PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN TAI DAM NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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This thesis is dedicated to the Tai Dam people who have a story to tell. May there be many who hear.

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the participant reference system used in four third person narrative texts in the Tai Dam language as spoken in northwestern Vietnam. The analysis describes referring expressions used to track participants and their discourse functions.

The inventory of referring expressions used to track participants consists of noun phrases with and without various other elements, proper nouns, kin terms, pronouns, topicalized constructions, classifier phrases, demonstratives, zero anaphora and a topic-marking or contrast-marking particle. Each of these referring expressions has a particular function and role in the discourse to identify referents based on identifiability and activation status, and to signal thematic salience.

Givón's (1983) suggestions for measuring topic continuity are adapted to determine participant rank. This method identifies which participants are major, minor or peripheral. Dooley and Levinsohn's (2001) suggestions are adapted to discern sequential participant reference patterns in terms of default encodings in eight different environments.

The Tai Dam texts in the corpus are seen to have major, minor and peripheral participants and props. Major participants tend to be introduced with an existential verb followed by background information about that participant. The participant identification system is primarily sequential, with occasional presence of a local VIP.
More coding material tends to appear at thematic boundaries and other text discontinuities, and is used for peak-marking or indicating salience. Less coding material is sometimes used when there is no risk of ambiguity in identifying the correct referent.

The findings of this study contribute to the documentation of one of the world’s smaller languages. It will be of particular interest to those seeking to understand Tai Dam or other Tai languages, as well as those translating materials from or into Tai Dam.
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บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เกี่ยวกับระบบการข้างถึงผู้แสดงบทบาทในสัมพันธสารเรื่องเล่าที่มีบุคคลที่สามจำนวนสี่เรื่องในภาษาไทด่ที่พูดในภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศเวียดนาม โดยบรรยายรูปภาษาแทนการข้างถึงที่ใช้ในการระบุผู้มีส่วนร่วมและหน้าที่ทางสัมพันธศาสตร์ของรูปภาษาดังกล่าวรูปภาษณ์แทนการข้างถึงที่ใช้ในการติดตามผู้มีส่วนร่วมประกอบด้วยนามสกุลที่มีและไม่มีส่วนขยายนามเฉพาะ, คำเรียกญาติ, คำสรรพนาม, อุสสิทธิ์, วลีขยาย, วลีลักษณะนาม, คำปัจจัย, การข้างถึงที่ไม่ปรากฏรูปและอนุภาคสัมพันธศาสตร์หน้าหรือเปรียบเทียบทั่วๆไป

รูปภาษณ์แทนการข้างถึงเหล่านี้มีหน้าที่และบทบาทเฉพาะในสัมพันธศาสตร์ในการระบุผู้แสดงบทบาทซึ่งขึ้นอยู่กับการชี้ชัดของผู้แสดง (identifiablity) และสถานภาพที่ผู์ชี้ชัดเปรียบเปรียบผู้แสดง (activation status) นอกจากนี้ยังมีหน้าที่และบทบาทในการแสดงความสำคัญของผู้แสดง

งานวิจัยนี้ใช้วิธีการกำหนดการต่อเนื่องของหัวข้อของ Givón (1983) ในการกำหนดลำดับความสำคัญของผู้มีส่วนร่วม เพื่อรูปแบบต่างๆ มีการรวมกันเป็นตัวแยกตัวของ หรือตัวประกอบ และใช้วิธีการของ Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) ในการพิจารณารูปแบบของการข้างถึงผู้มีส่วนร่วมอย่างต่อเนื่องในแง่ของการกระทำโดยเปรียบในสัมพันธศาสตร์ต่อเนื่องกัน 8 แบบ

เรื่องเล่าภาษาไวด้ังเรื่องมีผู้แสดงหลัก, ผู้แสดงรองและตัวประกอบสิ้นทุก, ผู้แสดงบทบาทหลักมักจะถูกแนะนำโดยใช้วิธีการข้างถึงที่ความมีอยู่ในตัวและข้อมูลความเป็นมาของผู้นั้น ระบบการ
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Ø = zero anaphora
1SFam = first person singular, familiar form
1SPol = first person singular, polite form
1PExcl = first person plural exclusive
1PIncl = first person plural inclusive
2SFam = second person singular, familiar form
2P = second person plural
3S = third person singular
3P = third person plural
CLF = classifier
ClsTrm = class term
COMP = complementizer
CONJ = conjunction
DEM = demonstrative
DUR = durative
EMPH = emphatic
EXCL = exclamative
IMP = imperative
INDEF = indefinite
INTER = interrogative
LOC = locative
MOD = modifier
NEG = negative
NEGIMP = negative imperative
NEG_EMPH = negative emphatic
N = noun
NH = nominal head
NP = noun phrase
ONOM = onomatopoeia
PASS = passive
PLUR = pluralizer
POSS = possessive marker
POSTV = postverbal element
PREV = preverbal element
PROG = progressive
PRT = particle
PRT.question_marker = question marking particle
QNT = quantifier
RelCl = relative clause
SVO = subject, verb, object (word order)
Verb PRT = verbal particle
VIP = very important participant
VOC = vocative
VP = verb phrase
GLOSSARY

Accessibility - Referents that are in the hearer’s consciousness but not actively focused on are said to be accessible. This accessibility can be broken down into three forms: textually accessible referents are those already present in the discourse but deactivated, inferentially accessible referents are those that can be inferred from some element such as a schema or semantic frame, and situationally accessible referents are accessible through the text-external world such as an object that is physically present in the speech situation.

Activation state - Because of the vast amounts of knowledge stored in our minds, we are limited as to how much of that knowledge or information we can focus on at one time. When discussing discourse referents, activation states are a way to designate how available or in focus a given referent is at that particular time. It may be active (in the hearer’s conscious thought), accessible (on the periphery, of which the hearer has some awareness but is not presently focusing on it), or inactive (only in the hearer’s long-term memory, not presently in focus or on the periphery).

Identifiability – Identifiability refers to the distinction of whether or not the hearer is able to distinguish a referent from all those that could be designated by a particular referring expression and therefore identify it as the referent that the speaker has in mind.

Referring expression – Referring expressions are linguistic forms used to create and maintain mental representations of referents, which may be an entity or a state of affairs (may be noun phrases, pronouns, subordinate clauses or adverbial phrases).

Salience – Salience is the thematic importance that a referent has in regards to the narrative as a whole (or to a given segment of the narrative); it can be considered as a type of prominence.
**Schema** – A schema is a cluster of interrelated expectations. If a certain schema has been evoked, a series of related expressions will be presumed to automatically become accessible to the hearer.

**Specificity** – Specificity is the distinction between a referent being specific (a particular entity in the speaker’s mind) or non-specific (such as a generic class of that type of entity).

**Topic continuity** – Topic continuity refers to a paragraph or section of a text having one topic (i.e. one referent) that is particularly salient throughout that unit of the text.
Chapter 1
Introduction

In the case of any discourse, a hearer needs to be able to understand who is doing what to whom, and a speaker needs to be able to make that information clear (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 111). It is the participant reference system for a particular language that makes these two tasks possible. Such a system provides the means for establishing the identity of a referent and maintaining it without confusion to the hearers (Grimes 1975: 47).

This thesis is a study of the participant reference system found in a corpus of Tai Dam oral narratives. The ultimate aim of the study is to understand the participant reference system of Tai Dam. To understand the Tai Dam participant reference system entails identifying the linguistic resources available to speakers of the language (i.e. referring expressions), uncovering the reasons why one referring expression would be chosen over another one in a particular segment of a discourse, understanding the status of various participants and props in a narrative, and discovering the default patterns for participant identification.

The following chapters seek to describe the participant reference system of Tai Dam narratives. Chapter 1 introduces the Tai Dam people and language, the objectives and research questions of the study, and the four texts included in the corpus. It also introduces the theoretical approach taken in this study.

Chapter 2 provides a brief description of Tai Dam phonology and grammar. Chapter 3 describes the inventory of referring expressions used in Tai Dam narrative. Chapter 4 ranks participants in order of importance by applying various methods of measuring topic continuity. Chapter 4 also examines participant introductions. Chapter 5 adapts and applies Levinsohn's 8 step methodology for determining and describing participant identification patterns. Finally, chapter 6 summarizes the findings of this study, evaluates the methodologies used and proposes areas for further research.
1.1 The Tai Dam people

Though they are thought to have originated in Southwestern China, most of the Tai Dam are now located in northwestern Vietnam and consider it to be their homeland. Sources vary in their estimates, but there are approximately a million Tai Dam people in northwestern Vietnam (Fippinger & Fippinger 2005: section 1.2, Trần Trí Đối and Nguyễn Văn Hoà 2010: 3).

![Figure 1 Map showing main Tai Dam areas of Vietnam](image)

Within Vietnam the Tai Dam can be found in three cultural zones. Researcher and professor Cảm Trọng refers to these three zones as the northwestern cultural zone, the Thanh Hoa – Nghe An cultural zone, and the intermediate cultural zone (Cảm Trọng 2007: 48). The northwestern cultural zone includes the following provinces: Lai Chau, Dien Bien, Yen Bai and most of Son La Province. The Thanh Hoa – Nghe An cultural zone is made up of the two provinces it is named after, namely Thanh Hoa and Nghe An. The intermediate cultural zone consists of Hoa Binh province and and the southernmost districts of Son La province. The three zones can be seen in figure 2. This study focuses on the variety of Tai Dam spoken within the northwestern cultural zone.
The Tai Dam are often described as a people with a precious oral legacy, with ceremonies, songs and stories being passed on by word of mouth. According to Cảm Trọng, just as writing is one of the glories of early Chinese culture, “one of the glories of the Thai-Kadai peoples is their ancient oral traditions” (Cảm Trọng 2007: 34). An interesting anecdote that lends confirmation to this image of the Tai Dam being primarily an oral people came in the weeks following the collection of the texts in this study. During the process of glossing and interlinearizing the texts the researcher made subsequent visits to the Tai Dam areas of Vietnam. On two of those trips there was an opportunity to retell a story from the present corpus to a Tai Dam family. In both cases, upon beginning the retelling of the story, the Tai Dam listeners recognized the story and were able to finish it. The participants in the story and the plot were the same as what is included in the present corpus. Two factors make this particularly noteworthy. First of all, the stories were being told to people who did not live in the same province as the narrators who told the two stories for this study. Secondly, in both cases, the family of listeners were not literate, but still knew the story as it had been passed on orally for generations.

1.2 Language background
The Tai Dam language is also referred to as Black Tai (sometimes Black Thai), Tai Noir (French) and Thái Đen (Vietnamese). There are populations of Tai Dam in Laos,
Thailand and China (as well as several thousand living in the United States and France, with smaller populations in several other western countries), but the majority of the Tai Dam are found in northwestern Vietnam (Fippinger 2005: section 1.1).

1.2.1 Language classification
Tai Dam is a member of the Tai-Kadai language family, in the southwestern branch. It is closely related to Red and White Tai (Tai Daeng and Tai Don/Tai Khao, respectively) of Vietnam, as well as other languages that have spread across into Laos and Thailand (Lewis 2009). Figure 3 below shows one representation of the Tai-Kadai language family.

The traditional orthography used by the Tai Dam is related to the scripts used today by Thai, Lao and other languages of the Southwestern Branch of the Tai language family. It is most likely an adaptation of an early Khmer orthography which was based on the South Indian Grantha script. For more detail on the development of the Tai Dam orthography, see Hartmann 1985 and Robinson (no date).
1.2.2 Language Vitality

In 2010, Phan Lương Hùng reported on research in Vietnam’s Son La Province. He discussed issues relating to literacy, language use and vitality among the Tai Dam. Today Tai Dam in Vietnam shows high levels of vitality as a spoken language, but few of the Tai Dam can still read their heritage script (Phan Lương Hùng 2010: 14). He found a stark contrast between the function and importance of spoken Tai Dam as opposed to written. Based on his own research and that of other Vietnamese linguists in the late nineties and throughout the last decade, he estimates that the Tai Dam are less than 10% literate in their mother tongue. Many of the respondents can also speak or read Vietnamese, but the responses to the surveys indicated that
Tai Dam is still their language of choice in the home, for worship and cultural activities, and in settings in which the entire group is Tai Dam (even in government meetings at a local level). If his research is representative of the wider Tai Dam community in northwestern Vietnam, they prefer to speak Tai but also see the value of learning Vietnamese for social integration and economic advancement (Phan Lương Hùng 2010: 27).

1.2.3 Previous research on Tai Dam
Most of the research on Tai Dam has been reported in French, Vietnamese or Thai. Beginning in the seventies and extending into the early nineties, there seems to have been an increased interest in Tai Dam on the part of American linguists (possibly connected to the migration of several thousand Tai Dam refugees). Much of the work that has been done, both by Western and Asian linguists, deals with phonological descriptions and comparisons. In the 1970s Jay and Dorothy Fippinger published works pertaining to Tai Dam phonology, as well as kinship terms and sentence types (Fippinger 1971, Fippinger 1975, Fippinger and Fippinger 1970). In the early 1990s Tai Dam texts were collected and studied with reference to poetic forms, tonal categories and historical research (Chamberlain 1992, Hartmann 1994). One study focused on pronominal strategies in poetic discourse (Hartmann 1992).

Due to the limited amount of material available on Tai Dam language (especially related to grammar or discourse), reading in preparation for this topic has also included similar studies done on related languages such as Thai and Lao. Included in this have been Somsonge Burusphat’s discourse-related works on Thai (1991) and Bouyei (2000). Cooke has written about pronominal reference in Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese (1965) and on Thai sentence particles (1989). Shoichi Iwasaki focused on Thai grammaticalization from a discourse perspective (2008). Jones & Diller wrote on Thai discourse analysis (1976). Minh Thi Tuyet Pham (2006) completed a discourse-related thesis on Shan, a related language in Thailand.

1.3 Research questions
The following questions are addressed in this thesis:
1. What is the inventory of referring expressions in Tai Dam narrative discourse?
2. What discourse factors motivate the selection of various referring expressions?
3. What are the default encoding patterns for participant identification in the various contexts of narrative discourse?
4. What are possible motivations for non-default encodings of participant identification?

1.4 Objectives of the study
The objectives of this study are to collect and analyze narrative texts from the Tai Dam language in order to do the following:

1. Compile an inventory of referring expressions and describe their functions on the discourse level,
2. Describe the default encoding patterns for participant identification, and
3. Identify non-default occurrences of participant identification and suggest possible motivations behind them.

1.5 Limitations and scope
This study is based on a limited text collection. It examines only one type of discourse, namely third-person monologue narratives. There are various other limitations to the present study as well. First of all, the actual collection of the texts has been limited by the fact that the researcher is not a native speaker of either Tai Dam or Vietnamese. Text collection was also challenging because of the difficulties of arranging access to native speakers of Tai Dam in Vietnam. In the end this was possible with the assistance of the Department of Languages of Ethnic Minorities of the Institute of Linguistics, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences as well as the Vietnam Programme of Thai Studies, Hanoi National University.

It may be a limitation of the study that the speakers represent three different provinces (namely Son La, Yen Bai and Dien Bien). However, these speakers were able to freely converse with each other or listen to recordings from the different areas and understand them with ease. Also, Tai Dam researchers in Vietnam refer to “Tai Dam of the northwest region”—referring to the northwest of Vietnam, not a reference to the geography of Tai Dam language or the language family as a whole.
For a more specific division, Trần Trí Dội and Nguyễn Văn Hoà divide the Tai Dam into three zones (see figure 2 above). Zone one is the largest group (both geographically and in terms of number of speakers). This group includes the variety spoken by all of the storytellers included in this study. The southern part of Sơn La Province and Hòa Bình Province make up the second zone. The third zone is made up of the provinces further to the south, Thanh Hoa and Nghệ An (Trần Trí Dội and Nguyễn Văn Hoà 2010: 3).

Because access to the speakers was limited and the time together was short, the texts included in this study were told once, without either rehearsing or retelling. Once the texts were collected and transcribed, glossing was done with help from each of the storytellers as well as a Vietnamese language helper.

Another important note relates to the scope of this study and any conclusions drawn from the analysis. The results of this study relate to a corpus of one discourse genre, consisting of only four texts. Conclusions drawn about referring expressions and their discourse functions, participant rank or introduction, or participant identification patterns are a reflection of this corpus only. Further research will undoubtedly shed new light on Tai Dam grammar and discourse.

1.6 The text corpus
The corpus for this study includes four narrative texts. This section describes the text collection process, discusses the genre of texts included in the study and gives a summary of each of the narratives. Details regarding the corpus context are also provided, to give the reader an overview of the corpus as a whole in terms of the number of sentences, clauses and words.

1.6.1 Data collection
Texts were collected in Hanoi, Vietnam, with the assistance of the Department of Languages of Ethnic Minorities of the Institute of Linguistics, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. The speakers come from the following locations: Tong Van Han: Dien Bien Province (Dien Bien District, Ban Lieng Village); Lo Van Bien: Yen Bai Province (Nghia Lo Commune); Cam Kien: Son La Province (Muong Chanh, Huyen Mai Son), and Luong Hai Yen: Son La Province (Thuan Chau Commune).
Transcription and glossing were also done in Hanoi, primarily with the help of Nguyen Van Hoa and Phan Luong Hung.
1.6.2 Text genre

The four texts in this study were selected based on the intention to study participant reference patterns. Each of them exhibits contingent temporal succession and agent orientation, thus classifying them as narrative texts (Longacre 1996: 8-9). Beyond these two criteria, Longacre states that narrative texts may be further classified by the presence or absence of projection, and the presence or absence of tension (1996: 9-10). The texts in this study do not have projection, which allows them to be classified as story as opposed to prophecy. Finally, there is tension in each of the texts. Texts with at least three participants are most useful for analysis of a participant reference system. Other texts were collected that were not included in this study because of the number of participants or high levels of flashback or author intrusion. First person narratives were also collected but are not included in this study. Only third person narratives are in the corpus.

The four texts exhibit an introduction, body and conclusion. Two of the texts are introduced by the narrator introducing the story, either by the title of the story (‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’) or simply stating that it is a folktale (‘Dragon King’s Son’). The two that were not formally introduced like this are ‘Dog and Cat’ and ‘Monkey and Gibbon’. In both of those cases, the group had been talking about traditional stories with animals as the main participants and each of the tellers had said in Vietnamese, “I will tell the story about…”

Two of the stories also include a standard introductory phrase that is used when introducing the first participant, ẻ^45 ɜːw^31 ẻ^45 ɜ^22 ‘long ago.’ One narrator began with a vocative phrase, calling out to relatives to come listen before continuing with the introductory phrase just described. One text (‘Dog and Cat’) begins with an eight-sentence introduction that consists of a question of why dogs live outside under the house and cats get to live inside. In the final sentence of the introduction, the narrator says ‘this is why’ (meaning that the story will give the answer to that question).

For the conclusion, each of the four texts includes a summary about the participants, stating something like the fact that they were now rich and well-fed, or now lived without so-and-so. One text has a line after the summary of the main participants that says man^55 pɛn^22 sɔŋ^55 nɔn^31 ‘it was like that.’ Three of the four finish with a closing expression (finis) such as mɛt^22 ‘finished,’ mɛt^22 kɔm^31 ‘finished already,’ or tɔ^44 n^31 h^21 mɛt^22 ‘(I’ve) told all of this.’
1.6.3 Plot summaries

In this section a summary of each text is given to aid the reader in understanding the analysis to follow. The full texts are included in the appendices.

**Text 1:** retweeted nan 55 sio 22 - ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’

A young girl’s mother dies and her father remarries, but the new mother does not take care of her well, so the father takes her and builds a shelter for her to live in the forest. One day a tiger appears and is going to eat her, but she begs for her life and tells her story to the tiger, who turns out to be her mother reincarnated as a tiger. From that day on the tiger takes care of her daughter, catching food for her to eat and stealing cotton for her to make clothes. One day a boy stumbles upon the house and the two of them fall in love. They promise to marry each other.

Meanwhile the stepmother wonders what has become of the daughter, so she goes to see her in the forest and finds that she’s healthy and rich. She talks the father into bringing Y Noi home, and she secretly plans to send her own daughter to live there so she will become rich. When the tiger comes to visit, the girl cries and cries. The tiger realizes it is not her daughter, so it eats her. A few days later the mother comes to check on her and sees that the tiger ate her daughter, so she wants to die to be with her. Then the boy comes back to visit Y Noi, and she’s not there. He goes to look for her and sees a couple of deer. He is hungry and wants to shoot one but doesn’t want to split up a couple, so he asks if they’ve seen Y Noi. They tell him the way, and he continues on until he sees a pair of turtledoves. Again he wants to shoot one but doesn’t want the other to be sad, so he asks for directions. He continues and sees a pair of wild chickens. He has the same thoughts but again decides not to shoot and asks them for directions. Then he reaches her house and finds her there. They get married and take care of her father and have a happy and wealthy life.

**Text 2:** No title proper; introduced in Vietnamese as kè câu chuyện về chỗ ở của con chó và con mèo – ‘telling a story about the accommodation/living place of the dog and the cat.’ It is referred to throughout this study as ‘Dog and Cat.’

The teller states that people’s homes need to have dogs and cats. He then asks why it is that the dog lives outside, under the house, while the cat gets to live inside and stay near the fireplace. Whenever it is hungry, it can call for food and people feed it. He states that this story explains why things are this way. The daughter of a very wealthy family marries a poor man who lives in the forest so she sends a dog and cat to steal a pair of magical scissors with golden handles from her parents. The one who brings them back to her will get a reward. They hurry off and the cat catches a
mouse then threatens to eat him if he doesn’t help get the scissors. They retrieve them and race back to the house, but the dog tries to carry the scissors and they drop them off a bridge. Then the dog threatens to eat a family of otters if they don’t swim down and get them. The otters get the scissors and the dog grabs them and races to the house. The woman is going to reward the dog but the cat rushes in and explains that he got them first, so the woman rewards the cat. This is why the cat gets to stay in the house and gets fed whenever it calls for food, and the dog has to stay outside and live under the house.¹

**Text 3:** The speaker introduces this text as a Tai folktale. Afterwards the speaker gave it the title ลู๑๓ ท่าจี๑๓ ปู๑๒ จี๑๕๕ - ‘Dragon King’s Son’
A beautiful and hardworking young woman is sent to look after the family’s ducks at a pond. She sits at the edge of the pond winding a spool of thread when the son of the dragon king (the king of the water) comes rising up out of the middle of the water and grabs her and pulls her down into the water. She holds onto the spool, but the thread unwinds as she goes. When her parents go to look for her, they see the thread and realize she probably fell into the water, so they go to find a shaman. He tells them it was the dragon king’s son and gives the father instructions to go in after her. He follows the thread and arrives at the large palace under the water, where there are lots of other people. His daughter doesn’t want to go home so they stay there, but then after a while he misses home. When he goes to call his daughter, he finds that she has become a dragon. She asks the king what can be given to her parents for raising her, so the king gives him lots of ginger and galangal, which will turn to silver and gold when taken out of the water. The family is then very rich but without their only daughter.

**Text 4:** No title proper, but introduced in Vietnamese as sự tích con khỉ, con vũğer ‘the story of the monkey (and) the gibbon.’ It is referred to in this study as ‘Monkey and Gibbon.’
A very poor family is out of rice so they plan to pick mangoes once they become ripe and take them to their grandparents to ask for rice. The two children are so hungry that they climb the tree to take the mangoes before they are ready. The parents warn the children that whoever eats the mangoes will become a monkey or a

¹ A Lahu Shi story collected in Thailand and analyzed in Amber Morris’ thesis (2008) has a very similar plot to this story. The free translation of the Lahu Shi story is found in Morris 2008: 32–34.
gibbon. While the parents were asleep the children climbed the tree again and ate the mangoes. They fought over the last mango and fell and died. One was reborn as a monkey and the other as a gibbon, and the parents had no more children.

1.6.4 Context
The purpose of this section is to describe the corpus of material included in this study and to give the reader a broader understanding of texts being analyzed. The texts were recorded on different days but for each of them the speakers had been invited to participate in this study by telling stories that would be recorded and then analyzed for this study. They were all recorded digitally. Though there was a Vietnamese and American researcher present, the speakers told the stories in Tai Dam to their Tai Dam audience (anywhere from 1 to 3 other Tai Dam).

‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’
Addresser: Tong Van Han (male)
Addressee: 1 Tai Dam (male), 1 Vietnamese, 1 American
Time: Recorded 5 April 2011
Place: Hanoi, Vietnam (guesthouse)
Media: Told in Tai Dam, recorded digitally
Addresser's purpose: To entertain

Number of ‘running’ words: 2,248
Number of word tokens: 344
Number of sentences: 263
Number of clauses: 353
Ratio of clauses per sentence: 1.34
Longest sentence in words: 18 words
Shortest sentence in words: 2 words
Average sentence length in words: 8.54 words

The ten most frequently used words in the story (number of times used):

- man^{55} ‘3S’ (82),
- tien^{45} ‘then’ (63),
- ma^{55} ‘come’ (59),
- mio^{55} ‘go’ (49),
- to^{22} ‘CLF for animals’ (47),
- ju^{45} ‘live’ (45),
‘Dog and Cat’
Addresser: Lo Van Bien (male)
Addressee: 3 Tai Dam (2 male, 1 female), 1 Vietnamese, 1 American
Time: Recorded 10 April 2011
Place: Hanoi, Vietnam (Institute of Linguistics)
Media: Told in Tai Dam, recorded digitally
Addresser’s purpose: To entertain, in response to the researcher’s question about stories with animals as participants

Number of ‘running’ words: 1,029
Number of word tokens: 266
Number of sentences: 95
Number of clauses: 155
Ratio of clauses per sentence: 1.63
Longest sentence in words: 29 words
Shortest sentence in words: 3 words
Average sentence length in words: 10.83 words
The ten most frequently used words in the story (number of times used):

- to²² ‘CLF for animals’ (36),
- lɔ²¹ ‘PRT’ (29),
- sin³¹ ‘so’ (28),
- ma⁵⁵ ‘come’ (26),
- man⁵⁵ ‘3S’ (26),
- dai²¹ ‘able, receive’ (20),
- ku²² ‘1SFam, I’ (20),
- ni³¹ ‘this’ (19),
- hi³¹ ‘PRT’ (18),
- miŋ⁵⁵ ‘2SFam, you’ (18).

‘Dragon King’s Son’
Addresser: Cam Kien (male)
Addressee: 1 Tai Dam (male), 1 Vietnamese, 1 American
Time: Recorded 17 April 2011
Place: Hanoi, Vietnam (residence)
Media: Told in Tai Dam, recorded digitally
Addresser’s purpose: To entertain

Number of ‘running’ words: 816
Number of word tokens: 234
Number of sentences: 79
Number of clauses: 109
Ratio of clauses per sentence: 1.38
Longest sentence in words: 22 words
Shortest sentence in words: 3 words
Average sentence length in words: 10.33 words
The ten most frequently used words in the story (number of times used):

- ma₅⁵ ‘come’ (29),
- tsan⁵₃ ‘then’ (23),
- man₅⁵ ‘3S’ (22),
- sin³¹ ‘so’ (21),
- nan³¹ ‘that’ (19),
- pao²² ‘go’ (18),
- l₄²¹ ‘PRT’ (16),
- luo²⁵ ‘child’ (15),
- lsw³¹ ‘already’ (14),
- gio²⁵ ‘dragon’ (12).

‘Monkey and Gibbon’
Addresser: Luong Hai Yen (female)
Addressee: 3 Tai Dam (male), 1 Vietnamese, 1 American
Time: Recorded 10 April 2011
Place: Hanoi, Vietnam (Institute of Linguistics)
Media: Told in Tai Dam, recorded digitally
Addresser’s purpose: To entertain, in response to the researcher’s question about stories with animals as participants

Number of ‘running’ words: 331
Number of word tokens: 125
Number of sentences: 44
Number of clauses: 52  
Ratio of clauses per sentence: 1.18  
Longest sentence in words: 18 words  
Shortest sentence in words: 2 words  
Average sentence length in words: 6.37 words  
The ten most frequently used words in the story (number of times used):  
\( \text{saw}^{22} \) ‘3P, they’ (10),  
\( \text{baW}^{45} \) ‘NEG’ (9),  
\( \text{ma}^{55} \) ‘come’ (9),  
\( \text{leW}^{31} \) ‘already’ (8),  
\( \text{ʔaW}^{21} \) ‘father’ (7),  
\( \text{ʔem}^{55} \) ‘mother’ (7),  
\( \text{kiN}^{22} \) ‘eat’ (7),  
\( \text{ko}^{21} \) ‘also’ (7),  
\( \text{ma}^{22} \text{ʔuN}^{31} \) ‘mango’ (7),  
\( \text{tət}^{45} \) ‘will’ (7).  

