DISCOURSE STUDIES OF MAKURI NAGA
NARRATIVES

Vong Tsuh Shi

Presented to Payap University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS
Faculty of Arts

Payap University
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Most of all I am thankful to God for good health and guidance throughout this study, for without Him I could not have done this!

Vong Tsuh Shi

9 May 2009
Abstract

This thesis analyzes some discourse features of Makuri Naga, which is a southern Naga language under the south-eastern branch of the Tibeto-Burman family. The Makuri people live in north-western Myanmar and north-eastern India.

This thesis analyzes three Makuri first person narratives by identifying segment boundaries, salience scheme, aspects of participant reference, and reference and ranking for participants.

The boundaries in Makuri narratives are marked by changes of time, participant and location, the use of grammatical markers, overlap clauses, direct address, descriptive clauses, and summary statements. Internal unity in a chunk is marked by lexical coherence and parallel forms, and by having the same participants, time and location.

In the salience scheme analysis, the storyline is marked by the past tense marker *net* and sequential conjunctions. The storyline clause is demoted to the background band when the adverbial *te* ‘when’ occurs at the end of the clause. The background band is marked by present tense, perfect tense, continuous tense and durative aspect markers. The setting band is made up of descriptive verbs and stative verbs. The irrealis band contains negative markers and conditional conjunction. The cohesive band uses overlap clauses and adverbial clauses.

In the participant reference system, Makuri introduces the participants with a noun phrase and, reintroduces them with a pronoun or a noun phrase. Makuri tracks participants with a null reference, and refers to the object of the previous clause with null reference.
บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เน้นความลักษณะทางสังคมศาสตร์ของภาษามากุฎี นากะ ซึ่งเป็นภาษาที่ยากต่อการศึกษาในเรื่องการใช้งานของคำในภาษาดังกล่าว โดยใช้การวิเคราะห์ตัวเงื่อนของตัวละคร เรื่องเล่าในภาษา makuri จะมีการปรากฏขึ้นของตัวละครย่อยการเปลี่ยนแปลง ผู้แสดงบทบาท สถานที่ ตัวละคร และที่อยู่ของตัวละคร ได้แก่ ฉาก, ที่อยู่อาศัย ที่อยู่นักหัวข้อ การเรียนรู้โดยตรง อนุภาพก่อน และอีกตัวอย่างใหญ่ที่สุด ความเป็นเอกภาพภายในเนื้อหาจะถูกปลึ้งด้วยการมีผู้แสดงบทบาทพูดเดียวกัน เวลาและสถานที่ เดียวกัน รวมทั้งการเชื่อมโยงคำพัพและรูปแบบตู้คำพันธ์

จากการวิเคราะห์แผนความต่อเนื่อง (salience scheme) พบว่า แนวการดำเนินเรื่องจะถูกปลึ้งด้วยตัว บรรยายความเป็นอริเดตา kal net และคำเชื่อมต่าง ๆ ที่แสดงการเรียนรู้เน้น ในภาษา makuri เวลา ‘ื’ ปรากฏที่อนุประโยค อนุประโยคของการดำเนินเรื่องจะถูกปลึ้งด้วยตัว ถูกปลึ้งด้วยตัว ไคร借款 บางส่วนของสิ่งที่ปรากฏที่อนุประโยค บางส่วนของสิ่งที่ปรากฏที่อนุประโยค kal จุดเริ่มต้นการดำเนินเรื่อง แนวผลผลที่ยั่งยืนของตัวละคร อุปกรณ์และที่อยู่ของตัวละครอีกท้าว้ในสถาน เหนือหลัง (background band) สถานนั้นหลักสุดท้ายจะถูกปลึ้งด้วยตัวช่างที่สุดของภาษา kal ผลผลที่ยั่งยืนการดำเนินเรื่อง ผลผลที่ยั่งยืนของภาษา makuri (setting band) ใช้ คำศัพท์เชิงพรรณนา และคำศัพท์เชิงสภาพ ฐานสมุดติ (irrealis band) ประกอบด้วยตัวปริ้
การปฏิเสธ และคำชี้มั่นแสดงเรื่องนี้ ฐานแสดงความเชื่อมโยงความ (cohesive band) จะใช้
อนุภาพทั้งหมด และอนุภาพศิลา
ในแง่ของการถอดถึงผู้แสดงบทบาท ภาษาภูมิปัญญาจะน่าจะผู้แสดงบทบาทด้วยการใช้นามะลี
แล้วกล่าวถึงผู้แสดงบทบาทข้ามด้วยการใช้สรพจนามะลี การกล่าวถึงข้ามด้วยการถอดถึง
แบบว่าง (null reference) รวมทั้งการกล่าวถึงผู้ถูกกระทาในอนุภาพก่อนหน้านั้นด้วยการถอดถึง
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<td>1DU.excl</td>
<td>first person dual exclusive</td>
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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is an initial study of some discourse structures of the Makuri Naga language. This thesis analyzes three Makuri first person narratives by identifying segment boundaries, salience schemes, aspects of participant reference, and reference and ranking for participants. Two narratives are first person narratives relating to animal hunting, and another one is a mixed one with first person and third person perspectives related to human interaction.

Chapter 1 includes an overview of the Makuri people, and a brief phonology and grammar sketch to serve as an introduction to the discourse level in the Makuri language.

1.1 The Makuri people and the language

The Makuri people are speakers of a Naga language. They live in Hkamti district of Sagaing Division in the north-western Myanmar, and Phek and Kiphri districts of Nagaland, a north-eastern state of India. They are geographically located between 26º 15' N and 27º 10' N, and from 94º 50' E to 95º 45' E. The Makuri Naga Culture Committee (2003) lists the total population at about 15,000. It is said that more than half of the population lives in Myanmar, the remainder live in India. The majority of the villages in Hkamti district are found in Layshee Township. There are also some villages located in Homalin, Hkamti, and Lahe townships. These places are shown in Figure 1.
Just as many other Naga groups have a name which covers two or more dialects, so Makuri does not refer to one particular language group. The name Makuri refers to a group of people who have common customs and practices, and live in the same region around Mt. Saramati. The name itself bears the meaning ‘the people who live around Mt. Saramati’. One widely spoken language of the group became a language for interrelational communication between the villages. This people group was officially named and registered as Makuri in 1960 by the people themselves (Makuri Naga Culture Committee 2003: ii).

Traditionally the Makuri are said to have come to Myanmar by three routes from Nagaland, India. One group came to Makheot village, Lahe Township, and another came through Amimi (a Longphuri village at present) to Khula, Layshee Township. The last group came through Phokhongri and Avakhong villages (in Nagaland, India) to Shera, Layshee Township. Then they gradually spread to the present locations.
Makuri has a Roman-based orthography which was introduced by church leaders at around 1960. Recently the orthography has been revised in order to better reflect the phonology of the language. However the present Makuri orthography does not represent tone markings, though it is a tonal language.

1.2 Classification of the language

The Makuri Naga language is one of the Naga languages. These languages have been classified differently within the Tibeto-Burman family by different researchers. According to the criteria that Marrison (1967:168) used in sub-classification of Naga languages in north-east India, this language resembles in some aspects the type B, Ao-Tangkhul group of Naga languages as in Figure 2. The criteria that he used to group these languages were phonology, morphology, five lexical similarities, and syntax. These criteria were used to determine the place of Makuri within Marrison’s classification.

![Figure 2: Classification of Naga languages adapted from Marrison (1967)](image)

Bradley (1997:27) proposed four main groups of the Tibeto-Burman family (see Figure 3). According to him Naga languages are grouped into two main groups: northern Naga languages and southern Naga languages. In this grouping the Ao-Tangkhul languages (Marrison’s type B Naga languages) are found in the Southern Naga group under the Kuki/Chin/Naga branch.
Figure 3: Classification of Tibeto-Burman languages adapted from Bradley (1997)

One of the more recent classification schemes within the Naga languages is the work of J. D. Saul (2005:19-30). He divides them into six sub-groups:

Tangkhul, Zeme, Angami, Ao-Yimchungru, Konyak, and Khiamniungan as mapped in Figure 4. Makuri is placed as a sub-section of Yimchungru under Ao-Yimchungru group.
The dialect groups included under Makuri are Phuvle (Chomi), Makheotle (Makhale), Sengphuvle (Samphuri), Muvle (Longphuri), and Jeile (Salomi) (see Saul 2005:25). The relationship of the Makuri language analyzed in this thesis to other Makuri dialects is shown in Figure 4.

I am a native speaker of Phuvle dialect.
In this thesis the Makuri language is composed of the two dialects from the first group to the left in Figure 5. They are intelligible with each other and currently use the same literature. The dialects from the second branch to the right in Figure 5 are not intelligible with the ones from the first group. However, all of these dialect groups have lived together in the same villages for decades; thus most of the villagers of these dialects are now able to communicate using this interrelational language, which is Makuri. It is reported that Muvle (Longphuri) speakers can speak and can communicate Makuri well (Nahhas, private communication).

1.3 Phonology and orthography

The phonology along with orthography presented in this section is organized by treating progressively larger units of the sound system: the consonant and vowel phonemes, syllable structure and finally the tones. Since the data analyzed in this thesis is presented using the orthography of the language, this orthography is discussed along with the phonology.

1.3.1 Consonants

The Makuri language has 25 consonants. They are shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsʰ</td>
<td>ʒf</td>
<td>ʒf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɬ</td>
<td>ɭ</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Makuri consonants phonemes
All the consonants can be used in the syllable initial position. The glottal stop [ʔ] occurs word medially in words with two or more syllables, but it is always syllable final. Since it occurs only in the coda, it can be analyzed as the allophone of /t/, which never occurs in the coda. The phonological rule for this can be stated as /t/ becomes [ʔ] in the coda.

The occurrences of the consonants /w, f, tsʰ/ are rare in the language. The affricates are not considered to be consonant clusters because no other non-suspicious consonant cluster can be seen in the initial position. The orthographic representations of the consonants are shown in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless affricate</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>tsh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Orthographic representation of Makuri consonants**

### 1.3.2 Vowels

The inventory of ten vowel phonemes includes nine simple vowels and one diphthong vowel /ai/. This vowel /ai/ is always followed by the velar nasal /ŋ/. The simple vowels can occur in syllable final position. Since there is only one diphthong, it is suspected that /ai/ might be a phonetic realization of one of the front vowels when it is followed by velar nasal /ŋ/, because none of the front vowels precedes /ŋ/. In the orthography this sound is written using the symbol ‘e’, which is used for the open mid front unrounded vowel /æ/. 
The open mid front unrounded vowel /e/ is phonetically realized as close mid front unrounded vowel [e] when it stands by itself or when it follows after the consonants /h/ or /n/. The sound /e/ is chosen as the underlying form for these two allophones [ɛ, e] because [ɛ] is the most common sound. Also /ɔ/ is phonetically realized as [o] when it follows /h/ or /n/. But the difference between /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ is that /ɔ/ is realized as [ɔ] when it is by itself.

Another vowel that has two allophones is the close front rounded vowel /y/. It is phonetically realized as [ø] when it is followed by the glottal stop [ʔ] in the coda. The mid central unrounded vowel /ə/ is the only vowel that does not occur before any of the final consonants. Other vowels occur with a limited number of final consonants. The vowels are shown in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near-close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ε</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Makuri vowel phonemes

The Makuri writing system uses two symbols for each allophone of /y/. For instance, /y/ is written as *iu* when it occurs without [ʔ] as *kiu* /ky/ ‘to feed’, and is written as *eo* when it occurs with [ʔ] as in *keot* /kyʔ/ ‘clan’. One reason for these allophones to use two symbols is that there is one common word *amiut* [amyʔ] ‘3S’ in another dialect of this language which is contrastive with the regular occurrence of *ameot* [amøʔ] ‘moisture’. In order to preserve this distinction in these two dialects using a single writing system, the present Makuri orthography retains two symbols for this phoneme. The vowels in the current orthography are given in Table 4.
1.3.3 Syllable patterns

All syllables have a vowel nucleus except a syllabic bilabial nasal /m/ ‘I’.

Vowels that stand as a syllable are: /u/ ‘that’, /ɔ/ ‘ABS’, /a/ ‘and, then, 3S’.

There are five final consonants: /v, k, /uni0294, h, ŋ/. Glottal stop [ʔ] is the only final that occurs with the front vowels. The consonants /k, ŋ/ occur with the back vowels /u, o, a/. The consonants /h, v/ can occur only following the close back vowel /u/. Only the glottal stop [ʔ] occurs after one final consonant /v/. This combination in the coda seems to be a consonant cluster in this language. In this case the possible syllable structure of this language is (C1) V (C2) (C3), where:

C1: {all C} except [ʔ],

C2: {v, k, ʔ, h, ŋ}, and

C3: {ʔ} only if C2 is /v/.

1.3.4 Tones

This language seems to have three phonemic tones in both open and closed syllables. They are low, falling, and high. Some examples of the open and closed syllables with tone markings are given in Table 5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone mark</th>
<th>Open syllable</th>
<th>Closed syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Low</td>
<td>[kʰäː]</td>
<td>(to) keep [pʰŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(threshing place)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Falling</td>
<td>[kʰâː]</td>
<td>crate [pʰŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) High</td>
<td>[kʰáː]</td>
<td>(to) tend [pʰŋ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(to) bloom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Phonemic tones

Syllables closed with [?] never occur with high tone. They can appear with either low or falling tone, e.g. /kʰäʔ/ ‘one’ and /kʰâʔ/ ‘to rake with hands/ with implements’. Since the orthography of the language does not mark tones, the present data will not mark them either. Tone marking distinctions are not necessary for this current discourse analysis.

1.4 Grammar

The grammar sketch in this section expands the work of Son (2006). The data used by Son was a Makuri Naga primer, which was circulated two years earlier. As I am a native speaker of Makuri Naga I was able to add to and clarify Son’s grammar sketch in several areas. This current summary attempts to provide an adequate grammatical foundation for the Makuri Naga language to chart texts and prepare them for analysis at the discourse level.

The specific areas of interest described in the following sections are noun phrases, postpositional phrases, verb phrases, sentence initial phrases, and clause types.

1.4.1 Noun phrases

Constituent order, noun phrase heads, possessors and modifiers, demonstratives, classifiers and quantifiers, and complex noun phrases are discussed in this section on the noun phrase.
1.4.1.1 Constituent order

The complete schematic for the noun phrase (NP) constituent order consists of head noun (N_H), possessor (POSS), modifier (MOD), demonstrative (DEM), classifier (CLF), and quantifier (QNT). The head noun and its relationship to the other components are given below in Figure 6. The order of CLF and MOD in the NP is not fixed, as with the DEM and QNT. The components in parenthesis are optional. The components indicated may also be phrases.

NP_1 = (MOD_{RC, PP}) + (POSS_{npl}) + N_H + (CLF) + (MOD_{Adj, Appo}) + (DEM) + (QNT)
NP_2 = (MOD_{RC, PP}) + (POSS_{npl}) + N_H + (MOD_{Adj, Appo}) + (CLF) + (QNT) + (DEM)

Figure 6: Noun phrase constituent

Example (1) presents an NP_1, where a relative clause and possessive pronoun alë ‘their’ precede the head noun shüngkü ‘ginger’, which is followed by classifier mëkhüt ‘root’, a modifier atei ‘big’, demonstrative ulë ‘those’, and the number këse ‘three’. In this sentence atei ‘big’ modifies the classifier, which again, like an appositive noun modifies the head noun. However, the position of the demonstrative follows the number when a classifier occurs before the number in a noun phrase as NP_2 in example (2). The classifier for the fruit peng takes the place of the demonstrative of NP_1 and occurs after the number in NP_2.

(1) Elicited example.078

yong ta kha lei alë shüngkü mëkhüt atei ulë këse o
barn in keep STAT 3PL ginger root big those three ABS

those three big ginger roots of theirs kept in the barn

(2) Elicited example.079

yong chak kha lei alë mërongvüh-sei atei peng këse ulë o
barn on keep STAT 3PL pineapple-fruit big body three those ABS

those three big pineapples of theirs kept in the barn
1.4.1.2 Head Noun

The head of a noun phrase can be a common noun, a proper noun, a pronoun, or a demonstrative. In example (3) a common noun *mënyüv* ‘wild pig’ is the head of a noun phrase *mënyüv pei* ‘a herd of wild pigs’, the subject of the sentence.

(3) Wild Pig.008

\[ \textit{mënyüv pei} \quad o \quad \textit{Chiuthong lîv ta kë} \quad a-cheot \quad \textit{net} \]

\[ \textit{wild.pig crowd} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \textit{Chiuthong field in at \quad \text{\ldots come-out} \quad \text{PAST.RL}} \]

...A herd of wild pigs ...came out in Chiuthong’s field.

A proper noun can also head a noun phrase in the subject slot as in example (4), where the name *Yongcuv* is seen as the head of the noun phrase.

(4) Wild Pig.043

\[ \textit{Yongcuv} \quad a-tüv \quad shüv \quad pë \]

\[ \textit{Yongcuv} \quad \text{come-up} \quad \text{for} \quad \text{TOP} \quad \text{\ldots} \]

... for Yongcuv came up...

Pronouns can also head a noun phrase. They can function as a subject or an object of a clause as in example (5), where *alë* ‘they’ is functioning as a subject of that clause.

(5) Thief on Bus.036

\[ \textit{alë} \quad o \quad \textit{khatti në} \quad \textit{arë} \quad \textit{jëot} \quad \textit{tiïh-vu} \quad \textit{net} \]

\[ \text{\ldots} \quad \text{3P} \quad \text{ABS} \quad \text{once} \quad \text{PRT} \quad \text{come} \quad \text{jump} \quad \text{down-go} \quad \text{PAST.RL} \]

... at once they jumped down.

The Makuri personal pronouns are shown in Table 6. Makuri generally distinguishes between singular, dual and plural. In first person dual and plural Makuri further distinguishes between exclusive and inclusive.
Table 6: Makuri pronouns

Makuri also has a generic pronoun züv ‘one’ which can fill the place of any other personal pronouns and is understood in context. In example (6) the generic pronoun is used twice, and its later context explains that this pronoun is first person singular pronoun. Thus this generic pronoun can also fill the head slot of a noun phrase.

(6) Thief on bus.044

... because I (asked) [called] (him) and (he) met trouble [like this because of me], I was so confused [not knowing what to do] and felt guilty (about it).

Example (7) shows a demonstrative u ‘that’, filling the subject slot of the head noun.

(7) Wild Pig.006

Also it was bleeding [its blood] and (we) tracked (it) down, but (we) lost (it) without getting (it).

1.4.1.3 Possessors

A possessor is a noun phrase that can be headed by a noun, a pronoun or a proper noun. In Makuri the possessors and the possessed are unmarked, the
possessor precedes the possessed. Example (8) presents the proper noun Yonglei as the possessor of the noun phrase.

(8) Elicited example.048

Yonglei khënu
Yonglei wife

Yonglei’s wife

In example (9) the pronouns m ‘1S’ in the noun phrase m kësüh ‘my gun’, and the affix a- ‘3S’ in aküv ‘its head’ function as possessors. The third person possessive pronoun a- is a reduced form of amitpi or amiut. It directly precedes the possessed noun as in aküv ‘its head’. Even though the use of this reduced third person pronoun is common in this language, its full form amitpi or amiut can also be used as in example (10).

(9) Barking Deer.021

M kësüh cë-vu shüv pë shokmëchei o zëng te phëlong-vu yet a sa
1S gun burst-out after TOP barking.deer ABS see when fall-down sleep then

në a- küv në lei khëmë - tei zë yet lei net
3S- head ERG ground hit - REP MAN sleep STAT PAST.RL

After my gun fired, when I looked at the barking deer, (it) lay fallen and its head was hitting the ground.

(10) Elicited example.075

u o amiut lephu net
that ABS 3S book EOC

That is his book.

Some common nouns such as khëlüv ‘field’ or khëye ‘house’ drop the first syllable and are reduced to the last syllable, lüv and ye respectively, when they are the head of the possessed noun phrase as in example (11).
1.4.1.4 Modifiers

The modifier of a noun phrase can be an adjective, an appositive noun phrase, a relative clause or a post-positional phrase. Relative clauses and post-positional phrases precede the head noun, but in the case of adjectives and appositive noun phrases the modifier follows the head noun. Example (12) presents an adjective *amëceng* ‘white’ modifying a noun *pengkhüv* ‘shirt’.

(12) Elicited example.072

```
  pengkhüv amëceng këse
  shirt white one
```

... a white shirt

The head of a noun phrase can have modifying appositive noun phrases as in (13) and (14). In example (13) the head noun *Yongleng* is modified by another preceding noun *miu* ‘older-brother’. Also example (14) has two appositive nouns. There were at least five people involved in killing the gaur. The expression *alotsatlë* ‘the ones who killed’ may refer to all of them, but *aphei ngulë* ‘the ones who got the thighs’ separates from among them as the only people who shot the animal first. So the preceding noun *aphei ngulë* ‘the ones who got the thighs’ modifies the head noun *aloksatlë* ‘the ones who killed’. This example also shows a post-positional phrase *asa chë ta kë* ‘in our group’ modifying the head noun by preceding it.
(13) Elicited example.076

miu Yongleng
older.brother Yongleng
brother Yongleng

(14) Gaur.052

asa chë ta kë a-phei ngu - lë a - loksat - lë
... 1pl.incl group in at 3S- thigh get - persons DEF - kill - persons ...
... in our group those who killed (it) and have the thighs ...

A relative clause that modifies the head noun is seen in example (15). In this example the noun vokkhërak ‘pheasant’ is the head noun, which is modified by a relative clause amitpi nè katsat ‘(the one) he killed’. In this case the head noun is preceded by the relative clause.

(15) Barking Deer.033

amitpi nè kat-sat vokkhërak
3S ERG shoot-kill pheasant

the pheasant that he killed

1.4.1.5 Demonstratives

Demonstratives in Makuri have three sets: singular, dual, and plural as in Table 7. The basic ones are hüh ‘this’ and u ‘that’. The others are created when the dual marker -nit is suffixed for dual demonstratives, or the plural marker -lë for the plural demonstratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>hüh</td>
<td>hüh nit</td>
<td>hühlë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximate</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u nit</td>
<td>ulë</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Makuri demonstratives

Demonstratives follow the head noun. In example (16) u ‘that’ modifies mulïi-sei tiu ‘gooseberry-fruit tree’.
(16) Barking Deer.008

mulüsei tiu u o shok nē tsok shē tūng
... gooseberry-fruit tree that ABS animal ERG eat IMPF or ...

.... whether some animals are eating that gooseberry or...

Example (17) presents a plural demonstrative hühlë ‘these’. As it is seen in this example demonstratives precede numerals when they co-occur.

(17) Elicited example.050

lephu song hühlë kēse
book red these three

these three red books

1.4.1.6 Classifiers, quantifiers and number

Classifiers serve to identify nouns and to count those nouns which precede them. Quantifiers also indicate the quantity of the head noun. The constituent order of this part of the noun phrase is N_i-(CLF)-(NUM)-(QNT). Example (18) shows the order of the head noun with a classifier and a numeral. It presents the head noun nyalë ‘children’, and a classifier mit for human with the numeral khēnet ‘two’.

(18) Elicited example.012

anit rong nya - lē mit khēnet lei le
DU to child - PL person two STAT PRES.RL

They have two children.

Example (19) shows the head noun tsā ‘rice’ is followed by a measure classifier vē ‘bag’, which is followed by a numeral sei khat ‘one hundred’.

(19) Elicited example.032

nyüngke alē tsā vē sei khat ngu net
last.year 3P rice bag hundred one get PAST.RL

They got one hundred bags of rice last year.
The quantifier in Makuri comes after the head noun, the classifier, and the number as in example (20).

(20) Elicited example.073

\[ \text{amitpi } nē \quad \text{tsa } vē \quad \text{sei } \quad \text{khat } \quad \text{akhepi } \quad \text{khēlei } \quad \text{net} \]
3S \quad ERG \quad \text{rice } \quad \text{bag } \quad \text{hundred } \quad \text{one } \quad \text{all } \quad \text{buy } \quad \text{PAST.RL} \\

He bought all of the one hundred bags of rice.

1.4.1.7 Complex noun phrases

Complex noun phrases are composed of two or more noun phrases. These noun phrases are connected by a discontiguous conjunction \text{khēlē}...\text{zē} as in example (21). The first noun phrase \text{tsatsü} ‘uncooked_rice’ is connected first with \text{khēma} ‘salt’ and then with \text{vitikhēlūv} ‘vegetable’ by the coordinative conjunction. More than three noun phrases can be joined in this way with the conjunction \text{khēlē}...\text{zē} placed on either side of the last component NP connecting exactly two NP components.

(21) Elicited example.074

\[ \text{amitpi } nē \quad \text{tsatsü} \quad \text{khēma} \quad \text{khēlē} \quad \text{vitikhēlūv} \quad \text{zē} \quad \text{khēlei } \quad \text{net} \]
3S \quad ERG \quad \text{uncooked_rice} \quad \text{salt} \quad \text{and } \quad \text{vegetable} \quad \text{and } \quad \text{buy } \quad \text{PAST.RL} \\

He bought rice, salt and vegetables.

A dual marker \text{nit} can also function as a coordinative conjunction. In example (22) two noun phrases, \text{Semeng rīv} ‘Semeng River’ and \text{Thēngokpū rīv} ‘Thengokpu River’ can be joined with this dual marker following them.

Sometimes this dual marker \text{nit} is used twice, occurring one time between the nouns and a second time after the two nouns.

