PARTICIPANT REFERENCE IN COLLECTED BRAO NARRATIVES

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Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
IN
LINGUISTICS

Payap University

May 2016

Title: Participant Reference in Collected Brao Narratives

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Approval Date: 30 May 2016

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Degree:	Master of Arts in Linguistics
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Approval Date:	30th May 2016
Institution:	Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand
Number of Pages:	148
Keywords:	Brao, Discourse, Mon-Khmer, Narrative, Participant reference

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 Persisternce 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

งานวิจัยนี้นำเสนอผลของงานวิจัยสัมพันธสารเกี่ยวกับระบบการอ้างถึงผู้แสดงบทบาทในระบบ
สัมพันธสารของภาษาเบรา โอมมา ซึ่งเป็นภาษามอญ-เขมรกลุ่มบะห์นาริกที่พูดกันในภาค
ตะวันออกเฉียงเหนือของประเทศกัมพูชา งานวิจัยนี้มุ่งเน้นอธิบายการจัดลำดับ การเกริ่นนำ รูปแบบ
การเข้ารหัสแบบปกติและแบบไม่ปกติ ของผู้แสดงบทบาทสี่ประเภท ได้แก่ ผู้แสดงบทบาทสำคัญ
หลัก รอง และอุปกรณ์ประกอบฉาก โดยใช้คลังข้อมูลขนาดเล็กจากเรื่องเล่าวรรณกรรมพื้นบ้านจาก
บุคคลที่สามจำนวน 6 เรื่อง

ระเบียบขั้นตอนการวิจัยดัดแปลงจากตารางของเธอร์แมน (Thurman Charts) ร่วมกับยุทธวิธีการ
เรียงลำดับของ Dooley และ Levinsohn ในการจำแนกบทบาทผู้แสดงทั้งสี่ประเภท งานวิจัยนี้ใช้
วิธีการเชิงปริมาณของ Givón   เกี่ยวกับความคงที่ของหัวเรื่องและระยะห่างของผู้ถูกอ้างอิง เพื่อ
ตรวจสอบการเรียงลำดับผู้แสดงบทบาทในเชิงสถิติ ตารางการเข้ารหัสผู้แสดงในเนื้อเรื่อง
ของ Dooley และ Levinsohn   ถูกใช้เพื่อนำเสนอหลักเกณฑ์ของผู้แสดงทั้งสี่บทบาทในบริบทที่มี
ประธานและไม่มีประธานอ้างอิง

ผลการเรียงลำดับและการเกริ่นนำ ระบุว่า คำสรรพนามบ่งชี้ในภาษาเบราเพิ่มความเด่นชัดของผู้แสดง
ผลของรูปแบบการเข้ารหัสบ่งชี้ว่าคำสรรพนามเป็นรูปแบบการเข้ารหัสทั่วไปในบริบทที่มีประธาน
และการอ้างอิงเปล่ามักจะเป็นรูปแบบการเข้ารหัสที่อาจเป็นไปได้มากที่สุดในบริบทที่ไม่มีประธาน
โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในตำแหน่งกรรมของอนุประโยค ประโยค หรือในคำพูดอ้างอิง รูปแบบการเข้ารหัส
ที่ไม่ปกติคือลักษณะที่ผู้แสดงถูกเข้ารหัสเกินจริง หรือไม่ได้รับการเข้ารหัส การเข้ารหัสเกินจริงแสดง
ให้เห็นถึง)1) ความเด่นชัดของผู้แสดง หรือ (2) การขยายความเด่นชัดของผู้แสดง การไม่ได้รับการ
เข้ารหัสแสดงให้เห็นถึง (1) ความเด่นชัดของผู้แสดงนั้นเกิดขึ้นอยู่แล้ว หรือ (2) ผู้แสดงหนาแน่นอยู่
แล้ว โดยเฉพาะในจุดสุดยอดของเนื้อเรื่อง

iv

เนื่องจากวรรณกรรมเรื่องเล่าทั้งหกเรื่องไม่ได้รับการบันทึกมาก่อน การเก็บข้อมูลวรรณกรรมสาม
ภาษาระหว่างบรรทัดนี้จึงถูกเพิ่มเข้าไปในผลงานวรรณกรรมภาษาเบรา เพื่อเป็นการอนุรักษ์ภาษา
ประเพณี และวัฒนธรรม เรื่องเล่าเหล่านี้อาจได้รับการตีพิมพ์โดย International   Cooperation
Cambodia (ICC) ในฐานะสื่อการเรียนการสอนภาษาเบรา

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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
ARRYD	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

DBB	Doow Brah Brii (a participant)
Dem	demonstrative
Ep.	Episode
GE	Mother Gee Ersee (a participant)
GM	Goong Miin (a participant)
GVIP	Global Very Important Participant
ICC	International Corporation Cambodia
Ideo	Ideophone
Iden	identification
Indep	Independent
Info	information
Interj	Interjection
Intro	Introduction
Irr	irrealis
LHD	Laa He Dac (a participant)
Loc	Locative
LVIP	Local Very Important Participant
MI	most important
Ma Pt	major participant
Mi Pt	minor participant
N	noun
NDPro	noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun
NPro	noun followed by pronoun

Neg	Negation
No.	Number
NP	noun Phrase
Num	numeral
N1	Non-subject environment 1
N2	Non-subject environment 2
N3	Non-subject environment 3
N4	Non-subject environment 4
N#1	Narrative number 1
N#2	Narrative number 2
N#3	Narrative number 3
N#4	Narrative number 4
N#5	Narrative number 5
N#6	Narrative number 6
N#7	Narrative number 7
OB	older brother (a participant)
orig	original
PN	head or possessed noun
PNDPro	head or possessed noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun
PNPro	head or possessed noun followed by pronoun
Poss	possessive
Prep	Preposition
Pro	pronoun

Pro.pl	plural pronoun
Prt	particle
QF	quotation formula
RC	relative clause
RD	Referential Distance
Rel	relativizer
RQ	research question
RRD	Relative Referential Distance
RRYD	Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter (a participant)
S	sentence
SP	spacer
S1	Subject environment 1
S2	Subject environment 2
S3	Subject environment 3
S4	Subject environment 4
TBJ	Teen Ber Jaa (a participant)
TE	Mr. Teem Enlee (a participant)
TNRP	total number of references to participants
TP	Topic Persistence
V	verb
VIP	Very Important Participant
Voc	vocative

GLOSSARY

Anaphoric reference   The use of a linguistic unit referring to the same person or object as another linguistic unit earlier in a text or conversation.

Cataphoric reference   The use of a linguistic unit referring to the same person or object as another linguistic unit later on in a text or conversation.

Discourse   The original communicative act, whether spoken or written.

Encoding pattern   The use of a linguistic unit referring to a participant

Narrative   A spoken or written account of connected events.

Participant reference   The system of referring to participants.

Quotation formula   The ways to mention a speaker in a quote.

Prominence   The way a producer gains and maintains the attention of his/her audience.

Zero anaphora   The use of null reference, in a phrase or clause, which has an anaphoric function.

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).

Figure 1 Ratanakiri province, Cambodia (Tyler 2006: 37)

Figure 2 Location of Ta Veang in Ratanakiri province (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ta_Veaeng_District)

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 …" (2000: 7).

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.

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[1] Lave, Rawe are alternate names of Laveh.
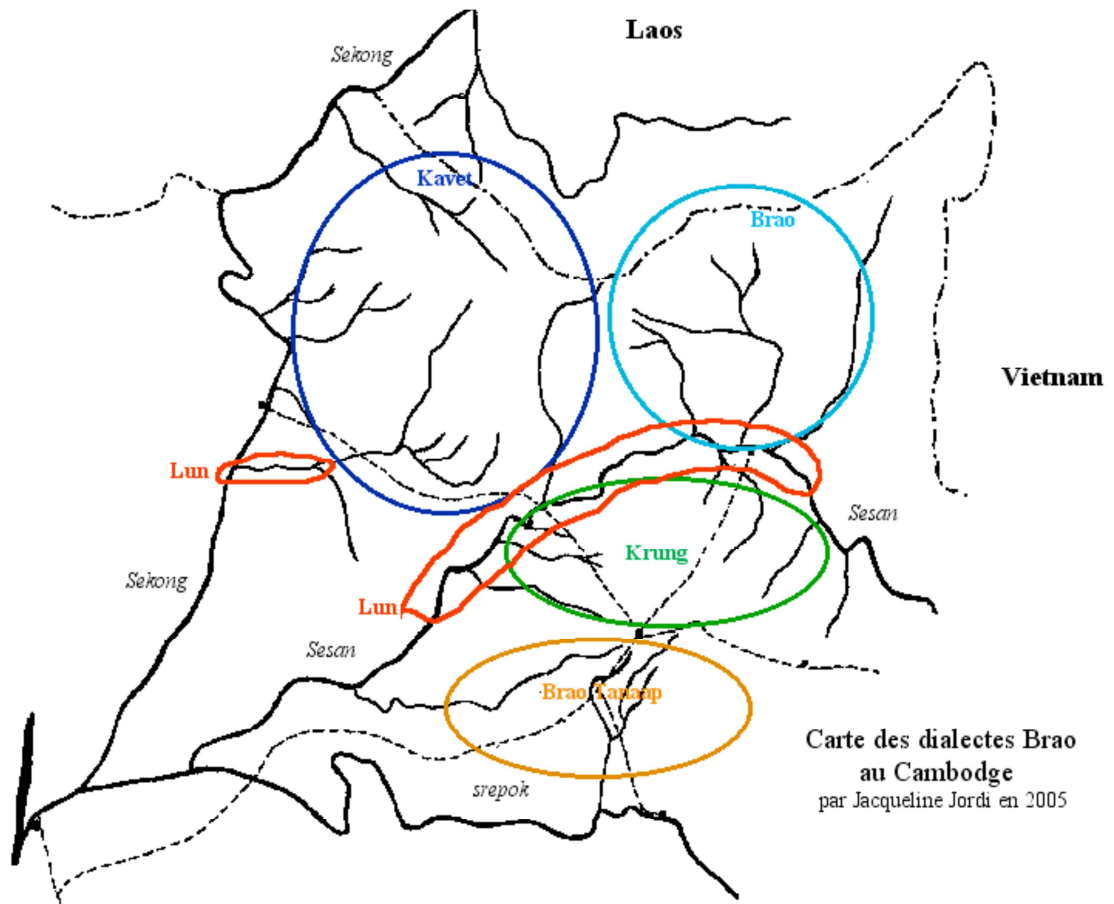
Figure 3 Brao language varieties in Ratanakiri province (Jordi 2011: 9)

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.
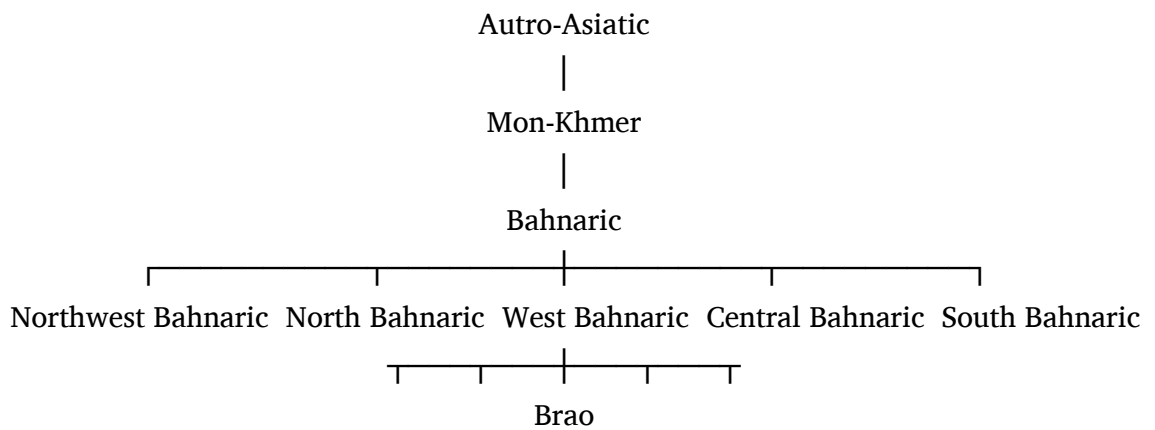
Figure 4 Brao Ombaa language family

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

	Bilabial		Labio-dental		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosives: voiceless unaspirated	p	ប៉, ព			t	ត, ទ	c	ច, ជ	k	ក, គ	ʔ	អ, អ៊
Plosives: voiceless aspirated	ph	ផ, ភ			th	ថ, ធ			kh	ខ, ឃ		
Plosives: voiced	b	ប, ប៊			d	ដ, ឌ	ɟ	ជ, ឈ	g	គ៉, ឆ		
Plosives: voiced implosive	ɓ	ឆ, ឆ៊			ɗ	ប់, ឈ	ʄ	អៀ, អ៊ៀ				
Nasals	m	ម៉, ម			n	ណ, ន	ɲ	ញ៉, ញ	ŋ	ង៉, ង		
Fricatives							ç	ស, ស៊			h	ហ, ហ៊
Liquids					l r	ឡ, ល រ៊, រ						
Approximants	w	វ៉, វ					j	យ៉, យ				

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

	Labial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosives	p	ប	t	ត	c	ច	k	ក	ʔ	គ
Nasals	m	ម	n	ន	ɲ	ញ	ŋ	ង		
Continuants			l	ល					h	◌ះ
			r	រ						
Approximants	w	វ			j	យ				

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: /iə/, /ɨə/, and /uə/. 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

	Front				Central				Back			
	Unrounded		Rounded		Unrounded		Rounded		Unrounded		Rounded	
Close	i ii	គិ គី			ɨ ɨɨ	គឹ គឺ					u uu	គុ គូ
Close-mid											o oo	គុ គូ
Mid			ə គឹ̈ əə កេី									
Open-mid	ɛ ɛɛ	កិ កែ									ɔ ɔɔ	កគ់ ក
Open	a aa	កាគ់ កា										

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)

Phonemic	Vowel	Phonemic	Vowel	Phonemic	Vowel
V + j		V + h		V + N	
aj	កៃ	ah	កះ	am	កាំ
ɨj	កី	ɔh, uɔh	កោះ គោះ	aŋ	កាំង
				ɔm	កាំ គាំ
				om, um	កុំ គុំ

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.

(presyllable) + main syllable

Example:

(1)   *hə + riəŋ = hə.riəŋ*   *hə. riəŋ*   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)   <u>Monosyllabic word</u>   <u>Sesqui-syllabic word</u>
       daak   water   *hən.dəəm*   new

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)   <u>Monosyllabic simple noun</u>   <u>Sesqui-syllabic simple noun</u>

     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)   <u>Derived nouns</u>   <u>Verbs</u>

     kə.nuu   a place to live   *kuu*   to live

     *cə.n*aa   food   *caa*   to eat

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

(5)   <u>Derived noun</u>   <u>Verb</u>

     *cər.n*am   wait   *cam*   to wait

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

(6)   <u>Derived noun</u>   <u>Verb</u>

     *cən.d*raa   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 *[bər-]*

(7)   <u>Derived nouns</u>   <u>Verbs</u>

     bər.maaŋ   word   *maaŋ*   to speak

     bər.noow   tomorrow   *noow*[2]

---

[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)   <u>Derived nouns</u>   <u>Verbs</u>
        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 verifiy 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)   <u>Simple monosyllabic verbs</u>   <u>Simple sesqui-syllabic verbs</u>
        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 *[pə-]*
(10)   <u>Action verbs</u>   <u>Verbs</u>
        pə.*ɲiw*   to make alive   *ɲiw*   to live

An action verb derived from a simple verb by the prefix *[pəN-]*
(11)   <u>Action verb</u>   <u>Verb</u>
        pəŋ.*hɔɔm*   bathe, shower someone   *hɔɔm*   to bathe, to shower

An action verb derived from a simple verb by the prefix *[tə-]*
(12)   <u>Action verb</u>   <u>Verb</u>
        tə.*vəən*   to make (sb) wear   *vəən*   to wear

A continuative aspect verb can be formed by partial reduplication.

Examples of reduplication

(13)   <u>Continuative verbs</u>   <u>Verbs</u>

    cə.cɔŋ   eating   *cɔŋ*   to eat sth

    də.dɔk   walking   *dɔk*   to walk, to go somewhere

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)   <u>Stative verb</u>   <u>Verb</u>

    trə.saak   to be torn   *saak*   to tear

A stative verb derived from a verb of action by reduplication

(14b)   <u>Stative verb</u>   <u>Verb</u>

    dii.dii   to be accepted   *dii*   to accept

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

(15)   <u>Stative verb</u>   <u>Noun</u>

    trə.daak   to be soaked   *daak*   water

A stative verb derived from a noun by reduplication

(16a)   <u>Stative verb</u>   <u>Noun</u>

    sɔk.sɔk   to be hairy   *sɔk*   hair, fur

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

(16b)   <u>Stative verb</u>   <u>Verb</u>

    cən.draa   to lead, to propose   *craa*   to propose, to persuade

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
<u>Common nouns</u>
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", *cən.duu* "mountain"). Properties (such as *thə.naŋ* "power"), sentiments (such as *kaan.bər.məət* "love"), and processes (such as *kaan.ʔaan* "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 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

Address	IPA transcription	Title
Miss / Lady	*naaŋ*	Honorific
Miss / Lady	*naŋ*	Neutral or Demeaning
Mr.	*thaaw*	Honorific
Mr.	*doow*	Demeaning
Sir / Mr.	*jaʔ*	Honorific
Grandfather / Grandmother	*ja.ʔɔɔʔ / ja.ʔiiʔ*	Honorific
Grandson / Granddaughter	*coow / coow*	Neutral
Older brother / Older sister	*ʔuuʔ / moʔ*	Honorific
Younger brother / Younger sister	*ʔɔh / ʔɔh*	Neutral
Older uncle / Older aunt	*mih / dak*	Honorific
Younger uncle / Younger aunt	*pɔɔ / miik*	Honorific
Niece / Nephew	*mɔɔn / mɔɔn*	Neutral
Friend	*kə.ləə*	Neutral

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.

<u>Noun Test 1: a noun is the head of noun phrase</u>

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

(17)   *kuən.pər.tii*   *baar*   *raa*   (N2:2)

       orphan   two   person.Clf

       two **orphans**

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

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

(18)   *doow*   *thaaw³*   *cə.gruəj*   *nɛɛ*   (N3:2a)[4]

       Mr.(demeaning)   Mr.(honorific) Cegruej   this

       This Mr. **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.

* <u>Verb</u> Noun (ungrammatical)

(19)   *kə.ʔaak*   *ləə*   *tə.boot*   *bih*   (N1:23c)

       crow   3S   to.trick   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] 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] 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.

<u>Noun Test 2: Possession of noun</u> based on the noun property of being possessors.

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

(20)   <u>*mɛɛʔ bəəʔ   nɔɔʔ*</u>   (N3:155c)

  mother father 3S

  His parents they

In example 20, the head noun *mɛɛ bəəʔ* "parents" precedes the possessor *nɔɔʔ* "his".

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

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

(21)   *Ɂam.braa* <u>*nɛɛ*</u>   (N3:98a)

  3P(du) this

  these two they

In example 21, *Ɂam.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)   *məə* *taj* <u>*tɔʔ*</u>   (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.

<u>Noun Test 4: the singularity and pluralization of noun</u> based on morphological form. Singularity is optionally marked.

The structure in example 23 is [[Addr N Pro.sg]_{NP}V V N Pro Prt N]_S

(23) *jaʔ*   *ʔat.ɲaa*   <u>*ləə*</u>   *dɔk*   *koow*   (N7:3)
       Mr.   rich.ruler   3S   go   cut.down

       lɔɔŋ   *nɔɔʔ*   *həʔ*   *mɨɨr*
       wood   3S   Loc   field

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

The structure in example 24 is [[N]_{NP}V Adv V]_S

(24) *gooŋ.mɨɨn*   *pɛɲ*   *taj*   *trɔɔ*   (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 *ləə* 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 [[Pro.pl N Dem]_{NP}Pro.pl V V]_S

(25) <u>*mɛɛ*</u>   *ruəh*   *nɛɛ*   *məə*   *raj*   *dɨk*   (N5:57a)
       3P(pl)   elephant   this   3P(pl)   wake.up   get.up

       these elephants **they** woke up,

The structure in example 26 is [[Pro.pl N Num Clf]_{NP}Pro.pl V Pro]_S

(26) <u>*mɛɛ*</u>   *brɔh*   *puən*   *raa*   *məə*   (N3:129)
       3P(pl)   unmarried.woman   four   person.Clf   3P(pl)

       tooj   *nɔɔʔ*
       follow   3S

       four young ladies **they** followed her.

In examples 25 and 26, plural pronoun *mɛɛ* usually precedes a noun and *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). Athough 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 Infixation

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 [Conn Addr N Pro[Pro$_{[Cli]}$–Irr–V]$_V$Pro Adv [Pro$_{[Cli]}$–Irr–V]$_V$V Prt Adv]$_S$

(27)	*paʔ*	*doow*		*kuən.pər.tii*	*nɔɔʔ*			(N4:18)
	if	Mr.(demeaning)		orphan	3S			
	lə.m̄.tooj	*ɲaa*	*ʔɛɛ*	*lə.m̄.pɛɲ*	*trɔɔ*	*taj*	*nɔh*	
	3S-Irr-follow	1P(excl.pl)	then	3S-Irr-shoot	to.be. right	Loc	may.be	

If Mr. Orphan he **would** have followed us, then he **might** shoot (it).

In example 27, the constituents are clitic pronoun *lə* "3S", irrealis infix *m* "would" and "might", and the verbs *tooj* "to follow" and *trɔɔ* "to be right".

The structure in example 28 is [Adv Pro [Pro_[Cli]–Irr–V]_V]_S

(28) *də.miɲ*   *sə.braa*   *lə.n̩.tɨɨh*   (N7:66)

     when   2P(du)   3S-Irr-go.down

     When **will** the two of you go down?

In example 28, the constituents are clitic pronoun *lə* "3S"[5], irrealis infix *n* "will", and the verb phrase *tɨɨh* "to go down".

The structure in example 29 is [Pro V Adv Neg Prep Pro Neg[Pro_[Cli]–Irr–V]_V N Pro_[Poss]]_S

(29) "…   *lə̄ə*   *pat*   *ɲɨh*   *taj*   *də̄ə*   (N7:11)

     …   3S   disappear   to.that.point Neg   Prep

     ŋaaj   *jaaw*   *ʔə.ŋ̩.koow*   *lɔɔŋ*   *ʔaj*"

     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* "1S", irrealis infix *ŋ* "could", and the verb *ŋɨh* "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.

<u>Verb Test 2: serial verbs</u>

Two-verb constituent: [([N/Pro Dem Pro]_{NP})[V V]_{VP}]_S

(30) kə.ʔaak   *lə̄ə*   <u>*trə.nə̄əw*</u>   <u>*riən*</u>   (N1:7)

     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 *trə.nə̄əw riən* "answered saying" are apparently one VP. It has one NP and no null references.

---

[5] *lə* "3S" is the clitic pronoun for second person dual.

(31) Ø   *cɔŋ*   *caa*   Ø   *həŋ.ŋan*   *kɨj*   (N3:114b)
3P(pl) eat(rice.only) eat   3P(pl)   sleep   sleep

(they) **ate**, (they) **slept**.

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: [([N/Pro Dem Pro]$_{NP}$)[V V V]$_{VP}$]$_S$

(32) *bih.kraʔ*   *nɛɛ*   *ləə*   *khɨt*   *ʔəŋ.khɨt*   *riən*   (N1:9b)
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) *məə*   *cɔŋ*   *caa*   *lɛɛw*   (N4:24)
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) *ləə*   *buh*   *ɟroŋ*   *paaj*   Ø   (N5:10a)
3S   grill   grill   boil   3P(pl)

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

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 – *buh ɟroŋ paaj* – "grilled boiled"with null reference following and a verb *bəəm* with null reference preceding it.

Four-verb constituent: [([N/Pro Dem Pro]$_{NP}$)[V V V V]$_{VP}$]$_S$

(35) *ləə*   *cə.cɛɛ*   *pɔɔc*   *həm.maac*   *maaŋ*   (N2:42c)
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.cɛɛ pɔɔc həm.maac maaŋ* "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

<u>Personal pronouns</u>

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

Person	Indep Pro A	Indep Pro B	Clitic Pro C*	A + B	A + C / B + C
1S	ʔaj	ʔəə	ʔə-	ʔaj ʔəə	(ʔaj) ʔə- / Ø ʔə-
1P(excl.du)	ɲɨɨ	ɲəə	ɲə-	ɲɨɨ ɲəə	(ɲɨɨ) ɲə- / Ø ɲə-
1P(excl.pl)	ɲaa	ɲəə	ɲə-	ɲaa ɲəə	(ɲaa) ɲə- / Ø ɲə-
1P(incl.du)	baa	bəə	bə-	baa bəə	(baa) bə- / Ø bə-
1P(incl.pl)	ŋaaj	ŋəə, ŋaa	ŋə-, ŋa-	ŋaaj ŋəə ŋaaj ŋaa	(ŋaaj) ŋə- / Ø ŋə- (ŋaaj) ŋa- / Ø ŋa-
2S	haj	həə	hə-	haj həə	(haj) hə- / Ø hə-
2P(du)	sə.braa	sə.braa	lə-		(sə.braa) lə- / Ø lə-
2P(pl)	vɛɛ	vəə	və-	vɛɛ vəə	(vɛɛ) və- / Ø və-
3S	nɔɔʔ	ləə	lə-	nɔɔʔ ləə	(nɔɔʔ) lə- / Ø lə-
3P(du)	ʔam.braa	ʔam.braa	lə-		(ʔam.braa) lə- / Ø lə-
3P(pl)	mɛɛ	məə	mə-	mɛɛ məə	(mɛɛ) mə- / Ø mə-

* 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) *ŋaaj*   *trɔm*   *raa*
      1P(incl.pl)   each   person.Clf
      all of us

In example 36, the words "all of us" modify the classifier *raa* "person", which is the head of the noun phrase.

(37) *mɛɛ*   *ʔəən*   *raa*
      3P(pl)   many   person.Clf
      many people

In example 37, the words "many people" modify the classifier *raa* "person", which is the head of the noun phrase.

(38) *vɛɛ*   *puən*   *raa*
      2P(pl)   four   person.Clf
      you four people

In example 38, the words "you four people" modify the classifier *raa* "person", which is the head of the noun phrase.

(39) *mɛɛ*   *səəŋ*   *raa*
      3P(pl)   five   person.Clf
      those five people

In example 39, the words "those five people" modify the classifier *raa* "person", which is the head of the noun phrase.

The structure in example 40 is [Pro.pl N]~NP~

(40) *mɛɛ*   *crə.həəw*
      3P(pl)   young.person
      the young people

In example 40, the words "young people" modify the noun *crə.həəw* "young.person", which is the head of the noun phrase.

The structure in example 41 is [Pro.pl V N]~NP~

(41) *mɛɛ*   *bəəm*   *mïir*
      3P(pl)   to.do   field
      the peasants

In example 41, the words "peasants" modify the verbal noun *bəəm mïir* "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).

<u>Indefinite pronouns</u>

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

<u>Emphatic pronouns</u>

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.ləʔ* has two meanings: 'self' and 'own'. When *kə.ləʔ* follows a noun or pronoun and precedes a pronoun, it functions as an emphatic pronoun (see example 42 and example 43). When *kə.ləʔ* 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.ləʔ ləə*   (N1:18b)
      python   self   3S
      the python himself

(43) *ləə*   *kə.ləʔ ləə*   (N7:18)
      3S   self   3S
      he himself

The structure in example 44 is [N Pro Adj]

(44) *cə.naaj*   *nɔɔʔ   kə.ləʔ*   (N3:70b)
      loincloth   3S   own
      his own loincloth

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 (1st, 2nd, and 3rd 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)

Position	Here (visible)		Near (visible)		Far (visible)		Exophoric (invisible)	
Above			*ti?* *?ən.ti?*	that (above)				
Same level	*nɛɛ* *nɛh** *?ən.nɛɛ* *?ən.nɛh*	this	*?ɛɛ* *?ɛh* *həŋ.?ɛɛ* *həŋ.?ɛh*	that	*tɔ?* *?ən.tɔ?*	that (far)	*?in* *həŋ.?in*	that (exophoric)
Below			*co?* *?ən.co?*	that (below)				

* when "*nɛh*" 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 "*ti?*" and "*co?*" 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 "*tɔ?*" 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.kra?*   *nɛɛ*   (N1:1a)
      Python   this
      this python

(46) *brii*   *?ɛh*   (N4:9)
      forest   that
      that forest

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]$_S$

(47) *ʔəm.bɨʔ*   *ʔam.braa*   <u>*nɛɛ*</u>   *ʔam.braa*   (N3:98a)

     evening   3P(du)   this   3P(du)

     ci̤ʔ   *təəm.bɨŋ*   *mïïr*

     return   from   field

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

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

(48) *ʔɛɛ*   *məə*   *taj*   <u>*tɔʔ*</u>   (N7:72b)

     then   3P(pl)   see   that(far)

     təəm   *ʔən.lɛɛ*

     trunk(long.piece)   bamboo

     then they saw [**that**](the python) by the bamboo trunk.

