ASPECTS OF BRU KHOK SA-AT GRAMMAR
BASED ON NARRATIVE TEXTS

JENNIFER MICHELE ENGELKEMIER

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Researcher : Jennifer Michele Engelkemier

Degree : Master of Arts in Linguistics
         Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Main Advisor : George Bedell, Ph.D

Approval Date : 27 August 2010

The members of the thesis examination committee:

1. ____________________________ Committee Chair
   (Professor Somsonge Burusphat, Ph.D.)

2. ____________________________ Committee Member
   (George Bedell, Ph.D.)

3. ____________________________ Committee Member
   (Asst. Prof. Thomas M. Tehan, Ph.D.)

This thesis is accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Linguistics.

_____________________________
Aj. Malee Kongwannit
Dean of the Faculty of Arts
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For many years I have appreciated the support of my family during times at home and away. I have also been blessed by friends who have gone before, given me encouragement, helped me maintain a healthy perspective, and kept me focused on the proper priorities.

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19 May 2010
ABSTRACT

This thesis is a description of Bru Khok Sa-at grammar based on five narrative texts. Bru is a Kautic Mon-Khmer language. Bru Khok Sa-at is one of many related varieties of languages in Northeastern Thailand and is spoken by a group of eight villages in the Sakon Nakhorn province.

A generative grammar approach was used to analyze five third-person narrative texts. The basic syntax of phrases, clauses, and sentences in Bru Khok Sa-at was analyzed. Word classes were defined and examined. Rules were given for the general order of phrases, specifically focusing on noun and verb phrases. Different clause types were identified, and complex sentences were analyzed based on what conjunctions they use.

This thesis does not attempt to analyze in depth any specific aspect of Bru Khok Sa-at grammar. Only the grammatical features found in the five narratives are discussed on. The hope is that this thesis will provide a foundation for further research in a variety of areas relating to Bru Khok Sa-at grammar.
บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาไวยากรณ์ภาษาบรูโคกสะอาดจากเรื่องเล่า 5 เรื่อง ภาษาบรูเป็นภาษาในตระกูลมอญ-เขมร สาขากะตูอิก ภาษาบรูโคกสะอาดเป็นภาษาหนึ่งที่ใช้ในภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศไทยและพูดในหมู่บ้าน 8 แห่งในจังหวัดสกลนคร

การวิเคราะห์เรื่องเล่าที่เกี่ยวกับบุคคลที่สามเรื่องเล่า 5 เรื่องใช้แนวคิดของไวยากรณ์ปริวรรต โดยวิเคราะห์สมดุลระดับพื้นฐานของวลี อนุพากย์ และประโยคในภาษาบรูโคกสะอาด รวมทั้งได้ให้นิยามชนิดของคําและวิเคราะห์ชนิดของคํา ให้กฎการเรียงลำดับที่น่ายินดีโดยนั่นเน้นมวลวลีและกริยาวิสัย และระบบอนุพากย์ชนิดต่าง ๆ รวมทั้งวิเคราะห์ประโยคความเชื่อมต่อมคําสัมยานในประโยคเหล่านั้น

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ไม่มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อวิเคราะห์หลักฐานไวยากรณ์ภาษาบรูโคกสะอาดในเชิงลึก แต่เน้นวิเคราะห์หลักฐานทางไวยากรณ์ที่พบในเรื่องเล่าห้บ 5 เรื่องเท่านั้น วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้สามารถใช้เป็นข้อมูลพื้นฐานสำหรับการวิจัยเกี่ยวกับไวยากรณ์ภาษาบรูโคกสะอาดต่อไป
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments ........................................................................................................... ii
Abstract .............................................................................................................................. iii
บทคัดย่อ ......................................................................................................................... iv
List of Figures .................................................................................................................... ix
List of Tables ...................................................................................................................... x
List of Abbreviations and Symbols ................................................................................. xi

Chapter 1 Introduction .................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Thesis Introduction ................................................................................................. 1
    1.1.1 Goal of the Thesis .............................................................................................. 1
    1.1.2 Scope and Limitations of the Thesis ................................................................. 1
    1.1.3 Benefits of the Thesis ...................................................................................... 2
    1.1.4 Methodology ..................................................................................................... 2
    1.1.5 Corpus ............................................................................................................... 2
  1.2 Language Introduction ............................................................................................ 4
    1.2.1 Linguistic Affiliation .......................................................................................... 5
    1.2.2 Location ........................................................................................................... 7
    1.2.3 History ............................................................................................................. 8
    1.2.4 Current Lifestyle .............................................................................................. 8
  1.3 Phonology .............................................................................................................. 10
    1.3.1 Consonants ...................................................................................................... 10
    1.3.2 Vowels ............................................................................................................ 10
  1.4 Literature Review .................................................................................................... 11
    1.4.1 Literature on Bru .............................................................................................. 12
    1.4.2 Literature on Other West Katuic Languages ..................................................... 13
    1.4.3 Literature on Grammar ................................................................................... 13
  1.5 Overview of the Thesis ......................................................................................... 13

Chapter 2 Major Word Classes ..................................................................................... 14
  2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................. 14
  2.2 Nouns .................................................................................................................... 14
    2.2.1 Compound Nouns ............................................................................................ 15
    2.2.2 Noun Modifiers .............................................................................................. 16
  2.3 Verbs ..................................................................................................................... 16
    2.3.1 Reduplication ................................................................................................. 17
    2.3.2 Copulas ........................................................................................................... 17
  2.4 Adjectives ............................................................................................................. 18
    2.4.1 Reduplication ................................................................................................. 19
    2.4.2 Adjectives as Verbs ....................................................................................... 19
  2.5 Adverbs .................................................................................................................. 21
    2.5.1 Degree ............................................................................................................ 22
    2.5.2 Place ................................................................................................................. 22
    2.5.3 Frequency ....................................................................................................... 23
    2.5.4 Manner ............................................................................................................. 23
    2.5.5 Time ............................................................................................................... 23
4.6 Verb Phrase ................................................................................................................. 66
  4.6.1 Simple Verb Phrases .......................................................................................... 66
  4.6.2 Coordinated Verb Phrases ............................................................................... 66
  4.6.3 Serial Verbs ....................................................................................................... 67
  4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases ..................................................................... 68
  4.6.5 Copula Phrase .................................................................................................. 69
4.7 Conclusion ................................................................................................................ 69
Chapter 5 Clause Types .............................................................................................. 72
  5.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................... 72
  5.2 Predicate Types .................................................................................................... 72
    5.2.1 Verbal Predicates ............................................................................................ 72
    5.2.2 Non-Verbal Predicates .................................................................................. 73
  5.3 Speech Acts .......................................................................................................... 75
    5.3.1 Declarative ...................................................................................................... 75
    5.3.2 Interrogative ................................................................................................... 75
    5.3.3 Imperative ....................................................................................................... 80
  5.4 Variation in Clausal Structure .............................................................................. 81
    5.4.1 Ellipsis ............................................................................................................ 81
    5.4.2 Fronted Object Clauses .................................................................................. 82
    5.4.3 Cataphoric References ................................................................................... 82
  5.5 Particles .................................................................................................................. 83
    5.5.1 Particle Type ................................................................................................... 84
    5.5.2 Co-occurrences .............................................................................................. 86
  5.6 Conclusion .............................................................................................................. 87
Chapter 6 Complex Sentences ..................................................................................... 89
  6.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................... 89
  6.2 Coordinate Clauses ............................................................................................... 89
    6.2.1 Intersentential Coordinating Conjunctions .................................................. 89
    6.2.2 Discourse Coordinating Conjunctions .......................................................... 91
    6.2.3 Position in the Clause .................................................................................... 92
    6.2.4 Combinations ................................................................................................ 94
  6.3 Subordinate Clauses ............................................................................................. 95
    6.3.1 Complement Clauses ..................................................................................... 95
    6.3.2 Quotations ...................................................................................................... 96
    6.3.3 Adverbial Clauses .......................................................................................... 97
    6.3.4 Relative Clauses ............................................................................................ 101
  6.4 Conclusion .............................................................................................................. 104
Chapter 7 Conclusion .................................................................................................. 106
  7.1 Introduction .......................................................................................................... 106
  7.2 Chapter 1 .............................................................................................................. 106
  7.3 Chapter 2 .............................................................................................................. 106
  7.4 Chapter 3 .............................................................................................................. 107
  7.5 Chapter 4 .............................................................................................................. 108
  7.6 Chapter 5 .............................................................................................................. 108
  7.7 Chapter 6 .............................................................................................................. 109
7.8 Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 109
Bibliography .................................................................................................................... 111
Appendix 1 The Seven Orphans ...................................................................................... 117
Appendix 2 The Big Snake Son-in-Law .......................................................................... 150
Appendix 3 The Buyeang Fish ......................................................................................... 183
Appendix 4 The Wild Buffalo Ear ................................................................................... 204
Appendix 5 The Grandfather Ghost .................................................................................. 228
List of Figures

Figure 1 Katuic groups in Southeast Asia.................................................................5
Figure 2 Bru linguistic tree .........................................................................................6
Figure 3 Bru linguistic tree .........................................................................................6
Figure 4 Villages in the three areas where Western Bru is spoken .........................7
Figure 5 Location of the eight Bru villages that speak the Khok Sa-at dialect .........9
List of Tables

Table 1: Consonants .............................................................................................................. 10
Table 2: Vowels ......................................................................................................................... 11
Table 3: Noun Types ................................................................................................................. 15
Table 4: Adverb Types ............................................................................................................ 21
Table 5: Personal Pronouns ...................................................................................................... 26
Table 6: Classifiers ...................................................................................................................... 37
Table 7: Coordinating Conjunctions .......................................................................................... 40
Table 8: Subordinating Conjunctions ........................................................................................ 42
Table 9:Particles ......................................................................................................................... 83
Table 10: Particle Co-occurrences ............................................................................................ 86
Table 11: Intersentential Coordinating Conjunctions ............................................................... 89
Table 12: Discourse Coordinating Conjunctions ...................................................................... 91
# List of Abbreviations and Symbols

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*P</td>
<td>* phrase (NP = noun phrase)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P_exc</td>
<td>First person exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P_inc</td>
<td>First person inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>First person singular</td>
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<td>Second person singular</td>
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<td>Third person singular</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Clause</td>
</tr>
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<td>Causative</td>
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<td>Classifier</td>
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<td>Complimentizer</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Determiner</td>
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<tr>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
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<td>MSEA</td>
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<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negator</td>
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<td>Recipient</td>
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<td>REFLEX</td>
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<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relativizer</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Sentence</td>
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<tr>
<td>SVO</td>
<td>Subject-Verb-Object</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subordconn</td>
<td>Subordinating connective</td>
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<td>Top</td>
<td>Topic marker</td>
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<td>UNK</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
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<td>Transitive verb</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Thesis Introduction
This section discusses the basic structure and background of the thesis.

1.1.1 Goal of the Thesis
The objective of this thesis is to describe the basic syntax of phrases, clauses and sentences in Bru as spoken in the village of KhokSa-at (Bru Khok Sa-at) using third-person narrative texts. This includes a look at word classes, noun and verb phrases, clauses, and complex sentences. The thesis provides a foundation for further research in a variety of areas relating to Bru Khok Sa-at grammar.

1.1.2 Scope and Limitations of the Thesis
This thesis provides a look at Bru Khok Sa-at grammar based on narrative texts. It focuses on Bru Khok Sa-at syntax especially phrases, clauses and sentences. It is not intended to be exhaustive and will not examine morphology or analyze in-depth topics like particles, tense, aspect, or mood. The analysis was done using five third person narrative texts: Seven Orphans (203 lines), The Big Snake Son-in-law (183 lines), The Buyeang Fish (121 lines), The Wild Buffalo Ear (134 lines), and The Grandfather Ghost (122 lines). They were collected and originally glossed by Charles Thomas Tebow II with the assistance of Kabin Hunghuan, who was the elected village official, and Thongbai Khunakorn his language assistant. This thesis also made use of his broader database on Bru Khok Sa-at to verify or give further examples if needed. This database includes a lexicon of nearly 3000 words. It also includes another 66 texts, though at least 40 are translations, and many are only tentatively glossed with no free translation.
1.1.3 Benefits of the Thesis

Western Bru is currently a much debated term for languages spoken in Northeastern Thailand, where people refer to themselves as Bru. An examination of Bru Khok Sa-at grammar based on third-person narratives will aid in greater understanding of Western Bru, especially Bru Khok Sa-at. It is hoped that this thesis will foster more research in Bru Khok Sa-at and will aid in language planning and policy among the Bru-So group.

1.1.4 Methodology

This thesis uses a generative grammar approach as is used in Language Typology and Syntactic Description edited by Timothy Shopen (2007a, b & c). This theory focuses on how a single word generally functions as the head of a phrase. The phrase retains some of the same properties as the head. So a noun phrase has many of the same properties as a noun. Phrases may then be combined until they form clauses. Clauses can be combined to form complex sentences. Based on this analysis, generalizations can be formed which explain the syntactic structure observed in Bru Khok Sa-at.

The discussion of the analysis starts with word classes, and proceeds onto phrases, clauses, and sentences by combining larger and larger units. This thesis is an attempt to provide a descriptive grammar of Bru Khok Sa-at and will not be concerned with theoretical issues such as formal generative rules or attempt to explain the semantics behind language use.

Each example will consist of the Bru Khok Sa-at transcribed in IPA as well as a word-for-word gloss in English. A more natural gloss will appear underneath the word-for-word gloss. However, this gloss will be much more literal than the gloss that appears with the same stories in Tebow’s discourse thesis (2010a), as the grammatical structure is more in focus while connections between separate sentences and discourse structure is not discussed. The examples are occasionally supplemented with tree diagrams, generally in the chapter focusing on phrases, to illustrate their structure graphically.

1.1.5 Corpus

The data analyzed in this study was based on five narrative texts.
1.1.5.1 The Seven Orphans
The Seven Orphans is a story about a married couple who have no children. They pray to the gods who send them seven sons. However, the couple is not able to gather enough food for both themselves and the children, so they plot to abandon or kill the children. Eventually the seven children are abandoned in a tree, where a bird comes to save them. He leaves them in a good land, and after a season they have enough to eat. They eventually meet seven daughters of a nearby king, whose village is experiencing a famine. The seven sons provide food for the daughters and the village. They eventually marry the daughters and live happily ever after.

1.1.5.2 The Big Snake Son-in-law
The Big Snake Son-in-law has two parts. The first is about a couple who have many unmarried daughters. They go in search of mangos, which are all in the possession of a large snake. The snake says they can have the mangos if one of their daughters marries him. Eventually the youngest daughter agrees and eats the mangos. She is later terrified of the snake, but marries him anyway. He eventually reveals that he is a god and can remove the snake skin to look like a handsome man. She plots to destroy the snake skin so her husband will look like a handsome man all the time and succeeds.

The second part is about a couple who have a daughter, and they want a son-in-law like the first family. So they capture a snake and force their daughter to marry it. However, the snake is a normal snake and eats the daughter. Later the snake is caught in a trap by two brothers. When they see the bulge in the snake, they carefully cut it open and discover the daughter. They revive her, and the oldest brother marries her. She cannot remember anything that happened to her before, but plants a pumpkin vine and prays for the gods to send the vine to her parent's house. Eventually her mother follows the vine and finds her. They are reunited and live happily ever after.

1.1.5.3 The Buyeang Fish
The Buyeang Fish is a story about a younger brother who is nice to everyone, but the older brother plots to kill him. The soldiers sent to kill him take pity on him and let him go. However, they tell him never to come back or he will be killed. He runs off into the jungle, and helps three animals: a buyeang fish, a deer, and a wolf. Eventually he comes to a village where everyone but one old woman has been turned into stone. The old woman tells him that a witch has done this. She has a
magic mirror that can see everyone and a wand that can turn them to stone. He challenges the witch, who has to find him three times, and he uses the help of the byeang fish, the deer, and the wolf. On the third time, she does not find him and in her anger, throws the wand down. It breaks and points at her, turning her into stone. The spell is broken, the king gives the younger brother his daughter in marriage, and they live happily ever after.

1.1.5.4 The Wild Buffalo Ear
The Wild Buffalo Ear tells the story of a grandfather and grandson who get meat from some hunters. However, they discover it is only a wild buffalo ear. The gods decide to help the grandfather and his son, and turn the wild buffalo ear into a beautiful woman to help them in the house. After they discover her, the grandson marries her. She also helps in the field by magically controlling the weeds. During a famine, she is also able to turn rice leaves into rice. When the grandfather sees her doing this, he criticizes her. She goes out to the field and removes her magic and is never seen again.

1.1.5.5 The Grandfather Ghost
The Grandfather Ghost is about a grandfather who dies and leaves his grandson alone in the village. When the grandson cries, the grandfather takes pity on him and gives him medicine to be able to see the dead. The grandson lives with his grandfather and goes hunting with some friends. He is not able to see the deer the friends tell him to shoot, only a grasshopper. He brings the grasshopper home to his grandfather only to discover that the grasshopper is the deer. Later the grandson goes and hunts for birds. His grandfather comes home and is horrified to discover that he has killed the village elders, which the grandson thought were birds. The grandfather takes the grandson out of the villages and forces him to leave. The grandson lives alone in the land of the living.

1.2 Language Introduction
This section discusses the linguistic background of Bru Khok Sa-at.
1.2.1 Linguistic Affiliation

Bru is a difficult linguistic term to define. Linguists are still trying to determine whether certain related languages are mutually intelligible. In addition, the term “Bru” is used to refer to a broader number of groups than would call themselves Bru. Other spellings of Bru include Bruu and Brou.

The Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) has two classifications: Eastern Bru and Western Bru. Bru Khok Sa-at would fall under Western Bru. While most linguists would agree that Bru Khok Sa-at is an Austro-Asiatic language in the Mon-Khmer family belonging to the Eastern Mon-Khmer branch and, more specifically, is a Katuic language (Lewis 2009) agreement diverges from there.

![Figure 1 Katuic groups in Southeast Asia](adapted from Mann, et. al. 2009: 10 by Tebow 2010a: 2)

The Katuic branch is large, among the Mon-Khmer family, but the majority of the languages are in the Western Katuic subgroup and live mostly in Eastern Thailand and Cambodia (SEALang 2009). Western Bru is among the Western Katuic branch in the Brou-So group (Lewis 2009). Bru is found in Northeastern Thailand, Southern Laos, and Central Vietnam (Green 1996: 2).
However, Miller and Miller (1996) argue that Bru actually fits under the North Katuic branch along with So and Katang.

While the exact location of Bru is debated, it is clear that it is part of the Katuic subgroup.

Bru as spoken in the village of Khok Sa-at has also been influenced by Isan, but no attempt will be made to analyze the influence of Isan on Bru in this thesis.
1.2.2 Location

What the Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) defines as Western Bru is spoken primarily in Northeastern Thailand in Ubon Ratchathani province (Bru Woen Buek), Mukdahan province (Bru Don Luang), and Sakon Nakhon province (Bru Khok Sa-at). Bru Khok Sa-at is a group of eight villages in the Phang Khone and Phanna Nikhom subdistricts of Sakon Nakhorn (Tebow 2010a: 2). Bru Khok Sa-at is not mutually intelligible with the dialects in the other two provinces (Miller & Miller 1996). There are approximately 20,000 speakers in Thailand and also a few speakers in the United States (Lewis 2009).

Figure 4 Villages in the three areas where Western Bru is spoken
(adapted from Miler 1993: 99-100)

1KP=Kahm Phakkut, NM=Nong Mak Suk, NS=Na Seua Lai, NY=Nong Yang, PH=Phon Hai, RK=Rom Klau, TW=Tiw, HT=Hin Taek, KW=Kham Wae, KS=Kusuman, NP=Na Phiang Kau, NH=Nang Hai Nyay, NW=Nong Weng, PT=Pho Thi Phai San, DS=Dong Sen Kew, KR=Keng Ruong, TL=Tha Long, WB=Woen Boek
1.2.3 History

There is some debate on where the Bru from Khok Sa-at came from and when. The village leader, Kabin Hunghuan, indicated that they had come from Laos to Thailand. They moved from the nearby village of Nong Hai Yaay in Thailand around 1961 (2010).

However, Kang Thon Kausaiya wrote that the Bru in the village of Khok Sa-at originally came from the nearby village of Nong Hai Noy in Thailand in 1950. Originally the village was named Khok Tho Lo ‘visible forested hill’. They had plenty of food and freedom. In 1954 they chose a village leader over the 184 people divided into roughly 22 families. They provided for themselves by hunting and gathering foods in the abundant forest (1993). Their lifestyle began to change around 1962 when the government started building a dam in the area (Kang Thon 1993). Hunghuan indicated that survey for the dam started in 1959. It was filled in 1968. Water flooded out two villages where Bru used to live: Na Lao and Na Suak (2010). This area was also where they used to hunt and gather food. Life was more difficult after this, and they changed the name of the village to Khok Sa-at ‘clean forested hill’ (Kang Thon 1993).

From 1965 to the time of writing in 1993 it became more difficult to find food as the forest disappeared. Many of the children and grandchildren of later years would not know of some of the animals that used to be common in the area. The language was also disappearing as people did not teach it to their children (Kang Thon 1993). More and more Isan people, who do not speak Bru, are moving into the area (Kabin 2010).

1.2.4 Current Lifestyle

The Khok Sa-at village is made up of 210 houses. Roughly 70% are Bru with the remaining 30% being primarily Isan. The majority of villagers (60%) are rice farmers. Perhaps 10% of those go to work in Bangkok during the off season. Approximately 35% cultivate other crops, and a smaller minority (5%) fish (Kabin 2010).

Animistic beliefs are still held in Khok Sa-at. Cows and pigs are used for sacrifices. Before making a large decision, like studying at the university, people pay their respects to the ancestors or village spirits (Kabin 2010). Further interviews and analysis on this topic would be profitable.
Young people must be eighteen-years-old before they may marry. The village leader married when he was nineteen and his wife was seventeen, but that was back when the road to the village was simple red dirt and the Thai authorities did not visit often. Many young people in their teens or twenties go to Bangkok for work. Some come back with enough money to marry. Some meet people from other provinces and marry and move elsewhere (Kabin 2010).

The village contains a preschool and elementary school, but no secondary school. The teachers speak Isan, but all the textbooks are in standard Thai. There is a government health center and some smaller stores. A village market is held on Tuesdays. The government center at the village is the village leader's house, though he attends meetings in Phankhone, the district center, about 8 kilometers away where there is also a hospital (Tebow 2010b).

There are concerns about the future viability of Bru in Khok Sa-at, as most of the children do not speak Bru. Some are starting to teach the children again, after becoming concerned about the future of their language.

Figure 5 Location of the eight Bru villages that speak the Khok Sa-at dialect (Mapmagic Thailand 2008 from Tebow 2010a: 4)²

1.3 Phonology

While phonology is not investigated in this thesis, some notes have been made to aid in reading the Bru examples. Further research in this area would be valuable. For a fuller discussion of Bru phonology see Gainey (1985), Green (1996), John Miller (1966), Phillips, Miller, & Miller (1976), Theraphan (1979), and Vuong Huu (1999).

1.3.1 Consonants

Bru Khok Sa-at has 21 consonants. The consonant chart generated by Phonology Assistant based on five Bru Khok Sa-at narratives gathered by Tebow (2010a) follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plosive</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>tʃʰ</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ɳ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Weakening: /tʃ̥/ → [c]/#
2. Assimilation: N → m/#_p
   N → n/#_t
   N → ɲ/#_k
3. Free Variation: [v] ~ [w] (Tebow 2010: 18).

1.3.2 Vowels

Bru phonology is especially complicated when it comes to vowels. The total number of distinct vowels is highly contested. Different Bru dialects also have a different number of vowels. In Green’s phonology, she presents 51 vowels: 37 oral monophthongs, 3 nasal monophthongs, 10 diphthongs, and 1 nasal diphthong (1996: 21).

In Bru Khok Sa-at there are both long and short vowels. There are also clear and breathy vowels. The vowel chart generated by Phonology Assistant based on five narratives follows:

---

3 Phonology Assistant 3.0.1 SIL International © 2008
Table 2: Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɯ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɪ</td>
<td>ɯ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɪː</td>
<td>ɯː</td>
<td>ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɪː</td>
<td>ɯː</td>
<td>ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɤ</td>
<td>ʊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>ɤː</td>
<td>ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>ɤː</td>
<td>ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>ɤː</td>
<td>ʊː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ʌ</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>ʌː</td>
<td>ɔː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɛː</td>
<td>ʌː</td>
<td>ɔː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>ɑ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɑː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɑː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɑː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɑː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɑː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diphthongs found in the five narratives are: [ɪɯ:], [ɪʊ:], [ɪu], [ɪɔ], [ɪa], [ɪæ:], [ɪɑ], [ɪɔ], [ɪæ], [ɤa], [ɤa], [ʊa], [ʊːa], [ʊa], [ʊːa], [ʊa], [ʊːa], [ʊːa], [ʊːa], [ʊa], [ʊa], and [ʊa]. There are no triphthongs in the narratives.

Bru Khok Sa-at syllable structure is (C)(C)V(V)(C)(C). All consonants may appear word initial, but only the unvoiced, unaspirated plosives, nasals, trills, approximants, and [h] appear word final. Initial consonant clusters that appear in the five narratives are [pr], [pl], [br], [bl], [tr], [tʰr], [kr], [kl] and [kʰw]. Final consonant clusters that appear in the five narratives are [jh], [jʔ] and [wh]. The vowel may be any of 38 monopthongs or 22 diphthongs.

1.4 Literature Review

The following section focuses on literature on Bru, literature on related Katuic languages, and grammar literature.
1.4.1 Literature on Bru

There is a significant amount of literature on Bru, but most of it pertains to other dialects.

1.4.1.1 Eastern Bru

John and Carolyn Miller have written many articles about the Eastern Bru that were helpful for background information. Carolyn wrote on the substantive phrase in Brōu (1964), as well as an instruction booklet for Bru language lessons (1974). John wrote on word classes in Brou (1964). Phillips joined the Millers in an alternate analysis of Eastern Bru vowels (1976).

1.4.1.2 Bru Woen Buek\(^4\)

Julie Green wrote many articles relating to the Bru Woen Buek community that were helpful for background information. These included Bru language lessons (1995) and a phonology (1996). She also wrote an article in conjunction with Feikje Van der Haak that had helpful background information on the Bru Woen Buek. Pattiya Jimreiwat wrote a grammar on Bru Woen Buek focusing on clause and phrase structures (1981). It was very helpful for comparison with Bru Khok Sa-at. Theraphan Thongkhum wrote a phonological paper on the distribution of sounds in Bruu using the Bru Woen Buek dialect (1979). This was also the basis for her later dictionary written in conjunction with See Puengpa (1980).

1.4.1.3 Bru Khok Sa-at

John and Carolyn Miller also wrote a preliminary grammar questionnaire for Bru Khok Sa-at specifically in addition to several other dialects (1980). However, the data was all elicited, and the transcription in Bru based on Thai script makes it more difficult to decipher.

Charles Thomas Tebow II wrote a discourse thesis using Bru Khok Sa-at texts (2010a). The same texts were used in this thesis. He also included a short section on grammar in the front of his thesis.

\(^4\) Also spelled Wyn Buek, Wyn Boek, Woen Boek, Woen Buk.
1.4.1.4 Comparisons

Brian Migliazza wrote a paper comparing So and Bru in Northeast Thailand (1991). This article was helpful in reading Miller and Miller’s article comparing Bru to many other Katoic Mon-Khmer groups in northeast Thailand (1995). Miller and Miller also wrote a lexical comparison of Katoic Mon-Khmer languages that actually compares Bru Khok Sa-at to several other dialects (1996).

1.4.2 Literature on Other West Katoic Languages

Other grammar sketches in the West Katoic branch were very helpful for comparison with Bru Khok Sa-at. This included a preliminary grammar by Kees Jan Bos in Kuy5 (2009). Somsonge Burusphat wrote an article looking at the function of kʌʔ in oral Kui narrative, which was more discourse related than grammar focused, but was still good for background information (1989). A grammar of So written by Chollada Jungprasert (1986) was helpful for comparison. A later grammar was written by Brian Migliazza (1998) in addition to many other helpful resources in So including a paper on So procedural texts (2001), So stories (2003), SEA language families (2004). Mark Alves also wrote a helpful grammar sketch on Pacoh (2006).

