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

Rosalind Anne Osborne

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

Payap University May 2009
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Finally, thank you to God, the One who has brought me to the point where I could embark on this course of study, and has given me the stamina to complete it.

Rosalind Anne Osborne
February 2009
ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

ในสัมพันธ์สารเรื่องเล่า ระบบที่ใช้ในการกล่าวถึงตัวละครนั้นทำให้เกิดวิถีการสร้างลักษณณะเฉพาะของตัวละครแต่ละตัวและรักษาลักษณะนั้นไว้ได้โดยไม่ทำให้ผู้ฟังสับสน การทำเช่นนี้ แต่ละภาษาจะมีขอบเขตของรูปแบบทางไวยากรณ์ที่เรียกว่า คำหรือข้อความที่แสดงการอ้างถึง (referring expressions) ที่มีการใช้ในรูปแบบที่เป็นเอกลักษณ์ตามแต่ละภาษา

จากเรื่องในภาษาขมุ 6 เรื่องที่บันทึกเสียงจากครูถึงจันทร์ สะปลาน นั้น มีการใช้รูปวาดที่เรียกว่า functional grammar approach เพื่อปฏิบัติคุณลักษณะโครงสร้างและหน้าที่ของคำที่ใช้ช่วงถึงตัวละคร นอกจากนี้ยังมีการนำวิธีการของ Dooley และ Levinsohn มาประยุกต์ใช้ในการสำรวจรูปแบบการใช้เรื่องเหล่านี้ในสัมพันธศาสตร์เรื่องเล่า จากการศึกษาได้พบคำและข้อความต่างๆที่แสดงการอ้างอิงถึง(referencing expressions) และอธิบายหน้าที่ใช้เพื่อแสดงว่าลักษณะถึงตัวละครใด (identifiability), สถานภาพที่ผู้อ่านคิดถึงตัวละครในเรื่อง (activation status) และความสำคัญของตัวละคร (thematic salience) ระบบการอ้างถึงถึงตัวละครในภาษาขมุสะท้อนให้เห็นถึงทั้งพื้นที่ต่อเนื่อง (sequential strategy) และกลวิธีที่ใช้ระบุตัวละครสำคัญ (local VIP strategy) ซึ่งวิธีการเหล่านี้ก่อให้เกิดรูปแบบตามหลักเกณฑ์ที่มีในภาษาอยู่แล้ว

ข้อมูลที่ได้จากการศึกษานี้สามารถใช้เป็นเอกสารชี้แจงสำหรับภาษาที่มีคนพูดน้อยภาษาหนึ่งในโลก โดยเฉพาะจะเป็นประโยชน์สำหรับผู้ที่ต้องการเข้าใจภาษาขมุหรือภาษาอื่นที่ใกล้เคียงกันในกลุ่มเมียน-เอเว และสำหรับผู้ที่ทำงานด้านการพัฒนาข้อมูลที่เกี่ยวข้องกับการแปลเอกสารหรือหนังสือให้เป็นภาษาขมุ
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1. first person
2. second person
3. third person
ABIL. ability
AdjP. adjectival phrase
AUG. augmentative
CAUS. causative
Clf. classifier
ClfP. classifier phrase
COMP. complementiser
COMPL. completive
COND. condition
DEM. demonstrative
DIR. directional
du. dual
DUR. durative aspect
EMPH. emphatic
EXCL. exclamative
f. feminine
HAB. habituative
IMP. imperative
INDEF. indefinite
INTENS. intensifier
IPA. International Phonetic Alphabet
IRR. irrealis
LOC. locative
m. masculine
n. neuter
N. noun
NEC. necessity
NEG. negative
NEGIMP. negative imperative
NMLZ. nominaliser
NP. noun phrase
NumP. numeral phrase
ONOM           onomatopoeia
PDR            People's Democratic Republic
pl             plural
POSS           possession marker
PossP          possessive phrase
PP             preposition phrase
Pro            pronoun
ProP           pronoun phrase
PRT            particle
PST            past
PstCMPL        past completed
PURP           purpose
QNTP           quantifier phrase
QUANT          quantifier
RECPST         recent past
REFL           reflexive
REL            relativiser
sg             singular
SUPERL         superlative
SVO            subject, verb, object
tDIR           temporal directional
V              verb
VP             verb complex
VIP            very important participant
Chapter 1

Introduction

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

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

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

1.1 The Kmhmu' people

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

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

Figure 1: Map of approximate areas of Kmhmu' settlement  

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

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

1.2 Language background

Linguistically, Kmhmu' is in the Mon-Khmer family of the Austroasiatic language phylum. It fits into the Khmuic subgroup of the Northern Mon-Khmer languages, along with Mal-Prai-Tin, Mlabri, Bit, Khang, Khaeo, Khsoeng Mul-Puoc, Thai Then, Phong, and Lduh-Thai Hat (Sidwell 2004). See Figure 2.

Figure 2: Kmhmu' Linguistic Family Tree

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

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

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

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

Table 1: Kmhmu' Consonants

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

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

Table 2: Kmhmu' Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>unrounded</td>
<td>rounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i : i</td>
<td>u : u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e : e</td>
<td>a : a</td>
<td>o : o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near-open</td>
<td>e : e</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
<td>ɔ : ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>ɑ : ɑ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Kmhmu' word is generally mono- or sesquisyllabic (Matisoff 1978). In sesquisyllabic words the first syllable is unstressed and has several phonological constraints. It is known as a minor syllable or pre-syllable. The strong contrast between unstressed minor and stressed major syllables results in a characteristic rhythmic pattern of speech.

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

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

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

1.2.1 Previous research on Kmhmu'

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

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

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

1.3 Research questions

The following questions are addressed in this thesis:

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

1.4 Objectives of the study

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

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

1.5 Limitations and scope

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

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

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

1.6.1 Data collection

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6.3 Plot summaries

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

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

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

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

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

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

The complete texts are included in Appendices I – VI.

1.6.4 Format of data presented in this study

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

(1)

IPA   joiŋ ʔoʔ ɡɔʔ jɔh ˈsɔɔk wɛɛt mɑɑm ɡɨˈniʔ
English gloss  father 1sg so_then DIR seek buy blood that_one
English translation  So then my father went to look for (and) buy that blood.

1.7 Theoretical approach

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

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

2.1 Literature review

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

2.1.1 Rijkhoff on nominal subcategories and the structure of the NP

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

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

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

2.1.2 Alves and the NP in Mon-Khmer languages

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

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

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

2.2 Methodology

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

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

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

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

2.3.1 Noun heads

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

(3) Orphan.014

dəʔ jɔŋ gəə gi’niʔ ?ah mɑʔkiŋ ?ah mɔɔk mooj gon
at father 3sgm that one have aunt have sister one Clf_people

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

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

(4) Bear.010

ʔah mooj mii gəə jɔh diŋ maak teek niʔ
have one Clf_days 3sgm DIR take hand_grenade this

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

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

(5) Man_eater.042

\[ tʰit \ pʰiiw \ rip \ ki'muul \ jɔʔ \ pasa'son \ gaan \ mooj \ man \]

Thit Phiv gather money with people house one Clf_money

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

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

(6) Bear.001

\[ mooj \ dia \ hiʔiʔ \ ɨ? \ bian \ dee \ ʔəh \ ɾɛ? \ da? \ pʰuu \]

one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain

\[ mɨɨt \ ɲiʔ? \]

Meut here

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

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

(7) Man_eater.049

\[ jɛt \ daʔ? \ kuŋ \ naatɕɔɔŋ \ baj \ kʰat \ haaw \ baar \ ɭaŋ \ seh \ daʔ? \]

located at village Na Cong 3pl block trap two Clf_traps put_in at

\[ kin'druum \ gaan \]

underneath house

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relator noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example (Text Ref)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jeer</td>
<td>side</td>
<td>jeer ŋɔɔr 'side of the road' (Tan.019)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jian</td>
<td>base</td>
<td>jian reʔ 'lower end of the rice field' (Bear.010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kluaŋ</td>
<td>inside</td>
<td>kluaŋ hɨnˈtuʔ muh 'inside of the nostril' (Tan.056)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kimˈpɔŋ</td>
<td>head</td>
<td>kimˈpɔŋ reʔ 'top of the rice field' (Bear.003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinˈdruum</td>
<td>underneath</td>
<td>kinˈdruum gaaj 'underneath of the house' (Man-etr.047)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinˈɡrəŋ</td>
<td>midway</td>
<td>kinˈɡrəŋ briaŋ 'midway among the others' (Man-etr.037)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liŋ</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>liŋ kɨrˈwɛh 'middle of the foot' (Tan.082)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɨpˈlɑp</td>
<td>inner side</td>
<td>rɨpˈlɑp kiaŋˈtiʔ 'crook of the elbow' (Tan.080)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rɔh</td>
<td>periphery</td>
<td>rɔh kuŋ 'periphery of the village' (Man-etr.006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sok</td>
<td>periphery</td>
<td>sok mok 'periphery of the mountain' (Orph.040)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɨrˈdiʔ</td>
<td>centre</td>
<td>tɨrˈdiʔ ŋɔɔr 'centre of the road' (Man-eater.020)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.3.2 Noun modifiers – qualifying elements

Head noun attributive modifiers include **nouns** and **adjectives**.

An example of a noun head being modified by another **noun** is shown in (8), where the noun *sirˈmaʔ paʔaat* 'malaria' modifies the head noun *dʑia* 'microbe'.

(8)Tan.070

\[ \text{joŋ ?oʔ gɔʔ ?ah dʑia siɾˈmaʔ paʔaat maak} \]

father 1sg so_then have microbe malaria many

...my father had many malarial parasites.

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

(9) Bear.029

\[ \text{ŋɔɔŋ liŋŋiŋ naam niʔ naam ŋar} \]

yet dark period_of_time this period_of_time cold

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

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

(10) Man_eater.025

| si'naa | ʔah | kɔɔn | haa | gon | jaʔ | mii | jaʔ | ʔɔɔŋ | taʔ | jii | jaʔ | doʔ |
| 3du    | have | child five | Clf_people | Ms | Mi | Ms | Ong | Mr | Ŋi | Ms | Do |

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

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

2.3.4 Determiners

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

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

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

Table 5: Determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Locatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Proximal 'this/here'</td>
<td>niʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Proximal 'that/there'</td>
<td>ˈnuʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial 'that there/there'</td>
<td>naaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal level 'over there'</td>
<td>hoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal up 'up there'</td>
<td>ˈniŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distal down 'down there'</td>
<td>suʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(11) Orphan.075

jaʔ tɕɨmˈkɨn niʔ bag law məh koon tɕawsɨwit
Ms female this 3pl say be child king

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

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

(12) Bear.001
One time ok, we made an upland rice field at Meut Mountain here.

Indefinite pronouns may act as determiners in some NPs, see section 2.5.3

Indefinite pronouns and question words.

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

### 2.3.5 Possessive phrases

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

(13) Tan.005

\[ məh \ lot \ deʔ \ lat \]

be vehicle POSS state

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

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

(14) Tan.005

\[ məh \ lot \ borisat \ buuntʰɑʼnɔɔm \]

be vehicle company Bounthanom

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

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

(15) Orphan.004
...just then his mother died.

Possessors can occur with demonstratives and always precede them in the NP. In (16) the possessive pronoun ?iʔ '1pl' precedes the immediate proximal demonstrative pronoun gii.

(16) Orphan.001

dəʔ  pəˈtʰeet laaw ʔiʔ  gii  daʔ  naam  mɑŋ  pəˌtʰeetˈsɑɑt ʔiʔ
at  country  Lao  1pl  this_one  at  period_of_time  old  nation  1pl

ʔəh  tʰuk  naak  naam  joʔ  leʔ  ?am  daʔ  ?ah
yet  poor  difficult  period_of_time  long ago  PRT  NEG  not_yet  have

ʔɑh
INDEF

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

2.3.6 Coordinate NPs

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

(17) Orphan.010

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

kɯŋ  brian̥
village  other_people

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

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

...
(18) Orphan.035

ʔɔɔr wek kut kap tir'neh kap mɔʔ niʔ leʔ jɔh
lead flat-ended_knife with lighter with cross_bow this and go

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

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

(19) Man_eater.007

mooj mii jaʔ deej paʔ maʔ naa jɔh kʰiŋ maŋ dɔaŋ
one Clf_days Ms Daeng with mother 3sgf DIR dig tuber at

briʔ forest

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

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

(20) Man_eater.031

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

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

2.3.7 Appositional NPs

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

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

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

### 2.3.8 Complex NPs

Complex NPs contain embedded phrases or clauses as modifiers.

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

(22) Tan.030

```
gon ti'wiŋ gi'nì? t'ū tēŋ si'r'ma?
gon person locale that_one stingy very INTENS
```

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

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

(23) Tan.070

```
tɕii diŋ maam joŋ ?oʔ
tɕii take blood father 1sg
```

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relativised Subject</th>
<th>Relativised Object</th>
<th>Relativised Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɡəə</td>
<td>jɔʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔʔ ɡəə (sg)</td>
<td>jɔʔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jɔʔ,sɔ’naa (du)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biːŋ ɡəə (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰii</td>
<td></td>
<td>tʰii’waa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕaw ɡəə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(24)Man_eater.039

hootɕ ra'waaj gaj ter jɔh pok jəʔ ʔɔɔn jɔʔ ɡəə ɲɑɑŋ jɔh
and_then tiger but_then jump DIR bite Ms On REL walk DIR

kin'ɡrəŋ briɑŋ
middle other_people

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

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

(25)Tan.019

ɡəʔ ʔəh pɛɛn nɔɔ kɨn'dam kɨn'dam pəh ʔuun
so_then have plank 3pl place_down place_down separate_from put_away

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

2.4 Classifier phrases

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

ClfP $\rightarrow$ QUANT CLF

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

(26)Man_eater.049

\[ baaj \ k'at \ haaw \ baar \ laaj \]
3pl block trap two Clf_traps

...they set up two traps...

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

(27)TwoThieves.002

\[ nam \ ja? \ nam \ ?ii \ tan \ yoon \ ne? \ tsoon \ ni? \ ?ah \ baar \]
time long_ago when HON Tan yet small thief this have two

\[ gon \]
Clf_people

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier Type</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Semantic Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common sortal classifiers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodies</td>
<td>gon</td>
<td>people (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>too</td>
<td>animals (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>structures</td>
<td>Žaŋŋ</td>
<td>traps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɂnŋ</td>
<td>buildings (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɗŋŋ́⁹aaŋ</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shape</td>
<td>ųuaj</td>
<td>fruit, roundish things (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sen</td>
<td>long, thin things (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pieces, sections</td>
<td>kiršh</td>
<td>words, utterances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɕr̂n̂xeɾ</td>
<td>segments of a whole, pieces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>’mɔɔn</td>
<td>places, pieces of land (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɓlah</td>
<td>sides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generic</td>
<td>ʔan</td>
<td>things (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>types</td>
<td>ングw</td>
<td>types (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>ɑtʰit</td>
<td>weeks (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɗzua</td>
<td>hours</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Classifiers
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier Type</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Semantic Domain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
<td>ʔjak</td>
<td>kilometres (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>dolaa</td>
<td>dollars (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kiip</td>
<td>kip, Lao currency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man</td>
<td>old currency, silver coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occurrences</td>
<td>bat</td>
<td>times, turns, occurrences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dia</td>
<td>times, occurrences (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tʰiaw</td>
<td>journeys (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numbers</td>
<td>ban</td>
<td>thousands (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rɔɔj</td>
<td>hundreds (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sip</td>
<td>tens (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collective sortal classifiers</td>
<td>tɕuʔ</td>
<td>groups, teams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hɨrˈnɔɔm</td>
<td>bundles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kʰɔɔpkʰuɑ</td>
<td>families (Lao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mensural classifiers</td>
<td>daj</td>
<td>bagfuls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lit</td>
<td>litres, measuring liquid (English)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paw</td>
<td>sackfuls, measuring grain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(28)Man_eater.025

si′naa ʔah kɔɔn haa gon

3du have child five Clf.people
Those two had five children...

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

(29) TwoThieves.004

```
kɨˈmuul tʰuk niʔ ?ah mooj hɨrˈnɔɔm
low_grade_silver this have one Clf_bundles
```

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

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

(30) Tan's_Story.045

```
seh ?oʔ deʔ ?om tʰɨˈlee tɕon bian hok
put_in 1sg get saline until achieve six
```

```
daj
Clf_bags
```

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

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

### 2.4.2 Quantifiers

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɡɨʔ</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʑɨm</td>
<td>every</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɨˈmooj</td>
<td>one of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɨˈbaar</td>
<td>two of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɨˈsaam</td>
<td>three of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔmooj</td>
<td>not one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(31) Orphan.143

bat ɡii ʔah loot  dʑɨm ʔɑn dʑɨm neɛw la? ʔi?

turn this_one have totally every Clf_things every Clf_type PRT here

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

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

(32) Man_eater.054

raˈwaj pok hak ʔam haan sipˈpeɛt gon

tiger bite nevertheless NEG die eighteen Clf_people

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

### 2.5 Pronouns

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>?oʔ</td>
<td>?aʔ</td>
<td>?iʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>mee</td>
<td>si'baa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>baa</td>
<td>(si'boɔ)*</td>
<td>bɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>gəə</td>
<td>si'naa</td>
<td>nɔɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F</td>
<td>nɑɑ</td>
<td></td>
<td>baŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>gəə</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*dee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* alternative pronunciation sometimes heard.