**Total corpus**  
Number of ‘running’ words: 4,424  
Number of word tokens: 969  
Number of sentences: 481  
Number of clauses: 689  
Average ratio of clauses per sentence: 1.43  
Average sentence length in words: 9.20  

The ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ text is significantly longer than the rest of the texts. In terms of word count it is more than twice as long as ‘Dog and Cat’ and ‘Dragon King’s Son’, and almost 7 times longer than ‘Monkey and Gibbon’. The ratio of clauses per sentence ranges from just over 1 clause per sentence (1.18 in ‘Monkey and Gibbon’) to almost 2 clauses per sentence (1.72 in ‘Dog and Cat’), with an overall average of 1.43 clauses per sentence. This is a reflection of the varying complexity of the sentences in the four texts, and probably relates to the confidence and experience of the storyteller as well. The shorter sentence length in ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ may also be a reflection of the storyteller feeling nervous or having less experience telling stories.
1.7 Theoretical approach

Longacre (1979: 21) stated that understanding “many details of linguistic structure is dependent on the analysis of discourse.” The theory underlying the study of discourse in general, and this study in particular, is that words and sentences can best be understood in their environment. Throughout the study there will be a dual focus on linguistic structures as well as the linguistic environment in which they appear and the function which they perform in that environment (such as the way that linguistic material signals textual boundaries or participant rank).

Chapter 3 draws heavily from Lambrecht (1994) and Chafe (1976, 1994). For both of these authors, the foundational assumption is that a speaker tailors what is said on the basis of what is assumed to be in the minds of the hearers. In this study, it relates to the identifiability and activation status of a referent and the ways in which that is reflected in linguistic forms.

Givón (1983) provides a key part of the theoretical foundation for chapter 4. Measurements for topic continuity are attempts to quantify the degree of difficulty one might experience in identifying a referent. Givón (1983: 11) suggests that difficulty in identifying a referent is affected by the following:

1. length of absence from the register, or internal short-term filing system (shorter gaps make identification easier, introductions are maximally difficult to process),
2. potential interference from other referents (when more other referents are present it becomes more difficult to identify the proper referent),
3. availability of semantic information (the predicate of a clause may help the hearer identify the correct referent, based on the likelihood of a particular referent functioning as an argument of that predicate), and
4. availability of thematic information (the preceding discourse gives clues as to the probability of a certain referent persisting in the discourse, and in some cases as to its importance in the discourse).

Lastly, Levinsohn (1994b) and Dooley & Levinsohn (2001) provide a framework for identifying the different factors that affect the amount of coding material used in a participant identification system. Givón’s (1983: 18) iconicity principle is foundational to this method. The principle states, “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it.” Levinsohn (1994b: 110) recognizes two sets of factors which affect
participant encoding, namely: 1) the degree of accessibility for a particular referent, and 2) the status and position of that referent. Five factors are said to relate specifically to the amount of encoding material used (Levinsohn 1994b: 111). They are: 1) the number of participants present on stage, 2) whether or not the referent was activated in the previous sentence, 3) if so, whether or not the referent is in the same role in the current sentence, 4) the presence or absence of a discontinuity and 5) whether the sentence is unmarked for prominence, is backgrounded or is highlighted.
Chapter 2

Brief Description of Tai Dam

This chapter provides a brief description of the Tai Dam language of Vietnam. The phonology is presented first. A selection of grammatical information is then provided to help the reader in understanding the remainder of the study. The phonology presented here summarizes the work of Fippinger and Fippinger. For more detailed description of Tai Dam phonology see Fippinger and Fippinger 1970.

2.1 Phonology

Tai Dam has 23 consonant phonemes (displayed in Table 1). Fourteen of the consonants occur only initially. Eight consonants may occur either initially or finally. One consonant occurs only finally. Such restrictions on position are indicated within the table by the presence of a hyphen before or after the consonant.

Table 1 Tai Dam consonant inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops-vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tɕ-</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʷ-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops-vd</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>d-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops-asv</td>
<td>tʰ-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>f-</td>
<td>s-</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>xʷ-</td>
<td>h-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>v-</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋʷ-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is free variation between /d/ and /l/ as well as between /b/ and /v/. This was also reported by Gedney (1989) and Fippinger and Fippinger (1970). There were also occurrences of the speaker from Dien Bien Province pronouncing /s/- as [h-] or eliding some initial consonants in some environments. The approximant /j/ is commonly realized as [z].

Tai Dam has 13 vowels, including 3 glides (displayed in Table 2). There is only one vowel for which length is contrastive: /a/ and /aː/. 
The combination /-əw/ is realized phonetically as [-əi]. Further phonological analysis could result in this combination being considered as a diphthong rather than a vowel-consonant combination. This phonological matter is not further addressed in this study as the transcription follows the phonology published in Fippinger and Fippinger 1970.

Table 2 Tai Dam vowel inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>iə</td>
<td>iə</td>
<td>uə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>a, əː</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tones are contrastive in Tai Dam, and the six tones are often divided into two groups of three tones each (tones 1-3 make up the first group and tones 4-6 make up the second group, as shown below). The traditional Tai Dam orthography consists of two sets of initial consonants to mark tone groupings. This may be a reflection of two original registers. In much of the literature describing Tai Dam, the tones are simply referred to as tones 1-6. Throughout this thesis the pitch level appears in superscript. The six tones are as follows:

Tone 1: lower-mid level (22)   Tone 4: high level (55)
Tone 2: high rising (45)       Tone 5: higher-mid level (44)
Tone 3: low, glottalized (21)  Tone 6: mid falling, glottalized (31)

Tai Dam syllable structure consists of obligatory initial consonant, vowel and tone, as well as an optional final consonant. The pattern can be represented as CV(C)tone. Most words are monosyllabic, though there are some disyllabic words that begin with an unstressed Cə syllable. For these words, the structure can be represented as CəCV(C)tone. Compound words are made up of multiple syllables that follow the above pattern.

2.2 Grammar

This section provides a brief description of Tai Dam grammar. It will introduce the reader to Tai Dam grammar at a phrasal level and at a clausal level. Morphology is not discussed as Tai Dam does not have inflectional morphology.
2.2.1 Noun phrase

The Tai Dam noun phrase (NP) template consists of a nominal head, which may be preceded by a quantifier and/or classifier and may be followed by modifier(s), possessor, demonstrative and/or relative clause. The NP structure is illustrated as follows:

\[ \text{NP} \rightarrow (\text{QNT})(\text{CLF}) \text{ NH (MOD)(POSS)(DEM)(RelCl)} \]

Fippinger & Fippinger (2005: section 3) report that the Tai Dam in Laos use an alternate formula, with number and classifier following the noun, as it does in most members of the southwestern branch of the Tai language family (Diller 2000: 13). It appears that the grammar of the Tai Dam in Vietnam has adopted aspects of Vietnamese grammar.

Each component of the noun phrase will be discussed below, first the noun phrase head and then the other optional elements. An example of a relative clause is included under modifiers (section 2.2.1.4), but the bulk of the discussion of relative clauses comes in the section that deals with clause types. See section 2.2.3.8 for more on relative clauses.

2.2.1.1 Noun phrase heads

The head of a noun phrase may be a noun (simple or compound), a proper noun or a pronoun, classifier or class term. Each of these is presented in this section. A simple noun as head is shown in the following example. In example (1) the noun \( \text{ma}^{22} \) appears alone, without any of the optional elements. In example (2), \( \text{kən}^{45} \) ‘ball’ is the head noun, but appears with a classifier and demonstrative.

(1) ‘Dog and Cat’ 85
\[ 85 \text{ ha}^{22} \text{ va}^{44} \text{ baw}^{45} \text{ mi}^{55} \text{ ma}^{22} \text{ ko}^{31} \text{ baw}^{45} \text{ daj}^{21} \]
but NEG have dog also NEG to be able
But to not have a dog, (we) cannot…

(2) ‘Dog and Cat’ 14
\[ 14 \text{ xɔj}^{21} \text{ tɛn}^{45} \text{ xam}^{45} \text{ xan}^{21} \text{ kɔn}^{45} \text{ ni}^{31} \text{ tɔ}^{55} \text{ xin}^{21} \text{ kən}^{22} \text{ ha:w}^{22} \]
1SPol then hold CLF ball this toss up air
“I'll throw this ball up into the air…”
Compound nouns are formed by two or more morphemes standing together. In example (3), *swaŋ*\(^{21}\) ‘pants’ and *sia*\(^{21}\) ‘shirt’ combine to form the compound ‘clothing.’ They are followed by the possessor, which in this case is the third person singular pronoun *man*\(^{55}\).

(3) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 10

10 ha?:\(^{55}\) va:44 *swaŋ*\(^{21}\) *sia*\(^{21}\) *man*\(^{55}\) ba:\(^{21}\) baw:45 ?in:22

   but pants shirt 3S PRT NEG wet

But his clothing was not wet.

In some cases an elaborate expression is formed by combining 4 elements in a pattern such as (A-B-A-C) or (A-B-C-B). In this corpus, the (A-B-A-C) pattern is followed, with the repeated element (A) being a verb, and (B) and (C) being two nouns that form a compound to refer to a single noun. Example (4) shows two clauses in which each uses a compound noun. The first of the two is in the form of the 4-element elaborate expression. The second simply combines the two nouns side-by-side.

(4) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 180-181

180 Ø tei:55 tʰoŋ:22 *bâ:n*\(^{21}\) tʰoŋ:32 *xuaŋ*\(^{45}\) Ø will arrive village arrive neighborhood

181 Ø tei:55 tʰoŋ:22 *bâ:n*\(^{21}\) *xuaŋ*\(^{45}\) Ø kʰa:55 will arrive village neighborhood PRT

(180) “(She) will miss\(^{2}\) (her) village. (181) She will miss (her) village.”

A proper noun may stand as the head of a noun phrase. Though it is most common for them to stand alone, they can also be found with a possessor or demonstrative. In example (5) a proper noun appears by itself.

(5) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 82

82 tʰ:45 *noj*\(^{31}\) ha:\(^{21}\) te:31

   Y Noi cry much

Y Noi was crying a lot

\(^{2}\) The verb *tʰoŋ*\(^{22}\) is glossed ‘arrive’ but can also convey the sense of missing someone or something, which is the way in which it used in these sentences. The girl is away from her home and the stepmother is trying to talk the father into bringing her home because she “will miss her village.”
In the next two examples, a proper noun is used, first with a possessor following it and second with a demonstrative.

(6) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 174
174 Ø ṇam⁴⁵ kuŋ⁲⁵ ṭaw⁴⁴ na⁵⁵ Ø ṭaw⁴⁴ me⁴⁴ som⁵⁵ ku²² miŋ⁵⁵ ju⁴⁵ Ø

think in heart PRT take ClsTrm Som 1SFam go live

“She thought in her heart, “(I’ll) take my Miss Som to go live (there).

(7) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 156
156 Ø ṭaŋ⁴⁵ t’a:m⁵² maw⁴⁵ ṭaj³¹ ṭaj⁵⁵ me⁴⁴ no⁴¹ nam⁵⁵ man⁵⁵ pen⁵² si⁵⁵ daw²²
dé⁴⁵
PRT
She asked again, “Father, that Miss Noi, how is she?”

Pronouns, like the noun phrases they substitute for, may appear in the head slot, the possessor slot or within a relative clause. Tai Dam pronouns do not distinguish gender. The various distinctions of personal pronouns in Tai Dam are presented in the table below. Those that do not appear in the corpus but are listed in Fippinger & Fippinger (2005) are marked with a (*).

Table 3 Tai Dam personal pronoun inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First person</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xaj²¹ (polite)</td>
<td>haw⁵⁵ (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ku²² (familiar)</td>
<td>fu²² (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʰha:⁵⁵ (poetic)</td>
<td>ʰsum⁵⁵ fu²² (familiar exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ʰsum⁵⁵ xaj²¹ (polite exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second person</strong></td>
<td>tɕaw²¹ (polite)</td>
<td>* pij⁵⁵ tɕaw²¹ (polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>min⁵⁵ (familiar)</td>
<td>su²² (familiar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Third person</strong></td>
<td>man⁵⁵ (informal)</td>
<td>saw²² (definite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʰtaŋ⁴⁴ (honorific)</td>
<td>ʰsaw²¹ (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of the first person singular (polite) pronoun as the head is shown in example (8).
I will tell you about a Tai folktale.

A pronoun as the head of a noun phrase can also be a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative pronouns are *n*₂¹ ‘this, these’ and *nan*₂¹ ‘that, those.’ In the present corpus demonstratives are usually used adjectivally. An example of the demonstrative pronoun as head noun appears in example (9).

(9) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 206

Oh, this is not my child!

There are a group of pronominal forms that can function as indefinite pronouns or interrogatives. N.J. Enfield (2007: 84-85) reported that Lao has three of these forms, two of which are free pronouns that can function as independent noun phrases³. They are *naj*₁¹ ‘something, anything, what’ and *phaj*₁¹ ‘someone, anyone, who.’ The third indefinite form is *daj*₁¹ ‘some, any, which.’ According to Enfield, this form is not a free pronoun but an “indefinite specifier which attaches to any nominal head to derive an indefinite pronominal expression.” Tai Dam has forms that mirror these three Lao pronominal forms. They are realized as *san*₂² ‘something, anything, what,’ *baw*₂² ‘someone, anyone, who,’ and *daw*₂² ‘some, any, which.’ An example of each of these follows in examples (10)-(12).

(10) ‘Dog and Cat’ 94

(If they) want something…

(11) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 29

Whoever eats from the lower branch

³ For the sake of continuity throughout this study, Lao words found in Enfield (2007) are included here following the method of transcription used in this thesis. For example, what Enfield transcribes as *ñang*³ is included here as *ñaj*¹. 
In some cases the classifier may also move to the position of nominal head. The classifier may be used to substitute for a non-specific member (or members) of the group. In example (13), the man sees two turtledoves and wants to shoot one and eat it. He thinks about the fact that if he shoots one of them, the other one will be left alone. In each of these cases the classifier acts as the nominal head, with the numeral following.

(13) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 244
244 man55 kɔ21 ɲəm45 faŋ22 ku22 ɓɛn45 to22 ɲiŋ55 ɲən55 ɗə to22 ɲiŋ55
3S also think if 1SFam shoot CLF one still CLF one

He thought, “If I shoot one, there will still be one.”

Lastly, a class term may stand as the nominal head. In the next example the class term for humans, fiŋ21, is the head.

(14) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 38
38 fu21 ɓok22
ClsTm oldest
The oldest one/sibling

2.2.1.2 Quantifiers
Quantifiers (QNT) are a class of modifiers that indicate quantity or scope. They can be numerals or another partitive quantifier such as many or all (Givón 2001b: 4).

(15) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 20
20 laŋ22 pi31
many year
Many years

When a numeral is being used in an approximate sense, two numerals occur together in ascending order, as in example (16).
After four or five days passed, her mother wanted to go visit (her).

There are some cases in which the quantifier may follow the noun (after the modifier, if present). When the quantifier used in the noun phrase is ɲɲ44 ‘one’ or ɗan44 ‘only one,’ then the quantifier may follow the noun4. There are two instances of this in example (17).

Another quantifier which is observed following the noun is ?e45 ‘many’ (alternatively ?an45 ?e45 ‘many’). Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 3.2.4b) state that “certain non-specific numbers can fill the modifier slot” and example (18) may be an example of that.

**2.2.1.3 Classifiers**

Tai Dam uses both general and specific classifiers (CLF). Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 2.4) state that general classifiers are used more broadly than specific classifiers. That was found to be the case in this corpus as well. General classifiers include ɗu22 (for animate nouns) and ɗan21 (for inanimate nouns). Another general classifier that is used less frequently is ?an22 (usually for inanimate nouns). Specific classifiers are limited semantically to a certain set of items, such as ʈǝgo55, a classifier for weaving looms or portions thereof. Example (19) includes the two

---

4 It may be possible to analyze such instances of ɲɲ44 ‘one’ or ɗan44 ‘only one’ as a determiner instead of a quantifier. This could account for the syntactic position, its function relating to definiteness, and potential phonological difference.
general classifiers, $t_0^{22}$ and $x_\alpha^{21}$. Example (20) includes the specific classifier $t_\alpha\omega^{55}$.

(19) ‘Dog and Cat’ 56-57

56 $t_0^{22}$ me$^{55}$ va$^{44}$ ku$^{22}$ $t_\alpha\omega^{22}$ $\varnothing$ da$^{21}$ ku$^{22}$ xam$^{45}$ $\varnothing$

CLF cat say 1SFam take to be able 1SFam hold

57 sin$^{31}$ lo$^{21}$ ma$^{55}$ ka$^{22}$ xam$^{21}$ xu$^{22}$ nam$^{31}$ ni$^{44}$ $\varnothing$ tc$^{55}$ kan$^{22}$

so PRT come pass CLF bridge water one struggle each other
tc$^{55}$ kan$^{22}$ ma$^{55}$ kew$^{21}$ jian$^{55}$ tok$^{22}$ lo$^{55}$ nam$^{31}$

struggle each other CLsTrm scissors immediately fall down water

sio$^{22}$

completely gone

(56) The cat said, “I got (them). I will hold (them).” (57) So while crossing a bridge (they) fought each other and the scissors fell down into the water.

(20) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 18

18 teu$^{55}$ naj$^{55}$ nan$^{31}$ nan$^{55}$ naj$^{21}$ ju$^{45}$ him$^{55}$ n$\alpha$ju$^{22}$ nan$^{31}$

CLF spool that still on/at LOC bank pond that

That spool was still at the edge of that pond

In Enfield’s grammar of Lao the section on nominal classification includes a category referred to as class terms. These class terms include “dozens of morphemes which may occur as independent nouns and which also may appear as the initial and more semantically general component of many polymorphemic nouns denoting objects and people” (Enfield 2007: 146). These are glossed as ClsTrm. An inventory of the class terms in this corpus is shown in table 4.
Table 4 Inventory of Tai Dam class terms in the present corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Term</th>
<th>Used with</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fir²¹</td>
<td>humans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me.⁴⁴</td>
<td>females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?r⁴⁵</td>
<td>females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bə²¹</td>
<td>males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?aʃ²¹</td>
<td>males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po³⁵⁵</td>
<td>males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke²⁴⁵</td>
<td>elderly people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maʔ?⁵⁵</td>
<td>scissors</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These class terms may be preceded by a classifier, as in the following examples.

Example (21) includes a general classifier before the class term used for scissors. Examples (22) and (23) both include the use of a general classifier before a class term that is used for human referents. In Vietnamese the general classifier cái can also be used before the head noun, even with other classifiers. Some refer to this as the “extra cái”. Because it can co-occur with other classifiers, Tuong Hung Nguyen (2004: 43) considers it a focus marker. The Tai Dam use of a general classifier before a class term like the following examples may be due to the language being influenced by Vietnamese but to say so conclusively would require more relevant data and a detailed analysis.

(21)  ‘Dog and Cat’ 52

52 xaŋ²¹ maʔ?⁵⁵ kəw²¹ ?r²² ma⁵⁵ me⁴⁵ həw²¹ to²² me⁵⁵

- CLF  ClsTrm scissors go out come extend/point for  CLF cat
...
the scissors came (fell) out towards the cat.

(22) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 46

46 sin³¹ xəŋ²¹ me⁴⁴ lu⁵⁵ nəŋ⁵⁵ nən³¹ ma⁵⁵ ma⁵⁵ ju⁴⁵ nəŋ²¹ hən⁵⁵ pə²²
so  CLF  ClsTrm child girl that 3S come live on/at house king
nəŋ²¹ nən³¹
dragon that
But that daughter, she had come to stay at the dragon king’s house.

⁵ In other materials maʔ?⁵⁵ is considered a classifier for any instrument with a handle. The only referent with which it appears in this corpus is scissors. It is considered a class term because of instances in which it occurs with the general classifier xaŋ²¹, such as ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 29, 38 and 52.
Then he asked the deer, “Hey deer! My girl who lives in this forest, where did she go?”

2.2.1.4 Modifiers

Modifiers (MOD) in the noun phrase may be stative verbs or prepositional phrases. The stative verb is comparable to an adjective in other languages. Any intensifier appearing with the modifier also may occur in this slot.

According to Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 3.2.4b), ordinal number phrases (i.e. ‘the first…’) and certain nonspecific numbers may appear as modifiers. This was mentioned above in section 2.2.1.2 on quantifiers. There were no instances of ordinal numbers as NP modifiers in this corpus. However, they appeared in other texts that were collected but not included in this corpus.

2.2.1.5 Possessors

Possession is indicated primarily by word order. The possessor (POSS) may be a simple noun, a personal pronoun, a proper noun or a kin term. Because there is no gender distinction for personal pronouns, it can be challenging to determine if the third person singular pronoun is functioning as a possessor or as a subject that is following a topicalized noun. Such an ambiguous construction is shown below in example (25).

Her father just asked…
Syntactically, the above example could also be glossed ‘father, he just asked…’ Determinations of whether a pronoun was being used in a possessive sense or not were made with the help of the narrators of each text.

There is a possessive marker $x\eta^{45}$ ‘of, belonging to,’ but it only appears once in this corpus as shown in example (26).

(26) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 26
26 $\le w^{31}$ $\tilde{a}j^{21}$ $x\eta^{45}$ $\tilde{a}^{45}$ $n\tilde{o}^{31}$ $t\tilde{c}a^{22}$ $j$ $e^{55}$ $s^{55}$
   already father of POSS CisTrm small unsure do/make how
Now the little girl’s father did not know what to do.

One of the interesting things that appear in the context of possessive phrases in Tai Dam is the versatility of personal pronouns. The Thai language has been shown to have a number of personal pronouns that can function, for example in both the first and the second person position or both first and third person position (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005: 53-54). In Tai Dam there were instances of the third person singular pronoun appearing where one would expect the plural, or the third person singular appearing where the referent was plural. The pronoun that appears to have the most versatility is $t\tilde{c}a^{21}$ (also appearing as $t\tilde{c}a^{21} to^{22}$). $t\tilde{c}a^{21}$ can be glossed as the second person singular polite pronoun, or as a reflexive pronoun (oneself). It is also used as an honorific title or as ‘lord, owner, master.’ When they appear together as $t\tilde{c}a^{21} to^{22}$, it is glossed as the reflexive pronoun ‘oneself.’ In possessive constructions, this pronoun ($t\tilde{c}a^{21} to^{22}$ together or either of the two parts individually) can be used to signal first person, second person or third person. Examples are shown below.

(27) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 64
64 $h^{25}$ $t\tilde{c}a^{21}$ $h^{31}$ $b^{45}$ pen$^{22}$ $\eta p^{55}$ $\le w^{31}$ $s^{31}$ na$^{55}$
   child oneself PRT change become dragon already then PRT
“My child changed into a dragon already!”

So then the shaman said to him, "(You) must get a pot, a big one and burn (it). Burn it until (it is) very red, then put it onto your head and dive into the water.

But their child, (they) did not see.

He went up into the house and saw his child, holding a ball of rice.

2.2.1.6 Demonstratives
The slot for demonstratives (DEM) follows the POSS slot. The definite demonstrative adjectives are *ni*\(^{31}\) ‘this, these’ and *nan*\(^{21}\) ‘that, those.’ Each of these is shown in the examples below.

This dog

2.2.1.7 Complex noun phrases
Complex noun phrases may be formed by coordination. Coordinate noun phrases are formed by combining two noun phrases. This can be done with or without a conjunction. The first two examples use a conjunction, *keŋ*\(^{45}\) ‘and’ or *kap*\(^{22}\) ‘with.’ In the third example the conjunction is omitted.
(33) ‘Dog and Cat’ 40
40 to\textsuperscript{22} ma:\textsuperscript{22} kęp\textsuperscript{45} to\textsuperscript{22} mew\textsuperscript{55}
  CLF dog and CLF cat
Dog and cat

(34) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 55
55 kęp\textsuperscript{22} man\textsuperscript{55} kę\textsuperscript{55} kap\textsuperscript{22} pa\textsuperscript{22} dip\textsuperscript{45}
pulp yam old with fish raw
Old yam pulp with raw fish

(35) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 34
34 pu\textsuperscript{22} Ø pa\textsuperscript{22} tan\textsuperscript{45} te\textsuperscript{45}
crab fish many many
Lots of crabs (and) fish

2.2.2 Verb phrase

According to Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 4.1), the types of Tai Dam verb phrases are active, descriptive and copulative. The head verb may be preceded by a preverbal element, and may be followed by a postverbal element and/or a modifier. The VP structure can be represented as follows:

\[ VP \rightarrow (\text{PREV}) \text{Head} (\text{POSTV}) (\text{MOD}) \]

Verb serialization is also common in Tai Dam. When two or more verbs appear together, they are considered a serial verb if they are describing a single event. There are other cases in which more than one event is described but there is no coordinating conjunction present. These are analyzed as a separate clause with a zero anaphora in the subject position. Example (32) serves to illustrate both cases. The first verb phrase \textit{xin}\textsuperscript{21} \textit{mkà}\textsuperscript{55} ‘go up’ refers to the man entering the house, which is seen as a separate event from the verb phrase that follows. The second verb phrase refers to the two of them talking together. The second verb phrase (in bold type) includes the preverbal \textit{kàj}\textsuperscript{45} ‘then’ before each of the two verbs, then a verbal particle \textit{kaur}\textsuperscript{22} ‘each other’ or RECIPROCAL. Though there are two verbs \textit{t\textsuperscript{21}} ‘chat’ and \textit{t\textsuperscript{22}} ‘talk,’ they refer to a single event and are thus considered one verb phrase.
There are also what Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 4.3.3) refer to as discontinuous verb phrases. In such instances, another constituent occurs before the completion of the VP. A common example of this is in the constructions used to express the verbs ‘bring’ or ‘take.’ These are formed by inserting the noun between ʔaw²² ‘take’ and one of the following: ɗi₅₅ ‘go,’ pa²² ‘go’ or maa₅₅ ‘come.’ This is shown in the example (37).

(37) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 70
70 ku²² tci₅₅ ʔaw²² man₅₅ maa₅₅ haj²¹
1SFam will take 3S go field (dry)
I will take her to the field

2.2.2.1 Preverbal elements
Auxiliaries refer to words that “express the tense, aspect, mood, voice or polarity of the verb with which they are associated” (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 41). In Tai Dam these preverbs can be auxiliaries or adverbs used to modify the verb by marking negatives, progressives, and future/irrealis. Examples of various preverbal elements are shown in the following examples.

(38) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 8
8 saw²² baw⁴⁵ mi₅₅ san²² kin²²
3P NEG have thing/what eat
They didn’t have anything to eat.

(39) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 39
39 0 hen²² lu²² to²² daːŋ²² xam⁴⁵ pan²¹ xaw²¹ niŋ⁵⁵
see child oneself PROG hold ball rice one
(He) saw his child holding a ball of rice

(40) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 36
36 0 tcaŋ⁴⁵ ma₅₅ tʰaːm²² saw²²
then come ask 3P
(He) then came and asked them.⁶

⁶ These examples include two different words that are both glossed as ‘then’. The difference in meaning may be that jIan⁵⁵ carries more of a sense of marking sequence whereas tcaŋ⁴⁵ may be used
He then saw a mouse.

Example (43) shows that more than one preverbal element may be used together.

Another preverbal element is the use of a passive marker. This is rare in Tai Dam and only appears once in this corpus. A passive construction is marked in Tai Dam by the use of the verb ʨøpʰ ‘encounter (particularly of adverse circumstances)’ as a preverb. Enfield (2007: 438) refers to it as a so-called passive in Lao, claiming that there is little need for a true passive construction in a topic-prominent language. He states (2007: 441) that Lao uses the verb which means ‘to strike’ as a preverb analogous to a passive marker, and that it is usually used in situations of adversity. A passive construction in Tai Dam is shown in example (46).

When (she) was being dragged away, the girl, she didn’t let go of that spool.
2.2.2.2 Postverbal elements

Following the verb there may be a postverbal element (POSTV), such as a directional marker, aspectual, modal or adverb. In example (45) the word \( ma^{55} \) ‘come’ appears after the head verb \( to^{55} \) ‘tell.’

(45) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 1
1 x\( \partial^{21} \) tci\( ^{45} \) to\( ^{55} \) \( ma^{55} \) k\( ^{\partial}:m^{45} \) taj\( ^{55} \) mi\( ^{\partial55} \) la\( j^{22} \)
1SPol will tell \textit{come} word Tai when much/many
I will tell a Tai folktale

In example (46) the directional \( ?o^{22} \) ‘go out’ is used in a verb phrase referring to a woman becoming pregnant.