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]$_S$

(49) *məə*   *buh*   *caa.cat* *brɔɔj*   *bɨŋ*   <u>*ʔɛh*</u>   (N3:20a)

     3P(pl) grill   eat   immediately Loc   that

     they grilled (and) ate (the small deer) right **there**.

The structure in example 48 is [N/Pro V Dem]$_S$

(50) *ləə*   *kliih*   <u>*co̤ʔ*</u>   (N3:153)

     3S   fall   down.there

     It fell **down there**.

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

(51) *məə*   *tïïh*   *cɔk*   *brɔɔj*   *doow*   (N4:21)

     3P(pl) go.down   take   immediately Mr.(demeaning)

     kuən.pər.tii   <u>*ʔin*</u>

     orphan   exophoric

     they went down to take Mr. Orphan [**there(invisible)**].

In examples 49-51, the location adverbial demonstratives usually occur at the end of clauses or sentences.

<u>Demonstrative Test 3: verbal demonstratives</u>

The structure in example 50 is [N Dem Pro V Dem]$_S$

(52) *naaŋ*   *nɛɛ*   *ləə*   *taj*   <u>*ɓal.ʔɛɛ*</u>   (N2:48a)

     Lady   this   3S   see   like.that

     this lady she saw **like that**

The structure in example 51 is [Dem Adv]$_S$

(53) <u>*ɓal.nɛɛ*</u>   *maat*   (N3:157)

     like.this   really

     Really **like this**!

The structure in example 52 is [Adv Adj Adv Dem]$_S$

(54) *taj*   *khɨɨ*   *ʔɨɨm*   <u>*paʔ.nɛɛ*</u>   (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 intersifier. 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 [[Addr N Dem]$_{NP}$Pro V]$_S$

(55) *jaʔ*   *ʔat.ɲaa*   *nɛɛ*   *ləə*   *glaŋ*   (N3:150)
      Mr   rich.ruler   this   3S   look

      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 Addr N$_{[Poss]}$]$_{NP}$Pro V Prt N]$_S$

(56) *kuən jaʔ   ʔat.ɲaa*   *ləə*   *kɛɛt*   *həʔ*   *laaw*   (N2:28a)
      child Mr   rich.ruler   3S   die   Loc   Laos

      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 [[Pro.pl N Num Clf]$_{NP}$Pro.pl V Pro]$_S$

(57) *mɛɛ*   *brɔh*   *puən   raa*   *məə*   (N3:129)
      3P(pl)   unmarried.woman   four   person.Clf   3P(pl)

      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:

[N [(Addr) (N$_{[Poss]}$)] (Dem)]$_{NP}$ or

[(Pro.pl) N (Num) (Clf) (Dem)]$_{NP}$

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*   *ʔat.ɲaa*   *ləə*   *kɛɛt*   *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*   *nɔɔʔ*   *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.pər.tii*   *nɔʔ*   *ləə*   *bic*   (N2:32a)
       Mr.(demeaning)   orphan   Rel   3S   have

   ɟraaw   *ɟə.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 addressor 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 *ʔin* and animals and inanimate objects can be props when they are with a demonstrative *həŋ.ʔin* (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 punctiliar 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 *miiən* clause with the numeral phrase *muuj* or *nʋʋ muuj* 'be one' in Northern Khmer (1983: 115). The secondary (major) participants are usually introduced by an existential *miiən* 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).

Osborne's *Who's who in Kmhmuˈ: referring expressions and participant identification in selected Kmhmuˈ narrative texts* (2009) analyzes demonstrative pronouns, introduction of participants, and patterns of reference. The participants marked by demonstratives *giˈniʔ* in Kmhmuˈ (2009: 53). The central participants are formally introduced by noun phrases with classifier phrases in Kmhmuˈ (2009: 85). The introduction of major participants is usually shorter than the central participants and occurred later in the story in Kmhmuˈ (2009: 87). The minor participants do not typically receive a formal introduction and are often introduced in relation to major participants in Kmhmuˈ (2009: 88). The usual patterns of reference of subject and non-subject contexts in Kmhmuˈ are null reference, pronouns, and noun phrases (2009: 92-111).

Tebow's *An analysis of participant reference in Bru narrative texts as spoken in Khok Sa-At village* (2010) analyzes participant rank, introduction of participants, and patterns of reference. The participants are ranked by four measurements – TNRP, TP, RD, and RRD (adjusted) in Bru (2010: 63-71). The RD gives inconsistent readings for the Bru narratives (2010: 65). The participants are ranked in four categories for Bru – central, major, minor participants, and peripheral participants and props (2010: 72-81). The central and major participants are often introduced by nouns with classifier phrase (a numeral and a classifier) in Bru (2010: 72-76). The usual patterns of reference in the subject and non-subject contexts are null reference, noun phrases, and pronouns in Bru (2010: 85-110).

Finally, Edwards' *Participant reference in Tai Dam narrative discourse* (2011) analyzes participant rank and patterns of reference. The participants are ranked by four measurements in Tai Dam (2011: 79-88). The RD gives inconsistent readings for the Tai Dam narratives (2011: 80-81). The four categories of participant rank are major, minor, and peripheral participants, and props. The usual patterns of reference in the subject and non-subject contexts are null reference and noun phrases in Tai Dam (2011: 98-119).

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#1[6] "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.

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[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

Narrative	Narrator	Birthplace/ Residence	Gender	Age	Language spoken	Occupation	No. of Audience (including myself)
N#1* & N#4*	Ms. Nuuj	Soogn	female	~55	Brao	Brao language project member	4
N#2**	Mr. Teej	Phaaw	male	~35	Brao, Khmer	Brao language project member	4
N#3*	Ms. Moom	Tompuen riing tooc	female	~40	Brao, Khmer (not fluent)	Brao language project member	4
N#5	Ms. Cot	Phaaw	female	~35	Brao, Khmer (not sure)	A leader of one Brao church	4
N#6	Ms. Tuc	Soogn	female	~55	Brao	A leader of one Brao church	4
N#7**	Mr. Ma Rukig	Tompuen riing tooc	male	~30	Brao, Khmer, English (not fluent)	Farmer / language helper	1

* 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[7] 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

Intensity*	Grammatical features
1.	Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns
2.	Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives
3.	Possessive phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns
4.	Possessive phrases with demonstratives
5.	Nouns or Noun phrases followed by pronouns
6.	Possessive phrases followed by pronouns
7.	Nouns or Noun phrases
8.	Possessive phrases
9.	Relative pronouns
10.	Kin terms
11.	Pronouns or Clitic Pronouns
12.	Null reference

* 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

S#	Narrative text	Ce Pt	Ma Pt, Mi Pt, Prop			Iden	Grammatical Info				TP + TNRP				RD				RRD			
		P	C	H	T		P	C	H	T	P	C	H	T	P	C	H	T	P	C	H	T
	Opening										**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**								
01a	*ʔɛɛ.brɔɔj.maat* have.narrate *lɨəŋ* story *bih.kraʔ nɛɛ taj* python this see *brɔɔj* // immediately	P				bih.kraʔ nɛɛ	ND								0				0			
01b	*dəəm ləə* and 3S *ɟə.ŋat* powerful	P				ləə	Pro								1				1			
01	(I) tell a story (about) this python and he was poisonous.																0				0	
	Episode 1 – Boundary (Introduction: participants – the python/Global VIP, human beings, and crow; Event: the python nearly killed all people)										**6**	**5**	**4**	**0**								

S#	Narrative text	Ce Pt	Ma Pt, Mi Pt, Prop	Iden	Grammatical Info		TP + TNRP	RD	RRD
02a	*gan bə.nɨh* just person *məə dɔk* 3P(pl) go *daŋ* look.for *tə.vaŋ.klɔɔŋ* // bamboo.shoots		H	bə.nɨh məə		N		1	1
02b	*ləə tuut* 3S touch *daak. haaj* spittle	P		ləə	Pro			2	2
	nɔɔʔ naʔ taj 3S still Neg *doow* obtain	P		nɔɔʔ	Pro				
	məə kɛɛt 3P(pl) die *pa.tɨɨ* // same		H	məə		Pro		1	1

S#	Narrative text	Ce Pt	Ma Pt, Mi Pt, Prop		Iden	Grammatical Info			TP + TNRP					RD				RRD			
02c	*gan ləə* just 3S *klɔk hər.moow* bite shadow	P			ləə	Pro								1				1			
	bə.nɨh naʔ person also			H	bə.nɨh			N								1				1	
	məə kɛɛt pa.tɨɨ 3P(pl) die same			H	məə			Pro													
02 When people went to look for bamboo shoots, he didn't even get to touch (them) (with) his spittle, they died too. When he bit people's shadow, they died too.																					

•
•
•

			Referenced with NDPro [5 times]				TNRP				RD				RRD			
			2	0	2	1	19	6	13	6	1.89	4.17	3.00	2.00	2.11	6.67	3.64	8.00
		Percentage	10.5%	0%	15.4%	16.7%	43.2%	13.6%	29.5%	13.6%	MI	4th MI	3rd MI	2nd MI	MI	3rd MI	2nd MI	4th MI

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 11 Participant encoding in subject and non-subject contexts

CL#	S#	Conn	Subject	Subject Identification	S1	S2	S3	S4	Non-subject	Non-subject Identification	N1	N2	N3	N4	Free translation
1	1a	SP	-----	Intro					python this [1]	Intro					tell-3s
2	1b	and	Pro [1]	S1	P										3s-was poisonous
3	2a	SP	people [3]	Intro											3p-look for bamboo shoots
4	2b		Pro [1] Pro [1]	S4				P	Pro [3]	N3			P		3s-not touch his spittle 3p-died

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

Referring Expression	Discourse Function or Device
1. Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns 2. Nouns or Noun phrases with demonstratives	To introduce unidentifiable referents, especially the GVIPs and the LVIPs To emphasize thematic salience of referents To increase the intensity of encoding To increase the information load and slow down the information rate
3. Possessive phrases with demonstratives followed by pronouns 4. Possessive phrases with demonstratives	To introduce unidentifiable referents, especially the important participants To emphasize thematic salience of referents To increase the intensity of encoding To increase the information load and slow down

Referring Expression	Discourse Function or Device
	the information rate
5. Nouns or Noun phrases followed by pronouns 6. Nouns or Noun phrases	To introduce unidentifiable referents To individuate a specific referent To indicate the social status of referents To quantify referents
7. Possessive phrases followed by pronouns 8. Possessive phrases	To introduce unidentifiable referents To indicate the salience of possessed referents
9. Relative pronouns	To provide specific information of referents To emphasize the salience of referents
10. Kin terms	To show the relationship between two referents To act as terms of address To provide information of gender and social rank
11. Pronouns or Clitic Pronoun	To identify active referents To indicate irrealis mood To lessen the salience of referents To reduce the intensity of encoding To lighten the information load and speed up the information rate
12. Null reference	To identify active referents, especially at the Peaks of episodes To indicate referents in the object position To lighten the information load and speed up the information rate

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.

2014). 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 13 Total number of references to the participants

Participant rank	N#1	N#2	N#3	N#4	N#5	N#7
Most-referenced	**The Python** 19	**The older orphan** 53	**Mr. Cegruej** 117	GM, TBJ 44 LHD, CDB, DBB 43	**Lady Baya** 23	**Krung the snake** 35
2nd most-referenced	Human beings 13	Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter 31	2nd, 4th, 5th OBs 63 3rd, 6th OBs 62 1st OB 61	**Mr. Orphan** 26	Thaaw 20	Mr. Rich Ruler 28
3rd most-referenced	The Crow, The Toad 6	The younger orphan 24	GE 45	The Sun 11	Elephants 18	ARRYD 23
4th most-referenced		Husband snake 11	TE 31	The Deer 7	Grandma Gecko 16	RRYD 13
5th most-referenced		Mr. Rich Ruler 9	Mr. Rich Ruler 20	Human beings 6		Mr. Rich Ruler's axe 4
6th most-referenced		Wife snake 8	RRYD 18	The Elephant 4		

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

Participant rank	N#1 (4)	N#2 (5)	N#3 (12)	N#4 (6)	N#5 (5)	N#7 (7)
Occurred in all episodes	**The Python** 4	**The older orphan** 5	**Mr. Cegruej** 12	---	**Lady Baya** 5	---
Second most persistent	Human beings 3	Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter, The younger orphan 3	GE, TE 7	**Mr. Orphan**, The five brothers 5	Thaaw, Elephants 3	Mr. Rich Ruler 6
Third most persistent	The Crow, The Toad 2	Husband snake, Mr. Rich Ruler 2	Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers 6	The deer 3	Grandma Gecko 2	**Krung the snake**, ARRYD 3
Fourth most persistent		Wife snake 1	Mr. Rich Ruler, RRYD 2	The elephant 2		RRYD, Mr. Rich Ruler's axe 1
Fifth most persistent				The sun, Human beings 1		

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

Participant rank	N#1	N#2	N#3	N#4	N#5	N#7
Most important	**The Python** 1.89	Husband snake 1.45	Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers 1.65	The Elephant, The Sun 1.67	Thaaw 1.38	RRYD 1.57
2nd most important	The Toad 2.00	Wife snake 1.60	**Mr. Cegruej** 1.92	DBB 2.08 GM, TBJ, LHD, CDB 2.11	Elephants 2.17	ARRYD 1.96
3rd most important	Human beings 3.00	**The older orphan** 1.73	GE 2.41	**Mr. Orphan** 3.13	Grandma Gecko 1.75	**Krung the snake** 2.10
4th most important	The Crow 4.17	Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter 2.31	Mr. Rich Ruler 2.44	The Deer 5.00	**Lady Baya** 2.27	Mr. Rich Ruler's axe 2.62
5th most important		The younger orphan 2.71	RRYD 2.82			Mr. Rich Ruler 3.41
6th most important		Mr. Rich Ruler 3.89	TE 3.23			

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

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

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

	N#1 (4 Ep.)	N#2 (5 Ep.)	N#3 (12 Ep.)	N#4 (6 Ep.)	N#5 (5 Ep.)	N#7 (7 Ep.)
1. TNRP	The python 19	The older orphan 53	Mr. Cegruej 117	GM, TBJ 44 LHD, CDB, DBB 43	Lady Baya 23	Krung the snake 35
2. TP	The python 4 Ep.	The older orphan 5 Ep.	Mr. Cegruej 12 Ep.	---	Lady Baya 5 Ep.	---
3. RD	The python 1.89	Husband snake 1.45	Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers 1.65	The Elephant, The Sun 1.67	Thaaw 1.38	RRYD 1.57
4. RRD	The python 2.11 (orig: MI)	The older orphan 1.80 (orig.: 3rd MI)	Mr. Cegruej 1.97 (orig.: 2nd MI)	GM, TBJ, LHD, CDB/DBB 2.04 (orig.: 3rd MI/ 2nd MI)	Lady Baya 2.65 (orig.: 4th MI)	Krung the snake 3.07 (orig.: 3rd MI)

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.

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[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 18 Summary of the 4 categories of participants

	Central (6)	Major (26)	Minor (29)	Props (11)
N#1	**The Python**	The Crow, Human beings	The Toad, The Brao people, The snakes, The insects	---
N#2	**The older orphan**	Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter, The younger orphan, Mr. Rich Ruler	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	A mouse, The orphan's older uncle, The medicine
N#3	**Mr. Cegruej**	Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers, GE, TE, Mr. Rich Ruler, RRYD	The termites, Mr. Cegruej's parents, The villagers, The chicken	The small deer, The deer, The horned deer, The elephant
N#4	**Mr. Orphan**	The five brothers	Mr. Orphan's grandmother, Human beings	The deer, The elephant, The sun
N#5	**Lady Baya**	Thaaw, Elephants, Grandma Gecko	Lady Baya's father, Lady Baya's mother, Lady Baya's younger sister, Lady Baya's younger aunt	---
N#7	**Krung the snake**	Mr. Rich Ruler, RRYD, ARRYD	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	Mr. Rich Ruler's axe

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*   *kuən.pər.tii*   *nɛɛ*   *ləə*   (N4:2)
      then   address(demeaning)   orphan   this   3S

      bic   *ʔïïm*   *mɛɛʔ*   *bəəʔ*
      have   Neg   mother   father

      Then **this orphan he** had no parents.

(61)   *kaan*   *bat*   *həm.maac*   <u>*doow*</u>   <u>*thaaw*</u>   (N3:1a)

         story   story   narrate   Mr.(demeaning)   Mr.(honorific)

         <u>*cə.gruəj*</u>

         Cegruej

         (I) tell story (about) **Mr. Cegruej**.

The word *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*   <u>*kuən.pər.tii*</u>   <u>*baar*</u>   <u>*raa*</u>   *ʔam.braa*   (N2:1a)

         have   orphan   two   person.Clf   3P(du)

         hən.laak   *mɛɛʔ*   *bəəʔ*   *taj*   *bic*

         orphan   mother   father   Neg   have

         There have **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 [(Addr) N (Dem) (Pro)]$_{NP}$. If the exceptional N#2 is not counted, the introductions here average 2.3 words in the NP.

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).

(63)
mεε	*ɁuuɁ*	*nɔɔɁ*	*troow*	*raa*	*pəh*	(N3:2b)
3P(pl)	older.brother	3S	six	person.Clf	seven	

dəə	*nɔɔɁ*	*ləə*	*Ɂən.druuj*	*Ɂən.druuj*
Prep	3S	3S	clumsy	clumsy

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 $[(Pro.pl)\ N\ (Pro_{[Poss]})\ (Num)\ (Clf)]_{NP}$.

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 $[N + Dem + Pro_{([Cli])}]$. 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)	*taj.nɛɛ*		*kuən*	*jaʔ*	*ʔat.naa*		*nɛɛ*	*naaŋ*	(N3:125)
	here.in.this.place		child	Mr.	rich.ruler		this	lady	
	ʔən.sooc		*bɔk.jaaw*	*ləə*	*ŋun*	*tɨh*		*hɔɔm*	
	youngest(child)		amazing	3S	want	go.down		bathe	

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

The word *jaʔ* "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)	*ʔɛɛ*	*bih*	*brɔɔj*	*diəp*	*kə.nuu.kə.nuum*		*nɔɔʔ*	(N5:28)
	then	arrive	immediately	near	a.place.of.living		3S	
	ɓɔɔ.lɔɔŋ.pooj.ʔər.jooj		*brɔɔj*		*məə*	*jan.jan*		
	bamboo.forest		immediately		3P(pl)	trample(double)		

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)	*pər.tii*	*ləəj*	*ʔam.braa*	*kuu*	*ʔə.rɛɛŋ*	*dəə*	(N2:2a)
	orphan	already	3P(du)	live	with	Prep	
	ʔuuʔ	*ʔə.rɛɛŋ*	*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.rɛɛŋ) 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) *phə.ɗii*   *juu*   *kən.tiər*   *nɛɛ*   (N3:76a)
then   married.woman   termite   this

məə   *doŋ*
3P(pl)   hear

Then **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) *təəm.biŋ*   *ʔɛɛ*   *ləə*   *bic*   *mãŋ*   *mãŋ*   (N4:62a)
from   then   3S   have   night   night

məə   *həŋ.ŋan*   *kɨj*
3P(pl)   sleep   sleep

Since then, it has night / when it's night, **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) *ta.ŋəj*   *muuj*   *bic*   *jaʔ*   *ʔat.ɲaa*   *ləə*   *muuj*   *ləə*   (N7:52)
day   one   have   Mr.   rich.ruler   3S   one   3S

dɔk   *tə.ŋaa*
go   ask

One day, [has] **one [another] Mr. Rich Ruler he** went to ask (Mr. Rich Ruler),

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.

(70) *blii*　*ʔɛɛ*　*lɘ*　*dɔk*　*kap*　*brɔɔj*　　　(N2:18a)
　　after　then　3S　go　bite　immediately

　　ɟraaw　　*tɔʔ*　　*tɘɘm.lɔɔŋ*　　*lɛɛw*
　　medicine　　that(far)　　tree　　finish

　　After that he went to bite **that 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 *kɘ.nɛɛ lɘ* "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:

(71) *mɘɘ*　*taj*　*brɔɔj*　　*drii.drii*　　　　(N4:48)
　　3P(pl)　see　immediately　shine.of.a.small.light.like.a.candle/kitchen.fire

　　mat.ta.ŋɘj　　*tih*　　*mat.ta.ŋɘj*
　　sun　　big　　sun

　　drii.drii　　　　　　　　　　　*mat.ta.ŋɘj*　　*ʔin*
　　shine.of.a.small.light.like.a.candle/kitchen.fire　　sun　　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$_{[Poss]}$)]$_{NP}$.

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$_{[Poss]}$)]$_{NP}$ for major participants, [(N) N (Dem) (Pro)]$_{NP}$ and [(Pro) (Addr) N (Pro$_{[Poss]}$) (Num) (Pro)]$_{NP}$ for minor participants, and [N (N/Pro$_{[Poss]}$)]$_{NP}$ 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.

Chapter 5
Participant Reference – Rules

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

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

* 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) <u>Null reference</u>:

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

(72)	*ləə*	*cɨʔ*	*tii*	*mi.miʔ*	(N4:43)
	3S	return	hand	empty	

He returned (home) empty-handed.

	ʔɛɛ	*Ø*	*bɨh*	*həʔ*	*hən.naam*	(N4:44a)
	then	Ø	arrive	Loc	house	

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 *bɨh həʔ hən.naam* "arrived home" paraphrased *cɨʔ* "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) <u>Noun with a demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

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 *bɨh.kraʔ nɛɛ ləə* "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 nɛɛ ləə* "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 nɛɛ ləə* "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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

The central participants are referred to with a noun followed by a pronoun twice.

(i) In one, the python is referred to as *bih ləə* "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   <u>kruŋ   bih   ləə</u>   maaŋ "…"   (N7:42b)
      then   Krung snake 3S   speak

    Then Krung the snake he spoke, "…"

    ʔɛɛ   <u>kruŋ   bih   ləə</u>   tə.tïit   brɔɔj   (N7:43)
    then   Krung snake 3S   transform   immediately

    cak   nɔɔʔ   vɨr   bə.nɨh
    body   3S   transform human

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

(D) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

The older orphan is referred to as *pər.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 N2:42b. 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 *ʔɔh nɔɔʔ nɔɔʔ lǝǝ trɔɔ klɔɔ kraʔ trii nɔɔʔ* "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 *mɛɛʔ bǝǝ? nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa* "his parents they" in the previous clause (N3:155c). Another occurs in N3:128b; here Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ lǝǝ* "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 ʔat.ɲaa ləə* "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 *kə.man nɔɔʔ kə.ləʔ* "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 *mɛɛ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ maə* "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 *ʔam.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) <u>Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

(i) In one of the six occurrences, human beings are referred to as *bə.nih cə.maaw nɛɛ maə* "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 *ʔam.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 *ʔat.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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

(i) In one of the six occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is referred to as *naaŋ ləə* "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 *mɛɛ gooŋ.mïin təən.bər.ɲaa məə* "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 *gooŋ.mïin ləə* "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 ləə* "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 ləə* "Mr. Rich Ruler he" at the beginning of Ep. 1 (N7:3); this may be to denote a new episode.

(E) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

(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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase</u>:

Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers are referred to as *mɛɛ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ* "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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

    (i) In one of the two occurrences, the god is referred to as *krɛɛ.daj ləə* "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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase</u>:

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

Group	Pattern of reference	Central participants (6)	Major participants (26)	Minor participants (29)	Props (11)
1.	**NDPro/NPro/N**	0/5/1	0/10**/0	0/2*/0	0/0/0
		24%	23.26%	40%	0%
2.	**PNDPro/PNPro/PN**	0/0/0	0/8/0	0/2*/0	0/0/0
		0%	18.60%	40%	0%
3.	**Pro**	10*	16*	0	0
		40%	37.21%	0%	0%
4.	**Ø**	9**	9	1**	0
		36%	20.93%	20%	0%
	Total	**25**	**43**	**5**	**0**
		100%	**100%**	**100%**	**0%**

* 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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

(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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

(i) In one of the ten occurrences, the crow is referred to as *kə.ʔaak 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 *bəʔ tii.pɛɛ 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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun</u>:

(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.

(iv-v) In two other occurrences, Mr. Cegruej's six older brothers are referred to as *mɛɛ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ mәә* "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.

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

(viii) In another occurrence, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *klɔɔ nɔɔʔ lәә* "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

Group	Pattern of reference	Central participants (6)	Major participants (26)	Minor participants (29)	Props (11)
1.	**NDPro/NPro/N**	1/3**/2	6**/5/3	3**/1/1	0/0/0
		17.65%	36.84%	27.78%	0%
2.	**PNDPro/PNPro/PN**	0/0/0	1/1/0	0/1/0	0/0/0
		0%	5.26%	5.56%	0%
3.	**Pro**	27*	21*	11*	4*
		79.41%	55.26%	61.11%	66.67%
4.	**Ø**	1	1	1	2**
		2.94%	2.63%	5.56%	33.33%
	Total	**34**	**38**	**18**	**6**
		100%	**99.99%**	**100.01%**	**100%**

* 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 kuən pər.tii nɔʔ 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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

    (i) In one of the two occurrences, Mr. Orphan is referred to as *doow kuən.pər.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) <u>Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

Krung the snake is referred to as *kruŋ bih nɛɛ ləə* "this Krung the snake he" once in N7:74a. This may be to emphasize he killed the python.

(C) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

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*   *ləə*   *dɔk*   *brɔɔj*   *bih*   *tɔʔ*   (N5:7)

      then   3S   go   immediately   Prep   that(far)

      naaŋ   *bə.jaa*

      lady   Baya

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

      ʔɛɛ   <u>*naaŋ bə.jaa ləə*</u>   *tə.ŋaa riən*   "…"   (N5:8)

      then   lady   Baya   3S   ask   say

      Then **Lady Baya** she asked, saying, "…"

(D) <u>Null reference</u>:

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 (PNDPro), with a head noun of a possessive phrase followed by a pronoun (PNPro), 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 ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ ləə* "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 ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ ləə* "this Mr. Rich Ruler he" once (N7:2) and Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is referred to as *naaŋ ʔən.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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

(i) In one of the five occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ləə* "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 ləə* "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 ləə* "[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 ləə* "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 ləə* "Mr. Rich Ruler he" (N7:31a), perhaps because he and Krung the snake, both male participants, are on-stage at that plot point.

(B) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

(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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase with demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

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

(D) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun</u>:

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 kən.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) <u>Noun followed by a pronoun</u>:

A god is referred to as *krɛɛ.daj ləə* "the god he" once in N2:55; here the stage is crowded at the Peak.

(B) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun</u>:

Mr. Rich Ruler is referred to as *bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ləə* "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) <u>Null reference</u>:

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 khɔm.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

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

* 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 *cə.gruəj 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 *naaŋ 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) <u>Null reference</u>:

(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 *kruŋ bih ləə* "Krung the snake he" in the previous sentence (N7:43), this may provide anaphoric reference.

(B) <u>Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun:</u>

(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*	*vir*	*bə.nɨh*	*ʔən.sɔɔc*	*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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase:</u>

(i) In one of the four occurrences, the older orphan is referred to as *pər.saaw hən.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 kuən.pər.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*	*muuj*	*raa*	(N7:76b)
	3S	still	only	Krung snake	one	person.Clf	

	bɨŋ	*ʔɛɛ*					
	Loc	there					

he, only **Krung the snake** was still there.

(D) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

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

(77) *ʔɛɛ*   <u>*kruŋ*   *bih*   *ləə*</u>   *maaŋ*   "…"   (N7:42b)

   then   Krung   snake   3S   speak

   Then **Krung the snake he** spoke, "…"

   ʔɛɛ   *kruŋ*   *bih*   *ləə*   *tə.tɨit*   *brɔɔj*   (N7:43)

   then   Krung   snake   3S   transform   immediately

   cak   *nɔɔʔ*   *vɨr*   *bə.nɨh*

   body   3S   transform   human

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

(E) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun</u>:

The older orphan is referred to as *klɔɔ hən.dəəm nɔɔʔ ləə* "her new husband he" once in N2:54a; here the stage is crowded at the Peak.

 (F) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase</u>:

The older orphan is referred to as *ʔuɪʔ 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 *kə.ʔaak* "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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun:</u>

   (i) In one of the eleven occurrences, the younger orphan is referred to as *ʔɔh nɔɔʔ nɔɔʔ ləə trɔɔ klɔɔ kraʔ trii nɔɔʔ pən.ɗəəm ləə* "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 *kə.man nɔɔʔ ləə* "his sister-in-law she" (N2:57) and the younger orphan is referred to as *ʔɔh 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 *mɛɛ ʔuuʔ 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 *mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa* "his parents they" (N3:109a,155c), as *ʔam.braa mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa* "his parents they" (N3:140), and as *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) <u>Null reference</u>:

(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 *kuu sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm* "lived happily". More research is needed to explain this pattern of reference.

