PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN COLLECTED BRAO NARRATIVES

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ABSTRACT

The current research presents the first results of on-going discourse research into the participant reference system in Brao Ombaa, a Bahnaric Mon-Khmer language spoken in northeastern Cambodia. In particular, the current research describes the ranking, introduction, and typical and unexpected encoding patterns of four categories of participants – central, major, minor, and props – in a small corpus of six third-person monologue folk narratives.

Methodology adapted Thurman Charts combined with Dooley and Levinsohn’s sequential strategies to identify the four categories of participants. Givón’s quantitative method of Topic Persistence and Referential Distance, and total number of references to participants are applied to examine the participant ranking statistically. Dooley and Levinsohn’s chart of participant encoding in a text is used to propose the rules for the four categories of participants in four subject and four non-subject contexts.

The results of ranking and introduction indicate that the Brao demonstratives increase the prominence of participants. The results of encoding patterns of participants indicate that pronoun is the typical encoding pattern in the subject contexts and null reference is the most likely encoding pattern in the non-subject contexts, especially in the object position in clauses or sentences or in a quotation formula. The unexpected encoding patterns are that the participants are either overcoded or undercoded. Overcoding suggests: (1) prominence of participant or (2) clarification of participants’
prominence. Undercoding suggests: (1) prominence of participant has already been established or (2) crowded stage, especially at the Peak.

Since all six collected Brao narrative texts have never been recorded before, this trilingual and interlinearized documentation adds to the small Brao corpus of literature to preserve the language, tradition, and culture. The collected narratives also may be published by International Cooperation Cambodia (ICC) as Brao literacy materials for literacy classes.
บทคัดย่อ

งานวิจัยนี้นำเสนอผลของงานวิจัยด้านพันธุศาสตร์เกี่ยวกับระบบการอ้างถึงผู้แสดงบทบาทในระบบสัมพันธ์สารของภาษาเบราโอมมาซึ่งเป็นภาษามอญ-เขมรกลุ่มบะห,นาริกที่พูดกันในภาคตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศกัมพูชา งานวิจัยนี้มุ่งเน้นอธิบายการจัดลำดับ การเรียงลำดับการเข้ารหัสแบบปกติและแบบไม่ปกติของผู้แสดงบทบาทสี่ประเภท ได้แก่ ผู้แสดงบทบาทสำคัญหลัก รอง และอุปกรณ์ประกอบยาก โดยใช้คลังข้อมูลขนาดเล็กจากเรื่องเล่าวัฒนธรรมพื้นบ้านจากบุคคลที่สามจำนวน 6 เรื่อง ระเบียบขั้นตอนการวิจัยดัดแปลงจากตารางของเธอร์,แมน (Thurman Charts) รวมกับยุทธวิธีการเรียงลำดับของ Dooley และ Levinsohn ในการจำแนกบทบาทผู้แสดงบทบาทสี่ประเภท งานวิจัยนี้ใช้วิธีการเชิงปริมาณของ Givón เกี่ยวกับความคงที่ของหัวเรื่องและระยะห่างของผู้ถูกอ้างอิง เพื่อตรวจสอบการเรียงลำดับผู้แสดงบทบาทในเชิงสถิติ ตารางการเข้ารหัสผู้แสดงในเนื้อเรื่องของ Dooley และ Levinsohn ถูกใช้เพื่อนำเสนอหลักเกณฑ์ของผู้แสดงทั้งสี่ประเภทที่มีประธานและไม่มีประธานอ้างอิง ผลการเรียงลำดับและการเรียงลำดับของหัวเรื่อง พบว่า คำศัพท์ภาษาเบราโอมมาที่มีความเด่นชัดของผู้แสดงผลของรูปแบบการเข้ารหัสบางข้อความคำศัพท์ภาษาเป็นรูปแบบการเข้ารหัสที่มีในบริบทที่มีประธานและการเรียงลำดับมักจะเป็นรูปแบบการเข้ารหัสที่มีในบริบทที่มีไม่ยิ่งใหญ่ โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในหัวเรื่องของอนุประโยค ประโยค หรือในคำพูดอ้างอิง รูปแบบการเข้ารหัสที่ไม่ปกติคือลักษณะที่ผู้แสดงถูกเข้ารหัสเกินจริง หรือไม่ได้รับการเข้ารหัส การเข้ารหัสเกินจริงแสดงให้เห็นถึง 1) ความต่อกับความต่อกับของผู้แสดง หรือ (2) การขยายความต่อกับของผู้แสดง การไม่ได้รับการเข้ารหัสแสดงให้เห็นถึง (1) ความต่อกับของผู้แสดงนั้นเกิดขึ้นอยู่แล้ว หรือ (2) ผู้แสดงที่นั้นอยู่แล้วโดยเฉพาะในจุดสุดยอดของเนื้อเรื่อง
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1P(incl.du) first person dual (inclusive)
1P(incl.pl) first person plural (inclusive)
1P(excl.du) first person dual (exclusive)
1P(excl.pl) first person plural (exclusive)
2P(du) second person dual
2P(pl) second person plural
3P(du) third person dual
3P(pl) third person plural
1S first person singular
2S second person singular
3S third person singular
Addr address
Adj adjective
Adv adverb
ARRAYD another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter (a participant)
CDB Cac Daak Brah (a participant)
Clf classifier
Cli clitic
Conn connective
Ce Pt central participant
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<td>DBB</td>
<td>Doow Brah Brii (a participant)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dem</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
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<td>Ep.</td>
<td>Episode</td>
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<td>GE</td>
<td>Mother Gee Ersee (a participant)</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>Goong Miin (a participant)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GVIP</td>
<td>Global Very Important Participant</td>
</tr>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Corporation Cambodia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ideo</td>
<td>Ideophone</td>
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<td>Iden</td>
<td>identification</td>
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<td>Indep</td>
<td>Independent</td>
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<td>Info</td>
<td>information</td>
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<td>Interj</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
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<td>Intro</td>
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<td>Irr</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
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<td>LHD</td>
<td>Laa He Dac (a participant)</td>
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<td>Locative</td>
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<td>LVIP</td>
<td>Local Very Important Participant</td>
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<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>most important</td>
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<td>Ma Pt</td>
<td>major participant</td>
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<td>Mi Pt</td>
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<td>NDPro</td>
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<td>OB</td>
<td>older brother (a participant)</td>
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<td>orig</td>
<td>original</td>
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<td>head or possessed noun</td>
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<td>PNDPro</td>
<td>head or possessed noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun</td>
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<td>PNPro</td>
<td>head or possessed noun followed by pronoun</td>
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<td>Referential Distance</td>
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<td>relativizer</td>
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<td>research question</td>
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<td>RRD</td>
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<td>RRYD</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter (a participant)</td>
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<td>S4</td>
<td>Subject environment 4</td>
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<td>Mr. Teem Enlee (a participant)</td>
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<td>Topic Persistence</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<td>Very Important Participant</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaphoric reference</td>
<td>The use of a linguistic unit referring to the same person or object as another linguistic unit earlier in a text or conversation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataphoric reference</td>
<td>The use of a linguistic unit referring to the same person or object as another linguistic unit later on in a text or conversation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourse</td>
<td>The original communicative act, whether spoken or written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encoding pattern</td>
<td>The use of a linguistic unit referring to a participant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative</td>
<td>A spoken or written account of connected events.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant reference</td>
<td>The system of referring to participants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quotation formula</td>
<td>The ways to mention a speaker in a quote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prominence</td>
<td>The way a producer gains and maintains the attention of his/her audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zero anaphora</td>
<td>The use of null reference, in a phrase or clause, which has an anaphoric function.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Rationale
The Brao language is one of the languages in Ratanakiri province, Cambodia. The language project coordinator welcomes any research on discourse. Research on participant reference can help with writing literacy materials and literature naturally and clearly.

1.2 Overview
This thesis is a study of the participant reference system found in a corpus of seven third-person narrative texts of the Brao language as spoken in the village of Ta Veaeng (Ta Veng) District in Ratanakiri province, Cambodia.

The collected Brao narratives use proper names, common names, noun phrases, possessive phrases, kin terms, pronouns, relative pronouns, and null reference to refer to participants. This study examines selected aspects of that participant reference system.

The research questions of this thesis relate to the corpus of collected Brao narratives:

1. What is the inventory of participant reference in the corpus of materials?
2. What is the relationship between nouns, pronouns, and participant reference in the corpus of materials?
3. What are the patterns and functions of zero anaphora in the corpus?
4. How are the participants ranked in the corpus?
5. What are the variations in formulas of quotation in the corpus?
6. How is prominence marked in the corpus?

1.3 Language Background and Literature related to Brao
This section introduces the Brao people, including their history, location, culture, and language family and the literature in Brao or related to Brao.
1.3.1 Background
The Brao are one of the hill tribes that inhabit the northern part of Ratanakiri province in northeastern Cambodia (see Figure 1), especially Ta Veaeng / Ta Veng district, north of the Sesan river (see Figure 2).

Researchers believe that the ancestors of the Brao were one of the peoples of the kingdom of the Khmers of Angkor, between the 9th and the 13th centuries, who dominated large parts of Cambodia, Laos and Thailand. This conclusion is based upon the relationship between the Mon-Khmer languages and the Brao language of...
the Bolaven Plateau in Champasak Province in southeastern Laos, which was once
the center of the Khmer civilization of Angkor (West 2009: 122).

The Brao grow upland dry rice by swidden agriculture methods. They also grow
beans and corn, and they are involved in animal husbandry, fishing, hunting, and
various crafts.

For centuries the Brao have maintained a mixture of animistic beliefs and Buddhism.
They have a rich heritage of myths and legends passed down orally including several
stories about animals.

According to the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2016), the Brao language has four distinct
but mutually intelligible varieties: Lave (Brao proper), Kru’ng (Kreung), Kavet
(Kravet), and Lun. Sidwell (2003: 13) lists four communities of speakers. Three of
them are in Cambodia. One is spoken in Attapeu Province, Laos south of the
provincial city of Attapeu. Laveh (Lave, Rawe)¹ is the official designation for Brao
given by the Laotian government. Krung (Krüng) is spoken around Ban Lung in
Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia. Kavet (Kravet) is spoken in Voeun Sai District,
Ratanakiri Province, and in the district of Siam Pang, Stung Treng Province,
Cambodia. Lave or Brao (Brou, Palaw, Preou) is spoken in and around the town of
Ta Veng in Ratanakiri Province, Cambodia. Brao and Laveh are highly mutually
intelligible. Jacq and Sidwell “are inclined to group Brao and Laveh as one language.
Laveh speakers strongly assert to us that their language is the same as Brao …”

Jordi (2011: 9) lists five Brao varieties in Ratanakiri province (see Figure 3). Two of
them are spoken south of the river Sesan: Krung and Tenaap (or lowland Brao); two
are spoken north of the river: Kavet and Ombaa. The Lun people probably came
originally from south of the Sesan River. However, certain groups of them have
migrated further upstream and even north of the river. Linguistically, they exhibit
many of the lexical and phonological features of whatever Brao variety they are
living near, or have lived near in the past. At the same time, they also possess
certain traces of individuality that would not be predicted by a theory of contact.

According to Jordi (2011: 11), prior to 1960, Brao borrowed words from Lao mainly
for things from outside, such as sugar, oil, and soldiers. Later on, words for concepts
such as computer, telephone, and economy were borrowed from Khmer. Several
Laotian and Khmer prepositions are also used in the spoken language.

¹ Lave, Rawe are alternate names of Laveh.
This thesis investigates aspects of the Ombaa variety of the Brao language, which is usually referred to simply as the Brao language. It has been classified by Thomas and Headley (1970: 399) as one of the languages of Western Bahnaric, of the Mon-Khmer language group.

Figure 3 Brao language varieties in Ratanakiri province (Jordi 2011: 9)

Figure 4 Brao Ombaa language family
1.3.2 Literature

International Cooperation Cambodia published 103 short books in Brao between 2005 and 2011, although almost all of them are out of print today. Most of these are folktales and traditional stories, and some are agriculture or health books.

Scholarly publications about Brao include 9 articles about Brao orthography, phonology, and grammar, 2 books about Brao people, and 4 books and 2 articles about Brao with its related dialects. In addition, the Brao translation team began translating the New Testament a couple of years ago.

After presenting the background of the Brao language (section 1.3), the phonology and orthography of Brao Ombaa are described in the following section (section 1.4).

1.4 Phonology and Orthography

The writing system developed for Brao Ombaa is based on the phonological analysis of Brao-Krung (Keller 2001) as Brao and Krung are intelligible, the orthography developed for Brao-Krung (Keller 2001), the Brao dialectal survey (Keller et al. 2008), and the Brao Ombaa writing system (Jordi 2003).

The consonants and vowels of Brao Ombaa are listed in 1.4.1 and 1.4.2 followed by a description of the phonological word given in 1.4.3, and selected morphological process relating to nouns and verbs are described in 1.4.4.

1.4.1 The Brao Ombaa Consonants

According to Jordi’s research (2003: 2), Brao Ombaa has 25 consonants, all of which can occur syllable-initially. The 25 consonants of Brao Ombaa in this corpus of texts are given with Khmer graphemes in Table 1.
Table 1 Brao Ombaa consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plosives:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ប, ក</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ច, ឈ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>អ, អ៊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ប, ក</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiceless</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ប, ក</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j, ṇ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ṇ, ី</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ប</td>
<td>ប, ក</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j, ṇ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ṇ, ី</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>ប</td>
<td>ប, ក</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j, ṇ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ṇ, ី</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implosive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ប</td>
<td>ក, ក</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>f, ṇ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ṇ, ី</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasals</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ម, ណ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ṇ, ṇ</td>
<td>ṇ</td>
<td>ី, ី</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Liquids</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ល, រ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td>រ, រ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximants</strong></td>
<td>w</td>
<td>ី, ី</td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Khmer has a lot of vowel sounds. The vowel will influence the Khmer symbol of the consonant such as តិ stands for tɛ and ទិ stands for ti.

Of the 25 consonants, only 14 may occur in word final position. They are listed in Table 2.
Table 2 Brao Ombaa consonants can be found in word final position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosives</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ឺ</td>
<td>ត</td>
<td>ច</td>
<td>ក</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>យ</td>
<td>ន</td>
<td>ɲ</td>
<td>ញ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuants</td>
<td>ល</td>
<td>រ</td>
<td>ឱ</td>
<td></td>
<td>ី</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximants</td>
<td>វ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>ី</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.2 The Brao Ombaa Vowels

According to Jordi’s research (2003: 3), Brao Ombaa has 16 monophthongs. There are three diphthongs in Brao Ombaa: /ia/, /iia/, and /ua/. No vowel can be found in word initial or final position.

The front unrounded close-mid short vowel [e] is an allophone of the front unrounded open-mid short vowel /ɛ/ occurring in free variation and the front unrounded close-mid long vowel [ee] is an allophone of the front unrounded open-mid long vowel /ɛɛ/ occurring in free variation. The front unrounded open vowel [a] is also an allophone of the central mid vowel /ə/ and the back unrounded open vowel /ɑ/ occurring in free variation. In addition, nasalized /ã/ only occurs after consonants /m/ and /ŋ/. The 16 vowels of Brao Ombaa in this corpus of texts are contrastive and given with Khmer graphemes in Table 3.
Table 3 Brao Ombaa vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
<td>Rounded</td>
<td>Unrounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>ɛɛ</td>
<td>ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ʔa</td>
<td>ʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional graphemes used in the Brao Ombaa orthography, that do not represent new phonemes compared to the ones above but rather combine a vowel and a consonant, are listed in Table 4.

Table 4 Grapheme-phoneme correspondence of Brao Ombaa vowels that are influenced by the following consonant (Jordi 2003: 3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V + j</td>
<td>aj</td>
<td>ah</td>
<td>ŋə</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>ŋə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iʃ</td>
<td>iʃ əh</td>
<td>iʃ əh</td>
<td>iʃ aŋ</td>
<td>iʃ əh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>əm</td>
<td>iʃ ŋ</td>
<td>ŋom</td>
<td>ŋom, um</td>
<td>ŋom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The vowel sound is influenced by the consonant immediately after it.
The 25 consonants and 16 vowels of Brao Ombaa (represented by Khmer symbols in the orthography) have been presented above. The phonological words are described next in section 1.4.3.

1.4.3 The phonological word
Like the majority of Mon-Khmer languages, a phonological word of Brao Ombaa tends to be monosyllabic (Jordi 2011: 12) or, as described by Matisoff (1973: 86), sesqui-syllabic. The typical syllable structure in Brao is CVC.

\[(\text{presyllable}) + \text{main syllable}\]

Example:

\[(1) \quad hə + riəŋ = hə.riəŋ \quad hə. riəŋ \quad \text{to desire}\]

The presyllable, like the main syllable, always begins with a consonant; this may be the glottal occlusive.

The following forms illustrate monosyllabic and sesqui-syllabic words:

\[(2) \quad \begin{array}{ll}
\text{Monosyllabic word} & \text{Sesqui-syllabic word} \\
\text{daak} & \text{han.doam} \\
\text{water} & \text{new}
\end{array}\]

Some relevant morphological processes of Brao Ombaa are described in the following section 1.4.4.

1.4.4 Morphological processes
Morphological processes in Brao Ombaa occur in the word classes of noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. This section focuses on the analysis of types of morphological processes that occur in nouns and verbs, especially those processes that are foundational to the research questions of this thesis.

A morphological process is a process of either adding material such as a prefix, a suffix, an infix, or a circumfix, or deleting material, one or more phonemes, from a stem; or a means of changing one word into another (Kroeger 2011: 247).

The morphological process of nominalization (section 1.4.4.1) and morphological processes relating to verbs (section 1.4.4.2) are discussed in the following sections.
1.4.4.1 Nominalization

Nominalization is a morphological process that derives nouns from roots or stems of verbs, adjectives, or adverbs (Kroeger 2011: 254).

Simple nouns are often monosyllabic in Brao. However, some nouns which are derived from unknown origins or loaned from other languages are sesqui-syllabic (Jordi 2011: 12-14).

Example:

(3) | Monosyllabic simple noun | Sesqui-syllabic simple noun |
---|---|---|
daak | water | hən.naam | house |

Infixation and prefixation are two morphological processes, though the former is more common than the latter, in the derivation of nouns in Brao Ombaa. Three examples are given for infixation and two examples are given for prefixation.

Examples of Infixation

Nouns derived from simple verbs by the infix -n- [Cə + n-]

(4) | Derived nouns | Verbs |
---|---|---|
ka.nuu | a place to live | kuu | to live |
cə.naa | food | caa | to eat |

A noun derived from a simple verb by the infix -rn- [Cə + rn-]

(5) | Derived noun | Verb |
---|---|---|
cər.nam | wait | cam | to wait |

A noun derived from a simple verb by the infix -nd- [Cə + nd-]

(6) | Derived noun | Verb |
---|---|---|
cən.draa | invitation | craa | to invite |

Note: Infixation is determined partially by the phonological context and partially by the morpheme class.

Examples of Prefixation

Nouns derived from simple verbs by the prefix [bar-]

(7) | Derived nouns | Verbs |
---|---|---|
bar.maaŋ | word | maaŋ | to speak |
bar.noow | tomorrow | noow² |

² Nowadays, "noow" has no meaning in Brao Ombaa, but it is the root of or forms part of other derived words, such as khaj noow, which means ‘the coming month’ and bən.noow, which means ‘shortly’. 
A noun derived from a simple verb by the prefix [ʔər-]

(8) Derived nouns | Verbs
| ʔər. jaaw | run | jaaw | to run |

The prefixes listed above could be phonologically conditioned variants of the same form, but more examples are required in order to verify that. For more on Brao noun morphology, see Jordi (2011) section 2.2.1.

1.4.4.2 Morphological process relating to verbs

Some morphological processes apply to verbs and change their valence, either increasing or reducing the number of term arguments (Kroeger 2011: 270).

Simple verbs are most commonly monosyllabic in Brao, though there are some sesqui-syllabic forms (Jordi 2011: 16,17,19,20).

(9) Simple monosyllabic verbs | Simple sesqui-syllabic verbs
| maaŋ | to speak | hə.daa | to wash |

Prefixation, duplication, and infixation are three morphological processes in the derivation of verbs in Brao Ombaa.

The direct causative is formed by prefixation. When the root verb is a stative verb, it becomes an action verb after taking the causative form. Three examples are given for prefixation and one example is given for duplication.

Examples of prefixation

Action verbs derived from simple verbs by the prefix [pa-]

(10) Action verbs | Verbs
| pa. niw | to make alive | niw | to live |

An action verb derived from a simple verb by the prefix [paN-]

(11) Action verb | Verb
| paŋ. hɔɔm | bathe, shower someone | hɔɔm | to bathe, to shower |

An action verb derived from a simple verb by the prefix [ta-]

(12) Action verb | Verb
| ta. vəən | to make (sb) wear | vəən | to wear |
A continuative aspect verb can be formed by partial reduplication.

**Examples of reduplication**

(13) **Continuative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cə.cɔŋ</td>
<td>eating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>də.dɔk</td>
<td>walking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stative verbs can also be formed by the following processes.

**Examples for prefixation, reduplication, and infixation**

A stative verb derived from a verb of action by the prefix [trə-] (Jordi 2010: 20)

(14a) **Stative verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trə.saak</td>
<td>to be torn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saak</td>
<td>to tear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A stative verb derived from a verb of action by reduplication

(14b) **Stative verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dii.dii</td>
<td>to be accepted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dii</td>
<td>to accept</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A stative verb derived from a noun by the prefix [trə-] (Jordi 2010: 20)

(15) **Stative verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>trə.daak</td>
<td>to be soaked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daak</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A stative verb derived from a noun by reduplication

(16a) **Stative verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sɔk.sɔk</td>
<td>to be hairy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sɔk</td>
<td>hair, fur</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A stative verb derived from a verb of action by the infix [-ənd-] (not in the corpus)

(16b) **Stative verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cən.draa</td>
<td>to lead, to propose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>craa</td>
<td>to propose, to persuade</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: the original form of “craa” and its derivation “cən.draa” have the same meaning.

For more on Brao noun morphology, see Jordi (2011) section 2.2.2.

In summary, the consonants and vowels of Brao Ombaa, its phonological words and the morphological process of nouns and verbs have been described in section 1.4. Other relevant aspects of grammar of Brao Ombaa are described in the following section, 1.5.
1.5 Brao Ombaa Grammar
This section focuses only on the description of selected word classes, morphology, and the noun phrase in Brao Ombaa. This brief description of Brao Ombaa grammar is based on the English version of Outline of the grammar of the Brao Ombaa language (Jordi 2011).

1.5.1 Word Classes and Morphology
Kroeger (2011: 36) states that “in identifying word classes, ‘internal structure’ means morphological structure, for example the capacity to be inflected or number (in case of nouns) or tense (in case of verbs).”

The major (lexical) word classes include noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. The minor (grammatical) word classes include pronoun, determiner, preposition, and conjunction (Kroeger 2011: 38). Among these two types of word classes, noun, pronoun, verb, and determiner are described in order to prepare the reader to understand the current research.

Morphology is the structure of words (Kroeger 2011: xi). The morphology of singularity and pluralization of noun, and the verb conjugation for irrealis are discussed in this research.

1.5.1.1 The Noun
The noun is the head of a noun phrase that is a referential expression. This type of expression serves to identify a particular referent in the discourse. First, types of nouns are discussed, and then various tests for those types of nouns are provided demonstrating nouns as the head of noun phrases and possessive phrases.

Types of Nouns
Common nouns
Common nouns name non-specific people, places, things, or ideas (Kroeger 2011: 33).

In Brao Ombaa, the noun is often defined as the grammatical category that groups words indicating beings (such as bəəʔ “father”, ruəh “elephant”) and things (such as daak “water”, con.duu “mountain”). Properties (such as thu.nay “power”), sentiments (such as kaaan.bər.məət “love”), and processes (such as kaaanʔaan “reading”) may also be indicated as nouns. However, they are often constructed as nominalized verbs with an infix or with the nominalizer “kaan” (Jordi 2011: 25).
Proper nouns
Proper nouns name specific people, places, things, or ideas (Kroeger 2011: 35).

Unlike the common noun, the proper noun in Brao Ombaa does not take a qualifying modifier of size, or of possession. A person’s first name usually has a meaning, but meaning is not obligatory. The family name is most likely the first name of the child’s father or grandfather and used only for official papers. When a person is referenced, except for young children, a title which refers to the age ranking or social status is generally appended before the first name. When a person is addressed directly, most likely only the title is used (Jordi 2011: 27). The terms of address are listed in Table 5. The bold items occur in the corpus studied in this thesis.

Table 5 Brao Ombaa addressing system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Address</th>
<th>IPA transcription</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss / Lady</td>
<td>naïë</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss / Lady</td>
<td>naïë</td>
<td>Neutral or Demeaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr.</td>
<td>thaaw</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr.</td>
<td>doow</td>
<td>Demeaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir / Mr.</td>
<td>jaʔ</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandfather / Grandmother</td>
<td>jaʔ.ɔɔʔ / jaʔ.iiʔ</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandson / Granddaughter</td>
<td>coow / coow</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older brother / Older sister</td>
<td>?uuʔ / moʔ</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger brother / Younger sister</td>
<td>?ɔh / ?ɔh</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older uncle / Older aunt</td>
<td>mih / dak</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger uncle / Younger aunt</td>
<td>pɔɔ / miik</td>
<td>Honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niece / Nephew</td>
<td>moo / moo</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friend</td>
<td>ka.laan</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: “Miss” and “Mr.” can be used as honorific titles or demeaning titles. Addressing others with kin terms are used as either honorific titles or neutral titles. Bold type indicates that they occur in the corpus. Some addresses are borrowed from the Lao language.
Possessive nouns

Most simply, a possessive phrase consists of a head or possessed noun and a possessive noun or pronoun, the possessor. “[The possessive phrase] can always be used to express the concept of possession or ownership” (Kroeger 2011: 92).

‘Inalienable’ possession indicates a necessary and permanent relationship between the possessor and the possessed item such as body parts or kinship terms. ‘Alienable’ possession indicates things which are possessed only conditionally or temporarily, such as items that can be bought, sold, given away, lost, and so on (Kroeger 2011: 92,93).

The common and proper nouns and the verb are tested as the head of noun phrases as follows.

Noun Test 1: a noun is the head of noun phrase

The structure in example 17 is \[N \text{ Num Clf}]_{NP}

(17) \text{kun.\textit{par} tii} \quad \text{baar} \quad \text{raa} \quad (N2:2)

orphan \quad two \quad person.Clf

two orphans

In example 17, a common noun is the head of a noun phrase.

The structure in example 18 is \[Addr \text{ N Dem}]_{NP}

(18) \text{doow} \quad \text{thaaw}^{3} \quad \text{ca.gruej} \quad \text{nee} \quad (N3:2a)^{4}

Mr.(demeaning) \quad Mr.(honorific) \quad \text{Cegruej} \quad this

This Mr. \text{Cegruej}

In example 18, a proper noun is the head of a noun which can be preceded by an address.

The following example shows that the verb cannot be the head of a noun phrase.

* Verb Noun (ungrammatical)

(19) \text{ko.?aak} \quad \text{laa} \quad \text{ta.boot} \quad \text{bih} \quad (N1:23c)

crow \quad 3S \quad to.trick \quad snake

the crow he deceived the snake.

In example 19, a verb is followed by a noun and cannot be the head of a noun phrase.

---

^{3} \text{Jordi suggested that Cegruej was addressed as doow because he was looked down on in the narrative as insignificant, and also was addressed as thaaw because he was a hero, and seems to have supernatural power.}

^{4} \text{N3 stands for Narrative 3, 2a denotes Sentence 2 and Clause a.}
Noun test 2 shows that a noun is the head of the possessive phrase, and that demonstratives can replace nouns.

Noun Test 2: Possession of noun based on the noun property of being possessors.

The structure in example 20 is \([N \ N/Pro_{[Poss]}]_{NP}\)

\[(20) \quad \text{mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ} \quad (N3:155c)\]
mother father 3S

**His parents** they

In example 20, the head noun \(\text{mɛɛ bəəʔ} \) “parents” precedes the possessor \(nɔɔʔ \) “his”.

Noun Test 3: the substitution of noun by demonstrative pronoun based on the property of demonstratives that they can function as nouns.

The structure in example 21 is \([Pro \ Dem]_{NP}\)

\[(21) \quad \text{ʔam.braa nɛɛ} \quad (N3:98a)\]
3P(du) this

**these** two they

In example 21, \(\text{ʔam.braa nɛɛ} \) “these two” referred to Mr. Teem Enlee and Mother Gee Ersee and grammatically replaces them.

The structure in example 22 is \([Pro \ V \ Dem]_{NP}\)

\[(22) \quad \text{məə taj tɔʔ} \quad (N7:72b)\]
3P(pl) see that(far)

they saw **that-one**(the python)

In example 22, \(tɔʔ \) “that” referred to the python and grammatically replaced it.

A demonstrative pronoun can replace a noun.

According to Jordi (2011: 35), the structure of the root of the Brao noun never changes. It is not marked morphologically for number, gender or case. Singularity and pluralization of nouns are handled syntactically, as demonstrated in examples 23-25 below.

Noun Test 4: the singularity and pluralization of noun based on morphological form. Singularity is optionally marked.
The structure in example 23 is \[([\text{Addr} \ N \ Pro.sg]_{N, V} \ V \ N \ Pro \ Prt \ N]_S
\]

(23) \textit{jaʔ ʔat.naa laə dək koow} \hspace{1cm} (N7:3)
Mr. rich.ruler 3S go cut.down
\textit{ləə dək koow}
wood 3S Loc field

Mr. Rich Ruler he went to cut down his wood in the field.

The structure in example 24 is \[([N]_{N, V} \ Adv \ V]_S
\]

(24) \textit{gooŋ.məɨn pɛɲ taj trɔɔ} \hspace{1cm} (N4:13)
Goong.Miin shoot Neg to.be.right

Goong Miin shot (but) missed (it).

In example 23, a noun is followed by singular pronoun \textit{laə} to indicate the singular. However, in example 24, a noun can stand on its own to indicate the singular.

Plural is always marked.

The structure in example 25 is \[([\text{Pro.pl} \ N \ Dem]_{N, Pro.pl} \ V \ V]_S
\]

(25) \textit{mɛɛ ruəh nɛɛ məə raj dik} \hspace{1cm} (N5:57a)
3P(pl) elephant this 3P(pl) wake.up get.up
these elephants \textit{they} woke up,

The structure in example 26 is \[([\text{Pro.pl} \ N \ Num \ Clf]_{N, Pro.pl} \ V \ V]_S
\]

(26) \textit{mɛɛ brɔh puən raa məə} \hspace{1cm} (N3:129)
3P(pl) unmarried.woman four person.Clf 3P(pl)
\textit{tooj nəʔ}
follow 3S
four young ladies \textit{they} followed her.

In examples 25 and 26, plural pronoun \textit{mɛɛ} usually precedes a noun and \textit{məə} usually precedes a verb or verbs.

In summary, a common or proper noun, but not a verb, can be the head of a noun phrase or a possessive phrase. A noun can be replaced with a demonstrative pronoun. Singular and plural pronouns always indicate the singular or plural of nouns.
1.5.1.2 The Verb
Certain characteristics of verb morphology have an impact on participant reference.

Since an irrealis infix is between a clitic pronoun (which indicates person and number) and a verb, it is presented in this section. In addition, the serial verbs are tested for the null reference.

Verbs “assign a characteristic (in the broad sense of the term) to the subject” (Riegel et al. 2008: 570). Although this research focuses on NPs used in participant reference, some characteristics of VPs have been selected as relevant.

In Brao Ombaa, verbs are the predicative expression of the sentence (Jordi 2011: 45, 21, 80).

Irrealis Infixed
The irrealis marker is a nasal that assimilates to the following consonant. When in irrealis mood, verbs must take a clitic pronoun to mark the person, number, and inclusive or exclusive, and a nasal infix (-m-/n-/ŋ-) to mark an act or state of being which is not realis. Only verbs can take an irrealis marker. Thus the following test for a verb is relevant to events that are happening, have not yet happened, may happen, or will not happen.

Verb Test 1: Irrealis infixation
The structure in example 27 is \[\text{Conn Addr N Pro[Pro}_{[\text{ei}]}\text{Irr-V}]_{v} \text{Pro Adv [Pro}_{[\text{ei}]}\text{Irr-V}]_{v} \text{Prt Adv}]_{s}\]

If Mr. Orphan he \textbf{would} have followed us, then he \textbf{might} shoot (it).

In example 27, the constituents are clitic pronoun \textit{la} “3S”, irrealis infix \textit{m} “would” and “might”, and the verbs \textit{tooj} “to follow” and \textit{trɔɔ} “to be right”.

\[\text{paʔ doow kuən.pər.tii nɔɔʔ}\]
\[\text{la m tooj naa ʔee la m pɛn trɔɔ taj nɔh}\]
The structure in example 28 is \([\text{Adv Pro } [\text{Pro}_{[\text{Cl}]}-\text{Irr} \rightarrow \text{V}]_v]_s\).

\[(28)\]  
\[\text{də.minj} \quad \text{sə.braa} \quad \text{ləə.tɨɨh}\]  
\[\text{when} \quad 2\text{P(du)} \quad 3\text{S-Irr-go.down}\]  

When will the two of you go down?

In example 28, the constituents are clitic pronoun \(lə \text{“3S”}\), irrealis infix \(n\text{“will”}\), and the verb phrase \(tɨɨh\text{“to go down”}\).

The structure in example 29 is \([\text{Pro} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{Adv} \quad \text{Neg} \quad \text{Prep} \quad \text{Pro} \quad \text{Neg}[\text{Pro}_{[\text{Cl}]}-\text{Irr} \rightarrow \text{V}]_v \quad \text{N} \quad \text{Pro}_{\text{[poss]}}]_s\).

\[(29)\]  
\[\text{“… } \text{bə } \text{pat} \quad \text{nih} \quad \text{taj} \quad \text{dəə} \text{ (N7:11)}\]  
\[… \quad 3\text{S} \quad \text{disappear to.that.point Neg Prep}\]  
\[\etaəj \quad \text{jaaw} \quad ?ə�\text{koow} \quad \text{luη} \quad ?aj’\]  
\[\text{1P(incl.pl) Neg 1S-Irr-cut.down wood 1S}\]  

“… It disappeared, no (tool) for us, I could not cut down my wood.”

In example 29, the constituents are the clitic pronoun \(ʔə \text{“1S”}\), irrealis infix \(ŋ\text{“could”}\), and the verb \(ŋɨh \text{“to miss”}\).

Independent pronouns are not used because of verb conjugation for irrealis mood.

**Serial verbs**

Verbs in series are common in the Mon-Khmer languages. According to Kroeger (2004: 226-227), verbs in series are clauses where “a single clause contains two or more verbs, neither of which is an auxiliary.” The two independent verbs “express a single event, but because both verbs contribute to the meaning of the clause, the resultant expression is semantically more complex than one of the verbs alone.”

Brao examples follow with two, three, and four verbs in a row.

**Verb Test 2: serial verbs**

Two-verb constituent: \([([\text{N/Pro Dem Pro}]_{\text{np}})[\text{V} \quad \text{V}]_{\text{vp}}]_s\)

\[(30)\]  
\[\text{kəʔaak} \quad \text{bə} \quad \text{tra.nəəw rian}\]  
\[\text{crow 3S to.answer say}\]  

the crow he answered, saying.

In example 30, although two verbs are in the clause, in the analysis, those two verbs \(\text{tra.nəəw rian} \text{“answered saying”} \) are apparently one VP. It has one NP and no null references.

\(^5\) \(lə \text{“3S”} \) is the clitic pronoun for second person dual.
In example 31, the four verbs are actually two two-verb constituents – *cɔŋ caa* “to eat (rice) eat” and *həŋ.ŋan kɨj* “to sleep sleep” – with two null references preceding them. In the following chapters, this example is analyzed as containing two null references.

Three-verb constituent: \[(\text{[N/Pro Dem Pro]}_\text{NP})[V V V]_\text{VP}\]_\text{S}

(32)  
\[\text{bih.kraʔ nɛɛ ləə khɨt ʔəŋ.khɨt riən}\]  
python this 3S think think.in.mind say

this python he **thought, saying,**

In example 32, although three verbs are in the clause, in the analysis, the three verbs *khɨt ʔəŋ.khɨt riən* “thought saying” are apparently one verb phrase. It has one noun phrase and no null references.

(33)  
\[\text{məə cɔŋ caa lɛɛw}\]  
3P(pl) eat(rice.only) eat finish

They ate (it) up.

In example 33, the three verbs *cɔŋ caa lɛɛw* “ate up” are apparently one verb phrase with no null references, and in the clause it counts as one pronoun reference. The pronoun substitutes for the subject noun phrase.

(34)  
\[\text{laə buh jroŋ paaj Ø}\]  
3S grill grill boil 3P(pl)

she **grilled (and) boiled** (the preys),

\[\text{Ø bəəm ka.jɛʔ ʔɔɔʔ}\]  
3S make food rice(cooked)

(she) **made [cooked]** a meal.