(46) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 8
8 mi\( ^{55} \) mok\( ^{22} \) mi\( ^{55} \) t\( \partial \^{31} \) \( ?o^{22} \)
have uterus have abdomen \textit{go out}
Become pregnant

In the following example, the directional \( loj^{55} \) ‘go down, descend’ is used to describe the change in description of the man’s daughter. It is common to use a directional pointing downward for changes of state seen as negative and upward for those seen as positive.

(47) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 24
24 \( ?\) kr\( ^{55} \) hen\( ^{22} \) lu\( j^{55} \) t\( \partial :w^{21} \) l\( b^{21} \) f\( \partial m^{22} \) li\( \partial \^{22} \) loj\( ^{55} \)
continue see child oneself PRT thin yellow \textit{go down}
(he) continued to see his child become thin and yellow (unhealthy)

Directional markers that are opposites can also be used together. One instance of this is used with the verb \( \eta am^{45} \) ‘think.’ Using both of the directional markers gives it a back and forth sense, showing that he was thinking about the subject for a while or from different perspectives.

(48) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 233
233 man\( ^{55} \) k\( \partial n^{45} \) \( \eta am^{45} \) \( p\hat{a} j^{22} \) \( \eta am^{45} \) \( ma^{55} \)
3S first think \textit{go} think \textit{come}
He first kept thinking.
Besides these and other directional markers, there are postverbal elements used to mark modality, durative aspect, completed aspect or purposive. When used in a postverbal position, *da*j conveys ability.

(49) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 138
138 *ta*1  *no*2  *ni*1  *bi*1  *da*2  *ni*1  *no*2
Tao Nok Noi day that also **shoot (hunt) to be able** CLF turtledove one
On that day Tao Nok Noi **was able to shoot** a turtledove.

Another verb which can function in the head verb position or as a postverbal element is *ju*45. The verb is glossed as ‘live, stay.’ Postverbally it is used to mark durative aspect, as shown in example (50).

(50) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 54
54 **to**2  *no*2  *nan*1  *kan*1  *ju*45
CLF sleep twist each other **DUR**
They were sleeping all twisted together.

When *le*w1 ‘already’ is used in a postverbal position, it indicates completed aspect. This is shown in example (51).

(51) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 17
17 **saw**2  *la*4  *xin*1  *le*w1
3P secretly go up **already**
They secretly climbed up.

### 2.2.3 Clause types

The following sections provide an overview of Tai Dam clause types. They will review main clauses (intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, stative and equative clauses) first and then subordinate clauses (relative, complement and adverbial clauses). As will be seen, normal word order for a transitive clause is SVO.

#### 2.2.3.1 Intransitive clauses

An intransitive clause has only one argument. This can be seen in example (52).

(52) ‘Dog and Cat’ 59
59 **to**2  *me*1  *ha*2  *le*w1
CLF cat also cry
The cat also cried.
2.2.3.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses take two arguments, one in the subject position and another in the object position. Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 6.1.3) divide transitive clauses into three categories: possessive, perceptual and active. Transitive possessive clauses deal with possession or attainment of possession. They are marked by the use of the verbs \( mI^{55} \) ‘have’ or \( daI^{51} \) ‘obtain, receive.’ An example of each of these possessive clauses is shown below.

\[
(53) \quad \text{‘Dog and Cat’ 29}
29 \text{aaj'}^{21} \text{mi}^{55} \text{xaj'}^{21} \text{ma}^{25} \text{ke}^{45} \text{ni}^{44} \text{xa}^{22} \text{ka}^{55}
\text{father have CLF ClsTrm scissors one handle gold}
\text{(My) father has a pair of scissors with golden handles.}
\]

\[
(54) \quad \text{‘Dog and Cat’ 93}
93 \text{si}^{31} \text{te}^{45} \text{na}^{31} \text{fu}^{22} \text{ma}^{55} \text{ni}^{31} \text{da}^{21} \text{ma}^{25} \text{ke}^{21} \text{xa}^{22} \text{ka}^{55}
\text{so from that husband wife this obtain ClsTrm scissors handle gold}
\text{that come}
\text{So since then this couple had those golden scissors.}
\]

Transitive perceptual clauses are those with verbs of perception. An example is shown below, using the verb \( heI^{22} \) ‘to see.’

\[
(55) \quad \text{‘Dog and Cat’ 45}
45 \text{man}^{55} \text{jia}^{55} \text{he}^{22} \text{to}^{22} \text{nu}^{22} \text{ni}^{44}
\text{3S then see CLF mouse one}
\text{Then he saw a mouse.}
\]

Finally, there are transitive active clauses. This can be seen in the following example, with the verb \( xuT^{22} \) ‘dig.’

\[
(56) \quad \text{‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 6}
6 \text{Ø pa}^{22} \text{xuT}^{22} \text{ma}^{55}
\text{go dig yam}
\text{(They) went to dig for yams.}
\]

2.2.3.3 Ditransitive clauses

Ditransitive clauses take three arguments: a subject, a direct object and an indirect object. One or two of the arguments may be omitted, as in this example. The parents are upset that their daughter is marrying a poor man and tell her that they won’t
give her anything. It is in a conversation, so the omitted referents of the clause are both unambiguous. The indefinite pronoun is used as the direct object.

(57) ‘Dog and Cat’ 23
23 Ø baw⁴⁵ həw²¹ Ø san²²
   NEG give anything
(we’re) not giving (you) anything

2.2.3.4 Quote formula
The standard quote formula for reporting direct speech is to state the subject (speaker), the verb va‘⁴⁴ ‘say’, an optional object (addressee) followed by the direct quotation of the reported speech. This is shown in example (58). Variations on this formula will then be presented.

(58) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 38
38 saw²² tcaŋ⁴⁵ va‘⁴⁴ ?o⁴⁵ men⁴⁴ lew³¹ tcaŋ⁴⁵ ?aŋ²¹ ma₅₅ ja:ᵐ²² xə²¹
   3P then say EXCL be (true) already then father come visit 1SPol
na:₅₅
PRT
Then they said, “Oh that’s right. Then (her) father came to visit us.”

The addressee may be included as in the following example.

(59) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 14
14 ?aŋ²¹ man₅₅ tcaŋ⁴⁵ va‘⁴⁴ saw⁴⁵ lu₅₅ man₅₅ xaj³¹ la²¹ ?aŋ²¹ la²¹ ju⁴₅ kon₅₅
   father 3S then say to/into child 3S now PRT father PRT live person
diaw²²
alone
Then her father said to his daughter, “Now, father lives alone…”

Other utterance verbs may be substituted, such as tʰam²² ‘ask,’ bɔi²² ‘tell, instruct,’ tɔp²² ‘respond,’ jum₅₅ ‘say respectfully’ or to₅₅ ‘tell.’ As in other clauses, the subject may also be omitted. The speech may also be introduced with a manner demonstrative as in the following example.
Variations on this include reported speech in which the entire quote formula is omitted. This can happen in conversations that are reported in a drama style, or when only one participant speaks as in example (61).

(61) ‘Dog and Cat’ 23

father mother 3S immediately upset very time this PRT NEG give

thing/what

This time her parents were really angry. “(We’re) not giving (you) anything!”

In some cases, especially when the quote formula is omitted, the reported speech is followed with $sin^{31} va^{44} na^{55}$ ‘it was like that’ (or some variation, such as $sin^{31} ne^{55}$ or $sin^{21} ma^{55} w$).

Determining the difference between direct and indirect speech can be difficult when only looking at a transcription of a text which does not indicate gestures or prosodic features. Direct quotations for the texts in this corpus were determined with the help of the narrators of the text and another speaker of the language.

### 2.2.3.5 Stative clauses

A stative clause consists of a subject followed by a descriptive verb phrase. There is no copula used in stative clauses. This is shown in example (62).

(62) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 6

This pond (was) very deep…

### 2.2.3.6 Equative clauses

Equative clauses describe their subject by the use of a copula and subject complement. The copula position may be filled by $me^n^{44}$ ‘be (correct)’, $pen^{22}$ ‘be, become’ or $\dot{w}^{44}$ ‘be named.’ Two examples of equative clauses are shown below.
2.2.3.7 Subordinate clauses

Kroeger (2005: 219) lists three types of subordinate clauses. Those three types of subordinate clauses are discussed here. They are relative clauses, complement clauses and adverbial clauses. According to Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 238), relative clauses function as modifiers of nouns, complement clauses function as noun phrases, and adverbial clauses function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses. Each of these types of subordinate clauses appears in Tai Dam and is introduced in this section.

2.2.3.8 Relative clauses

A relative clause modifies the head noun within a noun phrase (Kroeger 2005: 230). In this corpus, as well as other materials, the relativizer is usually implicit.

(65) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 238
238 ʔan22  fu21  saːw22  ku22  ju45  naŋ21  kuʔŋ22  paː45  ni31  pəj22
   CLF  ClsTrm  young_woman  1SFam  live on/at in forest this go
kaː45  dəw22  de55
where EMPH
that girl of mine (who) lives in this forest, where (did she) go?

The indefinite pronoun fəw22 was introduced in section 2.2.1.1. An example of a relative clause modifying this indefinite pronoun is shown in the example below.

(66) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 29
29 fəw22  kɨn22  naŋ21  ʔan22  ɲaː44  taw21  kən31  tə45  pen22  to22  kaŋ22
who eat at thing (CLF) branch lower then will be CLF gibbon
Whoever eats at the lower branch will become a gibbon.
2.2.3.9 Complement clauses

Complement clauses occur as complements of the verb (Kroeger 2005: 219). Complement-taking verbs fall into three major categories, according to Givón (2001b: 40). They are modality verbs (such as ‘want’ or ‘try’), manipulation verbs (such as ‘tell’ or ‘ask’) and perception-cognition-utterance verbs (such as ‘see’ or ‘think’). An example of a complement clause with a perception-cognition-utterance verb is shown in the example below. As is usually the case, it appears without a complementizer.

(67) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 227

227 na\textsuperscript{55} nh\textsuperscript{45} fu\textsuperscript{21} sa-w\textsuperscript{22} man\textsuperscript{55} nh\textsuperscript{45} ju\textsuperscript{45} pin\textsuperscript{31} na\textsuperscript{55}

PRT think ClsTrm young woman 3S still live there EMPH

(He) thought (that) his woman still lived there.

Though they are less common, there are instances in which a complementizer is present. The function of the complementizer is to signal that what follows is a complement (Noonan 2007: 55). This can be seen in example (68), in which he\textsuperscript{55} functions as a complementizer after the complement-taking verb nh\textsuperscript{45} ‘think.’

(68) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 231

231 man\textsuperscript{55} nh\textsuperscript{45} he\textsuperscript{55} 0\textsuperscript{45} te\textsuperscript{45} ben\textsuperscript{45}

3S think COMP want shoot

He thought that (he) wanted to shoot.

2.2.3.10 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are adjuncts that provide various kinds of information such as time, location, manner or reason (Kroeger 2005: 227). Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 243) categorize adverbial clauses into twelve basic types. These are split into two groups, namely clauses which can be substituted by a single word and clauses which cannot be substituted by a single word. Time, location and manner are included in the first group. The second group consists of purpose, reason, circumstantial, simultaneous, conditional, concessive, substitutive, additive and absolutive. What follows is not an exhaustive inventory, but some of these types appearing in Tai Dam will be discussed here.

Time clauses can occur before or after the main clause. They can also occur with or without a subordinating conjunction. In the following example, the event follows an
adverbial clause intended to mark succession. Interestingly, the presence of any succession markers (such as ‘when’ or ‘while’) is optional.

(69) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 16
16 kam44 ma:55 kam44 ma:55 ta:21 təm55 təi45 sa:w22 bə21 bəw45
dark come dark come father mother PRE young woman PRT NEG
hen22 lu55 niŋ55 ma:55
see child girl come
(When) evening came, her parents had not seen (their) daughter come (home).

An example of an adverbial clause that uses a subordinating conjunction is shown next. The main clause is that the girl became a woman. The adverbial clause explains when the main clause took place, namely ‘while Y Noi was there (in the forest).’ In this example, ɔŋ55 ‘when’ is used to indicate subordination.

(70) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 152
152 ɔŋ55 ni45 noŋ31 ju45 pin31 pen22 sa:w22 bə22 de55
when Y Noi LOC there become young woman PRT EMPH
When Y Noi was there she became a young woman.

In example (71) the adverbial clause appears after the main clause instead of before. The clause is subordinated with the use of the word əŋ45 ‘since, from.’

(71) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 86
86 təem55 bə21 ta:j22 siə22 təŋ45 əŋəŋ55 noŋ31
mother PRT die completely gone from still small
“My mother died when (I) was still small.”

It is also possible to express a time adjunct by using two adverbial clauses. In the following example, the first adverbial clause tok22 laŋ22 ma:22 ‘later, afterwards’ is used to express that the main clause happened after the warning that was given prior to this. The second adverbial clause is a simultaneous clause that indicates that the main clause took place at the same time as this clause. Thompson, Longacre and Hwang (2007: 254) state that it appears to be universally possible to ‘allow one of two simultaneous events to be signaled as providing the context or background for the other, or foregrounded, event.” In this case, the use of miŋ55 ‘while’ signals the simultaneity.
Afterwards, while the parents were sleeping, they climbed up the mango tree.

Conditional clauses may or may not be marked with a subordinating morpheme such as ‘if.’ Such a subordinating morpheme is present in example (73) below but is omitted from (74). Enfield (2007: 460) states that conditional clauses are often used in Lao without overt conditional marking. He claims that despite the co-ordinate syntactic structure, “the semantic structure is clearly one of subordination.”

If (you) don’t listen to your parents, (you) will truly become a monkey (or) a gibbon.

Adverbial clauses can also be used to signal purpose or reason. An example of a purpose clause is shown next. The subordinate clause is signaled by $haw^21$, a marker of purpose or result. Fippinger and Fippinger (2005: section 5.2.5) state that “when context makes the identity of the beneficiary clear, the surface form may be omitted.” This can be seen in the following example.

The reason clause can be signaled by the subordinating morpheme $pi^2a^24^4 vα^2:44$ ‘because.’ In this clause, the woman explains why she is giving the dog the job of watching people. It is because that was the job that he did when the dog and cat went to steal the scissors.
(76) ‘Dog and Cat’ 90

90 to^{22} ma^{22} miŋ^{55} xan^{31} faw^{21} koŋ^{55} piә^{44} va^{44} miŋ^{55} paŋ^{22} hoŋ^{21}

CLF dog 2SFam specialize guard people because 2SFam divide for

faw^{21} koŋ^{55} na^{55}

guard people PRT

“Dog, your job is to watch for people, because you split (and had the job of) watching for people.”

2.3 Summary

This chapter has given a brief overview of Tai Dam language, in regards to its phonology and grammar. Tai Dam phonology consists of 23 consonants, 13 vowels and 6 tones. Tai Dam is an isolating language with no inflectional morphology. The noun phrase is made up of a nominal head, with an optional quantifier and/or classifier before the noun, and optional modifier(s), possessor, demonstrative and/or relative clause following the noun. A verb phrase consists of optional preverbal elements, an obligatory head verb and optional postverbal elements or modifiers. Tai Dam is an SVO language with intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses. Subordinate clauses may be relative clauses, complement clauses or adverbial clauses. The brief overview provided above should assist the reader in understanding the following chapters.
Chapter 3
Referring Expressions

3.1 Introduction

Previous chapters introduced the reader to the overall aims of this study, the text corpus currently under analysis, and the Tai Dam language. This chapter contributes to the overall objectives of the study by focusing on referring expressions within Tai Dam narrative discourse.

In their study on referring expressions, Gundel et al. (1993: 274) observe that we can use different forms to refer to the same thing, and that the same form can be used to refer to many different things. They ask the question, “what do speakers/writers know that enables them to choose an appropriate form to refer to a particular object and what do hearers/readers know that enables them to identify the intended referent of a particular form?” What is referred to as an object in the above quote has been termed differently by various authors. Chafe (1975: 28) says plainly “a referent is the idea a noun is intended to express.” Lambrecht (1994: 74) uses the term mental representation to include entities, situations, states or events.

The linguistic forms from which a speaker can choose to point to a referent will be termed referring expressions. These referring expressions are the tools that a speaker has at his disposal to create and maintain a mental representation in the mind of his hearers. One might select a full noun phrase, a pronoun, a subordinate clause or an adverbial phrase (Lambrecht 1994: 75).

With this in mind, two questions are addressed in this chapter: First, what is the inventory of referring expressions in Tai Dam? Second, what are their functions on the discourse level?
3.2 Literature Review

Chafe (1975: 27) states that a noun has the potential to play many different roles and that there are six different simultaneous statuses that a noun may have. These are as follows: 1) the noun may be given or new, 2) it may be a focus of contrast, 3) it may be definite or indefinite, 4) it may be the subject of the sentence, 5) it may be the topic of the sentence, or 6) it may represent the speaker's point of view or empathy. A speaker accommodates his speech to the temporary states of the addressee's mind. This can be done in many ways but Chafe looks specifically at the ways this can affect the “packaging” of nouns based on assumptions the speaker makes about the mind of the addressee.

Chafe (1994) proposes ‘activation cost’ as the cognitive effort that must be exerted to identify a referent, based on what the speaker believes about the cognitive state of the hearer. He presents a framework of active and inactive information and states that at any given time a referent may be in one of three states: active, semiactive or inactive. The relevance to referring expressions is that he suggests “language gives more prominence to new ideas than to given ones” (1994: 71). According to Chafe, another factor that must be considered is identifiability.

Lambrecht (1994) also emphasizes the importance of the mental state of one’s hearer for information to be conveyed successfully. He states, “information can normally be conveyed only if the hypotheses made by the speaker concerning the hearer's state of knowledge are correct” (1994: 46). Lambrecht draws from Chafe and addresses the function of two information-structure categories: identifiability and activation. Both categories have relevance to the linguistic forms used to express referents. He states that identifiability relates to definiteness (1994: 87) and that activation is expressed in prosody, morphology and syntax (1994: 95). Identifiability and activation state will be discussed in further detail below.

Gundel et al. (1993: 274) propose that “different determiners and pronominal forms conventionally signal different cognitive statuses (information about location in memory and attention state), thereby enabling the addressee to restrict the set of possible referents.” This is summarized in the ‘Givenness Hierarchy,’ which suggests that there are six cognitive statuses that have correlates in the form of referring expressions. According to their theory, each status on the hierarchy is sufficient for the form(s) with which it coincides. A speaker chooses a form based on assumptions about the cognitive state of the hearer and, one could approach the hierarchy from
the opposite perspective and say that the use of a specific form sends signals to the hearer about the referent that he or she is to identify). The Givenness Hierarchy, along with example English forms, is presented in Table 5.

Table 5 The Givenness Hierarchy (adapted from Gundel et al., 1993: 275)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>in focus</th>
<th>activated</th>
<th>familiar</th>
<th>uniquely identifiable</th>
<th>referential</th>
<th>type identifiable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{it}</td>
<td>{that}</td>
<td>{that}</td>
<td>{the N}</td>
<td>{indefinite this N}</td>
<td>{a N}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>{this}</td>
<td>{this N}</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Osborne (2009) and Tebow (2010) both investigate referring expressions and their discourse functions in two Southeast Asian languages, namely Kmhmu’ and Bru. They explore the effect of identifiability, activation state and thematic salience on the selection of referring expressions in Kmhmu’ and Bru, respectively. The results from the Tai Dam texts are compared with Osborne and Tebow throughout the sections below.

3.3 Key theoretical concepts

The use of referring expressions is governed by both grammatical and discourse-pragmatic factors (e.g. Osborne 2009: 40). The grammatical factors are individuation and specificity of nouns, while the discourse-pragmatic factors include identifiability of the referent, its activation status and thematic salience.

3.3.1 Individuation and specificity

Individuation is what distinguishes a single referent of a given class or concept from the group or concept as a whole. An individuated noun may be specific or non-specific. Specificity is a distinction that is usually, though not entirely, made with regards to indefinite noun phrases. A specific indefinite noun phrase has a referent which is known to the speaker but not the addressee. If the referent is unknown to both, then it is non-specific (Lambrecht 1994: 81). Lyons (1999: 165) gives the following example. I bought a car and pass me a book differ in that while neither involves a referent identifiable to the hearer, the first refers to something specific and the second does not.
### 3.3.2 Identifiability and activation state

Chafe says, “an identifiable referent is one the speaker assumes the listener will be able to identify,” and that that there are three components to identifiability (1994: 93-94). An identifiable referent is one that is “a) assumed to be already shared, directly or indirectly, by the listener; b) verbalized in a sufficiently identifying way; and c) contextually salient.”

Lambrecht (1994: 77) compares identifiability with a metaphorical “file” in the present discourse register. The register is like an internal filing system. If a referent does not yet have a file in the register, then a linguistic expression must be used to create one. An unidentifiable referent may fall into one of two categories: anchored or unanchored. This distinction is one that is based on whether the referent is linked to another referent that is already identified in the discourse (Lambrecht 1994: 86-87). This would be one difference between *a dog* and *my dog* as they are introduced into a discourse. Whereas *a dog* is unanchored because it is not linked to any other referent, *my dog* is linked by means of the possessive pronoun and therefore anchored.

An identifiable referent may be in one of three activation states. It may already be active (given), it may be accessible (semi-active), or it may be inactive (new) (Lambrecht 1994: 93, Chafe 1994: 72). These states can be explained as follows: An active concept is in the focus of consciousness at that particular moment. An accessible concept is in one’s peripheral consciousness (because of previous mention in the discourse, because of its presence in the speech setting or because it can be inferred by some shared knowledge) and may be easily retrieved. An inactive concept is in one’s long-term memory but not focally or peripherally active. (Lambrecht 1994: 94). This is depicted in figure 4.

![Figure 4 Identifiability and Activation States](adapted from Lambrecht 1994: 109)
3.3.3 Thematic salience

Were identifiability and activation states the only factors involved in the selection of a referring expression, then one might expect minimal coding material in all cases of an active referent. This relates to Givón’s iconicity principle, which states that “the more disrupting, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (1983: 18). There is, however, another discourse factor at work in the selection of a referring expression: thematic salience, which can also be referred to as prominence.

Grimes (1975: 327) relates prominence to a spotlight handler being instructed to single out a particular individual or action, or a director choosing to place one actor close to the audience and another off to the side. One of the results of prominence or thematic salience is that extra coding material can be added to an expression for the purpose of such highlighting or foregrounding. This “extra coding material” refers to more than is necessary to overcome processing disruptions and successfully identify the referent (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 56).

3.4 Methodology

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

3.5 Noun phrases in discourse

A maximally modified NP in Tai Dam may include a number, a classifier, attributive modifiers, a possessive phrase, a demonstrative and a relative clause. Modifiers may include stative verbs, other noun phrases or a prepositional phrase. A minimal NP in Tai Dam is a simple noun with no other elements.

One way to characterize the way in which a noun is modified is by distinguishing between restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers (Givón 2001b: 10). These are not different types of modifiers but different ways in which modifiers may be used. When used restrictively, the modifiers are used to limit the domain of reference (and therefore aid in identification). When modifiers are used non-restrictively, they add to the description of the referent but are not used to restrict the domain of reference. As discussed in section 2.2.1 a phrase structure rule summary of a Tai Dam noun phrase is as follows:

\[ NP \rightarrow (QNT)(CLF) \text{NH} (MOD)(POSS)(DEM)(RelCl) \]
3.5.1 Noun phrases with restrictive modifiers

As was the case in Tebow (2010: 42), noun phrases with restrictive modifiers often occur with referents that have already been identified. As stated above, they help narrow the domain of reference. Because their referents have already been identified, they function to identify accessible referents. One example of a stative verb functioning as a restrictive modifier is seen in the example below. The first sentence includes both children, but the clauses following will refer to each of them individually. They are disambiguated by the use of a restrictive modifier. In the first case it is kok²² ‘oldest’ and in the second it is nəj³¹ ‘small’. In both of these, the nominal head is the class term for humans, fu²¹.

(77) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 37-39

37 lew³¹ tok²² laŋ²² maː⁵⁵ kaː⁴⁵ son⁴⁵ luʔ⁵⁵ taːj²² met²²
   already after  come both two child die  all/complete

38 fu²¹  kok²² xin²¹  miː⁵⁵ hoː⁵⁵  tɕɔm²²  maj³¹  ?an³¹ naː⁵⁵  tok²²  maː⁵⁵  taːj²²
   ClsTrm oldest  up (climb) go  arrive peak tree  PRT  fall  come die
   pen²²  to²²  liŋ⁵⁵
   be/become  CLF  monkey

39 fu²¹  nəj³¹  tok²²  naː⁴⁴  tɔw²¹
   ClsTrm small  fall  branch lower

(37) After that both children died. (38) The oldest climbed up to the top of the tree. (He) fell down and died and became a monkey. (39) The youngest fell from the lower branch.

A relative clause may also be used to help narrow the domain of reference. An example of this can be seen below.

(78) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 238

238 tɕan⁴⁵  tʰ암²²  to²²  kʰaːŋ⁴⁵  to²²  kʰanj²²  ?aj⁵⁵  ?an²²  fu²¹  saːw²²
   then  ask  CLF  deer  CLF  deer  VOC  CLF  ClsTrm  young woman
   ku²²  ju⁴⁵  naŋ¹⁷  kuːŋ²²  paː⁴⁵  ni³¹  paj²²  kaː⁴⁵  daw²²  de⁵⁵
   1SFam live on/at in  forest  this  go  where  EMPH

Then he asked the deer, “Deer! That girl of mine (who) lives in this forest, where (did she) go?”
3.5.2 Noun phrases with non-restrictive modifiers

Non-restrictive modifiers are often used to help introduce referents who are unidentifiable. They are also used to signal the salience of a referent. An example of an unidentifiable referent being introduced can be seen in (79).

(79) ‘Dragon King’s Son’
2 sin31 lɔ31 naŋ31 ba:n31 niŋ55 mi55 me44 sa:w22 naŋ31 niŋ55
so PRT on/at village one have ClsTrm young_woman small one
xan31 heŋ44 sak22 mɔw45 jet55 viŋ55 tɔŋ11
beautiful very diligent again do/make work industrious
At one village there was a young girl who was very beautiful and hard-working.

An example of indicating salience is shown in (80). The narrator is highlighting how poor the woman’s new husband is by describing his home. The poverty of this new couple is crucial in developing the plot of the narrative.

(80) ‘Dog and Cat’
27 la:ŋ55 tup22 naŋ31 niŋ44 mun55 bɔw22 kuŋ21 t’oŋ22 bɔw22 tɔŋ22 naŋ31 pa:45
CLF shelter small one roof leaf banana only leaf big_leaf on/at forest
nan31 t’oŋ22
that only
(It is) just a shelter made from banana leaves and other big leaves from the forest!

3.5.3 Noun phrases with no modifiers

When a noun phrase appears in the text with no modifiers, it is often a sign of less thematic salience. In many cases the referent will be a prop or peripheral participant who does not remain in the text for long. Chafe (1994: 88) discusses this phenomenon under the heading of referential importance, saying that referents have different degrees of importance to the subject. In example (81) the young woman throws a ball into the air. The ball had been introduced three sentences earlier, but after this clause, it will have served its purpose and will not be referred to again.
So this daughter, the young woman wound and tossed the ball into the air.

There are also occurrences of noun phrases with no modification to refer to a generic referent. According to Chafe (1994: 103), the knowledge of a category of referents (in this case dogs and cats), entails the knowledge of a typical instance of that category. Generic referents are considered identifiable as they only require the addressee to be able to identify the category (Lambrecht 1994: 82). This can be seen in the first sentence of ‘Dog and Cat’.

(81) ‘Dog and Cat’ 17
17 sin^31 tɕaŋ^45 me^44 luʔ^55 niŋ^55 mi^31 me^44 naŋ^55 saw^22 ne^55 kʷeŋ^45
    So then ClsTrm child girl this ClsTrm female young woman PRT wind
kʰon^45 tɕ^55 xin^21 kʰaŋ^22 haːw^22
    ball toss up air
So this daughter, the young woman wound and tossed the ball into the air.

3.5.4 Noun phrases with a classifier phrase
The presence or absence of classifiers can send important signals to the hearers of a narrative. Senft (2000: 26) points out their role in reference tracking and in marking specificity. Denny (1986: 301) reports a study of Thai which discussed that Central Thai incorporates a classifier when reference to particular individuals is wanted, and omits the classifier when such reference is not needed. According to Aikenvald (2000: 322), classifiers can be employed to introduce referents, mark definiteness or signal salience. Hopper’s (1986: 313) analysis of Malay found that classifiers had a function of foregrounding. They were used to introduce those participants who were likely to continue as topics and play some role in the discourse. Those referents with less thematic importance were found to be introduced without a classifier and disappeared from the stage rather quickly.

