

Somsonge Burusphat

THE STRUCTURE OF THAI NARRATIVE



The Structure of Thai Narrative

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Abbreviations

AJ	adjective	PREP	preposition
AV	adverb of manner	PROP	proposition
AUX	auxiliary	Q	question marker
BEN	benefactive marker	QUANT	quantity
CLASS	classifier	S	sentence
DET	determiner	SEQ	sequential thesis
Fn	final nasal or semivowel	SUBJ	subject
Fp	final particle	TP	time phrase
Fs	final stop	Tp	topic-prominent
IMPV	imperative	Vac	action verb
M1	generalization rule	Vd	directional verb
M2	deletion rule	Vi	intransitive verb
M3	integration rule	Vmn	main verb
M4	construction rule	Vmo	motion verb
N	noun	VP	verb phrase
NP	noun phrase	Vpost	postserial verb
NUM	numeral	Vpre	preserial verb
PART	particle	Vt	transitive verb
PASS	passive marker	VV	long vowel and diphthong
PN	pronoun		

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1

Introduction

1.1. Theoretical framework. This study is an attempt to analyze the structure of Thai narrative discourse based primarily on the model expounded in Longacre (1983a), which utilizes basic tagmemic concepts as a framework for the study of discourse. The major notion is that of grammatical hierarchy, which posits various levels—DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH, SENTENCE, CLAUSE, PHRASE, WORD, and MORPHEME. Each unit or structure has a recursive character such that, for example, a phrase may be embedded in another phrase. According to the hierarchical concept, a discourse is composed of constituents—either paragraphs or embedded discourses—which fill discourse level slots. In the same way, a paragraph has sentences or embedded paragraphs as constituents, which fill paragraph level slots (Longacre 1983a).

Longacre (1981) proposes that in approaching a text, the analyst must consider the situation in which it is composed. The situation of the text is its physical setting or social-intellectual milieu. S/he must also approach the text in terms of the speaker-hearer's or writer-reader's contributions to the understanding of the text. Both assume certain schemata, scripts, and referential frames. The text is transmitted to the interpreter in linear sequences of clauses after clauses, sentences after sentences, and so forth. It is important that communication occur for both the speaker/writer and hearer/reader to share the same or similar referential structures. The text itself consists of its macrostructure, which is the main idea or overall conception; constituent structure, which includes embedded discourses, paragraphs, sentences, and lower-level constructions; and texture, which

includes spectrum, profile, participant reference, and cohesion. Spectrum refers to continuing strands of information that unify a discourse and distinguish hierarchically the kinds of information within it. Profile refers to the linguistic reflexes of mounting tension toward the peak and loosening tension away from it.

The structure of Thai narrative discourse has been chosen for detailed study because few studies have been done above the sentence level. Most studies of Thai have been centered around units no larger than the sentence. While the uppermost level of most studies is the sentence, the trend of linguistic analysis has moved above the level of the sentence. The reasoning for this is that limits linguistic analysis to sentences makes it impossible to explain certain aspects of grammar (Longacre 1978). The occurrence of pronouns with textual antecedents, for example, cannot be explained by such an analysis, since anaphoric chains of pronouns do not occur within a single sentence but in consecutive sentences. Since units larger than the sentence in Thai have rarely been explored, discourse analysis, the study of levels above the sentence, should have an intrinsic interest.

Another reason for the chosen study is that there have been no studies of narrative discourse, especially storyline and nonstoryline,¹ of a language without a tense-aspect system. This study is the first attempt to analyze the discourse structure of such a language.

1.2. Previous studies of Thai discourse. In addition to studies of units no larger than the sentence, there are also some studies of Thai discourse. Hatton (1975) analyzes a paragraph of standard Thai narrative. Of eleven sentences in this paragraph, one sentence is focused. This study is concerned with how “the elements that form these surface sentences relate to other elements in the discourse unit in terms of their deep semantic components” (234). Features such as anaphora, directional forms, and focus are analyzed to confirm that the ambiguous meaning of isolated sentences can be resolved through the study of preceding context. In his summary, the author relates his analysis to translation as follows (243):

Translation is a deep structure phenomenon where the translator is concerned with the transference of units of meaning rather than a literal transfer of surface structure phenomenon.

¹Storyline is any happening that pushes the story forward. Nonstoryline is supportive material other than the mainline of development in a discourse.

In Panupong 1970, the major concern is a classification of repetitions, with an emphasis on reduction structure. As pointed out by Jones and Diller (1976), Panupong does not make an extensive study of the function of various kinds of reiteration as response in a discourse context. She indicates the function of her data by using punctuation, but phonological marking is not mentioned. She relates the reiterative schema to sociolinguistic role relationships but does not specify how the selection of particular structure is affected by sociolinguistic factors.

Jones and Diller (1976) analyze actual speech in different social contexts—official interviews, business transactions, and colloquial intimate conversations. The main purpose of their study is to describe linkings in Thai discourse from a sociolinguistic view. The authors point out that a discourse is accepted if new material in the discourse is linked to preceding material. Therefore, it is necessary that the listener and the speaker share the linking systems. The discourse is connected by implicit and explicit links which are closely related to sociolinguistic factors.

The most obvious type of implicit link is the omission of conjunctive morphemes. All native speakers are able to recognize the omitted conjunctives if they are given the context and preceding text. The authors mention the interpretive process which makes it possible for the hearer to supply discourse links. That is, the hearer retains the important information which enables him to supply links that occur implicitly afterwards. Anaphora is used to illustrate how the retention of old information leads to the supplying of implicit links. It is emphasized that both an 'inner' (textual) environment and an 'outer' (situational) one are parts of discourse and that anaphoric linking is affected by outer environments which are controlled by sociolinguistic factors.

Conjunctive functional morphemes, such as *kɔː*³ 'then' and *thɑː*³ 'if' and a group of contextualizing devices called reiterative schema are explicit links. The latter are concerned with the linking structure which is relevant to the distinction between formal and informal speech. The notion of *OVERLAY* as proposed by Grimes (1972) is referred to in order to point out that old information is repeated to contextualize new information.

Jones and Diller classify reiterative schema structurally into two main types: noncontextualizing and contextualizing. The former is "a stammer/stall . . . the repetition of lexical items contiguously" (1976:48). This type of repetition does not serve as a linking device; its function in a discourse is hesitation. The latter includes reduction, extension, and substitution. These three subtypes have various functions in a discourse. For example, reduction functions primarily as emphasis, summary, and transition. The final section of their study addresses linking and feedback

and is concerned with how reiterative schema and related discourse phenomena “involve systems of linguistic selection based on the interaction of psychomotor and socio-cultural constraints” (112).

The differences between the present study and previous ones can be seen in various aspects. First, the data used here do not come from actual speech or a written paragraph but from written texts. While the data of previous studies include different kinds of texts, the corpus used in this study is limited to narrative. Furthermore, the present study is not confined to reiterative schema but attempts to examine the overall structure of narrative. The reiterative schema as a cohesive device is treated here as a category of nonstoryline.

1.3–5 Linguistic Information

Linguistic information is provided in this section for the reader to get a general idea of the Thai language relative to its use in narrative. Thai belongs to the Kam-Tai family of languages, which are spoken in Thailand, Laos, the northern part of Vietnam, West Burma (Shan states), and Southern China (Li 1960). The classification of Tai by lexicon reveals three main branches and that Thai falls into the Southwestern group, which includes Siamese (Thai), Laos, Tai Noir, Shan, Lu, Tai Blanc, and Ahom (Li 1977). The data utilized in this study are from central Thai, typified by the speech of the City of Bangkok.

1.3. Thai phonology. Thai phonology is simple. Most surface forms directly represent underlying forms. The transcription² given in (1)–(3) is based on the work of Kanchanawan (1978:16).

(1)	Vowels	Front	Central	Back
	High	<i>i, i:</i>	<i>u, u:</i>	<i>ɯ, ɯ:</i>
	Mid	<i>e, e:</i>	<i>ɤ, ɤ:</i>	<i>o, o:</i>
	Low	<i>æ, æ:</i>	<i>a, a:</i>	<i>ɔ, ɔ:</i>
	Diphthongs	<i>ia</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ua</i>

(2)	Tones ³	Mid	Low	Falling	High	Rising
	Symbol	₁	₂	₃	₄	₅

²In transcribing texts, the glottal stop ʔ following a word is omitted and an unstressed short syllable is assigned mid tone.

(3)	Consonants	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	Stops					
	unaspirated	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	aspirated	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>kh</i>	
	voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>			
	Affricates					
	unaspirated			<i>c</i>		
	aspirated			<i>ch</i>		
	Fricatives	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
	Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
	Lateral		<i>l</i>			
	Flap (or Trill)		<i>r</i>			
	Semiconsonants	<i>w</i>		<i>j</i>		

1.4. Typological properties of Thai. The purpose of this section is to provide the reader with a general understanding of the typological properties of Thai. This information will make it easier for the reader to understand the texts given in the appendix, especially information, such as expressions for time, relevant to the discussion of storyline and nonstoryline.³

As an isolating language. An isolating language is “a language in which it is generally true that each word consists of just one morpheme and cannot be further analyzed into component parts” (Li and Thompson 1981:11). The isolating language in particular does not have the richness of inflectional morphemes. Thai is an isolating language because most typical Thai words have such structure.

In the studies of narrative discourse on languages with clearly marked tense-aspect systems, the storyline and nonstoryline can be singled out with no difficulty. For example, the storyline in English is marked by past tense. However, Thai has no markers for gender, tense, or number. These aspects of grammar cannot be expressed inflectionally but must be expressed syntactically with numerals, classifiers, adverb-auxiliaries, etc. Therefore, the storyline and nonstoryline can be identified by a conspiracy

³Thai is, of course, a language with tones. Modern Central Thai distinguishes five tonal contrasts, though other varieties of the language have different numbers, different registers and contours, and different distributions of tones. These arise from five original proto-language contrasts having split into two each, which then coalesce and merge in a variety of manners. For my purposes it is sufficient to transcribe each syllable with a number to mark its suprasegmental traits and ignore the actual pitch characteristics.

of various means. Since Thai has no markers for tense, it is worth discussing how Thai, a language without verbal inflection, expresses time.

Expressing time in an isolating language. Kanchanawan (1978) reports that, owing to the absence of verbal inflections, Thai has been called by some grammarians a tenseless language. Thai expresses time through other linguistic units other than verb forms, namely, time phrases, time markers, aspect markers, and special verbs. She points out that a time phrase (TP) is the most important factor for expressing time. She expresses its importance as follows:

In the complete sentence, at least, one overt TP must be present. The sentence without TP is generally governed by a covert TP. Either a time marker or an aspect marker or both, may be covert in such a sentence.

Kanchanawan further indicates that preserial verbs (V_{pre}), auxiliaries (AUX), postserial verbs (V_{post}), and particles (PART) can function as time markers and aspect markers. Preserial verbs and auxiliaries always precede a verb. They are differentiated from each other by the fact that the former is always attached to a verb while the latter can be separated from a verb. Postserial verbs and particles always follow a verb. The difference between them is that the former may be negated while the latter cannot. Examples of preserial verbs, auxiliaries, postserial verbs, and particle are given below. Some words exemplified below may have more than one subcategorization restriction. For example, *paj¹* ‘go’ and *ma:¹* ‘come’ may function either as preserial verb, intransitive verb, transitive verb, postserial verb, or particle.

(4) Preserial verbs

<i>ca²</i>	(potentiality, assertion, volition, determination)
<i>cuŋ¹</i>	‘so’
<i>kam¹laŋ¹</i>	(ongoing event)
<i>lx:j¹</i>	‘then’
<i>mak⁴</i>	‘likely to, usually’
<i>jaŋ¹</i>	‘still, yet’
<i>jɔ:m³</i>	‘naturally’

(5) Auxiliaries

<i>ʔa:t²</i>	‘may, might, be supposed to’
<i>cuan¹, kuap²</i>	‘almost’
<i>khv:j¹</i>	‘experience, be accustomed to’
<i>khon¹</i>	‘probably’

khuan¹, na:³ ‘ought’
ko:³ ‘also, then’
pha¹ja:¹ja:m¹ ‘try’
to:ŋ³ ‘must’

(6) Postserial verbs

set² ‘finish’
daj³ ‘able, can, may, get, receive, have an opportunity’
waj⁴ ‘keep’
ju:² ‘stay’
ma:¹ ‘come’
paj¹ ‘go’

(7) Particles

læ:w⁴ ‘already’
ju:² ‘stay’
ʔaw¹ ‘get’

The occurrence together of members of different categories is exemplified in (8).⁴

(8)	AUX	Vpre	Vmn	VPost	PART
	<i>khonj¹</i>	(<i>ca²</i>)	<i>ʔa:n²</i>	(<i>ma:¹</i>)	(<i>læ:w⁴</i>)
	<i>ʔa:t²</i>		‘read’		
	<i>na:³</i>				

Kanchanawan further indicates that there are five markers that imply time. The three markers that imply past (but not necessarily storyline) are *daj³* (Vpre, AUX) ‘to get an opportunity’, *khv:u¹* (AUX) ‘experience, be accustomed to’, and *waj⁴* (PART) ‘keep (for a certain purpose)’. The marker that implies recent past is *phvŋ³* (Vpre) ‘just’ and the one that implies future is *ca²* (Vpre) which is glossed as ‘potentiality, assertion, volition, or determination’.

There are nine aspect markers that indicate five aspects: continuous, completive, perfect, continuative, and generic. Continuous markers⁵ are *kam¹lanj¹* (Vpre) ‘the process of doing something or being in some state’ and *ju:²* (Vpost, PART) ‘the continuation of the event for a certain length of

⁴This table is adapted from the tree diagram written by Sindhvananda (1970:61).

⁵Continuous markers are progressive markers which are distinguished from continuative markers.

time'⁶. Completive markers are *cop*² (V_{post}) 'end', *sam⁵ret*² (V_{post}) 'successful', *set*² (V_{post}) 'finish'. The continuative markers are *ma:*¹ (V_{post}) 'come, toward' and *paj*¹ (V_{post}) 'go, away'. These continuative markers "indicate the completion or the continuation of the event from a certain point of time in a certain direction" (Kanchanawan 1978:92). The generic marker *ja:m*³ (V_{pre}) 'naturally' indicates simple present.

Besides time phrases, time markers, and aspect markers, time reference can be expressed through special verbs. Activities and states do not necessarily imply time. Only the time adverbial or the context determines time. Achievements⁷ imply past time even when a time phrase is not present. Examples of such achievements are *ta:j*¹ 'die', *ha:j*⁵ 'be lost', *dap*² 'extinguish', and *mot*² 'expire'.

As mentioned above, a verb phrase may be preceded by a preserial verb or an auxiliary and followed by a postserial verb or a particle. The verb phrase itself may further consist of a transitive verb (V_t) or an intransitive verb (V_i), and it is very common to find the verb phrase carrying a series of such verbs. Verb serialization in Thai has been described by Filbeck as follows:

When verb serialization in a language [such] as Thai is contrasted with English, we see that verbs occurring in sequence do not necessarily describe separate events or actions occurring serially; rather, all verbs in a series refer to a single proposition, the proposition contained in the S dominating the whole construction. The initial verb, or V₁, of a series is propositional, i.e. this is the verb that carries the true predicate meaning of the proposition; any subsequent verb, or V_{1+n}, states a functional meaning which is related to the predicate or propositional meaning of the initial verb. Depending on the propositional content of the initial verb the functional meaning of a V_{1+n} may be an extra semantic component added on to the inherent semantic content already contained in the verb or it may comprise some radical alternation of the meaning of the verb (1975:119).

The following example has a series of three verbs which is preceded by an auxiliary and followed by a postserial verb and a particle. The initial verb, V₁ of this series is propositional and the subsequent verb, V₂ carries a functional meaning which is related to the propositional meaning of V₁.

⁶This continuous marker literally means 'stay/be alive'.

⁷Achievements are verbs that are inherently perfective.

- (9)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| SUBJ | AUX | V ₁ | V ₂ | N | PREP |
| <i>khaw⁵</i> | <i>khx:j¹</i> | <i>paj¹</i> | <i>chim¹</i> | <i>ʔa:¹ha:n⁵</i> | <i>thi:³</i> |
| he | used to | go | taste | food at | |
-
- | | | | |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| N | DET | V _{post} | PART |
| <i>ra:n⁴ʔa:¹ha:n⁵</i> | <i>nan⁴</i> | <i>ma:¹</i> | <i>læ:w⁴</i> |
| restaurant | that | come | already |
- He used to go to taste food at that restaurant.

Word classes. In terms of syllabic structure, Thai words are classified into three main types. The classification is based on Naksakul 1977.

(a) Most Thai words are monosyllabic. Thai is, therefore, known as a monosyllabic language. Monosyllabic words have the following structures:⁸

- (10)
- | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| C(C)VV 1–5 | as in <i>chua³</i> | ‘believe’ |
| C(C)VFn 1–5 | as in <i>khwan¹</i> | ‘smoke’ |
| C(C)VFs 2,4 | as in <i>phra⁴</i> | ‘monk’ |
| C(C)VVF _n 1–5 | as in <i>du:m²</i> | ‘drink’ |
| C(C)VVF _s 2,3 | as in <i>chuak³</i> | ‘rope’ |

(b) Even though most Thai words are monosyllabic, there are a number of Thai words that consist of two syllables. Disyllabic words may be a combination of two monosyllabic words, e.g., *ro:ŋ¹-thaw⁴* ‘shoes’ or a combination of the syllable C(r)V and a monosyllabic word, e.g., *kra¹’do:t²* ‘jump’. For the second combination, the first syllable is less stressed than the second syllable and carries mid tone.

(c) Most polysyllabic words in Thai are compound words or borrowed words from Pali, Sanskrit, Khmer, Chinese, or English. For example, *ra:n⁴-ʔa:¹ha:n⁵* ‘restaurant’ is a combination of three monosyllabic words and *ro:ŋ¹-pha¹’ja:¹ba:n¹* ‘hospital’ is a combination of two monosyllabic words and a disyllabic word.

As a topic-prominent language (Tp language). Li and Thompson (1976) present a number of distinguishing characteristics of topic-prominent languages. Based on these characteristics, Thai is considered to be a topic-prominent language. The following section discusses the important characteristics of Thai as a topic-prominent language.

⁸The numbers that accompany the syllable structures represent tones. For example, the syllable structure C(C)VV may carry all tones, i.e., 1–5, whereas C(C)VVF_s can carry only tone 2 or 3.

Tp languages have “a surface coding for the topic, but not necessarily for the subject” (Li and Thompson 1976:466). Thai also has this characteristic. The topic in Thai is usually in initial position as in (11). The noun phrase *pla:¹ ni:⁴* ‘this fish’ is the topic and is present in the sentence, whereas the subject of the verb *kin¹* ‘eat’ is absent.

- (11) *pla:¹ ni:⁴ kin¹ daj³*
 fish this eat able
 This fish, (anybody is) able to eat (it).

The passive construction is not common in Tp languages because “it is the topic, not the subject, that plays a more significant role in sentence construction. Any noun phrase can be the topic of a sentence without registering anything on the verb” (Li and Thompson 1976:467). In Thai, passivization is rare. If it occurs, it carries a special meaning, i.e., unpleasant situation, as in (12).

- (12) *mæ:w¹ thu:k² khaw⁵ ti:¹*
 cat PASS he hit
 The cat was hit by him.

In Tp languages, ‘dummy’ or ‘empty’ subjects are not found because “the notion of subject does not play a prominent role” (Li and Thompson 1976:467). When a subject is not necessary, the sentence can occur without a subject, as in (13).

- (13) *thi:³ni:³ suaj⁵ lua⁵kx:n¹*
 here beautiful very much
 It is very beautiful in here.

According to Li and Thompson (1976:468), “Tp languages are famous for their pervasive so-called ‘double subject’ constructions.” The double subject construction is common in Thai, as shown in (14), *wua¹ fu:ŋ⁵ ni:⁴* ‘this herd of cows’ as the topic and *tua¹ca:²fu:ŋ⁵* ‘the head of the herd’ as the subject. The topic has no selectional relationship with the verb, i.e., it is not determined by the verb but by the discourse. As pointed out by Li and Thompson (1976:468), there is no argument that this kind of sentence “could be derived by any kind of ‘movement’ rule from some other sentence type”.

- (14) *wua*¹ *fu:*⁵ *ni:*⁴ *tua*¹*ca:*²*fu:*⁵ *du*² *thi:*³*sut*²
 cow CLASS this head of herd fierce most
 This herd of cows, the head of the herd is fiercest.

Word order in Thai. The basic word order of Thai sentences is SVO, as in (15).

- (15) *khaw*⁵ *ti:*¹ *mæ:w*¹
 he hit cat
 He hits a cat.

As pointed out by Li and Thompson (1981), in a language where the object follows the verb, there are a number of features that correlate with this position of verb and object. In regard to modifiers and heads, these features include Verb/Adverb, Noun/Adjective, Noun/Relative Clause, and Noun/Possessive. Thai is also a language that has the object following the verb, and it has the features that correlate with this position of verb and object, as shown in (16).

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| (16) | Verb/Adverb | <i>wiŋ</i> ³ <i>rew</i> ¹ | ‘run fast’ |
| | Noun/Adjective | <i>phom</i> ⁵ <i>sua</i> ⁵ | ‘beautiful hair’ |
| | Noun/Relative Clause | <i>naŋ</i> ⁵ <i>suu:</i> ⁵ <i>thi:</i> ³ <i>ju:</i> ² <i>bon</i> ¹ <i>hiŋ</i> ³ | ‘the book that is on the shelf’ |
| | Noun/Possessive | <i>pa:k</i> ² <i>ka:</i> ¹ <i>khə:</i> ⁵ <i>chan</i> ⁵ | ‘pen of mine’ |

Even though the Thai verb is generally in second position, it is also possible for it to be final in the sentence, as in the passive construction shown in (17).

- (17) *mæ:w*¹ *thu:*^{k2} *khaw*⁵ *ti:*¹
 cat PASS he hit
 The cat was hit by him.

1.5. Phrase structure rules. This section presents phrase structure rules which indicate the positions in which the time and aspect markers mentioned in §1.4 occur. The following phrase structure rules are adapted from the work of Kanchanawan (1978).

The phrase structure rules are read as follows:

- a. A sentence is composed of a noun phrase (NP), a verb phrase (VP), and an optional adverb of manner (AV).

b. A verb phrase is composed of a verb phrase and an optional sentences, noun phrase (NP), or postserial verb (V_{post}) followed by an optional quantity (QUANT).

c. A noun phrase is composed of a pronoun (PN) or a noun followed by an optional classifier (CLASS) and determiner (DET).

d. A verb phrase is further composed of a main verb (V_{mn}) or a verb phrase (VP), optionally preceded by preserial verb (V_{pre}) or auxiliary and optionally by a particle (PART).

$$\begin{aligned}
 (18) \quad & \text{a. } s \rightarrow NP + VP \text{ (ADVM)} \\
 & \text{b. } VP \rightarrow VP + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} S \\ NP \\ \text{POSTV (QUANT)} \end{array} \right\} \\
 & \text{c. } NP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRO} \\ N \text{ (CLASS DET)} \end{array} \right\} \\
 & \text{d. } VP \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V_{\text{mn}} \\ \left(\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V_{\text{pre}} \\ \text{AUX} \end{array} \right\} \right) \end{array} \right\} + VP \text{ (PART)}
 \end{aligned}$$

1.6. The data. This study is based on data from various sources. Most of the examples presented in this study are drawn from *A Collection of Folktales* (Nakaprathip 1972), *Aesop's Fables*⁹ (Maha Ammattho Praya Methathipbordi 1950), *Folktales* in Khwanroen magazines (Khrupen 1982), and *Roj-Arlaj* (Rose La Raine 1970). For detailed study, ten texts are chosen: "The Lion and the Rat", "The Guardian Angel and the Wood Cutter", and "The Frogs Chose Their Master" are Aesop's fables. "The Horse and the Fox", "The Magic Pond", "The Foolish Fox", and "The Mother Dog Called Nin" are folktales for children. "The Unity" is a reading text used in primary schools. "Srithanonchai" is an old trickster tale narrated by a Thai native speaker. "The Old Woman" is a short novel. Except for the last, these texts are transcribed in the appendix. The transcription is phonemic, with word-by-word translation and free translation. Since the short novel is lengthy, only a synopsis in English is given to illustrate the plot structure of Thai narrative.

In this study, these texts are referred to by numbers as in (19).

⁹*Aesop's Fables* were written in Thai but I believe that it was adapted from the original model of Aesop's Fables even though the writer did not mention this in his introduction.

- (19) Text 1 The Mother Dog Called Nin
Text 2 Srithanonchai
Text 3 The Lion and the Rat
Text 4 The Guardian Angel and the Wood Cutter
Text 5 The Frogs Chose Their Master
Text 6 The Horse and the Fox
Text 7 The Unity
Text 8 The Foolish Fox
Text 9 The Magic Pond
Text 10 The Old Woman

1.7. Outline of this study. This study proceeds in chapter 2 with the notion of macrostructure and presents the principles of macroprocessing which are applied to a Thai narrative discourse in order to illustrate how its general macrostructure can be worked out in terms of recursive macrorules. The major concern of chapter 3 is overall plot structure and the grammatical profile which realizes that structure. Chapter 4 discusses the notions storyline and non storyline. In order to develop the plot structure of a text, a storyline is required; all categories of verbs that advance the storyline and the sequential markers that accompany them are discussed, and a salience scheme of verb forms and clause types helps to analyze a paragraph in Thai is posited.

Chapter 5 deals with identificational information. The storyline corresponds roughly to the domain of the verb phrases; a text also has noun phrases (for participants and props) which interweave with the verb phrases. Participants are ranked according to their importance to the story, as measured through the framework of Givón (1983). Chapter 6 studies cultural information embedded in Thai texts. A trickster tale is chosen for detailed study in order to illustrate how the text cues in cultural information. The final section of this chapter discusses knowledge frames which are necessary for understanding the tale.

2

Macrostructure

A text consists of linearly ordered sentences. However, underlying the sentences, there exists a level of global and abstract structures that controls their arrangement (van Dijk 1972). The reason for postulating this level is “to account for the ‘global meaning’ of discourse such as it is intuitively assigned in terms of the ‘topic’ or ‘theme’ of a discourse or conversation” (van Dijk 1977a:3).

Macrostructures are “a more GLOBAL LEVEL of semantic description; they define the meaning of parts of a discourse and of the whole discourse on the basis of the meanings of the individual sentences” (van Dijk 1977b:6). The meaning of the macrostructure of a particular text is regarded as “a function of the meaning and reference of the constituent propositions of the explicit text base and the relations between those propositions” (van Dijk 1977a:7).¹⁰

Van Dijk (1972) explains that when a language user assigns a global content to a text, the sequence of propositions underlying the sentences of the text are replaced, i.e., microstructures, with a macroproposition. That is to say, all the propositional information of the discourse is reduced to the macrostructure. In order to obtain the macrostructure from the microstructures of the text, the language user operates the macrorules that “transform one proposition sequence into another ‘at another level’ of description” (van Dijk 1977a:8). Therefore, microstructures are the input

¹⁰I refer here to partial empirical justification of macrostructure in van Dijk and Kintsch’s experiments in summary and recall (1981).

to the macrorules and the macrostructure is the output. The macrostructure is not limited to one level. Instead, there are several levels of macrostructure, "as long as there are global concepts and facts defining the level" (van Dijk 1977a:7). That is, macrorules will operate "on a sequence of macrostructures to yield still more global macro structures, until the most general macrostructure of a discourse is reached" (van Dijk 1977b:6-7).¹¹

2.1. Macrorules. The macrorules that underlie the global interpretation of discourse are formulated by van Dijk (1977a,b) into the following four rules:

Generalization rule (M1). The first rule substitutes several properties of the same superordinate class with the name of the superordinate class. By application of this rule, the predicates and the arguments are generalized to a more general concept. It is an essential property of generalization that information be deleted. The deletion of information is required as it is irrelevant at the macrolevel. When information is deleted, it is irrecoverable. The application of this rule can be exemplified as follows: a dog, a cat, and a parakeet can be generalized as pets (van Dijk 1977a).

Deletion rule (M2). The second rule says that if a proposition is not a presupposition of any other proposition in the sequence, it will be deleted. The deleted proposition can be left out "without changing the meaning or influencing the interpretation of the subsequent sentences of the discourse" (van Dijk 1977b:144). As the deleted proposition is not a condition for the interpretation of any other proposition, it is considered irrelevant, i.e., nonpresuppositional. Also, a proposition is deleted "if it determines the interpretation of a proposition which is itself deleted or substituted" (van Dijk 1977a:11). An example of the application of this rule can be seen in Macrooperation 1.

Integration rule (M3). This rule combines or integrates the sequence of essential and coherently related sentence propositions into global information. By application of the integration rule, the more specific information of the passage will be deleted if "its global information has already been expressed in the text by the proposition that also serves as a

¹¹I believe that these macrorules attempt to make explicit what the naive reader does in terms of summary and recall.

macroproposition" (van Dijk 1977a:12). Besides, if a proposition expresses a macroproposition already expressed by a preceding proposition, it may be deleted. The information integrated by this rule can be recovered because "it is part of the more general concept or frame" (van Dijk 1977b:146). Therefore, the proposition considered to be a normal or expected fact will be integrated. An example of the application of this rule can be seen in Macrooperation 2 (§2.2).

Construction rule (M4). This last macrorule and the integration rule are variants of each other. However, the construction rule is distinguished from the integration rule in that it "has no input proposition that organizes other propositions" (van Dijk 1977a: 14). The macrorule of construction operates as follows:

It organizes microinformation by combining sequences of propositions that function as one unit at some macrolevel; it reduces information without simply deleting it; and it introduces information at the macrolevel that is 'new' in the sense of not being part of the text base or entailed by individual propositions of the text base (van Dijk 1977a:15).

Essentially, the construction rule "summarizes a sequence of actions or events by introducing a name that refers to the sequences as a whole (e.g., reading books, going to class, taking exams, studying)" (Kintsch 1977:44).

The macrorules stated above satisfy the ENTAILMENT relation, that is, the macropropositions obtained via the application of these rules are entailed by the sequence of propositions underlying the sequence of sentence, i.e., the microstructures (van Dijk 1977b).¹² However, the macrooperations will not apply if macropropositions are expressed in the text. The nonapplication of macrorules is regarded as "the application of a ZERO-rule whose input and output are identical" (van Dijk 1977a:10).

2.2. The derivation of macropropositions. When the macrostructure is worked out, it is much easier to justify the existence of various parts and features of a text. Therefore, the first concern of the analyst is to discover the macrostructure of an illustrative Thai text. Instead of applying the macrorules to the unrestricted text, one begins with the storyline, i.e., any happenings that push the story forward. The text-reduced-to-storyline makes a good abstract of the text, and is a low level of macrostructure, which is the input to the macrorules. The macrorules are recursively

¹²Preparatory actions, reasons, and consequences are typically entailed propositions.

applied to the reduced text until the most general macrostructure of the text is discovered. This section presents, by way of illustration, an analysis of the folktale *The mother dog called Nin*. The macrostructure arrived at has been checked with other speakers of Thai as to intuitive plausibility.

Even though the macrorules attempt to be objective,¹³ there is a certain subjectivity in applying them. When language users summarize a text, they cannot be expected to arrive at the same macrostructure. Kintsch reports his experiments in summary and recall as follows:

Different subjects will write different summaries of a story reflecting the fact that from the same text they have constructed somewhat different macrostructures. They have the same schema to guide them, but as we shall see below, the rules governing the constructions that occur as an integral part of the comprehension process leave some room for individual variation. A person's goals, expectations, and knowledge base determine exactly how he will understand the text (1977:40).

Even though the macrostructure derived via these macrorules is obtained operationally, it represents a deep level within the text itself. The macrooperation is used to construct the macrostructure; but, to the composer, the macrostructure is the intended conception.

After the macrostructure is worked out, one must examine the whole text to see how the macrostructure can be considered to be a control on the content and balance of the story.

Propositionalizing the text. Discrete portions of the text (roughly corresponding to sentences) are indicated by spacing in the Thai original of the text. These are numbered consecutively as roughly corresponding to a propositionalizing of the text (cf. Miller and Kintsch 1981).

Abstracting the text. The next step follows the procedure proposed by Longacre (in press). That is, the supportive material off the storyline is left out. The *Nin* text is reduced to fifty-five propositions, all on the storyline.¹⁴ The supportive material which is left out includes the following types of information:

¹³Experiments by van Dijk and Kintsch (1981) establish the psychological reality of macrostructure of the sort deduced by these macrorules.

¹⁴See categories of nonstoryline in §4.1. The full version of each text is provided in the appendix, where the propositions advancing the storyline are printed in boldface.

- a. Identification. The information regarding a new participant such as the mother dog in P1, the hunter in P19, and the princes in P32, P33, P34, and P35 is off-the-line material.
- b. Setting. The setting of each episode, e.g., P58 and P85 is peripheral material.
- c. Description. The descriptive material is expressed in P28, P29, P30, P31, and P52.
- d. Routine events. P13, P14, P15, P16, P17, and P18 are routine events; therefore, they are omitted.
- e. Repetition. The repetitive activity as found in P25 is off the storyline.
- f. Background. P78 is background information which amplifies the preceding main event by adding which direction the participants went. Therefore, it can be excluded.
- g. Prolonged activities. The activities requiring a duration of time are off the storyline. They include P2, P6, P11, P12, P21, P40, and P41.
- h. Thought and feeling. Thought and feeling do not advance the storyline so they are excluded. They appear in P4, P8, P10, P24, P54, P56, P60, and P79.
- i. Gradual activities. The propositions that refer to gradual activity such as P3 are off the storyline.
- j. Negation. The propositions that contain negation do not refer to events that actually happen; therefore, the propositions such as P9, P47, and P74 are left out.
- k. Adverbial clause. The adverbial clauses found in the text function as a back reference to previous events or a demotion of on-the-line propositions; therefore, they do not constitute backbone material. These adverbial clauses occur in P43, P53, P64, P68, P72, P81, P88, P90, and P95.

Macrooperations. After the *Nin* text has been reduced to fifty-five propositions, the macrorules are applied to these propositions. The macrorules are applied recursively until the most general macrostructure of the text has been discovered. The application of the macrorules to the fifty-five propositions yields three levels of macrostructure, the highest level being the most general.

The macropropositions of the first level of macrostructure are presented in (20)–(35).

(20) Macrooperation 1¹⁵

P5 \Rightarrow 1 / *mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ kɔ:³ tok² lu:k³*
 P7 M2 P1 mother dog Nin AUX give birth baby

ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ pen¹ ma¹nur⁴ læ⁴ pen¹
 come out to be human being and to be

ʔhiu:³jiŋ⁵ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ khon¹/
 female all three CLASS
 Nin gave birth to three female humans.

P5 is deleted because it is not a presupposition of any other proposition in the sequence.

(21) Macrooperation 2

P20 \Rightarrow 1 / *na:j¹phra:n¹ nam¹ na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ nin¹ læ⁴*
 P22 M3 P2 hunter take female mother Nin and
 P23

P26 *dek² nɔ:j⁴ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ paj¹ lian⁴ waj⁴*
 P27 child little all three go take care keep

thi:³ ba:n³ con¹kra¹thaŋ³ tɔ:p²to:¹ pen¹ sa:w⁵/
 at house until grow up to be woman
 The hunter took Nin and all three children home
 and took care of them until the children grew up to
 be women.

P20, P22, P23, and P26 are integrated into P27 because they are coherently related and can be inferred from P27. That is, if the hunter took the mother dog and the children home, it can be inferred that the hunter saw them and befriended them until they trusted him and let him take them home.

(22) Macrooperation 3

P36 \Rightarrow 0
 P37 M2

¹⁵Macrooperation 1 can be read as follows: P5 undergoes the deletion rule (M2), whereas P7 is retained. The result of this macrooperation is 1/P1, i.e., the first proposition of the first level of macrostructure. The following macrooperations can be read in a similar way.

P36 and P37 undergo deletion because they are detailed information not essential to the next macroproposition expressed in P39.

(23) Macrooperation 4

P38 \Rightarrow 1 / *ta:ŋ²* *sa¹mak²* *rak⁴khraj³* *kan¹* *pen¹*
 P39 M3 P3 each willingly love together to be
 P42

sa:m⁵ *khu:³*/
 three couple

Each prince fell in love with one of the girls.

P38 and P42 are expected facts that can be recovered by P39; therefore, they are integrated into P39. That is, if each prince and each girl fell in love with the other, it can be expected that the princes saw the girls and liked them (P38) they would promise that they would come back to pick them up.

(24) Macrooperation 5

P43 \Rightarrow 1 / *mæ:³* *ma:⁵* *nin¹* *maj³ɔ:m¹* *sa¹dæ:ŋ¹*
 P44 M4 P4 mother dog Nin refuse reveal
 P45

tua¹ *pen¹* *mæ:³*/
 self to be mother

Mother dog Nin refused to reveal herself as the mother.

P43, P44, and P45 function as one unit at the first macrolevel; therefore, they are combined into one proposition.

(25) Macrooperation 6

P46 \Rightarrow 0
 P48 M2

P46 and P48 are deleted because they can be inferred from the following text units.

(26) Macrooperation 7

P49 \Rightarrow 1 / *lu:k³sa:w⁵ na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ nin¹ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵*

P50 M1 P5 daughter female mother Nin all three

P51

paj ju:² kap² caw³cha:j¹ thaŋ³ sa:m⁵ thi:³
go to be with prince all three at

muaw¹ ta:ŋ² ta:ŋ² kan¹/

town different each other

Nin's daughters went to live with the three princes
at different places.

P49, P50, P51 are generalized by a more general concept since it is unimportant to mention specifically which girl went to live with which prince.

(27) Macrooperation 8

P53 \Rightarrow 1 / *na:j¹phra:n¹ cuw¹ tok²lon¹ jɔ:m¹rap⁴pa:k² pha:¹*

P55 M3 P6 hunter so agree promise take

P57

mæ:³ ma:⁵ ʔɔ:k² dɛ:n¹tha:ŋ¹ paj¹ jiam³
mother dog go out travel go visit

lu:k³ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ thi:⁴/
child all three direction

The hunter agreed to take the mother dog to visit
her three children by taking her in each direction.

P53 and P55 are integrated into P57 because they are expected propositions that can be inferred from P57. If the hunter agreed to take Nin to visit her daughters, it can be expected that Nin missed them and wanted to see them (P53); then she asked the hunter to take her to see them (P55).

(28) Macrooperation 9

P59	⇒	1 /	<i>lu:k³</i>	<i>khon¹to:¹</i>	<i>læ⁴</i>	<i>lu:k³</i>	<i>khon¹kla:ŋ¹</i>
P61	M4	P7	child	eldest	and	child	middle
P62							
P63			<i>maj³</i>	<i>ɔ:n³rap⁴</i>	<i>mæ:³</i>		
P64			not	welcome	mother		
P65			The two elder daughters did not welcome their				
P66			mother.				

P59, P61, P62, P63, P64, P65, and P66 are coherently related so they are combined into one unit via the Construction rule.

(29) Macrooperation 10

P67	⇒	1 /	<i>na:ŋ¹lu:k³sa:w⁵</i>	<i>kɔ:³</i>	<i>dɛ:n¹</i>	<i>khaw³</i>	
P68	M3 P8		daughter	AUX	walk	enter	
P69							
P70			<i>hɔŋ³</i>	<i>paj¹</i>	<i>sar²</i>	<i>na:ŋ¹kam¹nan¹</i>	<i>haj³</i>
P71			room	go	order	maid	let
			<i>ɤaw¹</i>	<i>nam⁴rɔ:n⁴</i>	<i>paj¹</i>	<i>sa:t²rot⁴</i>	<i>mæ:³</i> <i>ma:⁵</i>
			take	hot water	go	throw	mother dog
			The daughter walked to the room to order her maid				
			to throw hot water on the mother dog.				

P67, P69, P70, and P71 are integrated into P68 because they are normal facts which are part of the more general concept (P68). When the maid threw hot water on the mother dog, the expected sequences of events are (1) the dog was hurt (P69), (2) ran away (P70), and (3) cried (P71).

(30) Macrooperation 11

P72 \Rightarrow 1 / *na:j¹phra:n¹ tɔ:ŋ³ bæ:k² mæ:³ ma:⁵*

P73 M3 P9 hunter must carry mother dog

P75

P76 *saj² ba:² paj¹ ha:⁵ lu:k³ khon¹sut²thɔ:ŋ⁴*

P77 put on shoulder go see child youngest

ta:m¹ pa¹ni⁴tha:n¹ dv:m¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵
according to intention original of

mæ:³ ma:⁵/
mother dog

The hunter had to carry the mother dog on his shoulder to go to see the youngest daughter, according to the mother dog's original intention.

P72, P73, P75, and P76 can be recovered from P77. That is, P77 implies (1) the younger daughter let the hunter come out to get the mother dog (P72 and P73), and (2) the hunter heard and saw the dog crying (P75 and P76). Therefore, P72, P73, P75, and P76 are integrated into P77.

(31) Macrooperation 12

P80 \Rightarrow 1/ *lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴ haj³ mæ:³ kap²*

P81 M4 P10 daughter youngest let mother and

P82

P83 *na:j¹phra:n¹ khaw³ ma:¹ ju:² naj¹ warj¹/*

P84 hunter enter come live in palace

The youngest daughter let her mother and the hunter live in the palace.

The macrorule of construction combines P80, P81, P82, P83, P84 into one unit.

(32) Macrooperation 13

P86 \Rightarrow 1/ *sop² mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ daj³ kla:j¹pen¹*

P87 M3 P11 corpse mother dog Nin get become

P88

thɔ:ŋ¹ paj¹ thaŋ⁴ tua¹/
gold go all body

The corpse of mother dog Nin became gold all over.

P86 and P87 are integrated into P88 since they are expected facts that can be recovered from P88. When Nin's corpse turned to gold it implies that (1) Nin died (P86) and (2) the daughter kept the corpse (P87).

(33) Macrooperation 14

P8 ⇒ 1/ *thi:³ pen¹ chen³ ni:⁴ phro⁴ ræ:ŋ¹ka¹tan¹ju:¹*
 P90 M4 P12 that to be like this because gratitude

khɔ:⁵ lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴/
 of daughter youngest
 It happened like this because of the youngest
 daughter's gratitude.

P89 and P90 are combined as one proposition via the Construction rule.

(34) Macrooperation 15

P91 ⇒ 1/ *na:ŋ¹lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴ kɔ:³ bæ:ŋ²*
 P92 M3 P13 daughter youngest AUX share
 P93
 P94

haj³ duaj³ khwa:m¹tem¹caj¹/
 give with willingness
 The youngest daughter willingly gave them the
 bones.

P91, P92, and P93 are integrated into P94 because they can be inferred from P94. That is, when the youngest daughter let her sister share the bones, this incident implies (1) the sisters knew that the corpse turned to gold (P91) and (2) they came to share the bones (P92 and P93).

(35) Macrooperation 16

P95 ⇒ 1/ *tx*:² *phɔ*:¹ *paj*¹ *thuŋ*⁵ *ba:n*³*muaw*¹ *khɔ*:⁵ *ton*¹
 0 P14 but when go to town of self

*kra*¹*du*:*k*² *kɔ*:³ *kla*:*j*¹*pen*¹ *kra*¹*du*:*k*² *tham*¹*ma*¹*da*:¹
 bone AUX become bone ordinary

*duaj*³ *khwa*:*m*¹*maj*³*ka*¹*tan*¹*ju*:¹ *tɔ*:² *mæ*:³
 with ingratitude to mother

*nan*³*ʔe*:*ŋ*¹/
 intensifier

But when the two daughters reached their towns,
 the gold bones turned out to be ordinary bones
 because of their ingratitude.

P95 cannot be reduced by the macrorule because it is a macro-proposition that is expressed in the story.

The macrostructure which has been obtained so far¹⁶ is the first level of macrostructure, since macrostructures are themselves “subject to further macrointerpretation” (van Dijk 1977a:26). Thus, the macrorules can be recursively applied to the first and following levels of macrostructure so as to obtain the general macrostructure of the story as a whole. The macrorules are applied to the higher levels of macrostructure in the same way as they are applied to the fifty-five propositions; and are not discussed in detail here. The operations of macrorules at the higher levels yield the macrorepresentations of macrolevel 2, as in (36), and the macrorepresentation of macrolevel 3, as in (37).

(36) Macrolevel 2

2 / *mæ*:³ *ma*:⁵ *nin*¹ *tok*² *lu*:*k*³ *pen*¹ *ma*¹*nut*⁴
 P1 mother dog Nin give birth child to be human being

phu:³*jɪŋ*⁵ *sa*:*m*⁵ *khon*¹/
 female three CLASS

Nin gave birth to three female humans.

¹⁶See material to the right of the arrows in the above macrooperations.

(M2, < 1/P1, 1/P2 1/P3 1/P4 1/P5 >)¹⁷

2 /lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹to:¹ læ⁴ khon¹kla:ŋ¹ sa¹dæ:ŋ¹
P2 daughter eldest and middle express

khwa:m¹raŋ¹kia² mæ:³ ma:⁵ tæ:² lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴
aversion mother dog but daughter youngest

jin¹di:¹ tɔ:n³rap⁴ mæ:³ ma:⁵/
willing welcome mother dog

The two elder daughters expressed their aversion toward their mother dog but the youngest daughter welcomed her mother dog.

(M4, 1/P6, < 1/P7, 1/P8, 1/P9, 1/P10 >)

2 /sop² mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ kla:j¹pen¹ tho:ŋ¹ phrɔ⁴
P3 corpse mother dog Nin become gold because

ræ:ŋ¹ka¹tan¹ju:¹ kho:ŋ⁵ lu:k³ khon¹sut²tho:ŋ⁴/
gratitude of child youngest

The corpse of mother dog Nin became gold because of the youngest daughter's gratitude.

(M3 < 1/P11, 1/P12 >)

2 /kra¹du:k² kɔ:³ kla:j¹pen¹ kra¹du:k² tham¹ma¹da:¹ duaj³
P4 bone AUX become bone ordinary with

khwa:m¹maj³ka¹tan¹ju:¹ tɔ:² mæ:³ nan³?e:ŋ¹/
ingratitude to mother intensifier

The gold bones turned out to be ordinary bones because of the elder daughters' ingratitude.

¹⁷This macrooperation can be read as follows: 1/P2, 1/P3, 1/P4, and 1/P5 undergo deletion Rule (M2) and the result of this operations, i.e., 2/P1, which is formerly 1/P1, is retained as the first proposition of the second level of the macrostructure.

(M3 < 1/P13, 1/P14 >)

(37) Macrolevel 3

P1 / *duaj³ khwa:m¹ka¹tan¹ju:¹ khɔ:⁵ lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴*
 with gratitude of daughter youngest

na:η¹ cuη¹ daj³ khro:p³khro:η¹ sop² thɔ:η¹ khɔ:η⁵
 she so get possess corpse gold of

mæ:³ ma:⁵ læ⁴ duaj³ khwa:m¹pa¹ka¹tan¹ju:¹ khɔ:η⁵
 mother dog and with ingratitude of

lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹to:¹ so:η⁵ khon¹ kra¹du:k² thɔ:η¹ cuη¹
 daughter elder two CLASS bone gold so

kla:j¹pen¹ kra¹du:k² tham¹ma¹da:¹/
 become bone ordinary

Because of the youngest daughter's gratitude, she possessed the gold corpse of her mother dog, and because of the elder daughters' ingratitude, the gold bones turned out to be ordinary bones.

(M4, < 2/P1, 2/P2, 2/P3, 2/P4 >)

As illustrated, three levels of macrostructure are postulated. The sequence of propositions underlying the sequence of sentences of the story constitutes the input to the macrorules, and the output is the first level of macrostructure. Next, the macrorules are applied recursively to organize the first level of macrostructure into the higher levels of macrostructure. The macrooperations continue until the most general macropropositions, i.e., the third level of macrostructure, has been discovered. This highest level of macrostructure is regarded as the most general macrostructure of the text. It preserves a summary of the story. If macrorules are further applied to the Level 3 of macrostructure, the result will preserve mainly the moral. The Level 3 of macrostructure fits the intuitive summaries of Thai speakers; a more general level (Level 4) loses all allusion to this particular story and preserves a moral that any such story could teach.

Since the meaning and reference of the semantic structure of discourse is defined "in terms of [its] constituents' meaning" (van Dijk 1977b:7), the meaning of each level of macroproposition is entailed by the meaning and

reference of the lower level of macropropositions. Some largely irrelevant information is, to be sure, deleted and irrecoverable. Nevertheless, it entails the next higher macrostructural level. Other information from the lower levels is generalized—in which case knowledge frames and scripts provide probable recovery of information. The meaning of the macrostructure of the text, i.e., the third level of macrostructure, is determined by the meaning of the constituent propositions of the text as a whole.

2.3. Macrostructure and the content of the story. The previous section is an attempt to discover the macrostructure of “The mother dog called Nin”. The next step is to inspect the whole text to see how the most general macrostructure can be considered to be a control on the content and balance of the story.

To understand how the macrostructure affects the arrangement of grammatico-stylistic features, it is necessary to take the grammatical profile¹⁸ of the story into consideration. The grammatical profile of Text 1 corresponding to the plot as notional structure can be diagramed as in Figure 1.

The story starts with the aperture, *ka:n¹ khraŋ⁴ nuŋ² na:n¹ ma:¹ læ:w⁴* “once upon a time”, which is a surface feature. The first paragraph pictures stage, which encodes the notional structure Exposition.¹⁹ The next four episodes are prepeak episodes which encode Inciting Moment and Developing Conflict in the deep structure. The Climax of the story corresponds to the peak episode (episode 5) in the surface structure. The last episode is the second peak which encodes the notional structure of Denouement and Conclusion.

In stage (P1, P2). Stage encodes the Exposition which is expounded by an Identification Paragraph. It gives such information as place, time, and also introduces the central participant. As suggested in the previous section, the derived macrostructure or the overall plan of this story implies that the story is about the gratitude which results in good consequences and ingratitude which yields bad consequences. Of the most importance in Stage is the introduction of this overall plan into the story. There are some clues that tell the reader the main idea of the story. First, the mother dog

¹⁸Longacre (1983:xvii) defines the term ‘grammatical profile’ as follows: Such a profile is a deduction from clearly marked features, in the surface structure of a discourse. Furthermore, the surface structure profile is shadowed by an underlying notional structure (plot) which it exploits and marks in various ways.

¹⁹See the notion of notional structure and surface structure in the following chapter.

(38) The plot structure and grammatical profile of <i>The mother dog called Nin</i>					
Grammatical Profile	Title <i>mæː²maː˥⁵ nin¹</i> ‘The mother dog called Nin’	Aperture <i>kaːn¹khrat⁴ nuŋ²naːn¹ maː¹læːw⁴</i> ‘Once upon a time’	Stage Identification Paragraph	Prepeak Episodes Episode 1,2,3,4	Peak Episode 5 Peak’ Episode 6
Plot Structure	Surface structure only		Exposition	Inciting Incident Developing Conflict	Climax Conclusion Denouement

as the central participant is introduced as a good mother dog. Next, the 'goodness' of the mother dog is elaborated by the customary incidents in which she serves her masters as best as she can to pay for the kindness she receives from them. The story does not make explicit how the mother dog serves her owners because this kind of information is not crucial. What is more important is that the mother dog is grateful, and later in the story it is explicitly brought out that gratitude is the germinal idea of this story. The mother dog's good deeds result in good consequences. That is, the owners are kind and good to her and therefore name her *nin*¹ 'black'. The naming implies that the owners accept the mother dog as their pet. This incident cues us to the overall plan of the story.

Another point of the story which is more crucial to the macrostructure than the other points is the choice of a dog as the central participant instead of other animals. The main reason for this choice is that dogs are grateful animals and gratitude is the main idea of this story.

In episode 1 (P3–P6). The first episode is set off from Stage by the change of time, circumstance, and location. The chronological marker *to:2ma:1* 'later' indicates change of time. The story gets something going when the circumstances change. That is, the mother dog becomes pregnant. Now the story focuses on the love and care the mother dog has for her unborn babies. The mother dog's feeling toward her unborn babies is expressed in the story by an Awareness Quote Paragraph. The mother dog thinks about the owners' young children who might harm her babies. This off-the-line material is integrated into the story to emphasize the mother's role of the dog. The mother dog performs the role of a very good mother and, traditionally, it is expected that her babies should be grateful to her. However, the following incidents reveal the expectancy reversal which puts a spotlight on the macrostructure of the story.

The change of location is marked by an on-the-line clause containing the motion verb *ni:5* 'run away'. The moving of the scene to another location is also significant to the macrostructure. If the mother dog had stayed at her master's house until the babies were born, they might have been hurt by the young children of her master and the story might not have been developed according to its macrostructure. The change of place enables the mother dog to take care of her babies by herself. The emphasis can be placed on the love and care of the mother dog which will contrast with the hatred and aversion two of her daughters have toward her later. As mentioned above, these opposite feelings are manifestations of the overall meaning of the story.

In episode 2 (P7–P18). This episode is marked by the adverb of time *naj¹thi:³sut²* ‘finally’ and the introduction of three minor participants as the daughters of the mother dog. The story develops its Inciting Moment by adding an unusual incident: instead of giving birth to puppies the mother dog gives birth to three female human beings. This atypical event has to do with the macrostructure of the narrative. If the mother dog had puppies, there would not be any conflict between the mother and the puppies because they belong to the same species, and in this case the story could not advance toward the macrostructure. However, when a dog has baby girls, something is significant. Normally, dogs are expected to serve human beings. In Thai society, especially in rural areas, dogs help their owners to guard the house. Therefore, when human beings have a dog as their mother, some of them may be ashamed of their mother. This atypical event moves the overall plan forward. In the following episodes, because the mother is a dog, two of the girls hate her and do not want anyone to know that they have a dog as their mother. On the other hand, the youngest daughter does not care whether her mother is a dog or a person. She loves and takes care of her mother regardless. Now if the mother were a woman, the gratitude theme of the story would not be as salient as it is having a dog as the mother. Being grateful to a mother who is a dog makes the story more effective than being grateful to a mother who is normal.

The rest of the episode is all off-the-line material. The mother dog does not mind having human beings as her babies. She loves them and takes good care of them. The information is included here to emphasize the love and care that the mother dog has toward her babies. The writer uses a contrast paragraph to contrast the mother dog with her three babies when the mother dog finds food for her babies but lets herself starve if there is not enough. The mother role is elaborated in detail in order to give prominence to the mother dog as a very good mother. This supportive material is added in order to contrast the role of the mother dog with the role of her daughters, which is mentioned in the following episodes. Instead of loving and caring for the mother dog, the two elder daughters are ashamed of her and treat her badly. At the end of the story these bad deeds result in unpleasant consequences. On the other hand, the youngest daughter is grateful to her mother dog, and her good act results in good consequences. All these incidents lead to the central idea of the story.

In episode 3 (P19–P31). The new episode starts with the introduction of a hunter as a minor participant. The hunter plays the role of mediator who goes between the mother dog and other characters. His role is also

crucial to the main idea of the story. He comes across the mother dog and her daughters. He makes friends with them and finally takes them to his home. He takes care of them until the girls grow up. Without him, the mother dog and the daughters might have been killed in the forest, and the story would never have achieved its central idea. Moreover, the hunter brings the princes to his home where they meet the three girls. This incident leads to the gratitude-ingratitude theme of the story when the hunter takes the mother dog to visit her daughters at different places. At the end of the episode, an amplification paragraph is included to provide the reader with a background of the participants, i.e., the characteristics of each girl. This off-the-line information gives a hint to the incidents that follow. The eldest daughter is shy and is not talkative; therefore, it is predicted by the following incident that she will be ashamed of her mother dog and will not welcome her. The younger daughter is cruel, and later in the story she not only feels disgusted toward her mother but also hurts her badly. The youngest daughter is sweet and honest; therefore, the reader can expect that she will treat her mother very well. It can be observed here that this descriptive material functions to point toward the main idea of the narrative.

