or a complementiser.
Chapter 3

Referring Expressions

Chapter 2 gave an overview of Kmhmu' nominal syntactic structures and their functions at phrase, clause, and sentence level. This chapter examines the discourse level functions of those syntactic structures which have to do with referring expressions. The term referring expression is used in this study to mean any linguistic form used by a speaker to communicate the identity of a referent. A referent is not so much an object or entity in the physical world as a mental concept or representation of it in the minds of the speaker and hearer in the communication situation (Lambrecht 1994). Reference is that process whereby the speaker gives linguistic signals, i.e. uses referring expressions, which he believes the hearer will correctly interpret as identifying a certain referent.

The forms of these linguistic signals and what they are communicating in the text of Kmhmu' narrative discourse will be discussed in the following sections. After a review of the literature giving a theoretical approach to analysing referring expressions, I will describe the discourse functions of modified NPs, and then move on to simpler NPs, the use of proper nouns and kin terms, pronouns, classifier phrases, demonstratives, sɨŋ constructions, and zero anaphora, giving examples from the texts under study.

3.1 Literature review

Both grammatical and discourse-pragmatic factors govern the use of referring expressions. Grammatical factors include individuation and specificity of nouns, and discourse-pragmatic factors include referent identifiability, activation status and thematic salience. These factors are discussed in the following sections, as presented in the literature.
3.1.1 Individuation and specificity

In terms of grammar, the nature of Kmhmu' nouns as sort nouns (Rijkhoff 2002) (see section 2.1.1 Rijkhoff on nominal subcategories and the structure of the NP), means that they denote concepts rather than discrete objects (Hundius and Kölver 1983). In order for a specific reference to be made, the head noun must be modified by another element which allows the concept to be individuated or embodied (Foley 1997:231). Individuation or specificity of Kmhmu' nouns is accomplished by the use of proper nouns, possessors, classifier phrases or demonstratives.

3.1.2 Identifiability, activation status and thematic salience

In terms of discourse-pragmatics, when a speaker uses a referring expression, they choose it based on what they believe the hearer knows about the referent and what they wish to communicate on how significant that referent is in the ensuing narrative. Thus referring expressions provide both anaphoric and cataphoric pragmatic information (Givón 2001b). Linguistic encoding signals to the hearer whether this referent has been previously referred to in the discourse (anaphoric information), and how significant this referent will be in the ongoing discourse (cataphoric information). Lambrecht (1994) speaks of the anaphoric information in terms of pragmatic properties, and the cataphoric information in terms of prominence of the referents.

The pragmatic properties of a referent concern the speaker's assessment of the referent's identifiability by the hearer, and its activation status in the mind of the hearer (Lambrecht 1994). The terms associated with identifiability and activation status are summarised in Figure 3 and explained below.

![Diagram](image-url)

Figure 3: Identifiability and Activation States (Lambrecht 1994:109)
Identifiability refers to whether the speaker believes the hearer is able to identify the referent or not. If a referent is unidentifiable, then it is a brand-new referent. In cognitive terms, the grammatical encoding used in discourse for a brand-new referent signals to the hearer that they must set up a new mental representation or mental compartment under the label of this referent, and store all relevant new information there (Chafe 1975; Givón 2001b).

The new referent may be introduced as unanchored or anchored (Prince 1981). 'A discourse entity is Anchored if the NP representing it is LINKED, by means of another NP, or “Anchor,” properly contained in it, to some other discourse entity' (Prince 1981:236). The anchor must be an identifiable entity. Anchoring a referent assists the hearer in connecting the new referent with known information and in appropriately locating the mental representation in the discourse register, or set of mental representations, shared by the speaker and hearer (Lambrecht 1994).

If a referent is believed to be identifiable by the hearer, then the encoding used by the speaker will reflect what he believes to be the activation status of that referent in the mind of the hearer. Although the human mind can contain a large amount of information, only a limited amount may be in the front of consciousness, or activated at any one time (Chafe 1994:53). Chafe describes three activation states; inactive, accessible, and active (see Figure 3). An active concept is the one in focus currently. Inactive concepts are in long-term memory. Accessible concepts are on the periphery of awareness, either because they have been referred to in the text world, i.e. textually accessible, are present in the speech situation or text-external world, i.e. situationally accessible, or they belong to a schema, i.e. inferentially accessible from shared cultural knowledge (Chafe 1994:122).

While the anaphoric information signalled by a referring expression concerns the pragmatic properties of a referent, namely its identifiability and activation status, the cataphoric information signalled by a referring expression concerns its prominence (Lambrecht 1994), also described as persistence as a topic throughout the following discourse (Givón 2001b), or thematic salience (Longacre 1990). The thematic salience of a new referent is signalled by the amount and type of encoding used (Longacre 1990; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Givón 2001b).

This concept is denoted by some with the term ‘definiteness’. Along with Chafe (1975:39), I find the term identifiability a more helpful label for this concept, and use it throughout this thesis.
These two factors - the identifiability, or predictability, of a referent, and the thematic salience of a referent - will affect the choice of coding material used by the speaker according to Givón's iconicity of quantity principle (1990:969) shown in (43). Greater coding material is needed to achieve greater cognitive impact.

(43) Givón's iconicity of quantity principle
Less predictable information will be given more coding material.
More important information will be given more coding material.

When a thematically salient, unidentifiable referent is introduced into discourse, we thus expect to see a large amount of coding material, in a grammatical structure that signals to the hearer to create a new mental representation that will continue to be active or accessible throughout the discourse. It also signals to the hearer to organise the new information given in the ensuing narrative around this particular referent. Often such a thematically salient referent is a new participant in the narrative, who may be salient or prominent for one thematic grouping of the text, a locally salient participant, or for the entire narrative, a globally salient participant.

3.2 Methodology

On the basis of these theoretical concepts, the texts were examined and analysed in terms of the functions of referring expressions in discourse. These are described in the following sections.

3.3 NPs with attributive modifiers in discourse

A maximally modified Kmhmu' NP may include attributive modifiers as well as a classifier phrase and/or a demonstrative. Attributive modifiers include adjectives and relative clauses and may be further divided into nonrestrictive and restrictive modifiers.

3.3.1 Nonrestrictive modifiers

Nonrestrictive modifiers add descriptive information about the referent, but do not narrow down the possible referents. They usually occur with unidentifiable
referents as they are introduced into the story. In using nonrestrictive attributive modifiers, the speaker provides information about the new referent, and also signals by the choice of modifiers what role this referent will have in the ensuing text. An example is shown in (44). The uncle is mentioned for the first time and described using a series of equative clauses including NPs with nonrestrictive relative clauses. He is described as gon tʰii dʑɔɔ ‘a person who is diligent’, and gon dʑɔɔ sɔɔk too daʔ briʔ ‘a person who habitually hunted animals in the forest’.

(44)Bear.009

dia gi’niʔ ʔiʔʔah kuyn ʔiʔ kuyn ʔiʔ
time that_one 1pl have uncle_by_marriage 1pl uncle_by_marriage 1pl

niʔ ɡəə məh gon tʰii dʑɔɔ məh naaj pʰaan san’sah məh
this 3sgm be person that diligent be expert_hunter like_this be
gon dʑɔɔ sɔɔk too daʔ briʔ
person HAB seek animal at forest

(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.

This description prepares the hearer for the uncle's role in the story to come, where he has a major part in hunting the bear.

Another example of a nonrestrictive modifier is shown in (45). The referent being introduced here is a cave. The head noun hin’tuʔ tʰam ‘cave entrance’ is modified by an adjective ɲɛʔ ‘small’ and a relative clause pʰɔ’dii laʔ sih ɡəə ‘just enough to be good to lie down in’, both nonrestrictive modifiers.

(45)Orphan.047

ʔaʔ ɡəə məh don tʰiʔ ɡəə məh laʔ sih ɡəə ɡəʔ ɡəʔ sih
have hole cave small exactly good lie_down 3sgm so_then lie_down

niʔ
here

(There) was a small cave entrance just enough to be good to lie down (in), so he lay down here.

These attributive modifiers provide descriptive information about the size of the cave, and point to the contribution of the cave to the next event where the orphan lies down to sleep in it.
Nonrestrictive modifiers also signal the thematic salience of a referent by the amount of encoding material devoted to describing it for the first time. A salient referent, one that will persist throughout the narrative and have a significant role to play, will generally be given a greater amount of encoding, often in attributive modifiers. This is seen in examples (44) and (45), where the uncle, a major participant in the Bear story, is introduced with much more descriptive material than the cave, a prop along the way in the Orphan story.

### 3.3.2 Restrictive modifiers

Restrictive modifiers, on the other hand, usually occur with identifiable referents, and serve to “further specify or narrow down the domain of reference of their head nouns” (Givón 2001b:1). The speaker may use these restrictive modifiers to refer to a unique attribute of this referent, or to an event in the preceding text with which this particular referent is uniquely associated (Givón 2001b:176). Restrictive relative clauses identify a referent in terms of an event or state, and thus locate it in time.

An example of a restrictive relative clause is shown in (46). There are four female participants involved at this point of the story, the mother, her two grown daughters, and a younger daughter who the mother carries. They have previously been introduced by name, and the eldest daughter is described as being married and six months pregnant. The tiger attacks one of the daughters, who is identified by name first ja? mii 'Ms Mi', and then in case the hearers are unclear which person this is, an appositional NP with a restrictive relative clause is added, ja? gəə maan kɔɔn niʔ 'the woman who was pregnant'.

(46) Man_eater.029

ra’waaj metć siaŋ nɔɔ kʰiŋ kwaaj gəə gaaŋ pok jaʔ mii jaʔ

tiger sense sound 3pl dig tuber 3sgn DIR bite Ms Mi Ms

gəə maan kɔɔn niʔ

that be_pregnant child this

The tiger heard the sound of them digging for tubers, (and) it came (and) attacked Ms Mi, the woman who was pregnant.
3.4 Possessive phrases in discourse

Possessive phrases have two major functions in discourse. They are used in anchoring unidentifiable referents in a narrative, and secondly they are used in locating accessible referents in the discourse world.

Anchoring involves linking an unidentifiable referent to an identifiable referent, which is the anchor (Prince 1981:236). Possessors in a possessive phrase perform this function. An example of a possessive phrase anchoring an unidentifiable referent is shown in (47) with the possessive phrase $mɑʔ \ nɑɑ$ 'her mother'. The noun $mɑʔ$ 'mother' denotes an unidentifiable referent. The possessor $nɑɑ$ '3sgf' refers to the already identifiable referent $jɑʔ \ dɛɛŋ$ 'Ms Daeng', and so acts as an anchor linking $mɑʔ$ 'mother' with an identifiable referent, and allowing it to be located in the world of discourse.

(47) Man_eater.007

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{mooj mii} \quad ja? \quad \text{deep} \quad pa? \quad ma? \quad naa \quad jɔh \quad kʰiŋ \quad kwaaj \quad da?\\
\text{one} \quad \text{Clf_days Ms Daeng with mother 3sgf DIR dig tuber at}\\
\text{briʔ} \\
\text{forest}
\end{array}
\]

One day, Ms Daeng with her mother went to dig tubers in the forest.

Related to anchoring is the need to make a reference specific, rather than generic. In order for a specific reference to be made, the head noun must be modified by another element which allows the concept to be individuated or embodied (Foley 1997:231). The possessor also enables the concept conveyed by the noun $maʔ$ 'mother' to be individuated, or given specificity.

The second function of possessive phrases is to help the hearer to identify accessible referents by locating them in the discourse world, giving them a link in the mind of the hearer with the possessor (Rijkhoff 2002:175). An example is shown in (48), where the new village created by the magic monkey is compared with the village belonging to the princess's father. This referent, the village of the princess's father, has been previously mentioned in the narrative in Orphan.086 and is therefore an identifiable referent. It is referred to in Orphan.124 using the possessive phrase $kun \ jɔŋ \ nɔɔ$ 'their father's village', by relating it to the possessor, $jɔŋ \ nɔɔ$ 'their father'.

(48) Orphan.124
It was more beautiful than their father's village, but there were not yet any houses (for) people.

As mentioned in section 2.3.5 Possessive phrases, there is an alternative construction for a possessive phrase which has the possession marker deʔ preceding the possessor. The frequency of possessive phrases with deʔ is far less than those without. In the texts under study, only 8 occurrences of deʔ were found out of a total of 127 possessive phrases, i.e. 6.3%. All of these 8 occurrences were in a context where the possessor was particularly in focus. The example in (49) follows a long description of the magnificence of the city the orphan and princess are approaching. Further emphasis is given to this by announcing it as the city belonging to an ancient king. The use of the possession marker deʔ focuses on the possessor, tɕawsiˈwit naam jaʔ 'a ancient king (in) ancient times', in order to add significance to the splendour of the city.

(49)Orphan.086
məh miaŋ deʔ tɕawsiˈwit naam jəʔ
be district POSS king period_of_time long_ago

(It) was the city of a king (in) ancient times.

Thus whenever a possessive phrase contains the possession marker deʔ, it is a signal to the hearer to pay particular attention to the possessor, and consider the implications for the referent being identified.

### 3.5 NPs with classifier phrases in discourse

In narrative discourse, classifiers and classifier phrases perform discourse level functions other than quantifying or counting (Craig 1986, 1992; Bisang 1999). Hopper (1986:323) describes the essential role of classifiers in discourse in a written Malay text as giving “nouns a prominence in the discourse which derives from their ability to be topics and to be sustained participants”. Thus he notes that pragmatic factors, such as the thematic salience of a participant, motivate the use of classifiers when new participants are introduced.
Kmhmu' classifiers in the context of NPs are involved in discourse level functions which include signalling the **specificity**, **identifiability**, and **thematic salience** of referents.

### 3.5.1 Specificity

Specificity relates to individuation, whereby a sort noun which is a concept in a generic sense, is further defined as being bounded and embodied in particular examples in the real world (Foley 1997). In terms of discourse functions, individuation is used to signal that a specific referent as opposed to a generic referent is being identified.

This is exemplified in (50). In Man_eater.003, the idea that there were tigers attacking people is first introduced with the NP *ra’waaj* 'tiger(s)'. This is a generic use of 'tiger'. In Man_eater.004, an event is related in which a specific animal is referred to by the NP *ra’waaj mooj too* 'a tiger', or 'a particular tiger'. The classifier phrase *mooj too* 'one animal' signals that this is a specific tiger.

(50) Man_eater.003

bat gii tan gaj kɔst ?ah ra’waaj gaaj pok gaaj mah
turn this_one then be_born have tiger DIR bite DIR eat

kɔɔn kιm’muʔ lootɕ tan məh sip məh saaw gon
Kmhmu' people totally then be ten be twenty Clf_people

Then (at) this time, (it) came about (that there) were tigers (that) came (and) attacked, came (and) ate Kmhmu' people; in total (it) was ten (or) twenty people.

Man_eater.004

ta’waan mooj saam ban kaw rɔɔj sii
time_interval Clf_months three Clf_thousands nine Clf_hundreds four

sip pɛɛt ?ah ra’waaj mooj too gaaj pok mah jaʔ deen
Clf_tens eight have tiger one Clf_animals DIR bite eat Ms Daeng

In the third month (of) nineteen forty-eight, (there) was a tiger (that) came (and) attacked (and) ate Ms Daeng.

Specificity may also be signalled using a proper noun or a possessor.
3.5.2 Identifiability

When a new referent is introduced into Kmhmu' discourse, a classifier phrase with the numeral 'one' is used to signal that this referent is unidentifiable, a brand new referent. In cognitive terms, this tells the hearer not to search for an existing mental representation but to create a new one. An example is shown in (51), where the orphan is introduced for the first time with an NP which includes the classifier phrase mooj gon 'one person'.

(51)Orphan.002
leʔ ʔah koɔn'rook mooj gon
and have orphan one Clf_people

And (there) was an orphan.

3.5.3 Thematic salience

Classifiers also signal the thematic salience of a new referent. A new referent is only marked with a classifier phrase when it is thematically salient. The orphan introduced in (51) is not only being signalled as unidentifiable, but also as significant for the following narrative. He is, in fact, the central character. He is introduced with a presentational clause and marked with a classifier phrase which instructs the hearer to set up a new mental representation and to label it with the identity of this thematically salient referent. All new information following this reference will be filed under this label, until another new label is signalled.

Other less salient participants are introduced in presentational clauses but without a classifier phrase, as shown in (52), where the village people are introduced into the narrative. These villagers have no active part to play in the events of the story and so are not marked with a classifier phrase.

(52)Orphan.140
leʔ ʔah ʔam muʔ ʔah gon jct giʔ giʔ
and have Kmhmu' have person stay many many

And (there) were Kmhmu' people staying (there), many many (people).

---

3 Presentational clauses are named for their function in introducing a new participant into a narrative. This clause type is sometimes known as an existential clause. In Kmhmu' a presentational clause contains the transitive verb ʔah 'to have'. Although it has no semantic subject, a presentational clause has two syntactic arguments, a dummy subject ʔam 3sgn or 'it' (usually omitted), and then the nominal element whose presence is being established.
3.6 NPs with determiners in discourse

In the context of discourse, demonstratives may act beyond phrasal level and have **extended spatial** deictic functions. This is seen where the narrator points to locations in space with respect to a deictic centre within the setting of the narrative. An example is shown in (53). The place where the old man hides his money is referred to with the PP *da? kluang gaang niʔ* 'at the inside of the house here'. The use of the locative *niʔ* 'here' points to the spatial location in relation to the deictic centre of the narrative at that point, which is where the old man is in his home.

(53) Thief.005
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{diil} & \quad \text{hoote} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{ʔaan} \quad \text{ki'muul} \quad \text{da?} \quad \text{kluang} \quad \text{gaang} \quad \text{niʔ} \\
\text{poor_sighted} & \quad \text{and_then} \quad \text{3sgm} \quad \text{put}_\text{away} \quad \text{money} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{here}
\end{align*}
\]

Being poor-sighted, and then he put away the money at the inside of the house here.

The choice of demonstrative in extended spatial deixis depends on the distance of the referent from the deictic centre in the narrative.

In his characterisation of the functions of demonstratives, Himmelmann (1996) describes other discourse functions as **situational** use and **discourse deictic** use. **Situational** use points to something outside the text, but present in the speech setting, and indicating spatial distance from some deictic centre in the speech situation. In (54) the speaker is describing how far away her husband is from the uncle and the bear. She points out the window to a kapok tree and uses that as a measure of the distance in the story. The immediate-proximal locative in the phrase *ʔnaam kʰii* 'amount here' points to her own position, and the medial locative *ŋaaŋ* 'there' and the near-proximal demonstrative pronoun *giʔniʔ* 'that one' point to the position of the tree.

(54) Bear.033
\[
\begin{align*}
gle? & \quad ?o? \quad \text{la?} \quad \text{guun} \quad \text{gaa} \quad \text{jəh} \quad \text{ʔnaam} \quad \text{kʰii} \quad \text{ʔnaam} \quad \text{ŋaaŋ} \quad \text{niʔ} \quad \text{le?} \\
\text{husband} & \quad \text{1sg} \quad \text{PRT} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{3sgm} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{amount} \quad \text{here} \quad \text{amount} \quad \text{there} \quad \text{this} \quad \text{PRT}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
dəʔa? & \quad \text{pʰa'laaŋ} \quad \text{ʔnaam} \quad \text{dee} \quad \text{sa'moɔt} \quad \text{guun} \quad \text{ʔnaam} \quad \text{kʰii} \\
\text{far} & \quad \text{considerably} \quad \text{amount} \quad \text{generic} \quad \text{look}_\text{around} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{amount} \quad \text{here}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔnaam} & \quad \text{tuut giw} \quad \text{giʔniʔ} \\
\text{amount} & \quad \text{kapok_tree} \quad \text{that_one}
\end{align*}
\]
My husband saw (them), he was from here to there away; (it) was reasonably far, a
distance (that) one could look (and) see, the distance (from) here (to) that kapok
tree.

**Discourse deictic** use points to a previous segment in the text. This is often seen
in speech margins as shown in (55), where the NP *neew niʔ* 'like this' points to
the previous speech clause.

(55) Thief.010

\[
\text{məh } \text{kɨˈmuul } \text{kʰuɑrua } \text{kɔɔ niʔ } \text{gəə law } \text{neew niʔ } \text{leʔ}
\]

be money compensation child this 3sgm say type this PRT

(It) was the compensation money (for my) child," he said like this.

### 3.6.1 Tracking use

In Kmhmu' one of the most frequent uses of NPs with determiners in discourse is
in tracking participants or other referents. An NP with a demonstrative may be
used to signal an **identifiable referent**, to **disambiguate** an accessible referent,
and to signal **thematic salience** of a referent.

**Identifiable** referents may have been **previously introduced** in the text, their
identity may be **inerrable** from a schema or expectation structure in the text,
or from the **text-external world**. An example of an NP with a demonstrative
marking a referent that has been **previously introduced** in the text is shown in
(56). The NP *kɨˈmuul niʔ* 'the money' in Thief.004 signals that the referent *kɨˈmuul*
'money' is identifiable. It was introduced in the previous sentence, Thief.003.
Because of this function of signalling identifiability, the demonstrative *niʔ* 'this'
in this context is translated as 'the', the English definite article, which has a
similar function.

(56) Thief.004

\[
\text{gəə } \text{ʔuun } \text{kɨˈmuul niʔ } \text{hoot̂e } \text{tʃɬawgəə } \text{məh jɔŋ } \text{kɔɔ haan}
\]

put_away money this CMPL that be father child die

\[
\text{lot } \text{tam niʔ}
\]

vehicle hit this

He put away the money, he who was the father (of the) child (who) died (when) the
car hit (him)...

In the Thief narrative, the main character, the thief, is introduced as a teenager
who was badly behaved and practised stealing. The **schema** associated with a
teenager leads the audience to expect some parents to be involved in the life of this adolescent. When the parents are first mentioned, an NP with the immediate proximal demonstrative *joŋ’ma? nɪ?* 'the parents' is used, as shown in (57), thus signalling an identifiable referent. This referent is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable by the hearers because of the schema of the family of a teenager.

(57) Thief.014

\[\text{nuŋŋ} \quad \text{*joŋ’ma? nɪ? law ?am saj jɔɔr sah ma? joŋ nɪ? know parents this say NEG pay_back because mother father this} \]

\[\text{go? ?am ?ah ma? nɔɔn nɔm nɪ? na? so_then NEG have INDEF benefit INDEF this PRT} \]

(They) knew, the parents, (and) said (they) would not repay (it), because the parents had not had anyone (in their household) receive anything (from this son)...

A referent may be identifiable because it is *inferrable* from the text-external world, i.e. the cultural knowledge of the audience. In the Orphan narrative the first mention of the village where the orphan was born is with an NP including a demonstrative, *kuŋ nɔɔ ɡɨˈniʔ* 'that village of theirs', as shown in (58). This signals that the referent is identifiable even though it has not been mentioned previously, because everyone knows that people live in villages; thus the village is an identifiable referent.

(58) Orphan.006

\[\text{leʔ \quad kuŋ \quad nɔɔ \quad ɡɨˈniʔ \quad go? \quad ?am \quad ?ah \quad maak \quad ləŋ and village 3pl that_one 3sgn NEG have many Clf_buildings} \]

And their village, it did not have many buildings.

The choice of demonstrative in tracking use depends on whether it is routine tracking, or there is a need to disambiguate a referent, and on whether the referent is being marked as salient in the narrative. For routine tracking, *nɪ?* 'this' is the demonstrative of choice to signal an identifiable referent. In 66 out of 99 occurrences of NPs with determiners used in tracking referents, *nɪ?* was used, as shown in examples (56) and (57). In identifying referents that are inferrable from the text-external world, the near proximal demonstrative pronoun, *ɡɨˈniʔ* 'that one' tends to be used (3 occurrences), as shown in (58).

When a referent needs to be *disambiguated* from other plausible referents, *ɡi* 'nɪ?* 'that one' is also used (2 occurrences). According to Lambrecht (1994), this is often associated with referring expressions in right-dislocated position. An
example is shown in (59), where the NP biŋ ʨuʔ giʔniʔ 'that group' identifies a group referred to previously in Bear.021 with an intervening section of text referring to other participants. The referring NP is in right-dislocated position, where the speaker seeks to ensure that the pronominal reference, nɔɔ '3pl', earlier in the sentence, is clearly identifiable.

(59) Bear.027
nɔɔ jsh bip raŋ’kʰɔɔ daʔ ho? biŋ ʨuʔ giʔniʔ?
3pl DIR meet civet at over_there group that_one

They went (and) found the civet over there, that group.

**Thematic salience** of the referent is another factor affecting the choice of demonstrative. When a referent is salient in the narrative either locally or globally, then giʔniʔ is often used (26 occurrences). The referent marked by giʔniʔ is given prominence because it is a significant participant in the ongoing narrative, or is highlighted as topic in the local thematic grouping or chunk of text. Thomas (1978), Filbeck (1991) and Bequette (2008) also report the use of a specific demonstrative to mark salient NPs in discourse.

When a major participant is referred to after their initial introduction, the demonstrative giʔniʔ 'that one' may be used to signal the salience of that participant in the ongoing narrative, as shown in (60). Here the orphan is referred to at his second mention using a full NP with giʔniʔ. He is the central character in the story, and thus his salience is marked with this form of the demonstrative.

(60) Orphan.003
koon’rook gon giʔniʔ leʔ kɔət tsaak kʰɔpʰua tʰuk tʰii sut
orphan Clf_people that_one PRT be_born from family poor SUPERL

That orphan, (he) was born from the poorest family.

Not every such reference to a major participant is marked with this demonstrative, but every use of the demonstrative giʔniʔ in relation to a participant refers to one who is salient throughout the whole narrative, or one who is being presented as locally salient or topical in the current thematic grouping.

Plurality of the referent is another factor in choice of demonstrative. In the 2 remaining occurrences, the plural demonstrative tʰirniʔ 'these', was used.
Indefinite pronouns may also act as determiner in an NP. An NP with an indefinite pronoun as determiner signals to the hearer that any one of a number of possible referents is being referred to. The type of referent is identifiable from the textual context, but not a specific referent. An example is shown in (61), where the NP *nim gi’məʔ* ‘whichever year’ refers to any year in a series of years at the period of time she is describing in the narrative. The type of referent, a year, has been mentioned in the previous sentence, Tan.129, and thus is identifiable.

(61) Tan.130

\[ ?an \quad nim \quad gi’ma? \quad dee \quad bian \quad root \quad sii \quad sip \quad tan \quad dee \]

COND year whichever unspecified achieve arrive four Clf_tens then

\[ kum \quad mah \]

cover eat

If whichever year we got forty (bags of rice), then (we) had enough to eat.