Osborne (2009: 48) lists specificity, identifiability and thematic salience as the discourse level functions of Kmhmu classifiers occurring with noun phrases. In these Tai Dam narratives, noun phrases occur with classifiers to introduce unidentifiable referents, to signal salience, and to reiterate a referent’s identity. The function of
reiterating a referent’s identity could be found to be particularly unique to this corpus because of the presence of animals as major participants in some of the texts.

In the following example, it can be seen that noun phrases use a classifier and number when introducing an unidentifiable referent. The mouse is activated twice in the example. In the first instance, the mouse is unidentifiable and is being activated for the first time in the text. In the second instance, the mouse is already active so the number is not used.

(83) ‘Dog and Cat’ 45

\[45 \text{man}^{55} \text{jian}^{55} \text{hen}^{22} \text{to}^{22} \text{nu}^{22} \text{ni}^{44} \text{ls}^{21} \text{ka:w}^{a:55} \text{man}^{55} \text{na:w}^{21} \text{tcap}^{22} \text{to}^{22} \text{nu}^{22}\]

Then he saw a mouse and he grabbed the mouse.

Another example of introducing an unidentifiable referent is shown next. The noun phrase is used with the classifier and number. This and several other participant introductions follow Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 364) in their hypothesis that major participants tend to be introduced by the existential construction consisting of ‘have’ followed by a noun phrase with the classifier and one.’

(84) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 1

\[1 \text{t}^{45} \text{tca}^{w3} \text{t}^{45} \text{la:j}^{22} \text{t}^{45} \text{ho}^{n31} \text{ho}^{n44} \text{le}^{w3} \text{mi}^{55} \text{do}^{j22} \text{fu}^{s22} \text{mi}^{o55} \text{ni}^{o55}\]

from early from many from long very already have CLF husband wife one

Long ago, there was a husband and a wife.

Thematic salience can also be marked by the presence of a noun phrase with the classifier phrase. In example (85), one of the noun phrases appears with the classifier phrase and the other without. The lake, which appears with the classifier, will continue to play a prominent role in the narrative, whereas the ducks are not important to the story and therefore appear without a classifier.

(85) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3

\[3 \text{mi}^{31} \text{ni}^{o55} \text{a:j}^{21} \text{aem}^{55} \text{man}^{55} \text{ba}^{o22} \text{paj}^{22} \text{li}^{o31} \text{pet}^{22} \text{naj}^{31} \text{ke}^{m55} \text{xao}^{n21} \text{naj}^{o22}\]

day one father mother 3S instruct go raise duck small near CLF lake one

One day, her parents told her to go take care of some small ducks near the lake.

Finally, the noun phrase with a classifier can be used to reiterate the identity of referents at a place of discontinuity or disruption within the text. This occurs at
segment boundaries or quoted speech. An example is seen below. The woman speaks to the dog and the cat and tells them to go get the scissors and bring them to her. Where a pronoun would have been sufficient, the noun phrase and classifier are used to refer to the dog and cat.

(86) ‘Dog and Cat’ 40

\[
\begin{align*}
40 &\; tca^{45} \quad ni^{31} \quad to^{22} \quad ma^{22} \quad ken^{45} \quad to^{22} \quad mew^{45} \quad tcan^{45} \quad zon^{22} \quad kan^{22} \quad mia^{44} \\
&\quad \text{time \ this \ CLF \ dog \ and \ CLF \ cat \ \ then \ urge \ each \ other \ go}
\end{align*}
\]

Then the dog and cat urged each other to go.

### 3.5.5 Noun phrases with demonstratives

Himmelmann (1996) proposes four major uses for demonstratives as tracking, discourse deictic, recognitional and situational. Each of those will be addressed below. Diessel (1999: 93) divides these uses of demonstratives into two categories, exophoric and endophoric. Though one should not assume that situational (exophoric) use is impossible in Tai Dam, it does not appear in the present corpus, following what one would expect for this genre. The focus here, then, will be on endophoric use.

In the present corpus, noun phrases used with a demonstrative are seen to point to referents inside and outside the discourse world, to signal identifiable referents, to signal thematic salience and, in one instance, to introduce unidentifiable referents.

#### 3.5.5.1 Tracking use

Noun phrases with demonstratives are used for tracking participants. This can also be referred to as anaphoric or co-referential use (Himmelmann 1996: 226, Diessel 1999: 95). Tracking (or anaphoric) use can accomplish the functions of identifying accessible referents or signaling the thematic salience of referents. Because Tai Dam does not have a definite article, the use of a demonstrative can accomplish a similar purpose as a definite determiner. Himmelmann (1996: 229) states that a common strategy for languages with no definite article is to first introduce a new participant, then employ the anaphoric use in the second mention. Diessel (1999: 98) presents a three-step process by which a referent is introduced, referred to a second time (often with an anaphoric demonstrative), then referred to subsequently by other means. This can be seen in the table below.
Table 6 The use of anaphoric demonstratives after 1st mention
(adapted from Diessel 1999: 98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st mention</th>
<th>2nd mention</th>
<th>subsequent mentions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(indefinite) NP</td>
<td>anaphoric DEM</td>
<td>3rd person pronoun, definite article, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new referent</td>
<td>referent established as topic</td>
<td>(topical) referent continued</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example of such tracking use can be seen in the ‘Dragon King’s Son’, where the daughter has been told to go take care of the ducks near a lake. First the lake appears with a classifier and number (as already stated in section 3.7). In its second mention it includes the demonstrative instead.

(87) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3-5

3 mi₃¹ niŋ⁵⁵ ʔa:j²¹ ʔem⁵⁵ man⁵⁵ bɔ²²² Ø pa:j²² liŋ³¹ pet²² nəj³¹ kəm⁵⁵ xan²¹ nəŋ²²

day one father mother 3S instruct go raise duck small near CLF lake

niŋ⁵⁵ one

4 ʔi⁴⁵ sa:w²² nəj³¹ ni³¹ bɔ²¹ man⁵⁵ sak²² ʔe⁴⁵ viə⁵⁵ liŋ³¹ pet²² viə⁵⁵

ClsTrm young woman small this PRT 3S diligent very both raise duck and

ʔaw²² nəj⁵⁵ fa:j²¹ pa:j²²

take spool cloth go

5 Ø pa:j²² pa:n⁴⁵ fa:j²¹ naŋ⁷¹ him⁵⁵ nəŋ²² nəŋ³¹

go roll cloth on/at bank lake that

One day, her parents told (her) to go take care of the ducks near a lake. (4) This girl, she was so hard-working. She both took care of the ducks and took a spool to wind thread. (5) (She) went to wind thread at the bank of that lake.

Whereas the above example included the use of the near proximal demonstrative nan³¹ ‘that,’ there are also examples that utilize the immediate proximal nɪ³¹ ‘this.’ Tebow (2010: 47) found that Bru only uses the near proximal for tracking use. In contrast, Tai Dam employs both. More research is required to determine the factors governing the selection of these two demonstratives. In this example the immediate proximal demonstrative is used. The girl is a particularly salient participant in this text.
So noon came and this girl had already wound a big roll of thread.

There is unexpectedly, one instance of the demonstrative used with a noun phrase in the introduction of a new referent. This example does not match the process outlined by Diessel above, nor was this found in Osborne (2009) or Tebow (2010). More discussion follows the example.

Halliday and Hasan (1976: 61) discuss this phenomenon in English. They state two things that are of particular relevance to this instance. First, they point out that in narrative of a traditional kind, the patterns often do not follow what would be used in a conversational narrative. Their example relates to the use of that or those in children’s stories and ballads instead of this or these, which would be more common in conversational narrative. Second, they point out that in some narrative settings in English it is acceptable to use the near forms this and these when the referent “is present neither in the text nor in the situation but only in the speaker’s mind” (1976: 61). It is in this way that they explain the English example there was this man…, which a speaker could use to introduce a discourse about the man just mentioned. The above example of the old couple being introduced in this way could be a reflection Halliday and Hasan’s observation about the referent being present in the mind of the speaker, or it could be a reflection of the storyteller’s personal style. The phenomenon does not occur often enough in the present corpus to allow adequate analysis.

3.5.5.2 Discourse deictic use

Discourse deictic use of demonstratives serves to point to an adjacent discourse segment as it refers to propositions or events (Himmelmann 1996: 224). Whereas anaphoric or tracking uses are coreferential with a prior NP, these usages refer to propositions or speech acts. They can be either anaphoric or cataphoric, but point to
referents within the discourse. The most frequent occurrence of discourse deictic use occurs with demonstrative pronouns, which will be discussed in a separate section below. The focus here is on noun phrases with demonstratives. One example of this is in ‘Dog and Cat’, when the cat hears the dog’s claim that he was the one to retrieve the golden scissors. The cat responds by saying, “This (literally ‘this thing’) is not right at all!”

(90) ‘Dog and Cat’ 81
81 ʔanʔ22 niʔ31 hiʔ31 bawʔ45 hεnʔ55 ka:45 dəwʔ22
This thing this PRT NEG not yet correct neg emphasis
This is not right at all (literally ‘this thing is not right at all’)

A subtype of discourse deictic use involves reference to a point in time in a sequence of narrated events (Himmelmann 1996: 225). An example of this is seen in ‘Dog and Cat’, when the girl’s parents are upset about what has just transpired.

(91) ‘Dog and Cat’ 23
23 ʔa:ʔ21 ʔemʔ55 mαnʔ55 tɕiːʔ55 nɑːʔ55 ʔawʔ22 niʔ31 nɑːʔ55 bawʔ45 hawʔ21
father mother 3S immediately upset very time this PRT NEG give
sɑʔ22 m̥nʔ55 pəjʔ22 h̥nʔ55 fuʔ22 ləʔ21 pəjʔ22 səpʔ22 pəjʔ22
thing/what 2SFam go house husband PRT go force away go
This time her parents were really angry. “(We’re) not giving (you) anything to take to (your) husband’s house, no go away!”

3.5.5.3 Recognitional use
In recognitional use, the demonstrative is used not to point to an entity already present in the discourse or in the speech situation, but assumed to be present through shared knowledge. This is the function of pointing to referents outside the discourse world. An example of this is seen in ‘Dog and Cat’, in the teller’s introduction to the narrative. No reference to any meals has been made up to this point, but he has stated that the cat lives in the house and sleeps near the kitchen. The hearers are expected to infer that people will eat meals, either from the reference to the kitchen or simply from the knowledge that everyone eats.

(92) ‘Dog and Cat’ 5
5 lεwʔ31 hawʔ55 kɛnʔ22 lɛnʔ55 kɛnʔ22 nɑjʔ35 nɑnʔ31 mαnʔ55 ʔuʔ45 səʔ21 hawʔ55 lεwʔ31
and 1PlIncl eat dinner eat lunch that 3S come stay nearby 1PlIncl already
When we eat that dinner or lunch it comes near us.
3.6 Possessive phrases

Possessive phrases are used to fulfill numerous functions. Osborne (2009: 46) found two major functions for possessive phrases in Kmhmu discourse, anchoring unidentifiable referents and locating accessible referents. Tebow (2010: 43) included the same two functions as well as an additional one, namely to add emphasis and focus to an identifiable referent. The first two functions are also seen in Tai Dam, but not the function of adding emphasis to the referent.

The first function, anchoring unidentifiable referents, can be seen in example (93) from ‘Dragon King’s Son’. At this point the young girl has been introduced already but her parents have not. The 3S pronoun, √an45, is used to anchor the unidentifiable referent Ñæp21 Ñem55 ‘father mother.’

(93)  ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3
3 mi31 niŋ55 Ñæj21 Ñem55 √an45 bɔʔ22 paj22 liŋ31 pet22 niŋ31 kent55 xaj21
      day  one  father mother 3S  instruct go  raise duck small near CLF
niŋ22 niŋ55
      lake  one
One day, her parents told her to go take care of the ducks near the lake.

The second function of possessive phrases is to assist in locating accessible referents within the discourse world. In ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, the young man is looking for Little Miss and has asked two turtledoves where she is.
(94) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 248-249
248 to22 nok55 saw44 tcaŋ45 to22 hɔw21 ?ɔ44 me44 nɔŋ31 man55 paj22 hiŋ55 lɛw31
   CLF turtledove then tell to PRT ClsTrm Noi 3S go house already lɔɔ22
PRT

249 hiŋ55 man55 paj22 taŋ55 niɔ31 taŋ55 nan31 ne55
   house 3S go trail this trail that PRT
(248) Then the turtledove said to (him), “Yeah, Miss Noi, she went home already. (249) (To
got to) her house, go this way (and then) that way.”

3.7 Proper nouns
Proper nouns are not common in the texts presently being studied. That fact may
limit the discourse functions that were discovered in this corpus. Based on these
texts, proper nouns are used to signal salience of referents, reiterate participant
identity at text boundaries, or disambiguate identifiable referents. The only text with
proper nouns is ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ (unless the dragon king is considered a proper
noun). Whereas Osborne (2009: 78) and Tebow (2010: 59) both found proper nouns
introducing unidentifiable referents, that is never the case in this corpus. Nor do
they (in this corpus) anchor unidentifiable referents or act as terms of address.

In example (95) from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, Y Noi and Tao Nok Noi are the only
two presently on stage. They are both referred to by name in this clause as well as
other clauses both before and after this one. These are the two major participants in
the text and their salience is being signaled.

(95) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 137
   Y Noi then take rice come serve rice treat Tao Nok Noi eat
Then Y Noi brought rice to serve Tao Nok Noi.

In example (96), Y Noi’s father is reintroduced after a long absence with a proper
name (along with a kin term and possessive).

(96) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 260
260 je55 kiŋ22 ma:21 xin21 teŋ55 ɔŋ31 laŋ22 saw22
   do/make eat rise up take_care_of father lang 3P
(They) worked the fields together and took care of their father, Lang.
Lastly, the use of a proper noun can disambiguate identifiable referents. The only instances in which this takes place is when Y Noi’s mother is the referent. The teller cannot simply use the kin term ?c₇m₅⁵ ‘mother’ because it would create ambiguity as to whether he meant her biological mother or her step-mother. He distinguishes between the two referents throughout the story by referring to her biological mother with her proper name and the step-mother as ?c₇m₅⁵ m₇w₄⁵ ‘new mother’. This is seen in example (97).

(97)  ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 107

107 ?c₇m₅⁵ m₇w₄⁵ man₄⁵ paj₇² ʔaw₂² xaw₂¹ la₇m₇² tʰiaŋ₂² haj₂¹ ma₅⁵ h₇w₂¹

mother Phau 3S go take rice from shelter field (dry) come give

Her Mother Phau would go take rice from a field house and bring (it) to give (her).

Two interesting features of proper nouns in Tai Dam narratives are worth noting here. One is the ability to modify a proper noun with a possessive pronoun⁷, and the other is the ability of proper nouns (along with other referring expressions) to refer to an entity that has changed drastically between mentions. Both of these features can be seen in the above example, in which Mother Phau is possessed by the third person singular pronoun man₄⁵. At this point in the story Mother Phau has already died and been reincarnated as a tiger, but can still be referred to exactly as she was before changing into a tiger. Brown and Yule (1983: 201-204) discuss this phenomena of referent tracking even when the referent has changed identity.

3.8 Kin terms

Kin terms are used primarily within quoted speech in the texts being studied. They are used as terms of address (with the vocative ?aľ₅⁵). Kin terms are also used to activate an accessible referent and to highlight the relationship between two referents. The example below includes two consecutive sentences with a kin term followed by the vocative ?aľ₅⁵.

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⁷ In this case the referent being possessed is referred to with a kin term + proper noun. The same is true in ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 260. In ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 174 and 217 the possessed proper noun is preceded by a class term. It is yet to be seen if the proper noun can be possessed without a kin term or class term.
Then her father asked, "Child, at home what does your mother give you to eat?" "When (I) child am at home, mother gives me rice and fish to eat, father."

This example shows a kin term used to activate an accessible referent. The referent is the daughter, but the situation and time have changed. She is still textually accessible and is referred to with a kin term, lu255 ni55 ‘daughter’.

Finally, kin terms are used to show the relationship between referents. In the example below the tiger speaks to the child, whom she believes is her own daughter. She refers to herself with a kin term, em55 ‘mother’. Two sentences earlier she also addressed the crying girl as aj55 ‘child’.

3.9 Pronouns

Osborne (2009: 62) reminds one that an oral narrative may include two different uses of pronouns. There is the deictic use, in which case the pronouns point to a referent in the speech situation (often the speaker or the addressee). The other use is anaphoric, where the pronoun points to a referent mentioned elsewhere in the text. The primary usage in these texts is anaphoric.
3.9.1 Deictic use of pronouns

Pronouns used deictically function to activate accessible referents (outside the discourse world), indicate a generic referent, or provide clues about the nature of a relationship between two referents within the discourse world. According to Osborne (2009: 62), the deictic use of pronouns is best seen in first person narratives when the narrator refers to himself or herself. Though these are third person narratives, three of the four begin with an introduction of varying lengths. In two of them the narrator refers to himself with the first person singular polite pronoun. These are instances of the pronoun activating an accessible referent outside the discourse world. An example of this is seen below, from the first line of 'Dragon King’s Son'.

(101) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 1
1 xaj31 tci45 toy55 mi55 ka45 taj55 mi45 la422
1SPol will tell come word Tai when much/many
I will tell (you) a Tai folktale.

Osborne (2009) and Tebow (2010) both deal with generic pronouns used deictically. In the Tai Dam texts there are examples of an indefinite pronoun ǹw22 ‘whoever,’ but also of the third person plural pronoun being used in an indefinite sense. An example of each of these is seen below. The first is from ‘Monkey and Gibbon’, in which the parents are warning their children about climbing the tree and eating the mangoes. Both (102) and (103) portray the function of pronouns indicating a generic referent.

(102) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 28-29
28 ... xaj31 faw22 xin21 mi55 k45 maj51 nan51 kin22 la422 tci45 pen22
now whoever up (climb) go CLF tree that eat many/much will be
to22 lin55
CLF monkey

29 faw22 kin22 nan21 han22 ǹa44 taw21 k45 tci45 pen22 to22 ka422
whoever eat at thing (CLF) branch lower then will be CLF gibbon
(28) “Now whoever climbs up the tree and eats lots will become a monkey. (29) Whoever eats from the lower branches will become a gibbon.”
In this example, the tiger has just returned to the shelter and finds a girl there who is not her daughter. She realizes it and exclaims that someone has come and switched them.

(103) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 209
209 saw22 ma.35 pian45 sia22 lew31
   3P come trade completely gone already
“They (someone) came and switched them!”

Throughout the texts there are occurrences of pronouns used deictically within quoted speech. The selection of pronouns that the narrator chooses in these instances can indicate something about the relationship between the referents (i.e. the speaker and the addressee of the reported speech). This is accomplished through the selection of either a polite or a familiar pronoun. By a large margin the familiar pronouns are more frequent than the polite. There are instances where the selection of the polite form indicates politeness, submission or a desire to ask request something. In the example from ‘Dog and Cat,’ the woman is stating the reward for the dog for getting the scissors and the cat wants to explain that he actually got them first. The narrator has the cat use the polite form instead of the familiar (which is what the woman uses to speak with them and is what the dog used to speak to her).

(104) ‘Dog and Cat’ 80
80 haw21 xoj21 pa.;22 haw31 xoj21 vaw31
   allow 1SPol speak allow 1SPol explain
“Let me speak, let me explain!”

3.9.2 Anaphoric use of pronouns
In the Tai Dam texts being studied, pronouns are used much more frequently anaphorically than deictically. When used anaphorically, pronouns function to reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities or highlight a participant through emphasis. They can also be used to point to another portion of the discourse.

In this corpus, participants are often reiterated at quote margins. This can be seen in (105). The cat has just asked to explain what happened. After his reported speech, the following clause refers to the cat with the third person singular pronoun mar35.
Pronouns are also used to highlight a salient participant. This can be seen in the following example from ‘Dog and Cat’. The girl has just been thinking about the golden scissors at her parents’ house. She is the only one on stage at this point. She is also the most salient in the early portion of the narrative and is being highlighted here.

In the above example the pronouns were used to point to a participant in the narrative. They can also be used to point to a portion of the discourse. At the end of ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, the narrator explains how things turned out for the participants before giving a summary statement that uses a pronoun.
3.10 Topicalized noun phrases
There are two types of topicalization constructions that appear in the corpus. The first type includes two full noun phrases (one is topicalized and the other is in the subject position). In the second type, a full noun phrase is topicalized and followed by a pronoun as the subject. The functions are to signal salience, reiterate participant identity (especially after a long absence) and disambiguate referents.

3.10.1 Topicalization plus noun phrases
An example of this construction that is used to indicate thematic salience is seen below. The first noun phrase identifies the referent as the topic and the second noun phrase acts as the grammatical subject.

(108) ‘Dog and Cat’ 17
17 sin³¹ ɕəŋ³⁵ me⁴⁴ lu²⁵ nǐŋ⁵⁵ ni³¹ me⁴⁴ naːŋ⁵⁵ saːw²² ne⁵⁵ kʰəŋ⁴⁵ So then ClsTrm child girl this ClsTrm female young woman PRT wind kʰən⁴⁵ tɕ³⁵ xin²¹ kʰəŋ²² haːw²² ball toss up air
So this daughter, the girl wound and tossed the ball into the air.

Givón (2001b: 265) states that left dislocated referents are commonly used when referents have been out of focus for a while and are being reintroduced. An example of such a construction that is used to reiterate participant identity is seen below. This is from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, as Tao Nok Noi is being reintroduced after a long absence.

(109) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 225
225 bat²² baː¹¹ taːw¹¹ nok⁵⁵ noj¹¹ nan³¹ man⁵⁵ jet³⁵ faːj²¹ jet⁵⁵ CONJ ClsTrm Tao Nok Noi that 3S do/make cotton do/make faːj²¹ daːj²¹ nəŋ⁵⁵ p³⁵⁵ leʰ³¹ cotton to be able approximate enough already
Then that Mr Nok Noi, he had about enough cloth.

3.10.2 Topicalization plus pronouns
In this corpus, 66% of the topicalized constructions are those in which the subject is a pronoun. Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 368) discuss such occurrences in Thai. They refer to the pronoun in the second slot as a resumptive pronoun or the so-called ‘shadow pronoun.’ According to their findings this construction is used in
Thai to mark salient information in oral Thai discourse. Example (110) shows such a construction used to mark salience.

(110) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 46
46 sin¹¹ xan²¹ me⁴⁴ lu²⁵ pin⁵⁵ nan⁵¹ man⁵⁵ ma:⁵⁵ ju⁴⁵ naŋ²¹ hiən⁵⁵ pau²² nøŋ⁵⁵
so CLF CIsTrm child girl that 3S come live on/at house king dragon
nan³¹
that
But that daughter, she had come to stay at the dragon king’s house.

There is only one instance in which the pronoun precedes the noun phrase such a construction. In this example the sentence begins with the third person singular pronoun man⁵⁵. The previous clause is a quote in which the chicken tells him that she has gone home already, but the quote formula has been elided. If the narrator did not add the proper noun after the pronoun, the most likely referent for the hearer to focus on would have been the girl. She was the subject of the previous clause and the referring expression was the same. The narrator disambiguated them by adding the proper noun.

(111) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 255-257
255 tcaŋ⁴⁵ tʰa:m²² nə⁵⁵ to²² kaj⁴⁵ tʰiən⁴⁵ tcaŋ⁴⁵ kɔ²¹ tɕi⁴⁵ ta:ŋ⁵⁵ həw²¹ man⁵⁵
then ask PRT CLF chicken wild then also show road for 3S

256 man⁵⁵ paj²² hiən⁵⁵ ləw³¹ lɔ²²
3S go house already PRT

257 man⁵⁵ tə:w³¹ nok⁵⁵ nøj³¹ tcaŋ⁴⁵ ma:⁵⁵ kɔ²¹ hiən⁵⁵ mən⁴⁴ ma:⁵⁵ hən²² ʔi⁴⁵ nøj³¹
3S Tao Nok Noi then come also house be come see Y Noi
pen²² sa:w²² tɕə:m⁵⁵ ju⁴⁵ naŋ²¹ hiən⁵⁵
be young woman beautiful beautiful live on/at house
(255) Then (he) asked and then the wild chickens showed him the way. (256) “She went home already.” (257) He, Tao Nok Noi, then came to the house and (he) saw Y Noi, a beautiful young woman at the house.

3.11 Classifier phrases
Osborne (2009: 72) and Tebow (2010: 56) both found classifier phrases to be used to track participants. In Tai Dam the classifier phrase can be used anaphorically to refer non-specifically to a member or members of a group of referents from the same class. An example of this is seen in ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. Over a segment of the text
spanning 11 sentences, the same classifier phrase is used seven times. The young man is looking for his fiancé and three times he encounters a pair of animals. He is hungry so he wants to shoot one of them, but then he thinks about the fact that they are a couple and if he shoots one the other one will be sad and lonely like he currently is. Each pair of animals is introduced with a noun phrase and classifier. In the following clauses, as he thinks about shooting one of them or about the sadness one will face if left alone, they are referred to as to\textsuperscript{22} niŋ\textsuperscript{55} ‘one CLF.’

(112) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 253

253 pen\textsuperscript{22} to\textsuperscript{22} niŋ\textsuperscript{55} ta;j\textsuperscript{32} to\textsuperscript{22} niŋ\textsuperscript{55} paŋ\textsuperscript{55} ma:j\textsuperscript{31} tci\textsuperscript{22} tok\textsuperscript{44} tci\textsuperscript{22} buan\textsuperscript{55}

become CLF one die CLF one still widowed will sad will sad

“(If) one dies, one will be widowed and will be so sad.”

Another use for classifier phrases is to mark text boundaries. Osborne (2009: 73) found classifier phrases in adverbial time phrases to signal a text boundary, often the beginning of a new episode. Two of the texts in this study exhibit this as well. The other two texts also use an adverbial time phrase in the same way, but with a demonstrative instead of a classifier phrase. An example of one of the classifier phrases used to mark a text boundary is seen below.

(113) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3

3 mi\textsuperscript{31} niŋ\textsuperscript{55} ?aij\textsuperscript{21} ?em\textsuperscript{55} man\textsuperscript{55} boŋ\textsuperscript{22} paj\textsuperscript{22} lian\textsuperscript{31} pet\textsuperscript{22} noŋ\textsuperscript{31} kem\textsuperscript{55} xan\textsuperscript{31}

CLF:day one father mother 3S instruct go raise duck small near CLF

noŋ\textsuperscript{22} niŋ\textsuperscript{55}

lake one

One day her parents instructed her to go raise ducks near a lake.

3.12 Demonstratives

The major universal uses of demonstratives were introduced above in section 3.5.5. In this section the focus is on demonstratives functioning as substantives as opposed to adjectives. Tebow (2010) lists the function of pointing to a previous or future action or event in the text. Osborne (2009) lists three functions: pointing to referents in the speech setting, signaling identifiable referents that are thematically salient, and pointing to previous segments of text. In the texts studied here there are no instances of using a demonstrative to point to referents in the speech setting. They are found to point to a situationally accessible referent, point to another segment of the text and to summarize an event in the text.
In ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ there are two adjacent clauses in which the tiger refers to a situationally accessible participant with the demonstrative pronoun $n^5$ ‘this.’

(114) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 206-207
206 $\gamma n^5$ men$^44$ ni$^31$ baw$^45$ te$^44$ lu$^55$ ku$^22$
   EXCL true this NEG correct child ISFam

207 ni$^31$ men$^44$ lu$^55$ fu$^21$ $\gamma n^5$ te$^31$
   this be child person different truly
(206) “Oh, this is not even my child! (207) This is someone else’s child!”

Another type of usage is those cases in which the demonstrative is used to refer to another segment of the text. Osborne (2009: 79) found demonstratives to point to previous segments of the text. In the example below, the narrator finishes the story with a formulaic finis statement. The demonstrative is used to refer to the entire account. In other cases the segment of the text may be much smaller.

(115) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 79
79 to$^44$ ni$^31$ l$\gamma 21$ met$^22$
   tell this PRT all/complete
(I’ve) told this completely.

Finally, when a demonstrative is used to summarize an event or action in the text, they often use what Diessel (1999: 104) refers to as manner demonstratives. These are often glossed as “in this way” or “like this/that.” There are various instances of similar constructions in this corpus. One example is the use of a phrase sin$^31$ va$^44$ na$^55$ ‘it’s like that’ or some variation of this phrase. These occur not exclusively, but largely after reported speech that did not use the quote formula (refer to section 2.2.3.4 for more on quote formula). It functions as a summary statement, a device that the narrator uses to move the story forward or keep things going. The frequency of usage increases considerably at the peak of the story.