(C) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

(i) In one of the eight occurrences, the crow is referred to as *kə.ʔaak 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.ɲaa 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 *naaŋ ʔən.sooc 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 kə.ləʔ ləə* "he himself" (N7:18). More research is needed in order to explain this pattern of reference.

(D) <u>Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

(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 *naaŋ 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 *ʔam.braa naaŋ nɛɛ ʔam.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 *pər.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 *ʔən.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 lə* "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 *bəəʔ nɔɔʔ lə* "her father he" (N7:56), as *bəəʔ naaŋ ʔən.sooc lə* "the youngest daughter's father he" (N7:75), and along with his wife are referred to as *mɛɛʔ bəəʔ 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 mɛɛ bih.braj bih.vaak bih tʉt 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 *mɛɛ srʉk məə* "the villagers they" (N7:46); because they are off-stage for more than twenty clauses.

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

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

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 *N1* environment

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

* 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 **Central participants in the *N1* environment**

The central participant in N#5 does not occur in the *N1* context.

In the *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 *N1* environment

> The central participants in the *N1* 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 *N1* 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 kuən.pər.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 *N1* environment

> The central participants in the *N1* 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 *N1* environment.

5.1.6.2 **Major participants in the *N1* environment**

The major participants in N#5 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 N#2, 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 *naaŋ kuən ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ* "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 N#4, 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 N#7, 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 *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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

(i-ii) Mr. Rich Ruler's youngest daughter is referred to as *naaŋ ʔən.sooc* "the youngest daughter" (N7:60b) and as *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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase</u>:

(i-ii) Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter is referred to as *trii kraʔ nɔɔʔ* "his former wife" (N2:43) and as *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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase with demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter is referred to as *naaŋ kuən ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ* "this Rich Ruler's daughter" once (N2:32c). Perhaps for emphasis as she is the LVIP of Ep. 4.

5.1.6.3 **Minor participants in the *N1* environment**

The minor participants in N#1 and N#5 do not occur in the *N1* context.

In the *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.

Tentative 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.

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 *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 *bih* "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*	*hə ʔɔɔm*	*trii*	*nɔɔʔ*			(N2:16a)
	3S	smell.good	wife	3S			

He smelled (and realized that it is) his wife,

	ʔɛɛ	*ləə*	*taj*	*məə*	*ɟroŋ*	*trii*	*nɔɔʔ*	*tiŋ*	*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.

(79)	*ʔɛɛ*	*ləə*	*ɟal*	*pɛn*	*ʔən.noow*	(N2:10a)
	then	3S	cut.into.two	to.be.like	round.piece	

	nɔʔ	*kləəm*	*klaak*	*dəəm*	*cər.laat*	*bih*
	Rel	liver	bowel	and	slice	snake

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 *ɟuuj 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*	*ɟuuj*	*ʔin*	(N4:11)
	then	3P(pl)	see	immediately	really	deer	exophoric	

Then they really saw a deer.

					(N4:12)
ʔɛɛ	məə	pɛɲ	brɔɔj	_ɟuuj_	_nɛɛ_	
then	3P(pl)	shoot	immediately	deer	this	

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

Group	Pattern of reference	Central participants (6)	Major participants (26)	Minor participants (29)	Props (11)
1.	**NDPro/NPro/N**	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0	0/0/0
		0%	0%	0%	0%
2.	**PNDPro/PNPro/PN**	0/0/0	0/0/1**	0/0/0	0/0/0
		0%	2.94%	0%	0%
3.	**Pro**	0	0	0	0
		0%	0%	0%	0%
4.	**Ø**	24*	33*	6*	0
		100%	97.06%	100%	0%
	Total	**24**	**34**	**6**	**0**
		100%	**100%**	**100%**	**0%**

* 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 (Ø) 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 (Ø) 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 (Ø) 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

Group	Pattern of reference	Central participants (6)	Major participants (26)	Minor participants (29)	Props (11)
1.	**NDPro/NPro/N**	0/1/4	1/0/7**	0/0/1	0/0/0
		17.24%	22.22%	12.50%	0%
2.	**PNDPro/PNPro/PN**	0/2/0	0/1/0	0/0/0	0/0/2*
		6.90%	2.78%	0%	50%
3.	**Pro**	9**	6**	4*	0
		31.03%	16.67%	50%	0%
4.	**Ø**	13*	21*	3**	2*
		44.83%	58.33%	37.50%	50%
	Total	**29**	**36**	**8**	**4**
		100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

* 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 cɔ.gruəj nɛɛ ləə* "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.pər.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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

(i) In one of the four occurrences, Mr. Cegruej is referred to as *doow thaaw cə.gruəj* "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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun</u>:

(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 *kuən nɔɔʔ 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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

Mr. Cegruej is referred to as *thaaw 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 *naaŋ ʔən.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) <u>Pronoun</u>:

(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 *tɔk.kɛɛ ləə* "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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

(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.səəŋ* "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) <u>Noun with demonstrative followed by pronoun</u>:

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) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase followed by pronoun</u>:

The major participant is referred to as *kuən nɔɔʔ ləə* "his child she" in N3:128a (see example 81).

(81)   *ləə*   *laa*   *həʔ*   *bəəʔ*   *nɔɔʔ*   *lə m*   *tɨ̈h*   *hɔɔm*   (N3:127)
      3S   ask   Loc   father   3S   3S-Irr   go.down   bathe

She asked her father she would go down to bathe.

    jaʔ   *ʔat.ɲaa*   *nɛɛ*   *ləə*   *taj*   <u>*kuən*</u>   <u>*nɔɔʔ*</u>   <u>*ləə*</u>   (N3:128a)
      Mr   rich.ruler   this   3S   see   child   3S   3S

    glɛɲ   *maj*   *hɛɛt*   *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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

The termite is referred to as *kən.tiər* "the termite" once in N3:81b. Since he rescued Mr. Cegruej, his thematic role is an agent in relation to the central participant.

(B) <u>Null reference</u>:

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

Group	Pattern of reference	Central participants (6)	Major participants (26)	Minor participants (29)	Props (11)
1.	**NDPro/NPro/N**	0/0/10**	1/0/8	0/2/7*	0/0/9**
		25.64%	19.57%	40.91%	33.33%
2.	**PNDPro/PNPro/PN**	0/0/3	0/1/17**	0/0/7*	0/0/2
		7.69%	39.13%	31.82%	7.41%
3.	**Pro**	9	5	2	0
		23.08%	10.87%	9.09%	0%
4.	**Ø**	17*	14*	4**	16*
		43.59%	30.43%	18.18%	59.26%
	Total	**39**	**46**	**22**	**27**
		100%	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

* 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.pər.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 cə.gruəj* "Mr. Cegruej" (N3:67) and
as *cə.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 bə.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) <u>Pronoun</u>:

(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 kuən.pər.tii nɔɔʔ* "the orphan he" in N4:18, this may provide anaphoric reference.

(B) <u>Head noun of possessive phrase</u>:

(i-ii) In two of the three occurrences, the older orphan is referred to as *klɔɔ hən.dəəm 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 *pər.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 nɛ lə* "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 *ʔɯɯʔ* "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) <u>Noun or Noun phrase</u>:

(i-ii) In two of the eight occurrences, Mr. Rich Ruler's daughter is referred to as *naaŋ* "the lady" (N2:32b) and as *trii* "wife" (N2:59a). In N2:32b, she is referred to as *naaŋ kuǝn 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 *ruǝh* "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 *jaʔ tɔk.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 *mɛɛ ruǝh* "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 *jaʔ 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 *bǝ.nɨh* "human" (N7:48a). This may be to indicate she is a human who married a snake.

(B) <u>Pronoun</u>:

(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.nih 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) <u>Noun followed by pronoun</u>:

    (i-ii) In the two occurrences, the husband snake is referred to as *bih tih lə* "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) <u>Pronoun</u>:

    (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 *ɟraaw* "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 *ɟuuj* "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 *ɟraaw ɲiw ɁuɔɔɁ nɔɔɁ* "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 nɔɔɁ* "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

	Central participants	Major participants	Minor participants	Props
N1	Ø (80.95%) N or Pro (19.04%)	Ø (64%) Pro (16%)	Ø (58.33%) N (25%)	Ø (78.13%) N (18.75%)
N2	Ø (100%)	Ø (97.06%) PN (2.94%)	Ø (100%)	---
N3	Ø (44.83%) Pro (31.03%)	Ø (58.33%) N (19.44%)	Pro (50%) Ø (37.50%)	Ø or PN (100%)
N4	Ø (43.59%) N (25.64%)	PN (36.96%) Ø (30.43%)	N or PN (63.64%) Ø (18.18%)	Ø (59.26%) N (33.33%)

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 nouns 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 Kmhmuʼ narrative research (Osborne 2009). In both Brao and Kmhmuʼ, 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.

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APPENDIX A

THE RULES AND CONDITIONS FOR THE FOUR SUBJECT CONTEXTS

S1		S2		S3		S4	
Central participants							
Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **pronouns**	86.90%	referred to with **pronouns**	40%	referred to with **pronouns**	70.41%	referred to with **pronouns**	51.92%
may be referred to with **null reference**	1. anaphoric reference: (a) previously referred to with a proper noun (b) on-stage in several previous clauses	may be referred to with **null reference**	1. quotation formula: (a) in dialogues	may be referred to with **nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns**	1. removing ambiguity: (a) on-stage with other participants of same gender	may be referred to with **nouns or noun phrases followed by pronouns**	1. participant identification: (a) referenced at the beginning of an episode (b) narrator's intrusion

S1		S2		S3		S4	
Major participants							
Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **pronouns**	75.72%	referred to with **pronouns**	37.21%	referred to with **pronouns**	55.26%	referred to with **pronouns**	38.46%
may be referred to with **null reference**	1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses	may be referred to with **null reference**	1. quotation formula: (a) in dialogues	may be referred to with **nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns**	1. giving prominence: (a) they are the LVIPs (b) their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP	may be referred to with **nouns**	1. removing ambiguity: (a) on-stage with other participants of same gender (b) off-stage in several previous clauses

							(c) crowded stage
S1		**S2**		**S3**		**S4**	
Minor participants							
Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **pronouns**	79.59%	referred to with **nouns followed by pronouns** or **head nouns of possessive phrases followed by pronouns**	40% + 40%	referred to with **pronouns**	61.11%	referred to with **pronouns**	63.64%
may be referred to with **null reference**	1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses			may be referred to with **nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns**	1. giving prominence: (a) their thematic role is an agent in relation to the central or major participants (b) they are the LVIPs	may be referred to with **nouns with demonstratives followed by pronouns** or **head nouns of possessive phrases**	1. giving prominence: (a) their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIPs (b) the narrator's evaluation or comment 2.

							possession: (a) owned by human participants
S1		S2		S3		S4	
Props							
Rule	Condition	no occurrences		Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **pronouns**	100%			referred to with **pronouns**	66.67%	referred to with **pronouns**	80%
				may be referred to with **null reference**	1. participant identification: (a) only the prop and the human participants are on-stage 2. information rate: (a) the rapid pace of		

				the context		

APPENDIX B

THE RULES AND CONDITIONS FOR THE FOUR NON-SUBJECT CONTEXTS

N1		N2		N3		N4	
Central participants							
Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **null reference**	80.95%	referred to with **null reference**	100%	referred to with **null reference**	44.83%	referred to with **null reference**	43.59%
may be referred to with **nouns** or **pronouns**	1. removing ambiguity: (a) off-stage in several previous clauses (b) they are the VIPs of episode			may referred to with **pronouns**	1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses (b) referred to with a heavier	may be referred to with **nouns**	1. removing ambiguity: (a) off-stage in several previous clauses (b) on-stage with

Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
	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
N1		**N2**		**N3**		**N4**	
Major participants							
Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **null reference**	64%	referred to with **null reference**	97.06%	referred to with **null reference**	58.33%	referred to with **head nouns of possessive phrases**	36.96%
may be referred to with **pronouns**	1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses			may be referred to with **nouns**	1. generality: (a) referenced generically 2. addressing: (a)	may be referred to with **null reference**	1. object position: (a) they are objects in clauses or sentences

2. information rate: (a) the rapid pace at the Peak				referenced by kin terms 3. giving prominence: (a) they are the LVIPs of an episode			2. quotation formula: (a) they are the addressees
N1		**N2**		**N3**		**N4**	
Minor participants							
Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition	Rule	Condition
referred to with **null reference**	58.33%	referred to with **null reference**	100%	referred to with **pronouns**	50%	referred to with **nouns or head nouns of possessive phrases**	31.82% + 31.82%
may be referred to with **nouns**	1. removing ambiguity: (a) not referenced in the following			may be referred to with **null reference**	1. anaphoric reference: (a) on-stage in several previous clauses	may be referred to with **null reference**	1. object position: (a) they are objects in clauses or sentences

clause 2. giving prominence: (a) their thematic role is an agent in relation to the LVIP			(b) referred to with a heavier coding material in the previous clause or sentence		2. quotation formula: (a) they are the addressees
N1		**N2**	**N3**		**N4**
Props					
Rule	Condition	no occurrences	no rule can be proposed because of ambiguous data	Rule	Condition
referred to with **null reference**	78.13%			referred to with null **reference**	59.26%

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

NARRATIVE1-THE PYTHON

1a ʔɛɛ.brɔɔj.maat lɨəŋ bih.kraʔ nɛɛ brɔɔj
   have.narrate story python this immediately
   (I) tell a story (about) this python

1b dəəm ləə ɟə.ŋat
   and 3S powerful
   and he was poisonous.

2a gan bə.nɨh məə dɔk daŋ tə.vaŋ.klɔɔŋ
   just person 3P(pl) go look.for bamboo.shoots
   When people went to look for bamboo shoots,

2b ləə tuut daak.haaj nɔɔʔ naʔ taj doow məə kɛɛt pa.tɨɨ
   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 ləə klɔk hər.moow bə.nɨh naʔ məə kɛɛt pa.tɨɨ
   just 3S bite shadow human also 3P(pl) die same
   when he bit people's shadow, they died too.

3a diəp lə.m rɨɨŋ luɔj
   near 3S-Irr to.sieve already
   He nearly killed (all people) already.

3b bə.nɨh cə.maaw laaw kɛɛw ŋaaj bə.nɨh cə.maaw məə kɛɛt
   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 ləə sro.sriət
   then crow 3S to.pity
   Then a crow he pitied (humans),

4b ləə riən " vəəj paʔ.nɛɛ lə m lɛɛk luɔj bə.nɨh cə.maaw mɛɛ kɛɛt "
   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 bih nɛɛ ʔam.braa cər.nuul brɔɔj
   then crow snake this 3P(du) to.meet.each.other immediately
   Then the crow (and) this snake they met.

6 ʔɛɛ   bih   ləə tə.ŋaa " ʔəəj haj ʔəŋ.ŋaaj hə taj   məə broow.ɟɔɔŋ.hɔɔŋ.ɓɔɔ
   then snake 3S ask   hey 2S what   2S-to.see 3P(pl) Brao.people

   ʔin   / məə bəəm trɔm ta.ŋəj phuuh.cəm.phuuh.joŋ.hə.joŋ / paʔ   məə ɲɨɨm
   exophoric 3P(pl) make every day   so.noisy   when 3P(pl) cry

   paʔ   məə ŋaaj ʔə.doŋ   "
   when 3P(pl) what 1S-to.hear
   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?"

7 ʔɛɛ   kə.ʔaak ləə trə.nəəw riən " ʔɨɨm ʔəŋ.ŋaaj həŋ.ʔin   məə   ɲɨɨm /
   then crow   3S to.answer say   Neg what   exophoric.reference 3P(pl) cry

   məə   rɔ.çaam jook.jal.kər.pal.mat ɲɨm   kləəm rəəm   pə.nat
   3P(pl) happy   taste.good liver gallbladder

   gɔh   gɔɔŋ gɔh   hə.guur / rɔ.çaam taj.ɗam   "
   beat(on.side.of.gong) gong beat(on.side.of.gong) drum   happy extremely
   Then the crow he answered, saying, "They did not cry. They are very happy,
   beating[playing] gongs (and) drums. (They are) extremely happy."

8 ləə riən
   3S say
   He said.

9a ʔɛɛ phiək   brɔɔj
    then realized.suddenly immediately
    After (he) realizing that suddenly,

9b bih.kraʔ nɛɛ ləə khɨt ʔəŋ.khɨt   riən " paʔ.ʔin diw ʔaj ʔin   lə.m
    python this 3S think think.in.mind say   like.that only 1S exophoric 3S-Irr

    ɟə.ŋat   jaaw ɟar ʔaj ʔin   / ʔə.n dɔk dɨɨʔ   həʔ də.daar laak.liəw
    powerful Neg toxin 1S exophoric   1S-Irr go vomit Loc rock   Bleavblech

    briəw.bləəc.də.daar ʔin   caʔ   taj.ɗam   "
    name.of.a.rock.field exophoric beautiful extremely
    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)."

10a ʔɛɛ ləə taj brɔɔj   ɟə.mɨ dɔŋ.daaj
    then 3S see immediately vine   stem
    Then he saw a vine stem,

10b ləə həm.baak.jaak
    3S hang.on.up.to
    he hung on up to (it).

11a ʔɛɛ   ləə dɨk həŋ.kəən cak   nɔɔʔ tiʔ   dɔŋ.daaj sʉə
    then 3S lay   body 3S   down stem   refer.to.come.out.vomit
    brɔɔj
    immediately
    Then he laid his body on that stem (and) vomited immediately.

11b ləə dɨɨʔ
    3S vomit
    He vomited.

12 ʔɛɛ boow   mɛɛ bih.braj boow   bih.vaak boow   kə.jɛɛp   boow
   then a.group.of 3P(pl) cobra   a.group.of viper   a.group.of centipede a.group.of
   kə.daam.riŋ boow   tɔŋ.kə.dʉəj   boow   ko.kaʔ mɛɛ   caa ʔər.dɨɨʔ bih.kraʔ
   scorpion.big a.group.of scorpion.small a.group.of spider 3P(pl) eat vomit   python
   Then cobras, vipers, centipedes, big (and) small scorpions, (and) spiders they ate the
   python's vomit.

13a ʔɛɛ məə   caa lɛɛk
    so   3P(pl) eat all
    So they ate all (the python's vomit).

13b ʔɛɛ   kaan.ɟə.ŋat   ləə kuu həʔ mɛɛ   ʔən.naaw
    then power.strong 3S   stay Loc 3P(pl) mark.of.contrast
    Then the power of the toxin it stayed/was with them (in place of the python).

14 ʔɛɛ dəə ʔən.drɔɔk ʔin   ʔən.tun boow
   then Prep toad   exophoric after   a.group.of
   As for the toad (came) after the others,

15 ləə dɔk lə.m luər brɔɔj   bɨŋ ʔər.dɨɨʔ bih   ʔɛɛ
   3S go 3S-Irr roll immediately Loc vomit   snake there
   he went to roll on the snake's vomit [there] immediately.

16 ʔɛɛ həm.bɔɔk nɔɔʔ ləə tit   ɟar
   then skin   3S   3S attached toxin
   Then his skin it attached the toxin.

17 ʔɛɛ ŋəə   pɛn   ʔɨɨm caa
   so   1P(incl.pl) to.be.like Neg eat
   So we[Brao people] don't eat (toad).

18a ʔɛɛ lɛɛk ləəj   məə   caa ʔər.dɨɨʔ ʔɛɛ
    so all already 3P(pl) eat vomit   there
    So all (of them) they ate the vomit [there] already.

18b ʔɛɛ dəə bih.kraʔ kə.ləʔ ləə drɔp.dram cak   bɨŋ daak
    then Prep python self   3S soak   body Loc water
    As for the python himself, (he) soaked (his) body in the water.

19 ʔɛɛ krɛɛ.daj ləə riən " ʔɛɛ hə.m bluuŋ   paʔ traaŋ   / hə.m blaaŋ   paʔ
   then God   3S say   so 2S-Irr unlucky like type.of.grass 2S-Irr powerless as
   daak / cak haj lə.m ɟə ŋat   jaaw vɛh diw kap mɨt mi.mi   "
   water   body 2S 3S-Irr powerful Neg only only bite enter without.effect
   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."

20 ʔɛɛ boow   mɛɛ bih.braj bih.vaak bih   tut bih.braj tram məə ɟə.ŋat
   so a.group.of 3P(pl) cobra   viper   snake very cobra   each 3P(pl) powerful
   ʔən.naaw
   mark.of.contrast
   So the cobras, vipers, (and) every cobra they are poisonous (in place of the python).

21a ʔɛɛ nɛh.nɛh nɛɛ kəəj ləəj   məə kɛɛt dəə bih
    then now   here few already 3P(pl) die Prep snake
    Nowadays, few of them[people] are died from snake (bite)

21b ɲɔɔŋ   məə nɔh   lə.vaŋ cak trɔm raa
    Imp.Neg 3P(pl) careful protect body every person.Clf
    because they carefully protect their bodies[themselves].

22 ʔɛɛ ʔən.drɔɔk nɛɛ məə   caa ʔɨɨm pa.tɨɨ həm.bɔɔk nɔɔʔ
   so toad   this 3P(pl) eat Neg same skin   3S
   So they don't eat this toad and his skin as well.

23a ʔɛɛ məə niəm brɔɔj
    then 3P(pl) well immediately
    Then they were well [immediately],

23b bə nɨh cə.maaw   nɛɛ məə ɲiw brɔɔj
    human ethnic.group this 3P(pl) live immediately
    these humans they lived (well) [immediately]

23c ɲɔɔn.dəə kə ʔaak ləə tə.boot bih
    because crow   3S to.trick snake
    because the crow he deceived the snake.

24a təəm.bɨŋ ʔɛɛ bə.nɨh nɛɛ məə   sɨɨk.taak.hə.vaak.naaj.brɔɔj
    from   then human this 3P(pl) multiply.more.continuously
    Since then those humans they multiplied continuously,

24b məə sɨɨk   bɨŋ   brɛh bɨŋ   brii bɨŋ   pa.sa.son trɔm
    3P(pl) multiply to.be.full ground to.be.full forest to.be.full nation   every
    saat   brɔɔj
    ethnic.group immediately
    they multiplied all over the earth, in the forests, (and) in every ethnic group.

25 təəm.bɨŋ bih.kraʔ ləə ɟə.ŋat   jaaw
    from   python   3S   powerful Neg
     From (that time on), the python he is not poisonous.

26a ʔɛɛ məə   kuu ŋɨm.saŋ klaŋ.rɛɲ brɔɔj
     so   3P(pl) live happy   immediately
      So they lived happily (ever after).

26b məə   sɨɨk.taak.hə.vaak.naaj bɨh   nɛh.nɛh
     3P(pl)   Prep now
      They multiplied till now.

27 looc.ləəj
    end
     [The End]

APPENDIX D
NARRATIVE2-LUNAR ECLIPSE

0 ʔaj ʔə.n maac.hm.maac liəŋ mɛɛ kraʔ laj
  1S 1S-Irr narrate raise.adoption 3P(pl) old long.ago
  I am going to tell a traditional story.

1a bic kuən.pər.tii baar raa ʔam.braa hən.laak mɛɛʔ bəəʔ taj bic
  have orphan two person.Clf 3P(du) orphan mother father Neg have
  There have two orphans, they were orphaned, didn't have parents

1b jak mɛɛʔ bəəʔ məə kɛɛt ləəj
  because mother father 3P(pl) die already
  because their parents were dead already.

2a pər.tii ləəj ʔam.braa kuu ʔə.rɛɛŋ dəə ʔuuʔ ʔə.rɛɛŋ dəə pɔɔ
  orphan already 3P(du) live with Prep older.brother with Prep uncle
  The orphans lived with (their) older uncle

2b tɨŋ naʔ ʔam.braa klɛɛt.ʔəŋ.klɛɛt
  Loc still 3P(du) child
  while they were still little.

3a ʔɛɛ mɛɛ ʔuuʔ pɔɔ ʔam.braa kə.laa liəŋ pɛɛk məə
  then 3P(pl) older.brother uncle 3P(du) owner raise.adoption look.after 3P(pl)
  pə.ŋət
  hungry
  Then their older uncle's family (who) raised (them) they were hungry,

3b məə bic ʔɨɨm ʔɔɔʔ cɔŋ
  3P(pl) have Neg rice(cooked) eat(rice.only)
  they ran out of food.

4 pa.pə.ʔɛɛ məə həm.puət ʔɔh nɔɔʔ həʔ mɛɛ.son.saat.laaw
  so 3P(pl) sell younger.sibling 3S Loc Laotians
  mɛɛ.son.saat.laaw ʔin ʔat.ɲaa
  Laotians exophoric rich.ruler
  So they sold his younger brother to Laotians, a Laotian rich ruler.

5 pa.pə.ʔɛɛ ʔɔh nɔɔʔ nɛɛ ləə tih ʔən.ɟəən ʔəən kə.mɔɔ həʔ mɛɛ
  so younger.sibling 3S this 3S grow.up adult many year Loc 3P(pl)
  laaw ʔat.ɲaa ʔin
  Lao rich.ruler exophoric

So [this] his younger brother he grew up in the Lao rich ruler's (house).

6 ʔɛɛ   jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə taj doow   kuən.pər.tii nɛɛ ləə kuu
   then Mr rich.ruler 3S   see Mr.(demeaning) orphan   this 3S   stay
   sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm
   to.be.well
   Then Mr rich ruler he saw this orphan he lived well.

7a ʔɛɛ ləə bər.jɔŋ brɔɔj   bɨŋ kuən kə.trii nɔɔʔ
    so   3S   marry   immediately Loc child woman   3S
    So he married (the younger orphan) to his daughter

7b dəəm ʔam brɔɔj   sak.naa.taa.taŋ dəə pər.saaw   nɔɔʔ
    and   give immediately power   Prep son-in-law 3S
    and (he) gave[delegated] (his) power to his son-in-law.

8a ʔɛɛ nɔʔ dəə ʔuu?   nɔɔʔ ʔən.naaw   ləə kuu dəə ʔuu?
    so   as.for Prep older.brother 3S   mark.of.contrast 3S   live Prep older.brother
    pɔɔ   nɔɔʔ həʔ mɛɛ   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 ləə khəəj   vɛɛr   pə.poot.pə.pɛɲ
    3S   used.to wander.about shoot
    he used to hunt.

9a ta.ŋəj həŋ.ʔin   ləə vɛɛr   həʔ brii
    day   exophoric.reference 3S   wander.about Loc forest
    (One) day, he wandered about in the forest,

9b ləə doow ka.jɛʔ cər.laat pə.troow dəəm bih.braj tih
    3S   obtain food   slice   animal   and   cobra   big
    he obtained food, sliced the animals and a big cobra.

10a ʔɛɛ ləə ɟal   pɛn   ʔən.noow nɔʔ kləəm klaak dəəm cər.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 ləə ɟroŋ muuj ʔəm.buʔ brɔɔj   mãŋ ʔɛɛ ɟɛʔ   cram
     3S   grill one   place   immediately night that to.the.extent.that dry
     he grilled (it) there that night to dry (it).

11a ʔɛɛ ŋɨp   bər.noow tɨŋ ləə dɔk kɔh ɓɔɔ   taaŋ rɔɔ
     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.jɛʔ nɔɔʔ
     in.order.to carry(on.the.shoulder) food   3S
     in order to carry his food.

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12 Ɂɛɛ ləə doŋ brɔɔj   tə̀əm tiɁ   cən.duu bih tih saat   trii nɔɔɁ
   then 3S hear immediately from on/above mountain snake big look.for wife 3S
   sɨə.Ɂɔŋ.Ɂɔɔŋ
   sound.of.cobra
   Then he heard [the sound of cobra] from that mountain above[up there], a big snake
   was looking for his wife.

13 Ɂɛɛ ləə bih coɁ   kər.ɟəəŋ nɔɔɁ ɟroŋ cər.laat Ɂɛɛ
   then 3S arrive down.there grill   3S   grill slice   then
   Then he[the snake] arrived at the place he grilled the sliced food.

14 Ɂɛɛ ləə kun   glaŋ brɔɔj   bɨŋ Ɂɛɛ
   so 3S sneak look immediately Loc then
   So he hid there to sneak.

15 Ɂɛɛ   ləə taj bih   tih ləə sə.soor.mə.moor
   then 3S see snake big 3S   having.smelt.something.and.crawling.slowly.towards.it
   Then he saw the big snake he was crawling toward (the place his wife was being grilled).

16a ləə hə.Ɂɔɔm   trii nɔɔɁ
    3S   smell.good wife 3S
    He smelled (and realized that it is) his wife,

16b Ɂɛɛ   ləə taj məə   ɟroŋ trii nɔɔɁ tɨŋ kər.ɟəəŋ
    then 3S see 3P(pl) grill wife 3S   Loc grill
    then he saw his wife was being grilled by them[someone].

