HEAD-HUNTERS AND WILD PIGS: ASPECTS OF MAE HONG SON SHAN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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HEAD-HUNTERS AND WILD PIGS: ASPECTS OF MAE HONG SON SHAN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

by

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RESUME

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ABSTRACT

HEAD-HUNTERS AND WILD PIGS: ASPECTS OF MAE HONG SON SHAN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Minh Thi Tuyet Pham

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The Shan language belongs to the Southwestern branch of the Tai-Kadai language family. It is mainly spoken in the Shan state of Burma. It is also spoken in the provinces of Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Mae Hong Son of northern Thailand.

This thesis attempts to discover how Shan people form narrative texts. The desired outcome of this research is the understanding of some aspects of Shan narrative. These findings on how Shan narratives are formed will be compared to similar research of Thai and Northern Thai narratives, which then will help to understand about other Tai languages at the discourse level.

The data for this research includes three Shan third person narrative texts. After a brief grammatical analysis of the language on phrase and clause types, this research moves on to the discussion of several discourse aspects by applying Longacre’s and Levinsohn’s theoretical framework. The specific areas of interest are surface and notional structures, salience scheme, and participant reference.
บทคัดย่อ

หนูป้ากับนักล่า: ลักษณะสำคัญของสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่าภาษาไทใหญ่

มิ่ง ที่ อุษา พาม

มหาวิทยาลัยพายัพ จังหวัดเชียงใหม่ พ.ศ. 2549

อาจารย์ผู้ควบคุมวิทยานิพนธ์ ดร. เคริก เพอร์สัน

ภาษาไทใหญ่เป็นภาษาในเครือไทใหญ่ สาขาไทกะได ที่มีรากadic หรือเริ่มต้นมาจาก
พบที่จังหวัดสงขลา กระบี่ จังหวัดภูเก็ต และ แม่ฮ่องสอน

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ศึกษาวิเคราะห์รูปแบบการเรียบเรียงของคนไทใหญ่ เพื่อทำ
ความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์ที่สำคัญของสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่า
ในภาษาไทย ทำให้สามารถนำไปเปรียบเทียบกับงานวิจัยสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่า
ในภาษาไทยกลางและภาษาไทยเหนือ เพื่อช่วยให้เข้าใจภาษาไทอื่นๆในระดับ สัมพันธสารมากขึ้น

เรื่องเรียงที่ใช้เป็นเรื่องเล่าที่ใช้รูปเรื่องเล่าเป็นบุรุษที่สาม มีจำนวน 1 เรื่อง
การวิจัยเริ่มจากการบรรยายถึงลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์ในระดับวลีและประโยค ของภาษาไทใหญ่โดยย่อ
จากนั้นเริ่มมีเสนอการวิเคราะห์ต่างๆ ดังนี้ คือ
ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างโครงสร้างและลักษณะทางไวยากรณ์ การเรียงลำดับ ความแตกต่างของข้อความ
และการอ้างอิงตัวแสวง โดยวิเคราะห์ตามแนวทางของลอสคอเมอร์กับโลวินสัน

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Shan or Tai Yai (from now on referred to as Shan) is a language in the Southwestern branch of the Tai-Kadai language family. It is spoken by about 2,900,000 people in the Shan state of southeast Burma and in some northern provinces of Thailand (Gordon 2005).

This thesis presents a preliminary discourse analysis of third person narrative in the Shan language spoken in Mae Hong Son province of northern Thailand. The specific areas of interest are surface and notional structures, salience scheme, and participant reference.

1.1 Research question

The research question which this thesis attempts to address is: How do Shan people form narrative texts? As a result of this descriptive analysis of Shan narrative, it will be shown how Shan fits with other Tai discourse studies.

1.2 Objectives

The objectives of the thesis are: 1) to propose the features of the surface and notional structures of the three Shan texts, 2) to propose a salience scheme for Shan based on the three texts, and 3) to identify various factors which affect the ways different participants are encoded in these texts.

1.3 Methodology

This section consists of two subsections. The first subsection, procedure, discusses different steps taken throughout the thesis. The second subsection, data and transcription, provides information on the source and features of the data used in
this study. Also found here is the discussion of some conventions applied in the process of interlinearizing the texts.

1.3.1 Procedure

The reading of related literature was done first of all with an attempt to identify the Shan language, the people that speak it, its relation with other Tai languages in the Tai-Kadai family, and to find out what studies have been done on other Tai languages in the area of discourse. Data collection and transcription (see Section 1.3.2) came next. The three Shan texts were interlinearized using SIL International’s Toolbox computer program. After that, the texts were charted applying the Longacre-Levinsohn (1978) charting model. Prior to charting the texts in the Longacre-Levinsohn manner, a basic grammatical analysis needed to be done, which resulted in a grammar sketch (Chapter 2). Once the texts were charted, they were divided into chunks using Barnwell’s criteria on boundaries. Then by applying Longacre’s approach, the features of surface and notional structures were proposed for those chunks in the three Shan texts. What came next was a proposal of the salience scheme for Shan narrative based on Longacre’s etic salience scheme and the data at hand. Finally, the system of participant reference in the three Shan texts was examined applying Levinsohn’s methodology with an attempt to identify the factors which affect the reference encodings to participants in various contexts. Levinsohn’s methodology for analyzing participant reference is discussed as follows.

Levinsohn (1994) provides a methodology which helps to identify different factors that affect the amount of coding material used to refer to a certain participant throughout a discourse. This methodology includes eight steps.

Step 1: Make a list of all of the different ways in which the language encodes references to participants, applying Givon’s coding scale (see Figure 4 in Section 3.2).

Step 2: Prepare a five-column chart of participant encoding in a text. The first column is used for the sentence reference. The second and third columns are for the encoding of subjects and non-subjects, respectively. The next column
is for recording the contexts in which participants occur. The last column is used to record as briefly as possible a free translation of the remainder of each clause. This free translation also includes the contents of reported speech.

Step 3: Track the participants by numbering each participant that is mentioned more than once in the text.

Step 4: Identify the subject context in which each reference to a participant occurs. According to the context in which each subject is found, label the subjects with S1, S2, S3, or S4. There are altogether four different contexts in which a reference can be found.

Context S1: the subject is the same as in the previous clause.

Context S2: the subject was the addressee in the previous clause.

Context S3: the subject was the non-subject in the previous clause.

Context S4: other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3.

Step 5: Propose a default encoding for each of the contexts based on an inspection of the data or a statistical count.

Step 6: Inspect the text for situations in which non-default encodings are used, both when it is more than expected and when it is less than expected.

Step 7: Incorporate any modifications to the default proposals made in step five. Once the factors which affect the non-default encodings of material are identified, it is necessary to modify the list of contexts for which default encodings are proposed.

Step 8: Identify motivations for each of the non-default encodings and draw generalizations.

1.3.2 Data collection and transcription

The three Shan texts and some of the examples used in chapter two were collected at Baan Napajat, Moo 4, Tambon Huay Pha, Amphoe Muang, Mae Hong Son Province of northern Thailand during the time from October 2004 to February 2005.

1 Levinsohn’s methodology addresses contexts for both subjects and non-subjects. This study deals only with subject contexts, and not with non-subject contexts.
2005. Many Shan texts of different genres were collected during this time. These three texts were chosen as the data for this thesis based on several criteria. First, they are of the same sub-genre, third person narratives. Second, they are considered “good” stories by the speakers in the village. And thirdly, this kind of text is considered ideal for beginning analysis and strongly recommended by Levinsohn (2003). The first two texts, which were named “Wild Pig Hunting” and “The Head-Hunters,” were told by Mr. Somsak Ratsameephorn (age 40). The third text, “Five Hundred Baht” was told by Mrs. SengWan (age 27). Both of the narrators were born in and have lived all their lives in Napajat.

The three texts were recorded on cassette tapes. The narrators were asked to tell each story three times and all renditions were recorded. After the recording the researcher played the tapes and asked the narrators to choose the best version of each story. The stories were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). They were then edited and translated by Mrs. Arayja Ratsameephorn (age 39). She is a literacy teacher of the Shan language and is known as one of the best speakers of Shan in the village. The editing process included removing unnecessary words, replacing words borrowed from Thai, and breaking the texts into sentences. Sentence boundaries were determined based mainly on phonological features along with native speaker intuition. That is, sentence breaks were inserted where the narrators paused as they told the stories. These texts were edited because according to Grimes (1975:33) edited texts “yield the most consistent analysis”. The three texts were also further checked by six other people from different age groups in the village.

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2 A third person narrative should have two or more major participants, where none of them is the narrator. Technically, the narrator retells something (a conflict, a fight, or area of tension) that he witnessed (Levinsohn 2003).

3 The word head-hunter is the free translation of the Shan word pūpāt which literally means ‘grandfather-cut’. Based on the fact that these ‘grandfather-cut’ were people hunting for human heads, parents in the past used them as a figure to keep their children under control. It is similar to the idea of a bogeyman.
The interlinearized texts are included in Appendixes B, C, and D. There are several conventions in the texts which need explanation: in the gloss three asterisks “***” are used to indicate an unknown, the underscore “_” is used to separate words when more than one English word is needed to express the meaning of one Shan word, in the free translation the parentheses ( ) are used if a word is not in the Shan language, and the square parentheses [ ] are used to provide a literal translation of a Shan idiom or compound words following the English phrase in the free translation.

1.4 Overview of the thesis

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters. Chapter one presents the research question, the objectives, the methodology, and the structure of the thesis. Chapter two provides an introduction to the Shan people and their language, the phonology sketch and the grammatical information on the language. Chapter three gives a brief introduction to discourse analysis and lays out the theoretical framework relevant to the discourse aspects discussed in this thesis. Also found in this chapter is the summary of several discourse studies on Tai languages which serve as the guidelines to this research and to which this research is compared. Chapter four discusses the criteria which signal the boundaries of chunks of the texts and proposes the features of surface and notional structures. Chapter five proposes a Shan salience scheme based on the data at hand. Chapter six presents the participant reference system of the Shan language. Chapter seven gives a summary of how the research question and the objectives are answered and achieved. It also summarizes the comparisons with other Tai languages and gives suggestions for further study.
CHAPTER 2

GRAMMAR SKETCH

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents information on the Shan people and their language. It also presents a phonology sketch and a grammar sketch of the language.

2.1 The Shan people and their language

The Shan people are the speakers of a Tai language. Most of them live in the Shan state of Burma (Egerod 1957). They also live in the provinces of Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Mae Hong Son of northern Thailand (Schliesinger 2001).

The Shan people call themselves ‘Tai’, “often adding the name of the village” (Lebar 1964:192). For example, the Shan in Baan Napajat call themselves ‘Tai Napajat’. However, the Burmese and the British people call them ‘Shan’. ‘Shan’ is a Burmese term but its etymology is unknown (Dodd 1923).

The term ‘Shan’ has usually been used to refer to those Tai languages spoken in the Shan State of Burma, Dehong Prefecture and several other areas of Yunnan province, China, and parts of Mae Hong Son and Chiang Rai provinces of northern Thailand (Edmondson and Solnit 1997). However, Cushing uses the term ‘Shan’ in a more restrictive sense. ‘Shan’ according to Cushing is to be distinguished from Khamti and Chinese Shan (1888b). Lowis, Min Naing, and several other authors share Cushing’s opinion on this matter (Lowis 1919, Min Naing 1960, in Edmondson and Solnit 1997).

As for the term ‘Tai Yai’, Edmondson and Solnit (1997: 339) explain that since “the Shan people are often regarded as the first of several groups to leave China for Southeast Asia, as a consequence, they are often referred to as the Tai Long ‘the great Tai’”. In Glick’s and Moeng’s work there is a glossary entry “tāj jìu”,

which can be translated into Thai as ขามจาย ‘great Tai’ (Thai Yai or Tai Yai). They explained that Thai Yai is the name the Thai use to refer to the Shan people in Thailand (1991:656).

Shan is a tonal language (Cushing 1888a). Like most of the Tai languages, with the exception of Khamti, it has an SVO (subject-verb-object) structure (Wilaiwan 1986). Figure 1 illustrates the position of the Shan language in relation to other Tai languages of the Tai-Kadai language family.

![Figure 1. The Shan language in the Tai-Kadai family (adapted from Gordon 2005)](image-url)
2.2 Phonology sketch

The phonology presented in this section is mainly a summary of the work done by Orawan (1985). The data which Orawan analyzed in her work was collected at Amphoe Mae La Noi, Mae Hong Son Province of northern Thailand. Also found in this section are some of the results of the study done by Egerod (1957). The data in Egerod’s work was collected in Taunggyi, in the southern part of the Shan state of Burma.

According to Orawan (1985), the Shan language has 18 consonants. They are displayed in Table 1. Three of these 18, namely /b/, /c/ and /ts/, which are underlined in Table 1, were not found in the data which the researcher of this thesis collected at Baan Napajat, Mae Hong Son province of northern Thailand. Two consonants not found by Orawan but found in the current data are /s/ and /tʃ/, which are marked with (*) in Table 1.

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. The consonant phonemes of the Shan language
(adapted from Orawan 1985)

All of the consonants in Table 1 can occur initially in syllables. The two continuants /w, j/ can follow the consonants /p, tʰ, k, kʰ, c, l, m/ to form the consonant clusters /pw, tʰw, kw, kʰw, cw, lw, pj, mj/. The final consonants are /p, t, k, ?, m, n, η, w, j/ (Orawan 1985).
The Shan language has ten vowels and one diphthong, as can be seen in Table 2. Since vowel length is not phonemic in Shan, except for /a/ and /a'/, (Orawan 1985), I decided to leave out the vowel length marker /-ʔ/ for other vowels which were originally recorded in Orawan’s work.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single vowels</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diphthong

Table 2. The vowel and diphthong phonemes of the Shan language (adapted from Orawan 1985)

The five tones displayed below are taken from Egerod’s work (1957). Egerod names the tones in a manner similar to that of the Shan people at Napajat village where the data of this thesis is from. A description of each tone, which is taken from Cushing’s (1914:9) work, is also given for clarity.

Tone 1 /ɿ/: the rising tone is “the natural pitch of the voice with a slight rising inflection at the end”. It may be referred to as the “natural tone”.

Tone 2 /ɿ/: the low level tone is “a deep bass tone”. It may be also called the “grave tone”.

Tone 3 /ɿ/: the mid level tone is “an even tone, in pitch, between the first and second tones”. It can be described as “straight forward tone”.

Tone 4 /ɿ/: the high level tone is “of a more elevated pitch than the first tone”.

4 In the original work Orawan refers to Shan as Tai Yai. However, the term ‘Shan’ is used in this thesis.
Tone 5 /\^/\: the falling tone is “an abrupt, explosive tone”. It may be called the “emphatic tone”.

2.3 Grammar sketch

The grammar sketch presented in this section is basic. It attempts to provide a grammatical foundation for the Shan language which is helpful for charting the texts and getting them ready for analysis at the discourse level. The specific areas of interest are noun phrases, prepositional phrases, verb phrases, clause types, and time expressions.

2.3.1 Noun phrase

This section first discusses the constituent order and the components of a noun phrase, which are noun phrase heads, modifiers, quantifiers, classifiers, demonstratives, and possessors. Then it goes on to describe types of complex noun phrases.

2.3.1.1 Constituent order

The noun phrase (NP) template in Shan consists of a head (H), one or two modifiers (MOD), a quantifier (QNT), a classifier (CLF), a demonstrative (DEM), and a possessor (POS). The head and its relation to the other components of the noun phrase are illustrated in Figure 2. The components in parentheses are optional.

\[
N P = [H + (M O D) + (Q N T) + (C L F) + (D E M) + (P O S)]
\]

Figure 2. Shan noun phrase template
2.3.1.2 Noun phrase heads

The head of a noun phrase can be a common or proper noun, a pronoun, or a classifier. Example (1) presents a common noun *mū* ‘pig’ as the head of the noun phrase *mū nān* ‘that pig’, which is the subject of the clause ‘that pig did not die’.

(1) WildPigHunting.014

\[kójkā \text{ } mū \text{ } nān \text{ } àm \text{ } tāj.\]

but \text{ } *pig* \text{ } that \text{ } not \text{ } die

\[\text{CONJ} \text{ } N \text{ } \text{DEM} \text{ } \text{NEG} \text{ } V\]

However, the (wild) pig didn't die.

A proper noun can also fill the head slot of a noun phrase. It can be seen in example (2) that the proper noun, the name *īm* ‘Im’, is the head of the noun phrase.

(2) Elicited examples.004

\[īm \text{ } hāj\]

\[Im \text{ } cry\]

\[\text{Nprop} \text{ } V\]

Im cries.

The Shan language has singular and plural pronouns. There are no precise forms of pronouns which indicate dual, inclusive, or exclusive in Shan. Instead, for example, *hāw sāk yā* ‘we two people’ is used to express dual. Table 3 presents the personal pronouns in Shan. The pronouns *kāw* ‘I’ and *mōw* ‘you’ are used only among close friends, or by an elder person to a younger one. To address oneself as *kāw* and a hearer of older age as *mōw* is considered very rude in Shan culture.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P</td>
<td>kāhā</td>
<td>háw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kāw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>mōw</td>
<td>hū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>háw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Shan personal pronouns
The pronouns *hāw* and *hū* can be also used as singular pronouns. Friends or husband and wife use *hāw* and *hū* to address each other. The pronoun *hū* is sometimes pronounced as *sū*.

Shan pronouns can function as a subject or object in a clause, filling the noun phrase head position. Example (3) illustrates the pronouns *kā* ‘I’ and *hāw* ‘they’ as the heads of noun phrases.

(3) FiveHundredBaht.003

\[
\begin{align*}
k^b\kappa & \ k\kappa & \ u^m & \ h\kappa & \ w^\prime & \ h\kappa & \ i^\eta & \ l\eta & \ s\eta & \ i\eta.
\end{align*}
\]

1PS conn not know that 3PL quarrel each other story what
PRO CONN NEG V COMP PRO V ADV N INTER

I did not know what they quarreled about.

Classifiers in Shan can also act as heads of noun phrases, as can be seen in example (4). The classifier *kā*, which is the classifier for human beings, is the head of the noun phrase *kā nān* ‘that person’.

(4) WildPigHunting.024

\[
\begin{align*}
k\kappa j & \ k\kappa & \ n\kappa & \ u^m & \ t^\omega m & \ e^n & \ k^b\kappa & \ t^g\eta.
\end{align*}
\]

but person that not listen run ascend more
CONJ CLF DEM NEG V V ADV

But that person did not listen, and climbed up more.

### 2.3.1.3 Modifiers

The modifier of a noun phrase can be a noun or a relative clause. Example (5) shows that the noun *nām* ‘water’ acts as a modifier to the head *sēγ* ‘sound’ of the noun phrase meaning ‘the sound of water’.

(5) Head-Hunters.022

\[
\begin{align*}
s\gamma & \ n\kappa & \ l^a & \ u^p & \ k\kappa & \ u^m & \ l^a & \ j^a.
\end{align*}
\]

N N ADV CONN NEG V V

The sound of the water was (so) loud (that) (the children) talked but could not hear (each other).
A relative clause which acts as a modifier to the head of the noun phrase is found in example (6). The relative clause tì mì kūŋ ‘who have guns’ modifies the head kūŋ of the noun phrase ‘people who have guns’.

(6) WildPigHunting.008

họk kūŋ pēn kūŋ tì mì kūŋ.

… six person be person which have gun

… six people were people who had guns.

The head of a noun phrase can sometimes take two modifiers. In example (7) the noun lūŋ ‘story’ is modified by two modifiers. The first one is the verb tê ‘true’ (underlined), and the second is the relative clause tì lūj hăn kāp tā ‘which (I) saw with (my own) eyes’ (double underlined).

(7) WildPigHunting.002

măn pēn lūŋ tê ti lūj hăn kāp tā.

… 3PS be story true which get see with eye

… it is a true story which I saw with (my own) eyes.

In example (8), the head noun kôn ‘person’ is modified by two relative clauses standing next to each other. The first modifier is the relative clause tì jū têlm kăn tāj hăn háw ‘who lived next to our house’ and the second one is tì mā têlm háw ‘who came to ask us’.

(8) 2Neighbors.012

kôn ti jū têlm kăn tāj hăn háw må ti têlm háw năn kūŋ hūŋ hâ kôn tāj

… person which stay near each other with house 1PL which come

… the person who lived next to our house, who came to ask us before, called for the man…
2.3.1.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are words which indicate quantity. In relation to classifiers, they often precede, as can be seen in examples (9) and (10). The quantifiers *tʰʰɛ̀* ‘more’ and *sɔ̀* ‘two’ come before the classifier *kɔ̀* in examples (9) and (10), respectively.

(9) 2Neighbors.011

```
mì kón tfúj tʰɛ̀ kɔ̀ kɔ̄n pjàn pój má, have person male more person conn return festival come ...
```

There was another man (who) came back from the festival…

(10) Head-Hunters.028

```
pʰàlãy sɔ̀ kɔ̀ nàŋ kɔ̀ ip làm hãw … foreigner two person that conn talk interpreter 3PL …
```

… those two foreigners talked with their interpreter…

However, when the quantifier is *mûŋ* ‘one’ then it can follow the classifier, as can be seen in example (11). This could be possible because the quantifier ‘one’ can also act as an indefinite determiner, ‘a’.

(11) Head-Hunters.023

```
pʰàlãy sɔ̀ kɔ̀ tãŋ làm hãw kɔ̀ mûŋ lâj … foreigner two person and interpreter 3PL person one get
```

```
lôŋ kwà descend go ...
```

… two foreigners and their interpreter went down to…

2.3.1.5 Classifiers

Classifiers in Shan can act as heads of noun phrases as was discussed earlier in example (4) in section 2.3.1.2. However, their main role is to serve as a means to identify the nouns which precede them and to denote counting those nouns. When a classifier comes with the quantifier *mûŋ* ‘one’, it can serve to determine the noun as well.
Each classifier possesses certain features that license what nouns it can go with. For example, the classifier \( k\hat{o} \) is assigned to go with the nouns denoting ‘human beings’, \( t\hat{o} \) with ‘legged-thing’, \( l\hat{a}\hat{y} \) with ‘house’, and so forth. They cannot be used interchangeably. This is illustrated in examples (12) and (13).

(12)   WildPigHunting.021

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{CONJ} & \text{N} & \text{NUM} & \text{CLF} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{ADV} \\
k\hat{o}j\hat{k} & k\hat{o}n & s\hat{a}y & k\hat{o} & l\hat{e}\hat{n} & m\hat{a} & t\hat{\text{\check{e}}}y \\
\end{array}
\]

but \( \text{person two person} \) run come in addition ...

However, two (more) people ran (to the tree) in addition…

(13)   Elicited examples.017

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{CONJ} & \text{N} & \text{Nprop} & \text{V} & \text{PP} & \text{N} & \text{PRO} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{NUM} \\
p\hat{o} & \text{o sibling} & \text{Lee} & \text{go in forest} & 3PS & \text{will shoot} & \text{deer} & \text{one} \\
\end{array}
\]

\( t\hat{o} \) \text{legged thing} \text{CLF}

If brother Lee goes to the forest he will shoot a deer.