1.4.3 Literature on Grammar

Timothy Shopen’s volumes on language typology and syntactic description give many articles relating to basic grammar concepts. The first volume with its focus on clause structure was used extensively (2007a). The second volume, complex constructions, was used for the later portion of this thesis (2007b). In addition, Paul Kroeger’s Analyzing Grammar book was helpful with basic definitions (2005).

1.5 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is an analysis of the grammar of the Bru language as spoken in Khok Sa-at in Sakon Nakhorn province, Thailand. The analysis is based on five narrative texts. All five texts are third-person narratives. The focus of this grammar is on syntax, clause, and sentence structure. Subtopics are based on data of interest. Chapter 2 examines major word classes. Chapter 3 examines minor word classes. Chapter 4 describes phrases. Chapter 5 describes clauses. Chapter 6 describes complex sentences. Finally, Chapter 7 provides a conclusion and gives suggestions for further research.

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5 Also spelled Kuay and Kui.
Chapter 2

Major Word Classes

2.1 Introduction

Major word classes, often called open classes, are generally nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Open classes are grammatical categories that are in principle open to additions (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 3). No attempt has been made here to definitively distinguish between an open class and a closed class given the limited data.

2.2 Nouns

A noun is often described as a person, place or thing (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 4). However, this is only a rough description. A noun is the head of a noun phrase (Talmy 2003: 201). Noun phrases will be discussed in 4.3 Noun Phrases. Example (1) shows a noun as the head of a noun phrase.

Grandfather Ghost 2

(1) viŋl  kuŋf?  kuŋf?
N  Adj  Adj
village small small
a very small village

In Bru Khok Sa-at, nouns are almost never morphologically marked for number, case, class or definiteness. One exception is the prefix ra- which may mark plurals or recipients. While this merits further research, it will not be explored in this thesis. Number is marked by a number or quantifier often followed by a classifier (see 3.6 Numerals). Case is marked by the location of the noun within the clause (see 4.3 Noun Phrases). Class will be explored under classifiers (see 3.7 Classifiers). Definiteness is marked by the use of demonstratives (see 3.4 Demonstratives). Subclassifications of nouns are also possible, including proper nouns, count nouns, mass nouns, and other parts of speech nominalized. No examples of proper nouns were found in the five narratives. However, proper nouns are analyzed relating to discourse in Tebow’s thesis (2010a).
Table 3: Noun Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Type of Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ɲɪʃɪm</td>
<td>count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>doŋ</td>
<td>count</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>daʔ?</td>
<td>mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice</td>
<td>doŋ</td>
<td>mass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idea (NMLZ-think)</td>
<td>kʰwam-kʷut</td>
<td>nominalization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1 Compound Nouns

It can be argued that Bru Khok Sa-at has compound nouns, but no attempt is made to definitely decide the matter here.

Example (2) to (4) show possible compound nouns.

Seven Orphans 121

(2) sezm  aj
     N    N
     younger.sibling  older.brother
brothers

Buyeang Fish 28

(3) tʰre:  alaj
     N    N
     shirt  pants
clothing

Grandfather Ghost 4

(4) mpeʔ  mpoa
     N    N
     mother  father
parents

Example (5) shows a possible compound split in a possessive construction.

Big Snake Son-in-law 159

(5) tʰʔ  doŋ  mpeʔ  doŋ  mpoa
     Vt    N    N    N    N
     come  house  mother  house  father
...[it] came to the house of her mother and father.
Example (6) shows the same two nouns joined by a conjunction.

Big Snake Son-in-law 118

(6) ṅpoa kap mpe? kuŷj pala nam kəm

N Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Vt N

father and mother so go follow child

So the father and mother went and followed [their] child.

2.2.2 Noun Modifiers

When two nouns follow one another and refer to the same item the second noun modifies the first. No attempt is made to determine if this is one word or two.

Example (7) shows the second noun modifying the first.

Seven Orphans 41

(7) kal taan

N N
tree taan

...’dtaan' tree.

In example (8) it shows a noun modified by two following nouns.

Big Snake Son-in-law 11

(8) kuifran panaa ojin

N N N

snake king god

...snake god king...

2.3 Verbs

Verbs generally express actions or processes (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9). A verb is the head of a verb phrase (Lunaghi & Parodi 2008: 152).

Example (9) shows a verb phrase.

Buyeang Fish 15

(9) təʔ jəŋə ħəŋ

Vt Adv Adv

come far quite

...[they] had gone quite far...

Verbs are usually combined with some form of tense, aspect, mood, modality, voice and polarity. Tense gives the time of the action relative to the time of the utterance (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 9-10). Aspect looks at the distribution of an event
over time. Mood indicates the speaker’s reason for speaking. Modality shows “...either the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition expressed...or the actor’s relationship to the described situation...” (Kroeger 2005: 347). Aspect, mood, and modality will be discussed primarily in 4.5.2 Auxiliaries. Aspect will be further discussed in 5.5.1.4 Aspect. Voice indicates the role of the subject in the action (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 10). The texts did not provide a clear example of passive versus active voice. Polarity marks positive from negative and will be discussed in 3.12 Negators.

### 2.3.1 Reduplication

Example (10) shows that verbs are occasionally repeated for emphasis. However, no attempt will be made in this thesis to determine if this is one word or two. Seven Orphans 153

\[(10) \text{buwn buwn aʃʃic kuj? məaj nam} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Vt} & \text{Vt} & \text{N} & \text{Adj} & \text{Num} & \text{Clf} \\
\text{have} & \text{have} & \text{knife} & \text{small} & \text{one} & \text{Clf} \text{thing} \\
\end{array}
\]

"[Yes we] have, [we] have a small knife."

### 2.3.2 Copulas

Copulas are verbs that link a subject and a complement (Crystal 1992: 85). Bru Khok Sa-at also has a few copulas that are used for existential or equative clauses. These will be discussed more in 4.6.5 Copula Phrase. More research on these words would be helpful.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{EXIST} & \text{buwn} \\
\text{equal} & \text{mah} \\
\text{be} & \text{pen} \\
\text{equal} & \text{sam} \\
\end{array}
\]

Example (11) shows a copula used with a predicate nominative.

Big Snake Son-in-law 11

\[(11) \text{kuf̃an pət kʃ pen kuf̃an paŋə oŋiŋ plem tʃak tə?} \]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{N} & \text{Adj} & \text{Det} & \text{Cop} & \text{N} & \text{N} & \text{N} & \text{Vt} \\
\text{snake} & \text{big} & \text{that} & \text{be} & \text{snake} & \text{king} & \text{god} & \text{change} \text{body} \text{come} \\
\end{array}
\]

That big snake was the snake god king which had transformed itself into a body and come [down to earth].
Example (12) shows a copula used for an existential clause.
Seven Orphans 181
(12) \( ta: \quad \text{bu} \quad \text{da}\? \quad ta? \quad \text{neg} \)
\[ \text{Neg} \quad \text{Cop} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{N} \]
\[ \text{NEG EXIST water make/do field} \]
"There is not enough water to make the fields."

Example (13) shows a copula used in an equative clause.
Seven Orphans 37
(13) \( \text{mah} \quad \text{ŋkaŋ} \)
\[ \text{Cop} \quad \text{N} \]
\[ \text{equal arm} \]
"[It] is as big as my arm."

### 2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are notionally identified as “denoting qualities or attributes”. Generally, they modify a noun (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 13). Adjectives are also the head of adjective phrases (Trask 1993: 8). In some languages, including Bru Khok Sa-at, adjectives are very similar to verbs.

Adjectives usually follow the nouns they modify.

Example (14) shows an adjective following the head noun.
Big Snake Son-in-law 131
(14) \( \text{ka}? \quad \text{hu} \quad \text{k}\text{a} \quad \text{k} \quad \text{kwu} \? \quad \text{kw}\text{j} \?)
\[ \text{Coordconn} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Adj} \]
\[ \text{then see bowl small} \]
...then [they] saw a small bowl.

Example (15) shows the only example of an adjective used with a copula independently.
Big Snake Son-in-law 73
(15) \( \text{pen} \quad \text{mac} \quad \text{paleaj}\?)
\[ \text{Cop} \quad \text{Adj} \quad \text{Adv} \]
\[ \text{be beautiful very} \]
...[he] was very handsome.

However, it is possible that the noun is simply elided before the adjective.
Example (16) shows a similar sentence with a noun before the adjective.

Buyeang Fish 4

(16) *sem pen kuaj ɔ*

N Cop N Adj

younger sibling be person good

...the younger brother was a good person.

2.4.1 Reduplication

Example (17) shows how adjectives can be reduplicated for emphasis. No attempt will be made in this thesis to determine if this is one word or two.

Grandfather Ghost 2

(17) *buun vil kuji kuji muaj vil*

Cop N Adj Adj Num Clf

EXIST village small small one Clf village

...there was a very small village.

2.4.2 Adjectives as Verbs

In some languages, adjectival meanings are expressed primarily by verbs (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 16). Bru Khok Sa-at appears to have adjectives that act as verbs.

2.4.2.1 Negation

Example (18) shows how adjectives can be negated like verbs.

Seven Orphans 72

(18) *mpoa ta: ɲeam*

N Neg Adj

father NEG sweet

Father - [It's] not sweet.

Example (19) shows how verbs are negated in this manner.

Seven Orphans 81

(19) *p³ː kal aluaŋ dom ka? taː saŋ siaŋ ranən naŋ*

Suborconn N N Vi Coordconn Neg Vt N N Prt

when tree stem fall so NEG hear noise child Prt intensifier

When the tree had fallen, [he] did not hear any noise from the children at all.
### 2.4.2.2 Particles

Example (20) shows how adjectives also take verbal particles.

**Wild Buffalo Ear 80**

(20) *maśem* *kuaj* *kiŋ* *byŋ* *wəw* *paŋ* *meśm* *ŋaː*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Det</th>
<th>Coordconn</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Subordconn</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Prt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>speak</td>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>true</td>
<td>Prt_seq_completive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ŋkoa? *pen* katur *sinur*

Pro Cop N N

1S be ear buffalo.wild

So that woman said, "Correct, I am the wild buffalo ear."

Example (21) shows how verbs also take verbal particles.

**Seven Orphans 82**

(21) *kəнят* *ŋe?* *tapulp* *naʔ* *kuʃʃət* *ŋe?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Prt</th>
<th>Num</th>
<th>Clf</th>
<th>Vi</th>
<th>Prt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>child Prt_completive seven Clf_person die Prt_completive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ŋaː*

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

...all of the seven children were completely dead.

### 2.4.2.3 Predicate

Example (22) shows how an adjective can act as a predicate, like a verb.

**Seven Orphans 18**

(22) *ajak* *siw mít* *paləjʔ*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Adv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>husband happy very</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The husband was very happy.

Example (23) shows how verbs are also predicates.

**Big Snake Son-in-law 17**

(23) *alaj* *taməŋ* *daː*

Pro Vi Prt

3P listen Prt_command

"...they will understand."
2.4.2.4 Auxiliaries

There are no examples of auxiliaries with adjectives in these Bru Khok Sa-at narratives.

Example (24) shows how auxiliaries are used with verbs.

\[(24) \text{ŋpəl} \text{ŋpə} \text{jə} \text{ə} \text{ŋfit} \text{ŋkoə?}\]
\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{Pro} & \text{Pro} & \text{Vaux} & \text{Vt} & \text{Pro} \\
2P & \text{why} & \text{want} & \text{CAUS-die} & 1S \\
\end{array}
\]

"Why do you want to kill me?"

2.5 Adverbs

Adverbs are usually described functionally as words that modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs. However, some adverbs modify entire phrases or even sentences (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 20). Adverbs are the head of adverb phrases (Trask 1993: 10). Adverbs as modifiers may precede what they modify, follow after what they modify, or come at the beginning or end of a clause.

Table 4: Adverb Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Type of Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>degree</td>
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<td>even</td>
<td>hat</td>
<td>degree</td>
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<td>degree</td>
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<tr>
<td>half</td>
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<td>together</td>
<td>manɲɛj</td>
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<tr>
<td>sure</td>
<td>ɲɛː</td>
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<td>Type of Adverb</td>
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<td>far</td>
<td>ʃɛɛŋ</td>
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<td>place</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ʧʧɛʔ</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still</td>
<td>ʢt</td>
<td>time</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ʰa:</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever</td>
<td>kɛɛj</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still</td>
<td>ʰaŋ</td>
<td>time</td>
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<tr>
<td>formerly</td>
<td>paːt</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>just.then</td>
<td>padi:</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>ʰaŋ</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>ʰʃin:</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>ʰweːj</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>now</td>
<td>ʰweːj</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.5.1 Degree

Example (25) shows an adverb of degree modifying an adjective.

Wild Buffalo Ear 121

(25) ʰp̪唤 ɾɛaj  palɡajʔ

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
N & Adj & Adv \\
\end{array}
\]

grandfather angry **very**

The grandfather became very angry.

### 2.5.2 Place

Example (26) shows an adverb of place modifying a verb.

Seven Orphans 68

(26) mpoa ajeʔ  alʃet tajah ʰmuaŋ  kʃən  mprɛk  ajaŋ  ʰam  kli:\n
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\end{array}
\]

father hold axe walk before child carry pole basket follow **after**

The father held the axe and walked ahead while the children carrying a big basket on a pole followed behind.
2.5.3 Frequency

Example (27) shows an adverb of frequency modifying a verb. Seven Orphans 195

(27) palɛaj? ĭfw: du paʔ
          Quant Clf Adv Vi
many Clf_time often go
[The daughters] went [to get rice] many times and often.

2.5.4 Manner

Example (28) shows an adverb of manner modifying a verb. Buyeang Fish 5

(28) likan pɔŋŋ
     Vi Adv
study clever
[He] was clever in his studies...

2.5.5 Time

Example (29) shows an adverb of time modifying a verb. Grandfather Ghost 106

(29) ḷom karo? pax pen neaj ampx:
         N N Adv Cop N N
bird owl formerly be lord district
The owl had been the district ruler.

2.5.6 Reduplication

Example (30) shows an adverb reduplicated for emphasis. Grandfather Ghost 7

(30) dəŋ sə ʐə 阼 jàŋ jàŋ kan
         N N Vi Adv Adv Pro
house shelter live far far RECIP
The houses were located far from each other.
2.5.7 Word Classes Modified

Adverbs can modify many word classes.
Example (31) shows an adverb modifying a verb.
Big Snake Son-in-law 180
(31) *alaj nɛam pa læaj?
    Pro   Vi   Adv
    3P   cry   very
They cried a lot.

Example (32) shows an adverb modifying an adjective.
Big Snake Son-in-law 38
(32) *an pɛn kuaj mac pa læaj?
    Pro  Cop   N   Adj   Adv
    3S   be   person beautiful very
He was a very handsome person.

Example (33) shows an adverb modifying a negator.
Wild Buffalo Ear 90
(33) tuː *tæn ðjaː wɛaj
    Neg   Adv   Vi   Adv
    NEG yet finish yet
"...We haven't finished yet."

In many languages there are alternative ways of expressing adverbial meanings (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 21). Adverbial clauses will be discussed in 5.2.2.1 Adjectival Predicates.

2.6 Conclusion

Major word classes consist of nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Bru Khok Sa-at shares many features with other MSEA languages. Manson defines MSEA as consisting of present day Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, and southern Chinese provinces. Languages spoken there include the Tibeto-Burman, Austroasiatic, Daic and Hmong-Mien language families (2009: 1).

Nouns in MSEA languages are not inflected for number, gender or case. Compounding is the most common way of deriving nouns (Enfield 2005: 189). Bru Khok Sa-at follows this pattern. This corpus did not include any proper nouns in Bru, but Tebow collected other texts in Bru Khok Sa-at that included proper nouns
These are also attested to Bru Woen Buek (Pattiya 1981: 114), So (Migliazza 1998: 80), Kuy (Bos 2009: 40), and Pacoh (Alves 2006: 57).

Verbs are combined with free morphemes to indicate aspect, mood and modality. Miller in Eastern Bru identifies these as preverbals and postverbals (1964: 49-50). Tebow also uses the term preverbals and postverbals (2010a: 26), as does Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek (1998: 143). This thesis uses the terms auxiliaries and particles for the same types of morphemes. Further discussion of this topic may be found in section 4.5 Verb Phrase and 4.6 Verb Phrase.

Mann, et. al. remark that “Austronesian languages commonly use reduplication to express syntactic and semantic functions,” (2009: 9). This can be seen in Bru Khok Sa-at with both adjectives and adverbs.

Adjectives function as stative verbs in Bru Khok Sa-at according to this corpus. Tebow also identifies adjectives as having properties of verbs in Bru Khok Sa-at (2010a: 31). Pattiya reports them in Bru Woen Buek (1998: 156-157). Migliazza also attests to this phenomenon in So (1998: 75). Kuy behaves in the same way (Bos 2009: 15). However, John Miller describes Eastern Bru as having adjectives that modify both nouns and verbs (i.e. they function like adverbs). He does not mention the concept of adjectives acting alone as stative verbs (1964: 47-48).

Different grammar descriptions have different listings of adverbs. This thesis mentions degree, frequency, manner, place, and time. John Miller only mentions temporal adverbs and something he calls indefinite adverbs (1964: 48-49). Migliazza mentions manner and time in So (1998: 74). Bos in his Kuy grammar mentions direction, time and manner (2009: 17-18). Alves mentions manner adverbs in Pacoh along with numerous other categories not used in other grammars (2006: 46-50). However, this may be due to different grammatical theories rather than significant differences in word categories.
Chapter 3

Minor Word Classes

3.1 Introduction

Minor word classes are generally closed classes. Closed classes are word classes that are usually made up of a smaller, limited set of words (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 3). No attempt has been made here to definitively distinguish between an open class and a closed class given the limited data.

3.2 Pronouns

Schachter and Shopen define a pronoun as “a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase” (2007: 24).

3.2.1 Personal

Personal pronouns refer to the speaker, listener, or other person or things assumed to be clear within context (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 24).

Table 5: Personal Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>껛קøa?</td>
<td>1P_inc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1P_exc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>껛.optimizer</td>
<td>2P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>3P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S_polite</td>
<td>껛.optimizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sometimes personal pronoun distributions are different from common nouns. In Bru Khok Sa-at pronouns can be used in both the object and subject position. It is also very common to find zero anaphora.
In example (34) we can see ŋkoa ‘1S’ as the subject, alaj ‘3S’ as the object of the first clause and zero anaphora of alaj ‘3S’ as the object of the second clause.

Seven Orphans 25

(34) ŋkoa? si it alaj pa? pʰox
take

1S IRR take 3P go abandon
"...I will take them and go abandon [them]."

Example (35) shows haj ‘1P inc’ as the object of a preposition.

Seven Orphans 97

(35) alaj si ʃə: nag haj ʃə: la?
take

3P IRR eat with 1P inc eat_seq_completive eat_evidential
...they would surely have been eating with us."

3.2.2 Reciprocal

Reciprocal pronouns refer to another noun within the sentence, but refer to a mutual action (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 28).

each other  anχj

one another  nagnə?

In Bru Khok Sa-at anχj ‘each other’ is used for a group to refer to themselves.

Example (36) shows anχj ‘each other’ as a direct object.

Seven Orphans 131

(36) haj tiː it pr:; ʃə: a-tet anχj

1P Inc pull take loincloth tie CAUS stick each other
..."We will remove and take our loincloths and tie [ourselves] fast to each other."
Example (37) shows *anyxj* ‘each other’ as the object of a preposition.

**Seven Orphans 127**

(37) *ka? pẹa kan nẹam ọfo? anyxj nọj kal aluaŋ*

Coordconn Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro Prep N N

so invite RECIP cry with each other on tree stem

...and so encouraged each other to cry with one other in the tree.

In Bru Khok Sa-at *kan* ‘RECIP’ is used frequently. It includes groups of two and groups much larger than two.

Example (38) shows *kan* ‘RECIP’ as a direct object and later an indirect object.

**Wild Buffalo Ear 7**

(38) *ọfụm alaj lyj pẹa kan takro: npe? ọfọ ac kan*

N Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Pro

group 3P so invite RECIP cut.meat divide meat RECIP

So their group helped each other to cut up and then divide the meat with each other.

Contrast example (39) with example (38).

**Grandfather Ghost 84**

(39) *alaj lyj pẹa kan takro: npe? ọfọ ac om ky: na?*

Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Vt Vt N Vt Quant Clf

3P so invite RECIP cut.meat divide meat allow every Clf.person

So they all helped each other to cut up and divide the meat and gave every person [his share].

Example (40) shows *kan* ‘RECIP’ as modifying a noun.

(40) *haj tapul na? ọfọh takxŋ kan ọfọm*

Pro Num Clf Vt N Pro Vt

1P_inc seven Clf.person ride neck RECIP go.up

"We seven will go up by sitting on each other's necks."

Example (41) shows *kan* ‘RECIP’ as the object of a preposition.

**Big Snake Son-in-law 178**

(41) *lyj nẹam ọfo? kan*

Coordconn Vi Prep Pro

so cry with RECIP

...they cried with each other.
Example (42) shows that antecedents of *kan* ‘RECIPI’ do not have to be animate. Grandfather Ghost 7

(42) *dunj suv vt jyŋj jyŋ kan*  
N N Vi Adv Adv Pro  
house shelter live far far RECIPI  
The houses were located far from each other.

The data only contained one instance of *ŋŋŋna* ‘one another’. Example (43) includes *ŋŋŋna* ‘one another’ as the object of a preposition.

Seven Orphans 49

(43) *kɔn tapul na? peŋ kan pŋam ĵiŋ? ŋŋŋna?*  
N Num Clf Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro  
child seven Clf_person invite RECIPI cry with one.another  
The seven children encouraged each other to cry with one another.

### 3.2.3 Indefinite

Indefinite pronouns “...represent a person or thing without specifying gender...or number...” (Bussmann 1996: 223). In Bru Khok Sa-at, indefinite pronouns are identical to interrogative pronouns. See section 3.3.1 Interrogative Pronouns.

anyone *amɔ*

anything *ntraw*

In Bru Khok Sa-at, *amɔ* ‘anyone’ refers to people.

In example (44), *amɔ* ‘anyone’ is the subject of a clause.

Buyeang Fish 61

(44) *amɔ? ta? ntraw an ka? huam*  
Pro Vt Pro Pro Coordconn Vt  
anyone make/do anything 3S so see  
"[If] anyone did anything, she could see [it]."

In example (45), *amɔ* ‘anyone’ is the object of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 113

(45) *ta: huam amɔ?*  
Neg Vt Pro  
NEG see anyone  
...[she] did not see anyone.

In Bru Khok Sa-at, *ntraw* ‘anything’ refers to any other noun.
In example (46) *ntraw* ‘anything’ is the object of a clause.

Seven Orphans 20

(46) tiwaj? ntraw ka? ko m tiwaj nge?

Vt Pro Coordconn N Vt Prt

search anything so child eat Prt_completive

Anything they found the children would eat all up.

In example (47), *ntraw* ‘anything’ is the object of an equative clause.

Seven Orphans 24

(47) ajak waw ta: pen ntraw

N Vt Neg Cop Pro

husband speak NEG be anything

The husband said, "No problem."

In example (48), *ntraw* ‘anything’ modifies a noun.

Big Snake Son-in-law 108

(48) triq ta: saj siaj ntraw

Adj Neg Vt N Pro

quiet NEG hear noise anything

[It was] quiet, [they] did not hear any noise.

The text did not contain examples showing if *ntraw* ‘anything’ can function as the subject of a clause or the object of a preposition.

### 3.3 Interrogative Proforms

Interrogative proforms substitute for various parts of speech (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33).

#### 3.3.1 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns take the place of a noun in a question (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33). In Bru Khok Sa-at, interrogative pronouns are identical to indefinite pronouns.

who *amå?*

what *ntraw*

In Bru Khok Sa-at *amå?* ‘who’ and *ntraw* ‘what’ function as pronouns.
In example (49), ɑmā? ‘who’ functions as the subject of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 145

(49) ɑmā? si pen kuaj teŋ dɔŋ kap an
    Pro  Vaux Cop N Vi Prep Pro

   who IRR be person marry with 3S

..."Who will be the person to marry her?"

In example (50), ɑmā? ‘who’ functions as a possessive.

Big Snake Son-in-law 172

(50) an pen kɔn ɑmā?
    Pro Cop N Pro

   3S be child who

..."Whose child are you?"

In example (51), ɑmā? ‘who’ functions as the object of a preposition.

Grandfather Ghost 16

(51)ŋkɔa? si tt naŋ ɑmā?
    Pro Vaux Vi Prep Pro

   1S IRR live with who

"Who will I live with?" [Lit. “I will live with whom?”]

In example (52), ŋtraw ‘what’ functions as the object of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 129

(52) sɛm waw paŋ kuŋpan naĩ ʃaː ŋtraw
    N Vt Subordconn N Det Vt Pro

   younger.sibling speak COMP snake this eat what

The younger brother said, "What did this snake eat?"

3.3.2 Interrogative Proadverbs

Interrogative proadverbs take the place of an adverb (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 33).

where  le?

how  new le?

how  saː le?

In example (53), le? ‘where’ functions after a verb.

Seven Orphans 26

(53) pə? pʰɔxt pə? le?

    Vi Vt Vi Pro

go abandon go where

"Where will you go abandon [them]?"

In example (54), new le? ‘how’ functions after a verb.

Seven Orphans 129

(54) haj si ta? new le?

    Pro Vaux Vt Pro

1P_inc IRR make/do how

"What will we do?"

In example (55), new le? ‘how’ functions after an equative.

Grandfather Ghost 70

(55) pen new le?

    Cop Pro

be how

"How was it?...

In Bru Khok Sa-at sa: le? ‘how’ funcations after a verb.

Example (56) shows the one example of sa: le?.

Seven Orphans 130

(56) si bec sa: le? haj rangət ɨfɔ: tɔ vɔrəh bɔx

    Vaux Vi Pro Pro Vi Coordconn Neg Vt Prt

IRR lie how 1P_inc sleep then NEG fall Prt_question

How will [we] lie down so that when we sleep [we] won’t fall [out of the tree]?"

3.3.3 Interrogative Proclause

Interrogative proclauses take the place of a clause (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 32).

why npe?

In Bru Khok Sa-at npe? ‘why’ functions as an interrogative proclause. It appears second in the clause after the subject and before the verb and object.
Example (57) shows ṇpεʔ ‘why’.

Buyeang Fish 18

(57) ṇpǎi ṇpεʔ jaʔ a-tʃet ṇkoʔa?
    Pro Pro Vaux Vt Pro

  2P why want CAUS-die 1S

"Why do you want to kill me?"

3.4 Demonstratives

Demonstrative pronouns indicate distance from the speaker (Kroeger 2005: 89). Demonstratives are unique, in that they can be both a modifier in a noun phrase, and a noun phrase head. Demonstratives as part of a noun phrase will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.3.1 Simple Noun Phrases. The only time demonstratives act independently are as part of a prepositional phrase.

this naɪ̯
that ki̯
there ṭe̯h

In Bru Khok Sa-at naɪ̯ ‘this’ indicates nouns that are nearer to the speaker (Tebow 2010a: 23).

Example (58) shows naɪ̯ ‘this’ as part of a noun phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 3

(58) baː naʔ naɪ̯
    Num Clf Det

two Clf_person this

These two...

In Bru Khok Sa-at ki̯ ‘that’ indicates nouns that are further away from the speaker and closer to the addressee (Tebow 2010a: 23).

Example (59) shows ki̯ ‘that’ as part of a noun phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 52

(59) doj ki̯
    N Det

rice.cooked that

...that rice...

In Bru Khok Sa-at, ṭe̯h ‘there’ indicates nouns that are far away from both the speaker and the addressee (Tebow 2010a: 23).
Example (60) shows \textit{tēh} ‘there’ as part of a noun phrase.

Seven Orphans 190

(60) \textit{vēt nāj koh tēh}

\textit{Vi Prep N N}

\textit{live in mountain there.far}

...who live in those far mountains."