(22) Gaur.006

\[ \text{Semeng rīv} \quad \text{Thēngokpū rīv} \quad \text{nit} \quad \text{cheng } \quad \text{kheng} \]
\[ \quad \text{... Semeng river Thengokpu river DU meet place } \quad \text{...} \]

... at the joining of Semeng River and Thengokpu River ...
1.4.2 Postpositional phrases

Makuri is a postpositional language. A postpositional phrase consists of a postposition as a head of the phrase and of a noun phrase. This section presents locative, benefactive and instrument postpositional phrases.

1.4.2.1 Locative phrases

Locative phrases indicate where the action of the verb takes place in time, space and direction. This includes both goal and source phrases. The position of a Makuri locative phrase in a clause is S-Locative-O-V. Locative postpositions are *kë* ‘at’, *në* ‘with’, *ta* ‘in/ inside/to’, *rong* ‘near/ with/to’, *cong* ‘from’, *chak* ‘on’, *khë* ‘under’, and *mong* ‘beside’. Often these markers co-occur with another locative marker in a phrase; especially *kë* ‘at’ and *në* ‘with’ optionally follow other postpositions.

Example (23) shows the three postpositions *chak* ‘on’, *cong* ‘from’, and *në* ‘with’ co-occurring with each other in a phrase. The first postposition *chak* ‘on’ indicates where the event took place, and the second *cong* ‘from’ indicates the direction of the event, and the last one *në* ‘with’ is a kind of case marking on the postpositional phrase. Either one of the first two (*chak* and *cong*) postpositions can be followed by *kë* ‘at’. In this example the first one, *chak* ‘on’, is required and others are optional, and other possible co-occurrences in this context are *chak cong*, *chak në*, *chak kë në*, *chak kë cong*, *chak kë cong në*, and *chak cong kë në*. All of these optional co-occurrences of locative markers have almost no change in meaning.
Then just from the stump (I) pulled up the gun...

1.4.2.2 Benefactive and recipient phrases

The beneficiary of an action is marked with *yeng* and *teng*/*tengla*. They follow the recipient of the action. In example (24) the recipient of the action *pit* ‘give’ is *yalë sühlë* ‘workers’ which is followed by the recipient case marking *yeng*. The position of a benefactive phrase in a clause is S-benefactive/ recipient-O-V.

(24) Elicited example.052

\[
\text{amitpi në yalë süh - lë yeng leke pit net} \\
3S \ ERG \ thing \ do - persons \ RECIP \ money \ give \ PAST.RL
\]

She gave money to the workers.

In example (25) the beneficiary of the action, *chong* ‘cook’, is *khëyilë* ‘guest’, which is marked with *teng*. Sometimes the benefactive action verb is followed by a post-benefactive verbal element, *pit* ‘give’, as in (25) or *lüv* ‘take’, for non-benefactive action2.

(25) Elicited example.023

\[
\text{amitpi në khëyilë teng thëvi shok vi chong pit net} \\
3S \ ERG \ guest \ for \ chicken \ meat \ dish \ cook \ give \ PAST.RL
\]

He cooked a chicken dish for the guest.

1.4.2.3 Instrument phrases

Instruments in Makuri are followed by the postpositions *në* or *la/ la në* ‘by, with, by means of’. In example (26) the action *chisat* ‘throw-kill’ is carried out by the instrument *kësök* ‘spear’, which is marked with *në* ‘by’ following it. The position of an instrument phrase in a clause is either following the object as in example

---

2 If the cooking is done for a guest who is not present at the cooking event, then *lüv* is used.
(26) or preceding it. The instruments that are containers such as měleot ‘plate’, chūv ‘basket’, and phēlongpu ‘car’ are followed by the markers la or la nē.

(26) Elicited example.026

\[ \text{amitpi nē kēzheot o kēsok nē chi.sat net} \]
\[ 3S \text{ ERG deer ABS spear INST throw.kill PAST.RL} \]

He killed a deer with a spear.

1.4.3 Verb phrases

The Makuri verb phrase is discussed in terms of the order of the components in relation to one another in this section. The constituent order of verbs, head verb, preverbal elements and post-verbal elements are presented in the following.

1.4.3.1 Constituent order

The verb phrase is composed of an obligatory head verb, and optional preverbal and post-verbal elements. The terms ‘preverbal’ and ‘postverbal elements’ are general terms used in this discussion. The preverbal elements are the elements that come before the head verb, and the post-verbal elements are the elements that follow the head verb.

1.4.3.2 Head verb

The head verbs are the main verbs which carry the most semantic content of the verb phrase. They can stand independently in clauses. In example (27) ngu ‘see’ is the head verb, which carries the most semantic content of the verb phrase. But vu ‘go’ in example (28) is not a head verb. It is a directional verb for the head verb jong ‘run’, serving as a post-verbal modifier.
(27) Gaur.042

\liureng\ khat \ngu\ net

\ldots\ cliff\ one\ see\ PAST.RL

\ldots\ (we) saw a cliff.

(28) Wild Pig.038

\unë\ patei\ pu\ joang\ vu\ te

\thus\ close.off\ IRR\ run\ go\ when\ \ldots

So when (I) ran to close off the way, ...

The preverbal elements and post-verbal elements are further discussed in the following section. Makuri also has compound verbs that are composed of action and result, and they together function as a head verb; \kat-sat\ ‘shoot-kill’ is such a verb seen in example (29). There are also serial verbs that collocate; they both function equally as head verbs in a clause. In the second clause of example (29), both \chong\ ‘cook’ and \tsok\ ‘eat’ are acting as head verbs.

(29) Gaur.004

\akhënet-nipu\ ket\ M\ në\ shokvï\ khat\ shë\ \kat-sat\ a\ va\ u\ \chong

second-day\ even\ 1S\ ERG\ monkey\ one\ only\ shoot-kill\ and\ 1pl.excl\ that\ cook

\tsok\ net

eat\ PAST.RL

Even on the second day I killed only a monkey, and we cooked and ate it.

1.4.3.3 Preverbal elements

The preverbal elements found in Makuri includes adverbs such as negatives, intensifiers, \rapa\ ‘together’, and \sei\ ‘able-skill’, a verb denoting skill. Example (30) presents a type of negative particle \më\ ‘not’ which precedes the head verb \ngu\ ‘get’. When the head verb is negated, it optionally has TAM (Tense, Aspect, and Modal) markers following it (see the discussion also in post-verbal elements in section 1.4.3.4).
(30) Wild Pig.004

tanêket më ngu
but NEG get

But (I) did not get (it).

In example (31) a preverbal element sei ‘able-skill’, which is a light verb, is preceded by the intensifier thëri a ‘very’, and they can co-occur before the head verb khi ‘read’. The term ‘light verb’ refers to a dependent verb, which can follow or precede the main verb depending on the type of light verb.

(31) Elicited example.039

amitpi nè le thëri a sei khi le
3S ERG book very able.skill read PRES.RL

He is able to read [book] very well.

Adverbs of manner are another type of adverb in the preverbal position that can modify the head verb. In example (32) the head verb yi ‘follow’ is preceded by the manner verb jüv ‘track’ which is marked with the manner particle zë.

(32) Gaur.011

amitpi ket jüv zë yi rë pu kho
3S also track MAN follow PRES.IRR PROB ...

... he also would follow (us) while tracking, ...

1.4.3.4 Post-verbal elements

Some of the Makuri post-verbal elements are shown in the Table 8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexeme</th>
<th>gloss/ function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rē ‘come’, vu ‘go’</td>
<td>directives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zhëv</td>
<td>able-capability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceot, che/khe</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat</td>
<td>promptness of action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pit ‘give’</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lûv ‘take’</td>
<td>non-benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tû</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tî ti nè</td>
<td>negative particle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Post verbal elements
Example (33) displays a directive verb rë ‘come’ which expresses the direction of the action of the head verb jüv ‘track’ towards the speaker.

(33) Gaur.009

\[ \text{... 2S TOP last.night 1DU.incl ERG see place from track come okay ...} \]

\[ \text{... "You track [towards the speaker] from the place we (dual) saw last night, right?" ...} \]

Completive elements can function as independent verbs, but when they follow the head verb they indicate that the action is completive. In example (34) khe ‘finish’ expresses the action of the preceding head verb as completed. The non-benefactive verb lüv ‘take’ also expresses that the action of the head verb she ‘divide’ does not benefit others but them.

(34) Barking Deer.043

\[ \text{... 1S friend 1DU.excl meat divide finish NO.BEN after ...} \]

After my friend and I (dual) divided the meat [for ourselves], ...

TAM particles are also post-verbal elements. The negative particle ti occurs following the negated verb in order to show TAM marking on the negated verb.

For instance, if the earlier example (30) is followed by ti süh net ‘NEG be PAST’, the aspect of the sentence is made explicit and could be glossed as ‘did not verb’.

But when the negative clause is followed by another clause, ti/ ti né acts as conjunction to the following clause (see in example (51)).

The particles that mark tense in Makuri are le ‘present-realis’, net ‘past-realis’, pu/ punet ‘future-irrealis’. Example (35) shows that the action of the head verb patei ‘close off the way’ is to happen in the future because it is followed by the future tense marker punet. Usually these particles are clause-final.
(35) Wild Pig.037

\[
\text{zë-süh-khëlë M nē } \text{ patei } \text{ punet} \\
\text{that-do-if IS ERG close.off IRR} \ldots
\]

... "If so, I will close off the way, ...

In example (36) both the completive particle ceot and the past tense net express that the head verb zhūng ‘be-dark’ has already happened.

(36) Gaur.050

\[
\text{sang - sük kheng ci tū pē zhūng ceot net} \\
\text{... wood - saw place reach when TOP be.dark COMPL PAST.RL}
\]

When ... (we) arrived at the saw pit, (it) was already dark.

There are also post-verbal elements that denote aspect in Makuri. They are khūvt ‘semi-perfective’ and shē/ shële ‘imperfective’ as in example (37).

(37) Gaur.029

\[
\text{tanëket ukē zu yet khūvt hühkē hühtsühkhat pache shèle} \\
\text{... but there go.in sleep PFT ...here little rest IMPF} \ldots
\]

... "But (it) went in and slept there. ... (we) are resting for awhile here...”

It is noted that when the stative verb lei follows the head verb, it expresses the perfective aspect of the action as in example (38) and (39).

(38) Wild Pig.018

\[
\text{e hüh pē shit shit süv vu lei le} \\
\text{eh this TOP now now rise.up go STAT PRES.RL} \ldots
\]

(I) thought, "Eh, it got away just now."

(39) Wild Pig.019

\[
\text{te pushit lūv-sei tiu khē kē li-vu khatti yet tū lei net} \\
\text{then even vine-fruit tree under at near-go once sleep again STAT PAST.RL}
\]

Then (it) went under the vine-fruit tree and slept (there) once again.

Modal particles also can fill the post-verbal position as in example (40) where the particle rē pu ‘present irrealis’ is marking the head verb vu ‘go’. In such
constructions the possible final particles are *kho* and *titnet*. There is another particle to denote past irrealis, *lei pu*. If *rë pu* in example (40) is replaced with it, it could be translated as ‘she might have gone to school’. Another modal particle is *a-shë-net* ‘must’ as seen in example (41).

\[(40)\] Elicited example.037

\[
\text{amitpi } o \quad \text{le} \quad \text{vu } \text{rë pu } \quad \text{kho}
\]

3S ABS school go PRES_IRR PROB

She may go to school.

\[(41)\] Gaur.051

\[
\text{tëliu } \quad \text{ci} \quad \text{nong} \quad \text{vu} \quad \text{a-shë-net} \quad \text{zë} \quad \text{ceitei net}
\]

... village till return go must that discuss PAST.RL

... (we) discussed that (we) must return to the village...

1.4.4 Sentence initial phrases

Sentence initial non-argument elements can be temporal phrases, locative phrases and conjunctions. In Makuri syntax these elements are peripheral in a sentence. They often express a relationship with the previous sentence in time or logic. Some of the phrases found in the data are shown in Table 9. The topic marker *pë* is given in parentheses after the phrases in which it can optionally occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lexeme</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tel te nël te nël</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanël tanèket</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u tenglaal u tenglanèl u nël</td>
<td>so, therefore, thus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u yil u yi nël (pë)</td>
<td>following that, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u shëv (pë)</td>
<td>after that, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u che (pë)</td>
<td>finishing that, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zësal zësanë (pë)</td>
<td>after doing that/ and, then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khëlë (pë)</td>
<td>and, also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zë sùh khëlë (pë)</td>
<td>if so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u tül u tü kê (pë)</td>
<td>that time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u tètül u tètû kê (pë)</td>
<td>at that moment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9: Sentence initial elements**
Example (42) illustrates two temporal conjunctions co-occurring, te ‘then’, and uyinë ‘after that’.

(42) Barking Deer.023

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{te} & \quad \text{uyinë} & \quad \text{pë} & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{süv} & \quad \text{tü} & \quad \text{ti} & \quad \text{süh} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{after.that} & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{rise.up} & \quad \text{again} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{do} & \quad \text{PAST.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

But (it) did not get up again after that.

Example (43) is a complicated temporal phrase, këjuliu më lëi ti në ‘(it) was not long after that’, in other words ‘soon’.

(43) Barking Deer.026

\[
\begin{align*}
këjuliu & \quad \text{ma} & \quad \text{lei} & \quad \text{ti} & \quad \text{në} & \quad M & \quad \text{yepu} & \quad \text{në} & \quad \text{ket} & \quad \text{kësüh} & \quad \text{kat} & \quad \text{rë} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{long} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{STAT} & \quad \text{NEG} & \quad \text{1S} & \quad \text{friend} & \quad \text{ERG} & \quad \text{also} & \quad \text{gun} & \quad \text{shoot} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{PAST.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

Soon my friend also shot the gun.

1.4.5 Clause types

The clause types presented in this section are intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses. The constituent order of a clause, as well as dependent and independent clause types are also discussed.

1.4.5.1 Intransitive and transitive clauses

Makuri Naga is a head-final language. Nominal arguments are followed by the case markings and post-positions. There is an ergative-absolutive system of case marking. The basic clause structure is SOV as in examples (44) and (45). It is possible to have an OSV structure in order to show prominence and to focus on the object as in (46).

(44) Elicited example.002

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ti} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{tak} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{pig} & \quad \text{ABS} & \quad \text{run} & \quad \text{PAST.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

The pig ran.
The cat bit the mouse.

It was the mouse that the cat bit.

The term ‘ergative-absolutive case marking system’ refers to the structure where there is parallel marking on the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb, which is different from that of the subject of the transitive verb (see, Crystal 2003:2, 164). Figure 7 demonstrates this characteristic of the Makuri language. It has parallel markings on the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb.

The ABS marker o is optional in most cases either for the intransitive subject (44) or the transitive object (45). This marking is obligatory in sentences that have OSV order as in (46). Sometimes the marking o can also function as a topic marker which is interchangeable with another topic marker pê. These topic markers optionally follow the ERG markings as in example (47). Moreover pê optionally follows temporal phrases and conjunctions as in example (48), see also Table 9 in section 1.4.4. The ERG marker nê is obligatory.
... my friend carried the deer that I killed, and I carried the pheasant that he killed and our guns, and (we) returned.

1.4.5.2 Di-transitive clauses

Di-transitive clauses have three arguments: a subject (S), a direct object (DO) and an indirect object (IO). The word order of a Makuri di-transitive clause is S-IO-DO-V. In the same way as the transitive object, the direct object is optionally marked by o in this word order, but indirect objects have an obligatory marking based on their semantic role. The subject of a di-transitive clause also uses the same marking nē as the transitive subject. In example (49) the verb pit ‘give’ requires i) a subject, the one who gives- M ‘I’, ii) a direct object, the thing being given- mēsak ‘a gift of meat’, and iii) an indirect object, the one who receives-thēliulë khepi ‘all the villagers’. The recipient is marked with yeng.

(49) Barking Deer.043

M yepu mjē shok she khe lūv shūv M tengshe ta yeng nē 1S friend 1DU.excl meat divide finish NO.BEN after 1S share in POSS INST

tēliulë khepi yeng mēsak hūhtsühzang pit net villager all RECIP gift.meat little.each give PAST.RL
After my friend and I divided the meat, (I) gave a gift of some meat to all the villagers from my share.

In example (50) the subject is asking for a gun to be given to him from the person named Suthong. This indirect object of whom the thing has been asked is marked with rong. In both examples (49) and (50), the subjects are implicit.

(50) Gaur.034

usatëü Suthong rong kêsüh chei rènë M në kät tū te
that time Suthong to gun ask.for then 1S ERG shoot again when ...

That time (I) asked for a gun from Suthong and when I shot (it) again, ...

1.4.5.3 Dependent and independent clauses

Makuri dependent clauses are always preposed, and the independent clauses follow them. Generally the conjunctions that join the dependent clauses include: khëlë ‘if’, anëket ‘though’, tengla/ tenglanë ‘because’, shëv ‘after’, and tū, te/ te në ‘when’.

There may also be independent clauses that are joined to following clauses. Conjunctions for the preposed independent clauses are: a/ a në ‘and, then’, sa/ sanë ‘so, then’, and rè/ rè në ‘then’.

In example (51) the conjunction rè në ‘then’ serves to mark a close relationship between the clauses, and they form independent clauses joined together in a larger unit. The main conjunction in this sentence is anëket ‘though’, which serves the whole preceding clause as a dependent clause to the following independent clause. There is a negative particle ti në, which acts as an independent conjunction between a negative clause and the following clause. All these clauses share the tense marker net ‘past realis’. All clauses share the final TAM marker in a sentence unless there is another closer TAM marker.
(51) Barking Deer.041

unë M yepu mjë o shok pë veng nong rë në khakha anëket këtat thus 1S friend IDU.excl TOP animal TOP carry return then keep though how
a mëshok pu më mëtsi tine mama asüh-tsüh-tëkhat në mjë cut.into.pieces IRR NEG know NEG just deed-good-possible PRT 1DU.excl
si riu -tei mëshok rë në mjë rüt a she lüv hold help -RECP cut.into.pieces then 1DU.excl even ADVR divide NO.BEN
net PAST.RL

That is why, though my friend and I brought back the animal and were keeping (it), (we) did not know how to cut (it), we just cut (it) with the best possible way helping each other, and then we divided it equally.

Example (52) presents an initial conjunction zësa ‘then’, a dependent clause conjunction te ‘when’, and an independent clause conjunction a ‘and’.

(52) Wild Pig.021

zësa u jüv jüv li-vu te khëvok cheng khënet u pü chë khat hüh then that track track near-go when bamboo clump two that side side one this
pü chë khat zë zhat a anit tëküt kë lüvkhëlüvt süh zë leilei side side one and stand and 3DU between at bush make that STAT
net PAST.RL

Then when (we) tracked a little further, there were two bamboo clumps one on this side and one on that side, and between them was a bush.

1.5 Data collection and transcription

One of the three Makuri texts used for the analysis was recorded on cassette tape at Tamanthi village in July 2007. This text is titled ‘Wild Pig Hunting’, narrated by Mr. Rüsühmiu (age 47). The other two were recorded in Yangon: one was narrated by Rütsühcüv (age 29) from Lashi town in July 2004, the other by Tsühmiuthong (age 27) from Khula village in August 2007. These texts were transcribed using the orthography described in section 1.3. Then they were
edited and translated by the author of this thesis. The names of the people involved in the stories are changed to keep them anonymous.

Some editing of the texts was done in order to yield more consistent analysis (Grimes 1975:33). In the process of editing, speech errors such as repeated words are deleted. Participant reference is supplied in places where the clarity is needed. Some complex sentences are broken down into shorter ones, when there is a change of theme. Sometimes the missing TAM markers at the end of a sentence are supplied to make it a full sentence. In connected speech these missing TAM markers are implied information for the listener.

In order to validate the data's representativeness, the edited stories were checked with seven other speakers in two ways. First there was a group discussion with a team of four speakers at Yangon, and second there was individual checking by three persons at Tamanthi village. To facilitate the checking, copies of all there stories were made, including both the original version as narrated and also of the edited versions.

For the checking with the team, both copies were distributed to the team members two days ahead of the discussion. These team members already had experience in reading and writing in the language. They were requested to make notes in the places necessary when they read through the original copy. Then they were to continue reading the edited copy and to compare it with their suggestions. Later we met and discussed each other's suggestions. The results of the meeting were recorded and changes made to the sentences in the data.

When they were asked about the edited copy, the reply from all of them was that the edited copy was easier to read and clearer to understand. For instance, the
narrator of the Wild Pig Hunting story dropped the final particle net at the end of most of the sentences. It was inserted in the edited copy. All of the checkers agreed that it is necessary in writing. There was also a part of the Wild Pig Hunting story that the narrator skipped and inserted later in the story and that was noticed by three out of four readers. In the edited copy they placed it in an appropriate place. That part was from sentences 046 to 050 which actually should occur before sentence 043 in chronological order. Some of the suggestions they made are mentioned below.

In the story of the Thief on Bus (in sentences 012, 015) it was suggested that the onomatopoeia mükmük which precedes the verb shu ‘hit’ should be changed to phokphok. In another case, the verb shu was replaced with këché, another word for ‘hit’ in the edited copy, but they changed it back to the former because three out four members of the team preferred it.

There was a double use of adverbs in sentence 010 of the same story, thak a ngu thënga ‘saw just exactly’; they suggested that one of them could be deleted. I retained original rendering, however, because this occurrence heightens the tension of the narrator.

In the Wild Pig Hunting story sentence 040, a manner marker zë had to be added between the two verbs züng ‘look’ and zhat ‘stand’, yielding züng zë zhat ‘standing while looking/ looking and standing’. This is due to there being no tone marking in the writing system. All three words bear the falling tone. Without zë the tone on the first verb changes to a high tone. Since this could not be made clear to the reader, the actual word is supplied here. On the other hand this is a
difference between speaking and writing styles. Even though it is written with the word, its articulation is reduced to a tone on the preceding word.

When checking with the individuals, first the original story was read, and then the edited copy was read again. I read the stories to them because two of them were not fluent readers. Their general opinion was that the edited copy was clearer. Then the individuals were asked about the suggestions from the previous group's discussion. None of them had any objections to what the other people had said.

In regard to participant reference, some questions were asked of both groups. In doing so, I read the edited copy of the story and stopped at certain points and asked them questions. It should be noted that I did not supply any extra participant reference information in the edited copy. In particular, in sentence 013 of the Wild Pig Hunting story I asked the question, ‘Is this one person or two who watched it (the boar run away) and then slept?’ Five out of seven persons were not able to answer right away. It took them a while to process my request. The larger context explains to them that the first verb has the same participant as the preceding events, but the second verb includes the other participant. This shows that a participant reference marker is needed at this point for added clarity.

In sentence 014 of the Wild Pig Hunting story the TAM marker lei was seen occurring with a stative verb yet ‘sleep’. This event could possibly mean both past continuous and perfect tense. So the question was ‘Was the boar still sleeping there when the hunters came?’ Four out of seven gave the right

\footnote{Also it might be because the edited copy was read only after the original one. By that time they were familiar with the story.}
answer. However when they were asked again for the second time, they admitted confusion with the statement. So in order to get a clear understanding, a motion verb *vu* ‘go’ is given along with the verb *yet* ‘sleep’. When all the checking was finished, the necessary changes were made in the texts using the suggestions.

Next the sentences were interlinearized using SIL’s Toolbox software. These interlinearized texts are included in Appendixes 4, 5 and 6. In the gloss line a full stop “.” is used between words when more than one English word is required to express the meaning of one Makuri word. In the free translation parentheses ( ) are used if the word is not in Makuri, and square parentheses [ ] are used to present the literal translation of the Makuri word or words.

**1.6 Organization of the thesis**

A synopsis of the texts used for this study is presented in chapter 2 along with the literature review on discourse analysis theory. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 contain the main analysis of this thesis. Chapter 3 deals with the boundaries analysis of the texts. Chapter 4 describes the mainline of the texts. Chapter 5 analyses the participant reference throughout the texts. The research findings are summarized in chapter 6.

**1.7 Summary**

This chapter has presented a brief introduction to the Makuri language and its people. It has also given a phonological sketch of the language. Finally it has provided a brief discussion of the grammatical features of the Makuri language at the phrase and clause levels. Introducing the different kinds of structures at
phrase and clause level prepares the analyst to chart the texts to make them ready for later analysis.
Chapter 2

Typology and Overview of the texts

This chapter presents a brief literature review of discourse analysis in relation to narrative discourse, and a synopsis of the texts used in this thesis.

2.1 Literature review

Traditionally the focus of linguistic analysis has been on the sentence level and below. A trend to study beyond this level has developed in the past few decades. Many linguists began to seek fuller answers to various syntactic problems.

Robert E. Longacre, one of the pioneers in this field, states that “language is language only in context” (Longacre 1996:1). For instance, the anaphoric references to certain participants in some cases cannot be explained within the sentences themselves. Thus discourse analysis looks at the text as a whole and investigates the patterns and cohesive elements which unite the text as a single unit.

Longacre (1968, 1972, 1989, 1990, 1996) has studied written and spoken texts of various genres. This includes monologues and dialogues in various languages ancient and modern, standardized and minority. His major contributions to the field of discourse analysis include the studies of genre and typology, storyline materials and related salience schemes, and participant reference systems especially in narrative discourse.
There are various text types in a language, and each text type has unique textual properties used for a particular purpose. In this study I will use Longacre’s broad categories to distinguish notional text types or etic discourse types.

According to Longacre (1996:8-9), all monologue discourses in any language can be classified by means of two characteristics: contingent temporal succession and agent orientation. Contingent succession “refers to a framework of temporal succession in which some (often most) of the events or doings are contingent on previous events or doings” (Longacre 1996:8). The following four etic discourse types are broadly classified by means of these two parameters as in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agent Orientation</th>
<th>Contingent Succession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ Narrative</td>
<td>- Behavioral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Procedural</td>
<td>+ Expository</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10: Etic discourse types (adapted from Longacre 1996:10)

Narrative discourse is *plus* in respect to both contingent succession and agent orientation. Procedural discourse is *plus* contingent succession and *minus* agent orientation. Behavioral is *minus* for contingent temporal succession and *plus* for agent orientation. Expository is *minus* in respect to both characteristics.