The classifier \( k\hat{o} \) is used in examples (12) because the head of the noun phrase is \( k\hat{o}n \) ‘person’ while \( t\hat{o} \) is used in example (13) since the noun phrase head is \( k\hat{w}\hat{a}\hat{y} \) ‘deer’, an animal.

2.3.1.6 Demonstratives

There are two pairs of demonstratives found in Shan, \( n\hat{a}\hat{j} \) and \( n\hat{n}\hat{a}n \), \( n\hat{a}\hat{j} \) and \( n\hat{n}\hat{a}n \). \( n\hat{a}\hat{j} \) and \( n\hat{n}\hat{a}n \) are used for a different demonstrative purpose, that is within quote formulas (see Section 2.3.3.5). \( n\hat{a}\hat{j} \) and \( n\hat{n}\hat{a}n \), which can be translated as ‘this’ or ‘these’ and ‘that’ or ‘those’ follow and modify the noun phrase heads. In example (14), \( n\hat{a}\hat{j} \) ‘this’ modifies the head \( \hat{a}\hat{n} \) of the noun phrase \( \hat{a}\hat{n} n\hat{a}\hat{j} \). Example (15) presents \( n\hat{n}\hat{a}n \) ‘that’ modifying the head \( \hat{t}\hat{u}\hat{\check{e}}y \) of the noun phrase \( \hat{t}\hat{u}\hat{\check{e}}y n\hat{n}\hat{a}n \).
2.3.1.7 Possessors

Possessors can be a noun (proper or common noun), a kinship term, or a pronoun. Example (16) presents the proper noun pám ‘Pam’ as the possessor in the noun phrase pɔ̄ kʰɔŋ pám ‘father of Pam’.

The pronoun háw ‘we’ and the kinship term pɔ̄ ‘father’ function as the possessors in examples (17) and (18), respectively.

He (my brother)…. then punched him in the head…
Possessors can either come right after the noun phrase heads or be connected with the noun phrase heads by \( k^h \gamma \) ‘of’. When a noun phrase consists of only the head and the possessor, the connector \( k^h \gamma \) ‘of’ is optional, as can be seen in examples (19) and (20). In example (19), the connector \( k^h \gamma \) is used while in (20) it is not.

(19)  
FiveHundredBaht.024  
\[ n\dot{\eta}g\dot{\iota}\acute{u}j \quad k^h \gamma \quad k^h \dot{a} \quad k\acute{o} \quad p\acute{e}n \quad k\acute{o}n \quad p\acute{u}t \]
\[ \ldots \text{younger\_brother of 1PS conn be person wrong} \ldots \]
\[ \text{N POSS PRO CONN V N V} \]
\[ \ldots \text{my brother was wrong…} \]

(20)  
FiveHundredBaht.026  
\[ n\dot{\eta}g\dot{\iota}\acute{u}j \quad k^h \dot{a} \quad k\acute{o} \quad j\dot{\iota}m \]
\[ \text{younger\_brother 1PS conn concede} \ldots \]
\[ \text{N PRO CONN V} \]
\[ \text{My brother conceded…} \]

However, if the possessor is separated from its noun phrase head by other components of the noun phrase then the connector \( k^h \gamma \) ‘of’ is required, as can be seen in example (21).

(21)  
ElicitedExamples.016  
\[ h\acute{o}n \quad j\dot{\omega}u \quad s\ddot{a}m \quad l\ddot{a}g \quad k^h \gamma \quad k^h \dot{a} \quad j\dot{u} \quad t\acute{i} \quad p\acute{u}n \]
\[ \text{house big three roofed\_thing of 1PS stay at over\_there} \]
\[ \text{N V NUM CLF POS PRO V PP ADV} \]
\[ \text{My three big houses are over there.} \]

In example (21), since the noun head \( h\acute{o}n \) ‘house’ is separated from its possessor \( k^h \dot{a} \) ‘1PS’ by the modifier \( j\dot{\omega}u \) ‘big’, the quantifier \( s\ddot{a}m \) ‘three’, and the classifier \( l\ddot{a}g \), the connector \( k^h \gamma \) ‘of’ is used.

2.3.1.8 Complex noun phrase

The complex noun phrases presented in this section are coordinate noun phrases. Coordinate noun phrases are comprised of two or more noun phrases which are connected with one another by conjunctions. In example (22) the conjunction \( t\acute{a}y \)
‘and’ is used to connect the two noun phrases ʟुँ  k.anchor ‘uncle headman’ and 
कोऱ लोऱ कुऱ k5 ‘every influential [great] people’ together.

(22)  FiveHundredBaht.024

luऱ k.anchor tान kोऱ lोऱ kुऱ k5 k5 tेप्लऱ lाऱ.. 
... uncle headman and person great every person conn decide say

wā quote ...

... the headman and every influential [great] people (in the village) then decided 
that ...

A coordinate noun phrase which consists of three noun phrases joined together by 
the conjunction tाऱ ‘and’ can be seen in example (23).

(23)  Head-Hunters.038

होऱ सोुऱ pऱलाऱ सवऱ k5 tान lाम हाँw tान k5 
... see into foreigner two person and interpreter 3PL and person

असाइक सिप हाँ नाँ त्फुऱ उप कऱऱ जुऱ. 
age ten five that stand talk each_other stay

... (we) saw the two foreigners and their interpreter, and that fifteen-year-old boy 
standing talking with one another.

2.3.2 Prepositional phrase

A prepositional phrase consists of a preposition, which is the head of the phrase 
and a noun phrase. Locative, benefactive, and instrument phrases are discussed 
respectively in this section.

2.3.2.1 Locative

Locative phrases indicate the location of the actions described by the verbs. A 
locative phrase consists of a preposition and a noun of location. In Shan, the 
prepositions which are used in locative phrases are  ḫि ‘at’, नो ‘on’, नू ‘in’, टो ‘under’, and several others. The locative phrase नू टोऱ, which is best translated
as ‘in the forest’, shows the location of the action käp ṁák ‘pick vegetable’, as can be seen in example (24).

(24) ElicitiedExamples.022
háw käp ṁák náu tōn.
1PL pick vegetable in forest
PRO V N PP N

We pick vegetable in the forest.

However, if these prepositions come with motion verbs they can indicate the direction. It is illustrated in example (25).

(25) ElicitiedExamples.025
pi lí kwá náu tōn jú kwáy
o_sibling Lee go in forest shoot deer
N N N V PP N V N

Brother Lee goes to the forest (to) shoot deer.

The phrase náu tōn in example (25) comes after the motion verb kwá ‘go’ to show the direction of the verb ‘go’. It is best translated as ‘to the forest’.

2.3.2.2 Benefactive

The prepositions tǐ and kātī in examples (26) and (27) mark the beneficiary of an action. They come after the direct object and are followed by the indirect object of the clauses. In example (26), a person named nét is the beneficiary of the action pān ‘give’ and in (27) pɔ p̤ö kā ‘my father-in-law is the beneficiary of the action mêy ‘give’.

(26) ElicitiedExamples.003
pì tōy pān nāmp̤āy tǐ nét.
o_sibling Toi give honey at nét
N N Nprop V N PP Nprop

Sister Toi gave honey to Net.
My brother gave 500 baht to my father-in-law.

### 2.3.2.3 Instrument

The preposition *lōj* ‘with, by’ followed by a noun describing some kind of instrument forms a prepositional phrase which indicates the instrument by which an action is being carried out. Depending on the instruments that follow, the preposition *lōj* can be translated as ‘with’ or ‘by’, as can be seen in examples (28) and (29).

(28) ElicitedExamples.007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Im</th>
<th>eat rice</th>
<th>with spoon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nprop</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Im eats with a spoon.

(29) ElicitedExamples.008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Namphueng</th>
<th>go Chiangmai</th>
<th>with plane</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nprop</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>Nprop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Namphueng went to Chiangmai by plane.

In example (28), *lōj* preceding *tf̂5* ‘spoon’ expresses that the action ‘eat’ is carried out ‘with’ a spoon. *lōj* in example (29) expresses that the action ‘go’ is carried out by the means of transportation ‘plane’ and it is best translated into English as ‘by’.

### 2.3.3 Verb phrase

As mentioned earlier, this grammar sketch serves as a foundation to discourse analysis and is not the focus of this study. The verb phrase discussed here, therefore, is not an exhaustive list of all related matters. This section describes the Shan verb phrase in terms of the relative order of the components in relation to
one another and what can fill each component of the verb phrase. Also found in this section is the discussion of Shan quote formulas.

### 2.3.3.1 Constituent order

A Shan verb phrase is comprised of three positions which are an obligatory head verb (HV), optional preverbal elements (PREV), and optional postverbal elements (POSTV). Figure 3 presents the constituent order of the verb phrase.

$$\text{VP} = [(\text{PREV}) + \text{HV} + (\text{POSTV})]$$

Figure 3. The constituent order of Shan verb phrase

Preverbal and postverbal elements used in this discussion are general terms. Preverbal elements are elements that come before the head verb while postverbal elements include elements which follow the head verb of a verb phrase.

### 2.3.3.2 Head verb

The head verb position can be filled by verbs which can stand independently in clauses and semantically carry the most content of the verb phrase. In example (30), the verb *kwà ‘go’* is the head verb because it can stand independently in the clause and it carries the most content of the verb phrase.

(30) Head-Hunters.019

```
  háw kwà tfím piāj háw
  PRO go with older_brother PRO

  ...We (will) go with our elder brother...
```

However, the verb *kwà ‘go’* is not the head verb of the verb phrase *tók kwà ‘fall off’* in example (31). Instead, it serves as a directional verb; a postverbal modifier of the head verb *tók ‘falls’*. 
Head verbs can be preceded or followed by verbs of a different nature, such as modals, directional verbs, adverbs and/or markers of various sorts to construct complex verb phrases. This will be discussed in sections 2.3.3.3 and 2.3.3.4.

2.3.3.3 Preverbal elements

Preverbal elements are elements which precede the head verbs in verb phrases. Preverbal elements include independent verbs functioning as modifiers, modal auxiliaries, adverbs, and markers of various sorts, such as irrealis, negation, and duration.

In example (32), the independent verb làj ‘get’ serves as a preverbal element to the head verb yìn ‘hear’. The verb làj ‘get’ in Shan behaves in a similar way as the verb dāj ‘get’ in Thai. Hass (1964:178) states that dāj indicates past. The verb làj ‘get’ in Shan when it precedes the head verb indicates that the event expressed in the head verb has already occurred. Therefore, the verb phrase làj yìn in (32) is best translated ‘heard’.

(32) FiveHundredBaht.002

Also preceding the head verbs are verbs indicating direction. These verbs are kwà ‘go’, mà ‘come’, kʰāw ‘enter’, kʰūn ‘ascend’, lôj ‘descend’, and several others. Example (33) illustrates the directional verb lôj ‘descend’ as the preverbal element to the head verb kwà ‘goes’ in the verb phrase lôj kwà ‘go down’.

(33) WildPigHunting.037

...I then heard my father and my younger brother quarrel with each other...
The Shan passive expression is formed by the independent verb, pá ‘meet’ and a transitive verb. Passive expressions are only used to express negative experiences, as can be seen in example (34).

Modal auxiliaries are another element that can precede the head verb in a verb phrase. Example (35) illustrates a verb phrase which consists of the preverbal element, án ‘may’ indicating possibility and the head verb kwà ‘go’.

Examples (36) and (37) present two occasions where the modal auxiliaries, jam ‘ever’ and lò ‘must’ act as preverbal elements to the head verbs.
Adverbs are another element which can be in the preverbal position in Shan verb phrases. The adverbs ᵐ₦kān and ᵏ⁺kān, which both mean ‘together’, come before the head verb to indicate that the subject of the clause is in plural form and the action expressed by the head verb is done with unity. Example (38) presents the adverbs ᵐ₦kān ‘together’ as a preverbal element to the head verb ṁǎ ‘dress’.

Example (38) presents the marker of negation in Shan, the negator ᴺm ‘not’ serving as a preverbal element to the head verb ṭᵐ ‘listen’.

Examples (40) and (41) present the marker of irrealis ᴷ and the marker of duration ᴷ which act as preverbal elements to the head verbs ᴴ and ᵏ ‘open’ and ᵏ ‘walk’, respectively.

Example (40) presents the marker of irrealis ᴷ and the marker of duration ᴷ which act as preverbal elements to the head verbs ᴴ and ᵏ ‘open’ and ᵏ ‘walk’, respectively.
2.3.3.4 Postverbal elements

Postverbal elements are elements which follow the head verbs in verb phrases. Postverbal elements include verbs indicating direction, markers of duration, modal auxiliaries, and adverbs. In example (42), the directional verb $k'$ăn ‘ascend’ serves as a postverbal element to the head verb $ën ‘run’.

(42) Head-Hunters.031

\[ jåwk5 \text{ then } k'$ăn \text{ ascend } tf3m p'$ây nâm pûn. \]

…then ran up to the river bank over there.

Duration in Shan can be marked by the preverbal element $tûk$ (see example (41)) as well the postverbal element $jû$. Example (43) records the marker of duration $jû$ acting as a postverbal element to the head verb $sâj ‘bite’.

(43) WildPigHunting.040

\[ mû k5 sâj k5 nân jû \]

\[ \text{pig conn bite person that stay } … \]

The pig was biting that (first) person…

However, there is also an instance where the preverbal element $tûk$ and the postverbal element $jû$ sandwich the head verb between them, as can be seen in example (44).
Modal auxiliaries in Shan can also fill the postverbal position. Example (45) presents the modal auxiliary lāj ‘can’ acting as a postverbal element to the head verb lāt ‘say, speak’.

(45) Elicited examples.024
mān lāt kwām tāj lāj itēn  5
3PS say language Tai can a little ***
PRO V N Nprop X ADV PRT

He can speak a little bit of Shan

Adverbs are another element which can fill the postverbal position. The adverbs in postverbal position can be either adverbs of manner modifying the verb head directly or adverbs of degree which modify adverbs of manner. It can be seen in example (46) that the adverb of manner pʰōu ‘quickly’ modifies the verb head pāj ‘walk’ and the adverb of degree nā ‘very’ describes how ‘quickly’ the action of walking is carried out.

(46) Elicited Examples.014
kʰā pāj pʰōu nā tētēwāwā
1PS walk quickly very really
PRO V ADV INTS ADV

I walk very quickly indeed.

2.3.3.5 Quote formulas

A quote formula refers to a clause which introduces speech. The clause consists of a noun phrase (which is optional) and a verb phrase. In Shan, these quote formulas may consist of two parts or types, one to “open” which precedes the quote and one to “close” which follows the quote. The opening part often contains combinations of speech verbs, such as, lāt ‘say, speak’, tʰām ‘ask’, tʃō ‘invite’, etc., with the
speech verb wā ‘quote’. The closing part is also comprised of speech verbs, those which occur in the opening part, wā ‘quote’, and one of the following: nǎj ‘this’, nǎn ‘that’, nǎjwā ‘like this’, nānwā ‘like that’, tfānāj or tfēnjāj ‘like this’, tfānnān or tfēnjān ‘like that’. Speech verbs and/or wā ‘quote’ in the closing part may be omitted. A Shan quote can be introduced in a number of ways. In this data a quote was introduced by only an opening part, only a closing part, by both parts and even by inserting what looks most like an opening part into the middle of a quote.

The most common examples of quote formulas found in these texts is of the type in which the quote is introduced by either an opening part or a closing part, as can be seen in examples (47) and (48), respectively.

(47) FiveHundredBaht.008

father husband conn say quote “IPS not get say anything 2PS ”

My father-in-law answered, "I did not say anything about you."

(48) Head-Hunters.037

"head-hunter get older_brother 1PL go already remain 1PL two person alone run ascend come look_for person help ”quote this"

"Head-hunters took our brother away, left just the two of us, (and we) ran up looking for help [helper]", [(they) said this].

Example (49) illustrates a quote is sandwiched between an opening and closing part. In this example the opening part (bolded) and the closing part (underlined) bracket the quote kwā lè tān hu ‘go to the forest’.

(49) WildPigHunting.006

have o_sibling y_sibling there that come invite quote “go go_out
2.3.4 Clause level

This section aims to describe several features of Shan clauses. The Shan normal word order is SVO (subject-verb-object). The types of clauses are discussed first, then a discussion on time expression follows.

2.3.4.1 Intransitive clauses

In an intransitive clause the verb phrase requires only one argument. The word order of an intransitive clause is SV (subject-verb), as can be seen in examples (50) and (51). In example (50), the verb phrase hāj ‘cry’ takes only one argument īm ‘Im’, the one who is doing the ‘crying’. The verb phrase lûk ‘be deep’ in example (51) is a descriptive verb phrase which also takes one nominal argument túŋ nân ‘that water’.

(50) ElicitedExamples.004

īm  hāj
Im  cry
Nprop  V

Im cries.

(51) Head-Hunters.021

túŋ   nân   kû  lûk
deep_water  that  conn  deep  V

That water was deep.

2.3.4.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses take two arguments, a subject and an object. The word order of a transitive clause is SVO (subject-verb-object), as can be seen in example (52).
The head verb is *āw* ‘get’ requires a subject, the one ‘getting’, *piāj* ‘older brother’, as well as an object, the thing being gotten, in this case, *pʰuŋ* ‘honey’.

(52) WildPigHunting.007

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{piāj} & \quad \text{kwā} & \quad \text{āw} & \quad \text{pʰuŋ} \\
\text{older\_brother} & \quad \text{go} & \quad \text{get} & \quad \text{honey} & \quad \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

\[\ldots\text{I (older brother) went to get honey.}\]

2.3.4.3 Di-transitive clauses

Di-transitive clauses take three arguments: a subject, a direct object (DO) and an indirect object (IO). The word order of a Shan di-transitive clause is either S-V-IO-DO or S-V-DO-IO. Example (53) presents a di-transitive clause with S-V-IO-DO word order. The verb phrase *mèŋ* ‘give’ requires a subject, the one who gives, *nŋtʃāj* *kʰā* ‘my younger brother’, an indirect object, the one receiving, *pŭ* *pʰō* *kʰā* ‘my father-in-law’, and a direct object, the thing being given, *hā lāj wàt* ‘500 baht’.

(53) ElicitedExamples.005

\[
\begin{align*}
n\text{nŋtʃāj} & \quad \text{kʰā} & \quad \text{mèŋ} & \quad \text{pŭ} & \quad \text{pʰō} & \quad \text{kʰā} & \quad \text{hā} & \quad \text{lāj} & \quad \text{wàt} \\
\text{younger\_brother} & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{give} & \quad \text{husband} & \quad \text{PRO} & \quad \text{five} & \quad \text{hundred} & \quad \text{baht} \\
\text{N} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N} & \quad \text{N}
\end{align*}
\]

My younger brother gave my father-in-law 500 baht.

When the direct object comes before the indirect object then a preposition *tī* or *kātī* is used before the indirect object. Example (54) presents the S-V-DO-IO word order. The direct object *nāmpʰuŋ* ‘honey’ comes before the indirect object *nēt* ‘Net’ and is connected to the indirect object by the preposition *tī* which can be translated as ‘to’ in this case.

(54) ElicitedExamples.003
Sister Toi gave honey to Net.

2.2.4.4 Dependent and independent clauses

Dependent clauses in the Shan language are pre-posed or post-posed clauses. Dependent clauses which are pre-posed include adverbial ‘when’ clauses and ‘if’ clauses, as can be seen in examples (55) and (56), respectively.

(55)  Head-Hunters.040
mō hāw lōy kwā hōt pʰâlāŋ tʰâm wā lûk ḏn sâŋ
when 1PL descend go arrive
foreigner ask quote child young two

kō nān ḏn héthâŋ
person that run why

When we got there, the foreigners asked, "Why did those two children run (away)?"

(56)  WildPigHunting.057
pō kō nān tāŋ pīāŋ tē mājôôu têtêwâwâ,
if person that die older_brother irr worry really ...

If that person died, I would be really worried [hot-heart]...

Dependent clauses which are post-posed are ‘because’ clauses. Example (57) presents a post-posed ‘because’ clause.

(57)  FiveHundredBaht.016
mâñ âm pâṭôôu hêít kōppôôwâ mâñ tfēp nâ
3PS not content at all because 3PS pain very

PRO NEG V ADV CONJ PRO V INTS

He was not satisfied [enough-heart] at all because he had much pain.

2.3.4.5 Time expressions

The Shan language marks tense and aspect in the verb phrase to a certain extent. For example, to express past tense lâj is used and to express durative aspect tûk is
used. Both lāj and tūk are preverbal elements. However, it is also common for time expressions to be used to express these in Shan. When a time expression is used it takes the whole sentence as its scope rather than just the verb phrase. Time expressions are sometimes adverbs of time, such as, mōlēw ‘at this moment’, mōpūk ‘tomorrow’, mōwá ‘yesterday’, and so forth. At other times, they can be a whole clause, for example, mō lāj pī tī pōn má (when many years which passed by) ‘many years ago’.

Example (58) illustrates that the time expression mōlēw ‘at this moment’ is used to mark durative aspect. In example (59) mōwá ‘yesterday’ is used to mark past tense.

(58)   Elicited examples.015
pʰōn tōk mōlēw
   rain  fall  now
 N  V   ADV
     It is raining now.

(59)   ElicitedExamples.023
mōwá hāw kép pʰāk nōw tʰōn.
yesterday 1PL pick vegetable in forest
ADV  PRO  V N PP N

   Yesterday, we went to pick vegetable.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has given a brief introduction to the Shan language and its speakers. It has also provided a phonology sketch of the language. And finally, it has briefly described the Shan language in terms of its grammatical features at the phrase and clause levels. This is needed to chart the texts and get them ready for analysis later on.
CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.0 Introduction

This chapter first gives a brief review of the literature on discourse analysis that is pertinent to the scope of this thesis. It goes on to summarize the theories and methodologies used and to interact with them to underwrite the validity of the research. Also found in this chapter is the summary of some related studies on Tai languages which have served as the guidelines for this study of Shan narrative.

3.1 Overview of discourse analysis

There has been rapid growth in the linguistic area called discourse analysis for the past few decades. The traditional view held by Chomsky (1957) that there are no relationships beyond sentence as far as linguistics is concerned, no longer satisfies many linguists who seek explanations for variations of syntactic forms beyond the sentence level. Among these are Pike (1964), Gleason (1968), Longacre (1968, 1972, 1989, 1990, 1996), Grimes (1975), Halliday and Hassan (1976), Hopper and Thompson (1980), Givon (1983), and Levinsohn (1978, 1987, 1992, 1994, 2003).

The question is why discourse analysis? Sanders (1970) states that sentence grammar will not work unless it is part of discourse grammar. His rationale for this statement is that certain factors which are needed for understanding and accounting for elements in sentences cannot be found in the sentences themselves, rather they can only be found elsewhere in the discourse. This same view is found in Wirth (1985) which states that only the discourse context can explain why certain word order, word choice, anaphora, and several other syntactic forms are applied to certain sentences. Longacre (1996:1) strengthens this view by claiming that “language is language only in context”. He further reasons that to study the grammar of a language by simply looking at isolated sentences not only leaves many unanswered questions but also limits the ability to fully explain many
difficult problems. In conclusion, it is necessary to analyze the grammar of a language from the discourse point of view.