The only time \textit{nāi} ‘this’ and \textit{kī} ‘that’ replace the noun phrase is in a comparative prepositional phrase.

Example (61) shows \textit{nāi} ‘this’ acting as a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase.

Seven Orphans 22

(61) \textit{kən pālējʔ sa nāi}

\textit{N Quant Prep Det}

\textit{child many like this}

...since we have so many children...

Example (62) shows \textit{kī} ‘that’ as a noun phrase in a prepositional phrase.

Seven Orphans 149

(62) \textit{kən wəw nəw kī:}

\textit{Subordconn Vt Prep Det}

\textit{if speak like that}

...If that’s what you have to say...

### 3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers modify nouns in terms of quantity or scope (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 37).

- every \textit{kū:}
- many \textit{pālējʔ}

Example (63) shows a quantifier. Quantifiers will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.2.1 Quantifiers.

Seven Orphans 9

(63) \textit{kən aɾiːaŋ pālējʔ}

\textit{N N N Quant}

\textit{child crab many}

...many baby crabs...

A quantifier may be repeated for emphasis. This may be a repeated word or a compound word. The distinction is not attempted here.
Example (64) shows a reduplicated quantifier.

Seven Orphans 202

(64) *buwm* te: *rua?* *ky: ky: siŋaŋ*

Cop Prep Adj Quant Quant Clf

EXIST from happy every every Clf.day

They had only happiness all of their days.

3.6 Numerals

There two kinds of numeral words found in the Bru Khok Sa-at data used in this thesis: cardinal numbers and ordinal numbers.

3.6.1 Cardinals

Cardinal numbers are “words that indicate how many referents the noun phrase denotes” (Dryer 2007a: 164).

one mǔaj

two baː:

three pāi

four poːn

five śviŋ

six tapqt

seven tapuːl

ten ʃijit

ten matʃijit

The two different variations of ten may be phonologically conditioned.

Cardinal numbers do not appear outside of the noun phrase, and will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.2.2.1 Cardinals.

Example (65) shows a numeral.

Seven Orphans 69

(65) *tə*? *sak kəm ba: na? huwm kapeh ŋam*

Vt N N Num Clf Vt N Adj

come forest child two Clf.person see gabeh.fruit sweet

[When] they came to the forest, two of the children saw some sweet gabeh fruit.
3.6.2 Ordinals

Ordinal numbers “identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents” (Dryer 2007a: 164). Most ordinals are created through a periphrastic construction using ordinal numbers, and the discussion on ordinals will follow in 3.6.2 Ordinals. There is one ordinal that is an independent word.

first ɲɪnɬ

Example (66) shows an ordinal.

Wild Buffalo Ear 11

(66) prɛɛɛn  kojɛ  ɲɪnɬ wɛw

N  N  Num  Vt

hunter person first speak

The first hunter said.

3.7 Classifiers

Classifiers are words that “partition the set of nouns into subsets”. They are generally used with numbers or quantifiers (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 7). The head noun chooses the classifier. In some languages the classifier can appear before or after the head noun.
Table 6: Classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Classifies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clf_basket</td>
<td>buŋ</td>
<td>no example; used independently of head noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_fruit</td>
<td>ʔok</td>
<td>mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_house</td>
<td>ɗoŋ</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_tree</td>
<td>kal</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_year</td>
<td>kamaʔ</td>
<td>no example; used independently of head noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_mountain</td>
<td>koh</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_city</td>
<td>kruŋŋ̣</td>
<td>city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_shed</td>
<td>lǭw</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_thing</td>
<td>nam</td>
<td>knife, magic mirror, wild buffalo ear, bow, root</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_person</td>
<td>naʔ</td>
<td>child, wife &amp; husband, young man, grandfather/man, younger &amp; older, mother &amp; child, soldier, person, man, grandfather &amp; grandchild, woman, friend, monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_month</td>
<td>ntʃ'al</td>
<td>no example; used independently of head noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_day</td>
<td>siŋai̞</td>
<td>possibly adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_animal</td>
<td>tɔː</td>
<td>wild buffalo, dog, grasshopper, deer, mouse deer, owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_time</td>
<td>tiw:</td>
<td>possibly adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clf_village</td>
<td>vil</td>
<td>village</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (67) shows a classifier, which is typically part of a noun phrase.

Buyeang Fish 2

(67) duːn tɔʔ tiw': buŋ kruŋŋ̣ muaj kruŋŋ̣

\[\text{time.long come Prt} \_\text{seq_completive EXIST city one Clf_city}\]

A long time ago, there was a city.

Example (68) shows that classifiers may occasionally be used in the place of nouns.

Seven Orphans 104

(68) tʃuaʔ? tɔː huk huk

\[\text{search Clf_animal big big}\]

"[We] will search for a very large one."

This requires further research and no explanation is attempted here.
3.8 Prepositions

Adpositions form phrasal constituents with nouns (Schacter and Shopen 2007: 34-35). Prepositions are words that come before the noun phrase in contrast with postpositions which follow after.

Bru Khok Sa-at employs prepositions. Prepositions are the head of prepositional phrases.

around ɔxn
for ɔxn
across jαŋη
with kap
same kwe
than kua
like ngle?
like ngw
from, in, on, with naŋj
over prŋη
under prəŋn
like sa:
since tanj te:
from te:
before tiŋja?
at, for, in, on, to, with tjo?
al all around tŋa

Example (69) shows two prepositions.

Seven Orphans 10

(69) bryj kakuh ʧjoŋ malŋη sek kom kap tʰewdaŋ
Coordconn Vi Prep N Vt N Prep N
so pray.kneel to sky request child with god
So [she] knelt to the sky and requested children from the gods.

3.9 Verb Adjuncts

Verb adjuncts form phrasal constituents with verbs (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 40).
3.9.1 Auxiliaries

“Auxiliaries are words that express the tense, aspect, mood, voice, or polarity of the verb with which they are associated,” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 41). In Bru Khok Sa-at auxiliaries normally precede the verb. Auxiliaries and their place in a verb phrase will be discussed more thoroughly in 4.5.2 Auxiliaries.

PROG  nto:n

dare  ka:

must  ṭɔŋ

IRR  si

want  ja?

Example (70) shows an auxiliary verb preceding the verb.

Seven Orphans 9

(70) ka?  ḥɔŋ  ku:  ja?  bu:m  kɔn  mpleʔ  araŋ

  Coorconn  Coorconn  Vi  Vaux  Vt  N  Prep  N

then  so  think want have child like crab

...and so decided that she wanted to have children just like the crabs.

3.10 Conjunctions

“Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45).

3.10.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

Coordinating conjunctions connect two elements as equal elements (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). In Bru Khok Sa-at the coordinating conjunctions can be used to connect nouns, verbs, clauses, etc. Many coordinating conjunctions function on the paragraph level as a discourse feature, but this will not be explored in this thesis.
Table 7: Coordinating Conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Location in Clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>kap</td>
<td>between NP constituents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>kaʔ</td>
<td>after NPsubj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>kaʔ</td>
<td>after NPsubj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>laʔ</td>
<td>between number constituents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>lew</td>
<td>beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>łaʔ</td>
<td>after NPsubj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>ᥧʔ</td>
<td>usually beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both</td>
<td>ṭuŋ</td>
<td>before NP constituents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resulting from</td>
<td>ṭuŋ</td>
<td>beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>ṭoŋ⁵</td>
<td>beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>ṭoŋ¹</td>
<td>beginning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (71) shows a conjunctive coordinator between two numerals.

Big Snake Son-in-law 158

(71) ṭaʔ mʊaj ʃ̱iʔ laʔ s萃⁵ siŋaʔ maʔuʔ kaʔ ḫuŋ
Subordconn Vt Num Num Coordconn Num Clf N Coordconn Adj

     when come one ten CONJ five Clf day pumpkin then big
a- spécifique
vi

CAUS-go.up

After fifteen days, the pumpkin plant grew up.

Example (72) shows an adversative coordinator between two clauses.

Big Snake Son-in-law 45

(72) ṭọkoʔ si ṭoŋ⁵ aj ʃɛ ʃaʔ maŋ təŋ ʃɛm ʃọkoʔ ʃn ṭeŋ ʃaʔai
Pro Vaux Vt Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt Pro Subordconn Vi

     1S IRR help but 2S must feed 1S for satisfy

"I will help [you], but you must feed me until [I am] satisfied."
Example (73) shows emphatic coordination of two nouns.

(73) $t\theta n\ y \ kuaj \ t\theta n\ tran \ pen \ ko\l\ pe\? \ ku\l$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordconn</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Coordconn</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Cop</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Prt</th>
<th>Quant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>both</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>be</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>Prt compleative</td>
<td>every</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both the people and the animals, all of them, were stone.

Both $kap$ ‘and’ and $te$: ‘but’ are also prepositions ‘with’ and ‘from’.

Example (74) shows how $kap$ ‘and’ generally appears between two noun phrases.

Big Snake Son-in-law 22

(74) $mp\l\ y \ kap \ mpoa$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Coordconn</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...the mother and father...

Example (75) shows how $kap$ ‘with’ generally appears after a verb.

Seven Orphans 7

(75) $muaj \ sidaw \ aj\l\a\? \ t\a\w \ w\l\w \ kap \ ajak$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Prep</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>night</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
<td>old</td>
<td>speak</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One night, the old grandmother said to her husband...

Example (76) shows how $te$: ‘but’ generally appears between two clauses.

Big Snake Son-in-law 45

(76) $\eta ko\l\a\? \ si \ if\l\muaj \ te\? \ m\l\a\f\ t\l\n \ \l\f\l\m \ \l\eta ko\l\a\? \ \l\n \ pasai\l$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Vaux</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Coordconn</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Vaux</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Subordconn</th>
<th>Vi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>help</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>2S</td>
<td>must</td>
<td>feed</td>
<td>1S</td>
<td>for</td>
<td>satisfy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"I will help [you], but you must feed me until [I am] satisfied."

Example (77) shows how $te$: ‘from’ generally appears after a verb and before a noun phrase.

Big Snake Son-in-law 27

(77) $ku\l\f\l\n \ hu\l \ ka\? \ se\f\eta \ te\? \ koh$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Adj</th>
<th>Coordconn</th>
<th>Vi</th>
<th>Prep</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>descend</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...the big snake came down from the mountain...
3.10.2 Subordinating Conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions connect two elements as unequal and one is subordinated to the other (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). For further analysis of subordinated clauses see 6.3 Subordinate Clauses.

Table 8: Subordinating Conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Location in Clause</th>
<th>Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>ɑɛ</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for</td>
<td>ɑn</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>ʰɑn</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td>ɲyɑn</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>before</td>
<td>ɲyɑŋ</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>ɲaŋ</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>ʰpɔɲ</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>tʰiː</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>relativizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>until</td>
<td>ʃɑon</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td>adverbializer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10.2.1 Complementizers

Subordinating conjunctions that are complementizers indicate that the clause is a complement to the verb (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 49).

Examples (78) and (79) show a subordinating conjunction marking a complement clause which is the object of a verb. This subordinating conjunction is only used with verbs of speaking or thinking.

Big Snake Son-in-law 92

(78) ɑlɛŋ ɲaŋ ʃʰɑŋ ɲkɑŋ ɿɛŋ ɿɡɑ ɲkoɑŋ? ʃɑŋ:

Vt Subordconn N N Vt N Pro Prt

call COMP mother snake swallow leg 1S Prt_seq_completive

[She] called, "Mother, the snake has swallowed my leg!"

Wild Buffalo Ear 107

(79) ʰpɔŋ an ɿɑŋ ɲaŋ ɿaɿŋ ɲɛʔ an ɿkɑʔ

Subordconn Pro Vt Subordconn N Prt Pro Coordconn

when 3S know COMP rice.uncooked Prt_completive 3S then

tuh ʃɪt ɲɿɫaquʔ

Adj N Adv

poor heart very

When she found out that the shelled rice was all gone, she was very sad.
3.10.2.2 Relativizers

Subordinating conjunctions that are relativizers indicate relative clauses. These are different from relative pronouns in that they cannot function as the subject or object of a relative clause. They simply mark that the clause is relative (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 50).

Example (80) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 10

\[
(80) \text{tah } 
\text{xn } 
\text{tālaw } 
\text{t'it } 
\text{vt } 
\text{kwiż? } 
\text{vt } 
\text{mụaj } 
\text{na?}
\]

\[
Vt \quad Vt \quad N \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{Adv} \quad \text{Adj} \quad \text{Vi} \quad \text{Num} \quad \text{Clf}
\]

leave cause grandchild REL still small live one Clf_person

[His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.

Example (81) show another subordinating conjunction marking a relative clause. This subordinating conjunction seems to be used to distinguish one of many.

Big Snake Son-in-law 16

\[
(81) \text{k'ban } 
\text{nqw } 
\text{ale? } 
\text{tālaw } 
\text{njɔ? } 
\text{ŋkoa? } 
\text{nqw } 
\text{a-k'it } 
\text{tnj } 
\text{pen}
\]

\[
\text{Subordconn} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Vaux} \quad \text{Cop}
\]

if 3S which eat mango 1S 3S INTENS-that must be

\[
\text{mụai } 
\text{ŋkoa?}
\]

\[
N \quad \text{Pro}
\]

wife 1S

"She who eats my mangos, that one must become my wife."

3.10.2.3 Adverbializers

Subordinating conjunctions that are adverbializers indicate clauses that have an adverbial function (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 50).

Example (82) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a purpose clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 34

\[
(82) \text{tc } 
\text{tnj } 
\text{must } 
\text{mụa:n } 
\text{tālaw } 
\text{njɔ? } 
\text{tən } 
\text{kụf'an } 
\text{ŋɛ?}
\]

\[
\text{Prep} \quad \text{Vaux} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Adj} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Prt}
\]

from must enter because eat mango ripe snake Prt_completive

\[
\text{tən}
\]

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

But [she] had to enter [into marriage] because [she] had eaten all of the snake's ripe mangoes.
Example (83) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a time clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 5


Subordconn  Vi  Vt  N  Coordconn  Vt  N  N  Quant  Clf

when  go  come  forest  so  see  tree  mango  many  Clf_tree

When they had gone and came to the forest, [they] saw many mango trees.

Example (84) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a conditional clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 86

(84) mpeʔ  wəw  pɐj  kʰan  tə  məŋt  ɲkoʔ?  si  a-tʃɪt  maŋ

N  Vt  Subordconn  Subordconn  Neg  Vt  Pro  Vaux  Vt  Pro

mother  speak  COMP  if  NEG  enter  1S  IRR  CAUS-die  2S

The mother said, "If you don't enter, I will kill you."

Example (85) shows a subordinating conjunction marking a purpose clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 80

(85) ba:  naʔ  mpaʔ  ajək  bəŋj  pəa  kan  paʔ?  tʃuajʔ?  kʊʔʃən

Num  Clf  N  N  Coordconn  Vt  Pro  Vi  Vt  N

two  Clf_person  wife  husband  so  invite  RECIP  go  search  snake

huuk  rə  nəj  koh  ɔm  pen  ajək  kəm  kənu:l

Adj  Vi  Prep  N  Subordconn  Cop  N  N  N  N

big  LOC  in  mountain  for  be  husband  child  female,unmarried

So both the wife and husband helped each other to go search for a big snake living in the mountains for [it] to be a husband for their daughter.
3.11 Interjections

Interjections are words that can be an utterance by themselves. They are usually grammatically independent, and have little to no syntactic connection to other words within a clause (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 57). Interjections in Bru Khok Sa-at usually appear at the beginning of a clause and occasionally at the end of a clause.

- okay
- awh
- wrong
- logh
- crash boom
- ukkakutuk
- oh
- o:
- hey
- oj
- shoo
- sath
- yes
- a:
- whispering
- wal wal

Example (86) shows an interjection at the beginning of a clause.

Grandfather Ghost 38

(86) a: pa lqit ifaw
    Interj Vi Prt N

   yes go Prt_command grandchild
   "Yes, go ahead, grandchild."

Example (87) shows an interjection at the end of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 27

(87) kuifhan huq ka? sey tez koh siaj nitray ukkakutuk
    N Adj Coordconn Vi Prep N N Adj Interj

   snake big so descend from mountain noise loud crash boom
   ...the big snake came down from the mountain with a loud crashing noise.

3.12 Negators

Negators negate words, clauses or phrases (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 58).

NEG ta:

Example (88) shows a negated verb.

Seven Orphans 81

(88) p'°ay kal aluaj dom ka? ta: saj siaj raneqn naj
    Subordconn N N Vi Coordconn Neg Vt N N N Prt

   when tree stem fall so NEG hear noise child Prt_intensifier
   When the tree had fallen, [he] did not hear any noise from the children at all.
Example (89) shows a negated existential.

Seven Orphans 92

(89) tə: buon amA? pen ntraw
    Neg Cop Pro Cop Pro

    NEG EXIST anyone be anything

Nothing had happened to any of them.

Example (90) shows a negated adjective.

Seven Orphans 6

(90) tə: ba: na? tə: rua? lew
    Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt

    but two Clf_person NEG happy Prt_seq_completive

But they were not happy.

Example (91) show a negated adverb.

Seven Orphans 19

    Subordconn Neg N Vt Vt Pro Coordconn Neg Adv

    when NEG time.long search eat how so NEG enough

Not long after that, no matter what they found to eat, it was not enough.

3.13 Clausal Constituents

Certain parts of speech seem to act at the clausal level rather than the phrase level. In Bru Khok Sa-at, particles and topic markers seem to operate at a clausal level.
3.13.1 Particles

Particles in Bru Khok Sa-at are used to mark aspect, mood, modality, and speech acts. This will be discussed further in 5.5 Particles.

- **Prt_completive**: adɔ?
- **Prt_question**: bx
- **Prt_evidential**: dajh
- **Prt_completive**: da?
- **Prt_contradiction**: dɔk
- **Prt_conclusion**: dɔk
- **Prt_soft_command**: dɔ
- **Prt_informative**: dɔ
- **Prt_evidential**: e: la?
- **Prt_evidential**: la?
- **Prt_UNK**: lew
- **Prt_intensifier**: bɔɛ
- **Prt_command**: lɔt
- **Prt_soft_command**: mɛ?
- **Prt_consider**: na
- **Prt_consider**: na?
- **Prt_completive**: jɛ?
- **Prt_intensifier**: naŋ
- **Prt_completive**: sot
- **Prt_sympathy**: ʃəm
- **Prt_command**: ʃi?
- **Prt_seq_completive**: ʃən

Example (92) shows a particle at the end of a clause.

Big Snake Son-in-law 17

(92) mɑ  l  wɔw  ɔm  alaj  tamʉŋ  də:  

2S  speak  allow 3P  listen  **Prt_soft_command**

"You tell them so that they will understand."
Example (93) shows a clause with two particles.

Seven Orphans 90

(93) alaj kufit $\hat{f}_q$: la2
\quad Pro Vi Prt
\quad 3P die Prt_seq_completive Prt_evidential

"They have really died."

3.13.2 Discourse Markers

A discourse marker “indicate the discourse role...of the associated noun phrase” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 35). The only discourse marker identified in the Bru Khok Sa-at narratives is a topic marker.

meanwhile $jah$

The topic marker usually appears at the front of a sentence.

Example (94) shows $jah$ ‘meanwhile’ sentence initial.

Seven Orphans 188

(94) $jah$ pan$\_\hat{e}$a
\quad N N
side ruler

As for the ruler...

Example (95) shows $jah$ ‘meanwhile’ in the only example where it does not appear sentence initial.

Seven Orphans 171

(95) waw tâ? $jah$ pan$\_\hat{e}$a mpoa vil $\hat{f}_g? ki$: 
\quad Vt Vt N N N N Adv N

speak come side ruler father village close there

[Now we will] talk about a village ruler [who lived] close to there.

3.14 Conclusion

Minor word classes in Bru Khok Sa-at include pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, classifiers, prepositions, auxiliaries, particles, conjunctions, interjections, negators, particles, and topic markers.

MSEA pronoun systems often have different pronouns for different levels of politeness (Enfield 2005: 189). Tebow includes one more pronoun with a politeness distinction than were found in the corpus for this thesis (2010a: 20). Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek records pronouns that include distinctions in gender and politeness
John Miller, however, does not include politeness in his remarks about Eastern Bru (1964: 44). Bos in Kuy records three politeness forms in the first person singular (Bos 2009: 34). Pacoh does not include politeness either and also has morphological marking (Watson 1964: 81-97).


MSEA languages generally use classifiers (Enfield 2005: 189). Bru Khok Sa-at is no exception.

It is likely that all languages have some interjections, but not all grammars record this. John Miller includes interjections in his article on Eastern Bru word classes (1964: 62).

John Miller records that Eastern Bru has final particles, but these are only with negated sentences for emphasis (1964: 61). Pattiya in her analysis of Bru Woen Buek (1981) and Chollada in her analysis of So (1986) also include particles. Bos analyzes Kuy as having both preverbal and postverbal particles (2009: 45-57). Alves reports that Pacoh has sentence particles that indicate aspect, interrogatives, clause-linking, comment, imperative, and mood (2006: 85-90).
Chapter 4

Phrases

4.1 Introduction

This chapter utilizes the word classes discussed in Chapter 2 Major Word Classes and Chapter 3 Minor Word Classes. However, the focus is now on phrases. A phrase is “a group of words which can function as a constituent within a simple clause” (Kroeger 2005: 35), though one word can often function as an entire phrase. The constituent structure and order of constituents are examined here. In addition, the function of noun phrases and verb phrases will be discussed specifically.

4.2 Noun Phrase Constituents

Certain words modify the head noun in noun phrases. These will be examined, followed by a more detailed look at noun phrases and their functions. Noun phrases generally serve as arguments for verbs (Dryer 2007a).

4.2.1 Quantifiers

A quantifier phrase is made up of one or more quantifiers often coupled with an adverb. For more on quantifiers see section 3.5 Quantifiers.

Quant $P = \text{Quant } (+\text{Quant}) (+\text{Adv})$

Quantifiers are generally used with classifiers, but not always.

Example (96) shows a quantifier as part of a classifier phrase which, in this case, is the entire noun phrase.

Seven Orphans 136

(96) $p\text{ea}$ $kan$ $ji\text{r}$ $nu?\text{e}$ $ku?$ $na?\text{e}$

$Vt$ $Pro$ $Vi$ $Prt$ $Quant$ $Clf$

invite RECIP shake $\text{Prt.completive every Clf.person}$

[They] encouraged each other to shake [with fright] every last person.
Example (97) shows a quantifier phrase without a classifier.

Seven Orphans 12

(97) ɔm ṭkoːaʔ bwn kɔm paləajʔ

allow 1S have child many

"Please let me have many children..."

Sometimes quantifiers can modify coordinated verb phrases.

Example (98) shows a quantifier modifying a coordinated verb phrase.

Seven Orphans 199

(98) it t⁴rə it doj paləajʔ luʔ?

take rice take rice.cooked many very

...[he] then took a large amount of rice and cooked rice...

4.2.2 Numerals

There are two types of numerals in Bru Khok Sa-at. For more specifics on numerals see section 3.6 Numerals.

4.2.2.1 Cardinals

A number phrase is made up of more than one number, which may be coordinated by a conjunction. Numbers are often used with classifiers. This is discussed further in 4.2.3 Classifiers.

NumP = Num (+ Num) (+ Coord) (+ Num)

Numbers generally follow the noun head it modifies.

Example (99) shows a quantifier following the noun.

Seven Orphans 69

(99) kɔm ba: naʔ

child two Clf.person

..two of the children...

The noun head the numeral modifies does not need to be explicitly present.
Example (100) shows an elided noun head.

Seven Orphans 6

(100) $\text{tɛ:} \quad \text{bɑː} \quad \text{naʔ} \quad \text{twɛ} \quad \text{ruaʔ} \quad \text{lew}$

Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt

but two Clf_person NEG happy Prt_seq_completive

But they were not happy.

Numbers greater than ten are compounded.
Example (101) shows a compounded number.

The Big Snake Son-in-Law 158

(101) $p^\text{h}: \quad \text{təʔ} \quad \text{mʊaj} \quad \text{ʧiːt} \quad \text{laʔ} \quad \text{swŋ} \quad \text{siŋaŋ}$

Subordconn Vt Num Num Coordconn Num Clf

when come one ten CONJ five Clf_day

After fifteen days...

A non-specific number may be made by putting two numbers in succession.
Example (102) and (103) show non-specific numbers.

The Big Snake Son-in-Law 141

(102) $p^\text{h}: \quad \text{pom} \quad \text{siŋaŋ} \quad \text{swŋ} \quad \text{siŋaŋ}$

Subordconn Num Clf Num Clf

when four Clf_day five Clf_day

After four or five days...

Seven Orphans 192

(103) $\text{bɑː} \quad \text{paʔ} \quad \text{siŋaŋ} \quad \text{tɛ:} \quad \text{paʔ}$

Num Num Clf Adj

two three Clf_day next

A few days later...

Numbers are generally followed by classifiers, but not always. When not followed by a classifier, the number seems to precede the head noun of the noun phrase.
Example (104) shows a number preceding the head noun without a classifier.

Seven Orphans 176

(104) $\text{tapul} \quad \text{kən} \quad \text{kamyːt}$

Num N N

seven child orphan

...the seven orphans.
Example (105) shows a number preceding a noun that is used as an indefinite number and may have a discourse function.

Seven Orphans 7

(105) ْمٍذٍىٕ رِضٍدٍ

      Num   N

    one  night

One night...

Sometimes the head noun precedes the number and still no classifier is used.

Example (106) shows a number with no classifier.

Seven Orphans 186

(106) ٌظٍَٔ ٍشٍ٣ل

      N          Num

  female.unmarried  seven

...the seven young women...

4.2.2.2 Ordinals

Ordinals are usually created with a periphrastic construction by using a relativizer, and they are not used with a classifier except when a classifier is used in the place of a noun head.

OrdinalP = NP (+Relativizer) + Num

Examples (107) and (108) show ordinal numbers.

Seven Orphans 197

(107) ٍعٍٛمٍٓ ٍمٍذٍىٕ ٍشٍ٣١٢ ٍمٍذٍىٕ ٍشٍ٣١٢ ٍمٍذٍىٕ ٍشٍ٣٢١٠

      N          N          Subordconn   Num   N          Subordconn   Num

  younger.sibling  person REL  two person REL  three

...the second oldest sister and the third oldest...

Buyeang Fish 101

(108) ٍظٍٛٓبٍٓ ٍشٍ٣١٢ ٍمٍذٍىٕ

      Clf          Subordconn   Num

  Clf_time  REL  three

"On the third time...

Example (109) shows an ordinal with the relativizer elided.

(109) ٍظٍٛٓبٍٓٓ ٍظٍٛٓبٍٓ ٍظٍٛٓبٍٓ ٍظٍٛٓبٍٓ ٍظٍٛٓبٍٓ

      Clf          Num          Coordconn   Num

  Clf_month  ten  and  one

...the eleventh month...
4.2.3 Classifiers

A classifier phrase is typically a number or quantifier with a classifier modifying a head noun. See 3.7 Classifiers for a representative list of classifiers.

\[ \text{ClfP} = \text{Num/Quant} + \text{Clf} \]

Example (110) shows the most basic form of classifier phrase, which is preceded by a noun head.

Buyeang Fish 2

(110) kruaj meuaj kruaj

\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{Num} & \text{Clf} \\
\text{city} & \text{one} & \text{Clf}_\text{city}
\end{array}

a city.

Example (111) shows that classifier phrases may be repeated for emphasis.

Big Snake Son-in-Law 13

(111) kmn kmuwl ma\ddot{i} meuaj na? meuaj na?

\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{N} & \text{Pro} & \text{Num} & \text{Clf} & \text{Num} & \text{Clf} \\
\text{child} & \text{female.unmarried} & \text{2S} & \text{one} & \text{Clf}_\text{person} & \text{one} & \text{Clf}_\text{person}
\end{array}

...one of your daughters...

Occasionally, classifier phrases may precede the noun head. This may place them in juxtaposition with the classifier phrase or be a topic-comment structure. More data and further analysis of this structure is needed.