The other two parameters that Longacre (1996:9-10) proposed are: projection and tension. *Plus* projection “has to do with a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized” (Longacre 1996:9). Tension “has to do with whether a discourse reflects a struggle of some sort” (Longacre 1996:10). These parameters further subdivide the discourse types. Prophecy is *minus* projection, and narrative and stories have *plus* projection.
Narrative can be plus or minus tension. An episodic narrative has minus tension and climatic narrative has plus tension. Narrative discourse includes prophecy and story. Narrative discourses can teach, entertain, and inform the receptor. The second part of this chapter will present a synopsis of the texts used in this thesis to serve as an introduction for the analysis and will classify the texts using the genre types proposed by Longacre.

2.2 Synopsis of the texts

There are three texts analyzed for this thesis. They are referred to as ‘Wild Pig Hunting’, ‘Barking Deer Hunting’, and ‘Thief on Bus’. A synopsis of each of these texts is presented below. This synopsis is mostly the free translation of the texts, edited for easy and smooth reading. It does not attempt to present a formal macrostructure of those texts.

2.2.1 Wild Pig Hunting

This text is a wild pig hunting story. The narrator told this story to share the lesson he and his friend learned from this wild pig hunting experience. This story was told when I asked him to tell a hunting story of his that he could not forget.

I and my friend Yongcuv went wild pig hunting during the time when the rice fields were ripe. Because it was the time wild pigs usually come out in the rice fields. I met the boar two times the first night, but I did not get it. But I was determined to get one somehow, only then to return home, and I stayed again the next night.

The next night there were many wild pigs that came out in the field. I told my friend to stay back and I went near. There many small wild pigs came even in between my legs, but I did not find a big one. I climbed up
the stump and looked around. Then I found that a boar was standing near a banana tree. There I shot it. Then it ran away, knocking down the banana tree and bamboo. After that we slept for the night.

Early next morning we went tracking it. We found that it slept at eight places, and the last one was still very warm. After we tracked a little further, we came to a bush between two bamboo clumps and found signs that the boar had entered into it. So we climbed up on the fallen bamboo stalks and shook them again and again to make it come out. When it did not come out, I thought that it might go away by the other side of the bamboo clump; so I went around to that side. When I got there, I shouted back to my friend to make sure that was the right place. Immediately the boar jumped out of the bush and came toward me. I had a dangerous escape from it. My friend thought I was already dead. After that, I thought of giving it up, but my friend insisted. So we continued to track it. When my friend went to track it, I went to close off the way. But before I got to the place the boar met me. Then I tried to shoot it, but it ran away. When it met me for the second time, I shot it at its forehead, and it fell down right there. Then my friend also came up and shot it again on the neck and it died.

After it was killed we found that all the bullets I shot last night, hit deadly spots. If it was a normal one or other animals like deer or barking deer, it would have died after two steps. Also we found that it had had a severe fight with a tiger one or two years ago and its wounds at the back healed very deep. So it became very wild and stubborn. It did not shed its blood because it was very fat, and the fat stopped the blood from coming out. So it is good for hunters to be aware of this kind of animal.

In the Wild Pig Hunting story there are clear temporal markers such as atiti vu ra ‘the first night’, asëri ‘the next night’, asëcë ‘early next morning’, etc. which show the chronological succession of the events. The events are also contingent on the previous events. Therefore this story has plus contingent succession. The narrator, his friend and the wild pig are the agents of those events, proving that it has plus agent orientation. Moreover the story has the value of minus
projection and *plus* tension. The narrator struggles to escape from the danger of the animal, and tries to shoot it. These textual properties of the story are typical of a narrative discourse.

### 2.2.2 Barking Deer Hunting

This text is about the first experience of the narrator to kill a barking deer. It was told when the narrator was asked to tell about an unforgettable experience in his life.

One day my friend and I decided to go track birds and so off we went. On the way we saw a gooseberry tree, and saw that there was a fresh foot print of a barking deer. So I decided to build a blind there while my friend went further. Then I sat in that blind and waited for an animal. As the sun set, a pheasant came, but before I could shoot it, it went away. When a barking deer actually came, I was shaking out of fear, because it was my first experience. But I was able to shoot it. I got ready to shoot it again, if the animal happened to get up, but it did not. So I climbed down from the blind and was very happy to see the dead barking deer lying on the ground.

At that time I heard my friend fire a shot. I called him to see what he shot. Then my friend came up, and said that he had gotten a pheasant. After that we came back to the village happily carrying those animals we killed. My friend carried the one I killed and I carried our guns and the pheasant that my friend killed. On the way back we rested again and again because the road was long.

When we arrived home, we did not know how to butcher the animal. My father was not at home to help us; he was away on a journey in those days. So we two had to butcher it ourselves in order to divide it. After that my mother and sisters cooked it and we all ate happily. Then I also gave a gift of some meat to all the villagers. There I had a conversation with the chief about how I killed it. Also I told him that there was a baby inside its belly when we had butchered it.
I was so happy that I kept talking about it to my friends for more than a week. Also I told the whole story to my father when he came back from the journey. My mother and sisters saved some dry meat for him to eat.

Agent orientation and chronological succession are seen in this story; the narrator and his friend went hunting, and the narrator built a blind. He shot a barking deer. Then they brought it home, and butchered it and divided it between them. These are the events which had already taken place in the past. This story is also a climatic narrative. The narrator's struggle to shoot an animal is the climax of the story.

2.2.3 Thief on Bus

In this text the narrator tells about his unforgettable experience when he got help from a teacher named Cuvpi, because the teacher met trouble by helping him.

I asked the teacher to help me in using email. He agreed to help me. Then we went by bus to an internet cafe downtown. That day was a Buddhist festival day. So there were drunkards and many people dancing and singing on the streets. At one of the bus stops, a woman got on the bus carrying a lot of money in a plastic bag.

Then as the teacher looked off toward the dancing, accidentally he saw a man trying to steal that money from the woman’s plastic bag. The thief was not pleased to find him taking notice of his action. Then without saying anything he passed by me and hit the teacher and he was not allowed to say anything. Again three or four of them (thief’s friends) surrounded him and hit him. I and everyone on the bus were so shocked, and we could not say anything while the teacher was being beaten so badly.

After that I asked the teacher why that happened. He was not sure why he was beaten. Just then he realized that it was the thief who tried to steal the money but he could not steal it because of him. At the next bus
stop the thieves got off and challenged the teacher to get off as well and fight with them. But he did not do so because he was a Christian minister.

Then we went to the internet cafe, and while we were there the teacher’s face became swollen. I felt guilty about it, so I tried to help him by buying some medicine. But the teacher did not allow me to do that. Then we came back home. After arriving home I visited the teacher at his house again, and I found that his students had already taken care of him. But the swelling on his face took some time to heal. That was an unforgettable experience.

This story has agent orientation and contingent succession. The events were already realized. There is also plus tension when the thief hit the teacher because he saw him trying to steal the money, the fourth criterion of climatic narrative.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter a brief overview of discourse analysis in relation to narrative discourse and a synopsis of the texts to be analyzed are presented. It was observed that the texts for this analysis fall into the narrative discourse type, having the basic narrative text properties.

The three narratives presented above are stories of personal experience and an eye-witness account. They are factual narratives. However, there are differences among these narratives. Even though the former two stories are first person narratives, the latter one is mixed with first person and third person narrative types.

In his unpublished manuscript ‘The fabric of discourse’, Thomas M. Tehan (2008:36) summarizes the list of the generic features that Richard A. Burridge
used for analyzing Graeco-Roman Biography, which Greninger
(2009:97-99) also applied in analyzing Sherpa narratives. The similarities and
differences of the three Makuri narratives can be summarized using some
features from this list as shown in Table 11. It is divided into four categories:
opening features, external features, internal features and sub-genre features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Wild Pig</th>
<th>Barking Deer</th>
<th>Thief on Bus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opening features</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Title</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>in aperture</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Aperture*</td>
<td>Stage</td>
<td>Stage</td>
<td>Stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Content, Theme</td>
<td>Hunting</td>
<td>Hunting</td>
<td>Riding on a bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External features</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Mode of representation</td>
<td>Oral prose, narrator’s point of view from memory</td>
<td>Oral prose, narrator’s point of view from memory</td>
<td>Oral prose, narrator’s point of view from memory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Size/length</td>
<td>8m, 59 sentences</td>
<td>10m, 18s, 51 sentences</td>
<td>5m, 35s, 50 sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Structure/sequence</td>
<td>continuous time which follows one event</td>
<td>continuous time which follows one event</td>
<td>continuous time which follows one event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Scale/scope</td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>1 days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Literary units</td>
<td>Narrative, some dialogue</td>
<td>Narrative, some dialogue</td>
<td>Narrative, some dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sources</td>
<td>Narrator’s memory of experience</td>
<td>Narrator’s memory of experience</td>
<td>Narrator’s memory of experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Methods of characterization</td>
<td>Action with some dialogue</td>
<td>Action with some dialogue</td>
<td>Action with some dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internal features</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Setting/location</td>
<td>Country side</td>
<td>Country side</td>
<td>City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Motif</td>
<td>Hunting down the wounded wild pig</td>
<td>Overcoming fear at the first experience of shooting a barking deer</td>
<td>Getting into trouble on a bus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Style</td>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>Popular</td>
<td>Popular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Atmosphere</td>
<td>Serious</td>
<td>Serious, later jovial</td>
<td>Serious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Author’s intention</td>
<td>a. Information b. Teach the hunters how to be careful with the wounded wild pigs</td>
<td>Information</td>
<td>Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-genre features</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Author</td>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Known</td>
<td>Known</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Aperture is formulaic phrase or sentence, e.g., ‘once upon a time’

**Table 11: Generic features in the three Makuri narratives**

Literature reviews on boundary marking, salience scheme, and participant
reference will be presented in each of the following chapters.
Chapter 3

Macro-segmentation in Makuri texts

The larger segment groupings of a discourse are identified by markers at the boundaries between segments and by signals of the unity internal to the segments. The study of boundary features analyses the signals in a text which mark larger communication units and the relationship between them. The study of internal unity within segments analyzes the elements that remain the same throughout a segment, e.g., same time or same participant.

This chapter reviews the literature on boundary marking and internal unity, the methodology of the analysis, and the description of the segment features of the three Makuri texts.

3.1 Literature review

The boundaries of a larger communication unit within a text can be approached in two ways: the features that mark the boundary at either the beginning or the end of a unit, and those that indicate the internal unity or coherence within a unit. The criteria that Barnwell (1980:237-39) proposes are helpful to consider. She proposes nine features that signal the boundaries of the units:

1) Grammatical markers such as conjunctions,

2) Change in place, time, or participants,
3) Topic sentences or phrases,

4) Summary statements,

5) Overlap clauses,

6) Rhetorical questions,

7) Direct address,

8) Use of certain tenses or adverbial tense markers, and

9) Other signals, such as longer pause, pitch, etc. in oral texts.

She further states that usually two, three or more signals coincide together to form the boundary of a unit.

The second set of features Barnwell (1980:240) mentions is the set of factors that indicate the internal unity or coherence within a unit. These factors include events taking place at the same time, or same place, or focusing on the same topic and the same participants. Sometimes there may also be parallel forms, logical coherence, and lexical coherence that form the text into a unit. In the use of parallel forms a certain phrase or other forms are repeated in a series of parallel structures. The text also shows logical coherence when one main statement is accompanied by one or more supporting propositions, relating to that statement. The text is ‘lexically’ coherent when a certain word or phrase is repeated either in an identical form or with slight modification.

Givón (1983:7) also discusses internal unity in terms of ‘continuity in discourse’. The three aspects of discourse continuity that he describes are thematic continuity, action continuity and topic or participant continuity. In his later
book (Givón 1984:245) these continuity markings are simplified into four features: unity of time, unity of place, unity of action and unity of participants. The unity of action is the only feature not mentioned in Barnwell’s internal unity marking features.

3.2 Methodology

The methodology followed in this study consists of the following steps. First intuitive breaks were marked in the text based upon the perception of a native speaker, and then those breaks were examined for possible boundary marking features using Barnwell’s criteria. Later, following the analysis, adjustments were made to the initial intuitive breaks. From Barnwell’s criteria the most common boundary markers found in these texts are: changes of time, participants, and place. There are other less-used markers that support the breaks, such as grammatical markers, summary statements, overlap clauses, descriptive sentences, and direct address. The analysis of each text is presented in a summary chart of boundary markers followed by a description of the texts.

3.3 Wild Pig Hunting

In the Wild Pig Hunting text there are eight chunks. A summary of the boundary markers for this text are shown in Table 12. The basic boundary markers in this text are a clustering of a change in time, place and participant with one or more other markers at some of the boundaries. For instance, the other markers in chunk 3 are a grammatical marker and a summary statement. Those items marking internal unity are noted in this table as well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chunk</th>
<th>Sentence #</th>
<th>Boundary markers</th>
<th>Internal unity markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>001-002</td>
<td>4 yrs ago INTRO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>003-006</td>
<td>attiti vu ra mérizat 4 ta 'the first night at 4 pm' (003) mélati khat 'a boar' (003)</td>
<td>parallel forms- not getting the animal (003-4&amp; 005-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>007-013</td>
<td>aséri 'the next night' (007) ményyip 'a herd of wild pigs' (008) yepu Yong 'friend Yong' (009) Chiuthong lüv ta 'in Chiuthong's field'</td>
<td>logical coherence- (010-011), same time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>014-020</td>
<td>asécë 8 têkhat ta 'the next morning about 8 am.' (014) mélati u 'the boar' (014) pong khat 'one place (first place where the boar slept)' (014)</td>
<td>overlap clause same topic- series of places that the boar slept and how it did- (014, 016, 019-20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>021-037</td>
<td>mélati u 'the boar' (022) khévok cheng khénet 'two bamboo clumps' (021)</td>
<td>zësa 'then', descriptive clause (021) parallel forms- the event proper and retold in the quote about the boar's attack (027-29&amp; 034)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>038-042</td>
<td>patei kheng nü ci ti nê 'before arriving at the place to close off' (038) amitpi 'it (boar)' (038)</td>
<td>unë 'thus'(038), overlap clause, a change from direct address to narrative (038) parallel forms- the animal looking back at the narrator (038&amp; 040), same participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>043-045</td>
<td>nü si méluh ti 'before (it) died completely' (043) yepu Yong 'friend Yong' (043)</td>
<td>uche 'then', direct address (043) same participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>046-059</td>
<td>katsat shîv 'after killing' (046)</td>
<td>overlap clause narrator’s evaluation and teaching of the narrative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Summary chart of boundary markers for Wild Pig Hunting
3.3.1 Change of time

In this text a change in time is marked by temporal words, phrases, and clauses like *atiti vu ra mëri phëyei ta* ‘the first night [of going] at 4 pm’, *asëri* ‘the next night’ and by adverbial clauses like *patei kheng nü ci ti në* ‘before arriving at the place to close off’. Six out of seven chunks (excluding chunk 1) are marked by a change in time. Only chunk 5 does not have a change of time at the boundary. The temporal words or phrases occur sentence initially as in example (53).

(53) Wild Pig.003

\[atiti vu ra kë ara mëri phëyei ta mëliut khat kat net\]
first go night at night hour four in boar one shoot PAST.RL

The first night [of going] at 4 pm (I) shot at a boar.

The temporal phrases can also occur after the overlap clause, at the beginning of the following clause as seen in example (54).

(54) Wild Pig.014

\[yet ceot lëv a në asëcë mëri thëzhit tëkhat ta jëv jëv\]
sleep COMPL NO.BEN and next.morning hour eight about in track track

\[tu-vu tenë\]
up-go when ...

After (we) slept, (we) went tracking up (the hill) the next morning at about eight o’clock...

There can be a temporal clause that marks the boundary of a chunk. In example (55) a temporal clause with *te* ‘when’ occurs at the initial position of the sentence marking the boundary of chunk 6.
3.3.2 Change of participant

Another main boundary marker in this text is a change of participants or props. Six out of seven chunks are marked in this way. There is a change in participants from a boar in chunk 2 to a herd of wild pigs in chunk 3, marking a boundary between them. In sentence 009 the entry of ye Yongcuv ‘friend Yongcuv’ to the scene is another boundary marker for chunk 3. He leaves from the scene at the end of chunk 5. In sentence 043 his reentry to the scene is one of the markers of the boundary of chunk 7.

However, in chunks 4, 5 and 6, repeated occurrences of the noun phrase mëlüt u ‘the boar’, or its pronoun reference amitpi ‘it’ are consecutively seen at the boundaries of each chunk. In sentence 011 of chunk 3 ‘this boar’ is first introduced as mëlüt ateikhat ‘a big boar’, then there are two zero references after one NP reference to it in sentence 012, and in all three occurrences it is an active agent of the events. This reference, however, is then interrupted in sentence 013.

After this, in sentence 014 of chunk 4 the boar is referred to with a NP reference mëlüt u marking the boundary. Following this NP there are 10 zero references to mëlüt u in this chunk, all describing the places where the boar had slept. The
continuity of this reference is absent in sentence 021 of chunk 5. Therefore in sentence 022 it is reintroduced with a NP marking (shown in bold) as the boundary in this chunk as in example (56).

(56) Wild Pig.022

\[
\text{mëlüt u o lùv ulë chei mëshe a}
\]

\textbf{boar that ABS climber those even take along and ...}

That boar even dragged along (with it) the climbers and....

Again the reference to the boar is interrupted with the speech exchanges between the two participants in sentences 031-037 of chunk 5. After that, the pronoun \textit{amitpi ‘it’} is used to reintroduce the boar onto the scene marking the boundary of chunk 6.

3.3.3 Change of location and other markers

In this text, location change is indicated by locative words or phrases like \textit{Chiuthong lùv ta ‘in Chiuthong’s field’, pong khat ‘at a place’, and khëvok cheng... anit tëküt kë ‘in between the two... bamboo clumps’}. Only three of the seven chunks are marked by changes of location. In example (57) the locative phrase \textit{Chiuthong lùv ta ‘in Chiuthong’s field’} is one of the boundary markers for chunk 3.

(57) Wild Pig.008

\[
\text{tenë mënyûv pei o khëlûv khëlûv ta kë a-cheot net}
\]

\text{then wild.pig crowd ABS ... Chiuthong field in at ... come-out PAST.RL}

Then a herd of wild pigs... came out in the field.

Grammatical markers that occur sentence initially at the beginning of new chunks are \textit{unë ‘thus’, zësa ‘then’, and uche ‘then’}. They support the boundary breaks in this text. In example (58) there are different boundary markers co-
occurring in a sentence marking the boundary of chunk 3: unë ‘thus’, a temporal word asëri ‘the next night’, and a summary statement. The summary statement is another surface marker, and at this point the narrator includes a statement of his decision which forms the basis of the rest of the narrative.

(58) Wild Pig.007

\[
\text{tanëket kētē-sūh-a-ketke shok loksat a shē khēye nong vu punet zē}
\]
\[
\text{thus what-be-then-any animal kill then only house return go IRR that}
\]
\[
\text{asēri khatti pa net}
\]
\[
\text{next.night once stay PAST.RL}
\]

But (I) stayed again the next night (thinking) that somehow (I) would kill an animal, then only (I) would go back home.

There is a descriptive clause marking the boundary in chunk 5. It describes the place where the boar was in example (59). The use of it marks the departure from the narrative events.

(59) Wild Pig.021

\[
\text{khēvok cheng khēnet zhat a anit tēkūt kē lūvkhēlūvt sūh zē lelei}
\]
\[
\text{... bamboo clump two ... stand and 3DU between at bush make that STAT}
\]
\[
\text{net PAST.RL}
\]

... there were two bamboo clumps... and between them was a bush.

The occurrences of overlap clauses are seen in three of the chunks. At the boundary of chunk 4, there is an overlap clause, where part of the verb phrase yet ceot ‘sleep’ is repeated from the previous clause as in example (60).

(60) Wild Pig.013

\[
\text{ara yet ceot net}
\]
\[
\text{... night sleep COMPL PAST.RL}
\]

... (we) slept for the night.
Wild Pig.014

yet ceot lūv a nē
sleep COMPL NO.BEN and ...

After (we) slept, ...

In summary, chunk 1 is the introduction, and it sets the narrative at a place liumeitit rūv pū ‘Liumeitit River side’ and time avuceotpū mēzhu phēyei ta khēanvlē mi tū ‘4 years ago when the rice field were ripe’. Chunk 2 has two boundary markers: the temporal phrase atiti vu ra mēri 4 ta ‘the first night at 4 pm’ and the introduction of a major participant/prop, mēltūt khat ‘a boar’. There is no marked location change in this chunk.

In chunk 3 there are several boundary markers co-occurring, such as time change, participant change, location change, a grammatical marker, and a type of summary sentence, as seen in example (58). The temporal phrase ‘the next day’ clearly marks a departure from the preceding chunk. A new participant ye Yongcūv ‘friend Yongcuv’ is introduced in this chunk, and there is a change of participants from mēltūt khat ‘a boar’ in chunk 2 to mēnyūv pei ‘a herd of wild pigs’. Location change is another boundary marker here; the event happened at a specific place ‘in Chiuthong’s field’. The use of a grammatical marker unē ‘thus’ also marks the boundary in this chunk.

The boundary markers in chunk 4 are changes of time, participant, location, and an overlap clause, as in example (60). The time change is marked with ‘the next morning about 8 am’. There is a restaging of a participant mēltūt u, and a location change is marked with pong khat ‘one place’ where the boar slept first. Chunk 5 has boundary markers such as changes in participant and location, a
grammatical marker zësa ‘then’ and a descriptive clause in sentence 021, as in example (59). Here again the boar is restaged after an interval, and the events are located at khëvok cheng khënet…tëküt ‘between… two bamboo clumps’.

In chunk 6 a time change is marked with a temporal clause, ‘before arriving at the place to close off’. Then the restaging of the participant ‘boar’ is marked with a pronoun amidpi ‘it’. Other boundary markers in this chunk are the use of the grammatical marker unë ‘thus’, an overlap clause, and a change from the direct address to the narrative in sentence 038. Then in chunk 7 the boundary markers are changes of time and participant, use of a grammatical marker uche ‘then’, and direct address in sentence 043. Time change is marked by a temporal clause ‘before (it) died completely’. Here the re-entry of ye Yongcüv ‘friend Yongcuv’ in the scene is one of the boundary markers.

Chunk 8 is the narrator’s evaluation on the killing of this animal and the teaching. There is a temporal clause ‘after the killing’, which also is an overlap clause marking the boundary of this chunk.

In this narrative the boundaries of chunks 3 and 4 are especially significant. Both chunks are prepeak episodes, where many boundary markings co-occur, such as changes in time, participants and place.

3.3.4 Internal unity markers
Internal unity is most commonly marked in this text by the use of parallel forms, one of the features that holds the text within a chunk as a unit. Examples of the use of parallel forms are found in chunks 2, 5, and 6. In chunk 2 sentences 3
and 4 are parallel with sentence 5 and 6. In both places the narrator tried to
shoot a boar but he did not get it as in the examples in (61).

(61) Wild Pig.003-004

On the first (going) night at four O’clock (I) shot a boar. But (I) did not get
(it).

(62) Wild Pig.005-006

Then after (it) was getting dark, a boar came out again, so (I) shot (it) again.
...lost (it) without getting (it).

Likewise, in chunk 5, sentences 027 and 029 are parallel with 034. The first is
the actual narrative events, and the second is the retelling of them inside the
quote as in the examples in (62).

... when (I) jumped up and held onto the dry bamboo, the dry bamboo
broke... jumped for the second time, only then (it) did run away from under
me...
One more set of parallel forms is seen in sentences 038 and 040 of chunk 6.  In sentence 038 as the narrator tracked down the boar, it was looking back at him.

A similar event was repeated in sentence 040 shown in example (63).

(63) Wild Pig.038

... it turned around and stood (there) looking (at me) ...

Wild Pig.040

... as before (it) turned around and stood looking (at me) ...

There are several other internal unity indicators as well, such as same time, same participants, same topic and lexical coherence.  An example of the same topic can be found in chunk 4.  In sentences 014, 016, 019 and 020 the topic of the boar sleeping in different places is described in a series; phrases such as pong khat ‘one place’, pong thënyit ‘seven places’, and pong têzhîtpu ‘the eighth place’ are used.  This chunk also has lexical coherence, with the repeated use of yet ‘sleep’ seven times referring to the boar sleeping, and its antonym süv ‘rise up’ being used two times.
In chunk 3 there are some lexical items that have logical coherence. In example (64) there is the use of an antonym, contrasting amënyaklë ‘the small ones’ with ateï ‘the big one’.

(64) Wild Pig.010

\[
\text{amënyak} - \text{lë pë cang tëkït këhët ñëi are a në ateï o jëv a} \\
\text{... small - PL TOP leg in.between even come and big ABS choose INF}
\]

\[
\text{më ngu ti sîh net} \\
\text{NEG get NEG happen PAST.RL}
\]

... the small ones came even in between (my) legs, but (I) couldn't choose the big one.

Another internal unity marker within chunk 3 is the occurrence of events at the same time asëri ‘the next night’. This reference to the time ends with ara yet ‘sleep the night’ in sentence 013 at the end of this chunk. Chunk 6 maintains the same two participants, m ‘I’ with seven null references and amitpi ‘it (the boar)’ with eight null references.