In example 34, the four verbs include a three-verb constituent – *bih jroŋ paaj* – “grilled boiled” with null reference following and a verb *bəəm* with null reference preceding it.

Four-verb constituent: \[(\text{[N/Pro Dem Pro]}_\text{NP})[V V V V]_\text{VP}\]_\text{S}

(35)  
\[\text{laə ca.cee pɔɔc ham.maac maan}\]  
3S discuss tell narrate speak

he **chatted** (with her).
In example 35, although there are four verbs in the clause, in the analysis, the four verbs *cə.cee pəəc ham.maac maap* “chatted” appear to be one verb phrase with no null references, and in the clause it counts as one pronoun reference. The pronoun replaces the subject noun phrase.

In summary, the serial verb construction is formed by at least two verb constituents and by not more than four verb constituents in the corpus.

1.5.1.3 The Pronoun

In this section, personal, demonstrative, indefinite, and emphatic pronouns are described.

Pronouns are often the syntactic equivalent of a noun phrase (Riegel, Pellat & Rioul, 2008: 193). A pronoun “may refer to something which has been previously mentioned in the same discourse” (Kroeger 2011: 136). This is anaphoric reference.

In Brao Ombaa, pronouns may replace the complete noun phrase, with the exception of the preposition in a prepositional noun phrase (Jordi 2011: 30,32,34).

Types of Pronoun

Personal pronouns

Agreement between a pronoun and its antecedent helps the audience to interpret the pronoun correctly (Kroeger 2011: 138). In Brao Ombaa, a pronoun must agree with its antecedent for person, number, and inclusivity or exclusivity. These personal pronouns have been classified into three categories: independent pronoun A, independent pronoun B, and clitic pronoun C. They and their combinations are listed in Table 6.
### Table 6 Brao Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Indep Pro A</th>
<th>Indep Pro B</th>
<th>Clitic Pro C*</th>
<th>A + B</th>
<th>A + C / B + C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1P(excl.du)</td>
<td>ɲii</td>
<td>ɲəə</td>
<td>ɲə-</td>
<td>ɲii ɲəə</td>
<td>(ɲii) ɲə- / Ø ɲə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P(excl.pl)</td>
<td>ɲaa</td>
<td>ɲəə</td>
<td>ɲə-</td>
<td>ɲaa ɲəə</td>
<td>(ɲaa) ɲə- / Ø ɲə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P(incl.du)</td>
<td>ɓaa</td>
<td>ɓəə</td>
<td>ɓə-</td>
<td>ɓaa ɓəə</td>
<td>(ɓaa) ɓə- / Ø ɓə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1P(incl.pl)</td>
<td>ɲaaj</td>
<td>ɲəə, ɲaa</td>
<td>ɲə-, ɲa-</td>
<td>ɲaaj ɲəə</td>
<td>(ɲaaj) ɲə- / Ø ɲə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ɲaaj ɲəə</td>
<td>(ɲaaj) ɲə- / Ø ɲə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>haj</td>
<td>həə</td>
<td>hə-</td>
<td>haj həə</td>
<td>(haj) hə- / Ø hə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P(du)</td>
<td>sə.braa</td>
<td>sə.braa</td>
<td>lə-</td>
<td>(sə.braa) lə- / Ø lə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P(pl)</td>
<td>vəə</td>
<td>və-</td>
<td>və-</td>
<td>vəə və-</td>
<td>(vəə) və- / Ø və-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ɲəʔʔ?</td>
<td>ləə</td>
<td>lə-</td>
<td>ɲəʔʔ? ləə</td>
<td>(ɲəʔʔ?) lə- / Ø lə-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P(du)</td>
<td>ʔam.braa</td>
<td>ʔam.braa</td>
<td>lə-</td>
<td>(ʔam.braa) lə- / Ø lə-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P(pl)</td>
<td>məə</td>
<td>mə-</td>
<td>mə-</td>
<td>məə mə-</td>
<td>(məə) mə- / Ø mə-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* the clitic pronoun does not indicate duality; lə is the clitic pronoun for second person dual and third person singular and dual.

The independent pronouns in A column usually precede nouns, the independent pronouns in B column usually precede verbs. The clitic pronouns in C column must precede verbs or precede irrealis infixes followed by verbs. Generally, independent pronouns in A and B columns can occur together. However, the clitic pronouns in C column may occur after the independent pronouns in A column; and must not occur with the independent pronouns in B column, unless the independent pronouns in B column are referenced with null reference and occur before the clitic pronouns in C columns (see examples 27-29).

Personal pronouns are generally used to replace a person or an animal, and they can be modified at the phrase level (Jordi 2011: 30,32,34).
The structure is [Pro.pl  Num/Qtf  Clf]_{NP} as seen in examples 36-39.

(36) \text{ŋaaj  trɔm  raa}  \\
1P(incl.pl) each person.Clf  \\
all of us

In example 36, the words “all of us” modify the classifier \text{raa} “person”, which is the head of the noun phrase.

(37) \text{mɛɛ ʔəən  raa}  \\
3P(pl) many person.Clf  \\
many people

In example 37, the words “many people” modify the classifier \text{raa} “person”, which is the head of the noun phrase.

(38) \text{vɛɛ  puən  raa}  \\
2P(pl) four person.Clf  \\
you four people

In example 38, the words “you four people” modify the classifier \text{raa} “person”, which is the head of the noun phrase.

(39) \text{mɛɛ  səəŋ  raa}  \\
3P(pl) five person.Clf  \\
those five people

In example 39, the words “those five people” modify the classifier \text{raa} “person”, which is the head of the noun phrase.

The structure in example 40 is [Pro.pl  N]_{NP}

(40) \text{mɛɛ  crə.həəw}  \\
3P(pl) young.person  \\
the young people

In example 40, the words “young people” modify the noun \text{crə.həəw} “young.person”, which is the head of the noun phrase.

The structure in example 41 is [Pro.pl  V  N]_{NP}

(41) \text{mɛɛ  bəəm  miir}  \\
3P(pl) to.do field  \\
the peasants
In example 41, the words “peasants” modify the verbal noun *bəəm mɨɨr* “to.do field”, which is the head of the noun phrase.

Thus, plural pronouns can stand alone as independent pronouns or occur as heads of noun phrases to pluralize nouns or noun phrases as in examples 35-40 (not in the corpus).

**Indefinite pronouns**

Jordi (2011: 34) states that there are two indefinite pronouns in Brao Ombaa: “ʔəŋ.ɡaaj”, which substitutes for the names of things, places or animals such as “everything”, “everywhere”; and “mɛɛ.ɡaaj”, which substitutes for a person or personified animal similar to “someone.” There is no example of an indefinite pronoun in the corpus.

**Emphatic pronouns**

Kroeger (2011: 137, 138) states that “emphatic pronouns are used simply to highlight the identity of some other phrase, namely the phrase which functions as their antecedent. They have the same function in the sentence as their antecedents.” Note than any possible relationship with reflexive pronouns is yet to be determined.

In the corpus, *kə.laʔ* has two meanings: ‘self’ and ‘own’. When *kə.laʔ* follows a noun or pronoun and precedes a pronoun, it functions as an emphatic pronoun (see example 42 and example 43). When *kə.laʔ* follows a noun or pronoun but does not precede a pronoun, it functions as an adjective meaning ‘own’ (see example 44).

The structure is [N/Pro Det Pro]

(42) ‘bih.kraʔ kə.laʔ ləə’ (N1:18b)

python  self  3S

the python himself

(43) ‘ləə kə.laʔ ləə’ (N7:18)

3S self  3S

he himself

The structure in example 44 is [N Pro Adj]

(44) ‘cə.naaj nɔɔʔ kə.laʔ’ (N3:70b)

loincloth  3S own

his own loincloth

24
In Brao Ombaa, an emphatic pronoun refers to a noun or pronoun preceding it. Thus, demonstrative and emphatic pronouns do not represent an additional instance of participant reference, but rather an elaboration of the single identification within the single verb phrase.

In summary, personal pronouns in Brao Ombaa indicate three persons (1\textsuperscript{st}, 2\textsuperscript{nd}, and 3\textsuperscript{rd} persons), two ‘clusivities’ (inclusive and exclusive), and three numbers (singular, dual, and plural). A noun or noun phrase can be pluralized either by a plural pronoun with a number or quantifier and classifier [Pro.pl Num/Qtf Clf] or a plural pronoun with a noun or verb of state [Pro.pl (V) N]. There are two indefinite pronouns which substitute names and persons. The emphatic pronouns refer to the same individual immediately preceding them.

1.5.1.4 The Demonstrative

Selected characteristics of demonstratives – nominal, locative adverbial, and verbal are discussed below (in Test 1, Test 2, and Test 3). Kroeger (2011: 89) states that demonstratives indicate “distance from the speaker.” According to Dixon (2010: 224), there are three types of demonstrative: “nominal demonstratives can occur in a noun phrase with a noun or pronoun; local adverbial demonstratives occur either alone or with a noun taking local [location] marking; and verbal demonstratives can occur as the only verb in a predicate, or together with a lexical verb.”

Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns can stand alone and may replace nouns, as seen in examples 21 and 22. If they occur immediately following nouns or noun phrases, they are always a modifying constituent of a noun phrase. The Brao demonstratives are listed in Table 7.
Table 7 The Brao demonstratives (Jordi 2011: 32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Here (visible)</th>
<th>Near (visible)</th>
<th>Far (visible)</th>
<th>Exophoric (invisible)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ti?</td>
<td>that (above)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same level</td>
<td>nɛɛ</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neh*</td>
<td>?ɛɛ</td>
<td>?ɛɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ən.nɛɛ</td>
<td>?ɛɛ</td>
<td>?ən.tɔʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ən.neh</td>
<td>?ɛɛ</td>
<td>?ən.ʔin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>co?</td>
<td>that (below)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ən.coʔ</td>
<td>?ɛɛ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* when “neh” also functions as a pronoun of time, it is repeated to indicate “now.”

The demonstrative determinants with the final consonant “h” are often used in situation with a problem, a difficulty or a disagreement to express discouragement, disdain or anger. The demonstraives “tiʔ” and “coʔ” can also be used as two opposite directions – east and west respectively (probably because they live along rivers, east indicates up and west indicates down). The demonstratives “nɛɛ” and “tɔʔ” can also be used as two opposite sides – right and left respectively.

Examples of demonstratives functioning as constituents of noun phrases (Test 1), locative phrases (Test 2), and verbal phrases (Test 3) are discussed below. Test 2 and Test 3 are sentence modifiers for location (in space) and manner respectively.

Demonstrative Test 1: nominal demonstratives

The structure is [N Dem]_{NP}

(45)  
bih.kraʔ  nɛɛ  
Python  this  this python  
(N1:1a)

(46)  
brii  ?ɛh  
forest  that  that forest  
(N4:9)
Conclusion 1
As seen in examples 45 and 46 above, the nominal demonstratives are optional and always follow a noun within the noun phrase. They generally occur at the end of clauses or sentences.

The structure in example 47 is [Adv [Pro Dem]_{NP} Pro V Prep N]_{S}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(47) } & \quad \text{ʔəm.} \text{bi?} \quad \text{ʔam.braa} \quad \text{nɛɛ} \quad \text{ʔam.braa} \\
\text{evening} & \quad 3P(du) \quad \text{this} \quad 3P(du) \\
\text{ci?} & \quad təəm.biŋ \quad miir \\
\text{return} & \quad \text{from} \quad \text{field} \\
\end{align*}
\]

In the evening, these two[this couple] they returned from the field.

The structure in example 48 is [Adv Pro V [Dem]_{NP} N]_{S}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(48) } & \quad \text{ʔɛɛ} \quad \text{məə} \quad \text{taj} \quad \text{tɔʔ} \\
\text{then} & \quad 3P(pl) \quad \text{see} \quad \text{that(far)} \\
təəm & \quad \text{ʔən.lɛɛ} \quad \text{trunk(long.piece) bamboo} \\
\text{then they saw [that](the python) by the bamboo trunk.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Conclusion 2
As in examples 47 and 48, the (nominal) demonstratives can occur without a noun.

Demonstrative Test 2: location adverbial demonstratives
The structure in example 47 is [N/Pro V V Adv Loc Dem]_{S}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(49) } & \quad \text{məə} \quad \text{buh} \quad \text{caacat broj} \quad \text{bij} \quad \text{ʔɛh} \\
3P(pl) & \quad \text{grill} \quad \text{eat} \quad \text{immediately Loc that} \\
\text{they grilled (and) ate (the small deer) right there.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The structure in example 48 is [N/Pro V Dem]_{S}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(50) } & \quad \text{ləə} \quad \text{kliih} \quad \text{coʔ} \\
3S & \quad \text{fall} \quad \text{down.there} \\
\text{It fell down there.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The structure in example 49 is [Pro.pl N Pro\{Poss\} Pro.pl V Dem]_{S}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(51) } & \quad \text{məə} \quad \text{tiih} \quad \text{cōk} \quad \text{broj} \quad \text{doow} \\
3P(pl) & \quad \text{go.down} \quad \text{take} \quad \text{immediately Mr.(demeaning)} \\
\text{kuan.por.tii} & \quad \text{ʔin} \quad \text{orphan exophoric} \\
\text{they went down to take Mr. Orphan [there(invisible)]}. \\
\end{align*}
\]
In examples 49-51, the location adverbial demonstratives usually occur at the end of clauses or sentences.

Demonstrative Test 3: verbal demonstratives
The structure in example 50 is \([N \text{ Dem Pro V Dem}]_s\)

(52) \(\text{naaŋ nɛɛ ləə taj ɓal.ʔɛɛ}\) \((\text{N2:48a})\)

Lady this 3S see like.that

this lady she saw **like that**

The structure in example 51 is \([\text{Dem Adv}]_s\)

(53) \(\text{ɓal.nɛɛ maat}\) \((\text{N3:157})\)

like.this really

Really **like this**!

The structure in example 52 is \([\text{Adv Adj Adv Dem}]_s\)

(54) \(\text{taj khɨɨ ?ülm paʔ.nɛɛ}\) \((\text{N3:102})\)

Neg suitable Neg like.this

(It's) not suitable **like this**.

In examples 52-54, the verbal demonstratives can occur at the end or at the beginning of clauses or sentences.

In summary, all three types of demonstratives generally occur at the end of clauses or sentences. Nominal demonstratives are not obligated to co-occur with nouns. When a nominal demonstrative does co-occur with a noun, it functions as an intensifier. Locative adverbial demonstratives provide the referential information of distance, height, and visibility. Verbal demonstratives generally function as intensifiers. The nominal and verbal demonstratives can help to rank the participants as they can give prominence to the participants.

1.5.2 Noun Phrase

The nouns and verbs of major word classes, the pronouns and demonstratives of minor word classes, and the morphology of singularity and pluralization of noun and the verb conjugation for irrealis have been described and tested in the previous sections. This section now describes the noun phrase. Ultimately, all anaphoric participant identification refers to a previous noun phrase, and each identification is a noun phrase itself. Thus, understanding the noun phrase is crucial to understanding participant reference. This section provides examples of the noun phrase and of relative clauses.
Kroeger (2011: 87) states that “a Noun Phrase is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun. NPs in [many] languages, can function as subjects, primary or secondary objects, and objects of prepositions.”

1.5.2.1 The sample of noun phrase

The structure in example 55 is \[[\text{Addr} \ N \ \text{Dem}_\text{NP}\text{Pro} \ V]_S\]

(55) \(\begin{array}{l}
\text{jaʔ} \quad \text{ʔat.ɲaa} \quad \text{nee} \quad \text{loə} \quad \text{glaŋ} \\
\text{Mr \ rich.ruler \ this \ 3S \ look}
\end{array}\) (N3:150)

This Mr. Rich Ruler he looked,

In example 55, the noun phrase consists of an address with a noun and demonstrative.

The structure in example 56 is \[[N \ \text{Addr}_\text{NP}\text{Pro} \ V \ \text{Prt} \ N]_S\]

(56) \(\begin{array}{l}
\text{kun} \quad \text{jaʔ} \quad \text{ʔat.ɲaa} \quad \text{loə} \quad \text{kɛɛt} \quad \text{haʔ} \quad \text{laaw} \\
\text{child \ Mr \ rich.ruler \ 3S \ die \ Loc \ Laos}
\end{array}\) (N2:28a)

Mr. Rich Ruler's child she died in Laos,

In example 56, the noun phrase consists of a head noun with a possessor.

The structure in example 57 is \[[\text{Pro.pl} \ N \ \text{Num} \ \text{Clf}_\text{NP}\text{Pro.pl} \ V \ \text{Pro}]_S\]

(57) \(\begin{array}{l}
\text{mɛɛ} \quad \text{brɔh} \quad \text{puən} \quad \text{raa} \quad \text{məə} \\
\text{3P(pl) unmarried.woman \ four \ person.Clf \ 3P(pl)}
\end{array}\) (N3:129)

tooj nɔɔʔ

follow 3S

four young ladies they followed her

In example 57, the noun phrase consists of a plural noun with a numeral and a classifier.

In summary, the schemas for noun phrase in Brao Ombaa are:

\(\begin{array}{l}
[N \ [((\text{Addr} \ N_{\text{Pavg}}]) \ (\text{Dem})]_{\text{NP}} \text{or} \\
[([\text{Pro.pl}] \ N \ (\text{Num}) \ (\text{Clf}) \ (\text{Dem})]_{\text{NP}}
\end{array}\)

The pronoun after the noun phrase always precedes the verb(s) (see examples 25 and 26). It indicates person, number, and inclusive or exclusive.
1.5.2.2 Relative Clause

Kroeger (2011: 89,230) states that “a clause that functions as a modifier within the NP is called a relative clause. A relative clause is a clause which modifies the head noun within a noun phrase. A relativizer links the modifying clause to the head.”

Since there are only two relative clauses (presented as examples 58 and 59) in the corpus, further research is needed.

The structure in example 58 is [[N Addr N_{Poss} ]_{NP} Pro V Prt N Pro [Rel[ N Pro_{Poss} Det]_{NP} ]_{RC}]_{S}

(58) kuən jaʔ ?atɲaa ləə keet həʔ laaw  (N2:28a)
    child Mr rich.ruler 3S die Loc Laos

    Mr. Rich Ruler’s child she died in Laos,

    ləə trɔɔ kə.man nɔʔ kə.ləʔ  (N2:28b)
    3S Rel sister-in-law 3S own

    she who is his own sister-in-law.

In example 58, according to Jordi’s analysis (2011: 87-90), the noun phrase is “Mr. Rich Ruler’s child she” and the relative clause is “who is his own sister-in-law.”

The structure in example 59 is [[Addr N]_{NP}[Rel[Pro V N Adj]_{NP} ]_{RC}]_{S}

(59) doow kuən.pərtii nɔʔ ləə bic  (N2:32a)
    Mr.(demeaning) orphan Rel 3S have

    jraaw jə.ŋat
    medicine powerful

    Mr. Orphan who he has the powerful medicine,

In example 59, according to Jordi’s analysis (2011: 87-90), the noun phrase is “Mr. Orphan” and the relative clause is “who he has the powerful medicine.”

In summary, the relativizers in Brao that found in the corpus are trɔɔ and nɔʔ. The schema for relative clause in Brao Ombaa is: [Rel N/Pro (Pro_{Poss}) (Det)]_{RC}

The background, and the selected elements, phonology, orthography, and grammar of Brao Ombaa were described in this chapter. Chapter 2 examines the literature on participant reference.
Chapter 2
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction
In this thesis, discourse refers to the original communicative act, whether spoken or written. According to Longacre (1996: 7), discourse analysis covers two areas of linguistic concern: the analysis of dialogue, especially of live conversation, and the analysis of monologue. This present research studies six Brao monologue narrative texts.

A complete and well-formed discourse has: (1) cohesion and coherence – it uses conjunctions and sequencing markers, (2) progression – it progresses in some identifiable manner, and (3) prominence – someone, something, or some event has prominence at any given point. (Longacre 1996: 33)

With regard to discourse analysis, Brown & Yule (1984: ix, 1) define it as the study of how humans use language to communicate, especially how addressers construct messages for addressees, and how addressees process and interpret the messages, to account for the forms and how they are used (functions). Study of the structure of language should be connected with study of the function and use of language in a natural context.

Moreover, Johnstone states that:
“Linguistic competence is typically described as consisting of knowledge about phonology (how sounds are categorized and combined in a language), morphology (the structure of words), syntax (the structure of sentences), and semantics (the interpretation or computation of meaning). Discourse analysis moves the description of competence up a level, providing models of the knowledge that enables people to produce and interpret paragraphs, stories, conversations, and arguments, and exploring the ways in which interlocutors both draw on and jointly create structure as they interact (2008: 77).”
2.2 Discourse Genre

The French word *genre* means “kind.” According to Johnstone (2008: 182), genre “has been used to refer to conventional types of literary texts categorized by how they represent the world: the epic (primarily descriptive), the dramatic (primarily mimetic, or imitative), and the lyric (mixed, but also self-expressive). In discourse analysis, genres represent the emic discourse organization of a language and culture in a specific time and place as constructed in the cognitive schemas of the speakers’ minds (Longacre 1996). Burridge (2004: 97) suggests that the following criteria are used for recognizing the genres by the original audiences of the corpus he examined: “title, language, date, length, sources, point of view, type of hero, characterization, divine traits, technique, pattern, purpose and aesthetic intent.”

Burridge also states that:

“Genre functions by providing a set of expectations as a sort of contract between author and reader. It is constituted and mediated through a variety of different generic features, none of which need be peculiar to the genre; however, when they are taken all together, they reveal a particular pattern, which enables us to recognize the genre. … Although there are differences, a recognizable overall grouping is clear, with many critics including some or most of the following: representation, structure, meter, size, scale, subject, values, mood, occasion, attitude, setting, characterization, purpose, formal units, use of sources, motifs” (2004: 105).

In simpler cultures with oral literatures, we may find only two or three varieties of narrative discourse, e.g. myth, first person accounts, and formal stories. In many cultures and literatures, whether complex or simple, we find a distinction in third person narrative, i.e., the variety which presents a neutral vantage point as opposed to the variety wherein the narrator identifies his vantage point with that of one participant (Longacre 1996: 13). Narrative type can be subdivided into prophecy and story, history, and so on (Longacre 1996: 9).

2.3 Characteristics of Narrative

A narrative is not the story itself but a spoken or written account of connected events. Lacey (2000: 101) states that a narrative “presents information as a connected sequence of events and that it needs at least two connected events. It foregrounds time, is to be found in the diachronic (horizontal) dimension.” “Most
narratives structure their sequences causally: each event logically follows on from the previous one; each event causes the next one. A narrative therefore needs at least two connected events” (2000: 13-14).

A narrative is usually told in order to entertain, teach, and/or inform the audience. The characteristics of narrative are: specific sequence; first or third person; actor-oriented; and chronological linkage. Proper names are a type of specific person reference which characterizes narrative as opposed to procedural discourse (Longacre 1996: 12). Narrative (story) discourse utilizes some sort of nondurative preterit, or historical present, while narrative (prophecy) utilizes a future tense in many languages. For languages do not have tense, they use aspect and anything that is possible. Head-head linkage (i.e., the first sentence of one paragraph cross-references to the first sentence of the following paragraph) and tail-head linkage (i.e., the last sentence of one paragraph cross-references to the first sentence of the following paragraph) are used very prominently in narrative discourse of many cultures such as Brao (Longacre 1996: 12-13).

The discourse structure of a narrative is the patterns of form that a narrator uses to produce a narrative. The body of a narrative is often made up of two or more episodes. Each episode usually has a climax and a denouement. This may also have an opening, a setting, a background, an inciting incident, a developing conflict or an increasing tension, a closing, and a finis (Longacre 1996: 36). Narratives can also be a way of understanding of human existence. They are anxiety-reducing devices as problems would surely be solved and good invariably triumphs over evil. They offer stable reference points that may be absent from most people’s existence (Lacey 2000: 77).

2.4 Boundaries and Unity
An episode, according to Van Dijk's definition (1982: 177), “is a semantic unit. It is characterized as coherent sequences of sentences of a discourse, linguistically marked for beginning and/or end, and further defined in terms of some kind of ‘thematic unity’ – for instance, in terms of identical participants, time, location or global event or action”. It has a beginning and an end, what Longacre terms “closure” (1979b: 116).

The boundary between two episodes can be marked by various devices, such as a change of time, a change of place, which Grimes (1975: 109) terms “change of ‘setting’ (time or place),” or a change of participant(s), a change of topic, which
Grimes terms “change of ‘theme’ (the person or thing talked about).”. A point of departure, a summary statement, or tail-head links. The use of ‘But’ at the beginning of a paragraph is a general marker of topic change described by Van Dijk (1977: 139).

An episode presents unity when all events that take place at a particular setting can be treated as a unit. A sequence of events is distinguished from a later part of the same time sequence in that all the actions in each part involve uniform relations among their participants (Grimes 1975: 41). It has internal coherence, for instance, “the speaker continues talking about the same thing” (Grimes 1975: 103). A temporal principle of organization generally governs the narrative episode, which consists of an unbroken “chain” (Enkvist & Wårvik 1987: 224).

2.5 Participant Reference
This section reviews the literature regarding participant identification, participant rank, and the use of the Thurman Chart.

Longacre (1989: 139) regards participant reference as one of the two strands that constitute the ‘double helix’ of reference structure. According to Dooley and Levinsohn (2001: 111), there are two reasons to study participant reference: (1) because the audience needs to understand who is doing what, and (2) because a producer needs to be able to make that same information clear.

The scheme of reference, according to Givón’s scale of coding weight for referring expressions (1983: 18), is full noun phrases (most coding material) → stressed or independent pronouns → unstressed or bound pronouns → zero anaphora (least coding material). The tasks of a scheme of reference, as Dooley and Levinsohn proposed, are: (1) semantic – identifying the referents unambiguously, distinguishing them from other possible ones; (2) discourse-pragmatic – signaling the activation status and prominence of the referents or the actions they perform; and (3) processing – overcoming disruptions in the flow of information (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 112).

In general, the semantic part (1) of the referring task predicts that the amount of coding material in a referring expression increases with the danger of ambiguity. The discourse-pragmatic task (2) is related to activated (or reactivated) and deactivated participants (Chafe 1987; Givón 1990: 915) in which the higher the activation status, the less coding material is necessary. The processing task (3) is
related to the break of thematic continuity such as a change in type of information, for example, from event material to nonevent material (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001: 113). In order to understand the plot, each participant must be identified correctly, especially when participants are referred to by pronoun or ellipsis. In Brao, the semantic task is performed by name and title; the discourse-pragmatic task is signaled by central, major, and minor participants, and props; the processing task is tracked by pronoun, null reference, and exophoric reference.

In summary, participant reference is the system of referring to participants. This includes participant identification, a language’s inherent rules that use grammatical elements to identify participants to the recipient of the text. It also includes a means of revealing participant rank, the relative salience of participants in a specific discourse.

2.5.1 Participant Identification

One topic (participant), as proposed by Givón (1983: 7-8), can be a “continuity marker” when that topic is “coded as the primary topic – or grammatical subject – of the vast majority of sequentially ordered clauses or sentences comprising the thematic paragraph” which is made up by a chain of clauses and “is by definition about the same theme.”

Grimes (1975: 45) distinguishes “reference”, having “to do with who or what is being talked about”, from “identification”, having “to do with the linguistic means that the speaker uses to communicate who or what is involved”. In other words, linguistic coding is a surface feature that reflects the underlying deep structure of mental reference, including participant reference.

Identification, as Martin & Rose (2007: 155) state, “is concerned with tracking participants – with introducing people and things into a discourse and keeping track of them once there. These are textual resources, concerned with how discourse makes sense to the reader [audience] by keeping track of identities.” When narrators start talking about participants, they may introduce their names, but then the participants are often just identified by pronouns. Thus, audiences need to accurately identify participants in a discourse.

Grimes states that in anaphora, a pronoun or pronoun-like element references something before it in the text. Cataphora, on the other hand, presents a reference together with a promise to identify it later. Thurman has proposed two special kinds
of text relationship: (1) Linkage – for a particular kind of anaphoric relation, and (2) Chaining – for a particular kind of cataphoric relation. In a number of languages events must be linked to preceding events by a repetition of those events. In a system that makes extensive use of linkages, it is the absence of a linking clause that catches the hearer’s attention; this break in the sequence may be used to signal a change of scene or a shift of participants, a transition to background information, or even a point of special emphasis. Chaining is cataphoric. It is the prediction of some of the information that a following clause contain. Chaining systems may go with linkage systems, so that an event in a sequence of events may be chained forward to the next event and at the same time may be linked backward to the preceding event. As with linkage, breaking a chained sequence may have special significance (Thurman in Grimes 1975: 95-96). Identification is maintained through the use of anaphoric elements. Pronouns are the common means of maintaining identification (1975: 48-49).

Grimes (1975: 82) credits Robert C. Thurman with designing a revealing chart in his study of Chuave medial verbs. The vertical columns on the chart categorize six kinds of information in a text: events, identification, setting, background (includes both explanations and evaluations), collateral, and performative. As the current research is focused on participant reference, only the identification column is utilized. “The information that identifies the participants in an event not only links participants to events, but also links one mention of a participant with other references of the same participant. It obeys the rules of its own in addition to combining with event information” (1975: 43). The modification of the “Thurman Chart” used in this research is discussed in section 3.6.

In analyzing the stems used in participant identification, the amount of coding material is categorized. Givón’s quantity principle (1991: 87-88) suggests that “Less predictable and more discontinuous information will be assigned more coding material. The principle is reflected in the following size gradient: full nominal phrase → independent pronoun → unstressed pronoun → zero anaphora”. In this research, the phrase “overcoded material” is used to indicate the material which is heavier than usual in that environment and the phrase “undercoded material” is used to indicate the material which is lighter than usual in that environment.

The three main discourse measurements of topic continuity designed by Givón (1983: 13-15) are: Referential Distance (look-back), Potential Interference (ambiguity), and Topic Persistence (decay). All these measures are based on the
assumption that amount of coding is inversely proportional to unusualness. Potential interference may come from attempts to clarify ambiguity. In other words, ambiguity and other reasons should also be considered as possible motivations for over- and under-coding.

A participant can be referred to in many different ways such as name, title, kinship terms, pronoun, null reference, or exophoric reference, i.e., not in the scene or context. “Languages vary greatly in categories of information carried by pronouns and agreement. Some systems signal only person; others signal person, number, gender or noun class, honorific status, and so on” (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 112). Within the Brao addressing system, a title denotes an honorific or a demeaning status. Kinship terms can denote social status based on an age range even if the addressee and addressee are not related by blood. Within the Brao grammar system, pronouns indicate person, number, and inclusive or exclusive reference in addition to kinship relationship. Pronouns can also be referred to differently (see Table 6).

In the collected narratives, the participants can be identified by nouns or noun phrases, pronouns or clitic pronouns, head nouns of possessive phrases, and kin terms. Participant rank is likely to affect which particular elements are used in identifying participants.

2.5.2 Participant Rank

Participants are the characters (actors) of a narrative. Participant reference analysis describes the methods used to refer to the participants in a narrative text. The storyline is constructed through the events that happen to the participants in a narrative. Like the leading actor or actress, supporting actors or actresses in a movie or drama, there are central, major, and minor participants in a narrative.

With regard to props, Somsonge Burusphat (1991: 123) states that inanimate objects can be participants when they “are directly involved in the plot of the story.” In Brao discourse, humans can be props when they are used with a demonstrative ?ɨn and animals and inanimate objects can be props when they are with a demonstrative ḥaŋ.?ɨn (refer to section 1.4.2.1).

Dooley & Levinsohn (2001: 119-124) classified participants into three categories or ranks: major participants, minor participants, and VIP (Very Important Participant).

The main participant in a narrative, according to Somsonge Burusphat (1991: 124), is on-stage more than other participants, is the initiator of most of the actions, and
occasionally can be a victim of others' actions. The thematic role of the main participant is usually agent; however, it can also be patient. The main or most important participant is a Global Very Important Participant (GVIP) who plays the most leading role in a narrative.

The secondary participant in a narrative is never the thematic participant of a whole story, but can be a locally thematic participant at least once in the entire story (Somsonge Burusphat 1991: 131). So, the secondary or important participant can be the Local Very Important Participant (LVIP) who plays a leading role and is active in a certain part of a narrative. (Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 122). In biblical Hebrew, there are major participants (the slate of participants for the whole story) include central (protagonist) and other(s) (Longacre 1989: 142).

The tertiary participant in a narrative is not necessarily a locally thematic participant (Somsonge Burusphat 1991: 133). The role of the tertiary participant is small although he/she is important to the plot of the story. Therefore, they are minor participants who play supporting roles and are not active in a narrative, or only active but not as active as the major participants (Longacre 1989: 142).

A Prop is “the helper in a plot, who assists the hero to attain his goal, is inanimate as often as animate” (Propp 1968: 61) who appears on the stage but never initiates any actions (Somsonge Burusphat 1991: 123). Longacre (1989: 143) classifies props into four categories: human, animate, inanimate, and natural forces.

The four categories of participants utilized in this research are: central participant, major participants, minor participants, and props. Based on a synthesis of terminology used by Longacre, Somsonge Burusphat, and Levinsohn, GVIP and LVIP are also identified.

In summary, the participant reference system is a component of the grammar system of a language, in particular, the relationship between noun and subsequent referring expressions. The participant reference system also reveals the way in which participants are introduced, maintained and foregrounded.

2.6 Quotation Formula
Speech act theory originates in Austin’s observation (1962) that while sentences can often be used to report states of affairs, the utterance of some sentences in specified circumstances, i.e., a set of ‘felicity conditions’, must be treated as the performance of an act. Runge (2010: 145) states that quotation formula “signals a transition from
narrative proper to a speech or dialogue embedded within the narrative.” According to Longacre (1996: 89), “the quotation formula is for the most part an independent clause and has a finite verb subject to the constraints of the narrative framework. It ties a reported speech act into the narrative progression, while a quotation itself gives the content of the reported speech act.”

A direct speech is an exact quotation of what the speaker spoke. In some languages, can be marked by serial verbs, for example, two speech verbs such as “say say”, or “answer say,” a cognitive verb with a speech verb such as “think say,” or “remember say,” an action verb with a speech verb such as “come say,” or “sit say,” or an emotion verb with a speech verb such as “fear say,” or “annoyed say.”

Longacre (1994: 125-126) states that a “quotation formula (QF) simply tells us that a speech act took place and who the speaker and (overt or inferred) addressee is. On the other hand, the content of the Quotation (Q), tells us the nature of the speech act, such as flattery, compliance, suggestion, … the QF’s tie the Speech Acts to one or more of the participants of the story.” “The quotation formulas vary as to their placement relative to the quote and as to specification of only the speaker versus the specification of both the speaker and the addressee (1994: 127).”

Since a narrator can refer to a speaker of a quotation with a proper or common noun, a pronoun, or null reference, the relationship between participant reference and the structure of quotation formula should be investigated, particularly because serial verbs are common in Brao quotation formulas but not used consistently.

2.7 Prominence
Prominence is the way a producer gains and maintains the attention of his/her audience. Callow (1974: 50) proposes that prominence is “any device which gives certain events, participants, or objects more significance than others in the same context.” She distinguishes three kinds of prominence: (1) Thematic prominence “carries the discourse forward” (1974: 52). (2) Focus prominence highlights some thematic material as more important than other thematic material (1974: 52, 60-63). (3) Empathic prominence considers what surprised the receiver, or what the producer has strong feelings about (1974: 52, 63-65).

Longacre (1989: 414) identifies and distinguishes two types of prominence that apply to the whole text. (1) Structural prominence is the plot, a storyline of
“sequential and punctilious happening” for a narrative. It is the mainline, or backbone of any discourse. (2) Semantic prominence is related to meaning.

Runge (2010: 62) suggests that forward-pointing reference can give prominence within discourse. One way is “slowing down the flow of the discourse before something surprising or important. [The] delay has the effect of building suspense when an audience is expecting something to happen.”

In this research, all the above descriptions of prominence purposes and devices are considered, particularly with a look to how heavy coding materials may slow down the flow of the Brao discourse to accomplish the function of prominence of a participant(s).

2.8 Mon-Khmer participant reference studies
Five Mon-Khmer languages have been examined for participant reference patterns. These languages are Bunong, which is also Bahnaric, Northern Khmer, Kmhmu’, Bru, and Tai Dam.

Bequette’s *Participant reference, deixis, and anaphora in Bunong narrative discourse* (2008) analyzes null reference, head nouns of possessive phrases, demonstrative, and patterns of reference. Bequette (2008: 64,122) states that “a zero reference is the most common referring expression used in both subject and non-subject slots;” “the less prominent participant’s referring expression is the surrogate noun + possessor” (2008: 69). Also, “zero is common in all three of the stories” (2008: 122). Furthermore, the grammatical function of the demonstrative in Bunong discourse is to mark something anaphorically or to mark a participant involved in a confrontational situation (2008: 80).