Examples (112) and (113) show classifier phrases preceding the head noun.

Seven Orphans 56

(112) ba: na? mpai ajak

\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Num} & \text{Clf} & \text{N} & \text{N}
\end{array}

\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{two} & \text{Clf}_\text{person} & \text{wife} & \text{husband}
\end{array}

Both the husband and wife...

Wild Buffalo Ear 79

(113) meuaj nam katur sinwr

\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Num} & \text{Clf} & \text{N} & \text{N}
\end{array}

\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{one} & \text{Clf}_\text{thing} & \text{ear} & \text{buffalo.wild}
\end{array}

...one more thing, the wild buffalo ear."

Classifiers are occasionally used along with determiners.
Example (114) shows a classifier used along with a determiner in a noun phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 49

(114) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{dog} \\
\text{Clf, animal} \\
\text{that}
\end{array}
\]

...that dog.

Further research is needed to explain the use of classifiers for purposes other than quantifying, and an explanation will not be attempted here.

4.3 Noun Phrases

“A Noun Phrase...is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun,” (Kroeger 2005: 87).

In this data set from Bru Khok Sa-at, a noun phrase can be the subject, object, indirect object, object of a preposition, or speech referant (vocative).

Example (115) shows a noun phrase as a subject, object (fronted) and indirect object. Examples (116) through (118) identify each noun phrase.

Grandfather Ghost 85

(115) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{head} \\
\text{and} \\
\text{skin} \\
\text{deer} \\
\text{3P} \\
\text{give} \\
\text{older.brother} \\
\text{child} \\
\text{orphan}
\end{array}
\]

They gave the head and the skin of the deer to the older orphan child.

Example (116) shows a noun phrase (pronoun) subject. In Bru Khok Sa-at, a subject is the noun phrase that typically precedes the verb phrase.

(116) 

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{alaj} \\
\text{Pro} \\
\text{3P}
\end{array}
\]

They...
Example (117) shows a noun phrase object. In Bru Khok Sa-at, the object normally follows the verb phrase. However, in example (117) the object is fronted. See 5.4.2 Fronted Object Clauses for more on this topic.

(117) bla: kap ɳkar pojh
N Coordconn N N
head and skin deer
...the head and skin of the deer...

Example (118) shows a noun phrase indirect object. In Bru Khok Sa-at, the indirect object normally follows the verb phrase and precedes the direct object.

(118) aj Ɂkn Ɂamydt
N N N
older.brother child orphan
...older orphan child.

Example (119) shows a noun phrase as a predicate nominative.
Big Snake Son-in-law 177

(119) ajga? tawa a-nai? pen mpe? an
N Adj Pro Cop N Pro
grandmother old INTENS-this be mother 3S
...this old grandmother was her mother.

Example (120) shows a noun phrase as the object of a preposition.
Wild Buffalo Ear 70

(120) naŋ doŋ hi?
Prep N Pro
in house 1P_exc
...in our house?"

Example (121) shows a noun phrase as a speech referent (vocative).
Buyeang Fish 69

(121) nʔ kaʔ Ɂfəaj məʔ tə ʔuən Ɂfəw Ɂj
N Coordconn Vt Pro Neg Vi N Adj
grandmother so help 2S NEG able grandchild dear
"I can not help you, dear grandson."
4.3.1 Simple Noun Phrases

The following section analyzes simple noun phrases. Possessive noun phrases and relative clauses will be discussed in sections 4.3.2 Possessive Noun Phrases and 4.3.3 Relative Clauses afterwards.

NP = N (+Det) (+AP) (+ClfP)

Example (122) shows a noun phrase consisting of an adjective phrase and an adverb phrase.

Wild Buffalo Ear 32
(122) *masɛm* *mac* *palɛaj?*

```
N       Adj       Adv
woman   beautiful very

...a very beautiful woman.
```

Example (123) shows a noun phrase made up of an adjective phrase and a classifier phrase.

Seven Orphans 153
(123) *aʃuː* *kuaj?* *муaj* *nam*

```
N       Adj       Num       Clf
knife   small    one       Clf_thing

...a small knife.
```
4.3.2 Possessive Noun Phrases

In Bru Khok Sa-at, possessive markers are identical in form to personal pronouns (examples of 1S, 2S, 3S, 1P_inc, 1P_exc). See section 3.2.1 Personal Pronouns for further discussion on personal pronouns. Possession is normally marked by simple juxtaposition. The possessive marker ʰŋ is normally used for noun phrases and occasionally with pronouns.

NPposs = NPpossessed (+ possessive marker) + NPpossessor.

POSS ʰŋ

Possessive markers indicate possession.

Example (124) shows a possessive marker indicating possession.

Big Snake Son-in-law 23

(124) mo? ʰφ n kʰŋ kùtʰan ʰpt

N  Adj Poss N Adj

mango ripe POSS snake big

...the big snake’s ripe mangoes...

Possessive markers also indicate kinship relations.

Example (125) shows a possessive marker indicating kinship relations.

Wild Buffalo Ear 94

(125) nφan ʰŋ n fəw

N Poss N

wife POSS grandchild

...the grandson’s wife...
Example (126) shows a kinship relation by simple juxtaposition without using the possessive marker.

Wild Buffalo Ear 18

(126) šàw ḍ? N N
grandchild grandfather
... the grandfather's grandson...

Generally, pronouns in simple juxtaposition follow the noun they possess or relate to indicate possession.

Example (127) shows a singular possessive pronoun.

Big Snake Son-in-law 13

(127) kɔːn kamuːl ma̤ i̤ N N Pro
cchild female.unmarried 2S
...your daughters...

Examples (128) and (129) show a plural possessive pronoun.

Seven Orphans 132

(128) ʃak haj N Pro
 body 1P_inc
...our bodies...

Seven Orphans 141

(129) mpoa hi? N Pro
 father 1P_exc
...our father...
Example (130) shows one possessive with a compound noun phrase.

Big Snake Son-in-law 156

(130) doŋ mpe? doŋ mpoa ŋkoa?

N N N N Pro

house mother house father 1S

...my mother and father's house...

Occasionally, the possessive marker is also used with pronouns.

Example (131) shows a possessive marker used with a singular pronoun.

Wild Buffalo Ear 82

(131) ſw ʰŋ Poss ŋo Pro

grandchild POSS 1S

...my grandson.

Examples (132) shows a possessive marker used with a plural pronoun.

Wild Buffalo Ear 104

(132) ʃw ʰŋ Poss ʃa Pro

shed POSS 3P

...their storage shed...

4.3.3 Relative Clauses

A relative clause is a clause “...which modifies the head noun within a noun phrase,” (Kroeger 2005: 230). Restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses will be examined here as they impact the noun phrase. Further information on the structure of relative clauses, which are externally headed, is discussed in 6.3.4 Relative Clauses.

NPrel = NP + Rel + C
4.3.3.1 Restrictive Relative Clauses

Restrictive relative clauses restrict the head noun phrase’s reference (Kroeger 2005: 231).

Example (133) is a restrictive relative clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 44

(133) $t\lambda$: $buun$ $amâ?$ $ka$: $ifâ$ $doj$ $tʰi$: $\gammat$ $nâ$ $top$

Neg Cop Pro Vaux Vt N Subordconn Vi Prep N

NEG EXIST who dare eat rice.cooked REL located in basket

$kï$: $nuam$ $alaj$ $kut$ $pa$ $anga$ $wîl$ $si$ $kuâ$ $ala$ $\gamma$

Det Subordconn Pro Vi Subordconn N N Vaux N Pro

that because 3P think COMP people village IRR poison 3P

...neither of who dared to eat the rice which was located in that basket there, because they thought that the villagers might have been trying to poison them.

4.3.3.2 Non-Restrictive Relative Clause

Non-Restrictive relative clauses give more information about the head noun phrase’s reference, but do not restrict it (Kroeger 2005: 231). In the Bru Khok Sa-at texts this is often new information.

Example (134) is a non-restrictive relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 10

(134) $tah$ $xn$ $ifâw$ $tʰi$: $\gammat$ $kuaj$ $\gammat$ $muaj$ $nâ$?

Vt Vt N Subordconn Adv Adj Vi Num Clf

leaving cause grandchild REL still small live one Clf person

[His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.
4.4 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases are headed by a preposition (Nichols 1986: 57) and take a noun phrase object. See 3.8 Prepositions for a list of prepositions. PrepP = Prep + NP

Example (135) shows a preposition phrase.

Buyeang Fish 90

(135) ɲɛŋ ŋfoʔ koh ŋfoʔ kɯp

watch in mountain in cave

[She] looked in the mountains and in the cave...

Example (136) shows how prepositional phrases can also take pronouns as objects.

Grandfather Ghost 53

(136) an paʔ ŋfoʔ maʔ ŋfoʔ daʔ:

3S go to 2S Prt_seq_completive Prt_informative

"It has gone towards you!"
4.5 Verb Phrase Constituents

Certain words and phrases modify the head verb in verb phrases. These are examined below, followed by a more detailed look at verb phrases and serial verbs.

4.5.1 Adverbs

Adverb phrases consist of more than one adverb or negator. See section 2.5 Adverbs for further discussion on adverbs or section 3.12 Negators for further discussion on negators.

\[ \text{AdvP} = (\text{Neg}+) (\text{Adv}+) \text{Adv} \]

Example (137) shows an adverb modifying another adverb.

Buyeang Fish 15

\[(137) p^\text{by} \quad t\text{ʔ} \quad j\text{γγ} \quad t\text{ʔp} \]

Subordconn Vt Adv Adv

when come far quite

When they had gone quite far...

Example (138) shows a negator with an adverb.

Seven Orphans 4

\[(138) t\text{ʔ} \quad k\text{γγ} \quad b\text{ʔn} \quad k\text{ʔn} \]

Neg Adv Vt N

NEG ever have child

[They] never had children...

4.5.2 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries add further context to verbs including aspect, mood and modality. For further discussion on auxiliaries see section 3.9.1 Auxiliaries. For definitions of aspect and modality see section 2.3 Verbs.

\[ \text{AuxP} = (\text{Neg}+) (\text{Aux}+) \text{Aux} \]

Example (139) shows a negator and auxiliary before a verb.

Seven Orphans 138

\[(139) \eta\text{pap} \quad t\text{ʔ} \quad t\text{ʔ} \quad \eta\text{koh} \quad \eta\text{koh} \quad d\text{ʔk} \]

Pro Neg Vaux Vt Pro Prt

2P NEG must fear 1S Prt_contradiction

"Actually, you all do not have to fear me."

---

6 PROG, ñtóm; dare, ka; must, tǝj; IRR, sî; want, ja?
Example (140) shows two auxiliaries with one verb.

Wild Buffalo Ear 69

(140) an  nkəm sì  kʰoŋj  doŋ
     Pro  Vaux  Vaux  Vt  N
     3S  PROG  IRR  steam  rice.cooked
...she was preparing to steam rice.

4.5.2.1 Progressive Aspect

Progressive aspect is an event that shows continuing progress of the event over time (Kroeger 2005: 348). In Bru Khok Sa-at it is marked by an auxiliary verb.

Example (141) shows a clause with progressive aspect.

Wild Buffalo Ear 3

(141) ba  naʔ  nai  nkəm  taʔ  tʰɾə  tʰɾai
     Num  Clf  Det  Vaux  Vt  N  N
     two  Clf.person  this  PROG  make/do  rice  field
These two were working in the rice fields.

Example (142) shows an extremely rare construction for this corpus of progressive with irrealis.

Wild Buffalo Ear 69

(142) an  nkəm sì  kʰoŋj  doŋ
     Pro  Vaux  Vaux  Vt  N
     3S  PROG  IRR  steam  rice.cooked
...she was preparing to steam rice.

4.5.2.2 Irrealis Mood

Irrealis mood is used for a range of situations to lessen the certainty of the reported event (Timberlake 2007: 326).

Examples (143) and (144) show two clauses that use irrealis mood.

Seven Orphans 30

(143) ŋko:t  sì  tah  alaj  nāj  pruyj
     Pro  Vaux  Vt  Pro  Prep  N
     1S  IRR  leave  3P  in  hole
"I will leave them in the hole."
Wild Buffalo Ear 44

(144) anęa vił si kuwa alaj
   N N Vaux N Pro
   people village IRR poison 3P
...the villagers might have been trying to poison them.

4.5.2.3 Optative Modality

Optative indicates realizable wishes or desires (Trask 1993: 195).
Example (145) shows an optative clause.
Big Snake Son-in-law 76

(145) ḥi? ja? buwn
   Pro Vaux Vt
   1P_exc want have
We want to have [a husband]...

4.5.2.4 Desiderative Modality

Desiderative modality indicates wishes or desires that are not realizable (Trask 1993: 80).
Example (146) shows a clause with desiderative.
Big Snake Son-in-law 85

(146) ŋkoə? τs: ka: μṣt
   Pro Neg Vaux Vt
   1S NEG dare enter
...I do not dare to enter [the house]."

4.5.2.5 Deontic Modality

Deontic modality indicates permission, obligation, or prohibition (Trask 1993: 76).
Example (147) shows deontic modality.
Big Snake Son-in-law 13

(147) τs: kɔn kamud maŋ mŋaj na? mŋaj na?
   Coordconn N N Pro Num Clf Num Clf
   but child female.unmarried 2S one Clf_person one Clf_person
   tog pen ŋpaŋ ŋkoə?
   Vaux Cop N Pro
   must be wife 1S
But one of your daughters must become my wife.
4.6 Verb Phrase

A verb is the head of a verb phrase (Lunaghi & Parodi 2008: 152).

4.6.1 Simple Verb Phrases

The following section analyzes simple verb phrases. Coordinated verb phrases and serial verbs will be analyzed in sections 4.6.2 Coordinated Verb Phrases and 4.6.3 Serial Verbs respectively.

$VP = (\text{Neg}+) \ (\text{AdvP}+) \ (\text{AuxP}+) \ V \ (+\text{AdvP})$

Example (148) shows a verb phrase consisting of a verb followed by an adverb phrase.

Seven Orphans 45

(148) $ηποa \ it \ simw: \ a-\text{ðjom} \ prγam$

father take vine CAUS-go.up also

The father pulled up the vine also.

Example (149) shows two verb phrases in two separate clauses of a complex sentence. One verb phrase consists of a negative with a verb and the other is made up of an auxiliary phrase with a verb.

Big Snake Son-in-law 86

(149) $k^\alpha an \ ta: \ myt \ ηkoa? \ si \ a-\text{ðjct} \ mai$

if NEG enter 1S IRR CAUS-die 2S

..."If you don't enter, I will kill you."

4.6.2 Coordinated Verb Phrases

In Bru Khok Sa-at, verbs are only coordinated by coordinating conjunctions as part of two coordinated clauses. When verbs are in juxtaposition to one another, they are serial verbs.

Example (150) shows verbs coordinated by a coordinating conjunction as part of two coordinated clauses.

Grandfather Ghost 34

(150) $o: \ hi? \ si \ pe\gamma \ an \ pa? \ ho: \ kαp \ ηkryαŋ \ tran$

oh 1P_exc IRR invite 3S go make.noise and flush animal

"Oh, we will invite him to go make noise and flush out animals."
4.6.3 Serial Verbs

In a serial verb construction, other clausal constituents may not come between the two verbs (Dryer 2007c: 126). In Bru Khok Sa-at, this includes elided clausal arguments.

Example (151) shows a combination of verbs that use one verb for the English gloss see + come = find.

**Buyeang Fish 74**

(151) kʰan ʃilaj wiset maʃ ʃuajʔ an ʰuːm tʔaʔ ʃai ʃuə:

Subordconn N N Pro Vt Pro Vt Vt Num Clf

if mirror magic 2S search 3S see come three Clf_time

"If your magic mirror searches for him and finds him three times...

4.6.3.1 Sequential

Examples (152) and (153) show two verbs whose actions that follow one another sequentially.

**Seven Orphans 27**

(152) pʰə alaj pʰə pʰə ʃə:

Vt Pro Vi Vt N

invite 3P go dig bawng_root

"[I] will ask them to go dig bawng roots."

**Seven Orphans 193**

(153) mɣt ʃek tʰɾx naʃ baw ʃapul naʔ mpleʔ tʃaʔ:

Vt Vt N Prep N Num Clf Prep Prep

enter request rice from young.man seven Clf_person like before

[They] went and requested rice from the seven young men just like before.

4.6.3.2 Result

Example (154) shows how the second verb shows the result of the first.

**Seven Orphans 62**

(154) kal kaheb dom atet alaj:

N N Vi Vt Pro

tree gabeh.fruit fall cover 3P

"The gabeh tree will fall on top of them."
4.6.3.3 Direction

Examples (155) and (156) show how one verb may express action while the second verb may indicate the direction of the action.

Seven Orphans 14

(155) nəw ləj asuaj kuaj bun bon təʔ səŋ kət təpəl

Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt N Vt Vi Vt Num

3S so send person have merit come descend birth seven

naʔ

Clf

Clf_person

And so He sent seven unborn children who had merit to go down to be born.

Seven Orphans 86

(156) ʔəfjuːh t’aw ləj təjəh tʃuː dəŋ

N Adj Coordconn Vi Vt N

grandfather old so walk return house

And so the old grandfather walked back home.

Unlike auxiliaries which appear before the main verb and do not serve as a full verb form, verbs indicating direction appear after the verb as in the case of serial verbs. They also generally function as independent verbs in other contexts.

4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases

Adjectives function as stative verbs in Bru Khok Sa-at.

AP = (Neg +) (AdvP +) Adj (+ AdvP)

Example (157) shows an adverb phrase after an adjective.

Seven Orphans 39

(157) mpoa mpoa pəŋ simuː huk həʔ?

N N N N Adj Adv

father father bawng.root vine big very

..."Father, Father, [here is] a very big root."

Example (158) shows a negative in front of an adjective.

Seven Orphans 38

(158) təː huk

Neg Adj

NEG big

"[It's] not big..."
Example (159) shows an adverb phrase on either side of the adjective.

Seven Orphans 38

(159) τιτ kwiŋ? nag

    Adv    Adj    Adv

    still small still

...[it's] still too small."

4.6.5 Copula Phrase

Copulas are verbs that link a subject and a complement (Crystal 1992: 85). Unlike other verb phrases, copulas require a noun phrase complement.

CopP = (Neg +) (AdvP +) (AuxP +) Cop + NP

Example Buyeang Fish 76

(160) shows a copula with a negator and adverb.

Buyeang Fish 76

(160) τα kyiŋ buyn amŋ? tŋ? te: tʃilaŋ wisetŋ koaŋ? buyn

    Neg   Adv  Cop   Pro  Vi  Prep  N    N    Pro  Vi

    NEG ever EXIST who hide from mirror magic 1S able

..."There has never been [anyone] who could hide from my magic mirror."

Example (161) shows a copula with an auxiliary.

Big Snake Son-in-law 21

(161) tʃiŋ toŋ pen npai kwiŋ han huk dx:

    Coordconn  Vaux  Cop  N    N    Adj  Prt

    then must be wife snake big Prt.informative

...then [that person] must become the wife of a big snake."

4.7 Conclusion

Enfield cites that MSEA languages are not morphologically marked for head-dependent structure relations. Constituent order helps determine phrasal heads (2005: 186). Bru Khok Sa-at holds to this pattern.

In Bru Khok Sa-at the noun head is generally initial. Bru Woen Buek (Pattiya 1981: 111), So (Migliazza 1998: 96-98) and Kuy (Bos 2009: 9) also have the noun head initially. Pacoh has the noun head initial in simple noun phrases, but the classifier phrase may precede it (Alves 2006: 43-45).
Possessive noun phrases in Bru are head initial and then show the noun phrase possessor. There is a possessive marker that may or may not be used either a pronoun or a simple noun phrase is used for the noun phrase possessor. A similar pattern is seen in Eastern Bru (Carolyn Miller 1964: 74). Kuy also has head initial possessive phrases; however there is no possessive marker. Possession is indicated by simple juxtaposition (Bos 2009: 31).

Like simple noun phrases, the noun head in a relative clause is initial. This agrees with Pattiya’s analysis of Bru Woen Buek (1981: 109). So (Migliazza 1998: 96), Kuy (Bos 2009: 9), and Pacoh (Watson 1976: 227) also have this order.

Numeral phrases in Bru Khok Sa-at are frequently used with classifiers, but not always. Carolyn Miller shows that numbers are also used with nouns without classifiers in Eastern Bru. In this case, the number precedes the noun head, but the classifier phrase also usually precedes the noun head (1964: 70).

Classifiers phrases in Bru Khok Sa-at generally follow the head noun and include a number or quantifier. However, occasionally classifiers can be used without quantifiers. Carolyn Miller demonstrates this as occurring in Eastern Bru as well (1964: 69-70).

Bru Khok Sa-at uses prepositions versus postpositions. Bru Woen Buek (Pattiya 1981: 131), Eastern Bru (John Miller 1964: 55), So (Migliazza 1998: 72), Kuy (Bos 2009: 25-26) and Pacoh (Alves 2006: 79-84) also have prepositions. Verb heads are generally toward the end of a verb phrase in Bru Khok Sa-at. There are three different elements that may precede the head verb and only one that follows. However, some other verbal modifiers are being analyzed as particles in section 5.5 Particles. Pattiya in her tagmemic analysis of Bru Woen Buek reports two preverbal slots and one post verbal slot (1981: 143-144). Migliazza reports that in So, verbs are usually initial, but he may be referring more specifically to serial verbs (1998: 92).

Bru Khok Sa-at has serial verbs that include purpose, sequential action, direction, and result. Bru Woen Buek also has serial verbs, which Pattiya calls verb concatenation. She makes a distinction between main verb concatenation and main verbs with directional verbs (1981: 161-164). So also has serial verbs. Migliazza
does not mention specific semantic types, but he does mention directionals as auxiliaries. However, he does not define auxiliaries or defend his choice of term (1998: 92-96). Bos in Kuy also comments on directionals, but also tentatively includes them in serial verb constructions. Other serial verb types include instrumental, causative, resultative, benefactive, and motion (2009: 43-45, 60-62). Alves argues that Pacoh has verbs that take other verbs as compliments rather than using the term serial verbs. However, they cover many of the same semantic functions (2006: 106-112).
Chapter 5

Clause Types

5.1 Introduction
A clause is “...a unit consisting of a predicate and nouns related to it...” (Longacre 2007: 372).

5.2 Predicate Types
A predicate “...defines the type situation and the roles...” while arguments are the grammatical category, generally noun phrases, that fulfill the roles (Andrews 2007: 135). The predicate in Bru Khok Sa-at, may contain either a verb phrase, adjective (stative verb) phrase, or copula phrase. For more on these phrases see sections 4.6 Verb Phrase, 4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases, or 4.6.5 Copula Phrase.

5.2.1 Verbal Predicates
A verbal predicate contains a verb. Verbs are often lexically grouped by valence. Valence “refers to the number of dependents that a head may take,” (Van Valin 2001: 92).

5.2.1.1 Intransitive
Intransitive clauses are indicated by an intransitive verb which has only one argument, the subject (Dryer 2007b: 250). A subject is “the most prominent of the grammatical relations which a noun phrase may bear in a clause,” (Trask 1993: 266).
\[ C = NP + VP \]
Example (162) shows an intransitive clause.
Big Snake Son-in-law 180
(162) \textit{alaj ngam palgaj?}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Pro & Vi & Adv \\
3P & cry & very \\
\end{tabular}

They cried a lot.
Transitive clauses are indicated by a transitive verb which has two arguments, the subject and an object (Dryer 2007b: 250). An object is “a generic term for any noun phrase occupying an argument position other than the subject,” (Trask 1993: 193). C = NP + VP + NP
Example (163) shows a transitive clause.
Seven Orphans 73

\[(163)\]  kən  myaj  na?  huən  kal  kapeh  εn
N  Num  Clf  Vt  N  N  Adj

child  one  Clf_person  see  tree  gabeh.fruit  another
One of the children saw another gabeh tree.

Ditransitive clauses are indicated by a ditransitive verb and contain at least two non-subject arguments (Dryer 2007b: 253). C = NP + VP + NP + NP
Example (164) shows a ditransitive clause (with a fronted object).
Grandfather Ghost 85

\[(164)\]  blə:  kap  ɣkar  posj  alaj  εn  aj  kən  kamyet
N  Coordconn  N  N  Pro  Vd  N  N  N

head  and  skin  deer  3P  give  older.brother  child  orphan
They gave the head and the skin of the deer to the older orphan child.

Non-verbal predicate clauses do not include a verb in the predicate and often employ a copula or no verb at all (Dryer 2007b: 224-225).

Adjectival predicate refers to a property of the subject (Stassen 2006: 693). Bru Khok Sa-at does not normally use non-verbal adjectival predicates because adjectives are most likely a form of stative verb (see 2.4.2 Adjectives as Verbs and 4.6.4 Adjective (Stative Verb) Phrases).
Example (165) shows a stative verb.

Seven Orphans 6

Example (165) shows a stative verb.

(165) te: ba: na? ta: rua? lew

Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt

but two Clf_person NEG happy Prt_UNK

But they were not happy.

Example (166) shows the only example of a possible adjectival predicate. However, it may also be a nominal predicate with the noun elided.

Big Snake Son-in-law 73

Example (166) shows the only example of a possible adjectival predicate. However, it may also be a nominal predicate with the noun elided.

(166) pen mac paløj? ɛ

Cop Adj Adv

be beautiful very

...[he] was very handsome.

5.2.2.2 Nominal Predicates

Nominal predicates refer to a noun class (Stassen 2006: 693). Bru Khok Sa-at uses a copula. For more on copulas see 2.3.2 Copulas and 4.6.5 Copula Phrase.

C = NP + Cop + NP

Example (167) shows a nominal predicate clause with a copula.

Buyeang Fish 5

Example (167) shows a nominal predicate clause with a copula.

(167) secm pen kuaj ɔ:

N Cop N Adj

younger.sibling be person good

...the younger brother was a good person.

5.2.2.3 Existential Predicates

Existential clauses state the existence of something or introduce a new character or location to the reader (Dryer 2007b: 241).

C = (NP) + Cop + NP

Example (168) shows an existential clause indicated by the copula buem ‘EXIST’.

Buyeang Fish 2

Example (168) shows an existential clause indicated by the copula buem ‘EXIST’.

(168) buem kruaj muaj kruaj

Cop N Num Clf

EXIST city one Clf_city

...there was a city.
Example (169) shows a negative existential clause.

Buyeang Fish 52

(169) \text{tran} \enspace \text{kaʔ} \enspace \text{taʔ} \enspace \text{bu:m}

\begin{tabular}{llll}
N & Coordconn & Neg & Cop \\
\end{tabular}

animal \enspace so \enspace NEG \enspace EXIST

"And there aren't any animals either."

5.3 Speech Acts

In speaking we not only describe situations but also perform actions. In certain circumstances and ceremonies, the very act of speaking is the action. Different types of sentences identify different purposes for speaking. However, context and other factors, such as intonation, may help to distinguish between speech acts more specifically (König and Siemund 2007: 276-277).

5.3.1 Declarative

Declarative sentences assert or deny the truth of a proposition (Kroeger 2005: 196). Examples (170) and (171) show declarative sentences. In Bru Khok Sa-at, declaratives are unmarked, not requiring either a particle or an auxiliary.

Big Snake Son-in-law 180

(170) \text{alaj} \enspace \text{neʔam} \enspace \text{palajʔ}

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Pro & Vi & Adv \\
3P & cry & very \\
\end{tabular}

They cried a lot.

Grandfather Ghost 4

(171) \text{mpaʔ} \enspace \text{mpoa} \enspace \text{kuʔʃit} \enspace \text{taʔ} \enspace \text{nuʔ}

\begin{tabular}{lllll}
N & N & Vi & Vt & Prt \\
mother & father & die & leave & Prt_completive \\
\end{tabular}

[His] father and mother had died and left [him with no family] at all.

5.3.2 Interrogative

Interrogative sentences question the truth of a proposition or request more information about it (Kroeger 2005: 196).
5.3.2.1 Open Questions

Open questions, also called content questions, have an unlimited number of possible answers at least in theory. They generally contain a question word (Kroeger 2005: 203).\(^7\)

Example (172) shows an open question using *sa; le?* ‘how’ and the interrogative particle *bx*.