3.4 Barking Deer Hunting

There are six chunks in this narrative. The boundary markers for this text, including changes of time, participant and location, along with various others, are shown in Table 13.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chunk</th>
<th>Sentence #</th>
<th>Boundary markers</th>
<th>Internal unity markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Time Change</td>
<td>Participant Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>001-002</td>
<td>vague past</td>
<td>INTRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>003-010</td>
<td>khatnikhat 'one day'</td>
<td>m yepu mjë 'my friend' I (003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>011-025</td>
<td>u zë pa kha tā 'while sitting [like that]' ni zu zë vu te 'at sunset' (012)</td>
<td>m 'I' (011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>026-034</td>
<td>kéjuliu më lei ti né 'soon after' m yepu 'my friend' (026)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>035-042</td>
<td>tëliu ci asanē 'after arriving village' (035) m pilë 'my mother (and other family members)' (036)</td>
<td>va ye 'our house' (035)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>043-051</td>
<td>shok she khe shüv 'after dividing meat' tëliulë khepi 'all villagers'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Summary chart of boundary markers for Barking Deer Hunting

3.4.1 Change of time

In this text changes of time are marked with *khatnikhat* ‘one day’, *ni zu zë vu te* ‘at sunset’, *tëliu ci a sa né* ‘after arriving village’ and *shok she khe shüv* ‘after dividing meat’. At the boundary of five of the six chunks there is a temporal word or phrase occurring sentence initially.

In chunk 3 the temporal clauses occur after a summary statement. The use of two temporal clauses in one sentence is also seen as in example (65).
While I was sitting like that, at the sunset [when the sun was going down] (there) was 'crunch crunch' (the sound of footsteps on the dry leaves).

### 3.4.2 Change of participant

Participant change is seen in every chunk. In chunk 3 there is only one participant, *m ‘I’*. Here participant change happened after the friend left to go further at the end of chunk 2.

In chunk 4 a participant change marks the boundary when *m ye pu ‘my friend’* returns to the scene. Then a new participant *m pilë ‘my mother [and other family members]’* is introduced in chunk 5 marking it as one of the boundaries.

### 3.4.3 Change of location and other markers

Changes of location are marked by phrases such as *va ye ‘our house’* in chunk 5 and *mulüsei tiu chak ‘on the gooseberry [fruit] tree’* in chunk 3. In this text only two out of five chunks (excluding chunk 1) are marked by a location change.

The events in chunks 2, 3 and 4 all happen in the forest where they go for tracking birds, but in chunk 3 a specific place is mentioned where the narrator built a blind as in example (66).

### (66) Barking Deer.011

> u shëv pë M o mulüsei tiu u chak pasang te rënë pa net  
> that after TOP 1S TOP gooseberry tree that on blind build then sit net  

After that I built a blind on that gooseberry [fruit] tree and sat (on it).
Example (66) is also a summary sentence marking the boundary at the beginning of chunk 3. Moreover, in this sentence there is a grammatical marker *u šuīv* ‘after that’, supporting a break from the previous chunk. Finally, a descriptive clause, in example (67), occurs at the end of chunk 3.

**Example 67**

\[
\text{M o } \text{u } \text{šuīv } \text{pē } \text{thēri a } \text{kēsa } \text{net}
\]

1S ABS that after TOP very happy PAST.RL

I was very happy after that.

Sentences 34-35 are overlap clauses marking the boundary in chunk 4; here the whole preceding clause is repeated except the final TAM particle.

The items marking the boundary between chunks 1 and 2 are as follows: chunk 1 contains the prologue, giving initial information to set the stage of the story. There is a nominalized phrase like a title, *shokmēchei khat atiti katsat yūv* ‘the story of killing a barking deer for the first time’ as the first sentence of the text, which is repeated in sentence 002 in a paraphrase. In chunk 1, the time is in the vague past, but a specific time ‘one day’ is mentioned in chunk 2 marking the boundary. Then there is a participant change from the use of *m* ‘I’ in chunk 1 to *m yepu mjē* ‘my friend and I’. The end of this chunk is again marked with the departure of a participant ‘my friend’ in sentence 010. Direct address in sentence 004 is another boundary marker in this chunk.

In chunk 3 the temporal clauses occur after a summary statement. The use of two temporal clauses is also seen as in example (65), and the location change is marked by a locative phrase ‘on the gooseberry tree’. Several other boundary
markers co-occur such as a descriptive clause, a summary statement, and a grammatical marker, *u šhūv* ‘after that’.

Chunk 4 has only change of time and participant at the initial boundary. Here time change is marked by a temporal phrase ‘not long after’, which refers to the time after killing of the animal, marking a break from the preceding chunk.

In chunk 5, there are changes of time, participant, and location and an overlap clause. The time change is marked with a temporal clause ‘after arriving at the village’ in sentence 035. This is also an overlap clause with sentence 034. Then there is a new location *va ye* ‘our (excl) [narrator] house’ where the events of this chunk happened. With this new location, new participants are brought in marking the break for the chunk.

Chunk 6 has topic continuity where the narrator retells the story to different people. A temporal clause ‘after dividing meat [between the hunters]’ marks a change of time from the preceding chunk. Then there are ‘all villagers’, introducing new participants which mark the boundary of this chunk.

In this text the strength of the boundaries in chunks 3 and 5 are significant. Both chunks have changes in time, participants, place and other boundary markers. Chunk 3 is the peak episode and chunk 5 is the post-peak episode.

**3.4.4 Internal unity markers**

The internal unity features found within this text include same time, same participants, same place, lexical coherence and logical coherence. In chunk 2 maintenance of same participant marks internal unity. Lexical coherence also marks internal unity, for example, the speech verbs *ceitei* ‘talk’ and *šiūhtei* ‘say’.
In chunk 3 the participant does not change, the events occur at the same location and there is no change of time; thus all three signal the internal unity. The participant *m ‘I’* was alone *mulüsei tiu u chak* ‘on the gooseberry tree’ throughout the chunk. Then there is lexical coherence in this chunk shown by *shokcat* ‘trembling’ and *thangthangmi* ‘shaking’. It has logical coherence with the words *mëliu sühkiu* ‘take courage’, which connects with the following sentence.

Chunk 4 also maintains the same participants within the chunk marking internal unity. Along with, it uses lexical items from the same semantic field: *veng* ‘carry on shoulder/ head’, and *khëlak* ‘carry across the body’ marks lexical coherence. Then another group of lexical items that has logical coherence are *tsat* ‘walk’, *pache* ‘rest’, *nong* ‘return’, and *ci* ‘arrive’.

All the events in chunk 5 happened at the same place, *va ye* ‘our house’, and the new participants *m pilë* ‘mother [and other family members]’ are present throughout this chunk. The maintenance of same participants, same place, and same time within this chunk mark internal unity.

Chunk 6 has a topic as a marker for internal unity, the retelling of the story as the narrator distributed the meat to the villagers after they divided the deer meat. Here the narrator talks about how he shared the meat with the villagers, and tells this story of his first experience of deer killing to all of them, which includes the chief, the friends and his father.

### 3.5 Thief on Bus

This text has eight chunks. Table 14 shows the summary of these chunks, their boundary markers and internal unity markers within the chunks.
3.5.1 Change of time

The time changes in this text, like in the others are marked with temporal phrases and clauses such as *u ni kë* ‘on that day’, *atsëvla... züng tat tü* ‘while watching the dancing’, *këche khe shëuv* ‘after the hitting was over’. Six out of seven chunks (excluding chunk 1) are marked with a time change in this text.

The temporal clauses in this text follow either a grammatical marker or an
overlap clause except in sentence 005 of chunk 2 where it is the initial phrase in the sentence.

Example (68) is an instance of temporal clauses preceded by another clause. These temporal clauses mark the boundary of chunk 8. In this example anong ‘come back’ is a repeated verb from the preceding clause (an overlap clause, which is followed by two temporal clauses).

(68) Thief on bus.048

a-nong rë khéye ci shìv a - ye ta vu zìng te
come-back then house arrive after 3S - house in ... go look when ...

(We) came back and after (we) arrived home, then when (I) went to his house... to see (him)...

3.5.2 Change of participant

In this text a participant change marks the boundary of every chunk. The main active participants teoshatlé ‘drunkards’ from chunk 2 are out of focus in chunk 3, where a new participant khënupilë mit khat ‘a woman’ is introduced.

3.5.3 Change of location and other markers

The changes in location are marked with la yỳvjong ‘all the way’, pasë mëkühla rong kë ‘near the bus door’, ime sìh kheng ‘internet café’ and khéye ‘home’. Four out of seven chunks are marked with location change.

In chunk 6 the location change is not obviously marked, but the temporal phrase in sentence 036 shows that the events in this chunk happened at the bus stop by inference from the time phrase as seen in example (69).
(69) Thief on bus.036

\[ u \ shüv\ pasë\ zhatche\ shüv\ kë\ pë\ \]
that after bus stop after at TOP "

Then after the bus stopped...

In example (70) a clearly marked change in location to ime süh kheng ‘internet café’ occurs at the initial boundary of chunk 7.

(70) Thief on bus.040

\[ u\ shüv\ mjë\ o\ ime\ süh\ kheng\ vu\ në\ \]
that after 1DU.excl ABS email do place go and "

After that, we (dual) went to an internet cafe and...

Besides the changes of time, participant and location as boundary markers, this text commonly uses the grammatical marker u shüv ‘after that’ at the boundaries.

It occurs four times in this text. Example (71) is one instance where it is one of the markers of the boundary between chunks 4 and 5.

(71) Thief on bus.028

\[ u\ shüv\ shu\ -\ tei\ khe\ shüv\ \]
that after hit - RDP finish after "

Then after the hitting was over...

There are other minor boundary markers as well, such as, the occurrences of overlap clauses between chunks 3 and 4, and between 7 and 8, and a descriptive clause in chunk 2 sentence 005.

Another minor boundary marker, direct address, marks the boundary of chunk 5. The narrator addresses the azeipu ‘teacher’.
The description of boundaries chunk by chunk is as follows. Chunk 1 is the introduction to the two participants ‘I’ and ‘the teacher’ as having to do a particular task at a particular time and place.

In chunk 2 there is a change of time from ‘once last year’ to ‘that day’ in sentence 005, the involvement of new participants ‘drunkards’ and the change of place ‘along the way’ marking a break from chunk 1.

In chunk 3 a change of participant ‘a woman’ and a change of location ‘near the bus stop’ mark the break for this chunk. Then a temporal clause ‘before arriving to the market’ marks the change of time to a specific point in time from the previous time ‘on that day’. There is also an overlap clause in sentence 007. Here the verb ‘walk’ is repeated from the previous sentence 006, marking the boundary.

In chunk 4 there are changes in time and participants. The participants ‘teacher’ and ‘a thief’ present in sentence 010 mark the boundary break. A temporal clause also marks a time change from the preceding chunk. The grammatical marker ‘after that’ supports the break in this chunk as well.

In sentence 028 of chunk 5 the use of a temporal clause ‘after the hitting was over’ marks a change in time from the previous events. Regarding the participant change in this chunk, preceding the vocative address in sentence 028 the reference to ‘teacher’ is absent within sentences 025-27; thus the occurrence of this participant here marks the boundary. In this sentence the grammatical marker ‘after that’ is one of the supportive boundary markers. The change from
narrative to direct address or quoted speech is another boundary marker for chunk 5.

In sentence 036 of chunk 6 the temporal change is marked with the clause ‘after the bus stopped’, which also implies that there is a change of place to the bus stop from just ‘on the bus’. This chunk also has the grammatical marker ‘after that’ to support the break.

In chunk 7 there is a participant change to the dual pronoun from one participant in chunk 6, thus marking the boundary. A new location is also a marker for the break. Then there is the grammatical marker ‘after that’ at the boundary of this chunk.

Chunk 8 has changes in time, participants and place. There is an overlap clause in sentence 048. The clause *anong ré khëye ci shüv* ‘(we) returned and after arrived home’ shows the overlap clause, the change in location and time. Then there are new participants marking the boundary of this chunk.

The boundaries in chunks 2, 3 and 8 are significant. These chunks have changes in time, participants, place and other boundary markings. Chunks 2 and 3 are prepeak episodes and chunk 8 is the post-peak episode.

### 3.5.4 Internal unity markers

In this text internal unity markers such as maintaining the same time and the same participants within the chunk are found in chunks 2, 3, 5, and 7. Chunk 2 has the same participants throughout the chunk, *teotshatlé* ‘drunkards’ and *mjë* ‘we [teacher&I]’, as one marker for internal unity; here the place and the time are mentioned in general terms, such as *u ni ké* ‘on that day’, *la yüvjong* ‘all along
the way’. In chunk 3 the events happened within the time *yalë yüv kheng nü ci mëngok* ‘before arriving to the market’. This chunk has only one participant *khëñupilë mit khat* ‘a woman’, and she is in the same place *pasë mëkuhla rong kë* ‘near the bus door’. Chunk 5 maintains two participants, *azeipu* ‘teacher’ and *m* ‘I’. All the events took place at the same time *këchë khe shüv* ‘after the hitting was over’. The events in chunk 7 happened when they were at the same place *ime süh kheng* ‘internet café’. This chunk also maintains the same participants, which makes it a unit.

Lexical coherence and logical coherence are found in chunks 4, 6 and 8. In chunk 4 there is the repeated use of lexical items that have the same meaning but with different wording like a synonym. An example of this lexical coherence is found in sentence 011, *mëla mëlüt* ‘confuse’ and *lüv la më tsüh më lüv la më tsüh* ‘ought to take or ought not take’ denoting a sense of confusion. Then there is a logical sequence of lexical items in this chunk, *shu* ‘hit’ in sentences 012, 015, and 024 with *lütsok* ‘suffer’ in 023. In sentence 022 of chunk 4 there is the use of words that are from the same lexical field, *thüvthüv ta* ‘numbly’, *ngiungiu a* ‘stare’ and *këceisat ceot* ‘shocked’ marking the internal unity of the chunk. Again in chunk 6 words like *tüh-vu* ‘go-down’, *a-tüh* ‘come-down’ are used marking lexical coherence. In sentence 048 of chunk 8 there is a set of logical sequences of lexical items, *tile në yeng pit* ‘warm up with hot water [the wound]’, *sangti vih pit* ‘apply medicine’, and *sangti cë* ‘feed medicine’ marking internal unity within the chunk.
3.6 Summary

This chapter has analyzed boundary markers in Makuri texts. Altogether there are 19 chunks analyzed in this thesis excluding the first chunk of each text. The most prominent boundary markers are time change and participant change; 89% of the boundaries between chunks are marked by a time change and 94% of them by a change of participant. Location change occurs 47% of the time. This is the same percentage in which grammatical markers are utilized as a boundary. The occurrence of an overlap clause as a boundary marker is 31%. Other boundary markers such as direct address, descriptive clause, and summary statements are used less frequently.

One noteworthy point is that the overlap clause and the grammatical marker are rarely used at the same time. In fact, there is only one instance, in Wild Pig Hunting sentence 038, of both markers in the same sentence. We can suspect that most of the time either an overlap clause or a grammatical marker is used at the boundaries rather than both. An interesting question for further investigation is that of determining when and why the two may be used together.

Looking at the strength of boundaries, it is interesting to note that two out of three stories seem to have more boundary markers in the prepeak episodes than later in the story. Stronger boundaries occur at significant places of plot development in the Wild Pig Hunting text and the Thief on Bus text. Perhaps it could be a pattern that we might find in future texts. The Barking Deer Hunting text does not seem to have significant boundary markers like the other two. This
text has more markers at the peak episode. Stronger boundary markings also occur at the post-peak episode in the Barking Deer Hunting text and the Thief on Bus text.

As defined above, internal unity is marked by having the same participants, the same time, the same location, topic continuity, lexical coherence, logical coherence and parallel forms. The most commonly used internal unity markers are having the same participants and happenings at the same time.

Finally, most of the intuitive breaks done before the analysis were supported by finding the criteria that Barnwell described. In only one instance was an intuitive break made where there were not any significant boundary markers. This occurred in the Barking Deer Hunting text. An intuitive break was made between sentences 005 and 006 because it has a location change at the boundary. However, as the study shows, a location change alone is not a significant boundary marker. In conclusion, boundary breaks in Makuri texts require one of these major boundary markers: time change or participant change.
Chapter 4

Salience scheme

The first part of this chapter presents a literature review on etic salience schemes. The second part discusses the proposed salience scheme found in the Makuri texts.

4.1 Literature review

In his study of narrative discourse, Joseph E. Grimes proposes that there are two different kinds of information. The first is ‘event information’ where “a particular person did something (that is, an event took place)” (1975:35). The second is ‘nonevent information’, which is further divided into setting, background, evaluation, and collateral. The setting provides information about the place, time and circumstances in which the action takes place. Background gives the information that explains and comments on the narrative. Evaluation supplies the narrator’s opinion on the events, participants, etc. Collateral information presents events which did not happen (1975:51-70).

This distinction of two different kinds of information forms the foundation for the distinction between mainline and supportive materials. Robert E. Longacre prefers to call the main events ‘storyline’ for narrative (an analogous ‘mainline’ for all types of texts) and the non-event material ‘non-storyline’. This thesis utilizes his theory and methodology for discussing salience scheme. He suggests
nine etic bands for narrative text (1996:28). This etic salience scheme is shown in Table 15. These bands are presented in hierarchical order, from band 1 which has the highest salience descending to the least prominent bands. Most languages do not use all nine bands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1'</th>
<th>Pivotal storyline (augmentation of 1)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Primary storyline (S/Agent &gt; S/Experiencer &gt; S/Patient)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Secondary storyline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Routine (script-predictable action sequences)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Backgrounded actions/events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Backgrounded activity (durative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Setting (exposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Irrealis (negatives and modals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Evaluations (author intrusions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Cohesive and thematic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 15: An etic narrative salience scheme (adapted from Longacre 1996:28)

This salience scheme can be identified by ‘peeling off’ non-positive values of the storyline from the positive one (Longacre 1996:25-27). For instance, band 9 has the non-positive value of substantive, which is removed from the higher bands that are substantive. Band 8 is the comment or the evaluation made by the author, which is non-narrative material, when the higher bands are narrative. Thus lower bands are obtained by removing non-positive values one by one from the further positive values of various parameters for the storyline, such as realis vs. irrealis, dynamic vs. static, sequential vs. non-sequential, and punctiliar vs. non-punctiliar.

In some languages there is a distinction between primary storyline and secondary storyline, for example in Jirel, a Tibeto-Burman language of Nepal (Jirel 1999). Secondary storyline describes happenings of lesser importance. Pivotal storyline is of two types. One is the happenings which are marked as
pivotal and “constitute a rough abstract of the story”, and the other is the
happenings which although they are marked as pivotal for some reason, “when
taken together do not constitute such an abstract” (Longacre 1996:28-29). The
first category ranks above the primary storyline but is incomplete, and the
second is included in the primary storyline, although it is marked for
prominence. Tertiary storyline or routine band presents events that are habitual
and script-predictable.

4.2 Salience scheme for Makuri narrative

The proposed Makuri narrative salience scheme consists of six bands. They are:
storyline, background, setting, irrealis, evaluation and cohesive bands as shown
in Table 16. In his salience scheme, Longacre differentiates pivotal storyline
from primary storyline and secondary storyline. Then he also separates
background events from background activities. However, due to the limitations
of the data at hand, this thesis proposes only one storyline band and one
background band. Each of the six salience bands found in Makuri texts is
discussed with examples in the following sections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band 1. Storyline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Band 2. Background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band 3. Setting (exposition)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band 4. Irrealis (negatives and modals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band 5. Evaluations (author intrusions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Band 6. Cohesive and thematic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 16: Tentative salience scheme for Makuri narrative**

4.2.1 Band 1: Storyline

Storyline clauses are headed by event verbs that are the backbone of the story,
making it progress. The verbs are punctiliar, volitional, and sequential
happenings (Longacre 1996:25-26). They represent motions, actions, speech acts, cognitive events, and events proper. ‘Event proper’ is a happening where the subject does not perform the event voluntarily (Longacre 1989:417), for instance the verb *yangtu*ih ‘fall’ in Wild Pig 027l. The punctuality of the verb is often marked by ‘a specific tense-aspect-mood’ (Longacre 1996:3) such as the use of simple past tense in English for the event verbs.

In the Makuri language, tense-aspect-mood is shown by the particles that follow the verb. One of them is *net* ‘past tense’, which marks the event that happened at one point in time. When used with event verbs, this marker helps to determine the storyline clauses from non-storyline clauses. The occurrence of it with event verbs is presented in the following examples. All examples are storyline clauses. In example (72) there is a motion verb *vu* ‘go’ with *net*.

(72) **Thief on Bus.003**

```
mjë rapa vu net
... IDU.excl together go PAST.RL
```

... we (dual) went together.

Directional verbs can also occur with motion verbs following or preceding them. The directional verbs are shown in Table 17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>vu</em></td>
<td>direction away from the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arë/ rël a-</em></td>
<td>direction toward the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zu</em></td>
<td>go in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>chu</em></td>
<td>go out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 17: Directional verbs**

In example (73) a directional verb *vu* follows the main verb *tu* ‘move up’. In this example the speaker is himself moving away from the person he was speaking to.
(73) Wild Pig.009

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amitpi} & \quad \text{rong} & \quad \text{shūh} & \quad \text{kha} & \quad a & \quad \text{tu-vu} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{… 3S} & \quad \text{to} & \quad \text{… say} & \quad \text{keep} & \quad \text{and} & \quad \text{up-go} & \quad \text{PAST.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

(I) said to him,... (I) went up.

In example (74) there are a series of motion verbs occurring together. The motion verb \textit{jeot} ‘jump’ is preceded by a directional verb \textit{rē}. It is used because the participant \textit{alē} ‘they’ had to pass the speaker to get down from the bus. Other verbs which follow the main verb are \textit{tūh} ‘move down’ and \textit{vu} ‘go’; they together function as directional verbs which show that they are getting down away from the speaker. In this kind of construction the narrator has in mind both the source and goal of the direction of the actor.

(74) Thief on Bus.036

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{alē} & \quad \text{o} & \quad \text{khatti} & \quad \text{nē} & \quad \text{rē} & \quad \text{jeot} & \quad \text{tilh-vu} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{… 3P} & \quad \text{ABS} & \quad \text{once} & \quad \text{PRT} & \quad \text{come} & \quad \text{jump} & \quad \text{down-go} & \quad \text{PAST.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

... they jumped down (from the bus) at once.

Example (75) shows an action verb \textit{kat} ‘shoot’ occurring with \textit{net} indicating that this action happened at a certain time. A clause can consist of one action verb as in example (75) or more action verbs occurring together. Example (76) shows the common occurrence of two action verbs. Here the result of the verb \textit{kētsiu} ‘push’ is the verb \textit{chang} ‘break’ knocking down the banana tree as the boar runs to escape from the hunter.

(75) Wild Pig.003

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mēlūt} & \quad \text{khat} & \quad \text{kat} & \quad \text{net} \\
\text{… boar} & \quad \text{one} & \quad \text{shoot} & \quad \text{PAST.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

... (I) shot at a boar.
(76) Wild Pig.012

... the boar pushed down even the banana tree and (it) ran away...

Action verbs are also seen with directional verbs such as tūh/ tūv ‘down’, kat/ lū ‘up’, yeot ‘in to’, etc, taking the place of the result verb from the preceding example (76). In example (77) the purpose of the action verb khang ‘bend’ used with ‘gun’ is to put the bullet into the gun, which is shown by the following directional verb yeot ‘put into’. This type of directional verb is used when the participant moves something to another place as the purpose of an action.

(77) Barking Deer.022

So quickly (I) reloaded my gun with another bullet, ...

Another action verb is the speech act. In this language, speech verbs are commonly seen after the quote even though the speaker and recipient of the speech act usually precede the quote. Sometimes the syntactic positions of speaker, recipient and the quote can be interchanged. A zē ‘a quote margin or a complement’ is the element that occurs after the quote. Example (78) shows zē right after the quote followed by a speech act tsang ‘ask’ and particle net ‘past tense’.
(78) Wild Pig.043

\[ \text{këkat a sìh pu kat pu mat} \quad \overline{\text{zë a - rong tsang net}} \]

... how do IRR shoot IRR INT QUOT 3S - to ask PAST.RL.

... (I) asked him, "How shall (we) do (this), will (you) shoot (it)?"

Speech verbs may also be used with directional verbs preceding them as in example (79). This type of construction takes directional verbs, such as zu ‘go-down’, tu-vu ‘go up’, li-vu ‘go-near’, etc. It is used when the participant who said it is at a distal place from the one spoken to. In the following example the participant who said chang ‘answer’ is at a lower place than from the narrator; thus he uses zu ‘go-down’, which does not necessarily mean that the participant who answered went down to a lower place.

(79) Barking Deer.028

\[ \text{të nē amitpi nē ket} \quad \overline{\text{zu chang net}} \]

Then he also replied from down (there).

Regarding cognitive experiences, it is important to note that cognitive states are different from cognitive events. The former is non-storyline material, whereas the latter is included in the storyline. The cognitive events include ngu ‘see’ as in example (80).

(80) Barking Deer.007

\[ \text{u zë vu tū la chak multi-sei tiu khat} \quad \overline{\text{ngu net}} \]

As (we) were going like that, (we) saw a gooseberry tree on the way.

The verb këcei ‘shock’ is also included among the storyline verb because it has an immediate effect on the participant. In example (81) the participant m ‘I’ had a
narrow escape from the boar that made him këcei ‘shocked’. In addition, this
verb uses the intensifier sat ‘very’ and the particle net.

(81) Wild Pig.029

M ra tei këcei - sat net
... 1S gall.bladder big shock - INTS PAST.RL

... I was so shocked [lit. my big gall bladder was so shocked].