Poopatwiboon’s *Participant reference in Northern Khmer* (1983) analyzes introduction of participants. The main (central) participants are usually introduced by a special constituent, namely an existential mían clause with the numeral phrase muuj or nou muuj ‘be one’ in Northern Khmer (1983: 115). The secondary (major) participants are usually introduced by an existential mían clause with an optional third-person pronoun kii in Northern Khmer (1983: 116). In Northern Khmer, the incidental secondary (minor) participants are usually introduced in the object slot of clauses in the form of nouns or noun phrases or third-person pronoun kii with or without modifiers (1983: 116). The non-human secondary participants (props) are introduced by nouns (1983: 117).


In brief summary, these five studies show the diversity of discourse patterns even among related languages, as well as a broad range of methodology.
Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1 Introduction
This thesis is an initial study of the participant reference system in selected Brao narratives. Several methods are used to investigate and analyze the corpus of collected narratives. Thurman chart analysis is used for participant identification. Dooley and Levinsohn’s theory of participant reference is used for indicating the inventory of referring expressions and identifying the major and minor participants, Global VIP or central participant and LVIP, and props. Givón's measurements of topic continuity are used to rank the participants according to TP (decay) and RD (look-back).

3.2 Data collection
The seven narrative texts were recorded in the villages of Ta Veng District in Ratanakiri province, Cambodia, in July 2014.

The six narrators were introduced by Ms. J. Jordi, the team leader of the Brao language development project. The collected narratives are numbered according to the order in which they were recorded, and named by myself. The six narratives used in this research are: N#16 “The python” (385 words), N#2 “Lunar eclipse” (907 words), N#3 “Mr. Cegruej” (2420 words), N#4 “Marksman orphan” (704 words), N#5 “Gecko and Elephant” (705 words), and N#7 “Krung the snake” (1326 words). All seven are third-person monologue traditional tales in two genres – the first genre is folktales (which explain some phenomena): why the python is poisonless in N#1, why there is lunar eclipse in N#2, why there is daytime and nighttime in N#4, and why elephants have no behind in N#5; the second genre is fairy tales which end with “... live happily ever after” in N#3, N#6, N#7. Since each text has more than three participants, they are likely to be good sources for analyzing participant reference.

6 N#1 stands for Narrative number 1.
Among the seven narratives, four were told by three Brao language project team members: N#1, N#2, N#3, and N#4 were told by three mother-tongue translators. N#5 and N#6 were told by two church leaders from two Brao churches in Ta Veng. N#7 was told by my Brao teacher. The background of the six narrators is listed in Table 8.

Table 8 Personal information of the narrators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative</th>
<th>Narrator</th>
<th>Birthplace/Residence</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Language spoken</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No. of Audience (including myself)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N#1* &amp; N#4*</td>
<td>Ms. Nuuj Soogn</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>~55</td>
<td>Brao</td>
<td>Brao language project member</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#2**</td>
<td>Mr. Teej Phaaw</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>~35</td>
<td>Brao, Khmer</td>
<td>Brao language project member</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#3*</td>
<td>Ms. Moom Tompuen riing tooc</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>~40</td>
<td>Brao, Khmer (not fluent)</td>
<td>Brao language project member</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#5</td>
<td>Ms. Cot Phaaw</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>~35</td>
<td>Brao, Khmer (not sure)</td>
<td>A leader of one Brao church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#6</td>
<td>Ms. Tuc Soogn</td>
<td>female</td>
<td>~55</td>
<td>Brao</td>
<td>A leader of one Brao church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#7**</td>
<td>Mr. Ma Rukig Tompuen riing tooc</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>~30</td>
<td>Brao, Khmer, English (not fluent)</td>
<td>Farmer / language helper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The narrative was retold to the narrator
** The narrative was retold to and revised by the narrator
N#1, N#3, N#4 were retold to the narrators and revised by Mr. Ma Rukig. N#2 and N#7 were revised by the narrators (Mr. Teej and Mr. Ma Rukig). All collected narratives except N#6, were written out in the Khmer-based Brao orthography by Mr. Ma Rukig. N#1, N#2, N#4-N#6 were typed in the Khmer-based Brao script by Mr. Chanroth, a local staff member at the International Cooperation Cambodia (ICC) Ratanakiri office. N#3 was typed by Ms. Moom, and N#7 was typed by Mr. Ma Rukig. Mr. Chanroth also did the Brao-Khmer word-for-word translation of N#1, N#2, N#5, and N#6 and the Brao-Khmer free translation of all the narratives except N#6. The Khmer-English word-for-word translation of N#1, N#2, and N#6 was done by Ms. Seng Thida. The Brao-English word-for-word translation of N#3-N#5, and N#7 was done by Ms. Jordi. The English free translation of Narratives N#1-N#5, N#7 was done by Ms. Seng Thida, Ms. Jordi, and me and N#6 was done by Ms. Jordi and me. Ms. Jordi and I transcribed the narratives into IPA and I interlinearized each text using FieldWorks’ computer software. After considering the length of the collected narratives, it was decided not to include N#6 (too long) in this research.

3.3 Inventory
Lambrecht (1994: 38) states that “speakers must create a representation for the addressee when referring to an entity or proposition. The linguistic forms that create and maintain representations are called referring expressions.” Referring expressions in this paper are defined as any linguistic forms used by a speaker to denote the identity of each referent or participant in a narrative. They can be nouns (including proper names), noun phrases, head nouns, pronouns or clitic pronouns, relative pronouns, demonstratives, kin terms, and null reference. Based on Givón’s scale of coding weight for referring expression (1983: 18), the coding material scale hypothesized in this research is listed in Table 9.

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7 FieldWorks was developed by SIL and can be downloaded for free at http://fieldworks.sil.org.
Table 9 The hypothesized coding material scale for the collected narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensity*</th>
<th>Grammatical features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Possessive phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Possessive phrases with demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Nouns or Noun phrases followed by pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Possessive phrases followed by pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nouns or Noun phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Possessive phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Relative pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kin terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Pronouns or Clitic Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Null reference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 1. A noun or noun phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun is the heaviest (most) coding material; 12. null reference is the lightest (least) coding material.

How demonstratives and pronouns mark the importance of participants are described and studied in this research. In addition, null reference functions in maintaining referents in the subject and object positions are also investigated.

### 3.3.1 Chart

The Thurman Chart is “a display of text that lays out each kind of information in a way that can be seen at a glance” (Grimes 1980: 82). “It highlights the distinction between event information on the one hand and the identification of participants, setting, explanation, evaluation, and collateral information on the other” (Grimes 1977: 124). It is a valuable tool for tracking participant reference. The plotting of spans is an abstraction of Thurman chart into a condensed format that enables patterns to be identified faster and more easily.

Thurman Chart analysis combining Givón’s statistical approaches of TP and RD is used to identify and rank participants in this research. A sample participant ranking chart is listed in Table 10.
Table 10 Participant ranking chart of N#1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S#</th>
<th>Narrative text</th>
<th>Ce Pt</th>
<th>Ma Pt, Mi Pt, Prop</th>
<th>Iden</th>
<th>Grammatical Info</th>
<th>TP + TNRP</th>
<th>RD</th>
<th>RRD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Opening</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01a</td>
<td>ḫe. bbrɔj.maat</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>have. narrate</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lìŋŋ story</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bih. kraʔ nee</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taj python</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>this see</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bbrɔj //</td>
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<td></td>
<td>immediately</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01b</td>
<td>d̀ɔɔm lɔɔ</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and 3S</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jaŋŋat powerful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>(I) tell a story (about) this python and he was poisonous.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Episode 1 – Boundary</strong> (Introduction: participants – the python/Global VIP, human beings, and crow; Event: the python nearly killed all people)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S#</td>
<td>Narrative text</td>
<td>Ce Pt</td>
<td>Ma Pt, Mi Pt, Prop</td>
<td>Iden</td>
<td>Grammatical Info</td>
<td>TP + TNRP</td>
<td>RD</td>
<td>RRD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
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<td>----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02a</td>
<td><strong>gan</strong> <em>bə.nɨh</em> just person <em>məə</em> <em>dək</em> 3P(pl) go <em>daŋ</em> look.for <em>tə.van.klɔɔŋ // bamboo.shoots</em>*</td>
<td>H</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>bə.nɨh</em> <em>məə</em></td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>02b</td>
<td><strong>ləə</strong> <em>tuut</em> 3S touch <em>daak. haaj</em> spittle <em>nɔɔʔ</em> <em>naʔ</em> <em>taj</em> 3S still Neg <em>doow</em> obtain <em>məə</em> <em>keet</em> 3P(pl) die <em>pa.tii // same</em>*</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>ləə</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P</td>
<td>nɔɔʔ</td>
<td>Pro</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td><em>məə</em></td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

47
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S#</th>
<th>Narrative text</th>
<th>Ce Pt</th>
<th>Ma Pt, Mi Pt, Prop</th>
<th>Iden</th>
<th>Grammatical Info</th>
<th>TP + TNRP</th>
<th>RD</th>
<th>RRD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>02c</td>
<td><strong>gan ləə</strong> just 3S klō̤ kəɾ moow bite shadow bə.nih naʔ person also məə keet pa.tii 3P(pl) die same**</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>ləə</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>02 When people went to look for bamboo shoots,</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>he didn’t even get to touch (them) (with) his spittle, they died too.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>When he bit people’s shadow, they died too.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The letters used to denote the participants are as follows: P – the python; C – the crow; H – human beings; T – the toad.
The vertical columns on the participant ranking chart correspond to the various kinds of information distinguished in texts: sentence number followed by the actual Brao narrative text, the central participants, the major and minor participants and props, the identification, the grammatical information, TNRP and TP, RD, and RRD. The last three columns are based on two types of information: “the grammatical, ‘purely linguistic’ devices used by the speaker to code various topics or participants in the discourse; and the exact position of those topics … distance from last previous appearance, the clustering with potential other interfering topics, persistence in subsequent discourse context” (Givón 1983: 13). The total number of each referring expression and the percentage for the central, major, and minor participants and props as a whole in a narrative are listed at the bottom of the grammatical information column. The total number of references and the percentage for the central participant and each major participant are listed at the bottom of the Topic Persistence column.

The RD is calculated by counting the number of clauses back from a participant to the nearest clause in which a referent for the participant previously appeared. The maximum value is 20 (the capacity of short-term memory) (Givón 1983: 13). The minimum value is 0 (the introduction of a participant). Presumably, the more important a topic is, the more frequently that topic is referenced; the higher the degree of persistence of a topic, the shorter the referential distance of that topic. The RD of each individual participant is calculated by dividing the total value by the total number of occurrences. The RRD of each individual participant is calculated by dividing the total number of clauses by the total number of occurrences.

By counting the TNRP, the obvious minor participants are found. Since they only occurred few times in the entire narrative, the obviously minor participants and props will not be examined by Givón’s statistical methods in this research. The current research also does not address how a native speaker arrives at their intuitions.

### 3.3.2 Analyzing reference patterns

When a speaker refers to participants in a discourse, various factors influence the coding material used. The methodology involves four steps in attempt to address reasons for encoding differences: participant encoding chart, context identification, typical encodings and unexpected encodings, and modification and analysis. (Dooley & Levinsohn 2000: 64-68).
3.3.2.1 **Participant encoding chart**

The participant encoding chart has six columns for displaying how references to subjects and non-subjects are encoded. For the encoding of subjects and non-subjects, three categories are used: (1) Zero anaphora (the absence of referent, represented by Ø); (2) Pronouns (hereafter referred to with relative pronouns, represented by Rel Pro; pronouns or clitic pronoun, represented by Pro or Cli Pro; and head nouns of possessive phrases, represented by PN; head nouns of possessive phrases followed by pronouns, represented by PNPro; head nouns of possessive phrase with demonstratives, represented by PND; head nouns of possessive phrase with demonstratives followed by pronouns, represented by PNDPro); and 3) Nouns (referred to with proper names, noun phrases, and kin terms, represented by N; nouns followed by pronouns, represented by NPro; nouns with demonstratives, represented by ND; nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns, represented by NDPro).

The referring expressions of those eight contexts were categorized first into eight groups: (1) nouns or noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns (NDPro), (2) head nouns of possessive phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns (PNDPro), (3) nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns (NPro), (4) head nouns of possessive phrases followed by pronouns (PNPro), (5) nouns or noun phrases (N), (6) head nouns (PN), (7) pronouns (Pro), and (8) zero anaphora (Ø).

However, since the frequency of some groups is low, the eight groups are recategorized into four: Group 1 – (1), (3), (5), Group 2 – (2), (4), (6), Group 3 – (7), and Group 4 – (8). NDPro, NPro, and N and PNDPro, PNPro, and PN are considered to be different. However, since there is not enough data for those groups, they are combined into two groups (see Chapter 5).

3.3.2.2 **Context identification**

The next step is to identify the context for each activated subject and activated non-subject in the narrative. For each clause or sentence, identify it as one of the following contexts:

- *Intro* indicates the participant is being introduced or activated for the first time.
- *S1* denotes the subject was the same as in the previous clause or sentence; or the subject and non-subject of the previous sentence combine to form a single, plural subject.
- *S2* denotes the subject was the addressee of a speech reported in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation).
S3 denotes the subject was involved in the previous sentence in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation.

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

N1 denotes the referent was the same non-subject role as in the previous clause or sentence.

N2 denotes the addressee of a reported speech was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous sentence.

N3 denotes the referent was involved in the previous sentence in a different role than that covered by N2.

N4 denotes non-subject references other than those covered by N1–N3.

A sample excerpt of the identification of subject and non-subject contexts is listed in Table 11.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CL#</th>
<th>S#</th>
<th>Conn</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Subject Identification</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
<th>Non-subject</th>
<th>Non-subject Identification</th>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>N3</th>
<th>N4</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1a</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>python this</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tell-3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1b</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>Pro [1]</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td>P</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3s-was poisonous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>SP</td>
<td>people</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3p-look for bamboo shoots</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The numbers used to denote the participants as follows: [1] the python; [2] …; [3] human beings; …
3.3.2.3 **Typical encodings and unexpected encodings**

A default encoding for each of the contexts is proposed next. Givon's Iconicity Principle (1983: 18) states that “The more disruptive, surprising, discontinuous, or hard to process a topic is, the more coding material must be assigned to it.” When encoding is less than the default amount proposed or greater than the default amount proposed, an unexpected encoding is inferred (Levinsohn 2000: 140).

3.3.2.4 **Modification and Analysis**

After inspecting why the coding material is more or less than predicted, the motivation for each instance of unexpected encoding is hypothesized, and generalizations can be drawn. Then the list of contexts for the proposed typical encodings can be modified.

3.3.3 **Inventory of referring expressions**

Based on Dooley and Levinsohn’s method of participant reference and the hypothesized coding material scale in section 3.3, an inventory is created of referring expressions for the collected Brao narrative texts. The hypothesized discourse functions of referring expressions are listed in Table 12.

**Table 12 Referring expressions of the collected narratives**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referring Expression</th>
<th>Discourse Function or Device</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns</td>
<td>To introduce unidentifiable referents, especially the GVIPs and the LVIPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives</td>
<td>To emphasize thematic salience of referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Possessive phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns</td>
<td>To increase the intensity of encoding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Possessive phrases with demonstratives</td>
<td>To increase the information load and slow down the information rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To introduce unidentifiable referents, especially the important participants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To emphasize thematic salience of referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To increase the intensity of encoding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To increase the information load and slow down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referring Expression</td>
<td>Discourse Function or Device</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the information rate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5. Nouns or Noun phrases followed by pronouns</strong></td>
<td>To introduce unidentifiable referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6. Nouns or Noun phrases</strong></td>
<td>To individuate a specific referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To indicate the social status of referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To quantify referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>7. Possessive phrases followed by pronouns</strong></td>
<td>To introduce unidentifiable referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8. Possessive phrases</strong></td>
<td>To indicate the salience of possessed referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9. Relative pronouns</strong></td>
<td>To provide specific information of referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To emphasize the salience of referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>10. Kin terms</strong></td>
<td>To show the relationship between two referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To act as terms of address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To provide information of gender and social rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>11. Pronouns or Clitic Pronoun</strong></td>
<td>To identify active referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To indicate irrealis mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To lessen the salience of referents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To reduce the intensity of encoding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To lighten the information load and speed up the information rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>12. Null reference</strong></td>
<td>To identify active referents, especially at the Peaks of episodes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To indicate referents in the object position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To lighten the information load and speed up the information rate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**3.4 Boundaries and Unity**
A boundary is the place where one group of sentences about a particular theme ends and another group of sentences with a different theme begins (Carla Bartsch, pc.)
Boundaries and unity can influence how participants are introduced in narratives; thus, boundaries and unity are investigated in this research. Each narrative is numbered sentence by sentence, with a clause break in a sentence marked by the sign ‘//’. Many of the clauses or sentences begin with the word ʔɛɛ “then/so/but/that/there/interjection” in the collected narratives. The defining characteristic of an episode is an internal continuity in participants, time, and/or location, and shifts in episodes are typically correlated with changes in one or more of these features and change of event (Givón 1984: 245).

The boundaries and the episodes of each narrative were determined by boundary marking features such as change of participant, new event, conjunction, adverb, temporal phrase, locative phrase, tail-head linkage, head-head structure, and parallelism (Givón 1984: 245, Levinsohn 2009: 29-31, Dooley & Levinsohn 2001: 68, Somsonge Burusphat 1991: 139).

### 3.5 Peak

Longacre (1996: 38) defines a Peak episode “essentially is a zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts. The absence of certain features or analytical difficulties denotes the Peak of a discourse.”

The Peak episodes are likely to occur at either the Climax (Major Problems) section or the Denouement (Problems Solved) section, or both. At the Peak, the narrator tells the narrative differently to draw attention to that part of the narrative (Longacre 1976: 214). Participants, specifically major participants, at the Peaks are sometimes referred to in a special way.

Local Peaks are peaks of episodes, and the Global Peak is the peak episode of a narrative. They can be identified by peak marking features such as crowded stage, shift of orientation, repetition, paraphrase, increased use of nouns or names, topic chain (series of null references to a major participant or GVIP), unusual word order, serial verb constructions, more demonstratives, contraction-amplification, generic-specific, figure of speech, long sentence, exclamation and vocative in quotation, long quotation, hyperbole, vivid language, peak marking word, head-head structure, tail-head linkage, and parallelism. (Longacre 1996: 39-48, Runge 2010: 163, Manson 2011: 6, Bequette 2008: 25-27). Ways major participants are referred to at the Peaks in each collected narrative and possible reasons for these are studied.
3.6 Identification, Ranking, and Introduction of Participants

With regard to participant identification, participants can be introduced by nouns (including names) or head nouns and can be tracked by pronouns, nouns (including names), head nouns, kin terms, or null reference.

Givón suggests Referential Distance (RD) and Topic Persistence (TP) as methods to rank participants quantitatively. RD measures the gap between a previous occurrence and the current one. The lower the referential distance, the higher the importance, and vice versa. TP also reflects the topic’s importance. According to Givón, the higher the persistence, the higher the importance.

After taking out props and the obvious minor participants (participants which occurred less than seven times in the six narratives), the participants of the narrative texts are ranked by four measurements: the TNRP, TP, RD, and RRD. According to the results of the statistical measurements and the thematic roles of the participants, the participants are ranked as central, major, and minor.

Based on the participant identification spans and the grammatical information of the participant identification of the six collected narratives, the typical encoding patterns of the introduction of four categories of participants – the central, major, and minor participants, and props – are described and studied in this research. Central participants may be commonly introduced formally in a presentational clause and by the heaviest coding material. Major participants may be introduced in a presentational clause and by heavy coding materials. Minor participants may be generally introduced by nouns or noun phrases but without formal introduction. Props may be usually introduced by nouns or noun phrases or head nouns of possessive phrases. This study investigates whether after being introduced, all four categories of participants are referred to by minimum, but virtually constant, coding.

3.7 Encoding patterns in subject and non-subject contexts

According to the referring expressions of the four categories of participants in the subject contexts (S1-S4) and non-subject contexts (N1-N4), the encoding patterns of participant reference are listed according to the total number and percentage of each referring expression of the six narratives in each context. Then rules are proposed for each category of participants in each context according to the most common encoding patterns. These rules are then revised according to the second most common encoding patterns. After that, the unexpected encoding patterns are described and analyzed.
3.8 Null reference
The notion of zero or implicit identification helps to bridge the gap between identification and reference. There are many cases where the hearer is expected to know who the participants are by deducing it from the context; he is not told by any overt linguistic signal. The rules for this kind of deduction are most important for the way they shed light on the entire process of identification (Grimes 1975: 50).

Thus, null reference in the subject and object positions and in a quotation formula is described. In addition, this research studies whether null reference relates to the thematic roles of the participants.

3.9 Quotation formula
It appears to be acceptable to omit the quotation formula in the collected Brao narratives. Since participants in the object position are more likely to be referred to with null reference, reference to the addressee in a quotation formula is described and investigated. As materials inside the quotations are embedded texts, quotes are not included in this analysis.

3.10 Prominence
Since demonstratives are used by many of the Mon-Khmer languages to mark prominence, the current research also examines whether Brao demonstratives can mark prominence. In addition, the current research describes how the narrators give prominence to participants, especially the introduction of participants, at the beginning of episodes and at the Peaks. The patterns and motivation of giving prominence to the four categories of participants are also analyzed.
Chapter 4
Participant Reference – Rank and Introductions

4.1 Introduction
Participant rank and introduction of participants are described in this chapter. The participants of the six narratives are ranked in four categories: central, major, minor participants, and props. Introduction of the four categories of participants are then investigated accordingly.

4.2 Participant Rank
The participants of the collected narratives are ranked statistically by four measurements: TNRP, TP (decay), RD (look-back), and RRD (see section 3.6). Four main ranking categories are used: central participant (the most important participant in the narrative), major participants (the slate of other important participants for the whole narrative), minor participants (participants whose role is restricted only to particular episodes in the narrative), and props (non-active participants in the narrative).

The obvious minor participants and props of each narrative are listed below. Participants are considered to be obviously minor if they are only referenced a couple of times in the entire narrative.

In N#1, the minor participants are the Brao people (2 occurrences), centipedes, big and small scorpions and spiders (3 occurrences), and cobras and vipers (4 occurrences). There are no props in the narrative.

In N#2, the minor participants are the orphans’ older uncle (2 occurrences), older uncle’s family (5 occurrences), Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants (4 occurrences), a god (5 occurrences), and the Brao people (2 occurrences). Props are a mouse, one older uncle, and the medicine.

In N#3, the minor participants are the villagers (3 occurrences) and the chicken (2 occurrences). Props are the small deer, the deer, the horned deer, and the elephant.
In N#4, the minor participant is Mr. Orphan’s grandmother (4 occurrences). Props are the deer, the elephant, and the sun.

In N#5, the minor participants are Lady Baya’s father (4 occurrences), Lady Baya’s mother (2 occurrences), Lady Baya’s younger sister (2 occurrences), and Lady Baya’s younger aunt (2 occurrences). There are no props in the narrative.

In N#7, the minor participants are Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife (4 occurrences), Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughters (4 occurrences), another Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants (3 occurrences), and another Mr. Rich Ruler’s household (6 occurrences). The prop is Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe.

After taking out the obvious minor participants and props, the central, major, and other minor participants of each narrative are first identified by the TNRP.

**4.2.1 Participant rank by total number of references to participants**

Based on the following results of the TNRP, the most-referenced or central participants of the six narratives are listed in Table 11. Most participants are referred to by their names; however, some participants are referred to by abbreviations due to considerations of space. The abbreviations include: in N#3, OB stands for older brother, TE stands for Mr. Teem Enlee, and GE stands for Mother Gee Ersee; in N#3 and N#7, RRYD stands for Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter; in N#4, the five brothers: GM stands for Goong Miin, TBJ stands for Teen Ber Jaa, LHD stands for Laa He Dac, CDB stands for Cac Daak Brah, and DBB stands for Doow Brah Brii; and in N#7, ARRYD stands for another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter. The TNRP of the six narratives is displayed in Table 13.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant rank</th>
<th>N#1</th>
<th>N#2</th>
<th>N#3</th>
<th>N#4</th>
<th>N#5</th>
<th>N#7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Most-referenced</strong></td>
<td>The Python 19</td>
<td>The older orphan 53</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej 117</td>
<td>GM, TBJ 44 LHD, CDB, DBB 43</td>
<td>Lady Baya 23</td>
<td>Krung the snake 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd most-referenced</strong></td>
<td>Human beings 13</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter 31</td>
<td>2nd, 4th, 5th OBs 63 3rd, 6th OBs 62 1st OB 61</td>
<td>Mr. Orphan 26</td>
<td>Thaaw 20</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd most-referenced</strong></td>
<td>The Crow, The Toad 6</td>
<td>The younger orphan 24</td>
<td>GE 45</td>
<td>The Sun 11</td>
<td>Elephants 18</td>
<td>ARRYD 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4th most-referenced</strong></td>
<td>Husband snake 11</td>
<td>TE 31</td>
<td>The Deer 7</td>
<td>Grandma Gecko 16</td>
<td>RRYD 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5th most-referenced</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 9</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 20</td>
<td>Human beings 6</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6th most-referenced</strong></td>
<td>Wife snake 8</td>
<td>RRYD 18</td>
<td>The Elephant 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Strict application of this technique suggests that the participants in the first row should be considered central participants. However, in N#4, Mr. Orphan, who is not one of the five brothers, performs the key actions. Thus, though Mr. Orphan is the second-most-referenced participant, he is still considered the central participant due to his thematic role as agent.

After identifying the central participants, the data on total number of references indicates the following participants as major. The major participants in the narratives are shaded in Table 13 for easy reference in the discussion below. Thus, the unshaded cells at the bottom indicate props and tentative minor participants.

In addition to the TNRP, the major participants are also the Local Very Important Participants (LVIPs), i.e., the most-referenced participant in an episode, or at least one episode.

In N#1, major participants are human beings (LVIP of Ep. 3 and Ep. 4).

In N#2, major participants are Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter (LVIP of Ep. 4) and the younger orphan (LVIP of Ep. 1).

In N#3, major participants are Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers (LVIPs of Ep. 1, Ep. 2, Ep. 5, and Ep. 6), Mother Gee Ersee (LVIP of Ep. 9), Mr. Teem Enlee (4th most mentioned but not a LVIP), Mr. Rich Ruler (LVIP of Ep. 12), and Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter (LVIP of Ep. 11). Mr. Teem Enlee is considered a major participant though he is not a LVIP because he is always referenced with his wife Gee Ersee who is a LVIP.

In N#4, major participants are the five brothers (LVIP of Ep. 1, Ep. 2, and Ep. 3).

In N#5, major participants are Thaaw (LVIP of Ep. 1 and Ep. 3), the elephants (LVIP of Ep. 5), and Grandma Gecko (LVIP of Ep. 4).

In N#7, major participants are Mr. Rich Ruler (LVIP of Ep. 1), Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter (LVIP of Ep. 4), and another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter (LVIP of Ep. 5).

At this point, the remaining participants in each narrative are considered minor participants.

In N#1, minor participants are the crow and the toad. Although the crow is a minor participant according to the total number of references, he is the one who deceived
the python. His thematic role as an agent in relation to the central participant suggests the crow should be considered a major participant.

In N#2, minor participants are the husband snake, Mr. Rich Ruler, and the wife snake.

In N#3, minor participants are the termites.

In N#4, minor participants are human beings.

In N#5, there are only the obvious minor participants.

In N#7, minor participants are the python, Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants, another Mr. Rich Ruler, another Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife, and the villagers. Although the axe is classified as a prop, it has been included in the table because its loss is the key thing that prompted the plot.

Thus, by this method, six central participants and various tentative major (shaded cells in Table 13) and minor (unshaded cells at the bottom) participants are identified.

4.2.2 Participant rank by Topic Persistence (decay)

In this section, TP measurement is employed to identify the central and major participants. See section 2.5.2 for a description of the literature relating to Topic Persistence and section 3.6 for a description of the method applied in this thesis.

According to Givón (1983: 15), “more important discourse topics appear more frequently in the register, i.e., they have a higher probability of persisting longer in the register after a relevant measuring point.”

The results of the TP measurement are displayed in Table 14. The higher the number of occurrences indicates more persistence in the topic.
Table 14 Topic Persistence (decay) measurement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant rank</th>
<th>N#1 (4)</th>
<th>N#2 (5)</th>
<th>N#3 (12)</th>
<th>N#4 (6)</th>
<th>N#5 (5)</th>
<th>N#7 (7)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Occurred in all episodes</td>
<td>The Python 4</td>
<td>The older orphan 5</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej 12</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Lady Baya 5</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second most persistent</td>
<td>Human beings 3</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter, The younger orphan 3</td>
<td>GE, TE 7</td>
<td>Mr. Orphan, The five brothers 5</td>
<td>Thaaw, Elephants 3</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third most persistent</td>
<td>The Crow, The Toad 2</td>
<td>Husband snake, Mr. Rich Ruler 2</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers 6</td>
<td>The deer 3</td>
<td>Grandma Gecko 2</td>
<td>Krung the snake, ARRYD 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth most persistent</td>
<td>Wife snake 1</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler, RRYD 2</td>
<td>The elephant 2</td>
<td>The sun, Human beings 1</td>
<td>RRYD, Mr. Rich Ruler's axe 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth most persistent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Strict application of this technique suggests that the participants in the first row should be considered central participants. However, among the participants in the six narratives, the most-referenced participants of N#1, N#2, N#3, and N#5 are on-stage in all episodes whereas the most-referenced participants in N#4 and N#7 are off-stage in one out of 6 episodes and four out of 7 episodes. By this method, the central participants of the narratives are: the python (N#1), the older orphan (N#2), Mr. Cegruej (N#3), Lady Baya (N#5), and no central participant in N#4 and N#7.

Krung the snake of N#7 is ranked as the third most persistent by TP but the most-referenced according to TNRP. The results of the two measurements of ranking Krung the snake do not correspond.

The major participants in the narratives are shaded in Table 14 for easy reference in the discussion below. Thus, the unshaded cells at the bottom indicate props and tentative minor participants.

According to the total number of references in episodes, major participants are typically on-stage in not less than half of the total number of episodes.

In the four episodes in N#1, human beings are on-stage in three episodes and the crow is on-stage in two episodes.

In the five episodes in N#2, Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter and the younger orphan are on-stage in three episodes.

In the twelve episodes in N#3, Mr. Cegruej’s six brothers are on-stage in six episodes, Mother Gee Ersee and Mr. Teem Enlee are on-stage in seven episodes, and Mr. Rich Ruler and Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter are on-stage in two episodes. Although Mr. Rich Ruler and his youngest daughter are on-stage less than half of the total episodes, they are considered major participants because they are the LVIPs of Ep. 12 and Ep. 11 respectively.

In the six episodes in N#4, Mr. Orphan and the five brothers are on-stage in five episodes; the last “episode” is a moral after the narrative. Mr. Orphan instead of the five brothers is considered the central participant though each of them is off-stage in one episode. Since he shot a deer, an elephant, and the sun, his thematic role is an agent in relation to props.

In the five episodes in N#5, Thaaw and the elephants are on-stage in three episodes and Grandma Gecko is on-stage in two episodes. Although Grandma Gecko is on-
stage less than half of the total number of episodes, she is considered a major participant since she is the LVIP of Ep. 4.

In the seven episodes in N#7, Mr. Rich Ruler is on-stage in five episodes, Krung the snake and another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter are on-stage in three episodes, Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is on-stage in one episode. Even though the three participants are on-stage less than half of the total number of episodes, Krung the snake is considered the central participant as he is the VIP of all three episodes (Ep. 3, Ep. 4, and Ep. 7), another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is considered a major participant as she is the LVIP of Ep. 5, and Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is considered a major participant as she is the LVIP of Ep. 4.

The minor participants typically occur in only one or two episodes.

In the four episodes in N#1, the toad is on-stage in two episodes.

In the five episodes in N#2, the husband snake and Mr. Rich Ruler are on-stage in two episodes and the wife snake is on-stage in one episode.

In the twelve episodes in N#3, the termites are on-stage in one episode.

In the six episodes in N#4, human beings are on-stage in one episode.

In the seven episodes in N#7, the python and another Mr. Rich Ruler are on-stage in three episodes, and Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants, the villagers, and another Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife are on-stage in two episodes.

In summary, the results of the TP analysis do not correspond exactly with the results of the TNRP except for the minor participants. The most important differences are: firstly, though Mr. Orphan and the five brothers in N#4 and Krung the snake in N#7 are the most-referenced participants in N#4 and N#7, they do not occur in all episodes; secondly, though Krung the snake is the most referenced participant in N#7, he is the third most persistent in N#7.

4.2.3 Participant rank by Referential Distance (look-back) – Inconsistent readings

The RD measurement is employed in this section to attempt to identify the central, major, and minor participants.
According to the RD (look-back) measurement, the higher the degree of persistence of a participant, the shorter the referential distance of that participant.

The results of the RD measurement are displayed in Table 15. A higher number indicates a longer distance between two occurrences for a participant denoting that that participant is likely to be less important.

Table 15 Referential Distance (look-back) measurement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant rank</th>
<th>N#1</th>
<th>N#2</th>
<th>N#3</th>
<th>N#4</th>
<th>N#5</th>
<th>N#7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Most important</td>
<td>The Python</td>
<td>Husband snake</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers</td>
<td>The Elephant, The Sun</td>
<td>Thaaw</td>
<td>RRYD 1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd most important</td>
<td>The Toad</td>
<td>Wife snake</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej</td>
<td>DBB 2.08</td>
<td>Elephants 2.17</td>
<td>ARRYPD 1.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd most important</td>
<td>Human beings</td>
<td>The older orphan</td>
<td>GE 2.41</td>
<td>Mr. Orphan 3.13</td>
<td>Grandma Gecko 1.75</td>
<td>Krong the snake 2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th most important</td>
<td>The Crow</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 2.44</td>
<td>The Deer 5.00</td>
<td>Lady Baya 2.27</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler's axe 2.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th most important</td>
<td>The younger orphan</td>
<td>RRYD 2.82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 3.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th most important</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler 3.89</td>
<td>TE 3.23</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66
Strict application of this technique suggests that the participants in the first row should be considered central participants. However, at first glance these numbers are surprising. Among the participants in the six narratives suggested by RD, only the python in N#1 ranks first by the two previous measurements. All the other participants ranked highest by this referential distance are either the LVIPs or are on-stage in only one or two episodes. They are obviously minor. It is not unusual for obviously minor participants or even props to have a low RD value since the only times they are referenced, they are close together and then never referenced again. The purpose of the TNRP is positively to suggest the most likely candidates but negatively to rule out participants referenced so few times they cannot be central or major. From section 4.2.1, it should be broadly obvious which ones rank highest, and how the other participants would rank. Every obviously minor participant is not considered for high rank later in this application of Givón’s method.

Since the RD calculates the look-back value of the occurrence of participants, the most important participants as indicated by this measurement are usually on-stage in only one episode. In other words, the most highly ranked participants would not be the most important participants based on the RD measurement.

### 4.2.4 Participant rank by Relative Referential Distance – Adjusted

In order to identify the central participant by considering both the RD and the occurrence of participants, based on Tebow (2010: 66-67), the RRD of individual participants is measured by dividing the total number of clauses by the total number of occurrences.

The results of the RRD measurement are displayed in Table 16.
Table 16 Relative Referential Distance (look-back) measurement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant rank</th>
<th>N#1</th>
<th>N#2</th>
<th>N#3</th>
<th>N#4</th>
<th>N#5</th>
<th>N#7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Most important</strong></td>
<td><strong>The Python</strong> 2.11 (same as the original)</td>
<td><strong>The older orphan</strong> 1.80 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Cegruej</strong> 1.97 (orig.: 2nd MI)</td>
<td><strong>GM, TBJ, LHD, CDB, DBB2.04 (orig.: 3rd MI/2nd MI)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Lady Baya</strong> 2.65 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td><strong>Krung the snake</strong> 3.07 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2nd most important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Human beings</strong> 3.67 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter</strong> 3.16 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers</strong> 3.90 (orig.: MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Orphan</strong> 4.00 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td><strong>Thaaw</strong> 3.29 (orig.: MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Rich Ruler</strong> 4.67 (orig.: 5th MI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd most important</strong></td>
<td><strong>The Crow</strong> 6.64 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td><strong>The younger orphan</strong> 4.21 (orig.: 5th MI)</td>
<td><strong>GE</strong> 4.94 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
<td><strong>The Elephant</strong> 7.67 (orig.: MI)</td>
<td><strong>Elephants</strong> 3.83 (orig.: 2nd MI)</td>
<td><strong>ARRYD</strong> 5.25 (orig.: 2nd MI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4th most important</strong></td>
<td><strong>The Toad</strong> 8.00 (orig.: 2nd MI)</td>
<td><strong>Husband snake</strong> 9.18 (orig.: MI)</td>
<td><strong>TE</strong> 6.91 (orig.: 6th MI)</td>
<td><strong>The Deer</strong> 9.20 (orig.: 5th MI)</td>
<td><strong>Grandma Gecko</strong> 4.31 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
<td><strong>ARRYD</strong> 9.0 (orig.: MI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5th most important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Wife snake</strong> 10.10 (orig.: 2nd MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Rich Ruler</strong> 13.44 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td><strong>The Sun</strong> 10.22 (orig.: MI)</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe</strong> 9.69 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>6th most important</strong></td>
<td><strong>Mr. Rich Ruler</strong> 11.22 (orig.: 6th MI)</td>
<td><strong>ARYD</strong> 14.24 (orig.: 5th MI)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: MI stands for most important
Application of this adjusted technique suggests that the participants in the first row should be considered central participants. With the suggested adjustments, all three methods identified almost the same participants as the central participants. Again N#4 is exceptional.