Of much interest in this episode is the repetition of old information. In episode 2, the emphasis is on the love and care that the mother dog has for her babies. This information is repeated once more when the hunter comes across the mother dog and her babies and sees the mother dog take care of her babies by feeding them with a rabbit. This information is important because it also points toward the gratitude-ingratitude theme. As a mother, the dog does her best; therefore, her daughters should be grateful to her even though she is only an animal. However, the story does not proceed as expected. Two of the daughters are ungrateful and only one of them is grateful. The story fully indicates its macrostructure when the difference between the ungrateful and grateful daughters' acts results in different consequences.

In episode 4 (P32–P51). This episode introduces three princes. Princes are chosen instead of ordinary men because the narrator aims to highlight the opposition between the husbands of the daughters as princes and the mother of the daughters as a dog. If the daughters were married to ordinary men, they might not have enough motive to be extremely ashamed of their mother dog. Once they marry the princes, they become princesses. Their social status has been changed, and two of the daughters do not want other people to know that their mother is a dog. On the contrary, the youngest daughter still loves and cares for her mother dog,

even though she is a princess. Therefore, the social status of the girls' husbands is also motivated by the macrostructure of the story.

In this episode, the narrator confirms the gratitude-ingratitude theme by including a complex dialogue. When the hunter asks the mother dog to reveal herself to the princes as the mother who brought up the girls, the mother dog refuses to do so. She reasons that it is the hunter who has taken care of her and the girls, or else she and the girls might have been killed in the forest. The narrator makes this incident vivid by using a quotation in P45. This is the first quotation appearing in the story, and its function is to point toward the main idea of the story. The quotation implies that the mother dog is grateful to the hunter, and she does not want other people to know that her daughters have a dog as their mother. Moreover, as the mother dog refuses to reveal herself as a mother, the hunter also refuses to go to live in the palace. He cares for the mother dog and does not want to leave her alone. His decision not to leave the mother dog is also tied to the macrostructure of the story. As mentioned earlier, the role of the hunter is that of a mediator between the mother dog and other participants. If the hunter left the mother dog, there would be no one to take the mother dog to see her daughters.

In this episode, the three girls move to other places. This change of location is required by the macrostructure of the story. When the mother dog and the girls are separated, the story can move to the crucial point, i.e., how each girl treats her mother after the years pass by.

At the end of this episode, a parallel paragraph is provided as a location background. This off-the-line material is also governed by the central idea of the story. It is not important where each girl goes to live. What is important is the difference in locations. Since the girls live in different places, the writer can make explicit how each girl reacts to the mother dog's visit.

It can be seen that this episode encodes Developing Conflict. When the girls marry the princes, there is a conflict between the participants' status, i.e., the princes and the girls' mother as a dog, and the daughters now as princesses and their mother as a dog.

The peak episode (P52–P78). The initial boundary marker of this episode is a change of time. The mother dog is now getting old. She misses her daughters so much that she cannot eat or sleep. She asks the hunter to take her to visit her daughters at different places. This part of the story is required by the macrostructure. If the mother dog had not gone to visit her daughters, she would never have known which daughter was grateful

to her, and the central plan of the story would not have been accomplished.

In this episode, the tension starts rising when the hunter takes the mother dog to visit the eldest sister. As mentioned previously, the eldest sister is shy; therefore, she is ashamed of her mother dog and does not welcome her. The story repeats the love and care the mother dog has for her daughters when she finds out that her eldest daughter is disgusted with her. She leaves the eldest daughter immediately because she is afraid her daughter will be ashamed of her. The mother dog's love and care, together with the eldest daughter's ingratitude, constitute an opposition which points toward the macrostructure.

The tension continues rising to the climax of the narrative when the eldest daughter sends a messenger to tell the younger daughter that the mother dog is coming. The peak of the story is recognized by the elaboration of details, quotations, packing of on-the-line material, the crowded stage, and rhetorical underlining.

The first marker of the peak is the quotation expressed in P63. The younger daughter shows her ingratitude when she orders her retinue not to let any dog come in her palace. Therefore, the hunter and the mother dog are forbidden entrance. Of much interest here is the use of the passive construction (P64 and P77). In general, passive clauses in Thai imply unpleasant situations. The passive construction is used twice in the Peak episode, while it is absent elsewhere in the story. The writer uses the passive construction at the peak for several purposes. First, the writer focuses on the bad situation in which the hunter and the mother dog are trapped. Next, the passive construction spotlights the mother dog as the victim of the action. The use of the passive construction is also supports the central idea of the story because it emphasizes the ingratitude of the younger daughter, that is, how badly the mother dog is treated.

The story now reaches its climax when the ungrateful daughter orders her maid to throw hot water on the mother dog. The ingratitude theme is made explicit here. The writer employs rhetorical underlining to emphasize how much the mother is hurt. The following redundancy of surface structure is used:

- P69. *mæː³ maː⁵ daj³rap⁴ khwaːm¹cep²puat² ruat⁴raːw⁴ saː⁵hat²*
 mother dog receive excruciating pain serious
 The mother dog was **seriously** in pain.

- P70. *wiŋ³ ni:⁵ paj¹ suk⁴sɔ:n³ tua¹* P71. *rɔ:ŋ⁴ khruan¹khra:ŋ¹*
 run away go hide body moan unceasingly

ju:² naj¹ thi:³ lap⁴ta:¹ khon¹
 to be in place out of sight people
 (She) ran to hide herself. (She) **cried** in a hidden place.

- P76. *hen⁵ mæ:³ ma:⁵ thu:k² nam⁴rɔ:n⁴ luak³ ʔa:¹ka:n¹*
 see mother dog PASS hot water scald symptom

sa:⁵hat² na:³som⁵phe:t³
 serious poorly
 He saw that the mother dog was scalded with hot water, the symptom was **serious**.

It has been observed that at the peak a number of actions are packed together. On-the-line material is frequent, and it is expounded mainly by sequence paragraphs such as the paragraph that consists of P62, P63, and P64, the paragraph that has P67 and P68, and the one that includes P73 and P74.

Furthermore, there is a concentration of participants. Besides the mother dog, the hunter, and the younger daughter, there are a number of the daughter's retinue. All of these devices point toward the macrostructure of the story. They are used to make the ingratitude theme explicit.

The peak' episode (P79–P95). The last episode is signalled by a change of location and explicit formulation of the gratitude theme. The notional structure Denouement and Conclusion are encoded in this episode. The tension is loosening when the youngest daughter expresses her gratitude toward her mother by going out from the palace to welcome her mother and also by getting a doctor to treat her injuries. The gratitude theme is evident when the youngest daughter asks the prince to let her mother dog live in the palace. All of these incidents are required by the macrostructure. The opposition between the ingratitude of the elder daughters and the gratitude of the youngest daughter gives prominence to the central plan of the story.

After living in the palace for a year, the mother dog dies. The death of the mother dog is also required by the macrostructure. After her death, a miracle is added to reinforce another point of the macrostructure. The treatment that each daughter gave to her mother will yield different

consequences. The gratitude of the youngest daughter is focused when she keeps her mother's corpse in a glass coffin so that she can worship her. It is unusual to keep someone's corpse in a coffin made from glass. This atypical aspect of the story functions to pinpoint the love and care that the youngest daughter has for her mother. Even though the mother dog is dead, the youngest daughter is still grateful to her and even keeps her corpse in a splendid coffin made from glass. The feeling that the youngest daughter has for her mother is parallel to the feeling that the mother dog has for her children. This reciprocal feeling has consequences in the next incident of this episode.

The action of the youngest daughter mentioned above leads to a second peak which makes the overall plan of the story complete. At this second peak, the gratitude of the youngest daughter is made explicit. The youngest daughter looks at her mother dog's corpse because she misses her mother very much. The next incident manifests the next point of the macrostructure. Because of her gratitude, the corpse turns to solid gold. Since she is the one who keeps the corpse, she has the right to own the golden corpse. This second peak is marked by the quotation expressed in P90. This quotation highlights the central idea of the story. That is, because the youngest daughter is grateful to her mother, her good deeds result in good consequences, i.e., she possesses the golden corpse of her mother.

The writer makes the goodness of the youngest daughter explicit in the incident that eventually follows. When the elder sisters hear about the golden corpse, they come to claim some part of it. The youngest daughter is kind enough to give them pieces of golden bone. The last point of the macrostructure is manifested when the elder sisters reach home and the golden bones again become ordinary bones. The macrostructure is made explicit in the last sentence (P95).

2.4. Summary. This chapter is the first attempt to apply the macrorules postulated by van Dijk to a text-reduced-to storyline in order to construct the macrostructure of the text. The macrostructure analysis can be clear if the starting point is the storyline. This chapter also points out that when an analyst constructs the macrostructure of a text, it is much easier to justify the existence of the various parts and features of the text. Therefore, upon analyzing the text, the analyst should also take its macrostructure into consideration. A Thai narrative text was used to illustrate how to discover the macrostructure of the text and how the derived macrostructure can control the content and balance of the story.

The starting point was structural: storyline. The text was reduced to fifty-five propositions which were all on the storyline. Macrorules, namely, Generalization rule (M1), Deletion rule (M2), Integration rule (M3), and Construction rule (M4), were applied to these reduced propositions. The application of these macrorules yielded three levels of macrostructure. The Level III of macrostructure is the most general macrostructure of the text.

The next step is to inspect the text to see how the most general macrostructure controls the content and balance of the story. It has been discovered that in the stage and prepeak episodes, the choice of characters and the changes of time and location are all directed by the overall plan of the story. Off-the-line material is extensively given in prepeak episodes. Its function is to emphasize the contrast between the feeling that the main participant has for her daughters and the feeling that the elder daughters have for her after they get married.

At the first peak, there is a high level of dramatic tension. The writer makes use of various devices to mark the climax of the story. A quotation is used to focus on the wickedness of the second daughter. The actions are intensified in order to make explicit how poorly the main participant is treated by the second daughter. Certain grammatical forms such as the passive construction and adverb phrases are used to point out how the main participant suffers from this daughter's treatment. All of these devices are used to highlight the ingratitude point of the macrostructure.

The last episode is the Peak' episode which encodes Denouement and Conclusion. The tension loosens and another point of the macrostructure is uncovered. The action of the youngest daughter is opposed to that of the other daughters. This opposition leads to the next point of the macrostructure which is made explicit in the next incident. The Peak' is a consequence of the first Peak. It is marked by a miraculous incident and a quotation. The macrostructure is overtly expressed in the quotation given by the prince. Finally, the story realizes its overall plan when the last point of the macrostructure is given explicitly in the last sentence.

In this chapter, the macrostructure controls the content and balance of the illustrative text. In the next chapter, the focus is on the plot as notional structure and on the surface profile. The notional feature slots are filled by the content of a text which is, in turn a manifestation of the macrostructure of the text.

3

Overall Plot Structure and Profile

Longacre (1983a:20) proposes that any narrative discourse has plot as the notional structure. He makes a distinction between the plot that is in “low relief” and the plot that has “a perceptible climax”. The former is episodic. It does not contain a cumulative development after the middle point of a narrative. On the other hand, the climactic plot generally has a high level of excitation and tension toward the end of a narrative.

The plot structure of narrative discourse guides the hearer/reader in the same direction that the macrostructure does. It guides the hearer/reader to see the story in a particular way. That is, it directs the hearer/reader toward the overall idea of the story.

According to Longacre (1983a:21), the notional structure features of climactic narrative discourse include the following:²⁰

- a. Exposition, “Lay it out.”
- b. Inciting Moment, “Get something going.”
- c. Developing Conflict, “Keep the heat on.”
- d. Climax, “Knot it all up proper.”
- e. Denouement, “Loosen it.”
- f. Final Suspense, “Keep untangling.”
- g. Conclusion, “Wrap it up.”

²⁰The scheme, although quoted here in the manner formulated by Longacre, is certainly not his alone. It has a very long and complicated history in Western culture (cf. Aristotle’s *Poetics*). Longacre’s particular formulation is from Thrall, Hibbard, and Holman (1961).

3.1. The notional structure of Thai climactic narrative. The texts used for this study of Thai narrative discourse have all the notional structure features mentioned above except Final Suspense which, therefore, may not be a universal. The absence of this feature may be due to the brevity of the texts used for this study. Each feature is recognizable by certain formal characteristics as specified below.

In the Thai texts used for this study, Exposition frequently involves the introduction of a major participant and information about that participant. Exposition also has to do with explanatory information that tells the hearer/reader about the situation or the problem before the sequences of events actually happen.

The Inciting Incident found in Thai texts is concerned with an unusual incident that rarely, if ever, happens in ordinary life. Inciting Incident may also state or imply a need that a main participant has. It can involve a change of physical state, e.g., the pregnancy of the mother dog in Text 1.

Developing Conflict has to do with a conflict between two participants, an attempt to fulfill a need, or physical and emotional tension.

Climax involves the highest point of tension and frustration. It is also signalled by an episode that is similar to a preceding one except that it involves a role substitution or even a role reversal. In Text 3, the story starts with the rat in danger when he climbs on the lion's body and is about to be killed by the lion. However, the lion lets him go. The Climax of this story is a recognizably similar incident except for the reversal of role, i.e., the lion is in danger, and it is the rat who delivers him.

Denouement includes an unexpected resolution which is different from the resolution of the previous event or episode. In Text 3, Denouement has to do with the event in which the rat comes to rescue the lion. Denouement may also be a resolution of the problem that arises previously.

Conclusion includes a moral and summary of the main idea. In some texts, Conclusion is not explicitly spelled out, but the hearer/reader may deduce it.

3.2. Overall plot structure of four Thai texts. This section outlines the overall plot structure of four Thai texts. The plot structures are indicated summarily in Figures (39)–(42).

(39) Plot structure of *The lion and the rat*

Exposition: A lion was sleeping under a tree.

Inciting Incident: At that time a rat climbed over the lion.

Developing Conflict: The lion woke up and grabbed the rat. The lion was angry and was going to kill the rat. The rat pleaded for his life and promised to pay back the lion's kindness. The lion laughed and said the rat was small, so it was impossible for the rat to do what he promised. Nonetheless, the lion let the rat go.

Climax: Later, the lion was trapped. He cried loudly.

Denouement: The rat heard him and came to rescue him by biting the rope until the rope was broken. The rat said that although the lion used to laugh at him because he was small, he could now show the lion that he could save him.

Conclusion: This story teaches that one should not underestimate someone who seems inferior. If we are good to him, he may return our goodness.

(40) Plot structure of *The magic pond*

Exposition: Boon and Ma were forrest dwellers. Boon went to hunt animals every day. As for Ma, she stayed home.

Inciting Incident: Boon could not find an animal. Being tired and angry, he saw a rabbit and shot it. The rabbit was only slightly injured and ran away.

Developing Conflict: Boon followed the rabbit and was surprised to see the rabbit jump into a pond and come out without any wound. Boon drank two sips of the water in the pond, and turned into a twenty-year-old man, not the sixty-year-old man which he had been. Boon told his wife what had happened. Ma went to drink water in the pond.

Climax: Boon waited for half a day, but Ma still did not come back. He was worried, so he decided to go to the pond.

Denouement: Boon saw a baby girl with Ma's clothes nearby. Boon knew immediately that Ma had drunk too much water. He had forgotten to tell Ma that one sip of water was the equivalent of losing twenty years. Boon then carried Ma home.

Conclusion: Do not jump into something it. Ask until everything is clear; then do it.

(41) Plot structure of *Unity*

Exposition: King Archartsatru intended to seize Watchi, which was located near the border of the kingdom ruled by the

Litchawi kings, but he could not do so because the Litchawi kings were united.

Inciting Incident: King Archartsatru pretended to exile his counselor named Watsakarabrahm from his kingdom.

Develop Conflict: Watsakarabrahm went to the kingdom of the Litchawi kings. Because of his intelligence, he was appointed to be a judge and an instructor of royal children. Watsakarabrahm began to destroy the unity of Litchawi kings.

Climax: After three years, the Litchawi kings were no longer united. When Watsakarabrahm called for the meeting, no one showed up.

Denouement: Watsakarabrahm sent a messenger to King Archartsatru. King Archartsatru was able to seize Watchi with ease.

Conclusion: Unity brings happy results. Disunity brings unhappy results.

(42) Plot structure of *The old woman*

Exposition: The old woman had a paralyzed daughter and a grandson. She earned her living by selling food.

Inciting Incident: Her grandson became ill.

Developing Conflict: Her grandson did not feel better. The old woman was so worried that she could not do her routine job as usual.

Climax: The illness became worse. The old woman did not go to work.

Denouement: The old woman went to get medicine for her grandson, but she was hit by a car.

3.3. Profile. All Thai texts used in this study have the notional structure features mentioned in §3.1. However, the content of each notional feature slot is different. For example, the Climaxes of both Text 7 and Text 8 are signalled by the highest point of tension and frustration. However, the content of each text that realizes this characteristic is different. Text 7 reaches its Climax when Watsakarabrahm is able to break up the unity of the Litchawi kings. All preceding incidents are tied together at this point. On the other hand, Text 8 reaches its Climax when the fox eats so much that his flat belly becomes bigger than the size of the hole through which he sneaks into the house. This incident leads to a confrontation between the fox and the butcher.

The difference of each text is due to the fact that their contents are a manifestation of the macrostructure of the text. The content directed by the macrostructure is expounded by grammatical forms, i.e., surface features. In this section the surface features of the profile are shown to correspond to the notional features. The remainder of this section presents the surface features of Thai narrative listed in (43).

- (43) Title
 Aperture
 Stage
 Prepeak episodes
 Peak
 Peak'
 Postpeak episodes
 Closure
 Finis

Different types of Thai paragraphs which expound the grammatical profile are presented in §3.4.

Title. According to Longacre (1983a:21), there is no corresponding notional structure feature for the surface structure Title. It is considered to be a feature of the surface only, and it is expounded by a noun phrase or a clause. Most of the titles of the Thai texts examined in detail are the name(s) of major participants accompanied occasionally by their characteristics. The Title may also be a clause such as *kop² luak³ na:j¹* 'The frogs chose their master.' Besides participants, inanimate objects that function as participants may be used as Title if they play an important role in the story. For example, *buŋ¹ wi⁴se:t²* 'The magic pond' is used as Title because it is much involved to the plot of the story. Moreover, the Title may give the main idea of the story. A Thai text which aims to teach the importance of unity is, therefore, entitled *khwa:m¹sa:5mak⁴khi:1* 'Unity.'

Aperture. Besides Title, Aperture is also a feature of the surface only (Longacre 1983a:21). In oral texts, even though Aperture is not obligatory, it is more frequent than in written texts. One can expect to hear an Aperture such as *wan¹ni:4 ca² law³ ni⁴tha:n¹ haj³ faŋ¹* 'Today, (I) will tell (you) a story.' In written texts, Aperture is less frequent. In the folktales (whether oral or written) where Aperture is present, it is a formulaic element such as *naj¹ ka:n¹ khrəŋ² nuŋ² na:n¹ ma:1 læ:w⁴* 'Once upon a

time', or *na:n¹ sə:n⁵ na:n¹ ma:¹ læ:w⁴* 'Long long time ago.' Aperture may be a phrase or a clause, as in (44).

- (44) *na⁴ hua⁵muən¹ chan⁴nɔ:k³ hæ:ŋ² nuŋ² muə³ la:j⁵ tɔ:² la:j⁵*
 at province suburb CLASS one when many many
pi:¹ kɔ:n² mi:¹ ruən³ law³ kan¹ wa:³ . . .
 year before there was story it is said that
 At a suburb many years ago, there was a story saying that . . .

In reading texts which are used in primary schools, Aperture is often expounded by an expository paragraph which is set off from the body of the text. For example, in Text 7, Aperture is an expository paragraph introducing the author and the main idea of the story. In *Aesop's Fables*, all the tales are introduced together at the beginning of the book; here the Aperture goes with the whole collection of stories. In this Aperture, the author states the purposes of writing *Aesop's Fables*.

Stage. The surface structure Stage corresponds to Exposition in the notional structure. In short stories such as *Aesop's Fables*, Stage is frequently realized by the first clause of the initial paragraph. This clause may contain an existential verb, e.g., *jaŋ¹mi:¹* 'there was', a durative verb, e.g., *nɔ:n¹lap²* 'sleep', or the possessive verb *mi:¹* 'have'.

In longer texts, Stage is expounded by the initial paragraph, which may be an identificational paragraph, a parallel paragraph, or an expository paragraph. The paragraph expounding Stage is recognized by its lack of sequential signalling. The clauses which comprise this paragraph usually contain the existential verb *mi:¹* 'there was', the equative verb *pen¹* 'to be', an emotional verb such as *chɔ:p³* 'to like', or a locative verb such as *ju:²* 'to be at.'

The clauses that have "frequency" adverbs indicate routine activities; as such, they can be used in Stage as well in the body of the story as background.

When Stage not only introduces the major participant but also states the problem which exists before the beginning of the storyline, it is expounded by an antithetical paragraph, as in Text 7. In lengthy texts, Stage is realized by more than one paragraph or by a short embedded expository discourse. In the short novel *Old woman*, Stage runs through five pages. The grammatical realization of Stage illustrates the observation of Longacre (1983a:21) that it may be "a subsidiary narrative of some length which is necessary to get the main narrative going." While action verbs are rare in

the Stage of the short stories mentioned previously, they are frequent in the Stage of this short novel, and they function to advance the storyline of the embedded narrative. However, the first five pages of this short novel are recognized as Stage by virtue of their function, i.e., they give crucial information about the major participant and her family so that the main story may proceed. Thus, the author tells the reader what the major participant does for her living, whom she lives with, and what her daily routine is. At this point, the author just “lays it out.”

Prepeak episodes. The corresponding surface structures of Inciting Incident and Developing Conflict are prepeak episodes. The last of these prepeak episodes also realizes Climax when Denouement encodes as surface structure Peak. The surface structure prepeak episodes are set off from Stage by virtue of the frequent occurrence of action verbs and of temporal succession. The episodes are realized by various types of narrative and dialogue paragraphs. The division into grammatical paragraphs is not necessarily in a one-to-one relationship with the notional structure of the narrative. For example, the first paragraph of short texts, such as Text 3 illustrated below, expounds Stage, Inciting Incident, and Developing Conflict simultaneously.

(45) Stage:

ra:t³cha¹si:⁵ tua¹ nuu² nɔ:n¹lap² ju:² taj³ ton³maj⁴
 lion CLASS one sleep to be under tree
 A lion was sleeping under a tree.

(46) Inciting Incident:

naj¹ we:¹la:¹ nan⁴ nu:⁵ tua¹
 in time that rat CLASS

nuu² khuu³ taj² kha:m³ tua¹ ra:t³cha¹si:⁵
 one go up climb across body lion
 At that time, a rat climbed over the lion.

(47) Developing Conflict:

ra:t³cha¹si:⁵ ru:⁴suuk²tua¹ tu:n² . . .
 lion awake wake up
 The lion woke up . . .

(Text 3)

In longer texts, Stage may be realized by the first paragraph and Inciting Incident may be realized by more than one paragraph. In a similar way,

each episode is not in a one-to-one relationship with a paragraph. An episode may be realized by one or more paragraphs.

As pointed out by Longacre (1983:22), the paragraph or embedded discourse which realizes prepeak episodes is articulated by means of:

- a. Time horizons in succession;
- b. Back-reference in paragraph/discourse to the preceding;
- c. Conjunctions;
- d. Juxtaposition, i.e., clear structural transition to another paragraph or embedded discourse.

In Thai texts, temporal succession is signalled by temporal clauses, phrases, and words. These temporal sequence connectives frequently occur at the beginning of a paragraph; therefore, they are considered to be markers of paragraph boundaries. The following are examples of these connectives found in Thai texts:

- (48) *phɔː¹tok²jen¹* 'in the evening'
wan¹nun² 'one day'
kha¹na²nan⁴ 'at that time'
tɔː²maː¹ 'later'
dæːt²khæːŋ⁵læːw⁴ 'the sunshine is strong'
 (late in the morning)
khuiːn¹duan¹muːt³ 'waning moon night'
weː¹laː¹kham³ 'waxing moon night'
duan¹ŋaːj⁵
con¹weː¹laː¹luan³ 'three years passed by'
maː¹saːm⁵piː¹

In some texts, the temporal sequence markers do not occur at the beginning of the paragraph, but they may be tagged at the end of the initial clause of the paragraph as in example (49).

- (49) *kha¹nom⁵mot²muua³baːj²maːk³*
 dessert sold out when afternoon very
 The desserts were sold out very late in the afternoon.

(Text 10)

Besides the temporal sequence markers mentioned above, a paragraph may begin with a back reference which repeats the last main event or summarizes the main event in the preceding paragraph. The adverbial clause is a very frequent device used to link the previous paragraph to the

new one. The use of an adverbial clause as a cohesive device will be discussed in detail under cohesion. Temporal succession is also marked by preserial verbs and a postserial verb which will be discussed in detail under evaluation.

Finally, the boundary between two paragraphs may also be traced by a shift in participant orientation together with a regrouping of characters. In some cases, there is no role shift, but a new paragraph is established because there is a shift in location or state.

Peak. Prepeak episodes are followed by a surface structure episode which is termed Peak. The notion of Peak is discussed by Longacre (1983a:24) as follows:

I use the term PEAK to refer to any episode-like unit set apart by special surface structure features and corresponding to the Climax or Denouement in the notional structure. Where the surface structure distinguishes two such surface units which encode both of these notional structure units, I posit Peak (Climax) versus Peak' (Denouement). Climax and/or Denouement may, however, be marked in no special way in the surface structure, but may on the contrary simply encode as further surface structure episodes. When both are unmarked, the surface structure of the narrative is EPISODIC even though there are climax and denouement in the notional (plot) structure.

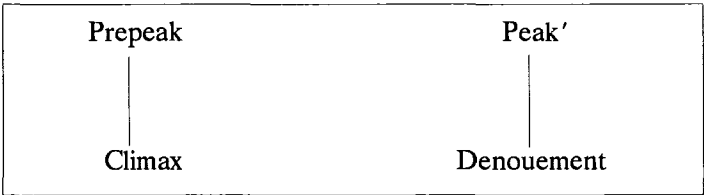
In Thai texts used for this study, it has been found that some texts are episodic in their surface structure. For example, Text 5 uses no devices to signal a surface structure Peak, even though it has Climax and Denouement in the notional structure. In other texts, Peak is marked clearly by various devices, and it corresponds to either the Climax or the Denouement of the notional structure. The correlation of surface structure Peak with the notional structure Climax and Denouement varies in each text, and it has several possibilities, as indicated in (50)–(52).

(50) Possibility 1



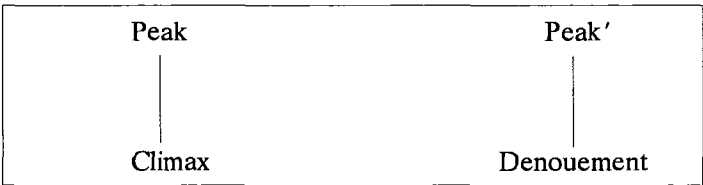
The first possibility is for the notional structure Climax to be featured as Peak, and the notional Denouement as a postpeak episode in the surface structure. Text 7 is an example of this. The surface structure Peak which correlates with the Climax of the notional structure is marked by a quotation which is absent in the preceding and following episodes. The notional structure Denouement, therefore, simply encodes as a surface structure postpeak episode.

(51) Possibility 2



Possibility 2 features the notional structure Denouement as surface structure Peak. Therefore, the notional structure Climax simply encodes as surface structure prepeak episode. This possibility is frequent in Thai texts, especially *Aesop's Fables*. The Peak of *Aesop's Fables* usually corresponds to Denouement in the notional structure and tends to be marked by a monologue.

(52) Possibility 3



In the third possibility, both the surface structure episode with a corresponding Climax and the surface structure episode with a corresponding Denouement are highlighted. Text 1 exemplifies this. It has the surface structure Peak and Peak' which correlate with the Climax and the Denouement, respectively, in the notional structure. Both Peak and Peak' are recognized primarily by quotations.

Marking of the surface structure Peak. Peak which correlates with the Climax and Peak' which correlates with the Denouement are identified by

the same features. Consequently, the marking of Peak and Peak' are discussed together here.

Peak is marked by various means. The marking of Peak has been discussed by Longacre:

In brief, Peak has features peculiar to itself and the marking of such features takes precedence over the marking of the main line—so that the absence of certain features or even analytical difficulties can be a clue that we are at the Peak of a discourse (1983a:25).

However, Longacre (1983a:26) adds that Peak is not only signalled by “minus features and distortion” but also by other devices such as rhetorical underlining and concentration of participants. In Thai texts, Peak is identified by various devices.

One such device is a shift from left-to-right or from right-to-left across what may be called the narrative drama hierarchy presented in (53).

(53) narration, pseudonarration, monologue, dialogue, drama

Pseudodialogue refers to those devices “which partake of certain features of dialogue without being true dialogue”, for example, rhetorical question and apostrophe (Longacre 1983a:30). Drama is a dialogue without resort to formulas of quotation (Longacre 1983a:32). Illustrations of shifts along the Narrative-Drama parameter follow.

a. Narration → Monologue. The Peak (notional structure Denouement) of Text 8 is identified by a four-line monologue whereas the rest of the text is narration. In Texts 3 and 4, prepeak episodes contain narration interspersed with dialogues. At the Peak (notional structure Denouement) there is a long monologue which is always hortatory. Since the aim of *Aesop's Fables* is to teach morals, this monologue (the didactic peak) functions to heighten the vividness of moral teachings.

b. Narration ← Dialogue. In Text 6, dialogue is frequent before the Peak (notional structure Climax). However, at the Peak dialogue is phased out. There is only one verbal initial utterance which is followed by a nonverbal resolution. The rest of the Peak is narration. Now the shift goes in the opposite direction from the previous one i.e., from right to left.

c. Narration ← Pseudo-Dialogue ← Drama. Another left shift is from drama to pseudodialogue and narration. Before the Peak (notional

structure Denouement), Text 10 has a frequent occurrence of drama. The quotation formulas tend to be left out in dialogue. At the peak, drama is replaced by pseudodialogue and narration whose function is to work out the detail of the resolution. The author no longer uses drama but rather describes in detail how the main participant feels after the accident. Here, the conclusion of the story has still not been reached and the author adds two rhetorical questions to emphasize how the main participant is concerned about her paralyzed daughter and her sick grandson. The author leaves some questions unanswered because she aims to focus on the main idea of the story, i.e., how poor people suffer from their miserable life. The main participant's family is very poor, and the situation worsens when the person who supports the family dies.

Another device used to mark Peak is the packed storyline. At the Peak, the action is intensified; therefore, the number of storyline verbs used to report events increases. As mentioned previously, Text 6 phases out dialogue at Peak. The text shifts from dialogue to narration in order to report the fast-moving storyline. Episode 1, which has Exposition and Inciting Incident as notional structure, contains three story line verbs. Episodes 2 and 3, which encode Developing Conflict, have eight storyline verbs. At the Peak (notional structure Climax), the number of storyline verbs goes up to fifteen. In the postpeak episode (notional structure Denouement), the number of storyline verbs comes down to two. Since dialogue is frequent before and after Peak, most of the story line verbs found at prepeak and postpeak episodes are verbs of speech, whereas at the Peak most of the storyline verbs are action verbs.

The Peak is also characterized by a crowding of the stage. At Peak, there is a concentration of participants. In Text 10, one of the devices used to mark Peak is the crowded stage. Besides the old woman and the driver, there are also a number of passersby on the street at the time when the old woman is hit by a car.

Postpeak episodes. The surface structure postpeak episodes encode the notional structure Denouement when the notional structure Climax is featured as Peak. A story may end without any postpeak episodes if the notional structure Denouement is featured as Peak. Postpeak episodes are realized by a paragraph articulated by the same means as prepeak episodes.

Closure. The surface structure Closure corresponds to Conclusion in the notional structure. It has to do with a moral or a final conclusion/resolution of the story, which may be embedded in the same episode that

also encodes Denouement. In Text 1, the last episode encodes the notional structure Denouement and Conclusion. The surface structure Closure is expounded by the last two paragraphs.

In folktales that are used to teach morals—especially *Aesop's Fables*—the surface structure Closure is separated typographically from the body of the text and is printed at the end of the last page. Closure is always expounded by a nonnarrative paragraph. In *Aesop's Fables*, the surface structure Closure is always introduced by the following clause:

- (54) *ni⁴tha:n¹ ruan³ ni:⁴ so:n⁵ haj³ ru:⁴ wa:³*
 tale CLASS this teach BEN know that
 This tale teaches (you) to know that...

Even though the surface structure Closure tends to be expounded by prose, it is not unusual to find the surface structure Closure expounded by a poem, as in Text 7.

Finis. The *Finis* is a feature of the surface only. In written texts used for this study, *Finis* may be expounded by a clause, as in example (55), a short closing line, or just a blank space.

- (55) *cop² ruan³ phra⁴ rot⁴tha¹se:n⁵ thaw³ ni:⁴*
 end story King Rotthasen this much
 The story of Rotthasen ends at this point.

3.4. Paragraph structure. Because most surface structure slots of a discourse are typically filled by a paragraph, it is also important to study the structure of the paragraph in Thai narrative discourse. This section classifies the paragraph types found in Thai narrative texts by using the model developed by Longacre (1979, 1980). An attempt is also made to relate each paragraph type to its function in discourse structure.

The analysis of Thai paragraphs is based on the following assumptions proposed by Longacre (1982):

- The paragraph is a structural rather than an orthographic indentation unit.
- The paragraph is a level of organization intermediate between sentence and discourse. The hierarchical interrelations of sentence, paragraph, and discourse are as follows: discourse is composed of paragraphs and of embedded discourses, while paragraphs are composed of sentences and embedded paragraphs.

- c. In any language, the number of paragraph types is finite, and there is recursive embedding of paragraph within paragraph of the same or different type.

Longacre (1976:8) states that “for the average human being, linguist or nonlinguist, a taxonomic classification into contrastive types is a natural way to understand phenomena of any sort.” Therefore, the primary attempt of this section is to propose the taxonomic classification of Thai paragraph types. The identification of paragraph types relies on the apparatus expounded by Longacre (1980). Furthermore, the following guideline to a classification of paragraph types as proposed by Longacre (1979:121) is also put to use: “(a) binary versus n-ary constructions; (b) movement along a parameter with the following values: conjoining, temporal relations, logical relations, elaborative devices, reportative devices.” Finally, following Waltz’s (1976) analysis of Guanano paragraphs and their discourse function, an attempt is made to relate each paragraph type to its function in discourse structure.

According to the two parameters mentioned above, Thai paragraphs can be classified as in (56).

- (56) a. Conjoining structures
 - binary: Antithetical, Contrast, Alternative
 - n-ary: Coordinate, Parallel
- b. Temporal relation structures
 - binary: Simultaneous
 - n-ary: Sequence
- c. Logical relation structures
 - binary: Result, Reason, Attestation
- d. Elaborative devices
 - binary: Identification
 - n-ary: Amplification
- e. Reportive devices
 - binary: Comment, Quote, Execution, Stimulus-Response
 - n-ary: Simple Dialogue, Complex Dialogue, Compound Dialogue.

Antithetical paragraph. The Antithetical Paragraph is a conjoined binary construction, which consists of an obligatory Thesis tagmeme, an obligatory Antithesis tagmeme, and an optional Surrogate tagmeme. This paragraph type encodes the deep structure frustration. Within the paragraph, the Thesis tagmeme encodes initial predication. The Antithesis tagmeme encodes expectancy reversal, and the Surrogate tagmeme encodes

(57) Thesis:

suan² la:¹ ban¹thuk⁴ nak² ma:k³ con¹ dv:n¹ thæ:p³ maj³
 as for ass carry heavy very till walk almost not

waj⁵ cuŋ¹ bɔ:k² haj³ ma:⁴ chuaj³ ba:ŋ³
 able so tell let horse help some

As for the ass, (he) carried so much load that (he) could hardly walk, so (he) **told** the horse to help (him).

Antithesis:

ma:⁴ tua¹ nan⁴ pen¹ sat² thi:³
 horse CLASS that be animal that

caj¹ho:t² hen⁵kæ:2tua¹ kɔ:³ pa'ti¹se:t²
 merciless selfish AUX refuse

That horse was a merciless and selfish animal, so (he) **refused**.

Surrogate:

dv:n¹ paj¹ maj³ thaw³raj² la:¹ na:³soŋ⁵sa:n⁵ kɔ:³ lom⁴
 walk go not much ass poor AUX collapse

ja:ŋ²mot²ræ:ŋ¹ loŋ¹ kla:ŋ¹ tha:ŋ¹
 without strength down middle way

(The ass) walked a little, then the poor ass **collapsed** out of exhaustion part way.

The Antithetical Paragraph of example (57) builds up the tension of the story before reaching the Climax. The Antithetical Paragraph is used to express a conflict between two thematic participants. This conflict leads the story to the climax. That is, the ass dies and the horse has to carry all the load. This Antithetical Paragraph is on the storyline. The underlined words are verbs which have storyline status and thereby determine the status of the sentences which contain them.

(58) Thesis:

naj¹ mu:²ba:n³ hæ:η² nuη² "pa:³ chæ:m³ phu:³ saw³mɔ:η⁵"
 in village CLASS one Aunt Chaem who sad

pen¹ buk²khon¹ thi:³ thuk⁴thuk⁴ khon¹ naj¹ mu:²ba:n³ ta:η²
 be person that every one in village each

ru:⁴cak² kan¹ di:¹ phrɔ:⁴ kæ:¹ mi:¹ ba:n³ laη⁵
 know together well because she have house CLASS

jaη² mi:¹ ηʌn¹ mi:¹ thɔ:η¹ ju:² naj¹ khan³
 big have money have gold be in status

phɔ:¹mi:¹?an¹ca²kin¹
 well-to-do

In a village, "sad Aunt Chaem" was a well known person because she had a big house and enough money and gold to be called a well-to-do person.

Antithesis:

tæ:² pa:³ chæ:m³ kɔ:³ pen¹ khon¹ ?om¹thuk⁴ ju:²di:¹
 but Aunt Chaem AUX be CLASS distressed still

wan¹wan¹ taη³tæ:² chaw⁴ cot² jen¹ ?aw¹ tæ:² naη³
 each day since morning till evening do only sit

saw³ naη³ pen¹huan² lu:k³cha:j¹ thaη⁴ sɔ:η⁵ khon¹
 sad sit worried son all two CLASS

But Aunt Chaem was still distressed. Each day from morning till evening (she) sat sadly, and worried about her two sons.

The Antithetical Paragraph of example (58) expounds Stage. It not only introduces the main participant but also states the contradictory situation. This whole paragraph is off the storyline.

Contrast paragraph. The Contrast Paragraph has a Thesis tagmeme and a Contrast tagmeme. This paragraph encodes the deep structure contrast and exception. Linkage between the tagmemes is usually by the topic marker *suan²* 'as for', by juxtaposition, and (rarely) by the adversative *tæ:²* 'but'.

(59) Thesis:

ma:⁴ dv:n¹ tua¹ pla:w²

horse walk body empty

The horse walked without any load.

Contrast:

suan² la:¹ thu:k² ban¹thuk⁴ nak² ma:k³

as for ass PASS loaded heavy very

con¹ dv:n¹ thæ:p³ maj³ waj⁵

till walk almost not possible

As for the ass, (he) was loaded so much that (he) could hardly walk.

The Contrast Paragraph of example (59) contrasts opposed activities. It is used to express the inciting incident. That is, it states an inequality between the horse and the ass. Again, this whole paragraph is off the storyline.

(60) Thesis:

cha:η³ thaη⁴ sɔ:η⁵ ru:⁴suuk² klua¹ ra:t³cha¹?a:¹ja:¹ kɔ:³

weaver all two feel afraid royal punishment AUX

lop²na:³ su:n⁵ha:j⁵ paj¹

keep out of sight get lost go

The two weavers were afraid of the king's punishment, therefore, (they) **went away**.

Contrast:

phra:⁴ra:¹cha:¹ kap² phraj³ba:n³phon¹la¹muaη¹ ta:η² ju:²

king and people each live

kan¹ pen¹ suk²

together be happy

The king and his people lived happily.

The Contrast Paragraph of example (60) contrasts the participants' status. When the Contrast Paragraph encodes the participants' status, it usually occurs in the last episode. In this case, the Contrast Paragraph is used to contrast the status of the hero with that of the villain; it furthermore highlights the departure of the villain. In example (60), the

Thesis tagmeme is on the storyline, while the Contrast tagmeme is off the storyline. This paragraph is, therefore, a fore-weighted Contrast Paragraph.²¹

(61) Thesis:

mwaa³ phra⁴thi⁴da:¹ thaŋ⁴ sip²sɔ:^{ŋ⁵} daj³jin¹ siaŋ⁵kron¹ kɔ:³
 when princess all twelve hear snore AUX

hua⁵rɔ⁴ chɔ:p³caj¹ phrɔ:m⁴kap² luk⁴khun³ pɜ:t² muŋ⁴
 laugh pleased same time get up open mosquito net

khɔ:ŋ⁵ ton¹ton¹ ɔ:k² ma:¹ jip² swa³pha:³ di:¹di:¹ khun³ ma:¹
 of self out come clothes good up come

tæ:ŋ² læ⁴ kra¹do:t² paj¹ ma:¹ tham¹nɔ:ŋ¹ sɔ:m⁴ ten³ram¹
 dress and jump go come manner practice dance

When the twelve princesses heard the snore, (they) then **laughed** pleasantly, **got up**, **opened** the mosquito nets, **got out**, picked good clothes to **dress**, and jumped to and fro like they were practicing dancing

Contrast:

tæ:² phra⁴thi⁴da:¹ phi:³jaj² mi:¹ ʔa:¹ka:n¹ hua⁵caj¹ ten³
 but princess eldest have symptom heart beat

phu:t³ wa:³...
 say that

But the eldest princess felt her heart beat, (she) **said** that...

The Contrast Paragraph of example (61) contrasts one participant to others of the same set. This paragraph serves to expound Developing Tension. That is, while other princesses are unaware of what is going to happen, the eldest princess feels that something is wrong. From this point, the story develops its tension until it becomes clear that there is really something wrong, i.e., they have been spied by the old soldier. Thesis tagmeme and Contrast tagmeme are on the storyline as is, consequently, the whole paragraph.

²¹The tagmemes of this paragraph have unequal weight, that is, the first tagmeme of this paragraph outweighs the second tagmeme. Therefore, this paragraph is termed a fore-weighted Contrast Paragraph.

(62) Thesis:

muu^{a3} *wa*^{:3} *ta*^{:m1} *tam*¹ *næ*^{:ŋ2} *phra*⁴ *ma*¹ *ha*^{:5} *ka*¹ *sat*² *ra*^{:t3} *sa*¹ *dɔ*^{:n1}
 according to position king people

khv^{:j1} *kla*^{:w2} *thu*^{ŋ5} *phra*⁴ *ʔoŋ*¹ *wa*^{:3} *pra*¹ *thap*⁴ *naj*¹ *sa*¹ *pha*^{:1}
 used to say about him that stay in parliament
 According to the king's status, people used to say that (he) was
 in the parliament.

Contrast:

*khra*ⁿ⁴ *nap*⁴ *tæ*^{:2} *ræ*^{:k3} *rɿ*^{:m3} *pro*^{:t2} *pra*^{:n1} *khrua*^{ŋ3} *soŋ*¹ *maj*² *maj*²
 when since beginning favor outfit firstly

kɔ^{:3} *mak*⁴ *phu*^{:t3} *bɔ*^{:k2} *kan*¹ *wa*^{:3} *pra*¹ *thap*⁴ *naj*¹
 AUX likely say tell each other that stay in

*hɔŋ*³ *sua*³
 room clothes

Since (the king) began to favor clothes, (people) said to each
 other that (he) was in the dressing room.

The Contrast Paragraph of example (61) contrasts temporal situations. It expounds Stage and serves to highlight the characteristics of the main participant, which are now different. This paragraph has no storyline verbs and is thus off the storyline.

Alternative paragraph. The Alternative Paragraph is a conjoined binary construction which has two obligatory tagmemes preceded by an optional peripheral tagmeme. Deep structure alternation is encoded in this paragraph type. Linkage between the obligatory tagmemes is marked by the alternative link *ruu*^{:5} 'or' and juxtaposition. The Alternative Paragraph has a very low functional load in Thai narrative discourse. When it occurs, it frequently functions to provide an alternative between two participants. It has been observed from the data available that the Alternative Paragraph conveys nonstoryline information and is essentially irrealis.

(63) Introduction:

sua³pha:³ thi:³ tham¹ duaj³ bæ:p² ni:⁴ mi:¹ li⁴de:t²
 clothes that made from style this have supernatural

khɔ:^{η5} nuu⁴ pen¹ ma¹hat²sa¹can¹
 of texture be amazing

The clothes that were made like this had amazing texture.

Option 1:

khraj¹khraj¹ thi:³ maj³ som⁵khuan¹ kæ:² tam¹næ:η² na:³thi:³
 anyone who not suitable to position duty

ŋa:n¹ khɔ:^{η5} ton¹ jɔ:m³ læ:¹hen⁵ maj³ daj³
 work of self apt see not able

Anyone who was not suitable for his job could not see (the clothes).

Option 2:

ru:⁵ khon¹ thi:³ ŋo:³ bat²sop⁴ kɔ:³ læ:¹hen⁵ maj³ daj³
 or person who foolish silly AUX see not able
 The ones who were very foolish could not see (the clothes) either.

Coordinate paragraph. This paragraph type is a conjoined openended construction which encodes deep structure coupling. Each item of the Coordinate Paragraph may or may not have the same verb. Linkage is by juxtaposition or by *læ⁴* ‘and’ or *thaŋ⁴* ‘also’ which precede the last item of the paragraph. It occasionally happens that the last item of the paragraph may be linked to the previous item by the adverb *duaj³* ‘also.’ The function of the Coordinate Paragraph in narrative discourse is to tie together related events, related participants, or related props.

(64) Thesis 1:

nu:⁵ daj³jin¹ siaŋ⁵ khon¹ py:t² pra¹tu:¹
 mouse hear sound man open door

The mouse **heard** someone open the door.

Thesis 2:

*mi:*¹ *ma:*⁵ *sɔ:*⁵ *tua*¹ *wiŋ*³ *haw*² *ta:m*¹ *khaw*³ *ma:*¹ *duaj*³
 there is dog two CLASS run bark follow enter come also
 There were also two or three dogs (that) **ran, barked,** and
followed (him).

The adverb *duaj*³ ‘also’, which tags Thesis 2, functions to link Thesis 2 to Thesis 1. This paragraph is in narrative mode; therefore, it is on the storyline. The verbs which convey the storyline information are underlined. This paragraph functions to tie together the two participants, i.e., the man and the dogs.

Parallel paragraph. The Parallel Paragraph is a conjoined openended construction which encodes parallel conjoining. It contrasts with the coordinate paragraph in that the verbs of each tagmeme are the same. When the main verb of the first item is established, the main verbs of the next items may be omitted. Linkage is by juxtaposition. The function of this paragraph type in narrative discourse is to bring a group of participants onto the stage and also to tie together similar actions/events. When the paragraph introduces a group of participants, it carries nonstoryline information, but when it ties together identical actions/events, it is usually on the storyline.

(65) Thesis 1:

*bon*¹ *ton*³ *maj*⁴ *jaj*² *su:*⁵ *ra*¹ *hoŋ*⁵ *nok*⁴ *ʔin*¹ *si:*¹ *ju:*² *kok*²
 on tree big high eagle bc take care

*lu:k*³ *naj*¹ *raŋ*¹
 baby in nest

An eagle was on a big tree, (and) took care of the babies in the nest.

Thesis 2:

*tɔ:n*¹ *kla:*¹ *ton*³ *mi:*¹ *chɔ:*³ *wo:*²
 part middle trunk there is hole

*mæ:w*¹ *kap*² *lu:k*³ *ju:*² *naj*¹ *nan*⁴
 cat and baby be in that

At the middle of the trunk there was a hole with the cat and babies in it.

Thesis 3:

thi:³ kho:n¹ ton³ mu:⁵ lian⁴ lu:k³ nɔ:j⁴nɔ:j⁴ ju:² naj¹ phro:ŋ¹
 at base trunk pig raise baby little be in hollow
 At the base of the trunk a pig raised the babies, (and) lived in
 the hollow.

Example (65) is an introduction of a group of participants. The verb that characterizes this paragraph as being the Parallel paragraph is *ju:²* 'to be'.

(66) Thesis 1:

khæ:k² num² kɔ:³ han² nok⁴phi⁴ra:p³ tua¹ nuŋ² ʔɔ:k²
 guest young AUX cut pigeon CLASS one come out

pen¹ sɔ:ŋ⁵ thɔn³ cæ:k² kæ:² dek²cha:j¹ khon¹la⁴ khruŋ³
 be two piece pass out to boy each half

The young guest then cut a pigeon into two pieces, **passed out**
 each half to each boy.

Thesis 2:

tua¹ nuŋ² kæ:² dek²jɪŋ⁵ sɔ:ŋ⁵ khon¹
 CLASS one to girl two CLASS
 (He passed out) a pigeon to the two girls.

Thesis 3:

tua¹ nuŋ² kæ:² kha¹ruu⁴ha²bɔ¹di:¹ læ⁴ phan¹ra¹ja:¹
 CLASS one to wealthy man and wife
 (He passed out) a pigeon to the wealthy man and (his) wife.

The parallelism of the above paragraph can be seen through the verb *cæ:k²* 'pass out' which is present in Thesis 1 but omitted in Theses 2 and 3. The paragraph functions to tie together similar actions, all of which are on the storyline.

Simultaneous paragraph. The Simultaneous Paragraph is a temporal binary structure which encodes temporal overlap. The linkage is only by juxtaposition. The tagmemes of the Simultaneous Paragraph may represent actions/events and may be on the storyline.

(67) Simultaneous 1:

con¹ thuŋ⁵ na:j¹ kɔ:³ ɿaw¹ tua¹ ɿɔ:k² paj¹ kan³
 till reach master AUX take body out go block
 Till reaching the master, (the dog) **used (his) body to shield** (his master).

Simultaneous 2: Result Paragraph

Thesis:

phɔ:¹di:¹ caw³khɔ:ŋ⁵ suan⁵ lan³ pu:n¹ prian³
 just right owner garden shoot gun loudly
 At that time, the owner of the garden **shot** (the dog).

Result:

lu:k³pra:j¹ khaw³ paj¹ faŋ⁵ naj¹ tua¹ ma:⁵ phu:³ kla:³ha:n⁵
 bullet enter go penetrate in body dog that brave
 The bullet **penetrated** the brave dog.

Example (67) highlights the peak of the story by describing in more detail an action/event that takes place at the Peak. The simultaneity intended is expressed by the word *phɔ:¹di:¹* ‘just right (at that time).’

Sequence paragraph. The Sequence Paragraph is openended. It encodes deep structure temporal succession. Linkage is by the adverb auxiliary *læ:w⁴*... *kɔ:³* ‘already... then’, recapitulation with tail-head linkage or Time Margin, and by juxtaposition. Its function is to advance the storyline. This is, therefore, one of the more important (if not the most important) paragraph types. This paragraph may have the last unit as climactic.

(68) Setting:

kwa:ŋ¹ tua¹ nuŋ² kam¹laŋ¹ thu:k² ma:⁵ laj³ ma:¹
 deer CLASS one in progress PASS dog chase come
 A deer was being chased by a dog.

SEQ 1:

man¹ tɔ:ŋ³ wiŋ³ khaw³ paj¹ naj¹ tham³
 it have run enter go in cave
 It **had to run** into a cave.

SEQ 2:

phɔː¹ khaw³ tham³ kɔː³ phop⁴ siŋ⁵toː¹ tua¹ jaj²
 when enter cave AUX come across lion CLASS big
 When entering the cave, (he) then **came across** a big lion.

SEQ n (Climax):

siŋ⁵toː¹ doː² ta¹khɾup⁴
 lion jump seize in paw

kwaːŋ¹ khɾɔː⁴raːj⁴ kat² kin¹ sia⁵
 deer unlucky bite eat Fp

The lion **jumped, seized** the unlucky deer in its paw, **bit, (and)** ate (it).

The setting of example (68) is off the storyline by virtue of containing a lower-ranking verb (see §4.3). The climax of this paragraph is marked by a series of verbs which gives a detailed description of the climactic step. SEQ 1 is linked to SEQ 2 by the recapitulation of the previous event, i.e., *phɔː¹ khaw³ tham³* 'When entering the cave.' The linkage between SEQ 2 and SEQ n is by juxtaposition.

Result paragraph. The Result Paragraph is a binary structure that expresses a logical relation. Deep structure efficient cause is encoded in this paragraph type. The Result Paragraph has the efficient cause in the Thesis tagmeme and the result in the Result tagmeme. Linkage is frequently by the preserial verb *cunŋ¹* 'so, therefore' which precedes the main verb of the subject in the Result tagmeme. The preserial verb *cunŋ¹* may be accompanied by the optional *daŋ¹nan⁴* 'therefore' which precedes the subject of the Result tagmeme. In a narrative discourse, the Result Paragraph usually occurs in the postpeak episode as a consequence of the Peak (notional structure Climax). However, it has been found out that this paragraph type also occurs in the prepeak episode as a consequence of the immediately preceding event.

(69) Thesis:

na:j¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵ sat² thaŋ⁴ sɔ:ŋ⁵ cuŋ¹ ja:j⁴ siŋ²khɔ:ŋ⁵ ca:k²
 master of animal all two so move thing from

la:¹ paj¹ ban¹thuk⁴ laŋ⁵ ma:⁴ thaŋ⁴jaŋ¹ lɔ:k³ naŋ⁵ la:¹
 ass go pack on back horse also skin hide ass

thaŋ⁴ tua¹ ban¹thuk⁴ phv:m³ bon¹ laŋ⁵ ma:⁴ ʔi:k²
 all body pack on in addition on back horse more

So the master of the two animals **moved** the things from the ass, **packed** on the back of the horse, and also **skinned** the hides of the ass, **packed** on the back of the horse.

Result:

ma:⁴ cuŋ¹ tɔ:ŋ³ rap⁴pha:¹ra⁴ nak² tem¹thi:³ per¹
 horse so have to take responsibility heavy fully to be

tha¹wi:¹khɜ:n¹ phrɔ:⁴ khwa:m¹hen⁵kæ:²tua¹
 double because selfishness

So because of (its) selfishness the horse had to carry twice the amount of load.

Example (69) has *cuŋ¹* ‘so’ as a linkage. This paragraph expresses a consequence of the Peak (notional structure Climax). The Thesis tagmeme is on the storyline by virtue of its storyline verb, while the Result tagmeme is off the storyline. This is, therefore, a fore-weighted Result Paragraph.

(70) Thesis:

phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ soŋ¹sa¹dap² daŋ¹nan⁴ kɔ:³ ru:⁴ di:¹ wa:³
 king listen so AUX know well that

tɔ:ŋ³ ha:⁵ phu:³ja:j² ma:¹ su:²khɔ:⁵ ta:m¹ pra¹phe:¹ni:¹
 have find elder come propose according custom

The king listened then (he) **knew** well that (he) had to find an elder to propose (her) according to the custom.

Result:

daŋ¹nan⁴ phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ cuŋ¹ sa¹det² su:² waŋ¹
 therefore king so go to palace

So the king **went** to the palace.

The Thesis tagmeme is linked to the Result tagmeme by *daŋ¹nan⁴... cuŋ¹* ‘therefore... so’. The paragraph occurs in a postpeak episode. The Result tagmeme is on the storyline as well as the Thesis tagmeme; therefore, this is an equiweighted Result Paragraph.²²

Reason paragraph. The Reason Paragraph contrasts with the Result Paragraph in that it has the efficient cause in the Reason tagmeme. Linkage is juxtaposition or by the connective *phɔ⁴* ‘because’ or *he:t²phɔ⁴* ‘the reason is’.