There have been many studies in the discourse area including different genres from different languages. However, narrative discourse has received the most attention. Grimes (1975) states that narrative discourse is where the distinction among different types of information is most clearly displayed. He divides information in narrative discourse into two kinds. The first kind of information he gives the name “event” which records that “a particular person did something” (1975:35). The second kind is called a “non-event” which can be further divided into setting, background, evaluation, and collateral. Setting is mainly about place, time, and circumstances. Background provides explanations to the narrative. Evaluation records a narrator’s opinions about participants, events, etc. Collateral records events which did not happen in a narrative.

Hopper and Thompson (1980) claim that the transitivity feature of verbs has a discourse function. That is, verbs with high transitivity often occur in clauses denoting foreground information while verbs with low transitivity usually occur in clauses expressing background information.

Longacre (1968, 1972, 1989, 1990, 1996) has contributed much to the area of discourse analysis. He has studied discourse structure of many languages of the Philippines and of Papua New Guinea. His major contributions to the field of discourse analysis include the realm of surface and notional structures, mainline vs. supportive material (storyline and non-storyline) which includes salience scheme, and participant reference systems especially in narrative discourse. He has also contributed much to paragraph types and their combinations and discourse typology. The focus of this thesis draws on Longacre’s surface and notional structures and storyline studies.

discourse viewpoint. He states (1992) that to start analysis with narrative discourse will help one understand the features of other types of discourse. He has conducted discourse studies on New Testament Greek and on various languages of West-Central Africa. He has developed a methodology for analyzing participant reference. I have chosen Levinsohn’s methodology and not Longacre’s because it is comparable in a more statistical manner.

3.2 Theoretical framework

An important thing to do prior to analysis is to identify the discourse type of each of the texts. Longacre (1996) classifies different types of discourse: narrative, procedural, behavioral, and expository, based on four parameters. These parameters are contingent temporal succession, agent orientation, projection, and tension. Longacre (1996:9-10) defines these four parameters in term of their binary nature in narrative discourse as follows:

…Contingent temporal succession refers to a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings. Agent orientation refers to orientation towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse. These two parameters intersect so as to give us a four-way classification of discourse types: Narrative discourse (broadly conceived) is plus in respect to both parameters…The first two parameters, however carefully defined, leave us with a classification much too broad for most purposes. A further parameter, projection, can be posited so as to give us eight types instead of four. Projection has to do with a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized. Thus, narrative as a broad category can be subdivided into prophecy, which is plus projection, versus story, history, etc., which are minus projection, i.e., the events are represented as having already taken place…Although a scheme in three parameters captures many useful distinctions, still a fourth parameter, tension, can be posited, which has to do with whether a discourse reflects a struggle or polarization of some sort. This is relevant to narrative discourse of all sorts where episodic (minus tension) narrative is distinguished from climactic narrative (plus tension).

Longacre also developed a framework for discussing the features of surface and notional structures of texts. He proposed that the features on the surface structure of a story may be comprised of a title, aperture, stage, prepeak episode(s), peak
episode, postpeak episode(s), closure, and finis. He also proposed the notional structure of a narrative discourse to be the plot structure whose progression starts “from the stage to inciting moment to further build up to a climax of confrontation to denouement and to final resolution” (Longacre 1983:xvi). He states that the relationship between the surface and notional structures is a two-way relationship, where the surface structure marks what the notional structure or plot requires in the given story. In its turn the notional structure is the motivation for the different surface structure features that are found marking the various notional structure units.

Table 4 presents Longacre’s (1996:28) demonstration of the correlation between the surface and notional levels of climactic narrative discourse. He claims that the title, aperture, and finis are features of surface structure only. A normal story will have the stage filled by the exposition, the prepeak episodes - anything from zero to ‘n’ - are filled by the inciting moment and developing conflict, the peak episode contains the climax of the story, the postpeak episodes - again, any number may exist - is filled with the denouement and perhaps final suspense, and lastly, the closure will contain the conclusion. Longacre claims that the labeling of the notional structure of narrative discourse chunks, as well as of other types of discourse, does not necessarily have a one-to-one correspondence with those on the surface structure. It is possible for skewing to take place, particularly at the peak of a narrative (see Table 4). He also states that in brief stories it is common for the stage and inciting moment to run together.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SURFACE STRUCTURE</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>APERTURE</th>
<th>STAGE</th>
<th>(PREPEAK) EPISODES</th>
<th>PEAK 1</th>
<th>PEAK 2</th>
<th>(POSTPEAK) EPISODES</th>
<th>CLOSURE</th>
<th>FINIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formulaic phrase or sentence</td>
<td>Expository paragraph or discourse or narrative paragraph or discourse</td>
<td>Paragraph or discourse (usually narrative or dialogue) Marked by clear transitions: conjunctions, temporal sequence or specific back reference to the preceding material, slow motion</td>
<td>Underlining Concentration of participants More vividness change of tense more specific person dialogue faster action change in length of units less conjunctions less obvious transition</td>
<td>Like prepeak</td>
<td>Often expository discourse or paragraph but can be narrative or hortatory</td>
<td>Formulaic phrase or sentence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOTIONAL STRUCTURE</th>
<th>EXPOSITION</th>
<th>INCITING MOMENT</th>
<th>DEVELOPING CONFLICT</th>
<th>CLIMAX</th>
<th>DENOUEMENT</th>
<th>FINAL SUSPENSE</th>
<th>CONCLUSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(PLOT)</td>
<td>Surface features only</td>
<td>Background</td>
<td>A problem starts the action</td>
<td>Problem and action increase</td>
<td>Problem gets impossible</td>
<td>Begin the solution</td>
<td>Finish the solution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the surface: 1. Climax may appear as Peak 1 Denouement as Peak 2 or 2. Climax may appear as Prepeak Denouement as Peak or 3. Climax may appear as Peak Denouement as Postpeak episode

Table 4. Narrative discourse with surface peak (adapted from Longacre 1996:36)
Longacre (1996) emphasizes that it is especially essential that we recognize the peak of the story with the distinctive features emerging on the surface structure. Once the peak is recognized, we can then identify the prepeak and postpeak episodes and the other features of the surface structure of a narrative in contrast to those marking the peak.

Longacre (1996:38) defines peak as a “zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts”. The peak episode has special features which may not occur anywhere else in the narrative. Longacre (1985) further states that peak often corresponds with the notional structure climax, where the maximum tension of the story is reached. In some cases the peak also marks the denouement, where an event occurs making a resolution possible. The different features he proposed that may mark the peak are rhetorical underlining, a concentration of participants, heightened vividness, a change of pace, a change of vantage point and/or orientation, incidence of particles and onomatopoeia.

Another area in Longacre’s work which has influenced my study of Shan narrative is what he calls “salience scheme”. Longacre (1989) states that a text of any discourse type in a given language always contains two kinds of material. He refers to these as “main lines of development” and “supportive materials”. He claims that the main line of development in a narrative is the storyline which is considered the “main structural feature” of a story. That is, it is the most prominent element in the story. Longacre further suggests that the clauses which carry the storyline and the clauses which carry supportive materials (non-storyline) in a narrative can be arranged in an order indicating a level of “salience” or importance. Storyline is placed in the highest position and all non-storyline clauses are placed lower. Longacre (1996:28) proposed an etic salience scheme for narrative which is presented in Table 5 below. The bands carrying the clauses of storyline are positioned highest in the scheme and the other bands carrying non-storyline are placed successively lower in the hierarchy depending on their importance to the development of the narrative.
1’. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)

1. Primary storyline

2. Secondary storyline

3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences)

4. Backgrounded actions/events

5. Backgrounded activity (durative)

6. Setting (exposition)

7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)

8. Evaluations (author instructions)

9. Cohesive and thematic

Note: Flashback can group with (2) or (4) or can be added after (5)

Table 5. An etic salience scheme for narrative (adapted from Longacre 1996:28)

Longacre (1990) also states that the verbs of storyline clauses should have distinct forms in terms of tense or aspect, or both tense and aspect. Many Asian languages are isolating languages, and consequently the storyline clauses are marked in other ways.

Promotion and demotion up and down the salience scheme may take place. That is, non-storyline clauses in the hierarchy of saliency may be promoted to storyline while storyline clauses may be demoted to non-storyline. For instance in English punctiliar adverbs like suddenly can promote non-storyline clauses to the storyline. Storyline elements can be demoted by the use of grammatical subordination or relativization, that is, to subordinate a clause whose verb reports an action by making it a pre-posed adverbial or relative clause (Longacre 1996).

Levinsohn (1994) states that participants throughout a discourse can be encoded along the coding scale provided by Givon (1983:18) presented in Figure 4. The amount of encoding material used to refer to a participant depends on several factors. Among these are the number of participants on the stage, the role of the
referent in the previous clause, the presence or absence of a discontinuity, whether or not the clause is highlighted, and the status of the participant in the story.

Least coding material  Zero anaphora  
Unstressed/bound pronouns (“agreement”)  
Stressed/independent pronouns  
Most coding material  Noun phrases  

Figure 4. Givon’s coding scale

Levinsohn’s methodology for analyzing participant reference consists of eight steps. This methodology is discussed in detail in chapter one (Section 1.3.1) and is the methodology followed in chapter six.

Since the topics chosen in this study require the breaking of the text as a whole into chunks, Barnwell’s work in setting forth criteria to determine the boundaries between these chunks is important. Barnwell (1980) states that at either the beginning or the end of a chunk there are criteria which signal its boundary. Any one criterion by itself does not necessarily signal the boundary of a chunk. However, when there are two or more criteria, it is likely that there is the presence of a boundary. More criteria are likely to be found at section breaks than at paragraph breaks. Barnwell’s list of criteria includes grammatical markers, a change in time, place, and participants, topic phrases or sentences, summary statements, overlap clauses, direct address, rhetorical questions, the use of tenses or adverbia l tense markers, and other signals like long pauses, different intonation patterns, and several others.

5 Barnwell uses the term “unit”. However, I prefer to use the term “chunk” which refers to the various parts in a story. A chunk can consist of anything from one sentence at the least to several paragraphs, or even a whole book.
3.3 Related studies

There have been several discourse studies conducted on various Tai languages. In regard to narrative discourse, Somsonge (1991) is a primary source. There are also Patchanee (1989), S. Person (1998), Jaranya (2004), and several others. In the field of hortatory discourse there are K. Person (1993) and Usitara (1997). Since the present study deals with narrative, the research on narrative discourse, especially that of Somsonge (1991), have served as the guidelines in analyzing different aspects of Shan narrative. Longacre’s framework was the main influence for these studies on narrative discourse. The findings of the related topics in these studies will be compared, when possible, to the findings of this research in chapter seven. Highlights from Somsonge’s, Patchanee’s, Jaranya’s, and S. Person’s writings are summarized as follows.

Somsonge studied the structure of Thai narrative based on folk tales. The major areas discussed are surface and notional structures, storyline and non-storyline, and participant reference. Prior to proposing the features of surface and notional structures to the texts, Somsonge divided the texts into chunks. The criteria which mark the boundaries of these chunks are a change in time, a change in location, a change in participants, and a change of circumstance. The surface structure features of Thai folk tales include title, aperture, stage, prepeak, peak, postpeak, closure, and finis. The peak is marked by the elaboration of details, a miraculous incident, a crowded stage, rhetorical underlining, and heightened vividness achieved through a passive structure, packed storyline verbs, and shifts along the narration → drama parameter. The features of the notional structure of these Thai climactic narratives are comprised of exposition, inciting incident, developing conflict, climax, denouement, and conclusion.

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6 Thai here refers to Central Thai.
Somsonge proposed a salience scheme which includes seven bands, storyline, background, flashback, setting, irrealis, evaluation, and cohesion. Thai storyline verbs are verbs of motion, action, cognitive experience and event proper, which are accompanied by sequential markers. Motion and action verbs of storyline clauses are often accompanied by directional verbs. The background band consists of cognitive states and background activities which are customary/routine, ongoing, repetitive, or gradual. The band of flashback contains verbs similar to those of storyline band except that these flashback band clauses are out of sequential order. The clauses of the setting band contain verbs which are stative, possessive, existential, and equative. These setting band clauses serve to explain and to describe. The irrealis band contains clauses whose verbs indicate wish, doubt, estimation, and the like. Irrealis is also achieved by negation and conditional sentences. Evaluation is characterized by author intrusion or author’s opinions about morality. The verbs of the evaluation band are often stative. The cohesion band includes adverbial and relative clauses, thematicity and topicalization. To promote a cognitive state from background band to a cognitive experience of storyline band, the punctiliar adverb ‘suddenly’ is used. Demoting clauses of storyline band to non-storyline bands is achieved by subordinating those clauses.

The main participants in the stories in Somsonge’s study are all animate and are introduced by existential constructions. They are referred to by zero anaphora until there are points of discontinuities occurring in the texts. After discontinuities, they are referred to by overt forms (noun phrases). Secondary or thematic local participants are introduced by overt forms. Zero anaphora is found within the section of which they are the thematic participants, otherwise they are referred to by overt forms. Tertiary participants are mostly encoded by overt forms except for instances in which they are locally thematic participants of paragraphs; they may then be referred to by zero anaphora.

Patchanee (1989) analyzed Thai short stories looking at the multiple levels of significant discourse information including peak, storyline, and non-storyline. The devices which are found marking the peak in these Thai short stories are the
absence or presence of flashback, a crowded stage, the incidence of onomatopoeia, a change of pace, rhetorical underlining marked by repetition of cognitive experience verb, and heightened vividness which is achieved through the extensive use of storyline verbs, a shift from monologue to dialogue, and a shift to a specific time.

Storyline forms in Patchanee’s study are divided into three categories based on the degree of significance. The first level storyline is characterized by punctual verbs of action, motion, and event proper, accompanied by sequential markers and punctual adverbs. The second level storyline is marked by cognitive experience, speech, and causative verbs. The third level of storyline has the form of the negation word māj ‘not’ plus a series of verbs. It is noted that since this kind of storyline has the characteristics of both non-storyline and storyline, context has to be taken into account. Regarding non-storyline, there are two levels of non-storyline information presented in the study. The first level of non-storyline information consists of background activities, cognitive state, and flashback. Background activities and cognitive state are often marked with time phrases indicating duration, while flashback is marked with time phrases signaling past time. The second level of non-storyline information includes setting marked by time phrases and existential verbs, irrealis characterized by modality verbs and negation, evaluation, and cohesion mainly characterized by adverbial clauses.

Jaranya (2004) analyzed a Thai short story focusing on the surface and notional structure of that text. The four boundary markers found in the short story “Mom” are a change in time, a change in location, a change in participants, and a change in theme. The following features are found for surface structure, title, stage, prepeak episode, peak episode, postpeak episode, and closure. The peak of the story is marked by rhetorical underlining through parallelism, paraphrase, and tautology, an unusual element called head-head linkage, and a change of pace. The features of the notional structure include exposition, exciting incident, climax,
denouement, and conclusion. The correlation of notional and surface structures maps perfectly, excepting the title which is a feature of surface structure only.

S. Person (1998) studied Northern Thai first person narratives. The main aspect of her research that is related to the present study is that of surface structure. The six criteria which mark the boundaries in Northern Thai texts are a change in topic, a change in participants, a change in time, a change in location, the use of prominent connective words or phrases, and summary statements which can be classified as “author intrusion”. The features of the surface structure of Northern Thai texts are comprised of the aperture, stage, the prepeak, the peak, postpeak, and closure. The peak is marked by the concentration of participants, high intonation, for example, the teller when quotes others, her voice changes to a higher pitch, heightened vividness achieved by the concentrated use of kamnii and kò?, the highest verb density, especially action verbs, and reported speech.

3.4 Summary

This chapter provides a brief literature review on discourse analysis which is pertinent to the scope of the thesis. It also lays out the theoretical framework designed by Longacre and Levinsohn which has heavily influenced this study. The works by Somsonge and others, which serve as guidelines to this study, are also briefly summarized.

Based on Longacre’s four parameters (Section 3.2) we can determine that the three Shan texts under study are climactic narratives. They are plus in contingent temporal succession as they present events which are contingent on previous events. They are plus in agent orientation because they have participants that are present and active agents throughout the stories. Since they record events which have already happened, therefore they are minus in projection. And finally, all three Shan texts are plus in tension since there is a climax in each of the texts.
CHAPTER 4

CHUNKING AND SURFACE AND NOTIONAL STRUCTURES

4.0 Introduction

Prior to proposing the surface and notional structures of a text, it is necessary to divide the text into chunks as discussed by Barnwell (1980) and Longacre (1996). Section 4.1 of this chapter discusses the criteria which signal the boundaries of the chunks in the three Shan texts. Section 4.2 proposes the surface and notional structures of Shan narrative based on the chunks established in section 4.1. Section 4.3 summarizes the findings.

4.1 The stories and their chunks

Barnwell (1980) proposes a list of criteria which signal the boundaries of chunks in a text. The full list is found in chapter three (Section 3.2). Several items in Barnwell’s list which help determine the boundaries of the chunks in the three Shan texts are discussed as follows.

The first of these criteria are grammatical markers. These grammatical markers can be conjunctions or adverbs. For example, *then* in English, or *ουν* ‘therefore’ in Greek can signal the beginning of a chunk. A change in place, time, and participants can also signal the beginning of a new chunk, especially in narrative discourse. A change in time and location can be expressed by a phrase or clause indicating time and/or location, such as “two days later”, “at the headman’s house”, or “when they arrived at the river”. A change in participants includes either the introduction of a new participant or the reintroduction of a participant which has been out of focus for a while. Summary statements which occur at the beginning or at the end of chunks can indicate their boundaries as well. Finally, a rhetorical question (something which often introduces a new topic) can also mark the beginning of a new chunk.
In the following sections, each of the Shan stories will be told briefly to facilitate the understanding of the discussion on the chunking of the texts which follows.

4.1.1 “The Head-Hunters”

The story called “The Head-Hunters” is told as follows. Each paragraph represents one chunk, major or minor, in the story.

In the past, the people who dug for precious stones offered human heads to the spirits. They sent out people called *pîpât* ‘head-hunters’ to look for human heads. These head-hunters lured children, caught them, put them in sacks and carried them to the forest to cut off their heads. This made children in those days really scared. They listened to their parents’ words and did not dare go anywhere.

One day, three children went to look for fish. When they arrived there they put the net in deep water. There was a high dam. The water fell making the sound ‘huung huung’. The sound of the water falling was so loud that they talked but could not hear each other.

At this time, coincidently, two foreigners and their interpreter arrived at the place where the children were catching fish. Those foreigners were tourists. They had never seen people catch fish before. When they saw something strange they wanted to take pictures, to ask, and to take notes. When the two children saw the foreigners they suspected they were these head-hunters their parents had warned them about.

At this time, the foreigners finished talking with their interpreter then pointed down to where the three children were. The two children were really scared, moreover, the net got stuck. Before they could run away, the foreigners suddenly walked forwards. The two children were really scared plus the net got stuck, (they) left the net and ran to the river bank.

Coincidently, my grandfather and I had been picking green vegetables and we came down to the rice field’s edge and heard the sound of hollering. When the children came close, we heard “help, help”. The children told us that the head-hunters had taken their older brother away and they came to ask for help. We went down and saw the foreigners, their interpreter, and the other boy talking with one another. The foreigners asked, “Why did the children run away?” My grandfather replied, “They were afraid of you because they thought you were head-hunters.” The foreigners laughed.

Those foreigners have huge backpacks, don’t they?, which looks really scary. They carried the backpacks which were green and tall past their heads, which was scary because (we) thought they were head-hunters.

This is a true story that my grandfather and I saw.
“The Head-Hunters” can be divided into five major chunks. The criteria which mark the boundaries of the chunks in this story are a change in time, a change in location, a change in participants, the use of a rhetorical question which occurs as author’s intrusion, and the use of the adverbs kámñøj ‘at this time’ and ālūkālē ‘coincidently’. The adverb kámñøj ‘at this time’ is used in this story as a boundary marker indicating a small change of time. The chunks and the criteria marking them are shown in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chunk</th>
<th>Sent#</th>
<th>Boundary markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>001-015</td>
<td>Time margin: mākūmpk ‘in the past’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>016-022</td>
<td>Change in time: mî wān nūŋ ‘one day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in participants: introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in location expressed by the verb kwā ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>023-027</td>
<td>Adverb: kámñøj ‘at this time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverb: ālūkālē ‘coincidently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>028-031</td>
<td>Change in participants: re-introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>032-043</td>
<td>Adverb: ālūkālē ‘coincidently’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in participants: re-introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>044-045</td>
<td>Rhetorical question: author’s intrusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in participants: re-introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>046</td>
<td>ān nāj pēn lêŋ tē… ‘This is a true story…’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Chunks and their boundary markers of “The Head-Hunters”

Chunk I (S’001-022) can be further divided into two minor chunks. The first minor chunk (S’001-015) is separated from the second minor chunk (S’016-022) by a change in time mî wān nūŋ ‘one day’, a change in participants, and a change in location expressed by the verb kwā ‘go’. Chunk II (S’023-031) is set apart from chunk I by the use of adverbs kámñøj ‘at this time’ and ālūkālē ‘coincidently’ and a change in participants. Chunk II consists of two minor chunks which are separated from each other by the use of adverb kámñøj ‘at this time’ and a change in participants. The criteria found at the beginning of chunk III (S’032-043) are the use of adverb ālūkālē ‘coincidently’ and a change in participants. Chunk IV (S’044-045) is set apart from chunk III by the use of a rhetorical question, which
occurs as the author’s intrusion, and a change in participants. Chunk V which
consists of S’046 alone is not separated from chunk IV by the markers suggested
by Barnwell. Instead, it is the content of the S’046 that sets it apart from chunk IV.

4.1.2 “Wild Pig Hunting”

The story “Wild Pig Hunting” is briefly told in the following paragraphs. Each
paragraph reflects a chunk in the story.

Today I will tell you a story about going to the forest. It is not a tale, it is a true story.

Once I went to visit my father in Pung Yam village. I went there to get honey.
However, one day we did not go to get honey. There were people there who came to
invite us to go hunting.

Then, we went together, about 10 people. Of these ten people six people had guns.
When entering a specific clearing, the six people with guns went to wait at the place
where pigs would run out. The other people and the dogs entered the clearing knowing
that there were pigs there. When (we) entered the clearing at this time the dogs saw a
pig immediately. The pig and the dogs barked at each other. The pig ran away from
the dogs and the people who waited then shot (at it). However, the pig didn’t die. It
turned around, reentered the clearing, (and) bumped into that group of people. They
were really scared and ran into each other not knowing who was who. The gun had
sounded twice, everyone knew that the pig was wounded; it would get mad and attack
people. At this time, one person scrambled up a tree. The tree was tall but its trunk
was not very big. He climbed and stayed at the top of the tree. However, two other
people climbed up as well. The first person was very scared. He kept saying to the
other two, “Don’t climb more or else the tree will break.” The other two did not listen.
They kept climbing up. By this time, the tree was overloaded. It couldn’t bear any
more. It bent to the ground. The pig was running back and forth. At this time, the top
of the tree broke off. The first person fell down. The pig came immediately to bite
him. The other two were on the tree, they didn’t fall down. After the pig had bitten
that person, it ran out. When it ran out, the person who was nearest to it shot at it.
Then the pig died.