The major participants in the narratives are shaded for easy reference in the discussion below. Thus, the unshaded cells at the bottom indicate props and tentative minor participants.

In the following sections, the importance of the participants in the collected narratives is described.

4.2.5 Participant rank of the collected narratives
The ranking of participants is described in this section. The central participants ranked by: 1. Total number of references to participants (TNRP), 2. Topic Persistence (TP), 3. Referential Distance (RD), 4. Relative Referential Distance (RRD), are listed in Table 17.
Table 17 The central participants ranked by the four measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N#1 (4 Ep.)</th>
<th>N#2 (5 Ep.)</th>
<th>N#3 (12 Ep.)</th>
<th>N#4 (6 Ep.)</th>
<th>N#5 (5 Ep.)</th>
<th>N#7 (7 Ep.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. TNRP</td>
<td>The python 19</td>
<td>The older orphan 53</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej 117</td>
<td>GM, TBJ 44</td>
<td>Lady Baya 23</td>
<td>Krung the snake 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. TP</td>
<td>The python 4 Ep.</td>
<td>The older orphan 5 Ep.</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej 12 Ep.</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Lady Baya 5 Ep.</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. RD</td>
<td>The python 1.89</td>
<td>Husband snake 1.45</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers 1.65</td>
<td>The Elephant, The Sun 1.67</td>
<td>Thaaw 1.38</td>
<td>RRYD 1.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. RRD</td>
<td>The python 2.11 (orig: MI)</td>
<td>The older orphan 1.80 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej 1.97 (orig.: 2nd MI)</td>
<td>GM, TBJ, LHD, CDB/DBB 2.04 (orig.: 3rd MI/2nd MI)</td>
<td>Lady Baya 2.65 (orig.: 4th MI)</td>
<td>Krung the snake 3.07 (orig.: 3rd MI)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The shaded cells are the non-correspondent results of the ranking of central participants in the narratives.

After Jordi consulted the story tellers and/or the Brao native speakers, the author found out that they ranked the participants according to their unique worldview and cultural knowledge. In N#1, the crow, instead of the python, is the central participant because he helped the human beings. In N#2, the older and younger orphans, Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter, and the medicine are considered central participants because they are essential to the story. In N#3, Mr. Cegruej is central, same as the ranking results in this research. In N#4, Mr. Orphan and his grandmother are central participants because the grandmother is grandmother Sok Ir, a very common nice grandmother in traditional stories who advised Mr. Orphan wisely. In N#5, Grandma Gecko is central because she is good at magic and helped
Lady Baya. In N#7, Krung the snake is central, same as the ranking results in this research. Apparently, the thematic role is the main criteria in determining the central participant of the narrative.

In the following sections, the results of the participant ranking are described and studied.

4.2.5.1 N#1
The python is the most-referenced, is on-stage in every episode, and is ranked by both the look-back and relative look-back as the central participant. Thus, the python is considered the central participant.

As the python killed human beings and the crow saved human beings, though human beings are the second-most-referenced and are ranked by the relative look-back as the second most important, their thematic role is a patient in relation to the python and the crow.

In addition, since the crow deceived the python, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant. Furthermore, although the number of references to the crow and the toad are the same, the thematic role of the crow is always an agent and the toad is a patient. Therefore, the crow is considered a major participant.

Since both human beings and the toad are patients, they can be ranked according to the number of references. Human beings are therefore considered a major participant and the toad is a minor participant.

Similar methods are used to identify participant ranking in each of the narratives. Therefore, only the participants and their ranks are listed below. The only discussion is about important additional considerations.

4.2.5.2 N#2
The older orphan is the central participant. Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter is the LVIP of Ep. 3, she is considered a major participant. The younger orphan is the LVIP of Ep. 1, he is considered a major participant. Since Mr. Rich Ruler married the younger and older orphans to his daughter sequentially, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the three of them. He is considered a major participant. Since the husband snake is only on-stage in one episode, although he is the one who introduced the magic medicine to the older orphan unknowingly and made his wife alive, he is considered
a minor participant. The wife snake is killed by the older orphan and made alive by her husband. Her thematic role is always a patient; she is therefore considered a minor participant.

4.2.5.3 N#3
Mr. Cegruej is the central participant. As Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers just grilled and ate the animals killed by Mr. Cegruej, they are considered major participants. Mr. Rich Ruler is the LVIP of Ep. 12 and his youngest daughter is the LVIP of Ep. 11, both of them are considered major participants. Mother Gee Ersee is as prominent as Mr. Cegruej in Ep. 9 and is considered a major participant. Since Mr. Teem Enlee always co-occurs with his wife Gee Ersee and the total number of references to Mr. Teem Enlee alone is only 2 (N3:86a,98a)\(^8\), Mr. Teem Enlee is considered the least important major participant.

4.2.5.4 N#4
With regard to the percentage of reference, the five brothers are referred to with nouns (4.6/44.4) 10.36% of the time and with pronouns (39.8/44.4) 89.64% of the time; whereas Mr. Orphan is referred to with a noun (5/26) is 19.23% of references and with a pronoun in (21/26) 80.77% of references. Since nouns are more prominent than pronouns according to the coding material scale, Mr. Orphan is regarded as more important than the five brothers. Also, Mr. Orphan is the one who shot to death a deer, an elephant, and the sun. He is the central participant. The five brothers are considered major participants. As the sun is very prominent in Ep. 6, it is considered an important prop.

4.2.5.5 N#5
Lady Baya is the central participant. Although Thaaw is a prop after the elephants are on-stage, he is the LVIP of Ep. 1 and Ep. 3. Therefore, Thaaw is considered a major participant. Since Grandma Gecko cut Thaaw and other elephants’ behinds, her thematic role is an agent in relation to them. She is therefore considered a major participant. Because the narrative explains why elephant has no behind, elephants are considered major participants.

\(^8\) ‘N3’ stands for Narrative #3, ‘86a’ denotes Sentence #86 and Clause #a.
4.2.5.6 N#7

Krung the snake is the central participant. Since Mr. Rich Ruler married Krung the snake to his youngest daughter and adopted another Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter as his child, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant and another participant. He is therefore considered a major participant. Although another Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter was eaten by a python, made alive by Krung the snake, and adopted by Mr. Rich Ruler and Krung the snake as their child, she is the LVIP of Ep. 5 and considered a major participant. Because Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is as prominent as Krung the snake in Ep. 4, she is considered a major participant. As for Mr. Rich Ruler's axe, since it was searched for by Mr. Rich Ruler, his servants, and the villagers and was eventually found by Krung the snake, it is an important prop.

4.2.6 Summary

Since different ranks of participants are referenced with different referring expressions, participant ranking gives information of typical referring patterns and unexpected referring patterns of giving prominence.

In summary, 19 out of 72 total items are classified as obviously minor participants, and 11 out of 72 are props. In addition, 42 other participants are ranked as central, major, and minor participants by the TNRP, TP (decay), RD (look-back), and RRD. Apart from RD, the results of the other three measurements closely correspond, except in N#4. The 72 items are ranked as follows: 6 are central, 26 are major, 29 are minor, and 11 are props.
The names of the 72 participants are listed in Table 18.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central (6)</th>
<th>Major (26)</th>
<th>Minor (29)</th>
<th>Props (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N#1</td>
<td><strong>The Python</strong></td>
<td>The Crow, Human beings</td>
<td>The Toad, The Brao people, The snakes, The insects</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#2</td>
<td><strong>The older orphan</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter, The younger orphan, Mr. Rich Ruler</td>
<td>Husband snake, Wife snake, The older uncle who adopted the orphans, The older uncle’s family, Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants, A god, The Brao people</td>
<td>A mouse, The orphan’s older uncle, The medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#3</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Cegruej</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers, GE, TE, Mr. Rich Ruler, RRYD</td>
<td>The termites, Mr. Cegruej’s parents, The villagers, The chicken</td>
<td>The small deer, The deer, The horned deer, The elephant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#4</td>
<td><strong>Mr. Orphan</strong></td>
<td>The five brothers</td>
<td>Mr. Orphan’s grandmother, Human beings</td>
<td>The deer, The elephant, The sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#5</td>
<td><strong>Lady Baya</strong></td>
<td>Thaaw, Elephants, Grandma Gecko</td>
<td>Lady Baya’s father, Lady Baya’s mother, Lady Baya’s younger sister, Lady Baya’s younger aunt</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N#7</td>
<td><strong>Krung the snake</strong></td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler, RRYD, ARRYD</td>
<td>The python, Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughters, Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants, Another Mr. Rich Ruler, Another Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife, Another Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants, The villagers</td>
<td>Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The major participants in the narratives are shaded in Table 17 for easy reference. Thus, the unshaded cells in the two columns on the right indicate props and tentative minor participants.

This ranking reflects the methods of analysis in this research do not necessarily reflect the Brao speakers’ intuition of participant ranking.

After a ranking and categorization for all participants in the narratives are established, methods of introduction of the participants and exceptions to this are described in the section 4.3.

4.3 Participant Introduction
The participant reference in the presentational sentence(s) for the introduction of participants is studied in the following sections.

The openings of narratives are usually intended to draw and hold the attention of the audiences. How participants are introduced in order to give information about the importance of participants is investigated. In the sections below, the introduction of the central, major, and minor participants, and props are discussed (in order).

4.3.1 Introduction of the central participants
The patterns of the introductions of the 6 central participants in the narratives are described in this section.

Three (in N#4, N#5, and N#7) out of the 6 central participants are introduced in the same way by a noun phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun [NP + Dem + Pro] (see example 60), and two others by a reduced version of this: by a noun with a demonstrative [N + Dem] in N#1 and by a noun phrase consisting of two addresses and his name [NP] in N#3 (see example 61).

(60) ʔɛɛ  doow  kuoŋ.pər.tii  nɛɛ  bəəʔ  
    then  address(demeaning)  orphan  this  3S
    bic ʔɨɨm mɛɛʔ  bəəʔ
define  have  Neg  mother  father

Then this orphan he had no parents.
(61) kaan bat hən.maac doow thaaw (N3:1a)
   story story narrate Mr.(demeaning) Mr.(honorific)

\textit{cə.gruəj}

Cegruej

(I) tell story (about) \textbf{Mr. Cegruej}.

The word \textit{doow} “address (demeaning)” occurred with proper nouns (names) in N#3 and with a noun in N#4. Apparently, this demeaning address can go with names or common nouns and is used to denote the lower social status of the participants. Since Mr. Cegruej was a clumsy person and Mr. Orphan had no parents, it is understandable that they are referenced by a demeaning address.

The one exception is in N#2, as follows:

(62) bic k\textit{uən.pər.tii} baar raq \textit{ʔam.braa} (N2:1a)
    have orphan two person.Clf 3P(du)

\textit{hən.laak} meeʔ bəʔ taq bic

orphan mother father Neg have

There have \textbf{two orphans}, they were orphaned, didn’t have parents.

All the other central participants are introduced individually, but the older orphan in N#2 is introduced at the same time with a major participant (the younger orphan) in the opening of the narrative. They are introduced by a noun followed by a numeral and a classifier [N + Num + Clf] (see example 63), perhaps, the role of the younger orphan is as prominent as the central participant (his older orphan) in Ep. 1; thus, both the central and major participants are introduced in the presentational sentence.

The central participants are therefore usually introduced by the heaviest coding material among the four categories of participants. The summary schema for the introduction of the central participants is \{\textit{Addr} N (Dem) (Pro)\}_\text{NP}. If the exceptional N#2 is not counted, the introductions here average 2.3 words in the NP.

\subsection*{4.3.2 Introduction of the major participants}

The patterns of the introduction of the 26 major participants are described in this section.

Two typical patterns (A and B) can be identified describing nineteen out of the 26 major participant introductions.
(A) three major participants (in N#1, N#2, and N#5) are introduced in the same way by a noun or a possessive noun phrase followed by a pronoun \([N + (N_{poss}) + Pro]\) and eleven others (in N#1, N#2, N#3, N#4, and N#7) by a reduced version of this: a noun \([N]\).

(B) one major participant (in N#3) is introduced in the same way by a head noun of a possessive pronoun \([N + Pro_{poss}]\).

The seven exceptional occurrences in the introduction of major participants are as follows.

One (N3:2b) is Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers who are introduced by a plural pronoun, followed by a noun with a possessive pronoun, followed by a numeral and a classifier \([Pro.pl + N + Pro_{poss} + Num + Clf]\) (see example 63).

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
3P & older.brother & 3S & six & person.Cl & seven \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
d\circ & n\circ & l\circ & ?\text{an.druuj} & ?\text{an.druuj} \\
Prep & 3S & 3S & clumsy & clumsy \\
\end{array}
\]

**His six older brothers**, seven with him, he was clumsy.

Since the pronoun is the indicator of pluralization and the numeral and the classifier denote the quantity of human, the schema for this example is \([(Pro.pl) N (Pro_{poss}) (Num) (Clf)]\).

The second exceptional pattern is that three major participants (N5:4a, N7:38, and N7:55) are introduced by a noun with a demonstrative and followed by a pronoun \([N + Dem + Pro_{(Clf)}]\). They are overcoded perhaps because the three participants are almost as prominent as the central participants when they are introduced in the narratives.

The third exceptional pattern is that Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter in N#3 is introduced by two reference phrases:

(i) a noun with a possessive proper noun and a demonstrative \([N + Addr + N_{poss} + Dem]\), and

(ii) a noun phrase \([NP]\), to emphasize that Mr. Rich Ruler’s child is the youngest daughter.
(64)  
\begin{align*}
\text{taj.nɛɛ} & \quad \text{kuan} & \quad \text{ja?} & \quad \text{ʔat.paa} & \quad \text{nee} & \quad \text{naaŋ} & \quad \text{(N3:125)} \\
\text{here.in.this.place} & \quad \text{child} & \quad \text{Mr.} & \quad \text{rich.ruler} & \quad \text{this} & \quad \text{lady} \\
\text{ʔən.sooc} & \quad \text{bɔk.jaaw} & \quad \text{ləə} & \quad \text{ŋuŋ} & \quad \text{tih} & \quad \text{hɔɔm} \\
\text{youngest(child)} & \quad \text{amazing} & \quad 3S & \quad \text{want} & \quad \text{go.down} & \quad \text{bathe}
\end{align*}

In that place this Mr. Rich Ruler's child, the youngest daughter she wanted very much to go [down] bathing.

The word ja? “address (polite)” occurs with proper nouns (names) in N#3 and with a common noun in N#7. This polite address appears to go with names or common nouns and is used to denote the social status of the participants. Since Mr. Teem Enlee was an old gentleman (N3:82a) and Mr. Rich Ruler was an authoritative rich man, it is understandable that they are introduced with a polite address form.

The fourth exceptional pattern is found in N2:1a (see example 62).

The fifth exceptional pattern is found in N#5, as follows:

(65)  
\begin{align*}
\text{ʔɛɛ} & \quad \text{bih} & \quad \text{bracoj} & \quad \text{diap} & \quad \text{ko.nuu.ka.nuum} & \quad \text{nɔɔʔ} & \quad \text{(N5:28)} \\
\text{then} & \quad \text{arrive} & \quad \text{immediately} & \quad \text{near} & \quad \text{a.place.of.living} & \quad 3S \\
\text{bɔɔ.lɔɔŋ.pooj.ʔər.jooj} & \quad \text{bracoj} & \quad \text{məə} & \quad \text{ɟan.ɟan} & \quad \text{bamboo.forest} & \quad \text{immediately} & \quad \text{3P(pl) trample(double)}
\end{align*}

Then (they) arrived near the place he lived, the bamboo forest they[the elephants] trampled.

Perhaps, the elephants are introduced by a pronoun [Pro] which is undercoded because they are off-stage when they are introduced. It is a cataphoric reference.

This section shows that the major participants are generally introduced by slightly lighter coding materials in comparison with the central participants to indicate that they are less prominent than the central participants. However, they can be introduced by heavier than typical coding materials when they are the LVIPs, such as Thaaw, who is the LVIP of Ep. 1 in N#5 and Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter, who is the LVIP of Ep. 11 in N#3. The summary schema for the introduction of the major participants is [(Pro) (Addr) N (Pro(Poss))]NP; this schema accounts for 15 out of the 26 major participant introductions. These major participant introductions average 1.7 words in the noun phrase.
4.3.3 Introduction of the minor participants

The patterns of introduction of the 29 minor participants are described in this section.

Two typical patterns (A and B) can be identified describing twenty-one out of the 29 minor participant introductions.

(A) Eight (in N#1, N#2, N#3, and N#7) are introduced by a common noun or a proper noun [(Pro.pl) + N].

(B) Thirteen (in N#2, N#3, N#4, N#5, and N#7) are introduced in the same way by a head noun of a possessive phrase [N + Pro[Poss]]. A generalized schema is [(Pro.pl) N (Pro[Poss])]_NP.

The eight exceptional occurrences in the introduction of minor participants are as follows.

Three (N1:3b,12,19) are introduced by a noun followed by a pronoun [N + Pro] which is overcoded. Perhaps, since they were as poisonous as the python, they are almost as prominent as the central participant.

The second exceptional pattern is four ladies (N3:129) who are introduced by a pronoun with a noun followed by a numeral and a classifier and then a pronoun [Pro.pl + N + Num + Clf + Pro.pl]; this is also overcoded. Since there is no obvious motivation, further study is needed.

The third exceptional pattern is found in N#2, as follows:

(66) par.tii ləəj ?am.braa kuu ?ə.reeŋ dəə (N2:2a)
orphan already 3P(du) live with Prep

ʔuuʔ ?ə.reeŋ dəə pɔɔ
older.brother with Prep uncle

The orphans lived with (their) older uncle's family

The older uncle of the two orphans is introduced by two prepositional phrases dəə ʔuuʔ “Prep older brother” and dəə pɔɔ “Prep uncle.” The phrase dəə ʔuuʔ (ʔə.reeŋ) dəə pɔɔ means “with family,” ʔuuʔ pɔɔ has a meaning of older family members. It is marked by repetition which is overcoded. Perhaps because the older uncle adopted the two orphans, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central and major participants.
The fourth exceptional pattern is found in N#3, as follows:

\[(67) \quad \text{phə.đii juu kən.tiər nɛɛ} \quad \text{then married.woman termite this} \]

Then \text{these [married female] termites they heard},

The termites are introduced by a noun phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun [NP + Dem + Pro], which is overcoded. Since they solve a problem for Mr. Cegruej, their thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.

The fifth exceptional pattern is in N#4, as follows:

\[(68) \quad \text{təəm.bɨŋ ʔɛɛ ləə bic mãŋ mãŋ} \quad \text{from then 3S have night night} \]

Since then, it has night / when it's night, \text{they sleep},

The people are introduced by a pronoun [Pro] which is undercoded. Since this general statement is given after the narrative is finished and in a moral to describe the human habitual life, it is an exophoric reference to people in general.

The sixth exceptional pattern is in N#7, as follows:

\[(69) \quad \text{ta.ŋəj muuj bic jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ləə muuj ləə} \quad \text{day one have Mr. rich.ruler 3S one 3S} \]

Another Mr. Rich Ruler is introduced by a noun phrase followed by a pronoun and a numeral and a pronoun [Addr + N + Pro + Num + Pro]; this is overcoded in order to distinguish it from the other Mr. Rich Ruler in the narrative.

From this it may be seen that minor participants are typically introduced by lighter coding materials unless they are given more prominence based on significant roles they perform, such as the termites in N#3. The summary schemata for the introduction of minor participants are [N (Dem) (Pro)]_{NP} and [(Pro.pl) (Addr) N (Pro\{Poss\}) (Num) (Pro)]_{NP}. Perhaps, some participants in this section that receive
significantly more words in their introduction should be considered major participants because the overcoding makes them more prominent.

4.3.4 Introduction of props
The patterns of introduction of the 11 props are described in this section.

Two typical patterns (A and B) can be identified, describing eight out of the 11 prop introductions.

(A) Six (in N#3 and N#4) are introduced in the same way by a noun [N].

(B) Two (in N#2 and N#7) are introduced by a head noun of a possessive phrase [N+N/Pro_{poss}].

Two out of the 3 exceptions in the introduction of props are found in N#2.

At 18a:  
\( \text{blii ʔɛɛ ləə dɔk kap brɔɔj} \)  
\( \text{after then} \quad 3S \quad \text{go} \quad \text{bite immediately} \)

\( \text{ŋraaw} \quad 3S \quad \text{toʔ} \quad \text{tɔʔ  təəm.ɛɛw} \)
\( \text{medicine} \quad \text{that(far)} \quad \text{tree} \quad \text{finish} \)

After that he went to bite the medicine from the tree.

The medicine is introduced by a noun followed by a demonstrative [N+Dem]; this is overcoded, perhaps because it is an important prop which would be used by the central participant to save lives.

The mouse is introduced by \( \text{ka.nɛɛ ləə “a mouse it” (N2:22)} \), a noun followed by a pronoun [N+Pro], which is overcoded. Perhaps because when Mr. Orphan uses it to test the effectiveness of the medicine, it holds the stage.

The third exceptional pattern is found in N#4, as follows:

At 48:  
\( \text{maa taj brɔɔj drii.drii} \)  
\( \text{3P(pl) see} \quad \text{immediately} \quad \text{shine.of.a.small.light.like.a.candle/kitchen.fire} \)

\( \text{mat.ta npj} \quad \text{tih} \quad \text{mat.ta npj} \)
\( \text{sun} \quad \text{big sun} \)

\( \text{drii.drii} \quad \text{mat.ta npj} \quad ?IN \)
\( \text{shine.of.a.small.light.like.a.candle/kitchen.fire} \quad \text{sun} \quad \text{exophoric} \)

They saw a weak shining sun, a big sun, a sun with a weak shine.

The sun is introduced by an ideophone with a noun, an adjective with a noun, and then an ideophone with a noun [Ideo+N+Adj+N+Ideo+N]. This is overcoded, perhaps because it is prominent in Ep. 5 of N#4.
From this data, it may be seen that props are usually introduced by a noun. However, they may be introduced by a head noun of a possessive phrase if they are the possession of a human participant acting in that episode. The summary schema for props is \[N \ (N/Pro_{\text{Poss}})\]_{NP}.

4.3.5 Summary

In summary, other than the exceptional introductions, the four categories of participants are introduced by the following schemas: \[(Addr) \ N \ (Dem) \ (Pro)\]_{NP} for central participants, \[(Pro) \ (Addr) \ N \ (Pro_{\text{Poss}})\]_{NP} for major participants, \[(N) \ N \ (Dem) \ (Pro)\]_{NP} and \[(Pro) \ (Addr) \ N \ (Pro_{\text{Poss}}) \ (Num) \ (Pro)\]_{NP} for minor participants, and \[N \ (N/Pro_{\text{Poss}})\]_{NP} for props.

4.4 Conclusion

After excluding the obvious minor participants and props, the remaining participants in the collected narratives may be ranked based on three statistical measurements: TNRP, TP, and RRD. When indicators don’t correspond and are not reconciled, a combination of number of references and the thematic role are used.

Central participants are most referenced (except for Mr. Orphan in N#4), are on-stage in every episode (except for Mr. Orphan in N#4 and Krung the snake in N#7), and have the lowest look back value, that is, the shortest referential distance (except for Mr. Orphan in N#4). Hence, N#4 is an exceptional narrative among the collected narratives.

Generally, major participants are referenced less than central participants (except for the five brothers in N#4), are not necessarily on-stage in every episode, but are the LVIPs in at least one episode in the narrative. Also, they have a higher look back value than central participants (except for the five brothers in N#4).

Likewise, minor participants are referenced less frequently than the major participants, are on-stage in at least one episode, and have a higher look back value than major participants.

Props, however, may be referenced more than minor participants but less than major participants; are usually on-stage in one or two episodes; and have the highest look back value.
With regard to the introduction of participants, central participants are typically introduced by nouns or noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns, indicating they are the most important participants in the narratives; major participants are introduced by nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns in general, unless they are the LVIPs; minor participants are introduced by nouns or noun phrases or head nouns of possessive phrases unless their thematic role is an agent in relation to other participants; props are usually introduced by nouns or head nouns of possessive phrases.

This section has focused on how the central, major, and minor participants and props are ranked and introduced in the narratives. The next chapter is focused on the rules for the subject and non-subject environments and the typical and unexpected patterns of participant reference in the narratives after the participants have been introduced.
After a participant has been introduced, the audience must be able to keep track of that participant and distinguish it from all other participants. Patterns are identified by examining several potential factors. Thus, the participant is referred to in various contexts, such as in arguments of verbs as subjects and objects, as well as in oblique and adjunct material. In the discussion below, all participant references after the introduction are classified into either subject references or non-subject references for analysis.

### 5.1 Participant encoding

According to the four contexts of the subjects: $S1$, $S2$, $S3$, and $S4$, and the four contexts of the non-subjects: $N1$, $N2$, $N3$, and $N4$, the reference patterns are investigated. Rules for those eight contexts proposed in sections 5.1.1-5.1.10. See section 3.3.1.2 for a brief introduction of the eight contexts.

#### 5.1.1 Same subject as in the previous clause ($S1$ context)

The context labeled $S1$ denotes that the subject of the current clause or sentence is the same as that of the previous one; or the subject and non-subject of the previous sentence combine to form a single, plural subject.

The results of participant reference in the $S1$ environment are summarized as follows in Table 19.
Table 19 Referring expression in the S1 environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participant</th>
<th>Major participant</th>
<th>Minor participant</th>
<th>Prop (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>4/2/1</td>
<td>6/6/2</td>
<td>0/2/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.09%</td>
<td>8.14%</td>
<td>4.08%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/9/1</td>
<td>0/0/1</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.81%</td>
<td>2.04%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>100*</td>
<td>131*</td>
<td>39*</td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>86.96%</td>
<td>76.16%</td>
<td>79.59%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>8**</td>
<td>17**</td>
<td>7**</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.96%</td>
<td>9.88%</td>
<td>14.29%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>115</strong></td>
<td><strong>172</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>100.01%</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.99%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

Group 1 lists the figures and percentages of the referring expressions relating to noun or noun phrase, including the following: nouns or noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns (NDPro), nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns (NPro), nouns or noun phrases (N). Group 2 lists the figures and percentages of the referring expressions relating to possessive phrases, including the following: possessed or head nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns (PNDPro), possessed or head nouns followed by pronouns (PNPro), possessed or head nouns (PN). Group 3 lists the figures and percentages for pronouns (Pro); and Group 4 lists the figures and percentages for zero anaphora (Ø). At first, the referring expressions of Group 1 and of Group 2 are considered different, but there is not enough data in each category to allow for separate analysis of each except for N#3. They are therefore combined.
A pronoun is the most likely choice for the central (86.96%), major (76.16%), and minor (79.59%) participants, and props (100%) in the S1 context. In addition, there is a higher tendency of zero anaphora for the minor participants (14.29%).

5.1.1.1 Central participants in the S1 environment

In the S1 context, the 6 central participants are referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 86.96% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 6.96%, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) for 3.48%, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 1.74%, and with a noun (N) for 0.87%.

Tentative Rule for the central participants in the S1 environment

The central participants in the S1 environment are typically referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 86.96% of references to Central participants in the S1 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (13.05%) include the central participants being referred to by zero anaphora (eight occurrences).

In N#3, Mr. Cegruej is referred to with null reference twice (N3:48,123). Since he is referred to as cə.gruəj ləə “Cegruej he” in the previous clause (N3:47b) and is on-stage in the previous nine clauses (N3:116a-122), this provides anaphoric reference. Another occurrence has Mr. Cegruej along with his six older brothers are referred to with null reference (N3:53). Here they are on-stage in the previous seven clauses (N3:47b-52b), this provides anaphoric reference.

In N#5, Lady Baya is referred to with null reference once (N5:14), perhaps because she is on-stage in the previous eight clauses (N5:7-13). Another occurrence has both Lady Baya and Thaaw referred to with null reference (N5:28). Here Lady Baya is on-stage in the previous seven clauses (N5:21-27), which provides anaphoric reference.

In N#7, Krung the snake is referred to with null reference once (N7:21b), perhaps because he is referred to as kruŋ bih nɛɛ ləə “this Krung the snake he” in the previous clause (N7:21a). Another null reference occurs where he is on-stage in the previous five clauses (N7:76b-78a). This provides anaphoric reference.

In N#4, the zero anaphora occurrence is an unexpected pattern (see example 72, p. 86).
Thus, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the central participants in the S1 environment

The central participants in the S1 environment are typically referred to with pronouns. However, when they are previously referred to with a proper noun or are on-stage in several previous clauses, null reference provides sufficient anaphoric reference for the rest of the episode.

The revised rule covers 93.06% of references to Central participants in the S1 environment. The eight unexpected patterns (6.95%) present when the central participants are referred to by zero anaphora (one occurrence), by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (four occurrences), by a noun followed by a pronoun (two occurrences) or by a noun (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented in examples 72-73 below.

(A) Null reference:

Mr. Orphan is referred to with null reference once in N4:44a.

(72)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laa</td>
<td>laa</td>
<td>3S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciʔ</td>
<td>ciʔ</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tii</td>
<td>tii</td>
<td>hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi.miʔ</td>
<td>mi.miʔ</td>
<td>empty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He returned (home) empty-handed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ee</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bih</td>
<td>bih</td>
<td>arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʔ</td>
<td>haʔ</td>
<td>Loc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>han.naam</td>
<td>han.naam</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then (he) arrived home.

Because Mr. Orphan is referred to with a pronoun in the previous sentence (N4:43), this may provide anaphoric reference. Additionally, in bih haʔ han.naam “arrived home” paraphrased ciʔ “returned (home)” of the previous clause, no new information is offered and apparently it has only prominence function, so a zero reference is permissible.

(B) Noun with a demonstrative followed by pronoun:

In another manifestation, the central participants are referred to using a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun four times.

(i) In one of the four occurrences, the python is referred to as bih.kraʔ nee laa “this python he” at the beginning of Ep. 2 (N1:9b). This may be to indicate he is the VIP of Ep. 2.
(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as doow thaaw cə.gruəj nəɛ laə “this Mr. Cegruej he” (N3:5) in order to remove ambiguity since he along with his older brothers are referred to with a pronoun in the previous sentence (N3:4).

(iii) & (iv) In two other occurrences, Krung the snake is referred to as kruŋ bih nəɛ laə “this Krung the snake he” (N7:45a,77a). In N7:45a, this may be to remove ambiguity as he is referred to with null reference in the previous clause (N7:44) and he along with Mr. Ruler’s daughter are referred to with a pronoun in the following clause (N7:45b); in N7:77a, this may be to give him prominence at the Peak (N7:77a-78a).

(C) Noun followed by pronoun:
The central participants are referred to with a noun followed by a pronoun twice.

(i) In one, the python is referred to as bih laə “the snake he” in N1:6 in order to remove ambiguity from the joint python and crow reference in the previous clause (N1:5);

(ii) another occurrence is in two successive clauses (see example 73). More research is needed to investigate this unexpected pattern of reference.

(73) ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih laə maaŋ “…”
then Krung snake 3S speak

Then Krung the snake he spoke, “…”

ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih laə tə.tɨɨt brɔɔj
then Krung snake 3S transform immediately

cak nooʔ vir ba.nih
body 3S transform human

Then Krung the snake he transformed immediately, transformed his body into a human.

(D) Noun or Noun phrase:
The older orphan is referred to as par.tii “orphan” once in N2:2a. This may provide anaphoric reference for the following clause (N2:2b) where they are referred to with a pronoun.
5.1.1.2 Major participants in the S1 environment

In the S1 context, the 26 major participants are referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 76.16% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 9.88%, with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 5.23%, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) and with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 3.49% each, with a noun (N) for 1.16%, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 0.58%.

Tentative Rule for the major participants in the S1 environment

The major participants in the S1 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 76.16% of references to Major participants in the S1 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (23.83%) include the major participants being referred to by zero anaphora (eighteen occurrences).

In N#2, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to with null reference once (N2:7b), perhaps because he is on-stage in the previous four clauses (N2:4-7a). Another occurrence is in N2:21b. Since the younger orphan is on-stage in the previous two clauses (N2:41b-42a) and is referred to using a head noun of a possessive phrase and then a relative clause "his younger brother, he who was his wife's former husband" (N2:41b), this may provide anaphoric reference.

In N#3, Mr. Cegruej’s six brothers are referred to with null reference once (N3:53); they along with Mr. Cegreuej are on-stage in the previous seven clauses (N3:47b-52b). Another five occurrences in a quotation formula are omitted (N3:23,46,70b,113,119b), since the major participants are on-stage in several previous clauses (N3:15a-22b, 45a-45b, 68b-70a, 111-112c, 116b-119). Another occurs in N3:155d. Here, Mr. Teem Enlee and Mother Gee Ersee are referred to as "his parents they" in the previous clause (N3:155c). Another occurs in N3:128b; here Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as "this Mr. Rich Ruler he" in the previous clause (N3:128a). Two other occurrences are unexpected patterns.

In N#4, the two zero anaphora occurrences are unexpected patterns.

In N#5, Grandma Gecko is referred to with null reference once (N5:56b); she is on-stage in the previous five clauses (N5:52-56a), which may provide anaphoric reference. Another occurrence is an unexpected pattern.
In N#7, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to with null reference once (N7:7b); he is on-stage in the previous three clauses (N7:1-7a). Another occurs in N7:31b; he is referred to as jaʔ ?at,naa loa “Mr. Rich Ruler he” in the previous clause (N7:31a).

Although the participants are referred to with null reference or in a quotation formula is omitted, the anaphoric reference may provide adequate information for participant identification.

The rule is therefore revised to:

**Revised Rule for the major participants in the S1 environment**

The major participants in the S1 environment are typically referred to with pronouns. However, when they are on-stage in several previous clauses, null reference provides sufficient anaphoric reference for the rest of the episode.

The revised rule covers **83.14%** of references to Major participants in the S1 environment. The twenty-nine unexpected patterns (16.85%) present when the major participants are referred to by zero anaphora (five occurrences), by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (nine occurrences), by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (six occurrences) and by a noun followed by a pronoun (six occurrences), by a noun or noun phrase (two occurrences), and by a head noun of a possessive phrase (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Null reference:

The major participants are referred to with null reference five times.

(i-iv) In four zero anaphora occurrences (N3:92b,c; N4:37b; N5:28), the major participants are referred to with null reference in the previous clause (N3:92a; N4:37a; N5:27).

(v) Another occurrence is in N4:57, after the five brothers are referred to with proper nouns (one by one) in the previous five sentences (N4:51-55). Further studies are needed to investigate the reasons for these unexpected patterns.

(B) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the nine occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as ka.man nɔɔʔ ka.laʔ “his own sister-in-law” (N2:28b); this may indicate the relationship between her and the older orphan. Seven occurrences are in N#3. In
another four occurrences, Mr. Cegruej’s six brothers are referred to as mɛɛʔ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ məə “his older brothers they” (N3:9,31,40,70c).

(ii-iv) In N3:9,31,40, this may be to remove ambiguity, because they along with Mr. Cegruej are referred to with a pronoun in the previous clause (N3:8c,30,39).

(v) In N3:70c, this may be to give them prominence as they tied Mr. Cegruej to a tree and returned home.

(vi-viii) In three other occurrences, Mother Gee Ersee is referred to as mɛɛʔ nɔɔʔ ləə “his mother she” (N3:98b,104,115), this may be to remove ambiguity. In N3:98b, she along with her husband are referred to as ?am.braa nɛɛ ʔam.braa “these two[this couple] they” in the previous clause (N3:98a); in N3:104,115, she along with her husband and Mr. Cegruej are referred to with a pronoun in the previous clause (N3:103b,114b).

(ix) In another occurrence, Thaaw is referred to as klɔɔ nɔɔʔ ləə “her husband he” (N5:22) at the beginning of Ep. 3; this may be to indicate a new episode.

(C) Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the six occurrences, human beings are referred to as bo.nɨh cə.maaw nɛɛ məə “these humans they” (N1:23b); here the stage is crowded since the toad is referenced in the previous sentence (N1:22) and the crow and the snake are referenced in the following clause (N1:23c).

(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Teem Enlee and Mother Gee Ersee are referred to as ?am.braa nɛɛ “these two[this couple]” (N3:82c). Only Mr. Cegruej and they are on-stage in Ep. 7; the two major participants are almost as prominent as the central participant.