Seven Orphans 130

(172) *si bec sa; le? haj rāŋ̤̃t ūfə* tə *ŋtryh bx*

    Vaux  Vi  Pro  Pro  Vi  Coordconn  Neg  Vt  Prt

    IRR  lie  how  1P_inc  sleep  then  NEG  fall  Prt_question

How will [we] lie down so that when we sleep [we] won’t fall [out of the tree]?"

Open questions do not always require particles.

Example (173) shows a content question without a particle, but where the quote margin uses the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’. It uses the interrogative pro-form *le?* ‘where’.

Seven Orphans 70

(173) *ŋpoa abluh kal huk mah le?*

    N  Vt  N  Adj  Cop  Pro

    father  ask  tree  big  equal  where

The father asked, "How big is the tree?" [Lit. The big tree equals where?]

Example (174) shows a content question without a particle, but where the quote margin uses the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’. It uses the interrogative pro-form *ŋtraw* ‘what’.

Seven Orphans 177

(174) *aj huk ki; huwm byj abluh paįj sem*

    N  Adj  Det  Vt  Coordconn  Vt  Subordconn  N

    older.brother  big  that  see  so  ask  COMP  younger.sibling

*ŋpai  paį?  ʧuaj  ŋtraw*

    Pro  Vi  Vt  Prt

2P  go  search  what

The eldest brother saw them and so asked, "Sisters, what are you looking for?"

Example (175) shows a content question without a particle, but where the quote margin uses the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’. It uses the interrogative pro-form *amə*? ‘who’ and *mpeʔ* ‘why’.

Wild Buffalo Ear 70

(175) ʧāw lʔzj ʧūn abluh paŋ maʔ pen aməʔ maʔ mpeʔ

    N    Coord conn    Vt    Vt    Subord conn    Pro    Cop    Pro    Pro    Pro

grandchild so go.up ask COMP 2S be who 2S why

*taʔ kʰoŋj doŋ ɣt naŋ doŋ hi?

Vt Vt N Vi Prep N Pro

come steam rice.cooked live in house 1P_exc

So the grandchild went up and asked [her], "Who are you? Why have you come to steam rice and live in our house?"

Example (176) shows a content question without a particle or using the verb *abluh* ‘to ask’ in the quote margin. However, it does contain the interrogative pro-form *leʔ* ‘where’ and the context makes the question clear.

Seven Orphans 26

(176) ḟptaʔ paʔ pʰoʔt paʔ leʔ

    N    Vi    Vt    Vi    Pro

wife go abandon go where

Wife - "Where will you go abandon [them]?"

5.3.2.2 Closed Questions

Closed questions only have a limited set of responses. They typically do not contain a question word (Kroeger 2005: 203). Closed questions include polar interrogative questions and alternating questions.

Polar interrogative questions ask about the truth of a proposition and usually are answered by words indicating ‘yes’ or ‘no’ (König & Siemund 2007: 291).
Examples (177) and (178) show polar interrogative questions indicated by a question particle.

Grandfather Ghost 32

(177) \( p^\text{hox} \ t\text{a?} \ do\j \ n\? \ \text{alaj} \ ka? \ w\text{gw} \ p\text{aj} \)

Subordconn Vt N N Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn

when come house grandfather 3P so speak COMP

(178) \( \text{a}\j \ k\text{xn} \ k\text{amujt} \ v\text{t} \ b\text{x} \)

N N N N Vi Prt

grandfather older.brother child orphan LOC Prt_question

When they arrived at the grandfather's house, they said, "Grandfather, is the older orphan child here?"

Seven Orphans 87

(178) \( t\text{a?} \ do\j \ \text{f}\text{a\j} \ m\text{pai} \ \text{lx}\j \ \text{ablujh} \ m\text{ai} \ p^\text{hot} \)

Vt N Prt N Coordconn Vt Pro Vt

come house Prt_seq_completive wife so ask 2S abandon

\( \text{f}\text{a\j} \ b\text{x} \ t^\text{aw} \)

Prt Prt Adj

Prt_seq_completive Prt_question old

[When he] had arrived at the house, the wife asked [him], "Have you abandoned [them], old one?"

Example (179) shows how the question asked in example (178) is answered with a repetition of the verb phrase.

Seven Orphans 88

(179) \( p^\text{hot} \ \text{f}\text{a\j} \)

Vt Prt

abandon Prt_seq_completive

"[I] have abandoned [them]."
Example (180) shows another polar interrogative question where the relative clause follows the question particle.

Wild Buffalo Ear 24

(180) nʔ lъj qaʔ a-tʃon paj kautur siŋur
          N    Coordconn  Vt    Vi     Subordconn  N    N

  grandfather so speak CAUS-go.up COMP ear buffalo.wild

muaj nam nāʔ bɔː t’hː alaj tʃilüm pɾeːn atyŋ haj
    Num Clf    Det  Prt     Subordconn  Pro  N    N    Vt  Pro

one Clf_thing this Prt_question REL 3P group hunter say 1P.inc

The grandfather spoke up saying, "Is it this one wild buffalo ear which all those hunters were telling us about?"

Example (181) shows that the question asked in example (180) is answered with the interjection ʌ ‘yes’ followed by an imperative.

Wild Buffalo Ear 25

(181) ʌ it lɔːt
       Interj  Vt  Prt

  yes take Prt_command

"Yes, [let's] take [it anyways]."

Example (182) shows another polar interrogative question indicated by a question particle.

Grandfather Ghost 60

(182) tʃɔː alaj kčʔ abluih an paj aj kɔn kamyxt
       Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt  Pro Subordconn  N    N    N

  then 3P so ask 3S COMP older.brother child orphan

huːm pojh loah tʃɔː mɛt bɔː
    Vt    N    Vi    Prep  Pro  Prt

see deer go.out to 2S Prt_question

Then they asked him, 'Older orphan child, did [you] see the deer come out to you?"
Example (183) shows how the question is answered with a negative coupled with a repetition of the verb and then further explanation.

Grandfather Ghost 61

(183) an wəw pəj tə: huːm tə: huːm tran ɲtraw loah ʃʃo?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Subordconn</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Neg</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Vi</th>
<th>Prep</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>speak COMP</td>
<td>NEG see</td>
<td>NEG see</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>anything</td>
<td>go.out</td>
<td>to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ηkoə? bəŋj

Pro Prt

1S Prt_intensifier

He said, "[I] did not see [it]; [I] did not see any animals or anything else at all come out of the jungle to me."

5.3.3 Imperative

Imperative sentences are “attempts to get or advise the hearer to do something” (König and Siemund 2007: 277). In Bru Khok Sa-at, imperatives are marked by the particles ʃʃiʔ, dəx, meʔ or ɬəx at the end of the clause. Strong commands are marked by ʃʃiʔ and ɬəx. Softened commands are marked by dəx and meʔ.

Example (184) shows a command with ʃʃiʔ.

Buyeang Fish 13

(184) pəʔ a-ʃʃiʔ ʃʃiʔ

Vi Vt Prt

go CAUS-die Prt_command

..."Go kill [him]!"

Example (185) shows a command with dəx, which is by far the most common imperative particle used in the texts.

Seven Orphans 46

(185) nəpər ʂt nəʔ dəx:

Pro Vi N Prt

2P stay here Prt_soft_command

"You stay here!"

Example (186) shows a command with meʔ.

(186) haj pəʔ kən pəʔ ɲɛɲə meʔ

Pro Vt Pro Vi Vt Prt

1P_inc invite RECIP go watch Prt_soft_command

"We will help each other to go and look [at it], OK."
Example (187) shows a command with ṣoxt.

Seven Orphans 31

(187) ṣ: klap klap paʔ ṣoxt tʰaw
Interj Adj Adj Vi Prt Adj
yes correct correct go Prt_command old
"Yes, that's right, go do it, old man!"

5.4 Variation in Clausal Structure

This thesis has examined typical clausal structure, but many variations in clauses exist. Further research on clausal variation would be helpful. However a preliminary analysis is offered.

5.4.1 Ellipsis

Ellipsis is the “omission of an element which is understood from the context, often because it has been previously mentioned,” (Kroeger 2005: 344). Bru Khok Sa-at regularly elides elements. Subject elision is especially common. For other possible examples of elided elements, see sections 2.4 Adjectives, 3.10.1 Coordinating Conjunctions, 4.2.2.1 Cardinals, 4.2.2.2 Ordinals, and 4.6.3 Serial Verbs.

Example (188) shows that the only thing necessary for a clause is a verb phrase. All other components may be elided.

Seven Orphans 147

(188) atwεŋ
Vt
say
"[You] tell [me]."

Example (189) shows that with a ditransitive verb both the objects can be elided.

Big Snake Son-in-law 12

(189) kʰan mpai jaʔ buwi ḥloʔ ik’un ḥkoaʔ si xŋ
Subordconn Pro Vaux Vt N Adj Pro Vaux Vd
if 2P want have mango ripe 1S IRR give
"If you want to have my ripe mangoes, [I] will give [them to you]."
5.4.2 Fronted Object Clauses

In Bru Khok Sa-at, objects are often fronted for topic prominence. Topicalization is a discourse feature that draws attention to the element, usually by moving it around within the clause (Keenan and Dryer 2007: 325). This is in contrast to topic markers, which usually operate on a larger discourse level. For more on topic markers, see section 3.13.2 Discourse Markers.

Example (190) shows a clause where the subject is elided and the object is fronted.

Grandfather Ghost 52

(190) \(\text{tran} \ ka'? \ \text{tw} \ \text{huwm} \ \text{ntraw} \ ka'? \ \text{tw} \ \text{huwm}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{animal} & \ \text{then} & \ \text{NEG} & \ \text{see} & \ \text{anything} & \ \text{then} & \ \text{NEG} & \ \text{see} \\
[\text{He}] & \ \text{did not see any animals nor anything else.}
\end{align*}

Example (191) shows an entire noun phrase fronted with the subject still present.

Big Snake Son-in-law 167

(191) \(e \ \text{do}h \ \text{ma?u?} \ \text{na}i\text{m}\text{ai} \ \text{pen} \ \text{kuaj} \ \text{ʧo}h \ \text{bx}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{HON.female} & \ \text{pumpkin} & \ \text{this} & \ \text{2S} & \ \text{be} & \ \text{person} & \ \text{plant} & \ \text{Prt.question} \\
..."\text{Madam, about this pumpkin, were you the person who planted [it]?}"
\end{align*}

5.4.3 Cataphoric References

A cataphoric reference is “...a word or phrase which will be used later in the text...” (Richards et.al. 1985: 36).

Example (192) shows a generic subject later specified at the end of the clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 18

(192) \(\text{alaj} \ \text{xn} \ \text{ʧa}c \ \text{haj} \ \text{pa}l\text{eaj}? \ \text{na}? \ \text{ʧi}g}\)

\begin{align*}
\text{3P} & \ \text{give} & \ \text{meat} & \ \text{1P.inc} & \ \text{many} & \ \text{Clf.person} & \ \text{Prt_seq.completive} \\
...\text{they have given us meat, many [hunters].}"
\end{align*}
5.5 Particles

Particles by their nature are used in a variety of ways and in a variety of positions within the clause. Particles in Bru Khok Sa-at are used to mark many different types of clauses. Particles can be classed into four categories: adverbial, modality, speech acts and aspect. Table 9 shows the type of particles as well as where the verbal particles typically appear within a clause. It also shows the number of examples that appear within the texts for this thesis. Due to the very limited number of instances for most particles, a detailed analysis of particles is not attempted here.

Table 9: Particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Num of Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Compleitive</td>
<td>ado?</td>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>follows what modifies</td>
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<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>end</td>
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<td>lew</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.5.1 Particle Type

The following section discusses the four categories of particles in Bru Khok Sa-at.

#### 5.5.1.1 Adverbial

Six particles out of twenty-two (27%) seem to serve adverbial functions.

Example (193) shows a completive particle that follows what it modifies.

Wild Buffalo Ear 115

(193) kumen an kʰoːj doːj adaʔ

\[
\begin{array}{lllll}
N & Pro & Vt & N & Prt \\
\end{array}
\]

daughter-in-law 3S steam rice.cooked **Prt_completive**

...the daughter-in-law was steaming all the rice.

Example (194) shows a completive particle that may precede what it modifies or may be clause final. Both are used in this sentence.

Seven Orphans 82

(194) ṭọpọa kuyt paːj kɔn ʃu̯ ʔ2 tapul naʔ kuʧʃɪt

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
N & Vi & Subordconn & N & Prt & Num & Clf & Vi \\
\end{array}
\]

father think COMP child **Prt_completive** seven Clf_person die

**Prt_completive** **Prt_seq_completive**

The father thought that all of the seven children were completely dead.

Example (195) shows an example of the most common intensifier particle.

Seven Orphans 174

(195) teː kamo kik an twɛ buːm doːj ʧwː lɔʑj

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
Coordconn & Clf & Det & Pro & Neg & Vt & N & Vt & Prt \\
\end{array}
\]

but Clf_year that 3S NEG have rice eat **Prt_intensifier**

But that year, he did not have any cooked rice to eat at all.
5.5.1.2 Modality
Eight particles out of twenty-two (36%) seem to indicate modality. Example (196) shows the most common particle indicating a type of modality.
Seven Orphans 138
(196) ṭp̥aɪ tɔŋ ṭkɔh ṭkɔaʔ daŋ
    Pro Neg Vaux Vt Pro Prt
    2P NEG must fear 1S Prt_contradiction
...you all do not have to fear me."

5.5.1.3 Speech Acts
Six particles out of twenty-two (27%) seem to indicate speech acts. For more on speech act particles see the section 5.3 Speech Acts. Example (197) shows the most common speech act particle in the corpus.
Seven Orphans 12
(197) xu ṭkɔaʔ bʊn kɔn paŋæjʔ nPLEʔ kɔn aŋaj daŋ
    Vt Pro Vt N Quant Prep N N Prt
    allow 1S have child many like child crab Prt_soft_command
"Please let me have many children just like the baby crabs."

5.5.1.4 Aspect
One particle out of twenty two (5%) is used to show a sequential completive aspect. Example (198) shows a clause with a sequential completive particle.
Seven Orphans 54
(198) aŋeʔ tʰaw təʔ ʧαι kʰoŋ pɔŋ ʧiŋ
    N Adj Vt Vt Vt N Adj
    grandmother old make/do eat steam bawng.root ripe
ʧαι:
Prt
Prt_seq_completive
...the old grandmother had made food and steamed the bawng root until it was ready.
5.5.2 Co-occurrences

Some particles are located near what they modify in the clause. However, most appear at the end of a clause. When more than one particle is used, there is some variation to which comes first. Given the limited data, no attempt is made to establish an order for most of the particles in Bru Khok Sa-at. However, Table 10 shows which particles co-occur in the data. The column at the left shows which particle occurs first, and the row across the top shows which appears second. There are no examples of three different particles co-occurring in the data.

Table 10: Particle Co-occurrences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1/2</th>
<th>adeʔ</th>
<th>bɔː</th>
<th>dəː</th>
<th>laʔ</th>
<th>leːw</th>
<th>lɔːt</th>
<th>naː</th>
<th>ɲɛʔ</th>
<th>ɨɨΔː</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adeʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bɔː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dəː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leːw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lɔːt</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naː</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲɛʔ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɨɨΔː</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (199) through (201) show different combinations of particles.

Seven Orphans 80

(199) ƙɔn ɬaʔ ɬaʔ ɗaʔ ɗaː

child receive **Prt_completive** **Prt_soft_command**

"Children, make sure you catch all of [the fruit]!"

Grandfather Ghost 48

(200) ʨ | ʨŋ | ɲkːh | ɨɨmuː | lɔːt | naː

Neg | Vaux | Vt | Vt | Prt | Prt

NEG must fear believe **Prt_command** **Prt_consider**

"Don't be afraid. You can depend on me for sure."
"They have really died."

5.6 Conclusion

Clauses in Bru Khok Sa-at show SVO ordering, with the subject or object often elided within the discourse. Enfield remarks that verb-object order is common in MSEA languages (2005: 189). Bru Wyn Buek has the same order, and also has subject and object deletion (1981: 62-64). So is SVO as well with subject, object, and verb deletion within the discourse context (Migliazza 1998: 88-90). Kuy is SVO. However, it only has subject and object deletion (Bos 2009: 6-7). Pacoh is SVO, but only has subject deletion (Alves 2006: 39-40).

Bru Khok Sa-at was analyzed as having intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. Pattiya in Bru Woen Buek also found these clause types along with several other clause types used in tagmemic analysis (1981: 30-41). Chollada in her description of So also records transitive, intransitive, and ditransitive clauses along with many other clause types in her tagmemic analysis (1986: 30-102).

Pattiya also analyzes adjectival predicates, by considering the adjectives themselves as predicates without using a copula (1981: 55-56). Chollada terms them descriptive clauses and classifies the adjective as the predicate (1986: 79-85). Bos considers that adjectival predicates are juxtaposed; however, they look identical in form to considering adjectives as stative verbs (2009: 10-11).

Bru Woen Buek also has nominal predicates using a copula (Pattiya 1981: 56-57). Chollada terms these as equational clauses in So and they may or may not include a copula (1986: 78-79). However, in Kuy copulas are not normally used for nominal predicates unless other tense, aspect, and modality markers are used (Bos 2009: 10). Pattiya analyzed Bru Woen Buek as having an existential clause without using a copula (1981: 57-58), in contrast to Bru Khok Sa-at. So also has an existential clause with one specific verb used to indicate this baŋ ‘have, there is’ (Chollada 1986: 85-89) which is probably the same verb used in Bru Khok Sa-at. Kuy does have a verb marking existential clauses, but it acts as a standard verb, not a copula (Bos 2009: 12-13).
Pattiya reported the Bru Wyn Buek also considers declarative as the basic mood. Closed questions are indicated by a clause final question particle. Open questions are indicated by question words without any particles. In contrast, imperative is marked by intonation without a particle or any other grammatical feature, unless it’s a softened command or an urgent imperative when a particle may be used (1981: 87-99). So has question particles that indicate closed questions as well. Intonation may also be used to indicate closed questions. Open questions are indicated by question words and intonation (Chollada 1986: 109-120). Imperatives can be marked by both intonation and a variety of final particles. These particles can indicate whether the imperative clause is a request, a command, or a polite command (Chollada 1986: 103-109). Pacoh has question words that indicate open questions, while closed questions, imperatives, and mood are indicated by sentence-final particles (Alves 2006: 42) as in Bru Khok Sa-at. Kuy declaratives also have no specific grammatical marking or intonational emphasis. Closed questions are marked by intonation or clause-final particles. Open questions are indicated by question words and rising intonation. Imperatives are marked by a clause final particle, which can also be used clause initially for emphasis (Bos 2009: 66-74).

Given the textual basis of this thesis, intonation was not studied or considered.

Sentence-final particles are common in MSEA language (Enfield 2005: 190). The Bru Khok Sa-at corpus was analyzed as having twenty-two particles, twenty-one of which appear clause final. They indicate adverbial properties, aspect, and modality.
Chapter 6

Complex Sentences

6.1 Introduction

A clause is the combination of a predicate and the nouns related to it. A sentence may be a clause, or it may be a combination of clauses related to one another (Longacre 2007: 372). This chapter focuses on complex sentences that involve more than one clause.

6.2 Coordinate Clauses

Coordinate clauses are clauses that were joined as co-heads to form another clause (Kroeger 2005: 219).

\[ S = S + \text{Coordconn} + S \]

Bru Khok Sa-at has a number of coordinating conjunctions. Most connect not only clauses within a sentence, but connected sentences within a larger discourse context.

6.2.1 Intersentential Coordinating Conjunctions

The following section gives examples for the top three coordinating conjunctions that are used within complex sentences ʧaŋ ‘then’, ʨe ‘but’, and ʧa ‘then’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Inter</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>ʧaŋ</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>ʨe</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>ʧaŋ</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>ʨa?</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>ʨe?</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>ʨa?</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resulting from</td>
<td>ʧaŋ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>lew</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Example (202) shows ٰfat ‘then’ the only coordinating conjunction that is used most commonly inside of a sentence.

Seven Orphans 124

(202) ٰfat kən it aʃw ٰfat təkəŋ rakət ٰfat təkəl a-ṣəŋ
Vt Pro Vt N Vt N N Coordconn Vt Vi

help RECIP take knife stab neck squirrel then throw CAUS-down

and

_prep N

for father

[They] helped each other take a knife and stab the squirrel's neck and then throw down [the squirrel] for the father.

Example (203) shows an adversative conjunction coordinating a coordinate clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 52

(203) ٰffaw bəj ٰffaw dəj kə: ٰfə tə? ٰrt ٰtw:
N Coordconn Vt N Det Coordconn N Adv Neg

grandchild so eat rice.cooked that but grandfather still NEG

and

Vaux Vt
dare eat

And so the grandchild ate that rice, but the grandfather still did not dare to eat.

Example (204) shows a ٰfat ‘then’ which is used intersentenially 28% of the time in the corpus.

Grandfather Ghost 100

(204) ٰfə: aij kən amyət pəŋə tə?
Coordconn N N N Vt N Coordconn Coordconn

but older.brother child orphan watch grandfather then so

and

Vi

confuse

But the older orphan child looked at the grandfather and was confused.
6.2.2 Discourse Coordinating Conjunctions

The following section gives examples of the top three coordinating conjunctions that are used to connect sentences *ka?* 'so', *həʔ* 'so', and *ka?* 'then'. The coordinating conjunction *ka?* could be analyzed as a sequential marker with identical meanings.

Table 12: Discourse Coordinating Conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Inter</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td><em>kaʔ</em></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td><em>həʔ</em></td>
<td>101</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td><em>kaʔ</em></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td><em>tʃək</em></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td><em>tə:</em></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td><em>tʃəŋ</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resulting from <em>təŋ</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td><em>lew</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (205) and (206) are two consecutive sentences. Examples (207) to (210) are four consecutive sentences five sentences after the first two.

Big Snake Son-in-law 133

(205) *sem*  *wəw*  *kap*  *aj*  *paaj*  *aj*  *ŋəj*  *an*  
N  Vt  Prep  N  Subordconn  N  Adj  Pro  

younger.sibling speak with older.brother COMP older.brother dear 3S

*ʃək*  *kuaj*  
Vt  N  
eat  person

The younger brother said to his older brother, "Dear brother, it has eaten a person!"

Big Snake Son-in-law 134

(206) *aj*  *huwm*  *həj*  *wəw*  *paaj*  *taŋəj*  *mət*  *təŋuh*  *ŋəj*  
N  Vt  Coordconn  Vt  Subordconn  N  Pro  Adv  Vi  Prep  

older.brother see  *so*  speak COMP neck 3S still pulse with

The elder brother saw [it] and so [he] said, "Her neck still has a pulse."
[They] took rice, water, and medicine and fed her for three days.

Then she was able to move a little bit.

After four or five days, she was able to speak.

Not long after that, she was healed.

There are two main positions for coordinating conjunctions in Bru Khok Sa-at. The first is clause initial. The second position is the coordinating conjunction after the subject.

Example (211) shows ʃʌ ‘then’ appearing first in a clause.

Then that woman and the grandfather's grandson were married.
Example (212) shows how ɬɤːj ‘so’ appears second in the clause after the subject.
Big Snake Son-in-law 87

(212) kən kamul ɬɤːj myt
    N   N        Coordconn Vt
    child female.unmarried so enter
So the daughter entered [into the house].

Example (213) shows how ɬɤːj ‘so’ appears first in the clause when there is no explicit subject.
Big Snake Son-in-law 106

(213) ɬɤːj it kʰan kruap meŋ ɬɪfaw dɯm
    Coordconn Vt N Vt N Pro
    so take bowl cover face REFLEX
So [she] took a bowl and covered her own face.

Example (214) shows how ɬɤːj ‘so’ appears second in the clause after a coordinated noun phrase subject.
Buyeang Fish 14

(214) an kap tʰaham ɬɤːj paʔ pʰw: laʔ ranaw kap aŋ
    Pro Coordconn N Coordconn Vi N N Prep N
    3S and soldier so go each road with older.brother
The younger brother with the soldiers went a different way from the older brother.

Example (215) shows how kaʔ ‘then’ appears second in the clause after the subject, which includes a relative clause.
Grandfather Ghost 117

(215) mʊŋ tʰi: kɤːj pen vil kuaj ɬɪfɪnx kaʔ pen sak pen
    N   Subordconn Adv Cop N N Adv Coordconn Cop N Cop
    place REL ever be village person now then be forest be
trueŋ pen ranup ɬɪʃon nʔeʔ?
    N   Cop N Subordconn Prt
jungle be cemetery until Prt_completive
The place which used to be a village of people was now just jungle and a cemetery.
Example (216) shows how ꜧʃ ‘so’ appears third in the clause after a noun phrase and prepositional phrase. However, if the prepositional phrase is analyzed as a part of the noun phrase, then the coordinating conjunction still appears second.

Buyeang Fish 66

(216) kuaj kµ: naʔ nµj krµʔŋ ŋkoʔ ꜧʃ j pen kµd kµε maí

N Quant Clf Prep N Pro Coordconn Cop N Prep Pro

person every Clf person in city 1S so be stone same 2S

huam e laʔ

Vt Prt

"So every person in my city was turned into stone, just as you have surely seen."

Example (217) shows how ꜧʃ ‘so’ appears third in the clause after an adverbial clause and the subject.

Wild Buffalo Ear 28

(217) pʰx: paŋ arµʔ mµw tamaí nʔ ꜧʃ j pea

Subordconn Vt N N Adj N Coordconn Vt

when shine morning day new grandfather so bring

ɡfaw paʔ lyh bat tʰraí

N Vi Vt N N
grandchild go pull up grass field

The next morning, the grandfather brought the grandson to go and weed the rice field [with him].

6.2.4 Combinations

Some coordinating conjunctions may be used together in a clause. In this case, they will both follow their individual placement rules.

Example (218) shows both ꜧʃ ‘then’ and kaʔ ‘so’ appearing together in one clause, where kaʔ ‘so’ appears after the subject.

Grandfather Ghost 115

(218) maí ꜧʃ: kalɔŋ nai ꜧʃ: maí kaʔ ꜧµ: dx

Pro Vt N Det Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Prt

2S eat bulb this then 2S so return Prt_soft_command...
you eat this [plant] bulb, and then you will return [to the land of the living]."
Example (219) shows both ʧa: ‘then’ and kaʔ ‘so’ appearing together with no overt subject.

Grandfather Ghost 96

(219) ʧa:    kaʔ    si    a-duŋŋ    taʔ    ʧa:  
Coordconn Coordconn Vaux Vi Vt Vt  
  then     so    IRR CAUS-bring/take make/do eat

Then he was going to take the birds to make food.

Example (220) shows kaʔ ‘then’ and lyʔ ‘so’ used together.

Seven Orphans 9

(220) huum  kɔn    arįŋ    paľeŋ?    kaʔ    lyŷj    kут    jaʔ    buum  kɔn    m̩ploʔ?  
Vt    N    N    Quant    Coordconn Coordconn Vi    Vaux    Vt    N    Prep  
  see    child    crab    many    then    so    think    want    have    child    like

arįŋ
N

[The grandmother] saw many little crabs and so decided that she wanted to have children just like the crabs.

6.3 Subordinate Clauses

“Subordinate clauses are clauses which function as noun phrases, as modifiers of nouns, and as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions,” (Longacre 2007: 374).

S = S + Subordconn + S

6.3.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses are clauses that function as a noun phrase in the subject or object slot of another clause (Longacre 2007: 374). In Bru Khok Sa-at, complement clauses are generally signaled by the complementizer paŋ. 
Example (221) shows an object complement clause.

Seven Orphans 82

(221) ṭḥoṈa ḵut paṈj khwñ ṭeg? tapwl na? kusit

father think COMP child Prt_completive seven Clf_person die

Prτ_completive Prτ_seq_completive

The father thought that all of the seven children were completely dead.

6.3.2 Quotations

Quotations are normally embedded clauses within another clause (Kroeger 2005: 224). In the Bru Khok Sa-at texts there were no grammatical distinctions noted between direct and indirect speech.