(71) Thesis:

cha:w¹ba:n³ phɔ⁴ daŋ³jin¹ pra¹ka:t² kɔ³ pha:¹kan¹
villager when hear announcement AUX go together

khon⁴ha:⁵ khruaŋ³pra¹dap² ʔan¹ mi:¹kha:³ naj¹ ba:n³ khɔ:^ŋ⁵
search for ornament that valuable in house of

ton¹
self

When the villagers heard the announcement, they **looked for**
(their) valuable ornaments in their house.

Reason:

khraj¹khraj¹ kɔ³ ja:k² daŋ³ ra:ŋ¹wan¹ ca:k² than³ se:t²thi:⁵
anyone AUX want get reward from title wealthy man
Everyone wanted to get a reward from the wealthy man.

The Thesis tagmeme, which is on the storyline, is linked to the reason tagmeme by juxtaposition. This paragraph expounds the motivation behind the immediately preceding event.

²²The tagmemes of this paragraph have equal weight; therefore, this paragraph is termed an equiweighted Result Paragraph.

(72) Thesis:

taŋ³tæ:²nan⁴ma:¹ pa:³ chæ:m³ cuŋ¹ mɔ:ŋ¹ lo:k³ naj¹ ŋæ:³
 since then Aunt Chaem so see world in way

maj² maj³wa:³ fon⁵ ca² tok² ru:⁵ dæ:t² ʔɔ:k² kæ:¹ kɔ:³
 new either rain will fall or sun come out she AUX

ca² nan³ ʔom¹jim⁴ ja:ŋ²chuu:n³ʔok²chuu:n³caj¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵ kæ:¹
 will sit smile pleasantly of her

ju:² khon¹ diaw¹
 to be CLASS one

After that Aunt Chaem saw the world in a new way. Whether it rained or shined, she would sit smile pleasantly by herself.

Reason:

phrɔ:⁴ kæ:¹ ru:⁴ læ:w⁴ wa:³ lu:k³cha:j¹ thaŋ³ sɔ:ŋ⁵
 because she know already that son all two

khɔ:ŋ⁵ kæ:¹ kam¹lan¹ kha:⁴kha:j⁵ maŋ³khaŋ³ di:¹ ju:²
 of her to be in progress trade wealthy well still

kæ:¹ maj³ tɔ:ŋ³ ma:¹ nan³ pen¹huan²pen¹jaj¹ ʔom¹thuk⁴
 she not have come sit worried distressed

ju:² khon¹ diaw¹ ʔi:k²tɔ:²paj¹
 to be CLASS one from now on

Because she knew that her two sons were doing well in the trading business she did not have to be worried or distressed.

The Thesis tagmeme and the Reason tagmeme are linked together by *phrɔ:⁴* 'because'. This paragraph occurs in a postpeak episode and its function is to conclude the previous main events. Both tagmemes express a cognitive state; therefore they are off the storyline. This is an equiweighted paragraph.

Attestation paragraph. Though the Attestation Paragraph is potentially n-ary, in the present corpus of texts, most Attestation Paragraphs have a binary construction. The Attestation Paragraph encodes evidence but linkage is only by juxtaposition. The first tagmeme of this paragraph type is the main Thesis and the following one is the supporting evidence. The

main Thesis usually carries the storyline forward in a narrative discourse. This paragraph type serves to highlight the preceding event by providing evidence to support it. The occurrences of the Attestation Paragraph in Thai narrative discourse are in the closure.

(73) Thesis: Result Paragraph

Thesis:

phɔː¹ tat² chuak³ taː¹khaːj² khaːt² duan¹paː¹thit⁴ kɔː³
 when cut rope net break sun AUX

phuŋ³pruːt²khun³ thɔːŋ⁴faː⁴ than¹thiː¹
 move up at high speed sky immediately

When the rope net was broken, the sun immediately **rushed up** into the sky.

Result:

faːj² rap⁴bit² phuː³ naː³soŋ⁵saːn⁵ tua¹
 as for Rabbit who poor body

kriam¹maj³ læ⁴ taː¹ bɔːt² paj¹ khaːŋ³ nuŋ²
 burn and eye blind go side one

As for poor Rabbit, (his) body was burned and he was blind in one eye.

Evidence:

than³ khon¹ hen⁵ cut² maj³ bon¹ baː²
 you still see spot burn on shoulder

rap⁴bit² daj³ con¹ thuk⁴wan¹niː⁴
 Rabbit able till everyday now

You are still able to see the burned spot on Rabbit's shoulder until now.

Identification paragraph. The Identification Paragraph is an elaboration device which has a binary construction. This paragraph type encodes the deep structure identification with linkage between the tagmemes is juxtaposition. The function of the Identification Paragraph in narrative discourse is to introduce and describe the new participant who initiates the action. It also provides the listener or the reader with background information regarding props or location. Another feature which

characterizes the Identification Paragraph and helps to identify it is the lack of narrative movement within the paragraph.

(74) Thesis:

tha:w⁴pha¹ja:¹ ʔoŋ¹ nuŋ² mi:¹ thi⁴da:¹ soŋ¹cho:m⁵ŋa:m¹
 ruler CLASS one have daughter beautiful

sip²sɔ:ŋ⁵ khon¹
 twelve CLASS

A ruler had twelve beautiful daughters.

Introduction:

phra⁴thi⁴da:¹ nan⁴ nɔ:n¹ tiaŋ¹ sip²sɔ:ŋ⁵ thi:³
 daughter that sleep bed twelve place

ruam¹ ju:² naj¹ hɔŋ³ diaw¹
 to be together be in room one

Those daughters slept in twelve beds in one room.

In example (74), both Thesis and Introduction tagmemes are off the storyline because they belong to the Setting Band. Both of them are of equal rank.

Amplification paragraph. The Amplification Paragraph is an openended elaborative device. Deep structure amplification paraphrase is encoded in this paragraph type. Linkage is by juxtaposition. The Amplification Paragraph has Amplification tagmemes which amplify the lexical content of the Thesis. It gives new information not stated in the Thesis tagmeme. This paragraph type is used in the narrative discourse to provide the listener or the reader with detailed information. It does not advance the storyline.

(75) Thesis:

na:n¹sæ:n⁵na:n¹ ma:¹ læ:w⁴ jaŋ¹ mi:¹ se:t²thi:⁵
 very long time come already still there is wealthy person

cha¹ra:¹ khu:³ nuŋ² mi:¹ lu:k³cha:j¹ sɔ:ŋ⁵ khon¹ suŋ³
 old couple one have son two CLASS who

mi:¹ ni⁴saj⁵ maj³ muan⁵ kan¹ lv:j¹
 have characteristics not alike together at all

A long time ago, there was a wealthy couple whose two sons had different characteristics.

Amplification: Contrast Paragraph

Thesis:

khon¹ phi:³ nan⁴ cha¹la:t² kæ:m¹ko:ŋ¹ cho:p³
 CLASS elder that smart tricky like

phlik⁴phlæ:ŋ¹ læ⁴ maj³ khɔ:j³ mi:¹ khwa:m¹ciŋ¹caj¹
 not straightforward and not likely have sincerity

The elder brother was smart in a tricky way, not straightforward, and not sincere.

Contrast:

suan² khon¹ nɔ:ŋ⁴ nan⁴ sui:³ ma:k³ con¹ ba:ŋ¹khraŋ⁴
 as for CLASS younger that honest very till sometimes

du:¹ pen¹ khon¹ ŋo:³
 look like to be CLASS foolish

As for the younger brother, (he) was so honest that sometimes (he) looked like a fool.

In example (75), both tagmemes are off the storyline because they belong to the Setting Band. Both of them are of equal rank.

Comment paragraph. The Comment Paragraph is a binary construction which encodes “narrator viewpoint, i.e., the relationship of the narrator to the story and to his addressees” (Waltz 1976:85). The Comment Paragraph has the Comment tagmeme which expresses the narrator’s remark about the participant or event referred to in the Thesis tagmeme. The Comment tagmeme is off the storyline. Linkage is by juxtaposition.

(76) Thesis:

dek² bon¹ ton³maj⁴ ta¹ko:n¹ riak³ ma:⁵ haj³ chuaj³
 child on tree shout call dog let help
 The child on the tree **called** the dog to help (him).

Comment:

raw¹ than³ jo:m³ ru:⁴ duaj³kan¹ wa:³ tham¹ma¹da:¹ ma:⁵
 we you likely to know together that normally dog

maj³ khv:j¹ khuun³ ton³maj⁴ daj³ tæ:² ma:⁵ pra¹la:t²
 not used to go up tree able but dog strange

tua¹ ni:⁴ sa:⁵ma:t³
 CLASS this can

We know that normally dogs are not able to climb up the tree,
 but this strange dog can.

Quote paragraph. The Quote Paragraph is a binary reportive device which encodes deep structure speech attribution and awareness attribution. There is no connective between the tagmemes. The Quote Paragraph consists of an optional lead-in, an obligatory Quote formula, and an obligatory Quote. The first two tagmemes serve to advance the storyline while the Quote tagmeme can be considered to be off the storyline. When the Quote Paragraph is used, it usually links the storyline to the reported speech.

(77) Lead-in:

muwa³ na:j¹phra:n¹ jo:n² thaw⁵wan¹ loŋ¹ paj¹ khran⁴
 when hunter lower vine down go time

thi:³so:ŋ⁵ pha¹ja:¹na:k³ kɔ:³ taj² thaw⁵wan¹ khuun³ ma:¹
 second big snake AUX climb vine up come
 When the hunter lowered the vines for the second time, the big snake **climbed up**.

Quote Formula:

pha¹ja:¹na:k³ kɔ:³ tuan¹ na:j¹phra:n¹ ʔi:k²
 big snake AUX warn hunter again
 The big snake **warned** the hunter again.

Quote:

“ma¹nu⁴ hua⁵ dam¹ nan⁴ ca¹dam¹
human being head black that merciless

nak⁴ than³ ja:² chuaj³ . . . ”
very you not help

“The man with the black head is merciless. Don’t help (him)
. . .”

Execution paragraph. The Execution Paragraph is a binary construction which encodes deep structure execution. It has a Plan tagmeme which is expressed verbally and an Execution tagmeme which is a nonverbal carrying out of the Plan (Longacre 1980). The speech act of the Plan tagmeme and the action of the Execution Tagmeme are both on the storyline. The Execution Paragraph functions to add vividness to an event. It also functions as a rhetorical underlining device which is used at the Peak of an episode.

(78) Plan:

cha:¹li:¹ khit⁴ wa:³ “sa¹wa:j⁵ jaj² ky:n¹paj¹ sam⁵rap²
Charlie think that kind of fish big too much for

?a:η² ca² tɔ:η³ paj¹ ju:² thi:³?u:n² maj² du:¹tha:³
bowl will have to go be other place new look like

ca² chɔ:p³ ju:² naj¹ bɔ:²”
will like be in well

Charlie **thought** that “The fish is too big to be in the fish bowl. (It) will have to be in another new place. It is likely that (the fish) likes to be in a well.”

Execution:

cha:¹li:¹ cuη¹ chɔ:n⁴ sa¹wa:j⁵ paj¹ loη¹ bɔ:² jaj²
Charlie so lift up fish go down well big

So Charlie **took** the fish down to a big well.

Stimulus-response paragraph. The Stimulus-Response Paragraph contrasts with the Execution Paragraph in that “the nonverbal Response is not a carrying out of a command or a suggestion given in the previous sentence, but often is a countering of the entire strategy indicated in the previous sentence by a new strategy” (Longacre 1980:19). This paragraph type is used in the narrative

discourse to record mounting tension in the story. It expresses a conflict between two participants. Which builds up tension toward the climax of the story.

(79) Stimulus:

siaŋ⁵ daŋ¹ kaŋ¹wa:n¹ ɔ:k² ma:¹ ca:k² rot⁴ wi⁴ma:n¹
 sound loud resonant out come from vehicle of angels

wa:³ “ɔ:k² ma:¹ thv:t² ka²khu⁴ja:¹ daŋ³ we:¹la:¹ læ:w⁴
 that out come Fp Kakhuya it's time already
 A loud, resonant sound **came out** from the vehicle of angels,
 “Please come out, Kakhuya. It's time (to do something).”

Response:

ka²khu⁴ja:¹ ju:t⁴ phɔ:³ waj⁴
 Kakhuya take hold of father keep
 Kakhuya **took hold of** (her) father.

Dialogue paragraph. The Dialogue Paragraph contrasts with the Quote Paragraph in that the Dialogue Paragraph has two speakers whereas the Quote Paragraph has only one. This paragraph type encodes the deep structure repartee. There are three subtypes of Dialogue Paragraphs, i.e., Simple Dialogue Paragraph, Complex Dialogue Paragraph, and Compound Dialogue Paragraph. Simple Dialogue Paragraphs are “bipartite structures in which there is an Initiating Utterance and a Resolving Utterance. The former is a question, a proposal, or a remark. The latter is an answer, a response, or an evaluation” (Longacre 1980:17). Complex Dialogue Paragraphs “involve counter tokens which can be called continuing utterances. The purpose of the occurrence of a counter token may be simply to clarify a dialogue. On the other hand it may represent an attempt to seize control of the direction of the conversation” (Longacre 1980:18). Compound Dialogue Paragraphs “put together simple and/or complex dialogue paragraphs into larger wholes” (Longacre 1980:18).

In narrative discourse, these subtypes of Dialogue Paragraph are used to add interest and vividness to the story. Their primary function is to give emphatic prominence to the climactic event. They highlight the event by slowing down the pace of events. Besides highlighting the Peak, they are also used to expound clearly the initial situation in a discourse. Specifically, it has been found out that the occurrence of the Simple Dialogue Paragraph is frequent in the Exposition and Conclusion of Thai narrative, and the Complex Dialogue Paragraph is often used in the complication of

the story. The Quote formula of the tagmeme in the Dialogue Paragraph is on the storyline.

(80) Exchange 1: Simple Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Utterance (Question):

jiŋ⁵ nan⁴ tha:m⁵ wa:³ ca² paj¹ naj⁵
 woman that ask that will go where
 That woman asked where (he) would go.

Resolving Utterance (Answer):

‘kha:³pha¹caw³ ca² paj¹ rap⁴ʔa:¹sa:⁵ su:p²du:¹ sa¹tha:n⁵thi:³
 I will go volunteer investigate place

phra⁴thi⁴da:¹ thaŋ⁴ sip²sɔ:ŋ⁵ ni:⁵ paj¹ ten³ram¹ læ:w⁴
 daughter of king all twelve sneak go dance then

ba:ŋ¹thi:¹ ca² daj³ pen¹ ka¹sat² naj¹ we:¹la:¹ kha:ŋ³na:³”
 perhaps sill get be king in time ahead

I will go to volunteer to search for the place where all twelve daughters of the king sneaked away to dance. Then, perhaps (I) will be a king some day.

Exchange 2: simple Dialogue Proparagraph (Unresolved)

Initiating Utterance (Remark):

ja:j¹thaw³ . . “di:¹ læ:w⁴ maj³ lam¹ba:k²
 old woman good already not trouble

ja:k³jen¹ nak⁴ dɔ:k² . . . ”
 difficult very Fp

The old woman (said), “Good, (it is) not very difficult . . . ”

(81) Complex Dialogue Paragraph

Initiating Utterance (Remark):

mæ:w¹ bɔ:k² wa:³ “phuwan³ba:n³kha:³ ʔɤ:j⁵ kha:³ waŋ⁵ wa:³
 cat tell that neighbor my Fp I hope that

wan¹ni:⁴ than³ khoŋ¹ maj³ khi⁴ ca² paj¹ ta:ŋ² thin² na⁴”
 today you may not think will go other place Fp

The cat told (the pig), “My neighbor, I hope today you may not think about going to another place.”

Continuing Utterance (Counter-Question):

mu:⁵ pra¹la:t²caj¹ tha:m⁵ "tham¹maj¹ cuŋ¹ ca² maj³ paj¹"
 pig to be surprised ask why so will not go
 The pig was surprised, and asked "Why won't I go?"

Resolving Utterance (Answer):

mæ:w¹ thet⁴ tɔ:p² "a:w³ kha:³ pæ:p²daj³jin¹
 cat lie answer exclamation I overhear

nok⁴Pin¹si:¹ bɔ:k² kap² lu:k³ khɔ:ŋ⁵ man¹ wa:³ tha:³ than³
 eagle tell to baby of it that if you

pɔ:k² paj¹ naj⁵ ca² loŋ¹ ma:¹ paw¹ lu:k³ mu:⁵
 out go anywhere will come down take baby pig

nɔ:j⁴nɔ:j⁴ paj¹ haj³ kin¹
 little go give eat

The cat lied, "I overhear the eagle tell its babies that if you go out anywhere (it) will come down to take your little babies (for its babies) to eat."

3.5. Summary. The Thai texts used for this study have all notional structure features proposed as universal except for the Final Suspense, which may not be universal. This universal scheme is useful in that it helps to explain the use of surface forms. For example, an Antithetical Paragraph is frequently used before a Climax because it expounds Developing Conflict, i.e., it expresses a conflict between two participants. This conflict leads the story to the Climax.

The notional structure feature slots are filled by the content of a text which is a manifestation of the macrostructure of the text. The notional structure features of Thai climactic narrative include Exposition, Inciting Incident, Developing Conflict (Tension), Climax, Denouement and Conclusion. Ten texts given in the appendix are used to exemplify these notional structure features. The next section examines the surface features of the profile which corresponds to the notional structure features. The profile includes the slots of Title, Aperture, Stage, Prepeak episodes, Peak, Peak', Postpeak episodes, Closure, and Finis. Finally, nineteen paragraph types which expound the surface features are posited. Each paragraph type is discussed in relation to its function in discourse structure.

4

Storyline and Nonstoryline

Thai texts used for this study consist of all the notional structure features proposed as universal except for Final Suspense, which may not be universal. The notional structure slots are filled by the content which is a manifestation of the macrostructure of the text. A storyline that moves the text forward from its starting point toward the end is given.

A number of linguists have attempted to explain how events are distinguished from nonevents. Grimes (1975) classifies the information in a narrative discourse into participants (and props), events, and nonevents. Participants (and props) are discussed in detail in the following chapter. In regard to events and nonevents, Grimes states that this is the first distinction that should be made in the analysis of narrative discourse. Nonevents are classified as setting, background, evaluation, and collateral.

According to Hopper (1979:213), events are referred to as “the language of the actual storyline” and nonevents as “the language of the supportive material”. The former is referred to as foreground, i.e., “the parts of the narrative which relate events belonging to the skeletal structure of the discourse” and the latter as background which “does not itself narrate the main events”.

Jones and Jones (1979:6) mention that some scholars have viewed discourse information as “an essentially bipartite structure composed of more significant information (often called BACKBONE OR FOREGROUND) and less significant information (BACKGROUND).”

Longacre (1983b:1-2) uses “the WARP and WOOF” as a metaphor for the backbone or event line and the background or tributary material,

respectively. A distinction between on-the-line material and tributary material is made by pointing out that some threads of prominence which run vertically down through a discourse “supply the warp of the texture of discourse through which the other material, the woof of the texture, is woven”. Longacre (1983a:14) uses a cover term, ‘the rubric SUPPORTIVE’, to refer to all material other than the main line of development in a discourse. He mentions that events determine an ‘event line’ or ‘storyline’ which is referred to as any happening that pushes the story forward. The terms ‘storyline’ and ‘nonstoryline’ will be used throughout the discussion below.

A number of features or properties of this bipartite structure of discourse information have been identified. Hopper and Thompson (1980:280) refer to GROUNDING as “linguistic features associated with the distinction between foreground and background”. Each language makes use of particular features to mark foreground and background. In languages with tense-aspect systems, such as French, the story line of narrative discourse is characterized by verbs in the past tense or in the completive/perfective aspect. Nonstoryline is marked by such devices as the use of tenses in pluperfects, progressive forms, the use of the verb ‘to be’, and a variety of other means. Longacre (in press) points out that “a language which has not much richness of structure in regard to tense-aspect distinction may distinguish the event line of narratives by a conspiracy of nonsystemic ways”.

Thai, a language without word inflection, uses grammatical forms to mark a distinction between storyline and nonstoryline. In the studies of languages with tense-aspect systems, most initial attempts are on the identification of features that mark storyline. In Thai it is much easier to single out the storyline by removing all off-the-line material first. This chapter, therefore, discusses different categories of nonstoryline, and how each category is indicated by certain grammatical forms; the next chapter deals with linguistic features which are used to foreground the storyline of narrative discourse and rank on-the-line and off-the-line independent clauses according to their structural importance in a narrative discourse.

Categories of nonstoryline include cohesion, evaluation, irrealis, setting, flashback, cognitive state and background activities.

4.1. Cohesion. Clauses that contain cohesion information are off the storyline. Cohesion among the sentences of a Thai narrative includes the use of such cohesive devices as adverbial clauses, relative clauses, thematicity, topicalization, summary, and preview. An adverbial clause is a frequent device used to link the previous event which is on the storyline

to the next one. It frequently precedes the main clause. The adverbial clause may repeat the main event in the last sentence of the previous paragraph as tail-head linkage or sum up the main event of the preceding paragraph as summary-head linkage (Thompson and Longacre 1985:60). Example (82) contains tail-head linkage.

- (82) *khuu:n¹ duan¹ muu:t³ wan¹ nuuŋ² caw³jiŋ⁵ lɔ:p³fæ:ŋ⁵*
 night moon dark day one princess enter w/o permission

ʔoŋ¹ khaw³ paj su:² hɔŋ³ban¹thom¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵ phra⁴caw³
 self enter go to bedroom of king

the:p³moŋ¹khon¹ læ⁴ chaj⁴ krü² thɔ:ŋ¹ thæ:ŋ¹ phra⁴ʔoŋ¹
 Thepmongkhon and use dagger gold stab him

sin³phra⁴chon¹ daj³ do:j¹ŋa:j³ he:t²phrɔ⁴ kam¹laŋ¹
 die able easily because in progress

ban¹thom¹lap² ju:² laŋ⁵ca:k² plon¹phra⁴chon¹
 sleep stay, in progress after kill

phra⁴bi²da:¹ læ:w⁴ caw³jiŋ⁵ kɔ:³ lɔ:ŋ¹ khaw³ paj¹ naj¹
 father already princess AUX try enter go in

hɔŋ³ban¹thom¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵ caw³cha:j¹ the:p³thɔ:ŋ¹...
 bedroom of prince Thepthong

One dark night, the princess went into the bedroom of King Thepmongkhon and killed him easily with the gold dagger because he was sleeping.

After (she) killed the father (of the prince), the princess, then, went into the bedroom of prince Thepthong.

The clause in boldface refers back to the last main event of the previous paragraph. The tagging of the adverbial clause by the postserial verb *læ:w⁴* 'already' emphasizes the completion of the action performed in the previous paragraph.

However, it is not necessary that the adverbial clause always contain a back reference to the last sentence of the preceding paragraph. If the last sentence is off the storyline, the adverbial clause may relate its nucleus to another sentence provided that this sentence is on the storyline.

Furthermore, the adverbial clause may refer to the last main event in the paragraph before the immediately preceding paragraph. This is the case when the preceding paragraph has a reference switch as follows:

- a. Paragraph 1 participant 1
 last main event in the paragraph
- b. Paragraph 2 participant 2
- c. Paragraph 3 participant 1
 an adverbial clause referring back to the last
 main event in the first paragraph

The adverbial clause can also contain a back reference to an event which is only implied in the preceding sentences. This kind of adverbial clause is script-determined,²³ as seen in example (83).

- (83) *na:j¹phra:n¹ faŋ¹ læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ caj¹ʔɔ:n² ri:p³ jɔ:n²*
 hunter listen already AUX feel touched hurry lower
- thaw⁵wan¹ loŋ¹ paj¹ haj³ ma¹nut⁴ mua³ khun³*
 vines down go give human being when up
- ma:¹ phon⁴ pa:k² he:w⁵ læ:w⁴ cha:j¹ hua⁵ dam¹*
 come out of top of chasm already man head black
- kɔ:³ khɔ:p²caj¹ na:j¹phra:n¹ duaj³ thɔ:j³kham¹ ʔɔ:n²wa:n⁵*
 AUX thank hunter with word sweet
- After the hunter listened (to him), (he) felt touched, (he) quickly lowered the vines to the man. **When (he) went up to the top of the chasm,** the man with black hair thanked the hunter.

The various kinds of back reference mentioned above are introduced by *phɔ:¹* 'when', *mua³* 'when', *laŋ⁵ca:k²* 'after' or 0. The adverbial clause that functions in such tail-head linkage is frequently tagged by *læ:w⁴* 'already', which marks the completion of the previous event and anticipates the following event.

²³This adverbial clause is a kind of back reference which serves "to round out the event line by filling in some predictable events" and provides cohesion between sentences (Longacre in press).

Besides tail-head linkage, summary-head linkage is also frequently used to sum up the previous events of the preceding paragraph. It can be exemplified as follows:

- (84) *laŋ⁵ca:k² tham¹ ka:n¹to:2su:3 kan¹ ja:ŋ²tho:1ra¹hot²*
 after do fighting together persistently
- ma:1 thuŋ⁵ ha:3 dwan¹ cha:w¹ ba:ŋ¹ra¹can¹ ko:3*
 complete up to five month villager Bangrajan then
- tha:n¹ suuk² pha¹ma:3 to:2paj¹ maj³ daj³*
 endure fight Burmese continue not able
- After (the Burmese and Bangrajan villagers) fought persistently for five months, Bangrajan villagers could not endure the fighting with Burmese.**

The adverbial clause may also refer back to an incident that does not take place in the preceding paragraph but somewhere earlier in the text. This kind of adverbial clause may be preposed or postposed to the main clause, and is introduced by several categories of words. For example, if the adverbial clause is used as a cause, it can be introduced by *nuaŋ³ca:k²* 'owing to', and if it is a comparison, it may be preceded by *daŋ¹chen³thi:3* 'the same (way) as'.

Another cohesive device is when a relative clause is used to refer to things or incidents that appear anywhere in the previous context. It is usually introduced by *thi:3* 'that'.

- (85) *man¹ baŋ¹ʔv:n¹ dv:n¹ pha:n² rua⁴ laŋ⁵ba:n³*
 he by chance walk past fence backyard
- khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴sat² hæ:ŋ² nuŋ² rua⁴ thi:3 wa:3*
 butcher CLASS one fence that say
- ni:4 pen¹...*
 this to be
- He by chance walked past a fence at the backyard of a butcher's house. The fence **that (I just) said** was... (Text 8)

The underlined clause indicates that the fence which is being talked about is the one mentioned previously.

In regard to thematicity, the writer or the speaker may mention the theme of a story point by point. The use of such words as *kɔ:n²* 'first, before', *tɔ:²paj¹* 'next', *sut²tha:j⁴* 'finally, last' is to maintain thematicity and make the story coherent. The phrases in (86) occur at the beginning of paragraphs and function to tie the paragraphs together.

- (86) *klum² nur² thi:³ pra¹wat²sa:t² kla:w²thuŋ⁵ khu:¹...*
 group first that history mention be
 The first group that the history mentioned was ...

klum² khon¹ kla:³ha:n⁵ thi:³so:ŋ⁵ thi:³ phɔ:¹ ca² nu:k⁴
 group people brave second that able will remember

daj³ khu:¹...
 able be

The second group of brave people that (I) can still remember was ...

klum² khɔ:ŋ⁵ khon¹ keŋ² tɔ:²paj¹ thi:³ phɔ:¹ ca²
 group of people capable next that able will

nu:k⁴ daj³ naj¹ pra¹wat²sa:t² sa¹maj⁵ nan⁴ khu:¹
 remember able in history time that be

The next group of good people that (I) can still remember in the history was ...

klum² khon¹ di:¹ klum² sut²tha:j⁴ thi:³ ca² kla:w²thuŋ⁵ khu:¹...
 group people good group last that will mention be
 The last group of good people that (I) will mention was ...

Topicalization is another cohesive device used to link the present clause to the preceding one. The topicalized object in example (87) ties its clause to the preceding one.

- (87) *kha¹nom⁵ thi:³ lua⁵ ca² daj³ ʔaw¹ paj¹ fa:k² ru:n³...*
 dessert that remain will able take go give Ruen
The desserts that remain (I) will be able to take (them back for) Ruen.

Moreover, the cohesive devices can be a summary of previous happenings as well as a preview. The summary and preview link the present

incidents to the preceding or the following ones. All these various devices of cohesion are at a considerable distance from the storyline; they refer more to the cohesion of the story than its content.

4.2. Evaluation. Grimes (1975) classified evaluations as follows: the speaker's own evaluation, the opinions of any participant in a discourse, the speaker's evaluation of the culture within which he is speaking, and an aim of the discourse expressed in the form of a moral. Evaluation is optional and supplementary to a narrative, so it is considered to be a category of nonstoryline.

In Thai texts, the writer's own evaluation can be first of all recognized through the use of a first personal pronoun as in example (88).

- (88) *raw¹ cam¹ daj³ di:¹ wa:³ muan¹*
 we remember able well that town

wi⁴se:²chaj¹cha:n¹ ni:⁴ pen¹ muan¹ kho:⁵ khon¹ caj¹kla:³
 Wisetchajchan this be town of people brave
 We well remember that this town Wisetchajchan was the town
 of brave people.

In this example, the writer uses the first personal plural pronoun *raw¹* 'we' to include both the writer and the reader. Grimes (1975:63) mentions that "evaluation brings the hearer more closely into the narration". This statement also holds true for the preference for the first personal plural pronoun over the first personal singular pronoun. By using *raw¹* 'we', the writer invites the reader to share his evaluation.

The task of bringing the reader close to the text may also be accomplished by raising a question directly with the reader as in example (89).

- (89) *wan¹nuun² dek² khon¹ ni:⁴ paj¹ tha¹le:¹sa:p² luk⁴ len³ tho:¹*
 one day child CLASS this go lake deep play toss

kra¹buan³ bon¹ nam⁴ len³ ja:²raj¹ phuak³raw¹ sa:p³ maj⁵
 tile on water play how group of us know o
 One day, this child went to toss tiles onto the water. Do we (our
 group) know how to play?"

When a shift to the first personal pronoun is absent, evaluations may be signalled through such descriptive words as *di:¹* 'good', *le:w¹* 'bad'. Example

(90) is an evaluation by virtue of descriptive elements, i.e., *di:¹ lua⁵ kv:n¹* ‘extremely good’, and *pen¹ ma:⁵ lv:t³* ‘to be an excellent dog’.

(90) *ma:⁵ tua¹ nuŋ² di:¹ lua⁵kv:n¹ chu:³ ʔa¹raj¹ cam¹*
 dog CLASS one good extremely name what remember

maj³ daj³ tæ:² pen¹ ma:⁵ lv:t³
 not able but be dog excellent

A dog was extremely good. (I) cannot remember its name but (it) was an excellent dog.

Besides the writer’s own overt evaluation, opinion about things or participants in a discourse can be expressed in a text by attributing them to a participant. In example (91), a grandson is evaluated by his grandmother.

(91) *ʔa:j³ la:n⁵ khon¹ ni:⁴ man¹ son¹ sia⁵ ciŋ¹ciŋ¹*
 title grandson CLASS this he naughty Fp really

mi:¹ ʔa¹raj¹ man¹ kep² paj¹ len³ moi²
 there is what he pick up go play all

This grandson was really **naughty**. (If) there was something around, he picked (it) up to play (with). (Text 10)

Another feature of evaluations is that they often contain stative verbs, such as *pen¹* ‘to be’. Besides, most evaluations are concerned with facts or something that customarily happens. The evaluation in example (92) by the writer is at the end of a short novel and points out that what happens in the novel is indeed a fact of life.

(92) *tæ:² chi:¹wit⁴ khɔ:^ŋ⁵ khon¹ ba:ŋ¹ khon¹ pra¹sop² tæ:²*
 but life of people some people to face only

pha:¹ju⁴fon⁵ læ⁴ khwa:m¹mu:^t³ con¹ maj³khv:^j¹ ru:⁴ wa:³
 thunderstorm and darkness till never know that

sæ:ŋ⁵thɔ:^ŋ¹ khɔ:^ŋ⁵ chi:¹wit⁴ nan⁴ pen¹ ja:ŋ²raj¹
 sunshine of life that to be how

But the lives of some people are only the thunderstorm and darkness such that (they) never know the sunshine of life. (Text 10)

Finally, evaluations such as those found in *Aesop's Fables* and stories used in class in Thailand are global, that is, they embrace the whole story (Grimes 1975:62). These stories always end with a moral. In some other stories, evaluation may be introduced at the beginning of the stories. They are mostly concerned with the usefulness of the stories, their main idea, and the like. Global evaluations tend to deal with how people did or should behave, and they are expressed in forms such as:

- a. Comparative An action is *di:kwa*² 'better than' another action.
- b. Resultative A good or bad act *ja:m*³ 'naturally' leads to good or bad result, respectively.

4.3. Irrealis. According to Grimes (1975), collateral (irrealis)²⁴ includes all possible events which might or might not take place at the time of speaking. Since alternatives involve something that might or might not happen, anything that has to do with alternatives is considered to be collateral information, for example, negation, questions, futures, imperatives, predictions. The function of collateral information in a discourse is stated by Grimes:

Collateral information, simply stated, relates nonevents to events. By providing a range of nonevents that might take place, it heightens the significance of the real events (1975:65).

Negation, whether it fits into accomplished time or in projected time, gives collateral information. Quotations that take the forms of a denial, a question, or a prediction also convey collateral information.

In Thai texts, an important grammatical form that characterizes collateral information or irrealis is the preserial verb *ca*² 'will'. Even though *ca*² is translated 'will' in English, it is not a future time marker. Kanchanawan (1978:43) mentions that "the fact that *ca*² indicates potentiality, assertion, determination, or volition makes it imply future time in some contexts". Sindhvananda (1970) states that *ca*² can either precede or follow verbs of mental state but never follows other kinds of main verbs; therefore, the intuitive assumption is made as follows:²⁵

/ca2/ is originally an element attached to the preceding elements that express human intention, plan, hope, wish decision, etc. When

²⁴The term 'irrealis' is used by Longacre (1986). I will use this term instead of 'collateral' throughout this study.

²⁵In this below, the meaning of /*taŋ*³*caj*¹//*ca*²//*paj*¹/ is 'intend', 'will', 'go' respectively.

these preceding elements are dropped, /ca2/ retains the original meaning. This also explains the fact that /paj1//ca2/ is ungrammatical and that only /ca2//paj1/ is grammatical because it comes from the original source /taŋ3caj1//ca2//paj1/ (Sindhvananda 1970:55–56).

Example (93) is irrealis in that ca² ‘will’ occurs as a marker.

- (93) mæ:³kæ:² kha¹jap² pa:k² ca² wa:³
 old woman move mouth will scold
 The old woman was about to scold (grandson).

taŋ³caj¹ wa:³ ca² paj¹ khɔ:⁵ khwa:m¹ka¹ru⁴na:¹...
 intend that will go ask for kindness
 (The old woman) intended to go and ask for kindness...

kha:⁵klap² hen⁵ ca² tɔ:ŋ³ wæ⁴ suu:⁴ ja:¹khiaw⁵...
 on the way back think will have to stop by buy green medicine
 On the way back, (I) would have to stop to buy (some) green medicine...

phɔ:¹ khɔ:j³jaŋ¹chua³ man¹ kɔ:³ ca² luk⁴
 when get better he AUX will get up

ni:⁵ mæ:³ paj¹thiaw³len³ ja:ŋ²khv:¹
 sneak mother go go around as usual
 When (he) got better, he would get up and sneak away (from his) mother and go around as usual. (Text 10)

The first three clauses manifest intention and plan, while the last one is a prediction. All of the main verbs in these clauses are preceded by ca² ‘will’.

Even though ca² is the salient grammatical feature frequently used to mark irrealis, Thai also uses of auxiliaries such as khɔŋ¹ ‘probably’, khuan¹ ‘should’, na:³ ‘ought to’, and ʔa:t² ‘may, might, be supposed to’. These auxiliaries have the effect of raising alternatives that might or might not happen. Example (94) is a prediction that has the auxiliary khɔŋ¹ ‘probably’ as a marker.

- (94) *ni:³ ʔa:j³ dæ:ŋ¹ khon¹ ʔaw¹ paj¹*
 intensifier title Dang probably take go

len³ thiŋ⁴ waj⁴ naj⁵ ʔi:k²læ:w⁴
 play leave keep somewhere again
 This, Dang **probably** took (it) to play with (and) left (it)
 somewhere again. (Text 10)

In the absence of preserial verbs and auxiliaries, irrealis may be characterized by main verbs which convey doubt, wish, estimation, and the like, as in examples (95).

- (95) *ka² phɔ:¹ mi:¹ kam¹raj¹...*
 estimate enough have profit
 (She) **estimated** (that) there would be enough profit...

soŋ⁵saj⁵ wa:³...
 suspect that
 (He) **suspected** that... (Text 10)

As mentioned above, *ca²* 'will' is not a marker of futurity. In fact, the grammatical form that is used to express time is the time phrase. Any sentences which have time phrases indicating future time, such as *phruŋ³ni:⁴* 'tomorrow', *duan¹na:³* 'next month', *pi:¹na:³* 'next year', *ba:j²ni:⁴* 'this afternoon', are included under irrealis.

According to Grimes (1975), the temporal reference of irrealis is either in accomplished time or in projected time. All cases of Irrealis mentioned so far fit into projected time. However, irrealis with accomplished time is also found in Thai texts. The grammatical forms used to convey this kind of irrealis includes such auxiliaries as *cuan¹*, *thæ:p³*, *kuap²* 'almost, nearly, on the verge of'. Any sentences containing these auxiliaries indicate things that might have happened but did not.

Condition is another form of irrealis. It is introduced by the conjunctives *tha:³*, *ha:k²*, *khraŋ⁴* 'if'. Conditional sentences in Thai do not have any distinction in verb forms between the real or factual and unreal or hypothetical circumstances. The time concepts are only expressed by the context or the adverbial of time (Sindhvananda 1970: 244). However, the cooccurrence of main verbs and auxiliaries can indicate whether a conditional sentence is in accomplished time or in projected time. Any conditional sentences that contain the assertion markers like *ca²* 'will', *khon¹* 'probably', *ʔa:t²* 'may', *na:³* 'should' either in the first or second

clause fit into projected time. The examples in (96) contain these assertion markers.

- (96) *tha:³ kha:j⁵ daj³ kam¹raj¹ ja:η²ni:⁴ thuk⁴wan¹ ko:³ khon¹*
 if sell get profit like this every day AUX may be

suu:⁴ rɔ:η¹thaw⁴ja:η¹ daj³
 buy sandal able

If (I) sell (and) get profit like this every day, (I) **may** be able to buy (a pair of) sandals. (Text 10)

khraⁿ⁴ ca² loη¹ paj¹ ηom¹ ko:³ klua¹ com¹nam⁴ ta:j¹
 if will down go dive AUX afraid drowned die
 If (he) **would** go down (into the stream and) dive (for the iron axe), (he) would be afraid of being drowned. (Text 4)

The temporal sequence of conditional sentences will be in accomplished time if the sentences have the perfective marker *læ:w⁴* 'already' and an adverbial of time such as *tɔ:n¹nan⁴* 'at that time'. Below is Sindhvananda's (1970) example of a conditional sentence which, although containing an assertion marker, still conveys accomplished time by virtue of *læ:w⁴* 'already' and the adverbial of time *tɔ:n¹nan⁴* 'at that time'.

- (97) *tha:³ chan⁵ mi:¹ ηvn¹ tɔ:n¹nan⁴ chan⁵ ko:³ ca²*
 if I have money that time I AUX will

paj¹ thiaw³ rɔ:p³ lo:k³ læ:w⁴
 go travel around world already

If I had had money at **that time**, I might **already** have taken a round-the-world trip.

Sindhvananda (1970:246) states that example (97) conveys "the meaning of expectation or anticipation of a 'complete' action".

Negation is another kind of irrealis expressed in Thai by the words *maj³* 'not' or by *mi⁴* 'not'. In general, *maj³* is placed before a main verb and a postserial verb. When it occurs with an auxiliary or a preserial verb, its position is dependent on that auxiliary or that preserial verb. Example (98) displays *maj³* in a context.

- (98) *kɔː³ maj³ rap⁴ ʔi:k²*
 AUX not take again
 (He) then did **not** take (it) again. (Text 4)

Negation is not only expressed by *maj³* ‘not’ but also by certain verbs that imply negation, as in example (99).

- (99) *tæː² phurj¹ ʔan¹ ju:n³ka:ŋ¹ khɔːŋ⁵ man¹*
 but belly that stretch out of his
sa¹kat² ka:n¹lop²ni:⁵ khɔːŋ⁵ man¹ waj⁴...
 prevent escape of his keep
 But his stretched belly (helplessly) **prevented** him from escaping.
 (Text 8)

khaw⁵ ʔot² paj¹ pa:²
 he miss a chance to go forest
 He **misses a chance** to go to the forest.

Finally, it should be noted that Thai indicates irrealis only by certain kinds of modals. Some modals are neutral and the context determines whether they mark nonevents or real events. Both sentences in example (100) have the auxiliary *tɔːŋ³* ‘have to, must’, but the former is considered to be on a storyline by virtue of the context and the latter irrealis by virtue of the adverb *phruŋ³ni:⁴* ‘tomorrow’.

- (100) *na:j¹phra:n¹ tɔːŋ³ bæ:k² mæː³ma:⁵ saj²*
 hunter have to carry mother dog put on
ba:² paj¹ ha:⁵ lu:k³ khon¹sut²thɔːŋ⁴
 shoulder go see child youngest
 The hunter **had to** carry the mother dog on his shoulder while going to see the youngest child. (Text 1)
- phruŋ³ni:⁴ tɔːŋ³ paj¹ thuan¹ læ⁴ kam¹chap⁴ ʔi:¹nu:⁵*
 tomorrow have to go ask for and confirm little girl
 Tomorrow, (I) **have to** go to ask for (the dessert) and confirm the little girl. (Text 10)

4.4. Setting. Setting is another kind of nonevent that includes expository and descriptive material. Setting tells the reader or hearer the

place, time, and circumstances under which actions take place. The reason setting is important to the study of discourse is that “it characteristically involves distinctive grammatical constructions like locatives”, and “it is a common basis for segmentation of sequential texts into their constituent parts” (Grimes 1975:51).

Longacre (In press) mentions that setting is not randomly distributed in a narrative discourse but rather appears at the beginning of a narrative discourse as the stage and at the beginning of a narrative paragraph as the setting. Setting which is preposed in a Thai narrative has been discussed previously. Regarding the temporal setting preposed in a narrative paragraph, it can be established relative to earlier temporal settings (Grimes 1975:55). In Thai texts, temporal clauses, phrases, and words such as *nun² duan¹ tɔ:²ma:¹* ‘one month later’ are used to signal temporal succession. In the same way, as mentioned by Grimes (1975:55), temporal settings can be established through the depiction of aging of a participant. In example (101), the temporal settings are established through the word *con¹kra¹ thaŋ³* ‘until’ followed by reference to aging of a participant.

(101) Paragraph 1

con¹kra¹thaŋ³ lu:k³sa:w⁵ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ tv:p²jaj²...

until daughter all three grow up

Until all three daughters grew up...

(Text 1)

Paragraph 2

...læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ nam¹ na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ nin¹ læ⁴ dek²

and then take female dog Nin and child

nɔ:j⁴ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ paj¹ lian⁴ waj⁴ thi:³

little all three go take care keep at

ba:n³ con¹kra¹thaŋ³ tv:p²to:¹ pen¹ sa:w⁵

house until grow up be woman

... and then (the hunter) took Nin and all three little children home, and took care of them until (the three girls) grew up to be women.

(Text 1)

These two paragraphs show that temporal setting may occur either at the beginning of a paragraph or at the end of a paragraph as a temporal setting for the following paragraph(s).

It is not necessary that the temporal setting be the specific period or duration of time like *nun² pi:¹ pha:n² paj¹* ‘one year passed by’. It can be

established in relation to the previous temporal settings without reporting the amount of time, for example, *khraŋ⁴ thuŋ⁵ we:¹la:¹ thi:³ ca² tɔ:³ sa¹det²klap² muan¹* 'When it was time to go back to the town'.

Spatial settings may be preposed or postposed in a Thai narrative paragraph, as in example (102).

- (102) *tæ:² phɔ:¹ paj¹ thuŋ⁵ ba:n³muan¹ khɔ:⁵ ton¹...*
 but when go to town of self
 But when (the two daughters) reached **their towns**... (Text 1)

... *khaw⁵ cuŋ¹ thu:⁵ faj¹cha:j⁵ ɔ:² k² tit²ta:m¹*
 he so carry flashlight go out go after

ja:j¹ ma:¹ con¹kra¹than³ paj¹ thuŋ⁵ buŋ¹nam⁴
 grandmother Ma until go to pond
 ... so carrying a flashlight, (he) went after grandmother Ma until
 (he) reached **the pond**. (Text 9)

The spatial setting in the second sentence occurs at the end of a paragraph, but it functions as a spatial setting of the following paragraph.

The establishment of spatial setting in Thai texts is related directly to the use of directional verbs *paj¹* 'direction away from the speaker' and *ma:¹* 'direction toward the speaker'. These directional verbs are postserial verbs.

- (103) Paragraph 1
phu:t³ set² khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴ kɔ:³ khwa:⁴ mi:t³baŋ¹tɔ:¹ thi:³
 say finish butcher AUX grab big knife that

mi:¹ waj⁴ sam⁵rap² læ:³ nua⁴sat² phlo:²phruat³ khaw³
 have keep for cut meat appear suddenly enter

ma:¹ha:⁵ ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k²...
 come toward fox

(When he) finished saying, the butcher grabbed the big knife that was used for cutting meat, appeared suddenly, **came toward** the fox...

Paragraph 2

phɔː¹ maː⁵ciŋ³cɔːk² daj³sa¹ti² man¹ kɔː³ ri:p³ wiŋ³
 when fox control self he AUX hurry run

kra¹co:n¹ troŋ¹ paj¹ jaŋ¹ rɔːŋ³tæ:k²...

jump straight go to crack

When the fox was in control of himself, he then hurriedly jumped, **went toward** the crack... (Text 8)

The scene in the first paragraph of example (103) takes place at the backyard of the butcher's house; therefore this part of the story is being told from the backyard. When the butcher comes suddenly toward the foolish fox, the writer uses *maː¹* which indicates the direction toward the setting, i.e., the backyard. In the second paragraph, the foolish fox runs away from the backyard setting; therefore *paj¹* is used. The verb *paj¹* in this paragraph also marks a transition from the old setting to a new one, i.e., to the crack of the fence.

Sometimes the spatial setting is not overtly marked, but the writer signals that the setting is changing through the use of directional verbs, as in example (104).

- (104) S1 *fa:j² lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹to:¹ kɔː³ soŋ² maː⁴rew¹ paj¹*
 as for daughter eldest AUX send messenger go

bɔ:k² nɔːŋ⁴ khon¹kla:ŋ¹ waː³ mæː³ ca² maː¹ haː⁵
 tell sister middle that mother will come see

The eldest daughter then sent a messenger to go tell the younger sister that the mother would come to see (her).

- S2 *na:ŋ¹ lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹kla:ŋ¹ cuŋ¹ saŋ²*
 female daughter middle so order

bɔː¹ri¹wa:n¹ waj⁴ waː³...
 retinue keep that

So the second daughter ordered (her) retinue that... (Text 1)

The incident in the first sentence takes place at the eldest daughter's palace; therefore, when a messenger is sent to see the younger daughter, the writer uses *paj¹* 'direction away from the eldest daughter's palace'. Even though there is no overt spatial setting preceding the second sentence, the reader knows through the directional verb *paj¹* that the

scene is moving from the eldest daughter's palace to the younger daughter's palace.

Finally, the most salient characteristic of settings is the use of nondynamic verbs as follows:

a. Descriptive verbs	<i>daŋ¹</i>	'loud',	<i>suaj⁵</i>	'beautiful';
b. Possessive verbs	<i>mi:¹</i>	'have',	<i>tem¹paj¹duaj³</i>	'full of';
c. Existential verbs	<i>mi:¹</i>	'there is',	<i>lua⁵</i>	'remain';
d. Equative verbs	<i>pen¹</i>	'to be',	<i>khui:¹</i>	'to be'.

4.5. Flashback. Flashbacks are events or activities which are out of sequence. They include "either backset active verbs (events or activities) or backset cognitive verbs" (Longacre in press). While a language with verbal inflection, such as English, makes use of the pluperfect for marking flashbacks, Thai basically depends on constituents in the sentence other than verbs. A time phrase is the most important factor for expressing flashbacks, for example, *muua³ so:ŋ⁵ pi:¹ ko:n²no:n⁴* 'last two years'.

Besides time phrases, Thai also employs certain kinds of auxiliaries and aspect markers to identify flashbacks. In (105), the perfective marker (postserial verb) *læ:w⁴* 'already, finish, complete' is used to mark the incident that has already taken place in a previous part of the story.

(105) *tha:ŋ¹fa:j²raw¹ nan⁴ na:j¹ thæ:n³ thu:k² pu:n¹*
 side our that Mr. Tan hit gun

ba:t²cep² sia⁵ læ:w⁴
 injure Fp already

As for our side, Mr. Tan had **already** been shot (and) injured.

As mentioned by Sindhvananda (1970:53), *læ:w⁴* bears the notion of 'completion' which is neutral, i.e., "not limited to any specific time, and can be displayed in present, past, and future". However, by virtue of the context, *læ:w⁴* in the above example is displayed in the past. Because of the idea of 'completion' and 'past', *læ:w⁴* is used to mark a flashback.

Besides *læ:w⁴*, the auxiliary *daj³* 'get to, have an opportunity' is also used to mark a flashback that has occurred before the present scene but has never been mentioned previously in the text. Though *daj³* can stand for any tense (Sindhvananda 1970), the context and situation enable the reader to know that *daj³* in example (106) implies past tense and serves as a marker of flashback.

- (106) *khun⁵ san⁵ khɔːŋ⁵ raw¹ nan⁴ pen¹ khon¹ məːn³puːn¹*
 title San of our that be person skillful shooting

daj³ hat² haj³ chaːw¹ baːŋ¹ra¹can¹ jin¹puːn¹...
 get train let people Bangrajan shoot
 Our San was skillful in shooting. (He) had trained Bangrajan
 villagers to shoot...

khvːj¹ 'experience, be accustomed to' is another auxiliary which marks a flashback. Sindhvananda mentions its flexibility in usage as follows:

On some occasions it indicates the experience in the past which may no longer exist in the present. On the other occasion it can include also the present experience. This depends on the context and the situation (1970:46).

khvːj¹ as a marker of flashback occurs in the former occasions quoted above. It usually accompanies a time phrase which indicates a flashback as in (107).

- (107) *khaw⁵ khvːj¹ khaw³ paj¹ naj¹ paː² muu³*
 he experience enter go in forest when

duan¹ thiː³ læːw⁴
 month that last
 He used to go into the forest last month.

4.6. Cognitive state. Cognitive state is characterized by verbs of cognition and emotion which are durative or nonpunctiliar. The subject of these verbs is experiencer (Longacre in press). Since verbs of cognition and emotion can be either cognitive state, which is off the storyline, or cognitive experience, which is on the storyline, it is necessary to point out certain clues for recognizing verbs which are cognitive state.

Durative adverbs work as the best marker of cognitive state as in example (108).

- (108) *taː¹ bun¹ ŋoŋ¹ŋuaj¹ juː² phak⁴nuŋ²*
 grandfather Boon puzzled stay for a while
 Boon was puzzled for a while.

(Text 9)

It has also been found that reduplication of an adverb is used to mark any feeling which gradually happens, as in example (109).

- (109) *khraŋ⁴ pha:j¹laŋ⁵ kɔ:³ ce:n¹khaw³ thuk⁴thi:¹ thuk⁴thi:¹*
 when later AUX get used to more and more
 Later on, (they) got used to (the big log) **more and more**.
 (Text 5)

Furthermore, a temporal phrase or clause can serve as a clue for telling whether the cognitive/emotive verb in question is nonpunctiliar. The bold temporal phrase in example (110) signals that the cognitive verb in the following clause is stative.

- (110) *tɔ:²su:³ kan¹ paj¹ taŋ³tæ:² chaw⁴ thuŋ⁵*
 fight together go since morning till

thiaŋ³ con¹ kɔ:t² khwa:m¹hiw⁵...
 noon till happen hunger
 (The Burmese and Thai) fought from **morning till noon**, until
 (they) were hungry...

Besides adverbial clauses and phrases, cognitive state can be identified by the use of the preserial verb *jaŋ¹* 'still', the postserial verb *ju:²* 'stay, to be in progress', and *loŋ¹* 'down'. *jaŋ¹* in example (111) implies a duration of time; therefore, the cognitive verb *kha¹ja:t²* 'to be afraid' is recognized as cognitive state.

- (111) *kop² law² nan⁴ naj¹chan⁴ræ:k³ kɔ:³ jaŋ¹ kha¹ja:t²...*
 frog CLASS that at first AUX still afraid
 Those frogs, firstly, were **still** afraid... (Text 5)

An example of *ju:²* can be seen in example (112). In the same way as *jaŋ¹*, *ju:²* has durative implication, so the preceding cognitive verb is cognitive state.

When *loŋ¹* 'down' functions as a postserial verb, it implies a gradual decrease of whatever preceded it, as in example (104).

- (112) ... *kɔ:³ khla:j¹ khwa:m¹ho:t² loŋ¹*
 AUX lessen cruelty down
 ... (he) then was less cruel.

In some cases, there are no overt markers of cognitive state as mentioned above. Therefore, the cognitive state has to be determined from the context or the situation. In the first sentence of example (113),

the verb *rɔ:p³ru:⁴* ‘know’ is cognitive state because the context tells us that Watsakarabrahm knows the art all the time. On the other hand, the verb *ru:⁴* ‘know’ in the second sentence is cognitive experience since the preceding context gives a hint that Bangrajan villagers know immediately who is the most important commander.

- (113) *wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra:m¹ pen¹ phu:³cham¹na:n¹ naj¹*
 Watsakarabrahm be skillful in

ka:n¹wi⁴nit⁴chaj⁵ læ⁴ rɔ:p³ru:⁴ sin⁵la¹pa²wit⁴tha¹ja:¹ ma:k³
 judgement and know knowledge of art a lot
 Watsakarabrahm was skillful in judgement and had a wide
 knowledge of art. (Text 7)

mæ:³thap⁴ pha¹ma:³ tæ:ŋ²tua¹ sua⁵ŋa:m¹ tem¹jot⁴ khi:² ma:⁴
 commander Burmese dress beautiful fully ride horse

kan³ rom³ra¹ja:⁴ ju:² kla:ŋ¹ phon¹ cha:w¹ ba:ŋ¹ra¹can¹
 shade under umbrella be middle troop villager Bangrajan

mɔ:ŋ¹ hen⁵ cuw¹ ru:⁴ wa:³ khraj¹ pen¹ na:j¹thap⁴
 look see so know that who be commander

pha¹ma:³ thi:³ sam⁵khan¹ thi:³sut²
 Burmese that important most

The Burmese commander was beautifully (and) fully dressed.
 (He) was riding a horse under an umbrella, among (his) troops.
 Bangrajan villagers saw (him), and then **knew** who was the most
 important **Burmese** commander.

Finally, cognitive state also includes thoughts that are expressed by such verbs as *khit⁴* ‘think’ and *nuk⁴* ‘think’. They are followed by a noun phrase, a noun clause, or a series of verbs and, when absent, may be recognized by onomatopoeic words as *ta:j¹ciŋ¹* ‘exclamation’, *?v:¹* ‘well’. Besides these words, addressing terms show that a particular part of a story is simply a thought of a participant which is out of a narrative line. In example (114), the major participant is thinking about herself and her daughter. She uses the kinship term *mæ:³* ‘mother’ to address herself. However, in other parts of the story which are not thoughts, the term *mæ:³kæ:²* ‘old woman’ is used.