(iii-iv) In two other occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ ləə “this Mr. Rich Ruler he” (N3:148) and as ?at.ɲaa nɛɛ “this rich ruler” (N3:158a); he is the LVIP of Ep. 12.

(v-vi) Another two occurrences are in N#7. Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as naaŋ ʔən.sooc nɛɛ “this youngest daughter” (N7:39a), because she is the LVIP of Ep. 4; and as naaŋ ʔən.sooc nɛɛ ləə “this youngest daughter she” (N7:50). Since she burned Krung’s snake skin, her thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.
(D) Noun followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the six occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as naaj laa “the lady she” (N3:138a) after a dialogue between her and Mr. Cegruej to indicate a new paragraph.

(ii) Another occurs where two of the five brothers are referred to as mee goong.miin teәn.bәr.naa məा “Goong Miin (and) Teen Ber Jaa they” (N4:5). Here they are the representatives of the other bothers.

(iii) In another occurrence, Goong Miin is referred to as goong.miin laa “Goong Miin he” (N4:29), on a crowded stage as he and his four brothers, Mr. Orphan, and the elephant are on-stage.

(iv) In one, Thaaw is referred to as thaaw laa “Thaaw he” (N5:11,31b). This may be to indicate a new paragraph, and to remove ambiguity as he along with Lady Baya are referred to with a pronoun in the previous clause (N5:31a).

(v) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa laa “Mr. Rich Ruler he” at the beginning of Ep. 1 (N7:3); this may be to denote a new episode.

(E) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i) In one of the two occurrences, the younger orphan along with the older orphan are referred to as pər.tii “orphan” at the beginning of Ep. 1 (N2:2a). This may be to denote a new episode.

(ii) Another occurrence is in N5:41b, which may indicate Thaaw’s parents are in the group of elephants.

(F) Head noun of possessive phrase:

Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers are referred to as mee ʔuuʔ nəʔ “his older brothers” once in N3:11b; this may be to give them prominence as the word order changed.

These exceptions to the revised rule suggest that reference to people collectively warrants clarified, and thus over-encoded, reference.
5.1.1.3 Minor participants in the S1 environment

In N#5, the minor participants do not occur in the S1 context. In N#1 and N#3, the minor participants are only referred to with pronouns.

In the S1 context, the minor participants in the other five narratives are referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 79.59% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 14.29%, and with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 4.08%, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 2.04%.

Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the S1 environment

The minor participants in the S1 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The rule covers 79.59% of references to Minor participants in the S1 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (20.41%) include the minor participants being referred to by zero anaphora (seven occurrences).

In N#4, four zero anaphora occurrences are unexpected patterns.

In N#7, two zero anaphora occurrences are unexpected patterns. Another occurs in N7:49a. The villagers are on-stage in the previous five clauses (N7:46-48b), which may provide anaphoric reference.

The rule is therefore revised to:

Revised Rule for the minor participants in the S1 environment

The minor participants in the S1 environment are typically referred to with pronouns. However, when they are on-stage in several previous clauses, null reference provides sufficient anaphoric reference for the rest of the episode.

The rule covers 81.63% of references to Minor participants in the S1 environment. The nine unexpected patterns (18.37%) present when the minor participants are referred to by zero anaphora (six occurrences), by a noun followed by a pronoun (two occurrences), and by a head noun of a possessive phrase (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Null reference:

In the six zero anaphora occurrences (N4:63b,64b,65a,66a and N7:67b,72a), the minor participants are referred to with a pronoun in the previous clause. Further studies are needed to investigate the reasons for this unexpected pattern.
(B) Noun followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the two occurrences, the god is referred to as kree.daj laə “the god he” (N2:56a); here, since he slapped the older orphan, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.

(ii) In another occurrence, the villagers are referred to as trɔm kraan məə “every family they” (N7:17b). This may be to give prominence as all villagers went to look for Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe.

(C) Head noun of possessive phrase:

Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife is referred to as trii nɔɔʔ “his wife” once in N7:13. This may be motivated by removing ambiguity as she is referred to with null reference in a quotation formula of the previous sentence (N7:12).

5.1.1.4 Props in the S1 environment

There are no props in N#1 and N#5.

In the S1 context, prop only occurs once in N4:36b. The elephant is referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 100% of the occurrences.

The proposed draft of a rule to capture the general pattern is:

**Tentative Rule for props in the S1 environment**

Props in the S1 environment are typically referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 100% of references to Props in the S1 environment. Props seem to occur rarely occur in the S1 context.

5.1.2 Subject was a non-subject in the previous direct speech (S2 context)

The context labeled S2 denotes that the subject of the current clause or sentence is the addressee of a speech reported in the non-subject context in the previous sentence (in a closed conversation).

The results of participant reference in the S2 environment are summarized as follows in Table 20.
### Table 20 Referring expression in the S2 environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants</th>
<th>Major participants</th>
<th>Minor participants</th>
<th>Props</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>0/5/1</td>
<td>0/10**/0</td>
<td>0/2*/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>23.26%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/8/0</td>
<td>0/2*/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>18.60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>10*</td>
<td>16*</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>37.21%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>9**</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1**</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>20.93%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence  
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

Perhaps, since no participant is referred to as a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun in the S2 context, the heaviest coding material is not used in quotation formula. Also, due to their non-active roles in the narratives, props are not involved in speech acts and do not occur in the S2 context.

A pronoun (Pro) is the most likely choice for the central (40%) and major (37.21%) participants in the S2 context. A noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) and a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) are the most likely for the minor participants (40%). But there is much higher tendency of zero anaphora (Ø) for the central participants (36%). There is no significant zero anaphora occurrence for the minor participants (20%).
5.1.2.1 Central participants in the S2 environment

In the S2 context, the 6 central participants are referred to using a Pronoun (Pro) for 40% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 36%, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 20%, and with a noun (N) for 4%.

Tentative Rule for the central participants in the S2 environment

The central participants in the S2 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 40% of references to Central participants in the S2 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (60%) include the central participants being referred to by zero anaphora (nine occurrences).

In N#1, the python is referred to with null reference once (N1:9a). Because it is referred to with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun bih.kraʔ nɛɛ ləə “this python he” in the following clause (N1:9b), this may provide cataphoric reference.

Another eight zero anaphora occurrences are in N3:37,50,79,118,133,142; N5:37; N7:82. Since the central participants are on-stage in several previous clauses and the rapid pace of the context, a quotation formula is omitted. A quotation formula can be omitted, especially when the central participants took the last turn to speak. The most obvious example is the quotation formula is omitted in the entire dialogue between Mr. Cegruej and his six older brothers in N3:48-50.

Thus, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the central participants in the S2 environment

The central participants in the S2 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are in dialogues, they may be referred to with null reference.

The revised rule covers 76% of references to Central participants in the S2 environment. The five unexpected patterns (24%) present when the central participants are referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (five occurrences) and by a noun or noun phrase (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Noun followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the five occurrences, Lady Baya is referred to as naaŋ ləə “lady she” (N5:12). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity in the dialogue between her
and Thaaw since the two of them are referred to with null reference in the previous (N5:10b) and following (N5:13) clauses.

(ii-iv) In another three occurrences, Lady Baya is referred to as naaŋ bə.jaa ləə “Lady Baya she” (N5:23,35,53) in dialogues. Further studies are needed to investigate the reason for the referring expression in N5:23. In N5:35,53, as Lady Baya and Grandma Gecko, both female participants, are in a dialogue (N5:34-37, 52-54), this pattern of reference removes ambiguity.

(v) In another occurrence, Krung the snake is referred to as kruŋ bih ləə “Krung the snake he” (N7:26). This may be to remove ambiguity for he and Mr. Rich Ruler, both male participants, are in a dialogue (N7:24-28).

(B) Noun or Noun phrase:
Mr. Orphan is referred to as doow “Mr.” once in N4:45. More research is needed in order to explain this pattern of reference.

5.1.2.2 Major participants in the S2 environment
In the S2 context, the 26 major participants are referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 37.21% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 20.93%, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 23.26%, and with a head noun of possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 18.60%.

Tentative Rule for the major participants in the S2 environment
The major participants in the S2 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 37.21% of references to Major participants in the S2 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (62.79%) include the major participants being referred to by zero anaphora (nine occurrences). All nine occurrences (N3:36,49,56,59,66,89,91,134, and N7:53) in a quotation formula are omitted.

Therefore, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the major participants in the S2 environment
The major participants in the S2 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are in dialogues, they may be referred to with null reference.
The revised rule covers 58.14% of references to Major participants in the S2 environment. The eighteen unexpected patterns (41.86%) present when the major participants are referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (ten occurrences) and by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (eight occurrences).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) **Noun followed by pronoun:**

(i) In one of the ten occurrences, the crow is referred to as *kəʔaak ləə* “the crow he” (N1:7). This may be to remove ambiguity because he and the python, both male participants, are in a dialogue (N1:6-8).

(ii) In another occurrence, the third brother is referred to as *baʔ tiipɛɛ ləə* “the third man he” (N3:60). Further studies are needed in order to explain why only him, but not other four brothers, is referred to in this way.

(iii-iv) In two other occurrences, Thaaw is referred to as *thaaw ləə* “Thaaw he” (N5:15,24). In N5:15, this may be to remove ambiguity in the dialogue as Lady Baya is referred to with null reference in a quotation formula of the previous sentence (N5:14) and both of them are referred to with a pronoun in the following sentence (N5:16). In N5:24, more research is needed to investigate the reason for this pattern of reference.

(v-vi) In another two occurrences, Grandma Gecko is referred to as *tɔk.kɛɛ ləə* “Gecko she” (N5:36) and *jaʔ tɔk.kɛɛ ləə* “Grandma Gecko she” (N5:54). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity since she and Lady Baya, both female participants, are in dialogues (N5:34-37, 52-54).

(vii-ix) In three other occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ləə* “Mr. Rich Ruler he” (N7:25,27,34). In N7:25,27, this may be to remove ambiguity because he and Krung the snake, both male participants, are in a dialogue (N7:24-28). In N7:34, further studies are needed in order to explain the pattern of reference.

(x) In another occurrence, another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as *naaŋ ləə* “lady she” (N7:81). More research is needed to investigate this reference pattern.

(B) **Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:**

(i-iii) In three of the eight occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as *trii nɔɔʔ ləə* “his wife she” (N2:44,46) and the younger orphan is referred to as *klɔɔ kraʔ nɔɔʔ ləə* “her former husband he” (N2:45). This may be to clarify their relationships.
In two other occurrences, Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers are referred to as mec ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ məə “his older brothers they” (N3:19,28). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity when they and Mr. Cegruej, all male participants, are in dialogues or to indicate they are not as prominent as the central participant.

In another occurrence, Mother Gee Ersee is referred to as mɛɛʔ nɔɔʔ ləə “his mother she” (N3:117). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity as she along with her husband are referred to as mec? nɔɔʔ bəəʔ “his parents” in the previous clause (N3:116b). In one, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ləə “her father he” (N3:147). This may be to indicate he is not as prominent as the central participant.

In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as klɔɔ nɔɔʔ ləə “her husband he” (N7:11). Perhaps because his wife, a minor participant, is as prominent as him in a dialogue (N7:10-12).

5.1.2.3 Minor participants in the S2 environment
In the S2 context, the 29 minor participants are referred to using a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) and as a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 40% each of the occurrences, and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 20%.

Tentative rule for the minor participants in the S2 environment
The minor participants in the S2 environment are likely to be referred to with nouns followed by pronouns or head nouns of possessive phrases followed by pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 80% of references to Minor participants in the S2 environment. The reference that does not follow this rule (20%) includes the minor participants are referred to by zero anaphora once in N7:12. Here Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife is referred to with a head noun of a possessive phrase trii nɔɔʔ “his wife” in the following sentence (N7:13), this may provide cataphoric reference.

5.1.3 Subject was a non-subject in the previous clause (S3 context)
The context labeled S3 denotes that the subject of the current clause or sentence was involved in the previous clause in a non-subject role other than in a closed conversation.
The results of participant reference in the S3 environment are summarized as follows in Table 21.

**Table 21 Referring expression in the S3 environment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants (6)</th>
<th>Major participants (26)</th>
<th>Minor participants (29)</th>
<th>Props (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>1/3**/2</td>
<td>6**/5/3</td>
<td>3**/1/1</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.65%</td>
<td>36.84%</td>
<td>27.78%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>1/1/0</td>
<td>0/1/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5.26%</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>27*</td>
<td>21*</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>79.41%</td>
<td>55.26%</td>
<td>61.11%</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>2.63%</td>
<td>5.56%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence  
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

A pronoun (Pro) is the most likely choice for the central (79.41%), major (55.26%), and minor (61.11%) participants, and props (66.67%) in the S3 context. In addition, there is a higher tendency of a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) for the major (15.79%) and minor (16.67%) participants and a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for the central (8.82%) and major (13.16%) participants. There is no significant occurrence of zero anaphora (Ø) for all the participants except for props.

**5.1.3.1 Central participants in the S3 environment**

In the S3 context, the 6 central participants are referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 79.41% of the occurrences, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 8.82%,
with a noun (N) for 5.89%, and with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 2.94% each.

**Tentative Rule for the central participants in the S3 environment**

The central participants in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 79.41% of references to Central participants in the S3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (20.59%) include the central participant being referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (three occurrences).

In N#2, the older orphan is referred to as *doow kwen par.tii no? ləə* “the orphan he who” once (N2:32a). This may be to remove ambiguity as the younger orphan is referenced in the previous sentence (N2:31).

In N#5, Lady Baya is referred to as *naaŋ bə.jaa ləə* “Lady Baya she” twice (N5:8,43). N5:8 is an unexpected pattern. In N5:43, this may be to remove ambiguity since she and Grandma Gecko, both female participants, are in a dialogue (N5:42-43).

Thus, the rule is revised to:

**Revised Rule for the central participants in the S3 environment**

The central participants in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are on-stage with other participants of the same gender, they may be referred to with nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns in order to remove ambiguity.

The revised rule covers 85.29% of references to Central participants in the S3 environment. The five unexpected patterns (14.71%) present when the central participants are referred to by a noun or noun phrase (two occurrences), and by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), and by a noun followed by a pronoun (one occurrence) and by zero anaphora (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.
(A) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i) In one of the two occurrences, Mr. Orphan is referred to as *doow kuan.par.tii* “Mr. Orphan” (N4:35a), perhaps because the five brothers are also referred to as nouns in the previous sentences (N5:28-33).

(ii) In another occurrence, Lady Baya is referred to as *naaŋ bə.jaa* “lady Baya” (N5:30). More research is needed to investigate this pattern of reference.

(B) Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:
Krung the snake is referred to as *krung bih nɛɛ ləə* “this Krung the snake he” once in N7:74a. This may be to emphasize he killed the python.

(C) Noun followed by pronoun:
Lady Baya is referred to as *naaŋ bə.jaa ləə* “lady Baya she” once in N5:8 and a noun phrase in the previous sentence (see example 74, p. 101). More research is needed to investigate this pattern of reference.

(74) *ʔɛɛ bə bə si bələə nɛɛ ləə bih tɔʔ* (N5:7)
then 3S go immediately Prep that(far)

*naaŋ bə.jaa*
lady Baya

Then he went to **Lady Baya** [overthere].

*ʔɛɛ naaŋ bə.jaa ləə tə.ŋaa riən* “…” (N5:8)
then lady Baya 3S ask say

Then **Lady Baya** she asked, saying, “…”

(D) Null reference:
Mr. Cegruej is referred to with null reference once in N3:33b. Since he is on-stage in the previous six clauses (N3:32a-33a), this provides anaphoric reference for participant identification.

5.1.3.2 Major participants in the S3 environment

In the S3 context, the 26 major participants are referred to using a pronoun (Pro) for 55.26% of the occurrences, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) for 15.79%, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 13.16%, with a noun (N) for 7.89%, with a head noun of a possessive phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (PNPro), with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNDPro), and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 2.63% each.
Tentative Rule for the major participants in the S3 environment

The major participants in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 55.26% of references to Major participants in the S3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (44.73%) include the major participants being referred to by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (six occurrences).

In N#3, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as jaʔ ?at.naa nɛɛ ɬəə “this Mr. Rich Ruler he” twice. In N3:128a, perhaps because he allowed his daughter to bath at the river, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP in Ep. 11. In N3:150, since he is the LVIP of Ep. 12, the heaviest coding material is used to give prominence.

In N#5, Grandma Gecko is referred to as tɔk.kɛɛ nɛɛ “this gecko” once (N5:38) and the elephants are referred to as mɛɛ ruəh nɛɛ məə “these elephants they” once (N:57a). Perhaps because Grandma Gecko is the LVIP of Ep. 4 and the elephants are the LVIPs of Ep. 5, the heaviest coding material is used to give prominence.

In N#7, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as jaʔ ?at.naa nɛɛ ɬəə “this Mr. Rich Ruler he” once (N7:2) and Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as naaŋ ?ən.sooc nɛɛ “this youngest daughter” once (N7:55). Perhaps because they are the LVIPs of Ep. 1 and Ep. 5 respectively, the heaviest coding material is used to give prominence.

The rule is therefore revised to:

Revised Rule for the major participants in the S3 environment

The major participants in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are the LVIPs or their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP, they may be referred to with nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns in order to give prominence.

The revised rule covers 71.05% of references to Major participants in the S3 environment. The eleven unexpected patterns (28.94%) present when the major participants are referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (five occurrences), by a noun or noun phrase (three occurrences), by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), by a head noun followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), and by zero anaphora (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.
(A) Noun followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the five occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ɬəə “Mr. Rich Ruler he” (N2:6), perhaps for clarification since he is referred to as “Laotian rich ruler” in the previous two sentences (N2:4-5).

(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as naaŋ ɬəə “the lady she” (N2:34b), because she is referred to with null reference in the previous clause (N2:34a).

(iii) In one, Mr. Teem Enlee is referred to as bəʔ təəm ʔən.lɛɛ ɬəə “[man] Teem Enlee he” (N3:86a). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity since he and Mr. Cegruej, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

(iv) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as naaŋ ɬəə “the lady she” (N3:137a), perhaps, since she took Mr. Cegruej’s kromar, her thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.

(v) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ɬəə “Mr. Rich Ruler he” (N7:31a), perhaps because he and Krung the snake, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

(B) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i-ii) Two of the three occurrences are in N4:28 and N5:50. More research is needed to investigate this pattern of reference.

(iii) Another occurs in N7:59a. Perhaps for clarification since Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as kuən nɔɔʔ “his child” in the previous sentence (N7:58).

(C) Head noun of possessive phrase with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

The younger orphan is referred to as ʔɔh nɔɔʔ nɛɛ ɬəə “this his younger brother he” once (N2:5). This may be to give prominence because he is the LVIP of Ep. 1.

(D) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers are referred to as mɛɛ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ məə “his older brothers they” once in N3:69. This may be to give prominence as they are going to tie Mr. Cegruej to the tree (N3:70a,b). Their thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.
(E) Null reference:

Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to with null reference once in N7:9. Perhaps because his wife, a minor participant, is as prominent as him in the dialogue (N7:8-13).

5.1.3.3 Minor participants in the S3 environment

In the S3 context, the 29 minor participants are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 61.11% of the occurrences, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) for 16.67%, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro), with a noun (N), with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro), and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 5.56% each.

Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the S3 environment

The minor participants in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 61.11% of references to Minor participants in the S3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (38.90%) include the minor participants being referred to by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (three occurrences).

In N#3, the termite is referred to as kraʔ kan.tiər nɛɛ ləə “this old termite he” once (N3:80). Since he went up to bite the loincloth in order to save Mr. Cegruej, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.

In N#7, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughters are referred to as kuən ʔɛh “those children” once (N7:36b). Because they refused their father’s command to marry Krung the snake, their thematic role is an agent in relation to the major participant. In another occurrence, the python is referred to as bih nɛɛ ləə “this snake he” (N7:60a). Since he ate another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP of Ep. 5.

Therefore, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the minor participants in the S3 environment

The minor participants in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when their thematic role is an agent in relation to other participants, they may be referred to with nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns in order to give prominence.
The revised rule covers 77.78% of references to Minor participants in the S3 environment. The four unexpected patterns (22.23%) present when the minor participants are referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), by a noun or noun phrase (one occurrence), by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), and by zero anaphora (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Noun followed by a pronoun:
A god is referred to as *kree.daj laa* “the god he” once in N2:55; here the stage is crowded at the Peak.

(B) Noun or Noun phrase:
The python is referred to as *bih* “the snake” once (N7:74b). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity since he and Krung the snake, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

(C) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:
Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *bəəʔ nɔɔʔ laa* “her father he” once in N5:17. This may be motivated by removing ambiguity because he and his wife are referred to as *mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ* “her parents” in the previous sentence (N5:16).

(D) Null reference:
Another Mr. Rich Ruler’s servants are referred to with null reference once in N7:54c. Since they are referred to with a noun phrase *mɛɛ khom.laŋ ɓaaw* “the servants” in the previous clause (N7:54b), this may provide anaphoric reference.

### 5.1.3.4 Props in the S3 environment

In the S3 context, the 11 props are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 66.67% of the occurrences and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 33.33%.

**Tentative Rule for props in the S3 environment**

Props in the S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 66.67% of references to Props in the S3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (33.33%) include props are referred to by zero anaphora twice. In one of the two occurrences, only Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe and the major participant are on-stage at that plot point (N3:13). In another occurrences, the deer is referred to with null reference (N4:22d), perhaps because of the rapid pace of the context (N4:22c-23a).
The rule is therefore revised to:

**Revised Rule for props in the S3 environment**

Props in S3 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when only the prop and the human participants are on-stage or because of the rapid pace of the context, they may be referred to with null reference.

The revised rule covers 100% of references to Props in the S3 environment.

5.1.4 Subject does not occur in the previous clause (S4 context)

The context labeled S4 denotes that participants who are subjects in the current clause or sentence do not occur in the previous clause in both subject and non-subject contexts.

The results of the participant reference in the S4 environment are summarized as follows in Table 22.

**Table 22 Referring expression in the S4 environment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants</th>
<th>Major participants</th>
<th>Minor participants</th>
<th>Props</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>4/8**/4</td>
<td>6/8/17**</td>
<td>3**/2/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.77%</td>
<td>34.07%</td>
<td>22.73%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/1/1</td>
<td>1/11/2</td>
<td>0/3**/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.85%</td>
<td>15.38%</td>
<td>13.64%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>27*</td>
<td>35*</td>
<td>14*</td>
<td>4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51.92%</td>
<td>38.46%</td>
<td>63.64%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.46%</td>
<td>12.09%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>52</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100.01%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence
** second greatest occurrence
Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

A pronoun (Pro) is the most likely choice for the central (51.92%) and minor (63.64%) participants, and props (80%). A pronoun (Pro) and a noun (N) are the secondary choice for the major participants (38.46%, 18.68%). Moreover, there is a higher tendency of a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) and zero anaphora (Ø) for the central participants (15.38%, 13.46%) and a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) and zero anaphora (Ø) major (12.09%). However, there are no zero anaphora occurrences for the minor participants.

5.1.4.1 Central participants in the S4 environment
In the S4 context, the 6 central participants are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 51.92% of the occurrences, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 15.38%, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 13.46%, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) and with a noun (N) for 7.69% each, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 1.92%.

Tentative Rule for the central participants in the S4 environment
The central participants in the S4 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 51.92% of references to Central participants in the S4 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (48.08%) include the central participants being referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (eight occurrences).

In N#1, the python is referred to as bih.kraʔ kə.ləʔ ləə “the python himself” once (N1:18b) at the beginning of Ep. 3. This may be to mark a new episode. In another occurrence, he is referred to as bih.kraʔ ləə “the python he” (N1:25), perhaps because it is the narrator’s intrusion.

In N#3, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as ca.gruaj ləə “Cegruej he” twice (N3:47b,75) and as thaaw ləə “Mr.(Cegruej) he” once (N3:130b). In N3:47b, he is off-stage in the previous five clauses (N3:44c-47a). In N3:75, this may be to mark a new episode of Ep. 7. In N3:130b, this may be to mark a new paragraph since he is off-stage in the previous seven clauses (N3:125-130a).
In N#5, Lady Baya is referred to as naŋ bə.jaa ləə “Lady Baya she” once (N5:33) at the beginning of Ep. 4. This may be to mark a new episode.

In N#7, the two occurrences are unexpected patterns.

The rule is therefore revised to:

**Revised Rule for the central participants in the S4 environment**

The central participants in the S4 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are referenced at the beginning of an episode or it is a narrator’s intrusion, they may be referred to with nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns.

The revised rule covers 63.46% of references to Central participants in S4 environment. The nineteen unexpected patterns (36.54%) present when the central participants are referred to by zero anaphora (seven occurrences), by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (four occurrences) and by a noun or noun phrase (four occurrences), by a noun followed by a pronoun (two occurrences), by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), and by a head noun of a possessive phrase (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Null reference:

(i-v) Five zero anaphora occurrences (N3:114b,135; N5:10b,13,21) have the central participants along with the major participants are on-stage in several previous clauses (N3:109a-114a,131-134; N5:7-10a,11-12,14-20). This provides anaphoric reference. When the central and major participants are referenced together, they are likely to be referred to with null reference. Bequette states that “relational givenness will often enable the listener to correctly identify who the referent is when the referring expression gives little information” (2008: 103).

(vi) Another occurs in N3:156; this occurs at the Peak where the pace of the narrative is rapid.

(vii) Another occurs in N7:44; since Krung the snake is referred to as krug bīh ləə “Krung the snake he” in the previous sentence (N7:43), this may provide anaphoric reference.
(B) Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the four occurrences, the python is referred to as bih.kraʔ nɛɛ ləə “this python he” (N1:9b) at the beginning of Ep. 2. This may be to mark a new episode.

(ii) In another occurrence, the older orphan is referred to as bəʔ kuən pər.tii nɛɛ ləə “this [unmarried] orphan he” (N2:20a) at the beginning of Ep. 3. This may be to mark a new episode.

(iii) In one, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as doow thaaw cə.gruəj nɛɛ ləə “this Mr. Cegruej he” (N3:2a). This may be to indicate he is more prominent than his six older brothers (N3:2b).

(iv) Another occurs in N7:51. Perhaps for emphasis (see example 75).

(75) ʔɛɛ ləə vɨr bə.nɨh ʔən.ɔɔc brɔɔj (N7:51)
then 3S transform human all.the.time immediately

kruŋ bih ʔɛɛ
Krung snake that

Then he transformed into a human forever, that Krung the snake.

(C) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i) In one of the four occurrences, the older orphan is referred to as par.saaw han.dəəm “the new son-in-law” (N2:39a). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity as both the older and younger orphans, who are Mr. Rich Ruler’s new and former son-in-laws, are on-stage at that plot point.

(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as thaaw cə.gruəj “Mr. Cegruej” (N3:139). This may be to mark a change of participant and location in a new paragraph.

(iii) In one, Mr. Orphan is referred to as doow kuan.par.tii “Mr. Orphan” (N4:42), perhaps because he is off-stage in the previous five clauses (N4:38-41b). (iv) Another occurs in N7:76b. Perhaps for emphasis (see example 76).

(76) ləə naʔ diw kruŋ bih muij raa (N7:76b)
3S still only Krung snake one person.Clf

bɨŋ ʔɛɛ
Loc there

he, only Krung the snake was still there.
(D) Noun followed by pronoun:

Krung the snake is referred to as krug bih ləə “Krung the snake he” twice in N7:42b,80. More research is needed to investigate this pattern of reference.

(77) ʔɛɛ krug bih ləə maaŋ “…” (N7:42b)
then Krung snake 3S speak

Then Krung the snake he spoke, “…

ʔɛɛ krug bih ləə tə.tɨɨt brɔɔj (N7:43)
then Krung snake 3S transform immediately
cak nɔɔʔ vir ba.niŋ
body 3S transform human

Then Krung the snake he transformed immediately transformed his body into a human.

(E) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

The older orphan is referred to as klɔɔ han. daem nɔɔʔ ləə “her new husband he” once in N2:54a; here the stage is crowded at the Peak.

(F) Head noun of possessive phrase:

The older orphan is referred to as ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ “his older brother” (N2:8a) at the beginning of Ep. 2. This may be to mark a new episode.

5.1.4.2 Major participants in the S4 environment

In the S4 context, the 26 major participants are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 38.46% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) for 18.68%, with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 12.09% each, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 8.79%, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) for 6.59%, with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 2.20%, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (PNDPro) for 1.10%.

Tentative Rule for the major participants in the S4 environment

The major participants in the S4 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.
The tentative rule covers 38.46% of references to Major participants in the S4 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (61.54%) include the major participants being referred to by a noun (seventeen occurrences).

In N#1, the crow is referred to as *kəʔaak* “the crow” once (N1:5). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity as the crow and the snake, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

In N#2, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as *naaŋ* “the lady” once (N2:52a); here the stage is crowded.

In N#3, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa* “Mr. Rich Ruler” once (N3:145a), since he is off-stage for more than twenty clauses.

In N#4, the five brothers are referred to with nouns fourteen times (N4:13-17, 30-33, 51-55). This may be to indicate all of them missed the animals they shot.

Thus, the rule is revised to:

**Revised Rule for the major participants in the S4 environment**

The major participants in the S4 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are on-stage with other participants of same gender or when they are off-stage in several previous clauses or because the stage is crowded, they may be referred to with nouns in order to remove ambiguity.

The revised rule covers 57.14% of references to Major participants in the S4 environment. The thirty-nine unexpected patterns (42.86%) present when the major participants are referred to by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (eleven occurrences), by zero anaphora (eleven occurrences), by a noun followed by a pronoun (eight occurrences), by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (six occurrences), by a head noun of a possessive phrase (two occurrences), and by a head noun of a possessive phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

   (i) In one of the eleven occurrences, the younger orphan is referred to as *ʔəh *nco? nco? laʔ troʔ kloʔ kraʔ triʔ nco? pen.ʔəəm laʔ “his younger brother, he who was his wife’s former husband he” (N2:41b). More research is needed to investigate this pattern of reference.
(ii-iii) In two other occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as \textit{ka.man nɔɔʔ ləə “his sister-in-law she”} (N2:57) and the younger orphan is referred to as \textit{ʔəh nɔɔʔ ləə “his younger brother he”} (N2:58); here the stage is crowded.

(iv-vii) In four other occurrences, Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers are referred to as \textit{mɛɛ ?uuʔ nɔɔʔ məə “his older brothers they”} (N3:15a,26a,34a,45a). This may be to mark a new paragraph.

(viii-xi) In four other occurrences, Mr. Teem Enlee and Mother Gee Ersee are referred to as \textit{mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa “his parents they”} (N3:109a,155c), as \textit{ʔam.braa mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa “his parents they”} (N3:140), and as \textit{ja.ʔiiʔ ja.ʔɔɔʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa “his grandparents they”} (N3:149). In N3:109a,155c, this may be to mark a new paragraph. In N3:140, perhaps because they are off-stage for more than twenty clauses. In N3:149, further studies are needed to explain this pattern of reference.

(B) Null reference:

(i) In one of the eleven zero anaphora occurrences, a quotation formula is omitted (N3:111).

(ii) Another occurs in N3:114b where mother Gee Ersee, Mr. Teem Enlee along with Mr. Cegruej are on-stage in the previous nine clauses (N3:109a-114a), this may provide anaphoric reference.

(iii) Another occurs in N3:135a. Here, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter along with Mr. Cegruej are on-stage in the previous five clauses (N2:130b-134).

(iv) In one, because of the rapid pace at the Peak (N3:157).

(v) Another occurs in N4:5; the five brothers are referred to with proper nouns (one by one) in the previous five sentences (N4:51-55).

(vi-vii) The two other occurrences are in N5:10b,13. Here, Thaaw and Lady Baya are on-stage in several previous clauses (N5:1-10a,11-12), which provides anaphoric reference.

(viii-ix) Another two occur in N7:15a,41b. Since Mr. Rich Ruler and his daughter are referred to with a pronoun in the following clause (N7:16,41c), this may provide cataphoric reference.

(x-xi) The two other occurrences are in N5:21 and N7:49b where the major participants and the central participants are referred to with null reference in the sentence \textit{kuu sro.sriam.niəm.pʁɔɔm “lived happily”}. More research is needed to explain this pattern of reference.
(C) Noun followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the eight occurrences, the crow is referred to as *kəʔ.ʔaak ʔa*ləə “the crow he” (N1:23c); here the stage is crowded.

(ii-iii) In two other occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *jaʔ ʔat.paa ləə “Mr. Rich Ruler he” (N2:31,35). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity as he and the older orphan, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

(iv) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as *naan ʔan.soo ləə “the youngest daughter she” (N3:131). This may be to remove ambiguity because she along with four young ladies are referred to with a pronoun in N3:130a.

(v-vii) In three other occurrences, Grandma Gecko is referred to as *tɔk.kɛɛ ləə “the gecko she” (N5:42,46) and as *jaʔ tɔk.kɛɛ ləə “Grandma Gecko she” (N5:52). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity since she and Lady Baya, both female participants, are referenced in dialogues (N5:42-43, 45-46, 52-54).

(viii) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *ləə ʔa*ləʔ ləə “he himself” (N7:18). More research is needed in order to explain this pattern of reference.

(D) Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the six occurrences, human beings are referred to as *bə.nɨh nɛɛ məə “these humans they” (N1:24a), because they are the LVIPs of Ep. 4.

(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as *naan nɛɛ ləə “this lady she” (N2:48a). This may be to give prominence as she was the wife of both the older and younger orphans and the three of them were going to be on-stage.

(iii) In one, the younger orphan is referred to as *klɔɔ kraʔ nɔɔʔ nɛɛ ləə “this her former husband he” (N2:50). Since he was the first one who swallowed the medicine, he is as prominent as the central participant at that plot point.

(iv) In another occurrence, Mr. Teem Enlee and Mother Gee Ersee are referred to as *ʔam.braa nɛɛ ʔam.braa “these two they” (N3:98a). Perhaps because they are off-stage in the previous nine clauses (N3:95-97f).

(v) Another occurrence is the elephants are referred to as *boow ruəh nɛɛ məə “this group of elephants they” (N5:41a). Here, they are off-stage in the previous ten clauses (N5:31b-40).
(vi) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter and Krung the snake are referred to as ?am.braa naaŋ nɛɛ ?am.braa “(Krung the snake and) this lady they” (N7:44). Since the two of them slept together, the major participant is as prominent as the central participant.

(E) Head noun of possessive phrase:

(i) In one of the two occurrences, the younger orphan is referred to as par.saaw kraʔ nɔɔʔ ləə “his former son-in-law he” (N2:38). This may be to remove ambiguity as he and the older orphan are on-stage at that plot point.

(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as kuən nɔɔʔ “his child” (N2:39a). This may be to give prominence to Mr. Rich Ruler because he married his daughter to the central participant.

(F) Head noun of possessive phrase with demonstrative followed by pronoun:
The younger orphan is referred to as klɔɔ kraʔ nɔɔʔ nɛɛ ləə “this her former husband he” once in N2:50. Perhaps for emphasis as he was the first one to swallow the medicine.

5.1.4.3 Minor participants in the S4 environment

In the S4 context, the 29 minor participants are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 63.64% of the occurrences, with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 13.64% each, and with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 9.09%.

Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the S4 environment

The minor participants in the S4 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 63.64% of references to Minor participants in the S4 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (36.37%) include the minor participants being referred to by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (three occurrences) and a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (three occurrences).

In N#1, the toad is referred to as ?am.drɔɔk nɛɛ “this toad” once (N1:22), perhaps because it is the narrator’s evaluation or comment.
In N#7, the python is referred to as *bih nɛɛ laa* “this snake he” twice (N7:63a,68b). Since he ate another Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP of Ep. 5 and Ep. 6.

In N#7, another Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *booʔ nɔɔʔ laa* “her father he” (N7:56), as *booʔ naaŋ ?en.sooc laa* “the youngest daughter’s father he” (N7:75), and along with his wife are referred to as *meeʔ booʔ nɔɔʔ məə* “her parents they” (N7:79a). This may be to indicate he is less prominent than his daughter who is a major participant.

Therefore, the rule is revised to:

**Revised Rule for the minor participants in S4 environment**

The minor participants in S4 environment are more likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIPs or it is a narrator’s evaluation or comment, they may be referred to with nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns in order to give prominence. In addition, in order to indicate they are less prominent than major participants, they may be referred to with head nouns of possessive phrases.

The revised rule covers 90.92% of references to Minor participants in the S4 environment. The two unexpected patterns (9.09%) present when the minor participants are referred to with a noun followed by a pronoun twice.

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

In one of the two occurrences, some spices of snakes are referred to as *boow mee bih.braj bih.vaak bih tut bih.braj tram məə* “the cobras, vipers, every cobra they” (N1:20). Perhaps because they are off-stage in the previous nine clauses (N1:13a-19). In another occurrence, the villagers are referred to as *meeʔ sruk məə* “the villagers they” (N7:46); because they are off-stage for more than twenty clauses.

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5.1.4.4 **Props in the S4 environment**

In the S4 context, the 11 props are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 80% of the occurrences and with zero anaphora (Ø) for 20%.