Events proper are another group of storyline events which do not have a
voluntary agent. Such a verb is seen in example (82). It shows the verbs cak
‘break’, and yangtūh ‘fall-down’ followed by the directional verb rē. The event
happened when the participant jumped up to hold onto a dry bamboo plant to
escape from the danger of the boar. Both verbs cak and yangtūh denote the
intransitivity of the events, something that happened by itself. In these clauses
the participant was not the agent.

(82) Wild Pig.027

khëvok si cak rē yang-tūh rē net
... bamboo die break then fall.down come PAST.RL

... the dry bamboo broke and (I) fell down.

Besides event verbs, directional verbs and past tense particles, there are other
particles that can follow event verbs and directional verbs, supporting them as
storyline materials. They are tat ‘promptly’, and ceot/ khe/ che ‘completive’
marking the completive aspect of the action. Example (83) displays that the
action verb kat-tūv ‘shoot down’ as having happened quickly from the presence
of the particle tat.

---

4 In this example and in other contexts the conjunction rē is homonym with the directive verb rē.
Example (84) depicts a completive particle ceot following the motion verb *anong* ‘return’. It should be noted that sometimes the completive aspect marker *ceot* can be either preceded or followed by another completive marker *khe/che*, when the verb has to do with number or quantity.

(84) **Thief on Bus.047**

```
uvinë mjë o anong ceot net
after.that 1DU.excl ABS return COMPL PAST.RL
```

After that, we came back.

There are other particles as well that can follow event verbs: *pit* ‘benefactive’ and *lüv* ‘non-benefactive’. The former indicates doing something for the benefit of another, and the latter indicates the actor acting for himself. They do not add tense or aspectual meaning to the event. Example (85) demonstrates that the action verb *she* ‘divide’ is done for the agent *mjë* ‘we’ themselves by *lüv* ‘non-benefactive’ particle.

(85) **Barking Deer.041**

```
mjë rüt a she lüv net
1DU.excl even ADVR divide NO.BEN PAST.RL
```

... we divided (it) equally.

The causative marker *sit* with a past tense marker *net* is found in example (86).

In this construction, the subject of the main verb *jüv* ‘track’ is not an actor, but a patient *amitpi* ‘3S’. The causative clause is included in the storyline clause because here the focus is the action of causing someone to do something.
In clause chaining the past tense particle *net* that marks a storyline clause does not occur following event verbs. In such places storyline clauses are determined by the use of sequential conjunctions. The sequentiality of the storyline clauses are marked by the following markers shown in Table 18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>and, then, and then</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nē,</em></td>
<td><em>ā/a nē,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sa/ sa nē,</em></td>
<td><em>ā/a sa nē,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rē/rē nē</em></td>
<td><em>ā/a sa nē,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zē/zē sa nē,</em></td>
<td><em>ā/a sa nē,</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zē/zē-khēlē</em></td>
<td><em>ā/a sa nē,</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Sequential conjunctions

There is no structural difference between storyline and non-storyline clauses, as with back referential and adverbial clauses. The markers occur at the end of the clause in both cases. Example (87) demonstrates two storyline clauses joined by a sequential conjunction *ā* ‘and’. The preceding adverbial clause marked by *te* ‘when’ links the previous main events with these clauses. Here the verb *jeot-yeyot* ‘jump into’ shares the tense marker *net* with the following verb *tsei* ‘run away’.

Both clauses also share the same subject (the boar) which is zero anaphora here.

(87) Wild Pig.039

*kat punct zē sūh te khatti nē jeot-yeyot lūv g tsei*

shoot IRR that do when once PRT jump-into NO.BEN and run.away

*net*

PAST.RL

When (I) was going to shoot, at once (it) jumped into (the underbrush) and
ran away.

Furthermore, sequentiality can be marked by sentence initial temporal phrases or words. They are *u shūv*, *uche*, ‘after that’, *u tē tü* ‘at that time’, *te, te nē* ‘then’, *te pushit* ‘just then’, etc. In example (88) the initial temporal phrase *u shūv* ‘after that’ links the preceding events to the next series of events. Another way to indicate the sequentiality of the events is the use of overlap clauses as in example (88). Since the first clause is an overlap clause, it is demoted to the background band. In addition, the second clause of this sentence is demoted to the background band because of the repetition of the verb *pa* ‘sit’, which refers to a continuous action. In such cases a clause is demoted to other bands, despite the presence of a clause final sequential conjunction. In this sentence only the last two clauses are on the storyline, joined with a sequential conjunction *rē* ‘then’.

(88) Thief on Bus.012

> *u shūv* a - khut - pu o a - khit lūv-lei ceot a mēkhi a
> that after NR - steal - REL ABS 3S - hand take-back COMPL and gently
> *pa pa* a nē kētē yūv ket mē shūh ti khatti nē M tsūt rong a-li
> sit sit and what word even NEG say NEG once PRT 1S face to come-near
> *rē* azeipu o phokphokni shu net
> then teacher ABS beating hit PAST.RL

After that, the thief took back his hand and (he) was sitting quietly; then without saying anything at once (he) came (past) me [lit. by my face] and hit the teacher- Bam! Bam! Bam!

In the above sentence, the sequentiality of the event utilizes zero reference for topic continuity. The participant *akhutpu* ‘the thief’ is mentioned in the first
clause, and then the narrative continues with zero reference in the rest of the four clauses.

4.2.2 Band 2: Background

Longacre (1996:24, 27) states that the characteristics of the background band are progressive and durative verbs that encode happenings of lesser importance than the primary storyline. A background event tells what happens between the storyline events. Block (1994:84) also describes the background band as verbs that are repetitive, on-going, prolonged, and gradual.

In example (89) the occurrence of the present tense particle le is seen following the event verb a-cheot ‘come out’, denoting a cyclical process. That is, this event always happens at the time when the rice field is ripe.

(89) Wild Pig:002

\[ u \ t\acute{e}chit \ s\ddot{u}khk\dot{\ddot{e}}l\acute{e} \ p\acute{e} \ kh\dot{\ddot{e}}l\ddot{u}v \ - \ l\acute{e} \ ta \ m\acute{e}ny\acute{u}v \ m\acute{e}l\ddot{u}t \ ts\ddot{h}tsa \ a\acute{c}heot \ le \ le \ le \ le \ PRES.RL \]

\[ \text{that time} \ \text{field} - \ PL \ \text{in wild.pig boar very} \ \text{come.out} \]

During that time many wild pigs come out to the fields.

Another marker for a background event is the occurrence of the stative verb lei/leilei ‘exist’ following event verbs. Its presence with an event verb makes that event a perfect state of having been done, thus marking the event as a background event. In a sentence final clause, lei is often followed by the past tense marker net. In clause chaining, though, it is directly followed by conjunctions. In example (90) there is an event verb tsei ‘run away’ with the stative verb lei marking the event as perfective aspect. It denotes that the event
happened sometime in the past and the resultant state is true either until the recent past or at the present time.

(90) Wild Pig.020

pong tēzhīt - pu ta pē acang nē lephūphūta tsei lei net

... place eight - DEF in TOP truly PRT warmly run.away STAT PAST.RL

... (it) left the eighth place really warm.

An imperfective marker shē is illustrated in example (91). This marker is usually followed by the stative verb lei/leilei and net when it expresses a past imperfective event. Thus the literal translation of this verb phrase attūv shē leilei net will be ‘was coming up’.

(91) Barking Deer.029

hūhtsūhkhat pa te M yepu ket a-tūv shē leilei net

little sit when 1S friend also come-up IMPF STAT PAST.RL

After (I) sat a little while, my friend also came up.

Besides the above mentioned markers, there is reduplication of the verbs as one of the features for background events. When an action verb is reduplicated, it denotes the manner in which the main verb in a clause was done as in example (92). Here the main verb is tsei ‘run away’, and the manner in which the boar ran away, is expressed by the reduplicated verb shu-chang chang ‘hit-break’ hitting down the bamboo. In this type of compound verb or verbs that have more than one syllable, the last syllable of the word or the second verb is reduplicated.
... the boar... ran away breaking down the dry and living bamboo.

The clauses that have durative aspect are included in the background band. In this language it is marked by a repetitive particle tei. In example (93) this particle is used to indicate that the durative aspect of the event khêmê ‘hit’. The event was happening again and again, i.e. the barking deer was hitting its head on the ground after it was shot down.

Reduplicated verbs and repetitive verbs are optionally followed by the manner marker zê.

Another durative aspect marker in this language is kha ‘keep’. When it occurs following event verbs, it marks the durative aspect of the verb as in example (94). In this example the verb teng ‘aim’ becomes an on-going action when it is followed by kha. This particle kha also involves some looking forward to another future action.

---

5 tei also means a reciprocal action of the event verbs. This marking is especially obvious with the speech verbs.
Adverbial event clauses are in the background band also. These dependent clauses are marked by shūv ‘after’, tēshūv ‘because’, and tü ‘when’. Example (95) is an adverbial clause marked by shūv ‘after’.

(95) Thief on Bus.028

\[ u \; shūv \; shu \; khe \; shūv \; M \; nē \; zeipu \; tē \; sūh \; a \; zē \; tsang \]

that after hit finish after 1S ERG teacher what happen INT QUOT ask

net PAST.RL

Then after the hitting was over, I asked, "Teacher, what happened?"

There is a section in which a flashback⁶ occurs in the ‘Wild Pig Hunting’ story. It is found in sentences 052-055. Even though it is composed of event verbs, it is included in the background event because it is out of order from the main events. After telling how the boar was killed, the narrator in this section tells about the events that happened while tracking it.

4.2.3 Band 3: Setting

The setting band is marked by non-event verbs, including stative or adjectival predicates, as well as equative, existential, and relational verbs (Longacre 1996:24). It also includes materials that give explanations of the events. They can occur throughout the narrative. However, narratives typically set the participants in a particular time, location and certain circumstances with

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⁶ Future research may identify enough instances to warrant positing a separate flashback band, but for the present analysis this one flashback is included with the background.
descriptive clauses concentrated at the staging of the story (Grimes 1975:51). In a narrative, the stage is where participants are introduced in time and place.

In these three Makuri texts the participants, time and location, are introduced at the beginning of the story, except in the ‘Wild Pig Hunting’ story where one of the main participants was introduced later than the stage in sentence 009. In this language, clauses in the setting band are signaled by the use of equative, existential, stative, and adjectival verbs.

Examples (96) and (97) are equative sentences. Example (96) describes the mëlüt ‘boar’ as having these qualities with the equative final particle net.

Equative sentences are formed as [NP NP net]. In this case tense is defined by context. The adjectival verbs mërü and küvrak are nominalized with the prefix a to be nouns.

(96) Wild Pig.057

mëlüt u pē tsïhtsa zē a - mërü a - küvrak net
boar that TOP very MAN NR - wild NR - stubborn EOC

That boar was a very wild and stubborn one.

In example (97) the whole adverbial clause is equated with the dummy subject (which is zero reference) to the time when they killed the barking deer. This is shown by the use of the equative final particle net directly following the temporal marker tüi.

(97) Barking Deer.049

M pok khëyila chu tü net
...1S father ... trip go.out time EOC

... it was the time my father went on a journey.
Example (98) also shows another type of equative sentence. This type of structure employs sūh ‘be’ with the static verb lei/ leilei. The latter converts the former to a past tense, and its tense is reinforced by the use of the past tense marker net. The particle net is actually two different words that are homonyms with contrasting functions.

(98) Barking Deer.014

te yiu ti vokkhērak sūh leilei net
then NEG NEG pheasant be STAT PAST.RL

But (it) was not, (it) was a pheasant.

Existential sentences are seen in examples (99) and (100). Example (99) uses the existential verb leilei ‘exist/have’ to imply that the size of the boar was four feet. In example (100) there is a static verb zhat ‘stand’ used to mean the existence of two bamboo clumps.

(99) Wild Pig.049

zęsa kētit te nē zhengpiu tēzhit leilei net
then measure when half.feet eight exist PAST.RL

After that, when (I) measured (it), (it) had four feet.

(100) Wild Pig.021

khēvok cheng khēnet zhat a
... bamboo clump two ... stand and ...

... there were [stood] two bamboo clumps ..., Adjectival predicates may be seen in examples (101) and (102). Example (101) uses kēsa ‘happy’ with the final past tense marker net, whereas in example (102) the predicate mētang ‘fat’ is followed by the sequential conjunction rē nē. In this example there is also the occurrence of the static verb pat ‘bear’ with existential connotation expressing that the fat had the size of a hand’s breadth.
(101) Barking Deer.025

\[ u \, šhüv \, pê \, M \, o \, thëri \, a \, kësa \, net \]
that after TOP 1S ABS very happy PAST.RL

After that I was very happy.

(102) Wild Pig.050

\[ tsühtsa \, mëtang \, rë \, nê \, a- \, mëtang \, ket \, mëyùh \, nê \, pat \, lei \, net \]
very fat then 3S fat even palm PRT bear STAT PAST.RL

(It) was very fat and its fat [even] had a hand's breadth.

4.2.4 Band 4: Irrealis

Events that did not happen, or might or might not happen are included in the irrealis band (Longacre 1996:24). Grimes (1975:65) states that a range of non-event elements heightens the significance of the real events. The negative markers in this language are ma/ më, yiu, ‘not’, and nü ‘not yet’. They can occur preceding the verb that is negated, as ma does in example (103) and nü in example (104).

(103) Wild Pig.023

\[ khënyeot \, anëket \, mëlüt \, o \, ma \, cheot \]
... shake but boar ABS NEG come.out

... (we) shook (the bamboo) but the boar did not come out.

(104) Wild Pig.033

\[ amitpi \, li \, rë \, ci \, tû \, ket \, M \, kësüh \, nû \, lëv \]
3S move.near then arrive when even 1S gun NEG take

Even when he came and arrived (I) hadn't picked up my gun.

Each of the above negative markers can be followed by ti as in examples (105), (106) and (107). Sometimes ti is used to mark the past tense of the negated verb as in example (105). It is also used when the negated clause is followed by another clause as in examples (106) and (107).
(105) Wild Pig.010

\[\text{atei o jëv a mè ngu tì sùh net}\]
\[\text{... big ABS choose INF NEG get NEG happen PAST.RL.}\]

... (I) did not get the big ones.

In example (106) yiu tì in sentence 014 is negating the whole preceding presupposition in a preceding sentence shokmëchei kho ‘(it) might be a barking deer’. This negative marker is used when there is comparison. In this sentence vokkhëra k‘pheasant’ is compared with shokmëchei ‘barking deer’ in the preceding sentence.

(106) Barking Deer.014

\[\text{te yiu tì vokkhëra sùh leìlei net}\]
\[\text{then NEG NEG pheasant be STAT PAST.RL.}\]

But (it) was not, (it) was a pheasant.

When the negative marker nù is followed by tì as in example (107), the negative clause is as independent as the following clause. However when it is followed by the overt conjunction mëngok ‘before’ as in example (108), this type of clause becomes dependent on the following clause.

(107) Wild Pig.038

\[\text{M nè patei kheng nù ci tì amitpi nè shi-phëlet rë}\]
\[\text{... 1S ERG close.off place NEG arrive NEG 3S ERG turn-around then ...}\]

... before I arrived at the place (where I was) to close the way, it turned around and...

(108) Thief on Bus.007

\[\text{Tiritmingkëlå yalè yëv kheng nù ci mëngok khënupilë mit khat o}\]
\[\text{... Tiritmingla thing sell place NEG arrive before woman person one ABS}\]
\[\text{pasë mëkühla rong kë a-kat rë zhat net}\]
\[\text{bus door near at come-up then stand PAST.RL.}\]
... before (we) reached Tirimingkla market, a woman got on and stood near the bus door.

A clause that contains irrealis marker is also included in this band. In this language it is marked with *punet*. In example (109) the verb *këje* ‘snatch’ is followed by this marker, thus marking the event irrealis.

(109) Thief on Bus.010

```
akhutë mìt khat o leke u këje punet zë a - khit li-vu
```

... thief person one ABS money that snatch IRR that 3S - hand near-go

```
shë
IMPF ...
```

... a thief was (trying) to snatch the money and his hand was getting close to it.

The structure in example (110) also presents events which should have happened but did not happen. In this example the main verb *shüh* ‘say’ is nominalized, and is used with another modal verb *te* ‘ought’.

(110) Thief on Bus.025

```
M nënë khe kho zë ashüh te le
```

1S ERG finish IMP QUOT speech ought PRES.RL

I should have said, "Enough."

Example (111) shows the use of a conditional clause expressing irrealis. This clause is marked with *khëlë* ‘if’. Since this clause has not happened, the following clause is marked with the irrealis marker *punet*.

(111) Barking Deer.022

```
asìv khëlë kat tù punet zë khatti teng kha pa net
```

... get.up if shoot again IRR that once aim keep sit PAST.RL

... kept aiming, (I) was going to shoot (it) again if (it) got up
However in example (112) the clause following the conditional clause is not marked by *punet*. Even though this clause is marked with *le* ‘present tense’ marker, it does not mean that this happened at the time of the story. Here the red-animals are compared with the boar that they shot; these red-animals were not shot. Thus it would seem that *khëlë* by itself is sufficient to mark a clause as irrealis and that *punet* is optional.

(112) Wild Pig.056

\[
\begin{align*}
&u \quad zë \quad chok \quad khëlë \quad shok-song \quad këzheot \quad shokmëchei \quad - \quad lë \quad pë \quad jeot \quad khënët \\
&\text{that MAN hit if animal-red deer barking,deer - PL TOP leap two}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&shë \quad jeot \quad a \quad phëlong-vu \quad si \quad le \\
&\text{just leap and fall-down die PRES.RL}
\end{align*}
\]

If (they) were hurt like that, red-animals like deer (or) barking deer would jump just two steps, then (they) would fall down and die.

4.2.5 Band 5: Evaluation

The evaluation band is an intrusion by the author or the narrator. It includes performatives, evaluations and morals (Longacre 1996:24). In these Makuri texts there are authors’ intrusions and evaluations. At the end of the ‘Wild Pig Hunting’ (sentences 056-59) the narrator gives the teaching based on his experiences. Then finally he evaluates his hunting experience as in example (113).

(113) Wild Pig.060

\[
\begin{align*}
&M \quad në \quad sutsei \quad rè \quad ta \quad shok \quad loksat \quad u \quad shë \quad tsühtsa \quad më \quad mënyüv \\
&\text{1S ERG meet come in animal kill that only very NEG forget}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&zhüv \quad ti \quad net \\
&\text{able.capacity NEG EOC}
\end{align*}
\]

In my experience this is the only hunting that I cannot forget.
The narrator of the Thief on Bus also makes an evaluation at the end of the story as in example (114).

(114) Thief on Bus.050

\[ u \ nì \ \text{sutsei\ pē\ a\ -\ \text{mē\ -\ mēnyūv\ zhūv\ khat\ net} \]

that\ day \ meet\ TOP\ NR\ -\ NEG\ -\ forget\ able.capacity\ one\ PAST.RL

The experience on that day is an unforgettable one.

4.2.6 Band 6: Cohesion

Cohesive band markers are adverbials that connect the text together by repetition, or anaphoric reference to former events (Longacre 1996:24). It also includes paraphrases, relative clauses, summaries and previews. The use of temporal phrases, adverbial clauses and other sequential conjunctions can indicate cohesion for the texts too. Also this band includes head-tail linkage clauses. In relation to the back reference, this band overlaps with the background band. Since it often repeats information which is already known, it is the lowest band in the salience scheme.

In this language, cohesion is expressed by the use of temporal phrases, overlap clauses, sequential conjunctions, and summary statements; they show the relationship between the chunks in a text. Temporal phrases that express cohesion include \textit{atiti\ vu\ ra\ ‘the first night of going’}, \textit{asēri\ ‘the next morning’}, \textit{u tētū\ kē\ ‘at that time’}, and \textit{u\ ni\ kē\ ‘on that day’}. In example (115) there is an overlap clause. Some parts of the final clause from the preceding sentence are repeated in the first part of the following sentence. The repeated parts of the sentences are bolded.
(115) Wild Pig.037

(zë-süh-khëlë M në patei punct no zë shūh tat kha a M ket
that-do-if 1S ERG close.off IRR okay QUOT say PROMP keep and 1S also)

patei pu vu net
close.off IRR go PAST.RL

(I) said, "If so, I will close off (the way), Okay" and I also went to close off
the way.

Wild Pig.038

(unë patei pu jöng vu te
thus close.off IRR run go when ...)

So when (I) ran to close off (the way), ...

In this language adverbials such as u shūv, u che, zë sa ‘after that’, u në, u tengla
në ‘thus’, shūv ‘after’, tēshūv ‘because’, and tü ‘when’ mark a clause as belonging
to the cohesive band. In sentence 038 there is an adverbial u në ‘thus/ so’,
which connects this clause to what was said in previous sentences.

Summary statements also express cohesion in these narratives. The
determination in example (116) is connecting the preceding events with the
events that follow after it. This determination was made as a result of the
narrator not getting any game in previous events.

(116) Wild Pig.007

(unë kētē-süh-a-ketket shok loksat a shē khēye nong vu punct zë
thus what-be-then-any animal kill then only house return go IRR that

asēri khatti pa net
next.night once stay PAST.RL)

Thus (I) stayed again the next night (thinking) that somehow (I) would kill
an animal, only then (I) would go back home.

Example (117) is another summary statement introducing the purpose for the
following events. In this sentence there are references to the previous events by
the use of *u shūv* ‘after that’ and *mulüsei tIU u* ‘that gooseberry tree’. The whole idea of building a blind and sitting on it is leading up to the events that follow after it, thus creating cohesion in the narrative.

(117) Barking Deer.011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ut</th>
<th>Shūv</th>
<th>M o</th>
<th>Mulū-sei</th>
<th>Tiu</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>Chak</th>
<th>Pasang</th>
<th>Te</th>
<th>Rē nē</th>
<th>Pa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>gooseberry-fruit</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>blind</td>
<td>build</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

net
PAST.RL

After that I built a blind on that gooseberry [fruit] tree and sat (on it).

4.2.7 Promotion and demotion

In the salience scheme, demotion and promotion take place when the use of grammatical subordination or relativization occurs in a clause. The use of back-reference to the preceding clause also demotes that clause to a lower level of the salience scheme (Longacre 1996:3-5). In these three narratives, though there is no instance of promotion, the demotion of storyline events to the background band are found. The use of the adverbial conjunction *te/ te nē* ‘when’ demotes a storyline clause to the background band by making it a dependent clause as in example (118). In this example the storyline verb *kat* ‘shoot’ occurs with another storyline marker *tat*, but when it is followed by *te* ‘when’, this clause is backgrounds. However, it is noteworthy that this adverbial has less dependency in this language compared to the other similar adverbial *tū* ‘when’.

(118) Wild Pig.012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uche</th>
<th>Sangmi</th>
<th>Chak</th>
<th>Cong</th>
<th>Nē</th>
<th>Shē</th>
<th>Meikēsūh</th>
<th>Khanglū</th>
<th>Rē nē</th>
<th>Kat</th>
<th>Tat</th>
<th>Te</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>stump</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>PRT</td>
<td>just</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td>pull-up</td>
<td>then</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>PROMP</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then just from the stump (I) pulled up the gun and when (I) shot (it), ...
Reduplication of an event verb, which creates meaning of the verb that extends through time is another demoting element. In example (119) the event verb peng ‘swell’ is repeated, thus demoting the storyline clause to the background band (see also 4.2.1).

(119) **Thief on Bus.041**

\[ u \ tï \ a \ - \ tsüt \ o \ tsïhtsa \ peng \ peng \ rë \ net \]

that time 3S - face ABS very swell swell come PAST.RL

(Then) at that time his face became very swollen.

**4.3 Summary**

In this chapter the Makuri texts are analyzed following Longacre’s framework, and a salience scheme for Makuri narrative is proposed. Makuri narrative discourse has six bands. The storyline band is the first one in the hierarchy of this salience scheme. This band is found in the independent clauses of the text. As it is expressed by Longacre, these clauses are the backbone of the story which moves the story forward. They are punctiliar, volitional, and sequential happenings. In this language the storyline verbs such as motions, actions, speech acts, cognitive events, and events proper are marked by final particles and sequential conjunctions.

The background band is the second band in the scheme. The verbs of the background band are characterized by present tense, perfect aspect and continuous aspect markers. Durative aspect markers in this band are marked by reduplication of the event verbs and by using repetitive particles. This band also includes the events that are flashbacks. Clauses that belong to the setting band contain equative particles, descriptive verbs, existential verbs, and stative verbs.
The irrealis band is marked by the use of negative markers and the conditional conjunction. The evaluative band is the expression of the narrators’ feelings and opinions about the situation. The last band is the cohesive band. It is established by using overlap clauses and adverbal clauses. A summary chart for the proposed salience scheme in Makuri narrative is given in Table 19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Storyline ranking</th>
<th>Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1    | Storyline         | event verb + net ‘past tense’  
event verb + ceot ‘CMPL’ + net ‘past tense’  
event verb + tar ‘PROMP’ + net ‘past tense’  
event verb + lūv BEN / pit NO.BEN + net ‘past tense’  
event verb + sit causative marker + net ‘past tense’  
event verb + sequential conjunctions:-  
[following the clause- af anë/, rë/ rënë, asa/ asanë, në ‘and’/ ‘then’/ ‘and then’]  
[preceding the clause- tel tenë ‘then’ te pushit ‘then’, u shëv/ uche/ zësa ‘after that’] |
| 2    | Background        | event verb + le ‘present tense’  
event verb + lei / leilei ‘perfect’  
event verb + shë ‘continuous tense’  
event verb + -tei -repetition  
event verb + event verb -duplication  
kha ‘keep-durative’  
flashbacks |
| 3    | Setting           | N + N + net ‘EOC’ (equative final particle)  
süh ‘be’ + lei / leilei ‘exist’ + net ‘past tense’  
Adj + net ‘past tense’  
zhat ‘stand’ -stative verbs |
| 4    | Irrealis          | ma/ më, më...ti, yiu, nü ‘not’  
pu (net) ‘will’ (future tense)  
kñëlë ‘if’ (conditional conjunction) |
| 5    | Evaluation        | author intrusion |
| 6    | Cohesion          | overlap clauses and adverbials  
[tü ‘when/during’, tel tenë ‘when’, shëv ‘after’,  
u shëv/ uche/ zësa ‘after that’, u zë ‘like that’  
tanë/ tanëket ‘but’, u në ‘thus’  
tal anëket ‘though’] |

Table 19: Proposed Salience bands of Makuri narrative

Storyline band is demoted to non-storyline band, especially to background band, by use of the adverbial te ‘when’ and reduplication of event verbs. There is no instance of elements that promote non-storyline bands to storyline in these
stories. More research is needed to determine whether this language does or does not have such elements.
This chapter presents a literature review on participant reference, and proposes a schema for the participant reference system of Makuri narrative.