Example (222) shows an example of a quotation.

Grandfather Ghost 89

(222) an atxñ)[-? paṈj ṭkhoṈa? paʔ paṈn tʃom nñt nτn BTN nai

3S say grandfather COMP 1S go shoot bird in jungle this

wẹaj də: Adv Prτ

now Prτ_informative

He told the grandfather, "I am going to shoot birds in the jungle now."

Example (223) shows an example of a quotation with just a speech verb and no complementizer.

Big Snake Son-in-law 152

(223) aj atxñ m=n wqw mñn tʃa:~

older.brother say 2S speak true Prτ_seq_completive

The older brother said, "You have spoken correctly."
Example (224) shows an example of a quotation without a complementizer or a speech verb.

Seven Orphans 35

(224) kɔn mũaj naʔ mpoa mpoa naʔ simuʔ huʔ kₐl

child one Clf_person father father here vine big very

One child - "Father, Father, here is a root that is very big."

Example (225) shows that in dialogue, even the person can be omitted and the quotation just directly transcribed.

Seven Orphans 36

(225) mah leʔ

Cop Pro

equal where

"How big?" [Lit. [It] equals what?]

6.3.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses modify verbs or prepositions (Longacre 2007: 374).

6.3.3.1 Time

Time adverbial clauses are indicated by a variety of subordinating conjunctions in Bru Khok Sa-at.

Example (226) shows an adverbial time clause is usually signaled by pʰɔ: ‘when’.

Big Snake Son-in-law 176

(226) pʰɔ: ajɛaʔ tʰaw tamuŋ sot kaʔ daŋ

Subordconn N Adj Vi Prt Coordconn Vt

when woman old listen Prt_completive so know

lɛj paŋ an pen kɔn aʃjaw duʔm

Prt Subordconn Pro Cop N Pro

Prt_intensifier COMP 3S be child REFLEX

When the old woman had finished listening, she knew for sure that the young woman was her own child.
Example (227) shows the only component that can precede an adverbial time clause signaled by \( p^{\text{b}:}\) ‘when’ is a topic marker.

Seven Orphans 91

(227) \( \text{jah} \quad \text{kən} \quad \text{p}^{\text{b}:} \quad \text{məpəw} \quad \text{pəʔ} \quad \text{wət} \quad \text{alaj} \quad \text{pea} \quad \text{kan} \quad \text{ŋkətəŋ} \)

\( \text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Vi} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Vi} \)

side child when father go out.of.sight 3P invite RECIPE crawl

\( \text{loah} \quad \text{te} \quad \text{kəl} \quad \text{alunəj} \)

Vi Prep N N
go.out from tree stem
As for the children, when the father went out of sight, they helped each other crawl out from [under] the tree.

Example (228) shows how \( \text{jon} \) ‘until’ is used in a time adverbial clause that limits the duration of the action.

Wild Buffalo Ear 125

(228) \( \text{an} \quad \text{twaʔəq} \quad \text{jon} \quad \text{kəmən} \quad \text{an} \quad \text{təʔə} \quad \text{təfənəm} \)

\( \text{Pro} \quad \text{Vi} \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{Vt} \)

3S criticize until daughter-in-law 3S return reach
He kept on criticizing until his daughter-in-law returned [home] in time.

Example (229) shows how \( \text{muəŋ} \) ‘before’ is a time adverb that indicates previous action.

Buyeang Fish 25

(229) \( \text{jah} \quad \text{təʔənəm} \quad \text{muəŋ} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{pəʔ} \quad \text{sək} \quad \text{kəʔ} \quad \text{iʔt} \quad \text{sək} \quad \text{təʔə} \quad \text{alaj} \)

\( \text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{Vaux} \quad \text{Vi} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{Vt} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{N} \)

side soldier before IRR go request cut take hair shirt pants

\( \text{ə-dəʔəŋ} \quad \text{ən} \quad \text{əj} \quad \text{ŋəːŋ} \)

\( \text{Vi} \quad \text{Subordconn} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Vt} \)

CAUS-bring/take for older.brother watch
Meanwhile the soldiers, before [he] had gone, asked [him] to cut and take some of his hair and pieces of clothing [for them] to bring for the older brother to look at.
6.3.3.2 Manner

Example (230) shows how ꜱꜰón ‘until’ is used in an an adverbial clause of manner.
Big Snake Son-in-law 33

(230) an ḋukọh ꜱꜰón ḍwọ jir ọbẹ?
Prt  Vt Subordconn N Vi Prt

3S fear until leg shake Prt_completive
She was so afraid that her legs were shaking completely.

6.3.3.3 Purpose

Purpose clauses are indicated by the subordinating conjunction ꜱn ‘for’.
Example (231) shows a purpose clause.
Big Snake Son-in-law 70

(231) sẹm alah lyj wɡw ꜱn ọbẹ? tamọn
N Adj Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Vi

younger.sibling youngest so speak for mother listen
So the youngest sister spoke for [her] mother to understand.

6.3.3.4 Reason

Reason clauses are signaled by ꜱụan ‘because’ which may appear at the beginning or end of the main clause.
Example (232) shows a reason clause at the end of a sentence.
Big Snake Son-in-law 34

(232) tẹ tọ ṣẹt ꜱụan ọbẹ? ọbẹ? ọbẹ? ꜱaf ọbẹ?
Coord Vaux Vt Subordconn Vt N Adj N Prt

but must enter because eat mango ripe snake Prt_completive

Prt

Prt_seq_completive
But [she] had to enter [into marriage] because [she] had eaten all of the snake's ripe mangoes.
Example (233) shows a reason clause at the beginning of a sentence.

Wild Buffalo Ear 83

(233) *ŋwɑːn ḱkoɑʔ kaʔ? tʰaw ɨʃːt: mpaː si buwə liʃən ḱkoɑʔ?*

because 1S so old then 2P IRR able raise 1S

Because I am now old, and you will be able to support me.

6.3.3.5 Conditional

Conditional clauses are signaled by *kʰan* ‘if’ which may be used with different coordinate conjunctions, or none at all.

Example (234) shows a conditional clause used with ɨʃː ‘then’.

Seven Orphans 120

(234) *kʰan ɨʃitəm ɨʃː a-ɨʃː t: rakoːt xːn ṭpoa daː*

if reach then CAUS-die squirrel for father Prt_soft_command

"If [you] catch [it] then kill the squirrel for [your] father."

Example (235) shows a conditional clause used with *tʰəŋ* ‘resulting from’.

Grandfather Ghost 21

(235) *kʰan maːl ɨʃitəm ḱkoɑʔ reːŋ tʰəŋ mɑːl kaʔ? taː*

if 2S miss 1S strong resulting from 2S so NEG

buwə səm ɣeʃ

Vt N N

have younger sibling older sister

...if you miss me so much because you don't have any family."

Example (236) shows a conditional clause used with ɨʃən ‘then’.

Wild Buffalo Ear 47

(236) *kʰan aʃən: taː kusʃət haj ɨʃən ɨʃən*

if dog NEG die 1P_inc then eat

"If the dog does not die, then we will eat."
Example (237) shows a conditional clause used with *ka?* ‘then’
Buyeang Fish 23

(237) $k^h\text{an} \quad māi \quad t\tilde{f}\tilde{y}: \quad a\tilde{j} \quad ka? \quad a-t\tilde{f}\tilde{ix} \quad māi \quad \text{cn}$

$\text{if} \quad 2S \quad \text{return older.brother} \quad \text{then} \quad \text{CAUS-die} \quad 2S \quad \text{again}$

"If you return [to the city], [your] older brother will try to kill you again."

Example (238) shows a conditional clause used with no coordinate conjunction.
Wild Buffalo Ear 82

(238) $k^b\text{an} \quad \text{pen} \quad sa: \quad k\tilde{i}: \quad \eta\text{koa}? \quad si \quad x\text{n} \quad māi \quad t\tilde{e}\xi \quad d\tilde{e}\xi \quad k\text{ap} \quad \text{faw}$

$\text{if} \quad \text{be} \quad \text{like} \quad 1S \quad \text{IRR} \quad \text{allow} \quad 2S \quad \text{marry} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{grandchild}$

$k^b\text{e}\xi \quad \eta\text{koa}?$

$\text{Pro} \quad \text{Pro}$

POSS \quad 1S

"If it is like that, I will have you to marry my grandson."

### 6.3.4 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses modify noun phrases (Longacre 2007: 374). Relative clauses are generally signaled by the relativizer $t\tilde{i}$.

Example (239) shows a relative clause, where the external head is the subject of the relative clause. No examples of relative clauses with internal heads were found.
Grandfather Ghost 31

(239) $k\text{a}\text{ng}\text{a} \quad t\tilde{i}: \quad \nu\text{t} \quad n\text{aj} \quad \nu\text{il} \quad k\tilde{i}: \quad a\text{laj} \quad t\text{q}? \quad p\text{e}\text{a} \quad a\text{n} \quad p\text{a}?$

$\text{friend} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{live in} \quad \text{village} \quad \text{that} \quad 3P \quad \text{come} \quad \text{invite} \quad 3S \quad \text{go}$

$h\text{o}:

$\text{vi}$

$\text{make.noise}$

...the friends who lived in their village, they came and invited him to go make noise...
Example (240) shows a relative clause, involving a copula, where the external head is the subject.

Grandfather Ghost 19

(240) an wgw \(\text{fjo}n\) n? kuaj \(tʰiː\) pen braw ajə?

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{Pro} & \text{Vt} & \text{Subordconn} & \text{N} \\
\text{Vt} & \text{N} & \text{Subordconn} & \text{Cop} & \text{N} & \text{Vt} \\
\end{array}
\]

3S speak until grandfather person REL be ghost pity

ta? an

Vt Pro

make/do 3S

He kept on saying [those things] until the grandfather, who was a ghost, pitied him.

Example (241) shows a relative clause, involving an adjective, where the external head is the subject.

Grandfather Ghost 10

(241) tah \(\text{zm}\) \(\text{fjaw}\) \(tʰiː\) \(\text{tə}\) kuaj? \(\text{tə}\) myaj na?

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Vt} & \text{Vt} & \text{N} & \text{Subordconn} & \text{Adv} & \text{Adj} \\
\end{array}
\]

leave cause grandchild REL still small live one Clf person

[His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.
Example (242) shows a relative clause, where the external head is the object of the relative clause.

Wild Buffalo Ear 129

(242) ʃu Coordconn  an ka?  ti Coordconn  it aloaj tʰi:  an ʃat raŋuh bat

    then 3S so pull take stem REL 3S stab breath grass

Prt

Prt_completive

Then she pulled out and took away the stakes which she had used to stab the breath out of all the grass.

Example (243) shows a relative clause, where the external head is an adjunct of the relative clause.

Grandfather Ghost 42

(243) ʰ Subordconn  alaj pə? tə?  truŋ tʰi:  kanə  wəq  paŋ  huwm

    when 3P go come jungle REL friend speak COMP see

lym  pojŋ  alaj lsxj  atxŋ  æn  an  lgt

mark deer 3P so say allow 3S ambush

When they went and came to the jungle where the friends said that they saw the deer tracks, they told him to wait in ambush.

Example (244) shows a relative clause using a different subordinating conjunction ale? ‘who’ acting as a relativizer.

Big Snake Son-in-law 16

(244) kʰan nəw ale?  ifa: pə? ŋəkoə? nəw a-ŋk əŋ pen

    if 3S who eat mango 1S 3S INTENS-that must be

ŋpəi ŋəkoə?

wife 1S

"She who eats my mangos, that one must become my wife."
Example (245) shows a relative clause lacking an overt relativizer.

Seven Orphans 190

(245) \text{\textit{k\textit{\textcircled{n}}} \textit{hi?} \textit{it} \textit{n\textit{\textcircled{a}}} \textit{s\textcircled{em}}} \textit{aj} \textit{tap\textcircled{ul}} \textit{na?}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Pro</th>
<th>Vt</th>
<th>Prep</th>
<th>N</th>
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<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>1Pexc</td>
<td>take from younger.sibling older.brother seven Clf_person</td>
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\[ \text{\textit{v\textcircled{t}}} \textit{n\textcircled{a}} \textit{koh} \textit{t\textcircled{gh}} \]

vi Prep N N

live in mountain there.far

Children - "We took [it] from seven brothers who live in those far mountains."

6.4 Conclusion

Less is mentioned in the literature about related languages regarding complex sentences. The ones that do mention complex sentences as a combination of clauses seem to mention conditional clauses and relative clauses. Many sources do not focus on speech acts.

Bru Khok Sa-at has eight coordinating conjunctions. Pacoh does give one example of a coordinate clause using the connective \textit{ma\textcircled{a}} ‘but’ (Alves 2006: 43). Kuy has two examples of coordinating conjunctions: one glossed as ‘and’ and one glossed as ‘but’ (Bos 2009: 75).

Chollada does mention compliment clauses in So. This is often used with speech verbs or sensory verbs (1986: 39-42). However, she also highlights quotative clauses, where a separate quotative marker \textit{paj} ‘say’ is used to indicate direct speech (Chollada 1986: 72-77). This is the same marker as used in Bru Khok Sa-at. Bos mentions Kuy speech acts, and indicates that direct speech and indirect speech are handled differently. Pronouns, demonstratives, and question words change between the two forms (2009: 82-84). This is in significant contrast to Bru Khok Sa-at, where no difference was found between the forms, though more research is necessary. Pattiya mentions conditional clauses, which is indicated by \textit{khan} ‘if’ (1981: 101). So uses \textit{k\textcircled{en}} ‘if’ for conditional clauses (Migliazza 1998: 91). Pacoh indicates conditional clauses with the word \textit{nam} ‘if’, though conditional clauses can also be formed through clause juxtaposition and context (Alves 2006: 42). Bos in his grammatical description of Kuy mentions several types of adverbial clauses including time, location, manner, reason and subtractive in addition to conditional clauses (2009: 79-82). In Bru Khok Sa-at, adverbial clauses indicating time, manner, purpose, reason and conditional clauses were found.
Bru Wyn Buek (Pattiya 1981: 103), and So (Migliazza 1998: 90-91), and Kuy (Bos 2009: 9) also have relative clauses.
Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction
This chapter presents a summary of findings along with a conclusion and suggestions for further research.

7.2 Chapter 1
Chapter 1 gave a general background of Bru Khok Sa-at, including its location and relation to other languages. It gave a basic overview of the thesis and discussed the linguistic background of Bru Khok Sa-at. It looked at the history and current lifestyle of residents and gave a very basic overview of Bru Khok Sa-at phonology. It highlighted other literature written on Bru and related languages.

Bru Khok Sa-at is geographically close to So as well as being in the same linguistic subfamily. Other languages compared with Bru Khok Sa-at, include Eastern Bru, also in the same subfamily, and Kuy and Pacoh. According to the Ethnologue, Kuy is also in the West Katuic group (Lewis 2009). However, according to Miller and Miller, Kuy is in the West Katuic group, Bru and So are in the North Katuic group, and Pacoh is in the East Katuic group (1996).

7.3 Chapter 2
Chapter 2 focused on major word classes. Major classes were defined and subsets examined. Nouns included noun compounding and modifiers. There were a few examples of morphology including ra- that marks plurals or recipients and kʰwːm- that is a nominalizer. Exploration of the limited morphology in Bru Khok Sa-at would be fruitful for further research. Elicitation and analysis of compound nouns, elaborated expressions, and noun modification would be interesting especially as related to other MSEA language. Despite initial appearances, word formation seems to be a complex and productive process in Bru Khok Sa-at.
Verbs looked at reduplication and copulas. As there were no clear examples of passive voice in the texts, elicitation is needed to clarify this area. There were a few examples glossed as passive, but these need to be checked with more examples and texts. Much further analysis into specific types of tense, aspect, mood, and modality is possible.

Adjectives were examined and considered to have strong verbal properties. The pragmatics of adjective reduplication would be rich for further study with added data from texts and elicitation. The texts seem to indicate that adjectives function as stative verbs, but further research involving more texts and grammatical theory could be done.

Adverbs were looked at as a whole and also divided to look at adverbs of degree, place, frequency, manner, and time. Further research on the pattern, function, and scope of adverbs would be helpful.

Major word classes in Katuic languages examined all appear to act the same way except Eastern Bru where adjectives seem to act more like adverbs, by modifying both nouns and verbs, than verbs able to stand alone as a predicate.

7.4 Chapter 3

Chapter 3 focused on minor word classes. These were also defined and subsets examined. Pronouns were examined including personal pronouns, reciprocal pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. Further research is needed to determine the full scope and usage of the indefinite pronouns.

Other classes were examined including demonstratives, quantifiers, numerals, classifiers, and prepositions. Reduplication of quantifiers could be studied with further texts and elicitation. The phonological variation in numbers would be an excellent study. Classifiers could be studied for their use in place of nouns. Minor classes of verb adjuncts included auxiliaries. Further research is needed on the distinction between the categories of auxiliaries. Conjunctions were examined for both type of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Mention was made of interjections and negators. Clausal constituents, namely particles and topic markers were remarked upon.
Minor word classes do show some differences among Katuic languages. While most examined include politeness distinctions in pronouns, Eastern Bru and Pacoh do not. All of the languages examined included classifiers and particles, as is typical for MSEA languages.

7.5 Chapter 4

Chapter 4 focused on phrases. It discussed the constituents of noun phrases including nouns, adjectives, determiners, quantifiers, and numbers. Generally numbers and quantifiers are used with classifiers, but further research is needed to determine when they are used independently of classifiers. Elicitation and further understanding of the surrounding languages would be helpful. It is possible the some constructions reflect the influence of Thai. Special attention was paid to classifier phrases. When classifiers precede noun phrases, further more data and further analysis is needed to determine if this is juxtaposition for emphasis or a topic-comment structure. Other uses of classifiers include their use with demonstratives. Further research on the overall usage and semantic properties of classifiers is needed. Noun phrases including basic noun phrases, possessive phrases, and relative clauses are also discussed. Noun adjuncts, namely prepositional phrases were examined.

This chapter also discussed constituents of verb phrases including adverbs, negators, and auxiliaries. Further research into the use of multiple auxiliaries is needed. It also discussed verb phrases including simple verb phrases, coordinated verb phrases, serial verb phrases, adjective (stative verb) phrases, and copula phrases. Bru Khok Sa-at has head-initial noun phrases along with the other languages examined. This was also true of relative clauses. Prepositions rather than postpositions are used in all languages examined. While Eastern Bru and Bru Khok Sa-at often differ in linguistic features, the use of classifiers as independent markers without numbers or quantifiers is also reflected in Eastern Bru. All of the languages examined seemed to have some type of serial verbs, but specific comparisons were difficult due to the different grammatical theories and terminology used.

7.6 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 focused on clauses. Verbal and non-verbal predicates were examined including intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, adjectival predicates, nominal predicates, existential predicates, and comparative clauses. Different speech acts were examined including declaratives, various types of interrogatives, and
imperatives. The role of intonation in speech acts needs further research with a language resource person. A few variations in clausal structure were also examined, though much more work could be done with more texts and elicitation. Particles as clausal constituents were also examined. Further research is needed to determine the semantic differences between these particles.

All of the Katuic languages examined were SVO. While many of the verbal predicates looked the same, some of the features of non-verbal predicates were handled differently especially whether a copula was used over juxtaposition. So and Bru deserve a closer look, as the So of Dong Luang researched by Chollada and Bru Khok Sa-at, not only used the same types of non-verbal predicates, but often the same or similar words. In all languages, particles were often used to indicate different moods. However, many grammars mentioned the use of intonation as well.

7.7 Chapter 6

Chapter 6 focused on various types of complex sentences. A complex sentence is formed by the conjoining of more than one clause. More research could be done in determining how a sentence is defined in Bru Khok Sa-at. Coordinating clauses were examined including simultaneous, sequential, and conditional coordination. Discourse conjunctions and combinations of conjunctions were also mentioned. Much research could be done in distinguishing between the two based on the definition of a sentence. Subordinating clauses were analyzed including complement clauses. Further elicitation and analysis is needed to determine if there is a distinction between direct and indirect speech. Adverbial clauses analyzed included time, manner, purpose, reason, result, and conditional. Relative clauses were also looked at and determined to have external heads. Further research is needed to determine if relative clauses with internal heads are possible.

Much less comparative information was found on complex sentences, though most grammars included a look at relative clauses and conditional clauses. Once again, the So of Dong Luang, and Bru Khok Sa-at, were using not only the same pattern but the same word to mark speech clauses.

7.8 Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to describe the basic syntax of phrases, clauses and sentences in Bru Khok Sa-at using narrative texts. From this thesis, it can be seen
that this is possible. Some of the limitations included having only a few examples of some particles, prepositions, and coordinators. It did show some excellent variation in sentence structure.


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Appendix 1

The Seven Orphans

1. \textit{tapul} ko\textit{n} kama\textit{xt}
   \textbf{Num N N}
   seven child orphan

The Seven Orphans

2. \textit{tɛ:} \textit{lɛ} du\textit{m} \textit{ta?} \textit{idɛ}\textit{c} bu\textit{m} a\textit{jɛ}\textit{a?} t\textit{ɛ}\textit{aw}
   \textbf{Prep N N Vt Prt Cop N Adj}
   from past time.long come Prt\_seq\_completive EXIST grandmother old
   \textit{a\textit{dɛ}ji\textit{h}} t\textit{ɛ}\textit{aw} n\textit{ɛ}\textit{pɛ?} k\textit{adɛ}\textit{ŋ} n\textit{pooa} k\textit{adɛ}\textit{ŋ}
   \textbf{N Adj N Adj N Adj}
   grandfather old mother barren father barren

   A long time ago there was an old grandmother and an old grandfather who were barren.

3. \textit{ba:} \textit{na?} \textit{ta?} do\textit{ŋ} k\textit{atɛp} \textit{vɛt} him sak
   \textbf{Num Clf Vt N N Vi Adj N}
   two Clf\_person make/do house shack located edge forest

   They made a little house located on the edge of a forest

4. \textit{tɛ:} k\textit{xɛj} bu\textit{m} ko\textit{n} \textit{tɛ:} k\textit{xɛj} bu\textit{m} t\textit{ɛ}\textit{aw} \textit{tɛ:} m\textit{uɛ}\textit{ŋ} na?
   \textbf{Neg Adv Vt N Neg Adv Vt N Coordconn Num Clf}
   NEG ever have child NEG ever have grandchild but one Clf\_person

   They had never had children or grandchildren, not even one.

5. \textit{tɛ?} t\textit{ɛ}\textit{ra\textit{i}t} ta? su\textit{an} \textit{fɛ\textit{a}:} do\textit{ŋ} \textit{fɛ\textit{a}:} d\textit{ɛ} ka? \textit{fɛ\textit{a}:}
   \textbf{Vt N Vt N Vt N Vt N Coordconn Vt}
   make/do field make/do garden eat rice eat water then eat

   They worked in the fields and when they wanted to eat they had enough.

6. \textit{tɛ:} \textit{ba:} \textit{na?} \textit{tɛ:} ru\textit{a?} le\textit{w}
   \textbf{Coordconn Num Clf Neg Adj Prt}
   but two Clf\_person NEG happy Prt\_UNK

   But they were not happy.
One night, the old grandmother said to her husband, "I want to have children; I want to have grandchildren just like my friends."

When morning came, they brought each other to go dig up crabs. [The grandmother] saw many baby crabs and so decided that she wanted to have children just like the crabs.

So [she] knelt to the sky and requested children from the gods.

"Oh, great one."
After that then heat (her prayer in the form of a heat sensation) came to the god king.

And so He sent seven unborn children who had merit to go down to be born.

The old grandmother and the old grandfather returned and came to their house, after two months the old woman became pregnant with child.

This made her husband very happy.

[When] the time came to give birth, the old woman gave birth to seven children.

The husband was very happy.
Not long after that, no matter what they found to eat, it was not enough.

Anything they found the children would eat all up.

When the children had grown for six or seven years.

When the dark of night came that day, both the wife and husband then said to each other, "Since we have so many children, what will we do so that we have enough to eat?"

Anything [we] find and bring back, it gets all eaten up.

The husband said, "No problem."
"Tomorrow I will take them and go abandon them."

Wife - "Where will you go abandon [them]?"

"[I] will ask them to go dig bawng roots."

"[We] will search for a very big vine."

"So they will dig very deep."

"I will leave them in the hole."

"Yes, that's right, go do it, old man!"

The next day, the old grandfather called the children.
Today father will ask his children to go dig bawng roots.

When they came to the forest, the father said to the child, "Search for a very big vine."

One child - "Father, Father, here is a root that is very big."

"How big?" [Lit. [It] equals what?]

"[It] equals my arm."

"It's not big, still too small."

Again one child said, "Father, Father, [here is] a very big root."
40. *mah* le?
   Cop Pro
   equal where
   "How big?" [Lit. [It] equals what?]

41. *mah* kal tan
   Cop N N
   equal tree taan
   "[It] equals a 'dtaan' tree.

42. As huk iyaj pic lyaj
   Interj Adj Coordconn Vt Prt
   yes big then dig Prt_intensifier
   "Yes, it's big. Dig it up!"

43. *kam* tapul na? pic pəŋ ūfən ūpəm ūtrə ūfən
   N Num Clf Vt N Subordconn Vt Adv Subordconn
   child seven Clf_person dig bawng.root until reach deep until
   *mah* niŋəŋ
   Cop N
   equal well
   The seven children dug at the bawng root until they reached a depth equal to that of
   a well.

44. *nopoa* it simuw a-jən a-šən ūn deh pəŋ ūfə?
   N Vt N Vt Vi Prep Vt N Vt
   father take vine CAUS-lower.rope CAUS-down for break bawng.root tie
   a-ūfən ūn
   Vi Prep CAUS-go.up for
   The father took a vine and lowered [them] down in order to break off the root, tie
   [it to the vine], and raised it up for [the father].

45. *nopoa* it simuw a-ūfən prəmam
   N Vt N Vi Adv
   father take vine CAUS-go.up also
   The father pulled up the vine also.
"You stay here!"

"Father is going to abandon you forever!"

The seven children encouraged each other to cry with one another. The oldest brother said to his brothers, "There's no problem."

"We seven will go up by sitting on each other's necks."

"The youngest brother will take a vine and pull us up."
When they did as he said, everybody was able to get out, and so [they] invited each other to return home.

Meanwhile, the old grandmother had made food and steamed the bawang root until it was ready. [She] was searching for a spoon when her child said, "It's on the tray."

Both the husband and wife were surprised to see that their children had returned home and had eaten the bawang root all up.

"Damned orphan children!"
When the children lay down to sleep, both the wife and husband talked to each other again.

"Tomorrow, where will you go abandon them?"

"The husband will invite them to go and search for gabeh fruit."

"I will chop [the tree] and the children will be the ones to catch it."

"The gabeh tree will fall on top of them."

"They will surely die."

"Tomorrow you go then old [man]."
When morning came, [the father] called the children again.

"Children, children, today I will have you go search for sweet gabeh fruit."

"Let's go!" the children answered.

The father held the axe and walked ahead while the children carrying a big basket on a pole followed behind.

[When] they came to the forest, two of the children saw some sweet gabeh fruit.

The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

"[It] equals the post [on our house]."

"Prt

Prt_consider

"Children, children, today I will have you go search for sweet gabeh fruit."

"Let's go!" the children answered.

The father held the axe and walked ahead while the children carrying a big basket on a pole followed behind.

[When] they came to the forest, two of the children saw some sweet gabeh fruit.

The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

"[It] equals the post [on our house]."
72.  ṣ̣̪̬̖̑ṇ̪̖̑p̣̬̖̑ọ̬̖̑ạ̬̖̑  
father NEG sweet
Father - "[It's] not sweet."

73.  c̣̪̬̖̑ṇ̪̖̑  ṃ̪̖̑ỵ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑j̣̪̖̑  ṇ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑  ḥ̣̪̖̑ẉ̪̖̑ṃ̪̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḷ̪̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑p̣̬̖̑  ẹ̪̖̑ṇ̪̖̑
child one Clf_person see  tree gabeh.fruit another
One of the children saw another gabeh tree.