**Tentative Rule for props in the S4 environment**

Props in the S4 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns.
The tentative rule covers 80% of references to Props in the S4 environment. The reference that does not follow this rule (20%) includes the prop is referred to by zero anaphora once in N3:44c. This may be to indicate the prop is less prominent than the central participant at that plot point.

### 5.1.5 Typical encoding patterns in the 4 subject contexts

In summary, the most and second most typical encoding patterns of the four categories of participants in the four subject contexts are listed in Table 23.

**Table 23 Typical encoding patterns in subject contexts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central participants</th>
<th>Major participants</th>
<th>Minor participants</th>
<th>Props</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro (86.96%)</td>
<td>Pro (76.16%)</td>
<td>Pro (79.59%)</td>
<td>Pro (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>Ø (6.96%)</td>
<td>Ø (9.88%)</td>
<td>Ø (14.29%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>Pro (40%)</td>
<td>Pro (37.21%)</td>
<td>NPro or PNPro (80%)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø (36%)</td>
<td>Ø (20.93%)</td>
<td>Ø (20%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>Pro (79.41%)</td>
<td>Pro (55.26%)</td>
<td>Pro (61.11%)</td>
<td>Pro (66.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPro (8.82%)</td>
<td>NDPro (7.89%)</td>
<td>NDPro (16.67%)</td>
<td>Ø (3.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S4</td>
<td>Pro (51.92%)</td>
<td>Pro (38.46%)</td>
<td>Pro (63.64%)</td>
<td>Pro (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NPro (15.38%)</td>
<td>N (18.68%)</td>
<td>NDPro (13.64%)</td>
<td>Ø (20%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronoun is the most typical encoding pattern because lighter coding materials can be used after the participants are introduced.

### 5.1.6 Same non-subject as in the previous clause (N1 context)

The context labeled N1 denotes that the referent is the same non-subject role as that of the previous clause or sentence.

The results of participant reference in the N1 environment are summarized as follows in Table 24.
Table 24 Referring expression in the \textit{N1} environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants (6)</th>
<th>Major participants (26)</th>
<th>Minor participants (29)</th>
<th>Props (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>0/0/2**</td>
<td>0/0/2</td>
<td>0/0/3**</td>
<td>1/0/6**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.52%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>21.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>1/0/2</td>
<td>0/0/1</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>2**</td>
<td>4**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9.52%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>8.33%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>17*</td>
<td>16*</td>
<td>7*</td>
<td>25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>80.95%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>58.33%</td>
<td>78.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>99.99%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>99.99%</td>
<td>100.01%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

Zero anaphora (Ø) is the most likely choice for the central (80.95%) and major (64%) participants, and props (78.13%), and it is the secondary choice for the minor participants (58.33%). There is higher tendency of a noun (N) for the minor participants (25%) and a pronoun (Pro) for the major participants (16%).

5.1.6.1 \textbf{Central participants in the N1 environment}

The central participant in \textit{N#5} does not occur in the \textit{N1} context.

In the \textit{N1} context, the 5 central participants in the other narratives are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 80.95% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) and with a pronoun (Pro) for 9.52% each.
Tentative Rule for the central participants in the *NI* environment

The central participants in the *NI* environment are typically referred to with null reference.

The central participants are referred to with null reference either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula. This may indicate a tendency for central participants in the object position to be referred to with null reference. The tentative rule covers 80.95% of references to Central participants in the *NI* environment. The references that do not follow this rule (19.04%) include the central participants being referred to by a noun or noun phrase (two occurrences) and by a pronoun (two occurrences).

In N#4, Mr. Orphan is referred to as *doow kuan.par.tii* “Mr. Orphan” once in N4:21; he is referred to with null reference in the previous two clauses (N4:20a,b).

In N#7, Krung the snake is referred to as *bih* “the snake” once in N7:41d; he is the VIP of Ep. 4.

In N#2, the older orphan is referred to with a pronoun once in N2:56a. Here, since the god slapped the older orphan, the thematic role of the central participant is a patient in relation to the minor participant.

In N#4, Mr. Orphan is referred to with a pronoun in N4:5. Here, since the five brothers commanded Mr. Orphan to stay home, the thematic role of the central participant is a patient in relation to the major participant.

Thus, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the central participants in the *NI* environment

The central participants in the *NI* environment are typically referred to with null reference. However, when they are off-stage in several previous clauses or when they are the VIPs of episodes, they may be referred to with nouns; in addition, when their thematic role is a patient in relation to other participants, they may be referred to with pronouns.

The revised rule covers 100% of references to Central participants in the *NI* environment.
5.1.6.2 Major participants in the N1 environment

The major participants in N5 do not occur in the N1 context.

In the N1 context, the major participants in the other five narratives are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 64% of the occurrences, with a pronoun (Pro) for 16%, with a noun (N) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 8% each, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (PNDPro) for 4%.

Tentative Rule for the major participants in the N1 environment

The major participants in the N1 environment are more likely to be referred to with null reference.

The major participants are referred to with null reference either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 64% of references to Major participants in the N1 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (36%) include the major participants being referred to by a pronoun (four occurrences).

In N2, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to with a pronoun once in N2:32c. Here, she is referred to with a head noun of a possessive phrase with a demonstrative "this rich ruler’s daughter" in the same clause, providing anaphoric reference. In another occurrence, the younger orphan and Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter are referred to with pronouns (N2:54b), this occurs at the Peak where the pace of the narrative is rapid.

In N4, the five brothers are referred to with a pronoun once in N4:7. Since they are on-stage from the beginning of the episode, it provides anaphoric reference.

In N7, another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to with a pronoun once in N7:83b. Here, she is on-stage in the previous eleven clauses (N7:77b-83a), it may provide anaphoric reference.

The rule is therefore revised to:

Revised Rule for the major participants in the N1 environment

The major participants in the N1 environment are more likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are on-stage in several previous clauses or because of the rapid pace at the Peak, they may be referred to with pronouns.
The revised rule covers 80% of references to Major participants in the \textit{N1} environment. The five unexpected patterns (20%) present when the major participants are referred to by a noun or noun phrase (two occurrences) and a head noun of a possessive phrase (two occurrences), and by a head noun of a possessive phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i-ii) Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as \textit{naañ \,ʔən.sooc “the youngest daughter”} (N7:60b) and as \textit{kuən “child”} (N7:83b). In N7:60b, she is the LVIP of Ep. 5. In N7:83b, this may be to denote she was adopted by Krung the snake and Mr. Rich Ruler.

(B) Head noun of possessive phrase:

(i-ii) Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as \textit{trii kraʔ nɔɔʔ “his former wife”} (N2:43) and as \textit{trii nɔɔʔ “his wife”} (N2:59b). In N2:43, this may be to denote her relationship with the younger orphan. In N2:59b, this may be to indicate she is less prominent than the central participant.

(C) Head noun of possessive phrase with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as \textit{naañ kuən ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ “this Rich Ruler’s daughter”} once (N2:32c). Perhaps for emphasis as she is the LVIP of Ep. 4.

\textbf{5.1.6.3 Minor participants in the \textit{N1} environment}

The minor participants in N\#1 and N\#5 do not occur in the \textit{N1} context.

In the \textit{N1} context, the minor participants in the other four narratives are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 58.33% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) for 25%, with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) and with a pronoun (Pro) for 8.33% of occurrences.

\textbf{Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the \textit{N1} environment}

The minor participants in the \textit{N1} environment are likely to be referred to with null reference.

The minor participants are referred to with null reference either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 58.33% of references to Minor participants in the \textit{N1}
environment. The references that do not follow this rule (41.66%) include the minor participants being referred to by a noun (three occurrences). In all three occurrences, the python is referred to as biḥ “the snake” (N7:57, 58, 79b). In N7:57, 58, this may be to give prominence since the python was going to eat another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter. The python’s thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP of Ep. 5. In N7:79b, the python is not referenced in the previous or following clauses (N7:79a, 80).

The rule is therefore revised to:

**Revised Rule for the minor participants in the N1 environment**

The minor participants in the N1 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are not referenced in the following clause or when their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP, they may be referred to with nouns.

The revised rule covers **83.33%** of references to Minor participants in the N1 environment. The two unexpected patterns (16.66%) present when the minor participants are referred to by a head noun of a possessive phrase (one occurrence) and by a pronoun (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Head noun of possessive phrase:

The wife snake is referred to as trii nɔɔʔ “his wife” once in N2:16b (see example 78).

(78) ləə haʔ ʔɔɔm trii nɔɔʔ

3S smell.good wife 3S

He smelled (and realized that it is) his wife,

ʔɛɛ ləə taj məə ɟroŋ trii nɔɔʔ tɨŋ kər.ɟəəŋ (N2:16b)

then 3S see 3P(pl) grill wife 3S Loc grill

then he saw **his wife** was being grilled by them[someone].

More research is needed to investigate the reason why the wife snake is referred to as trii nɔɔʔ “his wife” in two consecutive clauses.

(B) Pronoun:

The wife snake is referred to with a relative pronoun in N2:10a (see example 79). More research is needed in order to explain this pattern of reference.
Then he cut into [round] pieces, whose flesh[liver and bowel], and sliced the snake,

5.1.6.4 **Props in the N1 environment**

In the N1 context, the 11 props are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 78.13% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) for 18.75%, and with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) for 3.13%.

**Tentative Rule for props in the N1 environment**

Props in the N1 environment are more likely to be referred to with null reference.

When props are in the object position in clauses or sentences, they tend to be referred to with null reference. The tentative rule covers 78.13% of references to Props in the N1 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (21.88%) include the prop being referred to by a noun (six occurrences). In one of the six occurrences, the deer is referred to as *ɟuuj* “a deer” (N4:11). This may be to indicate a specific deer. In five other occurrences, the sun is referred to as *mat.ta.ŋəj* “the sun” (N4:52-55,58), because it is very prominent in Ep. 5.

Therefore, the rule is revised to:

**Revised Rule for props in the N1 environment**

Props in the N1 environment are more likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are specifically referenced or when they are the LVIPs, they may be referred to with nouns.

The revised rule covers 96.88% of references to Props in the N1 environment. The one unexpected pattern (3.13%) occurs when the prop is referred to as *juuj* nɛɛ “this deer” in N4:12 (see example 80).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(80) *ʔɛɛ məə taj brɔɔj maat *juuj ?in* (N4:11)

Then 3P(pl) see immediately really deer exophoric

Then they really saw a deer.
Then they shot this deer immediately.

More research is needed to explain this pattern of reference as the deer is referred to with a noun in the previous sentence (N4:11).

5.1.7 Non-subject was a subject in the previous direct speech (N2 context)

The context labeled N2 denotes that the addressee of a quotation was the subject (speaker) of a speech reported in the previous clause or sentence.

The results of participant reference in the N2 environment are summarized as follows in Table 25.

Table 25 Referring expression in the N2 environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants (6)</th>
<th>Major participants (26)</th>
<th>Minor participants (29)</th>
<th>Props (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/0/1**</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2.94%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>24*</td>
<td>33*</td>
<td>6*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>97.06%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.
Due to their non-active roles in the narratives, props are not involved in the speech acts and do not occur in the N2 context.

Zero anaphora ($\emptyset$) is typically for the central (100%), major (97.06%), and minor participants (100%).

5.1.7.1 **Central participants in the N2 environment**

The central participant in N#2 does not occur in the N2 context.

In the N2 context, the 5 central participants are referred to with zero anaphora ($\emptyset$) for 100% of the occurrences.

The proposed draft of a rule to capture the general pattern is:

**Tentative Rule for the central participants in the N2 environment**

The central participants in the N2 environment are typically referred to with null reference.

The central participants are referred to with null reference when they are the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 100% of references to Central participants in the N2 environment.

5.1.7.2 **Major participants in the N2 environment**

The major participants in N#1 and N#4 do not occur in the N2 context.

In the N2 context, the major participants in the other four narratives are referred to with zero anaphora ($\emptyset$) for 97.06% of the occurrences and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 2.94%.

**Tentative Rule for the major participants in the N2 environment**

The major participants in the N2 environment are typically referred to with null reference.

The major participants are generally referred to with null reference when they are the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 97.06% of references to Major participants in the N2 environment. The reference that does not follow this rule (2.94%) includes Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to using a head noun of a possessive phrase bəəʔ nɔɔʔ “her father” once in N3:146. This may be in order to give prominence to his youngest daughter as she is the LVIP of Ep. 11.
5.1.7.3 **Minor participants in the N2 environment**

The minor participants in N#1, N#2, and N#5 do not occur in the N2 context.

In the N2 context, the minor participants in the other three narratives are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 100% of the occurrences.

The proposed draft of a rule to capture the general pattern is:

**Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the N2 environment**

The minor participants in the N2 environment are typically referred to with null reference.

The tentative rule covers 100% of references to Minor participants in the N2 environment. The minor participants are referred to with null reference when they are the addressees in a quotation formula.

5.1.8 **Non-subject was a subject in the previous clause (N3 context)**

The context labeled N3 denotes that the referent was involved in the previous clause or sentence in a different role than that covered by N2.

The results of participant reference in the N3 environment are summarized as follows in Table 26.
Table 26 Referring expression in the N3 environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants (6)</th>
<th>Major participants (26)</th>
<th>Minor participants (29)</th>
<th>Props (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>0/1/4</td>
<td>1/0/7**</td>
<td>0/0/1</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.24%</td>
<td>22.22%</td>
<td>12.50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/2/0</td>
<td>0/1/0</td>
<td>0/0/0</td>
<td>0/0/2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.90%</td>
<td>2.78%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>9**</td>
<td>6**</td>
<td>4*</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.03%</td>
<td>16.67%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>13*</td>
<td>21*</td>
<td>3**</td>
<td>2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44.83%</td>
<td>58.33%</td>
<td>37.50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence  
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

Zero anaphora (Ø) is the most likely choice for the major participants (58.33%) and props (50%) and the secondary choice for the central (44.83%) and minor (37.50%) participants. A pronoun (Pro) is the most likely choice for the minor participants (50%) and the secondary choice for the central participants (31.03%). In addition, there is higher tendency of a noun (N) for the major participants (19.44%).

5.1.8.1 Central participants in the N3 environment

In the N3 context, the 6 central participants are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 44.83% of the occurrences, with a pronoun (Pro) for 31.03%, with a noun (N) for 13.79%, with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) for 3.45%, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 6.90%.
Tentative Rule for the central participants in the N3 environment

The central participants in the N3 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference.

The central participants are generally referred to with null reference when they are either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 44.83% of references to Central participants in the N3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (55.17%) include the central participants being referred to by a pronoun (nine occurrences).

In N#2, in two of the nine occurrences, the older orphan is referred to with a pronoun (N2:13,60a). Since he is on-stage in several previous clauses (N2:8a-12,59a-b), this provides anaphoric reference. In another occurrence, since Mr. Rich Ruler promised to marry his daughter to the older orphan (N2:31), the thematic role of the central participant is a patient in relation to the major participant.

In N#3, Mr. Cegruej is referred to with a pronoun five times (N3:2b,14b,77a,86a,107c). In N3:2b, since he is referred to as doow thaaw ca.gruaj née ləa “this Mr. Cegruej he” in the previous clause (N3:2a), this may provide anaphoric reference. In N3:14b,77a,86a,107c, because he is on-stage in several previous clauses (N2:12a-14a,75-76b,82d-85,106b-107b), this provides anaphoric reference.

In N#4, Mr. Orphan is referred to with a pronoun in N4:42. Here he is referred to as doow kuən.par.tii “Mr. Orphan” in the same sentence, which provides anaphoric reference.

Thus, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the central participants in the N3 environment

The central participants in the N3 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are on-stage in several previous clauses or when they are referred to by a heavier coding material in the previous clause or when their thematic role is a patient in relation to another participant, they may be referred to with pronouns.

The revised rule covers 75.86% of references to Central participants in the N3 environment. The seven unexpected patterns (24.14%) present when the central participants are referred to by a noun or noun phrase (four occurrences), by a head
noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (two occurrences), and by a noun followed by a pronoun (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i) In one of the four occurrences, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as doow thaww ca.gruaj “Mr. Cegruej” (N3:9). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity since he along with his six older brothers are referred to with a pronoun in the previous five clauses (N3:7a-8c).

(ii) In another occurrence, Lady Baya is referred to as naaŋ bə.jaa “Lady Baya” (N5:38). This may be motivated by removing ambiguity since she and Grandma Gecko, both female participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

(iii-iv) In two other occurrences, Krung the snake is referred to as klɔɔ “the husband” (N7:50a) and kruŋ bih “Krung the snake” (N7:83a). In N7:50a, this may be to indicate he is less prominent than his wife as she was going to burn his snake shirt. His thematic role is a patient in relation to the major participant. In N7:83a, he is referred to with null reference in the previous sentence (N7:82).

(B) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

(i) In one of the two occurrences, the older orphan is referred to as klɔɔ hən.dəəm naaŋ “the lady’s new husband” (N2:55); here the stage is crowded at the Peak.

(ii) In another occurrence, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as kuaŋ ɲɔɔʔ ləə “her child he” (N3:119a). Since his mother was going to allow him to go fishing, his thematic role is a patient in relation to the major participant.

(C) Noun followed by pronoun:

Mr. Cegruej is referred to as thaww ləə “Mr. he” once (N3:131). More research is needed to explain this pattern of reference.

5.1.8.2 Major participants in the N3 environment

In the N3 context, the 26 major participants are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 58.33% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) for 19.44%, with a pronoun (Pro) for 16.67% and with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDP) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 2.78% each.
**Tentative Rule for the major participants in the N3 environment**

The major participants in the N3 environment are more likely to be referred to with null reference.

The major participants are generally referred to with null reference when they are either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 58.33% of references to Major participants in the N3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (41.67%) include the major participants being referred to by a noun or noun phrase (seven occurrences).

In N#1, the poisonous snakes are referred to as *bih* “the snake” once (N1:21a). This may be to generalize all kinds of the poisonous snakes.

In N#3, all four occurrences are unexpected patterns.

In N#7, another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as *naaŋʔən.sooc* “the youngest daughter” once (N7:60a) and as *kuən* “child” (N7:83b). In N7:60a, she is the LVIP of Ep. 5. In N7:83b, this may be to indicate she was adopted by Krung the snake and Mr. Rich Ruler.

The rule is therefore revised to:

**Revised Rule for the major participants in the N3 environment**

The major participants in the N3 environment are more likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are referenced generically or by kin terms or when they are the LVIPs of an episode, they may be referred to with nouns.

The revised rule covers 66.66% of references to Major participants in the N3 environment. The twelve unexpected patterns (33.34%) present when the major participants are referred to by a pronoun (six occurrences), by a noun or noun phrase (four occurrences), by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (one occurrence), and by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Pronoun:

(i) In one of the six occurrences, Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers are referred to with a pronoun (N3:47b). Here, they are on-stage in the previous four clauses (N3:45a-47a).
(ii) Another occurs in N3:129 where Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is on-stage in the previous five clauses (N3:125-128b).

(iii) Another occurs in N4:19b, because the five brothers are on-stage in the previous fifteen clauses (N4:7-19a).

(iv) Another occurs in N5:47a; here, Grandma Gecko is referred to as tok.kee laa “the gecko she” in the previous sentence (N7:46).

(v) Another occurs in N7:41d where Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is on-stage in the previous two clauses (N7:41b,c).

(vi) Another occurs in N7:79a where another Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is on-stage in the previous five clauses (N7:77b-78b). In all six occurrences, anaphoric reference is provided for participant identification.

(B) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i-iv) Mr. Cegruej’s second older brother is referred to as bəʔ tii.baar “the second man” (N3:57), Mr. Cegruej’s fourth older brother is referred to as bəʔ tii.puən “the fourth man” (N3:61), Mr. Cegruej’s fifth older brother is referred to as bəʔ tii.saŋ “the fifth man” (N3:63), and Mr. Cegruej’s sixth older brother is referred to as bəʔ tii.troow “the sixth man” (N3:65). More research is needed to explain why not all Mr. Cegruej’s six older brothers are referred to with a noun at that plot point.

(C) Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

The younger orphan is referred to as doow kuən.pər.tii nɛɛ ləə “this orphan he” once in N2:6 where he is the LVIP of Ep. 1.

(D) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

The major participant is referred to as kuən nɔɔʔ ləə “his child she” in N3:128a (see example 81).

(81)

| 3S   | laa  | haʔ | bəʔ? | nɔɔʔ | la m | tiθh | hoom |

She asked her father she would go down to bathe.

jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa  nɛɛ ləə taj kuən nɔɔʔ ləə

Mr rich.ruler this 3S see child 3S 3S

glen maj hect dɔk
stubborn very problem go

This Mr. Rich Ruler he saw **his child she** insisted to go,
Perhaps because Mr. Rich Ruler is the subject in N3:128a, his youngest daughter is referred to with a possessed noun ‘his child’. As if Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is the subject in N3:127, so Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to with a possessed noun ‘her father.’

### 5.1.8.3 Minor participants in the N3 environment

The minor participants in N#4 and N#5 do not occur in the N3 context.

In the N3 context, the minor participants in the other four narratives are referred to with a pronoun (Pro) for 50% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 37.50%, and with a noun (N) for 12.50%.

**Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the N3 environment**

The minor participants in the N3 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns.

The tentative rule covers 50% of references to Minor participants in the N3 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (50%) include the minor participants being referred to by zero anaphora (three occurrences).

In N#1, the zero anaphora occurs in N1:17. Here the toad is on-stage in the previous three sentences (N1:14-16), which provides anaphoric reference.

In N#7, the zero anaphora occurs in N7:9. Since Mr. Rich Ruler’s wife is referred to as *trii nɔɔʔ ləə “his wife she” in the previous sentence (N7:8), this may provide anaphoric reference. Another occurrence is an unexpected pattern.

Therefore, the rule is revised to:

**Revised Rule for the minor participants in the N3 environment**

The minor participants in the N3 environment are likely to be referred to with pronouns. However, when they are on-stage in several previous clauses or when they are referred to by a heavier coding material in the previous clause or sentence, null reference provides sufficient anaphoric reference for the rest of the episode.

The revised rule covers 75% of references to Minor participants in the N3 environment. The two unexpected patterns (25%) present when the minor participants are referred to by a noun or noun phrase (one occurrence) and by zero anaphora (one occurrence).
Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) **Noun or Noun phrase:**

The termite is referred to as *kən.tiə* “the termite” once in N3:81b. Since he rescued Mr. Cegruej, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.

(B) **Null reference:**

Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to with null reference in a quotation formula in N7:15a. More research is needed to explain this pattern of reference.

### 5.1.8.4 Props in the N3 environment

Props in N#3 do not occur in the N3 context.

In the N3 context, props in the other three narratives are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 50% of the occurrences.

A tentative rule cannot be proposed because the data is ambiguous.

### 5.1.9 Non-subject does not occur in the previous sentence (N4 context)

The context labeled N4 denotes that non-subject references other than those covered by N1–N3 of the current clause or sentence.

The results of participant reference in the N4 environment are summarized as follows in Table 27.
Table 27 Referring expression in the N4 environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Pattern of reference</th>
<th>Central participants (6)</th>
<th>Major participants (26)</th>
<th>Minor participants (29)</th>
<th>Props (11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>NDPro/NPro/N</td>
<td>0/0/10** 1/0/8</td>
<td>0/2/7*</td>
<td>0/0/9**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25.64% 19.57%</td>
<td>40.91%</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>PNDPro/PNPro/PN</td>
<td>0/0/3 0/1/17**</td>
<td>0/0/7*</td>
<td>0/0/2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.69% 39.13%</td>
<td>31.82%</td>
<td>7.41%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Pro</td>
<td>9 5 2 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23.08% 10.87%</td>
<td>9.09%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>17* 14* 4** 16*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.59% 30.43%</td>
<td>18.18%</td>
<td>59.26%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>39 46 22 27</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100% 100% 100% 100%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* greatest occurrence
** second greatest occurrence

Note: “N” stands for noun or noun phrase, “D” stands for demonstrative, “Pro” stands for pronoun, “PN” stands for head or possessed noun, “Ø” stands for zero anaphora. Percentage values round up to two decimal places.

Zero anaphora (Ø) is the most likely choice for the central participants (43.59%) and props (59.26%). A head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) is the most likely choice for the major participants (36.96%) and a noun (N) and a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) are the most likely choice for the minor participants (31.82%). In addition, there is higher tendency of zero anaphora (Ø) for the major participants (30.43%) and a noun (N) for the central participants (25.64%) and props (33.33%).

5.1.9.1 Central participants in the N4 environment

In the N4 context, the 6 central participants are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 43.59% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) for 25.64%, with a pronoun (Pro) for 23.08%, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 7.69%.
Tentative Rule for the central participants in the N4 environment

The central participants in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference.

The central participants are referred to with null reference when they are either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula. The tentative rule covers 43.59% of references to Central participants in the N4 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (56.41%) include the central participants being referred to by a noun (ten occurrences).

In N#1, the python is referred to as bih “the snake” once (N1:23c). This may be to remove ambiguity since he and the crow, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

In N#2, the older orphan is referred to as doow kuən.par.tii “the orphan” once (N2:35). This may be to remove ambiguity as he and Mr. Rich Ruler, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

In N#3, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as doow thaaw ca.gruəj “Mr. Cegruej” (N3:67) and as ca.gruəj “Cegruej” (N3:112c). In N3:67, he is off-stage in the previous fourteen clauses (N3:54-66). In N3:112c, he is off-stage in the previous three clauses (N3:111-112b).

In N#5, Lady Baya is referred to as naaŋ bo.jaa “Lady Baya” once in N5:7. Perhaps because she is off-stage in the previous four clauses (N5:4a-6).

In N#7, Krung the snake is referred to as bih.kraʔ tih “a big python” (N7:33b), as bih “the snake” (N7:41a,c,48a), and as kruŋ bih “Krung the snake” (N7:73). In N7:33b, he is the VIP of Ep. 3. In N7:41a,c,48a, he is the VIP of Ep. 4. In N7:73, he is off-stage for more than twenty clauses (N7:52-72c).

Thus, the rule is revised to:

Revised Rule for the central participants in the N4 environment

The central participants in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are off-stage in several previous clauses or when they are on-stage with other participants of same gender at a particular plot point or when they are the VIPs of episodes, they may be referred to with nouns.

The revised rule covers 69.23% of references to Central participants in the N4 environment. The twelve unexpected patterns (30.77%) present when the central
participants are referred to by a pronoun (nine occurrences) and by a head noun of a possessive phrase (three occurrences).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Pronoun:

(i-ii) In two of the nine occurrences, the older orphan is referred to with a pronoun (N2:29a,40a). In N2:29a, perhaps because he is less prominent than Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter who is the LVIP of Ep. 4. In N2:40a, since he is on-stage in the previous two clauses (N2:39a,b), this provides anaphoric reference.

(iii-viii) In six other occurrences, Mr. Cegruej is referred to with a pronoun (N3:33a,34b,70a,99a,101b,144a). He is on-stage in several previous clauses (N3:32a-34a,67-69,94b-101a,139-143), which may provide anaphoric reference.

(ix) In another occurrence, Mr. Orphan is referred to with a pronoun (N4:19b). Since he is referred to as doow kuantirii nɔɔʔ “the orphan he” in N4:18, this may provide anaphoric reference.

(B) Head noun of possessive phrase:

(i-ii) In two of the three occurrences, the older orphan is referred to as klɔɔ həndəəm nɔɔʔ “her new husband” (N2:48b) and as klɔɔ nɔɔʔ “her husband” (N2:52b). In N2:48b, this may be to remove ambiguity since he and the younger orphan, both were Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter’s husbands, are on-stage at that plot point. In N2:52b, this may be to give prominence to Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter because she is the subject in that clause.

(iii) In another occurrence, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as par.saaw nɔɔʔ “his son-in-law” (N3:158a). This may be to give prominence to Mr. Rich Ruler as he is the LVIP of Ep. 12.

5.1.9.2 Major participants in the N4 environment

In the N4 context, the 26 major participants are referred to with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 36.96% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 30.43%, with a noun (N) for 17.39%, with a pronoun (Pro) for 10.87%, and with a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun (NDPro) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro) for 2.17% each.
Tentative Rule for the major participants in the N4 environment

The major participants in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with head nouns of possessive phrases.

The tentative rule covers 36.96% of references to Major participants in the N4 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (63.04%) include the major participants being referred to by zero anaphora (fourteen occurrences).

In N#2, the two zero anaphoras occur in N2:34a,48b where Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is in the object position. In N2:34a, she is referred to with a pronoun in the following clause (N2:34b), which may provide cataphoric reference. In N2:48b, she is referred to as naaŋ neɛ bɔ “this lady she” in the previous clause (N2:48a), which provides anaphoric reference.

In N#3, the four occurrences are in N3:68b,72,136,155d where the major participants are the addressees in a quotation formula.

In N#4, one occurs in N4:6b where the five brothers are in the object position and is referred to with a pronoun in the following sentence (N4:7), this may provide cataphoric reference. Another occurs in N4:27 where Goong Miin is the addressee in a quotation formula and is referred to as ʔuuʔ “older brother” in the quote.

In N#5, the zero anaphora occurs in N5:20. Here, Thaaw is the addressee in a quotation formula.

In N#7, the four occurrences are in N7:30,33c,52,66 where the major participants are the addressees in a quotation formula. Another occurs in N7:76a; here, another Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is in the object position.

So, the major participants are referred to with null reference when they are either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula.

The rule is therefore revised to:

Revised Rule for the major participants in the N4 environment

The major participants in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with head nouns of possessive phrases. However, when they are in the object position in clauses or sentences or are the addressees in a quotation formula, they may be referred to with null reference.

The revised rule covers 67.39% of references to Major participants in the N4 environment. The fifteen unexpected patterns (32.61%) present when the major
participants are referred to by a noun or noun phrase (eight occurrences), by a
pronoun (five occurrences), by a noun with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun
(one occurrence) and by a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun
(one occurrence).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Noun or Noun phrase:

(i-ii) In two of the eight occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter is referred to as
\textit{naan} “the lady” (N2:32b) and as \textit{trii} “wife” (N2:59a). In N2:32b, she is referred to as
\textit{naan kuən \textit{ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ}} “this rich ruler’s daughter” in the following clause, it may
provide cataphoric reference. In N2:59a, the older orphan is the subject in that
clause; consequently he is referenced as the possessor of a possessive phrase.

(iii) In another occurrence, the elephants are referred to as \textit{ruəh} “the elephant”
(N5:31a), perhaps because they are off-stage in the previous two sentences
(N5:29,30).

(iv) In one occurrence, Grandma Gecko is referred to as \textit{jaʔ tək.\textit{kɛɛ}} “grandma
gecko” (N5:40). This may be to give her prominence since she is the LVIP of Ep. 4.

(v) In another occurrence, the elephants are referred to as \textit{meq ruəh} “the
elephants” (N5:48a). More research is needed in order to explain this pattern of
reference.

(vi-vii) In two other occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as \textit{jaʔ \textit{ʔat.ɲaa}} “Mr.
Rich Ruler” (N7:23,83a), perhaps because he is off-stage in several previous clauses
(N7:21a-22b,53-82).

(viii) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as
\textit{ba.nih} “human” (N7:48a). This may be to indicate she is a human who married a
snake.

(B) Pronoun:

(i) In one of the five occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughter and the younger
orphan are referred to with a pronoun (N2:54a), this occurs at the Peak where the
pace of the narrative is rapid.

(ii) In another occurrence, the five brothers are referred to with a pronoun
(N4:3). Since they are referred to with proper nouns in N4:1, this may provide
anaphoric reference.
(iii-iv) In two other occurrences, the elephants are referred to with a pronoun (N5:49,56a). Here, they are on-stage in several previous clauses (N5:44-55), which provides anaphoric reference.

(v) In another occurrence, another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter along with the python are referred to with a pronoun (N7:67b). Further studies are needed to investigate this pattern of reference.

(C) Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:

Another Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as *bə.nɨh ʔɛɛ* “that human” (N7:69). This may be to give her prominence since she is the LVIP of Ep. 6.

(D) Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:

Mr. Rich Ruler’s youngest daughter is referred to as *kuən nɔɔʔ ləə* “his child she” (N3:145a), perhaps because Mr. Rich Ruler is the subject of the clause.

5.1.9.3 Minor participants in the *N4* environment

The minor participants in N#3 and N#4 do not occur in the *N4* context.

In the *N4* context, the minor participants in the other four narratives are referred to with a noun (N) and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 31.82% of the occurrences, with zero anaphora (Ø) for 18.18%, and with a noun followed by a pronoun (NPro) and with a pronoun (Pro) for 9.09% each.

**Tentative Rule for the minor participants in the *N4* environment**

The minor participants in *N4* environment are likely to be referred to with nouns or head nouns of possessive clauses.

The tentative rule covers 63.64% of references to Minor participants in the *N4* environment. The references that do not follow this rule (36.36%) include the minor participants being referred to by zero anaphora (four occurrences).

In N#1, the zero anaphora occurs in N1:4a where the human beings are in the object position.

In N#7, one occurrence is in N7:36a where Mr. Rich Ruler’s daughters are in the object position. Another two occurrences are in N7:56,61c where the minor participants are the addressees in a quotation formula.
So, the minor participants are referred to with null reference when they are either in the object position in clauses or sentences or as the addressees in a quotation formula.

Therefore, the rule is revised to:

**Revised Rule for the minor participants in the N4 environment**

The minor participants in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with nouns or head nouns of possessive phrases. However, when they are in the object position in clauses or sentences or when they are the addressees in a quotation formula, they may be referred to with null reference.

The revised rule covers 81.82% of references to Minor participants in the N4 environment. The four unexpected patterns (18.18%) present when the minor participants are referred to by a noun followed by a pronoun (two occurrences) and by a pronoun (two occurrences).

Context for each reference not conforming to the revised rule is presented as follows.

(A) Noun followed by pronoun:

(i-ii) In the two occurrences, the husband snake is referred to as bih tih ləə “the big snake he” (N2:15) and as bih “snake” (N2:20b). In N2:15, this may be to remove ambiguity because he and the older orphan, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point. In N2:20b, this may be to remove ambiguity as he and his wife are referred to with a pronoun in N2:19.

(B) Pronoun:

(i-ii) The minor participants are referred to with a pronoun twice in N2:32b,33. More research is needed to explain the reason for this pattern of reference.

5.1.9.4 **Props in the N4 environment**

In the N4 context, the 11 props are referred to with zero anaphora (Ø) for 59.26% of the occurrences, with a noun (N) for 33.33%, and with a head noun of a possessive phrase (PN) for 7.41%.

**Tentative Rule for props in the N4 environment**

Props in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference.
When props are in the object position, they tend to be referred to with null reference. The tentative rule covers 59.26% of references to Props in the N4 environment. The references that do not follow this rule (40.74%) include props are referred to by a noun (nine occurrences).

In N#2, the medicine is referred to as jraaw “medicine” twice (N2:20b,32a). Perhaps because it is off-stage in several previous clauses (N2:18b-20a, 26b-31).

In N#4, the deer is referred to as jjuuj “deer” (N4:8b,10b,22b,42) four times. Perhaps because it is off-stage in several previous clauses (N4:4b-8a,9-10a,21-22a,25-41b). In another occurrence, the elephant is referred to as ruəh “elephant” (N4:42) where it is off-stage in the previous five clauses (N4:38-41b). In two other occurrences, the sun is referred to as mat.ta.ŋəj “sun” (N4:51,59c) where it is very prominent in Ep. 5.

The rule is therefore revised to:

**Revised Rule for the pros in the N4 environment**

Props in the N4 environment are likely to be referred to with null reference. However, when they are off-stage in several previous clauses or when they are very prominent, they may be referred to with nouns.

The revised rule covers 92.59% of references to Props in the N4 environment. The two unexpected patterns (7.41%) present when props are referred to by a head noun of a possessive phrase twice. In one of the two occurrences, the medicine is referred to as jraaw jniw ?uuʔ nɔɔʔ “his older brother’s medicine” (N2:50); here the stage is crowded at the Peak. In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler’s axe is referred to as cuuŋ nɔɔʔ “his axe” (N7:13), perhaps because it is off-stage in the previous eight clauses (N7:6-12).

**5.1.10 Typical encoding patterns in the 4 non-subject contexts**

In summary, the most and second most typical encoding patterns of the four categories of participants in the four non-subject contexts are listed in Table 28.
Table 28 Typical encoding patterns in non-subject contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central participants</th>
<th>Major participants</th>
<th>Minor participants</th>
<th>Props</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>Ø (80.95%)</td>
<td>Ø (64%)</td>
<td>Ø (58.33%)</td>
<td>Ø (78.13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N or Pro (19.04%)</td>
<td>Pro (16%)</td>
<td>N (25%)</td>
<td>N (18.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>Ø (100%)</td>
<td>Ø (97.06%)</td>
<td>Ø (100%)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PN (2.94%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N3</td>
<td>Ø (44.83%)</td>
<td>Ø (58.33%)</td>
<td>Pro (50%)</td>
<td>Ø or PN (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pro (31.03%)</td>
<td>N (19.44%)</td>
<td>Ø (37.50%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N4</td>
<td>Ø (43.59%)</td>
<td>PN (36.96%)</td>
<td>N or PN (63.64%)</td>
<td>Ø (59.26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N (25.64%)</td>
<td>Ø (30.43%)</td>
<td>Ø (18.18%)</td>
<td>N (33.33%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zero anaphora is the most typical encoding pattern presumably because the participants in object position in clauses or sentences or in a quotation formular can be referred to with null reference without sacrificing clarity.