- (114) *tha:³ mæ:³ ta:j¹ ru:n³ ca² tham¹ ja:ŋ²raj¹*
 if mother die Ruen will do how
 If (I) **mother** dies, how will Ruen do? (Text 10)

4.7. Background activities. Longacre (in press) explains that background activities “are nonpunctiliar and less well articulated as to inception and/or terminus”. Therefore, those activities that are customary, prolonged, repetitive, ongoing, and gradual are all included under background activities.

Customary or routine activities are indicated in Thai texts basically by adverbs of frequency, which occur preposed in a narrative paragraph or tagged at the end of the first sentence. Once such an element is established in a paragraph, its scope will extend beyond this paragraph to the following one(s). That is, the following paragraph(s) will continue to report customary or routine activity until those adverbs are replaced by another temporal adverb of a different sentence. Some examples of adverbs which mark customary/routine activities are *thuk⁴wan¹* ‘everyday’, *pen¹pra¹cam¹* ‘routinely’, *sa¹mam²sa¹mx:⁵* ‘regularly’. Customary/routine activities are also characterized by the auxiliaries *mak⁴* ‘likely to, usually’ and *chɔ:p³* ‘like’ as in (115).

- (115) *phra⁴thi⁴da:¹ mak⁴ ni:⁵ paj¹ten³ram¹*
 princess usually sneak out go dance
 The princess **usually** sneaked out to dance.

cha:j¹ num² chɔ:p³ nɔ:n¹ kron¹
 man young usually sleep snore
 The young man **usually** snored.

It should be noted that even though *chɔ:p³* literally means ‘like’, it is frequently used to imply customary activities.

Prolonged activities are recognized basically by temporal adverbs which indicate duration, for example, *pen¹ we:¹la:¹ la:j⁵ wan¹* ‘for many days’, *taŋ³tæ:² chaw⁴ thuŋ⁵ thiaŋ³* ‘since morning till noon’, *na:n¹* ‘long (time)’. Such activities are sometimes signalled by durative verbs such as *thɔ:ŋ³thiaw³ paj¹ ma:¹* ‘travel around’, *dx:n¹ du:¹ ha:⁵* ‘walk, look around for (something)’.

Repetitive activities are another kind of background activity which are expressed by adverbs of repetition, auxiliaries, and reduplication of verbs. Some examples of repetitive adverbs are *la:j⁵la:j⁵ wan¹ ti²ti² kan¹* ‘many successive days’, *la:j⁵ khræŋ⁴* ‘many times’, *na:n¹na:n¹* ‘from time to time’.

The auxiliaries used to mark repetition are *pha¹ja:¹ja:m¹* ‘try’ and *wian¹* ‘repeat’. Reduplication of verbs which indicates repetitive activities can be seen in (116).

- (116) *man¹ kin¹ ?aw¹ kin¹ ?aw¹ con¹kra¹than³ phuŋ¹ ka:ŋ¹*
 he eat take eat take until stomach stretch out
 He ate and ate until (his) stomach was extended. (Text 8)

Ongoing activities are marked by adverbs such as *ruaj³ ruaj³* ‘continually’, the auxiliary *khon¹* ‘still’, the preserial verbs *jaŋ¹* ‘still, yet’, *kam¹laŋ¹* ‘to be in progress’, the postserial verbs *ju:²* ‘in progress’, and *paj¹* ‘go’. The preserial verb *jaŋ¹* or *kam¹laŋ¹* and the postserial verb *ju:²* frequently occur together. Occasionally, the auxiliary *khon¹* occurs with *ju:²*. Example (117) displays some of these markers in various contexts.

- (117) *pha¹ma:³ huŋ⁵ kha:w³ ju:²*
 Burmese cook rice in progress
 The Burmese were cooking rice.

muwa³ mæ:³kæ:² ma:¹thuŋ⁵ ba:n³ nan⁴ ruu:n³ kam¹laŋ¹
 when old woman reach house Fp Ruen in progress

ta¹ko:n¹ riak³ ?a:j³ dæ:ŋ¹...
 shout call title Dang

When the old woman reached home, Ruen was calling Dang...
 (Text 10)

tæ:² ma:⁴ kɔ:³ khon¹ haj³ siŋ⁵to:¹ ban¹luu:¹ siaŋ⁵
 but horse AUX still let lion make sound
 But the horse still let the lion continue to make sounds.
 (Text 6)

man¹ chi:t² nam⁴ paj¹ pa:k² kɔ:³ rɔ:ŋ⁴...
 he spray water go mouth AUX cry
 He was spraying water (while) crying... (Text 10)

To indicate gradual activities, Thai uses of adverbs such as *thuk⁴thi:¹* ‘more and more’.

- (118) *tha:ŋ¹fa:j² su¹ki:³ kɔ:³ khlwan³ chit⁴ kha:j³*
 side Suki AUX move close fort

ba:ŋ¹ra¹can¹ khaw³ ma:¹ thuk⁴thi:¹

Bangrajan enter come more and more

Suki moved (and) came closer to Fort Bangrajan **more and more.**

4.8. Summary. The plot structure of a text requires a storyline to develop it. The storyline moves the text from the starting point toward the end and expresses what happens in the text. By reducing the text to the storyline, the text-reduced-to-storyline makes a good abstract of the text. It is a level of macrostructure that can be used as an input to macrorules to yield a higher level of macrostructure, i.e., a more general macrostructure of the text.

This chapter displays seven categories of nonstoryline. The first category is cohesion among the sentences. Adverbial clause is a frequent device used as cohesion. Other kinds of cohesion are relative clause, thematicity, topicalization, summary, and preview. The next category is evaluation, including the writer's own evaluation, opinion about props or participants, facts or something that customarily happens, and global evaluation such as a moral which embraces the whole story. The third category is irrealis which includes alternatives, condition, and negation. The most important features that characterize irrealis are preserial verbs and auxiliaries. The fourth category is setting which includes expository and descriptive material. Setting may be temporal or spatial. Temporal setting is expressed by temporal clauses, phrases, and words. Spatial setting is established through spatial clauses, phrases, words, and by the directional verbs. The fifth category is flashback which can be identified by time phrases, auxiliaries, and aspect markers. The next category is cognitive state, which is characterized by verbs of cognition and emotion. These verbs are usually accompanied by durative adverbs, temporal phrases or clauses that signal duration of time, and by the preserial verb and postserial verbs that imply a duration of time. The last category is background activities that are customary, prolonged, repetitive, ongoing, and gradual. The markers of background activities are basically adverbs of frequency, temporal adverbs, durative verbs, adverbs of repetition, auxiliaries, preserial verb, postserial verbs and reduplication of verbs.

5

Storyline

All categories of information mentioned so far do not constitute the storyline of a narrative discourse. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss events or storyline. The first part of this section displays all categories of verbs which advance the storyline. The next part outlines sequential markers which accompany the categories of verbs mentioned in the first part. The last part describes the split events which are concerned with the simultaneous occurrence of two main events.

5.1. Categories of on-the-line verbs. This section presents four categories of verbs which constitute the backbone of a story. Verbs of cognitive experience and events proper mostly consist of one single verb that can be preceded or followed by a preserial verb/auxiliary or a postserial verb, respectively. However, a cognitive verb may be preceded by such verb as *ru:⁴suk²* 'feel'. Motion and action verbs have the widest usage in a discourse. They have a variety of patterns which may be simple or serial. They may be preceded by a preserial verb or an auxiliary and followed by a postserial verb, a noun phrase, or a prepositional phrase. In a series of verbs, each verb may be modified by an adverb, but the initial verb frequently takes an adverb. Even though these four categories of on-the-line verbs are recognized as being on the storyline, one should not expect that whenever they are present, they are always on the storyline. In fact, other considerations have to be taken in account. For example, if these verbs are accompanied by 'off-the-line' markers, such as the preserial verb *ca²* 'will' which marks irrealis, they will be shunted off the storyline.

Cognitive experience. Verbs referring to cognitive experience are different from verbs referring to cognitive state in that the former is punctiliar while the latter is gradual. As for verbs of cognitive experience, a subject experiences something suddenly. On the other hand, verbs of cognitive state involve the idea that a subject gradually experiences something. The punctiliar sensational verbs such as *hen*⁵ ‘see’ and *daj³jin¹* ‘hear’ are included under this category. The elements which follow these verbs are in the scope of these verbs and are regarded as being on the storyline.

The most important marker of cognitive experiences is a punctiliar adverb, for example, *khun³ma:¹* ‘suddenly’, *naj¹than¹thi:¹* ‘immediately’, *than¹daj¹nan⁴* ‘suddenly’, *phlan¹* ‘suddenly’, and the like. The adverbial phrase *khun³-ma:¹* is a combination of two postserial verbs, *khun³* ‘up’ and *ma:¹* ‘come’ which together form an adverbial phrase meaning “some idea, feeling, thought, etc., just occurs to a person suddenly without any obvious reason” (Sindhvananda 1970:25). Example (119) displays *khun³ma:¹* in context.

- (119) *fa:j² the:¹wa¹da:¹ khat²caj¹ khun³ma:¹ cuŋ¹*
 as for angel irritated suddenly so

plɔ:j² nok⁴kra¹sa:⁵ loŋ¹ ma:¹ haj³ pen¹ na:j¹
 let go kind of bird down come give be master
 The angel was **suddenly** irritated. so (he) let a big bird come
 down to be the (frogs’) master. (Text 5)

Furthermore, cognitive experiences may be recognized by a time phrase which indicates a short period of time, for example, *chua³khru:³nuŋ²* ‘for a moment’.

Sometimes a cognitive verb may not be accompanied by any punctiliar adverbs or time phrases. Therefore, the context will determine whether a cognitive verb in question is cognitive experience or cognitive state (see example 119).

Events proper. Events proper are any happenings that take place without plan or volition. The subject of events proper is patient²⁶

²⁶The term ‘patient’ is used in the following sense (Longacre 1983a:155–56): The entity of which a state or location is predicated or which is represented as undergoing change of state or location; the entity may be inanimate or animate (but, in the latter case, the registering nervous system or the intentionality of the animate entity is not relevant to the predication).

(Longacre In press). Most events proper that appear in the Thai texts used for this study have to do with a change of state as in (120).

- (120) *mæ:*³ *ma:*⁵ *nin*¹ *taŋ*³*thɔ:*^ŋ⁴
 mother dog Nin get pregnant
 The mother dog Nin **was pregnant**. (Text 1)

*sop*² *mæ:*³ *ma:*⁵ *nin*¹ *daj*³ *kla:*^j*pen*¹ *thɔ:*^ŋ¹ . . .
 corpse mother dog Nin get become gold
 The corpse of mother dog Nin **became gold** . . . (Text 1)

Motion verbs. In the texts used for this study, there are a large number of motion verbs which occur in series. The directional verbs *paj*¹ ‘direction away from the speaker’, *ma:*¹ ‘direction toward the speaker’, *ɔ:k*² ‘exit, go out’, and *khaw*³ ‘enter, come in’ play an important role here. They are included in a series of verbs in order to move participants on or off the stage. The presence of *paj*¹ and *ma:*¹ in a series of verbs signals that a participant is thematicized. That is, an action is performed in a direction ‘away from’ or ‘toward’ the thematic participant. Motion verbs are classified into two types as follows:

- a. Type 1—Motion verbs without directional verbs. This type of motion verb is distinguished from Type 2 by virtue of its lack of directional verbs *paj*¹ ‘direction away from the speaker’ and *ma:*¹ ‘direction toward the speaker’. However, when *paj*¹ and *ma:*¹ function as the main verb, they are grouped under Type 1. Example (121) illustrates this type of motion verb.

- (121) *Vpre* *AUX* *Vmo* *Vmo*
*cuŋ*¹ *ri:*^p³ *ɔ:k*² *ti:*²*ta:*^m¹
 so hurry go out follow

NP

*kra*¹*ta:*^j² *tua*¹ *nan*⁴
 rabbit CLASS that

So (grandfather Boon) hurriedly went out to follow that rabbit.

(Text 9)

- b. Type 2—Motion verbs with directional verbs. (a series of) *Vmo* + *paj*¹/*ma:*¹ + (Vac) This type of motion verb is used when (1) a participant goes to a particular place in a direction toward or away

from the participant in focus (see example 122), or (2) when a participant goes to do something at a particular place (see example 123). It has a motion verb or a series of motion verbs followed by *paj*¹ or *ma*¹ and an optional action verb. In example (122), the rabbit ran away from grandfather Boon, who is thematic at this point in the discourse. In example (123), the directional verb *paj*¹ functions like a preposition in English.

- (122) Vmo Vmo NP Vmo Vmo
*wiŋ*³ *fa*² *doŋ*¹*maj*⁴ *ha*⁵ *khaw*³
 run go through bushes disappear enter

Vd PREP
*paj*¹ *naj*¹ *pa*² *luk*⁴
 go in forest deep
 (He) ran through the bushes, disappeared into the deep forest.
 (Text 9)

- (123) AUX Vmo Vmo Vd Vac NP
*ri*³ *wiŋ*³ *klap*² *paj*¹ *ha*⁵ *ja*¹*ma*¹
 hurry run return go see grandmother Ma
 (He) hurriedly ran back to see grandmother Ma. (Text 9)

Action verbs. Besides the directional verbs mentioned a series of action verbs may also include the postserial verbs *khun*³ ‘up’ and *loŋ*¹ ‘down’ which function here as directional verbs. The use of *khun*³ and *loŋ*¹ depends on the participants’ spatial location. If a book is put on a shelf above, one puts it ‘up’. If one throws a book into the floor, it is thrown ‘down’. It should be noted that the use of *ʔɔ:k*² ‘exit, go out’, *khaw*³ ‘enter, come in’ is different from when they accompany a motion verb. With a motion verb, they indicate that a participant ‘exits/goes out’ or ‘enters/comes in’. However, when they occur between action verbs functioning as a preposition in English, they indicate that a participant removes something ‘out’ or puts something ‘in’. Action verbs are classified into five main types.

- a. Type 1—Action verbs without directional verbs. This type of action verb consists of a single action verb or a series of action verbs. There is no directional verb between verbs in a series. Type 1 is illustrated in (124).

- (124) Vac Vac NP Vac
loŋ¹naŋ³ kɔ:t² khaw² rɔ:ŋ⁴haj³
 sit down hold knee cry
 (He) sat down, held (his) knees, (and) cried. (Text 4)

b. Type 2—A series of action verbs with directional verbs. Vac + Vd(s) + (Vac), where Vac is an action verb and Vd(s) is *paj¹/ma:¹*, *loŋ¹/khuun³* (*paj¹/ma:¹*), or *ʔɔ:k²/khaw³* (*paj¹/ma:¹*). This type of action verb has an action verb, directional verb(s), and an optional action verb. It is used when (a) a participant moves something to another place (125) and when (b) a participant performs an act within the purpose of the following act (126).

- (125) AUX Vac N CLASS AJ Vd Vd PREP N
kɔ:³ thiŋ⁴ khɔ:n⁵maj⁴ thɔ:n³ jaj² loŋ¹ paj¹ naj¹ buŋ¹
 then drop log CLASS big down go in swamp
 (The angel) then dropped a big log into the swamp. (Text 5)

- (126) AUX Vac NP Vd Vac
kɔ:³ khwa:⁴ kha¹nom⁵ paj¹ kin¹
 then grab dessert go eat
 (He) then grabbed the dessert to eat. (Text 10)

 Vac NP Vd Vac NP
jok⁴ khæ:n⁵sua³ khuun³ chet⁴ na:³
 lift sleeve up wipe face
 (she) lifted the sleeve to wipe (her) face. (Text 10)

c. Type 3—Causative construction. For the first two types of action verbs, a series of action verbs has the same subject. On the other hand, a causative construction involves a series of verbs which have different subjects. The causative construction can be recognized by the word *haj³* or *tham¹haj³* 'let, cause'. The causative construction is illustrated in (127).

- (127) *mæ:³kæ:² baŋ¹khap⁴ haj³ kin¹ ja:¹khiaw⁵*
 old woman force let eat green medicine
 The old woman forced (her grandson) to take the green medicine. (Text 10)

khwa:m¹muu:t³ læ⁴ ri:p³rɔ:n⁴ tham¹haj³ chon¹ ba:n¹pra¹tu:¹...
 darkness and hurry cause hit panel of a door
 The darkness and her hurry caused (the old woman) to hit the
 panel of a door... (Text 10)

- d. Type 4—Passive construction. Action verbs also occur in a passive form. The function of passivization in Thai has been described by Sindhvananda:

Though there are two passive verbs /*thu:k2*/ and /*do:n1*/, the passivization in Thai is highly restricted. The selectional restriction rule is that only verbs of punishment or unpleasant situation can operate in the passive construction (1970:203).

In Thai texts, the passive construction is used to display an unpleasant situation. It is also related to the macrostructure of a text as discussed previously (§2.3). This construction is illustrated in example (128).

- (128) ... *thu:k² thaj¹ kha:³*
 PASS Thai kill
 ... (The Burmese) were killed by Thai.

- e. Type 5—Reported speech. Reported speeches found in Thai texts are included under a category of actions. They may be present in a text with or without a quote. When the quote, i.e., the complement, is absent, it can be inferred from the preceding or following context as in (129).

- (129) ... *cun¹ wiŋ³ paj¹ thu:n¹ sa¹wa:⁵mi:¹*
 so run go tell husband
 ...so (she) ran to tell her husband (that the mother dog's
 corpse turned out to be gold). (Text 1)

When the quote is present, the optional complementizer *wa:³* 'that' is used to introduce a quote. The quote can be of different sorts, such as evaluation, command, warning, teaching, remark, question, and response. It may be direct or indirect. In regard to a speech act with an indirect quote, the complementizer *wa:³* 'that' is frequently absent if the speech acts are invitation, persuasion, or asking for a favor. Example (130) includes speech acts with a direct quote and an indirect quote.

- (130) *ma:⁴ ta¹ko:n¹ bɔ:k² “siŋ⁵to:¹ ni:³næ² na:j¹*
 horse shout tell lion this master

kha:³caw³ cha¹na⁴ man¹ læ:w⁴”
 I beat it already

The horse shouted, “This is the lion, master. I beat it already.”
 (Text 6)

... cuŋ¹ thu:n¹chy:n¹ ma:¹ phak⁴ thi:³ ba:n³
 so invite come stay at house

... so (the hunter) invited (the princes) to come (and) stay at
 (his) house. (Text 1)

It is not necessary that the indirect quote be an embedded noun clause. It can also be a noun which functions as a summary statement as in example (131).

- (131) *... thaŋ⁴ thu:n¹ khwa:m¹ciŋ¹ tɔ:² caw³cha:j¹ sa¹wa⁵mi:¹*
 also tell truth to prince husband

... (she) also told the truth to the prince. (Text 1)

Finally, it should be noted that all four categories of storyline verbs mentioned so far may be reported in a form of indirect quote which is introduced by *pra:¹kot²wa:³* ‘(It) appeared that’. This construction is used to report an unexpected event as in example (132).

- (132) *pra:¹kot²wa:³ sop² mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ daj³*
 appear that corpse mother dog Nin get

kla:j¹pen¹ thɔ:ŋ¹ paj¹ thaŋ⁴ tua¹
 become gold go all body

(It) appeared that corpse of the mother dog Nin became gold all over. (Text 1)

5.2. Sequentiality. Four categories of storyline verbs have been discussed. The main purpose was to display the grammatical features of each category so that the storyline verbs can be recognized. However, it is not necessary that these verbs always be on the storyline. Sometimes, these verbs are used within a flashback, and they are, therefore, shunted off the storyline. Consequently, a criterion is needed to determine whether the

verbs in question are really on the storyline. The most important criterion which will be the major concern of this section is sequentiality.

Sequentiality is a significant way in which Thai marks the difference between the storyline and nonstoryline. The events of a foregrounded narrative succeed one another. Hopper (1979:214–15) refers to this succession as being in iconic order, i.e., “the same order as their succession in the real world”. He also refers to foregrounded events as being dynamic and active. The sequentiality of foregrounded events requires that an event occur after the completion of a prior event. Jones and Jones (1979:10) point out that foregrounded events together provide a summary of the significant actions. On the other hand, the backgrounded information is often simultaneous to the foregrounded. It is not in the order of real-world event. Its function is to support the storyline in the following ways: elaboration, explanation, scene-setting statement, evaluation and commentary.

The sequentiality of storyline in Thai narratives can be detected when there is a series of clauses. The series of clauses report events that are salient and are the most dynamic element in a discourse. The series of clauses has only one overt subject present in the initial clause. The following clauses have zero anaphors as their subjects. All clauses in a series are very strongly sequential. In (133), the clauses in a series are numbered. The underlined verbs are on the storyline. The verbs that follow the initial verb *khwa:*⁴ ‘grab’ have zero anaphors as subjects and each verb reports an event in succession to the previous one. In clause 4, the sequential markers *ca:k*²*nan*⁴ ‘After that’ and *ko:*³ ‘then’ are used to confirm the sequentiality of serial clauses.

- (133) a. *mæ:*³*kæ:*² *khwa:*⁴ *tha:*²*kha:w*³*phra*⁴
 old woman grab tray that contains rice for giving to monks
 The old woman **grabbed** the tray.
- b. *py:*² *pra*¹*tu:*¹ *ʔo:*² *ma:*¹ *thi:*³ *ra*¹*bian*¹ *no:*³
 open door out come at veranda outside
 (She) **opened** the door (and) *came* out to the outside veranda.
- c. *wa:*¹ *tha:*² *waj*⁴ *bon*¹ *to*⁴ *kaw*²*kaw*² *kha:*⁵ *ke:*¹
 put tray keep on table old leg broken
 (She) **put** the tray on the old table whose legs were broken.

- d. *ca:k²nan⁴ kɔ:³ klap² khaw³ paj¹ naj¹ hɔ:ŋ³*
 after that then return enter go in room
 After that (she) **went back** to the room.
- e. *suam⁵ sua³kra¹bɔ:k² tua¹ kha:t²*
 put on a kind of blouse CLASS torn
 (She) **put on** (her) torn blouse.
- f. *khɔ:j³ khɔ:j³ khwak⁴ hɔ:² pha:³chet⁴pa:k² si:⁵dæ:ŋ¹ khlam⁴*
 slowly pick out bundle handkerchief red dark
- ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ nap⁴ ŋvn¹thun¹ ja:ŋ²ra¹mat⁴ra¹waŋ¹*
 out come count investment money carefully
 (She) slowly **picked out** a bundle of dark red handkerchief,
 (and) **counted** the money carefully. (Text 10)

Furthermore, the sequentiality of storyline in Thai narratives is frequently detected by the use of temporal clauses, phrases, or words, and the use of auxiliaries, preserial verbs, and postserial verbs. The use of temporal phrases and words is already mentioned. In regard to temporal clauses, the adverbial clause is a very frequent device used to link the previous main event to the next one. The adverbial clauses tell the reader or the hearer the completion of the previous main event and the beginning of the next main event. The use of adverbial clauses has been mentioned as well. The sequential markers focused on here are the completive markers *cop²* 'end', *sam⁵ret²* 'successful', and *set²* 'finish', the perfective marker *læ:w⁴* 'already', the auxiliary *kɔ:³* 'then', and the preserial verb *cunŋ¹* 'consequently'.

Postserial verbs, *cop²* 'end', *sam⁵ret²* 'successful', and *set²* 'finish' function as completive markers which imply the completion of an action (Kanchanawan 1978). When they tag adverbial clauses, they signal the completion of actions in the adverbial clauses and the beginning of a new event in the main clauses. They may also be followed by the perfective marker *læ:w⁴* 'already' confirming the completion of an event. The auxiliary *kɔ:³* 'then' and the preserial verb *cunŋ¹* 'consequently, then' usually occur in the main clauses.

- (134) *muua³ phu:t³ set² læ:w⁴ khaw⁵ kɔ:³ ʔɔ:k² paj¹*
 when talk finish already he then out go
 When (he) had **already finished** talking, he then went out.

The postserial verb *læ:w⁴* 'already' and the auxiliary *kɔ:³* 'then' are likely to occur together in a sentence. *læ:w⁴* tags mostly an adverbial clause to mark the completion of the previous event, and the nucleus of the sentence with an adverbial clause tagged by *læ:w⁴* is on the storyline. *kɔ:³* precedes the nucleus of the sentence with the adverbial clause tagged by *læ:w⁴*. Example (135) includes *læ:w⁴* and *kɔ:³*.

- (135) *phɔ:¹ phi:³cha:j¹ khon⁵ khɔ:⁵ paj¹ læ:w⁴ nɔ:⁵ŋ⁴cha:j¹*
 when o. brother carry thing go already y. brother
kɔ:³ ri:p³ tham¹ta:m¹ thi:³ phɔ:³ saŋ² than¹thi:¹
 then hurry follow that father order immediately
 When the older brother took his property away, the younger brother, **then**, immediately followed what his father ordered.

The nucleus of the above sentence consists of one main event; however, it also happens that the nucleus may have successive main events. If the verbs of these successive main events have the same subjects, only the subject of the first foregrounded verb is overtly marked. In this case, *læ:w⁴* tags the adverbial clause and precedes the main events which follow the initial one.

- (136) *laŋ⁵ca:k² kha:³ swa⁵ tua¹ nan⁴ ta:j¹ læ:w⁴ na:j¹phra:n¹*
 after kill tiger CLASS that die already hunter
kɔ:³ klap² ba:n³ læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ paj¹ faw³ phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹
 then return home and then go meet king
 After (the hunter) had **already** killed the tiger, the hunter **then** returned home, **and** then went to see the king.

When the adverbial clause does not focus on the completion of the previous main event, the word *læ:w⁴* is left out. In this case, *kɔ:³* still precedes the foregrounded verb to mark the sequentiality of the preceding main event and the following one.

- (137) *mwaa³ ma:¹ hen⁵ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ puaj² ju:²*
 when come see mother dog Nin sick in progress

kɔ:³ paj¹ ta:m¹ mɔ:⁵ ma:¹ rak⁴sa:⁵ haj³
 then go get doctor come cure BEN

When (she) saw the mother dog Nin being sick, (she) **then** went to get a doctor to cure her. (Text 1)

The auxiliary *kɔ:³* is frequently found in a sentence with an adverbial clause; however, it is not unusual to find it elsewhere. As far as it carries the meaning 'then' and accompanies a verb which belongs to any category of storyline verbs, it links the previous main event to another successive significant event.

In regard to the preserial verb *cuwɿ¹* 'consequently, then', its function is similar to *kɔ:³*. However, it is different from *kɔ:³* in that it links the constituents of a result sentence. When *cuwɿ¹* precedes a verb which falls into any category of storyline verbs, it functions as a temporal sequence connective. It occurs with or without *læ:w⁴*. The presence of *læ:w⁴* depends on whether the completion of a prior event is emphasized.

- (138) *phɔ:¹ phu:³ thuɿ⁵ troŋ¹ni:⁴ lu:k³cha:j¹ thaŋ⁴ sɔ:ŋ⁵ cuwɿ¹*
 when talk about this point son all two then

tha:m⁵ khuɿ³ phrɔ:m⁴ phrɔ:m⁴ kan¹ wa:³...
 ask suddenly at the same time together that

When (the father) talked to this point, both sons **then** asked at the same time that...

When there is no adverbial clause, *cuwɿ¹* signals the fact that what follows it is a consequence of the prior events. This consequence is considered as a new main event.

Furthermore, sequentiality can be detected by the topic subject, i.e., the noun phrase designating the topic of the discourse used as the subject of a clause. The topic subject may be overtly marked by a noun phrase or a pronoun or may be covertly represented by a zero anaphor. The topic subject and sequentiality are closely related. The clause that has the topic subject and carries the verbs is strongly sequential. In Thai narratives, the subject of an on-the-line verb is highly topical. That is, the subject continues throughout the discourse. Hopper (1979:224) points out that high topicality of the subject is due to "a natural consequence of the tendency for narratives to be concerned principally with a small number of

- (140) ... *suak*² *khan*⁵*nam*⁴ *paj*¹ *kha:ŋ*³*na:*³
 push basin go front

*phla:ŋ*¹ *soŋ*² *ŋvn*¹ *haj*³ *lu:k*³*sa:w*⁵
 meantime send money give daughter

... (the old woman) pushed the basin forward and **in the meantime** (she) gave the money to (her) daughter. (Text 10)

... *læ:w*⁴ *cuŋ*¹ *hɔ:p*²*hiw*³ *khɔ:ŋ*⁵ *thi:*³ *ha:*⁵ *ma:*¹ *daj*³ *klap*²
 and then carry thing that find come get return

*ba:n*³ *phla:ŋ*¹ *hua*⁵*rɔ*⁴ *tɔ:*²*kra*¹*sik*⁴ *kan*¹
 home meantime laugh giggle together

... **and then** (they) brought the things that (they) found to (their) home and **at the meantime** (they) giggled.

In the first sentence, both verbs in the two clauses are punctiliar. The context determines that the initial clause is a secondary storyline and the second clause is a primary storyline. In the second sentence, the initial clause is preceded by *læ:w⁴cuŋ¹* 'and then' and, according to the context, it is more important to the storyline than the second clause.

Furthermore, split events can be found when an adverbial clause that normally functions as a cohesive device follows a main clause. In this case, it is not a cohesive device but a real event. The motivation of this inversion is to emphasize the importance of the adverbial clause as a real event.

- (141) *khon*¹ *thi:*³ *muŋ*¹ *du:*¹ *tæ:k*²*hu:*¹ *muu*³
 people that gather see spread when

*bu*¹*rut*²*pha*¹*ja:*¹*ba:n*¹ *ha:m*⁵ *ple:*¹ *khaw*³ *ma:*¹
 medic carry stretcher enter enter

The people who gathered around to see (the girl) spread out when the medic carried a stretcher in.

*man*¹ *pha*¹*jak*⁴*na:*³ *kha*¹*na*²*thi:*³ *mæ:*³*kæ:*² *saŋ*² *wa:*³ ...
 he nod while old woman order that

He nodded while the old woman ordered that ... (Text 10)

In the first sentence, both incidents in the two clauses occur simultaneously and are on the storyline. However, when the adverbial

clause is placed after the nucleus of the sentence, i.e., the main clause, it is highlighted as a real event, and it is more important to the overall plot structure than the first incident in the nucleus of the sentence. In the second sentence *kha¹na²thi³* 'while' is used to introduce an adverbial clause which follows the main clause. This occurrence is due to the fact that the second clause contains a long quotation; therefore, it is not placed at the beginning of the sentence. Another reason is to maintain the thematicity of the topical subject *man¹* 'he', which is focused in the previous sentence; therefore, the writer puts the clause that has this topical subject at the beginning of the sentence. Both clauses are on the storyline, but the postposed adverbial clause is more important to the overall plot structure than the main clause.

5.4. Salience scheme. In regard to text generation and analysis, Longacre's basic hypothesis is as follows:

It is assumed here that for any language every type of text has a mainline of development and contains other material which can be conceived of as progressive degrees of departure from the mainline (Longacre 1986:2).

The mainline of development in Thai narrative discourse and the subsidiary materials which are elaborations and additions of the mainline have been discussed in §§5.1–3 and chapter 4, respectively.

Longacre (in press) affirms that since the mainline of development outranks the subsidiary material in the structure of a discourse, both the mainline of development and the subsidiary material could be ranked internally as well. Longacre proposed the term 'spectrum' as a metaphor for the internal ranking of storyline verbs:

Just as a spectrographic analysis of white light separates out various hues (our perception of differing wave lengths) ranging from red to violet, so the analysis of a narrative text reveals a cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the story to the most static (depictive) elements; successive positions along the cline correlate well (as a whole) with distinctions among the verb forms of a language (i.e., with the tense/aspect/mode/voice system), but other features (word order, use of affixes, particles, or adverbs) must sometimes be invoked to round out the picture (1981:340).

On the basis of this concept, the verbs and clauses can be hierarchically ranked. The major concern of this section is on the ranking of verbs and

(142) The salience scheme of verbs and clauses

Band 1 Storyline	Sequential marker(s) + (a series of) Vac, Vmo, cognitive experience, event proper
Band 2 Background	a. Background activities: temporal adverbs <i>mak⁴(ca²), cho:p³, pha¹ja:¹ja:m¹, wian¹, khon¹, kam¹laŋ¹, ju:², paj¹</i> b. Cognitive state
Band 3 Flashback	a. Time phrase b. <i>læ:w⁴, daj³, khv:j¹</i>
Band 4 Setting	a. Stative, possessive, existential, equative verbs b. Temporal, Spatial elements c. Directional verbs <i>paj¹, ma:¹</i>
Band 5 Irrealis	a. Time phrase b. Question, Negation, Condition c. <i>ca², khon¹, ?a:t², na:³, khuan¹, thæ:p³, kuap²</i>
Band 6 Evaluation	First-person pronouns, Question, + stative verb, moral
Band 7 Cohesion	a. Adverbial clause (Script determined, Repetitive back reference) b. Relative clause (Repetitive back reference)

clauses in Thai narrative discourse. This ranking can be confirmed psychologically (Gregerson in press). Reality is perceived through our cognitive experience or our approach to the world. For example, when we look into the field with nothing in it, the field itself is salient. However, if there is a herd of cows eating grass in the field, the cows are in focus and the field becomes a background. Suppose that a parachute is falling from a plane into the field. Now the parachute is salient and the cows are backgrounded. The field is further outranked.

The ranking of verb or clause is concerned basically with main clauses. The rank scheme proceeds from the most dynamic to the most static elements. The salience order is diagrammed in (142). The highest rank is assigned to verbs of cognitive experience, event proper, action, and motion, which are accompanied by sequential markers. While verbs of cognitive experience and event proper mostly consist of a single verb, verbs of action and motion can be either single verb or a series of verbs. The most salient feature which characterizes the backbone of a narrative discourse is *(set²)læ:w⁴ (kɔ:³/cuŋ¹)*.²⁸ It functions as a sequential marker which signals to the reader/hearer the completion of the previous event and the beginning of a new one. A verb (cognitive experience/event proper/action/motion) that has *(set²)læ:w⁴ (kɔ:³/cuŋ¹)* as a sequential marker is considered to be on a storyline. In the absence of this salient feature, other sequential markers, such as time phrases or topic subjects, will signal the story line.

The next rank of the scheme is assigned to background, which includes background activities and cognitive states. Background is placed in the second rank of the scheme because it gives new information that is crucial to the storyline. It may temporally overlap with the storyline happening(s) or add more detail to the storyline. Background activities may be customary/routine, prolonged, repetitive, ongoing, or gradual. Customary/routine activities are marked by adverbs of frequency and the auxiliaries *mak⁴(ca²)* 'likely to, usually', and *chɔ:p³* 'like'. Prolonged activities are encoded in the clauses that have durative adverbs/verbs. Repetitive activities consist of adverbs of repetition, the auxiliaries *pha¹ja:lja:m¹* 'try', *wian¹* 'repeat', or reduplication of verbs. Ongoing activities are indicated by adverbs of continuity, the auxiliary *khon¹* 'still', the preserial verbs *jan¹* 'still, yet', and *kam¹lan¹* 'to be in progress', or the postserial verbs *ju:²* 'to be in progress', and *paj¹* 'go'. Gradual activities are marked by such adverbs as *thuk³thi:¹* 'more and more'. Cognitive state can be distinguished from cognitive experience by the presence of the following elements: durative adverbs, temporal phrases/clauses, *jan¹* 'still', *ju:²* 'stay, be in progress', *lon¹* 'down'. In the absence of these markers, cognitive state is determined by the context.

The next band, flashback, has a construction similar to the storyline band except for the lack of sequentiality. Flashback may carry those categories of verbs in Band one and report happenings, but it is placed in a lower rank than background because it is out of the narrative sequence

²⁸The context in which this sequential marker occurs is adverbial clause + *(set²)læ:w⁴* 'already', *(kɔ:³/cuŋ¹)* 'then' + main clause.

while background occurs along with the storyline. The most salient feature that marks flashback is time phrases. It is also recognized by *læ:w*⁴ 'already, finish, complete' which tags a flashback clause. It should be noted that *læ:w*⁴ does not function as a sequential marker here. When it serves as a sequential marker, it tags an adverbial clause. In the absence of the adverbial clause, it precedes the clauses that follow the initial clause in a series of clauses. Further more, flashback may be marked by *daj*³ 'get to, have an opportunity or a chance to' and *khv:j*¹ 'experience, be accustomed to', which precede the verb of a flashback clause.

The setting band has to do with expository and descriptive material. It is further removed from the storyline than are the background and flashback because it is not as closely related to the storyline as are these elements. Instead, it simply tells when and where an event takes place. It also introduces participants and props. Even though setting is more remote from the storyline than elements of the bands above it, it is also important to the story. It provides supportive material that heightens the clarity and understanding of the text. Setting in Thai texts is expressed through the verbs which are stative, possessive, existential, equative, through temporal or spatial elements, although the directional verbs *paj*¹ or *ma:*¹.

While the elements of the bands mentioned so far belong to the text world, the irrealis band "is not part of the textworld but suggests possible alternative reconstruction of that world" (Longacre 1986:9). This is the reason why irrealis is further removed from the storyline than are elements of the preceding bands. Irrealis is characterized by time phrases, the preserial verb *ca*² 'will', the auxiliaries *khon*¹ 'probably', *khuan*¹ 'should, ought to', *na:*³ 'ought to', *ʔa:t*² 'may, might, be supposed to', *thæ:p*³, *kuap*², *cuan*¹ 'almost, nearly, on the verge of'. It also consists of the main verbs that indicate doubt, wish, estimation, and the like, which are unreal. Question, negation, and condition are all included under irrealis.

Evaluation band is placed further down the scheme because it is "clearly much more optional and even unnecessary to a narrative than either setting or irrealis (where alter native worlds are at least tangent to the text world)" (Longacre 1986:10). Evaluation is marked by first-person pronouns, the question that the writer/speaker asks the reader/hearer, or stative verbs. If evaluation is global, it is expressed as a moral.

The final band belongs to cohesion of various sorts. It is of the lowest rank in the scheme because it refers more to the cohesion of the story than its content (Longacre 1986). Cohesion elements include adverbial clauses (script determined/repetitive back reference), relative clauses (repetitive back reference), thematicity, topicalization, summary, and preview.

As pointed out by Longacre (in press), any rank scheme has to “allow for promotions and demotions from rank to rank”. Promotions occur when “an element from a band of lower status can be made to function in a higher band”. On the other hand, demotion has to do with an operation in which an element from a band of higher status is demoted to function in a lower band (Longacre 1986:66).

In Thai texts, a cognitive state from the background band can be promoted to storyline band via a punctiliar adverb or the postserial verb *khun³ma:¹* ‘suddenly’. Furthermore, an adverbial clause from the cohesive band can be promoted to Band one when it follows a main clause. This is the case when the storyline is reported in the adverbial clause instead of the main clause.

Demotions can be noticed in the case of dependent/subordinate clauses. The elements in Band one are usually demoted to cohesive band. However, it is not unusual to find that the elements from bands two, three, and four can also be demoted to cohesive band as an adverbial clause or a relative clause. In the first sentence of (143), an element from background band is demoted to Cohesive Band as an adverbial clause. In the second sentence, an element from the Irrealis Band is demoted to cohesive band as an adverbial clause because it is script predictable information.

- (143) *kha¹na²thi:³ tat² ton³maj⁴ ju:² rim¹ lam¹tha:n¹*
 while cut tree to be bank stream

tham¹ khwa:n⁵ lut² mu:¹
 make axe slip hand

While (he) was cutting a tree at the bank of a stream, (he) made the axe slip from his hand. (Text 4)

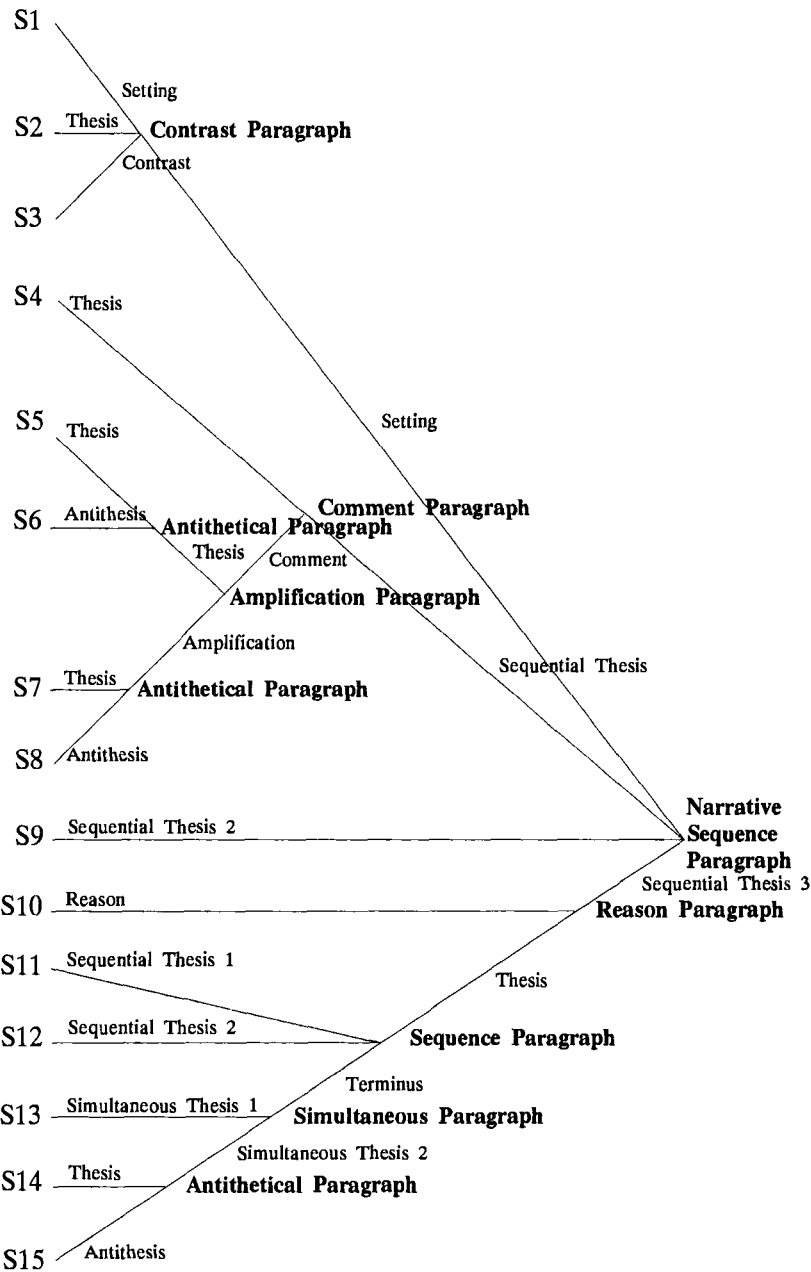
kwa:² ca² thuŋ⁵ ta¹la:t² kɔ:³ hɔ:p² ŋua²sum¹
 before will reach market then tired sweat

Before (she) would reach the market, (she) was tired and sweated. (Text 10)

Salience scheme and local ranking. Longacre proposes his Hypothesis II as follows:

There is a correlativity of verb rank/clause type—especially in independent clauses—so that the rank scheme of a given language

(144) Constituent structure tree graph of Thai paragraph



can serve as a set of guidelines for constituent analysis in local spans of text (1986:73).

He further states the usefulness of salience scheme as follows:

The careful application of such salience schemes should (1) tell us which parts of paragraphs should be considered to be structurally DOMINANT and which are structurally ANCILLARY; and (2) in turn, provide a corrective for preliminary rank schemes when following such a scheme gives us intuitively unsatisfactory results in analyzing paragraphs within a given language (1986:75).

The main purpose of this section is to illustrate how the rank scheme posited above helps to analyze a paragraph in Thai.

An illustrative Thai paragraph. The following paragraph is from *kra¹chaw⁴si:⁵da:¹* 'The baskets of Sida' written by Nakaprathip (1972). The aim of the story is to teach children how to behave. The preceding part of the story introduces the wood spirits and the water spirits, which are invisible. However, if anyone is well behaved, these spirits may appear and talk to him. One day, these spirits get together and play with little baskets. The main participant, named Khanthong, is a good girl. She hopes she can see the spirits, so she goes to their place. However, when she arrives, she sees nothing but little baskets. In the illustrative paragraph, even though Khanthong cannot see the water spirit who is picking up the baskets, she helps her to pick up all the baskets. In the following part of the story, the water spirit lets Khanthong see her and talks to Khanthong because Khanthong is a good girl. The paragraph is given with word by word translation and free translation. Sentences are correspondingly numbered in the Thai paragraph and in the English translation. Figure (144) is a constituent structure tree graph of the Thai paragraph. The numbers on the left side of the diagram are sentence numbers.

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------|---|--------------------------|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. | <i>kha¹na²nan⁴</i> | <i>pen¹</i> | <i>we:¹la:¹</i> | <i>thi:³</i> | <i>lv:³</i> | <i>ka:n¹ru:n³rx:^η¹</i> |
| | that time | be | time | that | finish, stop | entertainment |
| <i>læ:w⁴</i> | 2. | <i>phuak³</i> | <i>phra:j¹maj⁴</i> | <i>pha:¹kan¹</i> | <i>klap²</i> | 3. <i>suan²</i> |
| already | | group | wood spirit | together | return | as for |
| <i>na:η¹</i> | <i>phra:j¹nam⁴</i> | <i>phu:³</i> | <i>riap³rɔ:j⁴</i> | <i>jan¹</i> | <i>kam¹lan¹</i> | <i>dv:n¹ paj¹</i> |
| female | water spirit | who | neat | still | in progress | walk go |

kep² kra¹chaw⁴ phuua³ mi⁴ haj³ rok⁴ thi:³
pick up basket in order to not let untidy place

4. khan⁵tho:ŋ¹ jir³ pra¹la:t²caj¹ ma:k³ thi:³ hen⁵
Khanthong extremely surprised very that see

kra¹chaw⁴ lo:j¹ khuun³ ʔe:ŋ¹ thi:¹ la⁴baj¹ læ:w⁴ lo:j¹ paj¹ ruam¹
basket float up itself one by one then float go together

kɔ:ŋ¹ ju:² hæ:ŋ² nuŋ² 5. mi:¹ ʔa:¹ka:n¹ muan⁵ khon¹ kep² khuun³
pile be place one it looks like human pick up

6. tæ:² maj³ hen⁵ tua¹ khon¹ hen⁵ tæ:² kra¹chaw⁴ jok⁴ tua¹
but not see body human see only basket lift itself

khuun³ ʔe:ŋ¹ 7. khwa:m¹ciŋ¹ na:ŋ¹ phra:j¹nam⁴ kɔ:³ dx:n¹ paj¹ kep²
up itself fact female water spirit AUX walk go pick

ta:m¹tham¹ma¹da:¹ 8. ha:k²tæ:² maj³ mi:¹ khraj¹ hen⁵ tua¹
as usual but not there is anyone see body

daj³ khon¹ hen⁵ kra¹chaw⁴ 9. khan⁵tho:ŋ¹ kha¹ne:¹ wa:³ khon¹
able still see basket Khanthong guess that may

mi:¹ ʔa¹raj¹ thi:³ ma:¹ jok⁴ kra¹chaw⁴ khuun³ pen¹ næ:³ læ⁴
is something that come lift basket up be certain and

ʔan¹ nan⁴ khon¹ pen¹ phra:j¹maj⁴ thi:³ ton¹ læ:¹ maj³ hen⁵
thing that may be wood spirit that self look not see

10. ni⁴saj⁵ kho:ŋ⁵ khan⁵tho:ŋ¹ cho:p³ chuaj³ phu:³ʔu:n² 11. cuŋ¹
habit of Khanthong usual help other people so

dx:n¹ paj¹ chuaj³ kep² kra¹chaw⁴ ta:m¹ din¹ 12. læ:w⁴ nam¹
walk go help pick basket along ground then take

paj¹ ruam¹ thi:³ kɔ:ŋ¹ con¹ mot² 13. læ⁴ naŋ³ du:¹ ju:²
go together at pile until gone and sit watch in progress

14. haj³ nuuk⁴ ja:k² daj³ paj¹ len³ ba:ŋ³ 15. tæ:² maj³ kla:³
let think want get go play some but not dare

<i>jip²chuaj⁵</i>	<i>klua¹</i>	<i>caw³khɔːŋ⁵</i>	<i>khaw⁵</i>	<i>ca²</i>	<i>waː³</i>	<i>ʔaw¹</i>
grab	afraid	owner	s/he	will	blame	FP

Free translation. 1. It was the time when the entertainment was over. 2. The group of wood spirits returned together. 3. As for the female water spirit, (she) was still picking up the baskets so that the place would not be untidy. 4. Khanthong was extremely surprised to see the baskets float up one by one, then into a pile together in one place. 5. It looked like someone was picking (them) up. 6. But (one) could not see the body, (one) saw only the baskets appear. 7. The fact (is that) the female water spirit was picking (them) up as usual. 8. But nobody was able to see the body, only the baskets. 9. Khanthong guessed that there must be something that lifted the baskets up, and that it might be the wood spirit. 10. Khanthong was a helpful person. 11. So (she) walked over to help pick up the baskets on the ground. 12. Then, (she) piled them up until (they) were all gone. 13. And (she) was sitting, watching. 14. (She) wanted (some baskets) to play with. 15. But (she) did not dare to grab (them), (she) was afraid (that) the owner would blame (her).

The illustrative paragraph structures as a narrative sequence paragraph that consists of four slots: an initial setting expounded by a contrast paragraph, a sequential thesis 1 expounded by a comment paragraph, a sequential thesis 2 expounded by sentence 9, and a sequential thesis 3 expounded by a reason paragraph.

Within the contrast paragraph (sentences 1–3), there are three slots: setting (sentence 1), thesis (sentence 2), and contrast (sentence 3). The verb of the setting is from Band 4 (*pen¹* ‘be’); therefore, the setting is ancillary to the thesis and the contrast. The thesis has the subject as an agent (Band 1), and it is preceded by the sequential marker *læːw⁴* ‘already’ which tags sentence 1. Therefore, it is more salient than the contrast which, even though it has the subject as an agent, its verb is preceded by the preserial verb *kam¹laŋ¹* ‘be in progress’, which marks background activity (Band 2). These three slots constitute a contrast paragraph which functions as an initial setting of the main narrative sequence paragraph.

The comment paragraph which expounds the sequential thesis 1 has sentence 4 as a thesis because the verb of sentence 4 is a cognitive experience (Band 1) and sentences 4–8 as a comment because these sentences have verbs of lower rank. That is, sentence 5 has *miː¹* ‘there is’; sentence 6 has *maj³* ‘not’; sentence 7 has the omitted verb (*khwaːm¹ciŋ¹*) *khuaː¹* ‘(the fact) is’; and sentence 8 has *maj³* ‘not’. The comment is further expounded by an amplification paragraph which consists of a thesis (sentences 5–6) and an amplification (sentences 7–8). The verbs of thesis

and amplification are both expository; therefore, they are of equal rank. However, the amplification is made ancillary to the thesis because its verb (*khuu*:¹ 'to be') is omitted and left understood, whereas the verb of thesis is overtly present. Within the thesis, there is an embedded antithetical paragraph, which has sentence 5 as a thesis and sentence 6 as an antithesis. Sentence 6 is ancillary to sentence 5 because it carries *maj*³ 'not', which belongs to the irrealis band. Likewise, the amplification has an embedded antithetical paragraph, which has sentence 7 as a thesis and sentence 8 as an antithesis. Sentence 8 has *maj*³ 'not'; therefore, it is outranked by sentence 7.

The sequential thesis 2 is expounded by sentence 9, which encodes the awareness quotation. Since the quoted tagmeme is real, i.e., what Khanthong guessed was true, and according to the context, there is a kind of sudden guess, the cognitive verb in the quotation formula is considered to be a cognitive event (Band 1).

The sequential thesis 3 is expounded by the reason paragraph, which consists of a reason (sentence 10) and a thesis (sentences 11–15). The reason is ancillary to the thesis because the omitted verb from sentence 10 *khuu*:¹ 'be' belongs to Band 4, while the thesis has action verbs from Band 1 (sentences 11–12), the postserial verbs and verbs of cognitive states from Band 2 (sentences 13–15). Within the thesis, there is an embedded sequence paragraph, which has sentence 11 as sequential thesis 1, sentence 12 as sequential thesis 2, and sentences 13–15 as terminus. The verbs of sentences 11 and 12 are of equal rank (Band 1). The terminus is less salient than sequential theses 1 and 2 because it carries the postserial *ju*:² 'be in progress' (sentence 13) and verbs that are cognitive states, *nuuk*⁴*ja:k*² 'want', *klua*¹ 'to be afraid' (sentence 14). This postserial verb and cognitive state verbs are from Band 2. The terminus itself has an embedded simultaneous paragraph, which consists of simultaneous 1 (sentence 13) and simultaneous 2 (sentences 14–15). These two slots have verbs of equal rank (Band 2). The simultaneous 2 is expounded by an antithetical paragraph, which consists of a thesis and antithesis. The antithesis (sentence 15) is ancillary to the thesis (sentence 14) because it has *maj*³ 'not' (Band 5), while the thesis has the verb of cognitive state (Band 2).

The constituent analysis of a Thai paragraph discussed so far yields the fact that the salience scheme posited previously helps to determine which parts of a paragraph are "structurally dominant and which are structurally ancillary" (Longacre 1986:75).

5.5. Summary. This chapter discusses storyline. Four categories of verbs which constitute backbone of a story are posited. The first category is

cognitive experience which is marked by punctiliar adverbs and time phrases. In the absence of these markers, the context will determine whether a cognitive verb is cognitive experience or cognitive state. The next category is events proper, which have to do mostly with a change of state. The third category is motion verbs that are classified into two types, i.e., motion verbs without directional verbs and motion verbs with directional verbs. Another category is action verbs that include action verbs without directional verbs, a series of action verbs with directional verbs, causative constructions, passive constructions, and reported speeches. The next part of this section discusses sequentiality, which accompanies the four categories of verbs. The last part of this section examines split events that consist of two types, i.e., split events that have equal weight and split events that have unequal weight.

The final section of this chapter focuses on the ranking of the verb form/clause type. The salience scheme proceeds from the highest rank to the lowest rank as follows: Storyline, Background, Flashback, Setting (Expository), Irrealis, Evaluation, and Cohesion. This rank scheme also allows for promotions and demotions from rank to rank. Finally, a Thai paragraph is used to illustrate how the salience scheme posited helps to analyze the paragraph.

6

Participant Rank

Plot structure requires that the storyline move the story from the starting point toward the end. The events on the storyline (and most nonevents) correspond roughly to the domain of the verb phrases. However, a text is seen as “an intricate interweaving of NP’s (for participants and props) and VP’s (for events and many nonevents)” (Longacre in press). The storyline, therefore, requires the noun phrases which refer to participants in a narrative discourse. It is the purpose of this chapter to examine participants (and props).

All the texts used for this study are third person narratives. This chapter focuses on participant rank; chapter 7 covers the grammatical forms encoding participant reference. Chapter 8 then relates these two chapters by showing how a participant is referred to according to rank.

In general, it is assumed that animate objects are participants and inanimate objects are props. However, this statement does not always hold true. Grimes (1975:43) mentions Propp’s observations that “the helper in a plot, who assists the hero to attain his goal, is inanimate as often as animate”. Even though it is common to find the participants as animate beings, it can also happen that the animate beings have prop status. In the latter case, the animate beings appear on the stage but never initiate any actions. On the other hand, inanimate objects may be considered as participants if they are directly involved in the plot of the story. The magic pond in Text 9 has participant status because it provokes all participants to action. When grandfather Boon as the main participant sees the wounded rabbit cured by the water in the magic pond, he tries to drink

the water. The importance of the magic pond is evident when Boon becomes a young man and when Ma becomes a baby because of her carelessness and greed.

Participants in a narrative discourse are ranked according to their importance to the story. The most important character will be the initiator of most of the actions, and occasionally he can be a victim of others' actions. He appears on stage more than other participants and remains throughout the whole story. Participants in Thai narrative discourse can be ranked into three categories: main, secondary, and tertiary. The importance of each category to the story can be measured through the framework of Givón (1983). The notion of topic/participants has been proposed by Givón (1983:8) as follows:

Within the thematic paragraph it is most common for one topic to be the continuity marker, the leitmotif, so that it is the participant most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph; it is the participant most closely associated with the higher-level 'theme' of the paragraph; and finally, it is the participant most likely to be coded as the primary topic—or grammatical subject—of the vast majority of sequentially ordered clauses/sentences comprising the thematic paragraph. It is thus, obviously, the most continuous of all the topics mentioned in the various clauses in the paragraph.