“Now how will we deal with this?” I knew that the person could not survive. He
would die for sure since the pig had bitten him very severely. The pig was dead. We
climbed down from the trees. We got cloth to tie up the person’s wounds, made a
stretcher, put him in the stretcher and carried (him) back to the village. There was only
one vehicle and the hospital was very far away. However, that day they were able to
rent a vehicle to go to the hospital in Mae Hong Son for 800 baht. After they had left
for the hospital we dressed the pig together. Eating was not fun at all. The meat was
not delicious, it was very gamey. I heard that that person survived. I was very glad. I
would be very worried if that person died because I had gone with them and seen
everything with them.
This is a true story which I told you. I have this much.

The “Wild Pig Hunting” story can be broken down into five chunks. The markers which signal the boundaries of the chunks in this story are a change in time, a change in location, a change in participants, the use of the conjunction kámnân ‘then’ and a rhetorical question which occurs as the author’s intrusion. The chunks and the markers that signal their boundaries are presented in Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chunk</th>
<th>Sent#</th>
<th>Boundary markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>001-002</td>
<td>Time margin: wáhnmänj ‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>003-007</td>
<td>Change in time: mí pɔk nūy ‘there was one time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in participants: introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in location expressed by the verb kwà ‘go’ and the locative phrase kāti pünjam ‘to Pung Yam village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>008-043</td>
<td>Conjunction kámnân ‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in participants: re-introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in location expressed by kwà ‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>044-057</td>
<td>Rhetorical question: author intrusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Change in participants: re-introduction of participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>058</td>
<td>pēn lɔŋ tē… ‘(it) is a true story…’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Chunks and their boundary markers of “Wild Pig Hunting”

Chunk II starts from S’003 and ends at S’007. It is set apart from chunk I by a change in time mí pɔk nūy ‘there was one time’, a change in participants, and a change in location indicated by the motion verb kwà ‘go’ accompanied by the locative phrase kāti pünjam ‘to Pung Yam village’. The criteria which signal the beginning of chunk III (S’008-043) are the use of the conjunction kámnân ‘then’ (which indicates a change in time), a change in participants, and a change in location expressed by the verb kwà ‘go’. Chunk IV (S’044-057) is separated from chunk III by the use of a rhetorical question, which occurs as the author’s intrusion, and a change in participants. Chunk V which consists of S’058 alone is

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7 Pung Yam is the village where the father of the narrator of this story lives. It is very far from Napajat village where the narrator himself lives.
set apart from chunk IV by its content rather than by the criteria suggested by Barnwell.

4.1.3 “Five Hundred Baht”

The following paragraphs are the brief telling of the story “Five Hundred Baht”. Each paragraph indicates a chunk in the story.

One night many years ago I heard my father and my brother quarrel at their house. At that time, my father-in-law, who lived in another house close by, was drunk (and) he heard them quarrel. He called over, “Kill each other.”

At the time, (since) my brother and my father quarreled, my brother was already angry. He got more angry at hearing my father-in-law’s words. He ran over looking for my father-in-law. He asked, “What did you say about me a moment ago?” My father-in-law replied, “I didn’t say anything about you.” My brother said, “It is not true. You did say (something) about me. We quarreled on our own; we didn’t say anything about you”. My brother approached my father-in-law. My father-in-law was sitting at the top of the stairs in his house. My brother pulled my father-in-law’s shirt collar and punched him in the head, and my father-in-law fell off the stairs. My mother-in-law had to take my father-in-law upstairs. My parents had to come to take my brother home.

The next morning, my father-in-law was in pain and he was angry. He was not content since my brother was younger, and moreover had come to punch him at his own house. He said he would take my brother to the headman’s house. After 2 or 3 days he called my brother to the headman’s house. I also went there. I saw them argue back and forth like before. At that time the headman and the influential people (of the village) decided that my brother was wrong since he went to punch my father-in-law at his (my father-in-law’s) house. Then the headman said, “(You) must pay 500 baht compensation.” My brother conceded and gave 500 baht to my father-in-law.

“Five Hundred Baht” can be divided into three chunks as can be seen in Table 8. The criteria which signal the boundaries of the chunks in this story are a summary statement, a change in location expressed by the verb phrase ṭeŋ kwá ‘ran away’, a change in time, and a change in participants. Perhaps, as it is a shorter story fewer chunks and fewer markers have been used.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chunk</th>
<th>Sent#</th>
<th>Boundary markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I     | 001-005 | Time margin mõ läj põ tõ pob mõ k'vn̄u nũŋ ‘one night many years ago’  
|       |        | Change in participants: Introduction of participants |
| II    | 006-014 | Summary statement: nǒu ãk'įy nǎn nǒy tąy pĩ pũt kǎn ‘at that time my brother and my father quarreled’  
|       |        | Change in location expressed by lën kwà ‘ran away’ |
| III   | 015-026 | Change in time kǎy nǒu mă ‘the next morning’  
|       |        | Change in participants: reintroduction of participants |

Table 8. Chunks and their boundary markers of “Five Hundred Baht”

Chunk II (S’006-014) is separated from chunk I by two markers. The first one is a summary statement in S’006 which sums up the situation recorded in S’001-005. That is nǒu ãk’įy nǎn nǒy tąy pĩ pũt kǎn ‘at that time my brother and my father quarreled’. The second marker is a change in location expressed by the verb phrase lën kwà ‘ran away’. In this case the brother ran away from his own house to the house of the father-in-law. Chunk III consists of S’015-S’026 and is set apart from chunk II by a change in time kǎy nǒu mă ‘the next morning’ and a change in participant. It is necessary to add that chunk II and chunk III in this story are set apart from chunk I and from each other also by their content. Chunk II is about the fight between the brother and the father-in-law and chunk III is about the restitution.

4.2 Surface and notional structures

The features of surface and notional structure of each of the three Shan texts are proposed based on the chunks established in section 4.1. Each of the features of surface and notional structures of the three texts is discussed. However, the focus is on the surface structure peak.

As summarized in section 3.2, Longacre (1996) proposes that the surface structure of a narrative typically consists of title, aperture, stage, prepeak episode, peak
episode, postpeak episode, closure, and finis. At the notional structure level, exposition, inciting moment/developing conflict, climax, denouement/final suspense, and conclusion often correlate with the stage, the prepeak, the peak, the postpeak episodes, and the closure on the surface structure, respectively. Title, aperture, and finis are the features of surface structure only.

As stated earlier (Section 3.4) all of these Shan stories are climactic. Thus, the features Longacre proposes are expected. The story “The Head-Hunters” and its chunks which are assigned to the features of surface and notional structures are discussed as follows. The stage, chunk I (S'001-022), correlates with the exposition and inciting moment at the notional structure level. The history of the head-hunters (“bogeyman”) is given. The introduction of the major participants, the three children, is provided, and the incident that sets it all going occurs: they decided to go fishing. The peak episode, chunk II (S'023-031), correlates with the climax at the notional structure. It is filled with an embedded narrative\(^8\) composed of its own stage (S'023-027), which gives the introduction to the other participants, the foreigners, and peak episode (S'028-031), which records that the children were frightened and ran off looking for help. The postpeak episode, chunk III (S'032-043), correlates with the denouement. The children found the narrator and his grandfather. The closure, chunk IV (S'044-045), correlates with the conclusion at the notional structure. Everything is explained. The finis, chunk V (S'046), is a feature at the surface structure only.

The “Wild Pig Hunting” story is also climactic in nature. Chunk I (S'001-002) is assigned to the title (S'001), which is the story of going to the forest, and aperture (S'002), which says it is a true story. The stage, chunk II (S'003-007), matches

---

\(^8\) An embedded narrative is a narrative within a narrative. That is, one of the units of a story is filled with the elements of a narrative. For example, if an embedded narrative is found in the peak episode of a story, that means the peak episode of that narrative contains a stage and at least one other episode, the peak, but may contain the full set of units that a story may contain.
with the exposition and inciting moment at the notional structure level. The
introduction to the major participants, the brothers in Pung Yam village, is given
and the invitation to go hunting occurs. The peak episode, chunk III (S’008-043),
matches with the climax at the notional structure. One of the people who went
hunting was bitten by the wild pig. The postpeak episode, chunk IV (S’044-057),
corresponds with the denouement and final suspense at the notional structure
level. The wild pig was dead and the wounded man survived. The finis, chunk V
(S’058), is the surface structure feature only.

Even though the story “Five Hundred Baht” is much shorter with fewer chunks, it
is also climactic in nature with a clearly defined peak that correlates with the
climax in the notional structure. The stage, chunk I (S’001-005), represents the
exposition and inciting moment at the notional structure level. The introduction to
the major participants, the brother and the father-in-law, and the minor
participants, the father and the narrator, is given. Also found here is the incident:
the father-in-law encouraged the brother and the father to kill each other. The
peak, chunk II (S’006-014), corresponds with the climax on the notional structure
level. This is the point in the story where the brother punched the father-in-law
and injured him. The postpeak episode, chunk III (S’015-026), correlates with the
denouement at the notional structure of the story. The restitution was made.

The features of surface and notional structures suggested by Longacre (1996) have
been proposed for the chunks in each of the three Shan stories. In the following
sections each of the features of the surface and notional structures will be
discussed in detail. It is necessary to note that all the key terms and the definitions
are cited from Longacre (1996).

4.2.1 Title/Aperture/Finis

The three features of the surface structure which have no matching counterparts at
the notional structure level are title, aperture, and finis. Title of a narrative is an
optional feature. Some narratives have titles and some do not. Of the three Shan
texts under study only one text has a title, tāŋy lè tʰən ‘going to the forest’\(^9\), as can be seen in example (60). However, this story is referred to as “Wild Pig Hunting” throughout this thesis because this story is about wild pig hunting. The situation of elicitation is likely the reason for the fact that this is the only story that has a title. This is the first story that was elicited. It was told after some conversation had taken place. Perhaps, that is why a title is given. The other two stories, which were told as a result of a question asked of the narrators, do not have titles. Each of them was given a title later to make reference easier. One is called “The Head-Hunters” and was told by the same narrator as “Wild Pig Hunting”. The other one is named “Five Hundred Baht” and was told by a different narrator.

(60) WildPigHunting.001

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{wānмsā} & \text{kā} & \text{tē} & \text{kʰájnē} & \text{lāŋ} & \text{tāŋ} & \text{lē} & \text{tʰən}.
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
\text{today} & \text{conn} & \text{IRR} & \text{explain} & \text{story} & *** & \text{go\_out} & \text{forest} \\
\text{ADV} & \text{CONN} & \text{IRR} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{NMLZR} & \text{V} & \text{N}
\end{tabular}

Today (I- the teller) will tell you a story about going to the forest.

An aperture, which is optional, is often a formulaic phrase to open the story. It is another surface structure feature with no matching item at the notional structure level. Out of the three stories, only “Wild Pig Hunting” seems to have an aperture, as seen (bolded) in example (61). Since this is the only example, more texts need to be studied in order to find out what the formulaic phrases for Shan narrative are.

(61) WildPigHunting.002

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
mān ām tʃəu āpəm mān pən lāŋ tē ti lāj hān kāp tā.
\end{array}
\]

\begin{tabular}{llllllllllllll}
\text{3PS} & \text{not} & \text{right} & \text{tale} & \text{3PS} & \text{be} & \text{story} & \text{true} & \text{which} & \text{get} & \text{see} & \text{with} & \text{eye} \\
\text{PRO} & \text{NEG} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{PRO} & \text{V} & \text{N} & \text{V} & \text{REL} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{PP} & \text{N}
\end{tabular}

It is not a folk tale; it is a true story which I saw with (my own) eyes.

\[^9\] ‘going to the forest’ in Shan can mean either going to gather wild vegetables or going hunting in the forest. In this story it means going hunting.
The phrase "pen ləŋ tê ‘be true story’ also occurs at the end of “Wild Pig Hunting” and of “The Head-Hunters”, as can be seen in examples (62) and (63). My hypothesis is this phrase may be the finis which by definition is formulaic of a true story in Shan. More texts of the same type need to be analyzed to confirm this hypothesis.

(62)  WildPigHunting.058
  pen ləŋ tê ti lāj má kʰəjnè nəŋjìŋ hāw
  be story true which get come explain younger_sister 1PL ...

  It was a true story which I told you (our younger sister)…

(63)  Head-Hunters.046
  àn nàj ìn pen ləŋ tê piāj tāŋ pəjʰäw lāj hōp nā
  this be story true older_brother and grandfather get see meet
  CLF DEM V N V N CONJ N V V V

  már jāw 5.
  come already ***
  V ADV PRT

  This is a true story that my grandfather and I saw.

4.2.2 Stage and Exposition/Inciting moment

The surface structure stage of a narrative, which correlates with the exposition in the notional structure, may be filled by an expository paragraph. Sometimes, a stage can set up a customary expected script which either is built up by the narrator or simply reflects a normal expectation of daily life. The clauses found in the stage of a narrative are often temporal, existential, and descriptive. The stage in each of the three Shan stories is also where the notional structure of inciting moment is found. Therefore, some event clauses are found in the stage as well.

The stage of “The Head-Hunters” (S’001-022) consists of two parts. The first part (S’001-015) is where the narrator of the story builds up a script: children in the past would not dare to go anywhere because of their parents’ warning about the head-hunters. In the second part (S’016-022) the majority of the clauses are
temporal, existential, and descriptive. There are also some event clauses in this part. Example (64) presents a temporal clause (bolded), an existential clause (underlined), and an event clause (double underlined). Example (65) contains a descriptive clause tuāŋ nān kū luāk ‘that water is deep’.

(64)  Head-Hunters.016

\[\text{However, one day, there were three people going to look for fish.}\]

(65)  Head-Hunters.021

\[\text{That water was deep…}\]

In “Wild Pig Hunting”, the stage (S'003-007) sets up a script. It is the narrator’s annual visit to his father at Pung Yam village (S’003) which was that he would go to get honey (S’004), as can be seen in example (66). The script, the expectation created, is that of getting honey. This is a script which is actually broken and replaced later on with the wild pig hunting script. The clauses in this stage are temporal and existential. Also found in this part are some event clauses. Example (66) presents a temporal clause (bolded). Example (67) presents an existential clause (underlined) and an event clause (double underlined).

(66)  WildPigHunting.003

\[\text{There was (this) one time I went to visit my father at (the village of) Pung Yam.}\]

(67)  WildPigHunting.004

\[\text{Besides, I went there to get honey.}\]
There were brothers there (who) came and asked [invite] (us), "(Do you want) to go to the forest (to go hunting)?" [(said) like this.]

The stage (S’001-005) of “Five Hundred Baht” is expounded by temporal phrases and clauses, descriptive clauses, and several event clauses. Example (68) records a temporal clause (bolded). A temporal phrase (bolded), a descriptive clause (underlined), and an event clause (double underlined) are illustrated in example (69).

(68)  FiveHundredBaht.001

… have night one night that 1PS conn closely irr lie already
V N NUM N DEM PRO CONN ADV IRR V ADV

…there was one evening (when) it was nearly time for bed.

(69)  FiveHundredBaht.004

more roofed_thing one 3PS be drunk 3PS get hear father 1PS and
QNT CLF NUM PRO V PRO V V N PRO CONJ

[At that time], my father-in-law who lived in another house close by, [he] was drunk. He heard my father and my brother quarrel with each other.

The stage is a feature of the surface structure which corresponds with the exposition on the notional structure level. The exposition provides information of time, place, and participants of a story. The exposition in “The Head-Hunters” story gives information about time and location and also introduces the major
participants of the story. It also gives some background information to the story. It explains who the head-hunters were, who sent them, what they would do, and why children would be afraid of them. That is, they were a kind of “bogeyman” which the parents used to frighten children into obedience.

In “Wild Pig Hunting”, the exposition gives information about time and location and introduces the participants of the story. It also sets up a customary script which is that once a year, during April and May, the narrator would go to his father’s village and stay there for about two weeks or so. He and his brother would go to get honey.

The exposition in “Five Hundred Baht” provides information about the time and location where the story took place and also introduces the participants of the story. As this is a short story, only 26 sentences long, the exposition is very brief. It is not very complex in the plot structure and there are not many participants or events, therefore each chunk is somewhat abbreviated in comparison to the other two stories.

Longacre (1996) states that the inciting moment in a short story is sometimes found in the stage of the story. This occurs in all three Shan stories. The inciting moment arises when the planned and predictable is broken because some problems occur.

In “The Head-Hunters”, the inciting moment occurs when the three children went to catch fish in spite of their parents’ warning about the head-hunters. This action broke the script which was set up earlier in the story. That is, the children in the past would not dare to go anywhere because of their parents’ warning about the head-hunters. Several crucial events follow this initial decision which adds to the tension. The first event was the crucial act of placing of their net close to a tall dam from which the water fell down making loud noise. The second event was that the sound of the water falling was so loud that they could not hear each other.
The two younger children had an older brother who was knowledgeable but communication was impossible due to the loud noise.

In “Wild Pig Hunting” the inciting moment rises when the customary script of going to get honey is broken. A new script, the wild pig hunting script, is introduced by the event of being invited to go hunting for wild pigs.

The inciting moment in “Five Hundred Baht” arises when the father-in-law, who was drunk, heard the father and the brother quarrel. However, he did not just listen. He called over to encourage them to kill each other.

### 4.2.3 Peak episode and Climax

Peak according to Longacre (1996:38) is a “zone of turbulence” where we expect to find grammatical features which are not to be found elsewhere in the story. The peak episode on the surface structure typically represents the climax at the notional structure level, and it does so in all three Shan texts. The features of the peak episodes of the three Shan stories are discussed in the section 4.2.3.1 while the features of notional structure climax are discussed in section 4.2.3.2. Several items in Longacre’s (1996) list of features which mark the peak are found in Shan. They are rhetorical underlining, a crowded stage, heightened vividness, a change of orientation, increased use of particles, and presence and absence of onomatopoeia.

Rhetorical underlining is one of the most simple and universal devices for marking the peak of a narrative. This is realized when more words or phrases or clauses of the same ideas are repeated. What it does is to slow down the pace at the peak and at the same time emphasizes the importance of some event.

Concentration of participants (or the crowded stage) appears to be a common device to mark peak in narrative and drama discourses. At this part of a narrative, it seems like the narrator brings all the participants of the story together.
Heightened vividness\textsuperscript{10} is another peak marking feature which is often obtained by a shift to a more specific person and a right or left shift in the parameter of narrative\textarrow{dialogue}\textarrow{drama}. A shift to a more specific person is realized when the narrator switches the attention from a group to an individual. Right or left shifts of the narrative\textarrow{dialogue}\textarrow{drama} parameter are another method through which the vividness at the peak is heightened. The shift to dialogue at the peak of the story can be recognized when there is no dialogue at all in the preceding parts. A story which has dialogue can shift to drama at the peak. That means quotation formulas are dropped out, and only by depending on what is said can we know who is speaking and to whom.

A change of orientation can also mark the peak of a narrative. Orientation is “what is encoded as surface structure subject” (Longacre 1996:47). In narrative, it is very common for the agent to be encoded as subject and the patient as object, but at the peak, object (patient) becomes subject (agent) and vice versa, or the object (patient) becomes subject (agent) and the former subject just drops out. Another way is for something inanimate to be encoded as subject.

Incidence of particles and onomatopoeia are features of the peak as well. The loss of characteristic particles and/or the introduction of new particles or an increased use of particles found earlier in the discourse can signal the peak of the story. Another feature is the occurrence of onomatopoeic phrases, like Zap! Bang! or Wham! at the peak of the story.

4.2.3.1 Peak

Of the three Shan stories, “The Head-Hunters” is the only story that has its peak episode filled with an embedded narrative consisting of a stage and a peak

\textsuperscript{10} Heightened vividness in Longacre’s list of peak marking features can also be obtained by a shift in a nominal-verbal balance and a tense shift. They are not discussed in this section since these are not found in the Shan texts.
episode. The stage (S'023-027) of the embedded narrative possesses similar characteristics as the overall stage of the narrative.

The peak episode (S'023-031) of “The Head-Hunters” is marked by rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, an increased use of particles, and the absence of onomatopoeia. Rhetorical underlining can be achieved by the exact repetition of the same phrase. In example (70), the verb phrase *tí lóng kwà ‘pointed down to’* is repeated with exactly the same words. This repetition of the foreigners’ action helps to make the two children’s hypothesis of the foreigners being head-hunters more valid and points to how deeply they are convinced.

(70) Head-Hunters.028

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{p*álaŋ} & \text{s*ŋ} & \text{k*} & \text{n*ń} & \text{j*áwk*} & \text{tí} & \text{lón} & \text{kw*} & \text{tí} \\
\text{... foreigner} & \text{two} & \text{person} & \text{that} & \text{then} & \text{point} & \text{descend} & \text{go} & \text{point} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
lón & kw* & kâti & hâw & sâm & k* & mí & j* & n*ń. \\
\text{descend} & \text{go} & \text{at} & \text{3PL} & \text{three} & \text{person} & \text{have stay that} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{... those two foreigners... then pointed down to the place (where) they -- the} \\
\text{three people (children)--were staying.}
\end{array}
\]

Rhetorical underlining can also be obtained by paraphrased phrases and clauses, as can be seen in example (71). The phrase *kô têtèwâwâ ‘really scared’* (bolded) and the clause *mó yhâm k*äm ‘the net moreover was stuck’ (underlined) in S'029 are paraphrased as *kô n*à ‘very scared’ and *hâm mó yhâm k*äm ‘moreover the net was stuck’ respectively in S'031. These paraphrased phrases and clauses are used to underline the intense fear of the two children and the desperate fact of the net being stuck.

(71) Head-Hunters.029

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
k* & têtèwâwâ & lûk & ēn & s*ŋ & k* & n*ń & m*ń & hâm & k*äm \\
\text{scare really} & \text{child} & \text{young} & \text{two} & \text{person} & \text{that} & \text{net} & \text{moreover} & \text{be stuck} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
V & \text{ADV} & N & V & \text{NUM} & \text{CLF} & \text{DEM} & N & \text{CONJ} & V \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllll}
\text{Really scared (were) those two children, the net moreover was stuck.}
\end{array}
\]
Head-Hunters.031

Really scared,… In addition, the net was stuck…

Heightened vividness is achieved by the absence of dialogue. It is found that in the episodes which precede and follow the peak episode there is some sort of dialogue going on, but at the peak there is no dialogue at all. Heightened vividness is also marked by a sentence with an irregular word order as in example (72), where the subject has been moved to the end (bolded). The regular Shan word order for the kind of clause found in example (72) is Subject-Verb.

(72) Head-Hunters.029

Really scared (were) those two children,…

Example (73) presents a sentence with zero anaphora filling the subject of a series of clauses with verbs expressing feeling, kō ‘scared’, actions, t cân ‘pull’, pēt ‘throw’, and motion, ēn ‘run’. It is possible that at the peak of the story the author wanted to emphasize the feelings and reactions of the two children when they saw what they thought were head-hunters, thus, heightening the vividness of the story.