(116) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 26-27
26 lu$^55$ ju$^45$ hiàn$^55$ $\gamma em^55$ $\gamma aw^22$ xaw$^21$ ba:$j^22$ pa:$^22$ hâw$^21$ lu$^55$ kin$^22$ $\gamma a:j^21$ $\gamma aj^55$
   child LOC house mother take rice grab fish for child eat father VOC

27 sin$^31$ va$^44$ na$^55$
   so like that
(26) “When I (child) am at home, mother gives me rice and fish to eat, father.” (27) It’s like that.
3.13 Zero anaphora

In Thai oral narratives, zero anaphora has been found to be the most frequent device for denoting previously introduced referents (Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom 2005: 365). Osborne (2009) and Tebow (2010) both found zero anaphora to be used to maintain an active referent until a different referent is activated or a discontinuity occurs within the text. Somsonge (1991: 143) discussed zero anaphora under the heading “topic chain.” A topic chain is a series of clauses with the same subject, in which once the topic is established in the first clause, it is represented by zero anaphora in the subsequent clauses. An example of such a topic chain can be seen in ‘Dragon King’s Son’, in example (117). The father is the subject of several adjacent clauses, forming a topic chain. He is overtly referred to in the first clause as ke55 褊aw21 ‘old man,’ after which there are eight instances of zero anaphora for which the father is the referent.
So then the old man did (it). (He) burned that pot until it was very red. Then (he) put it into his head and strongly dove into the water. (He) followed his daughter's thread. Now (he) went deep into the water then suddenly (he) saw a big house and lots of crabs and fish. (He) saw lots of people living there also, all of them dressed up nicely. So then (he) went and asked them, "Did you see my daughter come in here?"

Zero anaphora also functions to signal accessible referents that are unambiguous. These referents can be in the subject or object position. The following example shows the parents reactivated in clause 6 without any overt mention.
3 ha:ʔ22 va:44 saw22 kə21 ja:22 la:j22
   but 3P also poor many

4 muə55 naŋ21 te31 fa:31 det22 la:j22
   season that really sky sunny much/many

5 hiən55 meɾ22 xaw21
   house all rice

6 ø paɾ22 xut22 maŋ55
   go dig yam

(3) But they were very poor. (4) That season was very sunny. (5) The house was completely out of rice. (6) (They) went to dig for yams.

3.14 Constructions with b21 particle

Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 361-363) present topic-marking particles in Thai, which have functions of topic-marking, signaling contrast, or indicating that one piece of information has been expressed and more will be added immediately. In the Tai Dam texts in this corpus there are 45 occurrences of referring expressions followed by the particle b21 (in some cases hə21 b21 or just hə31). This is not the form about which Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom were writing, but their discussion could shed light on the functions of marking the referent with b21. Clancy and Downing (1987: 5) explore the use of the Japanese particle wa as a cohesion marker and found it to signal a special status in the discourse for those referents marked with wa. The particle b21 is glossed as ‘as for, on the other hand, in contrast’ and has been found to mark a shift to a new focal participant (Fippinger and Fippinger 2009). In the texts in this study it is found to signal salience or contrast, or to mark the topic of a sentence. An example of b21 used to indicate salience can be seen in the example below from ‘Dog and Cat’. The girl’s parents want to arrange a marriage for her but she refuses.

---

8 The particles presented in Iwasaki and Ingkahirom (2005:361-363) are: /náː/, /nūː/, /nūː/ /nāː/ and /nāː/.
An example of contrast marked with the particle is seen in ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, after the couple has been introduced as a unit.

Lastly, the particle can be used as a topic-marker. In most cases the topic is also the subject of the sentence, but this is not always the case. Based on Li and Thompson (1976: 466-468) one may consider Tai Dam as a topic-prominent language. Therefore, it is not necessary for the topic to be the subject. Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 359-360) claim that the topic is more prominent in Thai than the subject, and they contrast sentences in which the subject coincides with the topic with sentences in which the topic coincides with the object. Below is an example of such an object-topic construction, with the topic marked with $b^{21}$. It is from the ‘Dragon King’s Son’, when the shaman tells the father that the dragon king’s son has come and taken his daughter.

Then the shaman said, “Now your daughter, the dragon king’s son came and took (her) already.”
### 3.15 Summary

An inventory of Tai Dam referring expressions and their discourse function is found in Table 7.

#### Table 7 Inventory and Functions of Tai Dam Referring Expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referring expression</th>
<th>Discourse function</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPs with restrictive modifiers</td>
<td>A) Identify accessible referents using unique attributes or events</td>
<td>A) (81) ‘Monkey &amp; Gibbon’ 38-39 (82) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with non-restrictive modifiers</td>
<td>A) Introduce unidentifiable referents</td>
<td>A) (83) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) Signal salience of referents</td>
<td>B) (84) ‘Dog and Cat’ 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with no modifiers</td>
<td>A) Indicate low degree of salience</td>
<td>A) (85) ‘Dog and Cat’ 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) Signal generic referent</td>
<td>B) (86) ‘Dog and Cat’ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs with Classifier Phrase</td>
<td>A) Introduce unidentifiable referents</td>
<td>A) (87) ‘Dog and Cat’ 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) Signal salience</td>
<td>(88) ‘Monkey &amp; Gibbon’ 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C) Reiterate referents after reported speech or at boundaries</td>
<td>B) (89) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C) (91) ‘Dog and Cat’ 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referring expression</td>
<td>Discourse function</td>
<td>Examples</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| NPs with demonstrative | A) To signal identifiable referents  
B) Signal thematic salience  
C) To introduce unidentifiable referents  
D) Point to referents in the discourse world  
E) Point to referents outside the discourse world | A) (92) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 5  
B) (93) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 8  
C) (94) ‘Dog and Cat’ 9  
D) (95) ‘Dog and Cat’ 81  
E) (97) ‘Dog and Cat’ 5 |
| Possessive phrase | A) Anchor unidentifiable referents  
B) Locate referent within discourse world | A) (98) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3  
B) (99) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 249 |
| Proper nouns | A) Signal salience of referent  
B) Reiterate referents at boundaries  
C) Disambiguate identifiable referents | A) (100) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 137  
B) (101) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 260  
C) (102) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 107 |
| Kin terms | A) Act as terms of address  
B) Re-activate accessible referents  
C) Show the relationship between referents | A) (103) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 25-26  
B) (104) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 16  
C) (105) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 200 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referring expression</th>
<th>Discourse function</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Pronouns** | A) Activate accessible referent outside the discourse world  
B) Indicate a generic referent  
C) Provide clues about the relationship between two referents within discourse world  
D) Reiterate participant identity at text discontinuities  
E) Highlight a participant  
F) Point to a portion of the discourse | A) (106) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 1  
‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 2  
B) (107) ‘Monkey & Gibbon’ 28-29  
(108) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 209  
C) ‘Dog and Cat’ 14  
‘Dog and Cat’ 39  
(109) ‘Dog and Cat’ 80  
D) ‘Monkey & Gibbon’ 14-15  
(110) ‘Dog and Cat’ 82  
E) (111) ‘Dog and Cat’ 34-37  
F) (112) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 262 |
| **Topicalized noun phrases** | A) Signal salience  
B) Reiterate participant identity  
C) Disambiguate when referent is ambiguous | A) (113) ‘Dog and Cat’ 17  
(115) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 46  
‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 170  
B) (114) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 225  
C) (116) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 255-257 |
| **Classifier phrases** | A) Point non-specifically to a member of a group of the same class  
B) Mark text boundaries | A) (117) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 253  
‘Dragon King’s Son’ 54  
B) (118) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 3  
‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 36 |
| **Demonstratives** | A) Point to a situationally accessible referent  
B) Point to another segment of the text  
C) Summarize an event in the text | A) (119) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 206-207  
B) (120) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 79  
C) (121) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 27 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referring expression</th>
<th>Discourse function</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora</td>
<td>A) Signal an active referent</td>
<td>A) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 4 (122) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 31 ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 6-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) Signal an accessible, but unambiguous referent</td>
<td>B) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 6 ‘Dog and Cat’ 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ particle</td>
<td>A) Signal salience</td>
<td>A) (123) ‘Dog and Cat’ 12-13 ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B) Signal contrast</td>
<td>B) (124) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 4-5 ‘Dog and Cat’ 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C) Topic-marking</td>
<td>C) (125) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Participant rank and introduction

In chapter 3 the reader was introduced to the inventory of referring expressions used in these Tai Dam texts and each of type was examined for its function on the discourse level. In this chapter the texts are analyzed for participant rank. After analyzing the rank of participants, attention is given to the means used for introducing participants into the narrative. It is expected that a participant’s rank would influence the amount of linguistic material used in its introduction.

4.1 Literature review

The ranking of participants has been handled in slightly different ways by various authors. Grimes (1975: 43-44) observes that languages may distinguish between participants and props, but that the distinction is not always easy to identify. It may not be as simple as considering all inanimate objects as props or all animate beings as participants. The distinction, says Grimes, is related to plot, and whether or not the referent matters in the development of the plot. Longacre (1995: 700) makes a three-way distinction, between major participants, minor participants and props. Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 119) describe major participants as those which are active for a large part of the narrative and play leading roles, whereas minor participants are activated briefly and then lapse into deactivation. These categories of major participants, minor participants and props are sometimes further divided into other categories to better classify them.

For her corpus of Thai narratives, Somsonge (1991: 124) has identified three categories for participants. They are main, secondary and tertiary. In Minh Thi Tuyet Pham’s study of three Shan texts (2006: 91), she classified the participants as either major or minor. Osborne (2009: 85) identified four types of participant in a corpus of Kmhwu narratives: central, major, minor and peripheral. Tebow (2010: 72) followed Osborne’s classification and proposed the same four categories for the Bru texts used in his study.
4.2 Methodology

Somsonge (1991: 124) ranked participants according to their importance to the story. With this being the case, one should be able to identify the rank of various participants by measuring topic continuity. Givón states “within the thematic paragraph it is most common for one topic to be the continuity marker, the leitmotif, so that it is the participant most crucially involved in the action sequence running through the paragraph…” (1983: 8).

Three types of measurements will be utilized to attempt to identify the rank of participants in the Tai Dam texts. Each of the three types of measurement will be based on activations of a participant. It was decided that this term (“activations”) would be more applicable than “mentioned” because there will be many occurrences in which the participant is activated with no overt mention at all. The instances of zero anaphora are also included as activations for all three types of measurement.

The first type of measurement is a simple count of each instance of the participant being activated. By this method, the participant(s) with the highest amount of activations are classified as the most important.

The second measurement is Givón’s (1983: 13) referential distance, also known as look-back. This method “looks back” to measure the gap between the current activation of a participant and its previous activation. If the participant was activated in the previous clause, then the value given for the current clause would be 1. To deal with the first activation of a referent, or those instances in which a referent is not activated for 20 or more clauses, the maximal value of 20 will be assigned. The final look-back value is determined by dividing the sum of all the look-back values by the total number of activations in the text. In this method, then, the participant(s) with the lowest look-back value are classified as the most important.

The third measurement used is Givón’s (1983: 14-15) persistence, also known as decay. This measurement of persistence looks forward to measure the number of clauses in which the participant continues to be activated. If a participant in the current clause is also activated in the following clause, it would receive a decay value of 1. If it is not activated in the following clause, then it decays immediately and is given the value of zero. The decay values are added together and the participant(s) with the highest value is classified as most important to the discourse.
The texts were charted clause by clause with an adaptation of the Longacre & Levinsohn charts presented in Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 44-47). A span analysis (Grimes 1975: 91, Larson 1998: 425) was used when needed to give a visual representation of the presence of the participants throughout the narrative. Quoted speech and relative clauses were not included in the measurements below.

4.3 Analysis
In this section the three methods introduced above will be applied to each of the four texts. Each measurement will be addressed in turn, then a summary and comparison will be shown.

4.3.1 Rank by number of activations
The first method for ranking the participants is by a simple count of each participant’s activations in the text. The higher number of activations a participant receives, the higher the rank will be. Table 8 below shows the participants in order of importance based on number of activations. The cells shaded in grey are referred to in subsequent discussion.
Table 8 Participant rank according to number of activations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most Important Participant</th>
<th>‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’</th>
<th>‘Dog and Cat’</th>
<th>‘Dragon King’s Son’</th>
<th>‘Monkey and Gibbon’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y Noi – 60</td>
<td>Girl – 17</td>
<td>Father – 20</td>
<td>Children – 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Tao Nok Noi – 54</td>
<td>Cat – 14</td>
<td>Girl – 17</td>
<td>Parents – 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Stepmother – 42</td>
<td>Dog – 12</td>
<td>Lake – 11</td>
<td>Mangoes/Mango Tree – 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Father – 41</td>
<td>Scissors – 9</td>
<td>Thread – 10</td>
<td>Older Child – 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Mother – 31</td>
<td>Parents – 7</td>
<td>Parents – 7 Dragons - 7</td>
<td>Younger Child – 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Participants</td>
<td>Stepsister – 20</td>
<td>Otters – 6</td>
<td>People Underwater – 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Y Noi &amp; Tao Nok Noi – 14</td>
<td>Dog &amp; Cat – 5</td>
<td>Shaman – 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father &amp; Mother – 5</td>
<td>poor man – 4</td>
<td>Dragon King – 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shelter – 5</td>
<td>Mouse – 3</td>
<td>Dragon King’s son – 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deer – 5</td>
<td>Girl &amp; new husband – 3</td>
<td>pot – 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Turtledoves – 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>ginger – 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wild Chickens – 3</td>
<td>ball – 3</td>
<td>galangal – 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>soldier – 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on a simple count of activations in the text, Y Noi and Tao Nok Noi would be ranked as the two most important participants in ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. For the ‘Dog and Cat’ text, the girl would be ranked as most important, with the values for the cat and the dog being very close for second and third place. The gap between the dog and the scissors is not very large so it is important to compare it with the other measures below. In ‘Dragon King’s Son’, the father and the daughter appear as the
two most important participants. Lastly, for ‘Monkey and Gibbon’, it is the children and the parents who would be ranked as the two most important participants.

### 4.3.2 Rank by referential distance (look-back)

This section ranks the participants based on the measurement of referential distance or look-back (refer to section 4.2 for explanation of calculation method). Not all participants are included in this section. Those participants with noticeably less activations are excluded from this measurement. Table 9 below shows the most important participants according to referential distance.

**Table 9 Participant rank according to referential distance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>'Y Noi and Miss Tiger'</th>
<th>'Dog and Cat'</th>
<th>'Dragon King's Son'</th>
<th>'Monkey and Gibbon'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Tao Nok Noi – 2.04</td>
<td>Cat – 4.00</td>
<td>Father – 3.20</td>
<td>Children – 2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Stepmother – 3.52</td>
<td>Girl – 4.41</td>
<td>Girl – 4.76</td>
<td>Mangoes/Man go Tree – 5.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Father – 3.63</td>
<td>Parents – 5.29</td>
<td>Thread – 5.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Y Noi – 3.95</td>
<td>Scissors – 6.11</td>
<td>Parents – 6.29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Most Important Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lake – 6.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ranking the participants according to referential distance provides another way to measure the importance of the participants based on topic continuity. The shading in the table above indicates those participants who appeared to be most important according to referential distance values, by pointing out those who appeared within
one point of each other. For ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, Tao Nok Noi would be ranked most important. There were no other participants within one point of him. For ‘Dog and Cat’, there are three participants within a point of each other: the cat, the dog and the girl. For ‘Dragon King’s Son’ the father appears as most important, with the dragons emerging just within one point. In ‘Monkey and Gibbon’, it is only the children who are shaded. The parents are more than a full point away on the scale.

When comparing the simple count with the referential distance, there are some participants who remain in the same position and others who change positions. The father remains at the top of the scale for ‘Dragon King’s Son’, as do the children for ‘Monkey and Gibbon’. In fact, all of the participants counted in ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ retain their position (though there are fewer participants than the other stories).

There is a change in rank of participants in ‘Dog and Cat’, in which the girl moves from most important participant to 3rd most important, although the calculated values of all three participants (the cat, the dog and the girl) are very close. In the ‘Dragon King’s Son’, the dragons are promoted from 5th most important to 2nd most important. This caused the girl to be demoted from 2nd to 3rd place. The most noticeable difference is in the case of ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, in which Y Noi moves from the place of most important participant to 5th most important. Tao Nok Noi is ranked as the most important, with the mother coming in 2nd place, the stepmother in 3rd place and the father in 4th place. Though there is movement of position, the point differences for the 2nd through 5th places are small.

Tebow (2010: 65-66) proposed that the look-back value can be skewed by the presence of a local VIP. He attempted to correct this by adjusting the score to reflect the amount of clauses in the narrative in which the participant was present. This was done by dividing the total number of clauses by the amount of activations for each participant. This number was then multiplied by look-back score shown in table 9 above. The same method of adjustment was applied to the Tai Dam corpus. The results are seen in the table 10. The participants are rearranged to reflect any changes in rank as seen by the adjusted score. Those that experienced such a change are indicated by the shading. The original scores are shown in parentheses.

**Table 10 Participant rank according to adjusted referential distance**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Little Miss &amp; Mrs Tiger</th>
<th>‘Dog and Cat’</th>
<th>‘Dragon King’s Son’</th>
<th>‘Monkey and Gibbon’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most had.</td>
<td>Tao Nok Noi –</td>
<td>Girl – 40.13</td>
<td>Father – 17.44</td>
<td>Children –</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important Participant</td>
<td>13.34 (2.04)</td>
<td>(4.41)</td>
<td>(3.20)</td>
<td>7.72 (2.67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd} Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Y Noi – 23.23 (3.95)</td>
<td>Cat – 44.28 (4.00)</td>
<td>Girl – 30.51 (4.76)</td>
<td>Parents – 14.46 (4.13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3\textsuperscript{rd} Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Stepmother – 29.57 (3.52)</td>
<td>Dog – 54.91 (4.25)</td>
<td>Thread – 54.90 (5.00)</td>
<td>Mangoes/Man go Tree – 35.75 (5.50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Father – 31.25 (3.63)</td>
<td>Scissors – 103.87 (6.11)</td>
<td>Dragons – 64.46 (4.14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5\textsuperscript{th} Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Mother – 39.33 (3.32)</td>
<td>Parents – 117.12 (5.29)</td>
<td>Lake – 64.91 (6.55)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6\textsuperscript{th} Most Important Participant</td>
<td>Parents – 98.12 (6.29)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjusting the referential distance may help somewhat to correct skewing caused by a local VIP. In the case of the ‘Dog and Cat’ story it caused the girl to move back into the place of most important participant, with the cat and the dog moving into 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd}, respectively. Adjusting the scores also caused the parents and the scissors to switch places. In the ‘Dragon King’s Son’ text the original look-back score pointed to the dragons as 2\textsuperscript{nd} most important. This is a good example of the way a local VIP can skew the overall score. The dragons only appear at the end of the narrative, and are only active for 7 out of 109 clauses. It is noteworthy that although she did move to 2\textsuperscript{nd} place, it still did not move Y Noi to the position of most important participant for the ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ text. This is discussed in further detail below.

After the referential distance scale was adjusted, one does see a lot of similarity in the rank of participants between the two scales. For ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, the top two participants are the same, though in reverse order. The second grouping—the 3\textsuperscript{rd} and 4\textsuperscript{th} most important participants—are also the same. For ‘Dog and Cat’, all five participants counted in this measurement remained in the same position. For ‘Dragon King’s Son’, the top two participants remain the same position. The top three participants in ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ also retained their positions.
4.3.3 Rank by persistence (decay)

The third measurement for topic continuity is persistence or decay, explained in section 4.2. Table 11 portrays the participant rank based on persistence.

Table 11 Participant rank according to persistence values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Most Important Participant</th>
<th>Little Miss &amp; Mrs Tiger</th>
<th>'Dog and Cat'</th>
<th>'Dragon King's Son'</th>
<th>'Monkey and Gibbon'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Tao Nok Noi – 37</td>
<td>Girl – 8</td>
<td>Father – 12</td>
<td>Parents – 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Stepmother – 26</td>
<td>Cat – 7</td>
<td>Girl – 10</td>
<td>Children – 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Y Noi – 25</td>
<td>Dog – 5</td>
<td>Dragons – 5</td>
<td>Mangoes – 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Father – 22</td>
<td>Scissors – 4</td>
<td>Thread – 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Mother – 13</td>
<td>Parents - 2</td>
<td>Parents – 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lake – 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the persistence values, Tao Nok Noi is ranked most important for 'Y Noi and Miss Tiger'. After him the stepmother, Y Noi and the father all three have very close rankings. For 'Dog and Cat’, the girl is at the top of the scale, with the cat and dog following and also having close persistence values. In the ‘Dragon King’s Son’ text, the father is ranked most important with the daughter in 2nd place with a close score. For ‘Monkey and Gibbon’, the parents are ranked most important and there is a jump of 6 points (50%) to the children who are in 2nd place. Again there are some participants that retain their positions and others that move. The next section summarizes the findings and looks at a comparison of the counting methods for each text.
4.3.4 Summary of participant rank findings

The following tables will present all three measurements for each of the four texts in this corpus.

Table 12 Measurements of topic continuity for ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of activations</th>
<th>Referential distance</th>
<th>Persistence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y Noi – 60</td>
<td>Tao Nok Noi – 13.34</td>
<td>Tao Nok Noi – 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.04)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tao Nok Noi – 54</td>
<td>Y Noi – 23.23 (3.95)</td>
<td>Stepmother – 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepmother – 42</td>
<td>Stepmother – 29.57 (3.52)</td>
<td>Y Noi – 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father – 41</td>
<td>Father – 31.25 (3.63)</td>
<td>Father – 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother – 31</td>
<td>Mother – 39.33 (3.32)</td>
<td>Mother – 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ text, Y Noi and Tao Nok Noi are ranked as the two most important participants overall. For the persistence value, the stepmother was promoted to 2nd place, though Y Noi was only one point behind, so they could be considered as being in a practical tie for 2nd place.

In the case of ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, neither the referential distance measurement nor the persistence measurement identified Y Noi as the most important participant but she was still grouped as one of the most important participants, which will be considered the category of major participants. The following paragraphs discuss some of the factors involved in the results of the various measurements.

Both the referential distance and persistence identified Tao Nok Noi as the most important participant. If the text is divided into seven episodes, Tao Nok Noi is only present in two episodes whereas Y Noi comes and goes more frequently. She appears in six of the episodes. Each time that she is absent for a period of time then reactivated, the referential distance increases (which moves her lower down the scale of participant rank). Most of the referential distance values for Tao Nok Noi are very low because he doesn’t come and go like Y Noi does. Also, during the two episodes that he is on stage, there is only one other participant on stage at a time. Looking at the number of episodes in a text and counting how many episodes each participant appears in could also be another way to measure the participants’ importance to the text. Looking at the text from this perspective, Y Noi is present twice as much as any other participant. These results can be seen in table 13 below.
### Table 13 Episodes per participant for ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Number of Episodes Present</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y Noi</td>
<td>6/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>3/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Phau/Tiger</td>
<td>3/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stepmother</td>
<td>3/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tao Nok Noi</td>
<td>2/7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me Som (stepsister)</td>
<td>2/7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting that the stepmother was considered the 2nd most important participant according to the persistence value. This is due to the fact that there is one episode of the narrative in which she is the only active participant for almost the entire episode. The result of this is a significant increase in her persistence measurement, as there are no other participants on stage during that episode to interrupt her presence as the thematic participant.

Lastly, there were instances of isolated references to Y Noi at times in which she was not present. In two of these instances of isolated references, Y Noi is currently “off-stage” but the active participant is thinking about her. Whether or not these activations should be included in this type of count is a matter for further exploration as there is a good deal of overlap between the reporting of speech and thought in discourse (Tehan 2010). These examples of reported thought are similar to the reporting of indirect speech. One such instance is seen below in example (126).
He thought (that) his young woman was still living there.

Table 14 Measurements of topic continuity for ‘Dog and Cat’ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of activations</th>
<th>Referential distance</th>
<th>Persistence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cat – 14</td>
<td>Cat – 44.28 (4.00)</td>
<td>Cat – 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scissors – 9</td>
<td>Scissors – 103.87 (6.11)</td>
<td>Scissors – 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents – 7</td>
<td>Parents 117.12 (5.29)</td>
<td>Parents – 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the ‘Dog and Cat’ text, each of the three counting methods resulted in the same results. The girl, the cat and the dog are ranked as the major participants. The scissors and the parents are the minor participants, appearing in the position of 4th and 5th most important, respectively, according to all three counting methods. Other participants (which received very low numbers in the simple count method) are considered peripheral participants or props.

Table 15 Measurements of topic continuity for ‘Dragon King’s Son’ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of activations</th>
<th>Referential distance</th>
<th>Persistence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Father – 20</td>
<td>Father – 17.44 (3.20)</td>
<td>Father – 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girl – 17</td>
<td>Girl – 30.51 (4.76)</td>
<td>Girl – 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake – 11</td>
<td>Thread – 54.90 (5.00)</td>
<td>Dragons – 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thread – 10</td>
<td>Dragons – 64.46 (4.14)</td>
<td>Thread – 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents – 7</td>
<td>Lake – 64.91 (6.55)</td>
<td>Parents – 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dragons – 7</td>
<td>Parents – 98.12 (6.29)</td>
<td>Lake – 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that for ‘Dragon King’s Son’, there is agreement for the top two positions, indicating the members of the major participant category. Beyond that, however, there is variation across the three scales. The remaining four participants/props did not appear in the same order in any of the three counts. The parents are in one of the bottom two positions by all three counts. The dragons are tied for last place according to the simple count, but all of their activations occur in one episode of the text, which puts them higher on the scale in terms of referential distance and persistence.
Table 16 Measurements of topic continuity for ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ text

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of activations</th>
<th>Referential distance</th>
<th>Persistence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children – 18</td>
<td>Children – 7.72 (2.67)</td>
<td>Parents – 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangoes/Mango Tree – 8</td>
<td>Mangoes/Mango Tree – 35.75 (5.50)</td>
<td>Mangoes – 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice that in the ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ text, the children and parents occupy positions of major participants, but are not in the same order on all three scales. The simple count and the referential distance values ranked the children as most important, whereas the persistence value ranked the parents as most important.

The above sections indicate that all three methods for measuring participant rank can be useful to a point, but the researcher must always keep in mind that it is important not to rely on only one method of measuring a participant’s importance. There may be factors that skew the results for any particular method. Some of the factors that can affect these measurements are the presence of a local VIP, the number of participants on stage in an episode, and isolated activations of a participant. It is also helpful to remember that absolute ranking of individual participants is not the goal, but rather the classification into groups such as major and minor. The proposed groups for this corpus are major participants, minor participants and peripheral participants & props. These groups and their respective participants are shown in table 17.
Table 17 Participants grouped according to rank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants grouped according to rank</th>
<th>‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’</th>
<th>‘Dog and Cat’</th>
<th>‘Dragon King’s Son’</th>
<th>‘Monkey and Gibbon’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Participants</td>
<td>Y Noi and Tao Nok Noi</td>
<td>Girl, Cat and Dog</td>
<td>Father and Girl</td>
<td>Children and Parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor Participants</td>
<td>Stepmother, Father, Mother</td>
<td>Parents and Scissors</td>
<td>Lake, Thread, Dragons, Parents</td>
<td>Mangoes/ Mango Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral Participants and Props</td>
<td>Stepsister, Shelter, Deer, Turtledoves, Wild Chickens</td>
<td>Poor Man, Ball, House, Mouse, Otters</td>
<td>Shaman, People Underwater, Dragon King, Dragon King’s Son, Cooking Pot, Ginger, Galangal, Soldier</td>
<td>Yams, House, Grandparents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4 Participant introductions

Now that there is a tentative classification of participants in the stories, it will be possible to discuss what other linguistic devices are used with the different classes of participants. Another means that a speaker has for indicating the rank of a participant is the way that a participant is introduced into a narrative. Participant introductions in the Tai Dam texts are examined in this section.

Somsonge (1991: 129) found the main participants in her corpus of Thai narratives to be introduced along with background information such as place of origin, way of living, social status and problems. Secondary participants were introduced with less background information, or no background information at all (1991: 132) and tertiary participants were most commonly introduced with no background information at all (1991: 134).

Minh Thi Tuyet Pham (2006: 91-92) found that the most common way for major participants to be introduced in some Shan narratives was with a presentational clause that utilized the existential verb mi ‘have, there are.’ She also identified major participants introduced as the subject with the noun phrase modified by a relative...
clause or in a copulative clause. She also identified one occurrence of a major participant introduced in an object position along with a minor participant. She found that minor participants were introduced in the subject position as a noun phrase with no modifiers.