17a Ɂɛɛ   ləə gɔŋ   bih coɁ   brɛh
    then 3S carry(in.the.mouth) Prep down.there ground
    Then he carried (his wife) down on the ground,

17b ləə pər.tit   kləəm klaak dəəm tuuh suəj paɁ Ɂəm.bii   tɨɨ
    3S   stick.together liver   bowel and   head tail like in.the.past same
    he stuck the liver and bowel together, and from head to tail like in the past.

18a blii Ɂɛɛ   ləə dɔk kap brɔɔj   ɟraaw   tɔɁ   tə̀əm.lɔɔŋ lɛɛw
    after then 3S go bite immediately medicine that(far) tree   finish
    After that he went to bite the medicine from that tree.

18b Ɂɛɛ ləə prɔh trii   nɔɔɁ
    then 3S heal wife 3S
    Then he restore his wife,

18c ləə ɲiw brɔɔj
    3S   live immediately
    she was alive immediately.

19 blii Ɂɛɛ   Ɂam.braa viih   pat   tak
   after then 3P(du)   go.away disappear/to.be.gone broken(totally)
   After that they went away.

20a ʔɛɛ bəʔ   kuən.pər.tii nɛɛ ləə taj ɓal.ʔɛɛ
      so man(single) orphan   this 3S see like.that
      So this [unmarried] orphan he saw like that,

20b ləə dɔk pɛh pa.tɨɨ brɔɔj   nɔʔ ɟraaw   bih ʔən.duu
      3S go pick same immediately Rel medicine snake from.before
      he went to pick the same (medicine), which was the medicine the snake (picked) before.

21 ʔɛɛ ləə cɨʔ   paʔ tiəm   taj kə.nɔɔ nɔɔʔ
    then 3S return as look.at(trap.only) see trap   3S
     Then he returned to see his trap.

22 ʔɛɛ ləə taj kə.nɛɛ ləə cuət   kə.nɔɔ
    then 3S see mouse 3S to.be.caught trap
     There he saw a mouse it was caught in (his) trap.

23 ʔɛɛ ləə cɔk prɔh paʔ bih ʔən.duu   tɨɨ
     so 3S take heal like snake from.before same
     So he used the medicine like what the snake did.

24 ʔɛɛ   ləə ɲiw brɔɔj
    then 3S live immediately
     Then it was alive immediately.

25a ʔɛɛ ləə cɨʔ   bɨh hən.naam mɛɛ ʔuuʔ   pɔɔ nɔɔʔ
    then 3S return Prep house   3P(pl) older.brother uncle 3S
     Then he returned to his older uncle's house,

25b həm.bruh.dəə.ʔɛɛ mih   nɔɔʔ kə.ləʔ ləə kɛɛt
     at.that.time   older.uncle 3S self   3S die
     at that time his own older uncle he died.

26a ʔɛɛ ləə pruh.ɟɔɔŋ.khaa.glaŋ   mih   nɔɔʔ
     so 3S try.to.heal.by.blowing older.uncle 3S
     So he tried to use the medicine to restore his older uncle.

26b ləə ɲiw brɔɔj   mat.maat bɨŋ ʔɛɛ
     3S live immediately truly   Loc then
     He was alive immediately there.

27 ʔɛɛ ləə lɨɨ ʔən.təər   brɔɔj   bɨŋ mɨən
    then 3S hear heard.around immediately Loc city
     Then it[what had happened] was heard all over the town.

28a ʔɛɛ phə.ɗii kuən jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə kɛɛt həʔ laaw
    then then   child Mr rich.ruler 3S die Loc Laos
     One day, Mr. rich ruler's child she died in Laos,

28b ləə trɔɔ kə.man   nɔɔʔ kə ləʔ
     3S Rel sister-in-law 3S   own
     she who is his own sister-in-law.

29a ʔɛɛ məə dɔk cɔk brɔɔj nɔɔʔ
   so 3P(pl) go take immediately 3S
   So they went to take him,

29b məə praj dɔk puə kuən jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa
   3P(pl) command go cure child Mr rich.ruler
   they commanded (him) to [go] cure Mr. rich ruler's child.

30a ʔɛɛ ləə dɔk bɨh tɔʔ ʔɛɛ
   then 3S go arrive that(far) then
   Then he arrived there

30b hɑk ləə nɔh ʔɨɨm kə.man nɔɔʔ kə.ləʔ
   but 3S know Neg sister-in-law 3S self
   but he did not know she was his own sister-in-law.

31 ʔɛɛ jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ləə khə.naat dəə nɔɔʔ riən " paʔ hə.m bəəm ʔən.ɲiw
   then Mr rich.ruler 3S promise Prep 3S say like 2S-Irr make cause.to.live
   mat.maat kuən ʔaj ʔə.n bər jɔŋ bɨŋ haj brɔɔj / nɔʔ pər.saaw kraʔ ʔaj
   truly child 1S 1S-Irr marry Loc 2S immediately Rel son-in-law former 1S
   ʔə.n səər.tak "
   1S-Irr throw.away
   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."

32a ʔɛɛ doow kuən.pər.tii nɔʔ ləə bic ɟraaw ɟə.ŋat
   so Mr.(demeaning) orphan Rel 3S have medicine powerful
   So the orphan he who has the powerful medicine,

32b ləə pəək glaŋ lɔɔŋ mɛɛ məə cuʔ naaŋ
   3S open see coffin 3P(pl) 3P(pl) put lady
   he opened to look into the coffin they put the lady in,

32c ləə taj səəb həŋ.həə naaŋ kuən ʔat.ɲaa nɛɛ jɛʔ bəəm ŋuɲ nɔɔʔ
   3S see lady child rich.ruler this enough make want 3S
   he saw this rich ruler's daughter (and) fell for her beauty, it made (him) wanted her.

33 ʔɛɛ ləə praj mɛɛ viih həʔ diək ʔən.daj
   then 3S command 3P(pl) go.away Loc next.to first
   Then he commanded them to go out for a while.

34a ʔɛɛ ləə puə ʔam ɲiw brɔɔj
   then 3S cure give live immediately
   Then he cured (and) gave life to (her).

34b naaŋ ləə ɲiw
   lady 3S live
   The lady she was alive,

34c ləə dɨk   brɔɔj
   3S get.up immediately
   she got up immediately.

35 ʔɛɛ jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə dɔk ʔɔɔm   muk brɔɔj   doow   kuən.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   ʔɛɛ   ləə ɲɛɛt bər.jɔŋ bɨŋ kuən nɔɔʔ
   after then 3S drink marry Loc child 3S
   After that he married (him) to his child.

37 pəh   ta.ŋəj pəh   mãŋ məə ɲɛɛt
   seven day   seven night 3P(pl) drink
   They drank seven days (and) seven nights.

38 nɔʔ pər.saaw kraʔ nɔɔʔ ləə səər tak   paʔ khə.naat nɔɔʔ ʔən.duu   tɨɨ
   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 ʔɛɛ pər.saaw hən.dəəm ʔam.braa kuən nɔɔʔ kuu sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm
   then son-in-law new   and   child 3S   stay to.be.well
   brɔɔj
   immediately
   Then the new son-in-law and his child lived happily,

39b dəəm ləə lɨɨ.kən.coŋ.doŋ.kən.ɗar
   and   3S heard.all.around
   and it was heard of all over the place.

40a tɔʔ   blii ʔɛɛ bic mɛɛ məə dɔk cɔk nɔɔʔ dɔk puə mɛɛ məə kɛɛt
   that(far) after then have 3P(pl) 3P(pl) go take 3S   go cure 3P(pl) 3P(pl) die
   həʔ mɨəŋ ʔən.kɛɛŋ ʔən.naaw
   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 ləə dɔk brɔɔj   bɨh həʔ ʔɛɛ
   3S go immediately Prep Loc then
   he went there immediately.

41a kləəc.trɛc.nɔɔʔ   taj nɛɛ
   after.he.has.gone here.in.this.place
   After he had left,

41b ʔɔh   nɔɔʔ nɔɔʔ ləə trɔɔ klɔɔ   kraʔ trii nɔɔʔ pən.ɗəəm ləə ʔəŋ.ŋɨh
   younger.sibling 3S   3S   3S Rel husband old wife 3S   in.the.past 3S miss
   trii   nɔɔʔ
   wife 3S
   his younger brother, he who was his wife's former husband, he missed his wife.

42a ʔɛɛ ləə dɔk kə.vaŋ
    so 3S go visit
    So he went to visit (her),

42b praj   ɟə.ɟiŋ khɔɔ.ʔaaw
    command sew   clothes
    (he) asked (her) to sew (some) clothes,

42c dəəm ləə cə.cɛɛ pɔɔc həm.maac maaŋ
    and   3S discuss tell narrate   speak
    and he chatted (with her).

43 ʔɛɛ   ləə tə.ŋaa trii kraʔ nɔɔʔ riən " həʔ.ŋaaj dɛʔ ɗoow
   then 3S ask   wife old 3S   say   where   too mark.of.uncertainty
   ʔuuʔ   ləə cuʔ ɟraaw   ɟə.ŋat   nɔɔʔ "
   older.brother 3S put medicine powerful 3S
   Then he asked his former wife, saying, "Where does the older brother he put his
   powerful medicine?"

44 ʔɛɛ   trii nɔɔʔ ləə trə.nəəw riən " ləə tiət   lɛɛk ləəj   "
   then wife 3S   3S to.answer say   3S bring all   already
   Then his wife she answered, saying, "He took all (with him)."

45 ʔɛɛ   klɔɔ   kraʔ nɔɔʔ ləə riən " ʔaat   mic   ləə cuʔ tɨŋ nɛɛ
   then husband old 3S   3S say   probably imp.Prt(polite) 3S put Loc this
   ləəj   "
   already
   Then her former husband he said, "Probably he put some here."

46 ʔɛɛ trii   nɔɔʔ ləə trə.nəəw riən " saat   dəh paʔ taj "
   so wife 3S   3S to.answer say   look.for so if   see
   So his wife she answered, saying, "Look for (it) if (you) see."

47a ʔɛɛ   ləə saat   brɔɔj
    then 3S look.for immediately
    Then he looked for (it),

47b ləə taj   mat.maat
    3S see truly
    he really saw (it).

47c ləə cuʔ tɨŋ   hiip
    3S   put Loc big.box
    He[the older orphan] put (it) in a big box.

48a ʔɛɛ   naaŋ nɛɛ ləə taj   ɓal.ʔɛɛ
    then lady   this 3S see like.that
    When this lady she saw like that,

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48b ləə duuŋ   dəə klɔɔ   hən.dəəm nɔɔʔ cɨʔ   maaŋ
     3S to.be.afraid Prep husband new   3S   return tell.off
     she was afraid of her new husband would retrun, tell (her) off,

48c ləə kən.təəm   bɨŋ klɔɔ   kraʔ nɔɔʔ
     3S fight.to.get.back Prep husband old   3S
     she tried to get (it) back from her former husband.

49a həm.bruh.dəə.ʔɛɛ ləə bɨh   brɔɔj
     at.that.time   3S Prep immediately
     At that time, he arrived (home),

49b klɔɔ   hən.dəəm nɔɔʔ tɔʔ   bə.jɨɨŋ diəp ɟɨŋ erɔɔŋ
     husband new   3S   that(far) yard   near foot
     [that] her new husband was in the yard next to the steps.

50 ʔɛɛ klɔɔ   kraʔ nɔɔʔ nɛɛ ləə bə.jiəm lɨn   brɔɔj   ɟraaw   ɲiw
   so husband old   3S   this 3S suck   swallow immediately medicine live
   ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ tɨŋ buər
   older.brother 3S   Loc mouth
   So [this] her former husband he sucked (and) swallowed immediately his older brother's
   medicine in (his) mouth.

51 blii   ʔɛɛ   ləə lɛɛŋ hur   bɨh   krɛɛ.daj
   after then 3S fly   top.speed Prep God
   After that he flew arrived to the god.

52a ʔɛɛ   nɔʔ   dəə naaŋ ʔən.naaw   ləə taj ɓal.ʔɛɛ
     then as.for Prep lady mark.of.contrast 3S see like.that
     Then as for the lady, (when) she saw like that,

52b ləə duuŋ   dəə klɔɔ   nɔɔʔ maaŋ
     3S to.be.afraid Prep husband 3S   tell.off
     she was afraid that her (new) husband would tell (her) off,

52c ləə bə.jiəm pa.tɨɨ tɨŋ buər
     3S suck   same Loc mouth
     she also sucked (the medicine) into (her) mouth.

53 blii   ʔɛɛ   ləə lɛɛŋ hur   bɨh   krɛɛ.daj
   after then 3S fly   top.speed Prep God
   After that she flew arrived to the god.

54a ʔɛɛ   klɔɔ   hən.dəəm nɔɔʔ ləə taj ʔam.braa lɛɛŋ hər.hiəŋ ɓal.ʔɛɛ
     then husband new   3S 3S see 3P(du)   fly   disappear like.that
     Then her new husband he saw they flew away like that,

54b ləə lɛɛŋ ɟruuj brɔɔj   ʔam.braa bɨh   tɨŋ krɛɛ.daj tɨɨ
     3S fly   follow immediately 3P(du)   arrive Loc God   also
     he flew after them, arrived to the god also.

55 ʔɛɛ krɛɛ.daj ləə pɔɔc dəə klɔɔ hən.dəəm naaŋ nɔʔ lɛɛŋ ʔən.tun riən "
   then God 3S tell Prep husband new lady Rel fly after say
   hə.nɔh ʔɨɨm lah kə.man haj kə.ləʔ ʔən.nɛɛ ɲɨh.taj.nɔh.kə.maaw "
   2S-to.know Neg yes/no sister-in-law 2S own this has.no.shame
   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?"

56a blii ʔɛɛ krɛɛ.daj ləə taah brɔɔj nɔɔʔ
   after then God 3S slap immediately 3S
   After that the god he slapped him,

56b ləə kə.cat həʔ ɟɨŋ krɨm
   3S spill Loc foot thunder
   he spilled on the foot of the thunder,

56c ləə vɨr tə.guu
   3S transform wild.dog
   he became a wild dog.

57 nɔʔ dəə kə.man nɔɔʔ ləə mɨt tɨŋ kəət
   as.for Prep sister-in-law 3S 3S enter Loc moon
   As for his sister-in-law, she went to the moon.

58 nɔʔ dəə ʔɔh nɔɔʔ ləə mɨt tɨŋ mat.ta.ŋəj
   as.for Prep younger.sibling 3S 3S enter Loc sun
   As for his younger brother, he went to the sun.

59a paʔ bɨŋ ta.ŋəj ləə əŋ.ŋɨh trii paʔ kə.man nɔɔʔ
   when Loc day 3S miss wife same sister-in-law 3S
   On the day he misses (his) wife, also his sister-in-law,

59b ləə kɔʔ dɔk həm ʔɔɔm trii nɔɔʔ tɨŋ kəət
   3S then go play embrace wife 3S Loc moon
   he then goes hug his wife in the moon.

60a ʔɛɛ bɨh paʔ nɛh.nɛh ŋəə pən.ɟam nɔɔʔ
   then Prep when now 1P(incl.pl) depreciate 3S
   Since then, we depreciate him

60b bɨŋ ləə ŋuɲ dɔk ʔɔɔm muk kə.man nɔɔʔ
   Prep 3S want go embrace kiss sister-in-law 3S
   as he wants to go hug (and) kiss his sister-in-law.

61 ʔɛɛ dəə ŋəə cuʔ riən tə.guu kap khaj
   so Prep 1P(incl.pl) name say wild.dog bite month
   So for us, we call it "the wild dog bites the moon [lunar eclipse]."

62 [looc ləəj]
   end already
   [The End]

APPENDIX E

NARRATIVE3-MR. CEGRUEJ

1a kaan bat   həm.maac doow   thaaw   cə.gruəj
   story story narrate   Mr.(demeaning) Mr.(honorific) Cegruej
   (I) tell story (about) Mr. Cegruej.

1b mat   ʔaj mɔɔm ʔə.həm.maac bat   mɛɛ   kraʔ laj   pən.ɗeem
   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 ʔɛɛ.brɔɔj   doow   thaaw   cə.gruəj nɛɛ ləə ʔən.druuj
   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   ʔuu?   nɔɔʔ troow raa   pəh   dəə nɔɔʔ ləə ʔən.druuj ʔən.druuj
   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 ʔən.ɟəən ʔəən kə.mɔɔ brɔɔj   ɟɛʔ   məə   kraʔ
   3P(pl) stay big adult   many year   immediately to.the.extent.that 3P(pl) old
   mɛɛ?   bəə? mɛɛ   ʔam.braa maaŋ " və.n rə.rɛ? ʔəəj ɲə.m   bəəm
   mother father 3P(pl) 3P(du)   speak   2P-Irr hunt hey 1P(excl.pl)-Irr make
   brah.jaaŋ.ʔaaŋ.brah.mɔk   "
   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 ʔɛɛ məə   khɨt rə.rɛ? brɔɔj
   so 3P(pl) think hunt   immediately
   So they thought of hunting.

5 ʔɛɛ nɔʔ   dəə doow   thaaw   cə.gruəj nɛɛ ləə riən " ʔaj ʔə.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   maaŋ " tooj   dəh   "
   3P(pl) speak   follow Interj

They spoke, "Follow. Interjection!"

7a mɜə dɔk də.dɛɛ bɔk.jaaw cən.duu
　　3P(pl) to.walk again.and.again amazing mountain
　　naʔ.tooj.pə.nɔɔj.naʔ.ɟal.saar.srɛɛ.naʔ.lum mɜə dɔk ʔin
　　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 mɜə doow ʔɨɨm cɛɛm tɛɛ kə.nɛɛ liəl ʔiər.brii.bruu
　　still Neg 3P(pl) obtain Neg bird　　mouse　　wild.chicken
　　bə.ɲuu.kəm.buuj naʔ taj doow
　　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 ʔɛɛ mɜə dɔk də.dɛɛ saam
　　then 3P(pl) go again.and.again tired.of.something/someone
　　Then they grew tired of walking on and on.

8b mɜə prɨŋ bəəm tuup muu ruu khan brɔɔj
　　3P(pl) stop make hut　　　　　　immediately
　　They stopped to look for game.

8c bɨŋ ʔɛɛ mɜə həŋ.ŋan kɨj
　　Loc then 3P(pl) sleep　lay.down
　　At there they slept.

9 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp bər.noow mɛɛ ʔuuʔ　　　　nɔɔʔ mɜə maaŋ dəə doow
　early.morning tomorrow 3P(pl) older.brother 3S　3P(pl) speak Prep Mr.(demeaning)
　thaaw　　　cə.gruəj " hə.n kuu 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 " ʔɨɨʔ "
　　yes
　(Cegruej said,) "Yes."

11a dəə mɛɛ mɜə vɛɛr brɔɔj vɛɛr dɛɛ.vɛɛr.dɛɛ bɔk
　　Prep 3P(pl) 3P(pl) wander.about immediately wander.about habitual　able
　　jaaw
　　chase
　　For them, they wandered about to hunt/chase.

11b mɜə mam　　toow mɜə bəŋ.kɨt taj mɜə doow ʔɨɨm cɛɛm.cə.naaj
　　3P(pl) to.be.angry only 3P(pl) swear.words Neg 3P(pl) obtain Neg bird
　　mɛɛ ʔuuʔ　　nɔɔʔ
　　3P(pl) older.brother 3S
　　They were angry, they swore (that if) they didn't obtain a bird, his older brothers.

12a ʔɛɛ dəə nɔɔʔ ləə kuu bəəm ʔɔɔʔ bɨŋ kə.tuup
    then Prep 3S 3S stay make rice(cooked) Loc hut
    As for him, while he [stayed] was cooking rice at the hut,

12b ləə taj brɔɔj pə.cɔɔŋ
    3S see immediately small.deer
    he saw a small deer,

12c ləə loot brɔɔj sraaw diw.diw
    3S pull immediately crossbow small
    he pulled (his) small crossbow,

12d ləə pɛɲ trɔɔ
    3S shoot to.be.right
    he shot right (it).

13 kɛɛt tak hɗuup brɔɔj
   die broken(totally) fall.to.the.ground immediately
   (It) was dead completely (and) (it) fell to the ground.

14a ləə duuŋ ləə dɨk puh.lum brɔɔj
    3S to.be.afraid 3S get.up cover.with.blanket immediately
    He was afraid, he went up to cover (himself) with a blanket

14b jak ləə duuŋ dəə ʔɛɛ ʔəm.bɔɔ lə.m dɨk kap nɔɔʔ
    because 3S to.be.afraid Prep then maybe 3S-Irr get.up bite 3S
    because he was afraid that it might go up to bite him.

15a ʔɛɛ mɛɛ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ məə cɨʔ bəŋ.kɨt.pəŋ.khiəŋ praj krɛɛ
    then 3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) return to.swear command sky
    bə.luuk.bə.laak brɔɔj
    destroy/kill immediately
    Then his older brothers they returned, swearing, commanding the sky to destroy.

15b məə mam məə riən " ʔəŋ.ŋaaj hə.bəəm thaaw cə.gruəj "
    3P(pl) to.be.angry 3P(pl) say what 2S-to.do Mr.(honorific) Cegruej
    They were angry, they said, "What are you doing, Thaaw Cegruej?"

16 ləə təəw " ʔə.duuŋ coh nɔh ʔəŋ.ŋaaj ʔən.coh "
   3S reply 1S-to.be.afraid down.there know what down.there
   He replied, "I'm afraid of (what) down there. I don't know what it is down there."

17 məə glaŋ məə təəw " hə.pɛɲ pə.cɔɔŋ ɲaa ləəj ləə cɨʔ
   3P(pl) look 3P(pl) reply 2S-to.shoot small.deer 1P(excl.pl) already 3S return
   ʔər.jaaw həʔ haj "
   run Loc 2S
   They looked, they replied, "You shot our small deer, it returned (and) ran to you."

18 ləə trə.nəəw " paʔ.ʔin ɓɛʔ "
   3S to.answer like.that is.it
   He answered, "Is it like that?"

19 mɛɛ ʔuuʔ nɔɔʔ məə maaŋ " ɲaa ɲəə pɛɲ taj səm.ɓaaj
   3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) speak 1P(excl.pl) 1P(excl.pl) ^{shoot}Neg easy
   man ɲaa ʔən.nɛ "
   thing 1P(excl.pl) this
   His older brothers they spoke, "We shot without luck, we (shot) this."

20a ʔɛɛ məə buh caa.cat brɔɔj bɨŋ ʔɛh
   then 3P(pl) grill eat immediately Loc that
   Then they grilled (and) ate (the small deer) right there.

20b məə həŋ.ŋan kɨj braaŋ
   3P(pl) sleep lay.down till.dawn
   (Then) they slept till dawn.

21 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp bər.noow məə maaŋ " bɨŋ nɛɛ ləəj jəʔ hə.ŋ kuu
   early.morning tomorrow 3P(pl) speak Loc here already Imp.Interj 2S-Irr stay
   cə.gruəj / haj hə.m bəəm ka.jɛʔ ʔɔɔʔ dəə ɲaa "
   Cegruej 2S 2S-Irr make food rice(cooked) Prep 1P(excl.pl)
   Early next morrning they spoke, "[You] Stay here, Cegruej! You make a soup (and) cook rice for us."

22a ʔɛɛ məə vɛɛr ləh ʔən.naaw paʔ.tɨɨ
   then 3P(pl) wander.about again one.more.time too
   Then they wandered about / went hunting once again,

22b cɛɛm tɛɛ.tɛɛ.kə.nɛɛ.liəl.liəl taj məə doow ʔɨɨm paʔ.tɨɨ brɔɔj pə.cɔɔŋ
   bird small.animal Neg 3P(pl) obtain Neg too immediately small.deer
   kɔɔj naʔ taj məə doow
   also Neg 3P(pl) obtain
   They didn't obtain a bird, a small animal too, they also didn't obtain a small deer.

23 " paʔ.ŋaaj dəh ɲə.m bəəm paʔ.nɛɛ ɲɨh təəm ʔəm.bɨʔ
   what polite.question 1P(excl.pl)-Irr make like.this to.that.point from without
   kə.tɨc ləəj ɲəə dɔk "
   success already 1P(excl.pl) go
   (They said,) "What? Interjection! We go without making a success like this."

24a ʔɛɛ dəə nɔɔʔ taj.nɛɛ tɨŋ ləə bəəm ʔɔɔʔ
   but Prep 3S here.in.this.place while 3S make rice(cooked)
   But for him there, while he was cooking rice,

24b ləə taj brɔɔj   krɔɔj   ʔən.naaw
 3S see immediately small.deer(bigger) one.more.time
 cik.cik.vik.vik   ləə taj
 movement.of.body.when.nearly.die 3S see
 he saw a deer one more time, he saw (it was) dying.

25a ləə cɔk brɔɔj   sraaw   ʔən.tɨɨ
 3S take immediately crossbow same
 He took the same crossbow immediately,

25b ləə pɛɲ
 3S shoot
 he shot (it),

25c hə.ɗuup   brɔɔj   ləə kɛɛt
 fall.to.the.ground immediately 3S die
 (it) fell to the ground, it died.

26a ʔɛɛ mɛɛ ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ məə cɨʔ
 then 3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) return
 Then his older brothers they returned,

26b məə riən " ʔəɲ.ŋaaj hə.bəəm "
 3P(pl) say what 2S-to.do
 they said, "What did you do?"

27 ʔɛɛ ləə trə.nəəw " tɔʔ nɔh ʔəɲ.ŋaaj ʔə pɛɲ ʔən.duu
 then 3S to.answer that(far) know what 1S-to.shoot from.before
 hə.ɗuup   dəə ʔaj "
 fall.to.the.ground Prep 1S
 Then he answered, "I don't know what I shot. (It) fell to the ground overthere."

28 mɛɛ ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ məə riən " huəj krɔɔj   ɲaa   ləəj
 3P(pl) older.brother 3S 3P(pl) say huh small.deer(bigger) 1P(excl.pl) already
 ʔən.nɛɛ ɲəə   pɛɲ ʔən.duu   "
 this 1P(excl.pl) shoot from.before
 His older brothers they said, "Huh! Our deer! This was we shot before."

29 ʔɛɛ məə tə.tah   ʔə.ʔar brɔɔj   lɛɛw
 then 3P(pl) to.butcher   immediately finish
 Then they butchered (it).

30 ʔɛɛ məə həŋ.ŋan kɨj braaŋ
 then 3P(pl) sleep sleep till.dawn
 Then they slept till dawn.

31 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp   bər.noow   mɛɛ   ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ   məə   vɛɛr   ləh
    early.morning   tomorrow   3P(pl) older.brother 3S   3P(pl) wander.about again
    ʔən.naaw
    one.more.time
     Early next morning his older brothers they wandered about / went hunting once agian.

32a taj.nɛɛ   dəə   nɔɔʔ ləə taj ləh   ɟuuj tə.kuej tih drɨɨŋ ʔən.drɨɨŋ
     here.in.this.place   Prep 3S   3S   see again deer horn   big   long
      As for him there, he saw again a deer with big, long horns

32b tɨŋ   ləə bəəm ʔɔɔʔ
     while 3S   make rice(cooked)
      while he was cooking rice.

32c bɔk.jaaw ləə sə.sər.cak
     amazing   3S   shivering.from.fear
      He was surprised (and) shivered.

32d ləə cɔk   sraaw   diw   ʔən.tɨɨ ləə pɛɲ
     3S   take crossbow   only same   3S   shoot
      He took (his) crossbow, he shot,

32e tə.vɛɛn   brɔɔj   ləə kɛɛt
     fall.to.the.ground(for.big.animal)   immediately 3S   die
      fell to the ground, it died immediately.

33a bɨŋ ʔɛɛ tə.kuej nɔɔʔ cə.drɨɨŋ   ləə duuŋ   paʔ pən.ɗəəm tɨɨ
     Loc then horn   3S   very.long   3S   to.be.afraid like in.the.past same
      As its horns were very long, he was afraid as before.

33b kɨj.kər.sɨp.kə.dɨp.kləəm
     sleeping.on.the.belly
      (He) was not able to sleep / slept on his belly in order not to see.

34a pə.ɗii mɛɛ   ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ   məə   cɨʔ   brɔɔj
     then   3P(pl) older.brother 3S   3P(pl) return immediately
      Then his older.brothers they returned,

34b məə   kə.lɔɔw nɔɔʔ
     3P(pl) call   3S
      they called him.

35 ləə təəw " həʔ nɛɛ   ʔaj ʔə.duuŋ   "
    3S   reply   Loc here 1S   1S-to.be.afraid
     He answered, "(I'm) here. I'm afraid."

36 " dəə   ŋaaj   hə.duuŋ   dəh   "
     Prep 1P(incl.pl) 2S-to.be.afraid polite.question
     (They asked,) "What are you afraid of?"

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37 " coʔ　　　　nɔh　ʔən.ŋaaj　ʔən.coʔ　　 "
　　down.there　know　what　　down.there
　　(He answered,) "(I don't) know what is down there."

38 məə　glaŋ　" həm.baaj　　　　ɟuuj　ɲaa　　　　ləəj　　ʔən.nɛɛ "
　　3P(pl)　look　rhetorical.question　deer　1P(excl.pl)　already　this
　　They looked (spoke), "Isn't this our deer?"