(73) Head-Hunters.031

(They) really scared, because (they) were very scared, moreover, the net was stuck, (they) could not pull (it) out, (they) left [threw] the net (there) then (they) ran up to the river bank over there.
A higher incidence of particles is another feature marking peak in this story. The particle *nā* occurs three times in the whole story and these all occur at the peak episode of the story. The particle *nā* in Shan is used to focus the hearer’s attention on what is being told or said. The narrator did not want the hearer to miss the peak of the story; therefore, he used this particle.

Longacre (1996) proposes incidence of onomatopoeia as a peak marking feature. However, in this particular story, incidence of onomatopoeia is found in the episodes preceding and following the peak but not at the peak episode. Therefore, it is the absence of onomatopoeia that is a feature which may mark peak in Shan. This is the only story out of the three which uses the absence of onomatopoeia as a peak marking feature. More stories need to be studied to confirm this hypothesis.

In “Wild Pig Hunting” the surface structure peak (S’008-043) is marked by rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, a crowded stage, a higher incidence of particles and onomatopoeia, and a change of orientation. Rhetorical underlining in this story is achieved by repeated and paraphrased clauses, as can be seen in example (74). The clause *hāw kō tētēwāwā* (underlined) is a repetition of the clause *hāw kō kān tētēwāwā* (bolded). The clause *hāw kō èn sōnsēnsānkān ‘they ran disorderly’* (underlined) is paraphrased by the clause *ām hū wā pʰšu pên pʰšu ‘not knew who was who’* (double underlined).

(74) WildPigHunting.016

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hāw</th>
<th>kō</th>
<th>kān</th>
<th>tētēwāwā</th>
<th>hāw</th>
<th>èn</th>
<th>sōnsēnsānkān</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3PL</th>
<th>conn</th>
<th>scare</th>
<th>each other</th>
<th>really</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>3PL</th>
<th>conn</th>
<th>run</th>
<th>disorderly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>CONN</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>ADV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ām</th>
<th>hū</th>
<th>wā</th>
<th>pʰšu</th>
<th>pên</th>
<th>pʰšu</th>
<th>hāw</th>
<th>kō</th>
<th>tētēwāwā.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>ADV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They then (everyone) were really frightened…They (all) ran disorderly, (they) did not know who was who, they were so scared.
Parallelism combined with paraphrase is another device through which rhetorical underlining is achieved. In this story, sentences 022 to 025 in example (75) are paralleled and paraphrased by sentences 033 to 034 in example (76). The parallel pattern here is that the other two people kept climbing up the tree, the first person kept saying to them not to climb any more, but they did not listen, and kept climbing. Example (76) is a paraphrase in that it is not an exact repetition but a short summary of example (75).

(75) WildPigHunting.022

k5 tis3ŋ en ḵu:n t’êŋ.

person second run ascend more

CLF NUM V V ADV

The second person climbed up more.

WildPigHunting.023

jâpê mà màn k5 lã:t jâpê ḵu:n t’êŋ màj té há:k.

don’t come 3PS conn say don’t ascend more tree irr break

IMPER V PRO CONN V IMPER V ADV N IRR V

"Don't come" he (the person on the top of the tree) yelled [tell]. "Don't climb up any more (or else) the tree will break".

WildPigHunting.024

kojâ k5 nân âm t’ôm en ḵu:n t’êŋ.

but person that not listen run ascend more

CONJ CLF DEM NEG V V ADV

But that person did not listen, and climbed up more.

WildPigHunting.025

k5 tisâm en ḵu:n t’êŋ kôp màj jû t’ôm kân.

person third run ascend more cling tree stay with each other

CLF NUM V V ADV N V PP ADV

The third person ran up clinging to the tree to be with the other two people.

(76) WildPigHunting.033

kânnâj k5 tinûŋ nân màn kô têtê jâpê ḵu:n mà.

at this time person first that 3PS scare really don’t ascend come

ADV CLF NUM DEM PRO V ADV IMPER V V

And now the first person, he was really scared, (saying) "Don't climb up any more, don't come (up)". 
They (the other two people on the tree) did not listen, they kept crawling up more.

Heightened vividness in “Wild Pig Hunting” is marked by a sentence with irregular word order illustrated in example (77). In this sentence the subject (bolded) follows the predicate instead of the normal Subject-Verb order. The irregular word order of a sentence is also used to heighten vividness in “The Head-Hunters” story which is told by the same narrator as this story.

(77) WildPigHunting.011

... The dogs and the wild pig barked at each other “nguk ngak nguk ngak” (sound of dog barking).

Heightened vividness in this story is also achieved by the extensive use of the conjunction kójkā ‘but’. It occurs six times at the peak in comparison with two times before and three times after the peak episode. The conjunction kójkā ‘but’ is often used to express unexpected events. It is used extensively at the peak episode of “Wild Pig Hunting” because at the peak there were many events that unexpectedly happened breaking the wild pig hunting script. That is, this story did not follow the typical pattern of a wild pig hunt where the pig gets shot and everyone goes home happily to a feast! The concentration of the adverb kāmnāj ‘at this time’ appearing five times at the peak and only once elsewhere, and the adverb kāmlēw ‘immediately’ occurring twice in the whole story at the peak, also increases the vividness of the events at the peak. Note that in this story the adverb kāmnāj, which can be translated as ‘at this time’, is not used to express time. Instead, it is used to highlight the information that follows it.
A shift from a group to an individual and a re-statement of known information are used in “Wild Pig Hunting” to heighten vividness of the peak as well. At this part of the story, everyone was on the scene (see crowded stage below), but the focus was on one person. In the preceding sentences (015-017) the references are to the group: kôn tfô nân ‘that group of people’, hǎw ‘they’, and kū kō ‘everyone’. Now in sentence 018, as can be seen in example (78), the reference is to an individual mí kō nūŋ ‘there was one person’ (bolded).

(78) WildPigHunting.018

kámñâj mâî kō nūŋ èn kûûn mâj.
at this time have person one run ascend tree

And now, there was one person running up a tree.

Everyone knew that there were three people up one tree, since it had been stated in the previous sentences (018, 021-022, 024-025) that one person climbed up a tree with two more people climbing the same tree. However, the re-statement of this known information, illustrated in example (79), adds more vividness to the peak of the story.

(79) WildPigHunting.029

kôn pêñ sâm kō jáw.
person be three person already

Three people already.

The crowded stage is another feature, frequently marking the peak, which is used in this story. At the peak, everyone who went hunting was present in the clearing. The people who had waited at the path where the pig would run out were out of their positions. The people who followed the dogs to the clearing were there. And the dogs were there. And the wild pig which was wounded was there.

Another peak marking feature found in the story is the increased incidence of particles and onomatopoeia. Again the particle nā, which is used to focus the attention of the hearer, appears five times at the peak but only once elsewhere.
The onomatopoeic phrases ญ์กจ์จ์จ์ก ‘the sound of dogs barking’ and ปูปุ ‘the sound of guns’ occur at the peak of this story.

A change of orientation is another tool used to mark the peak in “Wild Pig Hunting”. In this chunk there is a series of eight sentences (019-020, 026-028, 030-031, 035) where the tree, an inanimate object, is the subject of each sentence. The subject of these sentences is encoded in a special way. It is not only encoded by a zero anaphora and by the pronoun ㄇัน ‘it’ after being introduced, but also by the combination of a noun phrase and a pronoun, like ㄇัก ㄇัน ‘tree it’ in sentence 026 and ㄇัก ㄇัก ㄇัน ‘this tree it’ in S’027, and a noun phrase ㄇัก ㄇัก ‘this tree’ in sentences 031 and 035. The vital thing about this tree was that it was tall but not big and there were three people up in it. All the attention now is on the tree: it was overloaded, it could not bear the weight of three people, it bent, it bent to the ground, and broke!

In the story “Five Hundred Baht” the surface structure peak (S’006-014) is marked by only one feature from Longacre’s list, heightened vividness. The vividness at the peak episode is heightened by a shift to dialogue, a quote within a quote, and the use of the adverb เช่น ‘more’.

Unlike “The Head-Hunters” where dialogue was absent at the peak, this story uses dialogue to mark peak. The episodes preceding and following the peak episode have reported speech in sentences 005, 023, and 025 but not dialogue. Example (80) presents a part of the dialogue between the brother and the father-in-law.

(80)  FiveHundredBaht.007

)[:]

He (my brother) asked, "What did you say about me a moment ago?"
My father-in-law answered, "I did not say anything about you."

At the peak episode a quote within a quote is found, as can be seen in example (81). Sentence 005 recorded what the father-in-law said and in S’009, the brother repeated what the father-in-law had said.

(81) FiveHundredBaht.005

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{măn} & \ \text{lăt} \ \text{wă} \ \text{āw} \ \text{kăn} \ \text{tăj} \ \text{tăj} \\
\text{\ldots} & \text{3PS} \ \text{say} \ \text{get} \ \text{each\_other} \ \text{die} \ \text{die} \ \text{\ldots} \\
\text{PRO} & \ \text{V} \ \text{V} \ \text{ADV} \ \text{V} \ \text{V}
\end{align*}
\]

… he (my father-in-law) said, "Kill each other…"

FiveHundredBaht.009

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nông} & \ \text{lăt} \ \text{wă} \ \text{mău} \ \text{tfău} \ \text{hăw} \ \text{āw} \ \text{kăn} \\
\text{younger\_brother} & \ \text{conn} \ \text{say} \ \text{quote} \ \text{\ldots} \ \text{2PS} \ \text{encourage} \ \text{1PL} \ \text{get} \ \text{each\_other} \\
\text{ADV} & \ \text{V} \ \text{V}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tăj} & \ \text{tăj} \\
\text{die} & \ \text{die} \ \text{\ldots} \\
\text{V} & \ \text{V}
\end{align*}
\]

My brother said, “… You encouraged us to 'kill each other'…”

Adding to the vividness, the adverb jëŋk’ën ‘more’ in S’007, as can be seen in example (82), describes an increase in the degree of the brother’s anger.

(82) FiveHundredBaht.007

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{măn} & \ \text{jëŋk’ën} \ \text{tfăulăm} \\
\text{3PS} & \ \text{more} \ \text{angry} \ \text{\ldots} \\
\text{PRO} & \ \text{ADV} \ \text{V}
\end{align*}
\]

He (my brother) was more angry…

Again, due possibly to the shortness of this story, there are fewer features marking the peak.
4.2.3.2 Climax

At the notional structure level, the climax is where the problem gets as bad as possible and a solution has become seemingly impossible. Typically the climax is marked on the surface structure as the peak. As mentioned before in these three Shan stories, the climax correlates with the peak episode on the surface structure.

In “The Head-Hunters”, the climax occurs when the two foreigners, who had never seen people catch fish before, first pointed at and then walked toward the children. The situation was critical. The children were afraid of the foreigners whom they thought were head-hunters, their net was stuck, the water was loud, so they abandoned the net and ran!

The climax of “Wild Pig Hunting” is reached when the wounded wild pig turned around, reentered the clearing and bumped into all the people chasing after it. They knew what a wounded wild pig could do. They were scared to death and were running into each other trying to escape somehow. One man ran to a tree and climbed to its top. Two more people ran to the same tree and also climbed up. This tree was tall but not big, definitely not big enough for three people. Three people in a tree is too many! The top of the tree bent with the weight of three people and broke off. The first person ended up on the ground. Immediately, the pig came to bite him. The worst thing happened, someone was injured!

In “Five Hundred Baht” the climax occurs when the brother, already angry due to the quarrel with his father, reacts to his neighbor’s remark. He got even more angry. He ran looking for his sister’s father-in-law and they also argued back and forth. The argument resulted in violence. In Shan culture it is terrible for a young man to hit an older man.

4.2.4 Postpeak episode and Denouement/Final suspense

According to Longacre (1996), the postpeak episode is expected to have similar features as those of the prepeak episode. However, the fact that none of the Shan
texts under study has a prepeak episode makes it impossible to compare the features of the postpeak episodes to those of prepeak episodes. Therefore, we can only contrast the postpeak episodes against the peak episodes in these stories.

The postpeak episode (S’032-043) in “The Head-Hunters” is expounded by dialogue and pre-posed dependent adverbial clauses. Example (83) presents the adverbial clauses in a head-head linkage, where the first part (bolded) of sentence 038 cross-references to the first part (underlined) of sentence 040.

(83)  Head-Hunters.038

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m̃} & \text{ p̄r̄n̄w} & \text{t̄̄g} & \text{p̄ī̄j} & \text{l̄̄g} & \text{k̄̄w} & \text{kw̄} & \text{h̄ō} & \text{s̄̄w} \\
\text{when} & \text{grandfather} & \text{and} & \text{older_brother} & \text{descend} & \text{go} & \text{go} & \text{see} & \text{into}
\end{align*}
\]

when grandfather and older_brother descend go go see into

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̄̄p̄n̄l̄̄g} & \text{̄̄s̄̄g} & \text{̄̄k̄} & \text{̄̄t̄̄g} & \text{̄̄l̄̄m} & \text{̄̄h̄̄w} \\
\text{foreigner} & \text{two} & \text{person} & \text{and} & \text{interpreter} & \text{3PL} \\
\text{N} & \text{NUM} & \text{CLF} & \text{CONJ} & \text{N} & \text{PRO}
\end{align*}
\]

When (my) grandfather and I went down, (we) saw the two foreigners and their interpreter…

Head-Hunters.040

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m̃} & \text{h̄w} & \text{l̄̄g} & \text{k̄̄w} & \text{h̄ō} & \text{p̄n̄l̄̄g} & \text{t̄̄̄n̄̄m} & \text{̄̄l̄̄k} & \text{̄̄n̄̄} & \text{̄̄s̄̄g} \\
\text{when} & \text{1PL} & \text{descend} & \text{go} & \text{arrive} & \text{foreigner} & \text{ask} & \text{quote} & \text{child} & \text{young} & \text{two}
\end{align*}
\]

when 1PL descend go arrive foreigner ask quote child young two

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̄̄k̄} & \text{̄̄n̄̄n} & \text{̄̄n̄} & \text{̄̄h̄̄t̄̄n̄̄} \\
\text{person} & \text{that} & \text{run} & \text{why}
\end{align*}
\]

person that run why

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̄̄c̄l̄} & \text{̄̄d̄ē̄m} & \text{̄̄v̄} & \text{̄̄ī̄n̄̄t̄̄ē̄r} \\
\text{CLF} & \text{DEM} & \text{V} & \text{INTER}
\end{align*}
\]

When we (the teller and his grandfather) got there, the foreigners asked, "Why did those two children run (away)?"

In “Wild Pig Hunting”, the postpeak episode (S’044-057) is characterized by back-reference realized by tail-head linkage, where the last part of sentence 051 (tail) is cross-referenced by the first part of sentence 052, as can be seen in example (84).

(84)  WildPigHunting.048

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j̄̄w̄̄k̄̄̄̄̄} & \text{̄̄p̄̄k̄̄ā̄̄̄̄} & \text{̄̄h̄̄m} & \text{̄̄m} & \text{̄̄k̄̄t̄̄i} & \text{̄̄n̄̄s̄̄u} & \text{̄̄w̄̄} & \text{̄̄m} & \text{̄̄n}. \\
\text{… then} & \text{together} & \text{carry_between} & \text{come} & \text{at} & \text{in} & \text{village}
\end{align*}
\]

… then together carry_between come at in village

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{̄̄c̄l̄} & \text{̄̄d̄ē̄n} & \text{̄̄v̄} & \text{̄̄p̄̄} & \text{̄̄p̄̄} & \text{̄̄} & \text{̄̄n̄̄} \\
\text{CLF} & \text{DEM} & \text{V} & \text{PP} & \text{PP} & \text{N}
\end{align*}
\]

… (we) then carried the stretcher back to the village (Pung Yam).
When (we) arrived at the village, there was only one car,…

In “Five Hundred Baht” the postpeak episode (S’015-026) is characterized by a lack of dialogue. Note once again that this is a much shorter story than the other two and not much is found in this postpeak episode.

The postpeak episode on the surface structure often corresponds with the notional structure of denouement and/or final suspense. Denouement is where things start to get better. There may be some events which happen, which make the solution become possible. Final suspense is where details are worked out to have a solution. The postpeak episode correlates with only the denouement in “The Head-Hunters” and “Five Hundred Baht” while correlating with both the denouement and final suspense in “Wild Pig Hunting”.

In “The Head-Hunters”, the denouement occurs when the two children found people who could help them. It then turned out that they did not really need help because the foreigners whom they had thought to be head-hunters were not. Their fear for themselves and their brother was resolved.

The denouement in “Wild Pig Hunting” starts from the last three sentences (S’041-043) of the peak episode when someone shot at the pig and it died. Now the pig was dead but there was still a problem, a severely wounded man needing care. Everyone helped to tie up his wounds and carry him back to the village. The final suspense rises when they got to the village and there was only one car available. The driver could have refused to go because the hospital was very far away. The roads were bad. However, that day they were able to hire the car and get the wounded man to the hospital. He survived, which was the final resolution to the story.
In “Five Hundred Baht”, the denouement comes in three steps, the threat, the action, and the resolution. The father-in-law threatened to get the brother to the headman’s house. The father-in-law got the brother to the headman’s house for judgment. At the headman’s house, the headman and the influential people of the village decided the brother was wrong and asked him to pay the father-in-law five hundred baht. The brother did as he was asked and resolution was achieved.

4.2.5 Closure and Conclusion

The closure segment on the surface structure level correlates with the notional structure of conclusion which is the final result; the problem can be either solved or left unsolved. Closure can be filled with an expository paragraph. Of the three Shan stories, only “The Head-Hunters” has this segment (S’044-045). The surface structure closure of “The Head-Hunters” is marked by an expository paragraph filled with mostly descriptive clauses. The conclusion on the notional structure is the explanation of why the two children had thought the foreigners were head-hunters. This explanation related to the strangeness of the appearance of the foreigners. They looked very strange with their green backpacks rising above their heads.

4.3 Summary

There are altogether eight boundary markers which signal the boundaries of the chunks in these three Shan stories. They are a change in participant, a change in time, a change in location, a summary statement, the use of rhetorical questions, the use of the adverbs kämnaj ‘at this time’ and álukălè ‘coincidentally’, and the use of the conjunction kämnän ‘then’. Out of these eight boundary markers, only three markers, a change in participant, a change in time, and a change in location, are found in all three stories. The other markers are story specific.

The features of surface and notional structures of the three Shan texts are summarized in Tables 9, 10, and 11 below.
Of the three stories, only “Wild Pig Hunting” (Table 10) has a title and possibly a surface structure aperture. The stage on the surface structure correlates with the exposition and inciting moment on the notional structure in all three stories. The surface structure peak correlates with the climax of the notional structure in all
three stories. The features which may mark the peak episode are rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, an increased use of particles, incidence of onomatopoeia, absence of onomatopoeia, a crowded stage, and a change of orientation. Heightened vividness is the only feature that is found in all three stories. Other features are story specific. The surface structure postpeak episode corresponds with the denouement in “The Head-Hunters” and “Five Hundred Baht” (Tables 9+11). The denouement and final suspense are merged in “Wild Pig Hunting” and correlate with postpeak (Table 10). Out of the three stories, only “The Head-Hunters” (Table 9) has a surface structure closure which correlates with the conclusion at the notional structure level. The other two stories do not have closure or conclusion. “The Head-Hunters” and “Wild Pig Hunting” seem to have a surface structure finis while “Five Hundred Baht” does not.
CHAPTER 5

SHAN SALIENCE SCHEME

5.0 Introduction

Longacre (1996) suggests an etic salience scheme for narrative which is composed of nine bands (see Section 3.2). Based on Longacre’s framework of salience scheme and on the data at hand, this chapter proposes a salience scheme for Shan narrative. This salience scheme consists of six bands, storyline, background, setting, irrealis, evaluation, and cohesion as presented in Table 12 below. The following sections go into detail to describe the features of each of these bands.

<table>
<thead>
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Table 12. Tentative Shan bands of salience

5.1 Band 1: Storyline

Longacre (1990) defines storyline as the “main lines of development” of a narrative. Storyline is ranked highest in the hierarchy of saliency. The clauses of storyline express punctiliar, sequential, and most often volitional happenings. The verbs of storyline clauses must move the story forward. These verbs denote motion, action, speech, cognitive experience, or an event proper. In many languages, which much of the current research has focused on, often the verbs of storyline clauses mark tense and/or aspect. These are inflectional languages. Shan, however, is not an inflectional language. That means a verb will look the same no matter if it is a storyline or a non-storyline verb. As a result, determining the storyline verb requires additional criteria. The essential criterion that marks storyline is the type of verb found in the clause, that is, those which express
motion, action, speech, cognitive experience, or an event proper, help determine storyline clauses (see Sections 5.1.1-5.1.5). A second criterion may be found in the various conjunctions and adverbs which serve to mark sequential and punctiliar features of storyline clauses. A quick count shows that more than 50 percent of the storyline verbs are accompanied by the connector k₃ which can be translated as ‘then’. The conjunction j₃wk₃ ‘then’ is found to connect independent clauses together. The words k₃ and j₃wk₃ help to signal the sequentiality of a series of events. The adverb j₃w ‘already’ marks the completion of an event in Shan narrative. Therefore, this adverb j₃w ‘already’ helps to mark the punctiliar feature of an event. Sometimes, a storyline verb can be further emphasized by the punctiliar adverb k₃ml₃w ‘immediately’. In these three Shan texts, all the storyline clauses are independent clauses, yet not all independent clauses carry storyline.

5.1.1 Motion verbs

Motion verbs are verbs which carry participants from one location to the other. In Shan, motion verbs may occur alone as the main verb in the verb phrase of the storyline clause. However, most of the time, they are accompanied by verbs of direction, such as kw₃ ‘go’, má ‘come’, k₃₃w ‘enter’, k₃₃₃n ‘go-up’, and others (see Section 2.3.3). In example (85), the motion verb kw₃ ‘go’ occurs alone. The clause also contains the word k₃ which helps to signal sequentiality.

(85)  WildPigHunting.008

k₃mn₃n  h₃w  k₃   p₃k₃n   kw₃
then  1PL  conn  together  go  ...  
CONJ  PRO  CONJ  ADV  V

Then, we went together,…

In example (86) the motion verb p₃j ‘walk’ occurs with two verbs of direction, k₃₃₃w ‘enter’ and kw₃ ‘go’. The adverb k₃ml₃w ‘immediately’ helps to indicate
the punctiliarity of the event expressed by the verb phrase \( \text{pāj } k^h\text{āw } k\text{wā} \) ‘walk forwards’.

\[(86) \text{ Head-Hunters.030}\]
\[\text{āk}^h\text{ŋ } n\text{āŋ } k\text{āmlēw } p^h\text{ālāŋ } \text{pāj } k^h\text{āw } k\text{wā} \]
\[\begin{array}{lllll}
\text{time} & \text{that} & \text{immediately} & \text{foreigner} & \text{walk} & \text{enter} & \text{go} \\
\text{N} & \text{DEM} & \text{ADV} & \text{N} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{V} \\
\end{array}\]
\[\text{… that time immediately the foreigners walked forwards.}\]

Both of these verb phrases express volition. They also move the stories forward. In “Wild Pig Hunting”, if the people had not gone (hunting) there would have been no other events in the story. In “The Head-Hunters”, if the two foreigners had not walked forwards (S’030) the children would not have run away (S’031), and there would have been no other events that followed.