### 3.6.2 Recognitional use

Recognitional use is a function described by Himmelmann (1996) where an NP with a demonstrative identifies a referent in the text-external world which is inactive but identifiable to the audience from the cultural context. Such a referent is inactive in the sense that it has not been referred to in the text thus far, but is identifiable because it is in the long-term memory of the hearers (Chafe 1994). This is distinctive from tracking use in that it is typically the only reference made to this referent in the discourse, and it assumes a particular knowledge shared by the speaker and hearers which the speaker assumes can be called on by the audience to help in the identification. Therefore a description often accompanies this type of use. An example is given in (62), where the speaker describes the guns she is referring to as *si’naat kep dee ?iʔ teey ?eey gi’niʔ* ‘those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves’, thus ensuring the audience will recognise what she is talking about.

(62)Bear.016

\[ ma? \quad go? \quad mit \quad si’naat \quad nam \quad ni? \quad ?oŋ? \quad ?ah \quad si’naat \quad kep \quad nɔɔ \]

INDEF so_then take gun time this yet have gun pellet 3pl

\[ go? \quad ?am \quad tɕap \quad si’naat \quad luang \quad məh \quad si’naat \quad kep \quad dee \quad ?iʔ \]

so_then NEG catch gun official be gun pellet unspecified 1pl
Some took guns; (at) this time (there) were still pellet guns; so they didn't take army guns, (they) were those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves.

In English, the distal demonstrative is typically the form of choice in recognitional use, as seen in the translation in (62) 'those pellet guns of ours'. In Kmhm' where there is a 4-way distance distinction between demonstratives, the pronominal near proximal form gi'ni? 'that one' is generally used. In this study, 5 out of 6 cases use gi'ni?. All of these NPs refer to props which are either locally salient or are mentioned throughout a large portion of the narrative. In the one instance of using ni? 'this', the referent is mentioned in passing and is not mentioned again in the narrative. Thus the motivating factor is that of salience.

A similar function to recognitional use is characterised by Himmelmann (1996) as reminder use. This is an anaphoric use of an NP with a determiner that identifies a referent not so much with focus on the referent, but in relation to the previous event involving that referent. Thus it differs from a tracking reference where the focus is on the referent and their part in the ongoing action. As in recognitional use, a description is given to aid the audience in recognition of the referent. This description refers to the event previously mentioned in the text in which the referent was involved. An example is shown in (63), where Tan goes walking with her father and he buys her an ice cream. She doesn't like it and throws it away, and on their return walk she refers again to the ice cream as ka lɛm tɕaw dee pitɕ gi'ni? 'that icecream that I had thrown away'. Thus she identifies the ice cream using an NP with a demonstrative and a relative clause describing the event.

(63)Tan.108
\[naaŋ\ gaaj \ ?o? \ haan\ tɕii\ dar\ jɔh\ tim'kaal\ gəa\ pʰi\ tɕii\ de?\]
walk\ DIR\ 1sg\ prepare\ IRR\ run\ DIR\ pass_by\ 3sgm\ PURP\ IRR\ get

\[boh\ kum\ ?am\ ?an\ gəa\ guŋŋ\ ka'lem\ tɕaw\ dee\ pitɕ\]
dust\ cover\ NEG\ allow\ 3sgm\ see\ ice-cream\ REL\ unspecified\ discard

\[gi'ni?\]
that_one

Walking back I prepared to run (and) overtake him, in order to get dust (and) cover (it) to not allow him to see that ice-cream that I had thrown away.
For reminder use, \textit{giˈniʔ 'that one'} was used in all 5 occurrences. There are two possible motivations for marking an NP using \textit{giˈniʔ} in a reminder use. One relates to the salience of the referent, and the other to the amount of mental effort required by the hearer to recall the referent. Of the 5 reminder uses of NPs with \textit{giˈniʔ}, 3 were used with locally or globally salient referents. The remaining 2 were used with referents which were not particularly salient in the narrative, but which had been previously mentioned more distantly in the narrative (on average 19 sentences previously), and thus would require more mental effort to recall.

3.7 Proper nouns in discourse

Proper nouns are uniquely referring expressions, requiring no further modification to make them specific. They may be used to introduce an unidentifiable referent, as shown in (64) where \textit{jaʔ dɛɛŋ 'Ms Daeng'} is mentioned for the first time. In this sentence, the NP is the object of the clause, i.e. in the focus position. This sentence marks the boundary of a new thematic grouping in the text, where the hearer expects the introduction of new participants. In this context, the use of a proper noun signals to the hearer that this is a salient participant, and they should set up a new mental representation centred around her.

\begin{verbatim}
(64)Man_eater.004
taˈwaaj mon saam ban kaw ᵃzoj sii
  time_interval  Clf_months  three  Clf_thousands  nine  Clf_hundreds  four
sip  pɛɛt ?ah raˈwaaj mooj too  gaaaj pok mah jaʔ dɛɛŋ
  Clf_tens  eight  have  tiger  one  Clf_animals  DIR  bite  eat  Ms  Daeng

In the third month (of) nineteen forty-eight, (there) was a tiger (that) came (and) attacked (and) ate Ms Daeng.
\end{verbatim}

Proper nouns may also be used to refer to identifiable referents where there is a need to disambiguate them from others in a group. An example of this is seen in (65) where a family of seven is introduced into the discourse using proper nouns. In the following narrative, three of these participants have a significant role in the events of the story. As they are all female, the use of a pronoun would not sufficiently distinguish them, so proper nouns are used. In Man-eater.024 the mother is introduced as \textit{jaʔ pʰeŋ 'Ms Pheng'}, and subsequently referred to as \textit{jaʔ pʰeŋ 'Ms Pheng'} in Man-eater.026. Similarly \textit{jaʔ tiʔ 'Ms Tw'} and \textit{jaʔ mii 'Ms Mi'} are
also referred to again using proper nouns in Man-eater.026 and Man-eater.027 respectively. All three of these participants are salient in the ongoing narrative: Ms Pheng’s digging attracts the tiger, Ms Mi is the first one attacked by the tiger, and Ms Tw is the only survivor in this gruesome story.

(65)Man_eater.024

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nαɑ məh ja? pʰeŋ gle? nαɑ məh ta? pʰu} & \\
3\text{sgf be Ms Pheng husband 3sgf be Mr Phu}
\end{align*}
\]

She was Ms Pheng, (and) her husband was Mr Phu.

Man_eater.025

\[
\begin{align*}
3\text{du have child five Clf_people Ms Mi Ms Ong Mr Ñi Ms Do}
\end{align*}
\]

ja? ti?

Ms Teu

Those two had five children, Ms Mi, Ms Ong, Mr Ñi, Ms Do, (and) Ms Tw.

Man_eater.026

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ja? pʰeŋ ʔɔɔr kɔɔn tɕɨmˈkɨn ɲam baar gon pa? bo?} & \\
\text{Ms Pheng lead daughter big two Clf_people with carry_on_back}
\end{align*}
\]

ja? ti? jɔh sɔɔk kʰiŋ kwaaj da? bɾi?

Ms Teu DIR seek dig tuber at forest

Ms Pheng took the two older daughters, and also carried Ms Tw on her back, (and) went to look for (and) dig tubers in the forest.

Man_eater.027

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kɔɔn tɕɨmˈkɨn ja? mii ni? ʔah gle? nαɑ maan kɔɔn bian} & \\
\text{daughter Ms Mi this have husband 3sgf be_pregnant child achieve}
\end{align*}
\]

ʔok mŋ lɛɛw

six Clf_months already

The daughter Ms Mi had a husband, (and) she was already six months pregnant.

Proper nouns also anchor unidentifiable referents and serve to make them specific when they act as possessors in a possessive phrase. The new referent is anchored, or linked to an identifiable referent, that is referred to by the proper noun. An example of this is seen in (66). The father is first introduced as joŋ ja? deŋj 'Ms Daeng’s father', the proper noun ja? deŋj 'Ms Daeng’ anchoring and making a specific referent of joŋ ‘father’.
When Ms Daeng's father and the relatives arrived, the tiger had torn up (and) eaten Ms Daeng completely; (they) saw only her bones remaining, (her) skeleton.

Another role of proper nouns as referring expressions is their use as **terms of address**. In the context of discourse this is seen in direct speech between participants, as shown in (67) from Tan's story. Tan's father is offering to buy her an ice cream and addresses her by name, *tan* 'Tan'. Following the vocative, the pronoun *baa* '2sgf' also occurs. Suwilai (1987:38) reports that when a vocative is used, a co-referent pronoun is always included in the sentence.

(67) Tan's Story.099

> hootɕ joŋ law tan baa goʔ tɛʔu? boʔ?

Then father said, "Tan, do you want to eat (some)?"

3.8 Kin terms in discourse

Kin terms are used in discourse for several functions: to signal **non-major participants**, to communicate **cultural information** such as social status, as **terms of address**, to **anchor unidentifiable referents**, to **re-activate accessible referents** and to **highlight the relationship** between the referents.

Unlike proper nouns, kinship terms are not uniquely referring expressions and are usually modified by a possessor when used to refer to unidentifiable referents. An example is given in (68), where the older sister is introduced as *taaj naa* 'her older sister'. The participant referenced as *naa* '3sgf' was introduced in the previous sentence by name. The use of a kin term is anchored to this identifiable referent using the possessor *naa* '3sgf'.

(68) Man_eater.040

> taaj naa deʔ wek git ra'waaj niʔ goʔ? ?am ?oh

elder_sibling 3sgf get knife chop tiger this so_then NEG wounded
Her older sister got a knife (and) hacked at (the tiger), (but) the tiger was not wounded, then the tiger kept attacking the older sister too.

Kin terms as head of a possessive phrase like this signal non-major participants. They are not the participant in focus in the narrative, but rather their identity is only important in relation to a major participant, the possessor. Bequette (2008:70) found a similar use of kin terms where the more prominent participant is the possessor, which acts to anchor the kin term referent. This is clearly seen in the Orphan story, where the major participant is the orphan, and his mother and father are only ever referred to in relation to him as maʔ gor ‘his mother’ and joŋ gor ‘his father’.

In some contexts, however, kin terms can be understood as uniquely referring, and require no modification in the first mention of referents because of the cultural context. An example of a kin term as a uniquely referring expression is shown in (69). When the orphan requests entrance to the king’s house, the guards reply that they will go and request permission from the king first. They refer to the king as joŋ ‘father’. The cultural context of a king being known as the father of his subjects, and the immediate discourse context of the entrance of the king’s house, means that this use of the single kin term joŋ is sufficient to identify the referent.

(69)Orphan.096

"(We) will go (and) request of father first; (and) if father permits (you) to enter, (if) the king permits (you) to enter, then (you can) enter.

Cultural context also influences the use of kin terms as referring expressions in that kin terms signal relative social status between participants. In Tan’s story, a kin term is her referring expression of choice when she refers to her father as joŋ ʔoʔ ‘my father’, as this expresses appropriate respect to one of higher status, such as a parent.
In conversations within a narrative, kin terms are used as terms of address. Like proper nouns, when a kin term is used as a vocative, there is always a co-referent pronoun included in the sentence. This is shown in (70), where the princess addresses the orphan as *taaj* 'elder brother', and the pronoun *mee* '2sgm' then immediately follows.

(70) Orphan.052

\[\text{nŋa go? la? law sah ?oo taaj mee giĭ jεt}\]
\[3\text{sgf so,then directly say COMP oh! elder_sibling 2sgm this_one stay}\]
\[\text{da? ?ar ma? jεh ?eh jεh rɔɔt giĭ law ni?}\]
\[at\ direction\ which\ go\ EXCL\ DIR arrive\ here\ say\ this\]

So then she immediately said, "Oh older brother, you, where have (you) come from to arrive here?" (she) said this.

In the context of conversation without the use of vocatives, pronouns rather than kin terms are used as terms of address.

Kinship terms may act as possessors, thus anchoring an unidentifiable referent and making it specific. In (71) the unidentifiable referent *ki'mual kʰaa ῥua* 'compensation money' is anchored and made specific using the kin term possessor *koon tɕim'brɔʔ* *de di niʔ* 'his son'.

(71) Thief.003

\[\text{hootɕ gəə la? bian ki'mual kʰaa ῥua koon tɕim'brɔʔ}\]
\[and\_then\ 3\text{sgm PRT achieve money compensation son}\]
\[\text{de ε di niʔ bæj saj niʔ}\]
\[co\_referent\ this\ 3\text{pl pay\_back\ this}\]

And then he got his son's compensation money (that) they paid back.

Also, as possessors, kin terms may enable accurate re-activation of an accessible referent by distinguishing it from other possible referents. In (72) the village created by the monkey is compared to that of the king. The king's village is referred to as *kun jοŋ noo gi'niʔ* 'their father's village', the embedded phrase *jοŋ noo* 'their father' acting as possessor, and thus identifying the referent as that village which was previously described in Orphan.083 as *blia blia* 'very beautiful' and in Orphan.086 as *miąŋ de? tɕawsi'wit jaam jəʔ* 'city of a king (in) ancient times'.

(72) Orphan.124
(It) was more beautiful than their father's village, but (there) were not yet any houses (for) people.

In one interesting instance, a kin term is used as a classifier as shown in (73). In Thief.002, the use of joŋ 'father' as a classifier, rather than gon the normal classifier for people, highlights the relationship between the referents and focuses the hearer's attention on the father as the participant of significance rather than the son. This is evident from the fact that in the next sentence the narrator uses the pronoun gaɔ '3sgm' in reference to the father. It is clearly the father who is being referred to here as he is the one getting the compensation money and he is again referred to with the co-referent pronoun dee as possessor in the phrase kɔɔn tɕɨmˈbɾɔʔ dee niʔ 'his son'.

(73) Thief.002

One day, (there) was the son of one father, (whom) a vehicle hit.

And then he got his son's compensation money (that) they paid back.

Thus the kin term individuates and specifies the noun kɔɔn tɕɨmˈbɾɔʔ 'son', while also pointing to the father as the more significant participant.

3.9 Pronouns in discourse

Lyons (1977) describes the basic referential function of pronouns as deictic rather than anaphoric, which he sees as a metaphorical extension of deictic reference. The deictic function of pronouns is that they point to a particular referent in the speech situation. For first and second person singular pronouns,
this is particularly clear as the one speaking, pointing to oneself, and the
addressee, pointing to the person in close physical proximity who is being
spoken to. On the other hand, “Anaphora involves the transference of what are
basically spatial notions to the temporal dimension of the context-of-utterance
and the reinterpretation of deictic location in terms of what may be called
location in the universe-of-discourse” (Lyons 1977:670). Thus in the context of
an oral narrative, there may be both the deictic use of pronouns and the
anaphoric use of pronouns.4

3.9.1 Deictic functions of pronouns

The deictic use of pronouns is particularly seen in the first person narrative of
Tan. She begins her story by referring to herself, obviously a deictic reference as
there is no antecedent for an anaphoric reference at this point in the narrative.
This is shown in (74) where she uses the first person singular pronoun ʔoʔ to
refer to herself.

(74) Tan.001
ʔoʔ tir’doh liag naam ṭeŋ naam ʔoʔ sir’mًا?
1sg tell story period_of_time long_time period_of_time 1sg have_fever

I am telling a story (from) a time long ago, the time I had a fever.

It is also seen in the Bear story, where the narrator is a peripheral participant,
and introduces the owners of the rice field with the first person plural pronoun
ʔiʔ without any antecedent, as shown in (75). In the cultural context of the
storyteller and the speech situation, this referent is understood to be the
household of the storyteller.

(75) Bear.001
mooj dia hit’ih ʔiʔ bian dee ṭeʔ daʔ p’uŋ
one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain
müt ʔiʔ?
Meut here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

4 Halliday & Hassan (1976: 18) use the term exophora for this deictic referential function that
requires information outside the text itself in order to identify referents. They see anaphoric use
of pronouns as one type of endophoric reference, i.e., reference within the text world.
3.9.1.1 Deictic use of *dee*

The unspecified pronoun *dee* has deictic functions in discourse which differ from other pronouns, and which include generic reference, agent backgrounding, a default first person reference, and a mitigation effect.

An example of a generic deictic reference and agent backgrounding is seen in (76). The narrator is describing the difficult journey taken by her husband carrying the injured uncle back to the village. There is no antecedent for *dee* in this instance; thus the usage is not anaphoric. It is a deictic function, pointing to a singular generic referent which could be translated as 'one' in English. By choosing the form *dee* the speaker also signals to the audience that what is in focus here is not the entity with the semantic role of agent, but the event or state of affairs. The pronoun *dee* is used to background the agent and highlight the event or the entity with the semantic role of patient (Taylor 1994:100). The identity of the participant who is climbing the mountain is not relevant here, but rather the distance and effort involved in the event.

(76) Bear.051

```
    məh  *dee*  gaa  kin’drum  mok  da?  ’niŋ  pa’maan  saam
    be  generic  climb  underneath  mountain  at  up_there  about  three
```

When one climbs the lower slopes of the mountain up there, (it is) about three (or) four kilometres.

Kirsner (1975:389-97) in his article on “pseudo-passives” in Dutch describes a similar function of backgrounding agents. One function of a passive construction is to background the agent in order to focus on something else. In Kmhmhu’ which has no passive construction, this use of *dee* serves this function of backgrounding an agent when the speaker wishes to highlight an entire event. Thomas (1978) reports a similar use of a generic pronoun in Chrau discourse.

In Tan’s story, *dee* has a default first person meaning. Where there is no antecedent to supply the person, number and gender details, the meaning is either first person singular, dual or plural depending on the context. An example of this is seen in (77) where *dee* is used in the first mention of Tan’s village, and in context is taken to mean first person plural ‘our’.

---

63
(At) this time the road was rough at our village...

There is an interaction in Tan’s story between Tan and her father which gives an interesting insight into another deictic use of *dee*, that of *mitigating* emotive force. It occurs during the ice cream episode when Tan’s father is scolding her for throwing away the ice cream he bought for her. Having pointed out that many people have longed to eat an ice cream all their lives but have never been able to do so, he then reprimands her for throwing hers away, as shown in (78). He refers to Tan as *dee*.

(78) Tan.117

\[ baŋ \ ?an \ dee \ bo? \ dee \ la? \ pitɕ \ ɡəə \]

3pl give generic eat generic PRT discard 3sgn

Someone gives one (some) to eat, (and) one throws it away."

Up to this point in the conversation he has used *baa* ‘2sgf’ to address Tan. The change to *dee* signals a mitigating of the accusatory force of the second person pronoun. A similar effect in English might be achieved by using first person plural instead of second person singular, e.g. “When someone gives us an ice cream, we don’t throw it away”.

### 3.9.2 Anaphoric functions of pronouns

Personal pronouns are used anaphorically in discourse to *disambiguate* male and female characters which are active referents in the mind of the hearer, and to *reiterate reference at boundaries* in the text. An example of *disambiguation* is shown in (79). The princess has just been introduced into the story in Orphan.049. In Orphan.052 the feminine form of the third person singular pronoun *nɑɑ* is used anaphorically to refer to the princess, and in Orphan.053 the masculine form *ɡəə* is used anaphorically to identify the orphan.

(79) Orphan.052

\[ nɑɑ \ ɡɔʔ \ laŋ \ law \ sah \ ?oo \ ɡii \ mee \ ɡəə \]

3sgf so_then directly say COMP oh! elder_sibling 2sgm this_one stay
So then she immediately said, "Oh older brother, you, where have (you) come from to arrive here?" (she) said this.

Orphan.053

So he replied, 'Oh! I don't know the village (where) I live at all.

An example of a pronoun being used to **reiterate** the identity of a referent at a text boundary is shown in (80). The uncle, a major participant, is introduced in Bear.009 in a presentational clause with the possessive phrase *kuuŋ ʔiʔ* 'our uncle', and referred to a second time using the phrase *kuuŋ ʔiʔ niʔ* 'this uncle of ours', and then the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm'. From then on in Bear.009 he is given a zero reference, as he continues to be the subject of subsequent clauses. In the following sentence, Bear.010, although he is still the subject, the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' is used. This is because there is a text boundary here as the action of the story begins, with a typical boundary marker *ʔah mooj mii* 'one day'.

(80) Bear.009

*(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.*

Bear.010

*(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.*
There was one day, he went (and) took a hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.

3.9.2.1 Anaphoric use of dee

As in deictic use, so in anaphoric use, the unspecified pronoun *dee* has different uses from other pronouns. It can signal co-referentiality, emphasis, and backgrounded events.

In its co-referential function, *dee* indicates that a referent is the same as the actor antecedent in the clause. An example is shown in (81), where the princess is collecting water from a spring. Initially she is referred to using *naa '3sgf'* and subsequently using *dee* in the possessive phrase *ʔom dee 'her water'*. 

(81)Orphan.067

`naa go? gook ?om dee naaj gaaq root da?
3sgf so_then carry_on_shoulder water co_ref erent walk DIR arrive at`

`gaaj`

house

...then she carried her water on her shoulder (and) walked back (and) arrived at the house...

Another example of *dee* with this co-referential anaphoric use is seen in (82). In this case *dee* is co-referent with *gəə '3sgm'* referring to the orphan. It occurs in right-dislocated position in the clause, and adds a sense of emphasis similar to the English usage 'he, himself'.

(82)Orphan.038

`gəə go? baj gul dee le? gəə go? hin'dʒə?
3sgm so_then NEG fat co_ref er ent and 3sgm so_then thin`

He was no longer fat, himself, and he was thin...

A further discourse function of *dee* is to signal backgrounded events in the narrative. In some sections of Tan's story, she switches from referring to herself as *ʔoʔ '1sg'* to referring to herself as *dee*. The trigger for this switch in pronouns is moving from events on the storyline to flashback, comment, rationale, feelings or
other forms of author intrusion, which are not on the mainline of events. When
the storyline events resume, the switch back to using specific pronouns also
occurs. This is shown in (83), where Tan's father has asked her if she would like
an ice cream, and she responds that she would in Tan.100, referring to herself
using the specific pronoun ʔoʔ '1sg'. Then follows a series of comments, in the
rest of the sentence and Tan.101, explaining why she said yes. In these
comments she refers to herself as dee. When the storyline events resume, in
Tan.102, with her licking the ice cream and walking after her father, she
switches back to using ʔoʔ '1sg' again.

(83)Tan.100
hootɕ ʔoʔ law bɔʔ ʔnaj dee ʔam gəaj bɔʔ ʔmooj bat
and_then 1sg say eat but unspecified NEG ever eat not_one Clf_turns
ʔam gəaj bɔʔ ʔmooj dia
NEG ever eat not_one Clf_times

Then I said, "(I) do," but I had never eaten (it) once; (I) had never eaten (it) even
once.

Tan.101
dee law bɔʔ dee diim sah gəo tɕii lam
unspecified say eat unspecified believe COMP 3sgn IRR delicious

I said (I) did (want to eat it), I believed that it would be delicious.

Tan.102
ʔoʔ gəʔ gleet gleet jɔh hootɕ joŋ ʔoʔ naaj jɔh kaal
1sg so_then lick lick DIR and_then father 1sg walk DIR before

I licked (the ice-cream), licked (and) went along, and my father walked along in
front.

Thus dee is signalling that this section of the text is not part of the storyline of
the narrative.

3.9.2.2 Anaphoric use of baŋ

The pronoun baŋ '3pl' is used in discourse to background participants who are
agents in the event and also to background events.

In backgrounding participants, it signals to the hearer that the agent is not in
focus, but rather the event or the patient is being highlighted. An example of this
usage is seen in (84). This is the peak episode in the narrative, where Tan is admitted to the intensive care unit in the hospital and intubated to assist her breathing. The pronoun baŋ '3pl' refers to the medical staff, and is used to background them as agents and highlight the events of the crisis, and the main participant, Tan, who is the patient in more ways than one.

(84)Tan.056

\[\text{baŋ de? tʰɔɔ tojo pi'guut seh kluəŋ hin'tu? muh}\]

3pl get pipe respirator_tube insert put_in inside hole nose

They got respirator tubing (and) inserted (it) in the inside of (my) nostril.

In successive sentences, Tan.059, 060, 061 and 062, baŋ is repeatedly used as the medical staff continue to act as agents, but are maintained as backgrounded referents.

An example of baŋ backgrounding events occurs in a flashback in (85). The orphan-now-king sends his soldiers to invite the father-king to come to the new village the monkey has created. The soldiers warn the father-king and give him instructions about how to approach the village. As the father-king sets off, the narrator reminds the audience of these instructions. In this flashback, the soldiers are referred to using baŋ to signal a backgrounding of the participants in order to highlight what they said, and to signal that this speech is not part of the storyline, but a flashback.

(85)Orphan.156

\[\text{baŋ law kaal tɕii joh ?an dap mat sa'wañ ?ɔm dap mat}\]

3pl say before IRR go IMP cover eye elephant IMP cover eye

\[\text{him'braŋ ?ɔm}\]

horse IMP

They had said, "Before (you) go, cover the elephants' eyes, cover the horses' eyes.

Orphan.157

\[\text{leh tɕii rɔɔt lexw lexw bɔɔ ban'aaŋ ?an gɔɔ joh taam}\]

near IRR arrive already and_then 2pl organise CAUS 3sgn DIR follow

\[\text{ŋɔɔɾ kʰoʔ}\]

road EXCL

(When you) have nearly arrived, then you must organise (and) make them to go along (and) follow the road."
These backgrounding functions of $baŋ$ are similar to those of the unspecified pronoun $dee$.

### 3.9.3 Pronominal constructions

Pronominal constructions observed in this study include appositional constructions, pronoun phrases with classifiers and pronoun phrases with determiners. In terms of discourse functions, pronoun phrases are involved in **reiteration** of participant identity at text boundaries and **disambiguation** of referents.

#### 3.9.3.1 Appositional pronoun constructions

Appositional pronoun constructions are composed of a pronoun in apposition with an NP. These are chosen as referring expressions at text boundaries to **reiterate** the identity of participants, and are also used to **disambiguate** accessible participants where a pronoun alone might be insufficient.

An example of an appositional pronoun construction used to **reiterate** the identity of participants at a text boundary is shown in (86), where Tan and her father are setting out on their journey to the hospital. Tan.015 is at the beginning of a major division in the text as the discourse moves from the stage, where the background of the events in the story are laid out, to the pre-peak episodes where the action begins. The participants are referred to in Tan.014 as $joŋ$ ?oʔ 'my father' and ?oʔ '1sg'. In Tan.015, where the next section begins, they are reiterated using the appositional pronoun phrase ?aʔ $kɔɔn$ joŋ 'we two, child (and) father'.