39 məə　tə.tah　　　ʔə.ʔar　ɟroŋ.puur　　　　　bɨŋ　ʔɛɛ
　　3P(pl)　to.butcher　　　light.fire.under.to.grill　Loc　then
　　They butchered (and) grilled (it) there.

40 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp　bər.noow　mɛɛ　ʔuuʔ　　　　nɔɔʔ　məə　vɛɛr　　　　　tiət
　　early.morning　tomorrow　3P(pl)　older.brother　3S　3P(pl)　wander.about　take.with
　　sraaw　　ləh
　　crossbow　again
　　Early next morning his older brothers they wandered about with crossbows again.

41 məə　than　riən　" bɨŋ　nɛɛ　ləəj　hə.n　kuu　jəʔ　　　hə.n　cam　　ka.jɛʔ
　　3P(pl)　advise　say　　Loc　here　already　2S-Irr　stay　Imp.Interj　2S-Irr　look.after　food
　　ɲaa　　　　 "
　　1P(excl.pl)
　　They told, saying, "[You] Stay here. [You] Look after our food."

42 " ʔɨɨʔ " ləə　təəw
　　　yes　3S　reply
　　"Yes." He replied.

43a məə　viih　　　kləəc　trɛc　mɛɛ
　　3P(pl)　go.away　past　　behind　3P(pl)
　　After they were gone,

43b ləə　taj　ruəh　　tih　ŋɨm　ʔən.ŋɨm　ruəh　　blɔɔk
　　3S　see　elephant　big　very.big　　　　elephant　tusk
　　he saw a big elephant with very big tusks.

44a ləə　cɔk　sraaw　　diw　nɔɔʔ　ʔən.tɨɨ
　　3S　take　crossbow　only　3S　　same
　　He took his crossbow,

44b ləə　pɛɲ　　thɛɛŋ
　　3S　shoot　sound.of.shooting.arrow
　　he shot,

44c kɛɛt　brɔɔj　　　ɟən.ʔooŋ　　　　bɨŋ　ʔɛɛ
　　die　immediately　fall.to.the.ground　Loc　that
　　(it) died immediately, fell to the ground.

45a taj.nɛɛ   mɛɛ ɁuuɁ   nɔɔɁ məə vɛɛr   bɨh cɛɛm
      here.in.this.place 3P(pl) older.brother 3S   3P(pl) wander.about Prep bird
      tɛɛ.tɛɛ.kə.nɛɛ.liəl.liəl
      small.animal
      Overthere his older brothers they were wandering about / hunting for a bird (or) a
      small animal,

45b taj məə doow Ɂɨɨm
      see 3P(pl) obtain Neg
      (but) they didn't obtain (anything).

46 " ɲah   cɨɁ   Ɂəəj "
      let.us(pl) return hey
   (They said,) "Let's return. Hey!"

47a məə cɨɁ   maat bɨh kə.tuup
    3P(pl) return truly Prep hut
    They returned to the hut.

47b cə.gruəj ləə tɨɨh   jaaw mɛɛ
     Cegruej 3S go.down run   3P(pl)
     Cegruej he ran to them.

48 " Ɂəŋ.ŋaaj vəə nɔh   dəə Ɂaj Ɂə.taj   "
     what   2S   know Prep 1S 1S-to.see
   (He asked,) "Do you know what I saw?"

49 " Ɂəŋ.ŋaaj ŋə.n   taj vɛh diw ɁɔɔɁ   haj kə.lə? ləəj   hə.n
     what   1P(incl.pl)-Irr see only only rice(cooked) 2S self   already 2S-Irr
   cɔŋ   "
   eat(rice.only)
   (They answered,) "What we saw was only the rice you will cook for yourself [to eat]."

50 " Ɂɨɨm co?   dəh   və.n glaŋ Ɂəŋ.ŋaaj paɁ co?   "
    Neg down.there polite.question 2P-Irr see   what   like down.there
   (He said,) "No. Down there. What do you see down there?"

51 məə glaŋ " həm.baaj   ruəh   ɲaa   ləəj   ɲəə   pɛɲ
    3P(pl) look   rhetorical.question elephant 1P(excl.pl) already 1P(excl.pl) *shoot*
   ruəh   nɛɛ muuj Ɂam.pɔɔm blɔɔk nɔɔɁ pəh   brɔɔj   "
    elephant this one Clf   tusk 3S   seven immediately
   They looked (said), "Our elephant? We shot this elephant, with seven tusks"

52a Ɂɛɛ məə tə.tah   Ɂə.Ɂar
    then 3P(pl) to.butcher
   Then they butchered (it),

52b məə   bəəm ɟəəŋ ɟroŋ.puur   cram
    3P(pl) make grill light.fire.under.to.grill dry
    they grilled (it) dried.

53 həŋ.ŋan kɨj   braaŋ
   sleep   sleep till.dawn
   (They) slept till dawn.

54 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp bər.noow məə riən " ɟɛʔ   ləəj   ɲə.m
   early.morning tomorrow 3P(pl) say   to.the.extent.that already 1P(excl.pl)-Irr
   cɨʔ   bəəm brah.jaaŋ.ʔaaŋ.brah.mɔk   həm.mɛŋ həʔ sruk   ka.jɛʔ /
   return make type.of.sacrifice.before.gathering.new.rice instead Loc village food
   ɲaa   nɛɛ ʔəən ləəj   ka.jɛʔ ɲaa   ʔɛɛ ɲə.m   taaŋ rɔɔ   "
   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   cə.cɛɛ trə.diiw mɛɛ   " ʔəəj ʔuuʔ   lɔŋ   siʔ   dəə 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 " ŋaaj   ʔaj ʔin   vəh.diw.muuj dəə ʔaj ʔə.m bic   trii / ʔə.m ruət
      1P(incl.pl) 1S exophoric only.one   Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife   1S-Irr buy
   gɔɔŋ muuj həm.bruk tiəw   blɔɔk muuj həm.bruk taaŋ   rɔɔ   muuj paʔ.tɨɨ "
   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   tə.ŋaa bəʔ   tii.baar   " pə.jɛʔ dəə haj siʔ   hə.m bic   trii "
   3P(pl) ask   man(single) 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 ʔɛɛ ləə təəw " ŋaaj baar dəə ʔaj ʔə.m bic   trii / ʔɛɛ ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ baar
    then 3S reply   what two Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife   then 1S-Irr buy gong two
   tiəw   blɔɔk baar / ʔə.m taaŋ   rɔɔ   paʔ.tɨɨ "
   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 " dəə haj dəh   ʔuuʔ   tii.pɛɛ siʔ   dəə 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?"

60 bəʔ   tii.pɛɛ   ləə təəw " pɛɛ   dəə ʔaj ʔə.m bic trii   / ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ
   man(single) the.third 3S reply   three Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife   1S-Irr buy gong
   pɛɛ   tiəw   blɔɔk pɛɛ   taaɲ   rɔɔ   pɛɛ paʔ.tɨ "
   three earring tusk three weave basket three too
   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."

61 məə tə.ŋaa bəʔ   tii.puən ʔən.naaw   " siʔ   dəə haj hə.m
   3P(pl) ask   man(single) the.fourth one.more.time   how.many Prep 2S 2S-Irr
   bic   trii ʔuuʔ   "
   have wife older.brother
   They asked the fourth man[brother] also, "[for you] How many wife will you have, older
   brother?"

62 ləə təəw " puən dəə ʔaj ʔə.m bic trii   / ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ puən tiəw   blɔɔk
   3S reply   four Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife   1S-Irr buy gong four earring tusk
   puən taaɲ   rɔɔ   puən paʔ.tɨ "
   four weave basket four too
   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."

63 məə tə.ŋaa bəʔ   tii.səəŋ ʔən.naaw " siʔ   dəə haj hə.m bic trii
   3P(pl) ask   man(single) the.fifth also   how.many Prep 2S 2S-Irr have wife
   ʔuuʔ   "
   older.brother
   They asked the fifth man[brother] also, "[for you] How many wife will you have, older
   brother?"

64 ləə təəw " səəŋ dəə ʔaj ʔə.m bic trii   / ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ səəŋ tiəw   blɔɔk
   3S reply   five Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife   1S-Irr buy gong five earring tusk
   səəŋ taaɲ   rɔɔ   səəŋ paʔ.tɨ "
   five weave basket five too
   He replied, "I'll have five wives [for me]. I'll buy five (pairs of) gongs, five (pairs of) tusk
   earrings, (and) weave five baskets too."

65 məə tə.ŋaa ləh bəʔ   tii.troow " siʔ   dəə haj hə.m bic trii   "
   3P(pl) ask   again man(single) the.sixth   how.many Prep 2S 2S-Irr have wife
   They asked again the sixth man[brother], "[for you] How many wife will you have?"

66 " ŋaaj   troow dəə ʔaj ʔə.m bic trii   / ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ troow tiəw   blɔɔk
    1P(incl.pl) six   Prep 1S 1S-Irr have wife   1S-Irr buy gong six   earring tusk
   troow taaɲ   rɔɔ   troow paʔ.tɨ "
   six   weave basket six   too
   (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."

67 sit   tɔʔ   ʔən.tun məə tə.ŋaa doow   thaaw   cə.gruəj məə
   at.last that(far) after   3P(pl) ask   Mr.(demeaning) Mr.(honorific) Cegruej 3P(pl)
   maaŋ " siʔ   dəə haj cə.gruəj hə.m bic   trii   "
   speak   how.many Prep 2S Cegruej 2S-Irr have wife
   At last, after that, they asked Thaaw Cegreuj, they Spoke, "[for you] Cegruej, how many
   wife will you have?"

68a ɲɛɛm.ɲɛɛm ɲɔɔm   ɲɔɔm   brɔɔj   ləə kuu taj nɔh paʔ.ŋaaj jaaw
   puzzled   be.amazed be.amazed immediately 3S stay Neg know what   Neg
   lə.m trə.nəəw
   3S-Irr to.answer
   Puzzled amazingly, he didn't know what he should answer.

68b ləə təəw dəə mam   mam   ləə riən " pəh   dəə ʔaj ʔə.m cɔk trii
   3S reply Prep to.be.brave to.be.angry 3S say   seven Prep 1S 1S-Irr take wife
   / ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ pəh tiəw   blɔɔk pəh   taaɲ rɔɔ   pəh   "
    1S-Irr buy gong seven earring tusk   seven weave basket seven
   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.

69 bɔk.jaaw mɛɛ   ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ məə   mam   ʔin
   amazing 3P(pl) older.brother 3S   3P(pl) to.be.angry exophoric
   His older brothers they were extremely angry.

70a məə   rap   nɔɔʔ
   3P(pl) grab 3S
   They grabbed him,

70b cɔɔŋ tii   cɔɔŋ ɟɨŋ   təəm lɔɔŋ dəə cə naaj   nɔɔʔ kə ləʔ
   to.tie hand to.tie foot tree   Prep loincloth 3S   own
   (they) tied (his) hands (and) feet to the tree with his own loincloth.

70c mɛɛ   ʔuuʔ   nɔɔʔ məə cɨʔ   bəʔ   ka.jɛʔ
   3P(pl) older.brother 3S   3P(pl) return carry(on.the.shoulder) food
   bəʔ   blɔɔk ruəh   bɨh   həʔ hən.naam
   carry(on.the.shoulder) tusk   elephant arrive Loc house
   His older brothers they returned carrying food (and) the elephant tusks (and) arrived
   home.

71 bɔk.jaaw mɛɛ   sruk   məə   jaaw ka.jɛʔ
   amazing 3P(pl) village 3P(pl) run   food
   Amazingly, the villagers they ran to the food.

72 məə   tə.ŋaa " həʔ.ŋaaj thaaw   cə.gruəj dəh   "
   3P(pl) ask   where   Mr.(honorific) Cegruej polite.question
   They asked, "Where is Thaaw Cegruej?"

73 məə trə.nəəw riən " klɨ ləəj ləə kap nɔɔʔ "
   3P(pl) to.answer say tiger already 3S bite 3S
   They answered, saying, "A tiger [it] bit[ate] him."

74 ʔɛɛ məə tɛɛŋ ɲɛɛt cɔŋ hər.kaak
   then 3P(pl) to.plan drink eat(rice.only) sound.of.laughter(of.women)
   Then they planned to celebrate happily[with laughter].

75 ʔɛɛ taj.nɛɛ dəə cə.gruəj ləə ɲɨɨm " daŋ mɛʔ rɛʔ daŋ bəə? "
   then here.in.this.place Prep Cegruej 3S cry look.for mother go look.for father
   As [at the place where he was tied] for Cegruej he cried, "Mother! Father!"

76a phə.ɗii juu kən.tiər nɛɛ məə doŋ
    then married.woman termite this 3P(pl) hear
    Then these [married female] termites they heard,

76b məə tə.ŋaa " hə.ɲɨɨm bəəm ŋaaj "
    3P(pl) ask 2s-to.cry make 1P(incl.pl)
    they asked, "Why are you crying?"

77a ləə doŋ məə tə.ŋaa nɔɔʔ
    3S hear 3P(pl) ask 3S
    He heard them to ask him,

77b ləə riən " laa ʔoh ja.ʔɔɔʔ ʔəəj və.n lɛh ʔaj "
    3S say ask please(polite.form) grandfather hey 2P-Irr untie 1S
    he said, "Please! Please! Grandfather! Hey! [You] Untie me."

78 kən.tiər ləə trə.nəəw " ʔə.glaŋ hə.n cɛɛr doow ʔɛh "
   termite 3S to.answer 1s-to.try 2S-Irr pay can that
   The termite he answered, "I try. Can you pay for that?"

79 " dəə ŋaaj dəh ʔə.n cɛɛr ʔɛɛ dəə cə.naaj haj / laa thə.lɛɛm
   Prep 1P(incl.pl) polite.question 1S-Irr pay that Prep loincloth 2S ask only.if
   və.n lɛh ʔaj naʔ ʔə.n lap "
   2P-Irr untie 1S then 1S-Irr pay.back
   (Cegruej said,) "Interjection! I'll pay you (my) loincloth for that. Please! [You] Just untie
   me, then I'll pay (you) back."

80 ʔɛɛ kraʔ kən.tiər nɛɛ ləə dɨk lɔɔm brɔɔj
   so old termite this 3S get.up bite(things) immediately
   So this old termite he went up to bite (the loincloth) immediately.

81a ʔɛɛ məə muur cə.naaj nɔɔʔ lɛɛk dəə ʔɛɛ
    so 3P(pl) eat loincloth 3S all Prep that
    So they ate his whole loincloth [for that].

81b jak ləə cɛɛr kən tiər dəə ʔɛh
    because 3S pay termite Prep that
    Because he paid the termite for that,

190

81c ləə həm.braat.braat
   3S naked
   he was naked.

82a paʔ ʔɛh.ləəj ləə dɔk bɨh tɔʔ jaʔ təəm.ʔən.lɛɛ mɛʔ gɛɛ.ʔər.səə ʔam.braa
   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 tɨŋ ʔam.braa daŋ tə.vaŋ
   Loc 3P(du) look.for bamboo.shoot
   [they] were looking for the bamboo shoot.

82c ʔam.braa nɛɛ taj bic kuən.coow ʔɨɨm
   3P(du) this Neg have children Neg
   These two[this couple] had no children.

82d ʔam.braa taj ʔəm.blɛɛw.ʔəm.blɛc.taj.maat.biit.ʔɨɨm.kləəm.ʔəm.blaak.klaak.ʔəm.blɛɛʔ
   3P(du) see not.nice.to.look.at
   They saw (Cegruej) were not nice to look at[naked],

83 ʔam.braa maaŋ " ʔəŋ.ŋaaj ʔən.nɛɛ paʔ.nɛɛ "
   3P(du) speak what this like.this
   They spoke, "Wha's this [like this]?"

84 ʔam.braa riən " bə.nɨh kə jɔk pɔɔw.ɟə.miw "
   3P(du) say human dead.body spirit/ghost
   They said, "A corpse? A ghost?"

85 nɔɔʔ ləə təəw " laa jaʔ ʔə bə.nɨh / jak ʔə.kuu həm.braat.braat
   3S 3S reply ask Mr 1S-verb.prefix human because 1S-to.live naked
   ʔə kə.maaw "
   1S-verb.prefix shame
   He replied, "Please, Mr.! I'm a human. Because I'm naked, I (feel) shame."

86a ʔɛɛ bəʔ təəm.ʔən.lɛɛ ləə piəw həm.baan dəə nɔɔʔ
   then man(single) Teem.Enlee 3S throw kromar Prep 3S
   Then [man] Teem Enlee he threw a kromar to him.

86b ləə vəən bɨŋ ʔɛɛ
   3S wear Loc there
   He wore (it) there.

87 ʔam.braa tə.ŋaa " ʔəŋ.ŋaaj hə.bəəm coow "
   3P(du) ask what 2S-to.do grandchild
   They asked, "What did you do, Grandchild?"

88 ləə trə.nəəw " huuj ja.ʔɔɔʔ ʔəəj mɛɛ ʔuuʔ ʔaj məə rap ʔaj diw
  3S to.answer oh grandfather hey 3P(pl) older.brother 1S 3P(pl) grab 1S only
  / məə tə.ŋaa trə.diiw ɲaa riən / 'siʔ hə.m bic trii' / ʔuuʔ
  3P(pl) ask together 1P(excl.pl) say 2S-Irr have older.brother
  lɔŋ ləə riən / lə.m bic trii muuj / lə.m ruət gɔɔŋ muuj tiəw blɔɔk
  first.born 3S say 3S-Irr have wife one 3S-Irr buy gong one earring tusk
  muuj / lə.m taaɲ rɔɔ muuj / blii ʔɛɛ məə tə.ŋaa ləh ʔuuʔ
  one 3S-Irr weave basket one after then 3P(pl) ask again older.brother
  tii.baar / ləə riən / nɔɔʔ lə.m bic trii baar / lə.m ruət gɔɔŋ baar tiəw
  the.second 3S say 3S 3S-Irr have wife two 3S-Irr buy gong two earring
  blɔɔk baar / taaɲ rɔɔ baar / nɔʔ dəə ʔuuʔ tii.pɛɛ ləə riən / lə.m
  tusk two weave basket two Rel Prep older.brother the.third 3S say 3S-Irr
  cɔk trii / pɛɛ lə.m ruət gɔɔŋ pɛɛ tiəw blɔɔk pɛɛ / taaɲ rɔɔ pɛɛ
  take wife three 3S-Irr buy gong three earring tusk three weave basket three
  / ʔuuʔ tii.puən ləə riən / lə.m bic trii puən / lə.m ruət gɔɔŋ puən
  older.brother the.fourth 3S say 3S-Irr have wife four 3S-Irr buy gong four
  tiəw blɔɔk puən / taaɲ rɔɔ puən / dəə ʔuuʔ tii.səəŋ ləə maaŋ /
  earring tusk four weave basket four Prep older.brother the.fifth 3S speak
  lə.m bic trii səəŋ / lə.m ruət gɔɔŋ səəŋ tiəw blɔɔk səəŋ / taaɲ rɔɔ
  3S-Irr have wife five 3S-Irr buy gong five earring tusk five weave basket
  səəŋ / dəə ʔuuʔ tii.troow / ləə maaŋ lə.m bic trii troow / lə.m ruət
  five Prep older.brother the.sixth 3S speak 3S-Irr have wife six 3S-Irr buy
  gɔɔŋ troow tiəw blɔɔk troow / taaɲ rɔɔ troow / tɔʔ məə tə.ŋaa ʔaj /
  gong six earring tusk six weave basket six that(far) 3P(pl) ask 1S
  jak taj nɔh paʔ.ŋaaj jaaw ʔə.m maaŋ ʔə tut trə.pit
  because Neg know what Neg 1S-Irr speak 1S-verb.prefix out.of.ideas ear
  ləəj / ʔɛɛ ʔə təəw riən / 'ŋaaj dəə ʔaj ʔin pəh / ʔə.m
  already then 1S-verb.prefix reply say Prep 1S exophoric seven 1S-Irr
  bic trii / ʔə.m ruət gɔɔŋ pəh tiəw blɔɔk pəh / taaɲ rɔɔ pəh' /
  have wife 1S-Irr buy gong seven earring tusk seven weave basket
  məə mam dəə ʔaj məə rap gɔɔŋ bɨŋ təəm.lɔɔŋ dəə cə.naaj ʔaj
  3P(pl) to.be.angry Prep 1S 3P(pl) grab to.tie Loc tree Prep loincloth 1S
  kə.ləʔ / məə khɨt ʔə.m kɛɛt ləəj "
  self 3P(pl) think 1S-Irr die already
  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."

89 " paʔ.ʔin.dih coow   ʔəəj dii   lah   hə.m kuu bɨŋ ɲɨɨ   "
    that's.it   grandchild hey   would.like yes/no 2S-Irr stay Loc 1P(excl.du)
   (They said,) "That's it, Grandchild. Hey! Would you like to live with us?"

90 nɔɔʔ ləə təəw " nɔh   paʔ sə.braa rɛɛm dəə ʔaj nɔh   hə.ŋaaj mɛɛ   mɛɛʔ
    3S   3S   reply   may.be if   2P(du) love Prep 1S   know where   3P(pl) mother
   mɛɛ   bəə? jak   ɲəə   vɛɛr   rə.rɛʔ daŋ   pə.troow bəəm
   3P(pl) father because 1P(excl.pl) wander.about hunt   look.for animal   make
   brah.mɔk   "
   a.sacrifice.for.new.rice
   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."

91 " paʔ.ʔin.dih coow   ʔəəj "
    that's.it   grandchild hey
   (They said,) "That's it, Grandchild. Hey!"

92a ʔɛɛ   ʔam braa cɨʔ   tiət   həʔ hən naam
     then 3P(du)   return bring Loc house
    Then they brought (him) to return home,

92b ʔam həm.baan tə.vəən
     give kromar   wear
    (they) gave (him) a kromar to wear,

92c pəŋ.hɔɔm ɬah   brɔɔj
     bathe   wipe immediately
    (they) bathed (and) wiped (him).

93 nɔɔʔ ləə kuu sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm brɔɔj
    3S   3S   stay to.be.well   immediately
   He lived happily.

94a ʔam.braa rɛʔ həʔ mɨɨr
     3P(du)   go   Loc field
    They went to a field,

193

94b Ɂɛɛ Ɂam.braa maaŋ " kuən ɲɔɔŋ   hə.dɔk   Ɂɨɨm hə? Ɂəm.bɨŋ jə?   "
    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!"

95 " Ɂɨɨ? " ləə təəw
     yes   3S   reply
   "Yes." He replied.

96a ləə kuu ɬoŋ.ta.ŋəj
    3S   stay midday
    He stayed (till) midday,

96b ləə khɨt " pə.jɛ? ɗoow   Ɂam.braa kɔm.bɛɛt Ɂaj dɔk hə? hən.naam
    3S   think   how   mark.of.uncertainty 3P(du)   forbid   1S go Loc house
    Ɂiər   ɗoow   Ɂə.n dɔk glaŋ laŋ   "
    chicken mark.of.uncertainty 1S-Irr go try   to.test
    he thought, "Why they forbade me to go to the chicken house? I go try (and) test [take
    a look of it]."

97a ləə dɔk bɨh   tɔ?
    3S   go Prep that(far)
    He went there,

97b Ɂɛɛ   ləə ɬər.liəŋ   Ɂiər
    then 3S   take.a.peek.at chicken
    then he took a peek at the chicken,

97c ləə klɔk brɔɔj
    3S   bite immediately
    it bit (him),

97d tii   nɔɔ? trɨɨɲ   brɔɔj   ləə gaal bɔk.jaaw
    hand 3S   bright.shining immediately 3S   shine amazing
    his hand shined bright immediately. It shined amazingly.

97e ləə duuŋ   ləə coom dəə həm.baan də.rum   bɨŋ Ɂɛɛ
    3S   to.be.afraid 3S   wrap Prep kromar   hide.inside Loc there
    He was afraid, he wrapped (his hand) with the kromar, hid inside there.

98a Ɂəm.bɨ? Ɂam.braa nɛɛ Ɂam.braa cɨ?   təəm.bɨŋ mɨɨr
    evening 3P(du)   this 3P(du)   return from   field
    In the evening, these two[this couple] they returned from the field.

98b mɛɛ?   nɔɔ? ləə kə.lɔɔw " Ɂəəj kuən khiəŋ / ləə kuu Ɂɛh hə?.ŋaaj "
    mother 3S   3S   call   hey child silence   3S   stay that where
    His mother she callded, "Hey, Child!" [Silence/No answer] "Where is he?"

99a ləə dɔk ləə taj nɔɔ?
    3S   go 3S   see 3S
    She went, she saw him.

99b ləə puh.lum   dəə ɲu.ɲu
    3S   cover.with.blanket Prep blanket
    He was covered with a blanket.

100 ləə pəək " ʔəŋ.ŋaaj hə.bəəm "
    3S   open   what   2S-to.do
    She opened (the blanket) (said), "What did you do?"

101a nɔɔʔ ləə pəək
     3S   3S   open
     She opened (the blanket),

101b bɔk.jaaw ləə taj tɔɛ   daak prak ləə kə.sɔɔp nɔɔʔ diw də.nɔh rɔɔk
     amazing   3S   see completely water silver 3S   cover   3S   only wrist
     she was surprised to see (that) he was completely covered with liquid silver to his
     wrists.

102 " jəə   paʔ.nɛɛ dih   taj khɨɨ   ʔɨɨm paʔ.nɛɛ " ləə maaŋ dəə   klɔɔ
     Interj like.this Exclamation Neg suitable Neg like.this   3S   speak Prep husband
    nɔɔʔ " mɛɲ   hə.n cɔk daak pəŋ.hɔɔm "
    3S   Imp(polite) 2S-Irr take water bathe
    "Interjection! Like this! Exclamation! (It's) not suitable like this." She spoke to her
    husband. "[You] Take water to bathe (him)."

103a ʔam braa pəŋ hɔɔm dəə daak prak
     3P(du)   bathe   Prep water silver
     They bathed away the silver.

103b məə   həŋ.ŋan kɨj   braaŋ
     3P(pl) sleep   sleep till.dawn
     They slept till dawn.

104 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp bər.noow mɛɛʔ   nɔɔʔ ləə than   ləh ʔən.naaw   " kuən
    early.morning tomorrow mother 3S   3S   advise again one.more.time   child
    bɨŋ.nɛɛ   ləəj   hə.ŋ kuu ɲɔɔŋ   hə.dɔk ʔə? hə?   kə.nuŋ hən.naam
    at.that.time already 2S-Irr stay Imp.Neg 2S-to.go Neg Imp.Voc inside   house
    tɔʔ   bih / hə.nɔh   kuən ɲəə   bəəʔ haj ɲə.m   tɨɨh
    that(far) snake   2S-to.know child 1P(excl.pl) father 2S 1P(excl.pl)-Irr go.down
    ɟok   tiʔ   daak coʔ   "
    fishing down water down.there
    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."

105 ləə təəw " ʔɨɨʔ "
    3S   reply
    He replied, "Yes."

106a ʔɛɛ   ʔam.braa dɔk brɔɔj
      then 3P(du)   go   immediately
       Then they went[left].

106b taj.nɛə   ləə kuu ɉɛʔ   ɉoŋ.ta.ŋəj
      here.in.this.place   3S   stay to.the.extent.that midday
       He stayed there till midday,

106c ləə khɨt   " pə.jɛʔ ɗoow   mɛɛʔ   ləə kɔm.bɛɛt ʔaj ʔə.dɔk   ʔə.dɔk
      3S   think   how   mark.of.uncertainty mother 3S   forbid   1S   1S-to.go 1S-to.go
      həʔ tɔʔ   "
      Loc that(far)
       he thought, "Why mother she forbade me to go there?"

107a ʔɛɛ ləə dɔk bɨh   tɔʔ
      so   3S   go   Prep that(far)
       So he went there.

107b ʔɛɛ   ləə ɉər.liəŋ
      then 3S   take.a.peek.at
       Then he took a peek at (it).

107c bɔk. jaaw jiəŋ ləə kə.sɔɔp nɔɔʔ mɨt   ɉɨŋ   daak   ɉəŋ   kiəŋ   daak   prak cak
      amazing gold 3S   cover   3S   enter foot water gold elbow water silver body
      ləm.baa.thə.naa   daak rɔɔt muh ɓal   məə kat mət ɓal   məə   kriət
      very.nice.to.look.at water   nose same.as 3P(pl)   eye same.as 3P(pl)
      hə.piət biəm cah ləəm ʔən.ləəm bɔk.jaaw
      tongue   red   amazing
       Amazingly, the gold it covered his feet, liquid gold (covered) (his) elbow, liquid silver
       (covered) his body, (his) face looked very beautiful.

107d ləə duuŋ   dəə mɛɛʔ   nɔɔʔ
      3S   to.be.afraid Prep mother 3S
       He was afraid of his mother.