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

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

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

(33) Man_eater.032

naa dar guut scoɔ ɓh dee daʔ liŋ klaak rɨ'hɑɑŋ
3sgf run DIR hide body co-referent at middle clump bamboo
...she ran in (and) hid her body in the middle of a bamboo clump.

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

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

(34) Orphan.025

\[
\begin{align*}
bat & \quad gi`i & \quad gəə & \quad go? & \quad jh & \quad dee & \quad lecw \\
\text{turn} & \quad \text{this\_one} & \quad 3\text{sgm} & \quad \text{so\_then} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{oneself} & \quad \text{already}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

### 2.5.2 Pronominal constructions

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

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

(35) Orphan.102

\[
\begin{align*}
?an & \quad baa & \quad twii & \quad de? & \quad gəə & \quad gi`i & \quad ?an & \quad baa & \quad go? & \quad du? & \quad brcm & \quad gəə \\
\text{COND} & \quad 2\text{sgf} & \quad \text{IRR} & \quad \text{get} & \quad 3\text{sgm} & \quad \text{this\_one} & \quad \text{IMP} & \quad 2\text{sgf} & \quad \text{so\_then} & \quad \text{flee} & \quad \text{with} & \quad 3\text{sgm}
\end{align*}
\]
If you would marry him, then you run away with him," (he) said.

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

(36)Man_eater.034

jɔh ʃɔk ںɔ? ɡo? ?am bip nɔɔ saam gon ra'waaj
DIR seek INDEF so then NEG meet 3pl three Clf_people tiger

hii pok mah lootɕ leew
PstCMPL bite eat totally already

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

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

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

(37)Tan.015

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

lot lat gi'niʔ leʔ
vehicle state that_one PRT

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

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

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

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

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

(38)Bear.029

```
jeeg  ŋəh  goʔ  ?am  kʰak  o’baa
look_at  INDEF  so_then  NEG  perfect  PRT
```

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

Indefinite pronouns may also act as determiners in an NP, by specifying an indefinite noun head. An example is shown in (39) where the indefinite pronoun is acting as determiner in the NP *ŋɔɔn ŋəʔ* ‘whichever place’.
2.5.4 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns may function as determiners in an NP and have other functions on the discourse level as discussed in sections 3.6 NPs with determiners in discourse and 3.11 Demonstratives as referring expressions in discourse. The form of demonstrative pronouns suggests that they are compounds made up of the third person singular neuter pronoun *ɡaə*, followed by a demonstrative. As with demonstratives (see section 2.3.4 Determiners), there is a four-way distinction of proximity, and in the distal forms a three-way distinction of elevation relative to a point of reference, as shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance/Position</th>
<th>Immediate Proximal 'this one'</th>
<th>Near Proximal 'that one'</th>
<th>Medial 'that one there'</th>
<th>Distal level 'that one over there'</th>
<th>Distal above 'that one up there'</th>
<th>Distal below 'that one down there'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun</td>
<td><em>ɡii</em></td>
<td><em>ɡiʔniʔ</em></td>
<td><em>ɡiʔnaaj</em></td>
<td><em>ɡiʔhoʔ</em></td>
<td><em>ɡiʔ’niŋ</em></td>
<td><em>ɡiʔsuʔ</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 *sɨŋ*: Form and functions

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

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

(40) Orphan.173

```
haan   deh   jɔɔr sah   ?am   himˈneŋ   hɪrˈlɔʔ   siŋ   kɔɔn   dee   law
```

*die EMPH because NEG listen language REL child co-referent say*

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

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

(41) Tan.055

```
Ø   məh   siŋ   ɡaŋ   sɨrˈmɑʔ   tɨrˈjɨj   hmmeʔ
```

*it be NMLZ but then have_fever shiver new*

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

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

Further examples of *siŋ* show a different grammatical function. Instead of introducing a relative clause or a nominal which may be an argument in a clause, *siŋ* introduces a complement clause which provides a reason or motivation for the proposition in the main clause. In (42) the clause *siŋ baa tɨr ˈneem ʔoʔ baa rak ʔoʔ* 'that you pity me, you love me' gives the motivation for the main clause *kʰɔɔphɨrˈɲiəm jɔʔ baa* '(I) thank you'. Here *siŋ* acts as a complementiser.

(42) Orphan.073

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

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

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

The use of \textit{si\j} in discourse is described in 3.12 \textit{Si\j} constructions in discourse.

### 2.7 Summary

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

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

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

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

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

Referring Expressions

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

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

3.1 Literature review

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

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

3.1.2 Identifiability, activation status and thematic salience

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

(43) **Givón's iconicity of quantity principle**

Less predictable information will be given more coding material.

More important information will be given more coding material.

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

### 3.2 Methodology

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

### 3.3 NPs with attributive modifiers in discourse

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

#### 3.3.1 Nonrestrictive modifiers

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

(44)Bear.009
time that_one 1pl have uncle_by_marriage 1pl uncle_by_marriage 1pl
niʔ gɔo məh gon tʰii dʑɔɔ məh naaj pʰaan san'sah məh
this 3sgm be person that diligent be expert_hunter like_this be
gon dʑɔɔ sɔɔk too daʔ briʔ
person HAB seek animal at forest

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

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

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

(45)Orphan.047
ʔah hin'tuʔ tʰam neʔ pʰɔ'dii laʔ sih gơ o 'just enough to be good to lie down in', both nonrestrictive modifiers.

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

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

### 3.3.2 Restrictive modifiers

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

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

(46)Man_eater.029

ra’waaj metɛ siəŋ nɔɔ kʰiaŋ kwaaŋ gəə gaaŋ pok jaʔ mii jaʔ

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

        gəə maan  kɔɔn niʔ
        that be_pregnant child this

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

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

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

(47)Man_eater.007
mooj mii jaʔ dɛɛŋ paʔ maʔ naa jɔh kʰiŋ kwaaj daʔ
one Clf_days Ms Daeng with mother 3sgf DIR dig tuber at

briʔ
forest

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

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

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

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

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

(49)Orphan.086

məh mɪaj deʔ tɕawsiˈwit ɲaam jəʔ
be district POSS king period_of_time long_ago

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

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

3.5 NPs with classifier phrases in discourse

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

### 3.5.1 Specificity

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

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

(50) Man_eater.003

(50)Man_eater.004

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Man_eater.003</th>
<th>Man_eater.004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bat gii tan gaj kʊt ?ah ra'waaj gaaj pok gaaj mah</td>
<td>ta'waaj moŋ saam ban kaw rɔɔj sii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn this_one then but_then be_born have tiger DIR bite DIR eat</td>
<td>time_interval Clf_months three Clf_thousands nine Clf_hundreds four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔɔn kim'muʔ lootɕ tan məh sip məh saaw gon</td>
<td>sip pɛɛt ?ah ra'waaj mooj too gaaj pok mah jaʔ deŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kmhmu' people totally then be ten be twenty Clf_people</td>
<td>Clf_tens eight have tiger one Clf_animals DIR bite eat Ms Daeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then (at) this time, (it) came about (that there) were tigers (that) came (and) attacked, came (and) ate Kmhmu' people; in total (it) was ten (or) twenty people.</td>
<td>In the third month (of) nineteen forty-eight, (there) was a tiger (that) came (and) attacked (and) ate Ms Daeng.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5.2 **Identifiability**

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

(51)Orphan.002

leʔ ʔah *koonrook mooj gon*

and have orphan one Clf_person

And (there) was an orphan.

3.5.3 **Thematic salience**

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

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

(52)Orphan.140

leʔ ʔah *kimmuʔ? ʔah gon jct giʔ giʔ*

and have Kmhmu' have person stay many many

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

---

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

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

(53) Thief.005

diil  hoote  gəə ʔuun  kiˈmuul  da?  kluag  gaag  niʔ
poor_sighted  and_then  3sgm  put_away  money  at  inside  house  here

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

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

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

(54)Bear.033

gle?  ?o?  la?  guʊŋ  gəə  jəh  ʔnaam  kʰii  ʔnaam  ʔnaaj  niʔ  le?
husband  1sg  PRT  see  3sgm  go  amount  here  amount  there  this  PRT

dzəʔ  pʰɑˈlɑɑŋ  ʔnaam  see  saˈmʊt  guʊŋ  ʔnaam  kʰii
far  considerably  amount  generic  look_around  see  amount  here

ʔnaam  tuut  ʔiəw  giˈniʔ?
amount  kapok_tree  that_one
My husband saw (them), he was from here to there away; (it) was reasonably far, a
distance (that) one could look (and) see, the distance (from) here (to) that kapok
tree.

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

(55) Thief.010

\[
\text{məh } \text{kʰɪˈmuul } \text{kʰəa ŭəu } \text{koon } \text{niʔ } \text{gəə } \text{law } \text{nee } \text{niʔ } \text{leʔ} \\
\text{be } \text{money } \text{compensation child this 3sgm } \text{say type this PRT}
\]

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

### 3.6.1 Tracking use

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

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

(56) Thief.004

\[
\text{gəə ŭuun } \text{kʰɪˈmuul } \text{niʔ } \text{hootə } \text{tʃəw'gəə } \text{məh } \text{jəŋ } \text{koon } \text{haan} \\
\text{3sgm put_away money this CMPL that be father child die}
\]

\[
\text{lot } \text{tam } \text{niʔ} \\
\text{vehicle hit this}
\]

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

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

(57) Thief.014

ₙₙₙₙₙₙ joŋ'ma? niʔ law ?am saj joɔr sah maʔ? joŋ niʔ? know parents this say NEG pay_back because mother father this ɡoʔ? ?am ?ah maʔ? jsɔn ɲah niʔ? naʔ? so_then NEG have INDEF benefit INDEF this PRT

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

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

(58) Orphan.006

leʔ? kuŋ nɔɔ ɡɨˈniʔ? ɡɔ? ?am ?ah maak ʃaŋ and village 3pl that_one 3sgn NEG have many Clf_buildings

And their village, it did not have many buildings.

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

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

(59) Bear.027

nɔɔ jɔh bip raŋˈkʰɔɔ daʔ hoʔ biij ˈtɕuʔ giˈniʔ
3pl DIR meet civet at over_there group that_one

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

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

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

(60)Orphan.003

kɔɔnˈrʊʊk gon giˈniʔ leʔ kɔət tɕɑɑk kʰɔɔpʰkaʔ tʰuk tʰii sut
orphan Clf_people that_one PRT be_born from family poor SUPERL

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

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

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

(61) Tan.130

ʔan nɨm ɡɨˈməʔ dee bian root sii sip tan dee
COND year whichever unspecified achieve arrive four Clf_tens then

kum mah
cover eat

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

3.6.2 Recognitional use

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

(62)Bear.016

maʔ goʔ mit siˈnaat nam niʔ ʔoŋʔ ah siˈnaat kɛp nɔɔ
INDEF so_then take gun time this yet have gun pellet 3pl

goʔ ʔam tɔap siˈnaat luŋ mah siˈnaat kɛp dee ?iʔ
so_then NEG catch gun official be gun pellet unspecified 1pl
Some took guns; (at) this time (there) were still pellet guns; so they didn't take army guns, (they) were those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves.

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

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

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

3.7 Proper nouns in discourse

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

(64) Man_eater.004

\[
\begin{array}{l}
taˈwaaŋ \quad moŋ \quad saam \quad ban \quad kaw \quad rzoj \quad sii \\
\text{time_interval \ Clf_months \ three \ Clf_thousands \ nine \ Clf_hundreds \ four}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
sip \quad pect \quad ?ah \quad raˈwaaŋ \quad mooj \quad too \quad gaaj \quad pok \quad mah \quad jaʔ \quad deej \\
\text{Clf_tens \ eight \ have \ tiger \ one \ Clf_animals \ DIR \ bite \ eat \ Ms \ Daeng}
\end{array}
\]

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

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

(65) Man_eater.024

\[
\text{naa məh ja? pʰeŋ gle? naa məh ta? pʰuu}
\]

3sgf be Ms Pheng husband 3sgf be Mr Phu

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

Man_eater.025

\[
\]

3du have child five Clf_people Ms Mi Ms Ong Mr Ñi Ms Do

ja? ti?

Ms Teu

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

Man_eater.026

\[
ja? pʰeŋ ?ɔŋ kɔɔn tɕimˈkɨn ʔam baaר gon pa? bo?
\]

Ms Pheng lead daughter big two Clf_people with carry_on_back

ja? ti? joh sɔɔk kʰiŋ kwaaj da? bɾi?

Ms Teu DIR seek dig tuber at forest

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

Man_eater.027

\[
\]

daughter Ms Mi this have husband 3sgf be_pregnant child achieve

\[
 rval mon leew
\]

six Clf_months already

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

Proper nouns also anchor unidentifiable referents and serve to make them specific when they act as possessors in a possessive phrase. The new referent is anchored, or linked to an identifiable referent, that is referred to by the proper noun. An example of this is seen in (66). The father is first introduced as joŋ ja? dɛɛŋ 'Ms Daeng's father', the proper noun ja? dɛɛŋ 'Ms Daeng' anchoring and making a specific referent of joŋ 'father'.

57
When Ms Daeng's father and the relatives arrived, the tiger had torn up (and) eaten Ms Daeng completely; (they) saw only her bones remaining, (her) skeleton.

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

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

3.8 Kin terms in discourse

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

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

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

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

(69) Orphan.096

'tșii jw h'k'rj jw? joŋ kaal ?an joŋ ?anu'nat ?an guut
IRR DIR request with father before COND father permit COMP enter

t'awsìwit ni? ?anu'nat ?an guut təŋ guut
king this permit COMP enter then enter

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

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

(70) Orphan.052
\[
\begin{array}{l}
naa \, go? \quad l\text{aoj} \quad law \, sah \quad ?oo \quad taaj \quad mee \quad gi\text{i} \quad jet \\
3sgf \, so\text{-then} \quad directly \quad say \quad COMP \quad oh! \quad elder\text{-sibling} \quad 2sgm \quad this\_one \quad stay \\
da? \quad ?ar \quad ma? \quad j\text{h} \quad ?eh \quad j\text{h} \quad r\text{cxt} \quad ni? \quad law \quad ni? \\
at \quad direction \quad which \quad go \quad EXCL \quad DIR \quad arrive \quad here \quad say \quad this \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

Kinship terms may act as possessors, thus anchoring an unidentifiable referent and making it specific. In (71) the unidentifiable referent ki'mual kʰaɑ ruɑ 'compensation money' is anchored and made specific using the kin term possessor koon tɕɪm'broʔ? dee ni? 'his son'.

(71) Thief.003
\[
\begin{array}{l}
hoot\text{c} \quad gao \quad la? \quad bian \quad ki\text{mual} \quad kʰaɑ \quad ruɑ \quad koon \quad tɕim\text{'broʔ?} \\
and\_then \quad 3sgm \quad PRT \quad achieve \quad money \quad compensation \quad son \\
dee \quad ni? \quad baŋ \quad saj \quad ni? \\
\text{co\_referent} \quad this \quad 3pl \quad pay\_back \quad this \\
\end{array}
\]

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

Also, as possessors, kin terms may enable accurate re-activation of an accessible referent by distinguishing it from other possible referents. In (72) the village created by the monkey is compared to that of the king. The king's village is referred to as kuŋ joŋ noo ɡɨ'niʔ 'their father's village', the embedded phrase joŋ noo 'their father' acting as possessor, and thus identifying the referent as that village which was previously described in Orphan.083 as blia blia 'very beautiful' and in Orphan.086 as miaŋ de? tɕaws'i\text{wit} jaam joʔ 'city of a king (in) ancient times'.