### 5.1.2 Action verbs

Similar to motion verbs, action verbs can occur alone or with directional verbs. Example (87) illustrates the action verb \( \text{pēt} \) ‘throw’ occurring alone. In example (88) the action verb \( t^h\uparrow \text{p} \) ‘punch’ is accompanied by the directional verb \( k^h\text{āw} \) ‘enter’.

\[(87) \text{ Head-Hunters.031}\]
\[\text{pēt } m\text{āg} \]
\[\begin{array}{lllllll}
\text{…} & \text{Ø} & \text{throw} & \text{net} & \text{…} \\
\text{V} & \text{N} & \text{…} & \text{…} \\
\end{array}\]
\[\text{… (The two children) threw the net…}\]

\[(88) \text{ FiveHundredBaht.011}\]
\[m\text{ān } t^h\uparrow \text{p} \ k^h\text{āw } t\text{i } h\text{ō } p\text{ā} \]
\[\begin{array}{llllllll}
3\text{PS} & \text{… punch} & \text{enter} & \text{at} & \text{head} & \text{father} & \text{…} \\
\text{PRO} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{PP} & \text{N} & \text{N} \\
\end{array}\]
\[\text{He (my brother) punched my father-in-law in the head,…}\]
5.1.3 Speech verbs

The speech verb found most often in these Shan texts, and in regular speech, is *lāt* ‘say, speak’. It carries more meaning than just ‘say’ or ‘speak’. It can mean ‘ask’ and ‘reply, answer’. Example (89) presents two consecutive sentences whose verb phrases are in storyline clauses. The verb phrases in both sentences 007 and 008 are volitional, punctiliar, and sequential. The connector *k₅* further emphasizes the sequential feature of the storyline clause in sentence 008.

(89)  FiveHundredBaht.007

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
mán & lē & lāt & wā & móu & wā & hāŋ & kāw & kó & āj \\
n\text{3PS} & \text{CONJ} & \text{say} & \text{quote} & 2\text{PS} & \text{say} & 1\text{PS} & \text{***} & \text{man} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{mākāj.}
\]

\[
\text{a}_\text{moment}_\text{ago}
\]

\[
\text{ADV}
\]

He (my brother) …and (he) asked, "What did you say about me a moment ago?"

FiveHundredBaht.008

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
pō & kō & lāt & wā & ām & lāj & wā & hāŋ & móu. \\
\text{husband} & \text{CONN} & \text{say} & \text{quote} & \text{1PS} & \text{not} & \text{get} & \text{say} & \text{anything} & 2\text{PS} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{N}
\]

\[
\text{PRO}
\]

\[
\text{PRO}
\]

My father-in-law replied, "I did not say anything about you."

5.1.4 Cognitive experience

According to Longacre (1989), it is necessary to distinguish a cognitive experience from a cognitive state since cognitive experiences belong to the storyline band while cognitive states are of the background band. Cognitive states are discussed in section 5.2. In Shan, cognitive experiences are expressed by verbs of cognition accompanied by the verb *lāj* ‘get’.

A cognitive experience expressed by the verb phrase *lāj* ŋ̣ín is illustrated in example (90). The verb *lāj* in Shan is used similarly to the word *dāj* in Thai. Hass (1964) states that the word *dāj* in this construction type expresses past tense (see
Section 2.3.3.3. The verb phrase *lāj ṣín* in this example has been translated as ‘heard’, indicating an event that has already taken place.

\[(90)\] FiveHundredBaht.004

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{mān} & \text{lāj} & \text{ṣín} & p₃ & k₃ & t₃y & n₃y₃s₃āj & p₅ít & k₃n. \\
\text{PRO} & \text{v} & \text{v} & \text{N} & \text{PRO} & \text{CONJ} & \text{N} & \text{v} & \text{ADV}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\ldots 3\text{PS get hear father 1PS and younger_brother quarrel each_other}
\]

\[
\ldots \text{he heard my father and my brother quarrel with each other.}
\]

### 5.1.5 Events proper

Events proper are happenings in which the subjects do not voluntarily carry out the events (Longacre 1989:417). Example (91) records an event proper in “Wild Pig Hunting”. The participant *k₃ t₃nu₃y₃* ‘the first person’ surely did not volunteer to ‘fall off’ the tree under which the wounded wild pig was running back and forth. The verb phrase *tōk kw₃₃* indicates this participant was on the ground now. The event of falling had been completed. The verb phrase *tōk kw₃₃* moves the story forward, as well, since the next sentence (038) recorded that the wild pig came to bite the participant who had fallen. Then other events followed that action.

\[(91)\] WildPigHunting.037

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
pō & p₃aj & m₃j & n₃n & h₃k & tōk & k₃ & t₃nu₃y₃ & n₃n & n₃a & tōk & kw₃₃. \\
\text{CONJ} & \text{N} & \text{N} & \text{DEM} & \text{v} & \text{v} & \text{CLF} & \text{NUM} & \text{DEM} & \text{PRT} & \text{v} & \text{v}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{When the top of the tree broke falling off, the first person fell off.}
\]

### 5.2 Band 2: Background

Longacre (1989) states that the background band is the second highest in the hierarchy of saliency. Belonging to this band are background activities and cognitive states. The background activities are usually customary, ongoing, and repetitive. The verbs of background activities are usually durative in nature. A background activity which contains a durative verb (bolded) is presented in example (92).
When entered that clearing, those six people went to wait at the path where wild pigs would run out.

The verb phrase of a background activity sometimes appears to have the characteristics of a storyline verb phrase, except that it does not move the story forward. It is, in fact, an activity that is predictable because of the script that was called forth when, in this case, the invitation to go pig hunting was given in sentence 006. This is illustrated in example (93). The clause ْكُن + ْتَلُج + ْمَلاِج

\( \text{ku} \text{ naw la} \text{ th} \text{kwa} \text{ la} \text{aw} \text{ } \text{ma} \text{aw} \text{ la} \text{aw} \) ‘the people and the dogs entered the clearing’ (S’010) does not move the story forward. This sentence along with the previous sentence (S’009) describes the script for ‘wild pig hunting’. When people and dogs go hunting for wild pigs, some men with guns wait at the path where pigs run out. The other people and the dogs enter the clearing to chase the pigs. The activities in examples (92) and (93) represent background activities because they are customary and script predictable. A Shan audience would immediately formulate a script based on past experience. They would know what to expect.

(93)  WildPigHunting.010

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{l} & \text{sx} & \text{naw} & \text{k} & \text{on} & \text{t} & \text{al} & \text{m} & \text{a} & \text{la} & \text{j} & \text{k} & \text{ew} & \text{ka} & \text{w} & \text{n} & \text{ou} & \text{la}\text{w} \\
\text{ADV} & \text{DEM N} & \text{CONJ N} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{PP N}
\end{align*}
\]

[Beside that], the (other) people and the dogs entered the clearing,…

Background activity which is ongoing and repetitive is found in example (94). The ongoing nature of this clause is indicated by the durative marker \( \text{j} \text{u} \). The repetitive nature is signaled by the adverb \( \text{t} \text{ik} \text{tik} \) ‘repeatedly’.
The pig was biting that (first) person repeatedly.

Also belonging to the background band are cognitive states. Cognitive states are expressed by verbs of cognition accompanied optionally by a temporal adverb indicating duration kāmnūŋ ‘a short time’. A cognitive state expressed by the verb of cognition tfikkú ‘think’ can be seen in example (95).

“If (the car) belonged to other people it would be more expensive”, (I-the teller) thought.

5.3 Band 3: Setting

According to Longacre (1989), the setting band includes materials which give explanation or description. These materials can occur throughout a narrative. However, the materials which help to introduce participants and indicate the location where a narrative takes place usually occur at the beginning of the story. In all three Shan texts, the setting materials which introduce participants and indicate time and location are most commonly found at the beginning of the texts or new episodes. Information about when and/or where the stories take place are expressed by time phrases mōkūpök ‘in the past’ and location phrases ti hön hōw ‘at their house’. Other setting band elements are clauses which explain or describe. The clauses of the Shan setting band may contain verbs which are copulative, stative, descriptive, and existential, as can be seen in examples (96), (97), and (98), respectively.
(96) WildPigHunting.008

hòk kɔŋ pɛn kɔŋ tì mì kɔŋ.

… six person be person which have gun
NUM CLF V CLF REL V N

… six people were people who had guns.

(97) Head-Hunters.018

kòjka tʰɛŋ kɔŋ nùŋ nàn āsák mɔŋ sìp hā pī kɔŋ jɔu
but more person one that age about ten five year person big
CONJ QNT CLF NUM DEM V ADV NUM NUM N CLF V

lɔ̀ hāw mì tázhú nàm jàw, wā nàj.
than 3PL have knowledge many already quote this
COMPAR PRO V N QNT ADV V DEM

… the other person (who) was about 15 years old, and bigger than them…

(98) WildPigHunting.049

mì lòt kàn nùŋ kój
have vehicle *** one alone …
V N CLF NUM ADV

… there was only one car…

In Shan, the clauses of the setting band which give reasons or clarify are often
post-posed clauses including ‘because’ clauses, as can be seen in example (99).

(99) FiveHundredBaht.016

màn âm pûtθu hēit kɔppɔwā mán tʃēp nà
3PS not content at all because 3PS pain very
PRO NEG V ADV CONJ PRO V INTS

He was not satisfied at all because he had much pain.

In “Wild Pig Hunting” there is one ‘because’ clause that is pre-posed, as can be
seen in example (100). This ‘because’ clause is pre-posed perhaps to emphasize
the reason why the meat was not delicious.

(100) WildPigHunting.054

kɔppɔwā mû nān mûn k’ōp kûn nɔu mûn âm wān hēit
because pig that 3PS bite person meat 3PS not delicious at all …
CONJ N DEM PRO V N N PRO NEG V ADV

Because that wild pig had already bitten someone its meat was not delicious at all.
5.4 Band 4: Irrealis

Irrealis according to Longacre (1989:418) refers to events which never came to pass or predictions of events that have not yet come to pass. In these three Shan texts, irrealis is most commonly achieved by negation. The negator àm ‘not’ is placed before the verb that it negates. Example (101) illustrates a negated event.

(101) WildPigHunting.014

kójka mū nān àm tāj.

but pig that not die

CONJ N DEM NEG V

However, the (wild) pig didn’t die.

Conditional sentences are another way to express irrealis. A Shan conditional sentence often consists of a dependent clause marked with pō ‘if’ and an independent clause signaled by the irrealis marker tē (see Section 2.3.3.3). Though pō occurs in the dependent clause of a Shan conditional sentence its scope covers the whole sentence. Example (102) represents a conditional sentence. Since the event in the first clause did not take place, neither did the second.

(102) WildPigHunting.057

pō kō nān tāj piāj tē mājījū tētēwāwā,

if person that die older_brother irr worry really ...

COND CLF DEM V N IRR V ADV

If that person died, I would be really worried...

Example (103) is another conditional sentence in which the irrealis marker tē is not used in the second clause. It is still considered an irrealis sentence since the verb kʰāj ‘want’ in the second clause does not mean that the action in the verb phrase has taken place. To ‘want’ to do something does not mean that you have done it.
If (they) saw something strange (they) wanted to take pictures,…

5.5 Band 5: Evaluation

Longacre (1989) also states that evaluative information occurs in a story as an author intrusion. The author may evaluate the participants or the situations in which the participants are involved. According to Labov and Waletzky (1967), evaluative information in a narrative is the most flexible part. That is, it can occur almost anywhere in a narrative. In these Shan texts, the evaluations give the narrators’ opinions about how the participants of the stories feel and about the situation in which the participants find themselves in. The evaluative information occurs in various places in the three Shan texts as well. The clauses of the Shan evaluation band often contain verbs which are stative. It is the evaluative content that distinguishes these clauses from the setting clauses.

Grimes (1975:63) points out that “evaluations bring the hearer more closely to the narration”. In the middle of “Wild Pig Hunting” story, at the peak episode (S’008-043), the narrator made an evaluation about the feeling of one of the participants, as can be seen in example (104).

(104) WildPigHunting.033

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{at this time} & \quad \text{person} & \quad \text{first} & \quad \text{that 3PS} & \quad \text{scare really} & \quad \ldots
\end{align*}
\]

At this time the first person, he was really scared…

The evaluative statement draws the attention of the hearer to the situation in which ‘the first person’ is in. He was really afraid because he was in danger!

Example (105) presents an evaluation the narrator made about the situation in which that same participant found himself. The narrator stated the opinion that the person who had been bitten so severely by the wild pig would die for sure.
(105) WildPigHunting.045

piâj hû wâ kôn kô nân màn àm lêt jâw
older_brother know that person person that 3PS not survive already
N V COMP N CLF DEM PRO NEG V ADV

mân tê tâj âmäŋk'ânpên kîppôwâ mâ k'hôp lî nà wâ nâj.
3PS irr die surely because pig bite good very quote this
PRO IRR V ADV CONJ N V V INTS V DEM

I (the teller) knew that that person (who got bitten) could not survive. He would
die for sure because the wild pig had bitten him really severely, [like this].

5.6 Band 6: Cohesion

Cohesion is the last band in the proposed initial Shan salience scheme. Cohesion
in Shan may be expressed by time phrases, such as nòwu âk'îy nân ‘at that time’,
nòwu âk'îy wân nân ‘on that day’, jù t'êy sôy sâm wân ‘after 2 or 3 days’, or by
a relative clause âk'îy tî k'hâw nòwu lâw ‘the time which (we) entered the
clearing’. Other times overt conjunctions, such as kâmân ‘then’, lè ‘and’ or
kôjkâ ‘but’, or hàm ‘moreover’ are used.

However, the most typical way that cohesion is achieved in Shan is through
adverbial clauses initiated mainly by the conjunction mô and sometimes by the
conjunction pô. Both of these two conjunctions can be translated as ‘when’. The
adverbial clauses are what Longacre (1996:13) refers to as “summary-head” and
“tail-head” linkages. “Summary-head” linkage is an adverbial clause which
summarizes the preceding event and ‘tail-head’ linkage is an adverbial clause
which repeats the event of the preceding main clause. Example (106) represents a
series of three consecutive sentences (S’040-042) which are linked together by
such adverbial clauses. The bolded part of sentence 041 sums up sentence 040 and
therefore serves as an example of “summary-head” linkage connecting sentences
040 and 041 together.
The pig was biting that (first) person repeatedly.

After the wild pig had finished biting that person, (it) ran out (of the clearing).

The underlined part of sentence 042 above serves as “tail-head” linkage to connect sentence 041 and 042 since it repeats the underlined part of sentence 041.

Somsonge (1991:78) states that for Thai “the adverbial clause can also contain a back reference to an event which is only implied in the preceding sentences.” This is also found in Shan. From the beginning of the story to this point, there has been no clear statement made that the participants actually entered the clearing. However, the event was implied in the sentences preceding the ‘when’ clause (bolded) in example (107) which refers back to that implied event.

When entered that clearing, those six people went to wait…
5.7 Promotion

Longacre (1996) states that a salience hierarchy like this allows each level of the hierarchy to be moved up or down. That is, promotion and demotion of various clauses may take place. While there is no instance of demotion found in these three Shan texts, there are instances of promotion. The promotion of non-storyline to storyline clauses can be achieved by the use of the adverb kámlēw ‘immediately’ and by changing the sentence word order.

Example (108) illustrates the use of the adverb kámlēw ‘immediately’ to break the script described by the two preceding sentences, 009 and 010, thus, promoting a background activity to storyline. Along with the time phrase ākh̕iy ti kʰaw nǒu làw ‘the time when (we) entered the clearing’, the adverb kámlēw ‘immediately’ has marked that this is an actual event taking place in this story and no longer describing a typical script of wild pig hunting.

(108) WildPigHunting.011

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{ākh}^{\text{h}i} & \text{ti} & \text{kʰaw} & \text{nǒu} & \text{làw} & \text{kámnāj} & \text{mā} & \text{ēn} & \text{kwà} & \text{hăn} & \text{mǔ} \\
\text{time} & \text{which} & \text{enter} & \text{in} & \text{clearing} & \text{at this time} & \text{dog} & \text{run} & \text{go} & \text{see} & \text{pig} \\
\text{N} & \text{REL} & \text{V} & \text{PP} & \text{N} & \text{ADV} & \text{N} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{V} & \text{N}
\end{array}
\]

kámlēw
immediately …
ADV

The time when (we) entered the clearing, the dogs immediately [this time] ran and saw a (wild) pig,…

The adverb kámlēw ‘immediately’ is also used to promote a cognitive state in the background band to a cognitive experience of the storyline band, as can be seen in example (109). The cognitive verb tįkků ‘think’, as discussed in example (95), expresses a cognitive state of the background band. However, the adverb kámlēw ‘immediately’ is used in example (109) to promote this clause to storyline clause.
…when (they) saw those foreigners: (they) immediately thought of the head-hunters that (their) parents told (them) about.

Promotion to storyline also occurs when the normal Shan word order is changed, as can be seen in example (110). The regular word order is Subject-Verb. In this sentence the verb phrase is moved in front of the subject.

If the first clause were put in regular word order, it would belong to either the setting or evaluation band. However, at this particular time of the story, this clause does move the story forwards, consequently it has been promoted to the storyline band.

5.8 Summary

The Shan salience scheme that is proposed is based on Longacre’s framework and the evidence found in the three Shan texts. This scheme of salience has six bands. The first and highest in the hierarchy is the band of storyline. Shan storyline clauses, as prescribed by Longacre, express sequential, punctiliar and usually volitional happenings and move the story forward. They are found in independent clauses. They are identified by verbs denoting motion, action, speech, cognitive experience, and event proper. They may be further marked by adverbs and a conjunction indicating sequentiality and punctiliarity. The second band in the scheme is the background band. Belonging to this band are background activities.
and cognitive states. Background activities are often customary (script predictable), ongoing, and repetitive. Background activities are expressed by verbs of duration, an adverb of repetitive nature, and a durative marker. Cognitive states are signaled by verbs of cognition optionally accompanied by a temporal adverb of duration. Clauses of the setting band follow and have verb phrases which are copulative, stative, and existential. The setting band is also denoted by phrases of time and location. The next band is irrealis. In Shan, irrealis is achieved through negation and conditional sentences. The fifth band in the scheme is evaluation. The clauses of the evaluation band are often stative expressing the narrators’ opinions about the participants and the situations in which the participants are involved. The last band in the hierarchy is cohesion. Cohesion in Shan is expressed most typically by adverbial clauses but also by time phrases and clauses, overt conjunctions and adverbs.
The proposed Shan salience scheme and the features which mark each of the bands in the scheme are summarized in Table 13 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 1</th>
<th>Independent clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Storyline</td>
<td>Motion and action verbs + (directional verbs)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speech verbs/cognitive experience/event proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequential/punctiliar markers kɔ, jɔwɛ ‘then’, jɛw ‘already’, kɑmɛw ‘immediately’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 2</th>
<th>Background activities: script predictable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>Durative verbs/durative marker jù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Repetitive adverb tɪktɪk ‘repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cognitive state: cognitive verbs + (kɔmmʊŋ ‘a short time’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 3</th>
<th>Temporal/spatial phrases and clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Setting</td>
<td>Copulative/stative/existential clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 4</th>
<th>Negation ām ‘not’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>Conditional sentences pɔ ‘if’, tɛ ‘irrealis’, kɔj ‘want’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 5</th>
<th>Narrators’opinions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>Stative clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 6</th>
<th>Time phrases/clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cohesion</td>
<td>Overt conjunctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbial clauses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Brackets “( )” indicates that an item is optional, not required, for example directional verbs are optional in the storyline verb phrase.

Table 13. Proposed Shan salience scheme and markers.

A non-storyline band clause can be promoted to storyline in Shan by the use of the adverb kɑmɛw ‘immediately’ and by fronting the verb phrase and thus changing the normal word order. The demotion of a clause from storyline to non-storyline band is not found in these Shan texts.
CHAPTER 6

PARTICIPANT REFERENCE

6.0 Introduction

Levinsohn (1994) points out the need to know how participants are referred to throughout a discourse and provides a methodology to analyze the reference system of a discourse. The basic ideas of this methodology are to explore different ways of encoding references to participants in a text, to propose the default coding material for each context, and to discover the motivations for encodings that differ from the default. This thesis focuses on the proposed contexts in which the animate subjects occur in the three Shan texts. This research does not deal with either inanimate subjects or non-subjects of the texts. Levinsohn suggests four contexts: S1, S2, S3, and S4. A subject is considered to be an S1 context if it was the subject in the previous clause. S2 and S3 contexts contain subjects which were the addressee or in a non-subject position, respectively, in the previous clauses. Context S4 basically covers everything else. Following Levinsohn’s approach where he states, “I do not indicate how the participants are referred to within the reported speeches, as these are embedded in the overall narrative” (1992:118) this thesis does not include analysis of references to participants in reported speech. Section 6.1 discusses how participants are introduced in the three Shan texts. The status of the participants is also addressed. Section 6.2 provides a coding scale for referencing those participants who have been introduced in a story. In section 6.3, default encodings for Shan narrative are proposed based on what is found in the three Shan texts. And finally, section 6.4 discusses the non-default encodings found in each of the stories.

11 It is necessary to note that when the subject of the previous clause is included in a plural subject of the next clause, this is treated as the same subject.
6.1 Introduction of participants

Levinsohn (1992) states that participants can be introduced differently depending on their status in the story. There is a need to distinguish between major and minor participants. Major participants are often introduced with formal introductions and typically are involved in a series of events. Minor participants are not introduced formally. They just appear and disappear in a story.

Major participants in the three Shan texts are introduced in several ways. The first and most common way is the use of a representational clause with the existential verb *mī* ‘have, there are’, as can be seen in example (111). This way of introducing the major participants is found in both “The Head-Hunters” and “Wild Pig Hunting”, which as mentioned earlier, were told by the same narrator.

(111) Head-Hunters.016

\[ mī \ wān \ nūg \ mī \ kōn \ sām \ kō \ kwā \ hā \ pā. \]

… have day one have person three person go look for fish

\[ V \ N \ \text{NUM} \ V \ N \ \text{NUM} \ \text{CLF} \ V \ V \ N \]

… one day, there were three people (who) went to look for fish.

Example (112) presents the introduction of a major participant in “Five Hundred Baht”. The father-in-law is introduced by a noun phrase (bolded) modified by a relative clause giving important information (underlined) about the participant.

(112) FiveHundredBaht.004

\[ nōw \ āk\bing \ nān \ pā \ pā \ pā \ bā \ kō \ kō \ tō \ jū \ hōn \ tām \ tām \]

in time that husband of 1PS which stay house near near

\[ PP \ N \ \text{DEM} \ N \ N \ \text{POSS} \ \text{PRO} \ \text{REL} \ V \ N \ V \ V \]

\[ \text{tām} \ \text{tām} \ \text{tām} \ \text{tām} \]

more roofed thing one 3PS be drunk 3PS get hear …

\[ QNT \ \text{CLF} \ \text{NUM} \ \text{PRO} \ V \ \text{PRO} \ V \ V \]

At that time, my father-in-law who lived in another house close by, [he] was drunk, he heard…

Major participants in Shan can also be introduced by a copulative clause. In example (113), *hōk kō* ‘six people’ from “Wild Pig Hunting” are singled out from
a group of ten people. They are activated for the first time as the group of participants which ‘had guns’.