108a ləə kuu taj ʔən.drɛh
      3S   stay by   firewood
       He stayed by the firewood.

108b ləə lɔɔc   dəə kə.jah   ɉər.maaŋ
      3S   to.paint Prep charcoal covered.with.different.colors
       He painted (himself) with charcoal.

109a ʔɛɛ mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa cɨʔ   təəm.bɨŋ ɉok
      then mother father 3S   3P(du)   return from   fishing
       Then his parents they returned from fishing,

109b ʔam.braa kə.lɔɔw " ʔəəj kuən khiəŋ brɔɔj   "
     3P(du)   call   hey child silence immediately
     they called, "Hey, Child!" [Silence/No answer].

110 taj   ləə təəw
    see 3S reply
    He didn't replied.

111 " hə.ʔ.ŋaaj ləə dɔk ʔən.naaw   paʔ.nɛɛ / ʔaaj   ʔə.m bəəm ʔɔɔʔ
      where   3S go one.more.time like.this   Interj 1S-Irr make rice(cooked)
    kə.ɗəh "
    Interj
    (His mother said,) "Where did he go like this again? Interjection! I'm going to cook rice.
    Interjection!"

112a nɔʔ ləə kaan
     Rel 3S work
     When she worked[cooked],

112b ləə ɲak ʔən.drɛh lə.m pə.dɨk
     3S take firewood 3S-Irr lift
     she took the firewood [she lifts];

112c ləə taj brɔɔj   cə.gruəj ɟər.maaŋ
     3S see immediately Cegruej covered.with.different.colors
     she saw Cegruej covered with charcoal color.

113 " ŋaaj   haj nɛɛ hə.bəəm paʔ.nɛɛ ʔən.naaw   "
      1P(incl.pl) 2S here 2S-to-do like.this mark.of.contrast
    (She said,) "What are you doing here like this?"

114a ləə bəəm ka.jɛʔ ʔɔɔʔ
     3S make food   rice(cooked)
     She made food (and) cooked rice,

114b cɔŋ   caa həŋ.ŋan kɨj
    eat(rice.only) eat sleep   sleep
     (they) ate (and) slept.

115 sii.braaŋ.ŋɨp bər.noow mɛɛʔ   nɔɔʔ ləə maan dəə klɔɔ   nɔɔʔ " mɛɲ
    early.morning tomorrow mother 3S   3S speak Prep husband 3S   Imp(polite)
    lə.m tɨɨh   cɔk daak ɟəŋ pəŋ.hɔɔm nɔɔʔ kər.maat "
    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 bɔk jaaw ləə caʔ
     amazing 3S beautiful
     He was amazingly beautiful,

116b ləə maaŋ hə? mɛɛ? nɔɔ? bəə? " ʔaj ʔən.naaw ʔəəj ʔə.n tɨɨh ɟok "
   3S speak Loc mother 3S father 1S also hey 1S-Irr go.down fishing
   he spoke to his parents, "Hey! I also go fishing."

117 ʔɛɛ mɛɛ? nɔɔ? ləə maaŋ " ɲɔɔŋ kuən
   then mother 3S 3S speak Imp.Neg child
   ɟɨɨw.daak.run.grun.daak.craaŋ hən.noow "
   you.will.have.a.cold.and.will.have.to.offer.a.sacrifice near.future
   Then his mother she spoke, "Child, don't (go)! You'll have a cold and will have to offer a
   sacrifice later."

118 " ʔɨɨm mɛɛ? ʔə.n dɔk ləəj ʔaj ʔin "
    Neg mother 1S-Irr go already 1S exophoric
   (He said,) "No, Mother. I'll go."

119a ləə taj kuən nɔɔ? ləə glɛŋ maj hɛɛt dɔk
    3S see child 3S 3S stubborn very problem go
    She saw her child he insisted to go,

119b " ɟɛ? dəh "
     to.the.extent.that Interj
    (she said,) "Ok."

120 ti? ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa than " ɲɔɔŋ hə.dɨk ʔɨɨm tɨŋ kuut daak
    down then 3P(du) advise Imp.Neg 2s-to.go.up Neg Loc riverhead water
    ti? / hə.n tɨɨh ɟok ti? təəm daak co? jə? "
    down 2S-Irr go.down fishing down from water down.there Imp.Interj
    On that they advised, "[You] Don't go up to that riverhead. [You] Go fishing on that
    water downstream."

121 ləə trə.nəəw " ʔɨɨ? "
   3S to.answer yes
   He answered, "Yes."

122 ləə ɟok brɔɔj taj doow ʔɨɨm
   3S fishing immediately Neg obtain Neg
   He (went) fishing immediately, (but) obtained nonthing.

123 " pə.jɛ? ʔən.naaw ʔə.m bəəm ʔaaj ʔaj ʔin ʔə.n dɨk glaŋ
      how one.more.time 1S-Irr make Interj 1S exophoric 1S-Irr get.up try
   laŋ ʔaj ʔin "
   to.test 1S exophoric
   (He said to himself,) "What will I do now. Interjection! I, I'll go try upstream, I."

124 ʔɛɛ ləə dɨk brɔɔj
   then 3S get.up immediately
   Then he went up(stream).

125 taj.nɛɛ   kuən jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   nɛɛ naaŋ ʔən.sooc   bɔk.jaaw ləə ŋuɲ
   here.in.this.place child Mr rich.ruler this lady youngest(child) amazing 3S want

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

126 toow ləə cuh   phoor toor doʔ brɔɔj
only 3S sweat   immediately
She was very sweaty.

127 ləə laa həʔ bəəʔ   nɔɔʔ lə.m tɨɨh   hɔɔm
3S ask Loc father 3S   3S-Irr go.down bathe
She asked her father she would go down to bathe.

128a jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   nɛɛ ləə taj kuən nɔɔʔ ləə glɛŋ   maj hɛɛt   dɔk
  Mr rich.ruler this 3S see child 3S   3S stubborn very problem go
  This Mr. Rich Ruler he saw his child she insisted to go,

128b " ɟɛʔ   dəh   "
  to.the.extent.that Interj
  (he said,) "Ok."

129 məə tɨɨh   brɔɔj   dəəm mɛɛ brɔh   puən raa   məə
3P(pl) go.down immediately and 3P(pl) unmarried.woman four person.Clf 3P(pl)

tooj   nɔɔʔ
follow 3S
They went down immediately and four young ladies they followed her.

130a tɨŋ   məə   hɔɔm bər.lɛɛk
  while 3P(pl) bathe play
  While they were bathing (and) playing,

130b taj.nɛɛ   thaaw   ləə saar   duuk dɨk ɟok
  here.in.this.place Mr.(honorific) 3S go.against.current canoe get.up fishing
  in that place Thaaw he (traveled by) canoe against current, went up(stream) fishing.

131 naaŋ ʔən.sooc   ləə taj thaaw   ləə caʔ   ɟɨŋ daak ɟiən kiəŋ
  lady youngest(child) 3S see Mr.(honorific) 3S beautiful foot water gold elbow

daak prak
water silver
The youngest daughter she saw Thaaw he has beautiful liquid gold feet (and) liquid silver elbow.

132 ləə kə.lɔɔw tə.ŋaa laa " həʔ.ŋaaj hə.kuu   ʔuuʔ   "
3S call   ask   ask where 2S-to.stay older.brother
She called, asking, asking, "Where do you live, Older brother?"

133 " ti?   co?   ?ə.kuu   ti?   bəə?   təəm.?ən.lɛɛ ti?   mɛɛ?   gɛɛ.?ər.səə
     down down.there 1S-to.live down father Teem.Enlee   down mother Gee.Ersee
   ləəj   ?ə.kuu   "
   already 1S-to.live
   (He answered,) "On that down here, I live (with) father Teem Enlee (and) (with) mother
   Gee Ersee, I live."

134 " pa?.?in   lah   ɲəə   nɔh   ?ɨɨm dih   pa? ɲə.n   nɔh
     like.that yes/no 1P(excl.pl) may.be Neg Exclamation if   1P(excl.pl)-Irr know
   ɲə.n   tɨɨh   kə.vaŋ ti?   haj ?uu?   ?əəj   "
   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!"

135a cə.cɛɛ.praac   həm.maac maaŋ duɲ
     chat.together narrate   speak long.time
     (They) chatted for a long time.

135b ləə khɨt mɛɛ?   nɔɔ? lə.m   maaŋ   ləəj
     3S think mother 3S   3S-Irr tell.off already
     He thought his mother would tell (him) off.

136 ləə riən " ɟɛ?   ləəj   tak   maaŋ haj jə?   naaŋ / mɛɛ?
     3S say   to.the.extent.that already disappear speak 2S Imp.Interj lady   mother
   lə.m   maaŋ dəə ?aj ?ə   duɲ   "
   3S-Irr tell.off Prep 1S 1S-verb.prefix long.time
   He said, "That enough, (I) have to say good-bye to you, Miss. (My) mother will tell me
   off for being gone so long."

137a naaŋ ləə cɔk həm.baan.cɛɛ thaaw   bɨŋ   dɔŋ
     lady 3S take small.kromar Mr.(honorific) Prep neck
     The lady she took Mr.(Cegruej's) kromar, (put it) on (her) neck,

137b ləə təəw " cɨ?   dəh   "
     3S reply   return Interj
     she replied,"Retrun[Go home]. Interjection!"

138a ?ɛɛ naaŋ ləə cɨ?   təəm.bɨŋ hɔɔm bɨh ti?   hən.naam
     then lady 3S return from   bathe Prep down house
     Then the lady she returned home[on that house] from bathing.

138b ləə kɨj.kər.sɨp.kə.dɨp.kləəm brɔɔj
     3S sleeping.on.the.belly   immediately
     She was not able to sleep.

139 ʔɛɛ taj.nɛɛ   dəə thaaw   cə.gruəj paʔ.tɨɨ dəə nɔɔʔ ləə cɨʔ
   then here.in.this.place Prep Mr.(honorific) Cegruej too   Prep 3S   3S return
   kɨj.kər.sɨp.kə.dɨp.kləəm paʔ.tɨɨ
   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.

140 ʔam.braa mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa nɔh   brɔɔj   diw ʔam.braa taj
   3P(du)   mother father 3S   3P(du)   know immediately only 3P(du)   see
   həm.baan.cɛɛ nɔɔʔ ləə pat
   small.kromar 3S   3S disappear/to.be.gone
   His parents they knew only they saw his kromar it was disappeared.

141 ʔam.braa tə.ŋaa riən " həʔ.ŋaaj həm.baan haj hə   tak   "
   3P(du)   ask   say where   kromar   2S 2S-verb.prefix abandon
   They asked, saying, "Where is your kromar? Did you abanon (it)?"

142 " tɨŋ   tiʔ   ləəj   ʔə.dɨk   ɟok   naaŋ ləə cɔk həm.baan ʔaj "
    while down already 1S-to.go.up fishing lady 3S take kromar   1S
   (He answered,) "When I went up that(stream) to fish, a lady she took my kromar."

143 ʔam.braa riən " lɛɛw ləəj   ʔaat   lə.m bic kaan   ləəj   paʔ.ʔin "
   3P(du)   say   finish already probably 3S-Irr have problem already like.that
   They said, "It's probably finished! He'll have troubles [like that]."

144a ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa lɔɔc   nɔɔʔ dəə kə.huəj glah   ʔən.naaw
    then 3P(du)   to.paint 3S   Prep soot   steaming.pot one.more.time
    Then they painted him with soot one more time.

144b ləə kuu ɟər.maaŋ   ʔən.naaw   paʔ riiw   tɨɨ
    3S stay covered.with.different.colors one.more.time like in.the.past same
    He was covered with soot color one more time, same as before.

145a ʔɛɛ jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   taj.nɛɛ   ləə taj kuən nɔɔʔ ləə
    then Mr rich.ruler here.in.this.place 3S see child 3S   3S
    kɨj.kər.sɨp.kə.dɨp.kləəm
    sleeping.on.the.belly
     Then Mr. Rich Ruler [in that place] he saw his child she was not able to sleep,

145b ləə tə.ŋaa " ʔəŋ.ŋaaj hə.bəəm naaŋ mɔt   hə.ʔɔt   ʔɔɔʔ   daak
    3S ask   what   2S-to.do lady completely 2S-not.eat rice(cooked) water
    paʔ.nɛɛ "
    like.this
     he asked, "What are you doing, Miss? You don't eat and drink like this!"

201

146 ʔɛɛ   ləə trə.nəəw maaŋ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ " ŋaaj   bəəʔ ʔəəj ʔə.ŋuɲ
    then 3S to.answer speak father 3S   1P(incl.pl) father hey 1S-to.want
    thaaw   cə.gruəj nɛɛ dəh   / həm.baan.cɛɛ nɔɔʔ ʔə.cɔk   / ləə
    Mr.(honorific) Cegruej this polite.question   small.kromar 3S   1S-to.take   3S
    kuu tiʔ   ja? təəm.ʔən.lɛɛ mɛʔ   gɛɛ.ʔər.səə "
    live down Mr Teem.Enlee   mother Gee.Ersee
    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."

147 bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ləə maaŋ " ŋaaj   dəh   mɔt   ʔɔt   ʔɔɔʔ
    father 3S 3S speak   1P(incl.pl) polite.question completely not.eat rice(cooked)
    daak ɓal.nɛɛ / hə.n cɔŋ   caa hən.noow   / ʔə.n tɨɨh   tə.ŋaa
    water like.this   2S-Irr eat(rice.only) eat near.future   1S-Irr go.down ask
    ləəj   mɛɛ.ŋaaj mə.n   pɨɨŋ   ʔaj həŋ.ʔin   "
    already Rel(pl)   3P(pl)-Irr on.top 1S exophoric.reference
    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."

148 jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   nɛɛ ləə tɨɨh   maat ɓɨh   tiʔ   ʔɛɛ
    Mr rich.ruler this 3S go.down really arrive down then
    This Mr. Rich Ruler he really went down, arrived there.

149 ja.ʔiiʔ   ja.ʔɔɔʔ   nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa tə.ŋaa " laa   ʔam ka.jɛʔ ʔɔɔʔ
    grandmother grandfather 3S   3P(du)   ask   please give food rice(cooked)
    cɛh tə.vɛɛ   puər ɲɛɛt cɔŋ   ɓɨŋ ʔɛɛ   "
    rice rice.wine   drink eat(rice.only) Loc there
    His grandparents they asked, "Please come eat (and) drink at (our) place."

150 jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   nɛɛ ləə glaŋ " pə.jɛʔ ləə trɔ   kuən ʔaj ləə məət taj.ɗam
    Mr rich.ruler this 3S look   how   3S to.be.right child 1S 3S love extremely
    dəə bəʔ   ʔən.nɛɛ ʔɛh   ɲɨh
    Prep man(single) this   Interj to.that.point
    taj.mat.biit.kləəm.ʔəm.blaa.klaak.ʔəm.blɛɛk "
    not.nice.to.look.at.not.beautiful
    This Mr. Rich Ruler he looked (thought), "How can my child she loves this man so much?
    Interjection! (He) is not beautiful."

151a ləə glaŋ ləə taj blah dɔŋ   thɨɨŋ
    3S look 3S see Loc neck shining.brightly
    He looked, he saw (his) neck shined brightly.

151b ləə gaal
    3S shine
    He shined.

152 " ŋaaj   ləə gaal ɗoow   " ləə khɨt " glaŋ laŋ   haj "
     1P(incl.pl) 3S shine mark.of.uncertainty   3S think   try   to.test 2S
     "What (made) it shined?" He thought. "(Let me) test you."

153 ləə maaŋ " ʔəəj mɔɔn   mɛŋ   hə.m tɨɨh   cɔk ʔən.doot   ʔaj /
     3S speak   hey nephew Imp(polite) 2S-Irr go.down take tube.to.drink.wine 1S
     ləə kliih coʔ   "
     3S fall   down.there
     He spoke, "Hey, Nephew! [You] Go down to take my wine tube. It fell down there."

154a ləə tɨɨh   maat
     3S go.down really
     He went down [really].

154b tɨŋ   ləə dɛɛŋ.duuŋ
     while 3S bow.down
     While he bowed down,

154c ləə ʔəŋ.gɨt   tə.vɛɛ   nɔɔʔ
     3S give.a.push.to.make.liquid.spilled rice.wine 3S
     he gave a push (to his glass), spilled his rice wine (on him).

155a ʔɛɛ   ləə ʔən.cɨɨc
     then 3S shake
     Then it shook (in the glass and spilled).

155b ləə taj thɨɨŋ   blah dɔŋ ləə cam trə.paj
     3S see shining.brightly Loc neck 3S more light
     He saw something shining more brightly by his neck.

155c mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ   nɔɔʔ ʔam.braa laah   cak
     mother father 3S 3P(du)   defend body
     His parents they excused (themselves),

155d riən " jak   ɲəə   duuŋ   tɔʔ lə.m lɨɨ / ʔɛɛ ɲəə   lɔɔc
     say   because 1P(excl.pl) to.be.afraid that 3S-Irr hear   then 1P(excl.pl) to.paint
     nɔɔʔ pəŋ.hɔɔm dəh   kər.maat nɔɔʔ "
     3S bathe   Interj truly   3S
     (they) said,"Because we're afraid that (event) will be heard off, so we painted him,
     Interjection! bathed him truly."

156 həm.bruh.dəə.ʔɛɛ ʃruuŋ brɔɔj
     at.that.time   immediately
     ɟɨŋ.daak.ɟiəŋ.kiəŋ.daak.prak.cak.ləm.baa.thə.naa.daak.rɔɔt
     beautiful.to.look.at
     At that time, (he) was beautiful to look at.

157 " ʔooʔ ɓal.nɛɛ maat / ʔɛɛ kuən ʔaj ləə ŋuŋ hən.ɟaa "
     Interj like.this really   then child 1S 3S want Interj

203

(Mr. Rich Ruler said,) "Interjecion! Really like this! Then (this is why) my child she wants. Interjection!"

158a ʔat.ɲaa   nɛɛ bɔk.jaaw ləə ɲɨm   kləəm.klaak   brɔɔj   dəə
    rich.ruler this amazing 3S taste.good heart(for.emotion) immediately Prep
    pər.saaw   nɔɔʔ
    son-in-law 3S
    This rich ruler he was extremely happy about his son-in-law.

158b ləə tɛɛŋ   cər.nɔŋ.cər.naa
    3S to.plan marry
    He planned the marriage.

158c məə   kuu sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm
    3P(pl) live to.be.well
    They lived happily (ever after).

159 looc diw ʔɛh.ləəj jəʔ   bər.noow hə.braa ʔən.naaw   ʔə.m həm.maac
    end only that.is.it Imp.Interj tomorrow day.after one.more.time 1S-Irr narrate
    ləh
    again
    That's the end. I'll narrate once again tomorrow, the day after.

APPENDIX F

NARRATIVE4-MARKSMAN ORPHAN

1 lɨəŋ mɛɛ.lɛj mɛɛ kraʔ lɛj pən.ɗəəm məə cuʔ mat mɛɛ gooŋ.mɨɨn
   story ancestors 3P(pl) old past in.the.past 3P(pl) name name 3P(pl) Goong.Miin
   təən.bər.ɲaa laa.hə.ɗac cac.daak.brah doow.brah.brii
   Teen.Ber.Jaa Laa.He.Dac Cac.Daak.Brah Doow.Brah.Brii
   A story (about) (our) ancestors in the past, long time ago, their names were Goong Miin,
   Teen Ber Jaa, Laa He Dac, Cac Daak Brah, Doow Brah Brii.

2 ʔɛɛ doow   kuən.pər.tii nɛɛ ləə bic ʔɨɨm mɛɛʔ bəəʔ
   then Mr.(demeaning) orphan   this 3S have Neg mother father
   Then Mr. orphan he had no parents.

3 ləə tooj   mɛɛ rə.rɛʔ
   3S follow 3P(pl) hunt
   He followed them to hunt.

4a məə rɛʔ daŋ   ɟuuj
    3P(pl) go look.for deer
    They went to look for deer,

4b ʔɛɛ məə riən " ɲɔɔŋ   hə n tooj ʔɨɨm ɲaa   ʔam ʔɨɨm haj hə.n
    then 3P(pl) say   Imp.Neg 2S-Irr follow Neg 1P(excl.pl) allow Neg 2S 2S-Irr
    tooj ɲaa   "
    follow 1P(excl.pl)
    then they said, "Don't follow. We don't allow you to follow us."

5 " doow   kuən.pər.tii hə.n kuu bɨŋ hən.naam ləəj   haj " mɛɛ
    Mr.(demeaning) orphan   2S-Irr stay Loc house   already 2S   3P(pl)
   gooŋ.mɨɨn təən.bər.ɲaa məə maaŋ dəə nɔɔʔ
   Goong.Miin Teen.Ber.Jaa 3P(pl) speak Prep 3S
   "Mr. Orphan, you stay at home." Goong Miin (and) Teen Ber Jaa they spoke to him.

6a ʔɛɛ ləə ŋuɲ brɔɔj   taj.ɗam
    but 3S want immediately extremely
    But he extremely wanted to go,

6b ɗaa ləə tooj   mɔɔc
    until 3S follow secretly
    to the point he followed (them) secretly.

205

7 ləə dɔk ʔən.tun mɛɛ
   3S go after 3P(pl)
   He went after them.

8a ʔɛɛ məə bɨh brɔɔj ɓɔɔn ʔam.buʔ
    then 3P(pl) Prep immediately place place
    When they arrived at the place,

8b məə bəəm hən.naam rə.rɛʔ daŋ ɟuuj
    3P(pl) make house hunt look.for deer
    they made[built] a house for hunting deer.

9 məə taj nɔh siʔ dəə pə.troow tɨŋ kə.noŋ brii ʔɛh ləəj
   3P(pl) see know how.many Prep animal Loc in forest that already
   They saw a lot of animals there in that forest.

10a ʔɛɛ məə bəəm hən.naam bɨŋ ʔɛɛ lɛɛw ləəj
     then 3P(pl) make house Loc then finish already
     Then they finished making[building] a house there.

10b ʔɛɛ phə.ɗii məə dɔk daŋ ɟuuj
     then then 3P(pl) go look.for deer
     After that they went to look for deer.

11 ʔɛɛ məə taj brɔɔj maat ɟuuj ʔin
    then 3P(pl) see immediately really deer exophoric
    Then they really saw a deer.

12 ʔɛɛ məə pɛɲ brɔɔj ɟuuj nɛɛ
    then 3P(pl) shoot immediately deer this
    Then they shot this deer immediately.

13 gooŋ.mɨɨn pɛɲ taj trɔɔ
    Goong.Miin shoot Neg to.be.right
    Goong Miin shot (but) missed (it).

14 təən.bər.ɲaa pɛɲ taj trɔɔ
    Teen.Ber.Jaa shoot Neg to.be.right
    Teen Ber Jaa shoot (but) missed (it).

15 laa.hə.ɗac pɛɲ taj trɔɔ
    Laa.He.Dac shoot Neg to.be.right
    Laa He Dac shot (but) missed (it).

16 cac.daak.brah pɛɲ taj trɔɔ
    Cac.Daak.Brah shoot Neg to.be.right
    Cac Daak Brah shot (but) missed (it).

17 doow.brah.brii pɛɲ taj trɔɔ
    Doow.Brah.Brii shoot Neg to.be.right
    Doow Brah Brii shot (but) missed (it).

18 " paʔ.ŋaaj ʔən.naaw   " məə   maaŋ riən " paʔ doow   kuən.pər.tii
   what   mark.of.contrast 3P(pl) speak say   if   Mr.(demeaning) orphan
   nɔɔʔ lə.m tooj ɲaa   / ʔɛ lə.m pɛɲ trɔɔ   taj nɔh   "
   3S   3S-Irr follow 1P(excl.pl) then 3S-Irr shoot to.be.right Loc may.be
   "What should we do now?" They spoke, saying. "If the orphan he would have followed
   us, then he might shoot (it)."

19a ʔɛ   məə   cɨʔ   ləən.gə.ləən
    then 3P(pl) return stretch.the.eyes.to.try.to.see.something.from.afar
    Then they returned and saw from afar,

19b məə   taj ləə dɔk maat ɟruuj   mɛɛ   taj trɛc
    3P(pl) see 3S go really follow 3P(pl) Loc behind
    they saw him really [walked] followed them from behind.

20a ʔɛ   məə   taj tiʔ   truuŋ
    then 3P(pl) see down road
    Then they saw (him) on that road,

20b məə   riən " ʔəəj doow   kuən.pər.tii ʔəm.bɔɔ haj maat hə.m pɛɲ
    3P(pl) say   hey Mr.(demeaning) orphan   maybe   2S really 2S-Irr shoot
    hə.m bəəm ʔən   trɔɔ   / ɲaa   ɲə.taj   ɟuuj naʔ ləə
    2S-Irr make able.to.catch to.be.right 1P(excl.pl) 1P(excl.pl)-to.see deer still 3S
    kuu bɨŋ ʔɛh ləəj   "
    stay Loc that already
    they said, "Hey, Orphan! Maybe you're really able to shoot and catch it. We saw a deer
    still stays there."

21 ʔɛɛ məə   tɨɨh   cɔk brɔɔj   doow   kuən.pər.tii ʔin
   so 3P(pl) go.down take immediately Mr.(demeaning) orphan   exophoric
   So they went down to take Mr. Orphan there.

22a ləə tiət   srav.diw.diw nɔɔʔ kɛʔ.kɛʔ
    3S take.with crossbow   3S   small
    He took his small crossbow,

22b ləə pɛɲ   brɔɔj   ɟuuj ʔin
    3S shoot immediately deer exophoric
    he shot the deer,

22c ləə trɔɔ maat
    3S hurt really
    he really hit (it),

22d kɛɛt tak
    die broken(totally)
    (it) was completely dead.

23a ʔɛɛ   məə   tə.tah   ʔə.ʔar joŋ   bɨŋ ʔɛh
    then 3P(pl) to.butcher   dry.on.fire Loc that
    Then they cut (it) into pieces, dried (it) on fire there,

23b məə   bəəm kər.ɟəəŋ.kər.ɟɛh   brɔɔj
    3P(pl) make grill.made.of.bamboo immediately
    they made a grill from bamboo.

24 məə   cɔŋ   caa lɛɛw
   3P(pl) eat(rice.only) eat finish
    They ate (it) up.

25 ʔɛɛ   tɔʔ   bər.ŋɨp bər.noow məə   daŋ   rə.rɛʔ ʔən.naaw
   then that(far) morning tomorrow 3P(pl) look.for hunt   one.more.time
    The next morning they went hunting one more time.

26 ʔɛɛ   məə   cuul brɔɔj   ruəh   blɔɔk tih ʔəm.maʔ
   then 3P(pl) meet immediately elephant tusk   big big
    Then they met an elephant with very big tusks.

27 ʔɛɛ məə   riən " ʔuuʔ   ruəh   tɔʔ   ŋaaj   ŋə.m   tɨɨh
   so 3P(pl) say   older.brother elephant that(far) 1P(incl.pl) 1P(incl.pl)-Irr go.down
   pɛɲ   ʔəəj hən.noow   "
   shoot hey near.future
    So they said, "Older brother, an elephant is overthere, we go down to shoot (it). Hey!"

28 ʔuuʔ   gooŋ.mɨɨn lə.m pɛɲ
   older.brother Goong.Miin 3S-Irr shoot
    Oldest brother Goong Miin would shoot.

29 ʔɛɛ gooŋ.mɨɨn   ləə pɛɲ   taj trɔɔ
   so Goong.Miin 3S shoot Neg hurt
    So Goong Miin he shot (but) missed (it).

30 təən.bər.ɲaa pɛɲ   taj trɔɔ
   Teen.Ber.Jaa shoot Neg hurt
    Teen Berjaa shot (but) missed (it).

31 laa.hə.ɗac pɛɲ   taj trɔɔ
   Laa.He.Dac shoot Neg hurt
    Laa Hedac shot (but) missed (it).

32 cac.daak.brah pɛɲ   taj trɔɔ
   Cac.Daak.Brah shoot Neg hurt
    Cac Daak Brah shot (but) missed (it).

33 doow.brah.brii pɛɲ   taj trɔɔ
   Doow.Brah.Brii shoot Neg hurt
    Doow Brah Brii shot (but) missed (it).

34 " paʔ.ŋaaj ʔən.naaw   " məə riən " kuən.pər.tii haj ʔən.naaw laŋ   hə.m
   what mark.of.contrast 3P(pl) say orphan 2S also   to.test 2S-Irr

pɛɲ "
shoot
  "What should we do now?" They said, "Orphan, this is your turn to shoot (it)."

35a ʔɛɛ doow   kuən.pər.tii ʔin   srav.diw.diw nɔɔʔ
  then Mr.(demeaning) orphan   exophoric crossbow   3S
  Then Mr. Orphan (took) his small crossbow,

35b ləə dɔk pɛɲ   trɔɔ.mal brɔɔj
  3S go shoot right   right.away
  he went to shoot (the elephant) right away.