The proposed categories for these selected Tai Dam narrative discourses are major participants, minor participants, and peripheral participants/props. Major participants are those which are present throughout most of the story (as reflected in topic continuity measurements). They are often active agents when they are on stage and play a significant role in the events of the narrative. Minor participants are present less frequently and tend to receive less of a formal introduction, yet they still play a role in the development of the plot. Peripheral participants and props have very temporary roles and are rarely the agents of events.

Levinsohn (2011: 118) states that it is common for major participants to be “introduced in a non-topic, non-interactive role before they become the topic of a topic-comment sentence.” In the Tai Dam texts in this corpus, the first participant introduced in every text is done so in a presentational clause with the existential verb μə55 ‘have, there was’. Major participants in the texts are commonly introduced in this way, though not in every case. They are frequently introduced with the existential verb μə55 and then followed by another clause of some sort of background information. This could simply be to state the participant’s name, or to inform the hearer of more information about the participant such as personal traits or character qualities. An example of this is seen below, from ‘Monkey and Gibbon’.

(123) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 1-2
1 te45 tcaw31 te45 laj55 te45 hən31 hən44 lew31 mi55 doj52 fua52
from early from many from long very already have couple/pair husband
mi55 niŋ55 wife one

2 Ø ko21 tcaw31 jet55 tcaw31 kin52 also endure do/work endure eat
(1) Long ago there was a husband and wife. (2) (They) were very hardworking.

In some instances the participants are introduced as a pair, then separated and named as individuals. This is shown in the example below.

(124) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 3-5

89
Long ago, there was a young couple. The young man’s name was Mr. Lang. The young woman’s name was Miss Phau.

While all four texts introduce their first participant in this way, it is not always the participant who turns out to be the most important in the narrative. In the case of the ‘Dragon King’s Son,’ the father was ranked as the most important participant by all three measurements above. However, in the text he does not receive a formal introduction. The daughter is the first participant to be introduced, and this is done with a presentational clause and then a relative clause with attributive modifiers to provide background information. The following clause introduces the parents in the subject position. The father is later separated from the group reference to both parents, but not for another 28 clauses. The introduction to the daughter and the parents is seen below.

(125) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 2-3
2 sin31 l21 nam31 ba:n31 nij35 mi35 me44 sa:w22 nøj31 nij55 xan31 høj44
so PRT on/at village one have ClsTrm young woman small one beautiful very
sak22 maw45 jet55 via7531 tcoj31
diligent again do/make work industrious

3 mi31 nij55 a:j21 ?em55 man55 b22 Ø paj22 liøj31 pet22 nøj31 kem55 xaj21 nø22
day one father mother 3S instruct go raise duck small near CLF lake
nij55
one
(2) At one village there was a young woman who was very beautiful and hard-working. (3)
One day, her parents told (her) to go take care of ducks near the lake.

In the ‘Dog and Cat’ text, the narrator gives an introduction to the telling of the story. When the actual story begins, he introduces both the parents and the girl with a presentational clause that uses the existential mi55 ‘have.’ The parents are
introduced first, but will turn out to be minor participants (though they play a temporary but important role in the developing conflict). After the daughter, the next two participants in order of rank are the cat and the dog, who are both major participants. They simply appear without any presentational introduction. In this case it is most likely related to the introduction given by the narrator. In it, he begins by claiming that people’s homes must have dogs and cats and goes on to explain that his story will explain why the dog lives outside, under the house, while the cat lives inside and can ask for food whenever it wants. Though this introduction does not specifically introduce this dog and cat into the narrative, the narrator has made the case that every house will have both a dog and cat.

Levinsohn (2011: 119) states that when the participant being introduced is a minor participant, it is more likely for them to just appear and disappear. They may be “introduced as topic in an interactive role.” In the Tai Dam texts minor participants, peripheral participants and props generally appear in the text without any presentational introduction. They are often in the object position of the clause, appear without any background information, and tend to disappear quickly. Occasionally minor participants can also occur in the subject position. An example of a prop being introduced in the object position is seen in the following example.

(126) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 39
39 xin²¹ mi₃₉₉ hian₅⁵ mën⁴⁴ hen²² lu⁷⁵⁵ to²² da:ŋ²² xam⁴⁵ pan²¹ xaw²¹ niŋ⁵⁵
up go house be see child oneself PROG hold ball rice one

(He) went up into the house and saw his child holding a ball of rice.

Minor or peripheral participants can also appear in the object position, often after a verb such as hec₃² ‘to see’. This is shown in the following example.

(127) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 230
230 tcan⁴⁵ pəj²² hen²² doj²² kʷa:ŋ²² niŋ⁵⁵
then go see couple/pair deer one

(He) then went and saw a pair of deer.

Though it is not required, there are instances in which peripheral participants are introduced in a similar construction as the above example but also followed by a clause giving some background information. An example of this is shown below in example (128). The people at the dragon king’s house are peripheral participants.
(128)  ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 35
35 5k31  hen22  mî55  kon55  ju45  han21  ŋe45  ny44  yô21  met22
also  see  have  people  live  there  many  wear  new  clothes  all/complete
(He)  also  saw  that  there  were  many  people  living  there,  all  (of  them)  dressed  up  nicely.

Whether or not an animal is considered to be a prop or a participant is dependent on
the role it plays in the development of the narrative. In ‘Dog and Cat’, all of the
animals that appear in the story are able to talk, and two of the major characters are
animals. In ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, there are instances of animals occurring as
participants and as props. Some of them are able to talk, and they help Tao Nok Noi
find Y Noi’s home. These are considered to be participants. Others appear quickly in
the story and do not interact with the other participants; then they disappear. These
are considered to be props. An example of the animals appearing as props, in the
subject position, is as follows.

(129)  ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 77
77  bat22  kam55  niŋ55  bô21  to42  nok44  to22  mû22  haw55  ka:w22  ŋe45  bô22  ŋm
CONJ  dark  one  PRT  CLF  bird  CLF  mouse  sing  scream  much  PRT  encircle
hiŋ55  hû55  ŋû55
house  ONOM  ONOM
Suddenly one night, the birds and the mice were making noises around the house like “ut
ut.”

4.5 Summary
As the above sections have shown, topic continuity is often a reliable indicator of
the rank of a participant. However, there are instances where the measurements
provide an incomplete picture and the researcher must pay attention to the factors
that can skew the results.

The proposed categories of rank for these four Tai Dam narrative discourses are
major participants, minor participants, and peripheral participants and props. Texts
with a central participant which acts as the only global VIP throughout the text may
be found with further research but were not identified in this study.

The way in which a participant is introduced into the narrative may also be another
indicator of that participant’s rank. In many cases, major participants are introduced
with an existential verb and followed by another clause of background information.
This was not the case in all the texts. To explore this further it would be more
helpful to include in a corpus multiple texts from the respective narrators, to see if the differences are systematic or simply a reflection of the narrator’s personal style.
Chapter 5
Participant Identification Patterns

Chapter 3 identified the inventory of referring expressions available in Tai Dam narrative discourse, along with their discourse functions. Chapter 4 examined participant rank as measured by topic continuity and participant introductions. This chapter examines the patterns for participant identification. Based on the findings from the present corpus, default encoding patterns are proposed. Deviations from the proposed default patterns are examined and suggested motivations for the deviation are proposed.

5.1 Literature review
According to Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 112), “a viable system of reference in any language must accomplish three kinds of tasks.” These three tasks are semantic, discourse-pragmatic, and processing. The semantic task of a system of reference is to “identify the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones.” If there is more than one plausible referent, then the system of reference must be able to help the hearer identify the correct referent. The semantic aspect predicts that “the amount of coding material in a referring expression increases with the danger of ambiguity” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 113).

The discourse-pragmatic aspect relates to the activation status and prominence of the referents. If a referent has a higher activation status (i.e. is more familiar, readily accessible) then less coding material will be necessary (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 113). The discourse-pragmatic tasks in Tai Dam narrative discourse have been addressed in chapter 3.

The third task is the processing task, which relates to overcoming disruptions in the flow of information. Dooley & Levinsohn assert (2001: 113), “more coding material is generally needed whenever the flow of information is disrupted.” At thematic boundaries or other points of discontinuity, the need for additional coding for reference tends to increase.
A foundational principle underlying this theory of participant identification is Givón's iconicity principle, which states that “the more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (1983: 18). This principle leads to the continuum displayed in figure 5, displaying the range of devices used for identifying referents according to their continuity/accessibility.

More discontinuous/inaccessible topics (most coding material)

full noun phrases
stressed/independent pronouns
unstressed/bound pronouns (“agreement”)
zero anaphora

More continuous/accessible topics (least coding material)

Figure 5 Iconicity hierarchy (adapted from Givón 1983: 18)

Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 117-119) summarize two types of strategies used for participant identification. The first is a sequential strategy, in which referents are tracked in relation to the most recently activated referent. If the subject of a clause is not explicitly stated (has minimal coding material), then it can found by looking back to the subject of the preceding clause. Another type of strategy is referred to as a VIP strategy, which assigns coding material based not on sequence, but on the referent’s importance to the narrative as a whole. According to Grimes, in a VIP strategy, “one referent is distinguished from the rest when introduced, and a special set of terms refer to it no matter how many other things have been mentioned more recently” (1978: viii). In the Tai Dam narratives in this corpus, a sequential strategy is used for participant identification.

5.2 Methodology

As stated above, the four texts were charted clause by clause with an adaptation of the Longacre & Levinsohn charts presented in Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 44-47). Thurman charts (Grimes 1975) were constructed, then modified to accommodate the eight step methodology presented below. The methodology for determining the default participant identification patterns is Dooley & Levinsohn’s (2001: 127ff) modification of what was presented in Levinsohn 1994b. The adapted steps are paraphrased below.
1. Draw up an inventory of ways of encoding references to participants (see chapter 3).
2. Prepare a chart of participant encoding in a text.
3. Track the participants.
4. Identify the context in which each reference to a participant occurs. These are the contexts that were used for subjects and non-subjects:

   S1: the subject is the same as in the previous clause;
   S2: the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous clause;
   S3: the subject was involved in the previous clause in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation;
   S4: other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3;

   N1: the referent occupies the same non-subject role as in the previous clause;
   N2: the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous clause;
   N3: the referent was involved in the previous clause in a different role than that covered by N2;
   N4: other non-subject references than those covered by N1-N3.

5. Propose default encodings for each context.
6. Inspect the text for other than default encoding.
7. Incorporate any modifications to the proposals of step 5.
8. Generalize the motivations for deviances from default encoding.

**5.3 Rules for default encoding**

In this section the findings of the research are presented according to each of the eight contexts outlined in step 4 above. Instances of participant identification in subjects are addressed first, then those in non-subject positions. A statistical count of the type of coding material used is presented to support the proposed rules. Those that do not fit the proposed rule are examined to see if there are any patterns to account for the variation. If a pattern emerges, the rules are revised.
5.3.1 Subject reference patterns

This section examines the subject encoding patterns. One thing to note is a decision that was made regarding clauses following the phrase \( \text{it's like that.}\) This expression is a device used by the narrator to move the story forward, and as was stated in section 3.12, is often used at quote margins. Thus, in the places where it was found a decision had to be made as to what context to assign to the subject following the \( \text{it's like that.}\). Though this phrase causes a new clause to be inserted into the chart, it is not included when determining the coding context. It does not activate any referents that would make the following clause more difficult to process. There were fifteen occurrences for which this approach changes the coding context. In eight of them, it allowed a S4 reference to be considered S1. In the other seven instances they were S2. Of the eight S1 references, six of them were coded as zero reference. This is the default pattern for S1 context (see section 5.3.1.1 for discussion of S1 referents). Of the seven S2 occurrences, six of them were coded as NP, which also fits the S2 default (see section 5.3.1.2 for discussion of S2 referents).

An example is shown below. The tiger is the subject of the beginning clause. After four lines of the tiger speaking, the narrator inserts \( \text{it's like that.}\). In the immediately following clause, the tiger is the referent but is coded with zero reference. In this case, the zero reference is treated as S1 context.
(130) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 205-211

205 baŋ22 to22 sia22 tɛŋ45 ma:55 le55 tɪ45 le55 di22
   CONJ CLF tiger then come watch carefully watch good

206 o55 mɛn44 ni31 baw45 tɛi44 lu755 ku22
   EXCL true this NEG correct child 1SFam

207 ni31 mɛn44 lu755 fu21 ʔɪn45 te31
   this be child person different truly

208 lu755 ku22 pɛ22 kə:55 daw22 de55
   child 1SFam go where EMPH

209 saw22 ma:55 pɪɛn45 sia22 lew31
   3P come trade completely gone already

210 sin31 va:44
   so like_that

211 jɪaŋ45 ø ma:55 xa:21 kin22 me44 som22 nan31
   then come kill eat ClsTrm Som that
(205) So then the tiger came to look closely. (206) “Oh this is not even my child! (207) This is someone else’s child! (208) Where did my child go? (209) Someone came and switched them!” (210) It’s like that. (211) Then (she) came and ate that Miss Som.

Another thing to note relates to clauses in which the subject is a combination of two or more referents that previously appeared individually, or when a group is split so that one referent appears as a single subject instead of the group as a plural subject. Levinsohn (1994b: 115) treats these cases as S1. In this study, these cases are treated as S4 based on the hypothesis that somehow the hearer must be able to distinguish between the group subject and the individual subject. This is not always realized by the use of more coding material (such as a zero reference becoming a pronoun or NP).

5.3.1.1 Same subject (S1 context)
The S1 context identifies the coding used for the subject of an independent clause that is the same as the subject of the preceding independent clause. The analysis of the S1 context shows that the default is zero anapohra. All of the texts had at least
60% zero anaphora in the S1 context, with an overall total of 73%. Table 18 displays the distribution of the S1 context in all four texts as well as the total for the corpus. Percentages in the columns under each story refer to occurrences in that story.

**Table 18 Distribution of S1 context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King's Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>13 (62%)</td>
<td>27 (64%)</td>
<td>22 (85%)</td>
<td>112 (76%)</td>
<td>174 (73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>7 (33%)</td>
<td>12 (29%)</td>
<td>4 (15%)</td>
<td>20 (13%)</td>
<td>43 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>1 (4%)</td>
<td>3 (7%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16 (11%)</td>
<td>20 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For these cases in which the subject is the same as the previous clause (S1 context), the following rule is tentatively proposed.

**Tentative Rule for S1 Context**

Where the referent is the same as the previous clause (S1), use zero anaphora.

The S1 context is where pronouns are used more frequently than any other context (subject or non-subject). Though the default for S1 is zero reference, 18% of the referents were coded with a pronoun. They seem to be used for the purpose of highlighting a participant (or an event he or she participates in). They also seem to be used at text discontinuities to mark a thematic boundary or to reiterate participant identity. One form of highlighting is to repeat the clause or a portion of the clause. An example of this is shown below, from 'Monkey and Gibbon'.
When (the mangoes) were almost gone they fought each other. They fought each other.

Another example of the pronoun being used for highlighting or adding salience is shown in the following example from ‘Dog and Cat’. The daughter is the subject of all four clauses, all of which are S1 context. She is coded with a pronoun in three of the four clauses. She is upset and remembers that her parents have a pair of scissors with golden handles and the ability to make anything they want suddenly appear.

So she thought like this. (She) wasn’t sure (what to do). (She) made a plan. Then she told the cat and the dog.

Whereas most of the S1 pronoun referents turned out to be major participants, the instances of S1 referents coded with NPs had a high percentage of minor participants. They function in the same way, however, adding salience or marking discontinuities. An example of this from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ is shown below.
Based on these observations, the S1 rule is revised to the following:

Revised Rule for S1 Context

Where the referent is the same as the previous clause (S1), use zero anaphora, except in cases of text discontinuities or to increase salience for a participant or action, where major participants may be coded with a pronoun and minor or peripheral participants may be coded with a NP.

The revised S1 rule accounts for 95% of the S1 referents. There are six occurrences of NP and six occurrences of a pronoun in the S1 context that are not included in the above rule. These are considered deviations from the default pattern, and further investigation with a larger corpus is warranted.

5.3.1.2 Subject is addressee of previous clause (S2 context)

The S2 context identifies the coding used for the subject of an independent clause that was the addressee in the preceding speech act. As table 19 shows, the default coding in this context is a NP with 70% of the S2 referents coded with a NP. This generalization is largely based on three texts, as the S2 context was rare in ‘Monkey and Gibbon’.
If the quote formula is omitted, the implied subject is treated as an instance of zero anaphora. This applies to instances of reported speech (or a participant’s thoughts) as well as conversations reported as drama. The reason for determining to treat them as zero is that in either case, the hearer must somehow be able to tell whose speech is being reported. If the hearer can identify the correct referent as the speaker, then that referent has been activated, even when there is no explicit reference made. The decision to analyze such instances in this way resulted in 14 activations that would otherwise not have been included.

**Table 19 Distribution of S2 context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S2 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 (33%)</td>
<td>1 (12%)</td>
<td>4 (27%)</td>
<td>10 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (12%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>10 (66%)</td>
<td>6 (75%)</td>
<td>11 (73%)</td>
<td>28 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on this data, a tentative rule is proposed for the S2 context as follows:

**Tentative Rule for S2 Context**

Where the referent is the addressee in the previous clause (S2), use a NP.

There were 10 occurrences of S2 referents being coded with zero anaphora. A close examination of the data reveals that 8 of these 10 were instances of reported speech in which the quote formula was omitted to give the conversation a drama-like effect (Levinsohn 2011: 109). An example of this is shown below, from ‘Dog and Cat’. The cat has just grabbed hold of the mouse and threatens to eat him if he doesn’t help them get the scissors.
‘Dog and Cat’ 46-51

46 (Ø said) ma⁴⁴ ?em⁵⁵ miŋ⁵⁵ tɕi⁴⁵ ta:j²²
(Curse word) 2SFam will die

47 (Ø said) ku²² baw⁴⁵ ta:j²² sə²² ɬi⁵⁵ sə²² ɬi⁵⁵ sin³¹ ne⁵⁵ to²² nu²² na:⁵⁵
1SFam NEG die beg beg so PRT CLF mouse PRT

48 (Ø said) xaj⁴⁴ mi⁵⁵ viaŋ⁵⁵ saŋ⁵² de²¹
now have work what PRT

49 (Ø said) xaj⁴⁴ ku²² bɔ²² miŋ⁵⁵ kuaŋ⁵⁵ xaj³¹ ka:²² bɛm²² ni³¹
now 1SFam tell 2S dig_a_hole CLF chest this

50 ?aw²² ma:⁵⁵ kɛw³¹ ju⁴⁵ kuaŋ⁵² ?aw²² ma⁵⁵ haw²¹ ku²² na⁵⁵
take ClsTrm scissors LOC inside take come for 1SFam EMPH

51 ku²² baw⁴⁵ kin²² ɲiŋ⁵⁵ miŋ⁵⁵ ka:⁴⁵ daw²²
1SFam NEG eat meat 2SFam NEG_EMPH

(46) (The cat said,) “Damn it! Do you want to die?” (Literally: You will die) (47) (The mouse said,) “I don’t (want to) die. Please, please!” The mouse was like that. (48) (The mouse said,) “Now, is there anything I can do (for you)?” (49) (The cat said,) “Now, I tell you, dig a hole in this chest. (50) Take the scissors that are inside and bring them to me!” (51) I won’t eat you then.

These reported conversations with a drama effect account for 80% of the zero anaphora in S2 context. This leads to the following revision of the S2 context rule:

Revised Rule for S2 Context

Where the referent is the addressee in the previous clause (S2), use a NP, unless the quote formula is omitted, which implies that the referent will receive zero coding.

The revised S2 rule accounts for 90% of the S2 referents. Two instances of zero anaphora and two instances of pronoun usage remain as deviations from the default rule and are discussed in section 5.4.3.
5.3.1.3 Subject is non-subject in previous clause (S3 context)
The S3 context identifies the coding used when the subject of a clause appears in the
previous clause in a non-subject relation other than an addressee of reported speech.
To find a default rule for the S3 context is difficult because of the varied results
found by the analysis. The most common coding for S3 referents was a NP (48%),
with 36% coded with zero anaphora and 15% pronouns. The ‘Dragon King’s Son’
and ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ stories both found the NP to be more common, but
‘Monkey and Gibbon’ and ‘Dog and Cat’ both had zero anaphora as more common.
The overall results can be seen in the table 20.

Table 20 Distribution of S3 context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S3 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>6 (40%)</td>
<td>12 (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (17%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>5 (15%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (33%)</td>
<td>6 (60%)</td>
<td>8 (53%)</td>
<td>16 (48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of the S3 context appears to be dependent upon the rank of the
referent and the presence of text discontinuities. When they had appeared in a non-
subject role in the preceding clause, props commonly are coded with zero reference.
Major participants will commonly be coded with a NP. Props, peripheral participants
and minor participants may receive more coding material as a result of increased
local salience or because of a thematic boundary.

Two examples of a prop in the S3 context are shown below. The following example
is from ‘Dog and Cat’. The ball is a prop that is not particularly salient. In the second
half of the sentence, it is coded with a zero. Because it was in a non-subject position
in the first clause it is considered an S3 referent in the second.
So this daughter, the girl wound and tossed the ball into the air and (it) landed in the bundle of firewood on the shoulders of a young man…

In example (136) from ‘Dragon King’s Son’, the thread is a prop that has increased salience because of its role in the development of the plot. This example shows the spool of thread coded with a NP in the N1 context (sentence 14) and the S3 context (sentence 15).

An example of a minor participant coded with a NP at a thematic boundary is shown below. The stepmother has just taken her daughter, Miss Som, to live in the shelter in the forest. The immediately following clause codes Miss Som with a NP as it is the beginning of a new narrative unit.

In this corpus there are fewer overall instances of the S3 context and the percentages are very close together. There are not enough instances of S3 referents or a clear enough pattern to confidently propose a rule. More texts would need to be collected for a clearer pattern to emerge. Recognizing that the data is not as clear as it should
be, the most that can be proposed in this case is a provisional rule. Based on these observations, the following provisional rule is proposed for the S3 context:

**Provisional Rule for S3 Context**

When the referent is in a non-subject relation other than addressee in the previous clause (S3), major participants will be coded with a NP while props and peripheral participants will be coded with zero reference. Referents may be receive more coding (from zero to pronoun or NP) based on increased local salience or the presence of text discontinuity.

Though provisional and in need of more data, this accounts for 79% of the S3 referents. It does not account for five instances of a major participant coded with zero, or two instances of pronoun usage.

5.3.1.4 **Subject is not mentioned in previous clause (S4 context)**

The S4 context is for those occurrences in which the subject of the current clause did not appear in the previous clause. Table 21 shows the results of the analysis, with 73% of the S4 referents being a NP. In each of the four texts in the corpus, the majority of S4 referents used a NP. This is consistent with what one would expect for an S4 context, according to Givón’s iconicity principle which was discussed above.

**Table 21 Distribution of S4 context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S4 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (15%)</td>
<td>14 (27%)</td>
<td>23 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (9%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>7 (64%)</td>
<td>16 (80%)</td>
<td>16 (76%)</td>
<td>36 (71%)</td>
<td>75 (73%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the findings of the analysis, the following tentative rule is proposed.
Tentative Rule for S4 Context

When the subject is not mentioned in the previous clause, use a NP.

Though the majority of S4 references are coded with a NP, the corpus also includes 23 instances of S4 referents coded with zero reference. This is minimal coding for a referent which did not appear in the previous clause, but there are patterned exceptions for many of these cases. These patterned exceptions relate to who (or what) else is on stage with the current participant, what verb appears in the present clause, the use of the verbal particle *kar*²² ‘each other,’ an intervening background clause. There is much overlap between these, and several clauses will have more than one of these factors working together, but examples that highlight each one will be given below.

In some cases the zero will be used in an S4 context when there are only props on stage with the current participant(s). A participant would have already been the subject of a recent clause, but the focus has temporarily shifted to a prop that is also on stage. When the focus shifts back to the participant, there is no need to use a NP to refer to the participant. This is made easier by the use of a verb that requires an animate being in the subject position. An example is shown below, from ‘Dragon King’s Son’. When the parents go to the pond to look for their daughter, there are other props that appear on stage. In sentence 19 when the parents are again the subject, there is no ambiguity.
When evening came, the girl’s parents still did not see (their) daughter come. Then they went to look there. That thread was still at the bank of the pond, and the ducks were still (there) too. But their child, they did not see.

In some cases of the zero being used in an S4 context, it is possible because the verb makes it clear which referent it points to. The example below is from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. The stepmother is referred to in clause 52 with a NP. Then, she is referred to again in clause 55, coded with zero anaphora. Though she is not activated for two clauses, it is unambiguous which participant is the one feeding her the yam and the fish.
‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 51-55

51 luʔ55 man55 tɕaŋ45 miə55 ?aʔw2 ?a ma:55 mæn44 kən22 man55 tʰoj22
   child 3S then go take come be pulp yam only

52 ʔem55 məw45 man55 biʔw21 kən22 man55 he55 va:44 pʰə45 nok44
   mother new 3S cheat pulp yam lie meat bird

53 sin31 məw45
   so again

54 ʔoʔ22 səw45 ʔa:j21 man55 na55
   tell to father 3S PRT

55 mæn44 ʔo həw21 kin22 kən22 man55 kə55 kap22 pa:22 dip45 nəw55 ni31 tʰoj22 vən55
   turns out give cat pulp yam old with fish raw like this only only

   (51) His child went to get (it) and it was just the pulp of a yam. (52) Her new mother tricked
   (her) by saying the yam pulp was bird’s meat. (53) It was like that. (54) (She) talked with her
   father. (55) Turns out (she) was just feeding (her) old yam pulp and raw fish like this.

Tebow (2010: 96) found that a zero reference in S4 context is sometimes realized
when two participants on stage are combined into one referent. It is possible to
combine the two participants but still use the zero reference, and this can be
facilitated in Tai Dam by the use of the verbal particle kən22 ‘each other’ or
RECIPROCAL. This is also discussed in section 5.3.2. The subject must be plural in
order for it to be possible to use kən22. Example (140) from ‘Dog and Cat’ shows the
dog and cat together as the subject of clause 57. The preceding clauses are shown to
display that while they were both present in this scene, they were not grouped
together as the subject. When the dog and cat fight each other, they are combined
into one subject, but are coded with the zero anaphora. Without the verbal particle
kən22 it would be ambiguous or unnatural. The hearer could potentially interpret the
clause as having the dog as the subject because the same verb was used in clause 54
with the dog as the subject. Alternatively, the hearer could interpret the cat as the
subject because the cat was the subject of the immediately preceding clause.
However, the potential ambiguity is removed by the appearance of the verbal
particle, which makes it clear that the subject is both of them.
So the dog, he kept trying to hold (the scissors). The dog said, 
"(If) you hold (it), (I'm) afraid (it) will fall."

The cat said, "I got (them). I will hold (them)."

So while crossing a bridge (they) fought each other and the scissors fell down into the water.

Lastly, there are instances in which a background clause is used and when the narrator returns to a storyline clause he can still refer to a participant with zero reference. This can be seen from 'Monkey and Gibbon' in the example below. The parents are the subject in sentence 3 and again in sentence 6. The intervening background clauses do not prevent the parents from being coded with zero anaphora in sentence 6.

(144) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 3-6

3 ha;?22 va;44 saw;22 kɔ22 ja;22 la;j22

but 3P also poor many

4 mua55 nan21 te31 fa;31 det22 la;j22
season that really sky sunny much/many

5 hɔn55 me22 xaw21
house all rice

6 Ø paj22 xut22 man55

go dig yam

(3) But they were very poor. (4) That season was very sunny. (5) The house was completely out of rice. (6) (They) went to dig for yams.
The above discussion has included various situations in which a S4 referent may be coded with zero reference. For various reasons which have been discussed, in each case the referent is unambiguous. Therefore the proposed rule for this context will be revised as follows.

Revised Rule for S4 Context

When the subject is not mentioned in the previous clause, use a NP, except when other factors make the S4 referent unambiguous. In such unambiguous cases zero anaphora may be used.

The revised S4 rule accounts for 91% of the S4 referents, leaving 5 instances of zero anaphora and 4 instances of a pronoun used as deviations from the rule. Instances of less than default encoding for this context are discussed in section 5.4.3.

5.3.2 Non-subject reference patterns

The following section is an analysis of non-subject reference patterns. As with the section dealing with subject patterns, a table is presented for each of the four non-subject contexts. Based on the analysis, a tentative rule is proposed and following additional investigation of the context at hand modifications are made to the proposed rule.