(113) WildPigHunting.008

mí kʰŋ. have gun V N

… among these ten people six people were people who had guns.

Yet another way of introducing a major participant is found in ‘Five Hundred Baht’. The brother is the second major participant, along with the father-in-law discussed above. He is introduced for the first time in the object position of the sentence along with a minor participant, the father, see example (114). This is the only example of this type found in these three Shan texts.

(114) FiveHundredBaht.002

That time, I then heard my father and my younger brother quarrel with each other…

Minor participants in the three Shan texts of this study are often introduced in subject position by the use of noun phrases with no extra modifiers. The minor participants kʰŋ tʰŋ mʰ ‘people and dogs’ of “Wild Pig Hunting” are introduced this way in example (115).

(115) WildPigHunting.010

[Beside that], the (other) people and the dogs entered the clearing,…
Example (116) introduces a minor participant in “Five Hundred Baht”, \( m\ddot{e} p^{\text{h}ö} k^{\text{h}ä} \)

‘mother-in-law’ is mentioned for the first and only time in sentence 012.

(116) FiveHundredBaht.012

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
m\ddot{e} & p^{\text{h}ö} & k^{\text{h}ä} & k\ddot{o} & \text{lo} & \text{aw} & p\ddot{o} & k^{\text{h}aun} & k^{\text{h}aunlaj}. \\
\text{mother} & \text{husband} & 1\text{PS} & \text{conn} & \text{must} & \text{get} & \text{father} & \text{ascend} & \text{stairs} \\
N & N & PRO & CONN & V & V & N & V & N
\end{array}
\]

My mother-in-law then had to take my father-in-law up the stairs.

6.2 Shan coding scale

The way a participant is referred to after being introduced depends on several factors. According to Givon (1983), it depends on whether a participant is already on the stage or has been absent for a while. It also depends on whether there is a surprise or discontinuity in the flow of the story. Levinsohn (1994) states that it also depends on the number of participants on the stage, the status of a participant, and whether the sentence is highlighted or not.

Once introduced, a participant can be referred to by different amounts of encoding along the scale proposed by Givon (1983) from the least coding material, which is zero anaphora, to the most coding material, a full noun phrase. The types of encoding between the least and the most can be unstressed or bound pronouns (showing agreement) and stressed or independent pronouns, depending on the language. Isolating languages according to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:112) “have little or no agreement”. Shan is an isolating language, thus, as expected we do not find evidence of unstressed or bound pronouns.

Participants, major or minor, after being introduced are referred to later in the three Shan texts by zero anaphora, pronouns, or noun phrases. A noun phrase can consist of as little as a classifier or up to a full noun phrase with modifiers (see Section 2.3.1.3). Other possibilities include a noun, a kinship term, or a combination of a noun phrase and a pronoun. Shan participants in the three texts are encoded along the scale presented in Figure 5.
6.3 Default encodings

Based on a statistical count, all references to participants\(^\text{12}\) in the subject contexts of the three Shan texts have been listed in Table 14. The encodings which have the highest percentages for each of the contexts are bolded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Context S1</th>
<th>Context S2</th>
<th>Context S3</th>
<th>Context S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora ($\emptyset$)</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of occurrences</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14. Reference encodings for each subject context for the three Shan texts

Based on what is found in the three Shan texts, I propose zero anaphora and noun phrase as the default encodings for the S1 and S4 contexts, respectively. As can be seen in Table 14, the total number of occurrences of both S2 and S3 contexts in these three Shan texts is very low, eight times for S2 and four times for S3, thus it is not feasible to propose defaults for these contexts.

The following examples (117-118) are given to demonstrate the default encoding in the S1 and S4 contexts. Example (117) presents an instance where the default encoding for the S1 context, zero anaphora, is found. The subject of the bolded clause, which is also the subject in the underlined clause of sentence 012, is encoded by zero anaphora.

\(^{12}\) Reference encodings to participants in each of the three Shan texts are found in Appendix A.
Those waiting were alerted [careful], needing only to wait and shoot.

The proposed default encoding for the S4 context is a noun phrase, as in example (118). The subject of sentence 028 (bolded) which has been absent in the preceding clauses is brought back on the stage and is referred to by a noun phrase.

(118) Head-Hunters.028

At this time, those two foreigners finished talking with their interpreter…

All references to participants in the four subject contexts in each of the three Shan texts are summarized in Tables 15, 16, and 17 in order to show how each story is compared to the proposed defaults for the S1 and S4 contexts. “The Head-Hunters” (Table 15) and “Wild Pig Hunting” (Table 16) agree with the proposed defaults in both S1 and S4 contexts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Context S1</th>
<th>Context S2</th>
<th>Context S3</th>
<th>Context S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora (∅)</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of occurences</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15. Reference encodings for each subject context of “The Head-Hunters”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Context S1</th>
<th>Context S2</th>
<th>Context S3</th>
<th>Context S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora (∅)</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of occurences</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16. Reference encodings for each subject context of “Wild Pig Hunting”
In Table 17 we see that in the story “Five Hundred Baht” the S4 context matches the default while the S1 context does not. In the S1 context, the majority does not fall in the default category of zero anaphora but rather pronoun reference is the preferred way to refer to the subject.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Context S1</th>
<th>Context S2</th>
<th>Context S3</th>
<th>Context S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora (Ø)</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of occurences</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17. Reference encodings for each subject context of “Five Hundred Baht”

### 6.4 Non-default encodings

In the following sections, participants in the S1 and S4 contexts are examined to identify the non-default encodings in each text. Motivations for these non-default occurrences are also proposed. Note that “The Head-Hunters” and “Wild Pig Hunting” are discussed together due to their partial similarity. “Five Hundred Baht” is addressed separately due to its difference in comparison to the other two stories, especially in terms of the references to participants in the S1 context. The narrators’ self-references are discussed as well.

#### 6.4.1 More than default encodings

Since the S4 context already has the most encoding, a noun phrase, as the default, it is the S1 context where more than the default encoding is found. The default encoding for the S1 context of Shan narrative is zero anaphora. Both pronouns and noun phrases are found to refer to participants in the S1 context.

Levinsohn (1992) suggests there may be several reasons accounting for why more encoding is used. First, the narrator wants to highlight the information in a clause. Second, there is a discontinuity (boundary break). And finally, more encoding is used when all the participants are present on stage, as identifying the referents becomes more difficult.
In these texts, a pronoun is used in example (119) to highlight the importance of the information presented (bolded). This information is important in that it heightens the tension at the peak of “Wild Pig Hunting”.

(119) WildPigHunting.034

They (the other two people on the tree) did not listen, they kept crawling up more.

To highlight the information in example (120) a noun phrase is used to refer to the older brother (bolded). He is older than the other two children, and thus he has more knowledge so he does not believe in the head-hunters any more. He would not easily mistake people for head-hunters (bogeyman). And perhaps, he was allowed to go out fishing while the younger ones were not.

(120) Head-Hunters.018

But the other person (who) was about 15 years old, and bigger than them…

A pronoun (bolded) instead of zero anaphora is used in example (121) because there is a discontinuity, a boundary break, with sentence 008 in “Wild Pig Hunting” as the first sentence in the next section.

(121) WildPigHunting.008

Then, we went together…

In example (122), a noun phrase is used since at this part of “The Head-Hunters” all the participants are on the stage, even the two major participants, which creates
lots of room for confusion. Therefore, more encoding is required for clarity of reference.

(122) Head-Hunters.043

kō hāw hēthāq nājwā pʰālāq wā.
scare 1PL why like this foreigner quote

"Why be afraid of us?" [like this] the foreigners asked.

6.4.2 Less than default encodings

Less encoding is found in the S4 context. The proposed default encoding for this context in Shan narrative is noun phrase. Therefore, when either zero anaphora or a pronoun is found to refer to participants in these contexts, there must be ways for the listener to identify who is being referenced.

Several motivations for the use of less than default encoding are proposed by Levinsohn (2001). An event is being repeated, the referent is either a local VIP\(^{13}\) or a major participant on stage with a minor one, the referent is the only participant on stage, or the context makes it possible for the hearer to figure it out.

The “Wild Pig Hunting” story has an event which is repeated. This event is told the first time in sentences 021-025 and a second time in sentences 033-034. When the event is told the second time, a pronoun (bolded) instead of the expected noun phrase for the S4 context is used to refer to the two people who followed the first man up the tree, as can be seen in example (123).

(123) WildPigHunting.034

hāw kām tʰəm
3PL conn not listen ...

They (the other two people on the tree) did not listen…

\(^{13}\) Local VIP (very important participant) is a participant which a part of the text is about (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001).
In example (124), the first man is referred to by a pronoun (underlined) instead of the noun phrase which is the proposed default encoding for the S4 context. He is a local VIP at this part of the story.

(124) WildPigHunting.023

jāpē má mān kā lāt jāpē kʰūn tʰëŋ māj tē hāk.
don't come 3PS conn say don't ascend more tree irr break
IMPER V PRO CONN V IMPER V ADV N IRR V

"Don't come" he (the person on the top of the tree) yelled [say]. "Don't climb up any more (or else) the tree will break".

Zero anaphora rather than the expected noun phrase of the S4 context is used to refer to the two younger children in “The Head-Hunters”, as in example (125), because they are major participants being on the stage with minor ones, the foreigners, which are referred to by noun phrases.

(125) Head-Hunters.031

∅ koʃ scare naïw already very
INTS ADV INTS PRT

(T hey) really scared…

In example (126), zero anaphora instead of a noun phrase, the proposed default encoding for the S4 context, is used to refer to the group of participants in “Wild Pig Hunting”, since at this part of the story, when the group is not divided into two yet, it is the only group on stage.

(126) WildPigHunting.009

mā kʰāw naïw lāw nān hōk kā nān kā kwà pəu
when Ø enter in clearing that six person that conn go wait
CONJ V PP N DEM NUM CLF DEM CONN V V

tū mān pəu tàŋ ti mū tē ēn ɔk.
track 3PS wait path which pig irr run go_out
N PRO V N REL N IRR V V

When (they) entered that clearing, those six people went to wait at the path where wild pigs would run out.
Also in “Wild Pig Hunting”, at this part of the story, after the pig was dead, the context makes it obvious that the narrator referred to the entire group with the exception of the wounded man. A pronoun (bolded) instead of the expected noun phrase of the S4 context is used, as in example (127).

(127) WildPigHunting.047
kójkā mū tāj jāw hāw kā lōŋ tōn māj mā
but pig die already 1PL conn descend *** tree come
CONJ N V ADV PRO CONN V CLF N V
hāŋp⁵šuhāŋmān.
every_one_for_himself
ADV

However, the pig was already dead, (so) we came down, each one by himself.

“Five Hundred Baht” appears to be different from the other two stories regarding the S1 context, while the S4 context of this story matches the default encoding. Perhaps it is because this story is told by a different narrator. Seventy eight percent of the references in the S1 context are pronouns rather than the proposed default which is zero anaphora. While more data is needed to confirm a hypothesis, several possibilities arise. Firstly, as it has previously been noted this is a very short story with two major male participants and several other minor male participants. As the pronouns indicate kinship, it is possible to track the participants in a way that would not be possible if the default of zero anaphora was used. The very nature of the participants requires a different strategy of reference. More encoding is required due to the increased possibility of mistaken identity if the default was used.

A noun phrase (bolded) and a pronoun (underlined) are used to refer to the brother in the S1 and S4 contexts, respectively, as can be seen in examples (128) and (129), with the reason that there is a need to distinguish the participants.
My brother then approached my father-(in-law)…

He (my brother) pulled (my) father-in-law's shirt collar…

Regarding narrators’ self-references, the narrator of “Five Hundred Baht” used the first person pronoun $k^b\tilde{a}$ ‘I’ to refer to herself in all contexts throughout the story. The narrator of “The Head-Hunters” and “Wild Pig Hunting” referred to himself by zero anaphora and the noun phrase (kinship term) $pi\tilde{a}j$ ‘older brother’. He uses the noun phrase $pi\tilde{a}j$ ‘older brother’ to refer to himself in the S2 context. He never occurred in the S3 context. In the S4 context, the default encoding, a noun phrase, is used 33% of the time. In the other 67% zero anaphora is used. A possible reason for zero anaphora being used is there are usually instances of author intrusion, that is, the author giving his opinions or thoughts. In the S1 context, 30% of the time, the default encoding, zero anaphora, is employed. The noun phrase $pi\tilde{a}j$ ‘older brother’ is used as the non-default 70% of the time (all found in “Wild Pig Hunting”) for various reasons. One of the possible reasons is to establish the authorship at the beginning of the story (S’004). Other reasons may be to establish the truth value of the story (S’046), or to highlight the relief (S’056).

6.5 Summary

The participants in the three Shan texts of this study may be introduced depending on their importance to the stories. Major participants are introduced by a representational sentence with the existential verb $mi$ ‘there is, have’, a copulative
clause, a noun phrase modified by a relative clause, or in object position. Minor participants are introduced in subject position by noun phrases with no modifiers.

Once introduced there are default strategies of references. The proposed default encodings for the S1 and S4 contexts for Shan narrative are zero anaphora and a noun phrase, respectively. No default has been proposed for the S2 and S3 contexts due insufficient data.

More than default encoding is found when there is a boundary break, when all the participants are present on the stage creating room for confusion, or to highlight events.

When less than the default encoding is found, one of the following reasons may account for the different strategy: the telling of an event is being repeated, the context makes it obvious for the hearer to figure it out, the participant is the local VIP, the referent is the only one on stage, or is a major participant on stage with a minor participant.

It is clear that much more needs to be done to adequately understand the Shan participant reference system. More Shan texts with higher occurrences of S2 and S3 contexts need to be analyzed in order to propose the default encodings for these two contexts. Many factors need to be studied to determine why and when the default for the S1 and S4 contexts is not followed. Many more texts of the same type and other types will be needed to address this topic. This must await further study.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This is a first and limited attempt to understand some aspects of Shan narrative. This research has aimed to find preliminary answers to the question of how Shan people form their narrative texts, especially regarding surface and notional structures, storyline and non-storyline: salience scheme, and participant reference. In order to answer this research question, the framework on surface and notional structures and salience scheme by Longacre (1996, 1989) and the approach to participant reference by Levinsohn (1994) was applied. In section 7.1 the findings of this study will be summarized and compared, when possible, to similar research of Thai and Northern Thai narratives. An additional interest to linguists is the idea of universals. Longacre (1996) proposed an etic salience scheme which I will compare Shan to. While there is no etic or proposed universal that I know of for Levinsohn’s (1994) participant reference system, I will compare Shan to two unrelated languages to see if perhaps a possible hypothesis for a universal statement might be made. Section 7.2 gives suggestions for further research.

7.1 Summary and comparison

The first three chapters set the stage for the three analysis chapters and this conclusion chapter. Chapter one presents the research questions, the objectives, the methodology, and the overview of the thesis. Chapter two provides an introduction to the Shan people and their language. It also presents a Shan phonology sketch and a grammar sketch. The phonology sketch is a summary of Orawan’s work (1985). The grammar sketch presented in this chapter discusses the basic phrase and clause types. It serves as a foundation for charting the texts in preparation for analysis at the discourse level. Finally, chapter three gives an introduction to discourse analysis and provides the theoretical framework for the three areas of interest discussed in this study. Also found in chapter three is the

Chapter four has two main parts. The first part sets out the chunking of the three Shan texts based on boundary markers suggested by Barnwell (1980). The following criteria are found to mark boundaries in Shan: a change in participant, a change in time, a change in location, a summary statement, the use of rhetorical questions which occur as author intrusion, the use of the adverbs kámnâj ‘at this time’ and ālūkālè ‘coincidentally’, and the use of the conjunction kámnân ‘then’. Three of these criteria, a change in time, a change in location, and a change in participants, are also found in Thai and Northern Thai texts according to Somsonge, Jaranya, and S. Person. This similarity helps researchers to know what to look for when chunking other Tai texts.

The second part of chapter four contains the discussion on surface and notional structures with a focus on the features of the surface structure peak. The features of surface structure found in these Shan stories are title, aperture, stage, peak episode, postpeak episode, closure, and finis. It is not necessary to find all these features in one Shan text. However, the stage, peak episode, and postpeak episode are found in all three texts. When compared to Thai and Northern Thai, the same features are found, except that Thai and Northern Thai texts also feature prepeak episodes.

The peak episodes in Shan stories are marked by rhetorical underlining, heightened vividness, a crowded stage, an increased use of particles, incidence or absence of onomatopoeia, and a change of orientation. The first three features are also found in the writings of Somsonge, Patchanee, and S. Person. Although in each of these three studies rhetorical underlining and heightened vividness are achieved through slightly different tools, there is still strong evidence that the presence of these three features may signal the peak episode in other Tai languages. A common tool through which heightened vividness is achieved in Shan as well as in these three studies is the shift along the narrative to drama
scale. Regarding the notional structure, the underlying motivation for the surface structure, the following features are found in Shan: exposition, inciting moment, climax, denouement, final suspense, and conclusion. Except for final suspense, all the features found in Shan are also found in Thai texts, according to Somsonge (1991) and Jaranya (2004).

Most of the surface and notional structure features proposed by Longacre (1996) as universals are found in these Shan texts. The exceptions at this point of research are prepeak episodes and peak’ episode on the surface structure level and developing conflict on the notional structure.

Chapter five proposes a salience scheme for Shan narrative based on Longacre’s (1989) framework and the data. This scheme consists of six bands. The most salient band in the hierarchy is the band of storyline. Storyline clauses are characterized by verbs of motion and action which are optionally accompanied by directional verbs. Other storyline verbs include speech verbs, cognitive experience, and event proper. Storyline clauses are found in independent clauses. They may be further marked by the connector kɔ ‘then’ and conjunction jàwkɔ ‘then’, which express sequentiality, and by the adverbs jàw ‘already’ and kàmlèw ‘immediately’, which express punctiliarity. The second band in the scheme is the background band. This band includes background activities and cognitive states. Background activities are often customary (script predictable), ongoing, and repetitive. They are expressed by durative verbs, adverbs of repetitive nature, and markers of on-going events. Cognitive states are signaled by verbs of cognition optionally accompanied by a temporal adverb of duration. The third band in the hierarchy is the setting band. Clauses in the setting band are copulative, stative, and existential. Settings are also expressed by phrases of time and location. The fourth band is irrealis. In these Shan texts, irrealis is achieved primarily through negation along with some conditional sentences. The fifth band in the scheme is evaluation. The clauses of the evaluation band are often stative. The evaluative information found in the three Shan texts is the narrators’ opinions about the
participants and the situations in which the participants are involved. The last band in the hierarchy is cohesion. Cohesion in Shan is expressed most typically by adverbial clauses. It is also indicated by time phrases and clauses, overt conjunctions and adverbs. While there is no instance of demotion found in these three Shan texts, there are instances of promotion. The promotion of non-storyline to storyline clauses can be achieved by the use of the adverb *kámlēw* ‘immediately’ and by changing the Shan word order.

In comparison to the salience scheme proposed by Somsonge for Thai, all the bands present in the Shan scheme are also present in Thai. Flashback, however, is not found in these texts but is in Thai. All types of storyline verbs, except for speech verbs, are also found in Thai. The characteristics of other non-storyline bands in the Shan salience scheme are similar to those of Thai salience scheme. Shan uses the adverb ‘immediately’ to promote a cognitive state to a cognitive experience while Thai uses the adverb ‘suddenly’.

Further comparison to the etic salience scheme for narrative proposed by Longacre (1996) in Table 18 shows that most of the bands present in Longacre’s etic scheme are found in Shan (Table 19). Longacre distinguishes a pivotal storyline from the primary and secondary storylines. Background events are also separated from background activity. However, at this point the Shan salience scheme does not display this level of distinction due to the limited data.
1’. Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)

1. Primary storyline

2. Secondary storyline

3. Routine (script-predictable action sequences)

4. Backgrounded actions/events

5. Backgrounded activity (durative)

6. Setting (exposition)

7. Irrealis (negatives and modals)

8. Evaluations (author instructions)

9. Cohesive and thematic

Note: Flashback can group with (2) or (4) or can be added after (5)

Table 18. An etic salience scheme for narrative
(adapted from Longacre 1996:28)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 1</th>
<th>Storyline</th>
<th>Independent clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motion and action verbs + (directional verbs)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Speech verbs/cognitive experience/event proper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sequential/punctiliar markers k3, jäwk3 ‘then’, jäw ‘already’, kámłěw ‘immediately’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 2</th>
<th>Background</th>
<th>Background activities: script predictable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Durative verbs/durative marker jù</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Repetitive adverb tiktik ‘repeatedly’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cognitive states: cognitive verbs + (kámműy ‘a short time’)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Band 3 | Temporal/spatial phrases and clauses |
| Band 4 | Negation  ámb ‘not’ |
| Band 5 | Narrators’ opinions |
| Band 6 | Time phrases/clauses |

| Irrealis | Conditional sentences pó ‘if’, tě ‘irrealis’, ᵪǎj ‘want’ |
| Evaluation | Stative clauses |
| Cohesion | Overt conjunctions |

| Adverbial clauses |

Table 19. Proposed Shan salience scheme and markers
Finally, chapter six presents the patterns of participant reference in these three Shan texts based on Levinsohn (1994). The participants in the three Shan texts of this study are introduced differently depending on their status. Major participants are introduced by a representational sentence with the existential verb *mi* ‘there is, have’, a copulative clause, a noun phrase modified by a relative clause, or in the object position. Minor participants are introduced by noun phrases, often in subject position. The proposed default encodings for the S1 and S4 contexts for Shan narrative are zero anaphora and a noun phrase, respectively. No default has been proposed for the S2 and S3 contexts due to insufficient data.

More than default encodings are found when there is discontinuity in the flow of the story (a boundary break), when all the participants are present on the stage, or when events are highlighted.

When less than the default encodings are found, one of the following reasons may account for the different strategy: the telling of an event being repeated (in the second telling less encoding is used), the context makes it obvious for the hearer to figure it out, the referent is a local VIP, the referent is the only participant on stage, or is a major participant on stage with a minor one.

Somsonge (1991) analyzes the participant reference of Thai folk tales according to Longacre. Longacre’s approach to participant reference is more descriptive while Levinsohn’s is more statistical. This makes it difficult to compare the findings in Somsonge’s work to those of this study, which followed Levinsohn’s approach for participant reference. However, in the area of how participants are introduced we can compare Thai with Shan. In the Thai folk tales major participants are also introduced by a representational sentence with the existential verb ‘have’. This suggests this may be a common way of introducing major participants in stories in other Tai languages.