(86)Tan.014

```
hootɕ     joŋ     ?oʔ     goʔ     ?ɔɔr     ?oʔ     jsh
and_then father 1sg so_then lead 1sg go
```

And then my father took me.

Tan.015

```
jsh     daʔ     hoomɔɔ     ?aʔ     kɔɔn     joŋ     ?ɔɔr     joʔ     guut     lot     məh
go     at     hospital 1du     child     father     lead     together     enter     vehicle     be

lot     lat     giʔniʔ     leʔ
vehicle     state     that_one     PRT
```
Going to hospital, we two, child (and) father, went together (and) caught the truck (which) was that state truck.

An example of an appositional pronoun construction disambiguating accessible participants is shown in (87). The group referred to by nɔɔ '3pl', is part of the hunting party and was previously mentioned in Bear.027. Another group, that of the village people who did not go on the hunt, was referred to using nɔɔ in Bear.042. In order to avoid confusion and give the hearers the information they need to correctly identify the referent of nɔɔ in Bear.044, the speaker adds the relative clause biŋ'gɔə jɔh giʔ gon 'who went (with) many people'.

(87)Bear.044

bat gii bat nam nɔɔ biŋ'gɔə jɔh giʔ gon niʔ wer
turn this_one turn time 3pl REL go many Clf_people this return

gaaaj
DIR

Then (at) this time they who went (with) many people, came back.

3.9.3.2 Pronoun phrases with classifiers

Only one example of a pronoun phrase with a classifier is found in the texts under study, where it is used to disambiguate accessible referents in the narrative. This is shown in (88). This sentence comes during the episode of the mother, introduced as jaʔ pʰeŋ 'Ms Pheng', and her three daughters who went to the forest and were attacked by the tiger. Orphan.029 to Orphan.032 describe how the tiger attacked the mother and two of the daughters, and another daughter escaped and hid. The father organises a search party in the morning, and Man-eater.034 relates how they did not find any trace of the three who were attacked.

The pronoun phrase, nɔɔ saam gon ra'waaj hii pok mah lootə lexw 'them (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely', occurs in right-dislocated position, a position often used in disambiguating an accessible referent (Lambrecht 1994). It includes a classifier phrase saam gon 'three people' and a restrictive relative clause ra'waaj hii pok mah lootə lexw 'the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely'. The classifier phrase clarifies that three of the people were not found, and alerts the hearer to wonder about the fourth participant in this episode. The restrictive relative clause identifies the three by
referring to an event they were involved in that is accessible from the text, the tiger's attack.

(88) Man_eater.034

\[ joh \ so\ck \ \eta^o? \ \go? \ \?am \ \bip \ \n\oc \ \saam \ \gon \ \ra\waaj \]

DIR seek INDEF so then NEG meet 3pl three Clf_people tiger

\[ hii \ \pok \ \mah \ \loot\oc \ \l\ocw \]

PstCMPL bite eat totally already

Wherever (they) looked (they) didn't find them, (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely.

3.9.3.3 Pronoun phrases with determiners

Pronoun phrases with determiners are used in deictic functions and anaphoric tracking functions in discourse.

The deictic functions are seen in conversations reported in the narrative, and can be used in basic spatial deixis or in signalling re-activation of another referent. An example is shown in (89), where the king is speaking to the princess about the orphan. He refers to the orphan using the pronoun phrase \( g\oc \ gii \) 'this him'. In this context the determiner serves a basic spatial deictic function, probably accompanied with pointing.

(89) Orphan.102

\[ ?an \ \b\aa \ \twi\ii\ de? \ g\oc \ gii \ \?an \ \b\aa \ \go? \ \du? \ \br\oc\m \ g\oc \]

COND 2sgf IRR get 3sgm this_one IMP 2sgf so then flee with 3sgm

\[ sah \]

COMP

"...If you would marry him, then you run away with him," (he) said.

An example of re-activation of another referent is shown in (90). The orphan is speaking to the princess. He has just been talking about her, her beauty and wealth, and then changes topic to talk about himself. He uses the pronoun phrase, \( ?o? \ \nt\? \ '1sg this' in left-dislocated position with a separating pause, to mark the change in topic. This signals to the hearer that an accessible referent has been re-activated in place of the previous active referent.

(90) Orphan.071
"...But I, (I) am really worthy (of this), I must eat tubers because I have been eating tubers lasting for this one month already," (he) said like this.

Pronoun phrases with determiners are used anaphorically in a similar way to NPs with determiners, to signal an identifiable referent. The use of a pronoun alone in an anaphoric reference implies that the referent is identifiable, but the addition of the determiner signals that this is the salient participant that we are referring to here, and brings him back into focus. An example is shown in (91) where the orphan is referred to as gəə niʔ 'this him'.

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.

In the previous two sentences the aunt was introduced and became the active referent. The use of the pronoun phrase gəə niʔ signals a change in the focus. Although the aunt continues to be the active referent, signalled by zero references to her in Orphan.017 and Orphan.018, the focus of the new information given in these sentences switches to the orphan and what he suffers at her hand.

### 3.10 Classifier phrases as referring expressions in discourse

Classifier phrases have discourse level functions which include acting anaphorically in tracking referents, and providing temporal setting phrases that act as boundary markers in discourse.

In their anaphoric function, classifier phrases may be used to quantify identifiable referents from a previous clause or sentence (Lyons 1977; Bisang 1999). An example is shown in (92). This comes at a point in the story where Tan has been diagnosed as in need of a blood transfusion. The cost of blood is discussed, and the dilemma they faced in not being able to afford to buy it. In Tan.068 there is a reference to maam giˈniʔ 'that blood'. This is followed by two
references to the blood in Tan.069 using classifier phrases without a head noun, namely saam daj 'three bags', and kin k‘baar daj 'only two bags'.

(92) Tan.068

joŋ ?o? goʔ jɔh sook wet maam gi‘niʔ
father 1sg so_then DIR seek buy blood that_one

So then my father went to look for (and) buy that blood.

Tan.069

nɔɔ law ?an seh saam daj ?aj joŋ ?am ?ah ki‘muul
3pl say OBLIG put_in three Clf_bags but father NEG have money
goʔ laaj jɔh wet maam ɡɨ‘niʔ
so_then directly DIR buy only two_of Clf_bags DIR put_in

They said (we) must put in three bags, but father didn’t have money, so (he) just went (and) bought only two bags (and) came (and they) put (them) in.

The classifier phrases are here used as anaphoric references to maam gi‘niʔ 'that blood', back in Tan.068.

As boundary markers, classifier phrases are used in adverbial time phrases to mark boundaries in the text, often signalling the beginning of a new episode. The usual form is the phrase mooj mii ‘one day’, or less often mooj dia ‘one time’, which is not a counting device but a referring expression, identifying a point in the sequence of events in the narrative. Usually this marks the beginning of the action in the story, or the ‘inciting moment’ (Longacre 1996:37) that sets the whole train of events in motion. In (93) the phrase mooj mii ‘one day’ marks the day when the orphan leaves his aunt and begins the journey which constitutes the next major episode in the story, and which leads to all the subsequent events in the narrative.

(93) Orphan.019

leʔ mooj mii ?a‘nuʔ goʔ pʰɔ‘dii bian kaw pii kaw
and one Clf_days age so_then exactly achieve nine Clf_years nine

kʰuap niʔ leʔ goʔ goʔ laaj leŋ jɔh
Clf_years this PRT 3sgm so_then directly wander DIR

And one day (when his) age had reached exactly nine years, he just went wandering off.
3.11 Demonstratives as referring expressions in discourse

Demonstratives act as referring expressions in their own right without being part of an NP. In this study, demonstratives are used in situational deixis, tracking of participants and discourse deixis.

In situational deixis, a demonstrative points to something outside the text, but present in the speech setting (Himmelmann 1996), such as a speaker pointing to a body part on their own body to explain what is happening in the story, as shown in (94). The speaker points to her own waist to show where the knife was held, and uses the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun gii 'this one' to indicate this.

(94) Bear.037

\[
\text{Bear.037} \quad \text{Bear.037} \quad \text{Bear.037} \\
\text{bear} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{at} \\
\text{but then} \quad \text{draw out} \quad \text{knife} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{waist} \\
\text{this one}
\]

But then he drew out a knife at (his) waist here.

An example of a demonstrative used in tracking a discourse referent is shown in (95). The main participant, the thief, is introduced in the first clause, and referred to in the second clause using just the near proximal demonstrative pronoun gi'niʔ, thus signalling his identifiability and also his salience as a participant in the ongoing narrative.

(95) Thief.001

\[
\text{Thief.001} \quad \text{Thief.001} \quad \text{Thief.001} \\
\text{thief} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{this} \\
\text{one} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{one} \\
\text{yet} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{a} \\
\text{person} \quad \text{teenager} \quad \text{this} \\
\text{PRT} \quad \text{ABIL} \quad \text{steal}
\]

(There) was a person ok, that one was still a teenager, (he) was very badly behaved, (and he) was adept at stealing.

In their discourse deictic function, demonstratives point to a previous segment in the text, referring to an identifiable event or state of affairs (Himmelmann 1996). An example of this is shown in (96). In Tan.007 she describes how she ate too much jujube fruit. In Tan.008 she refers to this event using the near proximal demonstrative pronoun gi'niʔ 'that one'.

(96) Tan.007

\[
\text{Tan.007} \quad \text{Tan.007} \quad \text{Tan.007} \\
\text{eat} \quad \text{the} \quad \text{the} \\
\text{too much} \quad \text{jujube fruit} \\
\text{ABIL}
\]
I ate too much jujube fruit then (that) caused me to have a fever.

After that then I had a fever located at the village lasting about one week [or] two weeks.

3.12 *Siŋ* constructions in discourse

As referring expressions in discourse, *siŋ* constructions are used as narrator comments, to add extra explanatory information about a referent. They do not signal the activation status or salience of the referent, but are usually used with an active referent (8 instances), and sometimes aid in identification of an accessible (2 instances) or inactive referent (1 instance). Some examples are given below.

In (97) the *siŋ* construction is added at the end of the sentence as additional descriptive information about an active referent, the vehicle, *siŋ meh lot tʰii baŋ de? saʔˈɔɔŋ tɛɛŋ rɑʔ* 'being the vehicle where they got wood (and) made a structure (on the back)'.

(97)Tan.005

*moŋ lot boɾiˈsat buunˈtʰa’nɔɔm li de law ?iik mooj*
be vehicle company Bounthanom or generic say again one

*kirˈbʃ meh lot de? laʔ siŋ meh lot tʰii baŋ de?*
Clf_words be vehicle POSS state NMLZ be vehicle that 3pl get

*saʔˈɔɔŋ tɛɛŋ raʔ*
wood do structure

(It) was the Buunthanoom Company’s vehicle or one (could) say in other words (it) was the government’s vehicle, being the vehicle where they got wood (and) made a structure (on the back).
In (98) a *siŋ* construction refers to an event which is accessible from the text. The man who was robbed is cursing the thief, saying he should die in the same way as his son died. His son's death is described in Thief.002. In Thief.009 he refers to this event with the construction *siŋ kɔɔn ʔoʔ giˈniʔ* 'like that of that my son', to explain the way the thief should die.

(98)Thief.009
gɔɔ go? tirˈwaaj məh ma? hak moot kiˈmuul ʔo?
3sgm so.then rage be INDEF nevertheless take.hold money 1sg

kʰii kʰʁɔɔ ?an gɔa haan məʔ kɔɔn ʔoʔ giˈniʔ ʔəm
here request COMP 3sgm die be.like NMLZ child 1sg that_one IMP

So then he raged, "Whoever it was took my money here, (I) ask that he die like my son('s death)!

Sometimes a *siŋ* construction is used by the narrator to give an explanation in terms of reasons for events or situations arising in the narrative. In (99) Tan is describing her feelings now as she looks back at the difficult time when she was sick, and the hardship her family suffered in the years that followed. She uses the construction *siŋ dee tʰiːrooj* 'about our belief in spirits', to give the reason for her distress.

(99)Tan.128
tirˈgaʔ naam niʔ tɕuʔ hirˈniam siŋ dee thii
think period_of_time this hurt heart NMLZ unspecified believe_in

рооj tɕuʔ hirˈniam sɨrˈmaʔ tɛɛŋ ʔaʔn deep tʰuk ʃɔɔr jet
spirit hurt heart INTENS cause unspecified poor because DUR

saj ʔii siŋˈtɕuʔ de? ʔoʔ daʔ naam niʔ
pay_back debt suffering POSS 1sg at period_of_time this

(When I) think about this time (I) am upset about our belief in spirits, (I) am really upset (that it) caused us to be poor, because (we) kept on paying back the debts of my illness at this time.

It was this belief that required them to go into debt to buy and sacrifice a buffalo, and kept them poor for years afterwards.

In his description of a similar particle in Mal, Filbeck (1991) describes its discourse function as giving prominence to the content of the clause it introduces. Further data is needed to clarify whether that is the case in Kmhmu'.

76
3.13 Zero anaphora in discourse

Once a referent has been activated, a zero reference is used until a new referent is activated, or there is some other discontinuity in the text. The use of a zero reference signals to the hearer that the referent is active. An example of this is seen in (100), where the orphan's aunt is the active participant at this point in the narrative. In Orphan.016 she is referred to using the noun maʔ’kin ‘aunt’. She remains the active referent, and this is signalled by subsequent null references to her in Orphan.017 and Orphan.018.

(100)Orphan.016

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma} & \text{ lian } joh \text{ lian gaaj } \text{ maʔ’kin } go \text{ boj } sr’?ch \text{ go } ni? \\
\text{when \ raise \ DUR \ raise \ DUR \ aunt \ so\_then \ directly \ hate \ 3sgm \ this}
\end{align*}
\]

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.

Orphan.017

\[
\begin{align*}
\emptyset & \text{ sr’?ch } \text{ go } ni? \ \emptyset \ \text{ saj } \text{ go } teŋ \ \text{ wiak } \ \emptyset \ \text{ saj } \text{ go } joh \\
\text{aunt \ hate \ 3sgm \ this \ aunt \ use \ 3sgm \ do \ work \ aunt \ use \ 3sgm \ go}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k’ii } & \text{ joh } \text{ naaj } le? \ \emptyset \ \text{ ?am } \text{ ?an } \text{ go } \text{ bo? } \text{ mah} \\
\text{here \ go \ there \ and \ aunt \ NEG \ allow \ 3sgm \ eat \ rice}
\end{align*}
\]

Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.

Orphan.018

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?an } & \text{ go } \text{ bo? } \ \emptyset \ \text{ go? } \ \text{ ?an } \text{ go } \text{ bo? } \text{ dek } \ \emptyset \ \text{ ?am } \text{ ?an} \\
\text{COND \ 3sgm \ eat \ aunt \ so\_then \ allow \ 3sgm \ eat \ a\_little \ aunt \ NEG \ allow}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{go } & \text{ bo? } \text{ maak} \\
\text{3sgm \ eat \ many}
\end{align*}
\]

If he ate, then (she) allowed him to eat a little; (she) didn't allow him to eat much.

3.14 Summary

An inventory of Kmhmu' referring expressions and a summary of their functions in discourse is given in Table 12.
### Table 12: Inventory and Functions of Kmhmu' Referring Expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referring expression (occurrences in study)</th>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPs with nonrestrictive attributive modifiers (56)</td>
<td>introduce unidentifiable referents signal salience by amount of encoding signal role of referent in narrative by content of modifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with restrictive attributive modifiers (72)</td>
<td>identify accessible referents using unique attributes or events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive phrases (127)</td>
<td>anchor unidentifiable referents individuate/specify unidentifiable referents locate identifiable referents in the discourse world focus attention on the possesesor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive phrases with deʔ (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with classifier phrases (37)</td>
<td>signal specificity of a referent introduce an unidentifiable, thematically salient referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with determiners (238)</td>
<td>point to referents in the discourse world point to referents in the speech situation point to previous segments of text signal identifiable referents disambiguate accessible referents signal thematic salience of referents identify inactive referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper nouns (57)</td>
<td>introduce unidentifiable referents disambiguate identifiable referents anchor unidentifiable referents act as terms of address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin terms (131)</td>
<td>signal non-major participants communicate cultural information act as terms of address anchor unidentifiable referents re-activate accessible referents highlight the relationship between 2 referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns (433)</td>
<td>introduce unidentifiable referents through deixis signal backgrounding of an agent when the patient or event is in focus mitigate emotive force through generic reference disambiguate male and female participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referring expression (occurrences in study)</td>
<td>Discourse function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>signal co-referentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>highlight a participant through emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>signal backgrounded events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal constructions

- appositional pronoun phrases and pronoun phrases with classifiers (4)

- pronoun phrases with determiners (8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disambiguate accessible referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signal re-activation of an accessible referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signal an identifiable, thematically salient referent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classifier phrases (95)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>refer to and quantify identifiable referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mark text boundaries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives (34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>point to referents in speech setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>signal identifiable, thematically salient referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>point to previous segments of text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sing constructions (11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>add descriptive or explanatory information about referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refer to events accessible from the text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zero anaphora (341)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>signals an active referent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount and type of linguistic encoding in a referring expression reflects both the mental effort required by the hearer to identify a referent, and the thematic salience of that referent. In the Kmhmu' inventory of referring expressions, the speaker is equipped with a wide range of options to clearly signal the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of referents in narrative discourse.
Chapter 4

Participant Identification Patterns

Having identified the Kmhmu' inventory of referring expressions and characterised their various functions in discourse in Chapter 3, this chapter explores the patterns of use of these referring expressions in participant identification in narrative text. The participant identification system of a language consists of the rules and patterns of reference and identification that enable the hearer to know who is doing or experiencing what (Callow 1974:30). This system provides for introduction and tracking of participants, signalling participant rank, resolving ambiguities, and maintaining cohesion across discontinuity boundaries.

A description of the ranking system and methods of introduction for participants is given, followed by the proposed default patterns for reference throughout a Kmhmu' narrative. Exceptions to these patterns are discussed, with suggested motivations for deviations from the default patterns. By way of introduction to this analysis, a literature review of some theoretical approaches to examining participant identification systems is presented, followed by a description of the methodology used in this study.

4.1 Theoretical approach to participant identification analysis

According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) participant reference systems need to fulfil semantic, discourse-pragmatic, and processing functions. Semantically, they must identify referents clearly, disambiguating them from other plausible referents. The greater the risk of ambiguity, the greater the amount of coding material used in a referring expression.

The discourse-pragmatic functions have been discussed more fully in section 3.1.2 Identifiability, activation status and thematic salience, and are summarised here. The patterns of participant identification reflect whether the participant is identifiable to the hearer or is a brand new participant. If a participant is
identifiable, the patterns reflect the activation status of the participant. An active concept is the one in focus currently. Inactive concepts are in long-term memory. Accessible concepts are on the periphery of awareness, either because they have been referred to in the text world, i.e. textual accessibility, are present in the speech situation, i.e. situational accessibility, or they belong to a schema, i.e. inferential accessibility from shared cultural knowledge (Chafe 1975, 1994; Prince 1981; Longacre 1990; Lambrecht 1994; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Givón 2001b).

Chafe (1987)\(^5\) discusses how activation states may change. The amount of cognitive effort required to change the activation status of a concept is reflected in the amount of coding material in a text. Activation from inactive status requires maximum cognitive effort and is signalled by more coding material than activation from accessible status. Maintaining a concept as active requires less effort than activation, and uses less coding material still, while deactivation requires no effort at all and thus is often not encoded. Once activated, the higher the activation status and/or prominence of a referent, the smaller the amount of coding material needed to maintain it.

The prominence or thematic salience of a referent is signalled by the amount and type of encoding used (Longacre 1990; Dooley and Levinsohn 2001; Givón 2001b). The more difficult a participant is to identify or access, and the more thematically salient a participant is in the narrative, the more coding material is assigned to it according to Givón’s iconicity of quantity principle (Givón 1990:969) given in example (43).

In terms of processing functions, participant reference systems must maintain clear information flow across thematic discontinuities. Speakers and hearers arrange the information given or received in a text in a hierarchical mental system of chunks or thematic groupings (Paivio and Begg 1981:176\(^6\)). This allows for ease of processing and reflects the semantic content of the text. Thus changes in thematic content, such as time or place, provide natural places to divide the chunks. At these points of thematic discontinuity (Givón 1984:245), generally more coding material is needed, and even information that is not changing may be updated (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001). Within a thematic

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grouping, more coding material is used in an initial reference, less in a final reference, and least in a medial reference (Givón 1983:141).

In summary then, participant identification systems must fulfil a semantic function, unambiguously identifying participants. They must fulfil discourse-pragmatic functions, signalling the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of participants, and they must fulfil a processing function, maintaining clear information flow across thematic groupings.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:117) outline two types of strategies for participant reference. A sequential strategy seeks to identify a referent by tracking the most recent previous mention of it. This strategy looks back at the previous clause or sentence, and does not necessarily consider the organisational structure of the discourse. It reflects the identifiability and accessibility of a referent. A VIP (Very Important Participant) strategy considers the rank of the participant in the narrative as a whole. Participants are introduced and tracked using linguistic signals that reflect their prominence or thematic salience in the narrative. A global VIP, according to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:121), is recognised by the use of distinctively different patterns of reference from other participants, throughout the entire text. A local VIP is treated distinctively only within a thematic grouping. Thus in a VIP strategy, a specific set of terms is employed based on the rank of the VIP, regardless of what other entities have been recently mentioned (Grimes 1978:viii). Most languages employ both these strategies to some extent, creating considerable complexity as they interact.

4.2 Methodology

Using an adaptation of Dooley and Levinsohn's method (2001:44), the texts were charted clause by clause and divided into thematic groupings to provide a basic outline of their surface structure. Span charts, adapted from (Grimes 1975:94), were also used to give a visual representation of the presence of each participant on the stage of the narrative.

Based on the sequential strategy approach of Dooley and Levinsohn (2001), participant identification patterns were initially analysed using Dooley and Levinsohn's (2001:127) eight-step methodology, as outlined below.

1. Construct an inventory of referring expressions used to identify participants.
2. Prepare a chart of identifications used in a text for subjects and nonsubjects.

3. Track the participants by allocating each a number on the chart.

4. Identify the syntactic context of each activated reference. The following contexts are assigned for subjects and nonsubjects:

   S1 the subject is the same as in the previous sentence,
   S2 the subject is the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence,
   S3 the subject is involved in the previous sentence in a nonsubject relation other than addressee, and
   S4 other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.

   N1 the referent occupies the same nonsubject relation as in the previous sentence,
   N2 the addressee of a reported speech is the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence,
   N3 the referent is involved in the previous sentence in a different relation than that covered by N2, and
   N4 other references to nonsubjects than those covered by N1-N3.

5. Propose default encoding values for each context.

6. Identify all occurrences of non-default encodings, and consider reasons for using either less or more encoding material than the default.

7. Modify the proposals in Step 5 to reflect these factors.

8. Generalise the motivations for non-default encodings.

Step 4 in this methodology involves examining the syntactic context of the reference in the previous sentence. The form of the Kmhmu' written sentence is not yet clearly established. In dividing up the texts into sentences, the intuitions of Kmhmu' speakers were followed. Where there were excessively long sentences or inconsistent sentence breaks, I edited them to be more consistent. Thus a sentence is not a reliable unit to compare for referencing patterns. Instead, the reference was compared to that in the previous clause. Only references in independent clauses were included in the analysis, as dependent clauses typically
do not have an overt subject. Also direct speech quotations were excluded from the analysis, but the speech margins were included.

This methodology is particularly applicable to participant reference systems based primarily on a sequential strategy. When no clear patterns emerged from the data under study, the method was adapted to consider the patterns of reference for each separate participant. Thus it became evident that there were different types of patterns, reflecting the rank of the participant.

4.3 Introducing participants and participant ranking

Referents in a narrative discourse can be ranked according to the level of their involvement in events, the duration of their presence throughout the narrative (participant span), and the way they are introduced and subsequently referred to in the text.

Grimes (1975:43) differentiates participants from props. Participants initiate or respond to action, while props, although they may be involved in significant events in the story, do not actually do anything. Thus people who are mentioned but never initiate or respond to actions, are classed as props, and animals or inanimate objects which are active in the story are participants.

Animal participants are often seen in folk-tales, and an example of this is the monkey in the Orphan folk-tale, as shown in (101). The orphan is preparing to shoot the monkey when the monkey speaks to him.

(101) Orphan.110

```
gəə mɔɔt  mɔʔ  dee  tɕii  pɨn  gəə nɛɛ  tɕii  pɨn  
3sgm take_hold  cross-bow  co-referent  IRR  shoot  3sgm aim  IRR  shoot

kʰoʔ ʔoo faʔ  nɨʔ  leʔ  law ʔoʔ  ʔoo  təaj  ʔəaj  
EXCL  oh!  monkey  this  PRT  say  that  oh!  elder_sibling  older_brother

mee  təʔ  pɨn  ʔoʔ  
2sgm  NEGIMP  shoot  1sg
```

He took his crossbow to shoot (the monkey), he took aim to shoot, (when) "Oh!" the monkey said that, "Oh! older brother, older brother don't you shoot me.

The monkey talks, performs magic and gives advice to the orphan and the princess as the story progresses.
An example of a people who are props is the villagers in Tan's story, as shown in (102). Tan's father borrowed money from *kɔɔnˈgaŋ* 'villagers' to pay for the hospital expenses and the spirit sacrifices. They are mentioned in the narrative 5 times, and each time they are being acted upon rather than initiating action.

(102) Tan.090

\begin{quote}
father so then borrow money with villagers
\end{quote}

There are four kinds of participants in Kmhmu' narrative discourse: **central participants**, **major participants**, **minor participants**, and **peripheral participants**. A narrative may have only one central participant, but more than one major participant. Typically, central and major participants are introduced formally, are present throughout a large portion of the story, and play a significant role in events. Minor participants usually have no formal introduction, but are usually first identified using a noun phrase. They are present for a small part of the narrative and play a less significant role in events. Peripheral participants are present only briefly in the narrative and have a small active role to play. Central, major and minor participants are also distinguished by the patterns of reference as they are tracked throughout the narrative. Each of these participant types will now be discussed in more detail with examples given.