Based on this notion, Givón posits discourse measurements of topic continuity. The measurements that will be used for ranking participants are REFERENTIAL DISTANCE (lookback) and PERSISTENCE (decay). The former measures "the gap between the previous occurrence in the discourse of a referent/topic and its current occurrence in a clause, where it is marked by a particular grammatical coding device" (Givón 1983:13). The presence of the referent/topic may be represented by an overt form or a zero anaphor, "provided the topic/referent is indeed a semantic argument of the predicate of the clause" (Givón 1983:14). The measure is figured by counting the number of clauses to the left between the present occurrence of a referent and its previous occurrence. The maximally continuous referent will be assigned the minimal value of 1. The referent which is first mentioned or disappears within the range of 20 clauses to the left will be assigned arbitrarily the maximal value of 20. For this study, the relative clauses and the clauses in a quote will not be counted. A series of verbs in a clause will be counted as having one subject. The following paragraph of text 9 is used for illustrating these two measurements.

1. *jen¹wan¹nun²ta:¹bun¹* *?ɔ:k² ma:¹ la:³sat² taŋ³tæ:²*
 one evening grandfather Boon out come hunt since
- chaw⁴* 2. *kɔ:³ jaŋ¹ la:³sat² maj³ daj³ sak² tua¹* 3. *kha¹na²thi:³*
 morning AUX still hunt not able even CLASS while
- kam¹laŋ¹ nuaj² læ⁴ mo:¹ho:⁵* 4. *phlan¹ kɔ:³ luap² paj¹*
 in progress tired and angry suddenly AUX catch sight
- hen⁵ kra¹ta:j² nɔ:j⁴ tua¹ nun²* 5. *cun¹ ri:p³ jok⁴ pu:n¹ khu:n³*
 of rabbit little CLASS one so hurry lift gun up
- leŋ¹ "poŋ³!"* 6. *kra¹ta:j² nɔ:j⁴ kra¹do:t² tua¹ lɔ:j¹* 7. *pra:¹ko²t²*
 aim bang rabbit little jump body rise appear
- wa:³ kra¹sun⁵ tha:k² kha:⁵laŋ⁵ paj¹ nɔ:j²* 8. *kra¹ta:j² phian¹*
 that bullet pass back leg go little rabbit only
- ba:t²cep² lek⁴nɔ:j⁴* 9. *læ:⁴ man¹ wiŋ³ fa:²* *doŋ¹maj⁴*
 injured little and it run go through bush
10. *ha:j⁵ khaw³ paj¹ naj¹ pa:² luk⁴* 11. *ta:¹bun¹*
 disappear enter go in forest deep grandfather Boon
- cun¹ ri:p³ ?ɔ:k² ti:t²ta:m¹ kra¹ta:j² tua¹ nan⁴* 12. *mɔ:ŋ¹ hen⁵*
 so hurry go out follow rabbit CLASS that look see
- man¹ wiŋ³ wæ:p³wæ:p³ loŋ¹ paj¹ tha:ŋ¹ hup²khaw⁵ buaŋ³na:³*
 it run unclearly down go way valley front

1. Grandfather Boon had been hunting since morning 2. (he) still could not hunt any until evening. 3. While (he) was tired and angry, 4. Suddenly, (he) caught sight of a little rabbit 5. So (he) hurriedly lifted the gun to aim (at the rabbit) "Bang!" 6. The little rabbit jumped into the air. 7. It appeared that the bullet passed through the back leg (of the rabbit). 8. The rabbit was slightly injured 9. and it ran through the bushes, 10. disappeared into the deep forest. 11. So grandfather Boon hurriedly went out to follow that rabbit 12. (he) saw it run down into the valley in front.

In the text, there are two referents: *ta:¹bun¹* 'grandfather Boon' and *kra:¹ta:j²* 'the rabbit'. The first referent appears in clause 1 for the first time, so it receives a lookback value of 20. In the following four clauses, this referent is represented by a zero anaphor. The presence of the referent in each clause is assigned the lookback value of 1. In clause 4, the second referent appears for the first time so it receives the lookback value of 20. This referent appears again in the following eight clauses so its appearance in each clause is assigned the lookback value of 1. In clause 11, the first referent reappears and it is assigned the lookback value of 6, going back to a zero anaphor in clause 5. The appearance of the first referent in clause 12 receives a lookback value of 1, going back to *ta:¹bun¹* 'grandfather Boon' in clause 11. The lookback value of the occurrences of each referent is summarized below.

The averages for each measure are figured by dividing the sum of all lookback values by the total number of appearances of each referent. Therefore, the average lookback value of the first referent is $31/7 = 4.43$ and that of the second referent is $28/9 = 3.11$.

The measurement of referential distance mentioned so far can be used to determine the participant who is mostly continuous, i.e., the one who has the least absence, as the most important participant in a discourse. In terms of lookback value, the participant who receives the least amount of lookback value is considered to be the main participant in a discourse.

Another measurement of topic continuity is persistence (decay). The idea of persistence is proposed by Givón as follows:

Table 1. Lookback values of first referent (grandfather Boon)

clause in which reference appears	form encoding referent	lookback value
1	<i>ta:¹bun¹</i>	20
2	0	1
3	0	1
4	0	1
5	0	1
11	<i>ta:¹bun¹</i>	6
12	0	1
sum of lookback values		31
# occurrences of referent		7

In this study, we measure persistence in terms of number of clauses to the right—i.e. in subsequent discourse from the measured clause—in which the topic/participant continues an uninterrupted presence as a semantic argument of the clause, an argument of whatever role and marked by whatever grammatical means. The minimal value that can be assigned is thus zero, signifying an argument that decays immediately, i.e. of the lowest persistence. There is no maximal value assigned by definition in this case (1983:15).

The measurement of persistence can be illustrated by using the text above. After the first mention of *ta:¹bun¹* 'grandfather Boon' in the first clause, this referent continues without any interruption through the following four clauses. Therefore, it receives the persistence value of 4. The next mention of this referent is in clause 11 and it appears again in clause 12. Therefore, it receives the persistence value of 1. The second referent appears in clause 4 and continues through the following eight clauses. Therefore, it is assigned the persistence value of 8.

Table 2. Lookback values of second referent (rabbit)

clause in which reference appears	form encoding referent	lookback value
4	<i>kra¹ta:j² nɔ:j⁴ tua¹ nuŋ²</i> 'a little rabbit'	20
5	0	1
6	<i>kra¹ta:j² nɔ:j⁴</i> 'little rabbit'	1
7	0	1
8	<i>kra¹ta:j²</i> 'rabbit'	1
9	<i>man¹</i> 'it'	1
10	0	1
11	<i>kra¹ta:j² tua¹ nan⁴</i> 'that rabbit'	1
12	<i>man¹</i> 'it'	1
sum of lookback values		28
# occurrences of referent		9

This measurement of persistence helps to rank participants in that the participant who has the highest persistence score is ranked as the most important participant because, as mentioned earlier, the main participant is the one who appears on the stage the most.

In the illustrative paragraph, the rabbit, who is the minor participant of the whole story, has a lower lookback value and a greater persistence value than the main participant, grandfather Boon, because in that part of

the story the minor participant is set up as the locally thematic participant. After this part of the story, the minor participant disappears from the stage and never comes back. However, when the lookback and persistence values of the main participant are measured throughout the whole story, the main participant receives the least amount of lookback value and the most amount of persistence value.

6.1. Main participant. The participant who can be singled out as the main participant is the one who the story is about. Most commonly, it can be recognized from the title of the story. Of ten texts used for detailed study, nine have the main participant in the title of the story. The importance of the main participant is indicated by its initial introduction. Typically, it will be the one who appears first on the stage. However, there are some exceptions to this statement. When the main participant is an animal, it may be dominated by humans and introduced in a subordinate position. In Text 6, the horse is the main participant but its owner is introduced first. Currier (1977) points out that this reversal is due to the hierarchy of domination, that is, human beings dominate animals. Therefore, even though the animal is the main participant, it is introduced in a place of subordination. In the story of Bahasa Indonesia, Currier states that this hierarchy of domination is strong and puts the animal in a subordinate position. However, in the Thai story, this hierarchy seems to be flexible. Text 1 begins with 'There was a good mother dog who lived in the area of a wealthy man's house'. The writer puts the mother dog as the main participant of the story at the start, while in Text 6 the owner of the horse is established first as the locally thematic participant of the initial paragraph.

Furthermore, the main participant may be introduced later in the story if another participant has higher social status. In Text 7, the tertiary participant is the king, so he is introduced before the main participant, his counselor, and the secondary participant, Kings Litchawi. His status is so important that it interferes with the continuity of the main participant. Normally, the main participant is involved in the actions throughout the story, but in this story the main participant disappears before the king. Even though the main participant disappears before the king, he is ranked as the main participant because he has a higher degree of topic continuity.

Finally, the introduction of the main participant is delayed when the writer aims to give the reader the background from which the main participant originates. Text 2 begins with a lack of children. A couple wanted to have a baby, so they prayed to Lord Buddha. In the following part of the story, the main participant was born. This original background

is given in order to highlight the contrast between how the main participant was special to his parents and how he caused troubles to them in the following episodes.

Besides his initial introduction, the importance of the main participant is clear from details which are given about his background. The main participant in most Thai stories is typically introduced by background information such as his place of origin, his way of living, his social status, and his problems. The information given in each story varies according to its relevance to the story. The background information which accompanies the introduction of the main participant will motivate his ensuing actions.

In Thai stories, the main participant is always animate and it may be a human being or an animal. A story may have more than one main participant. Text 3 has two main participants. One of them is introduced first. However, it is not unusual to find the introduction of two main participants at the same time. The main participant may also be a group of participants. In this case, it is common to find reference shifts during the course of a story (Grimes 1975). Individuals may be added, substracted, merged, or split from a group. The following paragraph of Text 5 exemplifies reference shifts:

siaŋ⁵ daŋ¹ sa¹tha:n⁴ læ⁴ nam⁴ kra¹phuam³ pen¹ la¹lɔ:k³
 sound loud echo and water heave be ripples

tham¹haj³ phuak³ kop² tu:n²tok²caj¹ pen¹ ʔon¹la¹ma:n² muua³
 cause group of frogs frightened be disordered when

siaŋ⁵ sa¹ŋop² loŋ¹ læ:w⁴ mi:¹ kop² kla:³ tua¹ nuŋ²
 sound quiet down already is frog brave CLASS one

wa:j³nam⁴ khaw³ paj¹ mɔ:ŋ¹du:¹ hen⁵ khɔ:n⁵maj⁴ lɔ:j¹nam⁴
 swim enter go look see log float

ju:² kɔ:³ di:¹caj¹ klap² ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ bɔ:k² **phu^{an}**³ wa:³
 in progress AUX glad return out come tell friend that

the:¹wa¹da:¹ sonj² naj¹ loŋ¹ ma:¹ haj³ læ:w⁴ **kop²** **law²**
 angel send master down come give already frog CLASS

nan⁴ naj¹chan⁴ræ:k³ kɔ:³ jaŋ¹ kha¹ja:t² . . .
 that at first AUX still afraid

The loud sound and the heaving waves frightened **the group of frogs**. When it was quiet, a **brave frog** swam out to see (what happened). (He) saw a log floating in the water, then (he) was glad. (He) returned to tell (his) **friends** that the angel sent (them) the master. **That group of frogs**, firstly, was still afraid . . . (Text 5)

The noun phrase *phuak³ kop²* ‘the group of frogs’ refers to a group of the main participants. In the next clause, a participant *kop² kla:³ tua¹ nuŋ²* ‘a brave frog’ is split off from the group. The next reference to the group of the main participants is *phu^{an}³* ‘(his) friends’, which excludes the brave frog. In the next clause, the brave frog is merged into the group again. Therefore, the noun phrase *kop² law² nan⁴* ‘that group of frogs’ refers to the group of frogs that includes the brave frog.

Besides the characteristics of the main participant mentioned so far, the most important thing about the main participant is that he is always the thematic participant of a story. Nichols (1981:1) defines the thematic participant as “the participant that a text or subtext is about” and subtheme or locally thematic participant as the participant that “is not the theme of the entire text” but “is set up as theme for a short stretch of the text”. The main participant or the thematic participant initiates the actions of the whole story. His role dominates others. He appears on the stage more than anyone else and remains there until the end. If he has to leave the stage before the story ends, he will still be mentioned. In the last episode of Text 1, the mother dog, as the main participant, is dead, but she continues to be mentioned until the end. If the main participant temporarily leaves the stage, he will shortly return. When another participant is set up as locally thematic participant for a particular part of the story, the main participant usually remains on the scene, but he may leave the scene for a while.

The main participant has the highest degree of topic continuity. This statement can be illustrated by table 3 which includes degrees of topic continuity of participants in Text 7. The participant who receives the lowest score of lookback value and highest score of persistence value

Table 3. Degrees of topic continuity of participants in text 7

Topic continuity	Main	Secondary	Tertiary
Lookback	2.44	2.45	4.13

(Watsakarabrahm) has the highest degree of topic continuity and is considered to be the thematic participant or the main participant of the story. The one who receives the highest score of lookback value and lowest score of persistence value (King Archartsatru) has the lowest degree of topic continuity and is considered to be the tertiary participant. The one who has the score in between (King Litchawi) will be the second participant. In this table, even though the lookback value of the main participant and that of the secondary participant are not much different, the status of each participant can be confirmed by the persistence value.

6.2. Secondary participant. The secondary participant is distinguished from the main participant in that he is never the thematic participant of a whole story like the main participant, but can be set up as locally thematic participant for a particular part of the story. Typically, the secondary participant is locally thematic participant at least once in the entire story. Text 3 has two main participants involved in actions. Another participant mentioned in the story is the hunter who is a candidate for the rank of secondary participant. However, the hunter is never the locally thematic participant of any part of the story. He is mentioned when the lion is the thematic participant. So the hunter is ranked as the tertiary participant, and there is no secondary participant in this story. The secondary participant is introduced after the main participant except for some situations. There is also a situation in which two participants are introduced at the same time. A participant will be singled out as a secondary participant if he has a subsidiary role or disappears from the stage immediately after his introduction. Text 9 introduces the main and secondary participant simultaneously. However, the secondary participant leaves the stage in the following part of the story and reappears again in the final episode. The secondary participant may be the one that the main participant meets along the way. In Text 6, the owner of the horse does not want to keep the horse, so he lets the horse go. While traveling alone, the horse meets the fox, who is the secondary participant. Moreover, the secondary participant may be introduced in a specific relationship to the main participant or another participant mentioned before him. Text 1 introduces the secondary participants as the daughters of the main participants. Furthermore, the secondary participant may appear according

to a wish of the main participant. In Text 5, a group of frogs want a master to protect them, so they ask the angel for the master. Afterward, the angel as the secondary participant appears on the scene.

Most commonly, the secondary participant is the helper who eliminates the main participant's lack of something or assists him in reaching his goal. Text 1 has the hunter as the helper of the mother dog. Without him, the mother dog and her daughters might have been killed in the forest. Text 6 has the fox as the secondary participant who helps the horse with his trick to win the lion.

After his introduction, the secondary participant may remain in a subsidiary role if the main participant is the thematic participant of that part of a story. However once in a while, he may be set up as the locally thematic participant of a paragraph. If he is introduced early and remains on stage for the whole story, at the conclusion of the story and after he has made his contribution to the story he will disappear from the scene before the main participant. In some stories, the secondary participant does not appear everywhere. After his introduction, he may initiate some actions or remain in a subsidiary role and then disappear. He will reappear if his role is needed. In Text 5, the angel is the secondary participant who is introduced when the group of frogs needs his help. After fulfilling the frogs' need, he leaves the stage and reappears when the frogs again need his help. Most secondary participants are introduced early in the story. After their introduction, some of them may leave the stage and reappear in the middle of the story. Some of them may remain on stage but never initiate any actions until the middle of the story. There are also some secondary participants who remain on the stage throughout the story and occasionally initiate actions. Even though the introduction of most secondary participants occurs early in the story, it is not uncommon to find that some secondary participants are introduced in the middle of the story.

While the writer gives most attention to the main participant by giving all necessary detailed information about him, the secondary participant is introduced with less back ground information than the main participant or sometimes without any background information at all. Most secondary participants are introduced in action without a lot of information. In Text 6, the horse as the main participant is introduced with background information. However, when the horse comes across the fox, who is the secondary participant, the writer does not give any background information about the fox.

A story may have more than one secondary participant. In this case, the secondary participants may be on the scene from time to time throughout the whole story or may appear in a particular episode and disappear from

the story. In Text 1, the mother dog's daughters and the hunter are secondary participants and they appear throughout the whole story. On the other hand, Text 2 has a number of episodes where the secondary participants vary while the main participant remains the same. For example, in the first episode, the main participant interacts with his parents, so his parents are the secondary participants. In the following episode, the main participant leaves his parents and comes to live with his grandmother. This makes his grandmother another secondary participant. When the new episode starts, his grandmother is dismissed from the story, and the hermit with whom the main participant interacts becomes another secondary participant. Finally, even though most stories have at least one secondary participant, it is not unusual to have a story (e.g. Text 3) that does not have any secondary participant.

6.3. Tertiary participant. The tertiary participant is similar to the secondary participant in that he is never made the global thematic participant of the story. The difference between them is that the tertiary participant may or may not be the locally thematic participant for a part of the story, while the secondary participant is required to be a locally thematic participant at least once in the story. It is not necessary that the tertiary participant be set up as locally thematic participant. He can simply be mentioned in the story, while another participant is thematic, such as the hunter in Text 3. While the tertiary participant can function as locally thematic participant, his appearance as locally thematic participant is very limited. While the secondary participant can be set up as locally thematic participant for many parts of the story, the tertiary participant functions as locally thematic participant only once or twice. In Text 6, the tertiary participant is the owner of the horse who is set up as locally thematic participant twice, while the fox as the secondary participant is set up as locally thematic participant many times.

The role of the tertiary participant is small, but he is also important to the plot of the story. His contribution to the story furthers its goal. For instance, the big bird in Text 5 is put into the scene in order to teach a lesson to the frogs, and that lesson is the theme of the story.

In terms of topic continuity, the tertiary participant has the highest lookback value because he is the least continuous participant in the story, and he has the lowest persistence value because he disappears from the stage faster than any participant.

The number of tertiary participants is usually one, but the tertiary participant may consist of a group of participants such as the wood cutter's neighbors in Text 4. In the same way as the secondary participant, the

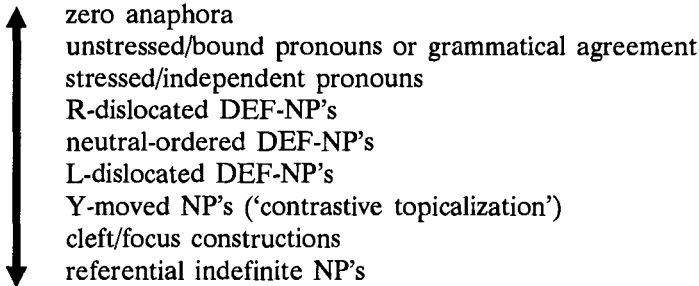
tertiary participant may be introduced with or without background information, but it is most common in Thai stories to find the introduction of the tertiary participant without any background information.

7

Encoding Participant Reference

Givón (1983:17) proposes a ranking scale of the most common grammatical devices which encode participant reference as follows:

most continuous/accessible topic



most discontinuous/inaccessible topic

The grammatical form which encodes the most discontinuous/inaccessible topic is "maximally difficult to process". On the other hand, the one that encodes the most continuous/accessible topic offers the least degree of difficulty for speakers/hearers to identify a referent as topic (Givón 1983:11).

In Thai narrative discourse, the most common grammatical forms that are used to encode a topic are noun phrases, pronouns, and zero anaphors. The first two types of anaphors are overtly marked. Zero

anaphors are a frequent device used to represent a thematic participant which continues to be thematic until there is a text discontinuity²⁹ which necessitates overt marking. There are certain conditions which trigger each type of anaphor. Since the conditions governing noun phrases and pronouns are closely related, they will be discussed together under overt marking distinguished from zero anaphora. There is no attempt here to differentiate the types of noun phrases according to the scale above.

7.1. Overt marking. Noun phrases include proper names, titles, descriptions (definite and indefinite), and kinship terms. The indefinite noun phrase is used to encode the most discontinuous/inaccessible topic at its first mention. When the indefinite noun phrase refers to one topic/participant, it is usually composed of a noun optionally followed by an adjective, a classifier, and a numeral, in that order. If there is more than one participant, the elements in the noun phrase will be reordered as noun (adj), numeral, and classifier. It is very common to find the indefinite noun phrase introduced in an existential construction which begins with *mi:*¹ 'there is/was'. Since a participant may be introduced anywhere in the story, the indefinite noun phrase may also appear in any part of the story. The indefinite noun phrase composed of N+CLASS+NUM is a common device used to introduce a new participant in Thai folktales. In other types of narrative discourse, such as short novels, the indefinite noun phrase is rarely used. Instead, a new participant is frequently introduced with a proper name or a noun followed by a relative clause.

After the initial introduction, the participant may be rementioned by a definite noun phrase or a pronoun. In a folktale, it is typical to find the participant rementioned as a noun + (adj) + classifier + determiner. However, the participant may also be rementioned by an indefinite noun phrase if he is firstly introduced by means of identifying a group and later singled out as one member of that group. Besides the construction N+(AJ)+CLASS+DET, other grammatical forms used in this situation include N+(adj), specifying the role of participant (e.g., the hunter), and a name. Besides a noun phrase, a pronoun is also used to remention the participant after his initial introduction. However, it is very difficult to find absolute rules indicating when a noun phrase is used and when a pronoun is used. The noun phrase and pronoun seem almost to be interchangeable. Based on the data used for this study, the noun phrase is preferred when there is a separation between the initial introduction and the second

²⁹This term is from Nichols (1981:15). It refers to an interruption of a zero anaphora chain representing a thematic participant.

reference to the participant. The separation may be by background material or by a temporal expression which indicates a temporal gap. On the other hand, if the second reference appears immediately after the initial introduction, the pronoun is preferred.

The use of overt marking after the second reference to the participant is tied closely to the nonthematicity of the participant. The overt marking is expected if the participant is not thematic in that part of the story. Most commonly, the overt grammatical forms occur in object position when they encode the nonthematic participant. While the noun phrase is very frequent in this position, the pronoun is also found if the previous clause refers to the same participant encoded as an object noun phrase and the subsequent pronoun is the subject of the following embedded complement clause.

- (145) *ta:¹bun¹* *cun¹ ri:p³ ʔɔ:k² tit²ta:m¹*
 grandfather Boon so hurry go out follow

kra¹ta:j² tua¹ nan⁴ mɔ:ŋ¹ hen⁵ man¹ wiŋ³...
 rabbit CLASS that look see it run

So grandfather Boon hurriedly went out to follow **that rabbit**.
 (He) saw it run... (Text 9)

The object noun phrase *kra¹ta:j² tua¹ nan⁴* 'that rabbit' is referred to again in the following clause by the object pronoun *man¹* 'it', which functions as the subject of the following embedded complement clause.

Besides the object position, the overt grammatical forms are also frequent in possessive position (immediately postnominal) as in (146). In this example, the horse is not thematic and, in the possessive position, it is encoded by the noun phrase.

- (146) *top² loŋ¹ bon¹ ba:² ma:⁴*
 pat down on shoulder horse
 (The fox) patted the horse's shoulder. (Text 6)

Even though the overt grammatical forms are very common in object position, they occasionally occur in subject position. The nonthematic participant encoded by the noun phrase in subject position tends to appear in a relative clause or an adverbial clause.

While overt grammatical forms are commonly used to encode the nonthematic participant, it is not unusual to find the thematic participant encoded by overt grammatical forms. This is the case when the chain of

zero anaphora representing the thematic participant is interrupted by text discontinuities. The overt grammatical forms used to encode the thematic participant may occur in subject position, object position, or possessive position.

In subject position. The text discontinuities are caused by (a) adverbial expressions, (b) change in temporal and spatial reference, (c) paragraph boundary, (d) thematicity switch, (e) irrealis, and (f) change of semantic unit.

- a. Adverbial expressions. The adverbial expressions such as contrastive elements like *tæ:*² ‘but’ can trigger the overt grammatical forms encoding the thematic participant. These grammatical forms may be noun phrases or pronouns. There is no attempt here to formulate a rule governing the use of each form. However, in some cases, such as in example (147), the use of each form can be explained.

(147) *khra:w¹ni:⁴ the:¹pha:¹rak⁴ thu:⁵ ?aw¹*
 this time guardian angel carry take

khwa:n⁵ ηvn¹ khu:n³ ma:¹ soŋ² haj³
 axe silver up come hand over give

This time, **the guardian angel** carried a silver axe up (from the stream), gave (it to the wood cutter). (Text 4)

khra:w¹ni:⁴ khaw⁵ kɔ:³ kla:j¹pen¹ khon¹num²
 this time he AUX become young people

This time **he** became young. (Text 9)

Both of these sentences begin with the adverbial expression *khra:w¹ni:⁴* ‘this time’, but in the first sentence the noun phrase is used to encode the thematic participant, while in the second sentence the thematic participant is encoded by a pronoun. In this case, since the thematic participant in the first sentence is reintroduced according to the role he assumes in the story, the next overt reference is to that role.

It should be added that besides the role of participant mentioned above, titles, kinship terms, and general descriptions can be used as a kind of anaphoric reference. If the participant is introduced by any of these terms, he will continue to be rementioned by that term.

- b. Change in temporal and spatial reference. A change in temporal and spatial reference can force overt marking of the thematic participant. The overt grammatical forms used in this case may be a noun phrase or a pronoun. The noun phrase is preferred if there are thematicity switches between participants. The pronoun is used if the thematic participant is the only one on the stage and there is no thematicity switch. However, the pronoun may also be used when there is more than one participant on the stage, provided that there is no ambiguity as to which participant is encoded by that pronoun. The ambiguity may be overridden by the type of pronoun because there are certain types of pronouns specific to certain types of participants. In example (148), the pronoun *phra⁴ʔoŋ¹* 'he' (royal term) is used to refer to the locally thematic participant instead of the noun phrase, even though there is more than one participant on the stage. The participants who are involved in actions at that part of the story are King Archartsatru (the locally thematic participant), Watsakarabrahm (King Archartsatru's counselor) and a group of Litchawi Kings. The pronoun *phra⁴ʔoŋ¹* 'he' (royal term) is used to refer to the thematic participant instead of the noun phrase because there is no ambiguity of reference. It is impossible for this pronoun to refer to Watsakarabrahm because this pronoun is used to refer to men in the royal family and Watsakarabrahm is a commoner. It is also not likely that this pronoun could refer to the group of Litchawi Kings because the pronoun is singular.

- (148) *khraŋ⁴ phra⁴ʔoŋ¹ soŋ¹pra:p²pra:m¹ ka¹sa² li⁴cha¹wi:⁵ thaŋ⁴la:j⁵*
 when he defeat king Litchawi all
- ha:j³ riap³rɔ:j⁴ læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ sa¹det²klap² phra⁴na¹khɔ:n¹*
 let finish already AUX return town, kingdom
 When he had already defeated all the Litchawi kings, (he)
 returned to (his) town. (Text 7)

- c. Paragraph boundary. When the chain of zero anaphora representing the thematic participant is interrupted by a paragraph boundary, overt grammatical forms are expected. In this situation, the pronoun is commonly used to encode the thematic participant. However, if the previous paragraph ends with irrealis, the noun phrase occurs at the beginning of a new paragraph instead of the pronoun. Furthermore, since episode boundary and direct quote are orthographically marked with a new paragraph, they also force the overt grammatical forms.

Even though direct quotes frequently trigger overt forms in the formulas of quotation in folktales, in other kinds of narrative such as short novels, direct quotes appear without any quote formula. The speaker is frequently left out, but he can be identified from the context or the quotes as in (149).

- (149) “*tu:n² læ:w⁴ ru:⁵ ca⁴ mæ:³*”
 wake up already Q Fp mother
 Are you up yet, mother?

“*ʔx:¹ . . . ru:n³ ʔeŋ¹ maj³ sa¹ba:j¹ ja:² luk⁴ ma:¹ lx:j¹*”
 yes Ruen you not well IMPV get up come Fp
 Yes . . . , Ruen. You are not well. Don’t get up yet. (Text 10)

The speakers of the initiating utterance (question) and the continuing utterance (answer and remark) are obvious. The direct address (or vocative) *mæ:³* ‘mother’ in the question indicates that the daughter is speaking to her mother. The daughter is addressed in the continuing utterance, while the mother is addressed in the initiating utterance.

- d. Thematicity switch. The occurrence of overt grammatical forms encoding the thematic participant can be governed by thematicity switch. When another participant is set up as locally thematic participant for a particular part of a text, the reference to the thematic participant is commonly by a noun phrase. The pronoun can also be used to encode the thematic participant where there is a thematicity switch on the condition that the referent of the pronoun can be unambiguously determined by the context, as in (150).

- (150) *ʔaj³ dæ:ŋ¹ thu:⁵ pu:n¹ tham¹tha:³ chak⁴ pu:n¹khuan¹ pu:n¹*
 title Dang carry gun act draw gun revolve gun

haj³ mæ:³kæ:² du:¹ la:j⁵ ta¹lop² ru:n³ ʔe:ŋ¹ kɔ:³
 let old woman see many time Ruen herself AUX

ʔot² kham⁵ maj³ daj³ man¹ chi:t² nam⁴ paj¹ pa:k²
 not help funny not able he spray water go mouth

kɔ:³ rɔ:ŋ⁴ “...”
 AUX say

Dang carried a (plastic) gun, (he) drew, (he) it revolved many times to let the old woman see it. Ruen herself could not help feeling funny. He sprayed the water (from his gun while) saying “...”
 (Text 10)

In this example, the thematic participant *ʔaj³ dæ:ŋ¹* ‘title Dang’ is interrupted by another participant *ru:n³* ‘Ruen’. After a thematicity switch, there is no need for the noun phrase because the pronoun can be used unambiguously. The reader can identify the referent of the pronoun *man¹* ‘he’ without any difficulty because of the context.

- e. Irrealis. Irrealis can trigger overt grammatical forms that encode the thematic participant. If the irrealis is very short, the thematic participant is expected to be encoded by a pronoun. On the other hand, if it is lengthy, the noun phrase is commonly used to encode the thematic participant.
- f. Change of semantic unit. Usually the thematic participant is involved in a sequence of actions. This chain of actions forms a unified semantic unit. When the sequence of actions ends, a new chain of actions starts and another semantic unit is formed. In this situation, overt grammatical forms occur to encode the thematic participant. When there is only the thematic participant on the stage, the overt grammatical form is preferably a pronoun. However, if there is another participant (other than the thematic participant or the thematic participant is initially introduced by his role or descriptions) the noun phrase is preferred.

In object position. In general, the grammatical form encoding the thematic participant in the object position is a zero anaphor. But overt

grammatical forms are also used in this position when there is a change of topic in subject position. For example:

- (151) *siəŋ*⁵ *mæː³khaː⁴* *klum*² *jaj*² *dvːn¹* *khuj¹* *ʔe²ʔa²*
 sound merchant group big walk talk loudly

paj¹ *thaːŋ¹* *ta¹laːt²* *tham¹haj³* *mæː³kæː²* . . .
 go way market cause old woman

The sound of a big group of merchants walking (and) talking loudly (and) going to the market caused *the old woman* . . .
 (Text 10)

In possessive position. The thematic participant as possessor is rarely encoded by overt grammatical forms. Occasionally, however, a pronoun occurs to refer to the thematic participant as possessor. There are two conditions which trigger the use of the pronoun in this function.

- a. Contrastive elements. When the grammatical form encoding the thematic participant occurs in a clause preceded by contrastive elements such as *tæː²* ‘but’, it is usually overt. As pointed out by Li and Thompson (1979:332), adverbial expressions such as time phrases or contrastive morphemes “signal the beginning of a new sentence rather than a connected clause”. Therefore, conjoinability across a contrastive morpheme is low and a pronoun is frequently used in the clause preceded by this contrastive morpheme. Compare the following sentences in example (152).

- (152) *tæː²* *phuŋ¹* *ʔan¹* *juːn³kaːŋ¹* *khɔːŋ⁵* *man¹* *sa¹kat²*
 but belly that stretch of it prevent

kaːn¹lop²niː⁵ *khɔːŋ⁵* *man¹* *waj⁴*
 escape of it Fp

But *his* large stomach prevented (him) from *his* escape.

man¹ *kin¹* *ʔaw¹* *kin¹* *ʔaw¹* *con¹kra¹than³* *phuŋ¹* *kaːŋ¹*
 it eat take eat take until belly stretch
 He ate (and) ate until (his) belly was stretched. (Text 8)

The first sentence begins with the contrastive element *tæː²* ‘but’; therefore the pronoun *man¹* ‘it’ is used to refer to the thematic participant possessor. In the second sentence, the thematic participant as possessor is

represented in the same position by zero anaphor because it is not preceded by any such contrastive element.

- b. Focus on the head noun in a possessive construction. The thematic participant may be marked by a pronoun as possessor if the speaker/writer aims to highlight the participant. Example (153) is from Text 9. After grandfather Boon drinks the water in the magic pond, he becomes young. When he goes back to see grandmother Ma, she cannot recognize him at first. At this point, the writer is apparently trying to emphasize that Ma cannot even recognize her own husband. Therefore, instead of simply using the head noun *sa:5mi:l* 'husband' and leaving out the possessive noun as usual, the writer uses the word *tua:l?e:ηl* '(of) oneself' after the head noun *sa:5mi:l* 'husband'.

(153) *tɔ:n¹ræ:k³* *ja:j¹ma:¹* *cam¹* *sa:⁵mi:¹*
 at first grandmother Ma recognize husband

tua¹ʔe:ŋ¹ maj³ daj³
oneself not able

At first, grandmother Ma could not recognize her own husband.
(Text 9)

7.2. Zero anaphora. The term zero anaphors or zeropronoun is referred to by Li and Thompson (1979:312) as “the ‘hole’ where an NP is understood and would have to be present in the fully specified version of the sentence.” The speaker/writer uses zero anaphors instead of overt grammatical forms when he is assured that the hearer/reader does not have any difficulty in interpreting the identity of the participant. It then follows that there must be certain conditions that determine when it is easy or difficult for the speaker/writer to identify the participant (Chen 1984). In Thai texts, there are certain conditions that govern the use of zero anaphors. These conditions are discussed in detail below.

The topic chain. Zero anaphors are preferred over explicit forms where there is a topic chain, defined as “where the topic established in the first clause serves as the referent for the unrealized topics in the chain of clauses following it” (Li and Thompson 1979:313). The topic chain consists of a series of clauses with the same subject. Only the subject of the first clause is marked by an overt form of the topic. The following clauses in the series have subjects represented by zero anaphors. The topic chain has

high degree of conjoinability. The term CONJOINABILITY is from Li and Thompson (1979:330), who use it in the following sense:

two successive clauses are “conjoinable” if the speaker/writer perceives them to share enough to warrant being presented to the hearer/reader TOGETHER AS ONE GRAMMATICAL UNIT rather than SEPARATELY AS TWO INDEPENDENT UNITS.”

If the clause containing a coreferential noun is highly conjoinable with the clause containing its antecedent, it is preferable that the coreferential noun be represented by zero anaphors. The following paragraph of Text 10 is an illustration of a topic chain.

1. *mæ:³kæ:² ʔaj¹ sɔ:⁵ sa:⁵ khraŋ⁴ 2. læ:w⁴ cuŋ¹ phap⁴*
 old woman cough two three time and then fold
- pha:³hom² thi:³ chaj⁴ ma:¹ na:n¹ pi:¹ con¹ nuu⁴ ba:ŋ¹ tem¹thon¹*
 blanket that use come long year till material thin extreme
3. *wa:ŋ¹ sɔ:n⁴ waj⁴ bon¹ mɔ:n⁵ thi:³ ba:ŋ¹ con¹ kuap² tit²*
 place on keep on pillow that thin till almost touch
- phu:n⁴kra¹da:n¹ 4. pɜ:t² muŋ⁴ kaw² khram³khra:³ pa² con¹*
 floor open mosquito net old very old patch till
- mɔ:ŋ¹ maj³ hen⁵ nuu⁴ dɜ:m¹ ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ 5. khlam¹ ha:⁵*
 look not see material original out come feel for look for
- maj⁴khi:t² thi:³ khv:j¹ wa:ŋ¹ waj⁴ kha:ŋ³ muŋ⁴ kɔ:n²*
 match that used to put keep beside mosquito net before
- nɔ:n¹ thuk⁴ khuu:n¹ 6. tæ:² khwa:n¹ha:⁵ con¹ thua³ kɔ:³ maj³*
 sleep every night but grope for till all AUX not
- phop⁴ 7. hɜ:⁴... ni:³ ʔaj³ dæ:ŋ¹ khon¹ ʔaw¹ paj¹ len³*
 find sound of sighing this title Dang may take go play

thiŋ⁴ waj⁴ naj⁵ ʔi:k²læ:w⁴ 8. ʔaj³ la:n⁵ khon¹ ni:⁴ man¹
 leave keep where again title grandchild CLASS this he

son¹ sia⁵ ciŋ¹ciŋ¹ 9. mi:¹ ʔa¹raj¹ man¹ kep² paj¹ len³ mot²
 naughty Fp really is what he pick up go play all

10. *mot² ruan³ len³ ko:³ han⁵ khaw³ ha:⁵ kho:ŋ⁵kin¹*
 finish topic play AUX turn to find eating stuff

11. *mæ:³kæ:² luk⁴khun³ khlam¹ pe²pa² ca² khaw³ paj¹ naj¹*
 old woman get up feel for will enter go in

khrua¹
 kitchen

1. The old woman coughed two to three times 2. and then (she) folded the blanket that had been used for so many years that the material was very thin 3. (she) placed (the blanket) on the pillow which was so flat that it touched the floor 4. (she) opened the mosquito net (which was) so old that one could not see the original material and then (she) came out. 5. (she) felt for the (box of) matches that (she) used to put (it) beside the mosquito net every night 6. (she) groped for (the box of matches) but (she) could not find (it) 7. (sound of sighing) Dang might have taken (it) to play with (and) left (it) somewhere again 8. This grandchild was very naughty 9. (If) there was anything around, he picked (it) up to play with 10. (when he) finished playing, then (he) turned to eating stuff 11. The old woman got up, felt randomly in order to go to the kitchen.
 (Text 10)

The paragraph contains eleven clauses. The first six clauses form a topic chain. This series of clauses has the overt form *mæ:³kæ:²* 'old woman' as the subject of the first clause and zero anaphor as the subject of the following five clauses. This topic chain is interrupted by irrealis (clauses 6–10), which is the thought the old woman had about her grandson. The irrealis is a kind of text discontinuity which triggers the explicit forms. After this interruption, the overt form *mæ:³kæ:²* is used again as the subject of clause 11.

It should be noted that the series of clauses that constitutes a topic chain and contains zero anaphora frequently occurs on the backbone of the story. Therefore, the storyline itself can at least partially be detected

by reliance upon zero anaphora. The occurrence of zero anaphora is dependent on the syntactic position of the zero anaphor.

In subject position. The subject position is the place where zero anaphors most frequently occur. In this position, the frequency of occurrence of zero anaphora is very high if it refers to the thematic participant. In subject position, zero anaphora is also frequent when it follows the connective elements such as *con¹kra¹thaj³* 'until', *phua³* 'in order to', *do:j¹* 'by, in the manner that', as in (154).

- (154) *khaw⁵ cuw¹ thu:⁵ faj¹cha:j⁵ ʔɔ:k² tit²ta:m¹ ja:j¹ ma:¹*
 he so carry flashlight go out go after grandmother Ma
con¹kra¹thaj³ paj¹ thuw⁵ buw¹nam⁴
 until go reach pond
 So he carried a flashlight, (he) and went after grandmother Ma
 until (he) reached the pond. (Text 9)

Even though a zero anaphor is frequently used to represent the thematic participant in subject position, it occasionally is used to refer to the nonthematic participant in this position. In the latter situation, the antecedent of the zero anaphor can be identified through the context or the use of words such as royal terms as in example (155).

- (155) *læ:w⁴ klæ:ŋ³ tham¹pen¹ soŋ¹phra⁴phi⁴ro:t³*
 then pretend act like to be angry
wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra:m¹ duaj³ he:t² thi:³ thu:n¹khat⁴kha:n⁴
 Watsakarabrahm with reason that argue against
 ... then (King Archartsatru) pretended to be angry with
 Watsakarabrahm for the reason that (Watsakarabrahm) argued
 against (King Archartsatru). (Text 7)

This example has King Archartsatru as the locally thematic participant. Watsakarabrahm is represented by a zero anaphor in subject position, and the referent of zero anaphor can be identified by the royal term *thu:n¹* 'tell', which is used by a common man when talking to the royal family. Therefore, there is no doubt that the zero anaphor refers to Watsakarabrahm, not King Archartsatru.

In object position. While zero anaphors tend to occur in subject position, they are also possible in object position, if they represent the thematic participant. If it happens that zero anaphors are used to refer to the nonthematic participant as object, its antecedent has to be recently mentioned or the speaker/writer needs to take care that the hearer/reader can identify the referent of zero anaphora from the context or from particular words such as royal terms. Example (156) illustrates this situation.

- (156) *wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra:m¹ hen⁵ daŋ¹nan⁴ cuŋ¹ soŋ² kha:w² paj¹*
 Watsakarabrahm see like that so send message go

thu:n¹ phra⁴caw³ pa¹cha:t³sa¹tru:¹ haj³ soŋ¹sa:p³
 tell King Archartsatru let know
 Watsakarabrahm saw what happened so (he) sent a message to
 tell King Archartsatru (in order to) let (King Archartsatru) know
 (what happened). (Text 7)

In this example, Watsakarabrahm is the thematic participant and King Archartsatru is the nonthematic participant. King Archartsatru is represented by a zero anaphor in object position. The identification of a zero anaphor is possible because its antecedent also appears in this sentence and the verb *soŋ¹sa:p³* can be used only by the royal family.

In possessive position. If zero anaphors appear in possessive position, they usually encode the thematic participant, as in (157), where a zero anaphor appears in possessive position after the head noun *caj¹* 'heart', and it refers to the thematic participant *na:j¹* 'the master'.

- (157) *muwa³ na:j¹ hen⁵ sat² rap³chaj⁴ tua¹ kxæ:² khɔ:^ŋ⁵ ton¹*
 when master see animal servant CLASS old of self

sa:⁵ma:t³ chen³nan⁴ caj¹ kɔ:³ khla:j¹ khwa:m¹ho:t² loŋ¹
 capable like that heart AUX lessen cruelty down
 When the master saw (that) his old animal was capable like that,
 (his) heart was less cruel. (Text 6)

7.3. Number of participants in complex sentences. The use of zero anaphora is also constrained by the number of participants involved in an action or a series of actions. Zero anaphors are preferred to overt forms when they encode the participant who appears alone on the stage. There

is no confusion trace to the referent of the zero anaphor since there is only one participant involved in actions. Even though zero anaphors are favored to represent the participant who is the only one in the scene, it happens also that zero anaphors represent the participant who is involved in actions together with other participants. However, as pointed out by Chen (1984:7), the referent of a zero anaphor can still be identified through "the semantics of the sentence elements, the syntactic and pragmatic information of the sentence, as well as the overall knowledge of the world on the part of the participants of the linguistic communication".

Within the complex sentence. Zero anaphors are very frequent in complex sentences consisting of a subordinate clause and a main clause. Typically, there are three patterns of complex sentences in which zero anaphors occur.

a. Pattern 1

Subordinate clause	Main clause
Subject 1 0...	Subject 1 0...

This pattern is used when a participant continues to be thematic without any interruption. This participant is the subject of both the subordinate clause and the main clause. Zero anaphors are used in both clauses.

b. Pattern 2

Subordinate clause	Main clause
Subject 1 0...	Subject 1 NP...

This pattern is favored when the continuity of the thematic participant is interrupted by text discontinuities, as mentioned earlier. Usually, the thematic participant is encoded by an overt form in the main clause and zero anaphor in the subordinate clause. However, the thematic participant may be overtly marked in the subordinate clause, as below, if the text discontinuity is a thematicity switch.

Subordinate clause	Main clause
Subject 1 NP...	Subject 1 0...

c. Pattern 3

Subordinate clause	Main clause
Subject 1 0...	Subject 2 NP...

This pattern is usually used when the subject of the subordinate clause and that of the main clause are different, and the subject of the subordinate clause is the thematic participant of the previous context.

Even though it is typical for the complex sentence to have a zero anaphor in either the subordinate clause or main clause, there are also some situations in which both subjects of the subordinate clause and main clause are marked by overt forms. Generally, there are two conditions that trigger the overt form in both clauses.

When there is another participant in addition to the thematic participant on the stage and one cannot unambiguously identify the referent of the zero anaphor, an overt form is preferred. In this case, the subjects of both the subordinate clause and the main clause are the same. The pattern of this construction is as follows:

d. Pattern 4

Subordinate clause
Subject 1 NP ...

Main clause
Subject 1 NP ...

In (158), there are two participants, i.e., the butcher and the fox. The example has the butcher as the thematic participant. Usually, the subjects of the subordinate clause and the main clause should be represented by a zero anaphor, but both subjects of this example are encoded by overt forms. The subject of the subordinate clause is encoded by a noun phrase because there is a paragraph boundary. Since the verb *kham¹ra:m¹* 'roar' in the main clause is frequently used as a verb with the 'animal' subject, if its subject is represented by a zero anaphor, it will be mistakenly interpreted that the fox, not the butcher, *kham¹ra:m¹* 'roars'. This is why the pronoun *khaw⁵* 'he', instead of a zero anaphor, is used to encode the butcher in the main clause.

(158) *phɔː¹ khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴ mɔːŋ¹hen⁵ maː⁵ciŋ³cɔːk²*
when butcher see fox

khaw⁵ kɔː³ kham¹ra:m¹
he AUX roar

When the butcher saw the fox, he roared.

(Text 8)

The subjects of both the subordinate clause and the main clause may be marked by overt forms when there are different subjects in each clause and the subject of the subordinate clause is not the thematic participant of the previous context. The pattern of this construction is as follows:

Subordinate clause

Subject 1 NP...

Main clause

Subject 2 NP...

- (159) *muua³ cha:j¹ phu:³ nan⁴ klap² ba:n³ phuan³ba:n³ klaj³khiaŋ¹*
 when man CLASS that return home neighbor nearby

daj³ ru:⁴ ruuŋ³ thi:³ daj³ khwa:n⁵ ŋyn¹ khwa:n⁵ tho:ŋ¹
 get know story that get axe silver axe gold
 When **that man** returned home, (his) **neighbors** knew that (he)
 had the silver axe and the gold axe. (Text 4)

In this example, the subject of the subordinate clause is not thematic in the previous context; therefore, it is marked by a noun phrase. The subject of the main clause is different from that of the subordinate clause, so it is encoded also by a noun phrase.

In addition to discussing the conditions governing the use of zero anaphora mentioned so far, zero anaphora can also be discussed in terms of topic continuity. According to Givón (1983), zero anaphors are the most continuous/accessible topic. The degree of their continuity can be measured through the lookback value. The lookback values of overt forms and zero anaphors representing two participants in Text 8 are

a. grammatical forms	the fox	the butcher
b. overt forms	2.23	7.62
c. zero anaphors	1.10	1.00

Zero anaphors have a low degree of lookback value, which indicates that they are the easiest topic for the hearer/reader to identify. On the other hand, the overt forms have a higher degree of lookback value. Therefore, it follows that the overt forms are preferred to zero anaphor when it is more difficult for the hearer/reader to identify the topic in question, that is, there is a longer gap between the present occurrence of the topic and the previous one.

8

Referencing by Participant according to his Rank

In the previous section, the ranking of participants and the grammatical forms encoding participants have been discussed. The final section of this chapter focuses on how participants are encoded by certain grammatical forms according to their rank.

8.1. Main participant. The most typical construction used to introduce the main participant is the existential construction which employs the verb of existence *mi:*¹ 'there is'. Most commonly, the indefinite noun phrase appearing in this construction consists of the following elements: noun (modifiers), classifier, and numeral. Besides the indefinite noun phrase, the main participant may be introduced by the noun phrase designating a kinship term or a name.

The main participant is the thematic participant of the whole story. While he remains the thematic participant, reference to him after his initial introduction is by a zero anaphor in subject position (occasionally in object or possessive position). He continues to be referred to by a zero anaphor until a text discontinuity occurs. Reference to him after this interruption is frequently by a definite noun which consists of the following elements: noun (modifiers), classifier, and determiner. The main participant may also be rementioned after the text discontinuity by a noun phrase designating a kinship term, a proper name, or a description. Besides these, the main participant may be reidentified by reference to a physical part. This occurs

when the speaker/hearer aims to emphasize a certain point of view. For example, in Text 10, normally the main participant is rementioned by the description *mæ:³kæ:²* 'old woman'. However, when the writer aims to emphasize how much the main participant is concerned about her sick grandson, she refers to the main participant by referring to a physical part, as in example (160).

- (160) *mu:¹ thi:³ hiaw²jon³ na:p³ paj¹ ta:m¹ na:³pha:k²*
 hand that wrinkly touch go along forehead
 (Her) **wrinkly hand** touched along (her grandson's) fore-
 head . . . (Text 10)

Even though the main participant remains thematic throughout most of the story, there is also a time when another subsidiary participant is set up as locally thematic participant for a particular part of the story. In this case, the reference to the main participant is by overt forms in object or possessive position. The writer may tell the story through the viewpoint of another participant; therefore, these overt forms encoding the main participant, while being nonthematic, may vary according to that viewpoint. In Text 1, the hunter is set up as locally thematic participant when he first meets the main participant, i.e., *mæ:³ma:⁵nin¹* 'mother dog (called) Nin'. Now the writer tells the story through the eyes of the hunter. The reference to the main participant is, therefore, dependent on the hunter's viewpoint. The hunter firstly refers to the main participant as *ma:⁵dam¹-tua¹nun²* 'a black dog'. In fact, this indefinite noun phrase is usually used to introduce the main participant when he first appears on the stage. But it is used to remention the main participant because the writer tells the story from the hunter's viewpoint, and the hunter sees the main participant for the first time, so he refers to the main participant by the indefinite noun phrase. Moreover, the reidentification of the nonthematic main participant may depend on the relationship between the locally thematic participant and him. In the same story as above, the main participant is reidentified by the kinship term *mæ:³* 'mother' when her daughters are set up as locally thematic participants for that part of the story.

8.2. Secondary participant. Generally, the secondary participant is introduced in object or possessive position by an indefinite noun phrase, a noun phrase designating a kinship term, a proper name, or a description. He is normally introduced while the main participant remains thematic. Even though the grammatical forms encoding the secondary participant

frequently occur in object and possessive position, they may occasionally appear in subject position if the secondary participant is introduced together with the main participant, or if the secondary participant who is socially superior to the main participant is introduced first. Sometimes the secondary participant is introduced by an existential construction.

When the main participant remains thematic, the reidentification of the secondary participant is by a definite noun phrase, a noun phrase designating a kinship term, a proper name, or a description in object position. These overt forms may be used to remention the secondary participant in subject position if the secondary participant is set up as locally thematic participant. When he is locally thematic participant, further reference to him is by a zero anaphor. Reference by zero anaphora is usually interrupted by a thematicity switch. After the thematicity switch, he is referred to by any of the overt forms given above.

The terms used to refer to the secondary participant when he is nonthematic vary in the same way as the terms used to refer to the main participant. The variation of the terms is according to another participant's viewpoint through which the speaker/writer tells the story or the relationship between the secondary participant and another participant. Moreover, the terms may vary according to the plot of the story. In Text 1, the mother dog's daughters as the secondary participants are referred to as *dek²sa:w⁵than⁴sa:m⁵* 'all three girls' when they are young and as *sa:w⁵than⁴sa:m⁵* 'all three women' when they grow up.

8.3. Tertiary participant. While zero anaphora is most frequently used to represent the main participant, overt forms are usually used to mark the tertiary participant. The tertiary participant is mostly introduced while another participant is thematic. Usually, he is introduced by a noun phrase designating a kinship term, a proper name, or a description. The syntactic position in which these forms appear is regularly object or possessive position. Occasionally they appear in subject position if he is superior to the main participant and introduced first. Moreover, the existential construction is sometimes used to introduce the tertiary participant. Typically, the tertiary participant appears on the stage once or twice, but in long stories he may appear more frequently and the terms referring to him vary in the same way as the main and secondary participants.

Since the tertiary participant is seldom set up as locally thematic participant, he is less often represented by zero anaphora than the secondary participant. When he is locally thematic participant for a part of the story, he is reidentified by zero anaphora. However, the chain of zero

anaphora will not last long because it must shortly be interrupted by a thematicity switch.

8.4. Props. As mentioned earlier, props include either animate or inanimate objects that never initiate any actions. Mostly, they are encoded by a noun phrase in object position. Props are rarely represented by zero anaphors, but they can be if they are overtly identified in the preceding clause and identifying the referent is unambiguous.

8.5. Summary. In chapter 6, a distinction is made between participants and props. Next participants are ranked according to their importance to the story. The ranking of participants into three categories—main, secondary, and tertiary—is based on two measurements developed by Givón (1983). These measurements are LOOKBACK and PERSISTENCE. The former measures the gap between the last occurrence of a referent/topic and its current occurrence in a clause. The latter measures the persistent reference of a referent/topic without any interruption. The participant who receives the least amount of lookback value and the most amount of persistence value is considered to be the main participant in a discourse.

Then chapter 7 discussed grammatical forms encoding participant reference. The most common grammatical forms used to encode a topic are noun phrase, pronoun, and zero anaphor. Noun phrase and pronoun were mentioned together under overt marking, which is distinguished from a zero anaphor.

Overt marking is mostly used to introduce a participant. After the introduction, overt marking is also used to refer to the participant who is nonthematic. The syntactic positions in which the overt marking occurs are frequently object and possessive positions. When the participant is thematic, he may be encoded by the overt marking in subject position. This is the case when the thematic participant is interrupted by text discontinuities such as the following: adverbial expressions, change in temporal and spatial reference, paragraph boundary, thematicity switch, irrealis, and change of semantic unit. In object position, the thematic participant is usually represented by a zero anaphor except when there is a change of topic in subject position. In possessive position, the thematic participant is also usually represented by a zero anaphor except for the following conditions:

- a. The sentence is preceded by a contrastive element;
- b. The head noun in a possessive construction is focused.

In regard to zero anaphora, there are four conditions that trigger its use. They are topic chain, syntactic position, the number of participants involved in the action, and occurrence within the complex sentence.

This chapter focused on the reference of a participant according to his rank. Typically, the main participant is introduced by an existential construction. When he remains thematic, further reference to him is by a zero anaphor. Reference by a zero anaphor continues until it is interrupted by a text discontinuity. After the text discontinuity, he is encoded by an overt form. When the main participant is nonthematic, he is usually encoded by an overt form. A secondary participant is also introduced by overt form. When the main participant is thematic, further reference is by an overt form. On the other hand, when the secondary participant is set up as a locally thematic participant of a paragraph, further reference to him is by a zero anaphor. A tertiary participant is mostly encoded by overt forms. However, reference to him may be by a zero anaphor if he is set up as a locally thematic participant of a paragraph. Props are usually encoded by overt forms.

9

Cultural Information

A discourse involves cultural information which is essential for the hearer/reader to supply if he is to comprehend the text. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the cultural information involved in one of the texts used in this study. The cultural information is not explicitly stated in the story, but the hearer/reader must infer the cultural information from what is explicitly stated. The trickster tale *Srithanonchai* is chosen for illustrating how cues in cultural information are necessary if the hearer/reader is to understand the text. Of the ten texts used for detailed study, *Srithanonchai* implies more aspects of Thai culture than the other texts.