At this point in time, there is not much analysis on participant reference of Tai languages which follows Levinsohn’s approach. However, Levinsohn (1992, 1994) has analyzed Mofu-Gudur, a West-Central African language, and Biblical
Greek. These two languages are very different from Shan, yet similarity is found in the S1 and S4 contexts. That is, in these three languages, the S1 context requires the least encoding, unstressed or zero anaphora in Mofu-Dugur, zero anaphora in Greek, and zero anaphora in Shan. The S4 context requires the most encoding, noun phrases, in all these languages. In addition, the motivations for non-default encodings in Mofu-Dugur and in Greek are similar to those proposed in these Shan texts. More than default encoding is used to highlight information or when there is a discontinuity. Less than default encoding is permitted when the referent is a VIP, or is a major participant on stage with a minor one. This is the type of comparison one would like to be able to make with other Tai languages.

7.2 Further research

The grammar sketch in chapter two is basic and only serves as foundation for discourse analysis. There is much to be done in order to cover all other areas of Shan grammar.

Since the three Shan stories used in this study are of the same type (sub-genre), third person narratives, and are relatively short they may not have reflected fully all the features of Shan narratives. In order to better understand how Shan people form their narrative texts, more texts of different lengths and types need to be studied. More texts need to be analyzed in order to have a better understanding about the criteria which mark boundaries in Shan. More texts also need to be examined to test the hypothesis made on the features of aperture and finis of the surface structure in chapter four (Section 4.2.1). Since prepeak episodes are not found in any of these three Shan texts, it is necessary to analyze longer texts to establish the presence or absence of prepeak episodes in Shan narratives. In one of the three Shan texts, the absence of onomatopoeia partially marks the peak episode, which is contrary to what Longacre proposed. More texts need to be studied to establish if this feature is truly an option for a well-formed text of this type. When oral texts like the three Shan texts of this study, are used, phonological phenomena (for instance, it is noticeable at the peak of the stories
that there is a change in speed and pitch) can also be of interest and require further research.

A salience scheme for Shan has been proposed which consists of six bands. More texts of different types and lengths also need to be studied to have a better understanding of Shan salience scheme and also to confirm the use of the adverb ‘immediately’ as a tool for promotion.

This study deals with participant reference for subject contexts only. It is necessary to analyze the reference system for non-subject contexts as well. Since no default encoding has been proposed for the S2 and S3 contexts in this study due to insufficient data, more texts with higher occurrences of the S2 and S3 contexts need to be analyzed in order to propose default encodings for these two contexts. In order to have a better understanding of participant reference in Tai languages, either Shan texts need to be analyzed by applying Longacre’s approach or texts from other Tai languages need to be analyzed using Levinsohn’s framework.

To summarize, areas needing further research are the following. More Shan texts of a longer and more complex plot structure need to be analyzed. Texts from other Tai languages need to be analyzed using Levinsohn’s methodology or Shan texts need to be studied applying Longacre’s approach to participant reference for better comparison in terms of participant reference systems.
APPENDIX A

REFERENCE ENCODINGS
“The Head-Hunters” has altogether three groups of participants, the children, the foreigners and their interpreter, the narrator and his grandfather. The numbers in parentheses refer to the referents: 1 is the three children, 1a, the two younger children, 1b, the older one, 2, the two foreigners and their interpreter, 2a, the two foreigners, 2b, the interpreter, 3, the narrator and his grandfather, 3a, the grandfather, 3b, the narrator. Among these 1a is major participants and the rest are minor ones. Note that references to participants in the first 15 sentences are not taken into account. The narrator used these sentences to set up a script which is necessary for the understanding of the story which stars from sentence 016.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Non-S</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16a</td>
<td>RS (1)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>There were three children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16b</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went to look for fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17a</td>
<td>NP (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>aged about 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b</td>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>did not have much knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>NP (1b)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>aged about 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>NP (1b)</td>
<td>Pro (1a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>was bigger than them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18c</td>
<td>(1b)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>had much knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>NP (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, “Let’s go…we go with our older brother,…”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20a</td>
<td>Pro (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>When arrived there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20b</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>net S1 placed…in water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>*That water</td>
<td>deep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21b</td>
<td>*Tall dam</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>There was a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21c</td>
<td>*Water</td>
<td>fell very loud</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>*Sound of water</td>
<td>so loud (that the children talked) but couldn’t hear each other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>went down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23b</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went to where they caught fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>were tourists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>never seen people catch fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25a</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>If saw something strage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25b</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>wanted to take pictures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25c</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>wanted to ask</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25d</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>wanted to investigate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25e</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>wanted to take notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26a</td>
<td>Because of that</td>
<td>NP (1a)</td>
<td>made the two children scared</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b</td>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>when saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26c</td>
<td>(1a)</td>
<td>Head-hunters</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>thought of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Pro (1a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>thought, “these are real head-hunters”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28a</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>NP (2b)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>finished talking with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28b</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pointed to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28c</td>
<td>(2a)</td>
<td>NP (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pointed to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29a</td>
<td>NP (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>really scared</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-S</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29b</td>
<td>*net</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>was stuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>Pro (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>would run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30b</td>
<td>Pro (1a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Before</td>
<td>would run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30c</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>walked</td>
<td>towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>really</td>
<td>scared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31b</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>really scared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31c</td>
<td>*net</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>was stuck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31d</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>couldn't pull out</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31e</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>net</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>left</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31f</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>ran to</td>
<td>the rice field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32a</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>went down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32b</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>crying sound</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>heard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Ø (3a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, “What sound is that?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>NP (3b)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, “sound of people, grandpa”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35a</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>came closer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35b</td>
<td>Pro (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>heard clearly, “Help, help”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>NP (3a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>asked, “Help what?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Ø (1a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, “head-hunters took our brother away…”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38a</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>when went down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38b</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>NP (2)+(1b)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>saw…talking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Ø (3b)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>thought, “they misunderstood…”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40a</td>
<td>Pro (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>when arrived</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40b</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>asked, “why did the children run away?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Ø (3a)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, “they were afraid of you…”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Pro (2a)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>laughed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>asked, “why afraid of us?”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44-</td>
<td>Ø (3b)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>(said), “the foreigners had big backpack, …”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>*NP (story)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>true story…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 20. Reference encodings in “The Head-Hunters”**

The followings are participants in “Wild Pig Hunting”. 1 is the narrator, 2, the group (with or without the narrator), 2a, people with guns, 2b, people without guns (the beaters), 3, the first man, 4, the second man, 5, the third man, the dogs, and the pig. Of these participants, 2, 2a, and 3 are major participants. The rest is minor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Non-S</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>today, tell</td>
<td>was not a tale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>*Pro (story)</td>
<td>BREAK</td>
<td></td>
<td>was a true story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2b</td>
<td>*Pro (story)</td>
<td>BREAK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>NP (1)</td>
<td>father</td>
<td>Intro went to visit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>NP (1)</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>S1 went to get</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pro (1)</td>
<td>honey</td>
<td>S1 didn’t get</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>RS (2)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>There were</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>S2</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>(thought) “What are we going to do?”</td>
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<td>saw</td>
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<td>died</td>
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<td>put in</td>
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<td>had left for hospital</td>
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Table 21. Reference encodings in “Wild Pig Hunting”
The followings are the participants in “Five Hundred Baht”. 1 is the narrator, 2, the bother and father, 2a, the brother, 3, the father-in-law, 4, mother-in-law, 5, father and mother, 6, headman and great people, 6a, the headman. The brother and the father-in-law are the major participants. The rest is minor.

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<td>S1 didn't know what they quarrel about</td>
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<td>NP (2)</td>
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<td>S1 called over to</td>
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<td>Pro (1)</td>
<td>Pro (2a+3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>saw argue like before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>said,…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>said, “…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>decided that …was wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>NP (6a)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>said, “(you) have to pay…”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26a</td>
<td>NP (2a)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>conceded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26b</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>gave money</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22. Reference encodings in “Five Hundred Baht”
APPENDIX B

THE HEAD-HUNTERS
In the past, (when) I (older brother) was a child, that period of time was not like the present.

Vehicles could not come into (the village) (because there were no roads), (people) just walked on foot.

Moreover, (people) did not have much knowledge.

If parents would go somewhere, (they) would warn [order] their children [in advance] that, "[children], don't go playing with friends to far away where there are head-hunters [grandfather-cut]."
People said that there were mines, (and) people digging for precious stones would offer sacrifices [bring up] to the (evil) spirits before they dug for stones.

People who would dig said, "We will offer two human heads, one male and one female", only then would they dig for those stones.

During the time which (they) would dig those precious stones they sent out people (who were) called [named] head-hunters.

If those head-hunters met children (they) would get (out) desserts to lure (them); "Come, (do you) want to eat desserts?", [did like this].
Those children (who) wanted to eat desserts then followed (them).

If (those children) followed, they then would catch (the children) immediately.

After catching (the children) they would put (them) in sacks, then, they would carry them on their backs and go into the forest.

After arriving in the forest, they would open the sacks, cut (the children's) heads off, and take just the heads away.

(That is) because, if they got human heads they then earned lots of money.
pô mể ḍır m̀ ḍź là̀ ṣ̀̀ pò̀ t̀̀ ndà̀ nà̀n.
father mother not dare go path where be like that
N N NEG V V N INTER V ADV DEM

(Being like) that made the children of those days really scared; (they) listened to their parents' words, (and) did not dare to go anywhere, [being like that].

Head-Hunters.016
kồjá mì wán nùn mí kò̀n sà̀m kò kwà̀ hà̀ pá.
but have day one have person three person go look_for fish
CONJ V N NUM V N NUM CLF V V N

However, one day, there were three people going to look for fish.

Head-Hunters.017
sò̀ŋ kò nà̀n àsák m̀̀k sì̀p sò̀ŋ pì ḍır pò mí tà̀ănghù
two person that age about ten two year not quite have knowledge
NUM CLF DEM V ADV NUM NUM N NEG ADV V N

kà̀hù.
how_much
INTER

Two of them, (who) were about 12 years old, did not have much knowledge.

Head-Hunters.018
kồjá tò̀ŋ m̀̀ kò nùn nà̀n àsák m̀̀k sì̀p hà̀ pì kò jà̀u lò
but more person one that age about ten five year person big than
CONJ QNT CLF NUM DEM V ADV NUM NUM N CLF V COMPAR

hàw mí tà̀ănghù nà̀m jà̀w, wà̀ nàj.
3PL have knowledge many already quote this
PRO V N QNT ADV V DEM

But the other person (who) was about 15 years old, and bigger than them, had much knowledge already, [said this].

Head-Hunters.019
hàw sò̀ŋ kò kò lát wà̀ kwà̀ s̀̀ ḍìr pè̀n hà̀ mà̀ tì
3PL two person conn say quote go *** not be what 1PL have place
PRO NUM CLF CONN V V V PRT NEG V INTER PRO V N

ákò jàw hà̀ wà̀ tʃ̃m pì̀aj hà̀ àsák mà̀ nà̀m jàw pò
rely already 1PL go with older_brother 1PL age 3PS many already if
V ADV PRO V PP N PRO N PRO QNT ADV COND

pè̀n ihà̀ hà mà̀ m̀̀ tà̀ tʃ̃j hà̀ wà̀ tʃ̃mŋàj.
be anything come 3PS irr be_able help 1PL quote like_this
V PRO V PRO IRV V V PRO V ADV

The two children then said, "Let's go, never mind. We have someone to depend on already. We go with our older brother. He is old already, (so) if something happens, he will be able to help us", [said like this].
When they arrived there at that time they put (their) net to catch [trap] fish in the deep water.

That water was deep. Moreover, there was a high dam, and the water fell very loudly, making the sound 'huung huung'.

At this time, it happened that [coincidently] two foreigners and their interpreter got down to the place where they (the children) were catching fish.
However, those foreigners (who) were tourists never saw people catching fish before.

Head-Hunters.025
pó hàn ihāŋ thūtūúsānsānpēkpēkŋŋōŋ kʰáj tʰāŋ hūp kʰáj tʰǎm
if see anything strange want take picture want ask
COND V PRO V V N V V V
kʰáj tʃēt kʰáj tɛm ʔaw.
want investigate want write get
V V V V V V

If (they) saw something strange (they) wanted to take pictures, wanted to ask, wanted to investigate, (and) wanted to take notes.

Head-Hunters.026
kāp tʃ̪a nān hēt hūu lūk ən sōŋ kō nān əm pó wājtʃu
because like that do to child young two person that not quite trust
CONJ ADV DEM V PP N V NUM CLF DEM NEG ADV V
mō hān pʰāləŋ nān tʃ̪ikkú hēt pūpət t̪i pɔ mē lāt
when see foreigner that think arrive head-hunter which father mother say
CONJ V N DEM V V N REL N N V
wāj nān kāmlēw nā.
in_advance that immediately ***
ADV DEM ADV PRT

Because of that (the foreigners' behavior), (it) made those two children suspect [not quite trust] when (they) saw those foreigners: (they) immediately thought of the head-hunters that (their) parents told (them) about.

Head-Hunters.027
ən nāj nā pên pūpət tē, hāw kō pəŋtʃu tʃ̪āŋnāj.
*** this *** be head-hunter real 3PL conn understand like_this
CLF DEM PRT V N V PRO CONN V V ADV

"Those people were real head-hunters", they understood [translate-heart] (it) like this.

Head-Hunters.028
kāməŋkə pʰāləŋ sōŋ kō nān kō ūŋ lä̃m hǎw hē jāwkō
at_this_time foreigner two person that conn talk interpreter 3PL *** then
ADV N NUM CLF DEM CONN V N PRO PRT CONJ
tʃ̪i lōŋ kwā tʃ̪i lōŋ kwā kātī hāw sōm kō mī jū nān.
point descend go point descend go at 3PL three person have stay that
V V V V V V PP PRO NUM CLF V V DEM

At this time, those two foreigners had finished talking with their interpreter, then pointed down to the place (where) they -- the three people (children)--were staying.
Really scared (were) those two children, the net moreover was stuck.

Before they (the two children) would run, (before) they would run away, suddenly [that time immediately] the foreigners walked forwards.

(They) really scared, because (they) were very scared, moreover, the net was stuck, (they) could not pull (it) out, (they) left [threw] the net (there) then (they) ran up to the river bank over there.
(My grandfather asked) "What sound (is that)?", [said like this].

"Oh, sound of people, grandpa" I told (my) grandfather.

When (the two children) came closer we heard clearly "Help, help", [said this].

"Help what?" (my) grandfather then asked, [said like this].

"Head-hunters took our brother away, left just the two of us, (and we) ran up looking for help [helper]", [said this].
When (my) grandfather and I went down, (we) saw the two foreigners and their interpreter, and that fifteen-year-old boy standing talking with one another.

Head-Hunters.039
pen an wā hāw pọnwọọ pọ́họ́t kọ́j hāw kọ́ tọ̀tọ̀wā wā pèn
be *** say 3PL understand wrong oneself 3PL scare really quote be
V CLF V PRO V V RFLX PRO V ADV V V

pùpàt jāw, wā tʃānaj.
head-hunter already quote like this
N ADV V ADV

(The teller thought), "Being like that they (the two children) had just misunderstood, and they were really scared, saying 'it was head-hunters', [thought like that].

Head-Hunters.040
mā hāw lọ̀n̄ kwà họ́t pọ́wọ́lọ́ tọ́họ́m wā lük ẹ́n sọ́n̄ kọ́
when 1PL descend go arrive foreigner ask quote child young two person
CONJ PRO V V V N V V N V NUM CLF

nān ẹ́n héthān̄
that run why
DEM V INTER

When we (the teller and his grandfather) got there, the foreigners asked, "Why did those two children run (away)?"

Head-Hunters.041
hāw kọ́ hù kọ́p pọnwọọ wā hù pèn pùpàt pàt kọ́bọ́ kọ́
3PL scare 2PL because understand that 2PL be head-hunter cut neck person
PRO V PRO CONJ V COMP PRO V N V N N

wā nāj.
quote this
V DEM

(My grandfather) said, "They were afraid of you, because (they) thought [understood] that you guys were head-hunters (who) cut people's heads", [said this].

Head-Hunters.042
hāw kọ́ kọ́bọ́ kān kānān nān.
3PL conn laugh each other there that
PRO CONN V ADV ADV DEM

They (the foreigners) laughed with each other there.
"Why be afraid of us?" [like this] the foreigners asked.

Those foreigners had big back-packs, don't they? It certainly looked scary.

(Their) back-packs were greenish, (stuck up) past (their) heads, and they looked really scary, (the two children) believed [understand] that (they) were head-hunters.

This is a real story that my grandfather and I saw.
APPENDIX C

WILD PIG HUNTING
Today (I- the teller) will tell you a story about going to the forest.

It is not a folk tale; it is a true story which I saw with (my own) eyes.

There was (this) one time I went to visit my father at (the village of) Pung Yam.

Besides, I went there to get honey.

However, there was (this) one day we (the teller and his younger brother) didn't go to get honey.

There were brothers there (who) came and asked [invite] (us), "(Do you want) to go to the forest (to go hunting)?" [(said) like this.]
I then sat down and thought for a short while, (and) said (to myself), "Just go, we (the teller and his younger brother) have not been able to eat meat for a long time already and we want to eat meat anyway. (We) want to know: are there many or few animals? Are there all kinds? Are there (wild) pigs, barking deer, deer and serow (mountain goat), just like in our village (the teller's village)"

Then, we went together, we went together of about ten people, among these ten people six people were people who had guns.

When entered that clearing, those six people went to guard the path where wild pigs would run out.
[Beside that], the (other) people and the dogs entered the clearing, knowing that there were (wild) pigs in (that) clearing already.

The time when (we) entered the clearing, the dogs immediately [this time] ran and saw a (wild) pig, and the beaters [people who chased] ran after [chased entered] (the dogs), the dogs and the wild pig barked at each other "nguk ngak nguk ngak" (sound of dog barking).

Those waiting were alerted [careful], needing only to wait and shoot.

This time, the wild pig ran out away (from) the dogs, and those people who waited then shot (at it), "pong pong" (the sound of gun shooting).
However, the (wild) pig didn't die.

The wild pig turned around and ran back [returned] into the clearing, bumped into that group of people (everyone) there.

They (everyone) were really frightened and the people who owned guns in addition. They (all) ran in different directions (running into each other), (they) did not know who was who because they were so scared.

The time (which) the gun had sounded those two times, everyone knew that the wild pig didn't die, it was wounded, it became wild (mad), and that it would attack people.
And now, there was one person running up a tree.

The tree was tall but the trunk was not very big.

He climbed up and was already at the top of the tree.

However, two (more) people ran (to the tree) in addition, (they) climbed up more.

"Don't come" he (the person on the top of the tree) yelled [say]. "Don't climb up any more (or else) the tree will break."

But that person did not listen, and climbed up more.
The third person ran up clinging to the tree to be with the other two people.

The tree it was overloaded already.

This tree, (it) bent.

And now, it could not bear the load.

Three people already.

(The tree) bent down.

The tree bent down close to the ground.
WildPigHunting.032

The wild pig ran back and forth, like that.

WildPigHunting.033

And now the first person, he was really scared, (saying) "Don't climb up any more, don't come (up)".

WildPigHunting.034

They (the other two people on the tree) did not listen, they kept crawling up more.

WildPigHunting.035

That tree was overloaded.

WildPigHunting.036

This time the top of the tree broke falling off.

WildPigHunting.037

When the top of the tree broke falling off, the first person fell off.
The wild pig then came to bite that person immediately.

However, the (other) two people who were on the tree didn't fall down.

The pig was biting that (first) person repeatedly.

After the wild pig had finished biting that person, (it) ran out (of the clearing).

When (it) was running out, a person who was near it shot (it) again.

When shot the pig then died.

"Now, how are we going to deal [do] with this?", (the teller thought).
I (the teller) knew that that person (who got bitten) could not survive. He would die for sure because the wild pig had bitten him really severely, [thinking like this].

(Even though) my view was sometimes obstructed, I was on another tree at that time and saw with them.

However, the pig was already dead, (so) we came down, each one by himself.

Then, (we) got cloth to tie up the wounds of that hurt person then made a stretcher and put the hurt person (in) and then carried the stretcher back to the (his) village (Pung Yam).
When (we) arrived at the village, there was only one car, it was very far away, the hospital was very far away.

However, on that day, (we) could hire a car to the hospital in Mae Hong Son town for 800 baht.

It was only 800 baht because the car belonged to (the wounded's) relatives, not to someone else.

If (the car) belonged to other people it would be more expensive, [(the teller) thought that]

When had they left for the hospital, we dressed the pig together. Eating was not fun at all, the meat was also not delicious, (it) was gamey.
Because the wild pig had already bitten someone, its meat was not delicious at all.

I (older brother) heard that the person did not die, he survived, (since) his wounds had been treated well.

I (older brother) was very glad [heart-glad].

If that person died, I (older brother) would be really worried [hot-heart], (I) would be like that because I was part of the group and moreover (I) saw (everything) with them.
mí māk kānāj.
have about this_much

It was a true story which I told you (our younger sister), that's all I (older brother) have.
APPENDIX D

FIVE HUNDRED BAHT
Many years ago, one evening (when) it was nearly time for bed.

That time, I then heard my father and my younger brother quarrel with each other, arguing back and forth, in their house because I lived in my own house, another house close to theirs.

I did not know what they quarreled about.

[At that time], my father-in-law who lived in another house close by, [he] was drunk. He heard my father and my brother quarrel with each other.
He then called over to them. He said, "Kill each other. If you guys quarrel with each other, then just kill each other."

At the time my brother and (my) father were arguing, he (my brother) was already angry [heart-black]. Then, in addition, he heard my father-in-law say those words.

He (my brother) was even more angry [heart-black]. He ran looking for my father-in-law and asked, "What did you say about me a moment ago?"
My father-in-law answered, "I did not say anything about you."

My brother then said, "It is not right. You said (something) about me (I am sure). You encouraged us to 'kill each other'. We quarreled with each other [on our own] (but) we did not say anything about you."

He (my brother) pulled (my) father-in-law's shirt collar, then punched him in the head, and my father-(in-law) fell off the stairs.
My mother-in-law then had to take my father-in-law up the stairs.

My father and mother had to come and take my brother home.

That night, there was nothing else (that) happened.

However, the next morning, my father-in-law was in pain and he was really angry [heart-black].

He was not satisfied [enough-heart] at all because it hurt a lot.
He said that my brother was younger moreover came to punch him at (his own) house, (which) made him dissatisfied.

He said he would take my brother to the headman's house.

After 2 or 3 days, he (my father-in-law) took my brother to go to the headman's house.

At that time, I went with them to the headman's house.

I then saw them argue back and forth with each other like (they did) before.
My brother said that my father-in-law said about them, encouraged them to kill each other, and that (my) father and brother quarreled with each other on their own and did not quarrel with my father-in-law.

However, my father-in-law said, "(I) did not say anything about him, (I) did not do anything to him, he came to punch me at my own house, he came to beat me at my own house, I was not content [enough-heart]", [my father-in-law said (it) like this].
At that time, then, the headman and the influential [great] people (in the village) then decided that my brother was wrong because (he) went to punch my father-in-law at (my father-in-law's) house.

Then, the headman said (to my brother), "(You) must pay [wash-face-wash-eye] 500 baht compensation."

My brother conceded and gave 500 baht to my father-in-law according to what the headman and the influential [great] people decided.
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