5.1 Literature review

Dooley and Levinsohn present two reasons to analyze how participants are referred to: firstly “a hearer needs to understand who is doing what to whom, secondly a producer of discourse needs to be able to make the same kind of information clear to the hearers or readers” (2001:111). There are different ways to refer to the participants that have already been introduced. The system of reference within a text accomplishes three tasks: semantic, discourse-pragmatic and processing (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:112). ‘Semantic’ means indentifying the referents unambiguously to distinguish them from other possible ones. ‘Discourse-pragmatic’ means signaling the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform. ‘Processing’ means overcoming disruptions in the flow of information.

According to Givón (1983), the grammatical devices used for participant reference have a ranking scale. This scale moves from the most coded material, which is a full noun phrase, to the least coded material, which is null reference. When a participant has high activation status in a narrative, it requires less
encoding. The increased encoding, such as a full noun phrase, is needed for participants that have low activation status.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:117-119) posit two strategies to analyze the system of participant reference: sequential and VIP (very important participant). In a sequential strategy, the referent of the subject of the main clause looks back to the subject of the previous main clause. Regarding the VIP strategy Grimes, as quoted in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:119), states that “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”. Even though the sequential strategy is used to analyze the activated subjects in Makuri narratives, these stories also employ the VIP strategy to refer to participants. In this strategy the main participant is active throughout the text and has less encoding than the other participants.

Dooley and Levinsohn (2001:130) suggest a methodology to identify the contexts where the activated subjects occur. There are four contexts: S1, S2, S3, and S4. The current subject is in an S1 context when it is the same as the subject of the previous sentence. If the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence, it is an S2 context. The subject is in an S3 context if it was a non-subject in the previous sentence. An S4 context refers to any other changes of the subject other than S2 or S3. This method proposes a default pattern of reference for each context, and investigates the motivation for the references which have marked encoding.

In addition, there are extended environments in two of these contexts.
When the subject and other participants in the action of the previous clause are included in the next clause, this is usually treated as the same subject (S1) for the purpose of participant encoding. ... When a member of a group of participants that featured in the previous clause becomes the subject of the next clause, this is treated as S4 (Levisohn 2000:3).

The participant encodings for Makuri narratives are discussed below.

5.2 The proposed rules for participant reference in Makuri texts

This section describes participant reference in each of the three texts and proposes a tentative default encoding for the participants which are in subject position in Makuri texts. The number of occurrences in each context for the activated subjects is counted to determine the default encoding. Then the type of encoding that has the highest percentage is chosen as default. The three types of participant reference employed in these texts are zero anaphora, pronoun, and noun phrase’. The detailed charts of participant encodings are included in Appendix 1, 2 and 3 for reference.

5.2.1 Wild Pig Hunting

This text is a first person narrative and it has two human participants, the narrator and his friend, and the wild pig which was shot. The main participant is the narrator himself. He is active throughout the text. There is no explicit reference to him until another participant comes into the scene in sentence 009, where they are introduced with the noun phrase yepu Yongcuv mjë ‘friend Yongcuv, the two of us’. The introduction of another participant, the friend, much later indicates that he is a less important participant than the narrator.

---

7 Noun phrase appositions are simplified as one NP in this analysis, e.g., yepu Yongcuv mjë ‘friend Yongcuv we (dual)” is a noun phrase in Wild Pig 009.
Moreover the friend appears and disappears from the scene. Then there are the wild pigs, of which the third one is the one they were following. This one is introduced with a modifier *ateikhat* ‘big’ as in example (120), whereas the preceding ones are introduced with a simple NP as *mēlūt khat* ‘a boar’.

[(120) Wild Pig.011]

\[
\text{lūh tiu rong li-vu nē } \underline{\text{mēlūt ateikhat}} \text{ zhat lei net}
\]

\[
\text{...banana tree to near-go and } \underline{\text{boar big}} \text{ stand STAT PAST.RL}
\]

... near the banana tree a big boar was standing.

The last part of this text in sentences 046-059 is the author's evaluation and the teaching; this does not fit in the narrative discourse. It is more like a hortatory discourse. Therefore it is excluded from the analysis of participant reference.

5.2.1.1 Default encoding

Table 20 below shows the default encoding in Wild Pig Hunting in each context.

The S1 context, where the subject is the same as the subject of the previous sentence, uses zero anaphora for 90% of the occurrences. Zero anaphora is therefore proposed as the default for the S1 context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>S1 (same as previous)</th>
<th>S2 (addressee of previous)</th>
<th>S3 (non-subj of previous)</th>
<th>S4 (others)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant encoding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>PRO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Ø?</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Wild Pig Hunting

The S3 context, where the subject is a participant which was non-subject in the preceding clause, uses zero anaphora for 48% of the occurrences. The default for this context cannot be proposed. Also the default for the S2 context cannot
be proposed at this point for there is only one occurrence in the whole narrative. The S4 context employs zero anaphora in 76% of the occurrences. Therefore the default for the S4 context can be proposed as zero anaphora.

In the S4 contexts the use of zero anaphora can be explained by the contexts where they occur. However, the references to the participants at the beginning (001) and at the end (045) of this story are not clear; they can be a dual first person pronoun or a singular first person pronoun. Thirteen out of 22 instances of zero anaphora occur in the context where the participants are human versus non-human, which explains who the actor is, as in sentences 005b, 006b, 010c, 012a, 027a, etc. In sentences 009b, 036b and 043c the subject is identified by the presence of the object (the third person pronoun which refers to the friend) since there are only two human participants in this story.

In the case of an instance of zero anaphora referring to the boar, it is clarified by the use of directional verbs, such as ali ‘come towards the speaker’ which tells that it was the boar that came close to him in sentence 028, and tsëi ‘go away from the speaker’ in sentence 029. Then there is one occurrence of zero anaphora referring to the friend. This reference is clear from the content of the quote as in example (121).

(121) Wild Pig.034

\[
\text{kêtë më sûh a kêtë më lokngak a zë tsang} \\
\text{what NEG happen INT what NEG hurt INT QUOT ask ...}
\]

(He) asked (me), "Nothing happened (to you)? Nothing hurt (you)?" ...
5.2.1.2 Marked encoding

The marked encodings other than default are studied to propose the rules or the contexts under which they may occur. In this text the S1 context uses five more encodings. Table 21 presents them with the encodings used for the grammatical subject and the context in which they occurred.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S#</th>
<th>Marked encoding</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>027a</td>
<td>PRO + V (=N+V)</td>
<td><em>M kēsūt sa</em> 1S voice shout</td>
<td>-a compound verb that requires a pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>033a</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td><em>amitpi</em> 3S</td>
<td>-a change from speech to narrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>037b</td>
<td>PRO + ADV</td>
<td><em>M ket</em> 1S also</td>
<td>-relating the preceding event where he sent his friend to track the animal in 36b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>038b</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td><em>M nē</em> 1S ERG</td>
<td>-the narrator and the boar are compared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>044b</td>
<td>PRO + CASE + ADV</td>
<td><em>amitpi nē ket</em> 3S ERG also</td>
<td>-the action verb <em>kat</em> ‘shoot’ from 42c is repeated here by another person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Marked encoding for the subject slot in Wild Pig Hunting

In sentence 027a (line 1 in the chart) the subject is the narrator. Following the back reference clause, zero anaphora is expected here. But the pronoun *m* ‘I’ is used, because this type of verb usually requires a pronoun. This kind of verb consists of a verb and a noun, which is usually a body part. This occurrence of a pronoun is like a possessive pronoun to the noun *kēsūt* ‘voice’, and together this noun phrase could be the subject.

The use of a pronoun in sentence 033a (line 2) is due to the change from speech to the narrative. Sentences 037 and 044 (lines 3 and 5) are relating the present event with the preceding event; the same event is acted again by another participant; thus a reference is required for clarity. In such cases the subject or
the subject with the case marker is usually followed by *ket* ‘also’. Then in
sentence 038b (line 4) the narrator and the boar are mentioned in relation to
going to a place where the boar was, before the narrator arrived there. It is
also noted that in the preposed clause with *nü* ‘before/ not-yet’ the subject is
provided in all instances 027a, 033a and 038b. So the motivations for all of the
exceptions to the rule that should appear in S1 context are accounted for.

In the S3 contexts the default is zero anaphora, and the increased encoding is
used when there is a comparison with the previous event as in sentence 006a *u
ket* ‘that also’, the pronoun and the adverb. Then there are more encodings for
the narrator at the peak episode in sentences 027h, 029d and 031b. They occur
in the detailed description of the scene when he was attacked by the boar. The
increased participant encoding could be a peak-marking feature.

In the S4 contexts the increased encoding is used for minor participants, and is
used to refer to the boar three times using *melūt u* ‘the boar’ as in 012a, 014c,
and 022a. The last two of them occur at the boundary break of a new episode.
Also two other noun phrases are used to refer to *pong thëzhitpu* ‘the eighth place’
in sentence 20b, and the *khëvok si* ‘dry bamboo’ in 027k. These are the
peripheral references, thus requiring more encoding. Also in the S4 context
pronouns are used in 013a, 024, 026a and 038c. The first three occurrences *m*
‘1S’ is used only for the narrator and *mjë* ‘1DU_incl’ is used only for the narrator
and his friend. Since these pronouns are used only for the narrator and his
friend, using them is as clear using a noun phrase. Then the use of *amitpi* ‘it’ for
the boar is clear from the clauses that follow it as in example (122). Thus the
stimulus for all these exceptions to the rule can be justified in this context.

(122) Wild Pig.038

\[
amipu \ n\ 'n\ \ shi\-phëlet \ r\ 'n\ \ a\-nyüktü \ n\ 'n\ \ song \ a\ \ züng \ zë
\]
... 3S   ERG turn-around then 3S- eye INST red ADVR see MAN

\[
a\-phüh \ khüv \ n\ 'n\ \ katkatmi \ a\-khêmûv \ ra \ ceot \ a \ zhat \ lei
\]
3S- tooth sound PRT ONOM 3S- hair spread COMPL and stand STAT

\[
et
\]
PAST.RL

...before I arrived at the place where I was to close the way it turned around
and stood (there) looking (at me) with its eyes red and grinding its teeth,
(and) spreading its hair.

5.2.2 Barking Deer Hunting

This text is another first person narrative. Here the main participants are the
narrator and his friend. They are introduced at the beginning of the story as \( m \)
yepu mjë ‘my friend, the two of us’ as in example (123).

(123) Barking Deer.003

\[
khatnikhat \ pë \ M \ ye pu \ mjë \ cetei \ net
\]
at.one.day TOP 1S friend 1DU.excl discuss PAST.RL

One day my friend and I talked.

It has many minor participants and they are introduced with a noun phrase, such
as \( m \) pilë ‘my mother (and family)’ (036b), \( m \) pok ‘my father’ (040a), thëlülë
‘villagers’ (043b), and thongpu ‘chief’ (044a). All of these minor participants are
mentioned in the post-peak episode. The prop shokmëchei ‘barking deer’ is
introduced in sentence 017c with an adverb pushit ‘just’ indicating emphasis.
5.2.2.1 Default encoding

Table 22 presents the default encodings in each context for Barking Deer Hunting. Zero anaphora is proposed as default encoding for the S1 and S3 contexts. In the S2 context the default is a noun phrase. The noun phrase is used for participants other than the narrator. The pronoun is employed only for the narrator in this text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>S1 (same as previous)</th>
<th>S2 (addressee of previous)</th>
<th>S3 (non-subj of previous)</th>
<th>S4 (others)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant encoding</td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>PRO (6)</td>
<td>NP (5)</td>
<td>NP (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRO (3)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>PRO (2)</td>
<td>PRO (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (37)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (8)</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>NP? (5)</td>
<td>Ø (8)</td>
<td>NP (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Barking Deer Hunting

So in the S4 context also the subject slot employs only the pronoun (m ‘1S’) for the narrator twelve out of thirteen times, except va ‘1Pl.excl’, which is used once for the family in sentence 042b, and even though in this case the narrator is included. Noun phrases are used for the friend and other references. Thus the default for the S4 context is a noun phrase, even though the number of occurrences for the noun phrase is nearly the same as for the pronoun.

5.2.2.2 Marked encoding

There are eight instances of increased encoding found in the S1 contexts in this text. They are listed below in Table 23. The last two shown in the list (sentences 044b & 050a) are noun phrases and the other occurrences are pronouns.
Table 23: Marked encoding for the subject slot in Barking Deer Hunting

The increased encodings for the S1 context in sentences 018b and 019a are pronouns; they occur with the verbs that are made up with a noun (see also 5.2.1.2 Wild Pig 027a). Because these nouns are body parts, they need a type of possessive pronoun occurring in the subject slot. On the other hand they occur in the detailed description of the situation, which has an increased tension.

Then there is the use of dual pronouns in sentences 006a, 033a and 041d&f. The increased encoding in 006a occurs in the explanation of the preceding event, marking the prominence of the participants. The one in 033a is a special occurrence of the S1 context where the preceding sentence has both parties in the subject and in the object. In the preceding clauses there are initiative moves (IM) and resolving moves (RM) repeated twice (see Dooley & Levinsohn 2001:4-5). This is the third RM of the speech act, and this occurrence of increased encoding gives clarity to the event. The last increased encodings in the S1
context are found in clauses 041d&f; both are used for emphasis as well as for clarity. Here the narrator and the friend are in the company of the narrator’s family; the narrator made sure that it was mjë ‘we (dual)’ who sì riú têi ‘helped each other’ and mjë ‘we (dual)’ who shared the meat equally.

There are also two noun phrases in the S1 context in sentences 044b and 050a. The former uses thongpu mjë ‘chief the two of us’, a title with a dual pronoun, and the latter uses m pok ‘my father’, a possessive pronoun with a kinship term. Besides the narrator’s relationship to the referents, more encoding is needed because they are the minor participants in this narrative.

In the S2 contexts and S4 contexts there is less encoding, such as pronoun and zero anaphora. The instance of zero anaphora in sentence 037a of the S2 context is identified from the statement inside the quote as in example (124).

(124) Barking Deer.037

\begin{verbatim}
  tanëket atiti sîh tengla tsihtsâ më lengsut tì acang a la zë
  but first be because well NEG believe NEG truly INT INT QUOT

  mënìtì zë tsang net
  smile and ask PAST.RL
\end{verbatim}

But (she) did not believe (me) really because it was the first time, (she) smiled and asked, "Is it true?"

There are also six occurrences of zero anaphora in the S4 context. Except for 043b, these occurrences (015a, 017b, 022a, 022b and 022c) are in a context where there are only two kinds of participants, human vs. non-human. The narrator is the only human actor involved here. The only reference to the barking deer is in sentence 022b, stated in a conditional clause. In sentence
043b the zero anaphora is understood from the phrase \textit{m tengshe ta yeng në ‘from my share’} within the sentence, as in example (125).

\begin{example}
(125) Barking Deer.043

\textit{M tengshe ta yeng në vēluā khepi yeng mēsak hūhtūhzang \textit{pit} \textit{...1S share in POSS INST villager all RECIp gift.meat little.each give}}

\textit{net PAST.RL}

... (I) gave a gift of some meat [each] to all the villagers from my share.

Then the rest of the less encoded participant references in S2 and S4 contexts employ the first person pronoun, which is used only for the narrator. Thus the motivation for all exceptions to the rule are accounted for.

\subsection*{5.2.3 Thief on Bus}

The Thief on Bus text is a third person narrative where the narrator is mostly the audience of the action, thus indicating that the other participant is more important than the narrator. In sentence 001 the reference to the narrator is with a zero anaphora; then inside the quote in sentence 002 he is mentioned with a pronoun \textit{m ‘I’}. The other participant is introduced at the beginning of the narrative as \textit{azeipu Cūvpi ‘teacher Cuvpi’}, using a title and a name. Later he is referred to with the title \textit{azeipu ‘teacher’}, pronouns \textit{amiut ‘3S’, në ‘2S’, nēsa ‘2PL’} referring to the teacher with the thief and his friends, and zero anaphora. In addition, \textit{mjē ‘1DU_incl’} is employed only for the narrator and the teacher.

Then there are minor participants such as \textit{khēnupilē mit khat ‘a woman’, teoshatlē ‘drunkards’, akhutlē mit khat ‘a thief’, and bystanders. These minor participants are introduced with an indefinite noun phrase; for instance the woman is first
introduced with a noun, classifier and number, a typical non-specific reference as in example (126).

(126) Thief on Bus.007

...a woman got on and stood near the bus door.

5.2.3.1 Default encoding

Table 24 presents the default encodings for the Thief on Bus text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>S1 (same as previous)</th>
<th>S2 (addressee of previous)</th>
<th>S3 (non-subj of previous)</th>
<th>S4 (others)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant encoding</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>NP (8)</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRO (22)</td>
<td>PRO (5)</td>
<td>PRO (2)</td>
<td>PRO (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>Ø (22)</td>
<td>NP (4)</td>
<td>PRO (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 24: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Thief on Bus**

In the S1 context, zero anaphora occurs 66% of the time; thus it is considered as the default encoding. The default for the S2 context is weak and there is not enough evidence to propose whether it is a zero anaphora or a pronoun at this stage. Also in this text, the occurrences of the S3 context is too small to propose a default. The default for the S4 context is proposed as a pronoun, which has the highest percent of the total occurrences. However, a noun phrase is likely to be the default, since in the occurrences of the two pronouns m ‘1S’ and mjë ‘1DU’ in this context, it is predictable who the referent is.
5.2.3.2 Marked encoding

In the S1 context there are eleven increased encodings; eight pronouns and three noun phrases as listed in Table 25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S#</th>
<th>Marked encoding</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>008</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td>amiat o 3S ABS</td>
<td>-irrealis, author’s evaluation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>010b</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td>amiat nè 3S ERG</td>
<td>-for clarity because there are many participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>026</td>
<td>PRO + CASE + ADV</td>
<td>M nè ket 1S ERG also</td>
<td>-prominence highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>027a</td>
<td>PRO + ADV</td>
<td>M ket 1S also</td>
<td>-prominence highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>032</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td>M nè 1S ERG</td>
<td>-prominence highlighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>040a</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td>mjë o 1DU, excl ABS</td>
<td>-episode break -dual (X+Y= Z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>045</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td>M nè 1S ERG</td>
<td>-prominence highlighting -make amends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>047</td>
<td>PRO + CASE</td>
<td>mjë o 1DU, excl ABS</td>
<td>-episode break -dual (X+Y= Z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>021</td>
<td>PRO + CASE + ADV</td>
<td>hu nè ket who ERG even</td>
<td>-bystanders -neg,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>022a</td>
<td>NP (PP + REL + ADV) + CASE</td>
<td>u ta pa - lè akhepi that in sit - persons all o 1DU excl ABS</td>
<td>- bystanders -contrast with no one vs all -emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>039</td>
<td>N + CASE</td>
<td>zeipu nè teacher ERG</td>
<td>-key moral prominence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25: Marked encoding for the subject slot in Thief on Bus

The pronoun in sentence 008 occurs in a situation when the narrator made an evaluation of what the woman might have done. Here the subject amiat ‘3S’ is topicalized with the case marking o. In sentence 010 there are many other participants and props involved: “the teacher”, “the drunkards” and “the thief”,

111
and “the money”. The use of the increased encoding with a pronoun clarifies that the referent is the teacher.

Other instances of increased encoding with a pronoun are used for the narrator in sentences 026, 027a, 032 and 045 to express prominence. Moreover in sentence 040a and 047 there are dual pronouns. This increased encoding occurs in the S1 context at the break of the episode. The occurrences of a pronoun in sentence 021 and a noun phrase in sentence 022a refer to the bystanders in the bus. They need more encoding because they are minor participants in the narrative. Then the occurrences of two consecutive noun phrases in the S1 context are due to the contrastive statement of them ‘no one’ vs. ‘all’ as in example (127).

(127) Thief on Bus.021

\[\text{tanëket hu nē ket ye khe kho zē mē shūh} \]
\[\text{but who ERG even oh finish IMP QUOT NEG say} \]

But nobody said, "Oh, enough."

Thief on Bus.022

\[\text{u ta pa - lē akhepi o kēcēi - sat ceot rē} \]
\[\text{that in sit - persons all ABS shock - INTS COMPL then …} \]

All the people sitting on that (bus) also were so shocked...

Another noun phrase in sentence 039 refers to the teacher in the S1 context. It highlights the key moral prominence inside the quote as in example (128).

(128) Thief on Bus.039

\[\text{u shūv shē azeipu nē Atengpu mē mētsi tatla thokni pē M nē ket} \]
\[\text{that after only teacher ERG God NEG know if today TOP IS ERG also} \]
\[\text{shu mēlei ceot khūvt tanëket Tengpu philūv sūh - lē nē u} \]
\[\text{hit get.back COMPL PFT but God field do - persons ERG that} \]
After that, the teacher said, "If I did not know God, today (I) would have (fought) [hit back]. But (I) did not fight back since it is not good for a minister to do [like] that."

In the S4 context there are nine instances of less encoding: seven pronoun occurrences and two zero anaphora. The context makes it clear that the pronoun m ‘1S’ (016, 025, 028b, 042 and 044c) is employed only for the narrator and mjë ‘1DU’ (004 and 006) is used only for the narrator and the teacher. In this text the use of pronouns is as clear as the use of noun phrases.

There are two occurrences of zero anaphora employed for the thief and his friends. This referent is made clear by the event they performed. The only actors who shu ‘hit’ are the thief and his friends in this text. All exceptions to the rule have some kind of motivation for them, either by the event they performed or by the context.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has analyzed participant reference in three Makuri narratives using the methodology presented by Dooley and Levinsohn. Noun phrases are employed to introduce participants either in the subject position or object position. There are default strategies to track participants once they are introduced. When all the occurrences of the S1 context in all three texts are merged, zero anaphora has 80% of occurrences as in Table 26. The evidence is even stronger in the first person narrative genre, which has 87%. Therefore we
can clearly propose that the default for S1 context is the zero anaphora for this small sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>total S1 in all the narratives</th>
<th>total S1 in two first person narratives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant encoding</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PRO (19)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (59)</td>
<td>(85)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>Ø 59</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 26: Proposed default encoding for the S1 context**

All the exceptions to the rule in this context have one of the following motivations why the participant is marked as such. The subject needs more encoding when there is discontinuity, when two events or two actors are contrastive and when the compound verb requires a pronoun. More encoding is also needed for prominence, clarity, for kinship terms, and for minor participants.

The rest of the S2, S3 and S4 contexts for the three texts have to be considered differently as the results from analysis of each text differ from each other. The differences are due to two factors interacting between them. First, the text genre is different. The Wild Pig Hunting and the Barking Deer Hunting narratives are first person narratives and the Thief on Bus is a third person narrative. The first two narratives have the narrators as the main participants, but in the third person narrative the main participant is other than the narrator. Second, the number of participants involved is different. The Wild Pig Hunting text has only two human participants, with the narrator being the major participant, whereas the other two narratives have two participants with other bystanders.
According to the analysis of each of the texts, the second factor, which is the number of participants, is more important for grouping the narratives. Thus, the Barking Deer Hunting and the Thief on Bus narratives are studied separately from the Wild Pig Hunting narrative. Based on this analysis of Wild Pig Hunting, in a narrative where only two participants are involved and one of them as the main participant, the default encoding is mostly zero anaphora in all four contexts. In this text if the participants are human versus non-human, zero anaphora is commonly employed, and when there are two human participants involved the context makes it clear who the subject is.

The proposed default encoding for narratives that have more than two participants is displayed in Table 27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>S1 (same as previous)</th>
<th>S2 (addressee of previous)</th>
<th>S3 (non-subj of previous)</th>
<th>S4 (others)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>NP (5)</td>
<td>NP (6)</td>
<td>NP (5)</td>
<td>NP (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>encoding</td>
<td>PRO (14)</td>
<td>PRO (8)</td>
<td>PRO (4)</td>
<td>PRO (20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (59)</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (9)</td>
<td>Ø (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Default</td>
<td>Ø 59</td>
<td>PRO 8</td>
<td>Ø 9</td>
<td>PRO 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 27: Proposed default encoding for the subject slot in Makuri narrative**

In the S1 context the default is zero anaphora, which occurs 76% of the time. In the S4 context the pronoun is used for the narrator, and the noun phrase is used for other participants. Thus the default can be a noun phrase or a pronoun. If the narrator’s involvement in the mainline of the story is less, this context might employ a noun phrase more often. When the participant is the addressee of the previous speech act (S2), a pronoun is used for the participant in 40% of the occurrences. The only sample of the S2 referent found in Wild Pig Hunting is a
zero anaphora. Since the evidence is not strong in the S2, we cannot propose
default encodings for this context in this analysis. When the participant is the
object of the previous statement (S3), null reference is used for 50% of the
occurrences. Thus the default for the S3 context can be proposed as zero
anaphora for this small sample.
Chapter 6

Conclusion

This thesis has described some discourse features of Makuri Naga narratives in order to understand how Makuri people tell their narratives, using boundary markings, salience schemes and participant reference. A summary of each chapter and proposed further research are presented below.