This chapter has focused on the rules for the four subject and four non-subject environments in the narratives; the description and hypothesis of the typical and unexpected patterns. The next chapter is presented a conclusion of this thesis.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

The present chapter provides a summary of findings, an evaluation of the methodology used, a discussion of the significance of these findings, and suggestions for future research.

6.1 Summary of Findings
Despite a diverse corpus, several consistent patterns of participant reference are identifiable.

After identifying the props and obvious minor participants, the rest of the participants are ranked by four measurements: TNRP, TP (decay), RD (look-back), and RRD into four categories – central, major, minor, and props. The resulting ranking is used throughout the rest of the analysis except for N#4 because the statistical measurements do not seem applicable to this narrative. Since the participant ranking results of RD is not consistent with other three measurements, the calculation of RD is adjusted. In N#4, although Mr. Orphan is ranked less important than the five brothers by TNRP, RD, and RRD, Mr. Orphan is considered a central participant according to his thematic role.

According to the hypothesized coding material scale, a noun or noun phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun is the heaviest coding material. It was found that the 6 central participants are most likely to be introduced by this pattern. The 26 major participants are more likely to be introduced by a noun or noun phrase followed by a pronoun unless they are the LVIPs of an episode; in which cases they may optionally be referred to using a noun or noun phrase with a demonstrative. The 29 minor participants and the 11 props are most likely to be introduced by a noun or noun phrase, or the head noun of a possessive phrase. It is not typical for participants or props to be introduced by a pronoun.

With regard to the four contexts (S1 to S4) for each activated subject in the narrative, a pronoun is the most-used pattern of reference, thus default, for the central, major, and minor participants, and props, perhaps, after the participants are introduced, they can be easier to identify even when they are referred to by lighter coding.
materials. Null reference is the second-most-used pattern of reference for all four categories of participants. However, a noun and a noun or noun phrase with a demonstrative followed by a pronoun are likely to be the second-most-used pattern of reference for the S3 and S4 contexts. In addition, props are not involved in the speech acts and do not occur in the S2 context, and participants in the object position in clauses or sentences and the addressees in a quotation formula may be omitted.

With regard to the four contexts (N1 to N4) for each activated non-subject in the narrative, null reference is the most-used pattern of reference, thus default, for the central, major, and minor participants, and props, perhaps because the participants in the object position tend to be referred to with null reference. However, there is no obvious second-most-used pattern of reference in the non-subject contexts. In general, a noun is the second-most-used pattern of reference for the S1 and S4 contexts, and a pronoun is the second-most-used pattern of reference for the S3 context. As in the S2 context, props do not occur in the N2 context, and participants in the object position in clauses or sentences and the addressees in a quotation formula are more likely to be omitted. Furthermore, null reference is the typical pattern of reference for the N2 context.

There are various exceptions to these rules in the data. First, the participants are referred to using nouns or noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns when they are the LVIPs of episodes or their thematic role is an agent in relation to other participants. Participants are also referred to using nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns when they are off-stage in several previous clauses or are on-stage with participants of same gender. They are referred to using head nouns of possessive phrases when they are less prominent than the possessors of possessive phrases. They are referred to using pronouns when they are on-stage in several previous clauses or are referred to by the heavier coding materials in the previous clauses, it provides anaphoric reference or in the following clauses, it provides cataphoric reference. Lastly, participants are referred to using null reference when they are on-stage in several previous clauses or in the object position in the clauses or sentences or as the addressees in the quotation formula.

In general, the most-used pattern of reference across the four subject contexts is that participants are referred to using pronouns and the second-most-used pattern of reference is that participants are referred to using null reference. The most-used pattern of reference is the opposite for the four non-subject contexts: participants are
referred to with null reference and the second-most-used pattern of reference is that participants are referred to with nouns or noun phrases or pronouns.

The factors that seemed to have the most frequent effect in generating unexpected patterns of reference to the rules for all eight contexts are when: 1. participants are referred to by the heavier coding materials in order to remove ambiguity; 2. they are the LVIPs of episodes; 3. their thematic role is an agent in relation to other participants; or 4. they are off-stage in several previous clauses. Participants however are referred to by the lighter coding materials, such as pronouns or null reference, when 1. they are on-stage in several previous clauses; 2. they are in the object position in the clauses or sentences; or 3. they are the addressees in a quotation formula.

With regard to the introduction of participants, the four categories of participant are primarily introduced in one of three different ways – 1. nouns or noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns for central participants, 2. nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns for major participants, 3. nouns or noun phrases or head nouns of possessive phrases for minor participants and props. Each narrator used great care to make and keep the central participants the most important in each narrative by using the heaviest coding material to reference them even though they might be off-stage, or on-stage but non-thematic in some episodes.

6.2 Significance of Findings

The results of the current research regarding frequent referring expressions are largely consistent with the results of other Mon-Khmer narrative research. Bequette (2008) found in Bunong that null reference is the most common referring expression used in both subject and non-subject contexts, while in Brao, it is the second-most-used pattern of reference of subject contexts and the most-used pattern of reference of non-subject contexts in this research,. The results of the encoding patterns of this research are: pronoun is the most-used pattern of reference; null reference is the most common referring expression used in both subject (second- most-used pattern) and non-subject (most-used pattern) contexts, especially for the addressees in a quotation formula.

The results of the introduction of participants of the current research are consistent with the results of Kmhmu' narrative research (Osborne 2009). In both Brao and Kmhmu', the introduction of major participants is usually shorter than the central participants and they are generally introduced by lighter coding materials than the
central participants. In Brao, the central participants are most likely to be introduced by nouns or noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns; the major participants are generally introduced by nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns; the minor participants and props are more likely to be introduced by nouns.

The current findings of Brao devices to convey prominence both converge with and diverge from other Mon-Khmer processes. In Brao, the grammatical function of demonstrative pronoun is as an intensifier to give prominence to participants, such as nɛɛ “this” as a typical demonstrative to increase prominence. This function of the demonstrative is different from Bunong (Bequette 2008) but parallel to Kmhmu’ (Osborne 2009). Another device in referring expressions marks decreased prominence but is not significantly noted in other Mon-Khmer literature. In Brao, the presentation with a head noun of possessive noun phrase decreases the prominence of participant.

Regarding methodology, the results of this research are consistent with the results of Bru (Tebow 2010) and Tai Dam (Edwards 2011) narrative research that the Referential Distance gives inconsistent readings.

These findings of similarities and differences among Mon-Khmer languages apply directly to translation, literacy, and language learning. When a translator translates a text from another language into Brao or a writer writes some Brao stories as literacy materials, knowing the usual patterns to introduce participants and props and the patterns of reference of the subject and non-subject contexts aid the translator in translating the text and enable the writer to write stories accurately, clearly, and naturally. In addition, these findings may help language learners to gain a better understanding of the grammatical features of the Brao language.

6.3 Evaluation of Methodology

The methodology in this study involved investigating the most commonly occurring and the unexpected patterns of the Brao participant reference system. Among the four measurements for ranking the participants, TNRP, TP, and RRD are most helpful in identifying the central, major, and minor participants. However, RD is the least helpful because by this parameter, props and some minor participants would be wrongly identified as the most and second most important participants. Thus, a revised RD index of each individual participant is calculated by dividing the total number of clauses by the total number of occurrences instead of by dividing the
total look-back value by the total number of occurrences. With regard to the introduction of participants, this study examined how the four categories of participants are introduced. The default and non-default patterns for introduction of participants are proposed and the patterns of reference for the subject (S1-S4) and non-subject (N1-N4) contexts are studied. According to the most frequently occurring pattern of each context, a tentative rule is suggested for each category of participant. According to the second most frequently occurring pattern of each context, a revised rule is suggested for each category of participant. All other patterns of reference are regarded as unexpected patterns and investigated as such.

The six research questions (see section 1.1) are answered, although variation in formulas of quotation and is the marking of prominence in the corpus are not studied in individual sections.

Ideally, this author would prefer to have been able to first spend one year learning Brao and recording these narratives while learning the language, in order to gain a better understanding of Brao grammar and culture. Furthermore, it would have been helpful to have had a word-for-word translation before the free translation. For the interlinearization, the author must gloss each word before translating the narrative texts into English. Moreover, these four categories of participants should be verified with the narrators or other Brao native speakers. Furthermore, with regard to the subject and non-subject contexts, the rules might be better written according to the most and second-most-used pattern of references instead of the heaviest and lightest coding materials.

6.4 Further Research

In order to verify the findings presented here, more third-person monologue narratives of folktales and fairy tales should be recorded and analyzed. Additionally, the relation between the participants and serial verbs in a quotation formula, the reason the addressees are more likely to be referred to with null reference in quotation formulas, and why some are referred to by other reference patterns might be studied. In addition, it would be useful to study the motivation for the participants in the object position of clauses or sentences being optionally referred to using null reference. The current research also found only one method, use of demonstratives, for marking prominence. Any other ways of giving prominence to participants might be investigated. How and why narrators give prominence to participants, especially minor participants and props, might also be investigated. The
participant reference at the beginning of episodes and the Peak would also bear further study.

In particular, markers of participant rank should be compared among traditional tales, folktales and fairy tales in Brao in order to extend this work on participant reference in depth. In addition, research on the participant reference of hortatory texts and first-person monologue stories would be a useful topic for further study.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Ta Veaeng district. Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia. 2014. 
## APPENDIX A

### THE RULES AND CONDITIONS FOR THE FOUR SUBJECT CONTEXTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>S4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central participants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>86.90%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>70.41%</td>
<td>51.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td>may be referred to with nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns</td>
<td>may be referred to with nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>1. anaphoric reference: (a) previously referred to with a proper noun (b) on-stage in several previous clauses</td>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td>1. removing ambiguity: (a) on-stage with other participants of same gender</td>
<td>1. participant identification: (a) referenced at the beginning of an episode (b) narrator's intrusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Rule</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>75.72%</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>37.21%</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td></td>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td></td>
<td>may be referred to with nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns</td>
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<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
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<td>Condition</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>79.59%</td>
<td>referred to with nouns followed by pronouns</td>
<td>40% + 40%</td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td></td>
<td>may be referred to with nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. giving prominence: (a) their thematic role is an agent in relation to the central or major participants (b) they are the LVIPs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>no occurrences</td>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
</tr>
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<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>66.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>may be referred to with null reference</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Possession: (a) owned by human participants
# Appendix B

The Rules and Conditions for the Four Non-Subject Contexts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>N3</th>
<th>N4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Central participants</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referred to with <strong>null reference</strong></td>
<td>80.95%</td>
<td>referred to with <strong>null reference</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be referred to with <strong>nouns</strong> or <strong>pronouns</strong></td>
<td>1. removing ambiguity: (a) off-stage in several previous clauses (b) they are the VIPs of episode</td>
<td>may be referred to with <strong>pronouns</strong></td>
<td>1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses (b) referred to with a heavier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. decreasing prominence: (a) their thematic role is a patient in relation to other participants

coding material in the previous clause
2. decreasing prominence: (a) his thematic role is a patient in relation to another participant

other participants of same gender
2. giving prominence: (a) they are the VIPs of episodes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N1</th>
<th>N2</th>
<th>N3</th>
<th>N4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major participants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>Rule</td>
<td>Condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referred to with null reference</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>referred to with null reference</td>
<td>97.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be referred to with pronouns</td>
<td>1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses</td>
<td>may be referred to with nouns</td>
<td>1. generality: (a) referenced generically</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Minor participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Rule</th>
<th>Condition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>referred to with <strong>null reference</strong></td>
<td>58.33%</td>
<td>referred to with <strong>null reference</strong></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>referred to with <strong>pronouns</strong></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>referred to with <strong>nouns or head nouns of possessive phrases</strong></td>
<td>31.82% + 31.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may be referred to with <strong>nouns</strong></td>
<td>1. removing ambiguity: (a) not referenced in the following</td>
<td>may be referred to with <strong>null reference</strong></td>
<td>1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses</td>
<td>may be referred to with <strong>null reference</strong></td>
<td>1. object position: (a) they are objects in clauses or sentences</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clause 2. giving prominence: (a) their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) referred to with a heavier coding material in the previous clause or sentence</td>
<td>2. quotation formula: (a) they are the addressees</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N1</td>
<td>N2</td>
<td>N3</td>
<td>N4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Props</strong></th>
<th><strong>Rule</strong></th>
<th><strong>Condition</strong></th>
<th><strong>Rule</strong></th>
<th><strong>Condition</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>referred to with null reference</td>
<td>no occurrences</td>
<td>no rule can be proposed because of ambiguous data</td>
<td>referred to with null reference</td>
<td>59.26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| may be referred to with **nouns** | 1. giving prominence: (a) specifically referenced  
(b) they are very prominent | | | may be referred to with **nouns** | 1. removing ambiguity: (a) off-stage in several previous clauses  
2. giving prominence: (b) they are the LVIPs of episodes |
APPENDIX C
NARRATIVE 1-THE PYTHON

1a ʔɛɛ.brɔɔj.maat liŋ bih.kra? neɛ brɔɔj
   have.narrate story python this immediately
   (I) tell a story (about) this python

1b daam laŋ ɲəŋat
   and 3S powerful
   and he was poisonous.

2a gan bə.niŋ maə dək daŋ ɲə.vaŋ.kloŋ
   just person 3P(pl) go look.for bamboo.shoots
   When people went to look for bamboo shoots,

2b laŋ tuut ɲə.ʔəŋ naʔ taj doow maə keet pa.tii
   3S touch spittle 3S still Neg can 3P(pl) die same
   he didn't even get to touch (them) (with) his spittle, they died too;

2c gan laŋ kloŋ hə.moo ɲə.niŋ naʔ maə keet pa.tii
   just 3S bite shadow human also 3P(pl) die same
   when he bit people's shadow, they died too.

3a diŋ lə.m riŋ luŋ
   near 3S-Irr to.sieve already
   He nearly killed (all people) already.

3b bə.niŋ ca.maaw laaw keeŋ ɲə.aj bə.niŋ ca.maaw maə keet
   human ethnic.group Lao Vietnamese 1P(incl.pl) human ethnic.group 3P(pl) die
   Lao, Vietnamese people, (and) our (Brao) people they died.

4a ʔɛɛ kə.ʔaak laŋ sro.sriŋt
   then crow 3S to.pity
   Then a crow he pitied (humans),

4b laŋ riŋ " ɲə.aj paʔ neɛ lə.m leek luŋ bə.niŋ ca.maaw meɛ keet "
   3S say Interj like.this 3S-Irr all already human ethnic.group 3P(pl) die
   he said, "Oh! Like this all humans they will die."

5 ʔɛɛ kə.ʔaak biŋ neɛ ?am.braa caŋ.nuul brɔɔj
   then crow snake this 3P(du) to.meet.each.other immediately
   Then the crow (and) this snake they met.
Then the snake he asked, "Hey! Do you see the Brao people? They're noisy every day. When they cry, what I heard they cry about?"

Then the crow he answered, saying, "They did not cry. They are very happy, beating [playing] gongs (and) drums. (They are) extremely happy."

He said.

After (he) realizing that suddenly,

this python he thought, saying, "Like that my toxin is not powerful. I go vomit at the foundational rock of Bleavblech, (which is) an extremely beautiful (place)."

Then he saw a vine stem,
Then he laid his body on that stem (and) vomited immediately. He vomited. They ate all (the python’s vomit). So we[Brao people] don’t eat (toad).
Then a god he said, "So you're unlucky like grass, you're as harmless as the water, your body is not poisonous (anymore), (you can) only bite and swallow."

So the cobras, vipers, (and) every cobra they are poisonous (in place of the python).

Nowadays, few of them[people] are died from snake (bite) because they carefully protect their bodies[themselves].

So they don't eat this toad and his skin as well.

Since then those humans they multiplied continuously, they multiplied all over the earth, in the forests, (and) in every ethnic group.
From (that time on), the python he is not poisonous.

So they lived happily (ever after).

They multiplied till now.

[The End]
I am going to tell a traditional story.

There have two orphans, they were orphaned, didn't have parents because their parents were dead already.

The orphans lived with (their) older uncle while they were still little. Then their older uncle's family (who) raised (them) they were hungry, so they sold his younger brother to Laotians, a Laotian rich ruler.

So they sold his younger brother to Laotians, a Laotian rich ruler.
So [this] his younger brother he grew up in the Lao rich ruler's (house).

6 ʔɛɛ ja? ʔat. паа laə taj doow kuan.par.tii nɛe laə kuu
then Mr. rich.ruler 3S see Mr.(demeaning) orphan this 3S stay
sro.sriam.niam.prcɔɔm
to.be.well
Then Mr rich ruler he saw this orphan he lived well.

7a ʔɛɛ laə bər.jəŋ bɾɔŋj biŋ kuan kə.trii nɔɔ?
so 3S marry immediately Loc child woman 3S
So he married (the younger orphan) to his daughter
7b dəam ᵈəam bɾɔŋj sak.naa.taa tan dəə par.saaw nɔɔ?
and give immediately power Prep son-in-law 3S
and (he) gave[delegated] (his) power to his son-in-law.

8a ʔɛɛ nɔ? dəə ʔuʔu? nɔɔ? ʔən.naaw laə kuu dəə ʔuʔu?
so as.for Prep older.brother 3S mark.of.contrast 3S live Prep older.brother
nɔɔ nɔɔ? həʔ mee broow
uncle 3S Loc 3P(pl) Brao
So as for his older brother [in contrast] he lived with his older uncle among the Brao
people,

8b laə khəaj vəɛɛ rə.pooot.ə.pəɛɛ
3S used.to wander.about shoot
he used to hunt.

9a ʔaŋəaj həʔ.ʔin laə vəɛɛ həʔ bɾii
day exophoric.reference 3S wander.about Loc forest
(One) day, he wandered about in the forest,

9b laə doow kə.je? cə.laat ə.troow dəam bih.braj tih
3S obtain food slice animal and cobra big
he obtained food, sliced the animals and a big cobra.

10a ʔɛɛ laə jəl pən ʔən.nooow nɔɔ? kləəm klaak dəam car.laat bih
then 3S cut.into.two to.be.like round.piece Rel liver bowel and slice snake
Then he cut into [round] pieces, whose flesh[liver and bowel], and sliced the snake,

10b laə ʃəoŋ muŋj ʔəm.ɓuʔ  bɾɔŋj məŋ ʔɛɛ jəɛ? cram
3S grill one place immediately night that to.the.extent.that dry
he grilled (it) there that night to dry (it).

11a ʔɛɛ niŋ bər.nooow təŋ laə dəə bəh kəl ɓɔɔ cəŋ ʔaŋ təŋ nɔɔ?
then morning tomorrow Loc 3S go stab bamboo weave basket
The next morning, he went to cut (some) bamboo to weave a basket

11b bɔk bəʔ ka.je? nɔɔ?
in.order.to carry(on.the.shoulder) food 3S
in order to carry his food.
Then he heard [the sound of cobra] from that mountain above [up there], a big snake was looking for his wife.

Then he arrived at the place he grilled the sliced food.

So he hid there to sneak.

Then he saw the big snake he was crawling toward (the place his wife was being grilled).

He smelled (and realized that it is) his wife,

then he saw his wife was being grilled by them [someone].

After that he went to bite the medicine from that tree.

Then he restore his wife,

she was alive immediately.

After that they went away.
20a ʔɛɛ ʔɛɛ kuən. par. tii ʔɛɛ laə taj bal.ʔɛɛ
so man(single) orphan this 3S see like.that
So this [unmarried] orphan he saw like that,

20b laə dək peh pa.tii bɔɔj nəʔ ʔɛɛwa biih ʔən.duu
3S go pick same immediately Rel medicine snak from.before
he went to pick the same (medicine), which was the medicine the snake (picked) before.

21 ʔɛɛ laə ciʔ paʔ tiəm taj ʔa.n. nəʔnəʔ
then 3S return as look.at(trap.only) see trap 3S
Then he returned to see his trap.

22 ʔɛɛ laə taj ka.ʔɛɛ laə cuət ka.ʔɛɛ
then 3S see mouse 3S to.be.caught trap
There he saw a mouse it was caught in (his) trap.

23 ʔɛɛ laə cək prəh paʔ ʔa.n. duu tii
so 3S take heal like snake from.before same
So he used the medicine like what the snake did.

24 ʔɛɛ laə niw bɔɔj
then 3S live immediately
Then it was alive immediately.

25a ʔɛɛ laə ciʔ ʔaʔ hən. naam meə ʔaʔn? pəc ʔəc nəʔ?
then 3S return Prep house 3P(pl) older.brother uncle 3S
Then he returned to his older uncle's house,

25b ʔa.m. bru. dəəʔə ʔɛɛ mih ʔəc nəʔ ka. laʔ laə kəət
at.that.time older.uncle 3S self 3S die
at that time his own older uncle he died.

26a ʔɛɛ laə pruh, əc, hən.glaʔ mih ʔəc nəʔ?
so 3S try.to.heal.by.blowing older.uncle 3S
So he tried to use the medicine to restore his older uncle.

26b laə niw bɔɔj mat. maat bii ʔɛɛ
3S live immediately truly Loc then
He was alive immediately there.

27 ʔɛɛ laə liʔ ʔa.n. taə ʔa ʔiʔ bii nəʔnəʔ
then 3S hear heard.around immediately Loc city
Then it[what had happened] was heard all over the town.

28a ʔɛɛ phə. dii kən jəʔ ʔat. naa laə kəət həʔ laaʔ
then then child Mr rich.ruler 3S die Loc Laos
One day, Mr. rich ruler's child she died in Laos,

28b laə təc ʔa.n. man nəʔʔ ʔa ʔaʔ
3S Rel sister-in-law 3S own
she who is his own sister-in-law.
So they went to take him.

Then he arrived there

but he did not know she was his own sister-in-law.

Then Mr. rich ruler he promised him, saying, "If you really make my daughter alive, I'll marry her to you, (and) abandon my former son-in-law."

So the orphan he who has the powerful medicine,

he opened to look into the coffin they put the lady in,

he saw this rich ruler's daughter (and) fell for her beauty, it made (him) wanted her.

Then he commanded them to go out for a while.

Then he cured (and) gave life to (her).

The lady she was alive,
34c laə dık brəɔj
    3S get.up immediately
    she got up immediately.
35 ?ɛɛ ja? ʔa.t.əa laə dək ʔɔɔm muk brəɔj doow kuan.pər.tii
    so Mr. rich.ruler 3S go embrace kiss immediately Mr.(demeaning) orphan
    So Mr. rich ruler he went to hug (and) kiss the orphan.
36 blii ?ɛɛ laə ɲɛɛ ʔa.r.əa 3S
    after then 3S drink marry Loc child 3S
    After that he married (him) to his child.
37 pah ɲa.ɲa pah məa ɲɛɛ
    seven day seven night 3P(pl) drink
    They drank seven days (and) seven nights.
38 nə? pər.saaw kraʔ ʔɔɔ? laə ɬaər tak paʔ ʔa.kə.naat ʔɔɔʔ ʔən.dəu tii
    as.for son-in-law former 3S 3S abandon as promise 3S from.before also
    As for his former son-in-law, he abandoned (him) as he promised before.
39a ?ɛɛ pər.saaw hən.ɬaəm ?am.braa kuan nɔŋ? kuu sro.sriam.niəm.prəɔm
    then son-in-law new and child 3S stay to.be.well
    brəɔj
    immediately
    Then the new son-in-law and his child lived happily,
39b dəəm laə ɬi.i.kən.coŋ.doŋ.kən.dar
    and 3S heard.all.around
    and it was heard of all over the place.
40a təʔ blii ?ɛɛ bəc ɬəe məa dək ɬək nɔŋ? dək pəə ɬəe məa keet
    that(far) after then have 3P(pl) 3P(pl) go take 3S go cure 3P(pl) 3P(pl) die
    haʔ miəŋ ʔəŋ.keŋ ʔən.nəaw
    Loc city other mark.of.contrast
    One day, had [people] they went to take him to go cure those were dead in another city,
40b laə dək brəɔj bəh ʔaʔ? ?ɛɛ
    3S go immediately Prep Loc then
    he went there immediately.
41a kəəc.təɛ.nɔŋ? ɬəj ɲɛɛ
    after.he.has.gone here.in.this.place
    After he had left,
41b ʔəh nɔŋ? nɔŋ? laə ɬək təɛ kəə kər ɬəi nɔŋ? pən.dəəm laə ʔaŋ.niəh
    younger.sibling 3S 3S 3S Rel husband old wife 3S in.the.past 3S miss
    trii nɔŋ?
    wife 3S
    his younger brother, he who was his wife's former husband, he missed his wife.
So he went to visit (her),

(he) asked (her) to sew (some) clothes,

and he chatted (with her).

Then he asked his former wife, saying, "Where does the older brother he put his powerful medicine?"

Then his wife she answered, saying, "Probably he put some here."

Then her former husband he said, "Probably he put some here."

So his wife she answered, saying, "Look for (it) if (you) see."

Then he looked for (it),

He[the older orphan] put (it) in a big box.

When this lady she saw like that,
She was afraid of her new husband. She tried to get (it) back from her former husband. At that time, he arrived (home).

So [this] her former husband he sucked (and) swallowed immediately his older brother's medicine in (his) mouth.

After that he flew arrived to the god.
Then the god he told the lady's new husband who flew after, saying, "Don't you know this is your own sister-in-law that you had no shame?"

After that the god he slapped him, he spilled on the foot of the thunder, he became a wild dog.

As for his sister-in-law, she went to the moon. As for his younger brother, he went to the sun.

On the day he misses (his) wife,  also his sister-in-law, he then goes hug his wife in the moon.

Since then, we depreciate him as he wants to go hug (and) kiss his sister-in-law.

So for us, we call it "the wild dog bites the moon [lunar eclipse]."
APPENDIX E

NARRATIVE3-MR. CEGRUEJ

1a kaan bat ḥəm.maač doow thaaaw cə.gruəj
story story narrate Mr.(demeaning) Mr.(honorific) Cegruej
(I) tell story (about) Mr. Cegruej.

1b mat ᶱaj moom ṭə.həm.maač bat məə kraʔ laj ṭən.deem
name 1S Moom 1S-to.narrate story 3P(pl) old long.ago
My name is Moom. I'm going to tell a story long long ago.

2a ṭɛɛ.bračj doow thaaaw cə.gruəj nɛɛ ləə ṭən.druuij
start of a traditional story Mr.(demeaning) Mr.(honorific) Cegruej this 3S dum
vit
mad
This Mr. Cegruej he was clumsy (and) mad.

2b mɛɛ ʔuʔ nəćʔ troow raa pah dəə nəćʔ ləə ṭən.druuij ṭən.druuij
3P(pl) older.brother 3S six person.Clf seven Prep 3S 3S dum dum
His six older brothers, seven with him, he was clumsy.

3 məə kuu tih ṭən.ʔaʔən ṭən. kə.nəć bračj jėʔ məə kraʔ
3P(pl) stay big adult many year immediately to.the.extent.that 3P(pl) old
məə bəʔə? məə ṭən.am.braa maan " və.n ra.ʔeʔ? ṭəaj nə.m bəam
mother father 3P(pl) 3P(du) speak 2P-Irr hunt hey 1P(excl.pl)-Irr make
brah.jaʔən,ʔaaŋ.brah.nək
" type.of.sacrifice.before.gathering.new.rice
They grew up that their parents they spoke, "[You guys] Hunt. Hey! We make[prepare for]
the sacrifice before gathering new rice."

4 ṭɛɛ məə kʰɨt ra.ʔeʔ? bračj
so 3P(pl) think hunt immediately
So they thought of hunting.

5 ṭɛɛ nəʔ daə doow thaaaw cə.gruəj nɛɛ ləə riaŋ " ṭaj ṭə.n
then as for Prep Mr.(demeaning) Mr.(honorific) Cegruej this 3S say 1S 1S-Irr
tooj "
follow
Then as for this Mr. Cegruej he said, "I go with you."

6 məə maŋ " tooj dah "
3P(pl) speak follow Interj
They spoke, "Follow. Interjection!"

7a məə dək də,deɛ bək.jaaw cən.duu
3P(pl) to.walk again.and.again amazing mountain
naʔ.tooŋ.pə.nəj.nəʔ.jəl.saar.səe.nəʔ.lum məə dək ?in
over.every.mountain.through.every.field 3P(pl) to.walk exophoric
They walked on and on over mountains and fields, they walked,

7b naʔ taj məə dəoow ?িম ছেম তেু কা.নেু লিআঁ ?িআঁ.ব্রী.ব্রুু
still Neg 3P(pl) obtain Neg bird mouse wild.chicken
বা.নুু.কাম.বুুু নাʔ তaj dəoow
other.type.of.small.animal still Neg obtain
(but) they still obtained nothing, (even) a bird, a mouse, a wild chicken, a small animal.

8a ?েু məə dək də.đeɛ saam
then 3P(pl) go again.and.again tired.of.something/someone
Then they grew tired of walking on and on.

8b məə priŋ bəəm tuup muu ruu khan bɾɔɔj
3P(pl) stop make hut immediately
They stopped to look for game.

8c bɨŋ ?েু məə həŋ.nənan kij
Loc then 3P(pl) sleep lay.down
At there they slept.

9 sii.braaŋ.nɪŋ bɑʔ.ɾoow mɛɛ ?uʔ maʔ maŋ dəd doow
early.morning tomorrow 3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) speak Prep Mr.(demeaning)
thaaw cə.ɡruaj " hə.ə nuʔ bɨŋ nɛɛ ləəj jəʔ "
Mr.(honorific) Cegruej 2S-Irr stay Loc here already Imp.Interj
Early next morning his older brothers they spoke to Thaaw Cegruej, "[You] Stay here. Interjection!"

10 " ʔি? "
yes
(Cegruej said,) "Yes."

11a dəʔ mɛɛ məʔ vəɛɾ bɾɔɔj vɛɛɾ dɛɛ.ʋɛɛɾ.ɗeɛ bək
Prep 3P(pl) 3P(pl) wander.about immediately wander.about habitual able jaaw
chase
For them, they wandered about to hunt/chase.

11b məə mam toow məə həŋ.kɪt taj məə dəoow ?িম ছেম.সা.নাaj
3P(pl) to.be.angry only 3P(pl) swear.words Neg 3P(pl) obtain Neg bird
মেু ?ুুʔ maʔ maʔ?
3P(pl) older.brother 3S
They were angry, they swore (that if) they didn't obtain a bird, his older brothers.
As for him, while he [stayed] was cooking rice at the hut, he saw a small deer, he pulled (his) small crossbow, he shot right (it). (It) was dead completely (and) (it) fell to the ground. He was afraid, he went up to cover (himself) with a blanket because he was afraid that it might go up to bite him. They looked, they replied, "You shot our small deer, it returned (and) ran to you."
He answered, "Is it like that?"

His older brothers they spoke, "We shot without luck, we (shot) this."

Then they grilled (and) ate (the small deer) right there.

(Then) they slept till dawn.

Early next morning they spoke, "[You] Stay here, Cegruej! You make a soup (and) cook rice for us."

Then they wandered about / went hunting once again,

They didn’t obtain a bird, a small animal too, they also didn’t obtain a small deer.

(They said,) "What? Interjection! We go without making a success like this."
24b laə taj brəɔj kɔrɔj ?ən.naaw
3S see immediately small.deer(bigger) one.more.time
 cik.cik.vik.vik laə taj
 movement.of.body.when.nearly.die 3S see
 he saw a deer one more time, he saw (it was) dying.

25a laə cɔk brəɔj sraaw ?ən.ʔə
3S take immediately crossbow same
 He took the same crossbow immediately,

25b laə pen
3S shoot
 he shot (it),

25c ha.duup brəɔj laə kɛɛt
 fall.to.the.ground immediately 3S die
 (it) fell to the ground, it died.

 then 3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) return
 Then his older brothers they returned,

26b məə rian " ?ən.ʔəjaŋ ha.ʔaam "
 3P(pl) say what 2S-to.do
 they said, "What did you do?"

 then 3S to.answer that(far) know what 1S-to.shoot from.before
 ha.duup dəə ?aj "
 fall.to.the.ground Prep 1S
 Then he answered, "I don't know what I shot. (It) fell to the ground overthere."

28 mɛɛ ?uua? ɲɔɔ? məə rian " huaj kɔrɔj ɲa ʔəaj
 3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) say huh small.deer(bigger) 1P(excl.pl) already
 ?ən.neɛ ɲəə pen ?ən.duu "
 this 1P(excl.pl) shoot from.before
 His older brothers they said, "Huh! Our deer! This was we shot before."

29 ?ɛɛ məə ta.tah ?ə.ʔar brəɔj leɛw
 then 3P(pl) to.butcher immediately finish
 Then they butchered (it).

30 ?ɛɛ məə ʔaŋ.ʔaŋ kij braaŋ
 then 3P(pl) sleep sleep till.dawn
 Then they slept till dawn.
Early next morning his older brothers they wandered about / went hunting once again. As for him there, he saw again a deer with big, long horns while he was cooking rice. He was surprised (and) shivered. He took (his) crossbow, he shot, fell to the ground, it died immediately. As its horns were very long, he was afraid as before. (He) was not able to sleep / slept on his belly in order not to see. They asked, "What are you afraid of?"
(He answered,) "(I don't) know what is down there."

They looked (spoke), "Isn't this our deer?"

They butchered (and) grilled (it) there.

Early next morning his older brothers they wandered about with crossbows again.

They told, saying, "[You] Stay here. [You] Look after our food."

"Yes." He replied.

He took his crossbow, he shot, (it) died immediately, fell to the ground.
here in this place older brother 3S 3P(pl) wander about Prep bird
small animal
Overthere his older brothers they were wandering about / hunting for a bird (or) a
small animal,

(they said) 

They returned to the hut.

They answered,) "What we saw was only the rice you will cook for yourself [to eat]."

(He said,) "No. Down there. What do you see down there?"

They looked (said), "Our elephant? We shot this elephant, with seven tusks"

Then they butchered (it),
52b maa baam joŋg joŋg puur cram
3P(pl) make grill light.fire.under.to.grill dry
they grilled (it) dried.

53 həŋ.ŋan kij braŋ
sleep sleep till.dawn
(They) slept till dawn.

54 sii.braŋ.ŋip bəŋ.noow məə riəŋ "jɛʔ? laaj ɲə.m
early.morning tomorrow 3P(pl) say to.the.extent.that already 1P(excl.pl)-Irr
ci? bəam braŋ.jaaŋ.əəŋ.braŋ.məə ɦəm.ʃep ɦəʔ suŋ kuŋ ʃəʔ /
return make type.of.sacrifice.before.gathering.new.rice instead Loc village food
nya nee ʔəə ɭəaj ka.jɛʔ? ɲə ʔəə ɲə.m taŋ raŋ "
1P(excl.pl) here many already food 1P(excl.pl) that 1P(excl.pl)-Irr weave basket
Early next morning they said, "That's enough. We return (home) to make[prepare for]
the sacrifice instead of the food in the village. We [here] have plenty of food already. So
we weave baskets."

55 məə ca.ʃeŋ tra.ʃiwi meeq "ʔəaj ɭəu? ɭəŋ si? daŋ haj
3P(pl) chat together 3P(pl) hey older.brother first.born how.many Prep 2S
hə.m bic trii "
2S-Irr have wife
They chatted togher, "Hey, Eldest brother! [for you] How many wife will you have?"

56 "ɲəaj ʔaj ɭiŋ vah.ʃiwi.maaj daŋ ʔaj ɲə.m bic trii / ɲə.m ruat
1P(incl.pl) 1S exophoric only.one Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife 1S-Irr buy
gong one a.pair earring tusk one a.pair weave basket one too
(The eldest brother said,) "For me, I'll have only one wife. I'll buy a pair of gongs, a pair
of tusk earrings, (and) weave a basket too.

57 məə ta.ʃəaj baʔ tii.baar "pa.jɛʔ? daŋ haj siʔ ɲə.m bic trii "
3P(pl) ask man(sing) the.second how Prep 2S how.many 2S-Irr have wife
They asked the second man[brother], "How about you? How many wife will you have?"

58 ʔəə laaj taaw "ɲəaj baar daŋ ʔaŋ ɲə.m bic trii / ʔəə ɲə.m ruat goŋ goŋ baar
then 3S reply what two Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife then 1S-Irr buy gong two
tiaw block baar / ɲə.m taŋ raŋ paʔ.ʃi "
earring tusk two 1S-Irr weave basket too
Then he replied, "I'll have two wives [for me]. I'll buy two (pairs of) gongs, two (pairs of)
tusk earrings, I'll weave (two) baskets too."