Following Tebow (2010: 98) this section will include a new referential coding category, kan\textsuperscript{22} ‘each other’ or RECIPROCAL. Tebow treats this as a verbal particle. Others have glossed it in various ways. Fippinger & Fippinger (2009) consider it a pronoun with the gloss ‘each other.’ Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005: 305) list the three uses of kan in Thai as reciprocal, distributive and collective. When used reciprocally it denotes “doing something to each other.” In its distributive sense it refers to “many people being engaged in similar activities.” When used in a collective sense, it denotes “doing something together.” It appears 23 times in this analysis and will be included in the N1, N3 and N4 contexts.

5.3.2.1 Same non-subject relation as previous clause (N1 context)

The N1 context includes those referents in a non-subject role which occurred in the same role in the preceding clause. Though the corpus does not include many N1
referents, the data does indicate that zero anaphora is a slightly more common encoding pattern. Of the N1 referents, 40% were coded with zero anaphora. To have only 30 total occurrences and for the highest percentage to be less than half makes this category another one for which it is difficult to propose default rules. The results are shown in table 22 below and more discussion follows.

Table 22 Distribution of N1 context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>9 (45%)</td>
<td>12 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb PRT</td>
<td>2 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>6 (30%)</td>
<td>10 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (5%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>4 (20%)</td>
<td>7 (23%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At first glance, the distribution of the N1 category seems varied. The N1 references consisted of 40% zero anaphora, 33% kan\textsuperscript{22} ‘each other,’ and 23% NP. The pronoun was only used once in an N1 context. As stated above, the verbal particle kan\textsuperscript{22} signals that the verb is used in a reciprocal, distributive or collective sense. The only places where it is omitted are in serial verb constructions in which the two (or more) verbs are functioning as one event. Either of the verbs could stand on its own and take the verbal particle kan\textsuperscript{22}, but when the verbs are paired into one verb phrase only one instance of kan\textsuperscript{22} is required. An example of this is shown below, from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. The young man, Tao Nok Noi, has just discovered the shelter in the forest and met Y Noi. Then he goes into the shelter and they talk together. The two verbs used are ʔσ\textsuperscript{21} ‘chat’ and to\textsuperscript{22} ‘talk.’ In this clause they function as one unit so there is only one occurrence of the verbal particle.

(142) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 136
136 Ø xin\textsuperscript{21} mia\textsuperscript{35} Ø tcan\textsuperscript{45} ?o\textsuperscript{21} tcan\textsuperscript{45} to\textsuperscript{22} kan\textsuperscript{22}
   up go then chat then talk each other
(He) entered (the house) and then (they) talked together.

The significance of this discussion is that when the verbal particle is used, it seems to be obligatory, regardless of the context. It is used whether the referent was
present in the previous clause or not, because what it accomplishes is to point to the fact that the verb is used reciprocally.

Outside of the clauses in which this verbal particle appears, 60% of the N1 references are coded with zero anaphora. While it would be ideal to have more instances of N1 referents to add to the findings, it is a cross-language tendency for the N1 context to use minimal coding material. Since the referent is occurring in the same position as it did in the previous clause, it is easier for the hearer to process and does not require additional coding material. An example of zero anaphora in the N1 context is shown in the following example. In the previous sentence, the man saw the two deer. In this sentence there are two clauses. In each of them the deer are also in the same non-subject position and are coded with zero anaphora.

(143) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 202

He wanted to shoot (them), he thought that (he) wanted to shoot (them).

Based on this, the following tentative rule is proposed:

**Tentative Rule for N1 Context**

Where the referent appears in the same non-subject role as in the preceding clause (N1), use zero anaphora.

The other cases of the N1 references include 7 referents coded with a NP and 1 pronoun. They consist of both major and minor participants as well as props. Some occur at thematic boundaries, but others do not. The only possible pattern relates to the coding of props with a NP for increased salience. An example of this is shown from ‘Dragon King’s Son.’ The girl is being taken underwater by the Dragon King’s Son, but she does not let go of the spool of thread. It is particularly salient because it will be the thread that leads her father to the conclusion that she has fallen into the water, and it will be by following the thread that he finds the home of the Dragon King. This example shows the spool of thread coded with a NP in the N4 context (in sentence 13), the N1 context (sentence 14) and the S3 context (sentence 15).
‘Dragon King’s Son’ 13-15

(13) When (she was) being dragged away, the young girl, she didn’t let go of that spool. (14) (She) still held on to the spool as (she) went. (15) The spool kept unwinding.

Based on these observations, the proposed rule for the N1 references is revised to the following:

Revised Rule for N1 Context

Where the referent appears in the same non-subject role as in the preceding clause (N1), use zero anaphora. Props may be coded with a NP to increase their salience in a particular segment of the discourse.

The revised rule for the N1 context accounts for 86% of the N1 referents, leaving the one instance of a pronoun and three NP instances as deviations from the default. More than default encoding for non-subjects is discussed in section 5.4.2.

5.3.2.2 Addressee was speaker in previous clause (N2 context)

The N2 context is for a referent which is the addressee in the current clause and was the speaker in the preceding clause. In the entire corpus, there is only one N2 occurrence, which happens to be a pronoun. There is insufficient data to propose any default encoding rule for the N2 context.
### Table 23 Distribution of N2 context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N2 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb PRT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The one time this occurs in the corpus is in ‘Dragon King’s Son’. This is shown in the example below. The father has gone to the shaman and asked what he should do. The shaman responds to him and gives him a set of instructions. When the shaman responds to the father the pronoun is used to refer to him.

(145) ‘Dragon King’s Son’ 27-28

27 Ø tcaŋ45 ma:55 ᶝa:mm22 꼀η32 꼀ʃ32 ni31 jet55 si55 de45
   then come ask shaman this do/make how PRT

28 sin31 꼀η22 꼀ʃ22 tcaŋ45 ma:55 bɔŋ22 man55 te31 miø55 꼀aw22 luəŋ22 꼀ʃ21
   so shaman then come say 3S must go take CLF cooking pot
xan3 꼀aw45 niø55 ma:55 faw22
   CLF big one come burn
(27) Then (he) came and asked this fortune teller, “What should (I) do?” (28) So then the shaman told him, “(You) must take a cooking pot, a big one, and burn (it)...”

It is worth noting that this is not the only instance of dialogue in the corpus, but the rest of the cases do not have a referent in an object position like this case does. Other instances of reported dialogue use a different verb, such as 꼀ʃ44 ‘to say.’ In such cases, or when the dialogue appears as drama and there is no quote formula, no referent appears in the N2 context. For more discussion on quote formula, refer to section 2.2.3.4.

#### 5.3.2.3 Non-subject is in a different non-subject role from previous clause (N3 context)

The N3 context identifies the coding used for a non-subject referent which is involved in the preceding clause in a different role (other than that covered by the
Like the N2 context, the data for this category is so sparse that it is not possible to propose a rule. The results were split between zero anaphora (40%), the verbal particle (30%) and NP (30%). The overall distribution of the N3 context can be seen in table 24.

Table 24 Distribution of N3 context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N3 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb PRT pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (66%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>1 (50%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No rule will be proposed for this context, but examples of zero anaphora and NP encoding will be offered. One could expect that the level of potential ambiguity of the intended referent is a major factor in the choice of N3 encoding; however, there is not enough data in this corpus to propose any rules.

In the below example from ‘Monkey and Gibbon’, the children are coded with a pronoun in the subject position in the first clause; then as a zero anaphora non-subject in the following clause.

(146) ‘Monkey and Gibbon’ 27-28
27 ha:n²² va:n⁴⁴ saw²² kɔ¹¹ baw⁴⁵ ʃaŋ⁵⁵ ?an³¹ na:⁵⁵
  but 3P also NEG listen PRT

28 sin³¹ na:⁵⁵ tok²² ʃaŋ²² ma:²² ?aj¹¹ ʃem⁵⁵ bɔŋ²² Ø ...
  so PRT after come father mother tell
(27) But they didn’t listen. (28) So later the parents told (them)...

An example of a NP appearing in the N3 context is shown in the following example. The daughter appears in both clauses, but in different positions. In the second clause of the example, she appears in the N3 context but is coded with a NP.

(147) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 103-104
So from that day on, everyday her mother Phau would go catch deer or wild pigs and bring the meat for her child to eat. (104) (She) would come and raise her child.

### 5.3.2.4 Other non-subject references (N4 context)

The N4 context is defined as a non-subject referent that is not mentioned in the previous clause. Because the referent was not present in the preceding clause and must be (re)activated, one would expect more coding material to be used in this context. The results of the analysis confirm this expectation, with a total of 86% of the N4 referents being coded with a NP.

**Table 25 Distribution of N4 context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N4 Context</th>
<th>Monkey &amp; Gibbon</th>
<th>Dog &amp; Cat</th>
<th>Dragon King’s Son</th>
<th>Y Noi and Miss Tiger</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zero anaphora</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9 (13%)</td>
<td>9 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb PRT</td>
<td>1 (17%)</td>
<td>1 (12%)</td>
<td>2 (8%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>7 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>5 (83%)</td>
<td>7 (88%)</td>
<td>23 (92%)</td>
<td>60 (83%)</td>
<td>95 (86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Based on the findings, the following tentative rule is proposed:

**Tentative Rule for N4 Context**

When the non-subject referent was not mentioned in the preceding clause (N4), use a NP.

An example of a typical N4 occurrence is shown below, from ‘Dog and Cat’. The girl has already told her parents that she will take a ball and throw it into the air so that whoever it falls to will be the one she will choose to be her husband. In the example, the ball appears in the non-subject position as a NP. It is an N4 context because the preceding clauses were about her parents inviting people from all the villages to come.

(148) ‘Dog and Cat’ 17

\[17 \text{sin}^{31} \text{ʨaŋ}^{45} \text{me}^{44} \text{luʔ}^{55} \text{niŋ}^{55} \text{me}^{31} \text{me}^{44} \text{naŋ}^{55} \text{saːw}^{22} \text{ne}^{55} \text{kʰeŋ}^{45}\]

So then \text{ClsTrm child girl} \text{this} \text{ClsTrm female young woman} \text{PRT wind} \text{kon}^{45} \text{tɕ}^{55} \text{ɕin}^{21} \text{kaŋ}^{22} \text{haːw}^{22} \text{ball} \text{toss up air}

So then the daughter, the girl wound and tossed the ball up into the air…

As discussed above in section 5.3.2.1, occurrences of \text{kan}^{22} ‘each other,’ are included in this count. It appears 7 times in the N4 context (6% of N4 category). This verbal particle is used in cases of reciprocal verbs and it appears that it is only possible for it to be omitted in the case of a serial verb construction (from one of the verbs, but not the entire verb construction). This is the case regardless of the non-subject context (i.e. whether or not the referent was present in the previous clause).

Outside of the cases of the NP and the verbal particle \text{kan}^{22}, the only other category appearing in the N4 context is the zero anaphora. There are 9 instances of zero anaphora in this context, all of which appear in ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. In 8 of the 9 instances the clause uses a transitive verb. This is significant because in each of those 8 cases, then, there are still linguistic clues to help the hearer process the information and recognize that there is a referent in the non-subject position. An example is shown below. The tiger has just explained that she is the girl’s mother, reborn as a tiger. Then the tiger comes to hold her daughter. Semantically, the verbs
‘hold’ and ‘take’ require a direct object and the tiger is already in the subject position. It is clear that it is the daughter, so the zero reference can be used.

(149) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 101
101 ʔem55 faw45 man55 pen22 to22 siə22 nan31 tcaŋ45 ma55 ʔum21 ʔaw22 Ø
    mother Phau 3S become CLF tiger that then come hold take
Then her mother Phau that became that tiger came and held (her).

Osborne (2009: 111) also found the N4 default to be NP, but found that “when there is no ambiguity by using pronouns.” Tebow (2010: 110) found a similar phenomenon in Bru, where the N4 default was a NP, but zeroes were used when there was no ambiguity. Based on the above observations, the N4 rule may be revised to account for these occurrences of zero anaphora. The revised rule is as follows.

Revised Rule for N4 Context

When the non-subject referent was not mentioned in the preceding clause (N4), use a NP. When a transitive verb is used and the non-subject referent is unambiguous a zero reference may be used.

The revision of the N4 rule accounts for 99% of the N4 referents. The one unaccounted for instance of zero anaphora in N4 context is discussed in section 5.4.4.

5.4 Non-default encoding patterns

From the sections above it can be seen that coding for participant identification has language-specific rules that are generally followed, though not always. This section will examine instances in which referents received more than or less than the default coding material for each context. Motivations for the deviations will be proposed when possible, though it is not possible in every case.

5.4.1 More than default encoding for subject contexts

There are two subject categories for which it is possible to have more coding material than what the default rule requires. In the S1 context, when the subject was the subject of the previous clause, the default is a zero reference. Also, for the S3 context, where the subject played a non-subject role in the preceding clause, the
default rule for props and peripheral participants is to be coded with a zero reference. There were no contexts for which the default encoding was a pronoun. In S2 and S4 contexts the default is a NP (as well as for major participants in the S3 context).

One possible example of more than default encoding in the S1 context is shown in the following example. The father’s knife breaks and the narrator chooses to use the NP in both clauses, instead of using zero anaphora in the second clause. The S1 rule was modified to account for instances in which the narrator wishes to highlight a participant or event. Whether or not this falls into that category is questionable. The knife only appears in this sentence. It could be seen as having a particular salience here because it is what causes the man to go home early, but on the other hand the knife does not play a significant role in the development of the plot.

(150) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 37

37 xaŋ21 faŋ55 miŋ55 t̚eʔ22 siaʔ22 miŋ55 biŋ55 biʔaw21 siaʔ22 jieŋ55 maʔ55

CLF cover knife then break waste knife then askew waste then come

hiaŋ55 t̚e.wav55 t̚aw51

house from early

The knife broke and the knife was ruined so (he) came home early.

Another example from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ is shown below. The tiger (Y Noi’s mother) is helping take care of her in the forest and goes to get cotton from a field house. In sentence 111 the tiger is coded with a pronoun instead of zero reference, which would have been the default since the tiger was also the subject of the preceding clause. This example is noteworthy as well because of the use of the plural pronoun saw22. The versatility of pronouns was discussed in section 2.2.1.5.

(151) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 110-111

110 pen52 sa.w52 taʔ52 em55 faw45 maŋ55 laʔ51 paj52 aw52 fa.j52

become young woman go out PRT mother Phau 3S PRT go take cotton

ka55 laʔ52 tiŋ52 haj51 ka55 laʔ52 haj51 fa.j51

at from shelter field (dry) at from field (dry) cotton

111 saw22 ma55 haw51 ti55 n乎55 fa.j51 jet55 fa.j51

3P come give Y Noi do/make cotton do/make cotton

(110) (She) became a young woman and her mother, Phau, would go take cotton from field houses in cotton fields. (111) She brought it to Y Noi to make cloth.
In both of the above examples a case could be made for them being explained by the revised rule, as they highlight a locally salient participant.

Another noteworthy exception to the default rule was the use of a pronoun for references to Tao Nok Noi in what might be a peak episode of ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. Of the 20 occurrences of S1 pronouns that are found in ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’, 12 occur in one episode near the end of the story. These 12 occurrences of S1 referents coded with a pronoun occur in the space of 41 clauses. The other 8 in this text are spread out over 298 clauses. In this particular episode, Tao Nok Noi is looking for Y Noi after he has returned to the shelter to marry her. The tiger has eaten the step-sister and the step-mother is dead. The drastic increase in the use of the pronoun is noticeable and probably functions as a peak-marking device. A portion of this segment of the text is included in the example below.
‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 226-233

226 **man**\(^{55}\) **tcaŋ**\(^{45}\) **mio**\(^{55}\) ja:m\(^{22}\) ka:\(^{45}\) tʰiŋ\(^{22}\) tup\(^{22}\) ka:\(^{45}\) **haj**\(^{21}\) \(\text{nan}^{31}\)
\(3S\) just go visit at shelter at field (dry) that

227 **na**\(^{55}\) **nam**\(^{45}\) fu\(^{21}\) sa:w\(^{22}\) \(\text{man}^{55}\) **nan**\(^{55}\) ju\(^{45}\) pɨŋ\(^{31}\) na:\(^{55}\)
\(\) **PRT** think **ClsTrm** young_woman \(3S\) still live there EMPH

228 **miə**\(^{55}\) ja:m\(^{22}\) la\(^{21}\) mən\(^{44}\) hen\(^{22}\) tʰiŋ\(^{22}\) tup\(^{22}\) məŋ\(^{22}\) kʰu\(^{55}\) luŋ\(^{45}\)
\(\) go visit \(\) **PRT** turns out see shelter quiet deserted

229 **man**\(^{55}\) **tcaŋ**\(^{45}\) **paŋ**\(^{22}\)
\(3S\) then go

230 **tcaŋ**\(^{45}\) **paŋ**\(^{22}\) hen\(^{22}\) doj\(^{22}\) kʰaːŋ\(^{22}\) nɪŋ\(^{55}\)
\(\) then go see couple/pair deer one

231 **man**\(^{55}\) \(\text{?e}^{45}\) ben\(^{45}\) **man**\(^{55}\) **nam**\(^{45}\) he\(^{55}\) \(\text{?e}^{45}\) ben\(^{45}\) ne\(^{55}\)
\(3S\) want shoot \(3S\) think that want shoot \(\) **PRT**

232 **ben**\(^{45}\) to\(^{32}\) nɪŋ\(^{55}\) kin\(^{22}\) nɪə\(^{45}\)
\(\) shoot CLF one eat meat

233 **man**\(^{55}\) kən\(^{45}\) **nam**\(^{45}\) **paŋ**\(^{22}\) **nam**\(^{45}\) ma:\(^{55}\)
\(3S\) first think go think come

(226) Then **he** went to visit that shelter in that field. (227) (He) thought that his young woman was still living there. (228) (He) went to visit and found the shelter deserted. (229) Then **he** left. (230) (He) left and saw a pair of deer. (231) **He** wanted to shoot them, **he** really wanted to. (232) (He) could shoot one and eat the meat. (233) But first **he** kept thinking.

### 5.4.2 More than default encoding for non-subject contexts

For non-subjects, the only category that is possible of more than default encoding is N1, for which the default is zero reference. N2 and N3 did not have enough data to propose a rule, and for the N4 context the default is a NP. The revision of the N1 rule accounts for the 7 NPs in the data, but there is one instance of a pronoun occurring in the N4 context.
(153) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 155

155 kən\textsuperscript{55} hen\textsuperscript{22} lu\textsuperscript{55} baw\textsuperscript{45} hen\textsuperscript{22} man\textsuperscript{55} ta\textsuperscript{j}\textsuperscript{22} man\textsuperscript{55} hen\textsuperscript{55}

hope see child NEG see 3S die 3S alive

(She) hoped to see the child but didn’t know (if) \textbf{she} was dead or if \textbf{she} was alive.

5.4.3 Less than default encoding for subject contexts

A NP is the default encoding for S2 and S4 referents, as well as major participants that appear in the S3 context. There were 24 instances of zero reference and 4 pronouns used in the S4 context. Most of these were patterned exceptions that were discussed in section 5.3.1.4. One example of less than default encoding in S4 context is shown in the following example from ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’. The step-mother is the subject but she was not in the previous clause (which included the father, coded with zero anaphora).

(154) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 186-187

186 Ø jian\textsuperscript{55} çaw\textsuperscript{22} \textit{\textsuperscript{55}} na\textsuperscript{j}\textsuperscript{51} ma\textsuperscript{55} hiən\textsuperscript{55}

then take Y Noi come house

187 Ø b\textsuperscript{21} men\textsuperscript{44} çaw\textsuperscript{22} me\textsuperscript{44} som\textsuperscript{22} b\textsuperscript{21} de\textsuperscript{55} lu?\textsuperscript{55} saw\textsuperscript{22} mi\textsuperscript{55} nan\textsuperscript{21} kan\textsuperscript{22}

PRT be take ClsTrm Som PRT child 3P have on/at each other
fua\textsuperscript{22} miə\textsuperscript{55} maə\textsuperscript{45} ni\textsuperscript{31} miə\textsuperscript{55}

husband wife new this go

(186) Then (he) brought Y Noi home. (187) (She) took Miss Som, their daughter who lived together with the husband and new wife.

Another example of less than default encoding is shown below, from ‘Dog and Cat’. The scissors have just fallen over the bridge into the water. First they both cry, and the group reference is coded with a zero. Then each of them is referred to individually, with a NP (the default for the S4 context). After that the two of them are referred to together again, but with only a zero reference. The S4 rule was revised to account for situations in which there was no ambiguity in determining the referent, but this does not seem to fit any of those scenarios described in section 5.3.1.4.
‘Dog and Cat’ 58-61
58 ha:755 va:44 tco55 ni31 ø nam45 haj21 la21 vaj44
   but       time     this    think    cry    PRT    PRT

59 to22 mew55 ko31 haj21
   CLF  cat    also    cry

60 to22 ma:22 ko31 haj21
   CLF  dog    also    cry

61 ha:755 va:44 lam55 baw55 le55 ø hen22 fen22 to22 na:755 paj22 ha:22 kin22 pa:22 ne55
   but  suddenly see  herd  CLF  otter go  search  cat  fish  PRT
mam55 pum44 pa:22 pum44 pom21 pum44 pa:22 pum44 pom21 sin31 la21
   come  ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM ONOM so  PRT
(58) Now they cried. (59) The cat was crying. (60) The dog was crying. (61) But suddenly
   (they) saw a group of otters looking for fish to eat, going “pum pa pum pom, pum pa pum
   pom.” (the sound of diving up and down)

An instance of a pronoun used in S4 context is given in the following example. The
father has gone down underwater to look for his daughter and the people living at
the Dragon King’s house invite him to a meal and they eat and drink together. In the
final clause of this example the man is referred to with a pronoun, instead of the
default NP. The subject of the preceding clause was a group, of which he was a part.
When the group is split and the man appears individually as the subject, all that is
necessary is to disambiguate him from the rest of the group. To accomplish that, a
pronoun will suffice. There are not many instances of a pronoun functioning to
disambiguate referents because Tai Dam does not distinguish between genders with
pronouns. However, when the referent is one member being split off from the group,
it is possible to use the pronoun.
In the S2 context most of the occurrences of zero reference were included in the revision of the default rule, because they appeared in conversations reported as drama, with no quote formula. One instance of the S2 zero referent is shown in the example below. Tao Nok Noi has been told by the turtledoves which way he should go and that if he sees any other animals he should ask them. The zero can be used in this case because there is no risk of ambiguity, since Tao Nok Noi and the turtledoves are the only referents on stage and they have just told him to go.

(157) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 242
242 Ø paṭ22 tṭaŋ45 paṭ22 hen22 doj22 nok55 saw44 niŋ55 maŋ45 xan22 ku22 ku22
  go then go see couple/pair turtledove one new crow ONOM
paṭ22 maj31 maŋ45
peak tree new
Then (he) went and saw a pair of turtledoves crowing “coo coo” on the top of a tree.

5.4.4 Less than default encoding for non-subject contexts
For the non-subject categories, the N4 context is the only one for which there can be less than default encoding. The default is a NP, so either a pronoun or zero reference would be less than default. There are no instances of N4 pronouns in this corpus. Of the 9 references coded as zero, 8 were discussed under the rule revision for the S4 context in section 5.3.2.4. This example is the only one that did not fit as well under the revision rule for N4 referents. Y Noi’s stepmother is at home and realizes that she hasn’t seen her in years. The bolded zero anaphora in the example below refers to Y Noi. The verbal complement is in the non-subject position of sentence 153.
Though it is not covered by the proposed N4 default rule, it is still a case in which the narrator assumed there would be no ambiguity in determining the referent. Two clauses prior to this one (sentence 152), the narrator had stated that Y Noi had grown into a young woman in the forest. Now he is reporting on the new mother’s realization that it has been years and she hasn’t come to visit.

(158) ‘Y Noi and Miss Tiger’ 152-153

152 ṭę²⁵⁵ ụi⁴⁵ nọj³¹ ju⁴⁵ pìn³¹ Ø pên²² sa:w²² lɔ²² de⁵⁵
when Y Noi LOC there become young woman PRT EMPH

153 ṭem⁵⁵ maw⁴⁵ män⁵⁵ ju⁴⁵ hìàn⁵⁵ Ø hen³² sak⁴⁵ ki²¹ pì³¹ baw⁴⁵ hen³² Ø
mother new 3S LOC house see amount several year NEG see
ma:⁵⁵ ja:m³² sak²² tìɔ⁴⁴ na⁵⁵
come visit ever PRT

(152) While Y Noi was there (she) became a young woman. (153) Her new mother was at home and saw that for several years (she) hadn’t seen (her) come visit at all.

5.5 Summary

The Tai Dam texts included in this study follow a participant identification system that is primarily sequential. Participants are coded according to their context. There are different ranks of participants, including major, minor and peripheral participants as well as props. When rank affects the selection of coding material it is usually in a patterned deviation from the default encoding.

Once the default encoding was determined for the various contexts, it is possible to see the deviations from the default. Many of the deviations form their own patterns, which are often a reflection of Givón’s iconicity principle, which states that “the more disrupting, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (1983: 18). Therefore, more coding material tended to appear at thematic boundaries and other text discontinuities, and was also used for the purpose of peak-marking or indicating the salience of a participant in some segment of the discourse. Likewise, less coding material was used when there was no risk of ambiguity in identifying the correct referent.
After the patterned deviations were considered and incorporated into the proposed rules for default patterns, a total of 90% of the referents in the text were accounted for under those rules. The remaining 10% are considered as deviations from the default pattern.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

This thesis has given a brief description of Tai Dam phonology and grammar. It has compiled an inventory of referring expressions and examined their various functions in identifying referents and signaling thematic salience. This chapter summarizes the findings of the study, evaluates the methodology used and considers the significance of these findings with suggestions for further research.

6.1 Summary of findings

The texts included in this study revealed a variety of referring expressions available to a speaker of Tai Dam. These referring expressions include NPs with restrictive and non-restrictive modifiers, possessive phrases, NPs with CLF, NPs with DEM, proper nouns, kin terms, pronouns, topicalized constructions, CLF phrases, demonstratives, zero anaphora and constructions using the particle \( b^{21} \). Each of these referring expressions is used to signal the identifiability, activation status and thematic salience of referents in a Tai Dam discourse.

Based on topic-continuity measurements the texts in this study were found to have major participants, minor participants and peripheral participants and props. Major participants tend to be introduced with an existential verb followed by background information about that participant. This is not the case for all the major participants in the texts and more data is needed to provide a clearer depiction of the system of introducing participants.

The texts in the study follow a participant identification system that is primarily sequential, with occasional presence of a local VIP. Participants are generally coded according to their context, as a reflection of Givón's iconicity principle, which states that “the more disrupting, surprising, discontinuous or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it” (1983: 18).

More coding material tended to appear at thematic boundaries and other text discontinuities, and was also used for the purpose of peak-marking or indicating the
salience of a participant in some segment of the discourse. Likewise, less coding material was used when there was no risk of ambiguity in identifying the correct referent. Default encoding patterns accounted for a total of 90% of the referents.

6.2 Evaluation of methodology
As the inventory of referring expressions was compiled, it was helpful to look at each referent in terms of its identifiability and activation status. This helped in determining the discourse function of each type of referring expression as patterns emerged in the analysis.

To use Givón’s (1983) methods of measuring topic continuity as a means for determining participant rank was also helpful, but as the analysis in chapter 4 revealed, the methods can at times be misleading as well. The initial results of the simple count of activations, the referential distance value and the persistence value would rank participants differently. On the one hand, this could be somewhat corrected by adjusting the referential distance scores to reflect the number of activations in the text as whole. Doing this caused the results to come closer together. In the end, it was seen as a helpful method but the researcher must pay attention to factors that can affect the results of a particular measurement, such as the number of episodes in which a participant is present or the number of participants with which he or she shares the stage. Ranking the participants according to the number of episodes they appear in appears to be worth considering as a fourth method to add to the three from Givón.

Using Dooley & Levinsohn's (2001) method was beneficial for identifying default encoding values. Decisions had to be made about how to categorize a group that was split into individuals or individual referents that were combined into a group. Various researchers who have dealt with this issue have resolved it differently. In this case, treating these as S4/N4 seemed to be the most helpful way to deal with the text. There were also questions about what to do with summary statements that were present in the text but which seemed so skew the results of the analysis. It was determined not to include these when determining the context for a particular referent. The tentative rules for each context deal with the highest percentage of encoding for that context, and resolving the rules to incorporate patterned exceptions accounted for the majority of the referents. It was not possible in every case to suggest a motivation for deviations from the proposed defaults.
6.3 Significance of findings

The findings of this analysis add to the knowledge of the Tai Dam language and the Tai language family, as well as the body of research dealing with discourse analysis and participant reference. The texts that make up the corpus for this study can be a source of study for other aspects of Tai Dam grammar and discourse.