Although most aspects of cultural information extracted from this story are not found in urban society, some of them still exist in rural society. The details of Thai culture presented in this chapter have been described by Blanchard (1958) and Moore (1974).

9.1. The analysis of cultural information in the trickster tale. The analysis of cultural information in *Srithanonchai* is based on the model developed by Levi Strauss. "The legend of lazy young buck: a trickster of the Cham" (Bastien and Blood 1981) is also used as a guideline for this study. Based on these guidelines, the underlying meaning of the story is posited. It reveals some underlying relationships resulting from Thai basic values.

Background for the trickster tale. In Thailand, people enjoy the story of Srithanonchai. He is so popular that most people associate his name with the meaning of 'trickster'. When someone is tricky, another will say "He is Srithanonchai", or "He is tricky like Srithanonchai". The primary characteristics assigned to him are laziness, greed, and trickiness.

Because morality is highly valued in Thai society, it is worth asking why the story of Srithanonchai is so popular, since he is represented as breaking his ties with man and society. The main reason is that the power of the story derives from a basic social tension. In Thai society, there is a high degree of rigidity of cultural institutions. People are expected to follow social norms strictly. Religion also plays an important part in the society with Theravada Buddhism being the center of the Thai way of life. It has been thought of as the key to Thai culture and it shapes Thai basic values. People are attached to this religion from their birth till their death. However, to limit themselves within the boundary of cultural norms seems to be against the characteristics of Thais. While people are expected to follow the rules of Thai society rigidly, they also believe that "life is to be enjoyed, beautified, and embellished, rather than controlled" (Moore 1974:8); therefore, a self-contradiction arises. This self-contradiction yields a good explanation of why Thais favor the story of Srithanonchai. The story provides social and psychological release and by his trickery and humor, Srithanonchai brings relief from the tension in Thai society. People enjoy his breaking the boundary of social norms because they themselves cannot do so.

However, it is likely that, if the trickster had not been punished at the end of the story, this tale might not have been popular. Thais still value morality, and the punishment of the trickster satisfies them. Because the story mediates those two attitudes, it becomes very powerful. The story used here is not a complete version. It is written by a Thai native speaker from memory. The story is given in the appendix and is numbered for convenience of reference.

Cultural information. The analysis of cultural information in this trickster tale is based on the model originated by Levi-Strauss. According to Levi-Strauss (1963:211-12), myth is like the rest of language in the following way:

The true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning. Relations pertaining to the same bundle may appear

diachronically at remote intervals, but when we have succeeded in grouping them together we have reorganized our myth according to a time referent of a new nature, corresponding to the prerequisite of the initial hypothesis, namely a two-dimensional time referent which is simultaneously diachronic and synchronic, and which accordingly integrates the characteristics of *LANGUE* on the one hand, and those of *PAROLE* on the other. To put it in even more linguistic terms, it is as though a phoneme were always made up of all its variants.

As the constituent units belong to a higher and more complex order, they are called gross constituent units or mythemes (Levi-Strauss 1963). He states that, if the myth is considered as a unilinear series, the correct arrangement has to be reestablished. The operation is to group the constituent units which belong to the same mytheme into one vertical column. That is, "all the relations belonging to the same column exhibit one common feature which is our task to discover" (1963:213–15). For example, in table 4, the first column on the left, which consists of events corresponding to the numbers 1–3, 9–15 in the story of *Srithanonchai*, has as its common feature the Cosmology. From left to right the myth is arranged according to the chronological order. If the reader wants to know the chronological order of the story, he has to read the rows from left to right and from top to bottom. However, if he wants to understand the story, he has to read from left to right, column after column (Levi-Strauss 1963:214). For example, in table 4, the chronological order of *Srithanonchai* is as follows:

Numbers 1–3 in the first column
 Numbers 4–5 in the second column
 Numbers 6–7 in the third column
 Number 8 in the second column
 Numbers 9–15 in the first column
 Numbers 16–20 in the second column
 Numbers 21–23 in the third column
 Numbers 24–56 in the second column
 Numbers 57–62 in the third column
 Numbers 63–72 in the second column
 Numbers 73–74 in the third column
 Numbers 75–87 in the fourth column

Table 4. An arrangement of constituent units

1 Cosmology	2 Social Organization	3 Economics	4 Religion
Numbers 1-3	Numbers 4-5	Numbers 6-7	
	Number 8		
Numbers 9-15	Numbers 16-20	Numbers 21-23	
	Numbers 24-56	Numbers 57-62	
	Numbers 63-72	Numbers 73-74	
			Numbers 75-87

If the reader wants to understand the underlying meaning of *Srithanonchai*, he has to read from the first column (Cosmology) to the fourth column (Religion), column after column. In table 4, the four vertical columns represent mythemes of *Srithanonchai*.

Finally, the constituent units of each mytheme are reduced to binary oppositions which express the underlying relationships of the story (Levi-Strauss 1967). The binary oppositions found in the story are presented in table 5.

The first column represents the Cosmology mytheme. The opposition found in this mytheme is between life and death. The story begins with the concept of infertility. A couple want a baby and pray to a Buddhist Image. Afterward, life is given by the Buddha when Srithanonchai is born. After the birth of a younger brother, there is a sibling rivalry between Srithanonchai and his brother. Fratricide takes place when Srithanonchai is jealous and kills his brother. The Cosmology mytheme reflects an aspect of cultural information, i.e., a belief about life and death.

Buddhism is considered to be the dominant force in Thai life. Blanchard (1958:11) points out that "Buddhist values permeate the culture, and religion is the historic wellspring from which flow the nation's metaphysics, its art and literature, its ethic and morality and many of its mores, folkways, and festival." People have also assimilated animism into Buddhism. In times of crisis, some people turn to a Buddhist monk or a

Table 5. Mythemes of the story of Srithanonchai

1	2	3	4
Cosmology	Social Organization	Economics	Religion
Buddha, life; sibling, death.	monk, layman; parents, child; elder brother, younger brother; family punishment, social punishment; grandmother, grandchild; society, isolation; royalty, commoner; man, woman; father-in-law, son-in-law; reciprocity, barter	rich, poor; lazy, work; trade, borrow.	death, reincarnation; Buddhist novice, layman.

Buddhist image, and some may turn to spirits. In the trickster tale, the couple do not have children, so they pray to the Buddhist image for a baby. This kind of practice still remains in Thai society, especially in the rural areas.

The second column consists of the largest number of binary oppositions which comprise the mytheme of Social Organization. The first opposition is between monk and layman, as the couple asks a monk to name the first baby, a customary practice. Another opposition is termed parents/child, as Srithanonchai interacts with his parents. An opposition between the elder and the younger brother occurs when Srithanonchai has to take care of his younger brother and, because of his jealousy, kills him. The next opposition is between family punishment and social punishment. That is, the parents' punishing Srithanonchai is in opposition to the villagers' punishing Srithanonchai. The opposition between grandmother/grandchild is manifested as Srithanonchai interacts with his grandmother. The opposition between society and isolation is manifested when Srithanonchai lives in the village in contrast to when he lives in the forest. There are also

binary oppositions of Srithanonchai as the commoner in contrast to the king as royalty and Srithanonchai as the man in contrast with the daughter of the man who works in the palace. Moreover, Srithanonchai as the son-in-law is opposed to his father-in-law as father-in-law. The last binary opposition found in this mytheme is between reciprocity and barter as the king sends his men to make poles (house foundation) and Srithanonchai sells desserts for his grandmother.

Social Organization seems to be the dominant mytheme to extract from the story. In the old days, the Buddhist monk was the most honored social class. According to Blanchard (1958:403), "It is the temple monks, the most respected men in the village and specialists at counseling, to whom people bring their problems; in times of crisis a monk is often the first person sought out for counsel and encouragement." The trickster tale shows this fact when Srithanonchai's parents ask a monk to name their first child. It is believed that a good name brings good luck so it is usually selected by the monk after an analysis of astrological conditions. Even today, the Buddhist monk still plays an important role in village life.

In family life, children are treated permissively. A baby is fondled and pampered until the age of about two or until the birth of another baby. After this, the child is expected to aid in family work. He is taught to pay respect to elders and to recognize his place in the family hierarchy. In the story, Srithanonchai is jealous because his parents pay more attention to his younger brother than to him. The trickster tale also reflects the following relationships: parents and child, grandmother and grandson. Srithanonchai is expected to work for the family. He takes care of the baby and sells desserts for his grandmother. Under most circumstances, a child is not severely punished. However, when Srithanonchai kills his own brother, he receives a severe punishment both from his parents and the villagers. This punishment is because moral precepts broken are highly valued; when Srithanonchai breaks one of them, he deserves a severe punishment. As for the relationship between man and woman, in the old days parents used to choose marriage partners for their children, but Srithanonchai chooses his own wife because he does not live with his parents anymore. In the society, after the marriage, there is no fixed rule, except for economic considerations, to determine residence. Generally, a newly married couple prefers to establish its own household. In the trickster tale, Srithanonchai's matrilocal marriage is accompanied by hostility between the husband and his father-in-law. After the house has been burnt, Srithanonchai uses a trick to establish his own household. In his relationship with his father-in-law, Srithanonchai breaks a social norm by not showing respect for him. Traditionally, Thai children are reared to

show respect for and deference to elders. Customarily, etiquette in Thailand is highly stressed. For example, Thais are expected to talk in a low tone of voice and to walk with a deliberate gait. However, these traditions are overlooked when Srithanonchai goes to get his father-in-law.

Outside the family, the respect relationship within the family is transferred to the larger national community. Blanchard (1958:439) mentions that

... in this context the king or the government fills the role of the father, and the behavior pattern learned in childhood forms the basis of the Thai's patriotism, loyalty, and respect for his country. The king or government is thought of as 'second parent', to whom one owes respect and obedience but who owes nothing in return.

For centuries, Thais were subjects of an absolute king. He stood alone without equal or near equal his power was above the law. He appointed all officials and held the power of life and death over all subjects. Position and status were acquired by virtue of superior qualities and royal favor. In legal theory the king owned all land and state revenues. His ownership of all land in the kingdom by supernatural right enabled him to give the land to any subject. Traditionally, the amount of land a man was given varied according to his status. This absolutism was destroyed by the coup of 1932. In the trickster tale, this former state of affairs is intact when Srithanonchai uses his trick to prevent the country from being conquered and the king compensates him with title and land.

The last aspect of social organization that can be extracted from the story is reciprocity/barter. In society, cooperative labor exchange is a practical way to carry out the hard work quickly, efficiently, and joyfully. Cooperative labor exchange is always required for planting, harvesting, house construction, and the like. Even though the cooperative labor exchange is rare now, it still exists in rural areas. The story of Srithanonchai reflects the reciprocal work arrangement when Srithanonchai asks the king to send him some men to help him build the house. Besides, Thais also have a domestic trade. Traditionally, the care and cultivation of rice is the basic economic feature of Thai culture. Men work in the field and women are busy with their household and with the lighter work of field and garden. To help increase family income, some women are also engaged in a small domestic trade such as selling desserts. This kind of domestic trade is also found in the trickster tale when Srithanonchai's grandmother supports herself by selling desserts.

The third column is the Economics mytheme which consists of three binary oppositions. The first one is between rich and poor: the couple are

rich when they have no children and are poor when they have children. The next one is between laziness and work: Srithanonchai's laziness is seen in his not wanting to take care of his younger brother nor to help his grandmother sell desserts, in contrast to his parents' and his grandmother expectations in wanting him to work. The last binary opposition is between trading and borrowing: Srithanonchai trades with the Chinese king, in contrast to his borrowing the money for his neighbor.

The Economics mytheme reveals a work ethic which is opposed to the laziness of the trickster. All members of the family work in fields as a unit. The children who are not old enough to work in the fields stay home to watch after the younger children. Even though the work is hard, the farmer feels no sense of oppression. He works cheerfully and does not work excessively hard just to accumulate more and more. He is content to earn enough for his family's needs and a little more for contributions to the temple, and a few simple luxuries. When he has more children, he has to work harder. Within the society, people help each other, as seen in the reciprocal work arrangement. If one has a financial problem, he may borrow money from others.

The economic structure is also expressed in the trickster tale when a Chinese merchant comes to trade in Thailand and when Srithanonchai goes to China to trade with the Chinese king. This reflects the fact that in early times Thailand had "a well established commerce with countries contiguous to its frontiers and with China and India" (Blanchard 1958:351).

The fourth column represents the Religion mytheme. There are two binary oppositions found in this mytheme. One is the opposition between death and reincarnation, as Srithanonchai kills his younger brother and his brother is reborn as a Buddhist novice. The next opposition is between Buddhist novice and layman illustrated by Srithanonchai's younger brother, who is reincarnated, and Srithanonchai.

The Religion mytheme reveals the most important aspect of Thai culture. The religion of the Thai is Buddhism, which is embedded in customs, attitudes, traditions, and daily actions. Thai social life revolves around the temple, which is considered to be the most important institution in Thai life. Traditionally, a Thai male is expected to serve as a novice or a monk in the temple for some period of time. This is regarded as the most meritorious act the male who joins the temple in this capacity will be accorded extra respect and deference in his later life. Buddhists believe that the life of each individual is controlled by Karma, the law of Cause and Effect. Each action in each life has its consequences either in this life or some subsequent one. A good act calls for a certain reward

such as prosperity in this world whereas a bad act results in a penalty such as a misfortune in this world. At reincarnation, one suffers the consequences of bad deeds, such as reincarnation in hell or life as an animal. One also enjoys the benefits of good deeds such as birth in heaven or a high position in a future world. An individual may reach the state of Nirvana through his good acts. Nirvana is defined as “an indescribable, immutable state unconditioned by desire, suffering or further rebirth, in which a person simply is, yet is completely at one with his surroundings” (Moore 1974:109). In the concept of Karma, people accumulate merit to improve their chances in a future life. The practice of Buddhism consists largely in acquiring merit. In terms of everyday morality, Buddhists are expected to follow the five moral precepts which prohibit killing, lying, stealing, indulging in intoxicants, and committing adultery. These principles of Buddhism are implicitly embedded in the story. The trickster’s violations of social norms in fact confirm the Buddha’s teachings. His bad acts have bad consequences. The trickster gets punished all through the story. The reincarnation of Srithanonchai’s younger brother suggests that the motivation of this story is to teach the principles of Buddhism.

Knowledge frames in comprehension of the trickster tale. Van Dijk mentions that the complex semantic information of discourse is organized by macrostructures and frames, both of which are closely related. However, he points out that macrostructure and frame are “entirely different notions”. A distinction between these two notions is as follows:

Frames, however, are conventional and general. Most members of a society or culture have approximately the same set of frames. Macrostructures do not have this character. Instead, they are ad hoc information, i.e., the particular global content of a particular discourse (1977a:22).

The notion of macrostructures has been discussed previously. This section aims to present how cultural information which constitutes knowledge frames is necessary in understanding the trickster tale.

The most important knowledge frame that is necessary for the reader to understand the tale is the subtleties of language which are an important trait of Thai culture. The idioms or expressions are the important means that the writer uses to develop the story. All Thai readers share the meanings of these idioms or expressions; therefore, they do not have any trouble in understanding the story. On the other hand, if a foreigner sees the expressions, such as “cleaning somebody’s intestine and abdomen

(cleaning somebody thoroughly)”, he will have difficulty in understanding the story.

Another crucial knowledge frame shared by all members of Thai culture is how to interact with people of different status. In reading the trickster tale, all Thai readers share the following knowledge:

- a. A child should aid in family work;
- b. An individual should be grateful to the one who helps him;
- c. An individual should pay respect to the elders;
- d. An individual should pay respect and be obedient to the king.

Without this knowledge, the reader may fail to understand the story. For example, if the reader does not know that “an individual should pay respect to the elders”, he will not understand why the trickster’s father-in-law is angry when the trickster walks to him and talks loudly to him. At the club, the father-in-law is among his friends, so he expects his son-in-law to pay respect to him by walking on his knees and speaking softly. These practices are considered good manners in typical Thai society.

Finally, knowledge of Buddhism is essential to the comprehension of the trickster tale. It helps the readers understand why the trickster’s parents pray to the Buddhist image for a baby and why they ask a Buddhist monk to name their first child. This knowledge enables the readers to understand the central theme of the story, i.e., the bad consequences of the trickster’s bad acts are the inevitable effect of Karma.

9.2. Summary. This chapter discusses the cultural information conveyed by the text. One should not limit his analysis to the information explicitly expressed, for example, storyline and participant reference. He should also consider the cultural information which is not explicitly stated in the text but can be implied.

Cultural information has been inferred from one particular text, viz., *Srithanonchai*. The analysis of this trickster tale reveals four categories of cultural information, namely, cosmology, social organization, economics, and religion, which are not explicitly stated in the story. On the other hand, they can be inferred from it. The most important aspect of cultural information embedded in this story is religious belief. The trickster’s violations of social norms confirm Thai traditions which are based on Buddha’s teachings. In the last section, it has been discussed how knowledge frames help the hearer/reader understand the trickster tale.

10

Conclusion

Most studies of narrative discourse have focused on languages with clearly marked tense-aspect systems. The present study is the first attempt to analyze the discourse structure of a language without a tense-aspect system. Furthermore, this study is the first attempt to apply the macrorules postulated by van Dijk to a text-reduced-to-storyline in order to construct the macrostructure of the text. This study also confirms the need for a higher level, beyond the sentence analysis. For example, in most cases, the use of zero anaphora is determined by the rank of a participant in a discourse.

The structure of Thai narrative discourse is discussed in respect to the interrelated concerns of macrostructure, constituent structure, and texture. The initial concern was to analyze the macrostructure which, as the main idea or overall conception of a text, exercises a certain control on the content and balance of the text. Next, the profile (the rise and fall of tension within the story), which is part of texture, was examined together with the constituent structure. Other parts of texture, namely, spectrum and participant reference, were then discussed. Spectrum includes two important kinds of discourse information, i.e., nonstoryline and storyline. Storyline and participant reference provide vertical threads of cohesion integrating peripheral material and other references. Finally, the cultural information which is mutually presupposed by both the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader was shown to be crucial to the understanding of the text. Each chapter of this study is now summarized.

Chapter 1 describes the model (Longacre 1983a) and rationale used for this study. In addition, linguistic information is provided for the reader to get a general idea of the Thai language its use in narrative. The sources of data used for this study are also listed.

Chapter 2 discusses macrostructure, which is defined as the global meaning of a discourse (van Dijk 1977a). Macrorules are applied to a specific Thai narrative text to illustrate how to derive a macrostructure. The text is reduced to fifty-five propositions on the storyline. Macrorules apply recursively to these propositions until the most general macrostructure of the text has been reached. This results in three levels of macrostructure.

The next section considers how the grammatico-stylistic features are tied to the gratitude-ingratitude theme of the story. The most striking stylistic feature is the inclusion of atypical events, i.e., the mother dog gives birth to three baby girls instead of three puppies, and the mother dog's corpse turns out to be gold. These atypical events are manifestations of the overall meaning of the story. The choice of participants is also dependent on the main theme of the story and changes of location are motivated by the macrostructure. Finally, a complex dialogue in Episode 4, passive constructions, rhetorical underlinings, the concentration of participants in Peak episode, and a dialogue in Peak' episode, are all devices motivated by the macrostructure.

Chapter 3 deals with the profile of selected narrative discourse with attention to both plot as the notional structure and the surface features. The plot structure guides the hearer/reader in the same direction as the macrostructure does. Except for Final Suspense, Thai narrative discourse has all the notional structure features proposed as universals (Longacre 1983a).—Exposition, Inciting Incident, Developing Conflict, Climax, Denouement, and Conclusion.

The next section discusses eight surface structure constituents, most of which correlate with notional structure features:—Title, Aperture, Stage, Prepeak episodes, Peak, Postpeak episodes, Closure, and Finis.

The final section of this chapter focuses on the paragraph structures which expound the surface constituents of the narrative. Thai paragraphs are classified into nineteen types, and each paragraph type is related to its function in discourse structure in various ways.

In order to develop the plot structure of a text, a storyline is needed to move the story forward. Thai uses grammatical forms to mark a distinction between storyline and nonstoryline. In Chapter 4, the nonstoryline is classified into seven categories, beginning with elements which are removed farthest from the storyline and progressing upward—Cohesion,

Evaluation, Irrealis, Setting, Flashback, Cognitive State, and Background Activities.

Chapter 5 displays four categories of on-the-line verbs—cognitive experience, event proper, motion, and action—split events (temporal overlap) which are classified according to the importance of each event to the overall plot structure, and attempts to rank verb forms and clause types. The salience scheme is concerned basically with main clauses and it proceeds from the highest rank to the lowest rank—storyline, background, flashback, setting (exposition), irrealis, evaluation, and cohesion. Finally, a Thai paragraph is used to illustrate how the salience scheme helps to analyze the Thai paragraph.

The plot structure requires the storyline. It corresponds roughly to the domain of the verb phrases and moves the story forward. However, a text also has the noun phrases (for participants and props) which interweave with the verb phrases. Therefore, the plot structure also requires the noun phrases which refer to participants in a narrative discourse. In chapter 6, participants are ranked according to their importance in the story. The result yields three categories—main, secondary, and tertiary. The importance of each category to the story is measured through the framework of Givón (1983). These include referential distance (lookback) and persistence (decay).

Chapter 7 discusses the grammatical forms used in participant reference—overt and covert. The former includes noun phrases and pronouns and the latter is zero anaphora.

Chapter 8 has to do with the referencing of participants according to rank. The main participant is usually introduced by an indefinite noun phrase in a subject position or by an existential construction. After the second mention, which is frequently by a definite noun phrase, the main participant is represented by a zero anaphor until the chain of zero anaphora is interrupted by any kind of text discontinuity. After the interruption, he is rementioned by an overt form. The secondary participant is typically introduced by an indefinite noun phrase in object or possessive position, although he may be occasionally introduced by an existential construction. When the main participant remains thematic, the secondary participant is encoded by an overt form. However, when the secondary participant is introduced as a locally thematic participant, he is referred to by a zero anaphor. When the main participant is introduced as thematic participant again, the secondary participant is encoded by an overt form. The tertiary is introduced in the same way as the secondary participant. After his introduction, he is mostly encoded by an overt form. He may be referred to by a zero anaphor when he is a locally thematic

participant, but reference to him by a zero anaphor is less frequent than a zero anaphor referring to the secondary participant. This is because the likelihood of a tertiary participant becoming locally thematic is very limited. Finally, a prop is usually introduced in object position, and it is almost always encoded by an overt form.

Chapter 9 presents another aspect of discourse analysis, namely, the role of cultural information. This information may explicitly appear in a story or may be implied by the story. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate how this information is necessarily supplied by the hearer/reader if he is to understand the trickster tale *Sriphanonchai*. Some of the Thai values which lead the reader to interpret the story correctly, identify with it, and like it are made explicit. The analysis is based on the model developed by Levi-Strauss. The final part of this chapter discusses knowledge frames which are necessary for the reader to understand this trickster tale. These knowledge frames include the subtleties of language, how to interact with people of different status, and the knowledge of Buddhism.

This study includes only third person narratives, so the analysis of certain aspects of Thai narrative is limited. For example, the study of zero anaphora is confined to the third person. In fact, there are other kinds of zero anaphora in Thai narrative. Therefore, future analysis of other kinds of Thai narratives, such as first person narrative and first person narrative relayed through another person, will be of considerable interest. Furthermore, most of the texts used for this study are short stories and as such limit the analysis. A study of longer texts should reveal other interesting features which are not present (or only sketchily realized) in this study. For example, long texts may include the notional structure feature Final Suspense which is not found in the texts used here. Lastly, oral narrative texts should be analyzed to compare the structure of oral texts with the structure of written texts.

In the discussion of participant reference, there is no attempt to categorize different kinds of noun phrases and to distinguish between noun phrases and pronouns. All kinds of noun phrases and pronouns are grouped under overt grammatical forms which are distinguished from zero anaphora. This area of study has been left for further research. Finally, the interaction between knowledge frames and comprehension of a story is also a challenging topic for further detailed study. Here fresh ground has been broken recently by Robichaux (1986), whose work was completed a few months before this study.

Appendix

The Texts Used for Detailed Study

Text 1

mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹
 mother dog Nin

P1. *naj¹ ka:n¹ khraŋ⁴ nuŋ² na:n¹ ma:¹ læ:w⁴ jaŋ¹ mi:¹ mæ:³*
 in time CLASS one long come already still there is mother

ma:⁵ ni⁴saj⁵ di:¹ si:⁵dam¹ plɔ:² ju:² tua¹ nuŋ² ʔa:¹saj⁵ ju:² naj¹ khe:²
 dog habbit good black all be CLASS one live be in area

ba:n³ kho:ŋ⁵ cha:w¹muəŋ¹ phu:³mi:¹ʔan¹ca¹kin¹ khon¹ nuŋ²
 house of townspeople wealthy CLASS one

P2. *na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ dam¹ pha¹ja:¹ja:m¹ rap⁴chaj⁴ tho:⁴thæ:n¹ bun¹khun¹ kho:ŋ⁵*
 female dog black try serve repay charity of

caw³kho:ŋ⁵ ba:n³ thaw³ thi:³ man¹ ca² tham¹ daj³ caw³kho:ŋ⁵ ba:n³
 owner house extent that it will do able owner house

thaŋ⁴ pua⁵ mia¹ cuŋ¹ me:³ta:¹ læ⁴ taŋ³chuu:³ man¹ wa:³ nin¹
 all husband wife so kind and name it that Nin

P3. *to:²ma:¹ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ taŋ³tho:ŋ⁴ læ⁴ tho:ŋ⁴ to:¹ khu:n³*
 later mother dog Nin get pregnant and belly big more

thuk⁴wan¹ P4. man¹ khü⁴naj¹caj¹ wa:³ khu:n⁵ ju:² ba:n³ naj¹ kaw²
 everyday it think that persist be house master old

muə³ tok² lu:k³ lu:k³ khoŋ¹ca² maj³ plɔ:²phaj¹ phrɔ⁴ lu:k³lu:k³
 when give birth baby baby may not safe because babies

kho:ŋ⁵ caw³kho:ŋ⁵ ba:n³ kɔ:³ mi:¹ laj⁵ khon¹ læ⁴ jaŋ¹ ʔa:¹ju⁴ nɔ:⁴j⁴
 of owner house AUX is many CLASS and still age little

ʔa:²ca² pen¹ ʔan¹ta¹ra:j¹kæ:² lu:k³ thi:³ kam¹laŋ¹ca² ky:² daj³
 may be danger to baby that about born able

P5. *man¹ cuŋ¹ ni:⁵ ʔɔ:k² ca:k² ba:n³ paj¹ ʔa:¹saj⁵ naj¹*
 it so run away go out from house go live in

phro:ŋ¹maj⁴ jaj² hæ:ŋ² nuŋ² bo:¹ri¹we:n¹ chaj¹ pa:² P6. rak³sa:⁵ tua¹
 hollow of tree big CLASS one area edge forest take care self

læ⁴ ra¹way¹ mi⁴ haj³ ton¹ʔe:ŋ¹ nan⁴ tok² pen¹ jua² kho:ŋ⁵
 and careful not let herself intensifier belong be prey of

saɿ² ɲuən² daɟ³
 animal other possible

P7. *naɟ¹thi:³suɿ² mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ kɔ:³ tok² lu:k³ ɬɔ:k² ma:¹*
 finally mother dog Nin AUX give birth baby out come

pen¹ ma¹nuɿ⁴ læ⁴ pen¹ phu:³jiɯ⁵ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ khon¹ P8. *tham¹haɟ³ man¹*
 be human being and be female all three CLASS cause it

plæ:k²caɟ¹ jiɯ³nak⁴ P9. *tæ:² kɔ:³ maj³khɯ:¹ nuuk⁴ raŋ¹kiat² lu:k³*
 surprise very but AUX never think mind baby

P10. *nuuk⁴najcaɟ¹ wa:³ lu:k³ tua¹ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ khon¹ ɲa:²ca² pen¹ phu:³*
 think that baby CLASS all three CLASS may be who

mi:¹ bun¹ ma:¹ ky:² P11. *cuiŋ¹ fu:m¹fak⁴tha¹nu⁴tha¹nɔ:m⁵ lu:k³ con¹*
 have merit come born so take good care of baby till

suɿ² chi:¹wiɿ⁴ P12. *haɟ³lu:k³ kin¹ nom¹ khɔ:⁵ tua¹ con¹ tv:p²jaɟ²*
 extreme life let baby eat milk of self till grow up

tɔ:³ ja:² nom¹
 must wean milk

P13. *mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ cuiŋ¹ tɔ:³ paj¹ sa¹wæ:ŋ⁵ha:⁵ ɲa:¹ha:n⁵ ma:¹ liaŋ⁴*
 mother dog Nin so must go find food come feed

lu:k³ pen¹ pra¹cam¹ thuk⁴thuk⁴wan¹ wan¹ la⁴ thuŋ⁵sa:m⁵ muu:⁴ P14. *suan²*
 baby be regular every day day each to three meal as for

tua¹ɲe:ŋ¹ nan⁴ jɔ:m¹ ɬoɿ² muu:⁴ kin¹ muu:⁴ P15. *haɟ³lu:k³ daɟ³ kin¹*
 herself intensifier let starved meal eat meal let baby able eat

ɲim² kɔ:n² P16. *maj³jɔ:m¹ haɟ³ lu:k³ ɬɔ:k² ma:¹ca:k² phro:ŋ¹maj⁴*
 full first refuse let baby come from hollow of tree

P17. *thuk⁴wan¹ kɔ:n² thi:³ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ ca² ɬɔ:k² paj¹ ha:⁵*
 every day before that mother dog Nin will out go find

ɲa:¹ha:n⁵ man¹ ca² paj¹ thiaw³ kha:p³ kiŋ²maj⁴ ma:¹ piɿ²
 food it will go wander hold in mouth branch come cover

phro:ŋ¹ton³maj⁴ waj⁴ phua³mi⁴ haɟ³saɿ² ɲuən² ma:¹ raŋ¹kæ:¹ ru:⁵
 hollow of tree keep for not let animal other come pick on or

tham¹ra:j⁴ lu:k³ khɔ:ŋ⁵ ton¹
harm baby of self

P18. *con¹kra¹than³ lu:k³sa:w⁵ than⁴ sa:m⁵ tv:p²jaj² phɔ:¹ca² ʔɔ:k² cak²*
until daughter all three grow up enough go out from

phro:ŋ¹maj⁴ daj³ doj¹ plo:t²phaj¹ phrɔ⁴ to:¹ ma:k³ ru:⁴cak²
hollow of tree able with safety because grow up very know

ra¹waj¹ tua¹ dek²sa:w⁵ than⁴ sa:m⁵ kɔ:³ ʔɔ:k² ca:k² phro:ŋ¹maj⁴
careful self girl all three AUX go out from hollow of tree

thiaw³ chuaj³ mæ:³ ha:⁵ ʔa:¹ha:n⁵ læ⁴ ha:⁵ baj¹maj⁴ ma:¹pok²pir²
wander help mother find food and find leave come cover

ra:ŋ³ka:j¹
body

P19. *ju:²ma:¹ wan¹nuŋ² mi:¹ naj¹phra:n¹ khon¹ nuŋ² ʔɔ:k² ma:¹*
till one day there is hunter CLASS one out come

la:³ sat² P20. hen⁵ dek²phu:³jiŋ⁵ sa:m⁵ khon¹ nuŋ³hom² baj¹maj⁴
hunt animal see girl three CLASS dress leave

kan¹ ju:² bɔ:¹ri:¹we:n¹ ton³maj⁴ jaj² P21. cuŋ¹ faw³ʔæp²du:¹ ju:²
together be area tree big so keep peeking in progress

khru:³jaj²
moment

P22. *sak²khru:³ læ:¹hen⁵ ma:⁵ dam¹ tua¹ nuŋ² kha:p³ kra¹taj²*
moment see dog black CLASS one hold in mouth rabbit

ma:¹ haj³ dek² sa:m⁵ khon¹ P23. dek² wiŋ³ ma:¹ ha:⁵ ma:⁵ rap⁴
come give child three CLASS child run come toward dog take

kra¹taj² paj¹ chi:k² bæ:ŋ² kin¹ ja:ŋ²ʔa:¹re:²ʔa:¹rɔ:²
rabbit go tear share eat deliciously

P24. *naj¹phra:n¹ nuuk⁴ daw¹ ruaj³ wa:³ na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ dam¹ khon¹*
hunter think guess story that female dog black may

kha¹mo:j¹ dek² ma:¹ lian⁴ waj⁴ P25. cuŋ¹ pha¹ja:¹ja:m¹ca² ha:⁵ tha:ŋ¹
steal child come take care keep so try find way

tham¹ khwa:m¹sa¹nit²sa¹nom⁵ kap² na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ læ⁴ dek² than⁴ sa:m⁵
make acquaintance with female dog and child all three

doj¹ ɾaw¹ kɔn³nua⁴ ma:¹ ɾæp² waŋ¹ haj³ naŋ¹ ma:⁵ kha:p³
by take meat loaf come hide put let female dog hold in mouth

paj¹ liaŋ⁴ dek² laj⁵la:j⁵ wan¹ tit²tit² kan¹
go feed child many day successively

P26. con¹ naj¹thi:³sut² naj¹phra:n¹ kɔ:³ pra:¹ko²tua¹ sa¹dæ:ŋ¹
till finally hunter AUX appear self express

khwa:m¹pen¹mit⁴ P27. læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ nam¹ na:ŋ¹ ma:⁵ nin¹ læ⁴ dek² nɔj⁴
friendliness and then take female dog Nin and child little

thaŋ⁴sa:m⁵ paj¹liaŋ⁴ waj⁴thi:³ ba:n⁴ con¹kra¹thaŋ³ tɔ:p²to:¹ pen¹ sa:w⁵
all three go take care keep at house until grow up be woman

P28. dek² thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ mi:¹ ni⁴sa:j⁵ tæ:k²ta:ŋ² kan¹ ma:k³ P29. khon¹to:¹
child all three have habit different each very eldest

khi:³ɾa:j¹ maj³khɔ:j³ phu:³ P30. khon¹kla:ŋ¹ du²ra:j⁴ P31. læ⁴ khon¹lek⁴
shy hardly speak middle mean and youngest

phu:³ca:¹ phaj¹ɾɔ⁴ ɾɔn²wa:n⁵ læ⁴ phu:³ tæ:² khwa:m¹ciŋ¹
speak beautifully sweetly and speak only truth

P32. tɔ:²ma:¹ mi:¹ phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ læ⁴ phra⁴ɾo:¹rot⁴ ɾɔ:k² ma:¹ pra¹pha:t³
later is king and prince out come travel

pa:² la:³ sar² thuŋ⁵ sa:m⁵ muan¹ P33. ca:k² muan¹ nua⁵ khu:³
forest hunt animal to three town from town north couple

nuŋ² P34. thi:⁴taj³ khu:³ nuŋ² P35. læ⁴ ta¹wan¹ɾɔ:k² ɾi:k² khu:³ nuŋ²
one south couple one and east more couple one

P36. kvɛ:² loŋ⁵tha:ŋ¹ thaŋ⁴ hok² loŋ¹
happen get lost all six CLASS

P37. naj¹phra:n¹ paj¹ phop⁴ caw³cha:j¹ sa:m⁵ loŋ¹ khaw³ cuŋ¹
hunter go meet prince three CLASS chance so

thu:n¹chv:n¹ ma:¹ phak⁴ thi:³ ba:n³ P38. phra⁴ɾo:¹rot⁴ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ hen⁵
invite come stay at house prince all three see

lu:k³sa:w⁵ ma:⁵ nin¹ kɔ:³ phɔ:¹phra⁴thaj¹ P39. ta:ŋ² sa¹mak² rak⁴khraj³ kan¹
daughter dog Nin AUX like each willing love each

*pen*¹ *sa:m*⁵ *khu:*³
be three couple

P40. *khra:n*⁴ *thu:n*⁵ *we:*¹*la:*¹ *thi:*³ *ca*² *tɔ:ŋ*³ *klap*² *mu:an*¹ *tha:n*⁴ *sa:m*⁵
when come time that will must return town all three

*khu:*³ *ta:ŋ*² *ko:*³ *sa:*¹*dæ:ŋ*¹ *khwa:m*¹*pa:*¹*la:*¹*rak*⁴ P41. *ta:ŋ*² *san*⁵*ja:*¹ *haj*³
couple each then show not want separate each promise give

*kham*¹*man*³ *su:ŋ*³*kan*¹*læ:*⁴*kan*¹ P42. *caw*³*chaj*¹ *tha:n*⁴ *sa:m*⁵ *rap*⁴*pa:k*² *wa:*³
word each other prince all three promise that

*mu:an*³ *paj*¹ *thu:n*¹*khɔ:*⁵ *la:*¹*nu:*⁴*ja:*³ *phra*⁴*bi:*²*da:*¹ *læ*⁴ *ma:n*¹*da:*¹ *læ:w*⁴
when go ask permission father and mother already

*ca*² *klap*² *ma:*¹ *rap*⁴ *na:ŋ*¹ *tha:n*⁴ *sa:m*⁵ *paj*¹ *se:k*²*som*⁵*rot*⁴ P43. *phɔ:*¹
will return come get woman all three go marry when

*caw*³*chaj*¹ *tha:n*⁴*sa:m*⁵ *klap*² *paj*¹ *læ:w*⁴ *naj*¹*phra:n*¹ *kap*² *mæ:*³ *ma:*⁵
prince all three return go already hunter and mother dog

*nin*¹ *cun*¹ *khuj*¹ *kan*¹ P44. *naj*¹*phra:n*¹ *bo:k*² *mæ:*³ *ma:*⁵ *nin*¹ *wa:*³
Nin then talk together hunter tell mother dog Nin that

*ha:k*² *kra*¹*buan*¹*hæ:*² *tha:ŋ*¹ *naj*¹ *mu:an*¹ *ɔ:k*² *ma:*¹ *rap*⁴ *khɔ:*⁵*haj*³ *na:ŋ*¹
if procession side in town out come get ask female

*ma:*⁵ *nin*¹ *sa:*¹*dæ:ŋ*¹ *tua*¹ *pen*¹ *mæ:*³ *phrɔ:*⁴ *li:an*⁴ *dek*² *ma:*¹
dog Nin reveal self be mother because rear child come

P45. *na:ŋ*¹ *ma:*⁵ *dam*¹ *ko:*³ *maj*³*jo:m*¹ *la:ŋ*³ *wa:*³ “*naj*¹*phra:n*¹
female dog black AUX refuse argue that hunter

*nan*³*læ*² *ɔ:p*²*pa:*¹*ka:*¹*ra:*⁴ *chan*⁵ *læ*⁴ *lu:k*³ *ma:*¹ *maj*³*chen*³*nan*⁴ *chan*⁵ *læ*⁴
intensifier take care me and child come or else I and

*lu:k*³ *la:*²*ca*² *ta:*¹ *sia*⁵ *ko:n*² *ko:*³ *pen*¹ *daj*³”
child may die Fp before AUX be possible

P46. *læ:w*⁴ *caw*³*chaj*¹ *tha:n*⁴ *sa:m*⁵ *ko:*³ *sa:*¹*det*² *ma:*¹ *rap*⁴ *na:ŋ*¹
then prince all three AUX return come get woman

*læ*⁴ *chuan*¹ *naj*¹*phra:n*¹ *paj*¹ *ju:*² *sia*⁵ *naj*¹ *wa:n*¹
and persuade hunter go live Fp in palace

P47. *naj*¹*phra:n*¹ *maj*³*jo:m*¹ *paj*¹ *phrɔ:*⁴ *pen*¹*huan*² *na:ŋ*¹ *ma:*⁵ *nin*¹
hunter refuse go because worry female dog Nin

P48. *cuŋ¹ pa¹ti¹se:t²*
so refuse

P49. *naj¹thi:³sut² lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹to:¹ kɔ:³ paj¹ ju:² kap² ra:t³cha¹lo:¹rot⁴*
finally daughter eldest AUX go live with prince

muay¹ tha:ŋ¹ taj³ P50. khon¹kla:ŋ¹ paj¹ ta¹wan¹lo:k² P51. læ⁴ khon¹lek⁴
town way south middle go east and youngest

paj¹ ju:² kap² ra:t³cha¹lo:¹rot⁴ tha:ŋ¹ muay¹ nua⁵
go live with prince way town north

P52. *sa:w⁵ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ khon¹ paj¹ ju:² kap² ra:t³cha¹lo:¹rot⁴*
woman all three CLASS go live with prince

ja:ŋ²mi:¹khwa:m¹suk² P53. con¹kra¹thaŋ³mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ kæ:²tua¹ loŋ¹ læ⁴
happily until mother dog Nin old down and

mi:¹ khwa:m¹khui⁴thuŋ⁵ lu:k³ pen¹ tha¹wi:¹khu:n¹ kvɛ:² la:¹kan¹ kin¹ maj³
have miss child be a lot happen symptom eat not

daj³ nɔ:n¹ maj³ lap² P54. cuŋ¹khui⁴ ca² paj¹ jiam³ lu:k³ P55. nam¹
able sleep not sleep so think will go visit child take

khwa:m¹ khu:n³ pruk²sa:⁵ naj¹phra:n¹
thought up consult hunter

P56. *naj¹phra:n¹ mi:¹ khwa:m¹hen⁵caj¹ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ ma:k³*
hunter have sympathy mother dog Nin very

P57. *cuŋ¹ tok²loŋ¹ jo:m¹rap⁴pa:k² pha:¹ mæ:³ ma:⁵ lo:k² dv:n¹tha:ŋ¹*
so agree promise take mother dog go out travel

paj¹ jiam³ lu:k³ thaŋ⁴ sa:m⁵ thi:⁴
go visit child all three direction

P58. *rv:m³ ca:k² ka:n¹paj¹ jiam³ lu:k³ khon¹to:¹ ca:k² tha:ŋ¹ thi:⁴taj³*
start from going visit child eldest from way south

kɔ:n² P59. lu:k³sa:w⁵ kɔ:³ sa¹dæ:ŋ¹ tha:³tha:ŋ¹ ray¹kiat² maj³ son⁵caj¹
first daughter AUX express manner aversion not interested

tɔ:n³rap⁴ mæ:³ P60. mæ:³ ma:⁵ kre:ŋ¹ wa:³ lu:k³ ca² kha:j⁵na:³
welcome mother mother dog afraid that child will lose face

P61. *cuŋ¹ chuan¹ naj¹phra:n¹ dv:n¹tha:ŋ¹ to:² paj¹ ha:⁵ lu:k³*
so persuade hunter travel continue go see child

khon¹kla:ŋ¹ suw³ ju.² tha:ŋ¹ thi⁴ta¹wan¹ɔ:k² ra:t³cha¹lo:¹rot⁴
middle who live way east prince

P62. *faj² luk³sa:w⁵ khon¹to:¹ kɔ:³ soŋ² ma:⁴rew¹ paj¹ bɔ:k² nɔ:ŋ⁴*
as for daughter eldest AUX send messenger go tell sister

khon¹kla:ŋ¹ wa:³ mæ:³ ca² ma:¹ ha:⁵ P63. *na:ŋ¹ luk³sa:w⁵*
middle that mother will come see female daughter

khon¹kla:ŋ¹ cuŋ¹ saŋ² bɔ:¹ri¹wa:n¹ waj⁴ wa:³ "ŋeŋ¹ ja:² jɔ:m¹haj³ ma:⁵
middle so order retinue keep that you not let let dog

maj³wa:³ phu:³ ru:⁵ mia¹ khaw³ ma:¹ naj¹ phra⁴ra:t³cha¹tha:n⁵ pen¹lan¹kha:t²
either male or female enter come in palace absolutely

khraj¹ bok²phrɔŋ³ ca² pra¹ha:n⁵ chi:¹wit⁴ sia⁵" P64. *phɔ:¹ naj¹phra:n¹ kap²*
who fail will execute life Fp when hunter and

mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ ma:¹thuŋ⁵ bɔ:¹ri¹we:n¹ waj¹ cuŋ¹ thu:k² ha:m³ læ⁴
mother dog Nin reach area palace so PASS forbid and

khap²la:j³
dismiss

P65. *naj¹phra:n¹ cam¹tɔ:ŋ³ khɔ:⁵haj³ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ khɔ:j¹ ju:² thi:³*
hunter have to ask mother dog Nin wait to be at

pra¹tu:¹ muaw¹ P66. *suan² tua¹ŋe:ŋ¹ nan⁴ kɔ:³ khɔ:⁵ khaw³faw³*
gate town as for himself intensifier AUX ask see

P67. *muaw³ phop⁴ kap² luk³sa:w⁵ khon¹kla:ŋ¹ læ:w⁴ naj¹phra:n¹ kɔ:³*
when meet with daughter middle already hunter AUX

law³ wa:³ ton¹ pha:¹ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ ma:¹ faw³ P68. *na:ŋ¹luk³sa:w⁵*
tell that he take mother dog Nin come see daughter

daj³faj¹ kɔ:³ dv:n¹ khaw³ hɔ:ŋ³ paj¹ saŋ² na:ŋ¹kam¹nan¹ haj³ law¹
hear AUX walk enter room go order maid let take

nam⁴rɔ:n⁴ paj¹ sa:t² rot⁴ mæ:³ ma:⁵ thi:³ khɔ:j¹ ju:² thi:³ pra¹tu:¹muaw¹
hot water go throw water mother dog that wait be at gate town

P69. *mæ:³ ma:⁵ daj³rap⁴ khwa:m¹cep²puat² ruat³ra:w⁴ sa:⁵hat²*
mother dog receive excruciating pain serious

P70. *wiŋ³ ni:⁵ paj¹ suk⁴sɔ:n³ tua¹* P71. *rɔ:ŋ⁴ khruan¹khra:ŋ¹ ju:² naj¹*
run away go hide body moan unceasing be in

thi:³ lap⁴ta:¹ khon¹
place out of sight people

P72. *muu³ saŋ² khon¹ ʔaw¹ nam⁴ɾɔŋ⁴ paj¹ ra:³ mæ:³ khɔŋ⁵*
when order someone take hot water go throw mother of

ton¹ læw⁴ na:ŋ¹lu:k³sa:w⁵ kɔ:³ klap² ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ tɔ:n³rap⁴ naj¹phra:n¹
self already daughter AUX return out come welcome hunter

haj³ paj¹ nam¹ mæ:³ khɔŋ⁵ tua¹ khaw³ paj¹ phop⁴
let go take mother of self enter go see

P73. *naj¹phra:n¹ ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ thi:³ pra¹tu:¹ muan¹* P74. *maj³ læ:¹hen⁵*
hunter out come at gate town not see

mæ:³ ma:⁵ kɔ:³ ʔɔ:k² thiaw³ ta:m¹ ha:⁵ P75. *daj³jin¹ siaŋ⁵ ɾɔŋ⁴*
mother dog AUX go out wander follow find hear sound cry

khruan¹khra:ŋ¹ ca:k² sɔ:k³ kam¹phæ:ŋ¹ cuŋ¹ dɔ:n¹ khaw³ paj¹du:¹
wailing from narrow passage wall so walk enter gosee

P76. *hen⁵ mæ:³ ma:⁵ thu:k² nam⁴ɾɔŋ⁴ luak³ ʔa:¹kan¹ sa:⁵ha:²*
see mother dog PASS hot water scald symptom serious

na:³som⁵phe:³ P77. *naj¹phra:n¹ tɔ:ŋ³ bæ:k² mæ:³ ma:⁵ saj² ba:²*
poorly hunter have carry mother dog put on shoulder

paj¹ ha:⁵ lu:k³ khon¹su²thɔ:ŋ⁴ ta:m¹ pa¹ni⁴tha:n¹ dɔ:m¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵
go see daughter youngest according will former of

mæ:³ ma:⁵ P78. *ʔɔ:k² dɔ:n¹tha:ŋ¹ muŋ³ paj¹ jaŋ¹ thi:⁴nua⁵ thi:³ju:²*
mother dog go out travel head go to north residence

khɔ:ŋ⁵ lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴
of daughter youngest

P79. *lu:k³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴ khra:n⁴ ru:⁴ wa:³ mæ:³ ma:¹ ha:⁵ kɔ:³*
daughter youngest when know that mother come see AUX

di:¹caj¹ P80. *ʔɔ:k² ma:¹ tɔ:n³rap⁴ naj¹phra:n¹ læ⁴ mæ:³ thuŋ⁵ nɔ:k³*
glad out come welcome hunter and mother to outside

way¹ P81. *muu³ ma:¹ hen⁵ mæ:³ ma:⁵ nin¹ puaj² ju:² kɔ:³ paj¹*
palace when come see mother dog Nin sick still AUX go

ta:m¹ mɔ:⁵ ma:¹ rak³sa:⁵ haj³ P82. *than⁴ thu:n¹ khwa:m¹ciŋ¹ tɔ:² caw³chaj¹*
get doctor come cure BEN also tell truth to prince

sa¹wa:⁵mi:¹ P83. *khɔ:⁵* *ɭa¹nu⁴ja:³* *ɭaw¹* *mæ:³* *khaw³* *ma:¹* *liəŋ⁴* *naj¹*
 husband ask permission take mother enter come take care in

waŋ¹ P84. *phra⁴sa¹wa:⁵mi:¹* *ko:³* *soŋ¹ɭa¹nu⁴ja:³* *duaŋ³* *khwa:¹chom¹chv:¹*
 palace husband AUX allow with admire

na:ŋ¹duaŋ³ *khwa:¹phɔ:¹phra⁴thaj¹*
 her with willingness

P85. *naj¹phra.n¹* *læ⁴* *mæ:³* *ma:⁵* *nin¹* *cuaŋ¹* *ju:²* *naj¹* *waŋ¹* *duaŋ³*
 hunter and mother dog Nin so live in palace with

khwa:¹suk² *daj³* *pi:¹* *se:²* P86. *mæ:³* *ma:⁵* *nin¹* *ko:³* *kæ:²* *taŋ¹*
 happiness for year over mother dog Nin AUX old die

paj¹le:ŋ¹ P87. *na:ŋ¹lu:³sa:⁵* *khon¹lek⁴* *saŋ²* *tɔ:²* *lo:ŋ¹* *kæ:³* *ban¹cu²*
 by itself daughter youngest order make coffin glass keep

sop² *mæ:³* *waŋ⁴* *sak²ka:¹ra⁴bu:¹cha:¹* *pen¹pra¹cam¹*
 corpse mother keep worship regularly

P88. *wan¹nuŋ²* *khə¹na:²thi:³* *na:ŋ¹* *cɔ:ŋ³mɔ:ŋ¹* *du:¹* *sa:k³sop²* *khɔ:⁵* *mæ:³*
 one day while she stare see corpse of mother

duaŋ³ *khwa:¹khɪ:⁴thuŋ⁵* *nan⁴* *pra:¹ko:²* *wa:³* *sop²* *mæ:³* *ma:⁵* *nin¹*
 with miss intensifier appear that corpse mother dog Nin

daj³ *kla:¹pen¹* *thɔ:ŋ¹* *paj¹than⁴* *tua¹* P89. *cuaŋ¹* *wiŋ³* *paj¹* *thu:¹* *sa¹wa:⁵mi:¹*
 get become gold go all body so run go tell husband

P90. *muu:³* *caw³cha:¹* *thɔ:³phra⁴ne:³* *hen⁵* *khwa:¹ciŋ¹ko:³* *tra:²chom¹* *cha:¹ja:¹*
 when prince look see truth AUX admire wife

wa:³ *“thi:³* *pen¹* *chen³* *ni:⁴* *ko:³* *phrɔ:⁴* *ræ:ŋ¹ka¹tan¹ju:¹* *khɔ:⁵nɔ:ŋ⁴* *thi:³*
 that that be like this AUX because gratitude of you that

mi:¹ *tɔ:²* *mæ:³* *khɔ:⁵* *nɔ:ŋ⁴* *coŋ¹* *ca¹ry:¹* *tɔ:²paj¹”*
 have to mother beg you be prosperous go on

P91. *kha:²* *mæ:³* *ma:⁵* *nin¹* *kla:¹pen¹* *thɔ:ŋ¹* *ru:⁴* *paj¹* *thuŋ⁵* *hu:⁵*
 news mother dog Nin become gold know go to ear

phi:³ *than⁴sɔ:ŋ⁵* P92. *na:ŋ¹* *cuaŋ¹* *dy:¹tha:¹* *ma:¹* *ha:⁵* *nɔ:ŋ⁴sa:⁵* P93. *khɔ:⁵*
 sister all two they so travel come see sister ask

bæ:ŋ² *kra¹du:²* *paj¹* *bu:¹cha:¹* *khon¹* *la⁴* *suan²* *thaw³thaw³kan¹*
 share bone go worship CLASS each portion equally

P94. *naŋ¹luk³sa:w⁵ khon¹lek⁴ ko:³ bæ:ŋ² haj³ duaj³ khwa:m¹tem¹caj¹*
 daughter youngest AUX share give with willingness

P95. *tæ:² pho:¹ paj¹ thuŋ⁵ ba:n³muaj¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵ ton¹ kra¹du:k² ko:³ kla:j¹pen¹*
 but when go to town of self bone AUX become

kra¹du:k² tham¹ma¹da:¹ duaj³ khwa:m¹maj³ka¹tan¹ju:¹ tɔ:² mæ:³ nan³le:ŋ¹
 bone ordinary because ingratitude to mother intensifier

The Mother Dog Called Nin

P1. Once upon a time, there was a good black mother dog living in the area of a wealthy man's house.

P2. In order to express her gratitude, the black dog tried to serve the owner of the house and his wife as best as she could. Therefore, both of them were kind to her and named her Nin (black).

P3. Later on, the mother dog Nin was pregnant and her belly grew bigger everyday. P4. She thought that if she still lived at this house, when her babies were born, they would not be safe because the owner of the house had many young children who might harm her babies.

P5. So, she ran away from home and lived in the hollow of a tree at the edge of a forest. P6. She took good care of herself and was careful not to let herself be a prey of other animals.

P7. Finally, Nin gave birth to three female humans. P8. She was very surprised. P9. However, she did not mind. P10. She thought that her three babies might be incarnate good souls. P11. Therefore, she took good care of her babies. P12. She breastfed them until they weaned.

P13. Then, Nin needed to find food for her children for three meals every day. P14. She let herself starve. P15. She let her babies eat first. P16. She never let them go out of the hollow tree.

P17. Everyday, before Nin went to find food, she covered the hollow of the tree with some branches in order to prevent her babies from being attacked by other animals.

P18. Until the three girls were big enough to take care of themselves and to go out of their place safely, they went out of the hollow to help their mother find food and also to get some leaves for dressing.

P19. One day, a hunter went out to hunt animals. P20. He saw three girls dressed in leaves playing at a big tree. P21. He hid and watched them for a moment.

P22. For a moment, he saw a black dog holding a rabbit in its mouth and taking the rabbit to the children. P23. The children ran to the dog and took the rabbit to eat.

P24. The hunter guessed that the black mother dog might have stolen the children from someone. P25. Therefore, he tried to get acquainted with them by leaving a piece of meat for the dog every day in order that the dog could take it to feed her children.

P26. Finally, the hunter let them see him and expressed his friendliness. P27. Then, he took Nin and all three little children home where they lived until the three girls grew up to be women.

P28. The three women had different personal habits. P29. The eldest one was shy and not talkative. P30. The younger one was mean. P31. The youngest one talked sweetly and always told the truth.

P32. Later, there were kings and princes from three kingdoms going out into the forest for hunting. P33. One couple came from north. P34. One couple came from south. P35. One couple came from east. P36. All of them got lost.

P37. The hunter came across the three princes so he invited them to come (and) stay at (his) house. P38. The princes saw the girls, then they liked them. P39. Each prince fell in love with one of the girls.

P40. When it was time that the princes must go home, all three couples showed that they did not want to separate. P41. Each one promised the other. P42. The princes promised that after they got a permission for marriage from their parents, they would come back to marry the girls.