6.1 Summary findings

The first two chapters provided the basis for the analysis of these three chapters. Chapter one presented an introduction to the Makuri language and its people. It presented a phonological sketch and the grammatical features of the language. The grammar description introduced different kinds of structures at phrase and clause level, which serves as a foundation for charting the texts and prepares for the later analysis. Chapter two presented a brief overview of discourse typology in relation to narrative discourse and a synopsis of the texts.

Chapter three provides macro-segmentations of the texts. The texts are broken into chunks using boundary marking features and internal unity features. The following features are most frequently found to mark the boundaries in Makuri Naga: time change, participant change, location change, grammatical marker and overlap clause. Direct address, descriptive clause, and summary statements are used less frequently. The most prominent markers are time change and
participant change. Internal unity within the chunk is marked by having the same participants, the same time, the same location, topic continuity, lexical coherence, logical coherence and parallel forms.

More boundary markers occur at the prepeak episodes than later in the Wild Pig Hunting text and the Thief on Bus text. But the Barking Deer Hunting text has more boundary markers at the peak episode. Stronger boundary markings also occur at the post-peak episode in the Barking Deer Hunting text and the Thief on Bus text. Thus more texts need to be analyzed to propose this as a pattern.

Chapter four proposes a salience scheme for Makuri narratives. This salience scheme has six bands. The storyline band is the most salient band in the hierarchy of this scheme. In this language the storyline verbs are marked by the past tense marker *net* with or without other final particles and sequential conjunctions preceding or following the clause. The second band in the scheme is the background band. Flashback also is included in this band. The verbs of the background events are marked by present tense, perfect tense and continuous tense markers. Durative aspect markers in this band are marked by reduplication of the event verbs and by using repetitive particles. The third band is the setting band. These clauses contain equative particles, descriptive verbs, existential verbs, and stative verbs. The irrealis band is marked by the use of negative markers and the conditional conjunction. The evaluative band is the author’s intrusion in the narrative. The last band is the cohesive band. It uses overlap clauses and adverbial clauses. The above description is again summarized in Table 28.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Band</th>
<th>Storyline ranking</th>
<th>Markers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1    | Storyline        | event verb + *net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + *ceot* ‘CMPL’ + *net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + *tat* ‘PROMP’ + *net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + *lüv* BEN / *pit* NO.BEN + *net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + *sit* causative marker + *net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + sequential conjunctions [a/ anë/, rë/ rënë, asa/ asanë, në ‘and’/ ‘then’/ ‘and then’, tel/ tenë ‘then’, te pushit ‘then’, u shüv/ uche/ zësa ‘after that’]  
| 2    | Background       | event verb + *le* ‘present tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + *lei* / *leilei* ‘perfect’  
|      |                  | event verb + *shë* ‘continuous tense’  
|      |                  | event verb + *-tei* -repetition  
|      |                  | event verb + event verb -duplication  
|      |                  | event verb + *kha* ‘keep-durative’ flashbacks  
| 3    | Setting          | *N + N + net* ‘EOC’ (equative final particle)  
|      |                  | *süh* ‘be’ + *lei* / *leilei* ‘exist’ + *net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | *Adj + net* ‘past tense’  
|      |                  | *zhat* ‘stand’ -stative verbs  
| 4    | Irrealis         | *ma/ më, më...ti, yiu, nü ‘not’*  
|      |                  | *pu (net)* ‘will’ (future tense)  
|      |                  | *këhë* ‘if’ (conditional conjunction)  
| 5    | Evaluation       | author intrusion  
| 6    | Cohesion         | overlap clauses and adverbials  
|      |                  | [ni ‘when/ during’, tel/ tenë ‘when’, shüv ‘after’, u shüv/ uche/ zësa ‘after that’, u zë ‘like that’  
|      |                  | tanë/ tanëket ‘but’, u në ‘thus’  
|      |                  | tal/ anëket ‘though’]  

**Table 28: Proposed salience bands of Makuri narrative**

The storyline clauses are demoted to the background band when a storyline verb is reduplicated or when a clause uses the adverbials *te* ‘when’ at the end of the clause. No elements that promote non-storyline bands to storyline are found in these stories. More texts need to be studied to determine whether this language does or does not have such elements.

Chapter five presented participant reference in three Makuri narratives. Noun phrases are used to introduce participants either in the subject position or object position. The default for tracking a participant which is the same subject as the subject of previous sentence (S1) is zero anaphora, it occurs 80% of the time. In
this context, the exceptions to the increased encodings are found at the episode breaks, and when the referents or events contrast with the preceding clauses and when the referent is the minor participant or prop. More encoding is required for clarity when many participants are involved in a sentence. An increased encoding is also employed for prominence of the referent.

In a narrative like the Wild Pig Hunting text, where only two human participants are involved and one of them as the main participant, the default encoding is mostly zero anaphora in all four contexts. In such cases if the participants are human versus non-human, zero anaphora is commonly employed for the human; and when there are two human participants involved, the context makes it clear who the subject is.

In a narrative where a narrator and the other participants with bystanders are involved, the S4 context uses a pronoun for the narrator and the noun phrase for other participants. Thus for this context, the default can be a noun phrase or a pronoun. If the narrator’s involvement in the mainline of the story is less, this context might employ a noun phrase more often. The default for the S3 context can be zero anaphora, which occurs 50% of the time. However, default for the S2 environment cannot be proposed in this analysis.

6.2 Further research

More texts of the same genre need to be analyzed to confirm the findings in this analysis. The texts studied in this research are mainly first person narratives where the narrator is a major participant with two or few other participants. Therefore the narratives which have more participants will be valuable for future
study. Other genres, such as third person narrative, exhortation, exposition and procedure could also be studied.

This research has studied a limited set of discourse features of the Makuri language. It has only described boundary, mainline, and participant reference. Information structure, quote formula and many other discourse features have been left for further research. Examining texts which have more dialogue would clarify the default encoding for the S2 context, which is not proposed in this thesis.

It would also be interesting to compare this study with the discourse features of other Tibeto-Burman languages in the future. This is a large area of research, for discourse study has just begun in these languages.

There is also a need for further investigation in the phonology and the grammar of the language, as this thesis only gives a brief introduction. It would be good to continue collecting and interlinearizing texts for both documentation and corpus research.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDIX 1

PARTICIPANT ENCODINGS: WILD PIG HUNTING

The Wild Pig Hunting text has three participants: narrator (1), friend Yongcuv (2) and the wild pig (3) which was shot. There are three props: the first wild pig (p1), the second wild pig (p2) and the gun (p3). The numbers in parentheses refer to the referents. Minor participants are indicated by English translation without a Makuri word, e.g., 7a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Non-Subj</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ø (1 &amp; 2)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>went hunting when the rice field was ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>atiti vura</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>mëlüt khat N (Intro-p1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tanëket</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>did not find</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>u che</td>
<td>mëlüt khat NP (p2)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>came out again when it was dark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>shot again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>u PRO (p2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>bled its blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>tracked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>lost it without finding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>u në</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>animal</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>somehow... will kill animal, only then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>return home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>asëri</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>stayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>te në</td>
<td>Mënyuv pei NP</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>came out in the field</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>u kë</td>
<td>ye Yong mjë NP (1 &amp;2)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>went there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>amitpi PRO (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, &quot;You stay here... if make noise.. might run away&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went up lighting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-Subj</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>small ones</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>came even in between (my) legs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>big one</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>could not choose the big one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>u shuv</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>climbed up on a stump</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>when... looked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>mëlüt ateikhat NP (3)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>stood near the banana tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>u che Ø (1)</td>
<td>meikësüh N (p3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>pull up... just on the stump</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>when... shot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12c</td>
<td>mëlüt u NP (3)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>knocked down banana tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12d</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>jumped across river</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12e</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>run away</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13a</td>
<td>mjë PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>looked at that</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>slept the night</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BREAK**

| 14a | Ø (1&2) | S1 | after... slept |
| 14b | asëcë... Ø (1&2) | Ø (3) | S1 | when... tracked |
| 14c | mëlüt u NP (3) | S3 | slept at a place |
| 15a | u kë Ø (3) | S1 | after sleeping |
| 15b | Ø (3) | S1 | got up |
| 15c | Ø (3) | S1 | stood stepping for a long time |
| 15d | Ø (3) | S1 | stepped two- three steps |
| 15e | Ø (3) | S1 | stood again |
| 16a | u che Ø (1&2) Ø (3) | S4* | tracked |
| 16b | Ø (3) | S3 | slept at seven places |
| 17a | Ø (1&2) seventh place NP | S4* | when... went and touched |
| 17b | Ø (the place) | S3 | was still warm |
| 18 | Ø (1&2) | S4* | thought “this has just got away” |
| 19 | te pushit Ø (3) | S2 | once more slept under banana tree |
| 20a | u kë Ø (1 &2) Ø (place) | S4* | touched it again |
| 20b | eighth place NP | S3 | really warm |

**BREAK**

<p>| 21 | zësa Ø (1&amp;2) u PRO (3) | S4* | tracked it |
| 22a | mëlüt u NP (3) | S3 | dragged the climbers along |
| 22b | Ø (3) | S1 | entered in between (the bamboo clumps) |</p>
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<th>Context</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>zësa</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S4*</td>
<td>climbed up on the thickly fallen bamboo</td>
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<tr>
<td>23b</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>Ø (bamboo)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>though... shook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23c</td>
<td></td>
<td>mêlüt NP (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>did not come out</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>mëlüt</td>
<td>Ø (bamboo)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>shook again</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>tanëket</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>but did not come out</td>
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<tr>
<td>26a</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>was to go to the other side</td>
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<tr>
<td>26b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>ye Yong NP (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>said, “Stand here...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>26c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went around</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>26d</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>arrived at the other clump</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>after arriving</td>
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<td>27b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>as soon as... shouted, “friend, is (it)...?”</td>
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<td>27c</td>
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<td>S4</td>
<td>jumped out</td>
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<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>spread its hair</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>27e</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>opened its teeth</td>
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<tr>
<td>27f</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>jumped towards</td>
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<tr>
<td>27g</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>threw</td>
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<tr>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>S3</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>dry bamboo NP</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>held onto</td>
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<td>27k</td>
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<td>S3</td>
<td>broke</td>
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<tr>
<td>27l</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>fell down</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>u têtü pê</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>came close at about two yards</td>
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<tr>
<td>29a</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>shouted with deadly noise, “Hah!”</td>
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<tr>
<td>29b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>jumped the second time, only then</td>
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<tr>
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<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>ran away from under (me)</td>
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<tr>
<td>29d</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>so shocked</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>30a</td>
<td>u têtü kë</td>
<td>ye Yong NP (2)</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>thought that I was dead</td>
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<tr>
<td>30b</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>did not even call...</td>
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<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>u zë...</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>called by whistling</td>
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<tr>
<td>31b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>was so shocked</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>a-PRO (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>asked, “Why didn’t you come?...”</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>said, “I thought you were dead...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>33a</td>
<td>amidpi</td>
<td>PRO (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>till arrived</td>
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<tr>
<td>33b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>m kësûh NP (1, p3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>haven’t taken</td>
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<tr>
<td>34a</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>asked, “Nothing hurt you...?”</td>
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<tr>
<td>34b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>said, “jumbed once and bamboo broke...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>ta në</td>
<td>amidpi</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>but... said, “We arrived at clear place...”</td>
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<td>u zë</td>
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<td>PRO (2)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>after telling</td>
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<tr>
<td>37b</td>
<td>m</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>went to close off</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u në</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>when... ran to close off</td>
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<tr>
<td>38b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>before arriving at the place to close off</td>
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<tr>
<td>38c</td>
<td>amidpi</td>
<td>PRO (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>turned around</td>
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<tr>
<td>38d</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>looked at with red eye</td>
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<tr>
<td>38e</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>spread its hair</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>38f</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>stood grinding its teeth</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>39a</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>when... tried to shoot</td>
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<tr>
<td>39b</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>jumbed into under bush</td>
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<tr>
<td>39c</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>ran away</td>
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<tr>
<td>40a</td>
<td>u che</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>asüvt PRO (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>went around to the place where its noise stopped</td>
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<tr>
<td>40b</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>turned around</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>40c</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>spread its hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40d</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>stood looking towards (me)</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>kept waiting (thinking), “Now, if the gun fired...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>42a</td>
<td>u shëv shë</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>looked up</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>42b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>turned slowly</td>
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<tr>
<td>42c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>atüvla PRO (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>shot it when it was straight at its forehead</td>
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<tr>
<td>42c</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>fell down right there</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u che</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>before... died completely</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>43b</td>
<td>ye Yong NP (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>came up</td>
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| 43c | Ø (1)   | a-      | S4       | asked, “What shall (we)
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<th>Context</th>
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<tr>
<td>44a</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>said, &quot;(I) will shoot.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>44b</td>
<td>amitpi</td>
<td>PRO (2)</td>
<td>akhong PRO (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>... shot...</td>
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<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>zësa shë</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>... killed...</td>
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APPENDIX 2

PARTICIPANT ENCODINGS: BARKING DEER HUNTING

The followings are participants in the Barking Deer Hunting text: the narrator (1), my friend (2), my mother and sisters (3), my father (4) and the chief (5). The props are pheasant (p1), barking deer (p2) and pheasant that the friend shot (p3).

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<td>1</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>want to tell about the first killing of a barking deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>khat</td>
<td>m ye pu mjë</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>talked</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>called me, “Friend, ...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>said, “Let us go.”</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>mjë</td>
<td>PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>got ready</td>
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<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went through the forest</td>
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<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>while going</td>
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<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>saw a gooseberry tree</td>
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<tr>
<td>8a</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>checked whether animal is eating it</td>
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<td>8b</td>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>saw a fresh footprint</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, “I will build a blind here.”</td>
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<td>10a</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, “... I will go further...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went down</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>u shüv pë</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>a blind</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>built a blind on that gooseberry tree</td>
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<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>sat</td>
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<td>12a</td>
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<td>while sitting.</td>
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<td>a noise</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>at the sunset there was a noise</td>
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<td>Ref</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (noise)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>looked at... (thinking) that it was a barking deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
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<td>vokkhērak</td>
<td>Intro (p1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>was a pheasant</td>
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<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>tried to shoot</td>
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<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>Ø (p1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>did not stop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15c</td>
<td>Ø (p1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went away</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>tanēket</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>did not feel discouraged</td>
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<tr>
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<td>S1</td>
<td>sat again</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>u che ket</td>
<td>Ø (something)</td>
<td>noise</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>making again</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ø (noise)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>looked at</td>
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<tr>
<td>17c</td>
<td>shokmēchei</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>NP (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>never seen as such</td>
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<tr>
<td>18a</td>
<td>u šūv pê</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>shaking and trembling</td>
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<tr>
<td>18b</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>pulled up myself</td>
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<tr>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>came flickeringly</td>
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<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>came towards</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>slowly pull up</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20d</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>aim at the shoulder</td>
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<tr>
<td>20e</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>shot</td>
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<tr>
<td>21a</td>
<td>m kësūh</td>
<td>after ... fired</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>shokmēchei</td>
<td>NP (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>when ... looked at</td>
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<tr>
<td>21c</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>fell down</td>
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<tr>
<td>21d</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>was lying hitting the ground with its head</td>
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<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>u che pê</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>gun</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>quickly refilled my gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>if... get up</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>was going to shoot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>22d</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>sat aiming at</td>
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<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>te, u yi nê</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>did not get up again</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>u che pê</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>came down from the blind</td>
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<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>shokmēchei</td>
<td>NP (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24c</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>died still warm</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>24d</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>lay there</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25a</td>
<td>u šūv pê</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>very happy</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Context</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>këjuliu...</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>fired the gun</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>u che pë</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>called him to see (how)</td>
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<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>te nè</td>
<td>amitipi PRO (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>replied from down there</td>
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<tr>
<td>29a</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>sat a while</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>came up</td>
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<td>30a</td>
<td>u che pë</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>asked, “Friend, What did (you) shoot?”</td>
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<td>30b</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, “... shot a peasant.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>uche khatti</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>asked, “Did (you) killed it?”</td>
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<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>replied, “Yes, (I) did kill it...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>33a</td>
<td>u shëv pë</td>
<td>mjë PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>talked, “We are very lucky today.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>33b</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>m në katsat shokmëchei u NP (p2)</td>
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<td>S4</td>
<td>carried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33c</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>amitipi në katsat vokkhërak NP</td>
<td></td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>carried... and our guns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33d</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>returned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34a</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>because the road was far</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34b</td>
<td>m ye pu mjë NP (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>returned resting again and again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34c</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>arrived at the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35a</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>arriving at the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went directly to my house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36a</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>after arriving at the house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36b</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>m pilé NP (3) (Intro)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>called my mother (and others) and said, “...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37a</td>
<td>tanëket</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>did not believe... because this was the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37b</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>smiled and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37c</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>asked..., “Is it true?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38a</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>while... said, “Mother, truly I killed it.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38b</td>
<td>m ye pu NP (2)</td>
<td>shokmëchei NP (p2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>carried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38c</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>and entered into (the house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>u shëv pë</td>
<td>m pilé</td>
<td></td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>were very happy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-Subj</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40a</td>
<td>m pok</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>went out on journey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40b</td>
<td>Ø (4)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>was not there</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41a</td>
<td>m ye pu mjë NP (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>shok NP (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>though brought the animal</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>41b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>kept</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41c</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>did not know how to butcher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41d</td>
<td>mjë PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>helped</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41e</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>butchered</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41f</td>
<td>mjë PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>divided equally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42a</td>
<td>u shuv pë m pië NP (3)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>cooked a lot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42b</td>
<td>va PRO (1&amp;3)</td>
<td>Ø (p2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>all ate happily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

**BREAK**

<p>| 43a | m ye pu mjë NP (1&amp;2) | Ø (p2) | S4 | after... divided the meat |
| 43b | Ø (1) | villagers | S4 | gave a little gift of meat from my share |
| 44a | Ø (1) | thongpu NP (5) (Intro) | S1 | arrived at the house of... |
| 44b | thongpu mjë NP (1&amp;5) | | S1 | talked about the killing of the animal |
| 45a | m PRO (1) | Ø (5) | S4 | said, “The female deer was butchered and was with the baby in its stomach...” |
| 45b | thongpu NP (5) | Ø (1) | S2 | asked, “Is the deer male or female?” |
| 46 | m PRO (1) | Ø (2) | S2 | again said, “It had the baby inside its stomach when it was butchered.” |
| 47a | u shuv pë thongpu NP (5) | | S2 | understood |
| 47b | Ø (5) | m PRO (1) | S1 | looked at |
| 47c | Ø (5) | | S1 | laughed |
| 48a | shokmëchei hüh NP (P2) | | S4 | because ... was the first killing |
| 48b | m PRO (1) | | S4 | very happy |
| 49a | u të tü m pok NP (4) | | S4 | was not there |
| 49b | Ø (4) | | S1 | it was when... went on a journey |
| 50a | m pok NP (4) | | S1 | till... returned |</p>
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<tr>
<td>50b</td>
<td>m pilë</td>
<td>shok (meat)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>dried and saved</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50c</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>Ø (4)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>let ... eat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51a</td>
<td>zësanë</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>told... all about it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51b</td>
<td>m pok</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>was very happy, too</td>
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APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT ENCODINGS: BARKING DEER HUNTING

The followings are the participants in the Thief on Bus text: the narrator (1), teacher Cuvpi (2), drunkards (3), woman (4), thief (5), thief and his friends (6), people on the bus (7) and someone (8). The prop is the money (p1).

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Context</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nyüngke</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>azeipu Cuvpi NP (2)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>called... to go to downtown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>amiuut PRO (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>To him... requested help, “Teacher, ...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>amiuut PRO (2)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, “Yes, ...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mjë PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>went to downtown by bus</td>
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<th>Context</th>
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<tr>
<td>5a</td>
<td>u ni kë Küvmèlonglë</td>
<td>nyei khat</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>celebrating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5b</td>
<td>teotsatšëte NP (3)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>dancing and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5c</td>
<td>Ø (3)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>singing along the road</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>zësa mjë NP (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>ulë PRO (3)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>watched them</td>
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<td>7a</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>when... were going</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>before... arriving at...</td>
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<tr>
<td>7c</td>
<td>khènupilë mit khat NP (4)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>came up on the bus</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>7d</td>
<td>Ø (4)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>stood by the door</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>amiuut PRO (4)</td>
<td>leke NP (p1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>might have withdrawn... from the bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>9a</td>
<td>aleke NP (4, p1)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>could not fit in the purse</td>
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<tr>
<td>9b</td>
<td>Ø (4)</td>
<td>shepa NP (p1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>held half in the plastic bag</td>
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<td>10a</td>
<td>u shëv azeipu</td>
<td>atsëv</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>looked off towards the</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>amiut</td>
<td>PRO (2)</td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>NP (3)</td>
<td>dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11a</td>
<td>u pokri</td>
<td>NP (5)</td>
<td>leke u</td>
<td>NP (p1)</td>
<td>saw ... just getting close to...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11b</td>
<td>azeipu</td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>saw right there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11c</td>
<td>amiut</td>
<td>PRO (5)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td></td>
<td>was confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11d</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td>its hand</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>took back</td>
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<tr>
<td>12a</td>
<td>u shüv</td>
<td>khätti</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>sat quietly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12b</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>did not say anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12c</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>came by my face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12d</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td>azeipu</td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>hit</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>u tü</td>
<td>azeipu</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>asked, “What did I do?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ø (5)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td></td>
<td>replied, “Don’t say anything.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>15a</td>
<td>alê këse phëyei</td>
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<td>Intro</td>
<td>surrounded</td>
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<tr>
<td>15b</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>hit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>u shüv pë</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>so shocked</td>
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<tr>
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<td>u në</td>
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<td>S1</td>
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<td>not able to say a word</td>
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<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>did not know to help</td>
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<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>looking at it numbly</td>
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<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>many people were in the bus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>tanëket</td>
<td>no one</td>
<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>said, “Oh, enough!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22a</td>
<td>‘all the people’</td>
<td>NP (7)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>opened their mouths</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22b</td>
<td>Ø (7)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>so shocked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22c</td>
<td>Ø (7)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>looking with surprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>zësa</td>
<td>azeipu</td>
<td>NP (2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>suffering very much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24a</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td></td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>bleeding from its mouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24b</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>hitting on his cheek and his head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td>should have said, “Enough.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>tanë</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>also did not remember to say (it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27a</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>PRO (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>so shocked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-Subj</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27b</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>just sat there watching</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>BREAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28a</td>
<td>u shūv</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>after... finished hitting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28b</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>asked, &quot;..., what happened?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>replied, &quot;I don’t know what happened.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>u che</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>was so worried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31a</td>
<td>“PRO (2) some one (8)</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>might have some one who was an enemy before</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31b</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>might have come to repay him back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31c</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>thought</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>u che</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>asked again, &quot;Did you have business with them before...?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>te amiut PRO (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>replied, &quot;I didn’t do anything.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>asked, &quot;Well then, why...?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>te pushit</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, &quot;Oh, there was a woman with a lot of money...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>BREAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>u shūv</td>
<td>alë</td>
<td>PRO (6)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>jumped down from the bus after it stopped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37a</td>
<td>Ø (6)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>after... went down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37b</td>
<td>u pokri NP (5)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, “Come down if you are a man.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>tanëket azeipu NP (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>did not go down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>u shūv shë azeipu NP (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>said, “If I did not know God, ...”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>BREAK</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40a</td>
<td>u shūv</td>
<td>mjë</td>
<td>PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>went to internet café</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40b</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>Ø (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>typing letters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>u tü atsüt NP (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>zësa m PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>said, “Oh, your face is swollen very much.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>te Ø (2)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>replied, “It’s alright, ...”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44a</td>
<td>u shūv pë zëv PRO (1)</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>invited</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44b</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S3</td>
<td>met trouble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44c</td>
<td>m PRO (1)</td>
<td>S4</td>
<td>confused</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44d</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>ashamed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>u në m</td>
<td>Ø (2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>asked, “Teacher, ...”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref</td>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Non-Subj</td>
<td>Context</td>
<td>Free translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>tanëket</td>
<td>amiut</td>
<td>Ø (1)</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>said, &quot;No matter, ...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>u yi në</td>
<td>mjë</td>
<td>PRO (1&amp;2)</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>came back</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4

WILD PIG HUNTING

Wild Pig.001
avuceotpu mëzhu phëyei ta khëlüv - lë mi tü kë liumeitit rüv pü khattı
go year four in field - PL ripe when at Liumeitit river side once
shok-rüv vu net
animal-hunt go PAST.RL

Once four years ago when the (rice) fields were ripe (we) went hunting on the Liumeitit River side.

Wild Pig.002
u tēcht sükhhëlë pē khëlüv - lë ta mënyüv mëlüt tsühtsa a-cheot le
that time TOP TOP field - PL in wild.pig boar very come-out PRES.RL

During that time many wild pigs come out to the fields.

Wild Pig.003
attī vu ra kē ara mēri phëyei ta mëlüt khat kat net
first go night at night hour four in boar one shoot PAST.RL

At 4:00 on the first night we went (I) shot at a boar.

Wild Pig.004
tanēket më ngu
but NEG get

But (I) did not get (it).

Wild Pig.005
uche zhüng zë vu shüv mëlüt khat a-cheot tü a khatti kat tü
then be.dark MAN go after boar one come-out again and once shoot again

net
PAST.RL

Then after (it) was getting dark, a boar came out again, so (I) shot (it) again.