59 "daŋ haj daŋ ʔiəʔ? tii.pəʔ siʔ daŋ haj trii "
Prep 2S polite.question older.brother the.third how.many Prep 2S wife
(They asked,) "For you, Interjection! the third older brother, how many wife for you?"
The third man[brother] he replied, "I'll have three wives [for me]. I'll buy three (pairs of) gongs, three (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave three baskets too."

They asked the fourth man[brother] also, "[for you] How many wife will you have, older brother?"

He replied, "I'll have four wives [for me]. I'll buy four (pairs of) gongs, four (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave four baskets too."

They asked the fifth man[brother] also, "[for you] How many wife will you have, older brother?"

(He replied,) "I'll have six wives [for me]. I'll buy six (pairs of) gongs, six (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave six baskets too."
At last, after that, they asked Thaaw Cegreuj, they spoke, “[for you] Cegruej, how many wife will you have?”

Puzzled amazingly, he didn’t know what he should answer.

He replied bravely, he said, “I’ll take seven wives [for me]. I’ll buy seven (pairs of) gongs, seven (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave seven baskets.

His older brothers they returned carrying food (and) the elephant tusks (and) arrived home.

They asked, "Where is Thaaw Cegruej?"
They answered, saying, "A tiger [it] bit[ate] him."

Then they planned to celebrate happily[with laughter].

Then they planned to celebrate happily[with laughter].

As [at the place where he was tied] for Cegruej he cried, "Mother! Father!"

Then these [married female] termites they heard,

he said, "Please! Please! Grandfather! Hey! [You] Untie me."

The termite he answered, "I try. Can you pay for that?"

(Cegruej said,) "Interjection! I'll pay you (my) loincloth for that. Please! [You] Just untie me, then I'll pay (you) back."

So this old termite he went up to bite (the loincloth) immediately.

So they ate his whole loincloth [for that].

Because he paid the termite for that,
81c ³ləə ham.braat.braat
   3S naked
   he was naked.

   like that.is.it 3S go  Prep that(far) Mr Teem.Enlee mother Gee.Ersee 3P(du)
   kraʔ? kraʔ? maj ləəj
   old old very already
   Like that he walked to [that] Mr. Teem Enlee (and) mother Gee Ersee, they were very
   old.

82b ʔəʔ 3P(du)
   Loc 3P(du) look.for bamboo.shoot
   [they] were looking for the bamboo shoot.

82c ꞌam.braa ꞌée taj bic kuan.coow ꞌIm
   3P(du) this Neg have children Neg
   These two[this couple] had no children.

82d ꞌam.braa taj ꞌam.blecw.ʔam.blec.taj.maat.biit.ʔIm.kləəm.ʔəm.blak.klaak.ʔəm.blee?
   3P(du) see not.nice.to.look.at
   They saw (Cegruej) were not nice to look at[naked],

83 ꞌam.braa maaŋ " ꞌəŋ.ʔəaj ꞌən.nee paʔ.nee "
   3P(du) speak what this like.this
   They spoke, "Wha's this [like this]?"

84 ꞌam.braa rian " ꞌa.nih ꞌa jak ꞌpccও.ʔə miw "
   3P(du) say human dead.body spirit/ghost
   They said, "A corpse? A ghost?"

85 ꞌcc? ləə təəw " ləə jaʔ? ꞌa ꞌba.nih / jak ꞌa.ʔuu ꞌam.braat.braat
   3S 3S reply ask Mr 1S-verb.prefix human because 1S-to.live naked
   ꞌa ꞌka.maaw "
   1S-verb.prefix shame
   He replied, "Please, Mr. I'm a human. Because I'm naked, I (feel) shame."

86a ꞌee bəʔ təəm.ʔən.lee ləə piaw ham.baan dəə ꞌcc?
   then man(sing) Teem.Enlee 3S throw kromar Prep 3S
   Then [man] Teem Enlee he threw a kromar to him.

86b ləə vəən bɨŋ ꞌee
   3S wear Loc there
   He wore (it) there.

87 ꞌam.braa tə.ʔəaj ꞌa.ʔəəm coow "
   3P(du) ask what 2S-to.do grandchild
   They asked, "What did you do, Grandchild?"
He answered, "Oh, Grandfather! Hey! My older brothers they grabbed me. They asked each other, saying, "How many wife will you have?" The eldest brother he said he would have one wife; he would buy one (pairs of) gongs, one (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave one basket. After that they asked again the second oldest brother. He said he would have two wives; he would buy two (pairs of) gongs, two (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave two baskets. As for the third older brother, he said he would take three
wives; he would buy three (pairs of) gongs, three (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave three baskets. The fourth older brother, he said he would have four wives; he would buy four (pairs of) gongs, four (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave four baskets. For the fifth older brother, he spoke he would have five wives; he would buy five (pairs of) gongs, five (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave five baskets. For the sixth older brother, he spoke he would have six wives; he would buy six (pairs of) gongs, six (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave six baskets. That they asked me. Because I don’t know what should I speak, I was puzzled. Then I replied, saying, "I'll have seven wives [for me]. I'll buy seven (pairs of) gongs, seven (pairs of) tusk earrings, (and) weave seven baskets." They were angry with me. They grabbed (and) tied (me) to the tree with my own loincloth. They thought I would be died already."

(They said,) "That’s it, Grandchild. Hey! Would you like to live with us?"

He replied, "Maybe, if you love me. (I don’t) know where mother (and) father are because we wandered about to hunt animals for a sacrifice for new rice."

He lived happily.

They went to a field,
so 3P(du) speak child Imp.Neg 2S-to.go Neg Loc backyard Imp.Interj so they spoke, "Child, [you] don't go to the backyard!"

"ʔiʔ? Ilə təəə" yes 3S reply "Yes." He replied.

He stayed (till) midday,

He thought, "Why they forbade me to go to the chicken house? I go try (and) test [take a look of it]."

He went there,

then 3S take.a.peek.at chicken then he took a peek at the chicken,

it bit (him),

hand 3S bright.shining immediately 3S shine amazing his hand shined bright immediately. It shined amazingly.

He was afraid, he wrapped (his hand) with the kromar, hid inside there.

In the evening, these two[this couple] they returned from the field In the evening, these two[this couple] they returned from the field.

His mother she callded, "Hey, Child!" [Silence/No answer] "Where is he?"

She went, she saw him.
He was covered with a blanket.

She opened (the blanket) (said), "What did you do?"

She opened (the blanket),

She was surprised to see (that) he was completely covered with liquid silver to his wrists.

"Interjection! Like this! Exclamation! (It's) not suitable like this." She spoke to her husband. "[You] Take water to bathe (him)."

They bathed away the silver.

They slept till dawn.

Early next morning, his mother she advised once again, "Child, [you] stay (here). Don't go to that house, it has a snake inside. You know, our child. Your father (and I) we go fishing on that water downstream."

He replied, "Yes."
Then they went.
Then he went there.

So he went there.
Then he took a peek at (it).

Amazingly, the gold it covered his feet, liquid gold (covered) (his) elbow, liquid silver (covered) his body, (his) face looked very beautiful.

He was afraid of his mother.
He stayed by the firewood.
He painted (himself) with charcoal.
109b ʔam.braa ka.lɔɔw " ʔəəj kuan khian ḅrcəj " 3P(du) call hey child silence immediately they called, "Hey, Child!" [Silence/No answer].

110 taj laə təəw  
see 3S reply  
He didn't replied.

111 " ʔəəj laə ɗək ʔan.naaw  paʔ.nəə / ʔaaj ʔa.m ɓəəm ʔɔɔ?  
where 3S go one.more.time like.this Interj 1S-Irr make rice(cooked)  
ka.dəh "  
Interj  
(His mother said,) "Where did he go like this again? Interjection! I'm going to cook rice. Interjection!"

112a ʔəə məə  
Rel 3S work  
When she worked[cooked],

112b laə nak ʔan.drə həə pa.dik  
3S take firewood 3S-Irr lift  
she took the firewood [she lifts];

112c laə taj ḅrcəj ca.gruə ʃər.maə  
3S see immediately Cegruej covered.with.different.colors  
she saw Cegruej covered with charcoal color.

113 " ʕəəj ʃeʃ ʔəəp ʔəəm paʔ.nəə ʔan.naaw  "  
1P(incl.pl) 2S here 2S-to.do like.this mark.of.contrast  
(She said,) "What are you doing here like this?"

114a laə ɓəəm ka.jə? ʔɔɔ?  
3S make food rice(cooked)  
She made food (and) cooked rice,

114b caə həəŋ.ʃən kiʃ  
eat(rice.only) eat sleep sleep  
(they) ate (and) slept.

115 si.braa,ŋip ʃar.noow məəʔ?  nɔɔʔ? laə maəŋ ɗəa kəə  nɔɔʔ?  " ʃəŋ  
early.morning tomorrow mother 3S 3S speak Prep husband 3S Imp(polite)  
lə.m ʃih  ɗək daʔ ʃəŋ ʃəŋ.ʃən nɔɔʔ? kar.maət "  
3S-Irr go.down take water gold bathe 3S truly  
Early next morning, his mother she spoke to her husband, "Go down to take (away) the liquid gold, bathe him truly[completely].

116a bək jaaw laə ca?  
amazing 3S beautiful  
He was amazingly beautiful,
he spoke to his parents, "Hey! I also go fishing.

Then his mother she spoke, "Child, don't (go)! You'll have a cold and will have to offer a sacrifice later."

(He said,) "No, Mother. I'll go."

On that they advised, "[You] Don't go up to that riverhead. [You] Go fishing on that water downstream."

He answered, "Yes."

(He said to himself,) "What will I do now. Interjection! I, I'll go try upstream, I."

(He said to himself,) "What will I do now. Interjection! I, I'll go try upstream, I."
In that place this Mr. Rich Ruler’s child, the youngest daughter she wanted very much to go [down] bathing.

She was very sweaty.

They went down immediately and four young ladies they followed her.

While they were bathing (and) playing,

She called, asking, asking, “Where do you live, Older brother?”
(He answered,) "On that down here, I live (with) father Teem Enlee (and) (with) mother Gee Ersee, I live."

"paʔ.ʔin lah ɲəə intro.that 1P(excl.pl) yes/no may.be Neg Exclamation if 1P(excl.pl)-Irr know
na.n tīh ka.vaŋ tiʔ  haj ?uuʔ  ?əaj "
1P(excl.pl)-Irr go.down visit  down 2S older.brother hey
(She said,) "Oh! Is it like that? If we would have known, we would have gone [down] to visit [on] you, older brother. Hey!"

"naaŋ lady ləə Prep take həň baan.c Pret 3S small.kromar (Mr.(honorific)) (put it) on (her) neck,
Then the lady she returned home[on that house] from bathing.
(They) chatted for a long time.
(He thought his mother would tell (him) off.
He said, "That enough, (I) have to say good-bye to you, Miss. (My) mother will tell me off for being gone so long."

"naaŋ lady 3S cəŋ small.kromar Mr.(Cegruej's) (put it) on (her) neck,
Tak 3S-Irr tell.off mother 3S-Irr mother 3S-Irr tell.off already
He said, "That enough, (I) have to say good-bye to you, Miss. (My) mother will tell me off for being gone so long."

"naaŋ lady 3S baan.cəŋ small.kromar Mr.(honorific) (put it) on (her) neck,
Then the lady she returned home[on that house] from bathing.
(He answered,) "On that down here, I live (with) father Teem Enlee (and) (with) mother Gee Ersee, I live."
Then here in this place Prep Mr. (honorific) Cegruej too Prep 3S 3S return kij. kar. sip. ka. dip. klaam pa? tii
sleeping on the belly too So in that place for Thaaw Cegruej, same to him, he returned (home) (and) was not able to sleep too.

His parents they knew only they saw his kromar it was disappeared.

His parents they knew only they saw his kromar it was disappeared. They asked, saying, "Where is your kromar? Did you abandon (it)?"

(He answered,) "When I went up that (stream) to fish, a lady she took my kromar."

They said, "It's probably finished! He'll have troubles [like that]."

He was covered with soot color one more time, same as before.

So in that place for Thaaw Cegruej, same to him, he returned (home) (and) was not able to sleep too.
Then she answered, speaking to her father, "What? Father, Hey! I want this Thaaw Cegruej. Interjection! I took his kromar. He lives with Mr. Teem Enlee (and) mother Gee Ersee."

Her father he spoke, "What? Interjection! (You) don't eat (and) drink like this. You might eat later. I'll go down to ask who they are."

This Mr. Rich Ruler he really went down, arrived there. His grandparents they asked, "Please come eat (and) drink at (our) place."

This Mr. Rich Ruler he looked (thought), "How can my child she loves this man so much? Interjection! (He) is not beautiful."
"What (made) it shined?" He thought. "(Let me) test you."

He spoke, "Hey, Nephew! [You] Go down to take my wine tube. It fell down there."

While he bowed down,

Then it shook (in the glass and spilled)."
(Mr. Rich Ruler said,) "Interjecion! Really like this! Then (this is why) my child she wants. Interjection!"

158a ʔat.ʔaa ʔeʃ bok.jaaw ləə pim kləam.klaak bρɛɲ dəa
rich.ruler this amazing 3S taste.good heart(for.emotion) immediately Prep
dəa saaw mə cement
son-in-law 3S
This rich ruler he was extremely happy about his son-in-law.

158b ləə tɛɛ的眼 car.nɔŋ,car.naa
3S to.plan marry
He planned the marriage.

158c məə kuu sro.sriəm.niəm,prɛɔm
3P(pl) live to.be.well
They lived happily (ever after).

159 looc diw ʔɛ.ɬaaj ʃəʔ bər.noow ʔa.braa ʔən.naaw ʔə.m həm.maac
end only that.is.it Imp.Interj tomorrow day.after one.more.time 1S-Irr narrate
lah
again
That's the end. I'll narrate once again tomorrow, the day after.
APPENDIX F

NARRATIVE 4-MARKSMAN ORPHAN


2 ᵕɛɛ doow kuan.par.tii nɛɛ ləə bɪc ᵖʰım mɛɛ? bəə? then Mr.(demeaning) orphan this 3S have Neg mother father Then Mr. orphan he had no parents.

3 ləə tooj mɛɛ ra.re? 3S follow 3P(pl) hunt He followed them to hunt.

4a məɛ re? daŋ juuj 3P(pl) go look.for deer They went to look for deer,

4b ᵖɛɛ məɛ rian " ᵖʰ.Concurrent ʰə n tooj ᵖʰım nəa ʰəm ᵖʰım haj ᵖʰə.n then 3P(pl) say Imp.Neg 2S-Irr follow Neg 1P(excl.pl) allow Neg 2S 2S-Irr tooj nəa " follow 1P(excl.pl) then they said, "Don't follow. We don't allow you to follow us."


6a ᵖɛɛ ləə nəŋ bɛːʊj taj.dam but 3S want immediately extremely But he extremely wanted to go,

6b dəa ləə tooj mɛɛɛ until 3S follow secretly to the point he followed (them) secretly.
He went after them.

When they arrived at the place,

They made a house for hunting deer.

They saw a lot of animals there in that forest.

Then they finished making a house there.

After that they went to look for deer.

Then they really saw a deer.

Then they shot this deer immediately.

Goong Miin shot (but) missed (it).

Teen Ber Jaa shoot (but) missed (it).

Laa He Dac shot (but) missed (it).

Cac Daak Brah shot (but) missed (it).

Doow Brah Brii shoot (but) missed (it).
"What should we do now?" They spoke, saying. "If the orphan he would have followed us, then he might shoot (it)."

Then they returned and saw from afar,

they saw (him) on that road,

they said, "Hey, Orphan! Maybe you're really able to shoot and catch it. We saw a deer still stays there."

So they went down to take Mr. Orphan there.

He took his small crossbow,

he shot the deer,

he really hit (it),

(it) was completely dead.
Then they cut (it) into pieces, dried (it) on fire there,

they made a grill from bamboo.

They ate (it) up.

Then they met an elephant with very big tusks.

Oldest brother Goong Miin would shoot.

So Goong Miin he shot (but) missed (it).

Teen Berjaa shot (but) missed (it).

Cac Daak Brah shot (but) missed (it).

Doow Brah Brii shot (but) missed (it).
"What should we do now?" They said, "Orphan, this is your turn to shoot (it)."

Then Mr. (demeaning) Orphan exophoric crossbow 3S
Then Mr. Orphan (took) his small crossbow,

Then he went to shoot (the elephant) right away.

As soon as it was hit, it fell to the ground, died laying on the back.

They cut (the elephant) into pieces,
(they) grilled (it) dry there.

They spoke like yesterday.

"That's enough," they said.

"We obtained this elephant, we return (home) tonight," they spoke.

Then they returned (home),
They prepared to go back.

Mr. Orphan, they didn't give him a piece of elephant meat (or) a piece of deer meat [there].

He returned (home) empty-handed.

Then (he) arrived home.

Then his grandmother said, "How was it? Did you obtain anything, Grandchild?"

Doow (Mr. Orphan) he said, "Hey! One deer they were not able to shoot right. After that, once again the next day, they saw an elephant, they were not able to shoot right."

"Then they commanded me to shoot right. They cut (them) into pieces. After, they grilled it dry. They divided (the meat) into portion. They shared (among themselves), (they) didn't (share) with me." He said.
Then his grandmother said, "Please, grandchild! Hey! I already forbid you to follow them. What else shall we do like that?"

They said, "Let's try to shoot (it)."

So they shot (it).

Goong Miin shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

Teen Berjaa shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

Laa Hedac shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

Cac Daak Brah shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

Doow Brah Brii shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

(They said,) "Maybe the orphan (could hit the sun)."
(They said,) "If you could shoot the sun, then we will have seasons."

He shot that sun above immediately.

As soon as he pulled his crossbow,

he placed an arrow,

he shot, he hit the sun immediately,

it turned.

Since then, it has evening, has night.

as for day, but when it's day, they work

because it is sunny / there is light.
In the beginning it had no night, it was always sunny / light.

They slept according to when (they) like,

They ate according to when (they) like,

(they) stayed awake according to when they like,

(they) bathed according to when they like.

End here [The End].
APPENDIX G

NARRATIVE5-GECKO AND ELEPHANT

1 ʔɛɛ Ngu  naaŋ  bā.jaʔa  née  1əə  dɔk  dɔk  tɔ?  həm.paaŋ
start.of.a.traditional.story  lady  Baya  this  3S  go  go  that(far)  hut.in.field
(It is) a tradition story (about) this Lady Baya she went to the hut in the field [overthere].

2 ʔɛɛ  ləə  lii  G  ʔiɛ  ɮ  1əə  ɛɛ  bə  jaa
then 3S  hear  immediately  wild.chicken  small.animal  3P(pl)  cry
Then she heard the wild chicken and small animal they cried.

3 ʔɛɛ  ləə maann riən “  lə emo  naaŋ  kə  klə  /  na?
then 3S  speak  say  please(very.polite)  if  1S-Irr  have  child  husband  then
ə.n  dəw  dəw  ə.n  caa  ʔiɛ  ɮ  1P(incl.pl)-Irr  able.to  mark.of.uncertainty  1P(incl.pl)-Irr  eat  wild.chicken
kə.醮.ɲə  ɛɛ  ɡə  ɡə  "  small.animal  exophoric
Then she spoke, saying, "Please! If I have a husband, then we may be able to eat wild
chicken (and) small animal."

4a ʔɛɛ  ruəh  née  ləə lii
then elephant  this 3S  hear
Then this elephant he heard (what she said),

4b ʔɛɛ  ləə tæ.ʋir  ɡ  ɡə  ɛɛ  bə.niŋ
then 3S  get.transform  immediately  body 3S  human
then he transformed his body into a human being.

5 ʔɛɛ  ləə cuʔ  ɡ  ɡə  ɛɛ  thəaə
then 3S  name  immediately  name 3S  Mr.(honorific)
Then he named his name[himself] "Thaaw."

6 ʔɛɛ  ləə pə  ɡ  ɡə  ɛɛ  bə.niŋ
then 3S  shoot  immediately  wild.chicken  wife  husband  rat  wife  husband
Then he shot a male and a female wild chickens and a male and a female rats.

7 ʔɛɛ  ləə dɔk  ɡ  ɡə  həʔ  tɔ?
then 3S  go  immediately  Prep  that(far)  lady  Baya
Then he went to Lady Baya [overthere].

8 ʔɛɛ  naaŋ  bā.jaʔa  ləə tæ.ɛə  riən "  tæəm  həʔ. naaŋ  ɡə  hə. dik  ɡə  ɛɛ  ɡə  ɛɛ  "
then lady Baya  3S  ask  say  from where  nephew  2S-to.go(doublet) this
Then Lady Baya she asked, saying, "From where, nephew, did you come down?"
Then he answered, "Oh! I went hunting. Could you grill the wild chickens and the small animal for me?"

So she grilled (and) boiled (the preys), (she) made [cooked] a meal, (they) ate.

Then Thaaw he spoke, saying, "Shall we get married?"

The lady she answered, "Yes, if you like to."

(THEY) got married right away.

In the evening at sunset, they returned to her parents.

Then her father he spoke, "Interjection! (My) child Lady Baya has a husband already."
Her younger sister she spoke, "Interjection! (My) older sister Lady Baya has a husband already.

Her younger aunt she spoke, "Interjection! Lady Baya she has a husband already."

They were very happy (and) held a party (to celebrate and welcome Thaaw) there.

(The new couple) lived happily (together).

After a long time, her husband he said, "Huh! I miss (my) parents. (My) wife Lady Baya, Hey! I return to visit them."

Lady Baya she said, "Like that I follow (you) to return too."

Mr. (honorific) he said, "Don't (follow me). Grandfather will tell (you) off."

Then she told her father, saying, "Father, I follow your son-in-law to return (home). Interjection!"

Her father he said, "You follow (your husband) to return (to his home). Have a safe trip! Interjection!"
27 ʔeə am.bra ci ʰraəj dək.dee.dək.dee
so 3P(du) return immediately walk(double)
So they walked for a long time.

28 ʔeə bih ʰraəj diəp kə.nu.kə.nuum ʔəə? bəə.łoəŋ.pooj.ʔəə.jooj
then arrive immediately near a.place.of.living 3S bamboo.forest
ʰraəj məə jəə jan
immediately 3P(pl) trample(double)
Then (they) arrived near the place he lived, the bamboo forest they[the elephants] trampled.

29 ʔeə laə maaŋ rian " bal.nee dih meə? bəəʔ məə piih.rah.ca.gah.saa "
then 3S speak say like.this Exclamation mother father 3P(pl) clear.the.forest
Then he spoke, saying, "Like this, Exclamation! (my) parents they cleared the forest."

30 ʔeə dəə naaŋ ba.jaa vəh laə kə.ʔəŋ.kin.ʔəŋ.kin rian " haʔ.ʔaaj
then Prep lady Baya only 3S thinking(doublet) say where
haʔ.ʔin ma.n piih.rah.ca.gah.saa haŋ.ʔin pa? ruah
exophoric.reference 3P(pl)-Irr clear.the.forest exophoric.reference like elephant
pa? ʔa.taj məə kə.dəh bəə kə.dəh łoəŋ "
like 1S 1S-To.Neg 3P(pl) break bamboo break wood
As for Lady Baya [only] she thought, saying, "Where might they clear the forest? I saw (it)
likes elephants they broke the bamboo forest."

31a ʔeə am.braa bih ʰraəj diəp la.m bih kə.nuu ruah
then 3P(du) arrive immediately near 3S-Irr Prep a.place.of.living elephant
Then they arrived near the place where the elephants live.

31b ʔeə thaaw laə maaŋ rian " biŋ.nee laə jə? / ʔaŋ.ʔa.n
then Mr.(honorific) 3S speak say at.at.that.time already Imp.Interj 1S 1S-Irr
-ci? mit haʔ meə meəʔ bəəʔ ʔəŋ.nuar ʔən.daj ciʔ ʔa.ʔaa kə.lə?
return enter Loc 3P(pl) mother father ahead first return ask euphemism
ma.n ṭaʔah.kran "
3P(pl)-Irr taboo
Then Thaaw he spoke, saying, "(We are) here. Interjecion! I return to (my) parents first,
return to ask them is there any taboo."

32 ʔeə laə ciʔ ʰraəj muuŋ raa nəə?
so 3S return immediately one person.Clf 3S
So he returned (to his parents) on his own.

33 ʔeə naaŋ ba.jaa laə kuu ʰraəj kəŋ.droom təəm jrii
then lady Baya 3S stay immediately under trunk(long.piece) sacred
Then Lady Baya she stayed under a sacred tree.
Then from Loc on/above gecko 3S cry immediately speak say
sound.of.gecko
2S-to.like follow husband 2S 3S transform elephant
Then from [that tree] above a gecko she cried, speaking, saying, "Tok kea! Would you like to follow your husband he is transformed from an elephant?"

Then Lady Baya she spoke, "Interjection! That's it, Grandma! Hey! What should I do?"

Gecko she said, "What about you give me a payment then I'll lift you (up) to (my) house?"

(Lady Baya said,) "Yes."

Then she urinated, this gecko, to lady Baya.

Then she saw a ladder clearly.

So she went up to Grandma Gecko.

After a while, this group of elephants they arrived,

his parents - elephants were coming.
Then the gecko she spoke, "Down here, you look, Child, your in-laws. As for your husband is in the middle of the (group of) elephants down there."

Lady Baya she said, "That's the sound of elephants."

They arrived (at) the sacred tree.

Then they spoke, saying, "Where is Lady Baya?"

Like that they were angry with her, they trampled the sacred tree.

She urinated [immediately] on them.

Tired, they trampled (the tree), the elephants [here].
51a məə ha,pih
   3P(pl) tire
   They were tired

51b məə ha,ŋaŋ biŋ ?EE bracoj
   3P(pl) sleep Loc that immediately
   they slept [under the tree].

52 ?EE ja?  tɔk.KEE laʔ rian " naʔ hə,dići hə,n caa ruəh lah "
   then address(polite) gecko 3S say still 2S-to.like 2S-Irr eat elephant yes/no
   Then Grandma Gecko she said, "Would you like to eat elephant (meat)?"

53 naŋ ba,jaa laʔ rian " paʔ.ŋaad dəh ŋə,n bəəm "
   lady Baya 3S say what polite.question 1P(incl.pl)-Irr do
   Lady Baya she said, "What should we do?"

54 jaʔ tɔk.KEE laʔ trə-naəw " ʔə,n tihih ciat ka,pək trec me "
   old gecko 3S to.answer 1S-Irr go.down cut short behind 3P(pl)
   Grandma Gecko she answered, "I go down to cut their behind."

55 ʔEE laʔ tiat soo,looc tiat piit
   so 3S take.with a.small.woven.basket.with.cover.to keep.cooked.rice bring knife
   tiih brəoʃ co?
   go.down immediately down.there
   So she took a small basket (and) brought a knife to go down.

56a ʔEE laʔ ciat brəoʃ ka,pək trec me " trəm trəm me "
   then 3S cut immediately short behind 3P(pl) every every 3P(pl)
   Then she cut the behind of all of them [the elephants],

56b ciʔ tiat brəoʃ
   return bring immediately
   (she) brought (them) back (to the tree).

57a ʔEE meʔ ruəh neʔ məə raj dik
   then 3P(pl) elephant this 3P(pl) wake.up get.up
   Then these elephants they woke up,

57b puuŋ juuŋ kəm.puup trec me "
   cut.off behind 3P(pl)
   (they) were shocked by learning that their behinds have been cut off,

57c biʔ ʔə,trec me " trəm me " biʔ him jaw
   have Neg behind 3P(pl) every 3P(pl) have Neg
   they no longer have behinds, all of them have no (behind).
Then a god he cursed (them), saying, "From now on you and your offspring have no behind."

The End
1 bic liŋ muŋ ?aj həm,maac maŋ liŋ ja? ?at,ŋaa
have story one 1S narrate speak story Mr rich.ruler
(l) have a story, I tell a story (about) Mr. Rich Ruler.

2 ja? ?at,ŋaa nɛɛ lɔə bic kuə bʁəh paŋ raa
Mr rich.ruler this 3S have child unmarried.woman seven person.Clf
This Mr. Rich Ruler he had seven daughters.

3 taŋaj muŋ ja? ?at,ŋaa lɔə dɔk koow lɔcŋ noo? ha? miir
day one Mr rich.ruler 3S go cut.down wood 3S Loc field
One day, Mr. Rich Ruler he went to cut down his wood in the field.

4a ?ɛɛ tŋ lɔə koow lɔcŋ noo?
when Loc 3S cut.down wood 3S
When he cut down his wood,

4b lɔə tra.bloɔc bʁɔj sɔŋŋ noo? ha? tʁɔc mɔɔŋ lɔcŋ noo?
3S fell.out.of.hand immediately axe 3S Loc cave wood
it fell out of (his) hand, his axe (dropped) into a tree hole.

5 ?ɛɛ lɔə tɔŋŋok bʁɔj dəŋ sɔŋŋ noo? taj dəŋ naaj jaaw la,m koow
then 3S worry immediately Prep axe 3S Neg Prep what Neg 3S-Irr cut.down
wood 3S
Then he was worried about, without his axe, what will (he use to) cut down his wood.

6 ?ɛɛ lɔə ci? ha? han,naam
then 3S return Loc house
Then he returned home.

7a ?ɛɛ lɔə ci?
then 3S return
Then he returned (home),

7b kij,kɔr,sip,kɔ,diŋ,klɔɔm
sleeping.on.the.belly
(he) was not able to sleep.
So his wife she got up, asked, "Hey, her father! Don't you eat? Are you sick?"

(He) didn't answer (her), no response.

Then her husband he answered, "No. I'm not sick. I'm worried about my axe. It disappeared, no (tool) for us, I could not cut down my wood."

(His wife said,) "Interjection! Like that!"

So his wife immediately commanded the servants to go look for his axe in the field. [Those] They looked for (it), (but they) didn't see (it).
So I will give [marry] my youngest daughter to this (person)."  
Then he spoke to them in the village, saying, "Whoever see my axe, [to them] I will give [marry] my daughters to them [there]."  
Then he himself went to look for (it) once again, the place (he) cut his wood [again].  
Also, he still didn’t see (it).

Then he pleaded, "Please! Please! Spirits of forest, spirits of blessings, demon of forest water, (and) god of cobra, Please! Look for my axe, Please! Then I will pay (you) back, give (you) my daughter [at home] if they see my axe; then I will pay (you) back, give (you) (my) youngest daughter [at home]."
Then this Krung the snake he heard, 

"[Like that]. Exclamation! Really!"

Then he transformed his body,

He transformed into a python.

Then he went to [that] Mr. Rich Ruler.

Mr. Rich Ruler he answered, saying, "I'm looking for my axe."

Mr. Rich Ruler he answered, "(While) I was cutting down the wood, it disappeared right here. If you find (it), Grandchild, Hey! Surely I'll pay (you) back, I'll give[marry] (my) daughter to you."

Then he answered, "I may find (it), who knows."

Then he looked around the tree immediately.
Then he saw (it) in a tree hole.

Then he said, "Here, Grandfather, your axe it fell into the tree hole."

Then Mr. Rich Ruler he took (it) out immediately,

(he) brought (it) returned home.

Then he called his [group of] servants, "Children, [you] go carry the python in my field (back)."

Then they said, "Interjection! It's a big snake, right? We eat (it), it'll probably be delicious."

Then Mr. Rich Ruler he answered, "What make us eat (him)? It is him he saw my axe in the tree hole. [Now] I'll marry (him) to my child."
35a. ʔɛɛ məə ciʔ tun⁷ then 3P(pl) return carry(on.two.people's.shoulders.with.a.stick) 3P(pl) take bamboo
Then they returned (home), they took bamboo to carry (him),

35b. məə ciʔ tiə ʰəʔ həʔ həʔ naam
3P(pl) carry(on.two.people's.shoulders.with.a.stick) return bring Loc house
to?
that(far)
they carried (him), brought (him) to return home.

36a. ʔɛɛ laə praʃ ɓrɔɔj
then 3S command immediately
Then he commanded (his daughters) immediately,

36b. kuə n child ʔɛʔ h that taj Neg dii.dii accept mə m-Irr
child that Neg accept 3P(pl)-Irr take make husband
those children did not accept to take (Krung the snake) to be (their) husband.

37. ʔɛɛ məə riən " caʔ ʔəj ʰə donʔ paʔ taj ʰə reem ʰəʔ then 3P(pl) say good hey 2S-verb.prefix hear like Neg 2S-verb.prefix love 2S-Irr
kə̈ kə.ɛɛt tak
stab kill broken(totally)
Then they said, "Good, Hey! You hear/listen, if you don't love (us), you (better) stab, kill (us)."

38. ʔɛɛ naaŋʔən.sooc nee la.m cuk bəəm kləo
then lady youngest(child) this 3S-Irr take make husband
Then this youngest daughter she would take (the python) to be (her) husband.

39a. ʔɛɛ naaŋʔən.sooc nee taj khiin bar.maaŋ bəəʔ ʰəʔ nee?
so lady youngest(child) this Neg refuse word father 3S
So this youngest daughter didn't refuse her father's word,

39b. ʔɛɛ laə dii ʰəʔ ʔəh ɓrɔɔj
so 3S accept Imp.Voc that immediately
so she accepted that immediately.

40. ʔɛɛ laə tiih hɔc.m.blə ca cuut cak.daj
then 3S go.down bathe clean body
Then she went [down] to bathe, to clean body.

41a. məə cuʔ bəəj bih tiŋ nuk
3P(pl) put immediately snake Loc granary
They put the snake in the granary.

41b. ʔɛɛ ʔam.biʔ səʔ.ər.ʔəʔ.ʔəʔ.niʔ.niʔ.ʔəʔ.ʔəʔ.ʔəʔ.bəəj ɓrɔɔj
then evening at.sunset hesitate immediately
In the evening at sunset, (she) was hesitated,
she accepted to sleep with the snake because she was afraid of the snake will bite, eat her.

But she was there.

Then (Krung the snake and) this lady they slept till dawn.

Then the villagers they spoke, "Interjection! The youngest daughter is still alive. Exclamation! The snake should have bitten, eaten her."
Then they went up to look the granary. They saw, then they planned a wedding immediately. They married the human and the snake, they drank (and ate) / celebrated seven days (and) seven nights. (They) partied. (They) lived happily.

This youngest daughter she saw (her) husband tired of (getting back in his snake shirt), so she took her husband's snake shirt, burned (it) completely on the fire. Then he transformed into a human forever, that Krung the snake. One day, [has] one [another] Mr. Rich Ruler he went to ask (Mr. Rich Ruler), "Is it true that (your) youngest daughter took a snake as husband?" (Mr. Rich Ruler said,) "Yes, that's true!"

Then he returned home.
He commanded the servants went to catch a python in the forest, brought (it) back, made (it) to be the youngest daughter's husband. But this youngest daughter she was very frightened. Then her father he spoke, "Now I marry (you) to (my) youngest daughter; if you don't accept, I'll stab, kill you [completely]."

So they put the snake in the granary. So she slept with the snake.
he swallowed the youngest daughter.

so 3S call mother father only
So she called (her) parents [only],

She shouted of fear,

She cried and shouted of fear, "Please! Please! Mother, Father, Hey! The snake he bites me past (my) hips already."

Her mother she said, "What, Child? (Your) husband plays (with you)."

They said, "It's good like that!"

So they slept, these husband (and) wife at night.

In the morning, she called, "Hey, the youngest daughter! (I) [Invite you] Go down to eat [on here]. When will the two of you go down?"

But they heard nothing,
Neg hear 3P(du) discuss 3P(pl)-to.speak Neg (they) did not hear them[the python and the youngest daughter] chat.

Then they went up to look (and) saw nothing.

This snake he left, stayed in the middle of the bamboo thicket.

But they didn't know what to do. (lit: to do like this didn’t know, to do like that didn’t know) (to kill the snake or/and to get the youngest daughter out)

So they went down to call Krung the snake to go up to kill the snake.

The snake was completely dead.
Then the youngest daughter's father he spoke, "Well! I'd leave (her) here, then (we) eat the bad death ceremony here, because the snake he swallowed her, I'll make her coffin right by the snake."

Then they returned, [all] abandoned (her),

he, only Krung the snake was still there.

Then this Krung the snake he cut open the python's belly,

so he took (her) out,

so he made (her) alive.

(He) made (her) alive right there.
So she told (him) (her) life story, (how) her parents they mistreated her from small until older,

until 3P(pl) command take make husband Prep snake command snake

3S-Irr eat

until they commanded (her) to take the snake to be (her) husband, ??? commanded the snake to eat (her).

The lady she answered, "Well! I don't agree to return to them. Anyway, they don't love me. I'll stay, follow you, follow you, because you made me alive. I'll stay (with you) until (I) die, until (I'm) gone (I'll) follow you, serve you, honor you. Wherever you go, I'll follow. Wherever you go, I'll go."


like like.that return so return follow 1S

(Krung the snake said,"If like that, return (with me), so follow me to return (home)."

Then she [returned] lived with Mr. Rich Ruler and Krung snake.
So they adopted (her) as (their) child. So they lived happily (ever after).