(72) Orphan.124
beautiful more_than village father 3pl that_one but NEG not_yet have

house person

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

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

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

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

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

### 3.9 Pronouns in discourse

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

3.9.1 Deictic functions of pronouns

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

(74)Tan.001
ʔoʔ tir’dɔh liag naam rəŋ naam ʔoʔ sir’ma?
1sg tell story period_of_time long_time period_of_time 1sg have_fever

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

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

(75)Bear.001
mooj dia hi’th ʔiʔ bian dee ʔəh ḍəʔ daʔ p’uu
one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain
mɨɨt ɲiʔ?
Meut here

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

---

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

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

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

(76)Bear.051

\[ məh\ \text{dee} \ \text{gaa} \ \text{kin’druum} \ \text{mok} \ \text{da}? \ \text{’niƞ} \ \text{pa’maan saam} \]

be generic climb underneath mountain at up_there about three

\[ sii \ \text{lak} \ \text{niʔ} \ \text{leʔ} \]

four Clf_kms this PRT

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

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

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

period_of_time this road rough at village unspecified

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

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

(78)Tan.117

baj ?an dee bo? dee laʔ pitɕ gəə

3pl give generic eat generic PRT discard 3sgn

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

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

3.9.2 Anaphoric functions of pronouns

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

(79)Orphan.052

naa gəə laʔj law sah ?oo taaʃ mee gii jet

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

Orphan.053

\[ gəə \quad go? \quad jeh \quad sah \quad ?o? \quad baŋ \quad naŋ \quad kuŋ \quad ?o? \quad jet \quad ləəj \]
3sgm so_then reply COMP oh! 1sg NEG know village 1sg stay at_all

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

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

(80)Bear.009

dia \quad gi'n\acute{i}? \quad ?iʔ \quad ?ah \quad kuŋ \quad ?iʔ \quad kuŋ \quad ?iʔ

time that_one 1pl have uncle_by_marriage 1pl uncle_by_marriage 1pl

\[ niʔ \quad gəə \quad mo\acute{h} \quad gon \quad t'\acute{\acute{i}} \quad \emptyset \quad mo\acute{h} \quad naaj \quad p'\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{n} \quad san'\acute{s}ah \]
this 3sgm be person that diligent uncle be expert_hunter like_this

\[ \emptyset \quad mo\acute{h} \quad gon \quad d\acute{\acute{\acute{s}}}\acute{\acute{\acute{o}}} \quad so\acute{k} \quad too \quad da? \quad bri? \]
uncle be person HAB seek animal at forest

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

Bear.010

\[ ?ah \quad mooj \quad mii \quad gəə \quad joh \quad diaŋ \quad maak \quad t\acute{e}\acute{k} \quad niʔ \quad joh \quad pl\acute{o}m \quad da? \]
have one Clf_days 3sgm DIR take hand_grenade this DIR tie_up at

\[ jiaŋ \quad re? \quad niʔ \quad p'\acute{\acute{a}} \quad t\acute{\acute{e}}\acute{\acute{\acute{u}}} \quad naŋ \quad law'sah \quad gəə \quad mo\acute{h} \quad too \quad məh \]
base rice_field this PURP want know COMP 3sgn be animal what
(There) was one day, he went (and) took a hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.

3.9.2.1 Anaphoric use of **dee**

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

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

(81)Orphan.067

```
naa  gɔʔ  gook  ʔom  dee  naaŋ  gaaj  rɔɔt  da?
3sgf so_then carry_on_shoulder water co-referent walk DIR arrive at
```

```
ɡaaj
house
```

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

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

(82)Orphan.038

```
gəə  gɔʔ  baj  gul  dee  leʔ  gəə  gɔʔ  hin'dəʔ
3sgm so_then NEG fat co-referent and 3sgm so_then thin
```

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

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

(83) Tan.100

hootɕ ʔoʔ law bɔʔ ʔnaj dee ʔam gəəj bɔʔ ʔmooj bat
and then 1sg say eat but unspecified NEG ever eat not_one Clif_turns

ʔam gəəj bɔʔ ʔmooj dia
NEG ever eat not_one Clif_times

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

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

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

Tan.102

ʔoʔ gəʔ gleet gleet jɔh hootɕ jɔŋ ʔoʔ naaŋ jɔh kaal
1sg so_then lick lick DIR and_then father 1sg walk DIR before

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

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

3.9.2.2 Anaphoric use of baŋ

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

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

(84) Tan.056

*baŋ* de? tʰɔɔ tojo pɨˈguut seh kluɑŋ hinˈtu? muh
3pl get pipe respirator tube insert put in inside hole nose

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

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

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

(85) Orphan.156

*baŋ* law kaal tɕii jɔh ?an dap mat saˈtɔaŋ ?om dap mat
3pl say before IRR go IMP cover eye elephant IMP cover eye

himˈbraŋ ?om
horse IMP

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

Orphan.157

leh tɕii rɔɔt lexw lexw bɔɔ banˈsaa ?an gɔɔ jɔh taam
near IRR arrive already and then 2pl organise CAUS 3sgn DIR follow

ŋɔɔr kʰoʔ
road EXCL

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

\textbf{3.9.3 Pronominal constructions}

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

\textbf{3.9.3.1 Appositional pronoun constructions}

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

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

\begin{verbatim}
(86)Tan.014
hootɕ  joŋ ʔoʔ  goʔ  ?ɔɔr ʔoʔ  jɔh
and then father 1sg so then lead 1sg go

And then my father took me.

Tan.015
jɔh  daʔ  hooŋmɔɔ ʔaʔ  kɔɔn  joŋ  ?ɔɔr  joʔ  guut  lot  məh
go at hospital 1du child father lead together enter vehicle be

lot  lat  gi'niʔ  leʔ
vehicle state that one PRT
\end{verbatim}

69
Going to hospital, we two, child (and) father, went together (and) caught the truck (which) was that state truck.

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

\begin{alltt}
(87)Bear.044
\textit{bɑt gii} \textit{bat nam nɔɔ biin'gəə jɔh giʔ gon niʔ wer}
\textit{turn this_one turn time 3pl REL go many Clf_people this return}

\textit{gaaj}
\textit{DIR}
\end{alltt}

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

3.9.3.2 Pronoun phrases with classifiers

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

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

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

3.9.3.3 Pronoun phrases with determiners

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

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

An example of **re-activation** of another referent is shown in (90). The orphan is speaking to the princess. He has just been talking about her, her beauty and wealth, and then changes topic to talk about himself. He uses the pronoun phrase, *ʔoʔ niʔ* '1sg this' in left-dislocated position with a separating pause, to mark the change in topic. This signals to the hearer that an accessible referent has been re-activated in place of the previous active referent.
...But I, (I) am really worthy (of this), I must eat tubers because I have been eating tubers lasting for this one month already," (he) said like this.

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

(91)Orphan.016

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

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

3.10 Classifier phrases as referring expressions in discourse

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

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

(92) Tan.068

\[\textit{jon \ ʔo\ ʔo\ joh \ sook \ west \ maam \ gi'ni?}\]
father 1sg so_then DIR seek buy blood that_one

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

Tan.069

\[\textit{nɔɔ \ law \ ?an \ seh \ saam \ daj \ ?aj \ jon \ ?am \ ?ah \ ki'muul}\]
3pl say OBLIG put_in three Clf_bags but father NEG have money

\[\textit{go? \ laaj \ joh \ west \ kin \ ki'baar \ daj \ gaaj \ seh}\]
so_then directly DIR buy only two_of Clf_bags DIR put_in

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

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

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

(93) Orphan.019

\[\textit{le? \ mooj \ mii \ ?a'nu? \ go? \ pʰɔ'dii \ bian \ kaw \ pii \ kaw}\]
and one Clf_days age so_then exactly achieve nine Clf_years nine

\[\textit{kʰuap \ ni? \ le? \ go? \ go? \ laaj \ leen \ joh}\]
Clf_years this PRT 3sgm so_then directly wander DIR

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

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

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

(94) Bear.037
gəə gaj tɔɔtɕ miit da? guan da? gii
3sgm but_then draw_out knife at waist at this_one

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

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

(95)Thief.001
ʔah mooj gon hiʔah giʔniʔ ṭɕɕ məh gon wajˈlun niʔ
have one Clf_people PRT that_one yet be person teenager this

leʔ ʔniʔ ʔniʔ waj lɔətɕ
PRT naughty naughty ABIL steal

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

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

(96)Tan.007
I ate too much jujube fruit then (that) caused me to have a fever.

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

3.12 *Siŋ* constructions in discourse

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

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

(97)Tan.005

*məh lot bɔri’sat buuntʰa’nuːm lʊi dee law ṭiik mooj*
be vehicle company Bounthanom or generic say again one

*kir’bɑh məh lot de? lat siŋ məh lot tʰii bɑŋ de?*
Clf_words be vehicle POSS state NMLZ be vehicle that 3pl get

*saʔɔɔŋ tɛɛŋ rɑʔ*
wood do structure

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

(98) Thief.009

```
3sgm so_then rage be INDEF nevertheless take_hold money 1sg
```

```
kʰii kʰrɔɔ ʔan 3sgm die be_like NMLZ child 1sg that_one IMP
```

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

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

(99) Tan.128

```
think period_of_time this hurt heart NMLZ unspecified believe_in
```

```
spirit hurt heart INTENS cause unspecified poor because DUR
```

```
pay_back debt suffering POSS 1sg at period_of_time this
```

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

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

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

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

(100)Orphan.016
\[ mia \ mant\ joh\ mant\ gaaj\ maʔkin\ go\ lej\ səʔə\ hə\ gə\ ni\? \]
when raise DUR raise DUR aunt so then directly hate 3sgm this

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

Orphan.017
\[ \emptyset\ səʔə\ hə\ gə\ ni\?\ \emptyset\ saj\ gə\ təʔə\ wiak\ \emptyset\ saj\ gə\ joh\]
aunt hate 3sgm this aunt use 3sgm do work aunt use 3sgm go
\[ kʰɪ\ joh\ naaj\ lc?\ \emptyset\ ?am\ ?an\ gə\ bo?\ mah\]
here go there and aunt NEG allow 3sgm eat rice

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

Orphan.018
\[ ?an\ gə\ bo?\ \emptyset\ go?\ ?an\ gə\ bo?\ dək\ \emptyset\ ?am\ ?an\]
COND 3sgm eat aunt so then allow 3sgm eat a_little aunt NEG allow
\[ gə\ bo?\ maak\]
3sgm eat many

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

3.14 Summary

An inventory of Kmhmu' referring expressions and a summary of their functions in discourse is given in Table 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referring expression (occurrences in study)</th>
<th>Discourse function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPs with nonrestrictive attributive modifiers (56)</td>
<td>introduce unidentifiable referents; signal salience by amount of encoding; signal role of referent in narrative by content of modifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with restrictive attributive modifiers (72)</td>
<td>identify accessible referents using unique attributes or events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive phrases (127)</td>
<td>anchor unidentifiable referents; individuate/specify unidentifiable referents; locate identifiable referents in the discourse world; focus attention on the possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive phrases with deʔ (8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with classifier phrases (37)</td>
<td>signal specificity of a referent; introduce an unidentifiable, thematically salient referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with determiners (238)</td>
<td>point to referents in the discourse world; point to referents in the speech situation; point to previous segments of text; signal identifiable referents; disambiguate accessible referents; signal thematic salience of referents; identify inactive referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper nouns (57)</td>
<td>introduce unidentifiable referents; disambiguate identifiable referents; anchor unidentifiable referents; act as terms of address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin terms (131)</td>
<td>signal non-major participants; communicate cultural information; act as terms of address; anchor unidentifiable referents; re-activate accessible referents; highlight the relationship between 2 referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns (433)</td>
<td>introduce unidentifiable referents through deixis; signal backgrounding of an agent when the patient or event is in focus; mitigate emotive force through generic reference; disambiguate male and female participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referring expression (occurrences in study)</td>
<td>Discourse function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>signal co-referentiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>highlight a participant through emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>signal backgrounded events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronominal constructions • appositional pronoun phrases and pronoun phrases with classifiers (4)</td>
<td>reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disambiguate accessible referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• pronoun phrases with determiners (8)</td>
<td>signal re-activation of an accessible referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>signal an identifiable, thematically salient referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifier phrases (95)</td>
<td>refer to and quantify identifiable referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mark text boundaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives (34)</td>
<td>point to referents in speech setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>signal identifiable, thematically salient referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>point to previous segments of text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sɨŋ constructions (11)</td>
<td>add descriptive or explanatory information about referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>refer to events accessible from the text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora (341)</td>
<td>signals an active referent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Participant Identification Patterns

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

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

4.1 Theoretical approach to participant identification analysis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Propose default encoding values for each context.

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

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

8. Generalise the motivations for non-default encodings.

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

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

4.3 Introducing participants and participant ranking

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

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

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

(101) Orphan.110

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

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

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

**4.3.1 Central participants**

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

(103)Thief.001

ʔah mooj gon hiʔth gi’ni? ɲɔɔŋ moh gon waj’lun ni?
have one Clf_people PRT that_one yet be person teenager this

le? Ø ʔnii ʔnii Ø waj łaətɕ
PRT thief naughty naughty thief ABIL steal

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

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

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

(104)Tan’s_Story.001

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

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

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

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

(105)Orphan.004

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

4.3.2 Major participants

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

In the Orphan story, the princess is a major participant. She is introduced in the second pre-peak episode of the narrative, as shown in (106). A formal introduction is given with a presentational clause ?ah koɔn 'niŋ tsaŋ ?omˈŋɛɛn '(there) was a young woman holding a water gourd'. In Orphan.050 she is further described as blia blia 'very beautiful', and marked with a classifier phrase to signal her thematic salience. This description hints at her romantic involvement with the orphan to come.

(106)Orphan.049

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

4.3.2 Major participants

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

In the Orphan story, the princess is a major participant. She is introduced in the second pre-peak episode of the narrative, as shown in (106). A formal introduction is given with a presentational clause ?ah koɔn 'niŋ tsaŋ ?omˈŋɛɛn '(there) was a young woman holding a water gourd'. In Orphan.050 she is further described as blia blia 'very beautiful', and marked with a classifier phrase to signal her thematic salience. This description hints at her romantic involvement with the orphan to come.
(After) a short time passed waking up in the morning, he was not yet fully awake, just then (there) was a young woman holding a water gourd.

Orphan.050

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

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

4.3.3 Minor participants

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

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

(107)Tan.041

doctor so then scold father 1sg get COMP father 1sg stupid

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

The other medical staff are first introduced with the backgrounded third person plural pronoun baŋ, and also referred to using the standard third person plural pronoun nɔɔ, as shown in (108).
After arriving here, then they admitted (me) into hospital. And they said, "(It) is malaria; (it) could be (at) a dangerous level already."

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

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

(When it) was just about light, just light (but) not quite light here, still partly dark, (they) really hurried to go (to know) what animal was it (that) went (and) touched (the grenade).
 Hunters  lead  together  DIR  many  Clf_people  have  four  have  five

So then (they) went together, many people; (there) were four (or) were five people (who) went.

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

4.3.4 Peripheral participants

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

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

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

4.4 Rules for default encoding patterns

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

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

4.4.1 Subject reference patterns

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

4.4.1.1 Same subject (S1 context)

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

**Tentative Rule for S1 Context**

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

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

(111)Orphan.078

\[\text{gəə} \quad \text{go?} \quad \text{ləəj} \quad \text{mah}\]

3sgm so then directly eat

So he ate (it) right then.

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

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

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

(112)Orphan.088

\[\text{laphtaak} \text{ gi'ni? } \text{gəə} \text{ go'? \ kʰiin} \text{ hir'lo?} \text{ ?am} \text{ bian} \text{ ?iik}\]

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

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

Orphan.089

\[\text{gəə} \text{ go'? } \text{naan} \text{ gaaq} \text{ broom} \text{ naa} \text{ 3sgm} \text{ so_then} \text{ walk} \text{ DIR} \text{ accompany} \text{ 3sgf}\]

So he walked home accompanying her.

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

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

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

(113)Thief.004

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

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

**Revised Rule for S1 Context**

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

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

4.4.1.2 Subject is addressee of previous clause (**S2 context**)

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

**Tentative Rule for S2 context**

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

An example of this is seen in (114). The two thieves address the old man in TwoThieves.008. In the following interchange between the speakers, in TwoThieves.009 to 012, the addressees from the previous clause are given zero references. This follows the default pattern for S2 contexts.

(114)TwoThieves.008

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

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

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

"What will you do with the wood?"

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

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

(115)Orphan.137

\[\text{"mit fa? go? law si'baa laan teqm ni?"} \]

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

Orphan.138

\[\text{"sɨˈnɑɑ 3du laɑɑ jɛɛŋ look_at pɑɑ tʰoh EXCL məh be kuŋ village be ɡɑɑŋ house ʔɑh"} \]

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

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

(116)TwoThieves.012

\[\text{"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."} \]

TwoThieves.013

\[\text{taʔ niʔ ?an wɛk} \]

The man gave (him/them) the knife.

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

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

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

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

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

Tentative Rule for S3 Context

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

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

(117)Orphan.077

naa tag moot poon ?an gəə ho? ʾnee
3sgf then take_hold put_in_mouth PURP 3sgm eat also

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

Orphan.078

gəə go? ləəj mah
3sgm so_then directly eat

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

(118) Orphan.100
jɔh nop jɔh waj joŋ niʔ hootɕ joŋ niʔ law raaj kʰian
DIR greet DIR bow father this and then father this say angry AUG

law ʔoo baa diaj gon dʑaa? gon ɲoŋ ɲoŋ tʰuk gon
say oh! 2sgf take person dirty person disgusting person poor person

ŋaak jɔh daʔ ɡaaŋ ?nuʔ
difficult go at house that

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

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

(119) Orphan.002
leʔ ?ah kɔɔnˈrook mooj gon
and have orphan one Clf_people

And (there) was an orphan.

Orphan.003

kɔɔnˈrook gon giˈniʔ leʔ kʰat tɕaak kʰɔɔpkʰua tʰuk tʰii sut
orphan Clf_people that one PRT be_born from family poor SUPERL

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

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

(120) TwoThieves.017

```
3sgm
deʔ  saʔ’coŋ  niʔ  tʰap  Ø
```

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

TwoThieves.018

```
tʰap  taʔ  taʔ  niʔ  kir’lajŋ  niʔ
```

Struck the man, the man fell down here.