### 4.3.1 Central participants

Central participants are formally introduced at the beginning of the narrative using an NP with a classifier phrase in a presentational clause, typically followed by a series of stative clauses describing the character. The NP with the classifier phrase marks the referent as thematically salient in the discourse. The characteristics given in the description are relevant to the participant's role in the narrative, and foreshadow what the story is about (Taylor 1994:92). An example from the Thief story is shown in (103). The thief is the central participant, and is introduced in the first sentence using a presentational clause *ʔah mooj gon* '(there) was a person'. The narrator goes on to describe this person, in a series of stative clauses, as *gon wajˈlun* 'a teenager', *nɨɨ nɨɨ* 'very badly behaved', and *waj ləətɕ* 'good at stealing', or 'an accomplished thief'. The extended description given in this introduction, and its position at the beginning
of the narrative signal to the hearers that this character is the central participant in the story. The content of the description gives clues to the coming narrative. It prepares us for a story about stealing.

(103)Thief.001

ʔɑh mooj gon hiʔth gi’niiʔ ɲɔɔŋ məh gon wajlun niʔ
have one Clf_people PRT that_one yet be person teenager this

leʔ Ø ʔniʔ ʔniʔ Ø waj loaɬɛ
PRT thief naughty naughty thief ABIL steal

(There) was a person ok, that one was still a teenager, (he) was very badly behaved, (and he) was adept at stealing.

In all of the third person narratives under study, the central participant is always the first participant to be formally introduced, and is always introduced using a presentational clause. Another feature of some central participant introductions (the orphan and the thief) is the use of the near proximal demonstrative pronoun, gi’niiʔ ‘that one’, in the second mention of the participant as shown in (103). This form gi’niiʔ is used to mark thematically salient participants such as central and major participants, but is only used in the second mention, immediately following the introductory clause, in reference to central participants.

An exception to this kind of introduction of a central participant is seen in the first person narrative, Tan’s story. Tan is the central participant, but she does not formally introduce herself because the audience of her friends and family already know her. She is first mentioned using the first person pronoun, ʔoʔ, as shown in (104). This is an example of the deictic function of personal pronouns, where the first person singular pronoun points to the speaker.

(104)Tan’s_Story.001

ʔoʔ tir’dɔh lianŋ ɲaam ɬɛŋ ɲaam ʔoʔ sir’maʔ
1sg recount story period_of_time long_time period_of_time 1sg have_fever

I am telling a story from a time long ago, the time I had a fever.

Central participants are present throughout the narrative, introduced first, present in most or all episodes, usually central in the peak episode, and usually present at the end of the narrative. An exception to this last feature is the tiger in the Man-eating Tiger story, which was, thankfully, killed in the peak episode. Not only are they present throughout the narrative, but central participants play
a central role in the events of the story, and other participants are introduced in relation to them.

In the Orphan story, the whole narrative revolves around the orphan. The story begins with the orphan's life of poverty, the death of his parents, and the cruelty of his aunt which drives him to leave the village. The ensuing episodes centre around his journey, his encounter with the princess, and then the king, and finally the monkey. In the peak episode, the king is killed because of his cruelty to the orphan, and because he has responded to an invitation initiated by the orphan. All these characters are described in terms of their interaction with the orphan, and some are introduced only in relation to him. An example of this is shown in (105), where the orphan's mother is introduced using the possessive phrase *maʔ gəə 'his mother'.

(105)Orphan.004

*lapenting giʔi gəə pʰɔˈdii bian mooj pii pʰɔˈdii maʔ*

*after that_one 3sgm exactly achieve one Clf.years exactly mother*

*ŋəʔ gəʔ haan pʰə*

*3sgm so_then die separate_from*

After that, (when) he was exactly one year old, just then his mother died.

4.3.2 Major participants

Major participants are introduced formally, are present throughout a large portion of the story, and play a significant role in events. Their introduction is usually shorter than the central participant and occurs later in the story.

In the Orphan story, the princess is a major participant. She is introduced in the second pre-peak episode of the narrative, as shown in (106). A formal introduction is given with a presentational clause *ʔah koon ʔim ʨap ʔomʰən*

*(there) was a young woman holding a water gourd*. In Orphan.050 she is further described as *bliʔ bliʔ 'very beautiful', and marked with a classifier phrase to signal her thematic salience. This description hints at her romantic involvement with the orphan to come.

(106)Orphan.049

*ʔmit ʔəh pʰɾiʔhəh rəh joʔ ʂruət gəʔ ʔam daʔ*

*instant elapse wake_up arise time_of_day morning 3sgm NEG not_yet*
(After) a short time passed waking up in the morning, he was not yet fully awake, just then (there) was a young woman holding a water gourd.

(There) was a very beautiful young woman carrying a water gourd.

Her role in the events of the narrative is significant. She continues to be present throughout the rest of the story, introducing the orphan to her father, the king, becoming the orphan's wife, prompting the orphan to call on the monkey for help, and participating with the orphan in ruling the village created by the monkey.

4.3.3 Minor participants

Minor participants do not typically receive a formal introduction into the narrative, are often introduced in relation to a major participant, and are present only for a section of the text. They have an active role in the events of the narrative, but then the events move on without them.

The hospital staff in Tan's story are an example of minor participants. The doctor does not receive a formal introduction, but is first mentioned with an NP naaj mɔɔ 'doctor', as shown in (107).

The doctor then scolded my father that my father was stupid.

The other medical staff are first introduced with the backgrounded third person plural pronoun baŋ, and also referred to using the standard third person plural pronoun nɔɔ, as shown in (108).
(After) arriving here, then they admitted (me) into hospital.

And they said, "(It) is malaria; (it) could be (at) a dangerous level already."

The medical staff are present during one pre-peak episode and the peak episode in the hospital, but are not mentioned again during the post-peak episodes. They do act in significant ways during these episodes, giving advice and medical intervention and treatment to save Tan’s life, but are backgrounded particularly during the peak and peak’ episodes. After this, the story moves on to the recovery and return to the village, where these minor participants have no part.

In the Bear story, the hunting group that sets out from the village is a minor participant. Their introduction is unusual, in that they are first mentioned by a zero reference in Bear.012, as shown in (109). There is no previous reference to this group, and there is no overt reference to them until sentence 15, where they are referred to using first a zero reference, then a right-dislocated NP gi? gon 'many people', and then in a presentational clause using a classifier phrase, ?ah sii ?ah haa gon 'there were four, (there) were five people'.

(When it) was just about light, just light (but) not quite light here, still partly dark, (they) really hurried to go (to know) what animal was it (that) went (and) touched (the grenade).
So then (they) went together, many people; (there) were four (or) were five people (who) went.

One explanation for this is that there is an expectation set up earlier in the text which relates to hunting. The context of elicitation of this text provides insight into the audience and their expectations. The narrator's daughter, two other Kmhmu' women who grew up in a neighbouring village, and myself comprised the audience. We had been discussing what kind of stories they could tell, and hunting stories were suggested. The daughter then requested that her mother tell this story about the Bear. In this storytelling context, there was already an expectation of hunters and hunting. At the point in the story where the hunters set off, we know there is a bear raiding the fields, and the uncle, one of the major characters, has already been introduced in Bear.009 as a skillful hunter. Thus when he sets a trap for the bear and it goes off, the ones who set out to investigate while it is still dark are assumed to be readily identifiable as the hunters from the extended family, those who own the rice field. This would include men of an age to be good hunters and able to cope with a potentially dangerous situation. The identity of this group would be assumed to be inferrable from shared cultural knowledge, and from the expectations set up in the text.

4.3.4 Peripheral participants

Peripheral participants have an even less prominent role to play than minor participants. They are not formally introduced, and usually are first mentioned using an NP or a pronoun. They appear only briefly on the discourse stage and although they do act in some way, often they are involved in events that are less crucial to moving the story forward.

In the Bear story, the village people are peripheral participants. They are first mentioned using the NP miʔˈkuŋ miʔˈɡaaŋ 'villagers', as shown in (110). Their appearance is brief, being mentioned a total of 4 times in only one post-peak episode. They are only involved in speech events where they comment on the main action of the story.
The villagers talked (and) spread the news saying, "If (you) cannot get this mother bear, (and) if (there) is anyone going on this road (or) that road (and) if a bear bites (them), any bear, then (you) will pay compensation to us," (they) said.

Another example of peripheral participants is the extended family of the narrator in the Bear story, who are always referred to as ʔiʔ '1pl', and are involved in actions like planting the rice field where the trap is set for the bear. These peripheral participants provide a background against which the central, major and minor participants act out the significant events of the story.

### 4.4 Rules for default encoding patterns

The rank of a participant is also reflected in the way it is referred to as it is tracked through the narrative. The patterns of this participant tracking in Kmhmu' narrative are discussed below. Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) describe sequential and VIP as two possible strategies used in participant reference systems. The sequential strategy involves looking back to the most recently mentioned referent. A VIP (Very Important Participant) strategy considers the rank of the participant in the narrative as a whole.

In a “global VIP” strategy, the VIP is first introduced and then “often referred to by minimum, but virtually constant coding” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:121), while other participants are referred to using more encoding. A “local VIP” is a participant who is referred to using a different pattern of reference for a part of the narrative, such as one thematic grouping. In Kmhmu' the sequential strategy is seen in all texts to varying extents, and the local VIP strategy is seen in some texts.
The methodology used to analyse these patterns is explained in section 4.2 Methodology, and includes examining sequential patterns for subject and non-subject references. The rules for subject reference patterns are discussed first, and then those for non-subject reference patterns.

4.4.1 Subject reference patterns

In Kmhmu', sequential and local VIP strategies interact to produce subject reference patterns of default encoding which may be described by a series of rules. Each rule was developed in a tentative form and then exceptions to the rule were examined. Where there were predictable patterns in the exceptions, the rules were revised to allow for these. In the following sections, each rule is first given in tentative form with an example, followed by a discussion of predictable exceptions, and then the revised rule.

4.4.1.1 Same subject (S1 context)

The first rule governs references to a subject in the S1 context. The tentative form is:

**Tentative Rule for S1 Context**

Where the subject reference is the same as that of the previous clause (S1), a zero identification is given. This rule holds for central, major and minor participants. With peripheral participants, a pronoun or NP is used in the S1 context.

This is exemplified in (111). In Orphan.079 the orphan is identified using a zero reference in all three clauses, because he is the subject in the previous clause in Orphan.078, and remains the subject in all these clauses.

(111)Orphan.078

\[ gəə ɡo? loej mah \]

3sgm so_then directly eat

So he ate (it) right then.

Orphan.079
(He) ate, yes, (he) ate (till he) was full, (then he) went down (and) drank this spout water.

In an S1 context, where the default encoding is zero, any linguistic coding will be more than the default. One motivation for more than default encoding in S1 context is a discontinuity in the text. A text discontinuity can be a boundary in the surface structure of the text, such as the beginning or end of a thematic grouping; or a switch in the information type, e.g. from mainline events to author comment; or a switch in clause type, e.g. from action to speech events. In these texts, no discontinuity in participant reference is caused by a change from action events to description if the description contains no participant identification. The subject is compared with the most recent clause containing a participant reference.

Often, more than default encoding occurs at a text boundary in the final sentence of a thematic grouping as shown in (112). In Orphan.089, the subject remains the same as the previous clause, an S1 context. The pronoun ɡəə '3sgm' is used to refer to the orphan where one would expect to have a zero reference. Orphan.089 is the final sentence in that thematic grouping of text. A major boundary occurs here, and a new episode begins in Orphan.090 as they come to the king’s palace. There is a change in location, new participants are introduced, such as the king and the palace guard, and an initial connective word pʰɔɔ dii 'just then' is used to mark the new chunk of text.

(112)Orphan.088

\[\text{lagtcaak} \quad \text{gi'ni?} \quad  \text{gaa} \quad \text{go?} \quad \text{kʰiin} \quad \text{hir'lo?} \quad \text{ʔam} \quad \text{bian} \quad \text{ʔiik}\]

\[\text{after} \quad \text{that_one} \quad \text{3sgm} \quad \text{so_then} \quad \text{refuse} \quad \text{language} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{can} \quad \text{again}\]

After that he could not refuse (her) request any more.

Orphan.089

\[\text{gaa} \quad \text{go?} \quad \text{naaŋ} \quad \text{gaaj} \quad \text{braco} \quad \text{naa}\]

\[\text{3sgm} \quad \text{so_then} \quad \text{walk} \quad \text{DIR} \quad \text{accompany} \quad \text{3sgf}\]

So he walked home accompanying her.

Orphan.090
Just then (they) arrived at the gate to enter that king's house, that house people called the king's palace, Kmhmu' people long ago.

Marking a discontinuity with more than default encoding signals to the hearer that there is a change coming. It helps their mental processing of the text by alerting them to the possibility of the need for extra mental effort. This may involve creating new mental representations, such as those required by introduction of new participants, or accessing different schema, such as those triggered in new settings, as another episode in the narrative begins. It may involve recognising a switch from storyline to non-storyline events such as a change in time-setting in a flashback.

As well as a discontinuity in the text, another motivation for using more than default encoding in an S1 context is when the speaker is contrasting participants, or highlighting a participant's characteristics or actions. An example of highlighting a participant's characteristics is shown in (113). The old man is the subject of the first clause in Thief.004, and of the two following clauses, which are therefore an S1 context. In these two clauses he is referred to using the pronoun gəə '3sgm' which is more than default encoding. By using more encoding than would be expected, the narrator signals to the audience that the old man's poor vision is a salient characteristic. Because of it, the thief is able to steal the money, the event which gets the story moving.

(113)Thief.004

\[
\text{gəə} \ \text{ʔuun} \ \text{ki’muul} \ \text{ni?} \ \text{hoots} \ \text{təaw’gəə} \ \text{məh} \ \text{joŋ} \ \text{kən} \ \text{haan} \\
\text{3sgm} \ \text{put\_away} \ \text{money} \ \text{this} \ \text{CMPL} \ \text{that} \ \text{be} \ \text{father} \ \text{child} \ \text{die}
\]

\[
\text{lot} \ \text{tam} \ \text{ni?} \ \text{gəə} \ \text{ʔam} \ \text{baj} \ \text{guuŋ} \ \text{məh} \ \text{gəə} \ \text{diil} \\
\text{vehicle} \ \text{hit} \ \text{this} \ \text{3sgm} \ \text{NEG} \ \text{NEG} \ \text{see} \ \text{INDEF} \ \text{3sgm} \ \text{poor\_sighted}
\]

He put away the money, he who was the father (of the) child (who) died (when) the car hit (him); he could no longer see anything; he was poor-sighted.
Highlighting a participant with more than default encoding signals to the hearer that the identity, characteristics, or actions of a participant are particularly salient at this point in the narrative.

In the light of these two predictable patterns of using more than default encoding at text discontinuities and for highlighting, the revised rule for default encoding in an S1 context is:

Revised Rule for S1 Context

Where the subject reference is the same as that of the previous clause (S1), a zero identification is given, except when there is a discontinuity in the text, or when the speaker is highlighting a participant's characteristics or actions. This rule holds for central, major and minor participants.

With peripheral participants, a pronoun or NP is used in the S1 context.

4.4.1.2 Subject is addressee of previous clause (S2 context)

In the S2 context, when the referent is the addressee in a previous clause, there is no data for minor or peripheral participants, and there is insufficient data for central and major participants to confidently define default patterns. Further data is needed to clarify this situation. Based on the limited data available, a tentative rule is proposed:

Tentative Rule for S2 context

Where the referent is the addressee in a previous clause (S2), the default encoding for a central or major participant is zero.

An example of this is seen in (114). The two thieves address the old man in TwoThieves.008⁷. In the following interchange between the speakers, in TwoThieves.009 to 012, the addressees from the previous clause are given zero references. This follows the default pattern for S2 contexts.

(114)TwoThieves.008

⁷ This narrator uses the third person singular pronoun, ɡəə, to refer to singular or dual referents, according to her daughter who helped to transcribe the text.
Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a short time."

TwoThieves.009

Ø law tɔii tɛɛŋ məh jɔ? wek
old man say IRR do what with knife

(The old man) said, "What will (you) do with the knife?"

TwoThieves.010

Ø ?oo tɔii pliat saʔɔɔŋ
thieves oh! IRR chop up wood

"Oh (I/we) will chop wood."

TwoThieves.011

Ø mee tɔii tɛɛŋ məh jɔ? saʔɔɔŋ
old man 2sgm IRR do what with wood

"What will you do with the wood?"

TwoThieves.012

Ø ?ɔɔh tɔii tɛɛŋ svˈnar tɔii tɛɛŋ svˈnar
thieves EXCL IRR do walking_stick IRR do walking_stick

"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."

Exceptions to this default pattern are again seen where there is a text discontinuity, such as a text boundary or a change in clause type. Where the referent in the S2 context is involved in an action clause rather than a speech clause, this change in clause type triggers the use of more than default encoding, as shown in (115). In Orphan.138 the orphan and the princess are referred to using the pronoun sɨˈnɑɑ '3du'. This is an S2 context, because they are the
addressees of the previous clause. This is more than the default of zero reference for an S2 context, and signals to the hearer that they may need to give extra mental effort to processing the discontinuity in the text from speech to action.

(115)Orphan.137

\[ \text{'mit fa? go? law si'baa laan te\text{\textasciitilde}m ni?'} \]

\[ \text{instant monkey so\text{\textunderscore}then say 2du open EMPH this} \]

Suddenly the monkey said, "You two open (your eyes)," (he said) this.

Orphan.138

\[ \text{si'n\text{\textasciitilde}a laan jee\text{\textasciitilde} jee\text{\textasciitilde} paa t'\text{\textasciitilde}oh m\text{\textasciitilde}h ku\text{\textasciitilde} m\text{\textasciitilde}h ga\text{\textasciitilde} ah} \]

\[ 3du open look\text{\textunderscore}at EXCL be village be house have \]

\[ k\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}kun k\text{\textasciitilde}n\text{\textasciitilde}ga\text{\textasciitilde} \]

\[ \text{village\textunderscore}people \]

Those two opened (their eyes and) looked, wow! (there) were villages, (there) were houses, (there) were village people.

In some instances of a text discontinuity, an NP is used to identify a referent in an S2 context, as shown in (116). The old man is the addressee in TwoThieves.012, and the subject in TwoThieves.013, an S2 context. He is referred to using the NP ta? ni? 'the man'. This text uses a local VIP strategy, and in this segment of the text, the thieves are the local VIP. When the non-VIP is referenced, an NP is used, while the VIP is referenced with zero or a pronoun depending on the sequential strategy context.

(116)TwoThieves.012

\[ \text{Ø ?an\text{\textasciitilde}h tsii te\text{\textasciitilde}j sa'nar tsii te\text{\textasciitilde}j sa'nar} \]

\[ \text{thieves EXCL IRR do walking\textunderscore}stick IRR do walking\textunderscore}stick} \]

"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."

TwoThieves.013

\[ \text{ta? ni? ?an wek} \]

\[ \text{Mr this give knife} \]

The man gave (him/them) the knife.

Use of an NP to refer to the old man signals to the audience that he is not the local VIP at this point in the narrative.

With these predictable exceptions to the use of default encoding in an S2 context, a revised rule is proposed:
Revised Rule for S2 Context

Where the referent is the addressee in a previous clause (S2), the default encoding for a central or major participant is zero, except where there is a text discontinuity. At a text discontinuity, a pronoun is used if a sequential strategy is followed, or an NP is used if a VIP strategy is followed and the referent is not the VIP.

4.4.1.3 Subject is non-subject in previous clause (S3 context)

The third rule governs the S3 context, where the referent which is the subject in the current clause is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause. The tentative rule is:

Tentative Rule for S3 Context

When the referent is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause (S3), the default encoding is a pronoun. This rule applies to central and major participants. For minor or peripheral participants, a pronoun, a kin term, a proper noun or a minimal NP is used.

An example of a default encoding for a central participant in an S3 context is shown in (117). In Orphan.077 the orphan is the recipient of some food, a non-subject relation. In Orphan.078 he is the subject, an S3 context, and is referred to using the pronoun ɡəə'3sgm'.

(117)Orphan.077

naa tag moot poon ?an ɡəə bo? ˀnɛɛ
3sgf then take_hold put_in_mouth PURP 3sgm eat also

Then as well she picked up (some food and) put (it) in his mouth so that he would eat.

Orphan.078

ɡəə go? lesj mah
3sgm so_then directly eat

So he ate (it) right then.
An example of a minor participant is shown in (118). In the first clause, the king is referred to with the NP joŋ niʔ ‘the father’ which is the object in the clause. In the second clause, the same referent is in the subject position, an S3 context, and the NP joŋ niʔ is again used to refer to him, hootɕ joŋ niʔ law 'then the father said'.

(118) Orphan.100

jɔh nop jɔh waj joŋ niʔ hootɕ joŋ niʔ law raaj kʰian
DIR greet DIR bow father this and then father this say angry AUG

law ?oo baa diąŋ gon dzəʔ gon ɲooŋ gon tʰuk gon
say oh! 2sgf take person dirty person disgusting person poor person

ɲaak jɔh daʔ gaaŋ ?nuʔ
difficult go at house that

(They) went (and) greeted (and) went (and) bowed to the father, then the father said, (he) became angry (and) said, ‘Oh! you get a dirty, disgusting, poor, miserable person (and) go to the house like that.

As in the previous rules, exceptions to this pattern were seen where there was a discontiuity in the text or where the participant was being highlighted. In either of these situations more than default encoding was used, namely an NP. Highlighting often occurs in the sentence following a formal introduction, where an NP with the determiner ɡɨˈniʔ is used to refer to the participant who was just introduced, highlighting it as a thematically salient participant. An example of this is seen in (119), where the orphan is formally introduced in Orphan.002. In Orphan.003, he is referred to with an NP, kɔɔn rook gon ɡɨˈniʔ ‘that orphan’ in the subject position, an S3 context.

(119) Orphan.002

leʔ ?ah kɔɔnˈrook mooj gon
and have orphan one Clf_people

And (there) was an orphan.

Orphan.003

kɔɔnˈrook gon ɡɨˈniʔ leʔ kɔɔt tɔaak kʰɔɔpʰuɑ tʰuk tʰii sut
orphan Clf_people that one PRT be_born from family poor SUPERL

That orphan, (he) was born from the poorest family.

This use of more than default encoding signals to the hearer that this participant is thematically salient.
Another predictable exception to the S3 rule is seen where more than default encoding is used to disambiguate participants who would not be adequately identifiable using only a pronoun. In this case, an NP is used. An example is shown in (120). The old man is the object in TwoThieves.017 which is repeated as the first clause in TwoThieves.018. In the second clause in TwoThieves.018, ta? ni? kir’lanj ni? 'the man fell down here', the old man is the subject, an S3 context, and is referred to using the NP ta? ni? 'the man', more than default encoding.

(120)TwoThieves.017

\[
\begin{align*}
gəə & \text{ de? } sa’ccəə ni? \ t’ap \ Ø \\
3sgm & \text{ get wood } \text{ this strike old man}
\end{align*}
\]

He got the stick (and) struck (the man). OR He (who) got the stick struck (the man).

TwoThieves.018

\[
\begin{align*}
t’ap & \text{ ta? ta? ni? kir’lanj ni?} \\
\text{strike Mr Mr this fall over here}
\end{align*}
\]

Struck the man, the man fell down here.

In this story there are three male participants, and the use of the pronoun gəə '3sgm' would not distinguish between them. A local VIP strategy is used, that is, the pattern of participant reference used in each segment of the story reflects the relative thematic salience or topicality of the participants at that point in the narrative. The local VIP is referred to using pronouns, while less salient participants are referred to using NPs. The use of an NP not only identifies the participant unambiguously, but also signals to the hearer that it is the less salient participant in this section of the text.

In the light of these predictable exceptions to the use of default encoding in an S3 context, the revised rule is:

**Revised Rule for S3 Context**

When the referent is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause (S3), the default encoding is a pronoun, except where there is a discontinuity in the text, the participant is being highlighted, or where a pronoun would not adequately distinguish between referents. In any of these cases an NP is used. If there is a
local VIP, the non-VIP is given more encoding. This rule applies to central and major participants. For minor or peripheral participants, a pronoun, a kin term, a proper noun or a minimal NP is used.

4.4.1.4 Not mentioned in previous clause (S4)

The fourth rule governs contexts where the referent is not mentioned in the previous clause, an S4 context. The tentative rule is:

**Tentative Rule for S4 Context**

Where the participant is not mentioned at all in the preceding clause (S4), the default encoding is an NP.

An example is shown in (121). The husband and the uncle are not mentioned in Bear.027. In Bear.028 they are referred to using the NP gleʔ ?o? kap kuun baar gon giʔniʔ 'my husband and the uncle those two'.

(121)Bear.027
nɔɔ jɔh bip ranj'kʰɔɔ daʔ hoʔ biŋ'tɔuʔ giʔniʔ
3pl DIR meet civet at over_there group that_one

They went (and) found the civet over there, that group.

Bear.028
leʔ gleʔ ?o? kap kuun baar gon giʔniʔ wer
and husband 1sg with uncle_by_marriage two Clf_people that_one return

gaaj looŋ kin'ŋiʔ
DIR direction behind

And my husband and the uncle those two turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind).

There are some predictable exceptions to this rule. In an S4 context where there is no risk of ambiguity, a pronoun is used. An example of this is shown in (122). The princess is not mentioned in Orphan.079, but is referred to with the pronoun naa '3sgf' in Orphan.080, an S4 context.

(122)Orphan.079
(He) ate, yes, (he) ate (till he) was full, (then he) went down (and) drank the spout water.

Orphan.080

She said, "Come back, come back with me; come back (and) climb up (to) my house, if you love me."

There is no ambiguity because she and the orphan are the only participants present, and the feminine form of the pronoun adequately identifies her as the only female participant on stage.

Where there is a local VIP, the VIP is identified using a pronoun in an S4 context. An example is shown in (123). The thieves are not mentioned in TwoThieves.007. In TwoThieves.008 one of the thieves is the subject in the second clause, an S4 context. The pronoun gəə '3sgm' is used to refer to him, as the thieves are the local VIP's in this section of the text.

(123) TwoThieves.007

Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the...
man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said

To account for these predictable exceptions to the use of default encoding in an S4 context, the revised rule is:

**Revised Rule for S4 Context**

Where the participant is not mentioned at all in the preceding clause (S4), the default encoding is an NP, except where there is no ambiguity by using pronouns, or if the participant is a local VIP, where a pronoun is used.

### 4.4.2 Non-subject reference patterns

There was much less referencing of participants in non-subject relations than subject relations. With the limited data available, the following rules are tentatively proposed for default encoding patterns of non-subject references. Each rule is first given in a tentative form with an example, followed by a discussion of predictable exceptions, and the revised rule which allows for these.