6.4 Further research

There is still much work to be done in studying the Tai Dam language. Further research in other areas of discourse analysis is needed to have a clearer picture of Tai Dam discourse. This could include analysis of other aspects of fiction or folktale texts such as macrostructures or notional and surface structure. Analysis of non-fiction narrative texts is also needed, along with other genres of Tai Dam discourse, such as expository and hortatory texts.

There are also specific areas of further research relating to difficulties that were encountered in this study. One such area of further research relates to the difficulty in determining the difference between direct and indirect speech. The factors governing the selection of demonstratives (particularly when used for tracking participants) also merit further research. Relating to the participant identification system, it would be helpful to have a larger corpus with an adequate number of referents to allow further investigation of each of the eight contexts.

Additional research could be done to better understand aspects of Tai Dam grammar. One particular area of research needed would be the use of Tai Dam particles in general, or the topic-marking or contrast-marking particle $b$ in particular. Other areas for grammatical exploration include the sequential indicators $jian^{55}$, $tcan^{45}$ and $k\theta^{21}$, the possible analysis of $ni\eta ^{44}$ ‘one’ or $di\eta w^{22}$ ‘only one’ as determiners instead of quantifiers, and a comparison of the syntax between the Tai Dam in Laos and Thailand with the Tai Dam in Vietnam.
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Children and cousins, (listen!).

Now I will tell the story of Y Noi and Miss Tiger for you all to listen to.

Long ago, there was a young couple.

The young man's name was Lang.

The young woman's name was Miss Phau.

just love just care for each other then take each other
(They) loved, cared for and married each other.

They made a home and a life together.

After a while (she) became pregnant and had a small child.

(They) called her Y Noi.

Y Noi, she grew up.

Her mother suddenly died.

Her father then raised (her).

(He) raised (her) day by day.
Then her father said to his child, "Now, father lives alone and am so sad."

"My daughter, (I) father will go and find a new wife."

Her father then went and brought home a new wife.

The new mother's name was Tong Lang.

(She) came, came to raise (her).

(She) came to raise, to eat, to live together.

---

10 The speaker began his sentence wrong and corrected himself. The “false start” was not included in transcription. This was also the case in sentences 66, 68, 74, 113, 188, 216 and 257.
(She) lived many years, many rice harvests.

Suddenly her new mother became pregnant and gave birth to another girl, named Kam Som.

And every day her father would go to the fields.

But day by day and year by year (he) kept seeing his daughter become thin and yellow (unhealthy).
Then her father asked, "Child, at home what does your mother give you to eat?"

"When (I) child am at home, mother gives me rice and fish to eat, father."

"So like that.

It's like that.

"Oh, rice and fish to eat, that is good."

"(I) father will go look for something else for (you) child to eat."
"Eat something else."

"Eat rice and fish."

"Eat this bird meat."

Her father went to set traps and catch fish.

But one day her father was only able to go to the fields for half a morning.

(His) knife broke and was ruined so (he) just come home early.
(He) came home early and saw that the new mother just stayed under the house, carrying Miss Som on her back.

(He) went up into the house and saw his child, holding a ball of rice.

(Sh)e dangled it over a bucket of water, swinging it back and forth.

(Sh)e held the ball of rice and just kept trying to lure (the fish).
Now her father came to ask.

(He) came and saw that fish was still swimming around in the basin.

His child wanted to touch it but couldn't.

His father then said, "Oh, no!"

"If this new mother gives her live fish to grab like this, then how will she be able to eat?"
So then he asked, "Where is the bird meat your mother gives you to eat?"

His child went to get it but it was just the pulp of a yam.

Her new mother tricked her by saying the yam pulp was bird's meat.

It was like that.

She talked with her father like that.

Turns out (she) was feeding (her) old yam pulp and raw fish like this.

---

11 The speaker originally said 'em⁵⁵ me⁴⁴ lu⁵⁵, the child’s mother’ but corrected it during transcription to simply say 'em⁵⁵ ‘mother.’
"(My) child will surely be malnourished (lit: be thin)."

"Now what will (I) do?"

Her father just thought like that.

Only (he) didn't know what to say now.

"(I) will take my small child to go live in the forest." 

"(I) will go build a small shelter for her to live in the forest.

"Then (she) will grow and be able to live."
"If (she) stays at this house then surely her mother will kill (her)."

So her father didn't say anything to the mother.

Then he quietly held his child.

(He) boiled all the rice and water.

(He) carried (her) to the field (dry).

The new mother asked, "What will you two, father and daughter, go do now?"

"Oh, if she stays at the house she will bother you."
"I will take her to help me in the fields now."

Then (he) took (her) deep, deep into the forest. Then her father built a small shelter for (her) to live there, for Miss Y Noi to live there. When night came her father took rice to (her). When morning came her father went to watch.
(She) lived like that for many years, many days, many months.

Suddenly one night, the birds and mice were making noises around the house like "ut ut."

(She) was alone in the quiet, just crying.

Then, one time, a tiger came.

(It) came to break the door because it wanted to eat Miss Y Noi.

Y Noi was crying and crying and said,
"Please, tiger!"

"Don't kill (me)!

"I'm here, I'm here."

"(My) mother died when (I) was still small."

"(My) father took a new wife."

"My new mother didn't love me."

"She only gave me live fish in a bucket to eat and old yam pulp."
"Then (my) father brought me to raise me in this forest."

"My first mother's name was Miss Phau."

"(My) father's name is Mister Lang."

12 The speaker accidentally said 'your new mother,' but corrected it during transcription.
Then the tiger just cried and cried.

"Oh, it turned out like this!"

"I'm your mother Phau, I'm here."

"Your Mother Phau!"

"I died and then was born as this tiger."

Her mother Phau that became that tiger just held her and (they) hugged each other.

13 The speaker accidentally referred to ลำ ๕ หล่ำ 'mother Phau' as ลำ ๕ หล่ำ 'new mother.' He corrected this during the transcription process. This was also the case in sentences 103, 107 and 110.
Then (her) daughter slept there.

So from that day on everyday her mother Phau would go catch deer or wild pigs and bring the meat for her child to eat.

(She) would come and raise her child.

Y Noi was growing day by day.

Then (she) knew how to make rice and water to eat.
(She) would catch birds and chipmunks for (her) to eat.

(She) grew up and Y Noi became a young woman.

(She) became a young woman and her mother, Phau, would go take cotton from field houses in different cotton fields. Then (she) knew how to make cloth and (she) became rich in that forest.

Then (she) knew how to make cloth and (she) became rich in that forest.
It's like that.

That young man was called Tao Nok Noi.

Everyday (he) would go throughout the forest.

(His) house (was) a wealthy house so (he) didn't have to work.

(He) went deeper and deeper into the forest and suddenly (he) was lost and arrived at this shelter.

"Why is there a shelter in the forest like this?"

---

14 The speaker originally included the word ma:55 come’ but removed it during transcription.
15 The speaker wanted to insert naŋ21 during the transcription process.
It's like that.

Tao Nok Noi then walked softly to go and watch.

(He) went to look and suddenly saw a young woman inside.

"Oh, is it a ghost?"

"Is it a person?"

"Why would someone come live alone in the forest like this?"

"Why is this?"
He came and asked,

"Hello!" (Literally: "House owner!")

"A person?"

"A ghost?"

"Why did (you) come live in the middle of the forest like this?"

Then Y Noi said, "(I'm) not a ghost!"

"Mister! (I'm) a real person here."
Then Tao Nok Noi went close to look and see if (she) was a real person.

(He) went up (and saw) a very beautiful young woman.

(He) entered the house and then (they) sat and talked together.

Then Y Noi brought rice to serve Tao Nok Noi.

Then Y Noi brought rice to serve Tao Nok Noi.

Tao Nok Noi, on that day (he) also went hunting and shot a turtledove.

He plucked the feathers and grilled it then each ate half.

Every day Tao Nok Noi would go see Y Noi.
Every day (they) would go meet there to visit each other.

It's like that.

Then (they) liked each other.

(They) promised to each other that (they) would get married.

(They) would get married.

But Tao Nok Noi came to the house and then he left.
(He) went to work the fields and the garden.

(He) worked in cotton fields to take cloth to marry his wife.

It's like that.

Then (he) wasn't able to go visit Y Noi for several months.

But the story isn't finished!

While Y Noi was there (she) became a young woman.
Her new mother was at home and realized that for several years (she) hadn't seen (her) come visit at all.

(She) hoped that (she) would visit.

(She) hoped to see the child but didn't know if she was dead or alive.

(She) asked again, "Father, that Miss Noi, how is she?"

It's like that.

Their father just said to her, "How is Miss Noi?"

---

16 The speaker accidentally referred to "new mother" as "mother Phau." He corrected this during the transcription process. This was also the case in sentence 216.
"Since (she) was small you didn't love or care for her."

"Wherever she went, how would I know?"

It's like that.

But her new mother wouldn't believe (him).

"I will follow him secretly and see."

It's like that.

Then, the day after that Miss Y's father went to the forest, (he) went to visit his child.
Y’s new mother followed after (him) very carefully.

(She) went and saw Miss Y Noi living by herself in the forest

She went to see and (thought), "O, so Miss Y had secretly come to live in the forest."

"She came out here secretly and made a living, had food to eat, and was getting rich."

"So father and daughter, they only love each other!"

It's like that.
Then (she) was angry as (she) came home.

"Now (I'm) going to bring her home."

(She) thought in (her) heart, "(I'll) take my Miss Som to go live there."

It's like that.

Then (she) came and respectfully said to (Y Noi's) father,

"Let me bring (her) home to (her) father."
"(She's) been a woman for some years now."

"(She) must miss (her) village."

"(She) wants to live in (her) village."

"Do (you) want her to live alone in the forest until (she) is old?"

It's like that.

Her father, (he) listened and brought (his) child home. (He) brought (her) to (her) father.
It's like that.

So (he) brought Y Noi home.

Then (she) took Miss Som, their daughter who lived together with them, to go.

Miss Som went to live in the forest.

"Beo beo," (she) cried and cried in the forest.

(She) was not used to the forest and it was night already.

Then Miss Noi's tiger mother came.
That Mrs Phau, who died and became a tiger, came.

"Child, why are (you) crying like this today?"

(She) saw but didn't know how to reply.

The more (she) saw the tiger, the more (she) cried.

The tiger broke the door and went in.

The more (she) saw the tiger, the more (she) cried.

"Why are (you) (lit: child) crying like this today?"
"Why are (you) like this?"

"Mother came to visit."

It's like that.

The tiger took (her) and held (her).

The tiger's fur scratched and poked Miss Som.

She was crying and crying.

So then the tiger took a close look.
"Oh, this is not even my child!"

"This is someone else's child!"

"Where did my child go?"

"Someone came and switched (them)!!"

"Someone came and switched (them)!!"

It's like that.

Then (she) killed and ate that Miss Som.

(She) ate (her) whole body.
(She) took the intestine and liver and squeezed (them) along that fence.

She was so angry. That tiger squeezed (them) along the fence.

Miss Som died a terrible death in that forest.

After four or five days passed her mother wanted to go visit (her).

(She) thought that her Miss Som would become skilled like when that Miss Noi went to the forest.

At that time (she) suddenly saw that her child had died.

(She) still did not see skin or bones.
(She) only saw the intestine and liver and the blood spilled in that shelter.

Then (she) understood, (she) saw the signs that a tiger had eaten (her).

(After she) saw, (she) cried as (she) came home feeling so sad.

(She) wanted to die and follow (her) child.

So (she too) died and followed (her) child.

Then that Mr Nok Noi, he had about enough cloth.
Then (he) went to visit the shelter in that field.

(He) thought that his young woman was still living there.

(He) went to visit and found the shelter deserted.

Then he left.

(He) left and saw a pair of deer.

He wanted to shoot them, he thought that (he) wanted to.

(He could) shoot one and eat the meat.
But first he kept thinking,

"Oh, but they are a couple like this."

"(If I) shoot one (then there will) still (be) one."

"(If I) make one a widow and separate them (then it) will be as sad as I am here."

So (he) didn't shoot.

Then (he) asked the deer, "Deer, that girl of mine who lives in this forest, where did (she) go?"
Then the deer said, "She went home already."

"You follow that trail and if (you) see any animals then ask again."

It's like that.

(He) went along and saw a pair of turtledoves crowing "cu cu" on the top of a tree.

He was hungry (so he) wanted to shoot one turtledove and eat (it).

Then he thought, "If I shoot one, there will still be one."
"If (one) dies like that it will be so sad."

So again he didn't shoot.

Then he asked the birds.

"(To get to) her house (you) go this way then that way."
Then (he) went and saw a pair of wild chickens scratching the ground of the field, "Kha-zek kha-zek."

He was wanting to shoot one, at first he thought like that.

"(If) one dies then one will be widowed and will be so sad."

So he didn't shoot.

(He) asked and then the wild chickens showed the way for him.

"She went home already."
Then he, Tao Nok Noi, came to the house and saw Y Noi, a beautiful young woman at the house.

(They) loved and cared for each other.

(They) lived together as husband and wife.

(They) worked the fields together and took care of their father, Lang.

Then (they) had a house and became rich.

It was like that.

---

The speaker referred to the father by the mother’s name, \(Lu^45\), but changed it to \(La^n^22\) during the transcription process.
263 met\textsuperscript{22}

all/complete

The end. (Lit: All/Complete)
APPENDIX B
DOG AND CAT

People's homes need to have dogs and cats.

But why does the dog have to stay under the house (outside)?

The cat lives in the house and sleeps in the kitchen.

When we eat lunch or dinner it comes near us.

When it is hungry it calls, "Meo, meo," like that.
When it wants to eat it demands the people to feed it.

Well, this is why. (Lit: it is like this)

There was this very rich old couple.

(They) had a very beautiful daughter.

So they planned to arrange a marriage with the child of a royal family.

She didn't want to.

---

18 The speaker restarted his sentence to correct himself. This was removed during the transcription process. The same thing occurred in sentences 57, 70 and 82.
She said, "If (you) want (me) to get married, then call all the unmarried men in the world to come."

I'll throw a ball into the air and whoever it falls to, I will be that person's wife.

Because her parents were so wealthy (they) had to invite young men who were not married from all the villages and communes.

Rich people came and poor people came.
So the daughter, the girl wound and tossed the ball into the air and (it) landed in the bundle of firewood of a young man whose pants were torn and patched from front to back.

(He) would go collect firewood in the jungle and the forest, then bring to sell at the market in order to buy rice for lunch and dinner, every meal.

Therefore this girl's parents, they just went to watch.

They said, "Oh! So now you will marry this person?"

Then the girl replied, "Fate determined it."
"(I) (lit: child) will agree to be this person's wife."

This time her parents were really angry. "(We're) not giving (you) anything to take to (your) husband's house, now go away!"

The daughter really followed (that guy).

(They) went for a long time and then entered a house.

(It's) not a house at all.

(It's) just a shelter made from banana leaves and other big leaves from the forest!
(For) rice to eat, (they) have to search every day.

So this girl was very angry and thought, "(My) father has a pair of scissors with a golden handle."

"It is hidden in the chest at the head of the bed."

(If he) wants anything, he cuts once and (it) will appear by itself.

Cut another time and (if he) wants to eat fish, (it) appears by itself.

(If he) wants to eat rice, it will come by itself.
So she thought like this.

She wasn't sure (what to do).

(She) made a plan.

Then (she) told the cat and dog,

Now you go steal the scissors and bring (them) back to me. I will give that one (who gets them for me) the reward of staying closest to me. Then the dog and cat urged each other to go.
(They) hurried to her family's house.

So the dog, (he) stayed at the bottom of the ladder to watch for people.

So the cat walked very softly (tiptoed) to that chest.

He saw a mouse and then he grabbed the mouse.

"Damn it! Do you want to die?"
"I don't want to die. Please, please!" the mouse (was) like that.

Now, is there anything (I can do)?

"Now, I tell you, dig a hole in this chest."

"Take the scissors that are inside and bring (them) to me!"

I won't eat you then.

So the mouse tried and tried to dig the hole then the scissors came (fell) out towards the cat.
The cat grabbed (them) and went downstairs, and with the dog ran home extremely happy.

Then the dog, (he) kept trying to hold (the scissors).

The dog said, "(If) you hold (it, I'm) afraid (it will) fall."

The cat said, "I got (them). I will hold (them)."

So while crossing a bridge (they) fought each other and the scissors fell down into the water.

Now (they) began to cry.
The cat was crying.

The dog was crying.

But suddenly (they) saw a group of otters looking for fish to eat, going "pum pa pum pom pum pa pum pom" (sound of diving up and down).

The dog hid there and grabbed the otter's neck.

"Damn it! Do you want to die?"

"I don't want to die."

"I am going to eat you!"
So the otter was afraid (he was going to) die.

"Oh, please! (I'm) free. (Whatever) you want! I will get anything (for you)!

"Now I dropped the scissors here."

(The dog) said, "You get (them) for me, then I won't eat you."

Therefore the whole group of those otters pushed each other, diving down to retrieve the scissors.

(They) brought the scissors up and the dog came and grabbed them then ran straight home.
(The dog) came and told this girl, saying, "I got (them)," then clapped his chest.

72 ma\textsuperscript{55} to\textsuperscript{55} s\textsuperscript{45} w\textsuperscript{44} me\textsuperscript{44} ni\textsuperscript{31} lo\textsuperscript{21} va\textsuperscript{44} ku\textsuperscript{22} ?aw\textsuperscript{22} daj\textsuperscript{21} lo\textsuperscript{22} sin\textsuperscript{31} top\textsuperscript{22}
    come tell to ClsTrm this PRT say 1SFam take to be able PRT so clap
?ak\textsuperscript{22} ?a\textsuperscript{22} ne\textsuperscript{55}
    chest go out PRT

I got (them) already.

73 ku\textsuperscript{22} ?aw\textsuperscript{22} daj\textsuperscript{21} lew\textsuperscript{31}
    1SFam take to be able already

So the cat came back after (the dog) and didn't know what to do.

74 sin\textsuperscript{31} hi\textsuperscript{31} to\textsuperscript{22} m\textsuperscript{55} to\textsuperscript{22} la\textsuperscript{22} n\textsuperscript{55} ma\textsuperscript{55} baw\textsuperscript{45} t\textsuperscript{22} e\textsuperscript{22} jet\textsuperscript{55} si\textsuperscript{55}
    so PRT CLF cat come after PRT 3S NEG sure do/make how

The owner of the house said, "You didn't get (them)."

75 me\textsuperscript{44} t\textsuperscript{22} e\textsuperscript{21} hi\textsuperscript{55} lo\textsuperscript{21} va\textsuperscript{44} m\textsuperscript{55} baw\textsuperscript{45} ?aw\textsuperscript{22} daj\textsuperscript{21}
    ClsTrm owner house PRT say 2SFam NEG take to be able

"You stay under the house (outside)."

76 m\textsuperscript{55} ju\textsuperscript{45} t\textsuperscript{21} w\textsuperscript{21} la\textsuperscript{44} n\textsuperscript{55}
    2SFam live under floor PRT

"Now PRT CLF dog this PRT 3S take to be able 3S live on house"

"Now this dog, he got (them) so he can stay in the house."

78 ju\textsuperscript{45} t\textsuperscript{21} w\textsuperscript{21} la\textsuperscript{44} f\textsuperscript{22} w\textsuperscript{22} kon\textsuperscript{55} ma\textsuperscript{55} m\textsuperscript{55} h\textsuperscript{55} la\textsuperscript{31} n\textsuperscript{55}
    live under floor whoever people come 2SFam call PRT

"(You) stay beneath the floor and if someone comes you call out."
So the cat, he was angry but didn't know what to do

"Let me speak, let me explain."

"This is not right at all!"

So then he told everything from the beginning to end, that he got (them) first then (they) fell in the water at that bridge.

So, therefore people, we say this.

"Dog, you fight others."
"But (we) can't not have a dog, (we) can't not have a cat."

"Now, I will separate for you two (like this)."

"The cat is the one who got them first."

"(You) live near me"

"Dog, your job is to watch for people because you had the job of watching for people."
"(If) people come you call out."

"Then (I will) know if it is a person I know already or a person I want to avoid."

So since then this husband and wife had those scissors with the golden handle.

(If they) want anything then they cut once and (it) will appear by itself.

So the husband and wife, they had plenty to eat, made a good living and became rich.
I will tell you a Tai folktale.

At one village there was a young woman (who was) very beautiful and hard-working.

One day, her parents told (her) to go take care of some small ducks near the lake.

This girl, she was so hard-working, (she) both took care of the ducks and took a spool to wind thread.

(Sh) went to wind the thread at the bank of that pond.
This pond was very deep and the water was clean.

People from the village would come and draw water for drinking.

So noon came and this girl had already wound a big roll of thread.

Suddenly, at the middle of the pond (she) saw a prince rising up out of the water.

But his pants and shirt were not wet.

Then (he) grabbed that young woman and took (her) down into the water.
(She) just disappeared. (Couldn't see her at all.)

When (she) was being dragged away, the young woman, she didn't let go of that spool.

(The) held onto the cotton spool as (she) went.

The cotton spool kept unwinding.

When evening came, the young woman's parents still had not seen (their) daughter return home.
Then (they) went to look there.

That spool was still at the edge of that pond and the little ducks were still (there) too.

But their child, (they) did not see.

So then (they) went to look at that thread, the line of thread.

It went into the water.

They knew that perhaps their daughter fell into the pond.

---

21 Speaker began his sentence then stopped and re-started. It is not included in transcription.
23 sin⁳¹ tcəŋ⁴⁵ mìa⁵⁵ saw⁴⁵ paj⁴⁵ hət⁵⁵ tcəŋ⁴⁴ ṭoŋ⁵² ma²² kʷa:a⁵⁵
so then go search go arrive place shaman EMPH

So then (they) went to find the shaman.

24 ṭoŋ⁵² ma²² tcəŋ⁴⁵ va:⁴⁴ xaŋ⁴⁴ luʔ⁵⁵ ɲiŋ⁵⁵ su²² hɨ³¹ ɬo²¹ luʔ⁵⁵ tcəŋ⁵⁵ puə²² ɲiə⁵⁵
shaman then say now child girl 2P PRT PRT child boy king dragon
ma:⁵⁵ paʔ²² ṭaw²² lew³¹ ɬo²²
come catch take already PRT

Then the shaman said, "Now (about) your daughter, the dragon king's son came and took
(her) already."

25 ṭaw²² paj²² ju⁴⁵ naŋ²¹ saw²² kuəŋ²² nam³¹ nan³¹
take go live on/at 3P in water that

"(He) took (her) to live with them in that water."

26 lew³¹ ʔaŋ²¹ xəŋ⁴⁵ ʔi⁴⁵ noj³¹ tcak²² jet⁵⁵ si⁵⁵
already father of POSS PRE small unsure do/make how

Now the girl's father did not know what to do.

27 tcəŋ⁴⁵ ma:⁵⁵ tʰaʔ²² ṭoŋ²² ma²² ni³¹ jet⁵⁵ si⁵⁵ de⁴⁵
then come ask shaman this do/make how PRT.

Then (he) came and asked this shaman, "What should (I) do?"
So then the shaman instructed him, "(You) must take a cooking pot, a big one, and burn (it), burn it until it is very red, then put (it) onto your head and dive into the water."

So then the shaman instructed him, "(You) must take a cooking pot, a big one, and burn (it), burn it until it is very red, then put (it) onto your head and dive into the water."

(You) will go and find your daughter.

So the old man did (it).

(He) burned the pot until it was very red.

(He) put (it) onto his head and quickly dove into the water.
(He) followed his daughter's thread.

(He) went deeper and deeper into the water, then saw a big house and lots of crabs and fish.

(He) saw lots of people living there also, all of them dressed up nicely.

So then (he) went and asked them, "(Did you) see my daughter come in here?"

"Now her thread led to here."

Then they said, "Oh, that's right. Then (her) father must have come to visit me."

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22 The speaker originally said *xan*204 *tan*22 *nan*31 ‘that thing’ but wanted to remove it during the transcription process.
"Father, come into the house first."

So (they) invited this old man to go and sit in the middle of that big house of theirs.

(It) was that dragon king's house.

The dragon king's household then came and prepared a meal to host him.

(They) ate and drank.

He stayed there a long time but then he missed his home.

Then (he) asked his daughter to go back up and live with (her) parents.
But that daughter, she had come to stay at that dragon king's house.

She had quickly become accustomed to living there from the time she arrived.

Then one day she called her father to go into one room.

So that old man went to look.
It turned out that in that room there many dragons, very big (dragons).

(They) were sleeping all twisted together.

Their heads were all on the tail of another one, like that.

The dragons' scales were shining and sparkling like that mirror.

And that mustache was like scissors.

His daughter then said, "(See), the scissors are next to the comb; the fan is next to the mirror!"
It turns out that these dragons, when (they) sleep, (you) can't tell at all which side is the top and which is the bottom.

They just fall asleep in a heap.

This one's head is on that one's tail, like that.

(They) were in a heap.

So this old man then thought, "Oh, it can't be!"

"My child changed into a dragon already!"

"(She) became a dragon already and cannot come back."
So then he wished, "I will go back home."

So his daughter then came to talk to the dragon king.

For the merit of my parents raising (me), in response to this what can (I) give to (my) parents?

So the dragon king said, "Oh, how much are you able to carry, (can you) carry lots of ginger and galangal?"

"We have very much."
He said, "This ginger, it becomes silver. This galangal, it becomes gold."

So the old man came and told the soldiers, "You here, carry this for me." (You carry) several (of these).

So (he) took the ginger and galangal up out of the water.

Then the ginger immediately changed into silver.

The galangal immediately changed into gold.

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23 The speaker added *how* for "for" during transcription.
From then on this old man was rich but completely lost (his) daughter, a beautiful young woman.

(She) went to be the wife of the dragon king's son.

(I've) told this to the end.
Long ago, there was a husband and wife (parents).

(They) were very hardworking.

but they were still very poor.

That season was very sunny.

(They) (lit: house) were out of rice.

(They) went to dig for yams.

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24 At this point the speaker hesitated or stumbled over her words. Instances such as these were ignored in transcription. This is also the case in sentences 9, 10, 37 and 38.
(but) for a long time (they were) also all gone.

They didn't have anything to eat.

But the season for ripe mangoes came.

The parents wanted to get those mangoes.

(They) were going to trade (them) for rice.

(They) would take (them) to the grandparents and ask for rice to feed (their) children.

25 The speaker repeated *ma:*22 *hə:*55 *mu:*55 ‘season came’ but said it was unintentional and wanted to remove it during transcription.
But the little children in the old days were so poor.

They were very hungry.

They found mangoes that were not yet ripe.

(They) were still unripe.

They secretly climbed up.

(They) climbed up and ate (them).

Whatever (the parents) said (the kids) didn't listen.

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26 The speaker used the word *jig* for child/children, but the other Tai Dam speakers claimed it was a White Tai word and corrected it to *dek* throughout the text during the transcription and glossing process.
"(We) want to save those mangoes until they are ripe."

"(We) want to have enough for a basket to take to (your) grandparents."

Like that.

But just a few more days and the mango season would be finished and (they) didn't have enough to fill the basket.

Then the parents told (their) children

"Children, don't eat (them)."

27 Speaker repeated ma:22 muŋ31 'mango' but said it was unintentional and wanted to remove it during transcription.
"Save (them) for father and mother to take to (your) grandparents and ask for rice to feed (you) (lit: children)."

But they didn't listen.

So later (their) parents said, "Now, whoever climbs up to the treetop and eats lots will become a monkey."

"Whoever eats from the lower branches will become a gibbon."

"If (you) don't listen to (your) parents' instruction (you) will truly become a monkey or a gibbon."

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28 Speaker originally said pāj'22 'peak, summit' but wanted to change it to maj'21 'tree' during transcription.
But the small children, whatever (the parents) told (they) did not (obey).

They were so hungry.

After that while (their) parents were asleep they climbed up the mango tree to eat again.

When the mangoes were almost finished they fought each other.

They fought each other.

(They) fought each other on top of that tree.

After that both children died.
The oldest climbed up the tree then fell down, died and became a monkey.

The younger one fell down from the lower branch.

(He) fell and died and became a gibbon.

So, those children didn't obey (their) parents' instruction.

(They) didn't listen to an adult's instruction.

Then (the parents) didn't have any children.

The word 'lower' was added by the speaker during the transcription process.
44 met\textsuperscript{22} lew\textsuperscript{31}

all already

(The End) Finished/Complete already.
RESUME

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