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

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

**Revised Rule for S3 Context**

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

4.4.1.4 Not mentioned in previous clause (S4)

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

**Tentative Rule for S4 Context**

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

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

(121)Bear.027

\[ nɔɔ  jɔh  bip  ran'kʰɔɔ  daʔ  hoʔ  biin'çuʔ  gi'niʔ \]
3pl  DIR  meet  civet  at  over_there  group  that_one

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

Bear.028

\[ leʔ  gleʔ  ʔoʔ  kap  kuun  baar  gon  gi'niʔ  wer \]
and  husband  1sg  with  uncle_by_marriage  two  Clf_people  that_one  return

\[ gaaŋ  loonŋ  kin'ŋiʔ \]
DIR  direction  behind

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

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

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

Orphan.080

\[\text{naa law wetc wetc jo? ?o? wetc gaa gaŋ} \]
\[\text{3sgf say return_home return_home with 1sg return_home climb house} \]

\[\text{?o? ?an mee rak ?o?} \]
\[\text{1sg COND 2sgm love 1sg} \]

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

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

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

(123) TwoThieves.007

\[\text{hootɕ tə? ni? jəh tsəˈmɔɔl ɾe?} \]
\[\text{and then Mr this DIR plant rice_field} \]

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

TwoThieves.008

\[\text{jəh tsəˈmɔɔl ɾe? hootɕ ?əə gəə law jəh rɔɔt jo? ta?} \]
\[\text{DIR plant rice_field and then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr} \]

\[\text{ni? tə? tˈaw ?əəh gəə law tə? mee təii tɛɛŋ məh ʔih} \]
\[\text{here grandfather EXCL 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm IRR do what IMP} \]

\[\text{gəə law} \]
\[\text{3sgm say} \]

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

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

**Revised Rule for S4 Context**

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

### 4.4.2 Non-subject reference patterns

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

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

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

**Tentative Rule for N1 Context**

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

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

The soldiers would not allow (him) to enter.

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

An example of a minor participant in an N1 context is shown in (125)\(^8\). The elephants are minor participants in the Orphan story. In Orphan.170 the elephants are in a non-subject relation, and in Orphan.171 they are in the same non-subject relation, an N1 context. They are referred to in Orphan.171 using the unmodified NP \textit{saˈtɕaːŋ} 'elephant(s)'.

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

(126) Orphan.016

*mɪa liəŋ jʊh liəŋ gaaj maʔkin goʔ ləoj srˈʔɔh ɡəə niʔ*

When raising DUR raise DUR aunt so, then directly hate 3sgm this

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

Orphan.017

*srˈʔɔh ɡəə niʔ saj ɡəə tənəj wiak saj ɡəə jʊh kʰiʔ jʊh ɡaaj*

Hate 3sgm this use 3sgm do work use 3sgm go here go there

*lɛʔ ?am ?an ɡəə bəʔ mah*

And NEG allow 3sgm eat rice

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

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

(127) TwoThieves.017

*ɡəə deʔ saʔˈɔɔŋ niʔ tʰɑp Ø*

3sgm get wood this strike old man

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

TwoThieves.018

*tʰɑp taʔ taʔ niʔ kɪɾˈliəŋ qiʔ*

Strike Mr Mr this fall over here

Struck the man, the man fell down here.

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

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

4.4.2.2 Addressee was speaker in previous clause (N2)

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

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

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

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

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

(128)Man_eater.022
tɕii jet da? kluɑŋ kuŋ jɔh tūrdiʔ ɲɔr rii jet da? ʃe?
IRR stay at inside village go centre road or stay at rice field
daʔ kiˈnaal ?an raˈwaaj niʔ tɕuʔ pok məʔ tɕuʔ mah maʔ?
at section COND tiger this want bite INDEF want eat INDEF
gəə goʔ pok mah gon dee tɛɛŋ məʔ
3sgn so_then bite eat person unspecified do INDEF with 3sgn NEG

can

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

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

(129)Man_eater.041

joŋˈmaʔ pasə'son maʔ goʔ ɳəʔ ɔɔr jɔʔ jɔh jet kuŋ
parents people INDEF so_then fear lead together DIR stay village

baanˈloom brcom tʰit pʰiiw
Ban Lom with Thit Phiv

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

Man_eater.042

tʰit pʰiiw rip kiˈmuul jɔʔ pasə'son gaŋ mooj man tʰiik
Thit Phiv gather money with people house one Clf_money receive

kiˈmuul paˈlootɕ haa ban man
money totally five Clf_thousands Clf_money

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

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

(130) Man_eater.030

jaʔ pʰeŋ paʔ jaʔ ʔɔɔŋ deʔ hinlaʔ tʰap raʷwaaj niʔ ?am bee
Ms Pheng with Ms Ong get spade strike tiger this NEG prevail

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

Man_eater.031

raʷwaaj pok paʔ siʔnaa kɔɔn maʔ haan
tiger bite with 3du child mother die

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

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

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

(131) TwoThieves.007

hootɕ and_then taʔ niʔ jɔh tɕəˈmɔɔl feʔ

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

TwoThieves.008

jɔh tɕəˈmɔɔl feʔ hootɕ ʔɔʔ ɡəə law jɔh rɔɔt jɔʔ taʔ

DIR plant rice_field and_then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr
Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a short time."

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

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

(132)Bear.046

\begin{align*}
gon & \quad gi'ni? \quad da? \quad bɔh \quad ňo? \quad ŋəm \quad kɔɔn \quad ŋo̩ \quad oˈbaa \quad haŋ \quad məh \\
\text{person} & \quad \text{that one} \quad \text{at} \quad \text{body} \quad \text{that} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{?} \quad \text{wounded} \quad \text{PRT} \quad \text{as if} \quad \text{be} \\
too & \quad hual \quad gi'ni? \quad nɔɔ \quad law \quad \emptyset \quad ŋo̩ \quad liŋ \quad da? \quad ŋəh \quad muh \\
\text{animal} & \quad \text{bear} \quad \text{that one} \quad \text{3pl} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{uncle wounded only at periphery nose} \\
da? \quad ŋəh \quad maʔ \quad kɔʔ? \quad \text{at} \quad \text{periphery} \quad \text{eye} \quad \text{like that} \\
\end{align*}

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

Bear.047

\begin{align*}
gəə & \quad de? \quad timˈŋəŋ\ŋəə \quad gəə \quad graatɕ \quad \emptyset \\
3sgn & \quad \text{get} \quad \text{nail} \quad 3sgn \quad \text{scratch} \quad \text{uncle} \\
\end{align*}

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

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

**Revised Rule for N3 Context**

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

4.4.2.4 Other non-subject references (N4)

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

**Tentative Rule for N4 Context**

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

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

(133)Bear.028

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>leʔ</th>
<th>gleʔ</th>
<th>ʔoʔ</th>
<th>kap</th>
<th>kuŋ</th>
<th>baar</th>
<th>gon</th>
<th>giʔniʔ</th>
<th>wer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>uncle_by_marriage</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>Clf_people</td>
<td>that_one</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gaaj</th>
<th>looŋ</th>
<th>ʔiʔniʔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>direction</td>
<td>behind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
And my husband and the uncle those two turned back the way they had come (lit.
the direction (from) behind).

Bear.031

$pʰdii\ jə\ bip\ hual\ ma?\ kən\ naak\ ni?$

exactly\ DIR\ meet\ bear\ mother\ baby\ this

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

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

(134)Orphan.069

$lapjcaak\ plah\ ?om\ hoots\ lecw\ Ø\ go?\ sək\ siŋ'mah$

after\ put\ water\ CMPL\ and\ then\ princess\ so\ then\ seek\ food

Ø\ seh\ da?\ gook\ naam\ ja?\ gəə\ mah

princess\ put_in\ at\ round_gourd\ period_of_time\ long_ago\ 3sgn\ be

gook\ Ø\ seh\ da?\ gook\ Ø\ seh\ da?\ bəem

round_gourd\ princess\ put_in\ at\ round_gourd\ princess\ put_in\ at\ basket

Ø\ ?ar\ mit\ ?an\ gəə\ bo?

princess\ take_along\ take\ PURP\ 3sgm\ eat

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

Taking this into consideration, the revised N4 rule is:

Revised Rule for N4 Context

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

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

4.5.1 More than default encoding for subject contexts

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

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

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

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

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

Orphan.028
leʔ pi'siam niʔ? gəə kwəats deh niʔ?
and night INDEF 3sgm curl_up EMPH here

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(137)Orphan.125
ʔoo pʰɔˈdii joh rɔɔt niʔ leʔ Ø ʔoo hɛɛm faʔ
oh! exactly DIR arrive here PRT princess oh! younger_sibling monkey
niʔ gɔo law sah ʔaʔ tɕuʔ deʔ ɲəʔ ʔan ʔaʔ law nɛɛw niʔ
this 3sgm say COMP 1du want get INDEF OBLIG 1du say type this
tirˈɡat gɔo law niʔ?
think 3sgm say this

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

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

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

(138)Tan.111
father EXCL this_one that NEG be ice-cream 2sgf truly Tan

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

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

I said, "(it) is."

Tan.113
Ø ?a’ni? baa ?am mah ?an gəə lootə
cucumber that_one 2sgf NEG eat PURP 3sgn all_gone
"That thing, you didn't eat until it was finished."

Tan.114
ʔoʔ lɑw tʰɛɛ ɡɔɔ ʔam lam
1sg say truly 3sgn NEG delicious

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

Tan.115
Ø ʔuh tɕɑŋ meen ʔaʔ
father EXCL ? be stupid

"Ooh! (You) are stupid.

This incident occurs in a post-peak episode in Tan's story which is itself a mini-narrative. Within this mini-narrative, this exchange occurs in the local peak episode. Because normal patterns of reference are often disturbed in the peak section of a narrative, it may be that this is an example of peak marking.

Changing the default pattern for participant identification at the peak of a narrative signals to the hearer to pay more attention to the participant who is being highlighted using more than default encoding, or to the events they are experiencing.

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

(139) Man_eater.011
maʔ naa twap gir hin'laʔ tʰap ra'waaj niʔ
mother 3sgf catch handle spade strike tiger this

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

Man_eater.012
ra'waaj ʔam bes dar duʔ
tiger NEG prevail run flee

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

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

4.5.2 More than default encoding for non-subject contexts

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

(140)Orphan.151

bat ɡii joŋ nɔɔ teŋ sii,naaʔa’maat teŋ luuk’nɔɔŋ joŋ joŋ
turn this_one father 3pl CAUS officer CAUS follower go DIR

ʨɔnŋ joŋ niʔ gaaj ῦɔp ʨɔnŋ joŋ ʨawsi’wit ʨawɡəə ῦɑt͡ɕ
invite father this DIR visit invite father king that chase

pɿ’duʔ niʔ? ῦoh ῦɑt͡ɕ ɕi’naa pɿ’duʔ niʔ?
drive_out this truly chase 3du drive_out this

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

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

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

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

At the peak of the narrative, patterns of participant reference often deviate from those observed in the rest of the text (Longacre 1996:38). In both the Bear story and the Thief story, there are zero references in S3 contexts in the peak section. An example is shown in (141). In the second clause, Ø kʰruk Ø hɑɑn '(and he) fell off (and he) died', the thief is the subject and is given a zero reference. This is an S3 context, because in the previous clause the same referent is the object.

(141) Thief.018

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

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

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

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

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

Bear.032
Ø jɔh nap jɔʔgɔɔ mah kuŋ nɡiˈniʔ Ø nap bear DIR grab REL be uncle_by_marriage that_one bear grab
Ø mel jɔʔ daʔ klaak glaʔ niʔ hootɕ bear&uncle roll together at clump elephant_grass this CMPL

(It) went (and) grabbed (the one) who was that uncle, (and it) wrestled (and they) rolled over together up to a clump of elephant grass.

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

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

(143)Bear.034
ɡlɛʔ ṭoʔ laʔ ?am nɔɛŋ nɛɛw tɛiʔ tɛɛŋ tɛi li pɪɲ ɲɔʔ tɛiʔ
husband 1sg PRT NEG know type IRR do IRR shoot fear IRR
ɲak gon giˈniʔ
touch person that_one

My husband did not know what to do, (whether) to shoot, (he) was afraid to hit that person.

Bear.035
hootɕ Ø jet nap jɔʔ kinˈdruʊp kinˈliɑŋ kinˈdruʊp kinˈliɑŋ
and_then bear DUR grab together face_down_on_back face_down_on_back
hual too giˈniʔ Ø sɑm ṭoʔ lootɕ rimˈboh ṭoʔ
bear animal that_one uncle totally wounded totally face wounded
And then (it) kept wrestling together (with him), now face down, now face up, this bear, (and he) was wounded all over (his) face (and he) was wounded (on his) body.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In an N4 context, where the default is an NP, a pronoun or a zero reference is less than default. An example of this is given in (145). In Man-eater.020, the tiger is given a zero reference as the object in the second clause, *maʔ ?ah wek goʔ deʔ wek git Ø 'whoever had a knife then got the knife and chopped (the tiger)'.

This is an N4 context, because the tiger is not mentioned in the previous clause.

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

4.6 Summary

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

5.1 Summary of findings

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

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

5.2 Evaluation of methodology

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

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

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

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

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

5.4 Further research

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

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


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Lund University.
APPENDIX I

THE MAN-EATING TIGER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ms Daeng called out to (her) mother.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They went (and) arrived at a mountain (and) rested; they sat (and) rested together.
(At) this time, (there) was a tiger, (and it) jumped out (and) attacked Priest La.

Man_eater.020

pa'sa' son saam sip gon ra? ʔaat mə? ?ah wek people three Clf_tens Clf_people pull_away fight_over INDEF have knife go? de? wek git mə? ?ah si'naat go? de? si'naat piŋ so_then get knife chop INDEF have gun so_then get gun shoot

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

Man_eater.021

ˀnɑɑ ni? ra'waaj ʔɔɔŋ ruu kʰru'baa laa ?ar'du? məh amount this tiger yet pull priest La take_flee eat

(At) this time the tiger was still pulling Priest La (and) ran away with (him and) ate (him).

Man_eater.022


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

Man_eater.023

jct da? si'nam ʔe? pʰaʔcəŋ kuŋ naateʔəŋ ?ah located at cluster_of_huts rice_field Pha Ong village Na Cong have sip'tɕet laŋ'gəŋ jct ni? ?ah pa? pʰɨnəŋ ?oʔ ʔneɛ seventeen Clf_houses located here have with relative 1sg also

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

Man_eater.024

naa məh jaʔ pʰəŋ gleʔ naa məh taʔ pʰuŋ 3sgf be Ms Pheng husband 3sgf be Mr Phu
She was Ms Pheng, (and) her husband was Mr Phu.

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

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

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

Ms Pheng dug for tubers, thud, thud.

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

Man_eater.031
ra'waaj pok pa? si'naa k콘 ma? haan
The tiger attacked both of them, child (and) mother, (and they) died.

Man_eater.032
(There) remained the small girl (who) was afraid, (and) she ran in (and) hid her body in the middle of a bamboo clump.

Man_eater.033
bruŋ leh tɕii bah joŋ jɛt da? gaŋ ᵇɔr k콘'kuŋ k콘'gaŋ
(When) it was nearly light, the father located at the house led the village people, lit a torch (and) went (and) looked for (them).

Man_eater.034
joŋ sɔok ɲo? go? ᵇam bɨp nɔo saam gon ra'waaj hii
Wherever (they) looked (they) didn't find them, (the) three people the tiger had already attacked (and) eaten completely.

Man_eater.035
nɔo ᵇɔr jo? gaŋ gaŋ rɔt da? klaak ri'haaŋ ɲi? mete sian
3pl lead together DIR DIR arrive at clump bamboo here sense sound
They came back together, (and) came to the bamboo clump here, (and) heard the sound of a small child crying, (and) they went (and) looked (and) saw the tiger gnawing the bamboo to get in (and) attack (and) eat Ms Teu.

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

Located at Sam Sum village, (there) were one hundred people went together to weed (the fields).

When they went, (they) made the men go in front (and) go behind, (and) the women go
in the middle, and then a tiger jumped (out and) attacked Ms On who was walking along in the middle of the other people.

Her older sister got a knife (and) hacked at (the tiger), (but) the tiger was not wounded, then the tiger kept attacking the older sister too.

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

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

Taking one thousand silver coins, (he) hired Friend On Can to go (and) cut twenty large planks of wood, (and) come (and) make animal pens.
Friend On Can made fifteen animal pens, (and) made human dummies (and) sat (them) on the inside of the pens, (and) on the outside (he) set (and) lit fires.

When the tiger arrived, Friend On Can got a Caplek 0500 gun (and) shot at the tiger, but the pellet did not fire.

Friend On Can and (his) two friends were afraid (and) became sick lasting for ten days, (they) were (like) death.

Friend On Can lived on, lasting for one year and eight months, (and) then (he) died.