#### 4.4.2.1 Same non-subject relation as previous clause (N1)

This rule applies to referents who are in the same non-subject relations as in the previous clause, an N1 context. The tentative rule is:

**Tentative Rule for N1 Context**

Where the referent is in the same non-subject relation as that of the previous clause (N1), a zero identification is given. This rule holds for central and major participants. With minor and peripheral participants, an NP is used in the N1 context.

An example of this is shown in (124). In Orphan.093 and Orphan.094 the orphan is in a non-subject relation, that of object of the verb \(tan\) 'to allow'. In Orphan.093 the pronoun \(gəə\) '3sgm' is fronted. In Orphan.094 the clause is repeated with the orphan in the same non-subject relation and a zero reference is used. In Orphan.095 the orphan is again in the same non-subject relation and a zero reference is used again.
She entered and (at) this time he remained; him, the soldiers would not allow to enter.

The soldiers would not allow (him) to enter.

Whatever (he) did, (they) made (him) stay outside.

An example of a minor participant in an N1 context is shown in (125). The elephants are minor participants in the Orphan story. In Orphan.170 the elephants are in a non-subject relation, and in Orphan.171 they are in the same non-subject relation, an N1 context. They are referred to in Orphan.171 using the unmodified NP saˈtʃaaŋ 'elephant(s)'.

Being startled they jumped (and) ran off, (and) the king fell, the parents fell off the elephants.

All of the soldiers fell off the elephants.

---

8 The only examples of minor participants in an N1 context are animal referents. More data is needed to confirm that this pattern also applies to human referents.
An exception to this pattern is seen when a participant is highlighted, as shown in (126). In Orphan.016 the orphan is the object of the verb *sɪrʔɔh* 'to hate'. In Orphan.017 this clause is repeated with the NP *ɡəə niʔ* 'this him' being used again. In the following three clauses, the orphan continues in the same non-subject relation, and is referred to each time with the pronoun *ɡəə* '3sgm'. This is more than default encoding and is used to highlight the suffering of the orphan.

(126) Orphan.016

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{mɪa} & \text{liəŋ} & \text{joh} & \text{liəŋ} & \text{gaaj} & \text{məʔkin} & \text{goʔ} \\
\text{lsəj} & \text{srʔɔh} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{niʔ} \\
\text{when} & \text{raise} & \text{DUR} & \text{raise} & \text{DUR} & \text{aunt} & \text{so}, \text{then} & \text{directly} & \text{hate} & \text{3sgm} & \text{this}
\end{array}
\]

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.

Orphan.017

\[
\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{srʔɔh} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{niʔ} & \text{səj} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{tɛɛŋ} & \text{wiak} \\
\text{səj} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{tɛɛŋ} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{tɛɛŋ} & \text{ɡəə} \\
\text{hate} & \text{3sgm} & \text{this} & \text{use} & \text{3sgm} & \text{do} & \text{work} & \text{use} & \text{3sgm} & \text{go} & \text{here} & \text{go} & \text{there} \\
\text{leʔ} & \text{ʔam} & \text{ʔam} & \text{ɡəə} & \text{boʔ} & \text{mah} & \text{and} & \text{NEG} & \text{allow} & \text{3sgm} & \text{eat} & \text{rice}
\end{array}
\]

Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.

When there is a local VIP in the text, a non-VIP in an N1 context is referred to using an NP, as shown in (127). In TwoThieves.017, the old man is given a zero reference and is the object of the verb *tʰɑp* 'to strike'. In TwoThieves.018, this clause is repeated, but this time he is referenced with the noun *tɑʔ* 'man'. This is an N1 context with more than default encoding.

(127) TwoThieves.017

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{ɡəə} & \text{deʔ} & \text{saʔsoŋ} & \text{niʔ} & \text{tʰɑp} & \text{Ø} \\
\text{3sgm} & \text{get} & \text{wood} & \text{this} & \text{strike} & \text{old} & \text{man}
\end{array}
\]

He got the stick (and) struck (the man). OR He (who) got the stick struck (the man).

TwoThieves.018

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{tʰɑp} & \text{tɑʔ} & \text{tɑʔ} & \text{niʔ} & \text{kiɾliəŋ} & \text{qiʔ} \\
\text{strike} & \text{Mr} & \text{Mr} & \text{this} & \text{fall,over} & \text{here}
\end{array}
\]

Struck the man, the man fell down here.

Using more than default encoding signals to the audience that a non-VIP referent is being identified.
The rule for N1 contexts has been revised to account for these predictable exceptions. The revised rule is:

**Revised Rule for N1 Contexts**

Where the referent is in the same non-subject relation as that of the previous clause (N1), a zero identification is given, except where the speaker is highlighting a participant, when a pronoun is used; or where there is a local VIP and the referent is a non-VIP, when an NP is used. This rule holds for central and major participants. With minor and peripheral participants, an NP is used in the N1 context.

4.4.2.2 Addressee was speaker in previous clause (N2)

In the N2 context, the referent is the addressee in the current clause and is the speaker in the previous clause. No data for the N2 context was found in this study.

4.4.2.3 Non-subject has different relation from previous clause (N3)

This rule governs the default encoding of a referent in a non-subject relation that is different from its grammatical relation in the previous clause. The tentative rule is:

**Tentative Rule for N3 Context**

When the participant is in a different relation in the previous clause from the non-subject relation in the current clause (N3), the default encoding is a pronoun, except if the participant is a minor or peripheral participant, when an NP is used.

When a referent is in an N3 context a pronoun is the default referring expression, as shown in (128). In the final clause of Man-eater.022, *gon dee teεη ηmah jɔʔ gəə ?am bian* 'we people could not do anything to it', the tiger is referred to by the pronoun *gəə* '3sgm' in a non-subject relation, the object of the preposition *jɔʔ* 'with'. In the previous clause, it is the subject of the verb *pok mah* 'to attack (and)
eat’. The reference in the final clause is an N3 context with the default, a pronoun, as expected.

(128)Man_eater.022
tści jet da? kluaŋ kʊŋ jʊh tʊrdi? ŋɔɔ rii jɛt da? ŋe?
IRR stay at inside village go centre road or stay at rice field
da? kɨˈnɑɑl ?an raˈwaaj niʔ tɕuʔ pok məʔ tɕuʔ məʔ mɑh maʔ?
at section COND tiger this want bite INDEF want eat INDEF
gəə goʔ pok mah gon dee tɛɛŋ nəʔ jʊʔ gəə ?am
3sgn so_then bite eat person unspecified do INDEF with 3sgn NEG

Whether (you) stayed at the inside of the village, went down the middle of the road or stayed at the rice fields, if the tiger wanted to attack anyone, to eat anyone, then it attacked (and) ate (them); we people could not do anything to it.

An example of a peripheral participant is shown in (129). In Man-eater.042, the village people are referred to with an NP pasaˈson ‘people’ in a non-subject relation. In the previous clause, Man-eater.041, they are referred to using the NP joŋˈmɑʔ pɑsɑˈson məʔ ‘all the people’ in the subject. The reference in Man-eater.042 is an N3 context. Because the referent is a peripheral participant, the default encoding of an NP is used.

(129)Man_eater.041
joŋˈmɑʔ pasaˈson məʔ goʔ nəʔ ?ɔɔr jʊʔ jʊh jet kʊŋ
parents people INDEF so_then fear lead together DIR stay village
baanˈloom bɾɔɔm tʰit pʰiːw
Ban Lom with Thit Phiv

All the people were afraid, (and) went together to stay (at) Ban Lom village with Thit Phiv.

Man_eater.042
tʰit pʰiːw rip kɪˈmuul jʊʔ pasaˈson gaʔŋ mooj man tʰiːk
Thit Phiv gather money with people house one Clf_money receive

Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin,
receiving all together five thousand silver coins.

Predictable exceptions to the default pattern are motivated by highlighting of participants, or the presence of a local VIP. An example of more than default encoding to highlight a participant is shown in (130). In Man-eater.031 the child and mother are the object of the verb pok 'to bite, to attack' while in the previous sentence they are the subject of the clause. The reference in Man-eater.031 is an N3 context where a pronoun would be expected for these participants who are major actors in this episode. Instead, there is an appositional pronoun construction, pa? si'naa koon ma? 'both of them, child (and) mother', more than the default.

(130)Man_eater.030

jaʔ pʰeŋ paʔ jaʔ ʔɔɔŋ deʔ hin'laʔ tʰap ra'waaj niʔ ?am bɛɛ
Ms Pheng with Ms Ong get spade strike tiger this NEG prevail

Ms Pheng and Ms Ong got the spade (and) struck the tiger, (but they) could not overcome (it).

Man_eater.031

ra'waaj pok paʔ si'naa koon maʔ haan
tiger bite with 3du child mother die

The tiger attacked both of them, child (and) mother, (and they) died.

More than default encoding highlights the participants, and also the event. Not just one, but both of these people were killed.

The presence of a local VIP impacts the amount of encoding used in an N3 context. (131) is an example of this. In TwoThieves.008 the old man is in a non-subject role, the addressee, while in the previous sentence, TwoThieves.007, he is the subject. Thus the reference in TwoThieves.008 is an N3 context. Instead of a pronoun, an NP, taʔ 'mister, man', is used.

(131)TwoThieves.007

hootsec taʔ niʔ jɔh tɔɔ'mɔɔl reʔ?
and then Mr this DIR plant rice_field

Then the man went to plant (his) rice field.

TwoThieves.008

jɔh tɔɔ'mɔɔl reʔ? hootec ʔɔə gəə law jɔh rɔɔɬ jɔʔ taʔ
DIR plant rice_field and then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr
Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the
man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do,
hey?" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a
short time."

At this point in the narrative, the thieves are the local VIP's. More than default
encoding signals to the audience that this participant is the non-VIP.

The VIP, on the other hand, is identified by less than default encoding as shown
in (132). In Bear.047, the uncle is the object of the verb graaće 'to scratch', while
in the previous clause in Bear.046 he is the subject. The reference in Bear.047 is
an N3 context, but he is given a zero reference, less than the default, a pronoun
for N3.

(132)Bear.046

That person, there on (his) body was not very wounded, you see, as if (it) was that
bear, they said, (he) was wounded only at the edges of (his) face (lit. at periphery
nose, at periphery eyes), like that.

Bear.047

It got its claws (and) scratched (him).

At this point in the narrative, the uncle is the local VIP, and this is signalled by
less than default encoding.
Taking these predictable exceptions into account, the revised rule for default encoding in an N3 context is:

**Revised Rule for N3 Context**

When the participant is in a different relation in the previous clause from the non-subject relation in the current clause (N3), the default encoding is a pronoun; **except where a participant is highlighted, when more encoding is used; or where there is a local VIP. In this case, the VIP receives less encoding and the non-VIP receives more.** This rule applies to central and major participants. For minor or peripheral participants, an NP is used.

4.4.2.4 Other non-subject references (N4)

Referents in a non-subject relation other than those covered by N1 to N3 are in an N4 context. Data for this context is again limited. The tentative rule governing such contexts is:

**Tentative Rule for N4 Context**

Where the participant is in a non-subject relation other than those covered by N1 to N3 (N4), the default encoding is an NP.

An example of this is shown in (133). In Bear.031 the bear is referred to using the NP *huːl maʔ kən ɲaak niʔ* ‘the mother bear (which had) a young cub’, which is in a non-subject relation. The previous two sentences are descriptive and contain no references to participants. The participant reference prior to that is in Bear.028, which has no mention of the bear. Thus the reference in Bear.031 is an N4 context with the default encoding of an NP.

(133)Bear.028

leʔ gleʔ ʔoʔ kap kuyn baar gon giʔniʔ wer
and husband 1sg with uncle_by_marriage two Clf_people that_one return

gaaŋ loony kin’niʔ

DIR direction behind
And my husband and the uncle those two turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind).

Bear.031

pʰɔˈdii jɔh bip hual ma? kɛn naak ni?

exactly DIR meet bear mother baby this

Just then (they) went (and) met the mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Where the gender specificity of pronouns adequately distinguishes the participants on the stage, a pronoun is used rather than an NP in an N4 context, as shown in (134). The orphan is referenced in the final clause ?ar mit ?an ɡəə boʔ ‘took it back for him to eat’, but not in any of the previous clauses. This is a non-subject relation and an N4 context. The pronoun ɡəə ‘3sgm’ is less than the default. Because the orphan and the princess are the only participants on stage, it is quite clear the only male participant is the orphan.

(134)Orphan.069

lajtɕak plah ʔom hoots lecw Ø goʔ sɔɔk sɨŋˈmɑh

after put water CMPL and then princess so_then seek food

Ø seh daʔ gook ɲaam jaʔ ɡəə məh

princess put_in at round_gourd period_of_time long_ago 3sgn be

gook Ø seh daʔ gook Ø seh daʔ bɛɛm

round_gourd princess put_in at round_gourd princess put_in at basket

Ø ?ar mit ?an ɡəə boʔ

princess take_along take PURP 3sgm eat

Having put the water down, then (she) found some food (and) put (it) in a gourd, long ago it was a gourd, put (it) in a gourd, put (it) in a basket, (and) took it back for him to eat.

Taking this into consideration, the revised N4 rule is:

**Revised Rule for N4 Context**

Where the participant is not mentioned at all in the preceding clause (N4), the default encoding is an NP, except where there is no ambiguity by using pronouns, when a pronoun is used.
4.5 Non-default encoding patterns

In the majority of cases, participant identification follows the patterns outlined in these rules. There are some instances in which the default patterns are not followed. By examining the specific contexts of such instances, motivations for deviating from the default can be found. In the following sections, more than default encodings will be discussed first, and then less than default encodings.

4.5.1 More than default encoding for subject contexts

There is a section in the Orphan story where more than default encoding is repeatedly used in an S1 context to refer to the orphan, see (135). At this point in the story the orphan is the only participant on stage. In Orphan.026 the subject, the orphan, is the same participant as the previous clause, and the default pattern is followed with a zero reference for the S1 context. In Orphan.027 - Orphan.031, the pronoun gəə '3sgm' is used in a series of S1 contexts, more than default encoding, before the default pattern is resumed in the final clause of Orphan.031.

(135)Orphan.026
Ø gaa mok Ø gaa riŋ'kɔɔŋ jɔh
orphan climb mountain orphan climb peak DIR

(He) climbed mountains (and he) climbed peaks (and) went on.

Orphan.027
jɔh pi'siəm niʔ? gəə sih deh niʔ?
go night INDEF 3sgm lie_down EMPH here

Going wherever (at) night, he lay down here.

Orphan.028
le? pi'siəm niʔ? gəə kwaatə deh niʔ?
and night INDEF 3sgm curl_up EMPH here

And wherever (he was at) night, he curled up here.

Orphan.029
le? daʔ naam gəə naaŋ jɔh niʔ? gəə ?am ?ah mah
and at period_of_time 3sgm walk DIR this 3sgm NEG have rice

And at the time he was walking along he did not have rice.
He had one knife, one flat-ended knife.

And finding a tuber, he dug the tuber up, and then ate the tuber.

The referent is active and clearly identifiable, there is no sense of highlighting of crucial events, nor any discontinuity in the text. When this section of the recorded text is played, the speaker takes on a chanting, sing-song pattern of speech with a rhythmic repetition of sentence patterns. This is especially noticeable for Orphan.027 and Orphan.028, which have the same number of syllables. This narrator learnt this folk-tale as a child from his grandfather. Perhaps this section of the narrative was told and remembered in a chanting, rhythmic style to emphasise the trudging journey of the poor orphan child.

More than default encoding is used in an **S2 context as a reminder after a long speech**, as shown in (136). In Orphan.115, the monkey is responding to the orphan and is referred to in the speech margin with a zero reference, the default for an S2 context. This speech continues for 4 more sentences. At the end of this, in Orphan.119, the speech margin is repeated and the monkey is referenced with a zero reference in situ and a right-dislocated NP faʔ 'monkey'.

(136)Orphan.115

bat gii \( \emptyset \) law ?o? ʔoʔ tɕii dʑɔɔj mee taaj nɛɛw turn this_one monkey say yes 1sg IRR help 2sgm elder_sibling type ʔoʔ tɕii dʑɔɔj mee niʔ mee ?am nəəŋ sam ?oʔ tɕii dʑɔɔj mee 1sg IRR help 2sgm this 2sgm NEG know totally 1sg IRR help 2sgm ɲɑɑm məʔ ʔaʔ period_of_time INDEF so_then NEG know totally

(At) this time (the monkey) said, "Yes, I will help you, older brother; the way I will help you, you do not know at all, I will help you (at) a time (you) do not know at all.
Think about me and say (what you want), (then) I will come (and) help (you),” (he) said like this, the monkey.

It is not uncommon for speech margins to be repeated at the end of a speech, but the speaker is usually not referred to explicitly the second time. In this case because of the extended length of the speech, the reference is repeated as a reminder for the hearers. This repetition helps the mental processing of the hearer in keeping track of which participant is active in the narrative.

More than default encoding is observed as a self-correction in an S2 context. Because of the nature of unrehearsed oral narratives, the speakers sometimes corrected themselves or clarified references to participants as they went along. There is one example where the speaker disambiguates a referent using more than default encoding because the previous speech margin was underspecified. This is shown in (137). In Orphan.125 the only participants on the stage of the narrative are the princess and the orphan and one of them starts speaking. It is not necessarily clear to the hearer which participant this is because the speech margin contains a zero reference. In order to clarify this, the narrator over-specifies the next speech margin in Orphan.126. This is an S2 context, and instead of the default encoding of a zero reference, he uses a modified NP "the orphan man, he who (was) the orphan'.

(137)Orphan.125

?oo pʰɔˈdii jɔh rɔt ni? le? Ø ?oo hɛɛm fa?
oh! exactly DIR arrive here PRT princess oh! younger_sibling monkey

ni? gəo law sah ?aʔ teʔ deʔ ɳəʔ ?an ?aʔ law neew ni?
this 3sgm say COMP 1du want get INDEF OBLIG 1du say type this

tirˈɡat gəo law ni?
think 3sgm say this

Now just when (they) arrived here, "Oh younger brother monkey, he said that (if) we two want anything, we two should say like this, (and) think of him,” (she) said this.
The orphan man, he who (was) the orphan then said, "Oh younger sister, now we, husband (and) wife, are extremely poor, and don't have anything, (but we) don't mind that; (we) will ask to get one house, and to get rice to eat, and to get villagers, about 50 (or) 60 houses here."

Using more than default encoding disambiguates plausible referents, and helps the hearer to accurately identify the intended referent.

Another example of more than default encoding is seen in an S2 context at the peak section of a narrative, as shown in (138). In Tan.112 Tan is referenced with the pronoun ?o? '1sg'. This is an S2 context, as she is the addressee in the previous clause, Tan.111. This pattern is repeated in Tan.114. Default encoding would be a zero reference, so this is more than default encoding.

(138)Tan.111
Ø ʔauh gii ?nɔ? ?am məh kəˈlɛm baa ?oh tan
father EXCL this_one that NEG be ice-cream 2sgf truly Tan

"Hey! This thing there isn't really your ice-cream, Tan!"

Tan.112
ʔo? law gɔ? məh ?adee
1sg say so_then be EXCL

I said, "(it) is."

Tan.113
Ø ʔaˈni? baa ?am mah ?an gəə looˈtə
clothes that_one 2sgf NEG eat PURP 3sgn all_gone
"That thing, you didn't eat until it was finished."

Tan.114
ʔoʔ law tʰɛɛ gəə ʔam lam
1sg say truly 3sgn NEG delicious

I said, "Truly it wasn't delicious."

Tan.115
Ø ?uh tɕɑŋ meen ?aʔ
father EXCL ? be stupid

"Ooh! (You) are stupid.

This incident occurs in a post-peak episode in Tan's story which is itself a mini-narrative. Within this mini-narrative, this exchange occurs in the local peak episode. Because normal patterns of reference are often disturbed in the peak section of a narrative, it may be that this is an example of peak marking. Changing the default pattern for participant identification at the peak of a narrative signals to the hearer to pay more attention to the participant who is being highlighted using more than default encoding, or to the events they are experiencing.

An example of more than default encoding in an S3 context is seen in (139). In Man-eater.012, the tiger is referred to using the noun ra'waaŋ 'tiger', which is the subject of the clause. This is an S3 context, because in Man-eater.011, the tiger is in the object relation. A noun in S3 context is more than default encoding.

(139)Man_eater.011
maʔ naa tɕap gir hin'la? tʰap ra'waaŋ niʔ
mother 3sgf catch handle spade strike tiger this

Her mother took hold of the spade handle (and) struck the tiger.

Man_eater.012
ra'waaŋ ʔam bab dar duʔ
tiger NEG prevail run flee

The tiger couldn't overcome (her), (so it) ran away.

The pattern of participant reference for the tiger follows the rules for default patterns for S1 and S4 contexts, but in the S3 context an NP is used in 5 out of 8 occurrences. It is not clear what the motivation is for more than default encoding in these instances. Possibly there may be some difference in patterns relating to
animals as opposed to people, although pronouns were used in S3 contexts with reference to the bear in the Bear story. It is also possible that it reflects a style difference between storytellers. More data is needed to clarify this issue.

4.5.2 More than default encoding for non-subject contexts

In an N1 context where the default is zero, any linguistic encoding is more than the default. In one instance, a modified NP was used in the N1 context to disambiguate a referent where there was a high risk of wrong identification. This is shown in (140). In the final clause of Orphan.151 the princess’s father, the king is referred to using the NP joŋ tɕawsi’wit tɕawɡəə rate si ‘naa pi’du? ni? ʔoh rate si ‘naa pi’du? ni? ‘the father king, who had chased (and) driven (them) out, yes, chased them (2) (and) driven (them) out’. This NP is the object of the verb bɾɔɔŋ ‘to invite’, and is in the same non-subject relation as the reference to the king in the previous clause, the NP joŋ niʔ ‘the father’. This is an N1 context.

(140)Orphan.151

bat gii joŋ nɔɔ teŋ siʔnaʔa’maat teŋ luuk’nɔɔ ʃh ʃh
turn this_one father 3pl CAUS officer CAUS follower go DIR

bɾɔɔŋ joŋ niʔ gəaj həp bɾɔɔŋ joŋ tɕawsi’wit tɕawɡəə rate
invite father this DIR visit invite father king that chase

pi’du? niʔ ʔoh rate si‘naa pi’du? niʔ
drive_out this truly chase 3du drive_out this

(At) this time their father made the officers (and) made the soldiers go, go (and) invite the father to come (and) visit, invite the father king, who had chased (and) driven (them) out, yes, chased them (2) (and) driven (them) out.

The area of potential ambiguity is between the orphan and the king. The orphan and the princess have just been made rulers over the village created by the monkey, and so the orphan is now himself a king. He is referred to in Orphan.151 using the NP joŋ nɔɔ ‘their father’, meaning ‘their king’. To distinguish between the two kings, the narrator uses the complex NP with the restrictive relative clauses to ensure that the audience knows that the orphan-king is doing the inviting and the father-of-the-princess-king is being invited.

Where there is potential ambiguity, the speaker uses more than default encoding to help the audience accurately identify the referent, and to signal that the distinction being made is significant.
4.5.3 Less than default encoding for subject contexts

In S1 and S2 contexts the default is already zero. This section describes instances of less than default encoding in an S3 context, where a zero reference is used instead of a pronoun, and S4 contexts, where a zero reference is used instead of an NP. In both these contexts, less than default encoding is found in the peak sections of narratives, and in contexts where there is a strong expectation of certain behaviours associated with participants due to a schema or shared cultural knowledge by the speaker and hearers.

At the peak of the narrative, patterns of participant reference often deviate from those observed in the rest of the text (Longacre 1996ː38). In both the Bear story and the Thief story, there are zero references in S3 contexts in the peak section. An example is shown in (141). In the second clause, Ø kʰruk Ø hɑɑn '(and he) fell off (and he) died', the thief is the subject and is given a zero reference. This is an S3 context, because in the previous clause the same referent is the object.

(141)Thief.018

```
lot briaŋ jɔh kʰruuij Ø Ø kʰruk Ø hɑɑn
vehicle other_people DIR side_swipe thief thief fall thief die
```

Another person’s vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him), (and he) fell off (and he) died.

There is no ambiguity for the hearers here, and the speaker minimises reference to add to the impact of the rapid succession of events being described.

In the two reported stories involving wild animals, The Man-eating Tiger and The Bear, there are instances of zero encoding in an S3 context without any ambiguity. These involve the animals acting or being acted upon in ways that make it obvious that the referent is an animal. An example is given in (142). In Bear.032, the bear is referred to using a zero reference in the first clause, Ø jɔh nɑp jɔʔ gəo məh kʊŋlə gənʔiʔ '(it) grabbed (the one) who was that uncle'. It is in the subject relation in the clause, but in the previous clause the same referent is referenced with the NP hual maʔ kʊɬ nəak niʔ 'the mother bear (which had) a young cub', the object of the verb bɨp 'to meet'. This is an S3 context with less than default encoding.

(142)Bear.031
Just then (they) went (and) met the mother bear (which had) a young cub.

The reference is not ambiguous because of the schema of a bear and two hunters meeting in a forest, and the expectation this creates in terms of the behaviour of the participants. It is obvious that the bear is the one who will grab the uncle and wrestle with him. Thus a zero reference is adequate.

The same section of text has an example of a zero reference in an S4 context, as shown in (143). In Bear.035, the bear is referred to using a zero reference, with a right-dislocated NP, hual too gi'ni?'that bear'. This is an S4 context, where this referent is the subject of the current clause, but is not mentioned in the previous clause. Also the uncle is given a zero reference in an S4 context in the second clause of Bear.035, Ø sɑm ?o̞h lootc rimboh ?o̞h lɔh ni? '(and he) was wounded all over on (his) face (and he) was wounded on (his) body'.

My husband did not know what to do, (whether) to shoot, (he) was afraid to hit that person.
And then (it) kept wrestling together (with him), now face down, now face up, this bear, (and he) was wounded all over (his) face (and he) was wounded (on his) body.

The schema of a wild animal and a man wrestling is sufficient to identify who is grabbing and who is being wounded. The inclusion of the right-dislocated NP *hual too giˈniʔ* 'that bear' suggests that the narrator is aware that she has underspecified the identity of the participant involved in the first instance, and adds the NP in case there is confusion. There is no correction for the second zero reference. Also, there are clues in the text itself that help the hearer easily identify these referents. The use of the durative aspectual marker, *jɛt*, in *Bear.035*, signals that this is a continuing action which was going on in the background while the narrator was describing the events in *Bear.034*. The audience is referred back to *Bear.032*, where the narrator had described the bear wrestling with the uncle (see (142)).

Using less than default encoding in these contexts marks the peak of a narrative, quickening the pace of events and heightening intensity. The audience is able to unambiguously identify referents drawing on expectations of participant actions produced in the text and from shared cultural knowledge.