36a həm.bruh ləə trɔɔ
  as.soon.as 3S hurt
  As soon as it was hit,

36b ləə bɔŋ   kɛɛt brɔɔj   lə.ŋɨɨŋ
  3S fall.to.the.ground die immediately lay.on.the.back
  it fell to the ground, died laying on the back.

37a məə tə.tah   ʔa.ʔar
  3P(pl) to.butcher
  They cut (the elephant) into pieces,

37b bəəm kər.ɟəəŋ ɟroŋ.puər bɨŋ ʔɛɛ
  make grill   grill.dry Loc then
  (they) grilled (it) dry there.

38 məə maaŋ paʔ lɛj.də.mãŋ tɨɨ
  3P(pl) speak like yesterday same
  They spoke like yesterday.

39 " ɟɛʔ   ləəj " məə riən
  to.the.extent.that already 3P(pl) say
  "That's enough," they said.

40 " diw ruəh   ləəj ɲəə   doow nɛɛ ɲə.n   cɨʔ mãŋ.mãŋ "
  only elephant already 1P(excl.pl) obtain this 1P(excl.pl)-Irr return tonight
  məə maaŋ
  3P(pl) speak
  "We obtained this elephant, we return (home) tonight," they spoke.

41a ʔɛɛ məə cɨʔ   brɔɔj
  then 3P(pl) return immediately
  Then they returned (home),

41b məə   rən.ɗap rən.ɗɛh
   3P(pl) prepare
   they prepared to go back.

42 doow   kuən.pər.tii ʔin   məə   ʔam ʔɨɨm dəə nɔɔʔ cər.laat
   Mr.(demeaning) orphan   exophoric 3P(pl) give Neg Prep 3S   a.piece.of.meat
   ruəh   cər.laat ɟuuj ʔɛɛ
   elephant slice   deer then
   (For) Mr. Orphan, they didn't give him a piece of elephant meat (or) a piece of deer meat
   [there].

43 ləə cɨʔ   tii   mi.miʔ
   3S return hand empty
   He returned (home) empty-handed.

44a ʔɛɛ bɨh   həʔ hən.naam
   then arrive Loc house
   Then (he) arrived home.

44b ʔɛɛ jaʔ nɔɔʔ lə.riən   " hən.ɟɛʔ ʔɛh doow lah   coow   "
   then old 3S   3S-to.say how.is.it that obtain yes/no grandchild
   Then his grandmother said, "How was it? Did you obtain anything, Grandchild?"

45 doow   ʔən.naaw   ləə riən " həŋ.ʔɛɛ ɟuuj muuj məə   pɛɲ   taj
   Mr.(demeaning) mark.of.contrast 3S say   hey   deer one 3P(pl) shoot Neg
   trɔɔ   / blii ʔɛɛ ləh ʔən.naaw   paʔ.bər.noow məə taj ruəh
   to.be.right after then again one.more.time next.day   3P(pl) see elephant
   məə   pɛɲ   taj trɔɔ   "
   3P(pl) shoot Neg to.be.right
   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."

46 " ʔɛɛ   məə praj   ʔaj ʔə.pɛɲ   trɔɔ brɔɔj   / məə tə.tah   ʔa.ʔar
     then 3P(pl) command 1S 1S-to.shoot hurt immediately 3P(pl) to.butcher
   / blii   məə ɟroŋ.puər ləə cram / məə   pər.naak   / məə
     after 3P(pl) grill.dry 3S dry   3P(pl) divide.in.portion.and.share 3P(pl)
   paak   ʔɨɨm dəə ʔaj " ləə riən
   to.share Neg Prep 1S   3S say
   "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.

47 ʔɛɛ   jaʔ nɔɔʔ ləə riən " laa coow   ʔəəj ʔəəʔ kɔm.bɛɛt ləəj   həə dɔk tooj
   then old 3S   3S   say   ask grandchild hey   1S   forbid   already   2S   go   follow
   mɛɛ / paʔ.ŋaaj ʔən.naaw ŋə.n   bəəm paʔ.ʔin "
   3P(pl)   what   also   1P(incl.pl)-Irr do   like.that
   Then his grandmother she said, "Please, grandchild! Hey! I already forbid you to follow
   them. What else shall we do like that?"

48 məə taj brɔɔj   drii.drii   mat.ta.ŋəj tih
   3P(pl) see immediately shine.of.a.small.light.like.a.candle/kitchen.fire sun   big
   mat.ta.ŋəj drii.drii   mat.ta.ŋəj ʔin
   sun   shine.of.a.small.light.like.a.candle/kitchen.fire sun   exophoric
   They saw a weak shining sun, a big sun, a sun with a weak shine.

49a məə riən " ɲah   ɲə.n   pɛɲ glaŋ "
    3P(pl) say   let.us(pl) 1P(excl.pl)-Irr shoot try
    They said, "Let's try to shoot (it)."

49b məə riən
    3P(pl) say
    They said.

50 ʔɛɛ məə pɛɲ   brɔɔj
   so   3P(pl) shoot immediately
   So they shot (it).

51 gooŋ.miin pɛɲ   mat.ta.ŋəj taj trɔɔ
   Goong.Miin shoot sun   Neg hurt
   Goong Miin shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

52 təən.bər.ɲaa pɛɲ   mat.ta.ŋəj taj   trɔɔ
   Teen.Ber.Jaa shoot sun   Neg hurt
   Teen Berjaa shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

53 laa.hə.ɗac pɛɲ   mat.ta.ŋəj taj   trɔɔ
   Laa.He.Dac shoot sun   Neg hurt
   Laa Hedac shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

54 cac.daak.brah pɛɲ   mat.ta.ŋəj taj   trɔɔ
   Cac.Daak.Brah shoot sun   Neg hurt
   Cac Daak Brah shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

55 doow.brah.brii pɛɲ   mat.ta.ŋəj taj   trɔɔ
   Doow.Brah.Brii shoot sun   Neg hurt
   Doow Brah Brii shot the sun, (but) missed (it).

56 " ʔəm.bɔɔ doow   kuən.pər.tii "
     maybe   Mr.(demeaning) orphan
   (They said,) "Maybe the orphan (could hit the sun)."

57 " paʔ paʔ ɲɨh   hə.m pɛɲ mat.ta.ŋəj ləəj   / ʔɛɛ ɲə.n   ɲaam

    if   like to.that.point 2S-Irr ^{shoot}sun   already   then 1P(excl.pl)-Irr season?

  (haj)"

    2S

  (They said,) "If you could shoot the sun, then we will have seasons."

58 ləə pɛɲ   brɔɔj   mat.ta.ŋəj tiʔ

  3S shoot immediately sun   on/above

  He shot that sun above immediately.

59a həm.bruh ləə loot srav.diw nɔɔʔ

   as.soon.as 3S pull crossbow 3S

   As soon as he pulled his crossbow,

59b ləə tam   draŋ

   3S to.place arrow

   he placed an arrow,

59c ləə pɛɲ   ləə trɔɔ   ɓliip   brɔɔj   boʔ mat.ta.ŋəj

   3S ^{shoot} 3S to.be.right sound.of. immediately Loc sun

   he shot, he hit the sun immediately,

59d ləə kər.pal

   3S turn

   it turned.

60 təəm.bɨŋ ʔɛɛ ləə bic   ʔəm.bɨʔ bic   mãŋ   mãŋ

  from   then 3S have evening have night night

  Since then, it has evening, has night.

61 " ʔəəj " məə riən " ɲəə   ɲɔɔm   ləəj   dəə doow

   hey   3P(pl) say   1P(excl.pl) be.amazed already Prep Mr.(demeaning)

  kuən.pər.tii nɛɛ / ləə pɛɲ   mat.ta.ŋəj / ləə trɔɔ "

  orphan   this   3S ^{shoot}sun   3S hurt

  "Hey!" They said, "We are amazed at this orphan. He shot the sun, he hit (it)."

62a təəm.bɨŋ ʔɛɛ ləə bic   mãŋ   mãŋ   məə həŋ.ŋan kɨj

  from   then 3S have night night 3P(pl) sleep   sleep

  Since then, it has night / when it's night, they sleep,

62b nɔʔ ta.ŋəj məə   pə.pɨt.bə.bəəm ʔən.naaw

  Rel day   3P(pl) to.work   mark.of.contrast

  as for day, but when it's day, they work

62c jak   ləə gaal gaal

  because 3S shine shine

  because it is sunny / there is light.

62d tɨŋ pən.ɗəəm nɛʔ bic ʔɨɨm mãŋ mãŋ toow ləə gaal
Loc in.the.past   have Neg night night only 3S shine
In the beginning it had no night, it was always sunny / light.

63a mǝǝ hǝŋ.ŋan
3P(pl) sleep
They slept

63b taam   dii
according.to like
when (they) like,

64a mǝǝ cɔŋ
3P(pl) eat(rice.only)
they ate

64b taam   dii
according.to like
when (they) like,

65a ŋaah   taam
stay.awake according.to
(they) stayed awake

65b mǝǝ dii
3P(pl) like
when they like,

66a hɔɔm taam
bathe according.to
(they) bathed

66b mǝǝ dii
3P(pl) like
when they like.

67 looc diw nɛɛ lǝǝj
end only here already
End here[The End].

APPENDIX G

NARRATIVE5-GECKO AND ELEPHANT

1 ʔɛɛ brɔɔj   naaŋ bə.jaa nɛɛ ləə dɔk dɔk tɔʔ 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 lɨɨ brɔɔj   ʔiər.brii.bruu kə.nɛɛ.prɔɔk.lɔŋ məə broow
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 maaŋ riən " laa.dəəw.ʔoh paʔ ʔə.m bic kuən klɔɔ / naʔ
  then 3S speak say please(very.polite) if 1S-Irr have child husband then
ŋə.n   doow ɗoow   ŋə.n   caa ʔiər.brii.bruu
1P(incl.pl)-Irr able.to mark.of.uncertainty 1P(incl.pl)-Irr eat wild.chicken
kə.nɛɛ.prɔɔk.lɔŋ ʔin   "
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 nɛɛ ləə lɨɨ
 then elephant this 3S hear
 Then this elephant he heard (what she said),

4b ʔɛɛ ləə tə.vɨr   brɔɔj   cak nɔɔʔ bə.nɨh
 then 3S get.transform immediately body 3S human
 then he transformed his body into a human being.

5 ʔɛɛ ləə cuʔ brɔɔj   mat nɔɔʔ thaaw
 then 3S name immediately name 3S Mr.(honorific)
 Then he named his name[himself] "Thaaw."

6 ʔɛɛ ləə pɛɲ brɔɔj   ʔiər.brii.bruu trii klɔɔ kə.nɛɛ trii klɔɔ
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 brɔɔj   bɨh tɔʔ naaŋ bə.jaa
then 3S go immediately Prep that(far) lady Baya
Then he went to Lady Baya [overthere].

8 ʔɛɛ naaŋ bə.jaa ləə tə.ŋaa riən " təəm həʔ.ŋaaj mɔɔn hə.dɔk.dɛɛŋ ʔən.nɛɛ "
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?"

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9 ʔɛɛ   ləə trə.nəəw   " huuj ʔə.vɛɛr   pə.pɛɲ pə.troow mɛc / hə.m buh
  then 3S to.answer   oh   1S-to.wander.about shoot   animal   2S-Irr   grill
  ʔiər.brii.bruu kə.nɛɛ.prɔɔk.lɔŋ ʔaj nɛɛ   mɛc "
  wild.chicken   small.animal   1S   this
  Then he answered, "Oh! I went hunting. Could you grill the wild chickens and the small animal for me?"

10a ʔɛɛ ləə buh ɟroŋ paaj bəəm ka.jɛʔ ʔɔɔʔ
   so   3S grill grill boil make food   rice(cooked)
   So she grilled (and) boiled (the preys), (she) made[cooked] a meal,

10b cɔŋ   caa
   eat(rice.only) eat
   (they) ate.

11 ʔɛɛ   thaaw   ləə maaŋ riən " dii lah   bə.n   cuʔ cə.puər "
  then Mr.(honorific) 3S speak say   like yes/no 3P(du)-Irr put
  Then Thaaw he spoke, saying, "Shall we get married?"

12 naaŋ ləə trə.nəəw   " dii   paʔ haj hə.dii   "
  lady 3S to.answer   accept if   2S   2S-to.like
  The lady she answered, "Yes, if you like to."

13 cuʔ brɔɔj   cə.puər
  put right.away
  (They) got married right away.

14 " ʔɛɛ   ʔəm.bɨʔ klɔɔ   ʔaj ŋɨp   klɔɔ   ʔaj "
   then evening husband 1S morning husband 1S
  (She vowed,) "(I agree to take Thaaw as) my husband in the daytime (and) at nighttime (from now on)."

15 ʔɛɛ   dəə thaaw   ləə maaŋ " ʔəm.bɨʔ trii ŋɨp   trii ʔaj "
  then Prep Mr.(honorific) 3S speak   evening wife morning wife 1S
  Then for Thaaw he spoke, "(I agree to take Baya as) my wife in the daytime (and) at nighttime (from now on)."

16 ʔɛɛ   ʔəm.bɨʔ srɛʔ.cər.ɲɛʔ.ɲoom ʔam.braa cɨʔ   həʔ mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ nɔɔʔ
  then evening at.sunset   3P(du)   return Loc mother father 3S
  In the evening at sunset, they returned to her parents.

17 ʔɛɛ   bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ləə maaŋ " ʔɛɛ   kuən naaŋ bə.jaa bic klɔɔ   ləəj   "
  then father 3S   3S speak   Interj child lady Baya have husband already
  Then her father he spoke, "Interjection! (My) child Lady Baya has a husband already."

18 ʔɔh   nɔɔʔ ləə maaŋ " ʔiiʔ   moʔ   naaŋ bə.jaa bic   klɔɔ
younger.sibling 3S   3S   speak   Interj older.sister lady Baya   have husband
ləəj   "
already
Her younger sister she spoke, "Interjection! (My) older sister Lady Baya has a husband already."

19 miik   nɔɔʔ ləə maaŋ " ʔiiʔ   naaŋ bə.jaa ləə bic   klɔɔ   ləəj   "
younger.aunt 3S   3S   speak   Interj lady Baya   3S   have husband already
Her younger aunt she spoke, "Interjection! Lady Baya she has a husband already."

20 məə   ŋɨm.kləəm.rəəm.pə.nat rak.cɔŋ.ɓoŋ.booj   brɔɔj   bɨŋ ʔɛɛ
3P(pl) to.be.glad   welcome.having.a.meal   immediately Loc that
They were very happy (and) held a party (to celebrate and welcome Thaaw) there.

21 kuu sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm
stay to.be.well
(The new couple) lived happily (together).

22 duŋ   ləəj   klɔɔ   nɔɔʔ ləə riən " huəj ʔaj ʔə.ŋ ŋɨh mɛɛʔ bəəʔ
long.time already husband 3S   3S   say   huh 1S 1S-Irr miss mother father
ʔin   / trii naaŋ bə.jaa ʔəəj / ʔə.n cɨʔ   ɟəə mɛɛ ʔaj ʔin   "
exophoric   wife lady Baya   hey   1S-Irr return visit 3P(pl) 1S exophoric
After a long time, her husband he said, "Huh! I miss (my) parents. (My) wife Lady Baya, Hey! I return to visit them."

23 naaŋ bə.jaa ləə riən " ɓal.ʔɛɛ ʔaj ʔə.n cɨʔ   tooj tɨɨ "
lady Baya 3S say   like.that 1S 1S-Irr return follow too
Lady Baya she said, "Like that I follow (you) to return too."

24 thaaw   ləə riən " ɲɔɔŋ   gan jaʔ.ɔɔʔ   mə.n   maaŋ "
Mr.(honorific) 3S say   Imp.Neg just grandfather 3P(pl)-Irr tell.off
Thaaw he said, "Don't (follow me). Grandfather will tell (you) off."

25 ʔɛɛ ləə haaj brɔɔj   həʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ riən " bəəʔ ʔaj ʔə.n cɨʔ   tooj
then 3S tell immediately Loc father 3S   say   father 1S 1S-Irr return follow
pər.saaw   haj jəʔ   "
son-in-law 2S Imp.Interj
Then she told her father, saying, "Father, I follow your son-in-law to return (home). Interjection!"

26 bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ləə riən " hə.cɨʔ   tooj dəh   cɨʔ caʔ.caʔ.niəm.niəm
father 3S   3S say   2S-to.return follow polite.question return have.a.safe.trip
jəʔ   həʔ ʔɛɛ "
Imp.Interj Loc that
Her father he said, "You follow (your husband) to return (to his home). Have a safe trip! Interjection!"

27 ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa cɨʔ brɔɔj dɔk.dɛɛ.dɔk.dɛɛ
   so 3P(du) return immediately walk(double)
   So they walked for a long time.

28 ʔɛɛ bɨh brɔɔj diəp kə.nuu.kə.nuum nɔɔʔ ɓɔɔ.lɔɔŋ.pooj.ʔər.jooj
   then arrive immediately near a.place.of.living 3S bamboo.forest
   brɔɔj məə ɟan.ɟan
   immediately 3P(pl) trample(double)
   Then (they) arrived near the place he lived, the bamboo forest they[the elephants]
   trampled.

29 ʔɛɛ ləə maaŋ riən " ɓal.nɛɛ dih mɛɛʔ bəəʔ məə piih.rah.cə.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 ʔɛɛ dəə naaŋ bə.jaa vɛh ləə kɨn.ʔəŋ.kɨn riən " həʔ.ŋaaj
   then Prep lady Baya only 3S thinking(doublet) say where
   həŋ.ʔin mə.n piih.rah.cə.gah.saa həŋ.ʔin paʔ ruəh
   exophoric.reference 3P(pl)-Irr clear.the.forest exophoric.reference like elephant
   paʔ ʔaj ʔə.taj məə kə.dɔh ɓɔɔ kə.dɔh lɔɔŋ "
   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 ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa bɨh brɔɔj diəp lə.m bɨh kə.nuu ruəh
   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 ʔɛɛ thaaw ləə maaŋ riən " bɨŋ.nɛɛ ləəj jəʔ / ʔaj ʔə.n
   then Mr.(honorific) 3S speak say at.that.time already Imp.Interj 1S 1S-Irr
   cɨʔ mɨt həʔ mɛɛ mɛɛʔ bəəʔ ʔən.nuər ʔən.daj cɨʔ tə.ŋaa kə.laʔ
   return enter Loc 3P(pl) mother father ahead first return ask euphemism
   mə.n tə.ʔah.kraŋ "
   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 ʔɛɛ ləə cɨʔ brɔɔj muuj raa nɔɔʔ
   so 3S return immediately one person.Clf 3S
   So he returned (to his parents) on his own.

33 ʔɛɛ naaŋ bə.jaa ləə kuu brɔɔj kən.droom təəm ɟrii
   then lady Baya 3S stay immediately under trunk(long.piece) sacred
   Then Lady Baya she stayed under a sacred tree.

34 ʔɛɛ təəm tɨŋ tiʔ   tɔk.kɛɛ ləə broow brɔɔj   maaŋ riən "
   then from Loc on/above gecko 3S cry   immediately speak say

   tɔk.kɛɛ   kaa cəm.braa hə.dii tooj klɔɔ haj ləə vɨr   ruəh   "
   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?"

35 ʔɛɛ naaŋ bə.jaa ləə maaŋ " ʔɛɛ   paʔ.ʔin.dih ja.ʔiiʔ   ʔəəj paʔ.ŋaaj ʔə.n
   then lady Baya 3S speak Interj   grandmother hey what   1S-Irr

   bəəm "
   do

   Then Lady Baya she spoke, "Interjection! That's it, Grandma! Hey! What should I do?"

36 tɔk.kɛɛ ləə riən " paʔ.ŋaaj hə.n cə.nɛɛr ʔaj ʔɛɛ ʔə.m brɨk haj tɨŋ hən.naam "
   gecko 3S say   what   2S-Irr hide   1S then 1S-Irr lift 2S Loc house

   Gecko she said, "What about you give me a payment then I'll lift you (up) to (my)
   house?"

37 ʔɨɨʔ
   yes
   (Lady Baya said,) "Yes."

38 ʔɛɛ ləə ʔən.noom brɔɔj   tɔk.kɛɛ nɛɛ dəə naaŋ bə.jaa
   then 3S urinate   immediately gecko this Prep lady Baya
   Then she urinated, this gecko, to lady Baya.

39 ʔɛɛ ləə taj brɔɔj   ʔə.rɔɔŋ buəŋ
   then 3S see immediately ladder clearly
   Then she saw a ladder clearly.

40 ʔɛɛ ləə dɨk   brɔɔj   tɨŋ jaʔ tɔk.kɛɛ
   so 3S go.up immediately Loc old gecko
   So she went up to Grandma Gecko.

41a ʔɛɛ.ɓɛt.ɓɛɛt boow   ruəh   nɛɛ məə bɨh brɔɔj
    after.a.while a.group.of elephant this 3P(pl) Prep immediately
    After a while, this group of elephants they arrived,

41b mɛɛ mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ɟuun.hən.ɟuun   brɔɔj   ruəh
    3P(pl) mother father 3S   sound.of.the.elephant's.footsteps immediately elephant

    ʔin
    exophoric
    his parents - elephants were coming.

42 ʔɛɛ   tɔk.kɛɛ ləə maaŋ " coʔ   hə.n glaŋ kuən hə.gaj haj / nɔʔ tɨŋ kə.ɗii
   then gecko   3S   speak down.there 2S-Irr look child in-law 2S   Rel Loc middle
   ruəh   blook ʔən.tɔʔ   ləəj   klɔɔ   haj "
   elephant tusk   down.there already husband 2S
   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."

43 naaŋ bə.jaa ləə riən " ɓal.ʔin   hər.pɛɛk.hər.ʔook   "
   lady Baya   3S   say   to.that.extent sound.of.the.elephant
   Lady Baya she said, "That's the sound of elephants."

44 ʔɛɛ   məə   bɨh brɔɔj   təəm.lɔɔŋ ɟrii
   then 3P(pl) Prep immediately tree   sacred
   They arrived (at) the sacred tree.

45 ʔɛɛ   məə   maaŋ riən " həʔ.ŋaaj ləəj   ʔən.naaw   naaŋ bə.jaa bɨŋ nɛɛ "
   then 3P(pl) speak say   where   already mark.of.contrast lady Baya   Loc here
   Then they spoke, saying, "Where is Lady Baya?"

46 ʔɛɛ   tɔk.kɛɛ ləə riən " ʔaj ləəj   ʔə.pə.ɗɨk   tɨŋ nɛɛ ləəj   naaŋ bə.jaa tɨŋ ʔaj "
   then gecko   3S   say   1S   already 1S-to.lift Loc this already lady Baya   Loc 1S
   Then the gecko she said, "I already lifted Lady Baya here with me."

47a paʔ ʔɛɛ   məə   mam   brɔɔj   dəə nɔɔʔ
    like then 3P(pl) to.be.angry immediately Prep 3S
    Like that they were angry with her,

47b məə   ɟan.ɟan   brɔɔj   təəm.lɔɔŋ ɟrii
    3P(pl) trample(double) immediately tree   sacred
    they trampled the sacred tree

47c jak   ləə ŋuɲ bluuk   ləəj
    because 3S   want push.over already
    because she wanted to push over.

48a ləə ʔən.noom brɔɔj   tiʔ   mɛɛ   ruəh
    3S   urinate   immediately down 3P(pl) elephant
    She urinated [immediately] on the elephants

48b jak   ləə ŋuɲ bluuk   ləəj
    because 3S   want push.over already
    because she wanted to push over.

49 ləə ʔən.noom brɔɔj   tiʔ   mɛɛ
   3S   urinate   immediately down 3P(pl)
   She urinated [immediately] on them.

50 saam   ləəj   məə   ɟan.ɟan   ruəh   nɛɛ
   tired.of.something/someone already 3P(pl) trample(double) elephant here
   Tired, they trampled (the tree), the elephants [here].

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51a məə   hə.pɨh
   3P(pl) tire
   They were tired

51b məə   həŋ.ŋan bɨŋ ʔɛɛ brɔɔj
   3P(pl) sleep   Loc that immediately
   they slept there[under the tree].

52 ʔɛɛ jaʔ   tɔk.kɛɛ ləə riən " naʔ hə.dii   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 naaŋ bə.jaa ləə riən " paʔ.ŋaaj 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.kɛɛ ləə trə.nəəw " ʔə.n tɨɨh   ciət kə.pɔk trɛc   mɛɛ "
   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 ʔɛɛ ləə tiət   soo.looc   tiət   piit
   so 3S take.with a.small.woven.basket.with.cover.to keep.cooked.rice bring knife
   tɨɨh   brɔɔj   coʔ
   go.down immediately down.there
   So she took a small basket (and) brought a knife to go down.

56a ʔɛɛ   ləə ciət brɔɔj   kə.pɔk trɛc   mɛɛ trɔm trɔm mɛɛ
    then 3S cut immediately short   behind 3P(pl) every every 3P(pl)
    Then she cut the behind of all of them[the elephants],

56b cɨʔ   tiət   brɔɔj
    return bring immediately
    (she) brought (them) back (to the tree).

57a ʔɛɛ mɛɛ ruəh   nɛɛ məə raj   dɨk
    then 3P(pl) elephant this 3P(pl) wake.up get.up
    Then these elephants they woke up,

57b puuŋ ɟuuh kəm.puup trɛc   mɛɛ
    cut.off   behind 3P(pl)
    (they) were shocked by learning that their behinds have been cut off,

57c bic ʔəʔ trɛc   mɛɛ trɔm mɛɛ bic ʔɨɨm jaw
    have Neg behind 3P(pl) every 3P(pl) have Neg ^Neg
    they no longer have behinds, all of them have no (behind).

58 ʔεε krεε.daj lǝǝ braaj riǝn " ʔεε   khaj   noow.hǝm.braa bɨh
   then God   3S bless say   then month come.next   Prep
   kuǝn.pǝr.doow.coow.pǝr.looc trεc   taj vǝ.n bic ʔɨɨm "
   future.generation   behind Neg 2P-Irr have Neg
    Then a god he cursed (them), saying, "From now on you and your offspring have no
    behind."

59 looc.lǝǝj
   end
    The End

APPENDIX H

NARRATIVE7-KRUNG THE SNAKE

1 bic   lɨəŋ   muuj ʔaj həm.maac maaŋ lɨəŋ   jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa
　 have story one   1S narrate   speak story Mr rich.ruler
　 (I) have a story, I tell a story (about) Mr. Rich Ruler.

2 jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   nɛɛ ləə bic   kuən brɔh   pəh   raa
　 Mr rich.ruler this 3S have child unmarried.woman seven person.Clf
　 This Mr. Rich Ruler he had seven daughters.

3 ta.ŋəj muuj jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə dɔk koow   lɔɔŋ   nɔɔʔ həʔ mɨɨr
　 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 ʔɛɛ   tɨŋ ləə koow   nɔɔʔ   nɔɔʔ
　　when Loc 3S cut.down wood 3S
　　When he cut down his wood,

4b ləə trə.blooc   brɔɔj   cuuŋ nɔɔʔ həʔ trɔɔm lɔɔŋ
　　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 ʔɛɛ   ləə tə.ŋook brɔɔj   dəə cuuŋ nɔɔʔ taj dəə ŋaaj jaaw lə.m koow
　 then 3S worry   immediately Prep axe 3S   Neg Prep what Neg 3S-Irr cut.down
　 lɔɔŋ   nɔɔʔ
　 wood 3S
　 Then he was worried about, without his axe, what will (he use to) cut down his wood .

6 ʔɛɛ   ləə cɨʔ   həʔ hən.naam
　 then 3S return Loc house
　 Then he returned home.

7a ʔɛɛ   ləə cɨʔ
　　then 3S   return
　　Then he returned (home),

7b kɨj.kər.sɨp.kə.dɨp.kləəm
　　sleeping.on.the.belly
　　(he) was not able to sleep.

8 ʔɛɛ trii nɔɔʔ ləə dɨk tə.ŋaa " ʔəəj bəəʔ nɔɔʔ cɔŋ caa ʔɨɨm lah haj
  so wife 3S 3S get.up ask hey father 3S eat(rice.only) eat Neg yes/no 2S

  hə.ɟiʔ lah "
  2S-to.be.sick yes/no

  So his wife she got up, asked, "Hey, her father! Don't you eat? Are you sick?"

9 taj trə.nəəw həm.pəəv
  Neg to.answer no.move no.voice

  (He) didn't answer (her), no response.

10 ʔɛɛ ləə dɨk tə.ŋaa ləh ʔən.naaw " ʔəəj hə.ɟiʔ lah ʔɛɛ bɔk
  so 3S get.up ask again one.more.time hey 2S-to.be.sick yes/no then able

  ʔə.n nɔh "
  1S-Irr know

  So she got up, asked once again, "Hey! Are you sick? Let me know."