Wild Pig.006
u ket a- khēyit pē khēyit zē jüv teitei vu nē mē ngu ti ceot
that also 3S- blood TOP bleed and track REP go and NEG get NEG lose

net
PAST.RL

Also it was bleeding its blood and (we) tracked (it) down, but (we) lost (it) without getting (it).
Thus (I) stayed again the next night (thinking) that somehow (I) would kill an animal, only then (I) would go back home.

Then a herd of wild pigs of about 50-60 walked in a line and came out in Chiuthong’s field.

Since (my) friend Yongcuv and (I) the two of us went there, (I) said to him, "You stay here. If (we/you) make a sound (it) might go away. Also if (the wind) blows (our/your) scent, it will go away" and (I) went up.

Then (I) climbed up on the stump and stood there and when (I) looked, (there) near the banana tree a very big boar was standing.
Then just from the stump (I) pulled up the gun and when (I) shot (it), the boar pushed down the banana tree and jumped across the Liumeitit River in one leap, and (it) ran away breaking down the dry and living bamboos.

After seeing that, we slept for the night.

After (we) slept, (we) went tracking up (the hill) the next morning at about eight o'clock, then (there) the boar happened to have slept at a place.

It happened that there (it) had slept for a while and (it) got up and tramped around that place for a long time, and walked five to six steps and slept once again.

Then as (we) tracked, (the boar) would stand for a while and would sleep again [like that], (it) had slept at seven places.
When (I) went and touched at the seventh place (it) was (still) warm.

(I) thought, "Eh, it got away just now."

Then (it) went under the vine-fruit tree and slept (there) once again.

Then when (we) tracked a little further, there were two bamboo clumps one on this side and one on that side, between them was a bush.

That boar even dragged along (with it) the covering climbers and entered between the two bamboo clumps.

Then (we) climbed up on the thickly fallen bamboos, and (we) shook (them) but the boar did not
come out.

Wild Pig.024

hüh pé hüh ta zu nē khēresat pa le shit ket jīv zu khēlē this TOP this inside go.in and watch.in.wait sit PRES.RL now also track go.in if

ajē lokngak pu la khēnyeot tü züng khēnyeot tü züng zē
1DU.incl hurt IRR PRT shake again see shake again see QUOT

mjē rapa nē khēnyeot tü net
1DU.excl together ERG shake again PAST.RL

"This (boar) entered this (bush) and is watching in wait. If (we) go in now, (it) will hurt us. Shake (it) again, shake (it) again" [lit. like this] we shook (it) again together.

Wild Pig.025
tanēket ma cheot
but NEG come.out

But (it) did not come out.

Wild Pig.026

u pū chē la tsei tūng zē M nē u pū chē mēka li-vu züng that side side way run.away or QUOT 1S ERG that side side circle near-go see

punet zē yepu Yongcūv rong hūhkē khēvok hūh chak zhat re no zē IRR that friend Yongcuv to here bamboo this on stand carry.on okay QUOT

shūh kha a nē mēka zē li-vu u pū chē acheng ci net say keep and circle MAN near-go that side side clump reach PAST.RL

"(It) might go out on that side" and I was going around that side to see and (I) said to friend Yongcuv, "Stand here at this bamboo, Okay?" and went around and reached that side of the clump.

Wild Pig.027
cī shūv yepu hūh tēnga net po zē M kēsūt sa nū sa sūh arrive after friend this straight EOC right QUOT 1S voice shout NEG shout be

mēlūt o khattī nē tsūv-chūvt rë a- khēmūv ra lūv a nē a- phūh boar ABS once PRT jump-out then 3S- hair spread NO.BEN and 3S- tooth

ket kējūv-chūvt zēsa M ya zē jeot rē shūv M o M meikēsūh ket also spread-open then 1S search MAN leap come for 1S TOP 1S gun even

tsūv-yēot tat a jeot kat-vu khēvok si chak pū tat te khēvok throw-away PROMP and leap up-go bamboo die on hang PROMP when bamboo

si cāk rē yangtūh rē net die break then fall.down come PAST.RL

After arriving (there), as soon as I shouted, "Friend, straight here, right?" the boar at once jumped out (of the bush) with its hair spread, also its teeth open; (it) jumped toward me- I even threw away my gun and when (I) jumped up and held onto the dry bamboo, the dry bamboo broke and (I) fell down.
Wild Pig.028

That time (it) came within about two yards (of me).

Wild Pig.029

(I) shouted as if dying [lit. like this] "Ha!" and jumped for the second time, only then did (it) run away from me with its back hair touching and rubbing my legs, and I was so shocked [lit. my big gall bladder was so shocked].

Wild Pig.030

After awhile, about five minutes later, (he) called (me) by whistling, and I was so shocked that (I) asked him, "Why didn't (you) come? Why didn't (you) call me?"

Wild Pig.031

(He) said, "Oh, I thought that you were already dead, that is why (I) did not call you."
Even when he came and arrived (I) hadn't picked up my gun.

(He) asked (me), "Nothing happened (to you)? Nothing hurt (you)?" Then (I) said, "(I) jumped once and broke the bamboo and split open my forehead. (I) jumped the second time, only then (it) ran away under my leg. Now (it) is enough. (I) will not track (it) again."

But he said "No, since (we) have arrived in a clear place, let us track (it) now. Nothing will happen."

(I) said, "If so, I will close off (the way), Okay" and I also went to close off the way.
So when (I) ran to close off (the way), before I arrived at the place where I was to close the way, it turned around and stood (there) looking (at me) with its eyes red and grinding its teeth, (and) spreading its hair.

When (I) was going to shoot, at once (it) jumped into (the underbrush) and ran away.

Then when (I) went around to the place where the sound died away for the second time, there also as before (it) turned around and (it) spread all the hair of its head, and (it) ground its teeth, (it) stood looking (at me) with [lit. its] red eyes.

"This time if the gun fires, you will fall, if (it) does not fire, (it) will be trouble for me, too" [lit. like this] (I) waited.
Only after that (I) looked up and turned slowly, and when (it) was (pointed) straight at its forehead, at that moment (I) shot (it), right there (I) shot (it) down.

Wild Pig.043

"(I) will shoot" (he) said, and he also shot its neck once.

Wild Pig.045

(They) are those that entered (right behind the front leg) [lit. in the armpit], tore its lung, and its throat into pieces.
That boar had had a severe fight with a tiger one or two years ago, and the tiger had bitten and eaten its back-flesh, and when (the wound) healed, (it) was very deep.

After that, when (I) measured (it), (it) had four feet.

(It) was very fat and its fat [lit. even] had a hand's breadth.

So when (we) were tracking friend Yongcuv said, "This might not be the one (we) shot with the gun."

Just STAT PRES.RL thus this TOP NR - wound be STAT PRES.RL QUOT say
But I said [lit. like this], "Though its blood is not coming out, (I) smell the scent of blood. If (it) were a boar (it) would not jump up and stand and step for a long time. If (it) were a boar (it) would just go away. So this is the wounded one" and (we) continued tracking.

Wild Pig.054

But because (it) was fat, its fat stopped its blood from coming out.
And in the same way (they) have to know that if (the animal) is fat its blood does not come out.

In my experience this is the only hunting that I cannot forget.
Barking Deer.001
ritkë M nē shokmēchei khatatitikat-sat yūv hühtsühkhat shūh thēngē mǐ past 1S ERG barking.deer one first shoot-kill story little tell want
le
PRES.RL
I want to tell you a story that (I) killed a barking deer for the first time in the past.

Barking Deer.002
attiti shokmēchei u kētāt a kat-sat a zē sūhkhēlē pē hūh zē kat-sat
first barking.deer that how shoot-kill INT that TOP TOP this MAN shoot-kill
net
PAST.RL
How (I) killed that barking deer for the first time was like this [lit. (I) killed].

Barking Deer.003
khatnikhat pē M yepu mjē ceitei net
at.one.day TOP 1S friend 1DU.excl discuss PAST.RL
One day my friend and I talked.

Barking Deer.004
M yepu nē M rong yepu ajē ket thokri pē vokzūh chīt vu tē 1S friend ERG 1S to friend 1DU.incl also tonight TOP bird prowl go let's
zē tsa net
QUOT call PAST.RL
My friend said [call] to me, "Friend, let us [lit. also] go track [lit. prowl] birds tonight.

Barking Deer.005
uche pē M nē ket e vu pu tē zē shūh -tei lūv a nē vu then TOP 1S ERG also yes go IRR let's QUOT say -RECP NO.BEN and go
net
PAST.RL
Then I also replied [discuss], "Okay, let (us) go" and (we) went.
We got ready and went walking through the forest.

As (we) were going like that, (we) saw a gooseberry tree on the way.

When (we) checked whether some animals were eating that gooseberry or not, (we) saw the fresh footprint of a barking deer.

Then my friend also said, "Yes, (it) is good. If it is so, I will go down to the place lower than you [lit. under your belly] and see, okay?"  And (he) went down.

After that I built a blind on that gooseberry [lit. fruit] tree and sat (on it).

While I was sitting like that, at the sun set [when the sun was going down] (there) was 'crunch
'crunch' (the sound of footsteps on the dry leaves).

Barking Deer.013

\[ M \text{ o } \text{ shokmëchei kho } \text{ zë } \text{ züng } \text{ zë } \text{ pa net} \]

\[ 1S \text{ ABS barking.deer} \text{ PROB that see and sit PAST.RL} \]

I kept looking (and thinking) that it was a barking deer.

Barking Deer.014

\[ \text{te } \text{ yiu } \text{ ti } \text{ vokkhërak } \text{ süh } \text{ lelei } \text{ net} \]

then NEG NEG pheasant be STAT PAST.RL

But (it) was not, (it) was a pheasant.

Barking Deer.015

\[ \text{kat } \text{ punet } \text{ zë } \text{ süh } \text{ te } \text{ më } \text{ zhatche } \text{ ti } \text{ arë } \text{ vu ceot } \text{ net} \]

shoot IRR that do when NEG stop NEG come go COMPL PAST.RL

When (I) tried to shoot, (it) went away without stopping.

Barking Deer.016

\[ \text{tanëket M } \text{ mëliu } \text{ më } \text{ tsüh } \text{ më } \text{ süh } \text{ ti } \text{në } \text{ u } \text{ zë } \text{ shë } \text{ pa } \text{ tü } \text{ net} \]

but 1S heart NEG good NEG do NEG that MAN just sit again PAST.RL

But I did not feel bad; (I) just sat again [like that].

Barking Deer.017

\[ \text{uche } \text{ ket } \text{ tseotseot } \text{ tü } \text{ shë } \text{ a } \text{ sa } \text{ züng } \text{ tü } \text{ te } \text{ shokmëchei } \text{ pushit} \]

then again ONOM again IMPF then look again when barking.deer just

\[ \text{songsongmi } \text{ arë } \text{ shë } \text{ zë } \text{ ngu } \text{ tat } \text{ net} \]

flickeringly come IMPF that see PROMP PAST.RL

And again there was the 'crunch crunch' sound, and then when (I) looked at (it) again, (I) saw [lit. just] a barking deer coming flickeringly.

Barking Deer.018

\[ \text{u } \text{ shëv } \text{ pë } \text{ M } \text{o } \text{ hüh } \text{ zë } \text{ kējutëket } \text{ më } \text{ ngu } \text{ züng } \text{ tengla } \text{ M } \text{ shok-cat } \text{ zë } \text{ that after TOP 1S ABS this MAN ever NEG see look for 1S flesh-cry MAN} \]

\[ \text{thengthengmi } \text{süh } \text{ net} \]

shaking be PAST.RL

After that, I was trembling and shaking for I have never ever seen (something) like this before.

Barking Deer.019

\[ \text{tanëket M } \text{ mëliu } \text{süh-kiu } \text{lëv } \text{ a } \text{në } \text{ mēkhi } \text{ a } \text{ zë } \text{ pa } \text{kha } \text{ net} \]

but 1S heart make-courageous NO.BEN and silently MAN sit keep PAST.RL

But I took courage, and kept sitting quietly.

Barking Deer.020

\[ \text{u } \text{ zë } \text{ pa } \text{ te } \text{ shokmëchei } \text{o } \text{sangsei } \text{ tsok - tsok } \text{ M } \text{ rong } \text{ pü } \text{ a-li} \]

that MAN sit when barking.deer TOP fruit eat - eat 1S to side come-near
While I was sitting like that, the barking deer was coming towards me eating the fruit, and so (I) pulled up my gun quietly, aimed at the triceps, and shot (it).

After my gun fired, when I looked at the barking deer, (it) lay fallen and its head was hitting the ground.

So quickly (I) reloaded my gun with another bullet, kept aiming, (I) was going to shoot (it) again if (it) got up again after that.

But (it) did not get up again after that.

So I got down from the blind, and when (I) went near the deer, (it) was lying dead with its body temperature (still) warm.

After that I was very happy.
Soon my friend also shot the gun.

Barking Deer.027
uche pë M nê füv züng net
then TOP 1S ERG call look PAST.RL

So I called (him) to see.

Barking Deer.028
tê nê amitpi nê ket zu chang net
then 3S ERG also go.down answer PAST.RL

Then he also replied from down (there).

Barking Deer.029
hühtsühkhat pa te M yepu ket a-tüv shë lelei net
little sit when 1S friend also come-up IMPF STAT PAST.RL

After (I) sat a little while, my friend also came up.

Barking Deer.030
uche pë M nê yepu këtë kat a zë tsang tû M yepu nê yepu
then TOP 1S ERG friend what shoot INT QUOT ask when 1S friend ERG friend

vokkhërak kat net zë shüh net
pheasant shoot PAST.RL QUOT say PAST.RL

Then when I asked, "Friend, what did you shoot?", my friend said, "(I) shot the pheasant."

Barking Deer.031
uche khatti M nê ta katsat mat zë tsang tû net
then once 1S ERG well kill INT QUOT ask again PAST.RL

Then once more I asked, "So, did you kill (it)?"

Barking Deer.032
M yepu nê ket hat a katsat net zë M yëv chang net
1S friend ERG also yes kill PAST.RL QUOT 1S word answer PAST.RL

My friend also replied to my word, "Yes, (I) killed (it)."

Barking Deer.033
u shüv pë yepu thokni pë ajë mëngok thëri a tsüh le pa
that after TOP friend today TOP 1DU.incl luck very good PRES.RL INT

zë mjë ceitei lûv a nê M yepu nê o M nê kat-sat
QUOT 1DU.excl discuss NO.BEN and 1S friend ERG TOP 1S ERG shoot-kill

shokmëchei u veng khêlë M nê pë amitpi nê kat-sat vokkhërak khêlë
barking,deer that carry and 1S ERG TOP 3S ERG shoot-kill pheasant and

mjë kësüh zë khêlak a sa nê a-nong net
1DU.excl gun and carry then come-back PAST.RL

So after we said to each other, "Friend, today our luck is very good, right?" my friend carried the
deer that I killed, and I carried the pheasant that he killed and our guns, and (we) returned.

Barking Deer.034
la lalü tengla M ye pu mjë o tsat - tsat khêlë pache tsat - tsat
way far because 1S friend 1DU.excl ABS walk - walk and rest walk - walk
khêlë pache zë pache che zë nong vu têliu ci net
and rest MAN rest rest MAN return go village arrive PAST.RL

Because the road was long, my friend and I (dual) returned to the village walking and resting again and again, and arrived.

Barking Deer.035
têliu ci a sa nê va ye ta tsat mêlei zë vu net
village arrive then 1PL.excl house in walk directly MAN go PAST.RL

After (we) arrived at the village, (we) walked directly to our (excl) house.

Barking Deer.036
khêye ci sêuv thila cong nê M nê M pi - lë tsà zë ya M
house arrive after backyard from PRT 1S ERG 1S mother - PL call and mother 1S
nê shokmêchei kat-sat a nê a-nong shë le zë shûh net
ERG barking.deer shoot-kill and come-back IMPF PRES.RL QUOT say PAST.RL

After (we) arrived at the house, I called to [called and said] my mother (and other family members), "Mother, I killed a barking deer and (now I) am coming back."

Barking Deer.037
tanëket atiti sêuv tengla tsûhtsa më lengsut ti acang a la zë mënîtri
but first be because well NEG believe NEG truly INT INT QUOT smile
zë tsang net
and ask PAST.RL

But (she) did not believe (me) really because it was the first time, (she) smiled and asked, "Is it true?"

Barking Deer.038
ya acang kat-sat lêpë zë M nê shûh tü M ye pu nê shokmêchei
mother truly shoot-kill AFF QUOT 1S ERG say when 1S friend ERG barking.deer
o veng a nê khêye ta a-zit net
ABS carry and house in come-in PAST.RL

While I said, "Mother, it is true that I killed (it)", my friend came inside the house carrying the deer.

Barking Deer.039
u sêuv pê M pi - lê M nyu - lê o kûng a kësa net
that after TOP 1S mother - PL 1S elder.sister - PL ABS very happy PAST.RL

After that my mother and sisters were very happy.
At that time my father was [lit. went out] on a journey so (he) was not (there).

That is why, though my friend and I brought back the animal and were keeping (it), (we) did not know how to cut (it), we just cut (it) with the best possible way helping each other, and then we divided (it) equally.

After that, my mother and (sisters) cooked a lot (of meat) and we all ate happily.

After my friend and I divided the meat [lit. for ourselves], (I) gave a gift of some meat [lit. each] to all the villagers from my share.

When (I) arrived at the chieftain's house as (I) was giving out [the gift of] some meat (to the villagers), the chieftain and I talked about the killing [lit. story] of the animal.
When I said, "(I) cut the female deer, (it) had the baby inside its belly", the chieftain asked (me), "Was it male or female?"

Barking Deer.046
M nē amitpi rong M mēnitrī zē a - peot phat tū a - peot ta
1S ERG 3S to 1S smile MAN 3S - belly cut.apart when 3S - belly inside

I smiled and just said (it) again to him, "When I cut apart its belly, there was a baby inside the belly."

Barking Deer.047
u shūv pē thongpu ket ngachūvt rē nē M züng a mēnî net
that after TOP chieftain also undertand then 1S look and laugh PAST.RL

After that, chieftain also understood and (he) looked at me and smiled.

Barking Deer.048
shokmēchei hūh atiti kat-sat sūh tengla M o thēri a kēsa zē M yelē
barking.deer this first shoot-kill be because 1S ABS very happy and 1S freinds

rong M nē apa khat-shē-mē-sūh tī nē alūkhat hūh yūv shē mēshūk thēngē
to 1S ERG week one-only-not-be NEG long this story just narrate

Because this deer was the first one (I) killed, I was so happy that I talked to my friends just about it for a long time, more than a week [lit. not only a week].

Barking Deer.049
khēlē u tētū o M pok ket mē pa tī nē khēyila chu tü net
and that time ABS 1S father also NEG stay NEG trip go.out time EOC

And at that time my father [also] was not there, it was the time (he) went on a journey.

Barking Deer.050
M pok khēyila cong a-nong rē cī tū cī M pi - lē nē shok
1S father trip from come-back then arrive when till 1S mother - PL ERG meat

Till my father returned and arrived from the journey, my mother (and sisters) kept the meat dried and let (him) eat it.
And then when I told my father also how I killed (it) from the beginning till the end, my father also was so happy.
Once last year I called teacher Cuvpi to go (with me) to an internet cafe down town.

(I) asked him help, "Teacher, today come and help me [lit. a little], I do not know how to use email well."

Then he also said, "Okay, it is alright" and we (dual) went together.

We (dual) went to town by bus from Nawaday (Housing Estate).
Because there was a Buddhist festival on that day, all along the way the road was filled with many drunkards, dancing and singing.

Thief on Bus.006
zësa mjë o palü më ngu ti a - zhat chak nê ulê züng zê
then 1DU.excl ABS chair NEG get NEG NR - stand on INST those look MAN

*tsat net*
walk PAST.RL

And we went watching them as (we) stood, for (we) did not get a seat.

Thief on Bus.007
tsat zê vu tü Tirimingkêla yalê yûv kheng nû ci mêngok khênupilê
walk MAN go when Tirimingla thing sell place NEG arrive before woman

*mit khat o pasê mëkûhlê rong kë a-kat rë zhat net*
person one ABS bus door near at come-up then stand PAST.RL

While (we) were going (at the place) before (we) reached Tirimingkla market, a woman got on and stood near the bus door.

Thief on Bus.008
*amiut o leke - kha - ye ta cong leke lokchüvt lei-pu titnet*
3S ABS money - keep - house in from money take.out PAST.IRR PROB

She might have withdrawn money from the bank.

Thief on Bus.009
*leke u o leke-yeot-mut ta më zu khe ti rokrok la nê shepa*
money that ABS money-put-thing in NEG enter finish NEG plastic INST half

*a - atsak ngu zê si a tsat lei net*
3S - color see hold and walk STAT PAST.RL

Her money could not fit in (her) purse, so (she) held half in the plastic bag [lit. that could be seen through].

Thief on Bus.010
*u shûv azeipu o a - tsûv la pengzûng tat tü amiut nê akhutlê*
that after teacher ABS NR - dance way look.to PROMP when 3S ERG thief

*mit khat o leke u këje punet zê a - khit li-vu shë zê thak a*
person one ABS money that snatch IRR that 3S - hand near-go IMPF that exactly

*ngu thênga tat net*
see straight PROMP PAST.RL

After that, when the teacher looked off toward the dancing, just then he saw that a thief was (trying) to snatch the money and his hand was getting close to it.

Thief on Bus.011
*u pokri o leke u tu-vu a - khit phënya tü zeipu nê*
that man ABS money that up-go NR - hand close when teacher ERG
Since the teacher saw that man red-handed when his hand was close to that money, he (the thief) got confused whether to take (it) or not, then he took back his hand.

Thief on Bus.012

After that, the thief took back his hand and (he) was sitting quietly; then without saying anything at once (he) came (past) me [lit. by my face] and hit the teacher- Bam! Bam! Bam!

Thief on Bus.013

So the teacher asked, "What did I do?"

Thief on Bus.014

"Don't say anything" (the thief) replied.

Thief on Bus.015

And then three or four of them (the thief and his companions) surrounded (him) and hit (him) again- Pow! Pow! Pow.

Thief on Bus.016

So (I) did not know what to do for (him).
(I) did not even know (how) to help (him) out.

Because of the shock, (I) sat looking numbly (at the event).

There were many people on that bus.

But nobody said, "Oh, enough."

All the people sitting on that (bus) also were so shocked and (they) were looking with surprise.

That time the teacher was suffering so much.

They hit (him) so that blood came out of his mouth, (they) hit on his head, and hit his head holding onto (his) hair.

I should have said, "Enough."
But I also did not remember to say (it).

I was also so shocked that I was watching (it) [like that].

Then after the hitting was over, I asked, "Teacher, what happened?"

Then (he) replied, "(I) don't know what happened."

So I asked (him) again, "Did you have some business (with them) before? If not, have (you) done some wrong to (them)?"
Then he replied, "(I) didn't do anything."

"Well then, why have they come and beat you?" (I) asked.

Suddenly (he) said, "Oh, there was a woman holding a lot of money, and I saw (him) when his hand was close to it, just about to snatch (it), and because he was not pleased for I did not let him steal (it), that was why he beat (me).

Then after the bus stopped, at once they jumped down.

After (they) got off, the thing that man said was, "If you are a man, come down."

But the teacher did not go down.
After that, the teacher said, "If I did not know God, today (I) would have (fought) [hit back]. But (I) did not fight back since it is not good for a minister to do [like] that."

After that, we (dual) went to an internet cafe and we were typing (some) letters.

(Then) at that time his face became very swollen.

So I said, "Oh, teacher, your face is really swelling up."

Then (he) replied, "Okay, no matter. (I) will buy medicine and apply (it) later."

After that, because of me (doing) like this, because I invited (him) and then (he) got in trouble, I was confused and felt guilty.
Thief on Bus.045
unë M nē azeipu sangti khëlei punet tē sangti khëlei pit pu la
thus 1S ERG teacher medicine buy IRR what medicine buy give IRR INT
zē tsang net
QUOT ask PAST.RL.
So I asked, "Teacher, (I) will buy medicine. What medicine shall (I) buy?"

Thief on Bus.046
tanëket amiu tē yēv mē lei tē ket ha khëlei ushūv shē khëlei
but 3S ERG what matter NEG STAT what even NEG buy later only buy
punet nē leng ha pū zē shūh net
IRR 2S mind NEG many QUOT say PAST.RL.
But he said, "No matter. Don't buy anything. (I) will buy (it) later. Don't worry about (it) [lit. do not multiply your heart]."

Thief on Bus.047
uyinë mjē o a-nong ceot net
after.that 1DU.excl ABS come-back COMPL PAST.RL.
After that, we came back.

Thief on Bus.048
a-nong rē khēye ci shūv a - ye ta khatti vu züng te
come-back then house arrive after 3S - house in once go look when
a - lekhilē nē ti le nē a - ka yēng pit sangti - lē
3S - students ERG water warm INST 3S - cheek warm give medicine - PL
vüh pit sangti - lē cē zē sūh pit lei net
apply give medicine - PL feed and do give STAT PAST.RL.
(We) came back and after (we) arrived home, then when (I) went to his house [lit. once] to see (him), his students had already helped (him) to wash his face with hot water, apply medicine, and take medicine.

Thief on Bus.049
tanēket a - peng o lat a mē che ti she a shē che vu net
but NR - swell ABS quickly NEG heal NEG slow then only heal go PAST.RL.
But the swelling did not heal very quickly, (it) healed slowly.

Thief on Bus.050
u ni suset pē a - mē - mēnyūv zhūv khat net
that day meet TOP NR - NEG - forget able.capacity one PAST.RL.
The experience on that day is an unforgettable one.
RESUME

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