### 4.5.4 Less than default encoding for non-subject contexts

In N1 context the default is already zero. No data is available for the N2 context. Less than default encoding in N3 and N4 contexts is found in similar situations to those for S3 and S4 contexts, namely at peak sections of a narrative, and where there are expectations produced by the text or a schema.

For an N3 context, where the default is a pronoun, a zero reference is less than default. An example of an N3 context with a zero reference is shown in (144). In *Thief.018*, the thief is referred to with a zero reference in the object of the first clause, *lot briaŋ joh kʰruuj Ø* 'another person's vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him)'. In the previous sentence, he is given a zero reference in the subject of the clause, *Ø ɡɔʔ məh ʔɛt lot sɔɔŋ tʰɛɛw...* '(he) was the fare-collector on the soong thaew...'. The reference in *Thief.018* is an N3 context with less than default encoding.
Going up that day, (he) was the fare-collector (on) the soong thaew going up to Vang Viang, (and it) went up (and) reached half way up the road.

Another person's vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him), (and he) fell off (and he) died.

The event in Thief.018 is at the peak section of the narrative, where participant reference often varies from the default patterns. The absence of participant reference makes for a high verb density, which is a peak marking device. Also, at this point in the story, the thief is the only participant on the stage. When there is only one participant on the stage of the discourse, a zero reference may be used without ambiguity for the hearers.

In an N4 context, where the default is an NP, a pronoun or a zero reference is less than default. An example of this is given in (145). In Man-eater.020, the tiger is given a zero reference as the object in the second clause, məʔ ʔɑh wɛk ɡɔʔ deʔ wɛk ɡɨt 'whoever had a knife then got the knife and chopped (the tiger)'. This is an N4 context, because the tiger is not mentioned in the previous clause.

The thirty people pulled (and) fought over (him); whoever had a knife got the knife (and) chopped (the tiger), (and) whoever had a gun got the gun (and) shot at (it).

Although this is less than default encoding, there is no ambiguity for the hearer because of the expectation produced by the text in Man-eater.019 where the
tiger attacks, and the schema of a tiger attack. The identity of the participant being chopped with a knife or shot with a gun is clearly inferrable from this schema. A zero reference is used in the N4 context where the participant's identity is inferrable from expectations produced in the text.

**4.6 Summary**

Kmhmu' narratives have central, major, minor and peripheral participants as well as props. These are distinguished by their method of introduction, their role in the events of the narrative, their persistence on the discourse stage, and the patterns of participant identification used to refer to them.

The participant identification strategies used in Kmhmu' narrative include a sequential strategy, which depends on how the participant has been most recently referred to, and a local VIP strategy, which depends on the relative salience of participants in the local thematic grouping. Default encoding patterns for central and major participants are shown in Table 13. There is no data available for N2 contexts, and the patterns proposed for N1 and N3 contexts are tentative due to limited data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1 / N1</th>
<th>S2 / N2</th>
<th>S3 / N3</th>
<th>S4 / N4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Linguistic encoding</strong></td>
<td>Ø / Ø</td>
<td>Ø / -</td>
<td>Pro / Pro</td>
<td>NP / NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minor and peripheral participants usually receive more encoding. Where there is a local VIP, the VIP receives less encoding and the non-VIP more encoding.

These default patterns are influenced by the relative rank of the participant in the narrative, highlighting of participants, disambiguating participants, discontinuities in the text, peak marking, and the expectations set up through the text and shared cultural knowledge. Other issues, such as story-telling style, reiteration to aid the hearers' memory and self-correction by the speaker, also have a bearing on participant identification patterns. In summary, there are discernible sequential patterns, but these are not rigidly held, and other factors play a part in the strategies used as speakers employ referring expressions in narrative text.
Chapter 5

Conclusion

This thesis has characterised the nominal grammatical structures of Kmhmu' and examined their functions as referring expressions in discourse. Having established the inventory of referring expressions in Kmhmu', it has described how they are used to identify participants in narrative texts. In the following sections these findings are summarised, the methodology of the study is evaluated, the significance of the findings is discussed and suggestions for further research given.

5.1 Summary of findings

The Kmhmu' NP consists of a noun head followed by optional attributive modifiers, such as nouns or adjectives, and/or a quantitative modifier, such as a classifier phrase, and a determiner, such as a demonstrative. Typically, Kmhmu' NPs contain only one attributive modifier, or a classifier phrase or a determiner. For more extensive descriptions, appositional constructions are used. Personal pronouns have a singular, dual and plural distinction in number, and a gender distinction in the 2nd and 3rd person singular forms. There is an unspecified pronoun *dee* which is not specified for person or number. Pronouns may take dependent elements to form pronoun phrases. They also occur in apposition to NPs. There is a particle, *sɨŋ*, which functions as a nominaliser or a dummy NP, and as a relativiser and complementiser.

Kmhmu' has an extensive range of referring expressions which includes complex modified NPs, simple NPs, proper nouns, kin terms, pronouns, pronoun phrases, classifier phrases, demonstratives, *sɨŋ* constructions and zero anaphora. Each form is used in a unique way to signal the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of referents in discourse. For example, on phrase level, classifier phrases function as quantifiers, while on discourse level, they signal specificity and the thematic salience of unidentifiable referents.
In narrative text, these referring expressions are used in discernible patterns to introduce and track participants. Kmhmu’ narratives have central, major, minor and peripheral participants. The participant identification system reflects both a sequential strategy and a local VIP strategy. These strategies interact to form patterns which are described by default encoding rules. Although the default form accounts for the majority of references, other factors, such as highlighting of participants, disambiguating participants, discontinuities in the text, and the expectations set up through the text and shared cultural knowledge, impact the reference pattern in predictable ways which are noted in the rules. Motivations for more or less than the default encoding include peak marking, stylistic issues, extended speeches and self-correction by the speaker, as is typical of oral discourse.

5.2 Evaluation of methodology

Because the texts in this study were unrehearsed oral narratives, they provide natural language data. Unedited oral texts, however, are more difficult to analyse than those that have been edited into a written form. One of the applications of this study is in translating written materials into Kmhmu’. Analysis of written texts would give a more valid basis for guiding translation. Because of difficulty of access to speakers, this was not possible in this study. For future similar studies, I would recommend that oral texts are edited into well-formed written texts before analysis is done.

In terms of the content of the texts, it was helpful to have stories with at least three participants interacting on the stage, and for some to be of the same gender, in order to see the full scope of participant identification patterns.

The Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) method of participant reference analysis is particularly applicable to participant reference systems based primarily on a sequential strategy. Although this is a good place to start, it is worth considering alternative approaches if this does not result in clear patterns of use. In this study, where a local VIP strategy was also affecting participant identification patterns, the method was adapted to consider the patterns of reference for each separate participant. This resulted in a clearer analysis.
5.3 Significance of findings

The findings of this analysis will contribute to a more detailed knowledge of the grammar of the Kmhmu' language and thus to the documentation of the world's languages. There is a limited corpus of interlinearised texts available in this dialect of Kmhmu', and this study will not only augment that collection, but will facilitate accurate interlinearisation and translation of other texts which may be collected in the future.

This description of referring expressions and participant reference patterns will contribute to knowledge of the Kmhmu' language, and also have implications for translation into Kmhmu'. Community development is closely linked with language development, and generally requires the translation of materials for education, whether in formal or nonformal areas such as agriculture, health, or religion. In order for such materials to be translated clearly, accurately, and naturally, an understanding of the discourse structures of the language is a prerequisite. Thus this study will contribute to better translation of helpful materials into Kmhmu'.

5.4 Further research

Further research is needed into other areas of discourse study that are also particularly relevant to translation: studies in information structure and cohesion, to name two. Other text types such as hortatory, expository and procedural prose forms need further investigation as well. In order to do this, more texts must be collected and accurately translated and analysed to provide confirmation or re-analysis of findings thus far, and to enable new areas to be explored.

There is always room for revision or fuller description of the grammatical structures of a language. In this study, lists of relativisers and classifiers are known to be incomplete, and the functions of the particle $sɨŋ$ are not fully clear. There is much work still to be done in studying the Kmhmu' language.


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APPENDIX I

THE MAN-EATING TIGER

The times of the war, the times of the second world war were finished (some time) ago.

The times (when) spirits came (and) possessed Kmhmu' people (and) gave (power) to Lord Ton Mun and Lord Cwang had ended (and they) had all died.

Then (at) this time, (it) came about (that there) were tigers (that) came (and) attacked, came (and) ate Kmhmu' people; in total (it) was ten (or) twenty people.

In the third month (of) nineteen forty-eight, (there) was a tiger (that) came (and) attacked (and) ate Ms Daeng.
After Lord Ton 'Mun's group had died in great numbers already, located throughout the villages (of) the Kmhmu' people (there) came about a very severe famine.

All the people located throughout the villages went together to collect bamboo shoots, dig tubers, (and) bring brown (and) yellow fruit home to boil, bring home to soak (and) eat to substitute for rice.

One day, Ms Daeng with her mother went to dig tubers in the forest.

Those two took turns together to dig; (when) the mother was tired of digging, then the child came (and) dug, (when) the child was tired of digging, then the mother came (and) dug; those two took turns together to dig like this.
(At) this time (there) was a tiger, (and it) jumped out (and) attacked Ms Daeng's neck.

Ms Daeng called out to (her) mother.

Her mother took hold of the spade handle (and) struck the tiger.

The tiger couldn't overcome (her), (so it) ran away.

Ms Daeng's mother ran back to the village, (and) told (her) husband.

When Ms Daeng's father and the relatives arrived, the tiger had torn up (and) eaten Ms Daeng completely; (they) saw only her bones remaining, (her) skeleton.
Following on two (or) three days later, a tiger came (and) attacked (and) ate one person (or) two people.

The people at the village were afraid, (and) at night they went to sleep gathered together at a big house, a tall house; then (they) took the ladder down, to prevent the tiger being able to climb up (to) the house.

One day, (in) the season (for) planting rice, (there) was Priest La, living (at) Koong Coyh village, (and he) went to work at another village; (and) accompanying Priest La (there) were also thirty people.

They went (and) arrived at a mountain (and) rested; they sat (and) rested together.
At this time, there was a tiger, and it jumped out and attacked Priest La. The thirty people pulled and fought over (him); whoever had a knife got the knife (and) chopped (the tiger), and whoever had a gun got the gun (and) shot at (it).

Whether (you) stayed at the inside of the village, went down the middle of the road or stayed at the rice fields, if the tiger wanted to attack anyone, to eat anyone, then it attacked (and) ate (them); we people could not do anything to it.

Located at the Pha Ong rice field huts, (of) Na Cong village, (there) were seventeen houses, (and) located here (there) was my relative also.

3sgf be Ms Pheng husband 3sgf be Mr Phu
She was Ms Pheng, (and) her husband was Mr Phu.

Those two had five children, Ms Mi, Ms Ong, Mr Ñi, Ms Do, (and) Ms Tw.

Ms Pheng took the two older daughters, and also carried Ms Tw on her back, (and) went to look for (and) dig tubers in the forest.

The daughter Ms Mi had a husband, (and) she was already six months pregnant.

Ms Pheng dug for tubers, thud, thud.

The tiger heard the sound of them digging for tubers, (and) it came (and) attacked Ms Mi, the woman who was pregnant.
Ms Pheng and Ms Ong got the spade (and) struck the tiger, (but they) could not overcome (it).

The tiger attacked both of them, child (and) mother, (and they) died.

(There) remained the small girl (who) was afraid, (and) she ran in (and) hid her body in the middle of a bamboo clump.

(When) it was nearly light, the father located at the house led the village people, lit a torch (and) went (and) looked for (them).

Wherever (they) looked (they) didn't find them, (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely.
They came back together, (and) came to the bamboo clump here, (and) heard the sound of a small child crying, (and) they went (and) looked (and) saw the tiger gnawing the bamboo to get in (and) attack (and) eat Ms Teu.

Man_eater.036

The villagers got a spear (and) stabbed (it) but (it) wasn't wounded; (they) got a gun (and) shot (it) but (it) wasn't wounded.

Man_eater.037

They got a club (and) struck (it), (and) the tiger was afraid (and) jumped (back and) fled.

Man_eater.038

Located at Sam Sum village, (there) were one hundred people went together to weed (the fields).

Man_eater.039

When they went, (they) made the men go in front (and) go behind, (and) the women go
in the middle, and then a tiger jumped (out and) attacked Ms On who was walking along
in the middle of the other people.

Man.eater.040
elder_sibling 3sgf get knife chop tiger this so_then NEG wounded
and_then tiger this so_then yet bite with Ms elder_sibling this also

Her older sister got a knife (and) hacked at (the tiger), (but) the tiger was not wounded,
then the tiger kept attacking the older sister too.

Man.eater.041
parents people INDEF so_then fear lead together DIR stay village
baan'loom broom tʰit pʰiyw
Ban Lom with Thit Phiv

All the people were afraid, (and) went together to stay (at) Ban Lom village with Thit
Phiv.

Man.eater.042
tʰit pʰiyw rip ki'muul jɔ? pasa'son gaaŋ mooj man tʰiik ki'muul
Thit Phiv gather money with people house one Clf_money receive money
pa'lootɕ haa ban man
totally five Clf_thousands Clf_money

Thit Phiv collected money from the people (from each) house one silver coin, receiving
all together five thousand silver coins.

Man.eater.043
diaŋ ki'muul mooj ban man tɔaŋ ?an siaŋ ?ɔn tɔan jɔh
take money one Clf_thousands Clf_money hire CAUS friend On Can DIR
bok sa'?ɔŋ nam saaw sen gaaŋ tɛɛŋ gʁɔɔk
cut wood big twenty Clf_long_thin_things DIR do pen

Taking one thousand silver coins, (he) hired Friend On Can to go (and) cut twenty large
planks of wood, (and) come (and) make animal pens.

Man.eater.044
siaŋ ?ɔn tɔan tɛɛŋ gʁɔɔk sip'haa ?mɔɔŋ tɛɛŋ ruup gon pʰe'den da?
friend On Can do pen fifteen Clf_places do dummy seat at
Friend On Can made fifteen animal pens, (and) made human dummies (and) sat (them) on the inside of the pens, (and) on the outside (he) set (and) lit fires.

When the tiger arrived, Friend On Can got a Caplek 0500 gun (and) shot at the tiger, but the pellet did not fire.

Friend On Can and (his) two friends were afraid (and) became sick lasting for ten days, (they) were (like)death.

Friend On Can lived on, lasting for one year and eight months, (and) then (he) died.

When the tiger was to die, it died because (it) was caught in a trap.

Located at village Na Cong 3pl block trap two Clf.traps put_in at underneath house
Located at Na Cong village, they set up two traps (and) put (them) at the underneath of the house.

The tiger came to look for (and) attack (and) eat people.

The male tiger was caught in the trap (and) died here, the female tiger came (and) gnawed (and) ate the male tiger’s testicles, and then went (and) got caught in the trap, nevertheless (it) did not die here immediately, (they) saw only the blood. It ran away (and) died in the forest, (and there) wasn't anyone (who) found (it).

Counting from this (time) on, (nobody) has heard (people) talk about a tiger (that) attacks (and) eats people.

They added up the people (who) died because the tiger attacked (them), in total one hundred (and) eighty-two people.
ra'waaj pok hak ?am haan sip'pɛɛt gon
tiger bite nevertheless NEG die eighteen Clf_people

(Those) the tiger attacked, nevertheless (they) did not die, eighteen people.

Man_eater.055
ra'waaj pok mah lootə paʔ kcoon' gaαn rɔɔt sip'kaw laaj'gaαŋ ?ah haa
tiger bite eat totally with villagers arrive nineteen Clf_houses have five
sip tɕet gon
Clf_tens seven Clf_people

(Those) the tiger attacked (and) ate completely with villagers counting nineteen houses, (there) were fifty-seven people.

Man_eater.056
gon k'at haaw pin'wat ra'waaj niʔ sah tɕii ?ah ?a'jnuʔ rɔɔt baar
person block trap ensnare tiger this COMP IRR have age arrive two
dzua gon hak jet bian saam nim gɔʔ gɔʔ haan
Clf_lifespan nevertheless stay achieve three Clf_years 3sgm so_then die
kim'braʔ kcoon deʔ gɔʔ gɔʔ haan gcoon kcoon tɕim'kin mooj gon
wife child POSS 3sgm so_then die remain daughter one Clf_people
sinj'mah naa jaʔ san
name 3sgf Ms San

The person (who) set up the trap (that) caught the tiger, (they said) that (he) would live to an age reaching two lifetimes, nevertheless after living three years he died, his wife and children died, (and there) remained one daughter, her name (was) Ms San.

Man_eater.057
jaʔ san t'aw kee bian haa sip pɛɛt nim hak ?am
Ms San aged old achieve five Clf_tens eight Clf_years nevertheless NEG

ʔah gleʔ? ?ah kcoon məh jɔʔ brian
have husband have child INDEF with other_people

Ms San became old (and) reached fifty-eight years, but (she) did not have a husband (or) have any children with another person.

Man_eater.058
rɔɔt nim ban kaw rɔɔj haa sip ?et jaʔ san
arriving Clf_years Clf_thousands nine Clf_hundreds five Clf_tens one Ms San
In nineteen fifty-one Ms San died.
I am telling a story (from) a time long ago, the time I had a fever.

(At) this time the road was rough at our village; there still wasn't yet a vehicle (that) arrived (there) like (this) time now.

The road was rough starting at Vientiane (and) arriving at that our village.

(One) goes for two days until one arrives, and (for) one day there would be one trip.

be vehicle company Bounthanom or generic say again one
məh  lot  de?  lat  siŋ  məh  lot  tʰii  baŋ  de?  saʔɔɔŋ  teŋ
be  vehicle  POSS  state  NMLZ  be  vehicle  that  3pl  get  wood  do
raʔ?
structure

(It) was the Buunthanoom Company's vehicle or one (could) say in other words (it) was
the government's vehicle, being the vehicle where they got wood (and) made a structure
(on the back).

Tan.006
nam niʔ  məh  naam  baŋ  pʰak  hooŋhian  məh  moŋ  ʔnian  haa
time  this  be  period_of_time  3pl  rest  school  be  month  Clf_months  five

This time was the time they rest from school; (it) was the fifth month.

Tan.007
ʔoʔ  məh  pleʔtʰɑn  niʔ  maak  pʰoot  laoj  teŋ  ʔan  ʔoʔ  sir’mɑʔ?
1sg  eat  jujube  this  many  too_much  directly  cause  1sg  have_fever

I ate too much jujube fruit then (that) caused me to have a fever.

Tan.008
kin’niʔ  gi’niʔ  lelw  ʔoʔ  goʔ  sir’mɑʔ?  jet  daʔ  kuŋ  tɕii
behind  that_one  already  1sg  so_then  have_fever  located  at  village  IRR

bian  graaw  mooj  ʔaʃ’it  baar  ʔaʃ’it
achieve  approximately  one  Clf_weeks  two  Clf_weeks

After that then I had a fever located at the village lasting about one week [or] two
weeks.

Tan.009
sir’nim  necw  maʔ  goʔ  ʔəm  laʔ  kɨap  tɕii  bian  rɔɔt  mooj
treat  however  so_then  NEG  good  almost  IRR  achieve  arriving  one

ʔnian
Clf_months

However (they) treated (my sickness), (I) didn't get better, lasting for nearly one month.

Tan.010
joŋ  ʔoʔ  ləʔ  hoŋmɔɔ  laʔ  boʔ
father  1sg  say  oh!  IRR  go  hospital  good  PRT

My father said, "Oh! Would going (to) hospital be good?"
Let's go together (to) hospital."

So (we) decided to go.

At this period I had a dangerous fever, but (I) was still conscious.

And then my father took me.

Going to hospital, we two, child (and) father, went together (and) caught the truck (which) was that state truck.

When we two came down (and) arrived at Phoonhong here, it was night.
We two didn't have a place to stay; then we two went together (and) stayed at the Phoonhong district intersection.

Tan.018

\( \text{n̂aam} \) \( \text{niʔ} \) \( \text{daʔ} \) \( \text{sin'drah} \) \( \text{p̂oonhøŋ} \) \( \text{giˈniʔ} \) \( \text{ʔah} \) \( \text{tæʔʔoʔ} \) \( \text{ʔoʔ} \)

period_of_time this at intersection Phoonhong that_one have rice_granary rice

\( \text{lat} \) \( \text{mooj} \) \( \text{laŋ} \)

state one Clf_buildings

(At) this time at that Phoonhong intersection (there) was a state rice granary.

Tan.019

\( \text{tæʔʔoʔ} \) \( \text{laŋ} \) \( \text{giˈniʔ} \) \( \text{n̂ɔɔ} \) \( \text{taŋ} \) \( \text{hiŋˈkɪr} \) \( \text{keh} \) \( \text{leʔ} \) \( \text{jɛt} \)

rice_granary Clf_buildings that_one 3pl weave close put_up_walls PRT located

\( \text{daʔ} \) \( \text{jeer} \) \( \text{n̂ɔɔr} \) \( \text{n̂iʔ} \) \( \text{gəʔ} \) \( \text{ʔah} \) \( \text{pɪɛn} \) \( \text{n̂ɔɔ} \) \( \text{kiŋˈdam} \) \( \text{kiŋˈdam} \)

at side road here so_then have plank 3pl place_down place_down

\( \text{pəh} \) \( \text{ʔuun} \) \( \text{ʔan} \) \( \text{gən} \) \( \text{den} \) \( \text{kɔʔ} \) \( \text{lot} \)

separate_from put_away PURP person sit wait vehicle

That rice granary, they had woven (panels and) enclosed (it) located at the side of the road here, and (there) were planks they had placed down (and) set aside for people to sit (and) wait for the truck.

Tan.020

\( \text{ʔaʔ} \) \( \text{den} \) \( \text{daʔ} \) \( \text{n̂iʔ} \) \( \text{hootəc} \) \( \text{sih} \) \( \text{leh} \) \( \text{n̂iʔ} \)

1du sit at here and then lie_down near here

We (two) sat here and then lay down near here.

Tan.021

\( \text{pəhˈdii} \) \( \text{ʔomˈiak} \) \( \text{deʔ} \) \( \text{ʔoʔ} \) \( \text{jɔʔ} \) \( \text{ʔiʔ} \) \( \text{tom} \) \( \text{jɛt} \) \( \text{daʔ} \) \( \text{kuŋ} \) \( \text{rɔɔt} \)

exactly drinking_water POSS 1sg REL 1pl boil located at village arrive

\( \text{giˈniʔ} \) \( \text{gəʔ} \) \( \text{lootəc} \)

that_one so_then all_gone

Just then my drinking water, that we boiled (when we were) located at the village, then arriving here, (it) ran out.

Tan.022
And then I was thirsty.

I told my father to go (and) ask for water.

(When he) went (and) asked (for water) from the Lao people (at) that place, they didn't give (him any).

(At) this time they sold only tea that was yellow.

And then my father said, "(It) would not be good to drink, tea", because I had a fever.
Whatever (he) did (I) couldn't get to drink water. (There) wasn't anyone (who) gave (us any).

The people (in) this area were really very stingy!

But in the end, father went (and) bought tea, (and) came (and) gave (it to me); (if it was going to) make (me) sick, let (it) make (me) sick.

I did not know the way one has a fever.

The fever was hot (and I) wanted to drink only water.

At night that day we two went together (and) rested located here at the intersection, in order to wait to go down to hospital in Vientiane.
Getting up the next morning, then we went together (and) continued (in) the truck from Phoonhong intersection (and) arrived down in Vientiane.

Tan.036

jɔʔ rɔɔt  hooŋmɔɔ OB  hootx  sih  jɛt  niʔ  dek
DIR arrive hospital OB and then lie_down located here shortly

(After) arriving at OB hospital, then (we) lay down located here for a short time.

Tan.037

bɑŋ 3pl  lɑw  sir'ma?  baa  gii  raaj  ?an  jɔh  da?  hooŋmɔɔ  maho'sot
3pl say fever 2sgf this_one dangerous OBLIG go at hospital Mahosot

They said, "This fever of yours is dangerous. (You) must go to Mahosot hospital."

Tan.038

and then 1du so_then go at hospital Mahosot

And then we two went to Mahosot hospital.

Tan.039

jɔh  rɔɔt  niʔ  hootx  bɑŋ  ?an  guut  da?  hooŋmɔɔ
DIR arrive here and then 3pl CAUS enter at hospital

(After) arriving here, then they admitted (me) into hospital.

Tan.040

le?  nɔɔ  law  sah  mɔh  sir'ma?  pa'?aat  tɔii  mɔh  k'an  ?anta'laaj  lexw
and 3pl say COMP be malaria IRR be level dangerous already

And they said, "(It) is malaria; (it) could be (at) a dangerous level already."

Tan.041

doctor so_then scold father 1sg get COMP father 1sg stupid

The doctor then scolded my father that my father was stupid.

Tan.042
Because when (we) were still staying in the village I had a fever one day, the next day (I) didn't have a fever; (I) had a fever alternate days.

Today I still went out to play, tomorrow I had a fever, because I was a small child, (when) the fever had ceased (I) went out to play, like that.

(They) put saline into me, until (it) reached six bagfuls.

After the six bagfuls of saline were all gone, (I) still didn't improve, only enough to be able to get up, to be able to sit.
But then they said (there) wasn't enough blood.

Tan.048

joŋ ?a? law ?uh təi təŋ nəxw mə?
father 1sg say EXCL IRR do how?

My father said, "Ooh, what will (we) do?"

Tan.049

money so_then NEG have be INDEF so_then NEG NEG have totally

Money, (we) don't have, whatever (it) is (we) don't have any at all."

Tan.050

ɲəam nə? nəŋ thiı rooj pa? da? məh k'ris'tiən
period_of_time this yet believe_in spirit NEG not_yet be Christian

(At) this time, (we) still believed in spirits. (We) weren't yet Christians.

Tan.051

təi təŋ nəxw mə? ?a'nə?
IRR do how? that_one

What could (we) do (in) that situation?

Tan.052

hootə sii gənə? məh nəxw ʔəmetə joŋ ?a? gaj ʒə ʔə?
and_then day that_one be type possibly father 1sg but_then go at
təl'aat
market

Then that day, whatever (the situation) might be, my father went to the market.

Tan.053

gəə ʒə ʔə met ple? sɨ'nəa ʔam ʒo? nə ʔənt məh sɨ'nəa ʔənə ənə gənə?
3sgm DIR buy guava big REL 3pl shout be guava hybrid that_one

ɡəaj ənə ʔə? bo? mooj pɨ'nəə
DIR slice PURP 1sg eat one Clf_pieces

He went (and) bought big guavas, that they call those hybrid guavas, (and) came (and)
cut (them) up for me to eat, one piece.