When the tiger was to die, it died because (it) was caught in a trap.
Located at Na Cong village, they set up two traps (and) put (them) at the underneath of
the house.

The tiger came to look for (and) attack (and) eat people.

The male tiger was caught in the trap (and) died here, the female tiger came (and)
gnawed (and) ate the male tiger's testicles, and then went (and) got caught in the trap,
evertheless (it) did not die here immediately, (they) saw only the blood. It ran away
(and) died in the forest, (and there) wasn't anyone (who) found (it).

Counting from this (time) on, (nobody) has heard (people) talk about a tiger (that)
attacks (and) eats people.

They added up the people (who) died because the tiger attacked (them), in total one
hundred (and) eighty-two people.
ra’waaŋ pok hak ?am haan sip’pee)t gon
tiger bite nevertheless NEG die eighteen Clf_people

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

Man_eater.055
ra’waaŋ pok mah lootæ pa? koon’gaan rɔɔt sip’kaw laaj’gaan ?ah haa
tiger bite eat totally with villagers arrive nineteen Clf_houses have five
sip tɔet gon
Clf_tens seven Clf_people

(Those) the tiger attacked (and) ate completely with villagers counting nineteen houses, (there) were fifty-seven people.

Man_eater.056
gon k’aat haaw pin’wat ra’waaŋ ni? sah tɔi ?ah ?a’ju? rɔɔt baar
person block trap ensnare tiger this COMP IRR have age arrive two
dzuǝ gon hak jet bian saam nim gɔɔ gɔ? haan
Clf_lifespan nevertheless stay achieve three Clf_years 3sgm so_then die
kim’bra? koon de? gɔɔ gɔ? haan gɔɔŋ kcoon tɔim’kin mooj gon
wife child POSS 3sgm so_then die remain daughter one Clf_people
sijn’mah naa ja? san
name 3sgf Ms San

The person (who) set up the trap (that) caught the tiger, (they said) that (he) would live to an age reaching two lifetimes, nevertheless after living three years he died, his wife and children died, (and there) remained one daughter, her name (was) Ms San.

Man_eater.057
ja? san t’aw kee bian haa sip pɛɛt nim hak ?am
Ms San aged old achieve five Clf_tens eight Clf_years nevertheless NEG

have husband have child INDEF with other_people

Ms San became old (and) reached fifty-eight years, but (she) did not have a husband (or) have any children with another person.

Man_eater.058
rɔɔt nim ban kaw rɔɔj haa sip ?et ja? san
arriving Clf_years Clf_thousands nine Clf_hundreds five Clf_tens one Ms San
In nineteen fifty-one Ms San died.
APPENDIX II

TAN'S HOSPITAL STORY

Tan.001
ʔoʔ tɨrˈdɔh lɨɑŋ naam ʔoʔ naam ?oʔ sɨrˈmɑʔ
1sg tell story period_of_time long_time period_of_time 1sg have_fever

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

Tan.002
naam niʔ ɲɔɔr ruuŋ da? kuŋ dee gə₀ ɲɔɔr ?am
period_of_time this road rough at village unspecified 3sgn yet NEG
da? ?ah lot rɔɔt ɲian naam kʰiˈniʔ
not_yet have vehicle arrive be_like period_of_time now

(At) this time the road was rough at our village; there still wasn't yet a vehicle (that) arrived (there) like (this) time now.

Tan.003
ŋɔɔr ruuŋ taŋ da? wiɑŋ rɔɔt da? kuŋ dee giˈniʔ
road rough starting at Vientiane arriving at village unspecified that_one

The road was rough starting at Vientiane (and) arriving at that our village.

Tan.004
jɔh baar mɨɨ taŋ dee rɔɔt leʔ mooj mɨɨ goʔ tɕii ?ah
go two Clf_days then generic arrive and one Clf_days so_then IRR have
lot mooj tˈtaw
vehicle one Clf_journeys

(One) goes for two days until one arrives, and (for) one day there would be one trip.

Tan.005
məh lot bɔriˈsat buuntʰɑˈnɔɔm lii dee law ?iik mooj kirˈlɔh
be vehicle company Bounthanom or generic say again one Clf_words
(It) was the Buunthanoom Company's vehicle or one (could) say in other words (it) was the government's vehicle, being the vehicle where they got wood (and) made a structure (on the back).

Tan.006

nam ni? məh ɲaam bag pʰak ʰu ResourceManager məh moŋ ʰnian haa
time this be period_of_time 3pl rest school be month Clf_months five

This time was the time they rest from school; (it) was the fifth month.

Tan.007

ʔoʔ 1sg məh pleʔtʰan ni? maak pʰoot laj ʰteŋ ʔan ʔoʔ sir’mə?
1sg eat jujube this many too_much directly cause 1sg have_fever

I ate too much jujube fruit then (that) caused me to have a fever.

Tan.008

behind that_one already 1sg so_then have_fever located at village IRR

bian graaw mooj ʔaʔtʰit ʔaʔtʰit
achieve approximately one Clf_weeks two Clf_weeks

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

Tan.009

sir’nim nɛɛw ma? go? ʔam laʔ ʰkiaŋ tɕii bian ɾoʔ mooj
treat however so_then NEG good almost IRR achieve arriving one

ʰnian
Clf_months

However (they) treated (my sickness), (I) didn't get better, lasting for nearly one month.

Tan.010

joŋ ʔoʔ law ʔoo tɕii jəɾ ʰuResourceManager laʔ ʰoʔ
father 1sg say oh! IRR go hospital good PRT

My father said, "Oh! Would going (to) hospital be good?"
Let's go together (to) hospital."

So (we) decided to go.

At this period I had a dangerous fever, but (I) was still conscious.

And then my father took me.

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

When we two came down (and) arrived at Phoonhong here, it was night.

1du NEG have place IRR rest and then 1du so then lead together PRT
We two didn't have a place to stay; then we two went together (and) stayed at the Phoonhong district intersection.

Tan.018

\textit{naam} \ ni? \ da? \ sin'drah \ p'oonhoŋ \ gi'ni? \ ?ah \ te'ʔo? \ ŋə?

period\_of\_time \ this \ at \ intersection \ Phoonhong \ that\_one \ have \ rice\_granary \ rice

\textit{lat} \ mooj \ laŋ

state \ one \ Clf\_buildings

(At) this time at that Phoonhong intersection (there) was a state rice granary.

Tan.019

\textit{te'ʔo?} \ laŋ \ gi'ni? \ nən \ taən \ hɨj'kɨr \ keh \ le? \ jet

rice\_granary \ Clf\_buildings \ that\_one \ 3pl \ weave \ close \ put\_up\_walls \ PRT \ located

da? \ jeer \ ʔəor \ ʔi? \ əo? \ ?ah \ pe̱n \ nən \ kin'dam \ kin'dam

at \ side \ road \ here \ so\_then \ have \ plank \ 3pl \ place\_down \ place\_down

\textit{pəh} \ ?əun \ ?ən \ gon \ den \ kə? \ əo\? \ lot

separate\_from \ put\_away \ PURP \ person \ sit \ wait \ vehicle

That rice granary, they had woven (panels and) enclosed (it) located at the side of the road here, and (there) were planks they had placed down (and) set aside for people to sit (and) wait for the truck.

Tan.020

\textit{ʔa?} \ den \ da? \ ʔi? \ hoo̱tɕ \ sih \ leh \ ʔi?

1du \ sit \ at \ here \ and\_then \ lie\_down \ near \ here

We (two) sat here and then lay down near here.

Tan.021

\textit{p'ɔ̱dii} \ ?om'iaŋ \ de? \ ?ə? \ əʔ? \ ʔi? \ tom \ jet \ da? \ kuŋ \ rɔɔt

exactly \ drinking\_water \ POSS \ 1sg \ REL \ 1pl \ boil \ located \ at \ village \ arrive

gi'ni? \ əo? \ lootɕ

that\_one \ so\_then \ all\_gone

Just then my drinking water, that we boiled (when we were) located at the village, then arriving here, (it) ran out.
And then I was thirsty.

I told my father to go (and) ask for water.

(When he) went (and) asked (for water) from the Lao people (at) that place, they didn't give (him any).

At this time they sold only tea that was yellow.

And then my father said, "(It) would not be good to drink, tea", because I had a fever.

"It will make (you) sick, (it) would not be good to drink."

And then father went (and) asked for plain water from these Lao people, and (he) couldn't get (any).
Whatever (he) did (I) couldn't get to drink water. (There) wasn't anyone (who) gave (us any).

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

But in the end, father went (and) bought tea, (and) came (and) gave (it to me); (if it was going to) make (me) sick, let (it) make (me) sick.

I did not know the way one has a fever.

The fever was hot (and I) wanted to drink only water.

At night that day we two went together (and) rested located here at the intersection, in order to wait to go down to hospital in Vientiane.
Getting up the next morning, then we went together (and) continued (in) the truck from Phoonhong intersection (and) arrived down in Vientiane.

Tan.036

jɔʔ root hooŋmɔɔ OB hootɛ sih jet niʔ dek
DIR arrive hospital OB and then lie down located here shortly

(After) arriving at OB hospital, then (we) lay down located here for a short time.

Tan.037

baŋ law sir’ma? baa gii raaj ?an jɔʔ da? hooŋmɔɔ maho’sot
3pl say fever 2sgf this_one dangerous OBLIG go at hospital Mahosot

They said, "This fever of yours is dangerous. (You) must go to Mahosot hospital."

Tan.038

hootɛ ?a⁴⁰ go⁴⁰ jɔʔ da⁴⁰ hooŋmɔɔ maho’sot
and then 1du so_then go at hospital Mahosot

And then we two went to Mahosot hospital.

Tan.039

jɔʔ root niʔ hootɛ baŋ ?an guut da⁴⁰ hooŋmɔɔ
DIR arrive here and then 3pl CAUS enter at hospital

(After) arriving here, then they admitted (me) into hospital.

Tan.040

leʔ nɔɔ law sah mɔh sir’ma? pa’ʔaat tɔii mɔh k’an ?anta’laaj leew
and 3pl say COMP be malaria IRR be level dangerous already

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

Tan.041

naajmɔɔ go⁴⁰ bɔŋ jɔŋ ?o⁴⁰ de⁴⁰ sah jɔŋ ?o⁴⁰ ?iʔa⁴⁰
doctor so_then scold father 1sg get COMP father 1sg stupid

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

Tan.042
Because when (we) were still staying in the village I had a fever one day, the next day (I) didn't have a fever; (I) had a fever alternate days.

Today I still went out to play, tomorrow I had a fever, because I was a small child, (when) the fever had ceased (I) went out to play, like that.

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

After the six bagfuls of saline were all gone, (I) still didn't improve, only enough to be able to get up, to be able to sit.
But then they said (there) wasn’t enough blood.

Tan.048

joŋ ?o? law ?uh tɔi ʔeeŋ neɛw mə?
father 1sg say EXCL IRR do how?

My father said, "Ooh, what will (we) do?

Tan.049

ki’muul gəʔ ?am ?ah məh ʔaʔə ʔaʔə bəj ?ah lootə
money so_then NEG have be INDEF so_then NEG NEG have totally

Money, (we) don’t have, whatever (it) is (we) don’t have any at all."

Tan.050

ɲaam niʔ ʔoŋ thii ʔooŋ paʔ daʔ məh k’ris’iən
period_of_time this yet believe_in spirit NEG not_yet be Christian

(At) this time, (we) still believed in spirits. (We) weren’t yet Christians.

Tan.051

tɔi ʔeeŋ neɛw məʔ ?a’niʔ?
IRR do how? that_one

What could (we) do (in) that situation?

Tan.052

hootə sii gi’niʔ məh neɛw ʔmetə joŋ ?oʔ gaj jɔʔ daʔ
and_then day that_one be type possibly father 1sg but_then go at
ta’ləaat
market

Then that day, whatever (the situation) might be, my father went to the market.

Tan.053

gəʔ jɔʔ weet pleʔ si’naa ʔam jɔʔ nɔʔ heet məh si’naa pʰan gi’niʔ?
3sgm DIR buy guava big REL 3pl shout be guava hybrid that_one
gaaŋ pʰaaʔ ?aʔ ?oʔ bəʔ mooj pʰi’neer
DIR slice PURP 1sg eat one Clf_pieces

He went (and) bought big guavas, that they call those hybrid guavas, (and) came (and) cut (them) up for me to eat, one piece.

Tan.054
I ate (it) but then (it) made (me) sick, this guava.

Then (it) was having a fever and shivering again, until (I) went into the ICU room, (at) what time (I) don't know.

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

When I woke up, I encountered that tube at the inside of my nose (and) the inside of my throat.

While I was breathing, it was there blocking (my air passage), stuck, stuck

They released my arm, then I grabbed (the tube and) threw (it) away.
I still remember, they released my arm, I grabbed (the tube and) threw (it) away, therefore they tied my arm(s) to the bed.

They didn't allow me to get up at all.

When (I) woke up, then (I) didn't know what to do, because they tied my arm, (which) had (the tube) inserted, to the bed.

After that, they said I was really lacking blood, (and we) must go (and) get blood.

What should my father go (and) do?

(At) this time blood was still cheap.
not easy.

Tan.067

\( \text{naam} \quad \text{ni}\? \quad \text{mooj} \quad \text{dolaa} \quad \text{go}\? \quad \text{bian} \quad \text{kin} \quad \text{hok} \quad \text{rooj} \)

period_of_time this one Clf_dollars so_then achieve only six Clf_hundreds

\( \text{teet} \quad \text{rooj} \quad \text{kiip} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{naam} \quad \text{ni}\? \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{rin} \)

seven Clf_hundreds Clf_kip amount this only

(At) this time, one dollar got only six hundred (or) seven hundred kiip; only this much.

Tan.068

\( \text{jον} \quad \text{ʔo}\? \quad \text{go}\? \quad \text{jοh} \quad \text{so\k}\quad \text{weet} \quad \text{maam} \quad \text{gi\textquotesingle}ni?} \)

father 1sg so_then DIR seek buy blood that_one

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

Tan.069

\( \text{lοɔ} \quad \text{law} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{an} \quad \text{seh} \quad \text{saam} \quad \text{daj} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{naj} \quad \text{jοn} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{am} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{ah} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{im\textquotesingle}muul} \quad \text{go}\? \)

3pl say OBLIG put_in three Clf_bags but father NEG have money so_then

\( \text{lοɔ} \quad \text{jοh} \quad \text{weet} \quad \text{kιn} \quad \text{ki\textquotesingle}baar} \quad \text{daj} \quad \text{gaaj} \quad \text{seh} \)

directly DIR buy only two_of Clf_bags DIR put_in

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

Tan.070

\( \text{tɕii} \quad \text{dian\j} \quad \text{maam} \quad \text{jοn} \quad \text{ʔo}\? \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{naj} \quad \text{baj} \quad \text{law} \quad \text{jοn} \quad \text{ʔo}\? \quad \text{go}\? \quad \text{ʔah} \quad \text{dzia} \)

IRR take blood father 1sg but 3pl say father 1sg so_then have microbe

\( \text{sir\textquotesingle}ma? \quad \text{pa\textquotesingle}aat} \quad \text{maak} \)

malaria many

(They) were going to take my father's blood, but they said my father had many malarial parasites.

Tan.071

\( \text{seh} \quad \text{g\\\textquotesingle}ο} \quad \text{tɕii} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{am} \quad \text{lo}\? \quad \text{naaj\\textquotesingle}co} \quad \text{go}\? \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{am} \quad \text{\textquotesingle}\text{anu\textquotesingle}naat} \quad \text{hin\textquotesingle}dzua} \quad \text{tɕii} \)

put_in 3sgn IRR NEG good doctor so_then NEG permit shortly IRR

\( \text{ʔah} \quad \text{p\\textquotesingle}a\text{ʔnaat} \quad \text{g\\\textquotesingle}ο} \quad \text{gaaj} \quad \text{tak} \quad \text{dee} \quad \text{tim\textquotesingle}bo?} \)

have disease 3sgm DIR stick unspecified add

To put it in would not be good, so the doctor didn't permit (it), (because) in a little while there would be his disease coming to infect me as well.

Tan.072
məh neew ni? joŋ go? jɔh weet maam da? tʰana'kʰaan gaaj seh
be type this father so_then DIR buy blood at bank DIR put_in
ʔo? de? ki'baar daj
1sg get two_of Clf_bags

(Because it) was like this, father went (and) bought blood at the bank, (and) came (and) they put in me two bags.

Tan.073
məh sir'məʔ naajmɔɔ lawʔan seh saam daj tan tɕii som'buun
be INTENS doctor tell put_in three Clf_bags then IRR complete

In fact the doctor told (us) to put in three bags then (I) would be healthy.

Tan.074
jɔɔr da? lɔh ʔo? sɨˈlɑh maam kin'mooj daj ŋin ɰɔŋ
because at body 1sg yet remain blood one_of Clf_bags only yet

*kin'mooj* lit
one_of Clf_litres

Because in my body (there) still remained only one bag of blood, still one litre.