74.  ṣ̣̪̬̖̑p̣̬̖̑ọ̬̖̑  ạ̬̖̑ḅ̬̖̑ḷ̪̖̑ḥ̪̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḷ̪̖̑  ḥ̪̖̑ụ̪̖̑ḳ̪̖̑  ṃ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḥ̪̖̑  ḷ̪̖̑ẹ̪̖̑?
father ask  tree big equal where
The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

75.  ṃ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḥ̪̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḷ̪̖̑  ṭ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ṇ̪̖̑
equal tree taan
"[It] equals a taan tree."

76.  ḳ̪̖̑ẹ̪̖̑ṇ̪̖̑  ḅ̬̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḳ̪̖̑  ḷ̪̖̑ỵ̪̖̑j̣̪̖̑  ṇ̪̖̑ẹ̬̖̑ṃ̪̖̑
yes chop Prt_intensifier sweet
"Yes, let's chop [it down], [it's] sweet."

77.  ṣ̣̪̬̖̑p̣̬̖̑ọ̬̖̑  ḅ̬̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḳ̪̖̑  ṃ̪̖̑p̣̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑  ṛ̪̖̑g̣̪̖̑  p̣̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḷ̪̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑p̣̬̖̑
father chop 2P receive fruit gabeh.fruit
"The father will chop down [the tree], and you will catch the gabeh fruit."

78.  ṣ̣̪̬̖̑ḍ̪̖̑  ṣ̣̪̬̖̑  ạ̬̖̑ṇ̪̖̑  ṇ̪̖̑ţ̣̪̖̑ṭ̪̖̑ỵ̪̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑ṭ̪̖̑ẹ̪̖̑?
 Ṿ̬̖̑  Ṿ̬̖̑  Pro  Ṿ̬̖̑  N  Prt
don't allow 3S fall ground Prt_soft_command
"Don't allow them to fall to the ground."

79.  ṣ̣̪̬̖̑p̣̬̖̑ọ̬̖̑  ḳ̪̖̑ạ̬̖̑  ḅ̬̖̑ạ̬̖̑ḳ̪̖̑  ḷ̪̖̑ẹ̪̖̑
father so chop Prt_UNK
And so the father started to chop down [the tree].
"Children, make sure you catch all of [the fruit]!"

When the tree had fallen, [he] did not hear any noise from the children at all.

The father thought that all of the seven children were completely dead.

And so [he] picked up the sweet gabei fruit and placed [them] in the basket until [it was] full.

He said to the children, "You stay here, children."

"Father wants to go and abandon you forever and ever."

And so the old grandfather walked back home.
When he had arrived at the house, the wife asked him, "Have you abandoned them, old one?"

"I have abandoned them."

"I chopped the tree, and it fell on them."

"They have really died."

As for the children, when the father went out of sight, they helped each other crawl out from under the tree.

Nothing had happened to any of them.
The gods had helped them all.

And so the eldest brother helped his younger brothers to walk back home.

Back at the house, the old grandmother and grandfather were peeling the sweet gabeh fruit.

[They] were thinking and missing the children, and so said to each other, "If they were here, they would surely have been eating with us."
[They] had not finished speaking when the children ran into the room eating and causing a commotion.

The mother said, "They have come, dear old one, damned orphan children."

When they had eaten their fill, the children lay down to sleep.

Both the husband and wife discussed again [what to do].

"I will have them go up and get a squirrel."

"[We] will search for a very large one."
The squirrel will go up a big tree also.

They will not be able to get down.

Yes, yes, that seems like it will work, old one.

When morning dawned, the father said to his children, "Today I will have you go search for squirrels, okay."

When they came to the forest, one child saw a squirrel running up a tree.

He told [his] father.
112. *mpoa ablūh pāj ʧoŋ kal huŋ mah le?
   N Vt Subord conn Vt N Adj Cop Pro
father ask COMP go up tree big equal where
The father asked, "How big of a tree did it go up."

113. *kal mah tāuŋ naĩ
   N Cop N Det
tree equal post this
"The tree is equal the post [on our house]."

114. _PARTITION wä: *kal twa huŋ mah le?
   Interj N Neg Adj Cop Pro
   oh tree NEG big equal where
"Oh, the tree is not very big."

115. *ʧuaj? tamaĩ
   Vt Adj
search new
"Search some more."

116. *kɔn ʔməj naʔ ʰuʋm ɛzn
   N Num Clf Vt Adj
   child one Clf person see another
Then one child saw another [squirrel].

117. *mpoa ablūh kal huŋ mah le?
   N Vt N Adj Cop Pro
father ask tree big equal where
The father asked, "How big is the tree?"

118. mah ɗoŋ naĩ
   Cop N Det
equal house this
"[It] equals our house."

119. * wä: *mpaĩ peŋa Kan ʧoŋ ntag paʔ
   Interj Interj Pro Vt Pro Vt Vt Vi
   yes yes 2P invite RECIP go up follow go
"Yes, yes, you all help each other go up and keep following [it]."
"If [you] catch [it] then kill the squirrel for [your] father."

So the seven brothers went very high [up the tree] following the squirrel.

Finally, the older brother caught the squirrel.

[They] helped each other take a knife and stab the squirrel's neck and then throw down [the squirrel] for the father.

When the father had tied the squirrel to a pole, he then left all the children in that tree.
[He] did not return or look back at the children at all.

The children saw what was happening, and so encouraged each other to cry with one other in the tree.

The oldest brother said, "Father has left us, dearest brothers."

A younger brother - "What will we do?"

The youngest brother - "We will remove and take our loincloths and tie [ourselves] fast to each other."
Then we will tie our bodies to the tree.

When the evening came and they had not yet lay down to sleep, the brothers encouraged one another to be frightened.

[Because] they saw a large bird flying to come and perch on that tree branch.

A brother - "What will we do so that it does not eat us?"

[They] encouraged each other to shake [with fright] every last person.

But the big bird heard what those children were saying to each other.
So it said to the children, "Actually, you all do not have to fear me."

"Where do you come from?"

The oldest brother said, 'Our father had [us] come [here], and then abandoned us.'

The older brother - 'We don't have a place to go now.'

The big bird - "You can do something like this."

"If you pick fruit for me to eat until [I] am satisfied, then I will go and take you all [to a new place]."
So the brothers helped each other pick fruit for the bird to eat until [it] was satisfied.

Bird - "OK, now that I have been satisfied, where will you go?"

They - "We don't have a place to go."

The bird - "If that's what you have to say, I invite you to go to some bountiful fields, okay."

"Get up and ride on my back."
When [they] were sitting on the bird's back, the bird invited [them] to fly and go across the seven mountains until [they] arrived. When they arrived at that place, the bird asked them, "Do you have anything on you that [you] brought?"

"[Yes we] have, [we] have a small knife.”

"Yes, good, good, if you have any problems, you must call for me in the sky."

"Then I will come to help you."

When he had spoken, the big bird flew up into the sky and left.
So each of the children helped each other to make a little house there.

[They] made snares for birds also.

The meadows there had doves, 'Bring' birds, wild chickens, and many other kinds of birds.

[There were] many kinds of wild animals also.

One day, the brothers were able to catch many, many birds.
There was rice located in the crops of the birds.

The brothers sun-dried the rice until it was dry and then took it to plant.

When the rainy season came, the brothers helped each other to plant rice in the fields until they used up one large basket of seeds.

When the season to harvest rice came in the eleventh month, there was a great abundance of rice located there.

The next year they were not poor and not lacking anymore.

[They] made seven storage sheds to store their rice.
Not long after that, the brothers grew and became young men.

Everyone had enough seed rice and cooked rice to eat for the year.

One year, there happened to be a drought, and the rice lacked water.

But he had seven daughters.

But that year, he did not have any cooked rice to eat at all.

[He] had the daughters go search for bamboo shoots to go and trade for rice.
[They] were walking and went searching until they came to the house of the seven orphans.

The eldest brother saw them and so asked, "Sisters, what are you looking for?"

"Why did so many of you come?"

The eldest daughter of the ruler said, "We are going and searching for bamboo shoots to go and trade [for rice], dear older brother."

"Our village is dry."

"There is not enough water to make the fields."
"There is no rice to eat."

So our father had us come search for bamboo shoots to go and trade, that's the reason.

The older brother said, "If it's like that, you take all the bamboo shoots [and put] them [down]."

Older brother - "[I] will scoop rice [out of the bag] for you all to return [home] and eat."

So the brothers helped each other scoop out rice for the seven young women to carry [the rice] on a pole.
The eldest daughter - "Older brother, our group will return home now."

As for the ruler, when the children returned and came to the house [he] asked [them], "Children, I asked you to go and search for bamboo shoots.

"Why have you brought back rice?"

Children - "We took [it] from seven brothers who live in those far mountains."
A few days later, the sisters went searching for bamboo shoots again.

[They] went and requested rice from the seven young men just like before.

There was plenty of rice for them to bring back the same as before.

[The daughters] went [to get rice] many times and often.

The eldest daughter got too lazy to go trade [for rice] and so went to live with the oldest orphan child.
Next, the second oldest sister and the third oldest until the last sister came and went to live with one of the young men.

When the eldest brother learned of this, then he then took a large amount of rice and cooked rice and went and asked to marry the ruler's child. Everyone got married, living and eating together.
The ruler divided many rice fields and dry fields for [the new couples].

They had only happiness all of their days.
Appendix 2

The Big Snake Son-in-Law

1. *patiam* *kuñh an huk*
   
   N  N  Adj
   
   son-in-law  snake  big

   The big snake son-in-law.

2. *tɛ: lɔ ċum tɔʔ ñuɛ* *buɔn viɛ buɔn*
   
   Prep  N  N  Vt  Prt  Cop  N  Cop
   
   from  past  time.long  come  Prt_seq_completive  EXIST  village  EXIST

   *aʃuʃh*  *tʰaw aʃeʔa?*  *tʰaw*
   
   N  Adj  N  Adj
   
   grandfather  old  grandmother  old

   Once upon a time there was a village with an old grandfather and an old grandmother.

3. *baː naʔ* *buɔn kɔn kamuel* *tapat naʔ*
   
   Num  Clf  Vt  N  N  Num  Clf
   
   two  Clf_person  have  child  female.unmarried  six  Clf_person

   They had six unmarried daughters.

4. *muaj siqai* *npeʔ* *npoa paʔ ñuɛajʔ* *nɔʔ* *ifɛn*
   
   Num  Clf  N  N  Vi  Vt  N  Adj
   
   one  Clf_day  mother  father  go  search  mango  ripe

   One day, the mother and father went to search for ripe mangoes.

5. *pʰx* *paʔ tɔʔ sɔk* *kaʔ* *huɔm kal nɔʔ* *paleʔajʔ* *kal*
   
   Subordconn  Vi  Vt  N  Coordconn  Vt  N  N  Quant  Clf
   
   when  go  come  forest  so  see  tree  mango  many  Clf_tree

   When they had gone and came to the forest, [they] saw many mango trees.

6. *tɛː* *tɔː* *huɔm nɔʔ* *ifɛn* *teː* *muaj ɔk*
   
   Coordconn  Neg  Vt  N  Adj  Coordconn  Num  Clf
   
   but  NEG  see  mango  ripe  but  one  Clf_fruit

   But they did not see any ripe mangos, not even one.
The old grandfather said to his wife, "Where have all the ripe mangoes gone?"

Two days ago I still saw many here.

They searched for the ripe mangoes until they went and came to one particular mango tree.

They asked the two old ones, "If you want to have my ripe mangoes, [I] will give [them to you]."
But one of your daughters must become my wife.

So the old grandmother asked the snake, "I have many unmarried daughters, which one will [you] take?"

The snake said, "If it's like that, [I will] chose like this."

"She who eats my mangos, that one must become my wife."
Then the old grandmother and the old grandfather picked up the ripe mangoes and put [them] in a basket which they tied to a pole and returned home.

When [they] came to the house, all of [their] children ran and came to greet [their] mother.

When the mother had set down the basket, [she] said to the children, "Children, if anyone eats these ripe mangoes, then [that person] must become the wife of a big snake."
So the mother and father told the story of what had happened and had the children listen.

After the children understood the story, no one dared to eat the big snake's ripe mangoes at all.

The youngest daughter was the only one who dared to eat [the mangoes].

The younger daughter said, "I am hungry; I will eat [the mangoes], and if [I] become the snake's wife, so be [it]."
26. sɛm \textit{alsh lγj t̄a? n̄=n? t̄in mʒaj na?}  
\textit{N Adj Prt Vt N Adj Num Clf}

younger.sibling youngest Prt_intensifier eat mango ripe one Clf_person

\textit{t̄on n̄=n?}

Subordconn Prt

until Prt_completive

So the youngest daughter ate the ripe mangoes by herself until they were completely gone.

27. p\textit{b}:{ t̄a? abuː k̄an̄ h̄uk kə? sən̄ teː koh siaŋ}  
\textit{Subordconn Vt N N Adj Coordconn Vi Prep N N}

when come evening snake big then descend from mountain noise

\textit{ntraŋ ukkəʔtuk}

\textit{Adj Interj loud crash.boom}

When evening came, the big snake came down from the mountain with a loud crashing noise.

28. p\textit{b}:{ t̄a? dəŋ ajea? t̄aw an kə? lγj mʒt kloŋ dəŋ}  
\textit{Subordconn Vt N N Adj Pro Coordconn Vi Vt N N}

when come house woman old 3S then slither enter inside house

When it came to the old woman's house, [it] slithered and entered into the house.

29. m̄poa m̄peʔ h̄ūm saː k̄iː kə? lγj aʈʂŋ kx̄n}  
\textit{N N Vt Prep Det Coordconn Prt Vt N}

father mother see like that then Prt_intensifier say child

\textit{kamuːl t̄ʂŋ k̄an s̄ʂŋ pəʔ kakuˌ̄h aʃak t̄v।}

\textit{N Vt N Vt N Vt N Subordconn}

female.unmarried prepare ceremony.five.pairs go pray.kneel husband REL

\textit{pen k̄an̄}

\textit{Cop N}

be snake

The father and mother saw what was happening and so told [their] daughter to go and prepare the ceremony of the five pairs of candles and to go kneel before her husband who was a snake.
The youngest sister was very afraid. But she could not do anything about it.

So she went to the big snake all by herself.

She was so afraid that her legs were shaking completely.

But [she] had to enter [into marriage] because [she] had eaten all of the snake's ripe mangoes.

The big snake saw that she was like that and so said to her, "You are an honest person."
36. ŋkoas ᵇsu tuajh rup xn ma[k] huwm
   Pro Vaux Vt N Vt Pro Vt
   1S IRR take.off form allow 2S see
"I will take off my form and allow you to see [me as I really am]."

37. ʰpʰ: wq ʧiː kuiʧʰan huuk kaʔ tuajh ŋkʰəd
   Subordconn Vt Prt N Adj Coordconn Vt N
   when speak Prt_seq_completive snake big then take.off skin

kuiʧʰan loah
N Vi

snake go.out

When [he] finished speaking, the big snake took the snake skin off.

38. an pen kuaj mac paleajʔ
   Pro Cop N Adj Adv
   3S be person beautiful very

He was a very handsome person.

39. sɛm aləːh huwm saː kʃː an kaʔ sɨm mɨt paleajʔ
   N Adj Vt Prep Det Pro Coordconn Adj Adv

younger.sibling youngest see like that 3S then happy very

[When] the youngest sister saw what he was like, she was very happy.

40. ʰpʰ: pæj arwp sɛm aləːh kaʔ pea ajak
   Subordconn Vt N N Adj Coordconn Vt N
   when speak morning younger.sibling youngest then invite husband

Ӟh: pen kuiʧʰan paʔ ʧiːtad tʰraːi
Subordconn Cop N Vi Vt N

REL be snake go clear.field field

When morning came, the youngest daughter invited [her] husband who was a snake to go clear the fields.

41. ʰpʰ: tʃʔ tʰraːi kuiʧʰan huuk kaʔ tuajh ŋkʰəd kuiʧʰan loah pen
   Subordconn Vt N N Adj Coordconn Vt N N N Vi Cop
   when come field snake big then take.off skin snake go.out be

kuiʧʰan loah
N Vi

person clear.field field until finish

When they arrived at the field, the big snake took his snake skin off and became a person for clearing the fields until [they] finished.
42. alah kum mit paq ta? new le?
N Adj Vi Prep N Subordconn Vt Pro younger.sibling youngest think in heart COMP make/do how

Subordconn Vt N Adj Pro Coordconn Vt Prep Det Quant Quant Clf Vi when come day new 3S then speak one Clf.person like that

44. siak byj waw kap sez alah paq tw nea?
N Coordconn Vt Prep N Adj Subordconn Neg Adj crow so speak with younger.sibling youngest COMP NEG difficult

45. ṭəoa? si ɪəmuaj
Pro Vaux Vt 1S IRR help
So the crow spoke with the youngest daughter, "It's not difficult. I will help [you]."

46. ṭəoa? si ɪəmuaj te: maːi ṭə njem ɪəoa? ɛn pasai
Pro Vaux Vt Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt Pro Subordconn Vt 1S IRR help but 2S must feed 1S for satisfy "I will help [you], but you must feed me until [I am] satisfied."

47. ɪə: ɪəoa? si aɾəŋ kʰwam-kum ɪəoa? ɛn taməŋ
Coordconn Pro Vaux Vt N Pro Subordconn Vi then 1S IRR say NMLZ-think 1S for listen "Then I will tell my idea for [you] to understand."
When the youngest daughter had fed the crow until [it] was satisfied, it then told her, "You will do something like this."

The bird said, "I will grab [it] in my beak and take his snake skin away."

"When I fly and am located over the fire, you shoo me away."

"I will drop the snake's skin into the fire."

"When the fire burns up his snake skin completely, then he will be a person from then on for sure."
The youngest sister said, "What you say is true."

When they knew the plan, the youngest sister had the bird pick up the snake skin in its mouth and go.

When the bird flew over the fire, the younger sister pretended to chase [it] away, "Shoo, shoo!"

"The crow has taken your skin away, dear old [one]!"

The husband heard what was going on and so ran and came to help.

[But he] did not reach [it].
58. ʧom siak  patah ŋkʰod  sen  ʧo?  ujh
   N   N  Vt  N  Vi  Prep  N
bird  crow  free  skin  descend  in  fire
The crow dropped the skin down into the fire.

59.  uih  kat  ʧon  ɲe?
   N  Vt  Subordconn  Prt
fire  burn  until  Prt_completive
The fire burned [it] up completely.

60.  ajak  huwm  ɲɛw  kiː  ka?  ɲɛam
   N  Vt  Prep  Det  Coordconn  Vi
husband  see  like  that  then  cry
The husband saw what happened and cried.

61.  ʂɛm  alah  wəw  kap  ajak  paŋ  an  kat
   N  Adj  Vt  Prep  N  Subordconn  Pro  Vt
younger.sibling  youngest  speak  with  husband  COMP  3S  burn
  dʃəː  ka?
Prt  Coordconn  Vi  Prt
Prt_seq_completive  then  finish  Prt_conclusion
The youngest sister said to her husband, "It has been burned up and is finished for sure."

62.  maŋ  ka?  tw  tɔŋ  ʧo?  ŋkʰod  kuʧan  nəŋ
   Pro  Coordconn  Neg  Vaux  Vt  N  N  Prt
2S  then  NEG  must  wear  skin  snake  Prt_intensifier
"You do not have to wear the snake skin any more."

63.  pen  kuaj  ka?  z  paleŋʔ?  ɤt
   Cop  N  Coordconn  Adj  Adv  Adv
be  person  then  good  very  still
"Being a person is still very good."

64.  pʰəː  saŋ  mpai wəw  ɲɛw  kiː  an  ka?  pe?  ɲɛam
Subordconn  Vt  N  Vt  Prep  Det  Pro  Coordconn  Vi  Vi
when  hear  wife  speak  like  that  3S  then  stop  cry
When he heard [his] wife was saying these things, he stopped crying.
So the wife took black charcoal to spread on her husband's face.

[She] feared her sisters would see and be surprised.

[They] returned from the fields late at night.

The next morning [the mother] called [her] child to go to the fields.

When she saw her son-in-law stand up, the old mother was surprised to see that he was a person.

So the youngest sister spoke for [her] mother to understand.
Around mid-morning, the son-in-law chopped firewood under the house and [his] wife took water up into the house.

The bucket tipped over and water spilled all over the husband.

When the water touched the black [charcoal] on his face, it came off completely, and [he] was very handsome.

They said to the younger sister, "Why do you have such a beautiful husband?"

We want to have [a husband] just like you the same for each one of us.
Since that time, the youngest sister lived happily together with her husband.

Now we will talk about an old man and old woman of another family who had one unmarried daughter.

They wanted to have a son-in-law who was a big snake just the same as the other family.

So both the wife and husband helped each other to go search for a big snake living in the mountains for [it] to be a husband for their daughter.
When they arrived in the mountains, they went and snared a constrictor snake to take back to be their son-in-law.

Both the wife and husband helped each other to drag and pull the constrictor snake down from the mountain.

When they arrived home, they took the snake and placed [it] inside the house.

During the evening, [they] made [their] daughter prepare the ceremony of the five pairs of candles to enter into [the house].

The daughter said, "I am afraid; I do not dare to enter [the house]."
The mother said, "If you don't enter, I will kill you."

So the daughter entered [into the house].

The moment night fell, the big snake wrapped [itself] around her.

And then [it] started to eat her.

[It] swallowed her lower leg first.

So she called for her mother to help.

[She' called, "Mother, the snake has swallowed my leg!"

So the mother, located outside, said to her husband, "Will you look at that!"
"[Her] husband is petting [her] leg and so [she] tells us."

Then she told her mother and father again.

The mother said to the father, "Will you look at that!"

In a moment, the big snake swallowed up to her waist.

She called out again, "The snake has swallowed me up to the waist!"
The mother said to her husband again, "Will you look at that: [her] husband is tickling [her] waist, and she tells us."

"She really does not know anything at all, this child of ours."

The next moment, the snake swallowed up to her chest and up to her neck.

So she decided that [if] there was no one coming to help [her], then [she] would surely die.

So the big snake swallowed her whole body up.
[It was] quiet, [they] did not hear any noise.

The mother and father, located outside, said to each other, "Surely the husband has pestered [her] and is tired and then went to sleep."

When the next morning came, [the mother] went to awaken her child to get up and steam the rice, [she] did not hear any noise.

So the mother said, "Sure, [she] has a husband and so wakes up late."

"She is so lazy!"

When [she] opened the door to go and look, [she] did not see anyone.
[She] only saw a hole at the back of the house.

The mother cried and ran to go say to [her] husband, "The snake ate our child, dearest."

It was a real snake; [it] is not true that [it was] a transformed snake come [down from the heavens].

So the father and mother went and followed [their] child.

But though they followed the big snake, [they] did not reach [it].

[They] could only cry and return to their house.
Now we will talk about two brothers who lived with their grandfather.

They farmed in the mountains.

One day, the brothers went to look at their traps.

When they went, they came and saw that a trap had been sprung.

When [they] went to look more closely, [they] saw that the trap had caught a big constrictor snake.

So when the younger brother had seen what had happened, he called the older brother to come and look.
So the two brothers helped each other to drag the snake back to the house.

When the two brothers came to their house, [they] cut open [the snake] to get the meat.

"Why is it's stomach so big?"

When they had cut open [the snake] a little bit, they saw a small bowl.
The younger brother said to his older brother, "Dear brother, it has eaten a person!"

The elder brother saw it and so he said, "Her neck still has a pulse."

She is not dead yet.

"Slowly cut [the snake] open."

At that moment they touched her.

When they had cut open [the snake] and taken her out, [they] then sun-dried her putting [her] on a drying rack.

[They] took rice, water, and medicine and fed her for three days.
Then she was able to move a little bit.

After four or five days, she was able to speak.

Not long after that, she was healed.

But she could not remember what had happened to her before.

When she had been healed she said that whoever had helped her, she would marry that person.

The next day, the younger brother said to his older brother, "Who will be the person to marry her?"
146. *aj wąw paŋ* məl:e:la?

older.brother speak COMP 2S Prt_evidential

The older brother said, "You of course!"

147. *sɛm tɛŋ kap an taw buŋ dəŋ*

younger.sibling prepare with 3S NEG able Prt_conclusion

Younger - "No, I cannot marry her."

148. *kʰan ŋəoa? tɛŋ məl si rəŋh m̥i t kʰan pen ṭəmə Laŋoa?*

if 1S prepare 2S IRR upset if be wife 1S

*iš*:

Prt

Prt_seq_completive

"If I marry [her], you will be upset if [she] were to become my wife."

149. *kʰan an pa? ʕuaj? ḳraw məl si pa? me? ajaj an kə?*

Subordconn Pro Vt Pro Vaux Vi Subordconn Cop N Pro Coordconn

if 3S go search anything 2S IRR go look basket 3S then

*taː kʉː dajh*

Neg Adj Prt

NEG appropriate Prt_evidential

"If she went out to go and gather something, you would go and look in her basket and that is really not appropriate."

150. *kʰan tɛŋ dəŋ kap ajŋ ŋəoa? kə? si aːtəŋ paŋ*

Subordconn Vi Prep N Pro Coordconn Vaux Vt Subordconn

if marry with older.brother 1S then IRR call COMP

*saj*

N

sister-in-law.older

"If she marries the older brother, then I will call [her my] older sister-in-law."

151. *an si kʉː kua*

Pro Vaux Adj Prep

3S IRR appropriate than

"That would be more appropriate than [otherwise]."
The older brother said, "You have spoken correctly."

After coming to this understanding, the older brother married with the young woman they had helped.

After they had married and lived together for one year, the older brother and [his] wife went to work in the fields.

The older brother's wife planted a pumpkin.
The older brother's wife kneeled and made this request from the gods. "If I plant this pumpkin, allow the pumpkin vine to grow and spread until it comes to my mother and father's house far away."

"[Make it so that when, the tip of the vine] is picked off in the evening, [it] will bud again in the morning; and when [it] is picked off in the morning, [it] will bud again in the evening."

After fifteen days, the pumpkin plant grew up.
The pumpkin vine spread and went from the seven mountains until it came to the house of her mother and father.

It grew up onto the roof of their house and then covered the roof completely.

The old woman picked off [the tip of the vine] in the morning and brought it back to eat.

When evening had come, [the vine] had bud again.

So she thought in her heart, "Where has this pumpkin vine come from?"
So she tried to follow the pumpkin vine, leaving [that place].

[She] followed [the vine] and went until [she] came to the seven mountains with the result that [she] reached the base of the pumpkin vine.

When the grandmother followed [the pumpkin vine] and came to the field, [she] entered and asked the older brother and [his] wife, "Madam, about this pumpkin, were you the person who planted [it]?"

The older brother's wife told [her], "That is correct."

"I am the person who planted and raised [the pumpkin plant]."
"Why do you ask, grandmother?"

So the old woman told the story of the pumpkin for her to understand.

And so the old woman asked her more questions, "Whose child are you?"

"Where do [you] come from?"

So the older brothers wife told the story of how the snake had eaten her for the old woman to understand.
When the old woman had finished listening, she knew for sure that the young woman was her own child.

The older brother's wife had been thinking the same [thing about] one another, that this old grandmother was her mother.

So both the mother and child met each other [again].

They cried a lot.
Since then, they have lived together happily every day.

The End.
Appendix 3

The Buyeang Fish

1. ľuŋaj sia? bujang
   N    N    N
   story fish buyeng.fish
The Buyeang fish story.

2. dun  tə?  tʃʌŋ  bəm  kruŋ  muaj  kruŋ
   N    Vt    Prt    Cop    N    Num    Clf
   time.long come  Prt_seq_completive  EXIST  city  one  Clf_city
A long time ago, there was a city.

3. mpoa  kruŋ  bəm  kən  bəw  bə:  na?  aj  kap
   N    N    Vt    N    N    Num    Clf    N    Coordconn
   father  city  have child young.man  two  Clf_person  older.brother  and
   sem
   N
   younger.sibling
The ruler of the city had two sons who were young men, an older son and a younger
son.