11 ʔɛɛ klɔɔ nɔɔʔ ləə trə.nəəw " ʔɨɨm ʔə ɟiʔ ʔɨɨm /
  then husband 3S 3S to.answer Neg 1S-verb.prefix to.have.pain Neg

  ʔə tə.ŋook dəə cuuŋ ʔaj / ləə pat ɲɨh taj
  1S-verb.prefix worry Prep axe 1S 3S disappear/to.be.gone to.that.point Neg

  dəə ŋaaj jaaw ʔə.ŋ koow lɔɔŋ ʔaj "
  Prep 1P(incl.pl) Neg 1S-Irr cut.down wood 1S

  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."

12 " ʔɛɛ paʔ.ʔin "
  Interj like.that

  (His wife said,) "Interjection! Like that!"

13 ʔɛɛ trii nɔɔʔ praj brɔɔj mɛɛ khɔm.laŋ ɓaaw dɔk saat
  so wife 3S command immediately 3P(pl) a.group.of.people servant go look.for

  cuuŋ nɔɔʔ tɨŋ mɨɨr
  axe 3S Loc field

  So his wife immediately commanded the servants to go look for his axe in the field.

14a mɛɛ ʔɛh saat
  3P(pl) that look.for

  [Those] They looked for (it),

14b taj taj ʔɨɨm
  Neg see Neg

  (but they) didn't see (it).

15a " pər.saaw kə.taam mɛɛ.ŋaaj kə.taam paʔ mə.n taj
  son-in-law even Rel(pl) even when 3P(pl)-Irr see

  (Mr. Rich Ruler said,) "Whoever see (my axe), they will be (my) son-in-law.

15b ʔɛɛ ʔə.n ʔam kuən brɔh   ʔən.sooc   nɔɔʔ ʔən.nɛɛ "
    so 1S-Irr give child unmarried.woman youngest(child) 3S this
    So I will give[marry] my youngest daughter to this (person)."

16 ʔɛɛ ləə maaŋ dəə mɛɛ tiʔ sruk riən " həʔ mɛɛ.ŋaaj mə.n taj cuuŋ
    then 3S speak Prep 3P(pl) down village say Loc Rel(pl) 3P(pl)-Irr see axe
    ʔaj / tɨŋ mɛɛ ʔaj ʔə.n ʔam kuən brɔh   dəə mɛɛ ʔɛɛ "
    1S Loc 3P(pl) 1S 1S-Irr give child unmarried.woman Prep 3P(pl) then
    Then he spoke to them in the village, saying, "Whoever see my axe, [to them] I will
    give[marry] my daughters to them [there]."

17a ʔɛɛ məə saat brɔɔj
    so 3P(pl) look.for immediately
    So they look for (it) immediately,

17b trɔm kraan məə dɔk
    every family 3P(pl) go
    every family they went,

17c mɛɛ ʔɛh taj məə taj ʔɨɨm
    3P(pl) that Neg 3P(pl) see Neg
    (but) [those] they didn't see (it).

18 ʔɛɛ ləə kə.ləʔ ləə dɔk saat ləh ʔən.naaw tɔʔ kə.noow
    then 3S self 3S go look.for again one.more.time that(far) place.of.cutting.tree
    lɔɔŋ nɔɔʔ ləh
    wood 3S again
    Then he himself went to look for (it) once again, the place (he) cut his wood [again].

19 ʔən.naaw naʔ taj ləə taj
    one.more.time still Neg 3S see
    Also, he still didn't see (it).

20 ʔɛɛ ləə kə.lɔɔw brɔɔj   " laa ʔoh   brah brii jaaŋ bə.ŋaan
    then 3S call immediately ask please(polite.form) spirits forest spirits
    crɨɨw ʔə.rak brii daak krɛɛ.daj braaj / laa və.n saat cuuŋ ʔaj
    demon forest water God bless ask 2P-Irr look.for axe 1S
    ʔoh   / naʔ ʔə.n lab ʔam kuən brɔh   həʔ
    please(polite.form) then 1S-Irr pay.back give child unmarried.woman Loc
    hən.naam paʔ mə.n taj cuuŋ ʔaj / naʔ ʔə.n lab ʔam kuən
    house like 3P(pl)-Irr see axe 1S still 1S-Irr pay.back give child
    brɔh   ʔən.sooc həʔ hən.naam tɔʔ "
    unmarried.woman youngest(child) Loc house that(far)
    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,
    gvie (you) my daughter [at home] if they see my axe; then I will pay (you) back, give (you)
    (my) youngest daughter [at home]."

21a ʔɛɛ   kruŋ bih   nɛɛ ləə doŋ
   then Krung snake this 3S   hear
   Then this Krung the snake he heard,

21b " paʔ.ʔin.dih maat   "
                really
   (he thought,) "[Like that]. Exclamation! Really!"

22a ʔɛɛ   ləə tə.tɨɨt   cak   nɔɔʔ
   then 3S   transform body 3S
   Then he transformed his body,

22b ləə vɨr   bih.kraʔ
   3S   transform python
   he transformed into a python.

23 ʔɛɛ   ləə dɔk brɔɔj   tɔʔ   jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa
  then 3S   go   immediately that(far) Mr rich.ruler
   Then he went to [that] Mr. Rich Ruler.

24 ʔɛɛ   ləə tə.ŋaa " ja.ʔɔɔʔ   hə   daŋ   ŋaaj   "
  then 3S   ask   grandfather 2S-verb.prefix look.for 1P(incl.pl)
   Then he asked, "Grandfather, what are you looking for?"

25 jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə trə.nəəw riən " ʔə.daŋ   cuuŋ ʔaj "
  Mr rich.ruler 3S   to.answer say   1S-to.look.for axe   1S
   Mr. Rich Ruler he answered, saying, "I'm looking for my axe."

26 kruŋ   bih   ləə tə.ŋaa " ləə bəəm ŋaaj dəh   cuuŋ haj ʔin   "
  Krung snake 3S ask   3S   make what polite.question axe   2S   exophoric
   Krung the snake he asked, "What happened to your axe?"

27 jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə trə.nəəw " ʔə.koow   lɔɔj ləəj   ləə
  Mr rich.ruler 3S   to.answer   1s-to.cut.down wood already 3S
  pat   tɨŋ nɛh ləəj / paʔ hə.n saat   taj   coow   ʔəəj
  disappear/to.be.gone Loc here already   like 2S-Irr look.for see grandchild hey
  naʔ   ʔə.n lab   ʔə.n ʔam kuən brɔh   dəə haj "
  surely 1S-Irr pay.back 1S-Irr give child unmarried.woman Prep 2S
   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."

28 ʔɛɛ   ləə trə.nəəw " nɔh   ʔə.n saat   ruəj ɓɔɔ   "
  then 3S   to.answer   may.be 1S-Irr look.for play who.knows
   Then he answered, "I may find (it), who knows."

29a ʔɛɛ   ləə saat   brɔɔj   ɟum   təəm.lɔɔŋ
   then 3S   look.for immediately around tree
   Then he looked around the tree immediately.

29b ʔɛɛ   ləə taj   brɔɔj   tɨŋ trɔɔm lɔɔŋ
   then 3S see immediately Loc cave wood
   Then he saw (it) in a tree hole.

30 ʔɛɛ   ləə riən " nɛɛ   ja.ʔɔɔʔ   cuuŋ haj ləə tɨp   tɨŋ trɔɔm lɔɔŋ   "
  then 3S say   here grandfather axe 2S 3S enter Loc cave wood
  Then he said, "Here, Grandfather, your axe it fell into the tree hole."

31a ʔɛɛ   jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə huət   brɔɔj
   then Mr rich.ruler 3S take.out immediately
   Then Mr. Rich Ruler he took (it) out immediately,

31b cɨʔ   tiət   həʔ hən.naam
   return bring Loc house
   (he) brought (it) returned home.

32 ʔɛɛ   ləə kə.lɔɔw brɔɔj   mɛɛ khɔm.laŋ   ɓaaw   nɔɔʔ "
  then 3S call   immediately 3P(pl) a.group.of.people servant 3S
  mic   kuən.coow və.n dɔk tuuŋ
  imp.Prt(polite) children   2P-Irr go carry(on.two.people's.shoulders.with.a.stick)
  bih.kraʔ həʔ mɨɨr ʔaj tɔʔ   "
  python Loc field 1S that(far)
  Then he called his [group of] servants, "Children, [you] go carry the python in my field
  (back)."

33a ʔɛɛ   məə   dɔk brɔɔj
   then 3P(pl) go   immediately
   Then they went,

33b ʔɛɛ   məə   taj bih.kraʔ tih
   then 3P(pl) see python   big
   then they saw a big python.

33c ʔɛɛ   məə   riən " vəəj bih   tih dih   / ŋə.n   caa ʔaat   lə.m
   then 3P(pl) say   Interj snake big do.you.agree   1P(incl.pl)-Irr eat probably 3S-Irr
  ɲɨm   brɔɔj   "
  taste.good immediately
  Then they said, "Interjection! It's a big snake, right? We eat (it), it'll probably be
  delicious."

34 ʔɛɛ   jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə trə.nəəw " ŋə.m   caa ɓəəm ŋaaj / jak   nɔɔʔ
  then Mr rich.ruler 3S to.answer   1P(incl.pl)-Irr eat make what   because 3S
  ləəj   ləə taj cuuŋ ʔaj tɨŋ trɔɔm lɔɔŋ / nɛh nɛɛ ʔə.m bər.jɔŋ bɨn kuən ʔaj "
  already 3S see axe 1S Loc cave wood   here this 1S-Irr marry Prep child 1S
  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   cɨʔ   tuuŋ   məə   cɔk   ɓɔɔ
   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   tuuŋ   cɨʔ   tiət həʔ hən.naam
   3P(pl) carry(on.two.people's.shoulders.with.a.stick) return bring Loc house
   tɔʔ
   that(far)
   they carried (him), brought (him) to return home.

36a ʔɛɛ   ləə praj   brɔɔj
   then 3S command immediately
   Then he commanded (his daughters) immediately,

36b kuən   ʔɛh taj   dii.dii mə.n   cɔk   bəəm klɔɔ
   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   ʔəəj hə   doŋ paʔ taj hə   rɛɛm hə.ŋ
   then 3P(pl) say   good hey 2S-verb.prefix hear like Neg 2S-verb.prefix love 2S-Irr
   kɔh kə.cɛɛt 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   naaŋ ʔən.sooc   nɛɛ lə.m cɔk bəəm klɔɔ
   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 naaŋ ʔən.sooc   nɛɛ taj khiin bər.maaŋ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ
   so lady youngest(child) this Neg refuse word   father 3S
   So this youngest daughter didn't refuse her father's word,

39b ʔɛɛ ləə dii   həʔ   ʔɛh brɔɔj
   so 3S accept Imp.Voc that immediately
   so she accepted that immediately.

40 ʔɛɛ   ləə tɨɨh   hɔɔm.blɨɨ cə.cuut cak.daj
   then 3S go.down bathe   clean   body
   Then she went [down] to bathe, to clean body.

41a məə   cuʔ brɔɔj   bih   tɨŋ nuk
   3P(pl) put immediately snake Loc granary
   They put the snake in the granary.

41b ʔɛɛ   ʔəm.bɨʔ srɛʔ.cər.ɲɛʔ.ɲoom ɲi.ɲiʔ.ɲɔm.ɲɔɔ brɔɔj
   then evening at.sunset   hesitate   immediately
   In the evening at sunset, (she) was hesitated,

41c ləə dii   kɨj   tɨŋ bih
   3S accept sleep Loc snake
   she accepted to sleep with the snake

41d ɲɔɔn   ləə duuŋ   dəə bih   lə.m kap caa nɔɔʔ
   because 3S to.be.afraid Prep snake 3S-Irr bite eat 3S
   because she was afraid of the snake will bite, eat her.

42a ʔɛɛ ləə tɨŋ ʔɛɛ
   but 3S Loc there
   But she was there.

42b ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih   ləə maaŋ " hə.duuŋ   ʔɨɨm dəə ʔaj naaŋ ʔə
   then Krung snake 3S speak   2S-to.be.afraid Neg Prep 1S Miss 1S-verb.prefix
   bə.nɨh ʔaj nɛɛ hə.nɔh   / taj trɔɔ ʔə.n kap caa laa həm.puət haj ʔɨɨm /
   human 1S here 2S-to.know   Neg hurt 1S-Irr bite eat ask sell   2S Neg
   paʔ hə.n ŋuɲ ʔaj mat.maat hə.m hər.nuk.hər.vaak ʔən.tun "
   like 2S-Irr want 1S truly   2S-Irr happy   after
   Then Krung the snake he spoke, "[You]Don't be afraid of me, Miss! Here you know, I'm
   a human. I'll not hurt, bite, eat (or) sell (you) / I'll do you no harm. If you truly want me,
   you'll be happy in the future."

43 ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih   ləə tə.tɨɨ   brɔɔj   cak nɔɔʔ vɨr   bə.nɨh
   then Krung snake 3S transform immediately body 3S   transform human
   Then Krung the snake he transformed immediately, transformed his body into a human.

44 ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa naaŋ nɛɛ ʔam.braa həŋ.ŋan kɨj   braaŋ.krɛɛ
   then 3P(du)   lady this 3P(du)   sleep   lay.down dawn
   Then (Krung the snake and) this lady they slept till dawn.

45a ʔɛɛ sii.braaŋ ŋɨp   bər.noow kruŋ bih   nɛɛ ləə mɨt   tɨŋ ʔaaw bih
   then in.morning morning tomorrow Krung snake this 3S enter Loc shirt snake
   tɨɨ
   same
   In the next morning, this Krung the snake he became a snake again,

45b ʔɛɛ   ʔam.braa tɨɨh
   then 3P(du)   go.down
   then they went down (from the granary).

46 ʔɛɛ mɛɛ sruk   məə maaŋ " hɛɛh naaŋ ʔən.sooc   naʔ ɲiw / dih
   then 3P(pl) village 3P(pl) speak   Interj lady youngest(child) still live   Exclamation
   bər.maa   bih   lə.m kap caa nɔɔʔ "
   should.have.happened snake 3S-Irr bite eat 3S
   Then the villagers they spoke, "Interjection! The youngest daughter is still alive.
   Exclamation! The snake should have bitten, eaten her."

47a ʔɛɛ   məə   dɨk   glaŋ tɨŋ nuk   cər.viit məə   taj
   then 3P(pl) go.up look Loc granary wrap   3P(pl) see
   Then they went up to look the granary ??? they saw,

47b ʔɛɛ   məə   bə.tɛɛŋ cər.nɔŋ.cər.naa brɔɔj
   then 3P(pl) to.plan marry   immediately
   then they planned a wedding immediately.

48a məə   cər.nɔŋ bə.nɨh ʔam.braa bih
   3P(pl) marry   human and   snake
   They married the human[the youngest daughter] and the snake,

48b pəh   ta.ŋəj pəh   mãŋ məə   ɲɛɛt
   seven day   seven night 3P(pl) drink
   they drank (and ate) / celebrated seven days (and) seven nights.

49a ɲɛɛt.cɔŋ.ɓɔŋ.ɓɔɔj
   to.drink-eat-party
   (They) partied.

49b kuu sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm
   live to.be.well
   (They) lived happily.

50a naaŋ ʔən.sooc   nɛɛ ləə glaŋ həʔ klɔɔ   saam.sɛɲ
   lady youngest(child) this 3S see Loc husband tired.of.something/someone
   This youngest daughter she saw (her) husband tired of (getting back in his snake shirt),

50b ʔɛɛ ləə cɔk brɔɔj   ʔaaw bih   klɔɔ   nɔɔʔ buh tak   tiʔ ʔuɲ
   so 3S take immediately shirt snake husband 3S   grill broken(totally) down fire
   so she took her husband's snake shirt[skin], burned[grilled] (it) completely on the fire.

51 ʔɛɛ   ləə vɨr   bə.nɨh ʔən.sɔɔc   brɔɔj   kruŋ bih ʔɛɛ
   then 3S transform human all.the.time immediately Krung snake that
   Then he transformed into a human forever, that Krung the snake.

52 ta.ŋəj muuj bic   jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa   ləə muuj ləə dɔk tə.ŋaa " daaw lah   naaŋ
   day   one have Mr rich.ruler 3S one 3S go ask   true yes/no lady
   ʔən.sooc   cɔk klɔɔ   bih   "
   youngest(child) take husband 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?"

53 " ʔɨɨʔ daaw ʔən naaw   "
    yes true mark.of.contrast
   (Mr. Rich Ruler said,) "Yes, that's true!"

54a ʔɛɛ   ləə cɨʔ   brɔɔj   həʔ hən.naam
   then 3S return immediately Loc house
   Then he returned home.

54b ləə praj   brɔɔj   mɛɛ khɔm.laŋ   ɓaaw dɔk daŋ   rap
   3S command immediately 3P(pl) a.group.of.people servant go look.for catch
   bih.kraʔ həʔ brii
   python Loc forest
   He commanded the servants went to catch a python in the forest,

54c cɨʔ   tiət bəəm klɔɔ   dəə naaŋ ʔən.sooc
   return bring make husband Prep lady youngest(child)
   brought (it) back, made (it) to be the youngest daughter'shusband.

55 ʔɛɛ naaŋ ʔən.sooc   nɛɛ maj ləə duuŋ
   but lady youngest(child) this very 3S to.be.afraid
   But this youngest daughter she was very frigthened.

56 ʔɛɛ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ ləə maaŋ " nɛh.nɛh ʔə.m bər.jɔŋ bɨŋ   naaŋ ʔən.sooc   / paʔ
   then father 3S   3S speak now   1S-Irr marry Prep lady youngest(child)   like
   taj hə.n dii   ʔə.m kɔh kə.cɛɛt tak   haj "
   Neg 2S-Irr accept 1S-Irr stab kill   broken(totally) 2S
   Then her father he spoke, "Now I marry (you) to (my) youngest daughter; if you don't
   accept, I'll stab, kill you [completely]."

57 ʔɛɛ məə cuʔ brɔɔj   bih   tɨŋ nuk
   so 3P(pl) put immediately snake Loc granary
   So they put the snake in the granary.

58 ʔɛɛ ʔəm.bɨʔ srɛʔ.cər.ɲɛʔ.ɲoom ləə praj   brɔɔj   kuən nɔɔʔ dɨk kɨj   tɨŋ
   then evening at.sunset   3S command immediately child 3S lay sleep Loc
   bih
   snake
   In the evening at sunset, he commanded his child to sleep with the snake.

59a ʔɛɛ naaŋ ʔən.sooc   ɲi.ɲiʔ.ɲɔm.ɲɔɔm brɔɔj   taj lə.m dɔk
   then lady youngest(child) hesitate   immediately Neg 3S-Irr go
   Then the youngest daughter was hesitated, she wouldn't go.

59b ləə duuŋ   dəə bəəʔ lə.m kɔh kə.cɛɛt
   3S to.be.afraid Prep father 3S-Irr stab kill
   (But) she was afraid of (her) father will stab, kill (her),

59c ʔɛɛ ləə dɨk kɨj   brɔɔj   tɨŋ bih
   so 3S lay sleep immediately Loc snake
   so she slept with the snake.

60a ʔɛɛ mãŋ hən.noow bih   nɛɛ ləə vaat   brɔɔj   naaŋ ʔən.sooc
   then night near.future snake this 3S encircle immediately lady youngest(child)
   In that night, this snake he encircled the youngest daughter,

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60b ləə lɨn   brɔɔj   naaŋ ʔən.sooc
    3S swallow immediately lady youngest(child)
    he swallowed the youngest daughter.

61a ʔɛɛ ləə kə.lɔɔw mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ toow
    so 3S call   mother father only
    So she called (her) parents [only],

61b ləə hə.raaw   brɔɔj
    3S shout.of.fear immediately
    she shouted of fear,

61c ʔɛɛ ləə ɲiim paʔ   hə.raaw   " laa   ʔoh   mɛɛʔ   bəəʔ ʔəəj
    so 3S cry when shout.of.fear please please(polite.form) mother father hey
    ɓal.ʔin   bih   ləə kap ʔaj ləəj   kləəc tə.nuəj ləəj   "
    to.that.extent snake 3S bite 1S already past   hip   already
    so she cried and shouted of fear, "Please! Please! Mother, Father, Hey! The snake he
    bites me past (my) hips already."

62 mɛɛʔ   nɔɔʔ ləə riən " ŋaaj   kuən klɔ   bər.lɛɛk "
   mother 3S   3S say   what child husband play
   Her mother she said, "What, Child? (Your) husband plays (with you)."

63a ʔɛɛ bih   nɛɛ ləə lɨn   brɔɔj
    then snake this 3S swallow immediately
    Then this snake he swallowed completely (the youngest daughter),

63b kləəc tak.khiəŋ brɔɔj   ʔam.braa doŋ
    past totally   immediately 3P(du)   hear
    they heard nothing.

64 ʔam.braa riən " caʔ   ləəj   paʔ ʔɛɛ   "
   3P(du)   say   good already like then
   They said, "It's good like that!"

65 ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa həŋ.ŋan kɨj   brɔɔj   ʔam.braa trii klɔ   nɛɛ braŋ
   so 3P(du)   sleep   lay.down immediately 3P(du)   wife husband this night
   So they slept, these husband (and) wife at night.

66 ʔɛɛ braaŋ.ŋɨp ləə kə.lɔɔw " ʔəəj naaŋ ʔən.sooc   craa   hə.n tɨɨh
   then morning 3S call   hey lady youngest(child) to.invite 2S-Irr go.down
   cɔŋ   caa dəh   tiʔ nɛɛ də.miɲ sə.braa lə.n tɨɨh   "
   eat(rice.only) eat polite.question down here when   2P(du) 3S-Irr go.down
   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?"

67a ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa doŋ khiəŋ
    but 3P(du)   hear silence
    But they heard nothing,

67b taj   doŋ ʔam.braa cə.cɛɛ mə.maaŋ   ʔɨ̵m
Neg hear 3P(du)   discuss 3P(pl)-to.speak Neg
(they) did not hear them[the python and the youngest daughter] chat.

68a ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa dɨk   glaŋ khiəŋ taj ʔɨ̵m
then 3P(du)   go.up look silence see Neg
Then they went up to look (and) saw nothing.

68b bih   nɛɛ ləə rooh kuu hə? drɔn.drɔɔn ʔən.lɛɛ   toow pe.ʔuut brɔɔj
snake this 3S leave stay Loc shade   bamboo only circle   immediately
This snake he left, stayed in the middle of the bamboo thicket.

69 ləə lɨn   bə.nɨh ʔɛɛ
3S swallow human that
He swallowed that human[the youngest daughter].

70 ləə kuu tɔ?   təəm   ʔən.lɛɛ dɔk.dɛɛŋ   taj bɔk jaaw
3S stay that(far) trunk(long.piece) bamboo go(doublet) Neg able Neg
He stayed overthere on the bamboo trunk, was not able to move.

71 ʔɛɛ məə saat   brɔɔj   taj rəm.ɓɔɔj nɔɔ?
then 3P(pl) look.for immediately see track   3S
Then they[one rich ruler's household] searched his track.

72a saat   dəə saat
look.for Prep look.for
(They) searched and searched,

72b ʔɛɛ məə taj tɔ?   təəm   ʔən.lɛɛ
then 3P(pl) see that(far) trunk(long.piece) bamboo
then they saw [that](the python) by the bamboo trunk.

72c ʔɛɛ məə bəəm pa? ʔɛh taj nɔh pa? ʔɛh taj nɔh
but 3P(pl) do   like that Neg know like that Neg know
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)

73 ʔɛɛ məə tɨ̵h   kə.lɔɔw brɔɔj   kruŋ bih   dɨk   kə.cɛɛt bih
so 3P(pl) go.down call   immediately Krung snake get.up kill   snake
So they went down to call Krung the snake to go up to kill the snake.

74a ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih   nɛɛ ləə dɨk   kə.cɛɛt brɔɔj
then Krung snake this 3S get.up kill   immediately
Then this Krung the snake he went up to kill (it).

74b bih   kɛɛt tak
snake die broken(totally)
The snake was completely dead.

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75 ʔɛɛ bəəʔ naaŋ ʔən.sooc ləə maaŋ " ʔaah bɨŋ nɛh ləəj ʔə.n tak
    then father lady youngest(child) 3S speak well Loc here already 1S-Irr abandon
    ʔɛɛ caa briəŋ.triiŋ bɨŋ nɛh ləəj / jak bih ləə lɨn nɔɔʔ tɨŋ bih
    then eat bad.death Loc here already because snake 3S swallow 3S Loc snake
    ʔɛh.ləəj ʔə.m bəəm lɔɔŋ nɔɔʔ "
    that.is.it 1S-Irr make coffin 3S
    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."

76a ʔɛɛ məə cɨʔ lɛɛk tak
    then 3P(pl) return all abandon
    Then they returned, [all] abandoned (her),

76b ləə naʔ diw kruŋ bih muuj raa bɨŋ ʔɛɛ
    3S still only Krung snake one person.Clf Loc there
    he, only Krung the snake was still there.

77a ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih nɛɛ ləə paah pə.diw bih.kraʔ brok.brook
    then Krung snake this 3S cut.open belly python sound.of.
    Then this Krung the snake he cut open the python's belly,

77b ʔɛɛ ləə cɔk brɔɔj naaŋ ʔən.sooc kuən jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa lə.muuj
    then 3S take immediately lady youngest(child) child Mr rich.ruler one
    təəm.bɨŋ pə.diw bih
    from belly snake
    then he took the one rich ruler's youngest daughter from the snake's belly,

77c ʔɛɛ ləə pə.ɲɨɨh
    so 3S take.out
    so he took (her) out,

77d ʔɛɛ ləə pə.ɲiw brɔɔj
    so 3S make.alive immediately
    so he made (her) alive.

78a pə.ɲiw həŋ.ʔɛɛ ləəj
    make.alive near already
    (He) made (her) alive right there.

78b ʔɛɛ ləə tə.ŋaa " paʔ.ŋaaj ləə trɔ bih ləə lɨn lah haj "
    then 3S ask what 3S hurt snake 3S swallow yes/no 2S
    Then he asked, "Why is it that the snake it swallowed you?"

79a ʔɛɛ ləə pɔɔc.ʔəm.pɔɔm kaan.naan mɛɛʔ bəəʔ nɔɔʔ məə bəəm dəə nɔɔ tɛəm
    so 3S narrate matter mother father 3S 3P(pl) make Prep 3S from
kɛʔ.kɛʔ ɗaa bɨh kraʔ
small until Prep old
So she told (him) (her) life story, (how) her parents they mistreated her from small until older,

79b ɗaa məə praj cɔk bəəm klɔɔ dəə bih ʔəm.piim praj bih
    until 3P(pl) command take make husband Prep snake command snake
ʔəm.piim lə.n caa
        3S-Irr eat
until they commanded (her) to take the snake to be (her) husband, ??? commanded the snake to eat (her).

80 ʔɛɛ kruŋ bih ləə riən " paʔ ʔɛɛ nɛh.nɛh nɛɛ hə.n cɨʔ həʔ hən.naam /
then Krung snake 3S say like that now here 2S-Irr return Loc house
ʔɛɛ mɛɛʔ bəəʔ haj mə.n taj "
so mother father 2S 3P(pl)-Irr see
Then Krung the snake he said, "[Like that]Now you return home, so your parents can see (you)."

81 naaŋ ləə trə.nəəw " ʔaah dii jaaw ʔaj ʔin ŋə.n cɨʔ thə.loom
lady 3S to.answer well accept Neg 1S exophoric 1P(incl.pl)-Irr return anyway
taj məə rɛɛm dəə ʔaj / ʔə.n kuu tooj haj ɟruuj haj / jak hə.dii
Neg 3P(pl) love Prep 1S 1S-Irr stay follow 2S follow 2S because 2S-to.like
pə.ɲiw ʔaj / ʔə.ŋ kuu ɗaa dəə kɛɛt ɗaa dəə pat tooj
make.alive 1S 1S-Irr stay until Prep die until Prep disappear/to.be.gone follow
haj ɓə.mrəə haj nab thɨɨ haj / hə.n dɔk həʔ.ŋaaj ʔə n tooj / hə.n
2S serve(Khmer.word) 2S honor 2S 2S-Irr go where 1S-Irr follow 2S-Irr
dɔk həʔ.ŋaaj ʔə.n dɔk "
go where 1S-Irr go
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."

82 " paʔ paʔ.ʔin cɨʔ pə.ʔɛɛ cɨʔ tooj ʔaj "
    like like.that return so return follow 1S
(Krung the snake said,)"If like that, return (with me), so follow me to return (home)."

83a ʔɛɛ ləə cɨʔ kuu həʔ jaʔ ʔat.ɲaa ʔam.braa kruŋ bih
   then 3S return live Loc Mr rich.ruler and Krung snake
Then she [returned] lived with Mr. Rich Ruler and Krung the snake.

83b ʔɛɛ ʔam.braa bəəm kuən liəŋ ciəŋ   kuən cak dəə nɔɔʔ kuu
    so 3P(du)   make child raise.adoption child body Prep 3S   live
    sro.sriəm.niəm.prɔɔm
    to.be.well
    So they adopted (her) as (their) child ??? (They) lived happily (ever after).