Tan.075
tʰamma'daa lɔh gon dee tɕii ?ah maam rɔɔt sii lit
usually body person unspecified NEC have blood arrive four Clf_litres

*taŋ* tɕii som'buun
then IRR complete

Usually, we people's bodies must have four litres of blood then (we) will be healthy.

Tan.076
ʔnaj gi'ni? ʔo? sɨˈlɑh kin'mooj lit ŋin da? kluɑŋ lɔh
but that_one 1sg yet remain one_of Clf_litres only at inside body

But (in) that case I still had left only one litre at the inside of (my) body.

Tan.077
baŋ law tɕii seh saam hoote nezw mɔ? go? ʔam ?ah ki'muul
3pl say NEC put_in three and_then however so_then NEG have money

goʔ? ʔot seh liŋ ki'baar daj
so_then endure put_in only two_of Clf_bags

They said (they) must put in three, then whatever, (we) didn't have the money, so (we) made do (and) put in only two bags.

158
Therefore my arm was full of just the places they had pricked to put in blood.

Whichever place they inserted (the needle) was no good, because I am a person who has small blood vessels (and) ligaments.

They pierced in the crook of my elbow until (it) was totally bent.

(I) couldn’t eat rice.

Please excuse (me), therefore they cut open (my foot and) inserted (the needle) in the middle of the foot, so my foot there has a major scar.

(They) didn’t know where to inject the medicine.
Everywhere was totally wounded.

Tan.085
ʔuuh
t'uk
sir'ma
naam
ni?
EXCL poor INTENS period_of_time this

Ooh! (It) was really miserable (at) this time.

Tan.086
kin'ni
gi'ni?
joŋ
ʔo?
gə?
k'ian
jim
k'imuul
da?
kun
behind that_one father 1sg so_then DIR borrow money at village

After that then my father went up (and) borrowed money at the village.

Tan.087
k'ian
baŋ
dian
k'riŋ
ʔo?
k'ian
k'ian
ki'ne?
jeη
ascend 3pl take clothes 1sg DIR DIR consult_oracle look_at

Having gone up, they took my clothes (and) went up, went up (and) consulted the oracle to see (what they had to do).

Tan.088
k'ian
ki'ne?
baŋ
law
sah
toh
rooj gaan
rooj gaan
DIR consult_oracle 3pl say COMP arouse_spirits house spirit house spirit

tsə?
bə?
t'raak
want eat buffalo

Having gone up (and) consulted the oracle they said, "(We) have aroused the house spirits, (and) the house spirits want to eat a buffalo."

Tan.089
joŋ
ʔo?
gə?
tə?
rooj gaan
father 1sg so_then plead house spirit

Then my father pleaded (for time) with the house spirits.

Tan.090
tə?
rooj gaan
ni?
hootə
joŋ
gə?
jiim
k'imuul
gə?
plead house spirit this and_then father so_then borrow money with

kən'gaŋ
daŋ
da?
hooŋmə
jəŋ
tə'ro
ʔo?
daŋ
weet
hak
jəa
villagers descend at hospital DIR approach 1sg DIR buy medicine

Having pleaded with these house spirits, father then borrowed money from the villagers (and) came down to the hospital (and) went to see me, (and) went down (and) bought some medicine.
I was in the hospital until (it) reached one month more, then (I) improved.

Having improved, father invited me to go out, invited me to go out in the direction of the Mekong River bank.

Next to Mahosot hospital, located in that vicinity, (there) are a lot of trees they call Casuarina trees, that are situated around the wall of the hospital.

My father took me walking.

I walked following him.

As (we) were walking along, (we) came to a shop (that) sold water (and) sold snacks.
Then my father bought an ice-cream, a chocolate ice-cream.

(At) this time I didn't know, the chocolate ice-cream, what was it like? only just (that it) looked really black.

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

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

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

I licked (the ice-cream), licked (and) went along, and my father walked along in front.
As I was licking and going along, "Hey! that thing isn't delicious," I thought to myself, truly!

"Never mind, whatever I do (it) doesn't matter, I will throw (it) away".

I immediately threw (it) away.

A little later my father said, "(Let's) go Tan, we two will walk back."

"I am done for now," (I) thought to myself, "My father will see (the ice-cream) now."

Walking back I prepared to run (and) overtake him, in order to get dust (and) cover (it) to not allow him to see that ice-cream that I had thrown away.

But my father was walking in front, (and) I ran (but I) was not in time.
I watched my father bend over (and) look at the road.

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

I said, "(it) is."

"That thing, you didn't eat until it was finished."

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

"Ooh! (You) are stupid.

Other people have wanted to eat (ice-cream) until (they) died (but they) still didn't get to eat (it).

Someone gives one (some) to eat, (and) one throws it away."
After that (we) arrived back at the hospital, (and) stayed right here for two (or) three more days.

Then slowly (we) went up to the village.

Having gone up (we) looked for money, then (we) came (and) made sacrifices to the house spirits.

(We) killed a buffalo for the house spirits to eat.

When we killed a buffalo (and) fed the house spirits, then (it) caused us to be short of rice immediately in that year, because (we) were in a lot of debt to other people.

Buffaloes (at) this time, one animal whichever (one was) thirty thousand kip.
Thirty thousand was not easy; (it would be) worth three million now.

Thirty thousand kiip got a big male buffalo.

(We) borrowed money from other people (and) bought a buffalo to bring (and) kill to make a sacrifice to the house spirits.

After that, we were kept paying back debt lasting for three (or) four years, nearly reaching five years totally.

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

Tan.129

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jɔɔr sah</th>
<th>dee</th>
<th>bian</th>
<th>ŋoʔ</th>
<th>mooj</th>
<th>pii</th>
<th>məʔ</th>
<th>kin</th>
<th>ñaat</th>
<th>saam</th>
<th>sip</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

because unspecified achieve rice one Clif.years INDEF only three Clif.tens

Because we got rice one year whichever (one was) just only thirty sacks, but we ate (it) was just twenty four (or) twenty five sacks.

Tan.130

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñɑn</th>
<th>nim</th>
<th>giˈməʔ</th>
<th>dee</th>
<th>bian</th>
<th>rɔɔt</th>
<th>sii</th>
<th>sip</th>
<th>tan</th>
<th>dee</th>
<th>kum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

COND year whichever unspecified achieve arrive four Clif.tens then cover

məh eat

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

Tan.131

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ñɑn</th>
<th>bian</th>
<th>rɔɔt</th>
<th>ñaat</th>
<th>saam</th>
<th>sip</th>
<th>gəʔ</th>
<th>ñan</th>
<th>kum</th>
<th>mah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

COND achieve arrive three Clif.tens so then yet NEG cover eat

If (we) got up to thirty then (it) still wasn't enough to eat.

Tan.132

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mia</th>
<th>rɔɔt</th>
<th>ñaamj</th>
<th>ñan</th>
<th>tɕet</th>
<th>ñan</th>
<th>peɛɛj</th>
<th>ñaat</th>
<th>dee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

when arrive period_of_time Clif.months seven Clif.months eight unspecified

məh ñam kum nim dee gaj ñiim jəʔ briaŋ himˈmeʔ eat NEG cover year unspecified but then borrow with other_people new

ñiim seh jɔʔ kʰaw kʰiaw

borrow put_in rice rice green

When (it) arrived at the period of the seventh month (or) eighth month (and) we didn't have enough to eat (for) the year, then we borrowed from other people again, borrowed putting up the unharvested rice (as security).

Tan.133

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bat</th>
<th>hɔɔt</th>
<th>gaaj</th>
<th>gaj</th>
<th>jəh</th>
<th>deɛɛn</th>
<th>ñii</th>
<th>jəʔ</th>
<th>briaŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

turn strip_grain come but then DIR replace debt with other_people
(When) harvest time came, then (we) went (and) paid back the debt to the other people.

Tan.134

pii him’me? gaj ˀjiim ˀdiŋ’ni? ˀdiŋ’ni? tçon t sideways bian haa
year new but_then borrow like_that like_that until IRR achieve five

nim taj dee ˀhiŋ’goj la? k’sian la? k’sian
Clf_years then slowly improve improve

Then (in) the new year (we) borrowed like that again and again lasting for five years, then (it) slowly improved.

Tan.135

at end debt ? that_one 1pl yet attach_to until arrive time year

joŋ ?o? haan pəh ˀtaj dee saj lootɕ
father 1sg die separate_from then pay_back totally

In the end that debt, we still had until (it) reached the time of the year my father died, (and) then (we) paid (it) all back.
APPENDIX III

THE BEAR

Bear.001

móoj dia hiʔih ?iʔ bian dee ?oh ᵇeʔ da? pʰɯu miit
one Clf_times PRT 1pl PST construct rice_field at mountain Meut

ŋiʔ
here

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

Bear.002

ʔiʔ pʰisim sa’li pʰisim him’piir pʰisim blik maak pʰisim lim’daanŋ
1pl plant corn plant pumpkin plant chilli many plant eggplant

We planted corn, planted pumpkin, planted many chillis, (and) planted eggplant.

Bear.003

leʔ naam sa’li niʔ rɔɔt leʔ ?ah hual jʊh mah daʔ jiaŋ
and period_of_time corn this arrive PRT have bear DIR eat at base

ʔeʔ daʔ kim’poŋ ᵇeʔ niʔ mah pin’sim ?iʔ gi’niʔ
rice_field at top rice_field this eat crop 1pl that_one

And (when) the corn season arrived (there) was a bear (that) went (and) ate (it) at the bottom of the rice field (and) at the top of the rice field, ate those crops of ours.

Bear.004

leʔ ?iʔ ?am nəəŋ nɛɛw tɕii tɛɛŋ mɑh too ɲe̞h ᵇiʔ? ?am nəəŋ
and 1pl NEG know type IRR do be animal what 1pl NEG know

And we did not know what to do; what animal was (it)? we did not know.

Bear.005

kin’ŋiʔ hual ɭmɔɔn gəə deŋ mah gəə ɲiːŋ siŋ sin’den bɬəŋ ʔɪ’luk
tracks bear place 3sgn sit eat 3sgn be_like NMLZ seat rattan dented
The bear’s tracks, the place (where) it sat (and) ate, they were like the denting of a rattan chair, like this, do you see.

And then, "Oh! we won't get to eat (it) now, this rice".

This time was the time they had not yet collected guns; animals were numerous and so people would go hunting.

But (they) did not meet the animal that was eating (the crops). (At) that time we had an uncle of ours, this uncle of ours he was a person who was hard-working, (he) was an expert hunter, (you) could say, (he) was a person (who) often hunted animals in the forest.
(There) was one day, he went (and) took this hand grenade (and) went (and) tied (it) up at the foot of the rice field because (he) wanted to know what animal was it (that) went (and) ate the crops here at the rice field.

Suppose he hung (it) up today, ok, at night, in the middle of that night, (we) heard a sound (that) was the hand grenade, boom! at the rice field up there.

(When it) was just about light, just light (but) not quite light here, still partly dark, (they) really hurried to go (to know) what animal was it (that) went (and) touched (the grenade).

(They) believed it would be the bear.
(At) this time bears were numerous at the rice fields (and) at the various fields.

Bear.015

so_then lead together DIR many Clf_people have four have five Clf_people

goh
go

So then (they) went together, many people; (there) were four (or) were five people (who) went.

Bear.016

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

NEG catch gun official be gun pellet unspecified 1pl do EMPH

gi′ni?
that_one

Some took guns; (at) this time (there) were still pellet guns; so they didn't take army guns, (they) were those pellet guns of ours we made ourselves.

Bear.017

DIR arrive at over_there DIR arrive at base rice_field at knoll meet

tracks 3sgn and_then see blood 3sgn spill many

Going (and) arriving over there, going (and) arriving at the bottom of the rice field at the knoll, (they) came across its tracks, and then (they) saw a lot of its spilt blood.

Bear.018

and_then lead together DIR follow tracks 3sgn that_one with blood 3sgn

gi′ni?
that_one

And then (they) went together (and) followed its tracks, and its blood.

Bear.019

follow DIR follow DIR NEG meet
(They) followed (the tracks) forward (and) followed back (but they) didn't find (it).

Bear.020

hootɕ jɛt
and_then stay

Then (they) stopped.

Bear.021

mooj təʔ? niʔ jəh nam daʔ hoʔ bat giʔ
one Clif_group this DIR follow at over_there turn this_one

This one group went (and) followed over there (at) this time.

Bear.022

gleʔ ?oʔ niʔ kap kuʔn giʔniʔ wer gaaj looŋ
husband 1sg this with uncle_by_marriage that_one return DIR direction

behind DIR follow direction behind

My husband and that uncle turned back the way they had come (lit. the direction (from) behind); (they) followed back the way they had come (lit. came (and) followed the direction (from) behind).

Bear.023

gaaj gaj bɨʔ maʔ huʔl koon ʔaak
come but_then meet mother bear baby

But then coming (along they) met a mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Bear.024

gəʔ ?ah koon niʔ ?oh
3sgn have child this truly

It had a cub, you see.

Bear.025

daʔ hoʔ niʔ nəʔ sia sah siʔ gəʔ wat niʔ məʔ
at over_there this 3pl believe COMP NMLZ 3sgn be_ensnared this be

huʔl gəʔ ?am məʔ
bear 3sgn NEG be

Over there they believed that what was caught was a bear, (but) it wasn't.

Bear.026
It (that) was caught was a civet.

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

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

At that mountain, we made a rice field at that mountain, there are dark clouds, so whatever (one) looks at (it) is not clear, you see, in the morning, (at) seven (or) eight o'clock, (it) is still dark, (at) this time (in) the cold season.

During the eleventh (or) twelfth month it begins to have clouds.
Just then (they) went (and) met the mother bear (which had) a young cub.

Bear.032

 triggered grab REL be uncle_by_marriage that one grab roll together at

klaka gla? ni? hootč
cluck elephant_grass this CMPL

(It) went (and) grabbed (the one) who was that uncle, (and it) wrestled (and they) rolled over together up to a clump of elephant grass.

Bear.033

husband 1sg PRT see 3sgm go amount here amount there this PRT

dz(gl) p'alaŋ naam dee sa'močt guŋ k'ii naam k'ii naam
far considerably amount generic look_around see amount here amount

tuut njw gi'ni?
kapok_tree that_one

My husband saw (them), he was from here to there away; (it) was reasonably far, a distance (that) one could look (and) see, the distance (from) here (to) that kapok tree.

Bear.034

husband 1sg PRT NEG know type IRR do IRR shoot fear IRR touch

gon gi'ni?
person that_one

My husband did not know what to do, (whether) to shoot, (he) was afraid to hit that person.

Bear.035

and then DUR grab together face_down_on_back face_down_on_back bear

too gi'ni? sam ?oh hootč rim'boh ?oh lsh ni?
animal that_one totally wounded totally face wounded body this

And then (it) kept wrestling together (with him), now face down, now face up, this bear, (and he) was wounded all over (his) face (and he) was wounded (on his) body.

Bear.036
My husband was going to shoot (and) took out (his) gun to shoot, but then (he) was afraid to hit the uncle (and he) would die.

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

(As he) went (and) approached, it then let go.

Then at this time (they) came home.

The villagers talked (and) spread the news saying, "If (you) cannot get this mother bear, (and) if (there) is anyone going on this road (or) that road (and) if a bear bites (them), any bear, then (you) will pay compensation to us," (they) said.
Oh! we did not know what to do.

Bear.042

nɔɔ law sah maak wek ni? jɔh wat hual gi'ni? hual gi'ni?
3pl say COMP hand_grenade this DIR ensnare bear that_one bear that_one

jɔh nap briaŋ bat giü
DIR grab other_people turn this_one

They said, "The hand grenade got that bear, now that bear (will) go (and) attack other people."

Bear.043

si'naa ni? go? ?am neeŋ law'sah gә ǝm ǝyj'k'o si'naa diim mәh
3du this so_then NEG know COMP 3sgn be civet 3du believe be

hual too gi'ni? dee ?am neeŋ
bear animal that_one unspecified NEG know

Those two did not know that it was a civet; they believed (it) was this bear, those two didn't know.

Bear.044

bat giü bat nam nɔɔ bına'gә jɔh gi? gon ni? wer gaaj
turn this_one turn time 3pl REL go many Clf_people this return DIR

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

Bear.045

ʔoo mәh too ǝyj'k'o ǝyuʔ'kug ǝyuʔ'gaaj tan ǝyj? sia tan baj law
oh! be animal civet villagers then believe then NEG say

ʔan ?iʔ saj k'aa rUA
OBLIG 1pl pay_back compensation

Oh! (It) was a civet the village people then believed; then (they) didn't say we should pay back compensation.

Bear.046

person that_one at body that NEG ? wounded PRT as_if be animal

hual gi'ni? nɔɔ law ʔoh liŋ da? ʔәh muh da? ʔәh
bear that_one 3pl say wounded only at periphery nose at periphery

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

Bear.047

ɡəə deʔ tim'ʨɔn tɨmˈmɔɔŋ ɡəə graːtɛ
3sgn get nail 3sgn scratch

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

Bear.048

tɪrˈbaʔ ?am mɔh neʔ ?oh ɡam kʰoʔ baa
scar NEG be small wound big EXCL PRT

The scars were not small, the wounds were big!