4. te:  mpe?  mpoa  pen  te:  sem  ňuən  sem  pen
   Prep    N    N    Vt    Adv    N    Subordconn    N    Cop
   from  mother  father  love  only  younger.sibling  because  younger.sibling  be
   kuaj  x:
   N    Adj
   person  good
But the mother and father only loved the younger brother because the younger
brother was a good person.

5. lian  puŋ  maŋ  ňuəj  kuaj  kanəŋ  ňuəj  tran  prəam
   Vt    Adv    Vt    Vt    N    Adj    Vt    N    Adv
   study  clever  like  help  person  another  help  animal  also
[He] was clever in his studies, and he liked to help other people and help animals
also.
The older brother was not a good person.

Often, he thought evil about his younger brother.

[He] feared that he would receive the inheritance.

[He] feared that [his] father would give this city to his younger brother.

So [he] thought about killing the younger brother.

So one day [he] invited the younger brother to go shoot wild animals.

[He] invited many of his soldiers to go also.
When they came to the big forest, [the elder] told the soldiers to trick him, "Go kill [him]!"

The younger brother with the soldiers went a different way from the older brother.

When they had gone quite far, the soldiers grabbed him.

[They] tied him to a tree and thought that they would kill him.

So he said to the soldiers, During the time I lived in the city, I was good to you."

"Why do you want to kill me?"
The soldiers said to him, "We are doing [this] because your older brother told [us to]."

The younger brother said again, "During the time I lived in the city, I helped the people so very much."

The soldiers thought [about it] and pitied [him], so [they] freed him.

"If you return [to the city], [your] older brother will try to kill you again."

And so he walked to another city.
Meanwhile the soldiers, before [he] had gone, asked [him] to cut and take some of his hair and pieces of clothing [for them] to bring for the older brother to look at.

When he had given them [those things], the younger brother walked into the forest going to another city.

Meanwhile the soldiers, when they had returned and came to the older brother, [they] told the older brother, "We have killed him."

[We] buried [him] on the edge of the forest and brought back some hair and [pieces of his] clothing for you to see.
The older brother believed [them] and so he did not say anything.

When he returned to the city, [he] went and told [his] mother and father, "Younger brother has been eaten by a tiger living in the forest."

"We tried to help but were not able to help."

When the mother and father knew [what had happened], [they] encouraged each other to cry and mourn.

Meanwhile, the younger brother walked in the forest for many days.

[He] ate fruit for his food.

[He] walked and went a little further on and he went and saw a buyeng fish which a pool of water had dried up and left [stranded].
36. an ajη? byj ʃũaj it silaː bua ajom paʔ patah vt 严密?
   Pro Vt Coordconn Vt Vt N N Vt Vi Vt Vi N
   3S pity so help take leaf lotus wrap go free located mother daʔ? ｈｕｕｋ
   N Adj
water big
He pitied [the fish] and so helped [it] by taking a lotus leaf and wrapping [it] up and then going and setting [it] free in a large river.

37. tajah paʔ ęn paʔ ęn kaʔ ｈuwm pojḥ klap kuaj paŋ
   Vi Vi Adv Vi Adv Coordconn Vt N Vt N Vt
   walk go again go again so see deer PASS person shoot
[He] then kept on walking and walking and saw a deer that had been shot by a person.

38. an kaʔ ʃũaj ʃoʔ rahaw ʃon waʔ
   Pro Coordconn Vt Vt N Subordconn Vi
   3S then help place medicine until heal
So he helped [the deer] by giving [it] medicine until [it] was healed.

39. pojḥ waw kap an paj tɕ paʔ ｂuwm ｌuiaj ｎtraw ｃn ηkoaʔ
   N Vt Prep Pro Subordconn Adj Cop N Pro Vt Pro
   deer speak with 3S COMP next EXIST story anything allow 1S
   ʃũaj kaʔ atṣηŋ ḏx:
   Vt Coordconn Vt Prt
help then say Prt_soft_command
The deer said to him, "From now on, if you have any problem that I can help [you] with, just say so."

40. waw ʃAː 　 kaʔ ｔaʃh ｍyε ｓk ｐaʔ?
   Vt Prt Coordconn Vi Vt N Vi
   speak Prt_seq_completive then run enter forest go
After speaking he then ran off into the forest and left.

41. an tajah paʔ ęn kaʔ ｈuwm ａtʃ: ｈu ｉʃuət ｍoʔ ｐrεən
   Pro Vi Vi Adv Coordconn Vt N Vt N N
   3S walk go again then see wolf caught snare hunter
He walked and went on again and saw a wolf caught in a hunter's trap.
And so he helped again.

The wolf said to him, "If you have any problems, I will come and help you."

So the younger brother walked and went on again until he came to a city.

Both the people and the animals, all of them, were stone.

He saw [this] and was very surprised to see only stone [people and animals].
He did not see a person in any of the houses.

[There] lived only one old woman in [her] house that had not been turned to stone.

So he entered the house and asked, "Grandmother, grandmother, why aren't there any people in your village."

"And there aren't any animals either."

The grandmother said, "In the past my village had many people."

"Now, all the people of my village have been turned to stone."
"Just as you have surely seen."

"Grandmother, grandmother, why has this happened?"

So the grandmother told [the story] for him to understand, "In the past, it was not like this."

"There was a year when an evil witch entered our city."

"She had a magic mirror that enabled her to see every single place."

"[If] anyone did anything, she could see [it]."
Located go where 3S then see
"Wherever they went, she could see them."

"She captured the king of the city along with all of the children and wife of the ruler."

"She told the villagers that if anyone is able to hide from her magic mirror, she would free the king and [his] wife."

"If she saw that person in her magic mirror, she would take [her] magic wand point [it at them] and turn them into stone."

"So every person in my city was turned into stone, just as you have surely seen."
Younger brother: "If that's the situation, then I will help the king and his children and his wife."

But I do not know what to do so that I can hide from the witch's magic mirror.

Grandmother - "I can not help you dear grandson."

"Ahh, I've thought of something."
COMP hide from mirror magic 2S able
So the next morning the grandmother went to trick [her] by saying to the witch, "[There] is a young man who says that [he] can hide from your magic mirror."

"He said that [he] does not fear you at all."

"If your magic mirror searches for him and finds him three times, then you will have the right turn him into stone."

"But if [you] do look [for him] not find [him], you must free the king, [his] children and the villagers also."
The witch said, "There has never been [anyone] who could hide from my magic mirror."

"You go and tell him to go."

"I will give him only three chances to hide."

So the younger brother went to the buyeng fish so that it could help him.

The buyeng fish went and told the great mother fish to hide him in her mouth deep under the water.
Meanwhile, the witch took the magic mirror and looked [in it].

[She] looked in the mountains and did not see [him].

When [she] looked in the water, she saw the younger brother in the fish's mouth and so had her soldiers go to grab the younger brother.

The witch said, "I have seen you one time."

The younger brother went to hide again.

For his second attempt, he went to the deer.
So the deer brought him to go hide in a cave located at a place deep in the mountains.

Meanwhile, the witch took her mirror and looked in the big water but did not see [him there].

The witch sent her soldiers to go and grab him again.

Before the soldiers could grab [him], the deer said to him, "I can help you only this much."
So he went to the wolf.

And so the wolf said to him, "I will help you."

And so the wolf said to him, "I will help you."

After saying this, the wolf then invited him to enter the center of the city until they came to a big house, the palace where the witch lived.

The wolf dug into the ground and made a tunnel under the witch's bedroom.

When he was finished digging, he brought the younger brother to get in and hide located inside of that tunnel.
Meanwhile, the witch was very happy.

[She] had searched for and found the younger brother two times [already].

"On the third time the younger brother will die for sure," she thought in her heart.

So the witch took her magic mirror out and looked and searched for the younger brother.

[She] looked in the water but didn't see [him].

[She] looked up into the mountains but did not see [him there].

[She] looked all over the place but could not find [him].
The witch became very angry.

She looked here and there and here and there but could no find the younger brother at all.

She became even more angry.

She threw the mirror and the wand.

The mirror was completely shattered.

The magic wand broke in half.
side point stem point at REFLEX

The point of the wand pointed back at the witch herself.

witch so be stone stand hard located place that
And so the witch was turned into hard stone right where she stood.

heal from spell POSS witch
When the witch was turned into stone, the king and all the villagers were healed from the witch's spell.

then so be person same as before
And were changed into people, the same as before.

The king was very happy.

[He] gave [his] daughter in marriage to the younger brother.

And divided a part of the city [for him] as well.
They were married and lived together happily ever after.

The End.
Appendix 4

The Wild Buffalo Ear

1. *katur sigur*

   ear          buffalo.wild  

   The wild buffalo ear.

2. *duen tɐ? ŋ buen v? kap ŋfaw*

   time.long come Pt_seq_completive EXIST grandfather and grandchild

make/do field live close mountain

A long time ago, there was a grandfather and grandson who worked in the fields close to the mountains.

3. *baː naʔ naː ʔtom tɐ? tʰraʔ tʰraʔ*

   two Clf_person this PROG make/do rice field

These two were working in the rice fields.

4. *buam məŋaj sigaʔ buam pɾeŋ vəʔ vɨl maŋvəj paləaj? naʔ?*

   EXIST one Clf_day EXIST hunter live village together many Clf_person

   One day there were many hunters who were living together in a village.

5. *alaŋ paʔ pəŋ tran sək vəʔ naŋ koh*

   3P go shoot animal forest located in mountain

   They went to go and hunt wild animals in the forest located in the mountains.

6. *alaŋ pəŋ buam sigur məŋaj to:*

   3P shoot able buffalo.wild one Clf_animal

   They were able to shoot a wild buffalo.
group 3P so invite RECIP cut.meat divide meat RECIP
So their group helped each other to cut up and then divide the meat with each other.

group hunter so walk return house pass field POSS grandfather

And so, when the hunters walked and returned home they passed by the old man and his grandson's field.

group 3P so shout to grandfather COMP grandfather grandfather
group 1P_exc take meat buffalo.wild for 2S
So their group shouted from afar to the grandfather, "Grandfather, grandfather, our group has brought some wild buffalo meat for you."

"We put some on this stump, alright."

The first hunter said.
So the old man said to them, "Yes, just put it there."

A moment later, the second hunter walked down from the mountain also.

So he shouted from afar and told the grandfather, "Grandfather, grandfather, I have brought some wild buffalo meat for you."

"I will place it on this stump, OK."

So the old man said, "Yes, just place it there grandson."
When the third hunter arrived, he also said the same as the others. 

So the grandfather’s grandson said to the grandfather, "Grandfather, they have given us meat, many [hunters]."

"We will help each other to go and look [at it], OK."

"There must be a large amount."

The grandfather spoke up, "If there is a lot, we will take the meat and take [it] to smoke [it]."
Then the grandfather and grandson invited one another to walk over to go and see the wild buffalo meat located on the tree stump.

When they went to look, [they] only saw one wild buffalo ear.

The grandfather spoke up saying, "Is it this one wild buffalo ear which all those hunters were telling us about?"

"Yes, [let's] take [it anyways]."

Grandfather - "[I] will bring [it] back and make it into curry with an arau plant."
So then the two of them, grandfather and grandchild, invited each other to return to the house.

The next morning, the grandfather brought the grandson to go and weed the rice field [with him].

As they pulled up [the weeds] in the front part of the field, [the weeds] in the back [of the field] sprouted.

When they pulled up [the weeds] at the back of the field, [the weeds] sprouted at the front [of the field].

After many months passed by, the two of them had not pulled up all the weeds.
So a god located in the sky thought to pity them and transformed the wild buffalo ear into a very beautiful woman.

When the grandfather and grandchild went to the field, that woman got down from the tray.

Then she swept the house and washed the dishes.

In the afternoon, she steamed rice and had it waiting for them.

When they returned home from the field, the grandfather went up into the house.
When he had gone up and entered the house, he saw rice steamed already.

The pot was still steaming and gave off a whispering noise.

He was surprised.

So he asked the grandchild,

And the grandchild said,

"I do not know."
And so of the grandfather and the grandchild, neither of who dared to eat the rice which was located in that basket there, because they thought that the villagers might have been trying to poison them.

Then the grandchild said to the grandfather, "We should take the rice and give [it] to the dog to eat and watch [him] first."

"If the dog dies, we will not eat [it]."

"If the dog does not die, then we will eat."

So the grandfather took the rice and gave [it] to the dog to eat.
When the dog had eaten the rice, nothing happened to the dog.

And so the grandchild said, "Look! [I] don't see anything happening to the dog!"

And so the grandfather still did not dare to eat.

The next morning, the grandfather requested that the grandchild go to the fields again.
When they had gone out of sight, the wild buffalo ear was transformed into a beautiful woman again.

The she got down from the tray.

Then she swept the house and got water [from the well stored away].

When the evening came, she steamed rice.

Then [she] made food so that it was waiting for them also.

When it was close to the time when the grandfather and grandchild would return home, she went up and stayed on the tray the same as before.
When the grandfather had gone into the house, [he] was able to see that a person had steamed rice waiting [for them].

The pot was still steaming and still gave off a whispering noise.

He was surprised again.

When morning came, the grandfather spoke with his grandchild.

"Grandson, you chop up the mouse and put it away for later."

[We] will see this evening if [we] will have a person to come to steam rice and make food so that [it] is waiting for us here."
When they had done as they planned, then they both went out of the house and went to the field. 

When they arrived at the field, the grandfather said to the grandson, "In a moment I will ask you to return [home with me] and hide in order to watch who steams the rice and has [it] waiting for us."

After a few moments, the grandfather then brought the grandchild back [to the house] to sneak inside and spy out [who was coming].

And so they saw a woman as she was preparing to steam rice.
So the grandchild went up and asked [her], "Who are you? Why have you come to steam rice and live in our house?"

"The gods transformed me to be a person."

"You think and look around at what I am located in your house."

"The watertank? The bucket? The rice basket?"
The woman spoke up each time saying, "Wrong! [That's] not right!"

The grandchild guessed everything [he could think of] but [all of his guesses] were wrong.

So the grandchild had the grandfather tell [her guesses].

When the grandfather had made a few wrong guesses, the grandfather then said, "[There is] one more thing, the wild buffalo ear."

So that woman said, "Correct, I am the wild buffalo ear."

A god caused me to transform to be a person.
When the grandfather understood the situation, he said, "If it is like that, I will have you to marry my grandson."

Because I am now old, and you will be able to support me.

Then that woman and the grandfather’s grandson were married.

And so they lived together.

The next morning, the grandfather and grandson went to the fields again.
When evening came, they returned to the house.

The grandson's wife asked [them], "Have you finished pulling up the grass?"

The grandfather said, "We haven't finished yet."

"[When we] pull up [the grass] in front [of us], [the grass] behind [us] grows up."

"When [we] pull up [the grass] behind us, [the grass] in front [of us] grows up."

"[I] am very tired, dear granddaughter."

"Tomorrow you don't have to go to the fields."
I will be the person to go by myself.

When morning came, she steamed rice and made food.

Then she wrapped up some rice.

And then [she] went to the fields.

When she came to the fields, she observed that there was really a lot of grass.

Then she sharpened some sticks and took them and stabbed them into the breath of the grass, placing [them in the ground] until [they were] all around the field.

Then she returned home.
When the next day came, the grass which was located in the fields died off completely.

So the rice plants grew up very tall.

One year during the dry season, the rice located in their storage shed was completely [used up].

There was no rice to eat.

The grandfather's daughter-in-law, she was the person who stayed in the house, sweeping it and steaming the rice to make food.
When she found out that the shelled rice was all gone, she was very sad.

When afternoon came, she took a scythe and went out to cut the leaves off of rice plants and grass.

Then she returned to the house and took the rice leaves and grass and brought [them] to steam [them].

When the rice leaves and the grass were ready, all of it transformed to be cooked rice.
When the grandfather and [her] husband returned from the fields, they saw that she was cooling the rice.

The grandfather thought in [his] heart, "She has taken cooked rice brought from where to take and steam."

Because the shelled rice has been completely [used up] and the unshelled rice has been completely [used up].

So that grandfather thought that [he] wanted to know [how she got the rice].

When the next day came, the daughter-in-law was steaming all the rice.
Then she asked the grandfather to watch all [the steaming rice].

She told the grandfather, "Grandfather, watch the rice basket [for me]."

She would go to go pick some grass to bring back and parboil.

When the daughter-in-law had walked and gone out of sight, the grandfather got up and opened [it] to see what was inside the basket.

When he saw the rice leaves and the grass located in the steaming basket, he was very surprised.

The grandfather became very angry.
The top of the steaming basket had rice leaves, but under that it was steamed rice.

So the grandfather became angry that the daughter-in-law had taken rice [leaves] and [blades of] grass and steamed them for him to eat.

He criticized the daughter-in-law.

He kept on criticizing until his daughter-in-law returned [home] in time.

Then she heard the grandfather criticizing [her].

She was very unhappy.

So she walked away from the house and went to the field.
Then she pulled out and took away the stakes which she had used to stab the breath out of all the grass.

When she had pulled them out, the grass revived and grew just as before.

So she did not return to the grandfather and grandson's house ever again.

She walked into the forest to flee and was never seen again.

The End.
Appendix 5

The Grandfather Ghost

1. *v? braw*

grandfather ghost

The grandfather ghost.

2. *duen ta? ilaj buen vil kumaj? muaaj*

A long time ago there was a very small village.

Located in that village there was an orphan child who lived all alone.

3. *rat nam vil kis buen kan kamhat rat muaaj na?*

Located in that village there was an orphan child who lived all alone.

4. *mpë? mpoa kutict tah ne?*

[His] father and mother had died and left [him with no family] at all.

5. *an bçaj rat nañ v? taw*

And so he lived with an old grandfather.
In the past, the villages around here were only forest and jungle.

The houses were located far from each other.

The old grandfather raised the grandchild for many years.

One day the grandfather became sick, and then he died and left. [His] leaving caused the grandchild who was still small to live all alone.

Because his family was gone, [he] did not have [anyone] at all.
12. *ta?*  *xn*  *tʃaw*  *an*  *nifom*  *v?*  *palgaj?*  
   Vt   Vt   N   Pro   Vt   N   Adv  
   make/do cause grandchild 3S miss grandfather very

   [This] made the grandchild miss his grandfather very much.

13. *kum  kum  siŋai  tʃaw  si  pa?  nəem*  
   Quant  Quant  Clf  N  Vaux  Vi  Vi  
   every every Clf_day grandchild IRR go cry

   Every day the grandchild would go cry.

14. *pa?  ranup  maŋ  prʊŋ  tʰiː  alaj  tʊŋ  v?*  
   Vi  N  N  N  Subordconn  Pro  Vt  N  Det  Quant  Clf
   go cemetery place hole REL 3P bury grandfather that every Clf_day
   *nɨam  an  nifom  palgaj?*  
   Subordconn  Pro  Vt  Adv

   because 3S miss very

   [He] would go to cemetery to the place where they had buried [his] grandfather every day because he really missed [him].

15. *n?  rɛj  maŋi  kufut  tʃaw*  
   N   Adj   Pro  Vi  Prt

   grandfather dear 2S die  Prt_seq_completive

   "Dear grandfather, you have died."

16. *ŋko?  si  vːt  nəŋ  amə?*  
   Pro  Vaux  Vi  Prep  Pro

   1S IRR live with who

   "Who will I live with?"

17. *ŋko?  tː  buum  amə?  tʃaw  maŋi  vt*  
   Pro  Neg  Vt  Pro  Coordin  Pro  Vt  Pro  Vi  Vi  Prep

   1S NEG have anyone then 2S take 1S go live with

   "I don't have anyone so will you take me to go and live with [you]."

18. *kum  siŋai  an  si  pa?  wəw  kəm  kij*  
   Quant  Clf  Pro  Vaux  Vi  Vt  N  Det

   every Clf_day 3S IRR go speak word that

   Every day he would go and say the same thing.
19. *an wəw īfən n? kuaj tʰiː pen braw ajo? ta?
    Pro Vt Subordconn N N Subordconn Cop N Vt Vt

    3S speak until grandfather person REL be ghost pity make/do

20. *n? łyːj baŋbot īfək ɔn an həwm
    N Prt Adj Subordconn Vt N Vt Pro Vt

    grandfather Prt_intensifier transform body allow 3S see

    So the grandfather transformed [his] body so that he could see [him].

21. īfə kə? wəw paŋ īfəw ʁj kʰən mər ńfəm
    Coordconn Coordconn Vt Subordconn N Adj Subordconn Pro Vt

    then then speak COMP grandchild dear if 2S miss

22. kʰən nəw kᵢː ɔn mər īfə kələŋ rahaw nəi də
    Subordconn Prep Det Vt Pro Vt N N Det Prt

    if like that allow 2S eat bulb medicine this Prt_soft_command

    "If that's the situation, [I will] allow you to eat this medicinal bulb."

23. īfə mər kə? sə təʔ ʁə tə nəʔ nəʔ bən
    Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vaux Vt Vi Prep N Vi

    then 2S then IRR come live with grandfather able

    "Then you will be able to come and live with [your] grandfather."

24. pʰə: īfə wəkən kəмət īfə kələŋ rahaw kᵢː
    Subordconn N N Vt N N Det

    when grandchild child orphan eat bulb medicine that

25. īfə: *an kə? huəm braw huəm bɾiːw
    Prt Pro Coordconn Vt N Vt N

    Prt_seq_completive 3S then see ghost see spirit

    When the orphaned grandchild had eaten the medicine plant, he saw the ghosts and spirits.
In the place which he always saw to be a cemetery, there appeared to be a village of people.

There were people making all sorts of noise living in that village.

Just then, the grandfather invited him to enter into the village.

When they arrived at the house, the grandfather made a bow for him.

"Bring this to go shoot animals," grandfather said.

The older orphan child then lived with the grandfather for more than many months.
There was one day, the friends who lived in their village, they came and invited him to go make noise and flush animals [out of the woods to hunt them].

When they arrived at the grandfather's house, they said, "Grandfather, is the older orphan child here?"

"Oh, we will invite him to go make noise and flush out animals."

"Because yesterday we saw deer tracks located in the jungle."
That group of ghost friends all said.

So the grandfather said to the grandchild, "Yes, go ahead, grandchild."

And so he went with his friends.

He brought the bow which the grandfather made [for him] to take also.

When they went and came to the jungle where the friends said that they saw the deer tracks, so they told him to wait in ambush.
They said, "Older orphan child, you will ambush this place."

Then they left a number of people in various places.

Then their group said to him, "Our group will go into [the jungle] and make noise."

"If [you] see it come out, you must shoot [it], OK?" the friends said.

The older orphan child agreed with them, "Yes, if it comes out I will shoot it for sure."
"Don't be afraid. You can depend on me for sure."

When he finished speaking, the friends which were helping entered making noise in the middle of the forest.

As for the older orphan, he waited located in that place.

He did not see anything come out to him at all.

[He] only heard the friends saying, "It has gone towards you!"

The older orphan child bent his bow [and held it ready].
55. te: an ka? tw huwm ntraw loah ɪfo? an ɪrj
   Coordconn Pro Coordconn Neg Vt Pro Vi Prep Pro Prt
   but 3S then NEG see anything go.out to 3S Prt_intensifier
But he did not see anything come out to him at all.

56. huwm te: aka? ɪmyaj tovc sidaɪh loah
   Vt Coordconn N Num Clf Vi Vi
   see but grasshopper one Clf_animal jump go.out
[He] saw only one grasshopper jump out [of the jungle].

57. an ɪrj wqw paq kʊp ɑːɬɪm xə n ʊ?
   Pro Coordconn Vt Subordconn Vi Vt Subordconn N
   3S so speak cup.hand CAUS-return for grandfather
buh ɪfo: weaj na:
   Vi Vt Adv Prt
roast eat now Prt_consider
So he said, "I think I will catch this grasshopper and bring [it] back for the
grandfather to roast and eat now."

58. an ɪrj kʊp ɪt aka? ɪfo: ka? ɑɬ-ʊ nəj
   Pro Coordconn Vt N Coordconn Coordconn Vi Prep
   3S so cup.hand take grasshopper then then CAUS-place in
atɪm
   N
pocket
And so he caught the grasshopper in his hand and then put it in his pocket.

   Coordconn N Coordconn Vi Vt Prep Pro
   then friend then make.noise come to 3S
Then the friends made noise and came to him.

60. ɪfo: alaq ka? abluh an paq aq kxn kamʊt huwm
   Coordconn Pro Coordconn Vt Pro Subordconn N N Vt
   then 3P then ask 3S COMP older.brother child orphan see
pojɪ loah ɪfo? maːb bx:
   N Prep Pro Prt
deer go.out to 2S Prt_question
Then they asked him, "Older orphan child, did [you] see the deer come out to you?"
He said, "[I] did not see [it]; [I] did not see any animals or anything else at all come out of the jungle to me."

After the older orphan child had spoken, the friends did not believe [him] and so asked him again, "Isn't it true that you lay down and slept and so did not see it come out?"

"Right here its footprints come out to your place," the friends said. "Hey friends, I did not see any deer, not even one."

"Even if [it] was only one mouse deer, I did not see [it]."
When he had spoken those things, the friends suggested that he return [home].

They thought it was obvious that it had come out during the time he lay down and was sleeping.

So they all encouraged one another to return home.

When the older orphan child returned home, the grandfather asked, "How was it? Do you have [any deer]?

So he said, "[I] don't have any; [I] didn't see anything."

"But the friends say that [they] saw its prints come out in my place, dear grandfather."
"But I did not see anything at all."

"I saw only this one grasshopper."

The grandfather was very surprised.

So he said to the grandchild, "Why do you say a grasshopper? It is the deer!"

When the grandfather had grabbed the grasshopper, [he] then threw [it] down from the house.

The grasshopper transformed to be a big deer.

The older orphan child watched it as if he could not believe his own eyes.
So the grandfather said, "I will go follow them to come to cut the meat now."

When the grandfather went and followed the friends, who had gone and made noise together, they came [back to the house].

They said, "It is just as we said."

"We saw its prints go out that side."

So they helped each other to cut up and divide the meat and gave every person [his share].

They gave the head and the skin of the deer to the older orphan child.
Because he was the person who was able to shoot [the deer].

Then they invited each other to bring [it] back and eat.

After many days passed by, the older orphan child went to shoot birds.

The grandfather did not say anything.

When he came to the jungle, he went and shot some birds.
He got one owl, and after that an aweang bird, a crow, and a dove.

He thought in [his] heart that this much would surely be enough to eat, and so [he] stopped.

And so he returned to the house.

When [he] came home, he pulled out the bird feathers.

Then he was going to take the birds to make food.

When the grandfather came and saw [what was happening], the grandfather was surprised yet again one more time.
The grandfather ran and came to him and said to [him], "Grandson, why have you dared to kill our rulers!"

"Dear child, we will surely be punished!"

But the older orphan child looked at the grandfather and was confused.

"I shot and have birds grandfather. Why [do you say] that we have killed [our] leaders?"

When the grandfather went and grabbed the birds, just like that, those birds transformed to appear to be people.
What he saw as feathers now appeared to be clothes.

And those clothes had stars and stripes located on them which appeared to shine brightly.

The older orphan child was very surprised to see what had happened.

The owl had been the district ruler.

The aweang bird and the crow had been officials.

What could they do?

"Take and bury them, take and bury them!" grandfather told [him].
When he had buried [them], the grandfather said to him, "You cannot come and live with me any longer, dear grandson."

"Since you have killed the rulers [of the village]."

"Go! I will return and send you home [to the land of the living]."

When he had finished speaking, the grandfather walked face forward.

He went out from the village.

When [they] came to the edge of the village, the grandfather said to him, "OK, you eat this [plant] bulb, and then you will return [to the land of the living]."
When he had eaten that bulb, the things which he used to see [he] did not see at all.

The place which used to be a village of people was now just jungle and a cemetery.

The grandfather and all the other people disappeared and went away also.

He cried and called to his grandfather a lot.

The grandfather did not come out to him at all during this time.

So he returned to the house and lived all alone for the rest of his life.
The End.
RESUME

Name: Jennifer Michele Engelkemier

Date of Birth: 12 September 1978

Place of Birth: Des Moines, Iowa

Institutions Attended:
- 1997 Linn-Mar High School, Diploma
- 2001 Coe College, Bachelor of Arts