P43. When the princes went back home, the hunter talked to Nin. P44. He told Nin if the royal procession came here, he wanted Nin to reveal herself as the mother because she was the one who reared the girls.

P45. The black dog refused, saying, "It was the hunter who took care of me and my children or else we might have died by now."

P46. And then, the princes came to get the girls and persuaded the hunter to live at the palace. P47. The hunter did not want to go because he was concern for Nin, P48. so he refused.

P49. Finally, the eldest daughter went to live with the prince in the south. P50. The second daughter went east. P51. And the youngest daughter went north.

P52. The three girls lived with the princes with happiness. P53. Until Nin was getting old and missed her daughters so much that she had the symptom that she could not eat or sleep. P54. Therefore, she thought about going to visit her daughters. P55. She went to consult the hunter.

P56. The hunter was sympathetic to her. P57. Therefore, he agreed to take the mother dog to visit her children by taking her into three directions

P58. They started by going to see the eldest daughter in the south. P59. The eldest daughter expressed an aversion toward her mother and did not welcome her mother. P60. The mother dog was afraid that her daughter would be ashamed of her. P61. Therefore, she persuaded the hunter to go to the east to visit the second daughter.

P62. The eldest daughter then sent a messenger to go to tell the younger sister that the mother dog was not come to see (her). P63. So the second daughter ordered (her) retinue that "Don't let any male or female dog come into the palace. Whoever fails to do so will be executed." P64. Therefore, when the hunter and Nin reached the palace, they were forbidden to go in.

P65. Then, the hunter had to ask Nin to wait at the gate of the palace. P66. As for himself, he asked to see Nin's daughter.

P67. When the hunter met the daughter, he told her Nin came to see her. P68. (When) the daughter heard, she walked to the room to order her maid to throw hot water on the mother dog who was waiting at the gate.

P69. The mother dog was seriously in pain. P70. She ran to hide herself. P71. She cried in a hidden place.

P72. When she told someone to throw hot water on her mother, **the daughter came back to welcome the hunter and told him to get Nin.**

P73. **The hunter came out at the gate.** P74. He did not see the mother dog, then searched for her. P75. **He heard Nin wailing from the alley of the wall; therefore he went there.** P76. He saw that the mother dog was scalded with hot water, the symptom was serious.

P77. **The hunter had to carry the mother dog on his shoulder to go to see the youngest daughter according to the mother dog's original intention.** P78. They went north to the residence of the youngest daughter.

P79. When the youngest daughter knew that her mother came to see her, she was glad. P80. **She came out from the palace to greet the hunter and her mother.** P81. When (she) saw the mother dog Nin being sick, (she) **went to get a doctor to cure her.** P82. **She also told the truth to the prince.** P83. She asked him for his permission to let her mother live in the palace. P84. **Her husband willingly allowed her to do so.**

P85. The hunter and Nin lived in the palace with happiness for a year. P86. **Then, Nin died.** P87. **The youngest daughter ordered someone to make a glass coffin for keeping (her) mother's corpse in order that she could worship her.**

P88. One day while she was looking at her mother's corpse, **it happened that the corpse of the mother dog Nin became gold all over.** P89. **She ran to tell her husband.** P90. When the prince saw what had happened, he admired her that **"What happens here is due to your gratitude toward your mother. Be prosperous."**

P91. **The news of the gold corpse reached the elder sisters.** P92. They came to see their youngest sister. P93. They asked to share some bones in order that they could worship the bones. P94. **The youngest daughter willingly gave them the bones.**

P95. But when (the two daughters) reached their towns, **the gold bones turned out to be ordinary bones because of their ingratitude.**

Text 2

ruaŋ³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹
 story Srithanonchai

1. mi:¹ sa:⁵mi:¹ phan¹ra¹ja:¹ ram³ruaj¹ khu:³ nuŋ² maj³ mi:¹ lu:k³
 is husband wife rich couple one not have child

2. wan¹nuŋ² sa:⁵mi:¹ phan¹ra¹ja:¹ khu:³ ni:⁴ daj³ bon¹ba:n¹sa:n⁵kla.w²
 one day husband wife couple this get pray

tɔ:² phra⁴
 to Buddhist Image

3. naj¹thi:³sur² kɔ:³ som⁵pra:t²tha¹na:⁵ sa:⁵mi:¹ phan¹ra¹ja:¹ daj³
 finally AUX wish comes true husband wife get

lu:k³chaj¹ khon¹ ræ:k³
 son CLASS first

4. phra⁴ taŋ³chuu:³ wa:³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹
 monk name that Srithanonchai

5. phra⁴ tham¹na:j¹ wa:³ pen¹ khon¹ mi:¹ pan¹ja:¹lak²læm⁵ læ⁴
 monk foretell that be person have intelligence and

ca² daj³ pen¹ naj¹ tæ:² phɔ:³ mæ:³ ca² lam¹bak²
 will get be master but father mother will trouble

6. tɔ:²ma:¹ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ mi:¹ nɔ:ŋ⁴
 later Srithanonchai have younger brother

7. phɔ:³ mæ:³ kɔ:³ ja:k³con¹ loŋ¹ læ⁴ tɔ:ŋ³ tam¹ŋa:n¹
 father mother AUX poor down and have work

ʔa:p²ŋua²ta:ŋ²nam⁴
 very hard

8. wan¹nuŋ² kɔ:n²thi:³ phɔ:³ mæ:³ ca² ʔɔ:k² paj¹ tham¹ŋa:n¹ daj³
 one day before father mother will out go work get

bɔ:k² si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ haj³ liaŋ⁴ nɔ:ŋ⁴ haj³ di:¹ ʔa:p²nam⁴
 tell Srithanonchai let take care younger brother let well bathe

la:ŋ⁴ tho:ŋ⁴ la:ŋ⁴ sa:j³ haj³ sa¹ʔa:t²
 clean abdomen clean intestine let clean

9. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ khi:³ kiat² lian⁴ nɔ:⁴ ni:⁴ ka:³ca:²ni:⁴ khaw⁵*
 Srithanonchai lazy take care younger brother besides he

jan¹ kliat² nɔ:⁴ phrɔ:⁴ phɔ:³ mæ:³ son⁵caj¹ nɔ:⁴
 also hate younger brother because father mother interested younger brother

ma:k³kwa:² ton¹
 more than him

10. *khaw⁵ cun¹ ʔit²cha:⁵ læ⁴ maj³phɔ:¹caj¹ mua³ phɔ:³ mæ:³ saŋ²*
 he so jealous and resent when father mother order

haj³ lian⁴ nɔ:⁴
 let take care younger brother

11. *khaw⁵ khi:⁴ kon¹ʔu¹ba:¹ do:¹ tham¹ta:¹m¹ thi:³ phɔ:³ mæ:³ ba:k²*
 he think trick by follow that father mother tell

thuk⁴pra¹ka:¹n¹
 everything

12. *phɔ:³ mæ:³ klap² ba:n³ phop⁴ lu:k³ nɔ:n¹ naj¹ ple:¹*
 father mother return home find baby sleep in cradle

13. *tæ:² phɔ:¹ pɜ:² pha:³ du:¹ hen⁵ lu:k³ thu:² pha:² tho:⁴*
 but when open blanket look see baby PASS cut abdomen

tho:⁴ saj³ thu:² la:⁴ sa:¹ʔa:²
 abdomen intestines PASS to clean clean

14. *phɔ:³ mæ:³ tha:⁵ wa:³ khraj¹ tham¹ nɔ:⁴*
 father mother ask that who do younger brother

15. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ tɔ:p² wa:³ kɔ:³ phɔ:³ mæ:³ saŋ² haj³*
 Srithanonchai answer that AUX father mother order let

la:⁴ saj³ la:⁴ tho:⁴ nɔ:⁴
 to clean intestines to clean abdomen younger brother

16. *phɔ:³ mæ:³ kro:² ma:k³ ti:¹ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ læ⁴ la:³ khaw⁵*
 father mother angry very hit Srithanonchai and drive him

ʔɔ:k² ca:k² ba:n³
 out from house

17. *mua³ cha:w¹ba:n³ ru:⁴ wa:³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ kha:³ nɔ:⁴*
 when villager know that Srithanonchai kill younger brother

kɔː³ ʔaw¹ kɔn³ hin⁵ paː¹ læ⁴ laj³ tiː¹ ʔɔːk² ca:k² muː² ban³
 AUX take stone throw and drive hit out from village

18. *siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ paj¹ juː² kap² jaj¹ sun³ miː¹ ʔaː¹ chiːp³*
 Srithanonchai go live with grandmother who have job

kha:j⁵ kha¹ nom⁵
 sell dessert

19. *jaj¹ haj³ siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ chuaj³ kha:j⁵ kha¹ nom⁵*
 grandmother let Srithanonchai help sell dessert

20. *khraŋ⁴ ræ:k³ siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ kɔː³ kha:j⁵ daj³ diː¹ jaj¹*
 at first Srithanonchai AUX sell able well grandmother

kɔː³ haj³ kha:w³ kin¹ paj¹ wan¹ nuŋ²
 AUX give rice eat go each day

21. *siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ khiː³ kiat² læ⁴ khiː⁴ waː³ jaj¹ ʔaw¹ priap²*
 Srithanonchai lazy and think that grandmother take advantage

22. *wan¹ nuŋ² kɔn² thiː³ khaw⁵ ca² ʔɔːk² paj¹ kha:j⁵ kha¹ nom⁵ jaj¹*
 one day before that he willout go sell dessert grandmother

bɔːk² khaw⁵ waː³ haj³ kha:j⁵ diː¹ muan⁵ theː¹ nam⁴ theː¹ thaː³
 tell him that let sell well like throw into the water

23. *siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ daj³ ʔoː¹ kaː² ʔaw¹ kha¹ nom⁵ paj¹ theː¹ thiŋ⁴*
 Srithanonchai get chance take dessert go throw away

loŋ¹ naj¹ nam⁴ moː²
 down in water all

24. *muu³ klap² paj¹ ban³ jaj¹ kroː² ma:k³ laj³ khaw⁵ ʔɔːk²*
 when return go house grandmother angry very drive him out

ca:k² ban³
 from house

25. *siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ cuŋ¹ paj¹ juː² paː² kap² huː¹ siː⁵*
 Srithanonchai so go live forest with hermit

26. *miː¹ juː² khraŋ⁴ nuŋ² huː¹ siː⁵ soːn⁵ siː⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ waː³ waːn⁵*
 is once hermit teach Srithanonchai that sweetness

pen¹ lom¹ khom⁵ pen¹ ja.¹
be wind bitterness be medicine

27. *muaa³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ kin¹ kluaj³ khaw⁵ haj³ lu:¹si:⁵ kin¹ pluak²*
when Srithanonchai eat babana he let hermit eat banana skin

læ⁴ bɔ:k² wa:³ wan⁵ pen¹ lom¹ khom⁵ pen¹ ja.¹ ʔa:¹can¹
and tell that sweetness be wind bitterness be medicine you

ko:³ kin¹ pluak² ko:³ læw⁴kan¹
AUX eat banana skin AUX then

28. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ ju:² naj¹ pa:² con¹kra¹thar³ pen¹ num²*
Srithanonchai live in forest until be young man

29. *wan¹nun² mi:¹ kha:³suk² ma:¹ tha:⁴rop⁴ haj³ caw³muaj¹ son² khon¹*
one day is enemy come challenge let king send man

ma:¹ su:³
come fight

30. *tha:³ khraj¹ phæ:⁴ ca² tɔ:³ sia⁵ muaj¹*
if anyone lose will have lose town

31. *caw³muaj¹ cuŋ¹ pa:w²pra¹ka:² wa:³ khraj¹ rop⁴ kha:³suk² cha¹na⁴*
king so announce that anyone fight enemy win

ca² haj³ ra:ŋ¹wan¹
will give reward

32. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ paj¹ rap⁴ʔa:¹sa:⁵*
Srithanonchai go volunteer

33. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ ha:⁵ khon¹ tua¹ jaj² ma:¹ ko:n¹ hua⁵ læ⁴*
Srithanonchai find man body big come shave hair and

tæ:ŋ²tua¹ pen¹ tha:¹rok⁴
dress be baby

34. *læw⁴ haj³ kha:³suk² ma:¹ du:¹ bɔ:k² wa:³ pen¹ luk³ kho:⁵*
then let enemy come see tell that be baby of

khon¹ thi:³ ca² su:³
man who will fight

35. *kha:³suk² tok²caj¹ tho:⁵thap⁴ klap²paj¹*
enemy frightened retreat return

36. *caw³muay¹ haj³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ rap⁴chaj⁴ naj¹ way¹ læ⁴ haj³*
king give Srithanonchai serve in palace and give

thi:³din¹ ta:m¹ cam¹nuan¹ thi:³ tɔŋ³ka:n¹
land according amount that want

37. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ bɔ:k² wa:³ khaw⁵ tɔŋ³ka:n¹ thi:³din¹ phiay¹ thaw³*
Srithanonchai tell that he want land only equal

mæ:w¹ din³ taj¹
cat struggle die

38. *muu³ caw³muay¹ tok²ton¹ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ phu:k² chuak³ mæ:w¹ læ⁴*
when king agree Srithanonchai tie rope cat and

ti:¹ man¹
hit it

39. *mæ:w¹ din³ paj¹ thua³ con¹kra¹than³ man¹ taj¹*
cat struggle go around until it die

40. *pen¹?an¹ wa:³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ day³ thi:³din¹ cam¹nuan¹ phaj¹sa:n⁵*
turn out that Srithanonchai get land amount a lot

41. *tɔ:²ma:¹ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ tæŋ²ɲa:n¹ kap² luk³sa:w⁵ khon¹*
later Srithanonchai marry to daughter man

rap⁴ra:ɽ³cha¹ka:n¹ naj¹ way¹
work in palace

42. *wan¹nuy² mæ:³ja:j¹ bɔ:k² haj³ khaw⁵ paj¹ riak³ phɔ:³ta:¹ ma:¹*
one day mother-in-law tell let him go get father-in-law come

kin¹ kha:w³
eat rice

43. *muu³ khaw³ paj¹ thi:³ sa¹mo:¹so:n⁵ khaw⁵ khaw³ paj¹ riak³ phɔ:³ta:¹*
when enter go at club he enter go call father-in-law

siaŋ⁵day¹
loudly

44. *phɔ:³ta:¹ khro:ɽ² thi:³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ maj³ mi:¹ ma:¹ra¹ja:ɽ³*
father-in-law angry that Srithanonchai not have manner

cuy¹ wa:³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ tɔ:²na:³ khon¹ la:j⁵ khon¹ læ⁴ bɔ:k² wa:³
so blame Srithanonchai in front people many CLASS and tell that

thi:¹laŋ⁵ tha:³ma:¹ tɔŋ³ daŋ³ rap⁴ʔa¹nu⁴ja:³ kɔŋ²cuaŋ¹ ca² phu:³daŋ³
 next time if come have get permission first then will say able

45. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ kro:² phɔ:³ta:¹ pen¹ ʔan¹ma:³*
 Srithanonchai angry father-in-law be a lot

46. *wan¹nuuŋ² faj¹ maj³ ba:n³*
 one day fire burn house

47. *mæ:³ja:¹ bɔ:k² haj³ khaw⁵ paj¹ ta:m¹ phɔ:³ta:¹ thi:³*
 mother-in-law tell let him go get father-in-law at

sa¹mo:¹sɔ:n⁵
 club

48. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ kæ:³phet² phɔ:³ta:¹ doj¹ tham¹ta:m¹ thi:³*
 Srithanonchai take revenge father-in-law by follow that

phɔ:³ta:¹ saŋ²
 father-in-law order

49. *khaw⁵ rɔ:¹ con¹kra¹thaŋ³ phɔ:³ta:¹ bɔ:k² haj³ phu:³*
 he wait until father-in-law tell let say

50. *thuŋ⁵ we:¹la:¹ nan⁴ faj¹ maj³ ba:n³ kuap² mo:²*
 by time that fire burn house almost all

51. *laŋ⁵ca:² faj¹ maj³ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ tɔŋ³ka:n¹ sa:³ ba:n³ tæ:²*
 after fire burn Srithanonchai want build house but

mi:¹ ŋɯn¹ maj³ phɔ:¹
 have money not enough

52. *khaw⁵ khi:⁴ kon¹ʔu¹ba:¹ doj¹ thu:n¹ phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ khɔ:⁵ khon¹ ma:¹*
 he think trick by tell king ask for man

tham¹ saw⁵
 come make pole (house foundation)

53. *muu³ phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ soŋ² khon¹ ma:¹ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ kɔ:³ haj³*
 when king send man come Srithanonchai AUX let

khon¹ phuak³ nan⁴ ju:n¹ pen¹ saw⁵
 man group that stand be pole

54. *phuua³ca² daŋ³ khon¹ khu:n¹phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ tɔŋ³ pra¹tha:¹n¹ ŋɯn¹ haj³*
 in order get man back king have give money let

sa.ŋ³ ba.n³
build house

55. si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ ko:² khwa.m¹duar²ro.n⁴ kæ:² phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ pi:k²
Srithanonchai create trouble to king again

la:j⁵ khraŋ⁴ phra⁴ra:¹cha:¹ cuŋ¹ saŋ² khaŋ⁵ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ naj¹
many time king so order imprison Srithanonchai in

kroŋ¹ læ⁴ haj³ nam¹ paj¹ wa.ŋ¹ waj⁴ thi:³ cha:j¹tha¹le:¹ we:¹la:¹ nam⁴
cage and let take go place keep at shore time water

khuun³ ca² da:j³ thu:k² nam⁴thuam³ ta:j¹
up will get PASS drowned die

56. si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ da:j³ kha:⁵ chu:⁴ ka¹sar² waj⁴ chu:⁴ nuŋ²
Srithanonchai get ask for outfit king keep CLASS one

57. kha¹na²thi:³ ju:² naj¹ kroŋ¹ mi:¹ rua¹sam⁵phaw¹ pha:n² ma:¹
while be in cage there is ship pass come

58. si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ saj² sua³ ka¹sar² læ⁴ ro.ŋ⁴ta¹ko.n¹ wa:³ “kha:³
Srithanonchai wear outfit king and shout that I

maj³ ja:k² pen¹ ka¹sar²”
not want be king

59. pho:³kha:⁴ cin¹ naj¹ rua¹ tha:m⁵ khaw⁵ wa:³ kɛ:² ʔa¹raj¹ khuun³
merchant Chinese in ship ask him that happen what up

60. si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ bo:k² wa:³ khaw⁵ thu:k² khaŋ⁵ kroŋ¹ phro⁴
Srithanonchai tell that he PASS imprison cage because

maj³ jo:m¹ pen¹ ka¹sar²
not agree be king

61. pho:³kha:⁴ cin¹ ja:k² pen¹ ka¹sar² cuŋ¹ khaw³ paj¹ thæ:n¹ thi:³
merchant Chinese want be king so enter go take place

62. khaw⁵ cuŋ¹ nam¹ rua¹ pho:³kha:⁴ cin¹ paj¹ kha:⁴kha:j⁵ thi:³ muaj¹
he so take ship merchant Chinese go trade at country

cin¹
China

63. thi:³ muaj¹ cin¹ si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ mi:¹ khwa.m¹soŋ⁵saj⁵ pen¹
at country China Srithanonchai have wonder be

ja.ŋ²jin³ wa.³ tham¹maj¹ pra¹cha.¹chon¹ cuŋ¹ thu:k² ha.m³ maj³ haj³
 extreme that why people so PASS prohibited not let

du.¹ phra⁴phak⁴khɔ:ŋ⁵ phra⁴caw³ kruŋ¹ ci.n¹
 see face of king country China

64. khaw⁵ tɔ:ŋ³ka.n¹ ca² hen⁵ phra⁴phak⁴ cuŋ¹ khit⁴ kon¹ʔu¹ba.j¹
 he want will see face so think trick

65. khaw⁵ thu.n¹ phra⁴ra.¹cha.¹ wa.³ ca² sa¹dæ.ŋ¹ ka.n¹kin¹ phak²buŋ³
 he tell king that will show eating convolvulus

taj² ra.w¹ haj³ du.¹
 climb string let see

66. kha¹na²thi.³ kin¹ khaw⁵ tɔ:ŋ³ ŋɛ:j¹ na.³ khuun³
 while eat he have lift face up

67. khaw⁵ cuŋ¹ hen⁵ phra⁴phak⁴ phra⁴ra.¹cha.¹
 he so see face king

68. khaw⁵ hua⁵ɾɔ⁴ siaŋ⁵daŋ¹ phrɔ⁴wa.³ phra⁴phak⁴ khɔ:ŋ⁵ phra⁴ra.¹cha.¹
 he laugh loudly because face of king

nan⁴ muan⁵ mu.⁵
 that like pig

69. phra⁴ra.¹cha.¹ kro.ɾ² ma:k³ cuŋ¹ saŋ² cam¹khuk⁴
 king angry very so order imprison

si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ naj¹ khuk⁴ mot⁴ khan¹faj¹
 Srithanonchai in prison ant poisonous

70. si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ khɔ:⁵ ʔɔ:j³ khaw³ paj¹ kin¹ dua³
 Srithanonchai ask for sugar cane enter go eat also

71. ruŋ³chaw⁴ khaw⁵ jaŋ¹ maj³ taj¹ phrɔ⁴wa.³ mot⁴ pha:¹kan¹ paj¹ kin¹
 morning he sill not die because ant together go eat

ʔɔ:j³ mot²
 sugar cane all

72. phra⁴caw³ kruŋ¹ ci.n¹ phɔ:¹caj¹ naj¹ khwa.m¹cha¹la.ɾ² khɔ:ŋ⁵
 king country China pleased in wit of

si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ cuŋ¹ pra¹tha.n¹ siŋ²khɔ:ŋ⁵ taŋ²taŋ² ma:k³ma:j¹ klap² paj¹
 Srithanonchai so give thing different a lot return go

muaw¹ thaj¹
country Thailand

73. *wan¹ nuw² mi.¹ phuan³ ban³ ma.¹ kho.⁵ haj³ si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ paj¹*
one day is neighbor come ask let Srithanonchai go

jum¹ ɣw¹ ca.k² se.t² thi.⁵ haj³
borrow money from wealthy man BEN

74. *si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ paj¹ jum¹ ɣw¹ ca.k² se.t² thi.⁵ læ⁴ bɔ:k²*
Srithanonchai go borrow money from wealthy man and tell

wa:³ ca² khuu.n¹ ɣw¹ haj³ pha.j¹ naj¹ sɔ.ɲ⁵ duan¹
that will return money give within two month

75. *mi.¹ ne.n¹ dɣ.n¹ pha.n² ma.¹ bɔ:k² se.t² thi.⁵ wa:³ ca² paj¹*
there is monk walk pass come tell wealthy man that will go

?aw¹ ɣw¹ khuu.n¹ haj³ diaw⁵ ni.⁴
take money return BEN now

76. *ne.n¹ dɣ.n¹ ta.m¹ si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ paj¹ than¹ thi.³ tha:³ rua¹*
monk walk follow Srithanonchai go catch up with pier

77. *khaw⁵ bɔ:k² haj³ si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ chaj⁴ ɣw¹ khuu.n¹ phrɔ:⁴*
he tell let Srithanonchai give back money return because

khrop⁴ sɔ.ɲ⁵ duan¹ læ.w⁴ phrɔ:m⁴ kan¹ nan⁴ kɔ:³ chi.⁴ paj¹ thi.³
complete two month already meanwhile AUX point go at

duan¹ can¹ bon¹ fa.⁴ læ⁴ ɣaw¹ khɔ:ɲ⁵ duan¹ can¹ naj¹ nam⁴
moon on sky and shadow of moon in water

78. *si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ cuw¹ tɔ.ɲ³ khuu.n¹ ɣw¹*
Srithanonchai so have return money

79. *ne.n¹ bɔ:k² si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ wa:³ ca² pha.j¹ rua¹ paj¹ soɲ² ban³*
monk tell Srithanonchai that will row boat go take house

80. *kha¹ na² thi.³ kam¹ laɲ¹ pha.j¹ rua¹ ne.n¹ tha.m⁵ si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹*
while in progress row boat monk ask Srithanonchai

wa:³ ca² haj³ paj¹ soɲ² thi:³ naɲ⁵
that will let go take where

81. *si.⁵ tha¹ non¹ chaj¹ tɔ.p² wa:³ thi:³ naɲ⁵ kɔ:³ daɲ³*
Srithanonchai answer that anywhere AUX possible

82. *nen¹ cuŋ¹ soŋ² si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ thi:³ ko:¹na.m⁵*
 monk so send off Srithanonchai at thorny shrub
83. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ tɔŋ³ dɤn¹ fa:² ko:¹na.m⁵*
 Srithanonchai have walk through thorny shrub
84. *si:⁵tha¹non¹chaj¹ dɤn¹ paj¹ ban³ pho:³ mæ:³*
 Srithanonchai walk go house father mother
85. *khaw⁵ cuŋ¹ ru:⁴ wa:³ nen¹ nan⁴ pen¹ nɔŋ⁴ khɔ:⁵*
 he then know that monk that be younger brother of
- khaw⁵ thi:³ klap²chaɾ³ma:¹kɤ:²*
 his who reincarnate
86. *tæ:² ko:³ sa:j⁵ kɤn¹paj¹ phrɔ:⁴wa:³ khaw⁵ daj³ taj¹ naj¹ ʔɔm³ko:²*
 but AUX late too much because he get die in embrace
- khɔ:⁵ pho:³ mæ:³*
 of father mother

The Story of Srithanonchai

1. There was a rich couple who did not have any children.
2. One day, the couple prayed to the Buddhist Image for a baby.
3. Finally, their wish came true. They had the first son.
4. A Buddhist monk named him Srithanonchai.
5. The monk foretold that he was intelligent and would become an important man but his parents would be in trouble.
6. Later, Srithanonchai had a younger brother.
7. The couple became poorer and had to work very hard.
8. One day, before the parents went to work, they told Srithanonchai to take good care of the younger brother, to bathe him, and to clean his intestines and abdomen [an expression meaning thoroughly clean].
9. Srithanonchai was lazy. He did not want to take care of the baby. Moreover, he did not like his brother because his parents paid more attention to his brother than to him.
10. He, then, was jealous and resented it when his parents told him to take care of his brother.
11. He played a trick by following his parents' order literally.
12. When his parents returned home, they found the brother sleeping in the cradle.
13. But when they opened the blanket, they found that the baby's belly was cut and his intestines and abdomen were thoroughly cleaned.
14. His parents asked Srithanonchai who did this to his brother.
15. Srithanonchai said that it was his parents who ordered him to clean his brother's intestines and abdomen.
16. His parents were mad at him and drove him away from the house.
17. When the villagers knew what happened, they threw stones at him, hit him, and drove him out of the village.
18. Srithanonchai went to live with his grandmother who made a living by selling desserts.
19. His grandmother told him to sell desserts.
20. At the beginning, he sold out all the desserts, and each day his grandmother rewarded him only with food.
21. Srithanonchai was lazy and thought that his grandmother took advantage of him.
22. One day, before he went to sell desserts, his grandmother told him to sell out all the desserts like throwing into the water [an expression meaning completely sold out].
23. Srithanonchai had a chance to play his trick again by throwing all the desserts into the water.
24. When he got home, his grandmother was very angry. She drove him out of her home.
25. Srithanonchai went to the forest and lived with a hermit.
26. Once the hermit taught him that sweetness is wind and bitterness is medicine [an expression meaning eating sweet is no good but eating bitter medicine is good for health].
27. When he ate a banana, he gave the skin to the hermit and said that the skin is bitter and it is good for the hermit, so the hermit should eat it.

28. Srithanonchai lived in the forest until he was a young man.
29. One day, there was a group of enemies coming to challenge the king to send his man to fight with one of them.
30. If the king lost, he had to give them the country.
31. The king announced to everyone that he would reward anyone who won the fight.
32. Srithanonchai volunteered to fight.
33. Srithanonchai shaved the hair of a big man and dressed him in a baby suit.
34. Then, he told the enemies to take a look at the man and said that the man was the baby of the one who was going to fight.
35. The enemies were frightened and went away.
36. The king appointed Srithanonchai to serve him in the palace and rewarded him with a piece of land according to his need.
37. Srithanonchai said that he wanted only a piece of land where a cat could struggle around before it died [an expression meaning a very small piece of land].
38. When the king agreed, he held a cat with a leash and hit it.
39. The cat struggled around and died.
40. It turned out to be that Srithanonchai got a lot of land.
41. Later, Srithanonchai married a girl whose father also worked in the palace.
42. One day, his mother-in-law told him to get his father-in-law at a club to have dinner.
43. When he went to the club, he called his father-in-law very loudly.
44. His father-in-law was very angry because Srithanonchai did not have good manners. He, then, blamed him in front of other people and told him that next time if he came, he could not speak until he got permission from him.
45. Srithanonchai was very angry at his father-in-law.
46. One day, the house was on fire.
47. His mother-in-law told him to get his father-in-law at the club.
48. Srithanonchai took revenge on his father-in-law by following what he was ordered to do.
49. He waited until his father-in-law told him to speak.
50. By that time the fire took over almost the whole house.
51. After the fire, Srithanonchai wanted to build a house, but he did not have enough money.
52. He told the king that he needed several men to help him make poles [an ambiguous expression meaning either need men to make poles or need men to be poles].
53. When the king sent his men to Srithanonchai, he let those men stand as poles.
54. In order to get his men back, the king had to give him money for building a house.
55. Srithanonchai was a troublemaker; therefore, the king imprisoned him in a cage and let his men place the cage at the seashore in order that, when the sea level was up, Srithanonchai would be drowned.
56. Srithanonchai asked for a king's outfit.
57. While Srithanonchai was in the cage, there was a ship passing by.
58. Srithanonchai wore the king's outfit and shouted that "I do not want to be king."
59. A Chinese merchant in the ship asked him what happened.
60. Srithanonchai told him that he was imprisoned because he did not want to be king.
61. The Chinese merchant wanted to be king, so he took Srithanonchai's place.
62. He, therefore, took the Chinese merchant's ship to trade in China.

63. In China, Srithanonchai extremely wondered why people were prohibited from looking at the king's face.
64. He wanted to see the face, so he tried his trick again.
65. He told the king that he would show how to eat convolvulus on a string.
66. While eating, he had to lift his face up.
67. He, therefore, saw the king's face.
68. He laughed loudly because the king's face looked like a pig's.
69. The king was very angry, so he imprisoned him in the prison in which there were a number of poisonous ants.
70. Srithanonchai asked for a sugarcane to eat in the prison.
71. In the morning, he was still alive because all the ants went to eat the sugar cane.
72. His wit pleased the king, so he was given a lot of things before going back to Thailand.
73. One day, a neighbor asked Srithanonchai to borrow some money from a wealthy man for him.
74. Srithanonchai went to borrow the money from the wealthy man and told him that he would return the money within two months.
75. There was a Monk passing by. He told the wealthy man that he would get the money back for him now.
76. The novice followed Srithanonchai and caught up with him at the pier.
77. He told Srithanonchai to return the money because it had already been two months. Meanwhile, he pointed at the moon in the sky and its shadow in the water [the word *duan*¹ has two meanings, i.e., month and moon].
78. Srithanonchai, therefore, had to return the money.
79. The novice told Srithanonchai that he would take him home by boat.
80. While rowing the boat, the novice asked Srithanonchai where he wanted him to stop the boat.
81. Srithanonchai answered that it could be anywhere.
82. The novice, then, dropped him off at a place where there was a clump of thorny shrub.
83. Srithanonchai had to walk through the thorny shrub. He was hurt.
84. Srithanonchai walked to his parents' home.
85. He, then, knew that the novice was his own brother who was reborn.
86. But it was too late because he died in his parents' embrace.

Text 3

- ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *kap²* *nu.⁵*
 lion and rat
1. *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *tua¹* *nuŋ²* *nɔ.n¹lap²* *ju.²* *taj³* *ton³maj⁴* 2. *naj¹* *we.¹la.¹*
 lion CLASS one sleep be under tree at time
- nan⁴* *nu.⁵* *tua¹* *nuŋ²* *khun³* *taj²* *kha.m³* *tua¹* *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* 3. *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵*
 that rat CLASS one go up climb cross body lion lion
- nu.⁴suk²tua¹* *tui.n²khun³* *kra¹do.t²* *ta¹khru⁴* *ʔaw¹* *nu.⁵* *tua¹* *nan⁴* *waj⁴* *daj³*
 awake wake up jump grab take rat CLASS that keep able
4. *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *nuuk⁴* *kro.t²* *ca²* *kha¹jam³* *nu.⁵* *tua¹* *nan⁴* *sia⁵* 5. *nu.⁵* *cuiŋ¹*
 lion think angry will pounce rat CLASS that Fp rat so
- rɔ.ŋ⁴* *wiŋ¹wɔ.n¹* *wa.³* *‘kha:³pha¹caw³* *khɔ:⁵* *chi:¹wit⁴* *waj⁴* *sak²* *khraŋ⁴* *nuŋ²*
 cry beg that I ask life keep only time one
- thɔ.t²* *ja.²* *phɔŋ³* *kha:³* *kha:³pha¹caw³* *sia⁵* *lxj¹* *tha:³* *than³* *plɔ:j²*
 Fp don't just kill I Fp Fp if you let
- kha:³pha¹caw³* *paj¹* *kha:³pha¹caw³* *ca²* *mi⁴* *hu.m¹* *khun¹* *khɔ:ŋ⁵* *than³*
 I go I will not forget kindness of you
- lxj¹* 6. *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *hua⁵rɔ:³* *læ.w⁴* *wa:³* *‘tua¹* *ʔeŋ¹* *lek⁴* *thaw³* *ni:⁴*
 Fp lion laugh then say body you small this much
- ʔeŋ¹* *ca²* *ma:¹* *tɔ.p²thæ.n¹* *khun¹* *raw¹* *ja.ŋ²raj¹* *daj³* 7. *wa:³* *læ.w⁴*
 you will come return kindness my how able say already
- kɔ:³* *plɔ:j²* *nu.⁵* *paj¹* 8. *ju.²* *ma:¹* *mi⁴cha:⁴mi⁴na.n¹* *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *tua¹* *nan⁴*
 AUX let rat go not long time lion CLASS that
- paj¹* *tir²* *buaŋ²ræ.w⁴thi:³* *na:j¹phra.n¹* *khaw⁵* *dak²* *waj⁴* *ca²* *din³*
 go get trapped trap that hunter he trap keep will struggle
- thaw³raj¹* *kɔ:³* *maj³* *lut²* 9. *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *sin³pan¹ja.¹* *loŋ¹* *rɔ.ŋ⁴*
 how much AUX not slip lion run out of idea down cry
- khruan¹khra.ŋ¹* *kɔ.ŋ³* *paj¹than⁴* *pa.²* 10. *faj²* *nu:⁵* *tua¹* *nan⁴* *daj³jin¹*
 moan and groan loud go all forest as for rat CLASS that hear
- siaŋ⁵* *ra.t³cha¹si.⁵* *rɔ.ŋ⁴* *cam¹* *daj³* *cuiŋ¹* *wiŋ³* *ma:¹* *pi.n¹* *khun³*
 voice lion cry remember able so run come climb up

paj¹ bon¹ khan¹ ræ.w⁴ ʔaw¹ fan¹ thæ⁴ chuak³ kha.t² haj³ ra.t³ cha¹ si.⁵
go on trap use teeth bite rope break let lion

lur² rɔ.t³ phon⁴ ca.k² khwa.m¹ ta.j¹ paj¹ daj³ 11. nu.⁵ cuŋ¹ rɔ.ŋ⁴ paj¹
slip out get away from death go able rat so say loudly go

kæ.² ra.t³ cha¹ si.⁵ wa.³ “tæ.² dv.m¹ than³ kɔ.³ hua⁵ rɔ.³ jɔ⁴ kha.³ pha¹ caw³
to lion that at first you AUX laugh at I

wa.³ ʔeŋ¹ tua¹ lek⁴ phiaŋ¹ thaw³ ni.⁴ ca² thæ.n¹ khun¹ than³ ja.ŋ² raj¹
that you body small only this much will return kindness you how

daj³ ma.¹ bat² ni.⁴ kha³ pha¹ caw³ kɔ.³ daj³ thæ.n¹ khun¹ khɔ.ŋ⁵ than³
able now I AUX obtain return kindness of you

suŋ³ pen¹ sar² jaj² læ⁴ mi.¹ kam¹ laŋ¹ ma.k³ haj³ hen⁵ pra¹ cak²
who be animal big and have strength a lot let see clear

kæ.² ta.¹ than³ ju.² ʔe.ŋ¹ læ.w⁴”
to eye you yourself already

12. *ni.⁴ tha.n¹ ruaj³ ni.⁴ sɔ.n⁵ haj³ ru.⁴ wa.³ mæ.⁴ tæ.² phu.³*
tale CLASS this teach let know that even who

le.w¹ sa.m¹ kɔ.³ ja.² daj³ du.¹ thu.k² tha.³ raw¹ tham¹ di.¹
inferior AUX do not get look down upon if we do good

kæ.² khaw⁵ khaw⁵ ʔa.t² ca² thæ.n¹ khun¹ raw daj³
to him he may return kindness us able

The Lion and the Rat

1. A lion was sleeping under a tree. 2. At that time, a rat climbed across the lion. 3. The lion woke up, grabbed that rat. 4. The lion was angry, was about to pounce on that rat. 5. The rat begged, “I ask for my life. Don’t kill me. If you let me go, I will not forget your kindness.” 6. The lion laughed, then said that “You are small. How can you return my kindness?” 7. (After) saying, (the lion) let the rat go. 8. Later, the lion was trapped in a snare that the hunter set out. No matter how (he) struggled, (he) could not slip out. 9. The lion ran out of ideas, and moaned loudly in the forest. 10. (When) that rat heard the voice of the lion, (he) remembered, so (he) ran to climb onto the snare, used his teeth to bite the rope (until the rope was) broken, let the lion get away from death. 11. The rat told the lion that “At first, you laughed at me, (said) that I am this small, how can (I) return your kindness? Now, I show you how I return your kindness to you who is the big animal and has great strength.”

12. This tale teaches (anyone) not to underestimate a seeming inferior. If we do good to him, he may return our kindness.

Text 4

the:1pha:1rak4 *kap2* *khon1tat2maj4*
guardian angel and woodcutter

1. *jan1mi:1 cha:w1pa:2 phu:3 nuŋ2* 2. *kha1na2thi:3 tat2 ton3maj4 ju:2 rim1*
there is villager CLASS one while cut tree be bank

lam1tha:n1 tham1 khwa:n5 lur2 mu:1 phlat4tok2 com1 haj5 loŋ1
stream make axe slip hand fall down sink disappear down

paj1 naj1 nam4 3. *tua1 pen1 khon1 wa:j3nam4 maj3pen1* 4. *khra:n4 ca2*
go in water he be person swim cannot if will

loŋ1 paj1 ŋom1 ko:3 klua1 com1nam4 taj1 5. *maj3 ru:4 thi:3 ca2*
down go dive AUX afraid drowned die not know what will

tham1 pra1ka:n1daj1 ko:3 loŋ1naŋ3 ko:2 khaw2 ro:ŋ4haj3 ju:2 rim1
do how AUX sit down hold knee cry be bank

lam1tha:n1 nan4 6. *the:1pha:1rak4 thi:3 pen1 phu:3 rak4sa:5 lam1tha:n1*
stream that guardian angel who be person take care stream

mi:1 khwa:m1soŋ5sa:n5 cuŋ1 ma:1 plo:p2jo:n1 ʔaw1caj1 haj3 ju:2 ro:ŋ4haj3
have mercy so come console comfort let stop cry

læ:w4 ko:3 loŋ1 paj1 ŋom1 ʔaw1 khwa:n5 tho:ŋ1 khu:n3ma:1 haj3 lem3
and then down go dive get axe gold up come give CLASS

nuŋ2 7. *chaj1 phu:3 nan4 hen5 wa:3 maj3chaj3 khwa:n5 kho:ŋ5 ton1*
one man CLASS that see that not axe of self

ko:3 maj3 rap4ʔaw1 8. *cuŋ1 bo:k2 paj1 kæ:2 the:1pha:1rak4 wa:3* “*khwa:n5*
AUX not take so tell go to guardian angel that axe

khro:ŋ5 kha:3pha1caw3 maj3chaj3 lem3 ni:4” 9. *the:1pha:1rak4 ko:3 wa:ŋ1*
of mine not CLASS this guardian angel AUX lay down

khwa:n5 nan4 sia5 loŋ1 paj1 ŋom1 haj3 maj2 10. *khra:w1ni:4*
axe that Fp down go dive BEN again this time

the:1pha:1rak4 thu:5 ʔaw1 khwa:n5 ŋɿn1 khu:n3ma:1 soŋ2 haj3
guardian angel carry take axe silver up come hand over give

11. *chaj1 phu:3 nan4 ko:3 maj3 rap4 ʔi:k2 ju:n1jan1wa:3 maj3chaj3*
man CLASS that AUX not take again insist that not

khwa:n⁵ khɔ:ŋ⁵ ton¹ ju:²nan³peŋ¹ 12. khran⁴ni:⁴ the:¹pha:¹rak⁴ ŋom¹ ʔaw¹
axe of self keep doing this time guardian angel dive take

khwa:n⁵ lek² lem³ thi:³ tok² nam⁴ nan⁴ khu:n³ma:¹ haj³
axe iron CLASS that fall water that up come give

13. cha:j¹ phu:³ nan⁴ kɔ:³ di:¹caj¹ jok⁴ mu:¹ khu:n³waj³ læ:w⁴
man CLASS that AUX glad raise hand up pay respect then

rap⁴ʔaw¹ 14. the:¹pha:¹rak⁴ hen⁵ cha:j¹ phu:³ nan⁴pen¹ khon¹ su:³sa:²
take guardian angel see man CLASS that be person honest

cun¹lx:j¹ jok⁴ khwa:n⁵ ŋvn¹ læ⁴ khwa:n⁵ tho:ŋ¹ thaŋ⁴ so:ŋ⁵ lem³
so then give axe silver and axe gold all two CLASS

nan⁴ haj³ duaj³
that give also

15. mua³ cha:j¹ phu:³ nan⁴ klap² ba:n³ phu:an³ba:n³ klaj³khian¹ daj³ ru:⁴
when man CLASS that return house neighbor nearby get know

ruan³ thi:³ daj³ khwa:n⁵ ŋvn¹ khwa:n⁵ tho:ŋ¹ phrɔ:⁴ khwa:n⁵ tok² nam⁴
story that get axe silver axe gold because axe fall water

kɔ:³ pha:¹kan¹ law³hu:¹ tɔ:²tɔ:² kan¹ paj¹ 16. jan¹mi:¹ cha:j¹ʔi:k²
AUX together talk about next together go is man more

khon¹ nuŋ² suŋ³ pen¹ sa¹ha:j⁵ khɔ:ŋ⁵ cha:j¹ sar²su:³ phu:³ nan⁴
CLASS one who be friend of man honest CLASS that

17. mua³ daj³sa:p³ kha:w²hu:¹ nuuk⁴ ja:k²ca²khran³ daj³ khwa:n⁵ŋvn¹ khwa:n⁵
when get know rumor think want get axe silver axe

tho:ŋ¹ ba:ŋ³ cun¹ chuaj⁵ khwa:n⁵ khɔ:ŋ⁵ ton¹ khaw³ pa:² paj¹ thi:³ kha:ŋ³
gold also so grab axe of self enter forest go at near

lam¹tha:n¹ nan⁴ 18. tham¹thi:¹ dan¹wa:³ tar² maj⁴ læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ wian²
stream that pretend as if cut wood and then throw

khwa:n⁵ loŋ¹ paj¹ naj¹ nam⁴ klæ:ŋ³tham¹pen¹ nan³ rɔ:ŋ⁴haj³ khram³kruan¹
axe down go in water pretend sit cry moan

ju:² kha:ŋ³ lam¹tha:n¹ 19. naj¹mi:⁴cha:⁴mi:⁴na:n¹ the:¹pha:¹rak⁴ ʔoŋ¹ nan⁴
be near stream not long time guardian angel CLASS that

kɔ:³ ma:¹ plo:p²jo:n¹ dan¹chen³thi:³ tham¹ kap² cha:j¹ phu:³ sar²su:³ khon¹
AUX come console same way do to man who honest CLASS

- kɔ:n² læ:w⁴ kɔ:³ loŋ¹ paj¹ dam¹ ʔaw¹ khwa:n⁵ thɔ:ŋ¹ khu:n³ ma:¹ ju:n³*
 first and then down go dive take axe gold up come hand out
- haj³ 20. tha:m⁵ wa:³ “ni:³ khwa:n⁵ khɔ:ŋ⁵ caw³ ru:⁴ mi⁴ chaj³” 21. chaj¹ phu:³*
 give ask that this axe of you Q man CLASS
- nan⁴ læ:¹ hen⁵ khwa:n⁵ thɔ:ŋ¹ kɔ:³ di:¹ caj¹ ri:p³ ta¹ li:¹ ta¹ la:n¹ rap⁴ wa:³*
 that see axe gold AUX glad in a hurry admit that
- pen¹ khwa:n⁵ lem³ thi:³ ton¹ tham¹ tok² nam⁴ naj¹ than¹ thi:¹ 22. the:¹ pha:¹ rak⁴*
 be axe CLASS that he do fall water at once guardian
- cun¹ wa:³ “mua³ caw³ rak⁴ ca² pra¹ phrut⁴ pen¹ khon¹ maj³ su:³ sa² su² ca¹ rit²*
 so say if you love will behave be person not honest
- ju:² dan¹ ni:⁴ kɔ:³ ja:² ʔaw¹ khwa:n⁵ thɔ:ŋ¹ lem³ ni:⁴ tɔ:j¹ thuŋ⁵ khwa:n⁵*
 like this AUX do not take axe gold CLASS this Fp even exe
- lem³ thi:³ tham¹ tok² nam⁴ kha:³ kɔ:³ ca² maj³ ɲom¹ haj³*
 CLASS that do fall water I AUX will not dive BEN
- dua³ muan⁵ kan¹” 23. phɔ:¹ wa:³ dan¹ nan⁴ læ:w⁴ the:¹ pha:¹ rak⁴ kɔ:³*
 also when say so already guardian angel AUX
- ha:j⁵ paj¹ kap² than⁴ khwa:n⁵ thɔ:ŋ¹ 24. hua⁵ tæ:² chaj¹ phu:³ nan⁴*
 disappear with also axe gold remain only man CLASS that
- nan³ læ:¹ ta¹ huŋ¹ ju:² khon¹ diaw¹*
 sit stunned to be alone
25. *ni⁴ tha:n¹ ruan³ ni:⁴ sɔ:ŋ⁵ haj³ ru:⁴ wa:³ ha:⁵ pra¹ jo:² dua³*
 tale CLASS this teach let know that find benefit with
- khwa:m¹ su:³ sa² næ:³ nɔ:n¹ di:¹ kwa:² ha:⁵ dua³ khwa:m¹ the¹*
 honest sure better find with lie

The Guardian Angel and the Woodcutter

1. There was a villager. 2. While (he) was cutting a tree at the bank of a stream, (he) made the axe slip from his hand into the water. 3. He could not swim. 4. If (he) would go down (into the stream and) dive (for the iron axe), (he) was afraid of being drowned. 5. (He) did not know what to do, then sat down, held (his) knees, (and) cried at the bank of the stream. 6. A guardian angel who took care of the stream felt sorry for (him), so came to console (him and) to stop him from crying, and then went down to dive for a gold axe, (and) gave it to him. 7. That man saw that it was not his axe, then (he) did not take (it). 8. (He) therefore told the guardian angel that “This

is not my axe.” 9. The guardian angel then laid down the axe, went to dive for (the axe) again. 10. This time, the guardian angel carried a silver axe up (from the stream), (he) gave (it to him). 11. That man then did not take (it) again, (he) insisted that (it) was not his axe. 12. This time, the guardian angel dived for the iron axe which fell into the water, gave (it) to him. 13. That man was glad, raised (his) hands to pay respect (to the guardian angel), (and) then took (the axe). 14. The guardian angel saw (that) that man was honest, (he) then gave both the silver and gold axes (to him).

15. When that man returned home, (his) neighbors knew that (he) got the silver axe and the gold axe because the (iron) axe fell into the water, then talked to one another. 16. There was another man who was a friend of that honest man. 17. When (he) knew the rumor, (he) wanted to get the silver and gold axes also, so (he) took his axe to the stream in the forest. 18. (He) pretended as if (he) cut the wood, then (he) threw the axe into the water, (he) pretended to cry at the stream. 19. Later, that guardian angel came to console him in the same way that (he) did to the former honest man, and then (he) went to dive for a gold axe, (he) gave (it to the man). 20. (He) asked that “Is this your axe?” 21. That man saw the gold axe, then (he) was glad, (he) hurriedly admitted that (it) was the axe that he slipped out into the water. 22. So the guardian angel said “If you love to behave like an dishonest man, then do not take this gold axe. Even the axe that (you) slipped out into the water, I will not dive for (it).” 23. When (he) said so, the guardian angel then disappeared with the gold axe. 24. All that remains is that man sitting (there) stunned.

25. This tale teaches that to get a benefit with honesty is certain and better than to get (a benefit) with a lie.

Text 5

*kop*² *luak*³ *na:j*¹
frog choose master

1. *jaŋ*¹*mi:*¹ *kop*² *fu.ŋ*⁵ *nuŋ*² *ʔa:*¹*saj*⁵ *ju:*² *naj*¹ *buŋ*¹ *ja:j*² 2. *ju:*²*ma:*¹
is frog CLASS one live be in swamp big later

*kop*² *fu.ŋ*⁵ *nan*⁴ *ja:k*²*ca*² *ha:*⁵ *naj*¹ *waj*⁴ *khum*⁴ *khro:ŋ*¹ *po:ŋ*³ *kan*¹ *tua*¹
frog CLASS that want find master keep take care protect them

3. *cuŋ*¹ *paj*¹ *ro:ŋ*⁴ *thuk*⁴ *kæ:*² *the:*¹*wa*¹*da:*¹ *khɔ:*⁵ *haj*³ *ha:*⁵ *naj*¹ *soŋ*² *ma:*¹
so go complain to angel ask let find master send come

*haj*³ 4. *fa:j*² *kha:ŋ*³ *the:*¹*wa*¹*da:*¹ *muu*³ *leŋ*¹ *hen*⁵ *khwa:m*¹ *ŋo:*³ *khla:w*⁵ *khɔ:ŋ*⁵ *kop*²
BEN as for angel when see foolishness of frog

*kɔ:*³ *thiŋ*⁴ *khɔ:n*⁵ *maj*⁴ *thɔ:n*³ *ja:j*² *loŋ*¹ *paj*¹ *naj*¹ *buŋ*¹ 5. *siaŋ*⁵ *daŋ*¹
AUX drop log CLASS big down go in swamp sound loud

*sa*¹*tha:n*⁴ *læ*⁴ *nam*⁴ *kra*¹ *phuam*³ *pen*¹ *la*¹ *lɔ:k*³ *tham*¹ *haj*³ *phuak*³ *kop*²
echo and water heave be ripples cause group of frogs

*tuw*² *tok*² *caj*¹ *pen*¹ *ʔon*¹ *la*¹ *ma:n*² 6. *muu*³ *siaŋ*⁵ *sa*¹ *ŋop*² *loŋ*¹ *læw*⁴ *mi:*¹
frightened be disordered when sound quiet down already there is

*kop*² *kla:*³ *tua*¹ *nuŋ*² *waj*³ *nam*⁴ *khaw*³ *paj*¹ *mɔ:ŋ*¹ *du:*¹ 7. *hen*⁵ *khɔ:n*⁵ *maj*⁴
frog brave CLASS one swim enter go look see log

*lo:j*¹ *nam*⁴ *ju:*² *kɔ:*³ *di:*¹ *caj*¹ 8. *klap*² *ʔɔ:k*² *ma:*¹ *bɔ:k*² *phuam*³ *wa:*³
float in progress AUX glad return out come tell friend that

*the:*¹*wa*¹*da:*¹ *soŋ*² *naj*¹ *loŋ*¹ *ma:*¹ *haj*³ *læw*⁴ 9. *kop*² *law*² *nan*⁴
angel send master down come give already frog CLASS that

*naj*¹ *chan*⁴ *ræ:k*³ *kɔ:*³ *jaŋ*¹ *kha*¹ *ja:*² *maj*³ *kla:*³ *ca*² *khaw*³ *paj*¹ *klaj*³ *khiaŋ*¹
at first AUX still afraid not brave will enter go nearby

*khɔ:n*⁵ *maj*⁴ *nak*⁴ 10. *khraŋ*⁴ *pha:j*¹ *laŋ*⁵ *kɔ:*³ *ce:n*¹ *khaw*³ *thuk*⁴ *thi:*¹ *thuk*⁴ *thi:*¹
log Fp when later AUX get used to more and more

*con*¹ *pha:*¹ *kan*¹ *khun*³ *paj*¹ *pin*¹ *pa:j*² *ʔa:*¹ *saj*⁵ *kɔ:*² *naŋ*³ *nɔ:n*¹ *bon*¹ *khɔ:n*⁵ *maj*⁴
until together up go climb live cling sit sleep on log

11. *daj*³ *khwa:m*¹ *suk*² *khwa:m*¹ *sa*¹ *ba:j*¹ 12. *ju:*² *ma:*¹ *mi*⁴ *cha:*⁴ *mi*⁴ *na:n*¹ *kop*² *fu.ŋ*⁵
get happiness comfort later not long time frog CLASS

- nan⁴ kvɿ² khwa:m¹bua²na:j²* 13. *hen⁵ wa:³ khɔ:n⁵maj⁴ da:j³tæ:² lo:j¹nam⁴*
 that happen boredom see that log only float
- ju:² chv:j⁵chv:j⁵* 14. *maj³ sa:⁵ma:ɿ³ thi:³ ca² phæ:² ʔam¹na:ɿ³ na:j¹*
 in progress quietly not able to will spread power in
- ka:n¹khum⁴khɾɔ:ŋ¹ ton¹ da:j³ ja:ŋ²raj¹* 15. *cuŋ¹ pha:¹kan¹ paj¹ rɔ:ŋ⁴ kæ:²*
 protection them able how so together go complain to
- the:¹wa¹da:¹* 16. *khɔ:⁵ plian² na:j¹ haj³ kæ:² ton¹ maj²* 17. *haj³ mi:¹*
 angel ask change master give to them again give have
- rit⁴de:ɿ² haj³ ma:k³* 18. *faj² the:¹wa¹da:¹ khar²caj¹ khu:n³ma:¹*
 supernatural power give a lot as for angel irritated suddenly
19. *cuŋ¹ plo:j² nok⁴kra¹sa:⁵ loŋ¹ ma:¹ haj³ pen¹ na:j¹* 20. *nok⁴kra¹sa:⁵*
 so let go kind of bird down come give be master kind of bird
- ko:³ cap² kop² kin¹ sia⁵ thuk⁴wan¹ thuk⁴wan¹ con¹mot² kop² fu:ŋ⁵ nan⁴*
 AUX catch frog eat Fp everyday everyday till run out frog CLASS that
21. *ni⁴tha:n¹ ruan³ ni:⁴ sɔ:n⁵ haj³ ru:⁴ wa:³ khwa:m¹tha¹jɿ:¹tha¹ja:n¹*
 tale CLASS this teach let know that ambition
- ja:k²da:j³ maj³ ru:⁴cak² pra¹ma:n¹ jo:m³ pen¹ ka:n¹ha:⁵ phaj¹ saj² tua¹ʔe:ŋ¹*
 greed not estimate oneself naturally be look for danger give oneself

The Frogs Chose Their Master

1. There was a group of frogs living in a swamp. 2. Later, this group of frogs wanted to have a master for their protection. 3. Therefore, (they) went to complain to an angel. 4. When the angel saw the foolishness of the frogs, (he) then dropped a big log into the swamp. 5. The loud sound and the heaving waves frightened the group of frogs. 6. When it was quiet, there was a brave frog swimming out to see (what happened). 7. (He) saw a log floating in the water, then (he) was glad. 8. (He) returned to tell (his) friends that the angel sent (them) the master. 9. That group of frogs, firstly, was still afraid. 10. Later on, (they) got used to (the big log) more and more until (they) went to climb, cling, sit, (and) sleep on the log. 11. (They) were comfortable. 12. Shortly, that group of frogs was bored. 13. (They) saw that the log was just floating. 14. (It) could not spread (its) power to protect (them). 15. So (they) went to complain to the angel. 16. (They) asked (the angel) to give (them) a new master. 17. (They) wanted the master to have a lot of supernatural power. 18. The angel was suddenly irritated. 19. So (he) let a big bird come down to be (the frogs') master. 20. The big bird, then, ate the frogs everyday until they were gone.'