Bear.049

gleʔ ʔoʔ bɨɑn de dɛ bɔʔ ɡɑɑj mɨɑn haan ləəj
husband 1sg PST carry_on_back DIR be_like person die directly

My husband had carried (him) back home, (and he) was just like a person (who) had died.

Bear.050

goʔ dzaʔ ʔoo mok niʔ
so_then far oh! mountain this

Oh! (it) was far away this mountain.

Bear.051

mɔh de dɛ ɡaʔ miˈnɗruum mok daʔ ʔinj paˈmaan saam sii
be generic climb underneath mountain at up_there about three four

ʃik niʔ leʔ?
Clf_kms this PRT

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

Bear.052

ɡəə gaj mɔh liŋ ɡlaːŋ kʰoʔ kʰoʔ kʰom kʰom ʔam ɡaʔ jɔh
3sgn but_then be only stone uneven NEG good go

But it was only rocks (and) very uneven, (and) not good to go (on).
(They) arrived back home, and so (it) is finished, this story.
APPENDIX IV

THE THIEF

Thief.001
ʔah mooj gon hiʔih giˈniʔ ꙯comings məh gon waˈlun niʔ leʔ
have one Clf_people PRT that_one yet be person teenager this PRT

ʔnii ꙯nii waˈj ɮəəts
naughty naughty ABIL steal

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

Thief.002
mooj mii niʔ ꙯ah ꙯Cómo ˈbɾoʔ mooj jɔŋ niʔ lot tam
one Clf_days this have son one Clf_father this vehicle hit

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

Thief.003
hoots ꙯go ꙯laʔ bian kɨˈmuul kʰaa ꙯rua ꙯koon ꙯ˈbɾoʔ ꙯dee
and_then 3sgm PRT achieve money compensation son co-referent

niʔ bɑŋ saj niʔ
this 3pl pay_back this

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

Thief.004
gorm ꙯ˈun ꙯kɨˈmuul niʔ hoots ꙯ˈaw ꙯go ꙯məh jɔŋ ꙯koon ꙯ˈhɑn lot
3sgm put_away money this CMPL that be father child die vehicle

tam niʔ gorm ꙯tam bɑŋ ꙯go ꙯məh ꙯gorm ꙯diil
hit this 3sgm NEG NEG see INDEF 3sgm poor_sighted

He put away the money, he who was the father (of the) child (who) died (when) the car hit (him); he could no longer see anything; he was poor-sighted.

Thief.005
Being poor-sighted, and then he put away the money at the inside of the house here.

Thief.006

Mr that_one go DIR steal 3sgm get and_then 3sgm so_then NEG see

That man went, went and stole (what) he had received, and he didn't see (it).

Thief.007

?am naaŋ neew ma? tii qeqə maŋ ma? ma? gəə ?am NEG know however IRR do 3sgm ask anyone anyone so_then NEG

naaŋ neew gəə diil hi’iìh
know type 3sgm poor_sighted PRT

(He) didn't know what to do, he; (if he) asked anyone, they didn't know because he was poor-sighted, you see.

Thief.008

ŋaŋ gəə? ?am kən kʰak tʰaw leəw
ear so_then NEG ? perfect aged already

(His) ears were not very good; (he) was already old.

Thief.009

gəə go? tir’waaj məh ma? hak mət kʰ-imul ?o? kʰi
3sgm so_then rage be INDEF nevertheless take_hold money 1sg here

kʰˈrəuʔ ?an gəə həan məiən sɨŋ kən ?o? gi’ni? ?am request COMP 3sgm die be_like NMLZ child 1sg that_one IMP

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

Thief.010

məh kʰ-imul kʰˈaɑ̯ rəu kən ni? gəə law neew ni? le?
be money compensation child this 3sgm say type this PRT

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

Thief.011

jet ?am bIan ?am rɔɔt ?am pii jər məiən gəə law si’məʔ?
stay NEG can NEG arrive NEG year be be_like 3sgm say truly

(It) did not even reach a year (later), (when it) truly came to be like he said.
He went (and) was a fare collector (on) the soong thaew (that) runs on the Vang Viang route, you see.

When he went, (there) was not anyone (who) knew; when he had stolen then other people did know.

(They) knew, the parents, (and) said (they) would not repay (it), because the parents had not had anyone (in their household) receive anything (from this son), any relatives had not had anyone receive anything (and there) was not anyone (who) wanted to repay (it).
(He) had been gone not very long, just enough to go (and) volunteer (for) work for just four (or) five days only.

Thief.017

ascend day that_one so_then be fare_collector song that_thai ascend at

Vang Viang this PRT DIR arrive at middle road this

Going up that day, (he) was the fare-collector (on) the soong that_thai going up to Vang Viang, (and it) went up (and) reached half way up the road.

Thief.018

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

Thief.019

(His) thigh was broken here, (and his) ear was torn.

Thief.020

(It) is finished, that story.
I will tell (a story), I will relate a story (about) thieves.

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

He/they saw Mr Cuang had his daughter's bride-price money (that they) gave.

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

Having one bundle, then the thieves were spying on him lasting two days (or) three days.
Then he/they saw the man put the money away up high, in the rafters, right.

TwoThieves.007

And then, Mr this put away money this at tall at rafters

This truly

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

TwoThieves.008

Mr this plant rice_field and then yes 3sgm say DIR arrive with Mr here

grandfather EXCL 3sgm say grandfather 2sgm IRR do what IMP 3sgm

say grandfather 2sgm do what give 1sg get knife 2sgm a little

Having gone to plant (his) rice field, and then, "Hey," he/they said, arriving at the man here, "Grandfather!" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you going to do, hey?" he/they said, "Grandfather, what are you doing? Give me your knife (for) a short time."

TwoThieves.009

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

TwoThieves.010

Oh! IRR chop_up wood

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

TwoThieves.011

What will you do with the wood?"
"Oh (I/we) will make a walking stick! (I/we) will make a walking stick."

TwoThieves.013

taʔ niʔ ?an wek
Mr this give knife

The man gave (him/them) the knife.

TwoThieves.014

mɔɔt wek hootɕ gəə pliat saʔɔɔŋ niʔ
take_hold knife and_then 3sgm chop_up wood this

Taking the knife then he/they chopped the wood.

TwoThieves.015

pliat saʔɔɔŋ niʔ hootɕ mooj blah mooj gon niʔ tɕap wek
chop_up wood this CMPL one Clf_sides one Clf_people this catch knife

mooj gon niʔ tɕap saʔɔɔŋ
one Clf_people this catch wood

Having chopped the wood, then one party, the one person took hold of the knife, the one
person took hold of the stick.

TwoThieves.016

tɕap saʔɔɔŋ laʔ taʔ niʔ twɔʔɔɔŋ reʔ ʔoo twɔʔɔɔŋ getɕ twɔʔɔɔŋ
catch wood PRT Mr this plant rice_field oh! dibble sow_seeds dibble

getɕ niʔ ʔoo
sow_seeds this oh!

Holding the stick then, the man was planting the rice field, dig a hole, sow seed, dig a
hole, sow seed, like this.

TwoThieves.017

gəə deʔ saʔɔɔŋ niʔ tʰap
3sgm get wood this strike

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

TwoThieves.018

tʰap taʔ taʔ niʔ kir′liəŋ ɲiʔ
strike Mr Mr this fall_over here

Struck the man, the man fell down here.
Then the one person got the knife (and) chopped his neck, ripped (it) apart.

(He) took the knife and chopped his neck, ripped (it) apart.

Having ripped (it) apart then (they) searched around (and) looked for the money.

Having got that money, (they) returned (home), escaped (and) returned (home).

They kept pursuing (them), and (they) did not get (them).

Finished.
APPENDIX VI

THE ORPHAN

Orphan.001

daʔ poʔtʰee təvah ʔiʔ gii daʔ naam ʔaŋ poʔtʰee təvah ʔiʔ ʔaŋ
at country Lao 1pl this_one at period_of_time old nation 1pl yet

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

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

Orphan.002

leʔ ʔah kcoonˈrook mooj gon
and have orphan one Clf_people

And (there) was an orphan.

Orphan.003

kcoonˈrook gon ɡiˈniʔ leʔ kəə tɕaak kʰɔɔpkʰuʔa tʰuk tʰii sut
orphan Clf_people that_one PRT be_born from family poor SUPERL

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

Orphan.004

laŋtɕaak ɡiˈniʔ ɡəə pʰɔˈdiu biaŋ mooj piʔ pʰɔˈdiu maʔ ɡəə
after that_one 3sgm exactly achieve one Clf_years exactly mother 3sgm

gəə ɡɑn pəh
so_then die separate_from

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

Orphan.005

maʔ ɡəə ɡaŋ pəh leʔw joŋ ɡəə ʔoɾ ɡəə jet jet
mother 3sgm die separate_from already father 3sgm lead 3sgm stay stay
His mother having died, his father took him to stay (with him), (and they) stayed (and) were as poor as before.

And their village, it did not have many buildings.

Kmhmu' people long ago, the most was about ten (or) fifteen, reaching twenty houses, about that much.

But nevertheless anyone else's family had enough to live, enough to eat.

Laughing at them, the child (and) father were poor (and) built a very small hut, located at the periphery of the other people's village.
And then unable to endure the poverty, his father died (and) left him as well.

Orphan.012

When his father died, his age was four years.

Orphan.013

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

Orphan.015

And then that aunt brought him to stay (with her and) raised (him).

Orphan.016

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

Orphan.017

hate 3sgm this use 3sgm do work use 3sgm go here go there and
Hating him, (she) used him to work, used him to go here (and) go there, and did not allow him to eat rice.

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

And one day (when his) age had reached exactly nine years, he just went wandering off.

Going, (he) had a cross-bow (that) his father had made for him when he was still small; (he) had a cross-bow and (he) had arrows, (and he) had a torn bag.

So he made up his mind firmly, (and) he thought, "I will no longer stay with my aunt any more."
ʔoʔ  tɕii  duʔ
1sg  IRR  flee

I will flee.

Orphan.023
*haan  ꯼ʔ  tɕii  hootɕ  dee  ꯼ʔ  jɔɔr  sah  jɔŋˈmaʔ  ꯼ʔ  ꯼ʔ  goʔ*

die  INDEF  IRR  be_finished  unspecified  here  because  parents  1sg  so_then

*haan  leɛw*
die  already

Wherever (I) die, I will be finished there, because my parents have already died.

Orphan.024
*ʔoʔ  bɑj  ꯼ʔah  pʰiˈnɔɔŋ  ꯼ʔah  ꯼ʔah  pʰiˈnɔɔŋ  maʔkɨn  kinˈmooaj  bɑŋ  goʔ*
1sg  NEG  have  relative  INDEF  have  relative  aunt  one_of  3pl  so_then

*ʔam  rak*
NEG  love

I no longer have any relatives; (I) have a relative, only one aunt, (and) she does not love (me)."

Orphan.025
*bat  gii  gəə  goʔ  jɔh  dee  leɛw*
turn  this_one  3sgm  so_then  go  oneself  already

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

Orphan.026
*gaɑ  mok  gaɑ  riŋˈkɔɔŋ  jɔh*
climb  mountain  climb  peak  DIR

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

Orphan.027
*jɔh  piˈsiam  ꯼ʔ  gəə  sih  deh  ꯼ʔ*
go  night  INDEF  3sgm  lie_down  EMPH  here

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

Orphan.028
*leʔ  piˈsiam  ꯼ʔ  gəə  kwaatɕ  deh  ꯼ʔ*
and  night  INDEF  3sgm  curl_up  EMPH  here

And wherever (he was at) night, he curled up here.
And at the time he was walking along he did not have rice.

He had one knife, one flat-ended knife.

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

(He) had one dirty lighter, this flint lighter, (you) strike (and) tug this lighter ?; this one was his father's lighter.

His father smoked.

(When) his father died, he had got that lighter and his father's flat-ended knife and took (them and) went off.
(He) took the flat-ended knife and the lighter and the cross-bow and went.

Orphan.036

\text{pʰɔˈdii \ jh \ bian \ kiap \ tɕii \ guut \ mooj \ ˈnian}

exactly go achieve almost IRR enter one Clf_months

(He) went along lasting for almost one month.

Orphan.037

\text{ɡəə \ nään \ jh \ ni? \ tʰɑŋ \ mah \ kwɑɑj \ tʰɑŋ \ məh}

3sgm walk DIR this and eat tuber and INDEF

He walked along and ate tubers and whatever.

Orphan.038

\text{ɡəə \ gəʔ \ so_\neg \ ɡɔʔ \ so_\neg \ ɡəə \ jh}

3sgm so_\neg NEG fat co-referent and 3sgm so_\neg thin go NEG

ʔah \ ɾeŋ \ jh

have strength go

He was no longer fat, himself, and he was thin; (he) went on (even though he) did not have the strength to go (on).

Orphan.039

\text{ɲɑɑŋ \ jh \ nään \ jh \ nään \ jh \ nään \ jh \ pʰɔˈdii \ pʰɔ\co \ guuŋ \ da?}

walk DIR walk DIR walk DIR exactly just_about see at

hoʔ \ ɲiian \ dee \ bɑh \ bɑh

over_there be_like PRT light light

(He) walked (and) walked (and) walked (and) walked (and) exactly then he could nearly see at a distance (something that) looked very bright.

Orphan.040

\text{jɛɛŋ \ sok \ mok \ niʔ \ ɭooŋ \ hoʔ \ bɑh \ leʔ \ ʔoo \ ronˈlɔŋ}

look_at periphery mountain this direction over_there light and oh! radiant

\text{ɡəə \ məh \ məh \ giˈnaaŋ}

3sgm be what that_one_there

Looking near the mountain over in that direction (it) was bright and shining! What was it, that over there?

Orphan.041

\text{leʔ \ ɡəə \ goʔ \ tɕoŋ \ nään \ jh \ tɕoːr\co \ jɛɛŋ \ bɑŋˈdia \ tɕii \ məh \ kʊŋ}

and 3sgm so_\neg NEC walk DIR approach look_at perhaps IRR be village
And so he must walk (and) approach (it and) look; could (it) possibly be a village of people?

The distance (to) the place he saw there, to go towards that place that was bright (and) shining, it would be a walking time (of) three more days then (you) would arrive.

And so he (said to himself), "Oh whatever (I) do I must go, because I made up my mind already saying that 'wherever (I) die, (I) will stay there'."

And so he walked (and) walked (and) walked (and) walked.

(At) night (after) three days indeed (he) had nearly arrived and (in about) one day (he) would arrive.
So then (he) arrived here, and (there) was a water spout they had made to drip, drip, drip, drip there; then above this place was a small cave.

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

(After) a short time passed waking up in the morning, he was not yet fully awake, just then (there) was a young woman holding a water gourd.

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

(As she was) going, just then (she) met him here.
So then she immediately said, "Oh older brother, you, where have (you) come from to arrive here?" (she) said this.

Orphan.053

3sgm so then reply COMP oh! 1sg NEG know village 1sg stay at all

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

Orphan.054

1sg walk DIR this_one achieve one Clf_months already

I have been walking like this lasting one month already.

Orphan.055

NEG NEG know place 1sg go already

(I) no longer know the places I have been.

Orphan.056

when 1sg walk located at village DIR here 1sg so then go place 1sg

want go say COMP DIR arrive die at INDEF so then be finished

located here

While I walked starting from the village to here, I went to places I wanted to go, (and) said, '(I) will go (and) wherever (I) die, then (I) will be finished here.'

Orphan.057

think COMP NEG have grave so then never mind

(I) thought, '(If I) do not have a grave, then (I) do not mind.'
I am an orphan, my father died (and) my mother died.  

Mother died first (and) following after 3 years then father died.  

And I stayed with my aunt.  

Staying with my aunt, my aunt did not love (me).  

(It) being necessary, so I went, (I) went off like that.  

Wherever (I) die, (it) will be finished here, my life," he said this.
"Oh older brother, in that case you stay here (and) wait for me to return home (and) get rice for you to eat.

Orphan.065
gaaŋ ʔoʔ  naaŋ niʔ  jsh goʔ  baj džaʔ  leew
house 1sg walk here DIR so_then NEG far already

My house, walking from here is not far."

Orphan.066
leʔ naa ʔoh ʔom niʔ  hootɕ
and 3sgf collect water this CMPL

And she collected the water.

Orphan.067
ʔsh ʔom niʔ  hootɕ  naa goʔ  gook ʔom deh
collect water this CMPL 3sgf so_then carry_on_shoulder water co-referent

naaŋ gaaj root daʔ  gaaj leew  naa goʔ  plah ʔom deh
walk DIR arrive at house and then 3sgf so_then put water EMPH

Having collected some water, then she carried her water on her shoulder (and) walked back (and) arrived at the house, and then she put the water down.

Orphan.068
plah ʔom
put water

(She) put the water down.