Tan.054
I ate (it) but then (it) made (me) sick, this guava.

Then (it) was having a fever and shivering again, until (I) went into the ICU room, (at) what time (I) don't know.

They got respirator tubing (and) inserted (it) in the inside of (my) nostril. When I woke up, I encountered that tube at the inside of my nose (and) the inside of my throat.

While I was breathing, it was there blocking (my air passage), stuck, stuck.

They released my arm, then I grabbed (the tube and) threw (it) away.
I still remember, they released my arm, I grabbed (the tube and) threw (it) away, therefore they tied my arm(s) to the bed.

They didn't allow me to get up at all.

When (I) woke up, then (I) didn't know what to do, because they tied my arm, (which) had (the tube) inserted, to the bed.

After that, they said I was really lacking blood, (and we) must go (and) get blood.

What should my father go (and) do?

(At) this time blood was still cheap.

One bag whichever (one was) seven thousand kiip; but seven thousand at this time was
not easy.

Tan.067

naam ni? mooj dolaa go? bian kin hok rooj
period_of_time this one Clf_dollars so_then achieve only six Clf_hundreds
tseet rooj kip ṃnaam ni? ṃin
seven Clf_hundreds Clf_kip amount this only

(At) this time, one dollar got only six hundred (or) seven hundred kip; only this much.

Tan.068

joŋ ṃo? go? joh sɔɔk weet maam gi'ni?
father 1sg so_then DIR seek buy blood that_one

So then my father went to look for (and) buy that blood.

Tan.069

nɔɔ law ?an seh saam daj ṃaj joŋ ṃam ṃah ki'muul go?
3pl say OBLIG put_in three Clf_bags but father NEG have money so_then

ləəj jɔh weet kin ki'baar daj gaaj seh
directly DIR buy only two_of Clf_bags DIR put_in

They said (we) must put in three bags, but father didn’t have money, so (he) just went (and) bought only two bags (and) came (and they) put (them) in.

Tan.070

tɕii diaŋ maam joŋ ṃo? ṃaj baŋ law joŋ ṃo? go? ṃah dzia
IRR take blood father 1sg but 3pl say father 1sg so_then have microbe

sir'ma? pa'?aat maak
malaria many

(They) were going to take my father’s blood, but they said my father had many malarial parasites.

Tan.071

seh gəə tɕii ṃam lo? naajmoo go? ṃam ṃanu'naat hин'dzua tɕii
put_in 3sgn IRR NEG good doctor so_then NEG permit shortly IRR

ʔah pʰaj'naat gəə gaaj tak dee tim'bo?
have disease 3sgm DIR stick unspecified add

To put it in would not be good, so the doctor didn’t permit (it), (because) in a little while there would be his disease coming to infect me as well.

Tan.072
Because it was like this, father went (and) bought blood at the bank, (and) came (and they) put in me two bags.

Tan.073

Because in my body (there) still remained only one bag of blood, still one litre.

Tan.075

Usually, we people's bodies must have four litres of blood then (we) will be healthy.

Tan.076

But (in) that case I still had left only one litre at the inside of (my) body.

Tan.077

They said (they) must put in three, then whatever, (we) didn't have the money, so (we) made do (and) put in only two bags.
Therefore my arm was full of just the places they had pricked to put in blood.

Whichever place they inserted (the needle) was no good, because I am a person who has small blood vessels (and) ligaments.

They pierced in the crook of my elbow until (it) was totally bent.

(I) couldn't eat rice.

Please excuse (me), therefore they cut open (my foot and) inserted (the needle) in the middle of the foot, so my foot there has a major scar.

(They) didn't know where to inject the medicine.
Everywhere was totally wounded.

Tan.085
ʔuuh tˀuk sir'ma? naam ni?
EXCL poor INTENS period_of_time this

Ooh! (It) was really miserable (at) this time.

Tan.086
behind that_one father 1sg so_then DIR borrow money at village

After that then my father went up (and) borrowed money at the village.

Tan.087
kʰian baŋ dian kʰriŋ? ?o? kʰian kʰian ki'ne? jeŋ
ascend 3pl take clothes 1sg DIR DIR consult_oracle look_at

Having gone up, they took my clothes (and) went up, went up (and) consulted the oracle to see (what they had to do).

Tan.088
kʰian ki'ne? baŋ law sah toh rooj gaŋ rooj gaŋ
DIR consult_oracle 3pl say COMP arouse_spirits house_spirit house_spirit

tɕu? bɔ? tʰraak
want eat buffalo

Having gone up (and) consulted the oracle they said, "(We) have aroused the house spirits, (and) the house spirits want to eat a buffalo."

Tan.089
joŋ ?o? go? təo? rooj gaŋ
father 1sg so_then plead house_spirit

Then my father pleaded (for time) with the house spirits.

Tan.090
təo? rooj gaŋ ni? hootɛ joŋ go? jìim ki'μuul jɔ?
plead house_spirit this and_then father so_then borrow money with

kʰən'gaŋ dzuur da? hooŋmɔɔ jɔh təʔro? ?o? dzuur wɛɛt hak jía
villagers descend at hospital DIR approach 1sg DIR buy medicine

Having pleaded with these house spirits, father then borrowed money from the villagers (and) came down to the hospital (and) went to see me, (and) went down (and) bought some medicine.
I was in the hospital until (it) reached one month more, then (I) improved.

Having improved, father invited me to go out, invited me to go out in the direction of the Mekong River bank.

Next to Mahosot hospital, located in that vicinity, (there) are a lot of trees they call Casuarina trees, that are situated around the wall of the hospital.

My father took me walking.

I walked following him.

As (we) were walking along, (we) came to a shop (that) sold water (and) sold snacks.
Then my father bought an ice-cream, a chocolate ice-cream.

(At) this time I didn't know, the chocolate ice cream, what was it like? only just (that it) looked really black.

Then father said, "Tan, do you want to eat (some)?"

I said (I) did (want to eat it), I believed that it would be delicious.
As (I) was licking and going along, "Hey! that thing isn't delicious," I thought to myself, truly!

"Never mind, whatever (I) do (it) doesn't matter, I will throw (it) away".

I immediately threw (it) away.

A little later my father said, "(Let's) go Tan, we two will walk back."

"I am done for now," (I) thought to myself, "My father will see (the ice-cream) now."

Walking back I prepared to run (and) overtake him, in order to get dust (and) cover (it) to not allow him to see that ice-cream that I had thrown away.

But my father was walking in front, (and) I ran (but I) was not in time.
(I) watched my father bend over (and) look at the road.

"Hey! This thing there isn't really your ice-cream, Tan!"

I said, "(it) is."

"That thing, you didn't eat until it was finished."

I said, "Truly it wasn't delicious."

"Ooh! (You) are stupid."

Other people have wanted to eat (ice-cream) until (they) died (but they) still didn't get to eat (it).

Someone gives one (some) to eat, (and) one throws it away."
After that (we) arrived back at the hospital, (and) stayed right here for two (or) three more days.

Then slowly (we) went up to the village.

Having gone up (we) looked for money, then (we) came (and) made sacrifices to the house spirits.

(We) killed a buffalo for the house spirits to eat.

When we killed a buffalo (and) fed the house spirits, then (it) caused us to be short of rice immediately in that year, because (we) were in a lot of debt to other people.

Buffaloes (at) this time, one animal whichever (one was) thirty thousand kip.
Thirty thousand was not easy; (it would be) worth three million now.

Thirty thousand kiip got a big male buffalo.

(We) borrowed money from other people (and) bought a buffalo to bring (and) kill to make a sacrifice to the house spirits.

After that, we were kept paying back debt lasting for three (or) four years, nearly reaching five years totally.

(When I) think about this time (I) am upset about our belief in spirits, (I) am really upset (that it) caused us to be poor, because (we) kept on paying back the debts of my illness.
at this time.

Tan.129

joɔ sah ɗee bian ɗo? mooj pii mɔ? kIN saam sip
because unspecified achieve rice one Clf_years INDEF only three Clf_tens
paw fir ɗaj dee mah go? haj mah leew saaw sii
Clf_sacks only but unspecified eat so_then just be already twenty four
saaw haa paw
twenty five Clf_sacks

Because we got rice one year whichever (one was) just only thirty sacks, but we ate (it)
was just twenty four (or) twenty five sacks.

Tan.130

ʔan nim gi’mo? ɗee bian rɔɔt sii sip tan dee kum
COND year whichever unspecified achieve arrive four Clf_tens then cover
mah
eat

If whichever year we got forty (bags of rice), then (we) had enough to eat.

Tan.131

ʔan bian rɔɔt saam sip go? ɲɔɔŋ ʔan kum mah
COND achieve arrive three Clf_tens so_then yet NEG cover eat

If (we) got up to thirty then (it) still wasn't enough to eat.

Tan.132

nia rɔɔt naam ɲi’am teet ɲi’am peet dee
when arrive period_of_time Clf_months seven Clf_months eight unspecified
mah ʔam kum nim dee gaj ɗiim jo? briŋ him’mee?
eat NEG cover year unspecified but then borrow with other_people new

ɗiim seh ɗo? kʰaw kʰiaw
borrow put_in rice rice green

When (it) arrived at the period of the seventh month (or) eighth month (and) we didn't
have enough to eat (for) the year, then we borrowed from other people again, borrowed
putting up the unharvested rice (as security).

Tan.133

bat hɔɔt gɑaj gaj jɔh deen ɲi i jɔ? briŋ
turn strip_grain come but then DIR replace debt with other_people
(When) harvest time came, then (we) went (and) paid back the debt to the other people.

Tan.134

pii him'me? gaj jiim diŋ'ni? diŋ'ni? ɬon ɬii bian haa
year new but_then borrow like_that like_that until IRR achieve five

nim ɬaŋ dee hiŋ'gɔɔj la? k'iian la? k'iian
Clf_years then slowly improve improve

Then (in) the new year (we) borrowed like that again and again lasting for five years, then (it) slowly improved.

Tan.135

da? ɬiŋ'sit ɬii ɬaw gi'ni? ɬi? ɳɔɔŋ ɬi ti ɬon rɔɔt nam nim
at end debt ? that_one 1pl yet attach_to until arrive time year

joŋ ɬoʔ haan pəh ɬaŋ dee saj lootɕ
father 1sg die separate_from then pay_back totally

In the end that debt, we still had until (it) reached the time of the year my father died, (and) then (we) paid (it) all back.
APPENDIX III

THE BEAR

Bear.001

mooj dia hiʔih ʔi? bian dee ʔoh re? da? pʰuu miit
one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain Meut

ŋi?
here

One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

Bear.002

ʔiʔ 1pl pɨˈsɨm plant saˈli pɨˈsɨm plant hɨmˈpiir pɨˈsɨm blik maak pɨˈsɨm lim'daŋ
1pl plant corn plant pumpkin plant chilli many plant eggplant

We planted corn, planted pumpkin, planted many chillis, (and) planted eggplant.

Bear.003

leʔ naam saˈli niʔ rʊt leʔ ?ah hual joh mah daʔ jianj
and period_of_time corn this arrive PRT have bear DIR eat at base

rɪʔ daʔ kɪmˈpoŋ rɪʔ niʔ mah pɨnˈsɨm ʔiʔ gɪˈniʔ?
rice_field at top rice_field this eat crop 1pl that_one

And (when) the corn season arrived (there) was a bear (that) went (and) ate (it) at the bottom of the rice field (and) at the top of the rice field, ate those crops of ours.

Bear.004

leʔ ʔiʔ ?am nəəŋ nɛɛw tɕii tɛɛŋ məh too ʔəh ʔiʔ? ?am nəəŋ
and 1pl NEG know type IRR do be animal what 1pl NEG know

And we did not know what to do; what animal was (it)? we did not know.

Bear.005

kin'ŋiʔ hual ?mɔɔn gəo den mah gəo ɲiʔan siŋ sin'den blɔɔŋ ʔuˈluk
tracks bear place 3sgn sit eat 3sgn be_like NMLZ seat rattan dented
The bear's tracks, the place (where) it sat (and) ate, they were like the denting of a rattan chair, like this, do you see.

And then, "Oh! we won't get to eat (it) now, this rice".

This time was the time they had not yet collected guns; animals were numerous and so people would go hunting.

But (they) did not meet the animal that was eating (the crops).

(At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.
(There) was one day, he went (and) took this hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.

Bear.011

(When it) was just about light, just light (but) not quite light here, still partly dark, (they) really hurried to go (to know) what animal was it (that) went (and) touched (the grenade).

Bear.013

(They) believed it would be the bear.
(At) this time bears were numerous at the rice fields (and) at the various fields.

Bear.015

so_then lead together DIR many Clf_people have four have five Clf_people

jɔh
go

So then (they) went together, many people; (there) were four (or) were five people (who) went.

Bear.016

mo? go? mit si'naat nam ni? ?ɔɔr ?ah si'naat kep nɔɔ go?
INDEF so_then take gun time this yet have gun pellet 3pl so_then

?am tɛap si'naat luank məh si'naat kep de? ʔi? teen ?een
NEG catch gun official be gun pellet unspecified 1pl do EMPH

gi'ni?
that_one

Some took guns; (at) this time (there) were still pellet guns; so they didn't take army guns, (they) were those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves.

Bear.017

DIR arrive at over_there DIR arrive at base rice_field at knoll meet

kin'ni? gəə hootɛ guun maam gəə ?uk maak
tracks 3sgn and_then see blood 3sgn spill many

Going (and) arriving over there, going (and) arriving at the bottom of the rice field at the knoll, (they) came across its tracks, and then (they) saw a lot of its spilt blood.

Bear.018

hootɛ ?ɔɔr jo? jɔh nam kin'ni? gəə gi'ni? kap maam gəə
and_then lead together DIR follow tracks 3sgn that_one with blood 3sgn

gi'ni?
that_one

And then (they) went together (and) followed its tracks, and its blood.

Bear.019

nam jɔh nam gaaj baj bip
follow DIR follow DIR NEG meet
(They) followed (the tracks) forward (and) followed back (but they) didn't find (it).

Bear.020

hoots  jet

and then  stay

Then (they) stopped.

Bear.021


one  Clf_group  this  DIR  follow  at  over_there  turn  this_one

This one group went (and) followed over there (at) this time.

Bear.022


husband  1sg  this  with  uncle_by_marriage  that_one  return  DIR  direction

kin'ni?  gaaj  nam  loon̂  kin'ni?

behind  DIR  follow  direction  behind

My husband and that uncle turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind); (they) followed back the way they had come (lit. came (and) followed the direction (from) behind).

Bear.023

gaaj  gaj  bɨp  maʔ  hual  kən̂ nəak

come  but_then  meet  mother  bear  baby

But then coming (along they) met a mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Bear.024

ɡəə  ?əh  kən̂  ni?  ?əh

3sgn  have  child  this  truly

It had a cub, you see.

Bear.025


at  over_there  this  3pl  believe  COMP  NMLZ  3sgn  be_ensnared  this  be

hual  ɡəə  ?əm  məh

bear  3sgn  NEG  be

Over there they believed that what was caught was a bear, (but) it wasn't.

Bear.026
It (that) was caught was a civet.

They went (and) found the civet over there, that group.

And my husband and the uncle those two turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind).

At that mountain, we made a rice field at that mountain, there are dark clouds, so whatever (one) looks at (it) is not clear, you see, in the morning, (at) seven (or) eight o'clock, (it) is still dark, (at) this time (in) the cold season.

During the eleventh (or) twelfth month it begins to have clouds.
Just then (they) went (and) met the mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Bear.032
jɔh ⁴nap ⁴joʔ⁴ɡəə ⁴məh ⁴kuuŋ ⁴ɡiˈniʔ ⁴ŋəp ⁴mel ⁴joʔ ⁴daʔ
DIR grab REL be uncle_by_marriage that_one grab roll together at
klaak ⁴ɡlaʔ ⁴niʔ ⁴hootɕ
clump elephant_grass this CMPL

(It) went (and) grabbed (the one) who was that uncle, (and it) wrestled (and they) rolled
over together up to a clump of elephant grass.

Bear.033
gleʔ ⁴ʔoʔ ⁴laʔ ⁴ɡuun ⁴ɡoə ⁴jɔh ⁴⁴naam ⁴⁴kʰii ⁴⁴naam ⁴⁴ŋaaj ⁴⁴niʔ ⁴leʔ
husband 1sg PRT see 3sgm go amount here amount there this PRT
dzaʔ ⁴pʰaˈlaaŋ ⁴⁴naam ⁴deə ⁴saˈmɔɔt ⁴ɡuun ⁴⁴naam ⁴⁴kʰii ⁴⁴naam
far considerably amount generic look_around see amount here amount
tuut ⁴ŋiɬ ⁴⁴ɡiˈniʔ
kapok_tree that_one

My husband saw (them), he was from here to there away; (it) was reasonably far, a
distance (that) one could look (and) see, the distance (from) here (to) that kapok tree.

Bear.034
gleʔ ⁴ʔoʔ ⁴laʔ ⁴ʔaɱ ⁴nɔoŋ ⁴nɛɛw ⁴tɕii ⁴tɛɛŋ ⁴tɕii ⁴pɨɲ ⁴ŋɔʔ ⁴tɕii ⁴ɲɑk
husband 1sg PRT NEG know type IRR do IRR shoot fear IRR touch
gon ⁴⁴ɡiˈniʔ
person that_one

My husband did not know what to do, (whether) to shoot, (he) was afraid to hit that
person.

Bear.035
hootɕ ⁴jet ⁴⁴nap ⁴joʔ ⁴kinˈdruuŋ ⁴kimˈliąŋ ⁴kinˈdruuŋ ⁴kimˈliąŋ ⁴hual
and_then DUR grab together face_down_on_back face_down_on_back bear

too ⁴⁴ɡiˈniʔ ⁴⁴sam ⁴⁴ŋoh ⁴hootɕ ⁴rimˈboh ⁴⁴ŋoh ⁴ləh ⁴niʔ
animal that_one totally wounded totally face wounded body this

And then (it) kept wrestling together (with him), now face down, now face up, this bear,
(and he) was wounded all over (his) face (and he) was wounded (on his) body.

Bear.036
My husband was going to shoot (and) took out (his) gun to shoot, but then (he) was afraid to hit the uncle (and he) would die.

But then he drew out a knife at (his) waist here.

(As he) went (and) approached, it then let go.

Then at this time (they) came home.

The villagers talked (and) spread the news saying, "If (you) cannot get this mother bear, (and) if (there) is anyone going on this road (or) that road (and) if a bear bites (them), any bear, then (you) will pay compensation to us," (they) said.
Oh! we did not know what to do.

They said, "The hand grenade got that bear, now that bear (will) go (and) attack other people."

Those two did not know that it was a civet; they believed (it) was this bear, those two didn't know.

Then (at) this time they who went (with) many people, came back.

Oh! (It) was a civet the village people then believed; then (they) didn't say we should pay back compensation.
That person, there on (his) body was not very wounded, you see, as if (it) was that bear, they said, (he) was wounded only at the edges of (his) face (lit. at periphery nose, at periphery eyes), like that.

Bear.047
\[
gəə \text{ de? tim'ɲəŋ } gəə \text{ graate}
\]
3sgn get nail 3sgn scratch

It got its claws (and) scratched (him).

Bear.048
\[
tɨrˈbɑʔ \text{ ?am } məh \text{ ne? } ?oh \text{ ŋam } kʰo? \text{ baa}
\]
scar NEG be small wound big EXCL PRT

The scars were not small, the wounds were big!

Bear.049
\[
gleʔ \text{ ?o? bian } de\text{e} ba? \text{ gaaj ŋian } gon \text{ haan } loaj
\]
husband 1sg PST carry_on_back DIR be_like person die directly

My husband had carried (him) back home, (and he) was just like a person (who) had died.

Bear.050
\[
go? \text{ dza? } ?oo \text{ mok } ni?
\]
so_then far oh! mountain this

Oh! (it) was far away this mountain.

Bear.051
\[
məh \text{ dee } gaa \text{ kin'druum } mok \text{ da? ŋiŋ } pa'maan \text{ saam } sii
\]
be generic climb underneath mountain at up_there about three four

\[
ʔak \text{ ni? le?}
\]
Clf_kms this PRT

When one climbs the lower slopes of the mountain up there, (it is) about three (or) four kilometres.

Bear.052
\[
gəə \text{ gaj } məh \text{ liŋ } glaanj kʰo? kʰo? kʰom kʰəəm \text{ ŋam } ba? \text{ jəh}
\]
3sgn but_then be only stone uneven NEG good go

But it was only rocks (and) very uneven, (and) not good to go (on).
They arrived back home, and so (it) is finished, this story.
APPENDIX IV

THE THIEF

Thief.001
ʔah mooj gon hii nh gi ni? ʔuun məh gon wai lun ni? le?
have one Clf_people PRT that_one yet be person teenager this PRT

ʔnii ʔnii waj loox
naughty naughty ABIL steal

(There) was a person ok, that one was still a teenager, (he) was very badly behaved, (and he) was adept at stealing.

Thief.002
mooj mii ni? ʔah kən tsım’broʔ mooj joŋ ni? lot tam
one Clf_days this have son one Clf_father this vehicle hit

One day, (there) was the son of one father, (who) a vehicle hit.

Thief.003
hootə gəə laʔ biaŋ ki muul k’aa tua kən tsım’broʔ dee
and_then 3sgm PRT achieve money compensation son co-referent

ni? baŋ saj ni?
this 3pl pay_back this

And then he got his son’s compensation money (that) they paid back.

Thief.004
gəə ?uun ki muul ni? hootə twaw/gəə məh joŋ kən haan lot
3sgm put_away money this CMPL that be father child die vehicle

tam ni? gəə ?am baj guuŋ ʔuən gəə diil
hit this 3sgm NEG NEG see INDEF 3sgm poor_sighted

He put away the money, he who was the father (of the) child (who) died (when) the car hit (him); he could no longer see anything; he was poor-sighted.

Thief.005
Being poor-sighted, and then he put away the money at the inside of the house here.

Thief.006

Mr that_one go DIR steal 3sgm get and_then 3sgm so_then NEG see

That man went, went and stole (what) he had received, and he didn't see (it).

Thief.007

NEG know however IRR do 3sgm ask anyone anyone so_then NEG

nəəŋ nɛɛw gəə diil hi'ih
know type 3sgm poor_sighted PRT

(He) didn't know what to do, he; (if he) asked anyone, they didn't know because he was poor-sighted, you see.

Thief.008

ŋɑŋ ga? ?am kɔɔn kʰak tʰaw leɛw
ear so_then NEG ? perfect aged already

(His) ears were not very good; (he) was already old.

Thief.009

gəə go? tir'waaj məh ma? hak məct ki'muul ?o? kʰii
3sgm so_then rage be INDEF nevertheless take_hold money 1sg here

request COMP 3sgm die be_like NMLZ child 1sg that_one IMP

So then he raged, "Whoever it was took my money here, (I) ask that he die like my son('s death)!

Thief.010

məh ki'muul kʰaa ruə kɔɔn ni? gəə law nɛɛw ni? le?
be money compensation child this 3sgm say type this PRT

(It) was the compensation money (for my) child," he said like this.

Thief.011

jet ?am bian ?am rɔɔt ?am pii jɛr nʃian gəə law si'mə?
stay NEG can NEG arrive NEG year be be_like 3sgm say truly

(It) did not even reach a year (later), (when it) truly came to be like he said.
He went (and) was a fare collector (on) the soong thaew (that) runs on the Vang Viang route, you see.

When he went, (there) was not anyone (who) knew; when he had stolen then other people did know.

(They) knew, the parents, (and) said (they) would not repay (it), because the parents had not had anyone (in their household) receive anything (from this son), any relatives had not had anyone receive anything (and there) was not anyone (who) wanted to repay (it).
(He) had been gone not very long, just enough to go (and) volunteer (for) work for just four (or) five days only.

Going up that day, (he) was the fare-collector (on) the soong thaew going up to Vang Viang, (and it) went up (and) reached half way up the road.

Another person's vehicle went (and) side-swiped (him), (and he) fell off (and he) died.

(His) thigh was broken here, (and his) ear was torn.
APPENDIX V

THE TWO THIEVES

TwoThieves.001
ʔoʔ tɕii tir'dɔh ʔoʔ tɕii pʰɨɨn liang tɕoon
1sg IRR tell 1sg IRR relate story thief

I will tell (a story), I will relate a story (about) thieves.

TwoThieves.002
nam jaʔ nam ?ii tan ɲɔɔŋ neʔ tɕoon niʔ ?ah baar gon
time long ago when HON Tan yet small thief this have two Clf_people

(In) a time long ago, when Miss Tan was still small, there were these two thieves.

TwoThieves.003
gəə guan taʔ tɕuang niʔ ?ah ki'maul kʰaa jiam koon teim'kin gəə
3sgm see Mr Cuang this have money bride-price daughter 3sgm

seh
put_in

He/they saw Mr Cuang had his daughter's bride-price money (that they) gave.

TwoThieves.004
ki'maul tʰuk niʔ ?ah mooj hir'nɔɔm
low_grade_silver this have one Clf_bundles

The low grade silver, (he) had one bundle.

TwoThieves.005
ʔah mooj hir'nɔɔm hootɕ tɕoon niʔ jet tʃɔɔp gəə bi'an səə
have one Clf_bundles and then thief this DUR spy 3sgm achieve two

mii saam mii
Clf_days three Clf_days

Having one bundle, then the thieves were spying on him lasting two days (or) three days.

TwoThieves.006
Then he/saw the man put the money away up high, in the rafters, right.

Then the man went to plant (his) rice field.

Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/said, arriving at the man here, "Grandfather!" he/said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a short time."

(The old man) said, "What will (you) do with the knife?"

"Oh (I/we) will chop wood."

"What will you do with the wood?"
"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."

TwoThieves.013

The man gave (him/them) the knife.

TwoThieves.014

Taking the knife then he/they chopped the wood.

TwoThieves.015

Having chopped the wood, then one party, the one person took hold of the knife, the one person took hold of the stick.

TwoThieves.016

Holding the stick then, the man was planting the rice field, dig a hole, sow seed, dig a hole, sow seed, like this.

TwoThieves.017

He got the stick (and) struck (the man). OR He (who) got the stick struck (the man).

TwoThieves.018

Struck the man, the man fell down here.
Then the one person got the knife (and) chopped his neck, ripped (it) apart.

(He) took the knife and chopped his neck, ripped (it) apart.