21. This tale teaches that too much ambition and greed can do harm to anyone.

Text 6

ciŋ³cɔ:k² kap² ma.⁴
fox and horse

1. *chaj¹ cha.w¹na.¹ mi.¹ ma.⁴ chaj⁴ŋa.n¹ daj³ di.¹ ma:k³* 2. *tæ.²*
man farmer have horse use for work able good very but

thuŋ⁵khra.w¹thi.³ pen¹ ma.⁴ kæ.² maj³ mɔ² kap² ŋa.n¹ læ.w⁴ 3. *ko.³*
its time be horse old not fit for work anymore AUX

khü⁴ lɜ:k³ chaj⁴ 4. *phu.t³ wa.³ “kha.³ maj³ tɔ.ŋ³ka.n¹ chaj⁴ caw³ ʔi:k²*
think stop use say that I not want use you not

læ.w⁴ ca.² haj³ ʔɔ:k² paj¹ ha.⁵kin¹ ʔe.ŋ¹ tɔ.²mua³ mi.¹
anymore will let out go earn one's own living himself when have

kam¹laŋ¹ khæ.ŋ⁵ræ.ŋ¹ kwa.² siŋ⁵to.¹ cuŋ¹ ca.² rap⁴ ma.¹ liaŋ⁴ ʔi:k²”
strength strong more lion so will take come keep again

5. *læ.w⁴ ko.³ pɜ.t² pra¹tu.¹ ro.ŋ¹ plɔ:j² ma.⁴ paj¹*
then AUX open door stable let horse go

6. *ma.⁴ dɜ.n¹ so.¹se.¹ saw³caj¹ ma:k³* 7. *thɔ.ŋ³thiaw³ paj¹ ma.¹ naj¹ pa.²*
horse walk stagger sad very travel go come in forest

8. *dɜ.n¹ du.¹ ha.⁵ thi.³ʔa.¹saj⁵ ju.² phɔ.¹ kan¹ lom¹na.w⁵ læ⁴ fon⁵tok²*
walk see find shelter live enough prevent cold wind and rain

9. *paj¹ phop⁴ ciŋ³cɔ:k² ta.m¹ tha.ŋ¹*
go meet fox along way

10. *ciŋ³cɔ:k² tha.m⁵ “pen¹ ja.ŋ²raj¹ phu.an³ tham¹maj¹ dɜ.n¹ kho.¹ tok² du.¹*
fox ask be how friend why walk neck down look

ŋɔ:j⁵ŋaw⁵ hiaw² hæ.ŋ³”
lonely not lively

11. *ma.⁴ tɔ.p² “ʔu.¹ naj¹ kha.³ hu.m¹ khwa.m¹di.¹ khwa.m¹chɔ:p³ thi.³*
horse answer yes master my forget goodness goodness that

kha.³ tham¹ haj³ ma:k³maj¹ la.j⁵ pi.¹ sia⁵ sin³ læ⁴ phrɔ⁴ kæ.² con¹
I do BEN a lot many year entirely and because old till

tham¹ŋa.n¹ maj³ kho:j³ waj⁵ læ.w⁴ khaw⁵ ko.³ maj³ tɔ.ŋ³ka.n¹ chaj⁴
work not rather able not anymore he AUX not want use

plɔː²plɔːj² haj³ paj¹ taːm¹ ja¹ thaː⁵ kam¹ jay¹ phuː³ waː³ tɔː² muu³ khaː³ kvɛː²
 let free let go freely also say that when I have

kam¹ laj¹ khæːŋ⁵ ræːŋ¹ kwaː² siŋ⁵ toː¹ cuŋ¹ ca² ʔaw¹ klap² paj¹ lian⁴ ʔik²”
 strength strong more lion then will take back go keep again

12. ciŋ³ cɔːk² plɔːp² joːn¹ maː⁴ haj³ tham¹ caj¹ diː¹ waj⁴ 13. phuː³ waː³
 fox console horse let make heart good keep say that

“khaː³ ca² chuaj³ caw³ nɔːn¹ loŋ¹ tron¹ niː⁴ læ² ʃat² tua¹ haj³
 I will help you lie down at here Fp stretch body let

khæːŋ⁵ thuː³ tham¹ pen¹ taːj¹”
 hard pretend die

14. maː⁴ tham¹ taːm¹ nan⁴ 15. ciŋ³ cɔːk² paj¹ haː⁵ siŋ⁵ toː¹ ʔan¹ juː²
 horse do follow that fox go see lion who live

naj¹ tham³ klaj³ klaj³ 16. phuː³ waː³ “miː¹ maː⁴ taːj¹ tua¹ nuŋ² juː² thaːŋ¹
 in cave nearby say that is horse die CLASS one be way

thiː³ juaw⁴ paj¹ nɔːj² maː¹ kap² khaː³ thvɛː² ca² daj³ phop⁴ ʔaː¹ han⁵ ʔ
 that away go little come with me Fp will get see food

ʔoː¹ chaː¹ rot⁴”
 delicious

17. siŋ⁵ toː¹ diː¹ caj¹ nak⁴ 18. ʔɔːk² paj¹ than¹ thiː¹ 19. phɔː¹ phaː¹ kan¹ maː¹
 lion glad very out go at once when together come

thuŋ⁵ maː⁴ ciŋ³ cɔːk² phuː³ waː³ “hen⁵ ca² kin¹ thiː³ niː³ maj³ saː¹ duak²
 reach horse fox say that see will eat here not comfortable

nak⁴ ca² bɔːk² wiː⁴ thiː¹ haj³ khaː³ ca² mat⁴ caw³ haj³ næn³ kap² haːŋ⁵
 Fp will tell way BEN I will tie you let tight with tail

maː⁴ læw⁴ ca² daj³ laːk³ man¹ paj¹ kin¹ thiː³ tham³ caw³ haj³ saː¹ baːj¹ caj¹”
 horse then will able draw it go eat at cave your let happy

20. kham¹ næ⁴ nam¹ niː⁴ siŋ⁵ toː¹ phɔː¹ caj¹ maːk³ 21. cuŋ¹ nɔːn¹ loŋ¹ doj¹ diː¹
 advice this lion like very so lie down

haj³ ciŋ³ cɔːk² phuːk² tɪt² kap² haːŋ⁵ maː⁴ 22. tæː² ciŋ³ cɔːk² caː² kan¹
 easily let fox tie together to tail horse but fox manage

phuːk² khaː⁵ siŋ⁵ toː¹ mor² thaŋ⁴ siː² ruam¹ khaw³ duaj³ kan¹ 23. mat⁴
 tie leg lion all all four put together tie

ja:ŋ²næ:n³na:⁵ con¹ sur²ræ:ŋ¹kv:² con¹siŋ⁵to:¹ ca² lur² ʔɔ:k² paj¹ maj³
tightly till extremely till lion will get away out go not

daj³ næ:³ 24. pho:¹ ser² di:¹ læ:w⁴ ciŋ³cɔ:k² top² loŋ¹ bon¹ ba:²
able sure when finish well already fox pat down on shoulder

ma:⁴ saŋ² “do:² phu:an³ do:²”
horse order jump friend jump

25. ma:⁴ kɔ:³ phen²phluat³ khu:n³ ʔɔ:k² daj³ wiŋ³hɔ:³ la:k³ siŋ⁵to:¹
horse AUX move quickly up start able gallop pull lion

ta:m¹laŋ⁵ paj¹ duaj³ 26. siŋ⁵to:¹ phæ:²siaŋ⁵ thaŋ⁴ rɔ:ŋ⁴ thaŋ⁴ khra:ŋ¹ lan³
follow go with lion cry loudly both cry and moan loudly

27. nok⁴hok² naj¹ pa:² tu:n² bin¹ phin⁵pho:⁵ duaj³ khwa:m¹tra¹nok²tok²caj¹
bird in forest frighten fly away with fright

28. tæ:² ma:⁴ kɔ:³ khon¹ haj³ siŋ⁵to:¹ ban¹lu:¹ siaŋ⁵ ʔu:k²ka¹thu:k⁴ ku:k²kɔ:ŋ³
but horse AUX still let lion make sound loudly echo

kla:ŋ¹ pa:² jaj² 29. khuap³ con¹ sur²kam¹laŋ¹ paj¹ ba:n³ naj¹
middle forest big gallop till at one's extreme strength go house master

30. ma:⁴ ta¹kon¹ bɔ:k² “siŋ⁵to:¹ ni:³ næ² naj¹ kha:³caw³ cha¹na⁴
horse shout tell lion this Fp master I win

man¹ læ:w⁴”
it already

31. mua³ naj¹ hen⁵ sar² rap³chaj⁴ tua¹ kæ:² khɔ:ŋ⁵ ton¹ sa:⁵ma:³
when master see animal service his old of self to be capable

chen³ nan⁴ caj¹ kɔ:³ khla:¹ khwa:m¹ho:² loŋ¹ 32. phu:³ wa:³ “ʔaw¹
like that heart AUX lessen cruelty down say that yes

khaw³ ju:² naj¹ ro:ŋ¹ daj³ ʔi:k² kha:³ khon¹ lian⁴du:¹ tɔ:²paj¹
enter live in stable able again I still take care continue

The Fox and the Horse

1. A farmer had a very good horse. 2. But when the horse was old (and) not fit for work, 3. (he) thought about not keeping (it). 4. (He) said that “I don’t want to use you anymore. (I) will let (you) go to earn your own living. When (you) are stronger than a lion, (I) will keep (you) again.” 5. (He) then opened the door of the stable (and) let the horse go.

6. The horse walked staggeringly, very sadly. 7. (He) wandered here and there in the forest. 8. (He) looked for a shelter that could protect (him) from cold wind and rain. 9. (He) came across a fox.

10. The fox asked "How are you? Why are you walking unhappily?"

11. The horse answered "Yes, my master totally forgot my goodness. Because (I) am too old to work, he does not want to keep (me). (He) let (me) go by myself. (He) also said that if I am stronger than a lion, (he) then will keep me again."

12. The fox consoled the horse. 13. (He) said that "I will help you. Lie down here, stretch (your) body, (and) pretend (that you are) dead."

14. The horse followed (the instruction). 15. The fox went to see a lion who lived in a cave nearby. 16. (He) said that "There is a dead horse nearby. Come with me. (You) will have delicious food."

17. The lion was very glad. 18. (He) went out immediately. 19. When (they) came to the horse, the fox said that "It is inconvenient to eat (the horse) here. (I) will tell (you) what to do. (I) will tie you to the horse's tail, then (you) will pull it to eat in your cave."

20. The lion was satisfied with this advice. 21. (He) then laid down, (and) let the fox tie (him) to the horse's tail. 22. But the fox managed to tie the lion's legs together. 23. (He) tied (the legs) very tightly until the lion could not get away. 24. When (he) finished, the fox patted the horse's shoulder, ordered "Jump, friend, jump."

25. The horse then got up quickly, ran very fast, pulled the lion after (him) also. 26. The lion cried and moaned loudly. 27. Birds in the forest were frightened (and) flew awildly. 28. But the horse still let the lion continue making noisy sound in the middle of the forest. 29. (He) ran to (his) master's house.

30. The horse shouted "This is the lion, master. I beat it."

31. When the master saw (that) his old animal was capable like that, he was less cruel. 32. (He) said "Yes, (you) can stay in the stable again. I will continue to take care of you."

Text 7

sa.⁵mak⁴khi.¹

Unity

1. phra⁴caw³ pa.¹cha.³sa.²tru.¹ sun³ sa.¹wy.⁵ra.³cha.¹som⁵bat² na⁴
 King Archartsatru who reign at
- krun¹ra.³cha.¹khru⁴ naj¹wæ.³khwæ.⁴ ma.¹khot⁴ chon¹na.¹bot² mi.¹phra⁴pra.¹son⁵
 city of Ratchakrue in province Makhot rural area want
- ca.² son¹pra.²pra.¹m¹ wat.⁴chi.¹ chon¹na.¹bot² pa.¹pen¹ khe.²dæ.¹n¹ khɔ.⁵
 will conquer Watchi rural area that be territory of
- law² ka.¹sa.² Lit.⁴cha.¹wi.⁵ sun³ mi.¹ pa.¹na.¹khe.²tir.²to.² kan¹ 2. tæ.²
 group king Litchawi who have boundary nearby together but
- ko.³ jaj¹ maj³ sa.⁵ma.³ thi.³ ca.² jok⁴ paj¹pra.²pra.¹m¹ daj³ 3. phrɔ.⁴
 AUX still not able that will march go to conquer able because
- ka.¹sa.² lit.⁴cha.¹wi.⁵ law² nan⁴ son¹ta.³ ju.² naj¹ pa.¹pa.¹n⁴ha.⁵ni.⁴ja.⁴tham¹
 king Litchawi group that remain be in religious teachings
- than⁴ce.² ja.²man.³khon¹ bo.¹n⁴bun¹ mi.⁴ daj³ ra.⁴ra.¹n¹ 4. khu.¹ muu.³
 all seven strictly completely not get disunited that when
- mi.¹ ra.³cha.¹kit² nɔ.³ jaj² daj¹daj¹ ko.³ man² pra.¹chum¹ kan¹
 there is royal work little a lot any AUX diligent meet together
- nuan¹nuan¹ mi.⁴ daj³thɔ.⁴thɔ.³ naj¹ka.¹n¹pra.¹chum¹ 5. læ.⁴ muu.³ pra.¹chum¹
 often not get disheartened in meeting and when meet
- ko.³ phrɔ.⁴m⁴phrian¹kan¹ pra.¹chum¹ 6. muu.³ lɛ.³ ko.³ phrɔ.⁴m⁴phrian¹kan¹
 AUX altogether meet when stop AUX altogether
- lɛ.³ læ.⁴ phrɔ.⁴m⁴phrian¹kan¹ chua.³sap.²pha.¹kit² thi.³ khuan¹ tham¹ haj³
 stop and altogether help work that should do let
- sam.⁵ret² paj¹pen.¹ton³ 7. phra.⁴caw³ pa.¹cha.³sa.²tru.¹ cu.¹son¹pruk.²sa.⁵ tok.²ton¹
 finish go example king Archartsatru so consult agree
- kan¹ kap.² wat.⁴sa.¹ka.¹ra.¹phra.¹m¹ sun³ pen¹ pa.¹ma.¹ta.² 8. læ.⁴ klæ.³
 together with Watsakarabrahm who be counselor then pretend
- tham¹ pen¹son¹phra.⁴phi.⁴ro.³ war.³sa.¹ka.¹ra.¹phra.¹m¹ du.³ he.² thi.³ thun¹
 act like be angry Watsakarabrahm with reason that argue

- khat⁴kha.n⁴ mi⁴ haj³jok⁴ paj¹ pra:p²pra.m¹ wat⁴chi:¹ ka¹sat² pen¹ton³* 9. *cun¹*
 against not let march go conquer Watchi king example so
- haj³ lon¹phra⁴ra:ɽ³cha¹ʔa:ɽ²ja:¹ ko.n¹ si:⁵sa² wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra.m¹ læ.w⁴ khap²la³j³*
 let punish shave head Watsakarabrahm then exile
- sia⁵ ca:k² phra⁴na¹khɔ:n¹* 10. *wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra.m¹ ko:³ tron¹ paj¹ jaŋ¹*
 Fp from city Watsakarabrahm AUX straight go to
- phra⁴na¹khɔ:n¹ we:¹sa:⁵li:¹* 11. *ka¹sat² li:⁴cha¹wi:⁵ maj³ son¹sa:p³ naj¹*
 city Wesali king Litchawi not know in
- kon¹ʔu¹ba:j¹ ko:³ son¹rap⁴ wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra.m¹ waj⁴ læ⁴ son¹taŋ³ haj³*
 trick AUX take Watsakarabrahm keep and appoint let
- pen¹ phu:³wi⁴ni⁴chaj⁵khwa.m¹ læ⁴ haj³ pen¹ ʔa:¹ca.n¹ so:n⁵ sin⁵la¹pa²wi⁴tha¹ja:¹*
 be judge and let be instructor teach knowledge of art
- kæ:² ra:ɽ³cha¹ku²ma.n¹ thaŋ⁴la:j⁵ duaj³* 12. *phrɔ:⁴ wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra.m¹ pen¹*
 to royal children all also because Watsakarabrahm be
- phu:³cham¹na.n¹ naj¹ ka.n¹wi⁴ni⁴chaj⁵ læ⁴ rɔ:p³ru:⁴ sin⁵la¹pa²wi⁴tha¹ja:¹ ma:k³*
 skillful in judgment and know knowledge of art a lot
13. *muu³ wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra.m¹ daj³ ʔo:¹ka:ɽ² chen³nan⁴ læ.w⁴ ko:³*
 when Watsakarabrahm get opportunity like that already AUX
- thu:n¹ju⁴jon¹ ra:ɽ³cha¹ku²ma.n¹ læ⁴ ka¹sat² li:⁴cha¹wi:⁵ duaj³ ʔu²ba:j¹ ta:ŋ²ta:ŋ²*
 incite royal children and king Litchawi with trick different
14. *con¹ ka.n¹ luan³ma:¹ sa:m⁵ pi:¹ ka¹sat² li:⁴cha¹wi:⁵ thaŋ⁴puan¹ ko:³*
 till time pass by three year king Litchawi all AUX
- son¹phi⁴ro:ɽ³ khat²khuan¹ tæ:k²ra:w⁴ kan¹ mo:² maj³ phrɔ:m⁴phriaj¹*
 angry resent disunited together all not altogether
- sa¹mak²sa¹mo:¹so:n⁵ kan¹ muan⁵ tæ:²ko:n²* 15. *wat⁴sa¹ka¹ra¹phra.m¹ cun¹*
 united together as before Watsakarabrahm so
- lo:ŋ¹ haj³ ti:¹ klo:ŋ¹ nat⁴ pra¹chum¹ khun³* 16. *ka¹sat² li:⁴cha¹wi:⁵ thaŋ⁴la:j⁵*
 try let beat drum call meeting up king Litchawi all
- muu³ daj³ son¹sa¹dap² siaŋ⁵ klo:ŋ¹læ.w⁴ ta:ŋ² ko:³ rap⁴saŋ² wa:³*
 when get hear sound drum already each AUX say that
- “khraj¹ pen¹ ʔit²sa¹ra² khraj¹ pen¹ phu:³kla:³ ko:³ con¹ pra¹chum¹ thv:²*
 who be free who be brave AUX must meet Fp

raw¹ mi⁴ daj³ pen¹ jaj² læ⁴ mi⁴ daj³ pen¹ khon¹ kla:³ raw¹ maj³ pra¹ chum¹
I not get be great and not get be brave I not meet

læ.w⁴ 17. læ.w⁴ ta.ŋ² kɔ:³ mi⁴ daj³ sa¹ det² paj¹ pra¹ chum¹ lɔ.j¹
not anymore then each AUX not get go meet not at all

tæ:² sak² ʔoŋ¹ diaw¹ 18. war³ sa¹ ka¹ ra¹ phra.m¹ hen⁵ daŋ¹ nan⁴ cuŋ¹ soŋ²
only even CLASS one Watsakarabrahm see like that so send

kha.w² paj¹ thu.n¹ phra⁴ caw³ ʔa:¹ cha.t³ sar² tru:¹ haj³ soŋ¹ sa.p³ 19. phra⁴ caw³
message go tell king Archartsatru let know king

ʔa:¹ cha.t³ sar² tru:¹ kɔ:³ sa¹ det² phra⁴ ra.t³ cha¹ dam¹ nv.n¹ jok⁴ kɔ.ŋ¹ thap⁴ paj¹
Archartsatru AUX go march army go

pra.p² pra.m¹ wat⁴ chi:¹ chon¹ na¹ bor² daj³ doj¹ sa¹ duak² 20. thi:³ sur² tæ:² tha¹ wa.n¹
conquer Watchi rural area able easily even gate

phra⁴ na¹ khɔ:n¹ we:¹ sa:⁵ li:¹ kɔ:³ mi⁴ daj³ pit² 21. khra.n⁴ phra⁴ ʔoŋ¹
city Wesali AUX not get close when he

soŋ¹ pra.p² pra.m¹ ka¹ sar² lit⁴ cha¹ wi:⁵ thaŋ⁴ la.j⁵ haj³ riap³ rɔ:j⁴ læ.w⁴ kɔ:³
conquer king Litchawi all let finish already AUX

sa¹ det² klap² phra⁴ na¹ khɔ:n¹
return city

22. khwa.m¹ phrɔ:m⁴ phriaŋ¹ kɔ:² haj³ kvɔ:² phon⁵ suk² na:¹
unity (altogether) make let occur result happiness Fp

khwa.m¹ tæ:k² ra.w⁴ pha:¹ thon¹ thuk⁴ kra.w³ dan¹ ka¹ sar² wat⁴ chi:¹ don¹
disunity bring suffer distress as king Watchi reach

khwa.m¹ phi⁴ na.t³ nɔ:¹ kɔ:³ phrɔ:⁴ khwa.m¹ tæ:k² ra.w⁴ ruan³ ni:⁴ mi:¹ nan¹
destruction Fp AUX because disunity story this is long time

Unity

1. King Archartsatru who was the king of Ratchakrue in Makhot province wanted to conquer Watchi province which belonged to Litchawi kings and which was next to (Makhot). 2. But (he) was not able to conquer (it). 3. Because those Litchawi kings were highly united. 4. That is, when there was any kind of work, (they) regularly held a meeting, (they) were not tired of meeting. 5. And when (they) had a meeting, (they) came together. 6. When (they) finished (meeting), (they) finished together and helped each other work. 7. King Archartsatru therefore made a plan with Watsakarabrahm who was (his) counselor. 8. And then, (he) pretended to be angry at Watsakarabrahm

for the reason that (Watsakarabrahm argued (that he) should not go to conquer Watchi kings. 9. (He) therefore punished (Watsakarabrahm) by (letting someone) shave Watsakarabrahm's hair, then exiled (him). 10. Watsakarabrahm then went to the city of Wesali. 11. Litchawi kings did not know the plan therefore accepted Watsakarabrahm, appointed (him) to be a judge and an instructor of the royal children. 12. Because Watsakarabrahm was skillful in judgment and had a wide knowledge of art. 13. When Watsakarabrahm had that opportunity, (he) then incited the royal children and Litchawi kings with different tricks. 14. Until three years passed by, Litchawi kings were no longer united, (they) were not united as before. 15. Watsakarabrahm then tried to call the meeting by beating the drum. 16. When Litchawi kings heard the sound of the drum, (they) said that "The ones who are free, the ones who are brave go to join the meeting. I am neither great nor brave. I will not go to join the meeting." 17. Then (they) did not go for the meeting. 18. Watsakarabrahm saw what happened, so (he) sent a message to tell King Archartsatru (in order to) let (him) know. 19. King Archartsatru then came to conquer Watchi easily. 20. Even the gate of Wesali was not closed. 21. When he had conquered Litchawi kings, (he) went back to (his) city.

(Poem)

22. The unity brings happiness.
 The disunity brings distress.
 As Litchawi kings were destroyed
 Because of the disunity. This story lasts a long time.

Text 8

ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k² *phu:³* *ŋo:³khlaw⁵*
fox who foolish

1. *ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k²* *tua¹* *nuŋ²ʔæp²* *dv:n¹* *khaw³* *ma:¹* *naj¹* *mu:²ba.n³* *khɔ:ŋ⁵*
fox CLASS one sneak walk enter come in village of

khon¹ *phuua³* *mɔ:ŋ¹* *ha:⁵* *ʔa:¹ha.n⁵*
people in order look find food

2. *man¹* *baŋ¹ʔv:n¹* *dv:n¹* *pha.n²* *rua⁴* *laŋ⁵ba.n³* *khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴sa²* *hæ.ŋ²*
he by chance walk past fence backyard butcher CLASS

nuŋ² 3. *rua⁴* *thi:³* *wa:³* *ni:⁴* *pen¹* *phæ.n²* *maj⁴* *kra¹da.n¹* *ti:¹pi:²* *waj⁴*
one fence that say this be board nailed keep shut

ja:ŋ²mit⁴chit⁴ *ta¹lɔ:ɔ²* 4. *tæ:²* *baŋ¹ʔv:n¹* *thi:³* *taj³* *kra¹da.n¹* *phæ.n²* *nuŋ²*
completely throughout but accidentally that under board CLASS one

mi:¹ *rɔ:ŋ³tæ:k²* *ju:²* *rɔ:ŋ³* *nuŋ²* *jaj²* *kha¹naɔ²* *mæ:w¹* *phɔ:¹* *lɔ:ɔ³* *daj³*
is crack be CLASS one big size cat barely pass through able

5. *ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k²* *daj³klin²* *nua⁴* *le⁴lɔ:ɔ³* *ʔɔ:k²* *ma:¹* *ca:k²* *rɔ:ŋ³* *nan⁴* *cunŋ¹*
fox smell meat sneak out come from crack that so

cha¹ŋv:⁴na:³ *mɔ:ŋ¹* *pha.n²* *rɔ:ŋ³* *du:¹* *sa¹pha:p³* *pha:j¹naj¹* *rua⁴* *laŋ⁵ba.n³*
stretch neck look through crack see condition inside fence backyard

khɔ:ŋ⁵ *khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴* 6. *man¹* *tɔ:ŋ³* *phop⁴* *kap²* *pha:p³* *thi:³* *baɔ²ta:¹*
of butcher he havemeet with picture that offensive to eyes

baɔ²ta:¹ *baɔ²caj¹* *phrɔ⁴* *bɔ¹ri¹we.n¹* *laŋ⁵ba.n³* *mi:¹* *kra¹du:k²*
offensive to eyes offensive feeling because area backyard is bone

wua¹ *læ⁴* *seɔ²* *nua⁴sa²* *kɔ:ŋ¹* *tem¹* *paj¹* *mor²* 7. *tha:³* *ca²* *kin¹* *kan¹*
ox and piece meat pile all over (the place) if will eat together

ciŋ¹ciŋ¹ *ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k²* *ca²* *ʔim²* *paj¹* *daj³* *ʔi:k²* *la:j⁵* *wan¹* *lvj* *thi:¹diaw¹*
really fox will full go able more many day Fp absolutely

8. *ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k²* *ru:⁴su:k²* *nam⁴la:j¹la:j⁵ɔ:j⁴* *ʔɔ:k²* *ma:¹* *thuam³* *pa:k²*
fox feel mouth water out come run over mouth

naj¹than¹thi:¹ *ri:p³* *ta¹kuj¹ta¹ka:j¹* *khü⁴* *ca²* *mut⁴* *khaw³* *paj¹* *naj¹* *rɔ:ŋ³*
immediate hurry scamper up think will go under enter go in crack

*tir*² *ju*² *thi*³ *tho:ŋ*⁴
stuck be at belly

no:j²diaw¹ ko:³ pra:¹kor² wa:³... man¹ tham¹ daj³ sam⁵rer² man¹ sa:⁵ma:³
 little AUX appear that he make able finish he able

*muu*⁴ *khaw*³ *ma*¹ *pha:j*¹*naj*¹ *rua*⁴ *daj*³ *ciŋ*¹*ciŋ*¹
go under enter come inside fence able really

17. “*ha*⁴ *ha*⁴ *ha*⁴ *ha*⁴” *ma*⁵*ciŋ*³*cɔ:k*² *hwa*⁵*rɔ*⁴ *ɔ*²*cɔ:k*² *ma*¹ *duaj*³ *khwa*¹*m*¹*di*¹*caj*¹
sound of laugh fox laugh out come with glad

18. *nuar*³*ca:k*²*ɔ*²*ŋ*³ *sia*⁵ *we*¹*la*¹ *ɔ*²*r*²*kha*¹*w*³*ɔ*²*r*²*nam*⁴ *ma*¹ *pen*¹ *we*¹*la*¹
owing have lose time starve come be time

*taŋ*³ *ɔ*¹*thü*⁴ *muu*³ *mu*⁴ *khaw*³ *ma*¹ *thuŋ*⁵ *kɔ*²*ŋ*¹ *ɔ*¹*ha*¹*n*⁵ *thi*³ *wa*¹*ŋ*¹*sum*⁵
to week when go under enter come to pile food that place

*ju*² *troŋ*¹ *kha*¹*ŋ*³*na*³ *ma*⁵*ciŋ*³*cɔ:k*² *cui*¹ *car*²*ka*¹*n*¹ *khwa*⁴ *phuak*³ *se*² *nua*⁴
be at front fox so manage grab group piece meat

*se*² *kra*¹*du*²*k*² *jar*⁴ *khaw*³ *ma*¹ *khiaw*⁴*naj*¹ *pa*²*k*² *ja*¹*ŋ*² *ɔ*¹*a*¹*re*² *ɔ*¹*a*¹*rɔ*²*j*²
piece bone put in enter come chew in mouth deliciously

*man*¹*mu*¹*man*¹*pa*²*k*² *so*²*chuu*³ *ru*¹*n*³*caj*¹ *ja*¹*ŋ*² *maj*³ *mi*¹ *ɔ*¹*a*¹*raj*¹
enjoyable feel fresh happy in manner not have anything

*ca*²*priap*² *daj*³
will compare able

19. *man*¹ *kin*¹ *ɔ*¹*aw*¹ *kin*¹ *ɔ*¹*aw*¹ ... *con*¹*kra*¹*than*³ *phuŋ*¹ *ka*¹*ŋ*¹ *kin*¹ *ɔ*²*paj*¹
he eat take eat take until belly stretch eat go on

*maj*³ *waj*⁵ *ɔ*¹*k*² *læ*¹*w*⁴ 20. *mu*⁴ *ni*⁴ *pen*¹ *mu*⁴ *thi*³ *ɔ*¹*m*² *thi*³*sur*² *læ*⁴
not able more anymore meal this be meal that full most and

*ɔ*¹*rɔ*²*j*² *thi*³*sur*² *thaw*³*thi*³ *man*¹ *kv*² *ma*¹ *lv*¹*j*¹ *thi*¹*diaw*¹
delicious most as far he born come Fp absolutely

21. *than*¹*daj*¹*nan*⁴ *khon*¹*kha*¹*j*⁵*nua*⁴ *kɔ*³ *pv*² *pra*¹*tu*¹ *laŋ*⁵*ba*¹*n*³
suddenly butcher AUX open door backyard

*cha*¹*ŋo*²*k*³*na*³ *ɔ*²*cɔ:k*² *ma*¹ *mɔ*¹*ŋ*¹ *phr*⁴ *daj*³*jin*¹ *siaŋ*⁵ *phü*²*prok*²*ka*¹*ti*²
stretch neck out come look because hear sound unusual

*kv*² *khu*¹*n*³ *pha*¹*j*¹*naj*¹ *rua*⁴ *laŋ*⁵*ba*¹*n*³ 22. *pho*¹ *khon*¹*kha*¹*j*⁵*nua*⁴ *mɔ*¹*ŋ*¹ *hen*⁵
happen inside fence backyard when butcher look see

*ma*⁵*ciŋ*³*cɔ:k*² *khaw*⁵ *kɔ*³ *kham*¹*ra*¹*m*¹ *ɔ*²*cɔ:k*² *ma*¹ *ja*¹*ŋ*²*kro*²*x*²*khu*¹*ŋ*³ ...
fox he AUX growl out come angrily

“*h*³*xj*³ *ma*⁵*ciŋ*³*cɔ:k*² *ni*⁴ *loŋ*⁵ *khaw*³ *ma*¹ *naj*¹ *rua*⁴ *laŋ*⁵*ba*¹*n*³ *chan*⁵
hey fox this get lost enter come in fence backyard my

daj³ jaŋ²raj¹ ni:³ ba⁴ *kin¹ kha:w³khɔŋ⁵ chan⁵ kra¹cuj¹kra¹caj¹ paj¹*
 able how this exclamation eat belongings my scattered go

mor² lɛj¹ ... mæ:³ʔi:¹nu:⁵ *ʔaw¹ baŋ¹tɔ:¹ khɔŋ⁵ chan⁵ ma:¹ rew¹ tɔŋ³*
 all Fp mother of child take big knife of mine come quick must

kha:³ ma:⁵ tua¹ ni⁴ haj³ taj¹ diaw⁵ni:⁴ læ² ... "
 kill dog CLASS this let die now Fp

23. *phu:³ ser² khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴ kɔ:³ khwa:⁴ mi:³baŋ¹tɔ:¹ thi:³ mi:¹ waj⁴*
 say finish butcher AUX grab big knife that have keep

sam⁵rap² læ:³ nua⁴sa² phlo:²phruar³ khaw³ ma:¹ ha:⁵ ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k² thi:³
 for cut meat appear suddenly enter come toward fox that

kam¹lan¹ tok²caj¹ con¹ ta¹luŋ¹la:n¹ ju:² kap² thi:³
 in progress frighten till dazed be at place

24. *phɔ:¹ ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k² da:j³sa¹ti² man¹ kɔ:³ ri:³ wiŋ³ kra¹co:n¹ troŋ¹*
 when fox control self he AUX hurry run jump straight

paj¹ jaŋ¹ rɔŋ³tæ:k² thi:³ tua¹ʔeŋ¹ mu:⁴ khaw³ ma:¹ nan⁴ ca:²ka:n¹
 go to crack that himself go under enter come that manage

pi:n¹pa:j² ta¹ka:j¹ ca² ni:⁵ ʔɔ:k² paj¹ ca:k² rɔŋ³tæ:k² nan⁴
 climb scamper up will get away out go from crack that

25. *tæ:² phuŋ¹ ʔan¹ ju:n³ka:ŋ¹ khɔŋ⁵ man¹ sa¹kar² ka:n¹lop²ni:⁵ khɔŋ⁵*
 but belly that stretch of his prevent escape of

man¹ waj⁴ jaŋ² chuaj³ ʔa¹raj¹ maj³ da:j³
 his keep manner help anything not able

26. *daŋ¹nan⁴ na:j¹thi:³sur² khon¹kha:j⁵nua⁴ kɔ:³ kha:³ ma:⁵ciŋ³cɔ:k² nan⁴*
 therefore finally butcher AUX kill fox that

daj³ sam⁵re:²
 able finish

27. *tham¹ ʔa¹raj¹ maj³ khi:⁴na:³khi:⁴lan⁵ ʔa:²ca² nam¹ ma:¹ swŋ³*
 do anything not think thorough may bring come that

phaj¹wi⁴bat² kæ.² tua¹ʔeŋ¹ daɰ³
 harm to oneself possible

The Foolish Fox

1. A fox sneaked into a village to find food.
2. He by chance walked past a fence at the backyard of a butcher's house. 3. This fence was made from boards nailed completely. 4. But accidentally under a board there was a crack (that was) big enough for a cat to go through.
5. The fox smelled meat from the crack so (he) stretched (his) neck to see the backyard of the butcher. 6. He had to see something which was offensive to (his) eyes and feeling because at the backyard there were cow/ox bones and pieces of meat piled all over the place. 7. If (he) really ate, the fox would be absolutely full for many days.
8. The fox felt his mouth watering immediately, (he) hurriedly scampered up in order to get through the crack. 9. But his body was too big, even though he tried hard, he could not get in, he was stuck at his belly.
10. Finally, in the evening the fox had to return to the forest as usual without any food to eat. 11. He therefore made a plan to eat pieces of bones and meat at the butcher's backyard.
12. The fox starved for many days, (he) tried to tense his body in order that his belly would be flat. 13. Until one week later, he was sure that his belly was flat.
14. The fox hurriedly went to the fence of the butcher immediately.
15. When (he) reached (there), (he) went under the crack. 16. (He) tried to flatten (his) belly, then it appeared that he made it, he was able to get inside the fence.
17. "Ha ha ha" the fox laughed gladly.
18. Because (he) had to starve for a week when (he) reached a pile of food, the fox grabbed pieces of meat and bones to eat happily, (he) felt fresh, nothing could be compared with (this feeling).
19. He ate and ate... until (his) belly was stretched, (he) could not eat anymore.
20. This meal made (him) mostly full and (it) was the most delicious meal he ever had.
21. Suddenly, the butcher opened the door, stretched (his) neck to see (what happened) because (he) heard unusual sound inside the fence at the backyard. 22. When the butcher saw the fox, he then growled angrily...
- "Hey, how could this fox get into my backyard? (The fox) ate my belongings until they were scattered... (my) daughter's mother, get (me) a big knife quickly, (I) must kill this dog now..."
23. (When he) finished saying, the butcher grabbed the big knife that was used for cutting meat, appeared suddenly, came toward the fox who was so frightened that (he) was dazed.
24. When the fox was in control of himself, he then hurriedly jumped, went toward the crack that he came from, (he) climbed in order to get away from the crack.
25. But his stretched belly helplessly prevented him from (his) escape.
26. Finally, the butcher was able to kill the fox.
27. Doing things carelessly may do harm to yourself.

Text 9

bun¹ wi⁴se:ɿ²
pond magic

1. *ta:¹bun¹ kap² ja:j¹ma:¹ pen¹ cha:w¹pa:²cha:w¹do:j¹*
grandfather Boon and grandmother Ma be forest person

2. *mi:¹ kra¹tho:m³ plu:k² ju:² cha:j¹pa:²don¹dip²* 3. *ta:¹bun¹*
have hut build be edge of forest grandfather Boon

tham¹na:³thi:³ ʔo:k² paj¹ la:³saɿ² cap² pla:¹ thuk⁴wan¹ 4. *suan² ja:j¹ma:¹*
perform duty out go hunt catch fish everyday as for grandmother Ma

ju:² faw³ kra¹tho:m³
stay watch hut

5. *jen¹wan¹nun²ta:¹bun¹ ʔo:k² ma:¹ la:³saɿ² taŋ³tæ:² chaw⁴*
one evening grandfather Boon out come hunt since morning

ko:³ jaŋ¹ la:³saɿ² maj³ daj³ sak² tua¹ 6. *kha¹na:²thi:³ kam¹laŋ¹*
AUX still hunt not able even CLASS while in progress

nua:j² læ⁴ mo:¹ho:⁵ phlan¹ ko:³ luap² paj¹ hen⁵ kra¹ta:j² no:j⁴
tired and angry suddenly AUX catch sight of go see rabbit little

tua¹ nun² cuŋ¹ ri:p³ jok⁴ pu:n¹ khu:n³ leŋ¹ "po:ŋ³!"
CLASS one so hurry lift gun up aim bang

7. *kra¹ta:j² no:j⁴ kra¹do:ɿ² tua¹ lo:j¹*
rabbit little jump body rise

8. *pra:¹koɿ² wa:³ kra¹sun⁵ tha:k² kha:⁵laŋ⁵ paj¹ no:j²* 9. *kra¹ta:j²*
appear that bullet pass through back leg go little rabbit

phian¹ ba:ɿ²cep² lek⁴no:j⁴ læ⁴ man¹ wiŋ³ fa:² don¹maj⁴ ha:j⁵
only injured little and it run go through bush disappear

khaw³ paj¹ naj¹ pa:² huk⁴
enter go in forest deep

10. *ta:¹bun¹ cuŋ¹ ri:p³ ʔo:k² ti:²ta:m¹ kra¹ta:j² tua¹ nan⁴*
grandfather Boon so hurry go out follow rabbit CLASS that

mo:ŋ¹ hen⁵ man¹ wiŋ³ wæ:p³wæ:p³ loŋ¹ paj¹ tha:ŋ¹ hup²khaw⁵ buaŋ³na:³
look see it run unclear down go way valley front

11. *phɔː¹ taː¹bun¹ wiŋ³ laj³ kra¹taːj² maː¹thuŋ⁵ buŋ¹nam⁴*
 when grandfather Boon run chase rabbit reach pond
- lek⁴lek⁴ hæŋ² nuŋ² khaw⁵ kɔː³ phop⁴ kap² khwa.m¹plæːk²caj¹...*
 small CLASS one he AUX meet with surprise
12. *phrɔː⁴ khaw⁵ hen⁵ kra¹taːj² nɔːj⁴ kra¹doː² loŋ¹ paj¹ naj¹ buŋ¹*
 because he see rabbit little jump down go in pond
- wæːk²waːj³ naj¹ buŋ¹ phiaŋ¹ klruː³diaw¹ kɔː³ khun³maː¹ rim¹taːliŋ² kra¹doː²*
 swim in pond only a moment AUX come up bank jump
- loː³ten³ muan⁵dɔːm¹ daj³* 13. *baː²phlæː⁵ thiː³ tua¹ khɔːŋ⁵ kra¹taːj² nɔːj⁴ haːj⁵*
 caper usual able wound at body of rabbit little cured
- sa¹ni² pen¹ plir²thiŋ⁴*
 completely
14. *taː¹bun¹ khit⁴ waː³ buŋ¹nam⁴ hæŋ² nan⁴ khon¹ca² miː¹*
 grandfather Boon think that pond CLASS that may there is
- ʔa¹raj¹ wi⁴seː²wi⁴soː⁵ sak² jaːŋ² nuŋ²cuŋ¹ loŋ¹ dɔːn¹ paj¹ klaj³klaj³*
 something excellent about CLASS one so try walk go near
- chaj⁴ muː¹ wak⁴ nam⁴ khun³maː¹ duːm² ʔuk² nuŋ²*
 use hand dip water come up drink sip one
15. *chap²phlan¹ khaw⁵ kɔː³ ruː⁴suuk² naː³muː³ khun³maː¹ chua³khuː³nuŋ²*
 suddenly he AUX feel faint sudden moment
16. *phɔː¹ haːj⁵ khwa.m¹mun¹ŋoŋ¹læ.w⁴ taː¹bun¹ kɔː³ ruː⁴suuk²*
 when recover dizziness already grandfather Boon AUX feel
- kra¹priː³kra¹praw² soː²chuːn³cæːm²saj⁵ paj¹mor² thaŋ⁴ raːŋ³kaːj¹ læ⁴ ciː²caj¹*
 lively fresh all over both body and mind
17. *ʔe⁴...muː¹ thiː³ khɔːj¹ hiaw² kren¹ kɔː³ riap³tuŋ¹ muan⁵ muː¹*
 Eh hand that used to wrinkled AUX smooth like hand
- khɔːŋ⁵ khon¹num²num² cap² baj¹naː³ duː¹ phiw⁵nuː⁴ kɔː³ teŋ²tuŋ¹*
 of young man touch face see skin AUX firm
18. *‘niː³ man¹ jaŋ¹ŋaj¹kan¹ na⁴...kɔː² ʔa¹raj¹ khun³’ taː¹bun¹*
 this it how Fp happen what up grandfather Boon

soŋ⁵saŋ⁵
suspect

19. khaw⁵ kom³ loŋ¹ mɔŋ¹ ŋaw¹ tua¹peŋ¹ naŋ¹ nam⁴ kɔ:³ hen⁵ wa:
he bend down see shadow himself in water AUX see that

tua¹peŋ¹ num²khun³ ra.w¹ra.w¹ khon¹ ʔa:¹ju⁴ si:²sip² pi:¹
himself younger about person age forty year

20. cuŋ¹ lɔ:ŋ¹ wak⁴ nam⁴ du:m² ʔi:k² 21. khra:w¹ni:⁴ khaw⁵ kɔ:³
so try dip water drink more this time he AUX

kla:j¹pen¹ khon¹num² waj¹ ji:³sip² pi:¹ sia⁵læ:w⁴ maj³chaj³ khon¹thaw³
become young person age twenty year Fp not old man

ʔa:¹ju⁴ hok²sip² pi:¹ ʔi:k² tɔ:²paj¹
age sixty year anymore

22. ta:¹bun¹ di:¹caj¹ ma:k³ ri:p³ wiŋ³ klap² paj¹ ha:⁵
grandfather Boon glad very hurry run return go see

ja:j¹ma:¹ thi:³ kra¹thɔ:m³
grandmother Ma at hut

23. tɔ:n¹ræ:k³ ja:j¹ma:¹ cam¹ sa:⁵mi:¹ tua¹peŋ¹ maj³ daj³
first grandmother Ma recognize husband herself not able

24. hen⁵ ta:¹bun¹ rɔ:ŋ⁴riak³ "mia¹ ca:⁵" kɔ:³ nuuk³ wa:³
see grandfather Boon call wife Fp AUX think that

ʔaj³num² thi:³naŋ⁵ ma:¹ ci:p² lɔ:⁴ɔ:k²len³
young man somewhere come court tease

25. phɔ:¹ daj³ faŋ¹ kham¹ʔa¹thi⁴ba:j¹ khɔ:ŋ⁵ ta:¹bun¹ na:ŋ¹
when get listen explanation of grandfather Boon she

kɔ:³ di:¹caj¹ ma:k³ bɔ:k²wa:³ ca:² khɔ:⁵ paj¹ du:m² nam⁴ ca:k² buŋ¹
AUX glad very tell that will ask go drink water from pond

wi:⁴se:² sak²nɔ:j²
magic little

26. ja:j¹ma:¹ khwa:⁴daj³ maj⁴thaw⁴ kɔ:³ dɤ:n¹ dum² khaw³
grandmother Ma grab get walking stick AUX walk straight enter

paj¹ naj¹ pa.²
go in forest

27. *suan² ta.¹bun¹ car²kan¹ huŋ⁵ kha.w³ huŋ⁵ pla.¹ khɔj¹tha.³*
as for grandfather Boon manage cook rice cook fish wait

ju.² kap² ban³ triam¹ ca² lian⁴cha¹loŋ⁵ khwa.m¹pen¹num² khwa.m¹pen¹sa.w⁵
be at house prepare will celebrate young man young woman

kap² jaj¹ma.¹
with grandmother Ma

28. *tæ.² kɔ.³ con¹læ.w⁴con¹rɔ.t³ khɔj¹ ju.² khruŋ³khɔ.n³ wan¹*
but AUX no matter what wait be half day

jaj¹ma.¹ kɔ.³ jaj¹ maj³ hen⁵ klap²ma.¹ sak²thi.¹
grandmother Ma AUX still not see return Fp

29. *ta.¹bun¹ caj¹khɔ.¹ chak⁴ maj³ di.¹ klua¹ wa.³*
grandfather Boon feel rather not well afraid that

jaj¹ma.¹ ʔa.t²ca² paj¹ pra¹sop² kap² sa²raj⁴ ʔa¹raj¹ naj¹
grandmother Ma may go meet with fierce animal whatever in

pa.² khaw³ cuŋ¹ ru.⁴suuk² pen¹huan² 30. tɔ.n¹ni.⁴ kɔ.³ duuk²duun² læ.w⁴
forest by chance so feel worry now AUX late already

31. *khaw⁵ cuŋ¹ thu.⁵ faj¹cha.j⁵ ʔɔ.k² ti²ta.m¹ jaj¹ma.¹...*
he so carry flashlight go out go after grandmother Ma

con¹kra¹thaŋ³ paj¹ thuŋ⁵ buŋ¹nam⁴
until go to pond

32. *læ.w⁴ ta.¹bun¹ kɔ.³ phop⁴ hen⁵ tha.¹rok⁴jij⁵ khon¹ nuŋ²*
then grandfather Boon AUX meet see baby girl CLASS one

nɔ.n¹ rɔŋ⁴ ʔu¹wæ.⁴ ʔu¹wæ.⁴ ʔu¹wæ.⁴ ʔju.² rim¹ buŋ¹ 33. kha.ŋ³kha.ŋ³
lie cry sound of baby cry be bank pond nearby

kaj¹ khɔŋ⁵ tha.¹rok⁴ mi.¹ sua³pha.³ khɔŋ⁵ jaj¹ma.¹ kɔŋ¹ ju.²
body of baby is clothes of grandmother Ma pile be

34. *ta.¹bun¹ ɲoŋ¹ɲuaj¹ ju.² phak⁴nuŋ² kɔ.³ khaw³caj¹*
grandfather Boon puzzle be a moment AUX understand

sa¹tha.⁵na⁴kan¹ 35. khaw⁵ rɔŋ⁴ʔu¹than¹ ʔho.³thaŋ⁴ jaj¹ma.¹ khon¹ca²
situation he exclaim exclamation grandmother Ma may

du:m² nam⁴ ma:k³ kv:n¹ paj¹ lv:j¹ mi:¹ ?an¹ pen¹ paj¹ bæ:p² ni:⁴ ?aj³ raw¹
 drink water a lot too much so undergo this change like this I

kɔ:³ lu:m¹ bɔ:k² paj¹ wa:³ ?uuk² nuuŋ² na² taŋ³ ji:³ sip² pi:¹ chiaw¹ na:¹ ...
 AUX forget tell go that sip one intensifier to twenty year Fp

36. *mu:a³ mot² hon⁵ tha:ŋ¹ kæ:³ khaj⁵ ta:¹ bun¹ cuŋ¹ ?um³*
 when run out way correct grandfather Boon so carry

ja:j¹ ma:¹ ... ?v:j⁴ ... tha:¹ rok⁴ ma:¹ klap² paj¹ jaŋ¹ kra¹ tho:m³ ta:m¹ dɔ:m¹
 grandmother Ma no baby Ma return to hut as before

37. *ca² tham¹ ?a¹ raj¹ ja:² phvŋ³ phli:⁵ phla:m⁵ khuan¹ ta:j² tha:m⁵ haj³*
 will do anything do not do at once should ask let

ru:⁴ cæ:ŋ³ sia:⁵ kɔ:n² læ:w⁴ khɔ:j³ tham¹
 know clearly first and then do

The Magic Pond

1. Grandfather Boon and grandmother Ma were foresters. 2. (They) had a hut at the edge of a thick forest. 3. Grandfather Boon went to hunt everyday. 4. As for grandmother Ma, (she) stayed home.

5. Grandfather Boon came out to hunt since morning, still (he) could not hunt any until evening. 6. While (he) was tired and angry, suddenly, (he) caught sight of a little rabbit so (he) hurriedly lifted the gun to aim (at the rabbit). "Bang!"

7. The little rabbit jumped into the air.

8. It appeared that the bullet passed through the back leg. 9. The rabbit was hardly injured and he ran through the bushes, disappeared into the deep forest.

10. So grandfather Boon hurriedly went out to follow that rabbit, (he) saw it run down into the valley in front.

11. When grandfather Boon ran after the rabbit to a small pond, he was surprised.

12. Because he saw the little rabbit jump into the pond, swim for a moment, then come up the bank, jumping as usual. 13. The wound of the rabbit was cured completely.

14. Grandfather Boon thought that the pond might have something excellent so (he) tried to go near (the pond), (he) used (his) hands to dip the water to drink for one sip.

15. Suddenly, he felt faint for a moment.

16. When (he) recovered from dizziness, grandfather Boon felt lively physically and mentally. 17. Eh... the hands that used to be wrinkled were smooth like the hands of a young man, (When I) touched the face, the skin was firm.

18. "What happened?" Grandfather Boon wondered.

19. He bent down to see his shadow in the water, (and he) saw himself younger, like a forty-year-old man.

20. Therefore, (he) tried to dip the water to drink more. 21. This time, he became a twenty-year-old person, not the sixty year old man anymore.

22. Grandfather Boon was very glad, hurriedly ran back to see grandmother Ma at the hut.

23. At first, grandmother Ma could not recognize her own husband. 24. (She) saw grandfather Boon call "(My) wife", (she) thought that the young man from somewhere came to court (her).

25. When (she) listened to the explanation of grandfather Boon, (she) was very glad, (she) told (Boon) that (she) would go to drink the water in the pond.

26. Grandmother Ma grabbed (her) walking stick, (she) walked to the forest.

27. As for grandfather Boon, (he) cooked rice (and) fish, (he) waited (for Ma) at home, (he) was ready to celebrate the youthfulness with grandmother Ma.

28. But (he) waited for half a day, still grandmother Ma did not return.

29. Grandfather Boon was worried, (he) was afraid that grandmother Ma might come across a fierce animal in the forest. 30. Now it was late at night. 31. So he carried a flashlight, (he) went after grandmother Ma until (he) reached the pond.

32. Then grandfather Boon met a baby girl lying (and) crying "Uwe Uwe Uwe" at the bank. 33. Near the baby, there were the clothes of grandmother Ma.

34. Grandfather Boon was puzzled for a moment, then (he) understood the situation. 35. He exclaimed "Grandmother Ma might have drunk too much water so (she) is like this. I forgot to tell (her) that one sip of water is the equivalent of twenty years..."

36. When (he) ran out of ideas, grandfather Boon therefore carried grandmother Ma... oh no... baby Ma to return to the hut.

37. (Before) doing anything, do not do (it) at once, ask (someone until you) know clearly, then do (it).

Text 10

The Old Woman

The sound of a streetcar woke the old woman up. Last night, the old woman had a stomachache; therefore, she got up late today. She went into the kitchen. The darkness and hurry made her hit the door of the kitchen.

The old woman cooked in a hurry. After cooking, she saw her paralyzed daughter coming into the kitchen. Her daughter told her that she would clean all the dishes and pots that the old woman used for cooking. The old woman then gave alms to monks. Then she went to the market to buy desserts. She put them in a picul and sold them along the way. After most of the desserts were sold out, she returned home.

When the old woman reached home, her grandson named Dang asked for some desserts. She gave him what was left in the picul. Then she counted the money that she earned from selling the desserts. She got more profit than the day before, so she thought about buying a pair of sandals. While she was counting the money, her grandson asked her for some money. He wanted to buy a plastic gun. The old woman gave him some money. He went to buy the gun, and he played with it most of the time. After the old woman had dinner, she told her grandson to massage her. While her grandson was massaging her, she felt that his hands were warm. She knew that her grandson was sick, so she told him to get some medicine from her paralyzed daughter.

Next morning, Dang's body was very warm. When the old woman went to work, she was worried about Dang. On the way back home, she bought some local medicine for Dang. During the night, Dang's body was very hot. The old woman let him take some medicine.

The next day, Dang's body was still hot. The old woman bought little desserts at the market because she wanted to go home soon to take care of her grandson. While selling the desserts, a kind customer gave her some foreign medicine and told her to come back for more medicine if she needed it.

Next morning, Dang felt better. The old woman did not go to work but she went to see that kind customer to ask for more medicine. Last night, the old woman did not sleep well so she felt dizzy. While she was crossing a street, she did not see a car coming down from a bridge. When she stepped off the footpath, she heard people scream. She was frightened. Instead of stepping back, she went forward. Therefore, she was hit by the car.

The old woman felt her body lifted up and fell down. She could not move. She heard people talking around her but she could not hear clearly. Her eyes were wide open. The old woman thought about her grandson. He was still sick and his mother was paralyzed. She thought that if she died, how would her daughter do? Dang was still little. The old woman was hurt but she did not pray. Instead, she was worried that her daughter could not walk and what would happen to Dang?

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The Structure of Thai Narrative

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This study was originally prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Texas at Arlington. It presents an analysis of Thai narrative discourse based primarily upon the model expounded in Longacre's *The Grammar of Discourse* and is of special interest in this regard as the first major study within this framework, especially of storyline and nonstoryline, of a language which has no tense-aspect system.

Although Thai has received a considerable amount of attention by linguists, few studies before this one have done significant work above the sentence level. Using constructs from van Dijk, Burusphat begins her analysis by reducing Thai texts to macrostructures—the sequences of propositions which underlie the sentences of the text. Focusing upon four Thai texts she defines the notional structure of climactic narrative and the overall plot structure of the texts. Other major topics dealt with in detail are storyline and nonstoryline, and the encoding of participant reference by rank. The study closes with a discussion of the role of cultural information and of knowledge frames in the analysis and understanding of one of the tales.

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