Orphan.069
laŋtɕaak plah ʔom  hootɕ  leew  goʔ  sook siŋmah seh daʔ
after put water CMPL and then so_then seek food put_in at

gook  naam jaʔ  go  mı  gook seh daʔ
round_gourd period_of_time long_ago 3sgn be round_gourd put_in at

gook seh daʔ  beem ?ar mit ?an go ıa
round_gourd put_in at basket take_along take PURP 3sgm eat

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

Orphan.070
So he said, "Oh! I am not worthy that (I) could eat your food, because you are a beautiful person, you are a person whose body is handsome, (whose) body is beautiful, a rich person.

Orphan.071

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

Orphan.072

"And now I just met you like this, so I have good luck (and) I thank you very much.

Orphan.073

Thank you that you pity me, (that) you love me, but I could not eat (this food).

Orphan.074

If I eat this I am afraid I will die right now," (he) said this.

Orphan.075
This woman, they said (she) was the king's daughter, the king living at that village, living at that district!

Orphan.076

and then 3sgf so then trick lure PURP 3sgm eat COND 2sgm love 1sg

And then she tricked (and) enticed him so that he would eat, "If you truly love me, then eat, if you don't truly love me, if you won't eat then stop."

Orphan.077

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

Orphan.078

So he ate (it) right then.

Orphan.079

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

Orphan.080

and then 3sgf return_home return_home with 1sg return_home climb house 1sg

201
She said, "Come back, come back with me; come back (and) climb up (to) my house, if you love me."

Orphan.081

*b*t gii gaa go? lsoj him/meen hir/lo? nna ga? naan*

turn this_one 3sgm so_then directly listen language 3sgf so_then walk

wetɛ broom

DIR accompany

So then (at) this time he listened to her words, (and) so walked back accompanying (her).

Orphan.082

laptʃaak wetɛ leh teii rɔɔt da? gaan gaa go? law 'na?

after return_home near IRR arrive at house 3sgm so_then say that


After returning (and) being near to arriving at the house, he said like this, "Oh younger sister, I would request to stay in your cow pen.

Orphan.083

ʔo? ʔam som’kʰuɑn teii gaa gaaŋ bɔɔ gaaŋ bɔɔ ?eh blia

1sg NEG worthy IRR climb house 2pl house 2pl EXCL beautiful

blia

beautiful

I am not worthy to climb up (to) your house; your house, oh! is very beautiful.

Orphan.084

jet da? dza? sa’mɔɔt jeeŋ gaa go? sin’dril mat sin’dril mat

located at far look_around look_at 3sgn so_then dazzle eye dazzle eye

maap maap maap blia

flash flash flash beautiful

Located at a distance (one) can look around (and) see it dazzles the eyes, (it) dazzles the eyes flash, flash, flash, (it is) beautiful."

Orphan.085


and_then so_then village that_one so_then have approximately three Clf tens
So then, this village had about thirty houses.

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

So then she did not accept (that he stay in the cowpen), (and) invited him to come (to the house).

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

So he walked home accompanying her.

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

and so then have soldier guard at door here carry_on_shoulder sword
And (there) were soldiers guarding the gate there, (who) carried swords, four people.

Orphan.092

3sgf lead 3sgm enter

She led him to enter.

Orphan.093

3sgf enter and turn this_one remain 3sgm 3sgm soldier NEG allow enter

She entered and (at) this time he remained; him, the soldiers would not allow to enter.

Orphan.094

soldier NEG allow enter

The soldiers would not allow (him) to enter.

Orphan.095

do however so_then CAUS stay at outside here

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

Orphan.096

IRR DIR request with father before COND father permit COMP enter

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

Orphan.097

COND king NEG permit COMP enter and_then so_then NEG enter

If the king does not permit (you) to enter, then (you) cannot enter."
Then when (they) had requested of her father already, her father said, "Come in, never mind."

Immediately she took him in.

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

Whatever (you) do (I) don't care.

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

Orphan.104

rate ta'haan go?  rate təii p'aan təii git
chase soldier so_then chase IRR kill IRR chop

(They) chased (them), the soldiers chased (them) to kill (them and) cut them (down).

Orphan.105

naa go?  dar jəh bəəm goə du? jəh ?iik
3sgf so_then run DIR with 3sgm flee DIR again

So she ran away with him, (they) ran further away.

Orphan.106

jəh təam jəh jəh taam jəh jəh taam jəh jəh le? go? kəip
go follow go go follow go go follow go go and so_then almost

bian ?nian ?iik kəip bian mooj ?nian ?iik
achieve month again almost achieve one Clf_months again

On and on they went (lit. go follow go), going and going, and then (it) lasted almost another month, (it) lasted almost one more month.

Orphan.107

jəh go? jəh
go so_then go

So on (they) went.

Orphan.108

jəh bip fa? mooj too
DIR meet monkey one Clf_animals

(They) went (and) met a monkey.

Orphan.109

fa? mooj too ni? den da? loŋ saʔəŋ kʰo?
monkey one Clf_animals this sit at tree_branch EXCL

The monkey sat on a tree branch!

Orphan.110

gəə məct mə? dee təii piŋ goə nəe təii piŋ kʰo?
3sgm take_hold cross-bow co-referent IRR shoot 3sgm aim IRR shoot EXCL
He took his crossbow to shoot (the monkey), he took aim to shoot, (when) "Oh!" the monkey said that, "Oh! older brother, older brother don't you shoot me.

Orphan.111

mee ta? piɲ ?o?
2sgm NEGIMP shoot 1sg

Don't you shoot me.

Orphan.112

ʔo? tsii dʑɔɔj mee
1sg IRR help 2sgm

I will help you.

Orphan.113

ŋaam mee bip ti.uk bip naak ?o? tsii dʑɔɔj mee law ni?
when 2sgm meet poor meet difficult 1sg IRR help 2sgm say this

When you meet poverty (or) meet difficulty I will help you," (he) said this.

Orphan.114

3sgm say EXCL promise together ? NEG like_that 1sg shoot 2sgm die

si'ma? ?aj
truly ?

He said, "Hey! (let us) promise together ok, (if it) is not like this I will shoot you (and you) will die for sure, ok!"

Orphan.115

bat gii law ?əə ʔo? tsii dʑɔɔj mee taaŋ nezw ?o? tsii
turn this_one say yes 1sg IRR help 2sgm elder_sibling type 1sg IRR

dʑɔɔj mee ni? mee ?am ʰəŋ ʰam ?o? tsii dʑɔɔj mee naam
help 2sgm this 2sgm NEG know totally 1sg IRR help 2sgm period_of_time

mo? go? ?am ʰəŋ ʰam
INDEF so_then NEG know totally

(At) this time (the monkey) said, "Yes, I will help you, older brother; the way I will help
you, you do not know at all, I will help you (at) a time (you) do not know at all.

Orphan.116
leʔ si'baa ʔcor ʃoʔ jɔh ʔom ʔoʔ teiʔ ʔmɔɔk si'baa deʔ ʔcor
and 2du lead together DIR IMP 1sg IRR tell 2du get road

And you two go together, (and) I will tell you two the road.

Orphan.117
si'baa jɔh roh ɾoŋ gii kʰian rɔɔt ʾmɔɔn ɾəŋ ʾmɔɔn
2du DIR follow_boundary river this_one DIR arrive place INDEF place

gəə tʰrim tʰrim leʔ ʔan si'baa jet ɾiʔ ʔom
that level level and IMP 2du stay here IMP

You two follow the bank of this river (and) go up (and) arrive at some place, a place that is very flat, and you two stay here.

Orphan.118
lewu si'baa ɾeq? deʔ ɾeqh ɾeqʔ deʔ ɾeqh leʔ ʔan si'baa tiɾ'ɡat
and_then 2du want get INDEF want get INDEF and IMP 2du think
raɾt ʔoʔ
arriving 1sg

And then (if) you two want anything, (if you) want anything, then think about me.

Orphan.119
tiɾ'ɡat raɾt ʔoʔ leʔ law kʰoʔ ʔoʔ teiʔ gaaj dzɛj law newu niʔ
think arriving 1sg and say EXCL 1sg IRR DIR help say type this
faʔ
monkey

Think about me and say (what you want), (then) I will come (and) help (you),“ (he) said like this, the monkey.

Orphan.120
si'naa ɾaŋaŋ kʰian ɾiʔ goʔ ʔam ɾoŋ ʔoh graaw baar
3du walk DIR here so_then NEG long_time truly approximately two
saam dzua ʔan ɾiʔ teiʔ law ɾoŋ ʔoʔ baar saam su'a'moon ɾiʔ
three Clf_hours COND 1pl IRR say that so_then two three Clf_hours this
leʔ baar saam dzua
PRT two three Clf_hours

Those two walked up (to) here (and it) was really not long, about two (or) three hours, if
we would say that, then two (or) three hours, two (or) three hours.

Orphan.121

leew  bat  giì  si’naa  go?  ?ɔɔr  thii  moh  gle?  moh
and_then  turn  this_one  3du  so_then  lead  believe_in  be  husband  be

kim’bra?  ni?  le?  baŋ  rate  pi’du?  bian  ʔnian  si’naa  go?
wife  this  PRT  3pl  chase  drive_out  achieve  Clf_months  3du  so_then

jet  bʁoom  jo?  le?  joh  rɔɔt  ʔmocn  gəʔ  law  ni?
stay  accompany  together  PRT  DIR  arrive  place  3sgm  say  this

And then (at) this time those two went, (we) believe (they) were husband (and) wife; (it) was a month (since) they had chased (them) away (and) driven (them) out, (and) those two had been staying together, so (they) arrived at the place he spoke of.

Orphan.122

rɔɔt  ɲi?  si’naa  go?  hɨr’lu?
arrive  here  3du  so_then  rest

Arriving here, those two rested.

Orphan.123

ʔah  pʰalaan  glaŋ  wah  wah  k’o?  blia  ʔah  bri?  ʔah  tут  saʔɔɔŋ
have  rock  stone  wide  wide  EXCL  beautiful  have  tree

tuut  moh  blia  si’ma?  jet  ɲi?
tree  INDEF  beautiful  INTENS  located  here

(There) was a very wide rock, (it) was beautiful, (there) was forest, (there) were trees, various trees, (it) was very beautiful located here.

Orphan.124

blia  liiŋ  kuŋ  jōŋ  nco  gi’nì?  tɛɛ  ʔam  da?  ʔah  ɡaan
beautiful  more_than  village  father  3pl  that_one  but  NEG  not_yet  have  house

goŋ
person

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

Orphan.125

ʔoo  pʰɔ’dii  jah  rɔɔt  ɲi?  le?  ʔoo  hezm  ja?  ni?  gəʔ
oh!  exactly  DIR  arrive  here  PRT  oh!  younger_sibling  monkey  this  3sgm
Now just when (they) arrived here, "Oh younger brother monkey, he said that (if) we two want anything, we two should say like this, (and) think of him," (she) said this.

Orphan.126

The orphan man, he who (was) the orphan then said, "Oh younger sister, now we, husband (and) wife, are extremely poor, and don't have anything, (but we) don't mind that; (we) will ask to get one house, and to get rice to eat, and to get villagers, about five (or) six other houses here."

Orphan.127

Just then (as he) said this, the monkey actually went (and) arrived here. 

Orphan.128

Then get again time this one achieve three_of monkey this say type this
Smack! he arrived here (and) he said, "You two speak well, you two get three things (and) stop; (you) cannot get (anything) going beyond this, and next time then (you) will get more; this time (you) will get only three," the monkey said like this.

Yes, one, (we) want to get a house to not allow the rain to wet us.

Two, (we) want to get rice to eat, food (and) drink (of) all kinds.

Three, (we) want to get young men (and) women (and) attendants, (and we) want to get villages, (and we) want to get houses, (and we) want to get villagers."
Those two sat, bowed (their) heads like that (and) closed (their) eyes.

Orphan.136

\textit{jap mat ra'mooj le? mete? naj bat gii mete? sian t'ak moh}
\textit{close eye ear PRT sense? turn this_one sense sound PSB be}

\textit{sian moh tco moh t'it t'it t'it}
\textit{sound what continue what many_sounds many_sounds many_sounds}

\textit{t'it t'it t'it t'it t'it t'it}
\textit{many_sounds many_sounds many_sounds many_sounds many_sounds many_sounds}

Closing (their) eyes, (their) ears heard (at) this time, heard sounds, what sound could (it) be, going on, what? many sounds, loud noises, going on and on and on.

Orphan.137

\textit{'mit fa? go? law si'baa laan t'om ni?}
\textit{instant monkey so_then say 2du open EMPH this}

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

Orphan.138

\textit{si'naa laan jecj paa t'oh moh kung moh gaaj ?ah koon'kuj koon'gaaj}
\textit{3du open look_at EXCL be village be house have village_people}

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

Orphan.139

\textit{?oo moh re? moh hir'naa}
\textit{oh! be rice_field be paddy_field}

Oh! (there) were upland rice fields, (there) were paddy rice fields.

Orphan.140

\textit{and have Kmhmu' have person stay many many}

And (there) were Kmhmu' people staying (there), many many (people).
And then the place those were sitting, (it) was the seat of a king (from) long ago.

Beautiful was the house, more radiant than the parents' house, the king's house.

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

Villagers located here (there) were sixty families, many (people).

And then (at) this time therefore the monkey said, "Yes, (from) now on you two have arrived at the place you two will stay."
Rule located in this district.

Whatever happens, in three days you two invite your parents to come (and) look, to come (and) look at your place located here," (he) said this.

"If your parents should come, (and) if they should ride elephants perhaps (or) ride horses (and) come, they must take some cloth (and) cover the elephants' eyes, (and) cover the horses' eyes.

And then let (them) walk in, (and when they) are close to arriving at the village, then (they) must cover (the animals' eyes)," (he) said like this.
At this time their father made the officers (and) made the soldiers go, go (and) invite the father to come (and) visit, invite the father king, who had chased (and) driven (them) out, yes, chased those two (and) driven (them) out.

He said, "Ok (we) will go (and) look at the village."

(He) made the soldiers go.

There were thirty soldiers, plus him, plus (his) wife, that is, their mother, rode elephants (and) went.

(They) rode elephants (and) went, swaying from side to side.

They had said, 'Before (you) go, cover the elephants' eyes, cover the horses' eyes.
(When you) have nearly arrived, then you must organise (and) make them to go along (and) follow the road."

Father (said), "Oh what could he go (and) authorise?

Having gone (and) looked (and) seen the house, I will get the elephants (and) trample their house (and) destroy (it)."

However great he is, what is there (that) is greater than me located in this world," (he) said like this, reviling (them and) boasting.

After that, he then prepared (his entourage) and went.
Going along, he ordered the soldiers that however it was, he would kill (and) destroy (them) totally.

Orphan.164
*pʰɔˈdii jɔh jɔh rɔɔt le? gəə ?am dap mat sa'ʨaŋ kim'dat sa'ʨaŋ
exactly go DIR arrive and 3sgm NEG cover eye elephant compel elephant

jɔh ?an leh
go MANNER fast

Just then going along, (they) went (and) arrived and he did not cover the elephants' eyes; (he) drove the elephants to go fast.

Orphan.165
puʔ kʰwɑɑn sa'ʨaŋ puʔ sa'ʨaŋ jɔh leh puʔ puʔ puʔ sa'ʨaŋ ?an
hit urge elephant hit elephant go fast hit hit hit elephant CAUS

jɔh leh
go fast

(He) hit (and) urged the elephants, hit the elephants to go fast, (he) kept hitting the elephants to make (them) to go fast.

Orphan.166
jɔh pʰɔˈdii jɔh jɔh tɕɨkˈləən kɨmˈphɛɛŋ niʔ wɑɑŋ gəə sin'driil mat
go exactly go DIR peep over wall this wow 3sgm dazzle eye

sa'ʨaŋ niʔ
elephant this

Going along just then (they) went (and) could see over the city wall, (when) wow! it dazzled the elephants' eyes.

Orphan.167
sin'driil mat sa'ʨaŋ niʔ
dazzle eye elephant this

(It) dazzled the elephants' eyes.

Orphan.168
kuŋ'gaŋ niʔ blia liin kuŋ'gaŋ joŋ daʔ hoʔ mooj
village this beautiful more_than village father at over_there one

rɔɔj bat sam blia liin mooj rɔɔj bat
Clf_hundreds Clf_turns totally beautiful more_than one Clf_hundreds Clf_turns

The village was more beautiful than the father's village over there, absolutely one
hundred times, one hundred times more beautiful.

And (as they) went along, the elephants were startled.

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

All of the soldiers fell off the elephants.

The elephants trampled those two, the rulers, so that the parents died!

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

(I) have told this story (and) reached here; (I) am finished at that much.
And then (there) is a message they can teach us to remember, saying, "(You) shouldn't boast over other people, if (you) see other people's poverty, don't ridicule (and) grind each other down under foot.

And respect each other fully, and have love (and) harmony (with) each other.  

Leaders must love followers, (and) followers must respect the leader.

Don't despise (and) boast over one another."

(I) ask only this much, (I) ask to stop at this amount, good-bye.
### RESUME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Rosalind Anne Osborne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Date of Birth:</td>
<td>09/03/57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth:</td>
<td>Brisbane, Queensland, Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutions Attended:</td>
<td>1974 Brisbane Girls' Grammar School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1977 University of Queensland, Bachelor of Science (Biochemistry)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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