Having ripped (it) apart then (they) searched around (and) looked for the money.

Having got that money, (they) returned (home), escaped (and) returned (home).

They kept pursuing (them), and (they) did not get (them).

Finished.
In this our country of Laos in olden times, our nation was still poor long ago, (it) did not yet have anything.

And (there) was an orphan.

That orphan, (he) was born from the poorest family.

After that, (when) he was exactly one year old, just then his mother died.

mother 3sgm die separate_from already father 3sgm lead 3sgm stay stay
His mother having died, his father took him to stay (with him), (and they) stayed (and) were as poor as before.

And their village, it did not have many buildings.

Kmhmu’ people long ago, the most was about ten (or) fifteen, reaching twenty houses, about that much.

But nevertheless anyone else's family had enough to live, enough to eat.

Laughing at them, the child (and) father were poor (and) built a very small hut, located at the periphery of the other people's village.
And then unable to endure the poverty, his father died (and) left him as well.

When his father died, his age was four years.

On his father's side (there) was an aunt, (there) was a sister.

And then that aunt brought him to stay (with her and) raised (him).

While raising him as time went on, the aunt began to hate him.
ʔam ʔan ɡəə ba? mah
NEG allow 3sgm eat rice

Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.

Orphan.018
ʔan ɡəə ba? go? ʔan ɡəə ba? dek ʔam ʔan ɡəə ba?
COND 3sgm eat so then allow 3sgm eat a_little NEG allow 3sgm eat

maak
many

If he ate, then (she) allowed him to eat a little; (she) didn’t allow him to eat much.

Orphan.019
le? mooj mii ʔa’ɲu? go? pʰɔ’dii bian kaw pii kaw
and one Clf_days age so then exactly achieve nine Clf_years nine

ʔuap ni? le? ɡəə go? ɡəə ɡɔʔ so_then
Clf_years this PRT 3sgm so then directly wander DIR

And one day (when his) age had reached exactly nine years, he just went wandering off.

Orphan.020
jɔh ʔah mɔ? mooj joŋ ɡəə kʰwaaj ɡəə de? nian
go have cross-bow one father 3sgm drill_a_hole_in 3sgm get time_before

ɡəə ɲəŋ ne? ʔah mɔ? mooj le? ʔah kam ʔah hɪr’jaʔ tetɕ
3sgm yet small have cross-bow one and have arrow have bag torn

mooj ɲuaj
one Clf_fruit

Going, (he) had a cross-bow (that) his father had made for him when he was still small; (he) had a cross-bow and (he) had arrows, (and he) had a torn bag.

Orphan.021
ɡəə go? tŋ hir’niam dee lo? lo? ɡəə go? tir’ɡat law
3sgm so_then set_up heart co-referent good good 3sgm so_then think say

ʔoʔ tɕii baj jet ɡəʔ maʔkɪn dee lexw
1sg IRR NEG stay with aunt co-referent already

So he made up his mind firmly, (and) he thought, "I will no longer stay with my aunt any more."

Orphan.022
I will flee.

Wherever (I) die, I will be finished there, because my parents have already died.

I no longer have any relatives; (I) have a relative, only one aunt, (and) she does not love (me)."

So (at) this time he went (by) himself.

(He) climbed mountains (and he) climbed peaks (and) went on.

Going wherever (at) night, he lay down here.

And wherever (he was at) night, he curled up here.
And at the time he was walking along he did not have rice.

He had one knife, one flat-ended knife.

And finding a tuber, he dug the tuber up, and then ate the tuber.

(He) had one dirty lighter, this flint lighter, (you) strike (and) tug this lighter ?; this one was his father's lighter.

His father smoked.

(When) his father died, he had got that lighter and his father's flat-ended knife and took (them and) went off.
(He) took the flat-ended knife and the lighter and the cross-bow and went.

Orphan.036

$pʰɔˈdii\ jɔh\ bian\ kiap\ tsii\ guut\ mooj\ ˈnian$

exactly go achieve almost IRR enter one Clf_months

(He) went along lasting for almost one month.

Orphan.037

$goo\ naŋ\ jɔh\ ni?\ tʰaŋ\ mah\ kwaa\ tʰaŋ\ məh$

3sgm walk DIR this and eat tuber and INDEF

He walked along and ate tubers and whatever.

Orphan.038

$goo\ go?\ baj\ gul\ dee\ le?\ goo\ go?\ hinˈdzo?\ jɔh\ ʔam$

3sgm so_then NEG fat co-referent and 3sgm so_then thin go NEG

ʔah\ ɾeŋ\ jɔh
have strength go

He was no longer fat, himself, and he was thin; (he) went on (even though he) did not have the strength to go (on).

Orphan.039

$naŋ\ jɔh\ naŋ\ jɔh\ naŋ\ jɔh\ naŋ\ jɔh\ pʰɔˈdii\ pʰɔɔ\ dee\ guun\ da?$

walk DIR walk DIR walk DIR walk DIR exactly just_about see at

hoʔ\ ŋtian\ dee\ bah\ bah
over_there be_like PRT light light

(He) walked (and) walked (and) walked (and) walked (and) exactly then he could nearly see at a distance (something that) looked very bright.

Orphan.040

$jeŋ\ sok\ mok\ ni?\ looŋ\ hoʔ\ bah\ leʔ\ ʔoo\ ɾonˈloŋ$

look_at periphery mountain this direction over_there light and oh! radiant

$goo\ məh\ məh\ giˈnaaj$

3sgn be what that_one_there

Looking near the mountain over in that direction (it) was bright and shining! What was it, that over there?

Orphan.041

$leʔ\ goo\ go?\ tɔɔŋ\ naŋ\ jɔh\ tɛɔˈɾɔ\ jeŋ\ baŋˈdia\ tsii\ məh\ kuŋ$

and 3sgm so_then NEC walk DIR approach look_at perhaps IRR be village
And so he must walk (and) approach (it and) look; could (it) possibly be a village of people?

Orphan.042

The distance (to) the place he saw there, to go towards that place that was bright (and) shining, it would be a walking time (of) three more days then (you) would arrive.

Orphan.043

And so he (said to himself), "Oh whatever (I) do I must go, because I made up my mind already saying that 'wherever (I) die, (I) will stay there'."

Orphan.044

And so he walked (and) walked (and) walked (and) walked.

Orphan.045

(At) night (after) three days indeed (he) had nearly arrived and (in about) one day (he) would arrive.

Orphan.046
So then (he) arrived here, and (there) was a water spout they had made to drip, drip, drip, drip there; then above this place was a small cave.

(There) was a small cave entrance just enough to be good to lie down (in), so he lay down here.

(After) a short time passed waking up in the morning, he was not yet fully awake, just then (there) was a young woman holding a water gourd.

(There) was a very beautiful young woman carrying a water gourd.
So then she immediately said, "Oh older brother, you, where have (you) come from to arrive here?" (she) said this.

Orphan.053

So he replied, "Oh! I don't know the village (where) I live at all.

Orphan.054

I have been walking like this lasting one month already.

Orphan.055

While I walked starting from the village to here, I went to places I wanted to go, (and) said, '(I) will go (and) wherever (I) die, then (I) will be finished here.'

Orphan.056

(I) thought, '(If I) do not have a grave, then (I) do not mind.'
I am an orphan, my father died (and) my mother died.

Mother died first (and) following after 3 years then father died.

And I stayed with my aunt.

Staying with my aunt, my aunt did not love (me).

(It) being necessary, so I went, (I) went off like that.

Wherever (I) die, (it) will be finished here, my life," he said this.
"Oh older brother, in that case you stay here (and) wait for me to return home (and) get rice for you to eat.

My house, walking from here is not far."

And she collected the water.

Having collected some water, then she carried her water on her shoulder (and) walked back (and) arrived at the house, and then she put the water down.

Having put the water down, then (she) found some food (and) put (it) in a gourd, long ago it was a gourd, put (it) in a basket, (and) took it back for him to eat.

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So he said, "Oh! I am not worthy that (I) could eat your food, because you are a beautiful person, you are a person whose body is handsome, (whose) body is beautiful, a rich person.

But I am really worthy (of this), I must eat tubers because I have been eating tubers lasting for this one month already," (he) said like this.

"And now I just met you like this, so I have good luck (and) I thank you very much.

Thank you that you pity me, (that) you love me, but I could not eat (this food).

If I eat this I am afraid I will die right now," (he) said this.
This woman, they said (she) was the king's daughter, the king living at that village, living at that district!

And then she tricked (and) enticed him so that he would eat, "If you truly love me, then eat, if you don't truly love me, if you won't eat then stop."

Then as well she picked up (some food and) put (it) in his mouth so that he would eat.

(He) ate, yes, (he) ate (till he) was full, (then he) went down (and) drank the spout water.
She said, "Come back, come back with me; come back (and) climb up (to) my house, if you love me."

**Orphan.081**

bat gii gəə go? laeį him'neeį hir'lo? naa go? ɲaŋ

| turn | this_one | 3sgm | so_then | directly | listen | language | 3sgf | so_then | walk |

wetę | broom

DIR accompany

So then (at) this time he listened to her words, (and) so walked back accompanying (her).

**Orphan.082**

lajtšaak wetę | leh tɕii rɔɔt da? ɡaŋjam gəə go? | law 'no?

| after | return_home | near | IRR | arrive at | house | 3sgm | so_then | say that |

ʔoo | hɛem | ʔoŋ | tɕii | kʰcc | jet | da? | grɔɔk | lim'bo? | bɔɔ ni?

oh! younger_sibling ? | 1sg | IRR | request | stay at | pen | cow | 2pl | this

After returning (and) being near to arriving at the house, he said like this, "Oh younger sister, I would request to stay in your cow pen.

**Orphan.083**

ʔoʔ | ?am som'kʰuɑn tɕii gaa ɡaŋjam bɔɔ ɡaŋjam bɔɔ ?eh blia

| 1sg | NEG | worthy | IRR | climb | house | 2pl | house | 2pl | EXCL | beautiful |

blia

beautiful

I am not worthy to climb up (to) your house; your house, oh! is very beautiful.

**Orphan.084**

jet | da? | dza? | sa'mɔɔt | jeeŋ | gəə go? | sin'dril | mat | sin'dril | mat

located at | far | look_around | look_at | 3sgn | so_then | dazzle | eye | dazzle | eye

maap | maap | maap | blia

flash | flash | flash | beautiful

Located at a distance (one) can look around (and) see it dazzles the eyes, (it) dazzles the eyes flash, flash, flash, (it is) beautiful."

**Orphan.085**

leew | go? | kuŋ | gi'ni? | go? | ?ah | graaw | saam | sip

and then | so_then | village | that_one | so_then | have | approximately | three | Clf_tens
So then, this village had about thirty houses.

(It) was the city of a king (in) ancient times.

So then she did not accept (that he stay in the cowpen), (and) invited him to come (to the house).

After that he could not refuse (her) request any more.

So he walked home accompanying her.

Just then (they) arrived at the gate to enter that king's house, that house people called the king's palace, Kmhmu' people long ago.
sii  gon
four  Clf_people

And (there) were soldiers guarding the gate there, (who) carried swords, four people.

Orphan.092
naa  ?ɔɔr  gəə  guut
3sgf  lead  3sgm  enter

She led him to enter.

Orphan.093
naa  guut  leʔ  bat  gii  ɡəə  gəə  gəə  taʰaan  ?am  ?an  guut
3sgf  enter  and  turn  this_one  remain  3sgm  3sgm  soldier  NEG  allow  enter

She entered and (at) this time he remained; him, the soldiers would not allow to enter.

Orphan.094
taʰaan  ?am  ?an  guut
soldier  NEG  allow  enter

The soldiers would not allow (him) to enter.

Orphan.095
teeŋ  neew  maʔ  goʔ  ?an  jet  daʔ  nook  ɲiʔ?
do  however  so_then  CAUS  stay  at  outside  here

Whatever (he) did, (they) made (him) stay outside.

Orphan.096
tɕii  jɔh  kʰrɛ  jɔʔ  joŋ  kaal  ?an  joŋ  ?anuɲaat  ?an  guut
IRR  DIR  request  with  father  before  COND  father  permit  COMP  enter

tsəwsiˈwit  niʔ  ?anuɲaat  ?an  guut  tɕiŋ  guut
king  this  permit  COMP  enter  then  enter

"(We) will go (and) request of father first; (and) if father permits (you) to enter, (if) the
king permits (you) to enter, then (you can) enter.

Orphan.097
?an  tsəwsiˈwit  ?am  ?anuɲaat  ?an  guut  leɛw  goʔ  ?am  guut
COND  king  NEG  permit  COMP  enter  and_then  so_then  NEG  enter

If the king does not permit (you) to enter, then (you) cannot enter."

Orphan.098

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Then when (they) had requested of her father already, her father said, "Come in, never mind."

Immediately she took him in.

(They) went (and) greeted (and) went (and) bowed to the father, then the father said, (he) became angry (and) said, "Oh! you get a dirty, disgusting, poor, miserable person (and) go to the house like that.

Whatever (you) do (I) don't care.

If you would marry him, then you run away with him," (he) said.
"Run away with him," (he) said this.

Orphan.104
rate ta'haan go? rate twi p'aan twi git
chase soldier so then chase IRR kill IRR chop

(They) chased (them), the soldiers chased (them) to kill (them and) cut them (down).

Orphan.105
naa go? dar joh brecm gwa du? joh ?iik
3sgf so then run DIR with 3sgm flee DIR again

So she ran away with him, (they) ran further away.

Orphan.106
joh taam joh joh taam joh joh taam joh joh le? go? kiap
go follow go go follow go go follow go go and so then almost

achieve month again almost achieve one Clf_months again

On and on they went (lit. go follow go), going and going, and then (it) lasted almost another month, (it) lasted almost one more month.

Orphan.107
joh go? joh
go so then go

So on (they) went.

Orphan.108
joh bip fa? mooj too
DIR meet monkey one Clf_animals

(They) went (and) met a monkey.

Orphan.109
monkey one Clf_animals this sit at tree_branch EXCL

The monkey sat on a tree branch!

Orphan.110
gwa moot mo? dee twi pin gwa nce twi pin kʰo?
3sgm take_hold cross-bow co-referent IRR shoot 3sgm aim IRR shoot EXCL
He took his crossbow to shoot (the monkey), he took aim to shoot, (when) "Oh!" the monkey said that, "Oh! older brother, older brother don't you shoot me.

Orphan.111
mee ta? piɲ ?o?
2sgm NEGIMP shoot 1sg

Don't you shoot me.

Orphan.112
ʔo? tsii dʑɔɔj mee
1sg IRR help 2sgm

I will help you.

Orphan.113
ʔaam mee bip tʰuk bip naak ?o? tsii dʑɔɔj mee law ni?
when 2sgm meet poor meet difficult 1sg IRR help 2sgm say this

When you meet poverty (or) meet difficulty I will help you," (he) said this.

Orphan.114
gəə law ʔəə EXCL promise together ? ʔo? tsii dʑɔɔj mee haan
3sgm say 1sg shoot 2sgm die

He said, "Hey! (let us) promise together ok, (if it) is not like this I will shoot you (and you) will die for sure, ok!"

Orphan.115
bat gii law ʔəə EXCL promise together ? ʔo? tsii dʑɔɔj mee taaŋ obody ʔo? tsii
turn this one say yes 1sg IRR help 2sgm elder_sibling type 1sg IRR

(At) this time (the monkey) said, "Yes, I will help you, older brother; the way I will help
you, you do not know at all, I will help you (at) a time (you) do not know at all.

Orphan.116

le? si’baa ʔcor jo? jsh ʔɔm ʔo? tɛi ʔmɔɔk si’baa de? ʔcor
and 2du lead together DIR IMP 1sg IRR tell 2du get road

And you two go together, (and) I will tell you two the road.

Orphan.117

si’baa jsh rɔh ʔɔŋ gii kʰián rɔɔt ʾmɔɔn ʔo? ʾmɔɔn
2du DIR follow_boundary river this_one DIR arrive place INDEF place

gəə tʰrɨm tʰrɨm le? ʔan si’baa jet ʔi? ʔo?
that level level and IMP 2du stay here IMP

You two follow the bank of this river (and) go up (and) arrive at some place, a place that is very flat, and you two stay here.

Orphan.118

and then 2du want get INDEF want get INDEF and IMP 2du think

rɔɔt ʔo?
arriving 1sg

And then (if) you two want anything, (if you) want anything, then think about me.

Orphan.119

teIr’ɡət rɔɔt ʔo? le? law kʰo? ʔo? tɛi ɡaaj dɔɔj law neew ni?
think arriving 1sg and say EXCL 1sg IRR DIR help say type this

fa?
monkey

Think about me and say (what you want), (then) I will come (and) help (you),” (he) said like this, the monkey.

Orphan.120

si’naa ɲaŋ kʰián ʔi? go? ʔam ꞏŋ ʔoŋ graaw baar
3du walk DIR here so then NEG long_time truly approximately two

saam ɗzuə ʔan ʔi? tɛi law ꞏnɔ? go? baar saam su’a’moŋ ni?
three Clf_hours COND 1pl IRR say that so then two three Clf_hours this

le? baar saam ɗzuə
PRT two three Clf_hours

Those two walked up (to) here (and it) was really not long, about two (or) three hours, if
we would say that, then two (or) three hours, two (or) three hours.

Orphan.121

lecw bat gii si'naa go? ?cro thii moh gle? moh
and_then turn this_one 3du so_then lead believe_in be husband be
wife this PRT 3pl chase drive_out achieve Clf_months 3du so_then
jet broom jo? le? joh rōt ?mocn gəə law ni?
stay accompany together PRT DIR arrive place 3sgm say this

And then (at) this time those two went, (we) believe (they) were husband (and) wife; (it) was a month (since) they had chased (them) away (and) driven (them) out, (and) those two had been staying together, so (they) arrived at the place he spoke of.

Orphan.122

rōt ŋi? si'naa go? hir'lu?
arrive here 3du so_then rest

Arriving here, those two rested.

Orphan.123

have rock stone wide wide EXCL beautiful have tree

tuut məh blia sir'ma? jet ŋi?
tree INDEF beautiful INTENS located here

(There) was a very wide rock, (it) was beautiful, (there) was forest, (there) were trees, various trees, (it) was very beautiful located here.

Orphan.124

blia liiŋ kuŋ jōŋ nco gi'ni? tce ?am da? ?aŋ gaaŋ
beautiful more_than village father 3pl that_one but NEG not_yet have house

gon
person

(It) was more beautiful than their father's village, but (there) were not yet any houses (for) people.

Orphan.125

ʔoo pʰo'dii jōŋ rōt ŋi? le? ʔoo hæem fa? ŋi? gəə
oh! exactly DIR arrive here PRT oh! younger_sibling monkey this 3sgm
Now just when (they) arrived here, "Oh younger brother monkey, he said that (if) we two want anything, we two should say like this, (and) think of him," (she) said this.

Orphan.126

Mr orphan this that orphan so then directly say COMP oh!

younger_sibling VOC now INDEFпо нi husband wife poor very NEG have

INDEF so then never_mind 3sgn IRR request get house one Clf_buildings

EXCL and get rice eat and get villagers approximately five six

The orphan man, he who (was) the orphan then said, "Oh younger sister, now we, husband (and) wife, are extremely poor, and don't have anything, (but we) don't mind that; (we) will ask to get one house, and to get rice to eat, and to get villagers, about 50 (or) 60 houses here."

Just then (as he) said this, the monkey actually went (and) arrived here.

Just then (as he) said this, the monkey actually went (and) arrived here.
Smack! he arrived here (and) he said, "You two speak well, you two get three things (and) stop; (you) cannot get (anything) going beyond this, and next time then (you) will get more; this time (you) will get only three," the monkey said like this.

Orphan.129

yes one want get house NEG allow rain wash

"Yes, one, (we) want to get a house to not allow the rain to wet us.

Orphan.130

ssəŋ de? mah mah siŋ'mah siŋʔak pa'lootë
two get rice eat food drink totally

Two, (we want) to get rice to eat, food (and) drink (of) all kinds.

Orphan.131

three want get son-in-law daughter-in-law attendants want get village

want get house want get villagers

Three, (we) want to get young men (and) women (and) attendants, (and we) want to get villages, (and we) want to get houses, (and we) want to get villagers."

Orphan.132

?oo ?an si'baa jap mat
yes IMP 2du close eye

"Yes, you two close (your) eyes.

Orphan.133

jap ?an ?ŋŋ ?am mooj dxua tir'gət law ni?
close MANNER long-time IMP one Clf_hours think say this

Close (them) for a long time, one hour, (and) think," (he) said this.

Orphan.134

gəʔ tcii məh mooj sua'mooŋ ni? le?
so_then IRR be one Clf_hours this PRT

So then (that) would be one hour.

Orphan.135
Those two sat, bowed (their) heads like that (and) closed (their) eyes.

Orphan.136

**jap** mat ra'möj le? met् ñaj bat gii met् siañ tçak m̩h**
close eye ear PRT sense ? turn this_one sense sound PSB be

siañ m̩h tɔo m̩h tʰit tʰit tʰit
sound what continue what many_sounds many_sounds many_sounds

Closing (their) eyes, (their) ears heard (at) this time, heard sounds, what sound could (it) be, going on, what? many sounds, loud noises, going on and on and on.

Orphan.137

'^mit fa? go? law si'baa laan tɔɔm ni?
instant monkey so_then say 2du open EMPH this

Suddenly the monkey said, "You two open (your eyes)," (he said) this.

Orphan.138

**si'naa laan jɛɛŋ paa tʰoh m̩h kuŋ m̩h gaŋ ?ah kɔɔŋkuŋ kɔɔŋgaŋ**
3du open look_at EXCL be village be house have village_people

Those two opened (their eyes and) looked, wow! (there) were villages, (there) were houses, (there) were village people.

Orphan.139

?oo m̩h re? m̩h hir'naa
oh! be rice_field be paddy_field

Oh! (there) were upland rice fields, (there) were paddy rice fields.

Orphan.140

and have Kmhmu' have person stay many many

And (there) were Kmhmu' people staying (there), many many (people).
And then the place those were sitting, (it) was the seat of a king (from) long ago.

Beautiful was the house, more radiant than the parents' house, the king's house.

(At) this time (there) was every kind of thing here.

Villagers located here (there) were sixty families, many (people).

And then (at) this time therefore the monkey said, "Yes, (from) now on you two have arrived at the place you two will stay."
Rule located in this district.

Whatever happens, in three days you two invite your parents to come (and) look, to come (and) look at your place located here," (he) said this.

"If your parents should come, (and) if they should ride elephants perhaps (or) ride horses (and) come, they must take some cloth (and) cover the elephants' eyes, (and) cover the horses' eyes.

And then let (them) walk in, (and when they) are close to arriving at the village, then (they) must cover (the animals' eyes)," (he) said like this.
(At) this time their father made the officers (and) made the soldiers go, go (and) invite the father to come (and) visit, invite the father king, who had chased (and) driven (them) out, yes, chased those two (and) driven (them) out.
When you have nearly arrived, then you must organise (and) make them to go along (and) follow the road."

Father (said), "Oh what could he go (and) authorise?"

Having gone (and) looked (and) seen the house, I will get the elephants (and) trample their house (and) destroy (it)."

However great he is, what is there (that) is greater than me located in this world," (he) said like this, reviling (them and) boasting.

After that, he then prepared (his entourage) and went.
Going along, he ordered the soldiers that however it was, he would kill (and) destroy (them) totally.

Orphan.164

Going along, (they) went (and) arrived and he did not cover the elephants' eyes; (he) drove the elephants to go fast.

Orphan.165

(He) hit (and) urged the elephants, hit the elephants to go fast, (he) kept hitting the elephants to make (them) to go fast.

Orphan.166

The village was more beautiful than the father's village over there, absolutely one

Orphan.167

(The) went (and) could see over the city wall, (when) wow! it dazzled the elephants' eyes.

Orphan.168

The village was more beautiful than the father's village over there, absolutely one
hundred times, one hundred times more beautiful.

Orphan.169

leʔ jɔh sa'tɔaŋ niʔ t'ran

and go elephant this be startled

And (as they) went along, the elephants were startled.

Orphan.170

t'ran nɔɔ ter dar jɔh pʰa'nəa gəʔ kʰruk jon'maʔ kʰruk sa'tɔaŋ

be startled 3pl jump run DIR king so then fall parents fall elephant

Being startled they jumped (and) ran off, (and) the king fell, the parents fell off the elephants.

Orphan.171

tɑ'haaŋ məʔ kʰruk sa'tɔaŋ

soldier INDEF fall elephant

All of the soldiers fell off the elephants.

Orphan.172

sa'tɔaŋ laʔ boote si'nəa twawsit'wit niʔ thii sah jon'maʔ niʔ
elephant PRT trample 3du king this believe in COMP parents this

haaŋ deh
die EMPH

The elephants trampled those two, the rulers, so that the parents died!

Orphan.173

haaŋ deh jɔɔr sah ?am him'jenj hir'loʔ? siŋ koon dee law
die EMPH because NEG listen language NMLZ child co-referent say

(They) died because (they) did not listen to the words, what their children had said.

Orphan.174

tiˈdɔh ɡian gii jɔh rɔt ˈniʔ sit deee ˈnaam ˈməʔ
tell story this one DIR arrive here be ended unspecified amount that

(I) have told this story (and) reached here; (I) am finished at that much.

Orphan.175

leɛw goʔ ?ah hir'loʔ? ɡian ˈməʔk sooon ʔiʔ ʔaan law sah

and then so then have language 3pl tell teach 1pl put away say COMP
And then (there) is a message they can teach us to remember, saying, "(You) shouldn't boast over other people, if (you) see other people's poverty, don't ridicule (and) grind each other down under foot.

Orphan.176
le? ?an nap'i'ii dii root jo? le? ?an ?ah hir'lo? rak'pʰeeŋ and IMP respect satisfy arrive together and IMP have love

sama'k'ii jo? fellowship together

And respect each other fully, and have love (and) harmony (with) each other.

Orphan.177
?an naaj too rak luuk'ncoŋ luuk'ncoŋ too nap'i'ii naaj IMP leader NEC love follower follower NEC respect leader

Leaders must love followers, (and) followers must respect the leader.

Orphan.178
?am ?an min pa'maat jo? NEG IMP despise boast together

Don't despise (and) boast over one another."

Orphan.179
kʰrɔɔ rin 'naam ni? kʰrɔɔ kon 'naam ni? sim'ʰmaaj loʔ request only amount this request cease amount this greeting

(I) ask only this much, (I) ask to stop at this amount, good-bye.
# RESUME

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